A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF SCOPOPHILIA, INDIVIDUAL EMPOWERMENT, AND SURVEİLLANCE CULTURE: A CASE STUDY ON INSTAGRAM USAGE

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ABSTRACT

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This piece of work had the purpose of investigating the relationships between the phenomena of Scopophilia, individual empowerment and Surveillance Culture, all in the context of Turkey and on the basis of Instagram use while examining the reflection of these towards the daily lives of individuals. Scopophilia was borrowed from the conceptual toolkit of Sigmund Freud while the term Surveillance Culture was used in the way as it was coined by David Lyon. Individual empowerment processes were categorized according to the reviewed/accessed literature which consisted of; empowerment on identity construction, psychological, social, political, economic and finally informational/educational empowerment. For the aforementioned purpose, 12 in-depth interviews were conducted with active Instagram users who were selected by pre-determined sampling criteria. The statements of the participants were analyzed on the MaxQDA program with an open coding process. The findings were thematized with respect to the research questions. It was found that all of the Instagram users harbored Scopophilic tendencies which initially effected their Instagram usage patterns and then helped them to attain certain empowerment processes through these patterns. While it was also found that Scopophilia and Instagram usage were supporting and reproducing Surveillance Culture, a culture where basicly everyone seemingly had obtained the power to gaze everyone, it was observed that the balance of power and authority was in favor of the state and governmental structures against the individual and that Instagram proved to be insufficient in terms of having an effect on changing this situation. Instagram was found to have the capacity to provide various benefits in the users' microverse and daily lives, but it

was unable to generate the same benefits and the political power in the macro sense, as the state remains as the most powerful player in that arena.

ÖZ

SKOPOFİLİ, BİREYSEL GÜÇLENDİRME VE GÖZETİM KÜLTÜRÜNÜN SOSYOLOJİK BİR ANALİZİ: INSTAGRAM KULLANIMI ÜZERİNE BİR ÖRNEK OLAY İNCELEMESİ

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Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye bağlamında ve Instagram kullanımı üzerinden olmak üzere Skopofili, bireysel güçlendirme ve Gözetim Kültürü fenomenlerinin varlığı, bunların arasındaki ilişkiler ile birlikte bireylerin gündelik hayatlarına olan yansımalarının incelenmesidir. Skopofili, Sigmund Freud'un kavramsal alet çantasından ödünç alınırken Gözetim Kültürü terimi ise David Lyon'un kullandığı şekilde ele alınmış ve kullanılmıştır. Bireysel güçlendirme süreçleri, taranan/erişilen literatüre dayalı olarak kategorize edilmiş olup; kimlik inşasına yönelik güçlendirme, psikolojik, sosyal, siyasi, ekonomik, ve son olarak enformasyonel/eğitimsel güçlendirme kavramlarını içermektedir. Yukarıda belirtilen amaç kapsamında önceden belirlenmiş örneklem kriterlerini karşılayan aktif Instagram kullanımına sahip kişiler seçilerek 12 derinlemesine görüşme yapılmıştır. Katılımcıların ifadeleri, açık kodlama aracılığı ile MaxQDA programında analiz edilmiştir. Bulgular, araştırma soruları çerçevesinde temalaştırılmıştır. Instagram kullanıcılarının tamamının, öncelikle Instagram kullanım örüntülerini, daha sonra ise onların belirli güçlendirme süreçlerine sahip olmalarına yardımcı olacak şekilde Skopofilik eğilimlere/duygulara/itkilere sahip oldukları bulunmuştur. Her ne kadar Skopofilinin ve Instagram kullanımının Gözetim Kültürünü – temel olarak herkesin herkesi gözetleyebilme gücüne sahip olduğu kültürel bir yapı – desteklediği/beslediği ve yeniden ürettiği tespit edilmişse de, güç ve otorite dengesinin bireyin aleyhine olmak üzere, devletin ve hükümet yapılarının lehine olduğu, Instagramın bu durumu gerçek manada

değiştirme çerçevesinde yetersiz kaldığı gözlemlenmiştir. Instagram uygulamasının kullanıcıların mikro evrenleri/dünyaları ve gündelik hayatları kapsamında çeşitli faydalar sağlayabileceği, bununla birlikte aynı faydaları ve siyasi gücü makro anlamda sağlayamadığı, zira devletin bu alanda bulunan en güçlü oyuncu olduğu tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Skopofili, Instagram, Bireysel Güçlendirme, Gözetim Kültürü, Sosyal Medya

To My Mother, Father and Wife

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter can be seen as the presentation of my study in the general sense. Here, I firstly tried to draw the reader's attention to the increasing importance and prevalence of social media applications and technological smart gadgets in all of our daily, practical lives; while emphasizing the eyesight, which had been a constructor regarding our perception and social relations throughout the history of humanity. At this moment, being related to the aforementioned phenomenon, a specific, individual and innate condition called "Scopophilia" joins the narrative. Then, individual empowerment processes and a "Surveillance Culture" are mentioned to be the final concepts of this work. After giving a brief information about what this thesis is about, I refer to the procedures and qualities of the method which I have followed when conducting this research. Then, I give information about my purpose and the significance of this study. I conclude this chapter with a brief outline of the thesis.

We live in an ever-changing world where social phenomena such as interpersonal relations between individuals and their practices are in a state of rapid change, taking a more complex shape with every passing day. In such a world and time, humanity it seems, have adopted the smartphone as one of its best friends and a loyal companion which can be relied upon anywhere and anytime as long as the battery life of the gadget allows it. At the bus, at the gym, at the workplace, at a restaurant, in a concert or even in the theatre – thankfully only in the 15-minute break – everywhere, people are seen with smartphones as if the devices are glued to their hands. Furthermore, it is reasonable to say that, among the many types of usage, the usage of social media is one of most – if not *the* most – prominent use of hand-held smartphones. 3.4 billion People who live on this globe are actively using one or more social media application(s) from their technological devices; while 2.2 billion people are using Facebook, 1.9 billion have YouTube accounts and over 1 billion of them are engaging in Instagram related social media practices (Kemp, 2019a).

My superior is always on WhatsApp, giving work to his personnel from his smartphone. My father always spends a few hours on his Facebook account using his personal computer in the evening after dinner. My mother cannot help herself to take a tour on the pages of the people

who she follows – mostly novel writers, photographers and philosophers – on Instagram, when taking a rest on her favorite sofa after a days' hard work. Me on the other hand, I take a glance at the newsfeed on Twitter to see if the thinkers who I follow have shared a new video where they argue and comment upon the latest societal events. After checking Twitter, I use YouTube to watch chess videos to learn and master the art of chess, to watch the videos of Furziest to be informed on scientific phenomena regarding "health" and finally to watch and listen to ASMR (Autonomous Sensory Meridian Response) videos to fall asleep when having sleep problems due to work related stress. When I go to the office, I am exposed to the social media accounts of my institution in terms of inspecting the content which is about to go online for the viewing pleasure of followers and viewers.

Even if one tries to stay out of the loop of social media, this is only possible to a certain extent. It is almost impossible not to encounter the white bird over the blue background, the famous "f", the camera and the "play" symbol over a red rectangle background which represent the four "big guns" of social media, wherever one goes. When I am to buy a book online, I see these images on the booksellers' website under the sentence of "the most social way to meet with books" and I see them even after I buy the actual book, on the books' first page. Moreover, when I want to have a meal outside, I see them on the menu, when I read the news online, I see them on the screen, when I go shopping to buy sports products, I see these symbols over the brands, when I use public transport such as the bus or the metro, I see these symbols on the televised broadcast of the metropolitan municipality, I see them when I'm looking to buy wedding rings with my betrothed, I see them on the display window of a patisserie when I'm walking in the street, and one time, I gazed upon a rather interesting notice when I was passing by an antique vehicle; "please do not touch. A lot more of the thing which you try to reach by touching, can be found on our Instagram account! Follow us @bed4th". I even see them when I go to the gym to engage in sports activities under the big banners which indicate the name of the gym in yellow and black colors. When I sit down for a "La Casa De Papel TV night" with my family and open the subtitles, the first sentence I see is the name and the Instagram account name of the translator accompanied with the request "follow me!"

The latest example of me encountering the symbols of Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Instagram was when I installed the data analysis program MaxQDA to my personal computer. I opened the program and there they were, colorfully greeting me at the bottom of the screen. Even the symbols of social media are all around us. We see them without the restrictions of

time and space. We lay our gaze upon them frequently during an ordinary day of our lives and feel their existence, since at the very least, individuals, friends, acquaintances, co-workers, bosses, loved ones and family members of ours who make up our social circle actually do use them.

While I work, one of my co-workers call out, informing me about a regulation in terms of registering smartphones in Turkey after buying them abroad. He does not access this information via the members of traditional mass media such as the newspaper, the official gazette, the radio or the television. He is informed on the matter via Twitter, and right after he shares this fresh information with us, he also sends us the relevant Presidency Enactment in a digital form by WhatsApp for us to read in detail. Another co-worker of mine opens YouTube in order to watch and listen the latest statements of the Minister of Health regarding a project of ours; "The Smart/Rational Usage of Antibiotics". The examples can be multiplied infinitely.

It is very easy to see similar patterns of social media use outside one's own personal life. Taking a short walk outdoors, using the public transportation or just standing or sitting in a location, a public space/venue while taking a glance at the peoples' actions and practices who are sharing the same locality is more than enough to prove this claim. Today, the extent of the penetration of communication technologies and social media in our lives are beyond dispute. There is not a cherished and popular individual figure who does not have a Facebook, Twitter and/or an Instagram account. Politicians, artists, singers, sports trainers, writers, thinkers, doctors, bureaucrats, employers, and many other people who hold an important place in the eyes of their audience use social media. From the most prominent figures, to the least known individuals in society, from the people who hold a high status in society and whose socio-economic level is relatively high – my uncle, a retired general who is a very active social media user – to people whose social status and socio-economic levels which are perceived relatively low – my barber for example – engage in social media activities for different purposes.

One thing is very clear; as of the 21st century, social media and its carriers – handheld smart devices – have penetrated into our daily lives in a very influential fashion (Ting et al., 2015). All the more, the degree of this penetration seems to have been increasing day by day. Especially for some people, using certain social media platforms in a way that is merged with ordinary life activities have created an existential situation. For these people who would love to expose themselves and their loves for the gaze of their audiences, the phrase of "I think, therefore I am" which was expressed by Descartes is reformulated as; "I am seen, therefore I

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am" (Bauman & Lyon, 2016, p. 144). For others who are not into social media "that much", it is safe to say that social media still is a component of their lives to a certain degree, low, medium or high. We all are drawn to the digital world of social networking sites and applications one way or another.

In addition to the aforementioned argumentations, social media use is not limited to individuals or certain groups of people. Social bodies, such as the institutions of states and countries, from the presidency to the ministries and state supported establishments, from the components and companies of the business world to the smallest of associations such as furniture shops and brands of domestic appliances have ad hominem social media accounts which are used daily, actively and intensively by their owners.

Nowadays, it can be seen and said that most of the communication between friends, co-workers, schoolmates, family and acquaintances are established through social media applications. Products are chosen and bought, friendships are forged, artistical and entertainment needs are satisfied, the eye is pleased, the informational/educational hunger is fulfilled by using social media. All of these depend on the purpose of use by the users themselves. It is not an exaggeration to state that being in this constant state of intensive social media use as a society has implications regarding visuality and that this highlights the importance and prominence of the eyesight and the "gaze" now more than ever. It can be acknowledged that social media contributes to the visually saturated world of ours by the sharing and circulation of photographs, pictures, videos, other visuals, emojis, emoticons, and so on.

Other than the intensive usage of these digital platforms via certain technological gadgets, acts of surveillance – watching, observing others and being watched and observed by others at the same time – seemed to skyrocket with the advent, development and with the rise of social media. Finally, no less than the phenomena of social media, the urge to wonder and "gaze" at the lives of others and the urge to present oneself on the basis of visuals which appeal to the eye have never been more prominent among the world population. Social media platforms highly encourage both the visual presentation of the user and gazing on other users which results in increased surveillance practices over social media. It can be said that these practices and innovations in the communications technology which occurred roughly along the past 15 years have made possible to better satisfy one of the most ancient and primitive impulses of the human being; "to gaze" over the other.

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This desire to look and to derive some kind of a pleasure from it becomes concrete under the phenomenon of Scopophilia, a term coined by Sigmund Freud to explain the urge of the human being to "look", "see", "watch" and "gaze". I argue that Scopophilia and social media use are phenomena which feed, enhance and support each other. While I laid out the evidences of this claim throughout this work, I believe, for now, it is sufficient to make a quotation from Mateus (2012, p. 216) to support my argumentation;

> "To see is not a natural function: it is mainly a construction we all participate whenever we shape the visible. The visible stresses and demands sociability, and a community of vision follows after the Scopophilical dimension of social networks".

According to Mateus, social networking sites and venues of social media are characterized by the centrality of images and Scopophilical behavior which entails the pleasure to watch and being watched.

It is argued that social patterns and cultural norms and codes which govern contemporary societies are increasingly influenced by social media and Scopophilical behaviors (Mateus, 2012). This collaboration of the two helps the creation of a culture of vision and a Surveillance Culture where the eyesight is the most dominant sense used to perceive and acknowledge social processes and where relations of surveillance have evolved into something which now involves a multi-polared power structure instead of a one, hegemonic authority (the hegemony of governments and/or other power structures which exclude the individual or the masses) regarding watching, seeing and supervising. Whereas the state, "the big brother" was the sole "watcher", "gazer" the "surveillant" since the establishment of the rational modern society after the age of Enlightenment, and since the creation of the Panopticon by Jeremy Bentham in the late 18th century, it is a logical and reasonable statement to make that in our contemporary society where most of the world population have access to smartphones which have cameras alongside social media, social networking sites and applications, allowing the sharing of data in any form, be it textual or visual; the power to gaze, to surveil and therefore to inspect, to supervise is divided between the state, international organizations, corporations, NGO's, masses, and finally, the individual itself.

Up until this point, I have tried to show the importance of social media and the technological smart gadgets within the daily, practical lives of the generation of the 21st century and I have tried to draw a picture of several societal and structural implications which the usage of these may bring upon society. Accordingly, the key words/phenomena for this study were

determined as Instagram/Instagram usage (the social media application which had the highest number of active daily users in the time when this research was being conducted (Kemp, 2019a)), and Scopophilia; two terms which can be more or less accepted as the starting point of the study, alongside with Surveillance Culture and empowerment; the other duo which represent at least one of the probable result(s) – as a phenomenon – depending on the existence of the former ones while at the same time which may also support and reproduce them.

Therefore, this piece of work was conducted and written with the purpose to further our understanding regarding the aforementioned concepts/phenomena which are argued throughout this study to govern certain human behavior patterns while at the same time reflecting some qualities of our society. These concepts and patterns of behavior were observed as intensively occuring in both Turkey and around the globe, and therefore, according to the researcher they were deemed worthy of social scientific research in order to improve our understanding of the contemporary society and human behaviour.

Speaking in terms of method; this research is concerned with the contextual determination, evaluation and interpretation of the relationship between Scopophilia, Instagram, types of individual empowerment, Surveillance Culture and their ability/capacity to support each other. For this investigation of certain qualitative social scientific facts, effects and meanings, a qualitative research design was adopted. Moreover, this study was determined to be a case study because of the elements it consists which are specialized and bound to space and time. In total, 3 main research questions were formulated regarding Scopophilia, empowerment and Surveillence Culture. The data regarding these 3 phenomenon and the linkage between them were collected from 12 participants via 79 interview questions within conducted standardized in-depth interviews. The literature review and theory of the main concepts were extensively given under the "theory" section.

In order to summarize and put together all the main research questions together, it can be said that this study sought the "effect and influence of Scopophilia/Scopophilicly induced behaviours over the social media platform Instagram on the basis of the creation/support of empowered individuals and a Surveillance Culture". Scopophilia was investigated as "the love of looking" and "the love of being looked at". The former was mainly observed through curiosity (Freud, 2017) and the latter through "reasons of sharing photos and selfies of oneself" and the "reasons and ways of self-presentation" (Mateus, 2012). The empowerment of Instagram using individuals were observed through 6 types of empowerment – which are

introduced and defined under the section of "Empowerment" – namely; empowerment on identity construction, psychological empowerment, social empowerment, political empowerment, economic empowerment and Informational/educational empowerment. The final theoretical conceptualization Surveillance Culture was observed through the existence of its qualities as stated by David Lyon (2017), such as an empowered individual and individual group who have attained the ability to surveil power structures as well as other groups and/or individuals; and through the interview questions which were formulated accordingly, regarding the concept of Surveillance Culture.

For the sampling process, the technique of snowball sampling was used since the interviewers were required to be knowledgeable regarding Instagram and its use. Moreover, a certain number of criteria (8) according to literature were formed to attain the targeted data with the possible maximal accuracy. Consequently, the sample of this narrative study contained 12 individuals who live in Ankara, who are aged between 18 and 34, who are using Instagram for at least 5 years, who are using the application at least for an hour daily, who have more than 100 Instagram posts, who have at least 250 followers and who are following at least 250 individuals, brands, institution pages etc., who has shared a post over Instagram within the last week before contacting with the researcher and finally who has used the application in the previous day for whatever reason.

The 12 in-depth interviews were conducted on different locations in Ankara, averagely lasting 77 minutes (each). The data collection process was realized through the means of a voice recorder with the consent of the interviewees. After finishing the interviews, the collected data was deciphered and transformed into text format. For the final step of the analysis, the qualitative data analysis program "MAXQDA" 2018 edition was used. Within this process, open coding was conducted based on the statements of the participants. Themes and subthemes were created within the framework of the gathered data and these were analyzed. Later on, the themes which were created in terms of the statements of the participants were compared with the literature review and the theoretical tools of the study. The suitable ones were thematized and discussed under the concepts of the relevant theories. A more detailed narration of these processes can be found under the "Method" section.

1.1. The purpose of the study

I have laid out some of the most important concepts of this work above, which according to me, feed and support each other; social media, surveillance and Scopophilia. The last two

important concepts of this study were determined as Surveillance Culture and its entailing notion of individual empowerment. Here of course, when talking about surveillance, I do not emphasize the terms' classic usage which refers to passive and powerless individuals who are surveilled by power structures and certain authorities. I rather have the purpose of drawing the attention to the individuals who are empowered by engaging surveillance activities *themselves*, with the technical and practical help of social media and with the provided inner and impulsive motivation to do so by Scopophilia.

Now, the purpose of this piece of work is clearer; to explain the relationship between the phenomena of Scopophilia and social media – in this case Instagram – and at the same time, to try to show the empowering qualities and practical implications of Scopophilia and Instagram use and finally to try to reveal and understand the societal implications of such phenomena on the basis of a Surveillance Culture in the context of Turkey. As the name of the study suggests, my main concern is to reveal and examine the Scopophilical usage patterns in terms of Instagram, and to evaluate that their combination – Scopophilia and Instagram – may be instrumental in empowering the individual and constructing/supporting a culture of surveillance where in the contemporary society, *everyone* is an active participant in terms of watching and being watched.

As complex as it may seem at the beginning, this study starts off by the assumption that the concepts of Scopophilia, Instagram use, Surveillance Culture and empowerment are both socially and prevalently existent phenomena and are interrelated, while supporting and strengthening each other. Thereafter, this work strives to exhibit the real-life outcomes, reflections bred from the relationships between these phenomena on the basis of the individual who is a member of the contemporary society. To summarize, it can bluntly be said that this is a study where the existence and the effects of behavior which are motivated by Scopophilia and related Instagram usage patterns are investigated in terms of their contribution in creating empowered individuals and in terms of supporting the establishment or sustainment of a contemporary Surveillance Culture. Therefore, this narrative focused on the aforementioned phenomena which especially nowadays have a relatively fundamental importance in our daily lives.

In other words, throughout this study, I had the purpose of revealing and presenting Scopophilia's' (a concept defined by Freud as the positive feeling/pleasure which is derived by looking or being looked at) effect over Instagram usage patterns on the base of these

patterns' contribution towards types of individual empowerment and towards the creation or support of a Surveillance Culture in the context of Turkey by trying to understand the relationships between these social phenomena and by making interpretations based on the narrative of the participants of this study, who represent a micro societal structure.

To observe, analyze, understand and interpret the subjective narratives regarding the abovementioned phenomena, three research questions were formulated regarding Scopophilia, empowerment and Surveillance Culture. The theoretical foundations of Scopophilia was borrowed from Sigmund Freud, the conceptualization of Surveillance Culture was borrowed from David Lyon, and the conceptualization of empowerment and its derivatives were based on numerous studies found in the English written – mostly – academic literature. A more detailed explanation of these can be found under the sections of Theoretical Framework and Method.

1.2. The significancy of the study

Apart from the increasing penetration of surveillance and social media into our daily lives, it is argued that the contemporary surveillance relations could not be thought outside the sphere of technology, now more than ever and therefore, the understanding of the contemporary forms of surveillance presupposes the consideration of surveillance as a "socio-technical system" which imply that both the social and technology interact and shape one another (Lyon, 2007a, p. 21).

The significancy of this research lies in its quality that to the best of my knowledge, it is one of the few studies – if not the only one – to examine the usage patterns of a specific social media platform – Instagram– from the theoretical standpoint of "Scopophilia" and then to evaluate the outcomes of these usage patterns in terms of the conception of "Surveillance Culture", a term which involves relations of surveillance, and which signifies giving agency and activeness to passive, surveilled consumers and users of the social media and empowers them to participate in social life more actively and "agently" (Lyon, 2017).

The types of empowerment which may be possible through Scopophilic Instagram usage patterns may have qualities to vindicate this platform of social media in the face of accusations regarding pathological situations; narcissism being the most prominent one and discuss other outcomes of Instagram usage, especially in terms of helping individuals to "run the show" of their own lives, liberating them from the one-way communication of the traditional media

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channels and surveillance systems which initially disallowed individuals to voice their preferences, concerns, thoughts, frustrations, and ideas. Even if not in the political sense, Instagram usage which is driven by Scopophilical urges may have other implications and consequences on the basis of empowerment, which may support the individual in his/her daily life in a practical or sensual/emotional way.

According to the academic literature, social media may indeed prove useful in terms of providing individuals with empowerment on identity construction, psychological, social, political, economic and Informational/educational empowerment. As opposed to the conventional argumentations, this piece of work strives to make a point that a phenomenon which is considered or known as pathological in nature – Scopophilia – coupled with a digital social media platform which is again considered pathological in nature according to the general opinion when used in an intensive fashion – Instagram – can generate certain benefits for individuals, both abstract (emotional wellbeing etc.) and practical (joining in decision making processes, being able to make the most rational choice when buying a product and so on).

According to The Council of Higher Education Board Thesis Center, the available pool of academic thesis regarding Instagram in our country showed that among the 40 registered postgraduate studies, there was not a single study which focused on the empowering dimension of Instagram usage, led by Scopophilia or even on the "agently" aspects which Instagram may foster among its users. (Tez Merkezi, 2019). It was observed that these Instagram studies focused on different subjects such as narcissism, identity and/or bodily presentation, branding, marketing, commerce, consumption, the transformation of food culture, the transformation of the private sphere, subculture, digitalization and so on, while relating these phenomena with Instagram use. The only piece of work which I found in the context of Turkey which showed similar research parameters was an article about individuals' presentation of their "selves" on Instagram and even this study did not touch upon empowering processes and Surveillance Culture and it indirectly touched upon Scopophilia (Gündüz, Ertong Attar & Altun, 2018).

Therefore, this study is expected to contribute to the literature – and to try to fill a gap in terms of the reasons of Instagram usage and of the social consequences/results of such use – of both Scopophilia, Surveillance Culture on the basis of Instagram use, and to reveal processes of empowerment on the basis of the daily lives of individuals.

This piece of work aims to demonstrate that as a popular component of social media, Instagram, can be used as a platform to empower the individual, help him/her to become more of an agent instead of a mere spectator in daily life and to support his/her ability to make choices regarding simple life decisions, as Scopophilia being a motivating "impulse" within this continuum. In the macro level, this process of individual empowerment through Scopophilic motivations of use translates as the establishment of Surveillance Culture, a culture which among other things, involves the transformation of individuals into agents, making them no longer passive "victims" in front of the classic power structures such as the state, global corporations, mass media cartels, and so on.

Wood (2009) states that surveillance research cannot be imported from other contexts or studied in a global fashion and therefore, the examination of surveillance must be rooted and studied in its own locale in order for it to have any meaning and accuracy regarding the understanding and explaining of the "native" surveillance practices. Contribution to the field of surveillance studies and individual empowerment is aimed with this study, while firstly advancing our understanding of the "individual" on the basis of innate psychosexual drives that steer and be a source of motivation of our attitudes and social behaviors and secondly, advancing our understanding of the "social" on the basis of Instagram usage and around "agency" which denotes conscious and active individuals, within the context of Turkey.

Partially, the significance of this study is owed to the facts that it makes use of both psychology and sociology to understand a specific fragment of the social – a Surveillance Culture and empowerment processes – within the context of Turkey, and partially, for being a study which tries to reveal and demonstrate that Scopophilia and social media engagement may prove to be useful for human beings in various and practical ways, a discourse which may provide an alternative approach at against mainstream studies, news and common views which claim that especially social media is a venue which "harms" individuals.

1.3. The outline of the thesis

The structure of this study is as follows; after this introduction section I write about the purpose and the significance of the study. Then, I give my theoretical framework and literature review starting with the "eyesight", its importance to humankind and its properties, continuing with the Feminist approaches in terms of the "gaze" – which contain the most prominent and the social scientific accounts regarding the examination of the gaze and the gazer and the implications which originate from these types of social relations – their constructive and

supplementary critique, the phenomenon of the "willingly exposure on social media" and finally finish with my first pillar in terms of conceptualization "Scopophilia, a.k.a. the love of looking and being looked at".

For the second theoretical pillar, I start with giving information regarding the traditional and contemporary surveillance studies and social media surveillance, and finish by defining and explaining Surveillance Culture. The third theoretical pillar of my work is entitled "empowerment". Under this section, I talk about the definition of empowerment, argue the types of empowerment which can be categorized according to my literature view as; empowerment on identity construction, psychological empowerment, social empowerment, political empowerment, economic empowerment and Informational/educational empowerment. I conclude my theory section with "narcissism and empowerment in social media" in order to argue the relationship between empowerment and social media related narcissism, a concept which is widely argued among both in daily life and in the academic sphere.

After setting forth my theoretical framework, I give definitions and information regarding social media, its history in the context of Turkey, its prominence and importance, its motivations for use, its relationship with Scopophilia, empowerment and finally, in conclusion of this section, I propound the benefits and risks of social media. Afterwards, I start a new section on my core social media component, Instagram. In this section, I give information about Instagram, its usage statistics, about the hashtag and the selfie. After giving this information, I argue about the motivations for selfie sharing, about the relationship between selfie and Scopophilia, selfie and empowerment, selfie and narcissism and finally I conclude this part of the study with propounding the relationship between "Instagram and Scopophilia" after writing my personal experience of Instagram and its qualities.

Having completed the sections of the theoretical framework, social media and Instagram, I then present my research method which has been my guide throughout the research progress. In the method section, I talk about the problem and conceptual framework, the research model, research questions and their theoretical backgrounds, the affiliation of the research and interview questions concerning Scopophilia, empowerment and Surveillance Culture, sampling, data collection and analysis. Finally, for the conclusion of this chapter, I put forth the limitations of the research.

After the method section, I finally present the findings of my field work under the "findings and discussion" section, then I discuss these findings and argue about the implications of this research in the same section and afterwards, I bring this work to a conclusion via the section of "conclusion and future research".

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Being the second chapter of my study, the theoretical framework can be characterized as the "heaviest" section in all of this text, both mentally and intensively in terms of page count. I start this chapter by arguing the importance of the eyesight and the socially constructed "gaze" which is followed by the Feminist approaches to gaze (the known first accounts regarding the phenomenon) and a supplementary critique to these argumentations. After establishing the background, Scopophilia, a.k.a. "the love of looking and the love of being looked at" by Freud (2017) is elaborated. Then, the traditional and contemporary surveillance studies, alongside with social media surveillance are narrated just before putting forward "Surveillance Culture", Lyon's (2017) term which is another theoretical pillar for this research. Furthermore, empowerment and its derivatives according to theory are listed and explained.

To concretize these types of empowerment, some examples were given in the following sub-section. Finally, this chapter is concluded with the relationship between narcissism and empowerment in social media, trying to persuade the reader that excessive social media use may not necessarily lead to certain pathological personality disorders such as narcissism, but may trigger and foster empowerment processes.

2.1. The "sight" as one of our senses

It wouldn't be an exaggeration to say that "the sight" – among all the other human senses – single-handedly surpasses the degree of the perception of the world which are allowed by our other senses such as smelling, hearing, touching and so on. Furthermore, the sense of eyesight is a sense of ours which we value dearly. In a survey conducted by the magazine *The Escapist* in 2011, participants were asked which of the five senses they would give up. Out of 539 participants, 357 of them stated that they would give up their sense of smell, 123 their sense of taste, 34 their sense to touch, 15 their sense to hear. Finally, only 10 of the participants chose to renounce their ability to see (Tuncay, 2019, p. 104).

It is a no-brainer that in order for experiencing and appreciating the world in all of its colors, comprehending it in its full materiality and to make a clearer sense of the "seen", the eyesight can be regarded as a necessity for all humankind.

> "Seeing comes before words. The child learns to see and recognize/know before starting to speak. However, also in another sense, seeing precedes words; we find out our place in the surrounding world by seeing. We express this world with words but words never change the fact that we are surrounded with the world itself. Every day, we *see* the sun go down" (Berger, 2017, p.7).

For centuries, the "eyesight/vision" was the most important sense of human beings in terms of perceiving and understanding the material world. It is this same sense, which was argued to harbor and nurture pleasures to watch images which lead individuals to derive a special happiness from the acts of watching and showing (Şimşek, 2018).

The act of "seeing", which is made possible by the ability to see, has social implications therefore, making "to see" and "being seen" a research object for social sciences. As mentioned above, "to see" and "being seen" precedes any verbal interaction between individuals. In other words, and speaking generally, "to see" can be regarded as the first stage of any social interaction. The following quotation refers to the dimension of a subjective construction of the eyesight; "looking and being the object of a look are in themselves a meaning – mediating social activity which in many ways affects us, or, to put in the language of research, the construction of subjectivity" (Seppanen, 2006, p. 4). This social activity has been transformed, evolved in a way that rendered visibility and transparency as desired qualities in our contemporary society (Şimşek, 2018). Spectatorship has become a necessity for social recognition and the tendency among individuals to "display" themselves, alongside with the desire to "watch the displayed" increased drastically in our contemporary society.

The eyesight alone influences our perceptions of the world and has effects over our behaviors and relationships with others. It is a common-sensical thought that we adjust our bodily movements, our jests, actions and the way we speak according to the looks of the objects and/or individuals – at least initially – that stand before us. For example, we tend to be more cautious and sensitive around a surrounding that is dark – or poorly lit – desolate, and which is surrounded by old and squalid structures which their sight is generally coded in our minds under the term "danger". Similarly, we tend to be wary around people in shabby clothes, who have long and uncared hair and/or beard that is once again coded in our minds with the label of "criminal" or "a dangerous person". Likewise, our attitudes and behaviors change and tend

to be friendly around people who we deem – by sight – "beautiful", "handsome", "attractive" and so on and so forth, again, at least, initially. Of course, there is always a "high" chance that appearances can be deceptive, but the emphasis made here is merely to reveal the importance of the sense of seeing over our actions and social behaviors. It is not my intention to justify or reproduce existing prejudice or biases that exist in society.

If we return to the subject at hand, a person who is afraid of dogs for example, may change his walking path just as when he lays eyes upon a pack of dogs, silently coming towards him, accompanied by certain feelings such as fear and/or anxiety. The sight of the shining sun may have an influence over someone's dressing preferences for the day – even if the weather is cold, the vision of the sun would be a reference point for the person who does not check the weather from the TV, or from his or her smartphone. The teacher punishes the student whom he sees cheating on the exam, the captain navigates the ship via the predetermined route and makes changes upon that route when visible obstacles such as icebergs deem it necessary, the architect makes the draft plan of his structure by observing the given terrain, the chess player determines the strategy of his/her game according to the visible moves of the other player, a sociologist produces an academic work by merging the observation of other individuals with the examination of the literature of the relevant subject and with his or her "sociological imagination" – which again rests heavily upon observing society with the eyesight, and finally, the social media user – the Instagram user for example – "likes" the photographs of his/her fellow Instagrammer friends, watches funny videos and laughs, gets informed about a product and decides whether or not to buy it, takes photographs, makes videos and applies certain lighting and/or filters, posts these photos and videos on his/her Instagram page, communicates and interacts with people, acts which are primarily based on visual perceptions and experiences.

The examples above seems sufficient to prove the importance of the sense "sight" in our daily lives. While we live and work according to the feedback which we receive through our eyes, there are accounts which claim that even the social construction of our self is intertwined with the sense of seeing. According to Cooley, our sense of "self" is affected by our perception regarding the "others' perception of us" (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2014). This argumentation of Cooley is termed as the "mirror self" and it claims that the self is constructed through 3 stages. Firstly, we imagine how do we look to others, then, we imagine the proper judgment which others will have of us and finally, we develop a sense of "self-thoughts" of ourselves such as

pride or shame according to our perception of the perception of others of us. Therefore, it is argued that we construct our self-identities in terms of what we think that others think of us. Without a doubt, we carry out this process with the observable data we obtain from others; the way they look at us, the way they talk to us, their jests and mimics, their body language provide us the invaluable data to form our perception regarding their thoughts about us.

Goffman's Dramaturgical account (1956), which is another theory about the self, states that the self is created and/or maintained through a dramaturgical interaction between the actor and the audience. Here, the actor engages in a performance for the audience which involves his/her idealized self/personality/identity and it can be said that this social interaction between the actor and the audience is only possible through their ability to "see" each other. The eyesight is the sense which renders this process of performance as "perceptible".

After emphasizing the importance of eyesight in terms of our daily life, social relations and the construction of our self, I would like to continue with the feminist accounts of the eyesight and a form of seeing; "the gaze" which is examined thoroughly by Feminist thinkers and is argued to have important implications regarding both social theory and my work.

2.2. The "gaze", certain Feminist approaches in terms of the gaze, their constructive/supplementary critique and the willing exposure on social media

Apart from the importance of the ability "to see", and in order to narrow, specify the phenomenon for the sake of social scientific examination, I would now like to draw the attention to a form of seeing which is called the "gaze/gazing". In the Cambridge Learner's English Dictionary, the term is defined as; "to look for a long time at someone or something or in a particular direction" (p. 278). Different from the sense of seeing, it can be said that "the gaze" implies a conscious action based on an intent.

To the best of my knowledge, the academic literature regarding the "gaze" and its societal implications firstly and perhaps in a justly manner falls under the Feminist social theory. This was the reason why I included a whole section to the examination of Feminist thinkers on the subject of the gaze. John Berger approaches the subject critically and from a Feminist type of view. According to him; starting from the renaissance, the Western art traditions, especially painting, served to the objectification of women by men. Therefore, he argues that art was used to create a hierarchy between men and women, enabled by the male gaze, and which resulted in the subordination of women, contributing to the reproduction and continuation of the male dominant society (Berger, 2017). This account states that women must observe

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everything she is and does. How she is seen in the eyes of men, is very important for the things in her life which are regarded as "success". The self-perception of a women is incomplete without the feeling of being favored by someone else.

Men are as they act, women are as they look. Men gaze upon women whereas women see themselves as objects which are gazed upon. This situation not only effects the relationships between men and women, it also effects the relationship between women and themselves. Women are reduced to visual, passive objects for the viewing pleasure of men (Berger, 2017, p. 46-47). Moreover, Berger states that pictures of naked women were painted because pleasure was derived from looking at such pictures. The nudity here signified the submission towards the "owner". The reason why women were being depicted in a way they are in such pictures is to display them to men. (Berger, 2017, p. 53-55).

The painters and the audience-owners in the European nude art were typically male and the individuals who were used as objects were typically women. It is therefore argued that the relation of the "subordinate" women and the "superior" men had its roots in Western art and even in the contemporary society this inverse relationship shaped countless women's consciousness. Berger states that ways of seeing women and the usage of their images hasn't changed since renaissance. The "ideal" audience was always comprised of males and the image of the woman was always organized in a way to please and praise the ego of man (Berger, 2017, p. 63-64). In other words, women were simply seen as objects to be represented. Women appeared, whereas men acted. The patriarchal ideology which is produced via the gaze is criticized here.

Similarly, Laura Mulvey (1975) had the same critical approach as Berger but differently from his area of interest, her approach involved another branch of art; cinema. She argued that one of the pleasures cinema offered was the "love of looking" and again, the female was used as an image, exposed to the gaze of the male, who was the bearer of the look. Therefore, women were again passive, erotic and pleasurable, "desire awakening" spectacles, in front of the active, powerful gaze of men. Men controlled and owned the gaze, and used it as a means to construct and maintain the patriarchal society; "Within the socially constructed order, patriarchy controls the images that are created and contributes to erotic ways of looking and hence to pleasure" (Pirinççi, 2011, p. 9).

Furthermore, according to Mulvey, visuality itself is a gendered phenomenon, therefore, the act of a male gazing at the female body is the thing which procures the "male gaze" which signifies that this activity of gazing/looking makes the female as a sexual object for satisfying the eye pleasure of the males (Rio, 2012). Mulvey suggests that the female who appear onscreen is the passive object of the desire of males' gaze. It is argued that in a world of sexual imbalance, the bigger slice of the cake of eyeing pleasure is bestowed upon men.

Supporting the feminist accounts of the gaze, in a study where 2 popular movies were investigated regarding the "objectifying male gaze", it was found that the body of the woman was presented as a sexual artifact which is used to satisfy the erotic pleasures of the gaze of men in a country which is dominated by the ideology of patriarchy and moreover, this sexual objectification of women in popular movies is seen to inflame "the instinct of sexual abuse, sexual assault and other violent acts such as rape" (Ahmed & Wahab, 2016, p. 8). All of these accounts, justly in my opinion, portray a bleak picture of the male gaze. Indeed, using half-naked and "presentable" women in automobile and/or soft drink commercials which appear on TV, in popular Hollywood movies and other productions which appeal to the pleasure of the eye does seem tempting for the primitive male instincts. There is no doubt that this one-sided and selfish objectification of the female body via the male gaze is an existent phenomenon which requires critical inquiry. However, our contemporary period, which is now highly accustomed to social media, can contribute and provide new and fresh perspectives on the matter.

While I share the critical paradigm that is also adopted by the feminist theorists, and while I too believe that "both the intellectual and ideological duty and responsibility of the social scientist is to uncover the elements of contemporary unrest and indifference" (Mills, 2016, p. 25) in order to reveal and try to fix oppression in any form against any group or individual and therefore, to contribute to "the happiness of all individuals" via providing humankind the "emancipation from slavery"(Horkheimer, 2002, p. 248-249), I also believe that the aforementioned argumentations of the feminist thinkers may require some "extensions" in terms of ideas regarding the explanation of the qualities and consequences of social relations between individuals which are constructed by the "gaze" – at least in the realm of social media and to be more specific; in the realm of Instagram – in the 21st century, in a time which is called as "liquid modernity" by Zygmunt Bauman (Bauman & Lyon, 2016), implying the change and transformation of the societal dynamics, structures in a very high pace, therefore,

calling for the disintegration of the social forms faster than giving time for new formations to replace the old ones, leading to the erosion of certainties and clear cut borders – a reference point for the individual.

It can be said that in terms of the gaze which can be argued as one of the most important driving motors of Instagram usage patterns, the situation that is faced today is something more than a clear and linear relationship which has a gazer – the superior male – and a "gazed object" – the subordinate and objectified female. It is now widely acknowledged that despite being obtrusive, everyone who has delved into the social media, willingly and wittingly share the fragments of their daily lives and/or their physical bodily parts, therefore, initiating their own surveillance themselves, in a "seemingly" careless, ignorant, indifferent, thoughtless and deliberate way regarding personal privacy (Bruno, 2014; Bauman & Lyon, 2016; Albrechtslund, 2008; Lyon, 2007a).

It can be argued that nowadays, the issue at hand is not ONLY characterized by its dimension of gender. Be it both men or women, social media users – in my case Instagram users – make themselves – making use of Balls' (2009) term – "exposed" on social media for whatever the reason, even it is known to a certain extent that corporate platform owners such as Facebook, Google, Apple and others first gather and store metadata in order to reveal patterns of individual behavior and then share that data of users with intelligence agencies and at the same time "measuring, manipulating and monetizing online human behavior" (Van Dijck, 2014, p. 200). The solidity of this situation became clearer with the Snowden revelations when he shared classified documents and data which belonged to the U.S. National Security Agency, involving strategies and acts on the spying of the "big brother" on citizens through several channels, including social media (Terzo, 2019).

Nevertheless the known or unknown consequences, this question of the willing exposure of the social media users, of their lives and daily activities was partly answered with reference to an adopted secular belief – dataism – by the masses which predicates an arbitrary and irrational trust for the corporations who own the social media platforms (Van Dijck, 2014), or people acting so in line with the rising "therapeutic culture" which encourages individuals to express their intimate feelings so that they can achieve a genuine and unique self (Bruno, 2014), or simply with the creation of a shift in cultural norms which has increased feelings of narcissism and attention seeking (Boyd, 2007). These were the argumentations which are told to have affected the attitudes and behaviors regarding disclosure on the social media.

Another account stressed by Fuchs and Beer that making personal information public was not problematic in itself and moreover, should be seen as a type of communication. The problem was rather the existing governmental and/or corporate "power structures" which used the revealed data for purposes that negatively affect the individuals (Fuchs, 2009; Beer, 2008, qtd. in Fuchs, 2015, p. 408). With regards to the controversial nature of the question why do social media users disclose and share their personal data with others, it is said that there does not remain an empirical and definitive data or statistics to answer this question (Bruno, 2014).

In contrast with the aforementioned statement, another study claimed that with the allowance of technological developments in the field of communications, the reasons why individuals expose themselves through social media posts were based on the aim of attaining social validation from the audience, the will to engage in self-expressing acts which result in a feeling of relief for the agent, and to develop and enhance personal relationships, thus satisfying instrumental needs (Bazarova & Choi, 2014). Furthermore, in a study regarding this matter which was conducted in the context of Turkey with 1294 participants found out that the nature of the act of self-disclosure online – what to share and what to withheld, the degree of the self-disclosure etc. – was highly contextual and related to the dominant social norms of the society (Varnalı & Toker, 2015).

Not in the distant past, in 1967, this situation of desiring "the gaze", surveillance and supervision which can explain contemporary social media use patterns that involve the users' exposure, was explained by Debord as the following; "we have seen the absolute desiring of the technical and political supervision in the form of a "telematic frenzy" (Debord, 2018, p. 21). This "frenzy" can be read as the fierce desire to be seen by others. People were desiring to be watched and supervised by other parties in the year 1967, long before the advent of social media applications. It seems that throughout the years, with the support of the developed technological opportunities, this "desire" has found a venue to nurture and amplify itself, and to increase its intensity in the practical daily life.

Considering its dimension of contextuality, this situation is also formulated as one of my research questions under the section "methodology", and it can be confidently said that – as in the nature of Instagram usage – Instagram users are both "watching" and being "watched" nowadays and they are deriving a certain feeling of happiness, content, pleasure etc. from their usage of the application. Again, everyone is both the subject and object of the gaze. People want to be seen. They want their lives – real or imagined – and experiences to be seen by their

fellow followers. I even dare to go a bit far and say that for especially some people, their real-life experiences would mean nothing to them, that those events would be non-existent had they not shared those experiences – "Instagramised" those experiences – via generally social media, and specifically the Instagram application.

Teens who were interviewed by Danah Boyd stated that "you do not exist" if you are not using the social media (Boyd, 2014, qtd. in Lyon, 2017, p. 832). The urge to record oneself to camera and then to share the recording is so widespread that the popular saying "I think, therefore I am" of Descartes is translated to our time as; "I am seen, therefore I am" (Bauman & Lyon, 2016, p. 144).

This is the point that I would like to stress out when explaining the contemporary relations of gazing and being gazed by others. There is no doubt that still, women are exposed to the harmful and objectifying male gaze all over the globe. In addition to this situation, the developments on the fields of communications and hand-held technological devices such as the smartphone have enabled everyone to gaze at everyone.

It can be argued that the power to gaze is no longer simply monopolized by men or by power structures such as states and/or multi-national companies, corporations and so on. Women can now gaze on women, women can gaze on men, and they can even put their gaze upon state activities, projects and regional, national or international policies easier than ever before. Similarly, the same activities can be conveniently engaged by men. Furthermore, and in addition to the dissemination of the power to gaze to everyone, females, males and power structures alike, these agents which now have the ability to "see" also have the ability "to be seen", "to be heard" so to speak for the other side of the medallion. Therefore, generally, I argue that while the means and platforms to use this dual social power – to see and to be seen – were mostly provided by the technological advances of our time, the "motivator" to use these were provided by Scopophilia, the love of looking and being looked at.

Hence, in order to understand, make sense of and then explain certain behaviors of individuals on the basis on "gazing" others and engage in their own "being gazed" processes in the form of Instagram usage patterns, I would now like to turn to the concept of Scopophilia which will be one of the three pillars of my theoretical framework.

2.3. Scopophilia a.k.a the love of looking and the love of being looked at

Scopophilia, which is a term introduced by Sigmund Freud, emphasizes the pleasurable – although sometimes regarded as an unhealthy situation – dimension of the gaze. According to Freud, Scopophilia is a basic and common humane drive which all children who are born with eyesight have (Rio, 2012). Another "interpretation" of the term claims that it is a "primal form of voyeurism, in which we find ourselves staring at a world of images, delighted, dumbfounded, and essentially powerless to change what we are viewing (Senft & Baym, 2015, p. 1594). The term simply means the love of watching. Moreover, and later on, the meaning of the term was expanded by Bauman & Lyon in order for it to signify "the love of being watched" (2016, p. 142). Thereby, the term was evolved to represent a twofold meaning; the love of looking and the love of being looked at (Şimşek, 2018). Accordingly, in my study I referred to the term with both of these meanings.

At this point, I believe it is necessary for me to make a note about my understanding and usage of Scopophilia; despite their usage together by Senft & Baym (2015) mentioned above, a distinction between Scopophilia and voyeurism should be made for the sake of understanding and limiting the meaning of the term Scopophilia which I emphasize in this study. Scopophilia involves deriving pleasure from the act of looking, whereas the term "voyeurism" carries with itself a certain kind of "sexual interest", directed at a person or individuals who are engaged in "intimate" activities which implies a spying activity (Şimşek, 2018). Moreover, while the act of voyeurism objectifies the individual which it is directed at, acts driven by Scopophilia do not necessarily have this quality.

I have linked Scopophilia, primarily a psychoanalytical phenomenon in nature to this sociological research because I believe that this phenomenon had the power to effect and shape social relations, which in turn shape both individuals and structures and by this quality, I deem it is worthwhile to observe and analyze the effects and relations produced by it. This phenomenon was useful for this study as long as it carried within itself a sociological capacity and a power to effect and shape the "social". It was also useful in the extent that it enabled to further and improve our understanding on the basis of todays' both digital and real, interpersonal relationships, empowerment processes which are supported through Instagram use and a Surveillance Culture. Scopophilia was fruitful throughout this study since it provided the base theoretical formulation of the perhaps one of the most ancient impulse of the human

being which may have helped create and shape Surveillance Culture, Instagram usage patterns and the possible empowerment processes which it may entail; curiosity.

According to Freud, Scopophilia appears in the anal stage of the psychosexual development of the child primarily as a drive and it signifies the time when the child canalizes his or her attention towards an external object, while subjecting that object to his curious gaze (qtd. in Pirinççi, 2011, p. 14). Freud argues that children already carry within themselves the tendency to objectify others sexually while these tendencies direct them to be *watchers* or *exhibitionists* and that these tendencies can be found in children based upon the activities of their erogenous zones such as peeing or defecating – by drawing their attention to their genitals by themselves, with the purpose of knowing their own body (Freud, 2017). The other side of this tendency is argued to originate from the childish desire of seeing the genitals of other individuals and that this voyeuristic act may gain importance within the sexuality of the children in the course of sexual development.

Further argumentations of Freud claim that the urge to "see" can be developed among children purely on its own, without any external effects. Once the attention of the child has been drawn to the genitals and after masturbation, generally the children seemed to be interested in the private parts of their peers and since satisfying this interest is only possible during the actions of peeing and defecation, the children become the constant spectator of these physiological actions and even when the aforementioned tendencies are repressed later on, the desire to look at others' genitals continues to exist (Freud, 2017). Freud also acknowledges Scopophilia – deriving a sense of pleasure from the act of looking and being looked at – "becomes a perversion if the gaze a) is only directed towards genitals and/or erogenous zones, b) touching/ looking are connected to an overriding disgust and finally c) if touching/ looking supplants the "normal" sexual aim" (Freud, 2017, p. 54). To summarize, it can be said that Freud grounds Scopophilia on the voyeuristic activities of children which are driven by an infantile aspiration to see and make sure of the hidden and restricted, regarding the genitals of the male and female human body (Freud, 1905, qtd. in Şimşek, 2018).

In his psychoanalytic theory, Freud refers to Schalust which means "curiosity". The significant point in Scopophilia is that the appearance is the object of the gaze which in turn emphasizes "the desire individuals have to display themselves and to see others, as if seeing was not just an act of perception but also some form of publicity and social recognition" (Mateus, 2012, p. 208).

Furthermore, Scopophilia appears as a sexual only instinct in the work of Laura Mulvey (1975). According her essay Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema, Mulvey notes that how female characters are portrayed in male gaze film could be explained by Freud's theory of "Scopophilia" which is defined as the measure involved in looking at other people's bodies as particularly erotic objects. In her conceptualization, Scopophilia refers to the sexual pleasure that can be obtained by looking at others' nude bodies or erotic photos and videos.

> "The Scopophilic instinct (pleasure in looking at another person as an erotic object), and, in contradistinction, ego libido (forming identification processes) act as formations, mechanisms, which this cinema has played on. The image of woman as passive raw material for the active gaze of man takes the argument a step further into the structure of representation, adding a further layer demanded by the ideology of the patriarchal order as it is worked out in its favorite cinematic form—illusionistic narrative film" (Mulvey, 1975, p. 843).

The related theory of Scopophilia built a solid psychoanalytic background to support Laura Mulvey's viewpoints about the male gaze in modern films. The application range of Scopophilia is not only restricted to cinema but also literature and race. Scopophilia is also related with fetishism as well as voyeurism since movie-making and movie-viewing has long been described as voyeuristic experiences for a part of audience can gain sexual pleasure by watching naked bodies and erotic objects presented in cinema.

However, in my conceptualization, I handle the term in terms of "sociological tendencies", its effects on social media usage, and on the basis of social relationships, rather than a psychoanalytical perversion or a pathology. My approach and stance to Scopophilia is a neutral one. The term is used as a springboard to explore and reveal the empowering aspects of the innate desire to look, see and to be looked at, to be seen. The Scopophilia which I use may occur in everyone, in any age, sex, race, sexuality, religion, ethnicity, and socio-economic class which have passed their anal stage of psychosexual development (Freud, 2017).

As I have stated above, I too believe the argumentation of the feminist thinkers regarding men's gaze objectifying women's body is a valid one. However, I would like to carry the discussion one step forward and argue that in our contemporary society, everyone – individuals, social groups and societal structures such as the state and/or government – is both an object and subject, a "viewer, spectator", a "viewed, spectacle", a "watcher" and a "watched", and that these bilateral relationships of surveillance empower individuals in various ways, thus creating a Surveillance Culture.

Marx supports this argumentation by stating that the most of us both want to see and be seen via the social media, "in our democratic, media-saturated, impression-management societies" (Marx, 2015 p. 739). "we consume an unending stream of celebrity images, watch reality television, check people's Instagram pictures; view their Facebook maps and more" (Şimşek, 2018). We live in a societal culture where the importance of Scopophilia and its venues of presentation – social media platforms such as Instagram – increased and achieved its peak like never before in the history of humankind. It is sensible to say that these developments/advancements triggered and nurtured the already existent Scopophilic impulses of ours.

In our present day, it can be acknowledged that explaining "image spectatorship" solely with a voyeuristic model is deficient; needing a revision. It is argued that when talking about the images which are circulating online, the viewing experience tends to differ among individuals since today, the visual material is both produced, distributed and consumed – unlike as in the case of television, art and film – which enables viewer interaction (Senft & Baym, 2015). Therefore, the Scopophilic behaviors and practices regarding Instagram create a web of interaction where everyone is the subject and the object, the producer and the consumer, the watcher and the watched. The once clear lines and boundaries of the object and the subject of the gaze are now blurred and interlaced.

Furthermore, in order to fully grasp the sociological implications of the "love of looking and the love of being looked at", the deterministic approach of Scopophilia to necessarily involve gazing private and intimate activities should be abandoned and a more holistic view and conceptualization should be adopted for the term. After all, pleasure and happiness can also be derived from gazing at mundane and daily activities (Şimşek, 2018) interactions, and situations. Therefore, this study does not limit the use and understanding of Scopophilia with the gaze of "sexual desires". Rather, it uses the term on the basis of the gaze of "curiosity" and – for whatever reason – the "desire to be seen"

It is argued by Mateus (2012) that Scopophilia does not fit in both the panoptic and the synoptic model since the panoptic model implies the act of gazing carried out by the few, and making the "many" the subject of that gaze, and moreover, the synoptic model implies the reversed; the act of gazing carried out by the many, making the few "the object" of the gaze. Scopophilia signifies the many being able to see the few and the few being able to see the many at the same time, therefore, it is regarded to fit into an "in-between" model of the panoptic and the synoptic

which is called "the amphyoptic model" (connecting the Greek words; "amphy" meaning "both" and "opsis" meaning "vision"). The meaning of this is that an individual who is using a social network application can be seen at the same time by the few or the many and further, that individual can see the few or the many at the same time, creating a simultaneous crossing of modes of watching and being watched.

As pointed out above in a subtle manner, the concept of Scopophilia will be used in this work as a theoretical tool rather than a pathological phenomenon/a perversion, in order to enable the understanding of Instagram usage patterns. Moreover, it is assumed that the Instagram users already have certain Scopophilic patterns of usage and that the social media application Instagram may contribute to the amplification of these Scopophilic behaviors. I will continue to talk about Scopophilia and link them with social media and Instagram in the following sections. For now, however, I believe that I have laid out the necessary background to explain the phenomenon and its role in this work.

After introducing Scopophilia as one of the pillars of my theoretical framework, I would like to continue with another theoretical pillar, which will help to make sense and use of the data gathered, to situate it in a meaningful context, and make contributions to the literature. This theoretical conceptualization is called the Surveillance Culture. But before writing about it, I found it fit to first give information about the context and historical, traditional roots where surveillance was first institutionalized and used by power structures.

2.4. The traditional and contemporary surveillance studies, and social media surveillance

As mentioned before and while it is argued that the history of surveillance is as old as the history of mankind (Lyon, 2007), as both as a social phenomenon and as an institutionalized act; "surveillance" – governments being their initial agents and implementers – started to appear in the course of daily life and in an institutional form back in the 19th century with the well-known prison design "Panopticon" of Jeremy Bentham. For Foucault, this panopticism adopted by governments shaped and disciplined individuals, creating "docile bodies" who control themselves via self-control, making them fit for the so called "democratic capitalist society" and that panopticism implied a transformation "from the situation where the many see the few to the situation where the few see the many" (Mathiesen, 1997, p. 217).

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Mathiesen brought the argument of as much as the few can and do see the many, thanks to the mass media and other developments such as the mass printed press, the film, radio, TV, videos and satellites, the many started to see and contemplate upon the few. However, this situation was not regarded as empowering the individual. On the contrary, it was argued that especially TV, as a mean of synopticism, was seen as guilty for narrowing down of the intellectual and ideational capacity among the masses and therefore, creating a mass of passive individuals for a more easy and effortless domination by the power structures (Postman, 2016). The main implication of this is that we are living in a "viewer society" and that both the panopticism and synopticism feed on and enhance each other with the aim of regulating and manipulating the attitudes and behaviors of individuals to create state friendly and harmless masses (Mathiesen, 1997). Within this regard, both the CCTV and the venues of traditional media were – they still are – under the control of power structures such as the states and/or multi-national corporations etc.

Mathiesen was very heavyhearted when talking about the situation that individuals faced today regarding surveillance. He thought that the conditions today were much worse than Foucault had feared and he clearly called upon for political resistance to counteract the oppressive panopticon and synopticon (Mathiesen, 1997, p. 231).

In addition to these bleak and "control" oriented accounts, as technology and the technical means to surveil a determined/intended target group have been developed during the 20th and 21st century, the extent and intensity of the so-called surveillance activities – whatever their effects over our lives, positive or negative – widened and increased and parallel to these developments, the phenomenon surveillance started to be an inextricable part of peoples' lives across the globe.

Literary art contributed to the understanding of surveillance as dominating and controlling. the "dystopian" writings of George Orwell, Aldous Huxley, Franz Kafka and writers as such undoubtedly contributed to the traditional conceptualization of surveillance which focused on control and domination of the state over the individual/society by whatever the means, be it technological or bureaucratic systems. As one of the most prominent figures in the history of sociology, Max Weber saw the modern bureaucracy as a tool for the ones in power to legitimate and maintain their power. And with its supervisory and information gathering qualities, bureaucracy served well for the traditional surveillance (Lyon, 2007b).

To summarize, the traditional surveillance studies more or less revolved around the concepts of panopticon, big brother, privacy and so on, focusing "on institutional-level power dynamics (which) has been a gravitational force, pulling other scholarly approaches into its orbit and sometimes eclipsing promising alternative modes of inquiry" (Monahan, 2011, p. 495). In our 21st century, it is argued that our "surveillance society" is comprised of three elements which are the state/governments, the private sector/corporations and interpersonal relations (Marx, 2015).

As it was mentioned above, the initial understanding of this phenomenon was within the scope of governmental control, the prison system and domination (Fuchs, 2015), whereas in contemporary times and with the advent of social media, it can be said that "Surveillance is not simply a technology or apparatus employed in state-sanctioned programs of social control, but that it has become a social practice: a way of seeing, understanding and engaging with the world around us" (Finn, 2011, p. 67), therefore, bringing in the "agency" aspect – in favor of individuals – to the fold.

In another account parallel to these conceptions, Marx argues that while the governmental and corporate dimensions of surveillance are still "big deals", it is also necessary to turn the attention from the central topics of control and domination aspects of surveillance to the aspects of protection, entertainment and contractual relations which again adds agency to the subject of contemporary surveillance while enabling the seeing of the whole picture (Marx, 2015). Similarly, Lyon draws attention to the fact that surveillance studies often neglected and ignored the analysis of the activities of the subjects while focusing solely on the activities of power groups (Lyon, 2007b). Therefore, the understanding that surveillance being a one-dimensional process with a sole superior (the state, corporate organizations) and a subordinate (individuals) must be abandoned to fully grasp the subject in the context of contemporary society. The notion of individuals being "helpless victims" seems erroneous and deficient regarding contemporary surveillance activities. Studying surveillance as a cultural practice may provide invaluable insights to surveillance via examining and understanding people's experiences regarding the phenomenon on their own terms (Monahan, 2011).

Anders Albrechtslund argues that online social networking is in the scope of surveillance practices. But apart from the conventional understandings regarding surveillance which emphasize on governmental control and the disempowerment of individuals, he brings up a new concept – participatory surveillance – which he calls "potentially empowering,

subjectivity building and even playful" while not necessarily violating the user in any way (Albrechtslund, 2008, p. 1). He defines the activity of online social networking as a means for socializing via sharing preferences, thoughts, information, and activities and so on. In Albrechtslund's work, the voluntary engagement and socializing with other people leads to identity construction and therefore, changing the stance of the user from passive to active by taking action, seeking information and communicating with others gives activities their quality of "being empowering" and "participatory". The act of online social networking has the main characteristics of sharing activities, preferences beliefs etc. to socialize (Albrechtslund, 2008).

In line with the thoughts of Albrechtslund, Bruno (2014) also states that with the advent of the web 2.0, the voluntary sharing of preferences, traits and fragments from the daily life of social media users increased drastically that user participation started to be a key term regarding the digital culture and the internet. In addition to these argumentations, it is stated that "digital pasts" which refer to online social networking has become a part of the culture of individuals therefore, implying a shift in cultural norms in the platform of the social media in the form of attention seeking (Boyd, 2007), which again may be seen as – from one point of view – active and agently behaviors via the cyber realm.

It is argued that in the old surveillance frameworks, the person under surveillance was reduced to a passive, weak and incapable subject under the dominance of the governmental and corporal gaze (Albrechtslund, 2008). The old and classic, dystopian, Orwellian conceptualizations of surveillance such as Panopticon and Big Brother seems to fall short regarding the description of the practice of online social networking in our contemporary world (Albrechtslund, 2008; Lyon, 2017). It was also argued that the mainstream theory of surveillance was formulated as an "administrative" notion (Allmer et al., 2014) and that the conventional conceptions of power in terms of surveillance was attributed to the one who *saw* but not to the ones who were *seen*. This conception of visibility associated with power seems to have turned upside down in contemporary society (Koskela, 2004). Therefore, an expansion of the field of surveillance is necessary in order to fully understand the phenomenon at hand, via laying emphasis on the "agency" and "empowerment" dimensions of social media usage.

Even if there are promising evidence and various studies regarding the empowerment of individuals in the face of surveillance, there are also studies which condemn the use of social media for "augmenting" the surveillance for enabling the control of governmental and/or corporal organizations in a way to undermine and pacify individuals (Fuchs, 2015; Van Dijck,

2014). Moreover, it is argued that the use of social media makes "prosumers" out of the individuals and enables the exploitation of "digital labor" – by using the content, the "traces of the actions left on the cyber world" – with advertising being reshaped and formed according to user preferences and therefore, renders social media users subjects who are open to economic manipulation and exploitation (Fuchs, 2015; Allmer et al., 2014).

Another account touches upon the fact that employers' use of social media for the monitoring of employees and/or potential employees and making certain decisions on the basis of their social media observations and inspections while again depicting individuals as helpless, passive and disempowered subjects (Clark & Roberts, 2010). Furthermore, the surveillance of the social media for the so-called purposes of monitoring criminalistic activities add and enhance the presence of policing and investigative agencies in the daily lives of social media users (Trottier, 2011) which can be called by some people as a violation of privacy; and which can be thought as another factor that may be seen to play a role within the disempowerment of the individual.

Perhaps the term of "surveillance capitalism" which was introduced by Shoshana Zuboff is one of the starkest argumentations in terms of exploiting individuals: she argues that dependency for social networks, smartphone applications and new media had become requirements of social participation in an extensive fashion that the accumulation and monitoring of information enabled by the usage of these platforms had led to a "fully institutionalized new logic of accumulation" which is called surveillance capitalism (Zuboff, 2015, p. 85). It is argued that this new logic of accumulation "produces hyper scale assemblages of objective and subjective data about individuals and their habitats for the purpose of knowing, controlling and modifying behavior to produce new varieties of commodification, monetization and control" (Zuboff, 2015, p. 85) which allows the establishment of a new hegemonic power which commodifies and passivates individuals.

While the aforementioned argumentations are by no means unimportant within the sphere of surveillance, they only present us a partial picture and only a fragment of contemporary surveillance. After all, surveillance can both be the basis of the repression of masses or for providing "collective empowerment" (Monahan, 2011). In the academic world, the "enabling" and positive features and aspects of surveillance are still an area waiting to be developed and researched (Albrechtslund & Dubbeld, 2005, p. 216). Studies of surveillance can take a "cultural" turn and they can "prioritize local meanings, interpretations, and knowledge

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construction" (Monahan, 2011, p. 503). It just may be possible to fill the gap by turning the eye to the activities of the individual rather than macro power structures.

The newly rising phenomenon of Surveillance Culture can be used to underline the effects of social media usage in favor of the person by enabling agency, such as actively resisting the gaze (Mcgrath, 2004, qtd. in Albrechtslund, 2008, p. 9), and as exhibitionist empowerment which is seen as liberating since this exhibitionism represents a refusal aimed at modesty, creating a counter-surveillance and opposing surveillance aimed towards individuals by power structures (Koskela, 2004). Koskela states that individuals "seek to play an active role in the endless production of visual representations…they seek to be subjects rather than objects. In other words, it can be claimed that what they actually do is reclaim the copyright of their own lives" (Koskela, 2004, p. 206).

Moreover, the term "lateral surveillance" was introduced by Mark Andrejevic which again lays emphasis upon agency and shifts away the attention of the surveillance activities from the governmental institutions by enabling the relationships of surveillance to become mutual; "Lateral surveillance, or peer-to-peer monitoring, understood as the use of surveillance tools by individuals, rather than by agents of institutions public or private, to keep track of one another, covers (but is not limited to) three main categories: romantic interests, family, and friends or acquaintances" (Andrejevic, 2005, p. 488).

As a form of empowerment, resistance against police violence and in order to see clearly the social media's surveillance aspect being a mean for participation in social life allowing "agency" to the user, the example of the case of Oscar Grant, a 22-year-old man who was shot down by the Policemen in the United States on the year of 2009 can be seen exemplary. Oscar was shot by the police without any justification while multiple observers were recording the whole process by their gadgets which are equipped with cameras, only to post the recordings to YouTube and other similar social media platforms later on to expose the unjust act. The voice of one of the individuals who were recording the process shouting "I got you mother fuckers" beautifully, plainly and solidly demonstrates the "agency" aspect of surveillance given to the individuals (Finn, 2011). The aforementioned act of observation and recording of the incident is not a passive or hidden action, on the contrary, it is a conscious and deliberate decision to confront the policemen and to punish them in some way, with the innate drive to make them get what they deserve by taking the initiative and making public the unjustified act. This recording and sharing the videos of the policemen shooting and individual is an

example of empowerment and can be characterized as an "agently" act which makes use of the means of social media surveillance.

The arguments about surveillance which define the surveillance activities as means for the controlling of deviant populations using technological and technical tools by governments or as means used to achieve the interests of the global capital and international corporations are countered with the statements which call surveillance as "something that we do when we post photos and videos to the myriad websites that call for our participation" and "we are also willing, conscious producers of surveillance. We actively participate in the surveillance of ourselves and others to the extent that surveillance is fully enmeshed in our daily lives" (Finn, 2011, p. 78).

As mentioned above, it is urged upon that surveillance practices were needed to be understood within specific contexts by taking into account of the factors; "spatiality, geography culture" (Wood, 2009), "sociability, visibility, entertainment, knowledge, security, consumption" (Bruno, 2014, p. 344) and "history, culture, social structure and the give and take of interaction" and that at the same time the empowerment of the individuals and giving them agency in the arena of surveillance is a must for a just and accountable society (Marx, 2015, p. 740). Therefore, investigating contemporary surveillance on the basis of active and agently individuals forming and contributing to what is called a surveillance culture is on par with the critical stance I am taking as a researcher. Furthermore, all of these accounts put forward the importance of analyzing and understanding the agency dimension of individuals who participate in the actions of both watching and being watched within surveillance while individually engaged at activities in an active and agently fashion.

The question is more or less clear then; from which point of view are we going to look when analyzing Instagram usage patterns and their effects. Do the old argumentations still hold and does social media – in this case Instagram – use make submissive and passive individuals who are exploited economically, politically and whose privacy is being invaded or, does it empower and create active individuals who become the agents within the creation of a surveillance culture? Despite taking a neutral stance towards sociological phenomena, I assume the second option and therefore, this work is based upon the main hypothesis that Scopophilical Instagram usage behaviors contribute to what is called a Surveillance Culture and individual empowerment. Hence, the aforementioned concept which gives individuals agency in their actions on their online activities comprises the second pillar of my theoretical framework.

Bruno argues that "seeing and being seen do not just imply circuits of control for our subjectivities, but also circuits of pleasure, sociability, entertainment and care of oneself and others" (Bruno, 2014, p. 345). "Feelings", do have a role in shaping social action and enabling individuals to gain agency among the act of surveillance (Smith, 2012). Furthermore, Weibel states in a time long before the advent of Instagram, the traditional principle of the panoptic had turned into the principle of pleasure (qtd. in Koskela, 2004, p. 204) making the aforementioned circuits an important area of study regarding surveillance. This study focuses on these circuits of the Instagram users within the context of Turkey, and also by putting emphasis on cultural artifacts created by the users.

To summarize this section, it can be said that surveillance in its traditionally institutionalized form appeared roughly in the 19th century with the Panopticon of Bentham, focusing on the control of the many by the few via making use of surveillance. The passing of time initially supplemented the power structures and their will to surveil and control the masses and the individual both in terms of behavior and thought by the creation of new tools and means such as the newspaper, television, radio and various technical surveillance systems. However, the 21st century brought with itself possibilities and opportunities for the masses and for the individual to counter the oppression and transform to an agent from a passive spectator. These possibilities and opportunities came under the name of "social media surveillance" and their capacities for empowerment were determined by the types of their usage. In other words, as much as being an opportunity for emancipation from and resisting the surveillance of power structures, social media surveillance could also serve the classic power holders. Science can both be used to cure diseases or to create atom bombs. Similarly, the consequences of the use of social media surveillance rests solely upon its ways of usage. After talking about the origins of surveillance, I can now present the second theoretical pillar of my study, the Surveillance Culture.

2.5. Surveillance Culture

This section will be devoted to the second pillar of my theoretical framework; surveillance culture. But firstly, I would like to draw the attention to the word surveillance and its classical and contemporary performers/carriers. As mentioned in the introduction, alongside technological handheld devices, also surveillance, as a phenomenon had unarguably increased its influence over and penetrated into our daily lives in various ways, unprecedentedly in the history of humankind.

It can be said that while surveillance had been institutionalized as a tool of power, discipline and therefore, was introduced to the academia with the term "panopticon" by Jeremy Bentham – which was a design for prisons served to the surveillance of inmates and discipline them as desired via internalizing the fact that every single movement of theirs were being watched in the 19th century (Foucault, 1995) – and had grown in influence especially after the 9/11 incidents (Albrechtslund, 2008), it can also be said that the integration of social media with our daily lives gained pace especially after the social media site Facebook going public, extending its network beyond educational institutions to everyone who has an e-mail address in 2006 (The Guardian, 2007). The prevalence of social media usage seemed to create new ways of seeing and doing things, while opening an area of study which the conventional surveillance conceptions could not adequately explain. Now, I would like to give the explanation of surveillance as a general term and concept.

The word "surveillance" comes from the French word "*surveillor*", meaning literally to "watch over" (Lyon, 2007a) which implies a hierarchical relation between a superior who "watches" and an inferior who is "being watched" and moreover, it can be said that the term signifies all types of monitoring activities. "The understanding of surveillance is not limited to a visual practice; rather it involves all senses – data collection and technological mediation (Albrechtslund, 2008). It also implies "a set of related activities; to look, observe, watch, supervise, control, gaze, stare, view, scrutinize, examine, checkout, scan, screen, inspect, survey, glean, scope, monitor, track, follow, spy eavesdrop, test or guard" (Marx, 2015, p. 734).

Parallel to the etymological origins and also with more clear-cut borders, "surveillance" is "the focused, systematic and routine attention to personal details for purposes of influence, management, protection or direction" (Lyon, 2007a, p. 14) and it is "any collection and processing of personal data, whether identifiable or not, for the purposes of influencing or managing those whose data have been garnered" (qtd. in Bruno, 2014, p. 344). Similarly, the term is also stressed as it "tries to bring about or to prevent certain behaviors in groups or individuals by gathering, storing, processing, diffusing, assessing and using data" (Fuchs, 2015, p. 395).

It has been argued that in contemporary times, the intensification and proliferation of surveillance activities which were carried out either by governmental institutions in the form of establishing CCTV networks and commercial transactions, e-mail tracking, satellite

imagery and the use of GPS (Finn, 2011, p. 71), tracing which is carried out via cell phones, RFID (radio frequency identification), wireless devices (Lyon, 2006, qtd by Lyon, 2007a, p. 17) using various types of surveillance at workplaces, rigid passport controls, applying biometric scans in airports and making people use electronic identity cards (Lyon, 2007a), by supra-national corporations in the form of data mining of users who use internet based applications (Lyon, 2017; Van Dijck, 2014).

Or, as a more recent argumentation, surveillance activities were started to be carried out by individuals/agents themselves who willingly and wittingly use social media in order to achieve certain desired ends, to ease pleasures of looking and being looked at, to satisfy the feeling of narcissism (Boyd, 2007), to have fun, to communicate with friends or family or to experiment on hobbies, and therefore, enabling an active participation on the realm of social media (Albrechtslund, 2008). These activities which effect the societal dynamics and the everyday life of individuals under the umbrella term of "surveillance", have opened up fields of inquiry regarding "governance, risk, trust, identity and privacy" (Ball & Haggerty, 2005, p. 129) and finally empowerment of the individual via agency (Lyon, 2017).

After talking about the term surveillance and its traditional and contemporary conductors, I would like to turn to Surveillance Culture. Lyon (2017) argues that the word culture should be added next to surveillance since in contemporary times, surveillance had totally lost its quality of being an externality which impinges on the lives of individuals and since he believes that the notions of "Surveillance Society" and "Surveillance State" no longer have the ability to describe and explain our contemporary society since these notions tend to acknowledge classic power structures as the sole enforcers of surveillance and monitoring activities which are carried out for whatever reason, and consequently, because these conceptualizations ignore the experiences of the individuals who today have the power to engage in surveillance activities in an agently and actively fashion.

Again, it is increasingly seen that in our time, surveillance had become a phenomenon which individuals "comply with, negotiate, resist, engage with, and, in novel ways, even initiate and desire" (Lyon, 2017, p. 825). Again, according to Lyon, surveillance culture is purely a product of the conditions of "digital modernity", while "social media engagement" is the main component which is used in the formation of this culture and it is the component that will be investigated under this study since Instagram usage corresponds with this trivet. Other components of Surveillance Culture involve organizational dependence, political-economic

power and security linkages (securitization). As I have said, my focus on this study was on the "social media engagement" component which is brought forward as an important one for the formation of Surveillance Culture.

Surveillance Culture is a multifaceted and complex phenomenon where the individuals are increasingly involved as active and empowered subjects. It is argued that the main platform for Surveillance Culture to appear is the social media and that is so because of a widespread compliance and recognition of surveillance has become prevalent and this compliance was linked to certain factors of; "familiarity, fear and fun" (Lyon, 2014, qtd. in Lyon, 2017, p. 829).

As for the connecting argumentation of Scopophilia and surveillance, Mathiesen (1997) argues that the desire to watch and being watched forms the keystone of contemporary surveillance practices using his conceptualization of "viewer society". This claim can be acknowledged as the bondage between Scopophilia and Surveillance Culture. According to Lyon, another characteristic of the Surveillance Culture is that never before, individuals were sharing, "willingly or wittingly" their personal and special information of their daily lives in the public digital domain. As I have argued above, we are nowadays living in a culture of vision, which for existential reasons "requires" the disclosure of our lives, achievements, ideas and preferences towards an audience via social media.

On the above sections and mostly on the introduction part of this study, I have argued that after the dawn of the 21st century the penetration of smartphones in our daily lives which have the capability of enabling communication with other individuals regardless of time and space became more and more recognizable day after day. This argumentation is also adopted by Lyon (2017) and he claims that this embeddedness of the computing machinery in our daily lives is the main historical condition for the establishment of what he calls a Surveillance Culture. According to him, another historical condition for such a culture involves surveillance being a major industry for states and corporations alike to be used for individual or group benefit.

As proof of this claim, Lyon talks about how the "big five" (Apple, Google, Microsoft, Amazon, and Facebook) engages in a large-scale surveillance of their users and then how they sell the gathered meta-data to governmental organizations and/or agencies. The Snowden events were instrumental for showing the world this intently generated commerce of user data

between international corporations and states (Lyon, 2017). Nevertheless, my focus point regarding Surveillance Culture has always been about the individuals engaging in empowering processes via social media throughout this study.

According to Lyon (2017), the key feature of Surveillance Culture is "that people actively participate in an attempt to regulate their own surveillance and the surveillance of others. There is growing evidence of patterns of perspectives, outlooks, or *mentalités* on surveillance, along with some closely related modes of initiating, negotiating, or resisting surveillance" (p. 824). For a starting point to link my final theoretical pillar; "individual empowerment" with Surveillance Culture, this quotation seems a fitting springboard.

In the Surveillance Culture, "caring is sharing" and moreover, individuals are regarded as prosumers who intendedly create and share content for any perceived benefits in contrast to being passive spectators and consumers of the content which is prepared for them by other parties such as the state or various companies. This term of "prosumption" implies that individuals who are the members of Surveillance Culture have a venue for self-fulfillment and for voicing preferences, thoughts, ideas etc. These are all, in themselves activities of empowerment according to the empowerment definitions which I have used in the empowerment section below.

Furthermore, the members of this culture can both surveil and inspect power structures actively, perhaps having a say in national or international politics regarding nature, animal rights, LBGTI rights, women rights and so on and so forth. As a defining characteristic of our time, these individuals can, and do deliberately make themselves more visible, "exposed" (Ball, 2009) for again certain self-interests and positive benefits. Or perhaps, for pleasure or satisfaction (Lyon, 2017).

As it will be explained and elaborated in detail under the section of empowerment, using any tool to obtain aimed, desired and such results from an intentful action can be called an empowering act. Here in the Surveillance Culture, the individual mobilizes the means of social media – in this case, Instagram – to achieve desired ends, be it to engage in self-presentation or self-exhibition activities or surveilling state structures in terms of their public policies and voice individual thoughts and preferences. The focus here is mainly on the actions and practices of the both surveilled and surveilling subjects. "Participation" and "engagement" are the key words for such a culture (Lyon, 2017).

The following quotation of Lyon can be considered the written link between Surveillance Culture and empowerment;

> "As an increasing proportion of our social relationships is digitally mediated, subjects are involved, not merely as the targets or bearers of surveillance, but as more-and-more knowledgeable and active participants. This occurs most obviously through social media and Internet use in general and has arguably intensified an everyday adoption of varied surveillance mentalities and practices" (Lyon, 2017, p. 828).

To summarize, it can be said that a Surveillance Culture is a culture where the individual is empowered against other individuals and institutions, power structures such as the state. It is a culture which is argued to vary among different countries due to different contexts, political, economic, social and cultural circumstances (Lyon, 2017). Using the available technological means and social media in an increased level of consciousness can no doubt increase the degree of empowerment to be gained in this culture. Moreover, and for the sake of linking Scopophilia with Surveillance Culture, in addition to the argumentation of Mathiesen which was given above, it can be said that the "will" and "desire" to expose oneself over various social media channels in this Surveillance Culture serves to empowerment processes as well. It is argued that in this context, desire is a productive force which inspires exposure (Lyon, 2017). And this exposure on social media may lead to different types of empowerment, depending on the types of usage of the user.

The formation of social roles and expectations within a surveillance culture rely upon the action of "sharing" life events and with the other social media users' reflection upon those events and shared content in the forms of "liking" or sharing the content at hand (Lyon, 2017). Apart from "sharing" and "liking", the other norms and codes – if existent – of such a culture were sought in this study but the concept and act of "sharing" content was taken as a starting point for the investigation of this culture.

By using the umbrella term of Surveillance, the relationship between the daily lives of Instagram users and Surveillance Culture was sought to be uncovered in the context of Turkey. To understand this culture, practices of the individuals on Instagram was investigated. Now, I turn to my last theoretical pillar; empowerment.

2.6. Empowerment

2.6.1. The definition of empowerment

Alongside with Scopophilia and Surveillance Culture as the theoretical starting points of this study and fiddling with Surveillance Culture itself, has brought the term "empowerment" and its derivatives to the focus as the final theoretical keystones of this work.

The term "empowerment" has been used in various fields for a long time now, such as social sciences, economics, and social policies and so on. Thus, empowerment has many definitions according to its contextual use. However, empowerment is mainly understood as a "multidimensional social process that helps people gain control over their lives…It is a process that fosters power in people for use in their lives, in their communities and in their society, by acting on issues they define as important" (Pierson, 2012, p. 102). Furthermore, some of the many other definitions of empowerment refer to a feeling which qualifies as "enabling people to control their own lives and to take advantage of opportunities (Van Der Maesen & Walker, 2002, qtd. in Pierson, 2012, p. 102), as "a process, a mechanism by which people, organizations and communities gain mastery over their affairs" which will differentiate in its manifestation according to individuals and the settings (Rappaport, 1987, p. 122), as – interrelated to social media – "the capability for interpreting and acting upon the social world that is intensively mediated by mass-communication" (Pierson, 2012, p. 103), as "recognizing and accessing an opportunity, using social media…making a choice and then allowing this decision to make a life enhancing difference" (Nemer, 2016, p. 376) and so on. Being the multilayered concept that it is; empowerment basically refers to "enhancing an individual's or group's capacity to make choices and transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes" (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005, p. 5).

Therefore, the determining factor of an empowering phenomena is its quality to create opportunities for making more efficient, effective, informed/conscient decisions for individuals, which breed desirable, "aimed for" results and gains, again for the individuals who – after the empowerment process – now have achieved the title; "agent". Increasing the capacity to convert choices into "wished" actions and outcomes and to make these choices "effective", is something which empowers individuals. At this point, it must be stated that with regards to empowerment, an important thing to consider is that the effectiveness of the choices here – other than solid, material and measurable effects of choices, which involve material gain, as money or monetary savings in any form, for example – are addressed as "self-

perceived", meaning that they are effective as long and much as the agents deem them "effective" and "life enhancing" for themselves.

Appadurai argues that empowerment implies "helping the individual to help him/herself" and equates empowerment to "increasing the capacity to aspire" which contains aspirations related to wants, preferences, choices and calculations (Appadurai, 2004). Appadurai's conceptualization is driven by the desire to voice the difficulties encountered by the "poor" in their daily lives. His concern is to "increase the capacity for the third posture, the posture of "voice", the capacity to debate, contest, inquire and participate critically" (Appadurai, 2004, pp. 69-70). "Materially deprived" individuals and actively empowering them through state policies are not the focal points of this study. However, everyone's, every agents' empowerment being induced/triggered and facilitated by Instagram use, driven by Scopophilic tendencies (which can be harbored by again anyone) is investigated within this work.

The degree of the empowerment is determined by 2 variables, namely, "personal agency (the capacity to make purposive choice) and the available opportunity structure (the institutional context in which choice is made)" (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005, p. 4). These variables work together and procure various degrees of empowerment. It can be said that Instagram effects both variables since it serves both to inform the agent, enabling him/her to make informed choices (such as making an accurate cost-benefit analysis through consumer/economic empowerment) and providing an arena to actually make the choice in question (participating in processes that involve voicing personal thoughts and attitudes through political empowerment etc.).

It can be argued that the relationship between agency and the opportunity structure with regards to empowerment, is reciprocal, just as the relationship between the agent and structure in the Structuration Theory of Giddens (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2014, p. 225). They are not segregated from each other, in fact, they affect each other and they are inseparable since structure contains agency and agency involves structure. The existence, use and achievement of choice are the means which measure degrees of empowerment and moreover, "asset endowments" are indicators of agency while the opportunity structure determines the access to these "sources" which can be in psychological, Informational/educational, organizational, material, social, financial or human form (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005, p. 8).

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Therefore, it can be said that empowerment refers to the capability and capacity of people to obtain power and influence – which come in various forms – and to use that strength against other individuals, organizations and the society in order to achieve their life goals, or simply to obtain their basic wants in daily life such as recognition, self-esteem and psychological wellbeing, accessing information about something, or accumulating social capital via making friends etc. The process of empowerment is thus resulted with the enhancement of individuals' understanding regarding the social world and it is concluded with the provision of the tools of any kind (mental or real, such as self-esteem and money) in order to "act" and achieve their daily or long-term goals.

Any action, phenomenon or event that results in any way which is desired or fulfilled as an aspiration by, or which contributes with regards to any skill for the agent, could have the quality of, and can be called as, "empowering". This is the main principle/code of this work when referring to empowerment, empowering actions or certain types of empowerment (i.e. social, economic, political etc.).

To summarize, it can be said that empowerment revolves around the concepts of agency, opportunity structure and degrees of empowerment, which serves to support an individual on the road of achieving a specific and defined want or need, perceived as worthwhile to obtain from the eyes of the agent. The contemporary "virtual user" of various social networks is not a subject who passively encounters and accepts oncoming messages but is an active and influential agent (Hidalgo-Mari & Segarra-Saavedra, 2017), supported by social media, specifically by applications and sites such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Instagram via the provision of feelings of empowerment on many levels. These layers of empowerment such as political, economic, social empowerment etc. are elaborated in the following sections.

2.6.2. Types of empowerment

When speaking of empowerment as a multidimensional social process, several dimensions of this term could be identified and defined, such as; empowerment on identity construction, psychological empowerment, social empowerment, political empowerment, economic empowerment, Informational/educational empowerment and so on. It can be said that the types of empowerment mentioned above do not exist as totally external and differentiated to each other. Sometimes they are intertwined, for example, a phenomenon which leads to social empowerment (which will be synonymously used by the "accumulation of social capital" later on in this study) may also have a psychological effect over the individual (for example,

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increased wellbeing) (Ellison et al., 2007) as well or, again social empowerment may have an effect for political empowerment, in the forms of civic and political engagement (Valenzuela et al., 2009) vice versa.

Therefore, I deem it very difficult – if not impossible – to make a research and evaluation of these types of empowerment taken separately and independent of each other. While I elaborate on existing literature regarding these types of empowerments, this study mainly had its focus upon the types of empowerment as a whole which are induced by Instagram use, Surveillance Culture and indirectly by Scopophilia.

It is plausible to say that generally social media, and specifically Instagram has many and various types of empowering effects over individuals which will be elaborated throughout this section. Speaking in terms of empowerment and social media, a meta-analysis study (Best, Manktelow & Taylor, 2014) which had reviewed 43 studies conducted between January 2003 and April 2013 regarding the effects of social media usage over adolescent wellbeing found that social networking increased self-esteem, perceived social support, social capital, allowed safe identity experimentation while enabling self-disclosure as an empowering act, arguing that self-disclosure and related positive feedback have the power to influence "perceptions of community integration" and "social support" (Best, Manktelow & Taylor, 2014, p.33). At the same time, negative effects such as exposure to harm, social isolation, depression and cyber-bullying were also observed by the meta-analysis study. Although with varying degrees from participant to participant, most of these positive effects were also seen on my sample. These are discussed in the last sections of my study. Now, I would like to continue with the types of empowerment which generally social media, and specifically Instagram use have the capability to create among individuals.

2.6.3. Empowerment on identity construction

The multidimensionality of the empowerment processes was explained above. Here, I will discuss the "identity" dimension regarding social media and Instagram. The term "self-concept" is defined as "the totality of a person's thoughts and feelings in reference to oneself as an object" (Rosenberg 1986; qtd. in Mehdizadeh, 2010, p. 357). Studies claim that social media empowers individuals by making possible "creative content sharing practices" and therefore, playing a crucial role in their sense of identity and community development (Collin et al., 2011).

According to Psychiatrist Bruce Perry, in order for an individual to develop a "self", he or she must make choices and learn from the consequences of these choices (Perry & Szalavitz, 2017). In our world, dominated by the everyday usage of technological gadgets and the internet, social networking websites and social media applications such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram became one of the most important mediums for communication, self-expression and they also became the mediums which allow us to make the "choice" of how to engage in these communication and self-expression activities (Fox & Rooney, 2015). In this sense, Instagram can be seen as a platform which enables the individual to make choices regarding self-presentation, self-expression, and communication with other individuals. The empowerment in the form of controlling the way that oneself presents himself/herself and the power to choose whom to interact with, could support the development of self, which refers to an "empowered" identity construction.

Since forms of social media and social networking sites are mostly designed in order to promote personalization/customization, individuals benefit from these platforms to legitimize their constructed identity types such as political, sexual, cultural etc. (Coleman & Rowe, 2005). Therefore, social media – and also Instagram – is considered to be a platform where individuals have the power to create, control and convey their perceived "ideal" identity since when sharing selfies, people can highlight the aspects of their lives which THEY want highlighted (Shin et al., 2017; Sung et al., 2016; Gonzales & Hancock, 2011), in contrast with the identity which is created through face-to-face interaction between individuals that is constructed by personal attributes, the unalterable physical characteristics, and the semi-alterable information about the social background of the individual (Mehdizadeh, 2010).

> "As we tilt, raise, and lower our smartphones to find the best angle of ourselves on screens, we build perceptions about ourselves that are constructed purely from within screens. Instagram, Thus, is not just a way to produce images but it is also an active means for some people to establish their identities – viewing the ubiquity of their selfies as a mark of distinction" (Wendt, 2014, p. 7).

Individuals are increasingly making the private aspects of their daily lives visible through social media sites and applications in a willful manner, leaving their "digital footprints" on the cyber realm, including but not limited to data regarding preferences, browsing and communication behavior which are sold to marketing companies (Pierson, 2012).

These companies make use of the relevant data to create strategies which help them to make efficient sales. While these actions may be seen as violating the privacy of individuals, it can

also be said that they may carry the possibilities of identity construction and of receiving personalized goods and services (Pierson, 2012). The focus here is not on the negative consequences of the exposure of personal digital data, but rather the benefits of this disclosure in terms of being empowered in such a way that it allows agently identity construction.

To summarize, it can be said that the act of self-presentation on social media is constructed in a controlled manner by the actor and leads to the creation of an online persona (Nilsson, 2016). Furthermore, in theoretical terms, the identity construction and the control of the self-presentation of the user online reminds of Goffman's term; "impression management" which is about individuals striving to control how they are perceived by other people via altering and changing the way they "act" (Goffman, 1956). Using Instagram, individuals seek to shape the impression they make over their audience by creating and modifying their expressions through the posting of selfies, captions, comments, and making use of symbols such as emojis, emoticons, smileys etc. In other words, users engage in an act of self-presentation process virtually controlled and shaped by themselves, in order to make a certain intended audience to perceive and know the actors in a way which is desired by the actors themselves. Of course, in these processes, the "selfie" is indeed the most important component of Instagram. "Self-portraits seem to be taking part in embodiment processes and in the shaping and knowing of the self" (Lasen & Gomez-Cruz, 2009, p.206).

Whatever the reason may be for the purpose and attempt to alter other peoples' perception about oneself, it can be assumed that this act – if resulted in success and if the audiences' perception is shaped with parallel to the desires of the actor – may bring benefits in the forms of the accumulation of social, cultural and even economic capital from time to time.

At this point, it would be fitting to mention about the role of self-disclosure on social media. It is argued that disclosure of personal information on social media is a means for identity construction, related with popularity and therefore, putting a limit to, or cutting altogether this type of information feed online results in the decrease of the potential for identity construction and the popularity of the individual (Christofides et al., 2009, cited in Durante, 2011, p. 613). This comes up as a positive aspect of willful disclosure/exposure, accessible by the followers, who are the audience of the social media user. It can be inferred from this that disclosure might be a necessary element to maximize the potential of identity construction and increase popularity, which falls into the definition of empowerment that I use in this work.

A study which had its focus on 63 Facebook accounts that belonged to ethnicities of White, Black, Latino, Indian and Vietnamese university students found that there was a direct link between Facebook use and empowering identity construction (Zhao, Grasmuck & Martin, 2008). The researchers of this study took off from the fact that users had the power to control what they share and the power to determine their audience. Accepting that "identity" is a phenomenon, a "product" which is socially constructed in line with regards to the social environment and context of an individual rather than a pre-given trait or an innate characteristic, it was observed that agents would adopt identities which help them to cope and better situate themselves within the given social environment and context, making use of the constructed "true selves", "real selves" and "hoped-for possible selves.

"Facebook enabled the users to present themselves in ways that can reasonably bypass physical "gating obstacles" and create the hoped-for possible selves they were unable to establish in the offline world. Such "digital selves" are real, and they can serve to enhance the users' overall self-image and identity claims and quite possibly increases their chances to connect in the offline world" (Zhao, Grasmuck & Martin, 2008, pp. 1831-1832).

There are similar findings to the aforementioned study which advocate the argumentation that individuals who "self-present" and "expose" themselves online and through social network sites, undergo the act of "the self-construction of identity" which implies that online behavior changes the concept of "self" (Hidalgo-Mari & Segarra-Saavedra, 2017; Shin et al., 2017; Wendt, 2014; Gonzales & Hancock, 2008; Buffardi & Campbell, 2008). According to a study which was conducted with 44 female and 34 male graduate students found that self-presenting online had the power of generating a new concept of self (Gonzales & Hancock, 2008). It is argued that online representations made on social network sites were internalized and carried on to the real, daily life, influencing on pre-existing behaviors.

These and other parallel findings (Mehdizadeh, 2010; Yang & Li, 2014; Nilsson, 2016) indicate that social media is not simply a platform for interaction, but it is also a venue for identity construction, which may refer to an empowerment process; "the idealized versions of the self-presented online may reinforce "actual" self-perceptions unrelated to the mediated interactions. In other words, not only can people take advantage of online anonymity to explore new aspects of the self, they also can take advantage of the public nature of the internet to help realize idealized concepts of self" (Gonzales & Hancock, 2008, p. 180) and through the

repetitive self-presentation act in a certain way with the presented identity which is perceived/deemed desirable from the perspective of the agent.

It is possible to say that Instagram provides a "nonymous" online setting for users which can be positioned at the opposite of an "anonymous" one, implying that the identity claims of individuals are being made in a more constrained environment, since a nonymous platform requires certain information of the user – some are optional to disclose – such as name, family, work, education status, preferences and so on. Even so, the social media platform Instagram, as a nonymous one, may provide the means for the expression of "hoped-for possible self" (Mehdizadeh, 2010). After the agently construction of one's identity, the smartphone and social media assumes the role of the expression and presentation of this identity online (Wendt, 2014). In some cases, even social media allows individuals to break traditional social norms and identity roles and enable the construction of a "desired identity" within conservative societies – such as China – (Yang & Li, 2014).

According to Tiidenberg (2014), individuals use the act of "self-shooting" to create, construct a new and empowered identity for themselves through the interactions made on the social media platform Tumblr. Tiidenberg argues that the practice of selfie sharing is indeed an act of "reclaiming control over one's embodied self and over the body-aesthetic, thus appropriating what is and is not sexy" while stating that this activity of self-shooting can be regarded as a "collective therapeutic" activity (Tiidenberg, 2014). It is argued that users construct themselves with desirable epithets such as "sexy" and "beautiful" and learn to love/like their own bodies through a social process which results in an increased self-confidence for individuals that can be considered as a type of empowerment. Within this context, selfie shooting becomes an act of empowerment and sexuality becomes a discourse for emancipation from the boundaries of culturally defined norms of what is beautiful, sexy and so on, while rejecting the regime of order and shame.

This example may well also fall under "political empowerment" owing to its quality of rejecting available cultural norms and codes regarding how someone "should" act and look like, and to its quality of voicing individual thoughts and expressing oneself in a manner which is desired by the agent him/herself, and it may be regarded as psychologically empowering too since it results in the increase of self-esteem and self-confidence of the agent. It is a perfect example for demonstrating the interconnectedness of types of empowerment and proving that sometimes it may be difficult – if not impossible – to observe and analyze them as separated

phenomena. The aforementioned study shows that the very act of selfie sharing had enabled the exploration and formation of the sexual identity. The participators of Tiidenberg's study have rejected shame by sharing and representing their bodily parts which they previously were ashamed of and therefore, as a result of the empowering process, in the end, they gained increased self-confidence. In this sense, it has been found that selfie sharing has an empowering and therapeutic effect rather than being a "vapid form of narcissism" (Tiidenberg, 2014). The empowering dimension of self-shooting stems from the fact that social media users have the power to shape and redefine what is sexy and beautiful. They are the ones who give meaning to these words while at the same time breaking themselves and their perceptions free from the classical conceptualizations which were constructed by culture and society.

Similarly, In India, a country which hosts a class and caste based society, social media and specifically Facebook seems to serve generally as a common platform which enables to free the marginalized individuals from the social boundaries of the society that they live in and be a ground for self-expression and self-development by expanding their network of friends, enhancing their social and networking skills and by letting these individuals to "consume, produce and share content…" (Kumar, 2014, p. 1134).

Another idea which can be elaborated under this section is about "visual diaries" which support my empowerment thesis regarding Instagram use. It is argued that the communication between Instagram users reflect one which can be named "digital story telling" (Garner, 2017). Released from the constraints of time and space, this specific type of storytelling entails some empowerment with it. The "visual diaries" are also organized and curated by the agents themselves. "Users choose what, when and how to post and what to omit…we are telling stories about ourselves through the images we choose to share, as well as how and when we post them" (Garner, 2017, p. 379). Instagram is a platform where people tell stories about themselves through "curated" photographs. The "how", "why" and "when" aspects of this story telling is determined by the empowered user/agent. This argumentation seems to contrast the idea that state surveillances' recording peoples' lives and gathering information about them without being aware.

These phenomena which are opposing each other as one being disempowering and the other empowering, is explained by Nayar in the following quotation; "the selfie represents a parallel surveillance culture to the organized surveillance by the state corporate entities because it subjects itself to the public gaze. If the CCTV can generate a story about me, then I would

rather generate the story I *want* the world to see" (Nayar, 2014). This digital story telling brings with itself the act of resisting the historic and standard beauty norms and behaviors – similar to the point made in Tiidenberg's study (2014) – which were the only norms that traditional media was keen on representing. Traditional media channels were not the mediums for voicing individuals who have deviated from these standard, cultural norms of society.

The empowerment in this particular identity construction act through social media lies in the fact that the individuals have the power to choose between identities which suit them best for navigating in their own social environment and reaching their personal goals – whatever they might be – goals which they deem worthy to reach/attain. It does not matter that the constructed identities are not fully actualized in the real, daily life. What matters is the impact of the adoption of such identity and the capacity of this action to serve as an empowering function for the agent/individual.

Alongside with the possible empowering effects of social media, the downside of the usage of Instagram regarding "disempowerment" in terms of identity construction which entails the sharing of personal information online should not be disregarded. It is argued that the exposure in the cyber platform of social media may have disempowering consequences over the unaware user who does not know that his or her digital footprints may be available to a global audience and that this availability may bring an attack to their privacy (Pierson, 2012).

This situation for example; may affect an individuals' employment chances since it is known that employers can and do use social network sites for gathering character information in order to make decisions regarding who to employ (Clark & Roberts, 2010). Sharing a photograph online which can be perceived at odds with the general cultural standards and norms of a society or more specifically at odds with the ideological and/or practical stances of an employer can have a disempowering effect over the individuals' chances to find a job. Nevertheless, a careful and aware user whose digital consumer literacy levels are high and sufficient enough should know what to post and what to refrain from posting and to stay in the circle of empowerment, protecting him/herself from possible disempowering effects of social media use.

2.6.4. Psychological empowerment
Another empowering effect of social media use can be discussed under the topic of "psychological empowerment". The psychological form of empowerment refers to a positive

set of psychological states (Ambad, 2012) such as intrinsic motivation (Taştan, 2013), meaning, competence, self-determination, impact (Spreitzer, 2007) and most importantly; self-esteem, which is a highly influencing factor speaking in terms of psychological empowerment (Masud, Rahman & Albaity, 2013).

Among others, Self-esteem can be defined as "individuals' evaluation of their self-worth or satisfaction" (Shin et al., 2017, p. 140) which is "subjective" in nature and it is also a judgment of oneself, involving the "feeling that one is good enough," accompanied by the characteristics of "self-respect" and "self-acceptance" (Orth & Robins, 2014). Therefore, a higher self-esteem refers to a happier and empowered individual who is satisfied with his/her social relationships and life in general. Self-esteem is deemed important since it shows how we perceive and acknowledge ourselves (Pandey & Mishra, 2017).

It is argued that social media applications and sites have the possibility to influence self-esteem positively, especially when the user edits his or her disclosed personal information online and engages in the self-presentation act in a selective manner (Gonzales & Hancock, 2011; Shin et al., 2017). This is so since the self-presentation act on social media almost always tends to be positive/optimal (from the viewpoint of the user) and since these presentations of the self on the digital social media are perceived by the individual, the agent of the act as "real" (Gonzales & Hancock, 2008).

Moreover, it is stated that social media users present themselves in a way to raise their levels of self-esteem (Bareket-Bojmel et al., 2016). The idea behind the positive influence of social media towards self-esteem is that the self-presenting individual who discloses his or her personal information in the form of photos/selfies, details of daily life, hobbies, preferences and comments, has TOTAL control over the process which also enables empowerment, considering the definitions used in this work. The engagement of self-presentation especially through selfies is carried out with the concern of gaining affirmation from others in order to strengthen and solidify the individuals' self-concept for this process can only be completed by considering what others think of the individual, i.e., certain social standards (Shin et al., 2017).

Regarding the selfie posting behavior within various social media sites and/or applications, a study which involved a total of 1296 individuals investigated if this behavior had anything to do with certain personality traits such as "social exhibitionism", "extraversion" and "self-esteem" (Sorokowska et al., 2016). It was found that extraversion and social exhibitionism

was indeed related with selfie posting behavior among both genders and that the increase in the frequency of one variable effected the other positively. While the denotation of these traits in terms of positiveness or negativeness can be argued, the argumentations and observations of the study is in line with my general argumentation that social media usage leads to various type of empowerments – here, being psychological and indirectly social empowerment. According to the personal statements of individuals regarding their feelings when sharing selfies in the aforementioned study, it can very well be said that extraversion and self-esteem can be seen as empowering.

There are more research which show that with regards to social media usage, self-esteem levels rise; women and girls post selfies on social media to increase their self-esteem via the comments they receive to their selfies (Pandey & Mishra, 2017), people share selfies since they think they look good in their photos and wanted others to perceive them as such in order to raise their self-esteem (Gabriel, 2014; cited in Pandey & Mishra, 2017, p. 26). A study which was conducted in the Netherlands by 881 adolescents who were aged between 10 and 19 and who had an account on a Dutch friend networking site – CU2 (See You Too) – found that the self-esteem levels of the participants were affected by the feedback they received on their CU2 accounts; basically, the positive feedback which were received by individuals tended to enhance and raise their self-esteem levels and general wellbeing, whereas negative feedback tended to have an opposite effect and thus it decreased self-esteem levels resulting in a negative change over the psychological state of the individual (Valkenburg et al., 2006).

Although indirect, the "empowering" and "disempowering" effect of social media sites in terms of self-esteem is seen as a fact for this study and for similar studies. Another research conducted with 365 university students within the age range of 18-24, found that levels of high and low self-esteem levels predicted the selfie sharing behavior on Instagram (Alblooshi, 2015). It was argued that individuals who possessed a high level of self-esteem shared more selfies than the ones who had low self-esteem. This situation was explained from the side of low self-esteemers of the fear of receiving negative feedback – if at all – regarding the selfies that they share whereas for the high self-esteemers, the case was about their needing of constant attention, validation and the positive feedback from their audience to sustain their sense of high self-esteem levels. While it is said that this state may lead to narcissistic behavior, the positive relationship between self-esteem and selfie sharing behavior is intriguing in the framework of "empowering" and social media behavior which can be called "agently".

Another work which had a sample of 238 individuals who reside in Germany, Austria and Switzerland argues that there is a possibility of the "selfie bias" to serve as an empowering psychological function: it may enable individuals to satisfy their needs without leading them to feel narcissistic in any way (Diefenbach & Christoforakos, 2017). According to the gathered data of this study, it was found that while individuals tended to praise and be likable towards their own selfies, they usually had a critical approach towards the selfies of others. Here, selfies were seen as a means for enhancing individuals' "preferred self-presentational behavior" – which serves to manage the impressions of others for oneself to gain a certain degree of independence and control – along with other positive products following the act of selfie sharing such as control/self-staging, independence and so on (Diefenbach & Christoforakos, 2017, p. 10) which can be interpreted as empowering products.

However, the individuals within the same sample also attributed some "potential negative consequences" towards the action of selfie taking and sharing such as the creation of an "illusionary world" and "threats to self-esteem". Nevertheless, the findings of this research point out to the fact that individuals – while wishing to see less selfies on social media – always found a reason to take and share selfies from time to time and justify this action of by acknowledging their selfies as "authentic" and "self-ironic". The intrinsic value of selfies as self-presentation and impression management agents can be interpreted as allowing agency and empowerment. The final sentence of the study elaborates this type of empowerment: "In the end it might be all about fulfilling basic human needs (here: popularity, self-expression) in a way that feels good for people, does not reveal too much about deeper motivations and allows them to keep a positive self-view and image to others" (Diefenbach & Christoforakos, 2017, p. 12).

2.6.5. Social empowerment

It is an undeniable fact that social media offers individuals a venue for socializing with other people and even if the socializing act is carried out in the digital world – at least initially – mutual communication and interaction is the middle name of social media. This fact leads us to another type of empowerment, which can be argued as the capacity of individuals to obtain, accumulate and preserve "social capital" through Instagram use.

Social capital is defined as "the sum of the 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" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119).

Furthermore, a distinction is made between two types of social capital by Putnam (Putnam, 2000; qtd. in Ellison et al., 2007) which are named "bridging" and "bonding" social capital. It is argued that while bridging social capital is related to "weak ties", not so personal connections which may contain connections with acquaintances or work colleagues, bonding social capital refers to the type of capital that we acquire through our relationship with people closer to and more special for us that provide deep emotional support etc. Bridging social capital is acknowledged to be accumulated easier and with less effort when compared with bonding social capital since this latter type of social capital usually requires more than one communication channel (Haythornthwaite, 2005) whereas the former can be obtained through a few clicks of the Mouse or through a few touches of the fingertips to the smartphone.

Nevertheless, according to the definition of empowerment which I have used above, accumulating social capital through any means has the potential to allow individuals to make a life enhancing difference in their daily lives, be it to become popular among friend circles or say, to establish romantic relationships and achieve a sense of well-being and happiness or any other self-perceived benefit. The examples can be multiplied. There are accounts that verify the use of social media (mostly Facebook usage since studies examining the relationship between Instagram use and social empowerment even in an indirect fashion are limited to the best of my knowledge – if not non-existent on the account of a direct investigation of this relationship) resulting in social capital accumulation in the form of building one's social circles via increasing social contacts and mutual interactions (Matthews, 2015; Marwick, 2015; Wendt, 2014; Li & Chen, 2014; Steinfield et al., 2009), in the form of obtaining "bridging social capital" (Brandtzaeg, 2012; Lin et al., 2011; Barkhuus & Tashiro, 2010; Steinfield et al., 2008), and sometimes, even in the form of "bonding social capital" in addition to "bridging social capital (Johnston et al., 2013; Liu et al., 2013).

The size of the "friend network" established online is seen as the prerequisite of attaining social capital (Ellison et al., 2007) via social network sites and applications. After setting up these networks, online social channels provide users with tools for establishing and maintaining social relationships – face to face or virtual – (Varas Rojasi 2009, cited in Hidalgo-Mari & Segarra-Saavedra, 2017, p. 46) and certain qualities of these social media applications and platforms such as enabling "interaction", "sharing" and "collaboration" among individuals is argued to contribute to the social empowerment of these people (Hidalgo-Mari & Segarra-Saavedra, 2017). Furthermore, Instagram is considered as an ice-breaker with the "excuse"

which all Instagrammers share as a common interest that motivates them to be a part of the Instagram community and moreover, images are seen as highly effective "social activators" (Serafinelli, 2017, p. 101).

A study which investigated the "benefits" of Facebook on the basis of "social capital" with a sample of 286 undergraduate students found that intensive Facebook usage allows individuals to accumulate and make use of social capital (Ellison et al., 2007). In this study, the participants stated that they could simply rely on their Facebook friends to do small favors for them. Moreover, maintaining connections via Facebook while for example changing cities for any reason is argued to carry the possibility with itself to prevent "friend sickness". Facebook "connections could have strong payoffs in terms of jobs, internships, and other opportunities…online interactions do not necessarily remove people from their offline world but may indeed be used to support relationships and keep people in contact, even when life changes move them away from each other" (Ellison et al., 2007, pp. 1164-1165).

Another study (Li & Chen, 2014) also found that Chinese international students who studied in the United States have benefitted from the "bridging social capital" accumulation from Facebook and Renren – a Chinese social network site – usage and social media behavior, facilitating "weak ties" and social circles/links, thereby socially empowering them. Similar findings were also found by another study which again had international students (N: 195) as its participants, stating that Facebook use helped these students to socially adjust to a new life in a foreign land and culture via the accumulation of bridging social capital (Lin et al., 2011).

Just as Facebook and other social media applications and sites, Instagram too can be used to obtain social capital. According to Marwick (2015), Instagram is used as a medium for "micro celebrity practices" by producing content which portrays the users as famous and popular individuals via using expensive accessories, mimicking the Instagram usage acts and photo sharing patterns of individuals who are famed within the pop-culture – singers, fashion models, rock stars, sports players, actors and actresses etc. – which gives the agents of the act a celebrity-status light in order to increase and amplify their popularity. Through this act, considering that the aim of getting more popular and broadening the social circle of the individual is achieved, no doubt that the agent would feel empowered socially and psychologically. After all, "By positioning themselves as worthy of the attention given to celebrities, and by using the visual tropes of celebrities… position themselves as celebrities. And, like celebrities, their followers position themselves as fans and reach out to the

Instafamous in a well-worn mode of address: the faithful supplicant and adoring audience" (Marwick, 2015, p. 156).

This state of being "Instafamous" can be attained by perhaps almost everyone who has the will and tenacity to be one. While actually being a singer, a sports player or a movie star may be a relatively difficult goal to achieve, using Instagram, pretending to be a celebrity at the same time gaining a vast pool of audience and followers is something which is not impossible to achieve. Perhaps a little creativity might do the trick, bringing feelings of empowerment after gaining virtual popularity on the application and on the online attention economy.

Not just individuals who strive to reap the benefits of "looking like" the popular and famous people get empowered by Instagram usage. The act of sharing selfies on Instagram is seen as a tool for empowerment also for celebrities since selfies enable celebrities to self-promote themselves by representing their finest jewelry, perfume, haircut, clothing, accessories etc. for their followers to admire who can reach to tens of millions by the number (Wallop, 2013). Therefore, this tool of empowerment facilitates the ability of celebrities to amass both financial and social capital in a more efficient and increased manner (Nemer & Freeman, 2015). In this context, Instagram provides the required medium of visuals to enable these forms of empowerment.

2.6.6. Political empowerment

After the invention of mass media, its components such as the TV, newspaper and the radio were used by various power structures to control, manipulate and supervise mass populations throughout the world via determining the elements of critical importance of the societal order such as what to consume, what to do and even what to think and how to think (Ünür, 2016). However, the advent of social media and the development of the new communication technologies, especially after the 2000's brought the transformation of the passive audience of the TV, newspaper, magazine and the radio to active, agently individuals (Nilsson, 2016; Ünür, 2016). The increasing power and prominence of social media struck a blow to the mass media's monopolization and invalidated the title of the "unchallenged authority" of it. As a platform which has a high level of interactivity, social media was started to be used by populations across the world as an alternative to mass media and it was used as a "weapon" against its "bossy" characteristic (Ünür, 2016). It can be said that to a certain extent, individuals became free from being the propaganda receivers of the mass media tools with the help of the extensive libertarian qualities of social media.

Furthermore, this transformation may very well be traced to the events of the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the increasing expansion of the globalization phenomenon starting from the 1980's to our present day. Within the Information society, individuals started to access and obtain information with ease while communicating their ideas and demands, this situation not only enhancing their participation in politics, but at the same time, allowing individuals, and non-governmental organization actors to be prominent players in the game of world politics by creating public opinion and various civic movements regarding any subject first on the local, then the national, and finally the international/global arena (Ekşi, 2018).

In addition, due to the transformation enabled by the developed communication technologies, social media applications – introducing speed and interactivity – when coupled with smart phones, increasingly became venues which contained great possibilities for self-expression and civic engagement, especially for minorities in any country who can and do encounter acts of oppression from power structures and blockage of the dissemination of their thoughts and ideas from traditional media platforms (Chen, 2017). After all, "Development can only be achieved when humans are "beings for themselves", when they possess their own decision-making powers…" (Freire, 1972, cited in Kumar, 2014, p. 1123).

Following the aforementioned quotation, it can be stated that social media supports and provides individuals within the context of "possessing the power of decision making". The dissemination of the footage and visuals of the police brutality throughout the globe and through social media channels for example, the shootings and killings of unarmed individual members to any group of minorities, or disadvantaged individuals such as drug or alcohol addicts, the poor, or simply individuals who have an opposing political stance and/or different life views with regards to the political ideology and status quo in any country can be given as an example to this situation. In these cases, social media applications such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram may serve as venues for capturing and circulating these occurings in visual forms such as photographs and videos, in order to raise awareness in terms of the oppression which is taking place while trying to influence local or nationwide political agendas and/or legal regulations.

There are daily life situations/causes which individuals perceive important for themselves and these life situations sometimes require collective action and effort to be solved, realized, improved or changed. The aforementioned life situations

"cover a wide range of options, which express individual solidarity across the digital world, ranging from stopping a family eviction to obtaining a surgery in another country for a sick child, or simply supporting environmental movements such as avoiding climate change" (Garcia Galera et al., 2017, p. 130).

Furthermore, it is possible to say that at a time where social and technological developments are ripe, the usage of social media allows the acquirement of new skills, abilities and literacies (for example; the new media literacy) which occur among marginalized individuals that in turn lead to empowerment (Kumar, 2014).

Shortly, it can be said that individuals who are denied to voice their concerns and daily life problems via more traditional media mediums such as the television, newspaper and radio for example, can use social media as a means to express themselves and make sure that their thoughts, emotions, discomfort, frustrations and grievances are heard while allowing them to participate in collective social actions as active actors/agents and they do so, while they acquire new skills which may help them to broaden their range of "selectable possibilities" in the light of their "more informed" and "knowledgable" state . All the more, by doing so, these individuals challenge the power of the traditional media channels' ability to determine the norms regarding "how to act" and "how to look" in the face of certain phenomena and events (Garner & Clara, 2017; Yang & Li, 2014) which signifies as a type of empowerment. Furthermore, social media is said to have become a voice for the marginalized individuals creating opportunities of expression – especially for people of color – at the same time carrying them from a state of invisibility to a state of visibility, thus giving marginalized individuals a say in politics, while spreading their messages to a wider group of audience (Chen, 2017).

In parallel to the aforementioned argumentations, it is stated elsewhere that unlike the common assumption, the youth – among other individuals such as the ethnically, racially etc. marginalized – around the world nowadays were not lazy and ignorant, on the contrary, they were rather active individuals who engaged in political events which demanded "democracy" (Ortega, 2014; qtd. in Garcia Galera et al., 2017, p. 130) through the medium of social media. Unsurprisingly, the facilitation of social media as a politically empowering tool entails the virtual unification of several group of actors on the platform of politics such as the marginalized, the oppressed, and the young and so on. This unification in turn may result in an amplification of the empowerment provided by social media components such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, in a certain form of activism.

The "activism" which takes place on – at least initially – the platform of social media can be criticized for its degree of "activeness" since it does not necessarily contain the act of going out on the streets and demanding improvement, change etc. regarding a certain matter in a physical and concrete manner. These rather "soft" activities are termed as "clicktivism" and "slacktivism" which denote a type of activism for the supporting of a certain cause with a minimal effort and commitment (Oxford Dictionaries, 2019) via the click of the Mouse or the tap on the smart phone screen.

However, whether these "activists" actually mobilize on a digital platform in order to take their "cause" to the streets, disseminate information over social media which breeds change and/or improvement, or whether they simply even think that they support any cause politically using social media, this act can be regarded as raising a feeling of empowerment. In other words, a physical and solid action and consequence in the offline, real world may not be necessary for the individuals to feel politically empowered. An abstract feeling of "participation" and "being heard" can still lead to empowerment. Within this context, Halupka talks about "clicktivism" as a social media activity which results in the circulation of knowledge, political change or the attainment of the feeling "satisfaction" for being involved in the social media activity (Halupka, 2014; qtd. in Garcia Galera et al., 2017, p. 131), which is compatible with the definition of empowerment used in this study.

In a research conducted in Madrid with 355 people aged 18-26 revealed that the second purpose of using social media was to obtain information about global or national socio-political events and developments which involve "education, activism and social commitment" (Garcia Galera et al., 2017). Moreover, 1/5 of the participants stated that social media made them aware of social and political issues and causes which were unknown to them before and that the social media platform became the mediator for them to participate in such causes and events. Generally, this study observes that individuals tend to participate in digital activism more than physical events, since they think that engaging in digital communication with regards to activism can be walked through as an alternative path for social, societal change.

Another account that verifies the empowering dimension of selfies – as the primary and most important component of Instagram – is the work of Nemer and Freeman (2015) which investigates "selfies" within the sociocultural context of the urban slums –favelas – of Brazil. They argue that while the conventional type of empowerment that selfies offer for ordinary

individuals are "(re)constructing confidence" and "receiving confidence"; whereas "for marginalized users who are suffering in a relatively severe living environment, selfies are not a shallow way to show narcissism, fashion and self-promotion and seek attention; selfies, rather, empower the users to exercise free speech, practice self-reflection, express spiritual purity, improve literacy skills and form strong interpersonal connections" (Nemer and Freeman, 2015, p.1833). Alternative empowerment factors can be at play when we talk about marginalized individuals. The motivations of sharing selfies in this context were determined as "escaping from censorship", expressing the true self" and "overcoming illiteracy".

The individuals who are subject to the study of Nemer and Freeman were found to use selfies to express their thoughts and emotions (for example a young boy posting a selfie to show his grief about a murder which he just witnessed) for security reasons (again a boy who posts selfies to confirm and prove that he is safe and OK to his mother) to learn more about the world around them (learning and being aware about the current local events), enhance their social life (communicate with friends) and to make better their literacy skills. By engaging in these actions, "they (re)constructed their confidence, knowledge, hope, and enthusiasm in a relatively severe environment" (Nemer & Freeman, 2015, p. 1843). This piece of work illustrates how social media usage could fulfill the emotional and social needs of the marginalized individuals. The decisions that these individuals have made with regards to the creation and sharing of selfies have improved their quality of life which is understood by the authors as a form of empowerment. This study proves that – while acknowledging the empowering dimension of selfies – local and sociocultural factors may have an effect over the type of empowerment which the act of sharing selfies provides for the users.

A similar study which investigated the social media usage among a marginalized community found that the social media usage patterns lead to various types of empowerment and an increased agency among economically, socially and digitally disadvantaged populations in the forms of improved general and digital literacy, relationship maintenance, income generation (Nemer, 2016). Therefore, it was argued here that the time spent on social media should rather be regarded as an opportunity to improve one self's life instead of a time being wasted. "Based on the findings of my fieldwork it appears that social media has been appropriated in specific ways by the favela residents to overcome their limitations, fulfill certain needs and exercise their human agency" (Nemer, 2016, p. 377).

Apart from, and in addition to the political empowering effect of social media over minorities and disadvantaged groups throughout the globe, It is argued that the act of shooting and sharing selfies on the online world is characterized as an act of political empowerment among young women as well as other groups of individuals: "as a means to resist the male dominated media culture's obsession with and oppressive hold over their lives and bodies" (Murray, 2015, p. 490). Within this context, selfies were seen as a political tool to reclaim the female body – i.e. the authority to define what is a beautiful women's body on the realm of social media – an enabler for political engagement, a means to defy and reject societal norms and standards which are dictated by the "patriarchal oppression" for women and to enhance a positive attitude regarding the female body via sharing images of menstrual blood, body hair and images of female bodies without wearing any clothes on etc. (Murray, 2015).

Murray criticizes the argumentations of studies which relate selfie sharing with narcissism and condemns them for focusing "on the personality flaws of the overindulged, namely, suburban teens and celebrities" (Murray, 2015, p. 492). These acts – especially sharing naked photographs – were not carried out for the pleasure of the male gaze, but for the acknowledgement of femininity and sexuality, indicating to a form of agency and independence, empowerment.

Selfies are used to achieve some type of a recognition by certain female bloggers, to "make themselves present in the world, and to create the kind of unique style and personhood that would not be represented otherwise" (Murray, 2015, p. 496). Therefore, it can be inferred that in this account, women, seem to claim a certain representational agency which helps them to be recognized and acknowledged by the members of the other social media users as "themselves" while shouting "I am here and I am".

Speaking from the context of Turkey, just looking at the news for a week provides a long list of examples regarding social media use and political empowerment. Having followed the Instagram account of the Feminist Lawyer Feyza Altun throughout the process of counting votes in the municipal elections which were carried out on the 31st of March, 2019, provided the followers of updated information regarding the process and made them aware of what was going on and how was the process handled. Furthermore, it is easy to be aware of the conditions of "women" in Turkey and to get quickly organized and act accordingly in an event of protecting Women Rights through her Instagram page.

Another recent account regarding political empowerment was the incident about the abuse in a metro bus in Istanbul (OdaTV, 2019). In this incident, a woman claimed that she was sexually harassed by a male and afterwards, she shared a video which she took during the event on social media, creating a "public fury" through the #MetrobüsteTacizVar (Harassment in the metro bus) hashtag. The extent of the effect of this hashtag and societal awareness in terms of the arrestment of the abuser is unknown, but even the virtual pressure of the "aware" and furious individuals can be regarded as political empowerment.

Only a day later, social media erupted with another event which its dissemination among users can be qualified as politically empowering; a woman named Funda Esenç got angry at the delay of her flight and insulted a worker of the flight firm with a very inappropriate language (Barlas, 2019). In the end, the whole occurrence was recorded by a video recorder and was on social media before anyone who was involved in the scene knew. The reaction of the social media community was so intense that Esenç felt obliged to make a statement and apologize to the worker of the flight firm from her Twitter account and she also stated that this incident had negatively affected both her career and her social relationships (Barlas, 2019). Furthermore, it was stated that Esenç was put to the blacklist of the flight company and she would not be able to buy a ticket from the aforementioned company anymore. A comment of a criticizer of Esenç is meaningful in terms of observing the pressure of social media; "I think you will not be able to go out of your house for 3 to 5 years". (Barlas, 2019). This was an example which showed that political empowerment was not only gained against power structures, but also against civilians and individuals as well.

My last example regarding political empowerment in the context of Turkey will be another example of virtual lynch, referencing a car accident which occurred in Izmir on the 27th April of 2019. Shortly, a car hit a pedestrian who was trying to get across the road. The recorded video of the incident was circulated through Ekşisözlük – a form of social media which I have elaborated under the section of social media – alongside with the identity of the "reckless" and "irresponsible" driver. Soon after, a lynch campaign was launched against the driver through social media. The information of the event can be accessed by looking under the entry "İzmirde feci kaza" (tragic accident in Izmir) on Ekşisözlük.

It can be inferred from the aforementioned examples that political empowerment is perhaps the type of empowerment which resembles surveillance culture the most. This type of empowerment is gained directly through the surveillance activities which are carried out by

"everyone", men women and children alike. And even the pressure of social media and the power of it to create a culture of "virtual lynch" can be regarded as a pretty solid form of power and oppression, which is impressingly demonstrated by the TV series Black Mirror, in the episode of "Hated in the Nation".

Generally, it can be said that social media became the voice – and/or an amplifier for that voice – for the individuals or groups who did not have one or whose was too weak to be heard by authorities and officials. Moreover, social media made visible the aspirations and wants of certain groups of people, enabling them to be a part of the political decision-making process in a variable extent. To summarize, it can be said that the main fact behind the potential of social media for political empowerment is that the motivation of "wanting and making the society aware of a problem which is experienced" by the individual him/herself. Therefore, it can be argued that social media use as an alternative form of social participation has the ability to politically empower its users, among the other types of empowerment.

2.6.7. Economic empowerment

Economic empowerment is defined as an achievement which contains obtaining, maintaining and improving standards of living, with processes of "physical development" based upon certain principles such as justice, equity and sustainability (Pradono et al., 2016). It is possible to say that this type of empowerment mostly emphasizes the physical means of improving individuals' lives such as monetary elements; money, immovables and real estate properties etc. which the use of such materials would improve the living conditions and daily life in a in the direction of increasing physical comfort and convenience for the individual who is empowered economically.

It is claimed that social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram are also used for making decisions for purchase regarding commodities other than sharing thoughts and ideas (Barczyk & Duncan, 2011). Furthermore, not only the individual and small businesses, even extensively scaled companies are now increasingly utilizing social media in order to market their products and interact with their customers to obtain optimal results and profits (Leskovec et al., 2007). For some, Instagram is regarded as a perfect marketing tool with its ability to display commodities with clear visual descriptions (Ting et al., 2015). All the more, with the quality of "geo-tagging", it is argued that Instagram accomplishes more than being a communication channel; it promotes tourist destinations and serves the tourism

sector as well (Fatanti & Suyadnya, 2015). It was found that 71% of businesses worldwide was using Instagram to display or market products and/or services (Mohsin, 2019).

It can be argued that social media can provide this type of empowerment in two ways, which one could be "directly" and the other "indirectly". The direct economic empowerment on social media occurs as gaining "actual" money from sponsorships, video view counts, content production and so on, using applications such as YouTube, Instagram and various social media sites. An example for the direct economic empowerment of social media on the basis of an individual can be given with the social media element YouTube. The usage of the social media platform YouTube results both in the economic and social empowerment among users who create and supply content; economic empowerment since users make a living out of this process and social empowerment since they have the opportunity to voice their thoughts, ideas and make themselves recognized by their audiences (Hidalgo-Mari & Segarra-Saavedra, 2017).

Another example of directly making money using social media can be explained through the use of Instagram. It is argued that strategies and tactics such as making sponsored posts, doing affiliate marketing, promoting one's business – in any scale kind of business, small, medium or large – selling one's photos, services, products – which may be both digital or physical and the more photogenic and appealing the shared photos are, the higher the rate of sales of that product will be – and using Instagram to improve ones' YouTube outcome are ways to attain direct economic empowerment through Instagram, also called a platform of "e-commerce" (Xue, 2018).

By building a trustable profile which has countless followers and a solid reputation via online presence and activities, marketing and selling products/goods individually or collectively can easily be achieved by Instagram usage. It was found that 83% of Instagram users discover new products and services on the platform, 80% of them are supported by it in terms of whether to buy a product or not, and at least 50% of the users were found to follow at least 1 brand on Instagram, (Mohsin, 2019) enabling them to make economically empowered choices among a broadened range of consumer goods and services.

While there is no doubt that there are people out there benefitting these qualities of Instagram and earning money from "Instagramming", it is plausible to say that the majority of the users benefit from the economic empowerment of the platform in an indirect manner. This situation

simply arises when an individual acquires the ability to save his/her money or economic assets or use them in a more strategic and effective way, with Instagram providing them information regarding prices of commodities on different electronic shops/stores, allowing to make comparisons and the optimal choice for maximum profit/savings. A real-life example of this situation can be found at the section: "Examples from daily life regarding Instagram use and empowerment" below.

2.6.8. Informational/educational empowerment

Although information obtained from social media can from time to time be inaccurate and false, it is argued that social media empowers individuals via enhancing their "knowledge bank" with unlimited flow of information since this form of media enables the dissemination of information faster than any other traditional media medium (Amedie, 2015). Obtaining information almost about anything, ones' intellectual levels may very well be raised through social media use (Garcia Galera et al., 2017). Within this framework, Instagram users can upload pictures or photographs in order to speed up the dissemination of information (Chante et al., 2014).

An agent, knowing his or her sources can greatly benefit from the endless information flow of Instagram which leads him/her to make informed decisions about his/her life and be empowered in the process.

2.6.9. Examples from daily life regarding Instagram use and empowerment

Within this context, I present the following daily life examples in terms of empowerment on Instagram. These examples are hypothetical, and they are given for the purpose to help the reader better understand and fit together the concept of empowerment with Instagram usage. While hypothetical, these examples are thought to have a high probability of reflection in real life. They are not given out of the blue but rather from the accumulated information of my academic readings and observations on societal life.

Back to the examples. Here, I talk about a high school student who uses Instagram to expand his social circle, a woman who uses Instagram in order to achieve economic empowerment, and a group of environmentalists who facilitate Instagram use for political empowerment.

The high school student wants to build, maintain and/or expand his social sphere since he deems having many friends as possible is a good thing which makes him feel social and happy. In this case, he uses Instagram to socialize with fellow Instagram users via posting photos,

making comments, messaging with friends and friending new people. It can be said that if these attempts made by the student is successful, this act of socializing can result in the accumulation of social capital and having a lot of friends may empower our student by making him feel good at the least. Anything that helps him achieve his goal of making friends and maintaining his social relationships – in this case, "Instagram", a component of social media – can be regarded as the tool of this type of empowerment.

Another example can be the one regarding a woman who again uses Instagram, but this time, in order to check out a high-heel shoe which she was longing to buy. She was tirelessly waiting for a discount since the shoes she wanted were very expensive. Using Instagram, she had the power to search and compare the prices of the shoes on different sites and advertisements and finally, she found a pair which were on discount. Immediately buying the beautiful and shiny green high-heel shoes, it can be said that this women was empowered at least on two types of empowerment, psychological and economical; psychologically because she had made and acted on a decision which resulted in her happiness and satisfied her desire of having the shoes that she liked, economically because having the ability to compare different prices of the same product and thus, having the power of "choosing to buy the shoes from the shop which provided the lowest price" she saved a portion of her money which later on her life may serve to satisfy another individual desire.

The third example is about political empowerment. Let's say a group of environmentalists who are trying to protect the trees and the natural habitat of forest X while a company is interested in cutting a certain number of trees which are located in forest X in order to realize a housing project. Again, let's say that this company has obtained the necessary warrants/permits from the local administration, giving them the full authority to realize the project. At this point, the power of a handful environmentalists may seem pretty low, compared to the company which has the state officials backing them up via official permittances. But then, something happens. The environmentalists start to take photographs of the activities of the company cutting the trees and then share them on social media. They create an awareness by sharing these photographs and spreading messages regarding the harm and damage that the project will have over the ecosystem of the forest and the surrounding residential areas. These messages and photographs do the trick. They rally countless "agents" who stand against the company and make public protests and marches. Finally, the local authorities could not withstand the determined activists, decides that the interest of the company is not worth protecting with the

public anger directed against them. The permit of the company is revoked and the trees of forest X are saved, at least for now. It is apparent that Instagram has served as a politically empowering instrument in this example, resulting individuals having a say in the political affairs in their region.

This was an example containing environmentalist agents. The same example could be given by putting feminists, socialists, advocates of human and animal rights, lesbians, gays, ethnical or other minorities and other groups who think they are oppressed in any way and/or who would like to have a say in the political discourse and who would like to participate in the construction of the political agenda of their communities and countries. These may be imaginary examples, but they reflect the real-world occurrences that happen every day throughout the globe. I believe that these examples beautifully and simply illustrate the potential of social media, specifically Instagram to empower agents in their daily lives to achieve desired outcomes and to gain control of their lives. Investigating the extent of the reality of these examples in a social-scientific manner, was another aim and component of this study. The real-life events – narrated/given voice by my participants – which are similar to the aforementioned examples are given on the "findings" section of my work.

In parallel to the last example given above, it can be said that in the 21st century, the power of social media and its usage to raise awareness and/or to make changes on the laws of certain countries is a well-known phenomenon. While changes on the laws are not necessarily observed, within the examples such as The Arab Spring which erupted in the Middle Eastern region of the world, the oppression to the opposition in the 2009 presidency elections in Iran, in police violence seen on various countries across the globe, and not going to distant regions, in the Gezi Park Movement which took place in Turkey, the social media was quite the mobilizer and information disseminator for these politically empowering acts and protests where traditional media channels were either sided with the ones in power and authorities or remaining neutral and stayed silent, failing to give voice to the oppressed (Ahmad et al., 2015; Irak & Yazıcıoğlu, 2012; Kongar & Küçükkaya, 2013; Chen, 2017). The effect of social media to mobilize and voice concerns and propagate/convey ideas that were impossible to do via traditional media channels in order to influence and change dominant political decisions taken by the government was an obvious fact in the Gezi Park events which lasted for more or less 2 weeks (Kongar & Küçükkaya, 2013).

It is argued that the "CNN effect" of the 1990's which signified media's influencing act over the ones in power through participating in the political decision making processes had been replaced by the "YouTube effect" which implied that the effects of social media on politics were increasing since governments around the world did not have the ability to control the information flow of the internet and social media, just as they have done over traditional mass media for a very long time (Ekşi, 2018). The recording and sharing of war videos on YouTube undoubtedly put governments into tough situations such as the sharing of the visuals of "Guantanamo tortures", "The Syrian Civil-War", or the acts of Julian Assange and Edward Snowden.

These are all real-life examples where social media was a leading actor for empowering individuals against macro power structures such as the state. More examples can be counted but I believe that these will suffice since just logging in to social media and searching for relevant topics may bring information regarding the role of social media in promoting and supporting the feminist movement, the LGBTI movement, the environmental movement, voices who stand for human rights in general, animal rights and countless other political struggles, disseminated throughout the globe.

Whether psychological, social, political, economic or Informational/educational, social media in general, and specifically Instagram, empowers it users. These types of empowerments are intermingled and most of the time inseparable from each other but all of them refer to the individuals' increasing ability to make choices which help them to achieve certain goals – self-perceived as worthy to attain and which has the quality to improve their daily lives or wellbeing in any way – in their lives. This study explored these possibilities of empowerment, supported by the categorization made above and which Instagram can be a tool/mediator for, in the Turkish context.

2.6.10. Narcissism and empowerment in social media

Nowadays it is quite easy to find academic writings and daily news which relate intensive social media use to narcissism. I believe that most of these arguments are superficially made with populist concerns without the required rigor for such a research topic. Therefore, below this section, I intend to discuss the linkage of narcissism to social media and empowerment in a detailed and ideational manner, propounding the fact that it is not necessary for them to be inter-related to each other.

As I have stated at the selfie section, there is no shortage of academic research, newspaper articles and other publishings regarding excessive social media use and its' association with narcissism as the most prominent form of pathology seen in individuals who engage in this act. It is very easy to encounter numerous anti-social media and anti-selfie accounts on television, on the newspaper, or on the internet which tout and show concern that the excessive use of these are linked to narcissism, by supporting and enhancing narcissistic behavior. It can be said that most of these accounts are hasty in condemning the act of social media use as a practice which increase narcissism among individuals, especially among young people.

To counteract the aforementioned argumentation, a starting point may be giving the definition of the term. Narcissism is defined as "great interest in and pleasure at your own appearance and qualities" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2019). Even looking at the definition of the word, regardless of determining it as a pathological problem or disease, it can be deduced that the meaning it carries does not have a quality to contradict or oppose empowerment induced by social media use, which is one of my main arguments throughout this study.

Moreover, it must be stated that the term narcissism which is referred in this work is different from the medical, pathological "Narcissistic Personality Disorder", defined by the American Psychiatric Association which requires at least five symptoms from the following for diagnosis; to be haughty, to imagine and daydream about unlimited success, power, intelligence, beauty, love, to believe that he/she is a unique, one of a kind individual who deserves only the best treatment from everyone else, to want to be adored from everyone else, to believe that he/she deserves everything that is good and desirable, to use other people for self-interests, not to be able to feel empathy towards anyone, to be jealous of other individuals and to constantly believe that he/she is envied by other people, to behave disrespectfully against other people and to engage in immodest acts and to have an arrogant attitude in general (Köroğlu, 2014).

When referring to narcissism in this work, I use the term as "a dimensional personality trait that consists of a grandiose self-concept as well as behaviors intended to maintain this self-concept in the face of reality" (Emmons, 1984; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001, qtd. in McCain & Campbell, 2016, p. 3). This "trait narcissism" is the type of narcissism which may be accepted as more social and cultural when compared with the medical personality disorder and it is stated elsewhere that this type of narcissism was not considered as pathological and that it was

observed on the general population, having both positive and negative outcomes (McCain & Campbell, 2016) which are not enough to make it a worrisome condition/health problem.

In addition to these argumentations, it is reasonable to state that even a parallel line could be drawn between empowerment and trait narcissism. Both of the terms implicitly contain the meaning that the individuals pursue and attain "ends" which they see valuable to obtain/arrive at. Using the application Instagram or any other social media application/website with trait narcissism as the motivator of the usage, does not necessarily impede the process of empowerment which is provided by these utilization patterns. In other words, a narcissist still may be empowered by Instagram and other social media platforms, being an active agent via loving him/herself and acting to achieve objectives of self-interest (such as to feed the ego, enhance self-esteem and self-confidence by establishing and maintaining social circles etc.).

Mehdizadeh's (2010) argumentation and definition about narcissism can also be used here as having implications for empowerment; a nonymous setting "…enables users to control the information projected about themselves. In particular, users can select attractive photographs and write self-descriptions that are self-promoting in an effort to project an enhanced sense of self. Furthermore, Facebook users can receive public feedback on profile features from other users, which can act as a positive regulator of narcissistic esteem" (p. 360). Obviously, receiving positive feedback is not limited to Facebook. Instagram also allows feedback regarding a shared post, enabling the same type of "narcissistic esteem" for Instagrammers as well.

In addition to these argumentations, and as I have stated under the section of "selfie" below, there are even accounts which regard selfies to provide a feeling of "narcissistic empowerment", if they were used for "artistic expression, self-insight and growth" (Suler, 2015, p. 179). A meta-analysis which can be seen as a definitive work to conclude my argumentation regarding the relationship between social media, narcissism and empowerment, investigated the relationship between social media use and narcissism via reviewing 29 relevant studies, which had a sample of 13.430 and found that narcissism was positively related to four factors; "(a) time spent on social media, (b) frequency of status updates/tweets on social media, (c) number of friends/followers on social media, and (d) frequency of posting pictures of self or selfies on social media" (McCain & Campbell, 2016, p. 2) on the basis of mild to moderate narcissism.

The meta-analysis concluded that the results were more or less moderated by cultural and social factors. But here is the catch; after establishing the relationship between narcissism and social media, the study discusses that this type of narcissism seen on social media users and the social media usage patterns of individuals which contains posts, selfie sharing, friend/follower accumulation etc. were acknowledged as routes to "self-enhancement" (McCain & Campbell, 2016). It is reasonable to relate this type of achievement by individual empowerment rather than a pathology which has harm over the user/agent.

Furthermore, in another relatively recent study (Fox & Rooney, 2015), it was found that narcissistic men tended to spend more time and frequently take, edit and share selfies on social networking sites. These acts and the manipulative editing of selfies were interpreted as the intention of the individual to maximize his attractiveness to attain and maintain sexual partners. Following a goal perceived as worthy to attain through social media use, this example demonstrates that narcissism not necessarily obstructs empowerment processes. Therefore, condemning social media instruments on the basis of narcissistic behavior patterns should be treated distinctly from "empowerment".

In light of these argumentations, it can be said that being a narcissist or not when using social media, or a quality of the social media to trigger or support already existing narcissistic behaviors in any way are ultimately irrelevant regarding the empowering processes provided by social media use. All the more, the term narcissism as a medical pathology seems distinct from the type of "social" and "cultural" narcissism which is disputed to be associated with social media applications and (web) sites since, to the best of my knowledge, there are no individuals who receive medical and/or psychiatric treatment for being excessive social media users.

As I have elaborated before, empowerment does not necessarily have to go hand in hand with narcissism in any way. Even so, it may support and enhance empowerment processes rather than diminish them. Again, in the best of my knowledge, there is no study which acknowledges narcissism and empowerment as two antagonistic phenomena. Therefore, even if individuals put the usage of social media applications and the act of sharing selfies in the center of their daily lives and even these people carry narcissistic tendencies in any way, this does not automatically condemn social media activities and deprive these activities from "agency" and "empowerment".

The negative connotations of narcissism regarding Instagram use do not necessarily mean that the patterns of use do not empower the users in any way. Nevertheless, the focus of this study remains on the empowering aspects of Instagram which are driven by Scopophilic usage patterns. After finally completing the theoretical background of my study, I would like to continue with "social media", a vast universe which contains one of my main research topics among others; Instagram.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL MEDIA

A relatively shorter chapter when compared to the theoretical framework, this chapter strives to give information about social media in general and information regarding its development in the context of Turkey. Then, the relationship between social media, Scopophilia and empowerment are discussed separately, bringing this chapter to a conclusion.

3.1. Definitions of social media

Instagram, which is one of the main components of my work can be put under the categories of "forms of social media" and "social networking sites". I believe it is important to know and understand the history, development, dynamics and mechanics of the new media in order to help the reader grasp and comprehend the social changes which the members of this "digital family of social networks" has brought upon humanity. To achieve this purpose, information regarding the definition and history of social media is given in this section, alongside with other input in terms of social media and its derivatives while putting forward their link with empowerment and Scopophilia; which make up the other core components of this study.

Social media has many definitions up to date. It is regarded as a derivative of "computer-mediated communication" (McIntyre, 2014), as "internet sites (or platforms) where people interact freely, sharing and discussing information (often) about each other and their lives, using a multimedia mix of personal words, pictures, videos and audio" (Curtis, 2013), as networks which involve the sharing of information and establishing, maintaining communication between three or more (people) (Weaver & Morrison, 2008), as digital communication and information channels which have the qualities of accessibility, being consumable by anyone, regardless of their socio-economic status, anywhere and anytime (Hennig et al., 2010), as "new forms of media that involve interactive participation" (Manning, 2014), and finally, as "a group of internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of User Generated Content (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010, p. 61).

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Besides social media, another term; "social networking sites" – SNS – are of importance for this section. While they can be synonymously used with social media, it can be said that social network sites are a part of the social media, since social media includes SNS within its body alongside with other typical forms such as; e-mail, texters, blogs, message boards, dating sites, online games, mobile applications (Manning, 2014) etc. which may exist independently from social networking sites.

SNS are defined as; "web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system" (Boyd & Ellison, 2007, p. 211). Furthermore, SNS can also be defined as; "applications that enable users to connect by creating personal information profiles, inviting friends and colleagues to have access to those profiles, sending e-mails and instant messages between each other. These personal profiles can include any type of information, including photos, video, audio files and blogs" (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010, p. 63).

It can be inferred from this information that the most popular platforms which are used today between individuals to establish communication in any way are called social networking sites, while social media is referred to the universe, the field which contains all SNS, along with other Web 2.0 applications and websites. Ultimately, there is not a consensual systematic categorization regarding the components of social media (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010).

When talking about social media, it should be kept in mind that the most important characteristics of social media is "social engagement" and being "dialogic", which allows interaction among users (Dickey & Lewis, 2010). Furthermore, social media is considered as the official birth of the participatory culture, which is defined as; "a culture with relatively low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement, strong support for creating and sharing one's creations, and some type of informal mentorship whereby what is known by the most experienced is passed along to novices. A participatory culture is also one in which members believe their contributions matter, and feel some degree of social connection with one another" (Jenkins, et al., 2009, p. 3). It can be said that this definition has its similarities with the Surveillance Culture on the basis of individual and/or collective empowerment. Both the Surveillance Culture and the state of "empowerment" which it entails in various forms were already elaborated under the theory section.

After briefly defining social media and its derivatives, now I would like to give information about the history of social media within the context of Turkey, as this study investigates certain global phenomenon in the Turkish local context.

3.2. The past and now: internet and social media in the context of Turkey

Despite certain similarities regarding the development of social media and social networking sites/applications throughout the globe in the past 30 years, there is no doubt that the usage patterns of these sites and applications vary greatly depending on local context. From friendship sites to messenger applications, countries prefer the platform which they use according to their social and cultural compositions. Even the usage of the same platform in different countries may result in various usage patterns with different motivations of use. To give an example on the basis of the "messenger" use among different countries, it can be said that while the citizens of the U.S., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Egypt and France are using Facebook Messenger to communicate, citizens of Russia, Mexico, Brazil, Turkey, India, The Great Britain and Spain use Whatsapp messenger; Japan uses Line, Iran uses Telegram, China uses Wechat, Ukraine uses Viber, South Korea uses Kakaotalk and so on (Kemp, 2018). The examples can be expanded to other forms of social media and social networking sites and applications as well.

Turkey is not an exception to this rule. Indeed, apart from the foundation of major and dominant social media elements, Turkey has had its own, unique history of the internet and social media. It has been 26 years since internet was brought to the country (Atılgan, 2019). The first internet connection of Turkey was established in the 12th of April, 1993 by the Middle East Technical University, Department of Information Technologies over TCP/IP protocol, via connecting to National Science Foundation Network (NSFNet), with a speed of 64 Kbps (Kıvırcık, 2018). For a very long time, and before the development of a wireless internet connection, residents of Turkey used a system called "dial-up networking connection" to connect to the digital world, which consisted of dialing a number over the households' phone line and only after the modem of the household and the one which was dialed made some sort of connection, a "hand shake", only then, the connection would be established. It would be easy for individuals who have used internet in Turkey at that time to recall the eerie mechanic sound of the dialing process.

TURNET, the first internet service provider in Turkey, came into service in 1996, and after a year, the number of internet service providers rose from 1 to nearly 80 (Kıvırcık, 2018).

Providing, establishing and using the infrastructure necessary for internet usage was very expensive at the infancy period of the internet and it necessitated the buying of an expensive modem and an expensive personal computer, not to mention the expensive connection fees (Irak & Yazıcıoğlu, 2012). Therefore, the first users of the internet in Turkey were pretty limited in numbers and they were members of a homogenous socio-economic group/community, connecting with each other via various bulletin board systems.

In time, these limitations were partly overcome with the advent of internet cafes (Irak & Yazıcıoğlu, 2008), environments where individuals – especially teens and young people – gained access to internet, chatted with friends and played videogames. Defined as venues for modern relaxation and learning, with computers which have access to the internet alongside with food and beverage services (Yıldız & Bölükbaş, 2005), internet cafes became a haven for those who lacked the means for connecting to the World Wide Web.

I remember that in my high school years, we would sometimes ditch school to go to the internet cafe to play popular multiplayer video games such as Counter-Strike, Defense of the Ancients (DOTA), Need for Speed, Serious Sam II, The Lord of The Rings, Battle for Middle Earth, Star Wars: Battlefront etc. Apart from us, there were also older people in the internet cafe but unlike us high school students who were video game enthusiasts, they were not there for playing video games. They were there to use the internet, to chat with others, or videochat via applications such as Skype. The reasons that we opted for these internet cafes that they were pretty cheap – 1 Turkish lira for an hour of PC usage – that most of the PC's were fully upgraded which enabled a smooth and visually satisfying gaming experience and most importantly, they had "internet connection". A very fast internet connection indeed.

A study conducted on 2748 internet cafe customers in the year 2005, when these places' popularity was at their peak, found that more than 53% of the customers stated that their own internet access was slow and expensive (Taşpınar & Gümüş, 2005). The restrictions on the internet during the first years of the millennia resulted in the creation of an internet cafe culture in Turkey where certain needs such as cheap and fast internet and quality gaming were satisfied. However, quoting Herakleitos; "the only thing that is constant is the change itself". A time came when this statement become true for internet cafes. Like other social phenomena, venues for internet surfing, gaming and learning, started to vanish in Turkey one by one, with the development of free wireless internet along with its falling prices, and the advent of smartphones, which marked the entrance to the mobile age of digitalization (Balaban, 2019).

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This transition period transformed our "cell phones" to "smartphones" and thus, the qualities of these smartphones, backed up with cheap and suitable internet package tariffs enabled everyone to have their own internet cafes in their pockets. According to Kemp, 194 billion mobile applications were downloaded worldwide in 2018 and nearly 4 billion active internet users out of 4.388 billion were accessing internet through their mobile phones (2019a). Currently, on the basis of social media and device usage, these numbers translate to the context of Turkey as; 44 million active social media users out of 52, engaging social media via mobile applications and moreover, 77% of the adult population using smartphones as an electronic device, where only 48% used laptops or desktop computers and finally, in the year of 2018, 2.877 billion mobile applications were downloaded to mobile phones by the citizens of Turkey, spending 360.5 billion dollars in total for these paid downloads (Kemp, 2019b).

If we are to return to the history of the internet and social media in Turkey, it is plausible to say that apart from the emerging internet cafes throughout the country, new developments took place; as a form of communication over the internet, the Bulletin Board Systems left their place to new technologies such as the IRC (Internet Relay Chat), which was considered as a revolution since it brought "simultaneity" to the communication that was occurring on the internet (Irak & Yazıcıoğlu, 2012). Moreover, this technology enabled the sharing of music and picture files in small sizes, which started the age of data/file sharing. This would be the backbone of the internet and social for the coming years.

Within this context, it can be said that the first internet phenomenon in Turkey was the "Zurna" chat room which was opened in 1998 (Irak & Yazıcıoğlu, 2012). This chat room was "cloned" several times and it allowed an anonymous communication between its users. To make a brief note, Zurna Chat was revived in 2016 by Yasin Türkdoğan as a mobile application for smartphones to bring back the "nostalgia" of the anonymous conversation environment, disallowing the disclosure of personal information (Şahin, 2016). After the opening of Zurna Chat room(s), the end of the 1990's Turkey saw the rise of websites/forms of social media such as the famed Ekşisözlük.

Ekşisözlük was founded in the 14th February of 1999 by Sedat Kapanoğlu and was defined as a platform which involved the sharing of subjective and objective definitions of words, terms, conceptualizations, information, experiences, observations, comments, jokes, surveys and links which direct the user to information on other digital channels (Gürel & Yakın, 2007). The site was, and still is in the form of an online/digital/electronic dictionary, consisting of the

information mentioned above. It would not be an exaggeration to say that Ekşisözlük was a revolution over the course of the history of social media in Turkey. Within this platform, members (in order to speak in terms of the site's jargon; "authors", or "susers" in Turkish) would open an "entry" and share their thoughts regarding any subject, creating some kind of public opinion via sharing ideas and information. Ekşisözlük played a critical role to create the cyber culture in Turkey; only in 2006 with its 10.729 authors, it had 5.939.607 numbers of entries (Gürel & Yakın, 2007). It may also be regarded as a social networking site since it has messaging features and the authors can also interact with each other, both openly and privately.

Perhaps the most important characteristics of Ekşisözlük is that it is a platform which is constantly expanding with the participation and contribution of its authors, and its quality that the topics of discussion is not limited to any political, religious etc. ideological systems. Moreover, the topics which are opened by authors do not receive censorship – most of the time – from the managerial level. Generally, the site is considered as a search engine, a discussion platform, a form of sub-culture, a socialization tool, a bank of historical information, a representative of sociological sense of humor and a channel of advertising (Gürel & Yakın, 2007).

Today, Ekşisözlük is considered as a massive pool of information – subjective or objective in nature – which millions of people who reside in and out of Turkey benefit from. It has become so powerful for creating public opinion – a political empowerment tool – political figures and candidates for public offices feel obliged to make an appearing to the platform to answer the questions of the authors, especially before municipal, general or presidential elections. Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, Temel Karamollaoğlu, Mansur Yavaş, Meral Akşener are a few examples whose Q&A sessions can be found on the site. In 2019, with its 120.700.000 monthly visit number, Ekşisözlük is the 9th most visited social media form of Turkey (Kemp, 2019b).

After the foundation of Ekşisözlük, a man named Mahir Çağrı opened a personal website named ikissyou.org in December 1999. Despite a simple design and insufficient English for its content, the site swiftly become quite popular both in Turkey and abroad. Just in a few hours, more than 800.000 people contacted Mahir through his website where he shared photos from his daily life and messages such as; "I kiss you!", "Who is want to come Turkey I can invitate…She can stay my home", "I like music, I have many many music enstrumans my home I can play" "My profession jurnalist, music and sport teacher, I make psycolojy doctora" (Üğüden, 2016). Even if the truthfulness of these messages can be debated upon, Mahir Çağrı

became the first social media phenomenon of Turkey and perhaps one of the most popular individuals of the world through a personal website. A distinguished sense of humor at that time appears as an indisputable fact for the reason of this popularity (Irak & Yazıcıoğlu, 2012). Furthermore, www.ikissyou.org and Çağrı found themselves a place both in the book of Guinness World Records (with 3.173.973 visitors between November 1999 – April 2000) and in Forbes' "most famous 100 individuals" (Üğüden, 2016). Mahir Çağrı can be labeled as at least one of the ancestors of "social media phenomenon".

The citizens of Turkey had to wait until the 2000's to access the internet in an easy and cheaper fashion, for the revolutionary ADSL (asymmetric digital subscriber line) system was available to use, starting from the new millennia (Irak & Yazıcıoğlu, 2012). ADSL had a couple of qualities which made the act of "internet surfing" a more effortless and easy experience; it was at least two times faster than the old dial-up connection system, it had a fixed monthly fee (the old was priced according to the number of "seconds" which internet was used) and finally, ADSL did not interrupt the land phone communication (Irak & Yazıcıoğlu, 2012). With this brand-new technology, households started to receive faster internet service 24 hours a day with much cheaper pricing. Furthermore, faster internet brought the increase of file downloading and sharing programs such as Napster, Limewire, Kazaa, eMule, Rapidshare and so on, which triggered the trend of online pirating, nowadays called "torrenting".

The arrival of the ADSL technology also effected the social communication side of the internet. The old messaging systems were replaced by new, faster ones such as ICQ and MSN messenger. These new social networking programs started to lay emphasis on digitally constructed identity (Irak & Yazıcıoğlu, 2012). The aforementioned innovations started to promote an online identity, erasing the "anonymity" aspect of social networking. The rise of personal, constructed identity went hand in hand with the development of web 2.0 technology, both in Turkey and all around the globe.

"Web 2.0" was a "techno culture" term which was first used at an O'Reilly Media conference in 2004 to define and describe the stage of evolution which the World Wide Web arrived at that time; after the "Web 1.0" of 1989 which implied a collection of static electronic data, Web 2.0 referred to an "interactive" web (Gil, 2018). This technological – and in a way, sociological – innovation turned the internet into a platform where individuals would now participate, create and share content and value (uploading), other than just consuming what they find online (downloading).

It is said that this new stage in the evolution of the internet had two main properties; first, it was a field where data was stored "online" rather than on personal computers and second, it was now a platform of participation, it was social, dynamic and these qualities could be seen among the activities of individuals using sites and applications such as Facebook, Wikipedia, YouTube and so on (Darwish & Lakhtaria, 2011). Here are some of the many interactive services which can serve examples of Web 2.0; free web-based electronic mail, online banking, electronic trade and purchasing, online, digital photo processing and sharing, video hosting and sharing, music and file sharing, job searching, medical counseling, online radio, mapping services, relationship and dating services, electronic education, (Darwish & Lakhtaria, 2011; Gil, 2018). It was Web 2.0 that enabled platforms and forms of social media such as wiki pages, blog pages, Really Simple Syndication (RSS – which helps various social media platforms to interact with each other), video creating and sharing sites and applications, podcasts, instant messaging sites and applications, "internet telephony" (such as Skype) and NetMeeting (Darwish & Lakhtaria, 2011).

In short, it is possible to say that Web 2.0 turned users from "readers" to "writers". Therefore, it can be assumed that it was actually the Web 2.0 which gave internet and social media the quality to empower individuals to create their own content, to make their ideas, thoughts and voices heard throughout the globe, thus, helping to create the Surveillance Culture and its main unit, the empowered agent in the face of any power holder worldwide. Indeed, the development of the web and the trajectory of the advancement of social media is of one that favors the individual who is opposed and oppressed by governmental and/or corporal power structures. It is plausible to say that the social media of the 21st century – when made use of in a conscious and informed manner – can be an empowering tool for the human being, lifting him/her to the level of the active agent, from the level of the passive, powerless, surveilled consumer.

Arriving to this second phase of the World Wide Web certainly had similar empowering effects over the internet and social media users of Turkey. More or less after 2005; the foundation of the big guns of social media, people started to share their talents, ideas, preferences and identities over social media channels such as YouTube, Facebook, Twitter and through personalized, customized, professionalized blogs. Social media became more and more popular with every passing day. Nowadays, approximately half of Turkey's population have a social media account (Durak & Seferoğlu, 2016).

The numbers which I am about to disclose regarding social media use in the context of Turkey (Kemp, 2019b) show the importance given to this phenomenon by the citizens of the country; 59.36 million of the population are defined as "internet users" while 52 million of them are said to be active social media users; whereas 44 million are mobile social media users. The daily average time spent on the internet using any technological device is observed as 7 hours and 15 minutes, while the same parameter for social media is 2 hours and 46 minutes (this parameter was observed as 3 hours in the study of Durak & Seferoğlu (2016)); 89% of internet users are using mobile messengers, 93% of them are watching videos on mobile, 72% of them are playing video games on mobile, 68% of them are using mobile banking, 75% of them are using mobile map services. Only during 2018, 2.877 billion mobile applications were downloaded by the citizens of Turkey, with 360.5 billion dollars spent for the download of these apps. The rankings of the top mobile applications in Turkey by average monthly active users throughout the year 2018 is as follows; 1) Whatsapp Messenger, 2) Instagram, 3) Facebook, 4) Facebook Messenger, 5) Twitter, 6) Türk Telekom Online Transactions, 7) Sahibinden.com, 8) E-Devlet, 9) Letgo, 10) My Vodafone TU.

In Turkey, social media is not only used for social networking purposes. According to the same report, 86% of the internet users searched a product or service online to buy, 86% of them visited an online retail store on the internet with any device, 67% of them actually bought a product or service online via any device, and %50 of them made an online transaction using a mobile device. Furthermore, it is stated that in Turkey, the internet and social media are used for creating and sharing content, agenda setting and monitoring activities, providing and obtaining information, communicating with others, for educational research, for feeling free/independent, for passing time, for watching videos, TV series or movies and for entertainment purposes, such as playing video games (Durak & Seferoğlu, 2016).

As it can be seen from these statistics and usage data, social media, mostly in the form of mobile applications had become inseparable from the daily lives of the people who reside in Turkey. Though for different purposes, more than half of the population uses social media sites and applications to satisfy personal needs. These usage patterns of social media in Turkey, especially the ones which are about "watching" and gaining a sense of "independency" from institutions or social norms of the community, is in concert with the main phenomenon which are under investigation in this work; Scopophilia, as a motivation triggering social media use

and the result of these usage patterns in the creation of a surveillance culture; comprised of empowered individuals.

To summarize the history of the "new media" in Turkey, it is possible to say that both the internet and its purposes of use had gone through several important breaking points. The speed of the internet and connection speed, web technologies, softwares and hardwares have developed during this 26-year-old history, paving the way for new – and every time more complex – social interactions and phenomena among individuals. There is no doubt that social media is a one which undergoes constant change in a high-paced manner and that changes and advancements will continue to occur. We may not know what the future will bring for the fate of social media. All we can say is that right now, it is a phenomenon which touches the lives of billions of people and which makes changes upon those people one way or the other, the extent and effect of this change varying for each and one of those individuals/users.

As stated above and in many sections of this study, I focused upon the "empowering changes" of social media. This cluster of digital platforms can be seen as very promising in terms of turning the users into active agents. This situation occurs worldwide, as well as among Turkish social media users. Proofs regarding this argumentation were already presented under the section of empowerment in a satisfying manner, with both social scientifically backed up data and with daily occurring and practices. After giving a brief history of social media both in the global and Turkish context, I continue with establishing the relationship between social media and Scopophilia.

3.3. Social media and Scopophilia

We look/gaze upon, watch, and check. This act of ours became more frequent in our daily lives as we delved deeper into using social media. As stated in a popular TV show, "Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, they have made us a society of stalkers, and we love it" (13 Reasons Why, Season 1, Episode 4). Although providing a picture of the bleak consequences of the marriage of technology and society in a dystopian but not so distant future, TV series such as Black Mirror beautifully portrays our "obsession" regarding the act of gazing and using social media. The wondering reader may especially watch the episodes "Fifteen Million Merits", "Nosedive", "Hated in the Nation" and finally, "Smithereens".

At the first glance, the relationship between Scopophilia and social media is an obvious one, since both of them involve the "vision" as a predominant sense. The "pleasure" dimensions of

the watching and being watched when using social media however, are more controversial topics regarding the relationship between Scopophilia and social media usage which begs for social scientific evidence.

The psychosexual phenomenon was originally used by Freud in the early 20th century to indicate some sort of situation –not necessarily a perversion – obtained in childhood, involving the curious gaze of the child which was directed towards a range of activities (such as peeing) and genitals which resulted in deriving some sort of pleasure from this gazing act, satisfying the childish curiosity (Freud, 2017). Therefore, Freud stated that the activity of seeing and gazing would produce a kind of "visual pleasure", which is called Scopophilia (Rio, 2012). While the term was used by Freud as a one-way phenomenon and while it only involved the pleasure obtained by "looking", Scopophilia is nowadays referred to, as the pleasure to both "watch", "gaze at", and "be watched", "be gazed at" (Bauman & Lyon, 2016, Şimşek, 2018). Basically, Scopophilic motivations imply two conditions; the pleasure of looking, and the pleasure of being looked at. This term was already elaborated in detail under the theory section. Here, I try to establish links between Scopophilia and social media.

To present and establish the relationship between Scopophilia and social media is not a difficult task. It is plausible to say that today, we live in a visual culture where the importance of everyday phenomenon and events are determined by their visual quality, appeal and attractiveness. Every day, we are exposed to innumerable images on the television, on the computer, on the internet, on the newspapers and magazines, on our smartphones, on billboards, on bus stops, metro stations, in restaurants, shopping centers, and sports centers, everywhere. In addition, contemporary societies are said to encourage acts motivated by Scopophilia (Mateus, 2012). Moreover, the expansion of the field of study called Visual Culture containing research areas such as "photography and film criticism, television studies, computer - mediated interaction, comics and videogames" can be seen as the confirmation of the rise of the image and the sight as a sense within social research and contemporary societies (Mateus, 2012, p. 207).

It can be said that the "vision-dominated culture" has arrived to a stage within evolution which made the act of watching images an act where pleasure is derived from, and besides technological inventions and developments, the cultural patterns and habits of the contemporary societies started increasingly to emphasize the "vision" and the act of "looking" and "being looked at" (Mateus, 2012). The general tendency of facilitating "visibility" and

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"transparency" can easily be seen if someone decides to surf video sharing and social media applications such as YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat etc. where individuals share their life events mostly in the form of visual representations, photographs, and videos, not mentioning other areas of the social where visibility is praised and sought such as the aforementioned "world of television", the workplace where people are working in open offices with a transparent design in an increasingly fashion, public transport which are now equipped with monitors both showing the live feedback of security cameras and the names of the next stop/station, countless gyms which are entirely covered with mirrors, enabling the act of working out while gazing upon the actors' own body and the bodies and movements of others and so on.

It is virtually impossible to escape the consumption of visuals which surround us, unless one decides to continue his/her life in nature, secluded from humankind and from any type of interaction made with one of his/her species. What is charmful to the eye is also the thing which is deemed important and worthwhile to the individuals of our contemporary society. Thus, the eyesight is the most used and praised sense of all within the consumption/production of new media (Rio, 2012), making all of the users "spectators", "an audience". It is claimed that Scopophilia can be used as an evaluation tool to explain the interaction of individuals – which has a social character – on social networks, on the basis of this spectatorship (Mateus, 2012). This interaction produces a new type of community, which is based on the

> "Social power of vision provoking original modes of participation and engagement for audiences. We claim that spectatorship may be, not only the missing link to understand those Scopophilical forms of social engagement, as also it may present us with the opportunity to outline the transformations on individual identity and on the public-private dichotomy" (Mateus, 2012, p. 210).

In line with the argumentations of the Surveillance Culture which highlight active and empowered individuals, the Scopophilic conducts and the social type "spectator" which is created by those conducts is the owner of a type of power which makes visible the symbolic frameworks of individuals by the sole act of looking.

Moreover, the social media users of our time have the power to show/present whatever they want on their personal social media domain, which signifies that they control the "management" of their online selves. To summarize, it can be said that "the spectator is an acting subject" (Mateus, 2012) and the following statement can be used to nicely illustrate this situation; "The essence of social networks seems to be founded in the collective idea of

community and community is mostly accomplished by the Scopophilical attachments connecting through vision every single individual. So, individuals are not simply an audience: as a community of vision, as spectators, they do not suppose a passive condition. Being spectator is at the very core of social networks. It's user's standard situation. They inform, they discover, they comment, they maintain social relationships, but do all these things seeing, looking, gazing protractedly" (Mateus, 2012, p. 215).

If we move the argument to the platform of ontological existence, it can be said that "appearing" to ourselves is not enough to confirm our existence (Şimşek, 2018). To achieve a sense of confirming our own existence, we need to "appear" and "to be seen" by other individuals and be accepted by them (Arendt, 1999, qtd. in Mateus, 2012, p. 212). Perhaps this motivation of existence may be a key component in understanding and explaining the Scopophilic behavior, which is amplified when engaging in social media usage patterns. Furthermore, it can be stated that this intrinsic motivation also effects the way we present ourselves on social media. It has been observed by Boyd (2007) that the daily interactions which we conduct with other individuals are based on an "identity performance". In this act, we communicate other people our perceived qualities via our body language, our clothing style, the way we talk, and via our facial expressions. In this process, we try our best to manage the impression we make over others.

Alongside daily interaction, since it has been observed that individuals also want to present their selves in the digital world via engaging in self-disclosure practices (Schau & Gilly, 2003), This situation can be translated into social media, especially to Instagram by adopting acts such as trying to find the best angle for capturing the "optimal attractiveness", adjusting the light, filtering the photograph and editing it in other ways etc. Therefore, it is plausible to argue that Scopophilia may both govern and alter/effect our social media using practices/usage patterns. In its essence, social media is characterized by the pleasure to see/watch and that it fosters Scopophilic behavior by putting "images" at the central focal point. (Şimşek, 2018).

The following quotation illustrates the relationship between social media and Scopophilia;

> "Images are appearances, they are, hence, the way the social world appears, as it is perceived and recognized. SNS have only developed this tendency (Scopophilia) already present in mundane social intercourse. SNS provide the virtual stage where persons can appear like actors, who can perform, display themselves and engage in public behavior...and engage in Scopophilic behavior" (Şimşek, 2018, p.5).

Mateus (2012) argues that the drive to self-display, intensively occurring on social media should not be taken as a narcissistic attitude which the common sense suggests especially in the case of Instagram. According to him, the behaviors that pursue the goal to make oneself apparent over social media, actually assume the task of the "recognition of the individual" in a society which is called a "community of vision" which requires the gaze of others and which serves the humane need to be known and recognized. Scopophilia is seen as the path towards a sense of belonging here. The social media users are both creators of aesthetic processes and they are spectators. By looking and being looked, they are brought together by Scopophilia. In this case, "vision" is the connection between individuals. In Mateus' account, the Scopophilical behaviors of individuals and the use of social networks combined, serve to the fostering of the community of vision. In this community, the flow of images and the acts of accepting, discussing and interpreting them enable the communication of meaning among the members of the community of vision. Therefore,

> "To see is not a natural function: it is mainly a construction we all participate whenever we shape the visible. The visible stresses and demands sociability, and a community of vision follows after the Scopophilical dimension of social networks" (Mateus, 2012, p. 216).

It is argued that spectators have their needs of visuality which they need to satisfy (Rio, 2012). Again, this need can be identified by no other than Scopophilia. Social media is a perfect environment for the satisfaction of this need since individuals can search images and choose which image to see, satisfy their needs and be happy and content. To make a summary regarding the relationship between social media and Scopophilia, I deem the below quotation fit: "…the centrality of images, the pleasure to watch and the Scopophilical behavior, they all characterize social networks" (Mateus, 2012, p. 208). It is stated here that the very essence of social media itself is based on Scopophilia. Looking from this perspective, it is very difficult – if not impossible – to imagine them as separate phenomena.

According to a study which explores the use of YouTube in terms of Scopophilic motivations (Rio, 2012), a man (Bryan), uses YouTube in order to gratify his needs for looking/gazing. Therefore, this individual satisfies his need for "visual pleasure" by watching video clips using a platform which is a component of social media. However, this piece of work focuses on the male gaze over the female body and this situation represents the gendered aspect of visuality (Mulvey, 1975).

My argumentation is that although there are many examples which this trend of "male gaze" objectifying the female body as a sexual object to fulfill the desires of the eye do exist, in addition, both the male and female are the subjects and the objects of the gaze. In today's world, not only males, but also females gaze upon certain objects to satisfy Scopophilic desires.

To summarize, it can be said that the mixture of social media and Scopophilia results in the construction of a "community of vision". The common practices of the members of this community involve actions such as to see and to be seen which transforms users into spectators and that through these actions the construction of meaning takes place. Moreover, this community of vision becomes a community where humane needs such as "to be recognized", "to be known" and "to be accepted" are satisfied.

After some social theory regarding Scopophilia and establishing links to the forms of social media and social network applications, I continue on with the characteristics of social media and its relationship with empowerment. The next section is intended to establish a swift background in terms of social media and empowerment.

3.4. The qualities/characteristics of social media, and the relationship of social media with empowerment

Social media is a digital, visible, ubiquitous, platform which is accessed in real-time, which involves social networking units (Hennig et al., 2010). Therefore, it is an arena for socializing, a resource for consumers, and a platform for communicating with others in order to obtain certain information which users desire to acquire and it is also a medium for individuals to maintain their relationships which they value enough to continue via textual or visual communication (Dickey & Lewis, 2010). Originally, social media was termed as "new media" but since numerous social networking sites started to emerge, one by one, enabling social sharing and maximizing individual participation, the term was transformed into "social media" (Ünür, 2016).

It has been stated that social media has certain core characteristics; it is ultimately a venue for "self-presentation and "self-disclosure" (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010), it has a form of "digital platform", it allows participation and interaction among users – it is never a fully "passive" platform where individuals do not make any contribution to, rather, it enables and encourages dynamic, multi-layered communication between friends, loved ones and family, newly met

people and acquaintances etc. – and it usually has the rule of creating an alias or a personal profile as a must to be engaged upon (Manning, 2014).

According to Kietzmann, Hermkens, McCarthy and Silvestre (2011), social media is formed of seven main pillars, which their weight and importance varies in terms of different forms of social media and social networking sites; identity (the extent to which users reveal themselves), presence (the extent to which users know if others are available), sharing (the extent to which users exchange, distribute and receive content), relationships (the extent to which users relate to each other), reputation (the extent to which users know the social standing of others and content), groups (the extent to which users are ordered or form communities) and conversations (the extent to which users communicate with each other).

Allowing and enabling mutual interaction, content/information production and sharing, therefore, reassigning the role of the viewer/user as of the primary determiner of the media content, (Durak & Seferoğlu, 2016) the hegemonic and manipulative structure of the traditional media gradually changed and made individuals active "prosumers" rather than passive consumers (Laughey, 2010, qtd. in Ünür, 2016, p. 157). As also used in the theory section, the concept of prosumer was coined with the mergence of producer and consumer, emphasizing the increased power and activity of the individual over the media domain, which both terminologically and practically indicate both individual and collective empowerment.

Furthermore, this capability and high participation level means that everyone can talk, discuss and make comments over any subject, anytime (Ünür, 2016). This capability has transformed the unilateral communication model of the traditional media to a bilateral communication model, thus, bringing the act of socialization as a primary characteristic of social media. Again, this time in terms of collective empowerment, social media is a platform which rules out personal features such as religion, language, race and nationality, geography, therefore, in its essence, it is a platform which condemns discrimination and alienation in any form, uniting people and creating a cohesion between them in terms of voicing their thoughts, ideas and demands on common areas of interests (Ünür, 2016). This characteristic of social media spawns new social groups and communities, each of which speak out their free will, without censorship, contributing to the tradition of democracy (Bayraktutan, 2013).

Social media consists of several forms which were mostly mentioned above. Here is a list of the forms which social media can take; electronic mail (e-mail), texters (similar to e-mail but

is popular for instant messaging and enabling the use of emojis and smileys. Most of the popular social media sites and applications have texters embedded in them such as Facebook, Instagram), blogs (a personal field for an individual to share his/her thoughts, ideas with a large group of audience which contains a text and sometimes visuals), message boards (the best example in the context of Turkey is Ekşisözlük; a platform where members can post comments regarding a clearly defined topic, event, object, idea etc.), connection sites i.e. dating sites, games (online games which gather real people to play with each other; chess, backgammon, word games such as scrabble, poker or games on social networking and so on), applications or "apps" (mobile applications) and finally, social networking sites (Manning, 2014). As stated above, there is not a consensus in the academic world regarding the categorization of social media. These forms which I have mentioned are the generally accepted forms which are included in the realm of social media.

Profile creation; which requires the disclosure of personal information online alongside a profile picture, is perhaps not a characteristic of all social media forms, but it is definitely the number one characteristic of social networking sites (Boyd & Ellison, 2007), such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. While faking personal information when creating an online alias on social networking sites is not prohibited, disclosing accurate and true information at the stage of creating a profile on these sites is a must for others to acknowledge the presence of the individual. In addition, friend lists, reciprocal messaging/texting systems and "comments" can be considered as other main characteristics of both social networking sites and social media as a whole.

Furthermore, social media forms and social networking sites and applications may vary in their features. Some may contain photo and video sharing capabilities while others incorporate "built in blogging" features, some are mobile specific (such as Snapchat) and its full capabilities can be experienced only by having a smartphone (such as Instagram), whereas others also use desktop computers and tablets (such as Facebook and Twitter) (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Another quality of the social media is that it enables the sharing of knowledge and is used as a tool for community building activities (Punie, 2009, qtd. in Pierson, 2012). Finally, it is claimed that in the roots of social media usage lies the ability of the exchange of information among users (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010).

According to Manning, social media generally has five functions; a) identity construction, b) relationship establishment and maintenance, c) work related function (for users whose work is

related to social media use), d) seeking and obtaining information, sharing/disseminating personal or collective ideas, and e) entertainment (Manning, 2014). Perhaps an economic function can be added to these functions since social media applications such as Letgo allow individuals to buy and sell commodities or simply the websites and mobile applications of corporations such as Amazon, E-Bay – for Turkey; Trendyol, Morhipo, Idefix, Kitapyurdu etc. – again which are used for trade/commerce purposes.

In light of the aforementioned information, it is plausible to say that social media takes various forms and has numerous functions. Therefore, it is used to please different needs and desires. As mentioned before and will be mentioned after this section, the use of social media – specifically; Instagram – motivated by Scopophilia results in the empowerment of the user in different ways, as argued above. Moreover, this situation contributes to the increased agency of the individual within the formation of what is called a Surveillance Culture. The qualities and functions of the social media argued above are exactly the reasons which re-construct the user-individual into an "agent", someone who has the power to have a saying regarding his/her life.

Social media gives individuals the power to control and manipulate the impression that other individuals form regarding the user (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Coupled with the desire to be presented in the virtual arena via constructing a digital self (Schau & Gilly, 2003), acts of self-presentation can turn into acts of empowerment. Social media and its applications provide individuals with many benefits including to communicate, interact and socialize with others, to obtain information and train oneself in an intellectual manner without the constraints of time and space to name a few (Garcia Galera et al., 2017). All of these benefits of social media are reflected to the daily lives of the users as different types of empowerments – which were argued in the empowerment section – such as on identity construction, political, social, psychological, and Informational/educational and so on. It would not be an exaggeration to say that social media holds one of the keys to individual empowerment.

Now, I would like to identify and give some information regarding the social media platform which is intended to be examined as the specific social media platform that links this study to Scopophilia, empowerment processes and Surveillance Culture; Instagram.

CHAPTER 4

WHAT IS INSTAGRAM?

4.1. About Instagram and statistics

In this chapter, the social media component of my study – Instagram – is introduced and examined. Firstly, I start off with elaborating my reasons for choosing and determining this platform as the most suitable one for this study. After that, some statistics of Instagram usage both in the world and in Turkey is given alongside its stages of historical development. Having defined the application and informed the reader regarding the qualities of Instagram, I then give information about the "hashtag" and most importantly, the "selfie"; which can be argued as the base component of Instagram. The section "Selfie" is divided into 5 sub-sections where the selfie is defined, its sharing motivations are emphasized and finally, where its relationship with Scopophilia, empowerment and narcissism is argued respectively, concluding this chapter.

As being one of the most popular elements of the realm of social media, it is possible to say that Instagram serves as a keystone for my work. This member of social media was specifically chosen among others such as Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp and so on because of its intrinsic qualities and its emphasis regarding "visuality" and the relations constructed through the perception of this visuality. In other words, Instagram was chosen as a component for this work because of its capability and capacity of harboring Scopophilical usage patterns. It was thought that the observation of Scopophilia and its social manifestations would not be as "clear" and "fruitful" as it is Instagram, if any other social media members were used for this purpose. The sense of "eyesight" and the allowance of "gazing" is emphasized in Instagram more than any other platform.

Instagram can be defined as "a social media application that allows people to share with others their daily life activities, lifestyles, habits and interests in the form of pictures and videos" (Al-Kandri, Al-Hunaiyyan & Al-Hajri, 2016), alongside with the support of the verbal form "message", in terms of "captions" and "comments". It is a "photo and video sharing" and "social networking application/platform (Chante et al., 2014) which can be downloaded for

free from the "Google Play" and the "Application Store" (Bergstrom & Backman, 2013) and works on devices like smartphones, tablets, and computers which have operating systems such as IOS, Windows, or Android. The Instagram Company was founded on October 2010 by Kevin Systrom and Mike Krieger in San Francisco (Time, 2016).

For the name of the application, it can be said that the word "Instagram" was thought to be the admixture of the words "instant camera" and "telegram" (Kishundat, 2018), emphasizing instantaneous visual communication among users of the platform. It is an application which allows its users to use various manipulation tools to modify and change the appearance of the photographs taken by it (Ting et al., 2015). With these qualities, it can easily be said that Instagram, designed as a platform based on web 2.0, is an application fitted for interactive communication (Gündüz, Ertong Attar & Altun, 2018).

Shortly after Instagram grew to 10 million users from a mere 1 million, after its first year of coming into service, Facebook took notice of this success and consequently bought the application, incorporating it into its body for 1 billion dollars in April, 2012 (Kishundat, 2018). After being bought by Facebook, both Facebooks' and Instagram's' popularity hit the ceiling and the numbers of users continuously increased, gaining momentum by the passing of every day (Serafinelli, 2017; Ting et al., 2015). Only in 2013, it was estimated that nearly four billion photos were created and shared over Instagram (Abott et al., 2013) which has increased to forty billion photos by the end of the year 2015 (Smith, 2019). Moreover, the application had more than 800 million monthly users and more than 500 million daily users worldwide while approximately 250 million daily stories were shared on the platform (Instagram, 2018). As of June 2018, the monthly active users of the application have reached and exceeded the staggering amount of 1 billion people (Instagram, 2019; Smith, 2019; Statista, 2018) while it only had 130 million monthly active users in 2013 (Mohsin, 2019). With these statistics, Instagram is hailed to be the second most engaged social network after Facebook (Mohsin, 2019). The summarized and translated historical development of Instagram can be found in the table below (B. Ayan 196-205; "Instagram Info Center"; Keach, qtd. in Gündüz, Ertong Attar & Altun, 2018, p. 1866).

Table 1. The Historical Development of Instagram

Date	Development
March 2010	Instagram was founded by Kevin Systorm and Mike Krieger.
November 2010	Became available at the AppStore.
December 2010	Achieved 1 million users.
January 2011	Created the hashtags which helped find individuals or photographs with ease and made available the hashtags for public use.
March 2011	Achieved 5 million users
September 2011	Instagram, which had achieved 10 million users, published its 2.0 update and brought different filters into use which could provide the users with more vivid visuals
April 2012	Instagram made available its Android based application for use. The application was downloaded by 1 million people in one day. Instagram, which achieved 30 million users with making an investment of 50 million dollars was bought by Facebook for 1 billion dollars.
March 2015	The implementation of sponsored commercials was put in effect
May 2018	Achieved 1 billion users.
June 2018	IGTV, which enabled the broadcasting of maximum 1 hour long vertical videos and video chat were made available for use.

Turkey contributes to the aforementioned pool of monthly active Instagram users with the number of 33 million, ranking as the second country in the list of world countries which have the most Instagram users with regards to population/user ratio (Kemp 2018). This means that the 40.24% of the total population of Turkey – which is 82 million (Tüik, 2019) – are using

Instagram. Moreover, according to the sole numbers of Instagram users, Turkey ranks as the fifth country worldwide (Kemp, 2018).

Today, millions of people continue to start using this application for visual communication with their friends and acquaintances (Kishundat, 2018). Furthermore, it was found that the most prominent age range for Instagram use was 18-34, which comprises the 61% of the Instagram user population (Kemp, 2018). According to another source, this age was determined as 18-29, representing 59% of the population of Instagram users (Xue, 2018). The average time spent on the application was found as 53 minutes per day in terms of daily active users in the year 2018 (Smith, 2019; Mohsin, 2019).

Today, Instagram is regarded as a social media component which provides effective communication and which is used as a marketing tool via providing a visual dialogue in addition to a verbal and/or textual one (Ting et al., 2015). It is exactly this ability of making visualized communication so effective and simple. Instagram derives its popularity from putting the act of photo sharing in the center. With regards to its design, Instagram is a different application in comparison to its counterparts Facebook and Twitter. It was originally developed as an application only for smartphones and not for personal computers and laptops. Even when the app was adapted to PC's later on, it continued to encourage its usage on smart phones since the main use/function of the application – taking, modifying and sharing photos – was not available on the PC version. So, the mainstream and general use of the application was confined to the platform of smart phones. Since its use through smartphones enable the main feature of the application which is to take photographs and then to share them via the camera of the phone, I limit my work with the smartphone version of Instagram.

"Instagram is a fun and quirky way to share your life with friends through a series of pictures. Snap a photo with your mobile phone, then choose a filter to transform the image into a memory to keep around forever. We're building Instagram to allow you to experience moments in your friends' lives through pictures as they happen. We imagine a world more connected through photos" (Instagram, 2016, qtd. in Nilsson, 2016). This statement was used to describe Instagram in the year 2016. While this text was replaced by the biography information of the 2 founders and the Head of Instagram in 2019, it can be said that the aforementioned statement could still be regarded as the main motivator of Instagram usage. In other words, Instagram was primarily designed to connect individuals via visuals and it was expected to make an appeal to the eye and cater the needs of the sense of the eyesight. It can

also be argued that this reason for designing such a platform makes it a perfect environment for fulfilling Scopophilical desires and impulses.

Apparently, Instagram was founded to solve 3 specific problems; which were a) the standard photograph's mediocrity – solved by introducing filters and other tools which enabled the embellishment of the photos taken by using the app; b) the difficulty of sharing photos on different platforms – solved by allowing the upload of the photos over different platforms – and c) the long time which took to upload photos – solved by an optimized app, in this case; Instagram which provided a fast experience of photo sharing (Instagram, 2016, qtd. in Nilsson, 2016). By bringing effective solutions to these problems, Instagram quickly became popular globally.

Apart from communication made through visuals, Instagram also makes use of hashtags, emojis/emoticons, smileys which convey certain moods, feelings via the human face expressions in an animated form and captions, which are simply the description of the photograph that is being shared. The latest update for Instagram took place on 2018 with IGTV (Smith, 2019), which aimed to encourage users to create, share and watch videos longer than the original "60 second limited" Instagram videos (Cook, 2018). By this new extension, it can be argued that Instagram would like to have its own "YouTube" and start to compete for popularity on the realm of videos after being crowned on the realm of photographs.

Furthermore, in addition of enabling the act of sharing photos and videos online, Instagram also offers the concepts of "InstaWalk" and "InstaMeet". InstaMeet, as the name suggests; is a meeting which the participators are Instagram users who meet, socialize and take photos with each other. InstaWalk on the other hand, usually consists of exploring and documenting a pre-defined location via taking photographs and sharing them with the attachment of a certain hashtag while socializing with other Instagram users who had not known each other before. These offline encounters which are enabled by Instagram usage are referred as encounters which "cement the shared visual experience as a social event… in terms of social relationships, Instagram is widely considered an activator" (Serafinelli, 2017, p. 104). Therefore, it can be deduced that social empowerment which gives individuals "the power to meet and socialize with whomever they want, whenever they want" – which was already elaborated under the section of empowerment as "social empowerment" – may be attributed to Instagram.

The aforementioned encounters band together Instagrammers in the real world and enhance social participation practices. With that being said, it is also stated that "connections formed primarily over the internet do not usually develop if they are only experienced online, thus confirming the idea that on – and offline spheres need to be complementary" (Serafinelli, 2017, p. 109). Giving the power of sociality to individuals via letting them choose to connect to others via visual communication and then initiating actual physical face to face meetings using InstaMeets and InstaWalks can be regarded as a means which leads to empowerment – according to the definitions I have used in this work.

Another point to discuss is the use of emoticons within the general Instagram usage. It is plausible to say that there are many reasons why individuals use emoticons when sharing their photographs on Instagram. The use of emoticons may carry various emotions such as love, humor, or they may be used simply to enhance the understandability of a shared photo, supporting its description or to better put it, they may "allow us to bring some of our tone and facial expressions to text communication media, creating a layer of rich content on top of the words written. At the same time, these communication codes allow us to abbreviate emotional expressions and squeeze more meaning into fewer characters" (Barash, 2017, p. 1102).

 Moreover, the main function of the communication established by images on social media and specifically on Instagram is argued to be "the production, expression and maintenance of sociability" (Frosh, 2015, p. 1623) which gives a clear idea about the usage motivation and reason of engaging in this type of communication. It can be said that social relationships between individuals are highly affected by the mediatorship of social media since these platforms procure new social – and digital – environments where users administrate their sociality (Serafinelli, 2017).

It has been proven that individuals use Instagram for socializing, which includes making new connections both on the individual or group basis and maintaining the already established connections, alongside with purposes of entertainment and receiving personal gratification (Ting et al., 2015). There are 3 main elements of an Instagram photo, "caption", which is what the user writes to describe or share information about the photo – can contain written text or emoticon use –, Hashtags, and likes and comments (Garner, 2017). Below, drawing a parallel line with my argumentations, I have laid emphasis on "the hashtag", "the selfie" and their relationship with Scopophilia and empowerment. After elaborating these phenomena, I share my initial personal experience with Instagram in order to take a closer look to this phenomenon

and to transfer my firsthand observations regarding the application. In order to conclude this section, I propound the link with Instagram and Scopophilia in a general fashion.

4.2. The hashtag

Another quality of the photo-sharing social media platform is the usage of hashtags, which are characterized by the good old tick-tack-toe game table symbol, or the square (#). However, the official name of the hashtag symbol is called an "octothorp", since the figure has eight (octa) points, while the origins of "thorpe" is said to be a surname, the question of whose, is unclear (Time, 2014). A hashtag enables the shared content – photograph or video – to be seen by everyone who are using the application, given that they type in the corresponding text which the content is captioned with (Sheldon & Bryant, 2015). Related to surveillance culture and the active and agently user, the "hashtag" is argued to have empowering qualities in itself. According to Chen, hashtag allows colored people to "highlight" their intended message and carry their voice to any intended population (Chen, 2017). Furthermore, Wendt (2014, p. 20) argues that the use of the hashtag provides an increased presence on Instagram which "in turn, enables us to increase our experience of feeling larger than life". These feelings of empowerment – among others – may be termed as political and psychological empowerment.

The use of the hashtag gives ideas about users' sharing patterns. In 2017, top Instagram hashtags were; #Love, #Instagood, #Fashion, #Photooftheday, #Beautiful, #Picoftheday, #Fitness, #Style, #Travel, #Happy (Kemp, 2018), similarly in 2018; #Love, #Instagood, #Photooftheday, #Fashion, #Beautiful, #Happy, #Cute, #Tbt (the abbreviation for "Throwback Thursday", a trend which involves posting nostalgic/old photographs of the user accompanied by the hashtag in question), and #like4like (Top-hashtags, 2018) which serves the purpose to raise the users' popularity by making a promise to other users to like their posts, providing that they like theirs, therefore, establishing a relationship based on mutual interests which helps the attainment of self-empowerment, according to my empowerment definitions.

Finally, the most commonly used hashtags of 2019 were; again #Love, which was used in 1.252.832.456 posts, followed by #Instagood, #Photooftheday, #Fashion, #Beautiful, #Happy, #Like4like, #Picoftheday, #Art, and #Photography (Metricool, 2019). hashtags, such as "fashion", "fitness", "art", "photography" and "beautiful" may refer to the Scopohilical impulses of the users as a driving motivator for Instagram use; the desire to look at the eye-pleasing visuals and the desire to make oneself a visually desirable, attractive (according to self-perception and to the subjective ideal of "desirable", "attractive" etc.) object. From this

perspective, hashtag preferences are an important pool of information regarding the linkage of user motivations and Scopophilia.

4.3. The selfie

4.3.1. The definition of selfie

It would definitely be impossible to study and write about Instagram without defining and acknowledging the importance of the phenomenon "selfie". The use of the word selfie in a written form was said to have appeared for the first time on an internet forum in Australia on the 13th of September, 2002 (Pandey & Mishra, 2017). Therefore, the credit for using the term "selfie" went to an anonymous Australian student who shared a photograph of his damaged lip, which was taken after a party (Wallop, 2013). Selfie is defined as "a photograph that one has taken of oneself, typically one taken with smartphone or webcam and shared via social media (Oxford Dictionaries, 2019).

The Selfie can be accepted as a very important component of the digital realm. It is considered as a "new phatic agent in the energy flows between bodily movements, sociable interactions, and media technologies that have become fundamental to our everyday, routine experience of digital activities" (Frosh, 2015, p. 1624) and Furthermore, it is so of a fundamental piece that it has many uses and areas of domination in the popular culture of daily life. For example, there are innumerable videos on social media channels, about how to take the "perfect selfie" (YouTube, 2019a), watched by tens of millions of people, a pop-culture song named "selfie" from a music group called "The Chainsmokers" which has more than 555 million views on YouTube (YouTube, 2019b), and even a TV series named "Selfie" (IMDB, 2019). On the financial side of the selfie phenomenon, it is said that the industry of selfie accessories had the value of 1.9 billion dollars by the year 2017 and it is projected that the value of this market would reach of a staggering 6.4 billion dollars by the year 2025 (Verdict, 2017). This industry contains a wide set of various products; from selfie sticks, lighting poles, clip on lenses to tripods, remote shutter buttons and drones to name a few.

With other key components of the act of sharing self-photographs; Scopophilia and selfies complete the act of self-disclosure. This is so since Instagram enables the production and dissemination, and Scopophilia can be seen as the factor and internal, instinctual drive, motivating the act of taking and sharing these photographs. In other words, Instagram and the "selfie" answers the question "how", and Scopophilia is assumed to answer the question "why" – at least to a certain extent – regarding the self-disclosure act over social media, specifically

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on Instagram. As for the fact of the explosion of taking and sharing selfies globally; this may be partly attributed to the increased prevalence of smartphone use which has the ability to take a photo via its front and rear camera, and then share it on an online platform such as Facebook, Twitter and/or Instagram.

It is plausible to say that the selfie has two functions; firstly, it can be acknowledged as an everyday practice of Instagram use and second, it can be the object of "political discourses about how people ought to represent, document, and share their behaviors" (Senft & Baym, 2015, p. 1589). In terms of the representation of "self", it is possible to state that for some time now, selfies had become a very powerful tool for self-expression (Murray, 2015).

4.3.2. Motivations for selfie sharing

Selfies are personal images of the users. They are used by Instagram users as a tool for a subjective, controlled, embellished, enhanced self-representation and the users communicate in various ways by the poses they took, the angles they choose and the filters they use for their selfies (Nilsson, 2016). According to Sung et al., (2016), selfies are posted online because of four different sources of motivation; to seek attention, communicate, to make a visual cyber archive, and to be entertained. Moreover, selfies are regarded as a tool for impression management since they are used to construct and disseminate the desired view of the individual (Sung et al., 2016). In addition to the aforementioned information, selfies are also used to draw romantic attention (Suler, 2015). Last but not least, selfies are increasingly used by political actors, the ones in power to establish forms of political communication which include political branding, political engagement, and media events (Karadimitriou & Veneti, 2016) or other political actors which facilitate selfie usage for social change, the exploration of the self, resist oppression from the ones in power or simply the dominant cultural standards, norms regarding how to walk, talk, act, dress, eat, or basically, how to live (Pisani, 2015).

The sharing act of selfies on social media translates as the actor and the owner of the selfie as making a comment and looking for feedback regarding something peculiar to him/herself, regarding a life experience, an achievement, or opinions and feelings at a given moment (Suler, 2015). To summarize, it can then be said that selfie creating and sharing may be motivated by the desire of self-promotion, self-disclosure, to communicate and interact with a selected audience, and by the desire to raise awareness towards a social cause and bring a social/political change upon society and so on, triggering various empowerment and surveillance processes.

4.3.3. Instagram, selfie and Scopophilia

It is argued that social media made easier the creation and access to visual material (Şimşek, 2018). It is plausible to say that the impulse of curiosity and the need to "look", "see" can be satisfied better with social media. Indeed, individuals are more powerful in their ability to satisfy these needs of theirs on social media since they can navigate more or less without any boundaries when wandering these online platforms (Rio, 2012). All the more, Instagram is a perfect medium to satisfy these needs which are nurtured within the "culture of the visual" we live in since its intense use of visuals is of no match in terms of any other social media form and/or social networking site available. A very clear example of this situation in the context of Turkey can be seen through the study of Gündüz, Ertong Attar & Altun (2018) which will be elaborated in detail below this section. Perhaps the only other form of social media which can compete with Instagram regarding this matter would be YouTube, for obvious reasons.

It is not very difficult to establish links with Instagram and Scopophilia. It has been said that the daily life of modern people is constructed and expressed through images, photos and that these photos shared through social media – especially Instagram – "satisfies a primordial desire for gratifying looking" (Şimşek, 2018). In a world where photography itself is deemed as a Scopophilic activity (McGowan, 2015; qtd. in Şimşek, 2018), Instagram, which is designed and constructed upon the very act of taking and sharing photographs, can be seen as a platform which enables, even welcomes, Scopophilia.

Moving to the relationship between the selfie and Scopophilia, it can be said that "the practices of making, displaying, and sharing self-portraits reveal a complex game of gaze, where people are at the same time the subject who takes pictures and the object pictured" (Lasen & Gomez-Cruz, 2009, p. 212). This quotation elaborates the importance of the "gaze" within the act of taking and sharing selfies. The success of Instagram and the emergence of the "selfie frenzy" which is understood via the frequent and excessive selfie taking and sharing through the social media application cannot fully be explained without referring to Scopophilia; the love of looking and being looked at.

A very recent – and to the best of my knowledge, a "one of a kind" – study conducted in the context of Turkey regarding Instagram usage (Gündüz, Ertong Attar & Altun, 2018) found out that Instagram users were deriving a sense of pleasure from being looked at. To achieve this pleasure, they were making efforts and spending a considerable time to design their profiles in order to present a flawless performance and appearance on the "Instagram stage".

Furthermore, in this study it was observed that Instagram users attributed a high value to receiving comments, likes and visual attention within their interaction with their followers/friends/audience. The participants of the study stated that they achieved emotional satisfaction from their actions of self-presentation and from the results of those actions which involves them being liked and watched by others. Moreover, other statements of these users such as regularly spending time on Instagram or to engage in activities such as "like 4 like", "follow 4 follow", in order to receive an increased amount of likes or maintain their high number of viewings. This study which was conducted in the Turkish context may be considered exemplary in terms of linking Instagram usage directly with Scopophilia and indirectly with empowerment and Surveillance Culture. Here, the inner impulses and desires of the individual to be seen is crystal clear and made concrete through Instagram usage. It is possible to say that my work was designed to further this argumentation and investigate the societal implications of this love to watch and to be watched in terms of empowerment processes and Surveillance Culture.

If we are to return to the main topic of the section; the selfie as the prime object of Scopophilic behavior within Instagram is argued to have the power to construct identities through enabling individuals to be their own agents of representation in the form of images (Senft & Baym, 2015). This quality of selfies link Scopophilia and empowerment on the basis of my definitions. By deliberately controlling the construction of the identity which would be presented online via the selfie, the user – fueled by the desire to be looked at – empowers him/herself along the process.

The following statement may shed light over the relationship between Scopophilia and the selfie in a more psychological fashion; "the trope of posing in front of a mirror with one's camera has been in existence since the early days of photography. This self-portrait method perhaps derives more from the photographer's self-fascination than from the desire to memorialize his or her self" (Wendt, 2014, p. 39). Wendt remarks that the reflection of our image through the mirror has always mesmerized us, referring to Scopophilia, the love of looking and being looked at.

> "We want to appear significant, and we look to our image to signify this fact to us. It seems as though the selfie acts as a substitute for our wants, needs, and desires. It is a constant in our lives, as we can take a selfie at any moment. Upon viewing it, the selfie gives us instant, yet fleeting, gratification" (Wendt, 2014, p. 45).

Considering the examples and quotations above, it can be acknowledged that the making and sharing of selfies is not devoid of the urge, the desire to see and to be seen by others. Scopophilia, can be seen as one of the most important and prominent driving force of the act of self-presentation which takes place online.

Since individuals who use Instagram both watch others and are being watched by others, it is logical to evaluate this situation under the Amphyoptical Scopophilia model (Şimşek, 2018), involving the mixture of the Synoptical and Panoptical qualities, which was already mentioned in the theory section as a contribution of Mateus (2012). This model is said to represent a new and contemporary type of social interaction which define the reciprocal "gazing" relations between Instagram users.

As I stated more than once, this work intended to uncover and understand the relationship between assumed Instagram usage patterns driven by Scopophilic tendencies on the basis of Surveillance Culture and empowerment processes, which help individuals to become better agents of their own lives and broaden their "life choices range" by using social media. This study assumed that a transition from a society comprised of passive and surveilled individuals to a society made up of active, agently individuals who do the acts of "surveil" and "monitoring" alongside established power structures such as governments and international corporations etc. is taking place globally and that Instagram as a social media platform, with the Scopophilic impulses of humans supports and serves this transition, which is seemingly massive in scale.

The implications of oneself willingly sharing fragments of his or her life online, making it available for other eyes to see, at the same time seeing others, and the possibility of this action of creating and/or reinforcing what is called a "Surveillance Culture"(Lyon, 2017) within the case of Instagram was the focal point of this work alongside with the theoretical terms of "Scopophilia" a.k.a "the love of looking" and "the love of being looked at" and, "empowerment", which is the most important phenomena when investigating the agency implied by Surveillance Culture. These theoretical forms were elaborated in the previous sections. Now I continue with the relationship between the selfie and empowerment.

4.3.4. Selfie and empowerment

Among the classification of self-presentation strategies defined by Merzbacher (2007; cited in Diefenbach & Christoforakos, 2017 p. 4), self-promotion which is carried out in order to make

the audience acknowledge the abilities of the individual and to be perceived as capable, successful and so on, and self-disclosure, which is characterized with revealing certain parts of the self of the individual and his or her emotions in order to be known as amiable among the same audience and to create a likable image, seems the exact types of empowerment that selfies can provide through Instagram and other social media applications. The "controllable" nature of the content which can be shared through Instagram, may be the most important determinant of the resulting empowerment regarding self-promotion and self-disclosure. The construction and shaping of the concept of the "self" is influenced by the online activity of selfie creation and sharing (Shin et al., 2017). Furthermore, as augmenting the argumentation above, more studies claim that selfies are used as a means for self-presentation, self-reflection and impression management in a user-controlled manner (Nilsson, 2016; Çadırcı & Güngör, 2016; Kwon & Kwon, 2015; Yang & Li, 2014).

Self-portraits are regarded as a highly efficient tool in terms of exposing oneself on social media and at the same time, they are regarded as a tool for controlling the intended self-awareness (Suler, 2015). The photos selected to carry out the role of self-representation is out of personal choice, influenced by a variety of factors such as education, culture and the cognitive state that the individual is in (Yang & Li, 2014). Even these personalized representations that Instagram users make do not necessarily depict their true selves, that they reflect their "idealized" selves, it is exactly this action itself that makes them feel empowered. The desire to manage the impressions of their audience regarding their identity via self-presentation, leads them to be empowered through social media use. After all, referencing Foucault that power relations reside at every corner of social life and social interactions; "…the fact that people are producing content and trying to reposition themselves within power relations is per se an act of agency and resistance" (Garner, 2017, p. 381).

On the other hand, in terms of psychological empowerment and increased self-esteem, agents who use Instagram (just as on other social media channels) create and control their ideal selves which they present to their audience and they create the conditions – lighting, proper dressing, proper angle, proper environment, filtering of the photograph etc. – that make them appear attractive to their viewers with the patterns of their selfie sharing. (Deeb-Swihart, et al. 2017). In this context, the smartphone's "camera becomes more than a tool or a companion, it is a visual voice that speaks for us and molds our images for others to see" (Wendt, 2014, p. 44).

Furthermore, Schwarz (2010) argues that selfies are used as a currency, an online and offline convertible social capital among young "fame-adoring" individuals who have low levels of cultural capital. According to him, photographic self-representation is the medium to construct and join social circles and hierarchies. The important point here is the fact that this social capital obtained by investing in the bodily appearance, in the selfie is seen as an act limited to individuals who lack other sources to accumulate cultural or social capital. This is actually in line with the argumentation that the socially disadvantaged individuals are the ones who ripe the empowering benefits most of social media which was elaborated under the section of empowerment of this work.

The intently shared photos on social media are not picked and decided upon in an arbitrary manner. They are specifically picked and shared to achieve certain personal interests such as likes, comments and to gain friends. Photos shared on social media sites produce "sociability, social bonds, channels of gift-exchange, and standards for social hierarchization and organization" (Schwarz, 2010, p. 13) which, again can be seen as empowering. To summarize, it can be said that apart from Instagram use to share photos or pictures of certain objects, nature, consumer products etc., the very act of selfie creating and sharing can and do result in personal empowering processes which helps individuals to expand their choice range regarding their lives and to achieve individual wants and needs.

4.3.5. Selfie and Narcissism

The relationship of narcissism, empowerment and social media was argued under the theory section. Here, I intend to narrow the scope of the phenomenon and discuss the relationship of narcissism with the selfie in order to show that they may not be necessarily positively correlated with each other.

There is a Greek myth which tells us about the origins of the pathological state which is called "narcissism" or "self-love", told by the Roman poet, Ovidius. The tale is a known one by psychologists and psychiatrists and revolves around a handsome boy named Narcissus. Not engulfing in the whole life story of Narcissus, it can basically be said that one day this young man encounters a pool of water when whatever he was doing, which he looks down and sees his own reflection. Then, he becomes mesmerized with the image/reflection of himself. Failing to acknowledge that the image he sees is his own reflection on the water, he immediately falls in love with his image. His attempts to touch and feel the beautiful reflection obviously fails when he tries to interact with the reflection by touching and trying to kiss the water. Finally,

unable to reach, and finding it impossible to communicate with the mesmerizing image in any way, Narcissus "pines away" with a burning love in his heart and dies. The idea in this fable – which can be metaphorically linked to the so-called "selfie obsession" is that the pathological condition of narcissism which results in psychological collapse and depression. When speaking in terms of the individual who has these tendencies to love him/herself in an excessive fashion in that it leads to problems, is the main idea which can be derived from this mythological tale.

The origin of the term "narcissism" dates back to the 1900s, when Freud introduced it to explain and elaborate psychopathology via referring to Narcissus. In his essay "On narcissism: an introduction" which was written in 1914, Freud associates narcissism – established as a pathology – with homosexuality, hypochondria and psychosis (Crockatt, 2006), accompanied by megalomania. Just as Scopophilia, the term is almost referred as a pathological and psychological problem and it always has negative connotations. But again, just as Scopophilia, narcissism at the least may not necessarily "obstruct" empowerment processes, on the contrary, it may even trigger these processes.

According to research, selfie sharing was not found as an act which breeds narcissists and moreover, selfies were found not to be connected to pathologies which unless, individuals were already in a pathological state psychologically (Pisani, 2015). It is argued that the "new narcissist" "is not uncontrollably arrogant, but is navigating through new media of self-identity and self-representation and evolved technologies of representation (Pisani, 2015, p. 47). A parallel argument in defense of the selfie sharing act can be to emphasize the narcissism defined by Freud in 1914 as an individualistic personality disorder, therefore, acknowledging the terms' definition as a medical, not social or cultural one (Pisani, 2015). Anyhow, this work is concerned mainly with the empowerment processes which may be induced by Scopophilic practices through Instagram use, therefore, narcissism would only be addressed as a factor which would not inhibit the empowerment of the individual.

Therefore, the existence of narcissism – if at all – among individuals who intensively create and post selfies through social media, does not necessarily conflict with the idea of individual and/or collective empowerment which is realized through Instagram use. However, this is not the case with the mainstream academic and popular literature.

Selfies do have a "dark" reputation since they are closely related to narcissism in various accounts. Just as linking the story of Narcissus metaphorically to the act of selfie sharing and therefore, for individuals to love their images more and more while delving deeper into the aforesaid act, at first glance, even common sense, alongside a mass of academic work all around the world which condemn the excessive use of technological gadgets may lead us to think that taking and sharing selfies in an intensive fashion is an obsession which has to do with narcissism as a pathology (Sukhdeep, et al., 2018; Sung, et al., 2016; Weiser, 2015; Sorokowski et al., 2015; Fox & Rooney, 2015; Kapidzic, 2013; Bergman et al., 2011). Sharing selfies frequently, spending more time on Social media sites and applications and the extensive alteration/editing of selfies before sharing them has been found as related to narcissism among men (Fox & Rooney, 2015), among women (Amurao & Castronuevo, 2016) and among individuals by any gender who use Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and Snapchat (Reed et al., 2018).

But looking closer at the subject at hand and surpassing superficial borders suggests a different viewpoint on the matter; it is stated that there were not even one "peer reviewed piece of scientific literature that convincingly demonstrates that selfie production and mental illness are correlated" (Senft & Baym, 2015, p. 1590). The discursive attacks on the act of taking selfies are argued to be nothing but the product of a scientifically baseless "moral panic", which especially arises when individuals such as women, ethnic minorities and young people adopt new forms and practices regarding a particular form of media (Cohen, 2002, qtd. in Senft & Baym, 2015, p. 1592).

There are even accounts which regard selfies to provide a feeling of "narcissistic empowerment", if it were used for "artistic expression, self-insight and growth" (Suler, 2015, p. 179) rather than used as a disposable "throw away and forget" thing. In this context, the former use of selfies has been told to lead to a state which is termed as "healthy narcissism" (Suler, 2015). As discussed above, on the event and state that even selfie creating and sharing patterns of the individual leads to narcissism, this individuals' social, political, economic, Informational/educational, and other various empowering processes would not be affected so much by the medically labelled pathology.

After establishing my theoretical background, giving information about social media, Instagram and forming the links between my theoretical concepts and Instagram while arguing that social media usage may not necessarily positively correlate with narcissism, I would like

to continue with the methodology of my study; the section I deem the most important one throughout my work, since it was designed to give the research its social scientific quality.

CHAPTER 5

METHOD

This chapter is the one which I attribute the most importance since I believe it gives the whole study its social scientific and academic quality/characteristic. In this chapter, firstly I talk about the problem and the conceptual framework of my research. Then I give information about my research model in a detailed fashion. After establishing the main framework, I continue on with my 3 main research questions – along the theory that they are based upon – which are about Scopophilia, Empowerment and Surveillance Culture respectively. Henceforth, I talk about the sampling process and the sampling criteria which I have conducted again according to the available/accessible literature. Before bringing this chapter to an end, I go on about the data collection and analysis phase in detail which is divided into 2 sub-sections; where the interview process is represented in the first and the analysis stage is shared with the reader in the second. I finally conclude this chapter with the research limitations which are determined by my observation and perception.

Up until now, I have tried to show the relationship between a number of phenomena in terms of theory and their reflection on the available/accessible literature. These phenomena consisted of Scopophilia, Instagram – as a component of social media – Surveillance Culture and empowerment. The main argumentation of this study was to investigate and prove that in our contemporary society, the Scopophilic impulses of humans, coupled with the current communication, media and handheld device technologies – in this case Instagram and smartphones – supported the creation or maintenance of an active and empowered individual, and in the macro sense, the creation (or supporting) of a surveillance culture comprised of "agents" who now have the power to watch, surveil and monitor power structures and other individuals, groups, at the same time voicing their thoughts, preferences and frustrations, forming public opinions, directly or indirectly participating in decision making processes which concern their daily lives. In other words, this study explored the effect of Scopophilia over Instagram usage patterns in terms of various types of empowerment – which effect the social media user – and the effects of these altogether towards the creation of, or supporting a Surveillance Culture.

Explanatory studies are conducted in order to understand and explain the dynamics/powers at play which causes an event, a phenomenon, and in order to determine the rational causal networks which shape a case (Büyüköztürk et al., 2012), they mostly make use of "case studies" as a research strategy. Case studies are used to observe and define the details which generate the relevant case, to develop possible explanations regarding that case and finally, to evaluate that case (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996; qtd. in Büyüköztürk et al., 2012, p. 249). Therefore, this study is considered as both an explanatory and a case study, according to the observed phenomena and the purpose to understand and interpret the relationship network between them.

5.1. Problem and conceptual framework

As mentioned earlier, Scopophilia is the first pillar of the theoretical foundation of this work. It is argued that this phenomenon, this impulse, tendency, or emotion which more or less every human being instinctively has, has been assumed to harbor the capability to empower individuals and in this study, it is addressed as a positive factor rather than a simple pathological perversion. It is argued here that the love of looking and being looked at, has properties in itself which supports various types of individual empowerment such as; identity construction, psychological, social, political, economic and Informational/educational; through the sense of vision and through Instagram use. As a whole, all of these empowerment processes contribute to the creation of, or supporting a Surveillance Culture – the second pillar(s) of the theory in this work – which can be called as the macro structure, formed by micro clusters of empowered individuals/agents.

It can be said that Instagram is the final area of interest in this study. Rather than a theoretical component, perhaps it's better to define Instagram as a practical medium, since it is a social media platform which individuals use and participate in. This social media platform is chosen as the medium of the aforementioned empowering processes since it is an arena where "visuality" (welcoming Scopophilia) is more prominent than other factors, among any other component of social media. Furthermore, Instagram is one of the most popular social media applications globally.

There are over 1 billion monthly active Instagram users worldwide (Kemp, 2019a) and by January 2019, It was stated that there were 38 million monthly active Instagram users in Turkey, making Instagram the second most used mobile application just after Whatsapp Messenger (Kemp, 2019b), and also ranking Turkey 6th among the list of "Leading countries

based on number of Instagram users" after The U.S, Brazil, India, Indonesia and Russia, as of April 2019 (Statista, 2019a).

Undoubtedly, the extensive use of this application throughout the globe – including Turkey – can be seen as the creator of various social interactions and social constructs which can be the focus of social scientific research. Based on the literature review, it can be said that the contemporary usage patterns of social media and the implications of these types of usage cannot sufficiently be explained via the traditional conceptualizations of surveillance which mostly focus on state and/or corporate "power" and "control", while assuming individuals to be passive and powerless spectators, consumers, as people who are constantly surveilled.

My literature review suggests that a theoretical framework of surveillance which acknowledges the empowered and active individuals may provide fruitful and accurate insights and thus, revealing the qualities of the aforementioned social interactions and constructs regarding Instagram use motivated by Scopophilic emotions and impulses, putting the sense of vision at the center in our image saturated society. Therefore, to adequately understand the world of Instagram in the context of Turkey and the reflections of Instagram usage over the daily lives of individuals, a thorough investigation via making use of the conceptual toolkit of Scopophilia, Surveillance Culture and types of empowerment were seen suitable.

To observe Scopophilia, an original approach was followed. After reviewing the literature regarding this phenomenon revealed that the best – at least the best possible – way to observe Scopophilia in a social scientific/sociological manner was to observe the reasons of self-presentation of the individual. In my case, investigating the reasons for engaging in self-presentation activities on Instagram would enable me to observe Scopophilia. Mateus (2012) describes this situation as; one of the best observation fields of the Scopophilia is the field of social network with the involving act of "self-presentation".

Furthermore, executing pilot interviews with three (3) interviewees in order to test this argumentation, it became apparent that the reasons for self-presentation and sharing selfies or self-photographs could indeed provide accurate insights in terms of the existence of Scopophilic emotions and their sociological implications towards my other research areas; empowerment and Surveillance Culture; on the basis of individuals. The given answer of one of the interviewees, B. G., who participated in the pilot interview phase of this study,

concretely illustrates this situation: (why do you self-present in Instagram? What are your reasons and motivations for sharing selfies?)

> "Why shouldn't I? Because I'm a beautiful woman. I want people to see and acknowledge my beauty through my pictures…It is important that they (referring to her followers) see them (selfies). I am beautiful, yes, after all I am beautiful, and why should I be the only one to see them?

Both in terms of rational thinking and in the case of B. G., it was seen that the reasons of self-presentation revealed Scopophilic emotions in terms of the "love of being looked at", since her statement regarding the motivation of sharing photos and/or selfies of herself was linked with the love/desire/wish to being watched. To support the revealing of Scopophilia among participants, other questions emphasizing and seeking "the desire to be admired" and "the desire to admire", both indirectly and directly were formulated and used as well. On the other hand, observing the second dimension of Scopophilia; "the love of looking" was observed on the basis of "curiosity" which is accepted as the sole motivator of Scopophilia by Freud. The characteristics of the interview questions will be represented in more detail below.

To observe the Surveillance Culture which is considered a macro structure, the existence of micro individual agencies, an Instagram Culture and general surveillance practices carried out between institutions, power structures, groups and individuals alike were explored through the statements of the participants. Interview questions regarding empowerment were divided respectively according to the sections argued under the empowerment section. Undoubtedly, the degree of the contribution of different types of empowerment towards the construction of a Surveillance Culture is different. In other words, while it is relatively easy to connect Surveillance Culture with political empowerment, it is difficult to establish the same bond between the former and say, psychological empowerment. However, even if the support of certain types of empowerment in terms of Surveillance Culture may occur rather in an indirect and abstract manner, rendering passive individuals in terms of media consumption active and making them agents of their own lives – sometimes by giving them Informational/educational and intellectual means which effect/enable their decision making patterns/choices, or sometimes, by simply raising their self-esteem levels – is the prerequisite of all types of empowerment; both terminologically and practically.

Therefore, the conceptual framework of this study consists of three key concepts which are directly or indirectly linked to each other by the usage of Instagram; Scopophilia, empowerment and Surveillance Culture.

5.2. Research Model

As mentioned above, this research aims to determine a present situation revolving around the usage of a social media application – Instagram – regarding a possible factor which was presumed to steer and motivate Instagram usage – Scopophilia – and after revealing the relevant social media application's usage patterns, the contribution of them within the framework of surveillance culture which presumes the "active" and "empowered" individual. Briefly, this research is concerned with the contextual determination, evaluation and interpretation of the relationship between Scopophilia, Instagram and types of individual empowerment which may lead to a Surveillance Culture in order to further our understanding regarding the social on the basis of surveillance, social media and indirectly; psychology studies.

For this type of study which pursues qualitative social scientific facts, effects, meanings and interpretations, a qualitative research design was adopted. This is so because; "Qualitative research designs use the language of context and case studies, apply bricolage, investigate social processes and events/cases within their own social context and a research which has a qualitative design concerns itself with the creation of meaning or interpretation in certain settings" (Neuman, 2012, p. 232). Since the aim of understanding and then explaining the relationships between the aforementioned social phenomenon requires more than mere statistical data, the requirements of these goals give this study its interpretative and explanatory quality and therefore, determine the main characteristic of the method of this research as "qualitative research".

As briefly mentioned above, case studies are identified as the means for in-depth examination of one or more events, environments, programs, social groups or interconnected systems and "they are used to (a) define and observe details which form an event, (b) develop possible explanations regarding an event and (c) evaluate an event" (qtd. in Büyüköztürk et al., 2012, p. 21). Case studies consist phenomenon which are bound to space and time and which are specialized.

Understanding a fragment of the contemporary social life, in this case, (1) the reflections of Instagram usage upon daily life, (2) a possible motivator for the actions/usage on the platform of Instagram and (3) the implications of the created usage patterns in terms of individual empowerment and Surveillance Culture, were factors deemed sufficient in terms of determining the type of this research as a "case study".

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5.3. Research questions and their theoretical backgrounds

As argued above in this section and in many other sections, the main research area of this study was the exploration of the Scopophilic emotions of individuals and the social effects of these motivations over Instagram usage patterns, which are assumed to support individual empowerment and a Surveillance Culture. In total, 3 research questions and 62 related interview questions, alongside with 17 general questions regarding demographic information and Instagram usage patterns were formulated and used within the field work of this study. Below, I give the research questions and their theoretical foundations.

5.3.1 Scopophilia

The research question about Scopophilia is as follows: Originally a phenomenon of psychosexual development, what is the significance of Scopophilia – the love of looking and being looked at – regarding Instagram usage patterns and motivations (a social act of interaction and an everyday practice) and what is the role of Scopophilia and spectatorship regarding the social constructs/formations in terms of a "community of vision" (Mateus, 2012) through Instagram use? Does the love of looking contribute to these usage patterns and formations and in certain ways, does Instagram usage evoke the Scopophilic tendencies in individual?

The theoretical references to this research question are Sigmund Freud's (2017) Scopophilia; the pleasure of looking and being looked, and the notion of the "Amphyoptic" model of Samuel Mateus. It is argued by Mateus that Scopophilia does not fit in both the panoptic and the synoptic model since the panoptic model implies the act of gazing carried out by the few, and making the "many" the subject of that gaze, and moreover, the synoptic model implies the reversed; the act of gazing carried out by the many, making the few, "the object" of the gaze. Since Scopophilia signifies the many being able to see the few and the few being able to see the many at the same time, it is regarded to fit into an "in-between" model of the panoptic and the synoptic which is called "the amphyoptic model" (connecting the Greek words; "amphy" meaning "both" and "opsis" meaning "vision") (Mateus, 2012). The meaning of this is that an individual who is using a social network application can be seen at the same time by the few or the many and further, that individual can see the few or the many at the same time, creating a simultaneous crossing of modes of watching and being watched.

The interview questions regarding the research question of Scopophilia were formulated to investigate the existence of the Scopophilic impulses and motivations on the basis of

individuals' Instagram usage patterns. Since Scopophilia is a twofold phenomenon – the love of looking and the love of being looked at – the interview questions regarding this phenomenon was also divided in two. The first section of the interview questions regarding Scopophilia was about "the love of being looked at" and it had 18 questions in total. As mentioned before, the desire of being looked at was aimed to be observed mainly through the "reasons of sharing photos and selfies of oneself" and the "reasons of self-presentation" (Mateus, 2012). This observation was supported with questions which try to situate the role of receiving likes and positive comments in terms of selfie sharing behavior, questions regarding selfie sharing and its reasons, questions about acts which are done in order to make the selfie or self-photograph more appealing to the eye (editing the photograph or any act which involves preparing to take and share a self-photograph and their self-perceived reasons) and the time taken to do so and so on.

The second dimension of Scopophilia; "the love of looking" was mainly observed in terms of "curiosity" which, according to Freud, is the basis of Scopophilia. This section had 6 questions in total and these questions involved the themes and acts of "curiosity", "stalking" (Whiting & Williams, 2013), "reasons for watching/looking, and liking content", "visual pleasure" and so on. In total, 24 questions were formulated to observe Scopophilia in users on the basis of their Instagram usage patterns.

As it is understood from the first research question, Scopophilia is the starting point of this study. It is followed by the research question regarding empowerment, which is argued to be triggered directly or indirectly by Scopophilia, then, the research of question of Surveillance culture comes into play.

5.3.2. Empowerment
The reason for empowerment being in this study is based upon the reviewed literature. In a time when I was thinking about the practical reflections of Scopophilia and Instagram use, I have encountered articles and writings where social media usage may prove useful and empowering. Continuing my research, the literature proved to be very rich in terms of such data. Thinking empowerment as a bridge between Scopophilia, Instagram use and Surveillance Culture, the second research question was formulated: what is the relationship between Instagram usage and empowerment and its derivatives; empowerment on identity construction, psychological empowerment, social empowerment, political empowerment, economic

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empowerment and Informational/educational empowerment? Despite its various definitions, empowerment is generally understood as a

> "Multidimensional social process that helps people gain control over their lives…It is a process that fosters power in people for use in their lives, in their communities and in their society, by acting on issues they define as important" (Pierson, 2012, p. 102).

As it can be understood from this definition and many other definitions regarding the concept which are mentioned above, the relevant research question is formulated to measure the capability of Instagram to create empowered and agently individuals. The interview questions under this section are therefore written and asked to observe – in case if they exist – the manifestation of different types of empowerment in terms of Instagram usage patterns.

The term of empowerment and its derivatives were operationalized by asking interview questions which contained the definitions of the relevant type of empowerment that can be found under the theory section. The theoretical information regarding every type of empowerment was mixed with the reasons of Instagram usage according to each definition of the specific empowerment type in the interview questions. For example, the existence of an economically empowered individual through Instagram was measured by his/her acts on Instagram regarding personal aims and purposes such as using Instagram to earn money or to compare certain products to determine the most "cost-effective" one to rationally increase his/her savings.

Undoubtedly, the theoretical background of this research question is based on the concept of "empowerment". This term is of critical importance in my work since it is the milestone and the micro component which has the power and capability to define and explain Surveillance Culture in our contemporary society; "The point of using the concept of surveillance culture is to distinguish it from notions such as surveillance state or surveillance society by focusing on participation and engagement of surveilled and surveilling subjects" (Lyon, 2017, p. 828). It is reasonable to say that the emphasis made to participation and engagement in this quotation invite and make room for the term empowerment. While it can be said that the only direct reference which Surveillance Culture makes to is political empowerment, the other types of empowerments also may have consequences in terms of supporting and maintaining this culture of watching and being watched.

The empowered individual who now has the power to surveil, supervise and sometimes intervene to the acts of power structures through the use of social media is the essential unit of

Surveillance Culture; "As an increasing proportion of our social relationships is digitally mediated, subjects are involved, not merely as the targets or bearers of surveillance, but as more-and-more knowledgeable and active participants. This occurs most obviously through social media and Internet use in general and has arguably intensified an everyday adoption of varied surveillance mentalities and practices" (Lyon, 2017 p. 828). Processes of empowerment on the basis of the individual are the main processes which I argue that Instagram usage patterns trigger and result in the supporting of a Surveillance Culture.

Another theoretical reference for the relevant research question was chosen as the "empowering exhibitionism" of Koskela (2004). According to Koskela, individuals cease to be the passive subjects of surveillance by revealing their daily lives via being the active producers and sharers of images. This results in individuals to "reclaim the copyright of their own lives" thus, "to be (more) seen is not always to be less powerful" (Koskela, 2004, p. 199). This term may serve to link Scopophilia with empowering processes which are constructed through Instagram use and emphasizes the themes of "I am here" and "these are my thoughts regarding X".

26 interview questions were formulated in order to investigate if Instagram usage patterns could present individuals with various empowerment processes which have reflections on individuals' daily and practical lives. The questions were designed to examine these processes on the basis of empowerment on identity construction, psychological, social, political, economic and Informational/educational empowerment. These types of empowerment were discussed under the theoretical section below the title of "empowerment". The interview questions which fall under empowerment processes of Instagram are derived from the definition of empowerment and the equivalent of the aforementioned types of empowerment on the basis of Instagram practices. Now, I can talk about my third and last research question which comprises the desire to observe the effects of the phenomena in the aforementioned questions and one of the result/output of them; Surveillance Culture.

5.3.3. Surveillance Culture

The final question regarding the interest area of my study is as the following: As a component/member of the social media, does the Scopophilic Instagram usage, and the empowerment processes which it triggers, contribute to the concept of a "Surveillance Culture" and if so, how and in what ways (within the context of Turkey)?

In order to reveal and investigate the presence of Surveillance Culture and agency, questions were formulated which were based on the writings and definitions of Lyon (2017) concerning Surveillance Culture. These consisted of questions which inquire about the presence and prevalence of Surveillance practices and agency on the basis of both the individuals themselves and on the basis of state and power structures. To determine the place of Instagram as a social media platform within a Surveillance Culture, 11 questions were designed in total. These questions were formulated in order to examine the socially constructed narrative of the participants regarding surveillance acts in our current time. After laying down the construct of research questions, I would like to continue with the process of sampling.

5.4. Sampling

The purpose of the act of sampling regarding qualitative research is to find and use samples, events and practices which serve to clarify and further the understanding in terms of the relevant research topic and therefore, to create a sample which will enable the advance of the comprehension of "societal processes of everyday life" in a certain context (Neuman, 2012, p. 320) and moreover, the sampling of a qualitative research is formed not with the concern of representativeness but with the concern of relevancy regarding the research subject (Flick, 1998, p. 41; qtd. in Neuman, 2012, p. 320). These principles were pursued along the act of sampling for this study.

Research indicates that 31% of Instagram users belong to the age group of 18 – 24 and 32% of them to the age group of 25 – 34 (Statista, 2019b). Furthermore, it has been stated that the access to the internet and social media decreases when age increases – at least in the context of Turkey (Durak & Seferoğlu, 2016). These data were put into consideration when deciding the criteria for the sample of the study. Speaking in terms of Scopophilia, Freud (2017) states that this phenomenon may be present in the individual starting from childhood and is universal. Therefore, Scopophilia does not affect the process of sampling. It is a phenomenon which can be found among everyone without being affected by demographical, ethnical or sexual factors.

As disclosed in the previous sections, the available evidence suggests that the bulk of social media users (more than %60) belong to the age range of 18 – 34, both globally and in the context of Turkey. It can perhaps be inferred from this data that the most "Instagram active" users can be found within this age range. Even this inference may be not 100% accurate, I believe it is a good reference point for starting to draw the characteristics of the sample of this

study. Here, Instagram usage is the only parameter which may differ according to certain qualities of the users such as age and sex.

Scopophilia and empowerment do not have intrinsic qualities which render them indigenous to a specific population. Anyone can show Scopophilic behaviors and anyone can be empowered through their Instagram use. Again, Scopophilia may occur in anyone, who has passed the anal stage of his/her psychosexual development and this state of emotion/desire can be carried to the late stages of human life without disappearing. The same goes for empowerment. To the best of my knowledge, there is not a piece of work that exists which limits empowerment processes to parameters such as age, sex, ethnicity, religious belief, political stance, nationality, occupation and so on.

The only sampling criteria which was formulated regarding Scopophilia was based on the terms' reciprocal quality. Scopophilia is a two-dimensional phenomenon which involves both looking and being looked at. The initial solid reflection of this factor on Instagram usage "can" be the numbers of "followers" and the "followed". The "followed" enables the act of looking whereas the "followers" allow the act of being looked at on the basis of the user. Therefore, it was necessary for my sample to both have people who they followed and people who follow them. For this, I formulated the criteria of having 250 or more followers and 250 or more followed for my interviewees. These numbers were chosen to be a reference point, with concerns of accessibility. To the best of my knowledge, a social scientific criterion such as this – or similar to this in that matter – when conducting a qualitative research regarding Instagram is non-existent. Of course, numbers lesser than these may also reveal the Instagram usage patterns which I aim to social scientifically prove, but I do not doubt that the increase of these numbers – signifying more intense and complex relationship networks – can provide the general picture of Instagram usage patterns in a more "colorful" manner.

Contextual and accessibility concerns helped to draw the lines of the sample further. Contextuality is deemed important regarding surveillance studies (Wood, 2009; Lyon, 2017). This was fulfilled automatically since all of the participants were members of the context of Turkey. Finally, again the concern for accessibility limited the sample of the study to individuals who resided in the capital city of Ankara. Therefore, the initial characteristics of the sample were determined as; a) being in the age range of 18-34, b) having 250 or more followers and following 250 or more pages, and c) living in Ankara.

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I found the abovementioned characteristics regarding the determination of the sample insufficient regarding the finding of "proper Instagram users" who are as close as possible to experiencing the full Instagram experience by making use of the platforms' qualities in the most possible extensive fashion in order to fully observe and grasp the effects of Instagram usage patterns in the life of the individual.

According to DeMers (2016), "Engagement" is one of the keywords when describing individuals who are distinguished from the ordinary users. This can be explained as being in a constant state of communication with the users' friends' list/followers and this state involves creating and sharing content while using the applications' qualities like "liking", "commenting", "messaging" etc. Following the term engagement to be an "Insta-worm", Canning (2019) also suggests that maintaining conversations and communication with others on Instagram mainly by using the DM (Direct Messaging – the messaging system of Instagram) are important and furthermore, she talks about the role of writing long captions, using hashtags and editing (optimizing) stories.

Therefore, In order to depict and capture a photo of the usage patterns and the cultural norms and the jargon of the application in an extensive manner, alongside with its social, individual impacts, and according to the accessed literature regarding the most suitable/ideal participant for this study, I have formulated the below observable criteria – following the previous criteria – when selecting participants for this work; d) having and using an Instagram account for at least 5 years, e) actively using Instagram, creating and posting, scanning and liking content over the platform daily, in an extensive manner (this criteria has been solidified as; having shared more than 100 photos/pictures, having used the general functions of Instagram at least once such as liking, commenting, creating stories, editing photographs and videos, scrolling the newsfeed and engaging in one or more of these acts daily), f) using the application more than at least an hour per day (the average amount of time spent on social media per day is determined as 2 hours and 46 minutes, in the context of Turkey (Kemp, 2019b)), g) being posted a visual in the form of a picture, photograph, video or story via Instagram over the last week and finally, h) having used the application in the previous day before making contact with the researcher, with whatever reason. The last two criteria were formulated in order to reach to the "active Instagram user". These 8 criteria for choosing participants for the study was strictly followed during the interviewee selection process.

Snowball sampling is the technique which was used in this study. It is defined as a non-random sampling technique where the researcher starts with a case/subject, then he determines new cases/subjects with the information which he receives from his/her first subject and repeats the process until the sampling is complete (Neuman, 2012, p. 324). Snowball sampling was used to gather data since it was recognized as the sample technique which enables the access to participants who meet the determined criteria and therefore, which ultimately enables the observation of the determined phenomena and the relationships between them.

To the best of my knowledge, an accessible academic study (or a useful methodology section of the studies which do exist) which can help me by being a reference point in terms of sampling, and in relevance with the terms; Scopophilia, empowerment and Surveillance Culture does not exist. The existing/accessible qualitative academic studies' samples which can be considered "close to being relevant" to my case were purely arbitrary, in parallel with the authors research topic. Furthermore, most of the data regarding what a true, active and engaged Instagram user "must be" simply came from various newsletter articles which mostly focus on "being successful" on Instagram and marketing. These were the factors which I had to bear in mind when formulating my sampling criteria.

The first participant was selected from my own Instagram account, whom I had known that satisfied the 8 criteria. Of course, before the interview I have nevertheless validated that she indeed fulfilled these criteria. After the first interview, the participants of the others were determined by the former interviewee. Initially, conducting 15 major interviews were planned. However, due to time constraints and difficulties with regards to finding participants and having them spare 80 to 90 minutes of their time to the interviews, 3 pilot interviews and 14 major interviews were made. 2 of the interviews were deemed unusable and therefore disregarded since the data obtained through them were insufficient in the social scientific sense.

Consequently, the sample of this narrative study contains 12 individuals who live in Ankara, who are aged between 18 and 34, who are using Instagram for at least 5 years, who are using the application at least for an hour daily, who have more than 100 Instagram posts, who have at least 250 followers and who are following at least 250 individuals, brands, institution pages etc., who has shared a post over Instagram within the last week before contacting with the researcher and finally who has used the application in the previous day for whatever reason.

5.5. Data Collection and Analysis

Qualitative data is defined as "empirical world knowledge which is not in a numerical form" (Punch, 2011, p. 58). Therefore, this study made use of the data which is in verbal (statements of the subjects) form. Sometimes the data at hand was in the form of a visual from the application Instagram, but ultimately, its explanation by the participant was in verbal form.

An "Interview" is a communication process which is maintained between at least two individuals and it involves collecting data from the relevant subjects within the framework of the questions asked by the researcher (Büyüköztürk et al., 2012). It is considered as one of the main data collection tools in qualitative research and it is a good way to comprehend individuals' perceptions towards reality, its' definitions, meanings and their construction of reality (Punch, 2011). Interviews can be categorized into four types on the basis of the qualities of the questions asked (Büyüköztürk et al., 2012). Among these types of interviews, standardized open-ended interviews are the ones where the exact order of the questions are pre-determined and they are asked to all of the subjects in the same order in a complete open-ended manner (Büyüköztürk et al., 2012). Therefore, this study made use of standardized open-ended interviews when collecting data.

As mentioned above, and regarding data collection, initially an individual who qualified through the determined criteria was chosen to be the participant of the study. After the first subject, the others were selected each from an acquaintance of the previous subject, who again carried the aforementioned criteria which are required to be a part of the sample. In parallel with the snowball sampling protocols, this process was repeated until the interviews were completed. Interviews were conducted with the written and verbal consent of the participants. Each interview lasted for approximately 80 to 90 minutes and the statements of the participants were recorded via voice recorder, again, both with the written and verbal consent of the interviewees. The process of data collection started at on the 4th of July 2019, and ended on the 6th of August, 2019. All known ethical conducts were strictly followed within the process of data collection. The interview process is expressed and explained in detail below.

5.5.1. The interview process; before, during and after

After the selection and the completion of the interview of the first participant, the remaining participants were selected by the former interviewees according to the 9 criteria which I have formulated and specified above. In all cases, the former interviewee made contact with the next interviewee candidate via verbal or written communication. After accepting to be

interviewed, the candidate interviewees were asked if their Instagram usage patterns were meeting the criteria outlined above, before the interviews. After determining the criteria were fulfilled, and after accepting to be interviewed for nearly 90 minutes with a statement of "wow…really? İsn't it a bit too long?", and such "surprised" replies, interview dates, times and locations were specified, and then, the interview processes were carried out.

Before starting the interviews, I engaged in a 10 to 15-minute conversation with all of the participants in order to give information about myself and about the study. I emphasized the importance of their sincerity and accuracy – regarding their own perception of truth/what is – when answering the questions. Other than that, I conversed with my participants about their ongoing daily lives to reduce feelings of anxiety – if existent – and make them feel comfortable and talkative during the interviews. After this short conversation, I presented my participants the written informed consent document, requesting their acknowledgement regarding the purpose of the study, what is required by them, the usage of the information obtained in the process and regarding what they should know about the study. After reading, interviewees signed the document and the interviews began when I started the voice recorder and asked the first question. The participants were asked to open and look up at their Instagram pages when answering questions which required numerical data such as the number of followers, pages which are followed, shared posts and so on.

Because of their lengthy nature, the interviews were usually conducted in a two-session structure with a 10- or 15-minute breaks in order to prevent the interviewees from being overwhelmed by the questions, or the interview as a whole (this decision was made after the first interview and based on the advice of the interviewee). One interview was divided into three parts since the interviewee needed to leave for an urgent personal event. His interview was completed 2 days after the first meeting. On average, the interviews lasted for 77 minutes each. They were conducted on different locations, mostly chosen with regards to the preference of the participant. The locations of the interviews were; Ahmet Arif Park, Elizinn Tunalı Hilmi, Coffee Lab Mithatpaşa, Starbucks Bilkent, a household in Kolej, a household in Ümitköy, a household in Bahçelievler, a cafe named Ivoor, a shopping mall named Armada (2 interviews were conducted here), a cafe named Kahveci Hüseyinzade and finally a meeting room in the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Health.

The quietest parts were chosen within the interview locations to prevent external voices to mix with the voice of the participants. Since every bit of data was important for the study, during

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the interviews, interviewees were encouraged to talk and say what they want to say regarding the subject without the restrictions of the questions. They were encouraged to stop and think for a few minutes when they encountered a question which they have never asked themselves before. This technique proved useful in terms of obtaining data relevant to the study. Some relatively abstract questions were required to be "concretized" via examples from daily life, over the course of the interviews. After the examples, these questions were answered in a more fruitful manner.

The initial, "untested" questionnaire of the interviews had 105 questions. The optimal question form – which all of the questions were extracting the relevant data with no problems, such as misunderstandings, straying from the pre-determined topic etc. – was determined in a reasonable and rational fashion after the first three interviews via the notes which were taken during the process. Repeating questions were excluded, in some questions, certain supportive and explanatory phrases and examples were added – mostly in parenthesis – in order to enable the participant to fully understand the question. Some questions which were providing similar data regarding a mutual topic/phenomenon were merged. A few spelling errors were corrected. The final questionnaire contained 79 questions in total. Optimizing the questionnaire helped collecting more relevant data in less time by preventing confusion induced by some previous questions.

Other than giving examples in order to make participants clearly understand the questions, no form of inducement/redirecting was performed. Overall, and after the completion of each interview, the participants stated that they enjoyed the process and the questions were original and thought provoking. Some of the participants requested to read the results when the study was completed and available for public.

It can be easily said that the interviews were carried out with no significant problems. 2 interviews were not used in the study and disregarded since they were deemed as insufficient within the scope of the gathered data. This was so since more than nearly half of the questions were answered as "no" or "no, I do not think so" in the aforementioned interviews. Another significant time-consuming problem during the data gathering process was the difficulty for the participants – which nearly all of them are working individuals – to spare their time for an averagely 80-minute-long interview. This situation may be evaluated as the sole reason for the delayed completion of the interview process.

In addition to the personal statements and given answers by the interviewees, after each interview, the respondents were asked if I could add them from Instagram in order to observe their usage and action patterns on the application. All of the participants accepted this request and opened their accounts for me to observe and study. The input of these are given in the "results" section of this study. Not to forget, after the interviews, almost all of the participants got their smart phones in their hands and opened their Instagram applications. The interview must have been remindful of Instagram for them.

5.5.2. Analysis

The first step of the analysis process was the deciphering of the collected data which was initially in the form of voice recording. The recordings were carried out by my own smartphone. After the interviews, I transferred the voice files which were in m4a format to my personal computer where I deciphered and saved them in Word format.

There were 23 voice recordings in total. This situation arised from the fact that most of the interviews were split into two sessions in order to prevent the participants from getting bored or overwhelmed by questions. Other than that, some interviews were split into more than two sessions because of unwanted interruptions; such as a phone call etc. furthermore, the 12 interviews lasted for 15 hours, 28 minutes and 2 seconds in total, making an interview approx. 1 hour and 17 minutes long.

The deciphering process was completed on the 13th of August 2019. The average deciphering time for an interview was approximately 7 hours and 18 minutes. The total deciphering time for all of the interviews took nearly 89 hours. Including the questions asked, the deciphered data amounted to 237 pages. Considering that the questions amounted to 6 pages for each interview, it can be said that the deciphered data amounted to 237-72 = 165 pages in total.

For the second step of the analysis process, the qualitative data analysis program "MAXQDA" 2018 edition was used in order to analyze the deciphered data. This software was used because it provided convenience and rendered the analysis process of a 165 paged data a "systematic" one, saving time. Moreover, the use of MAXQDA enabled the protection of the original verbal statements and discourses of the participants and helped minimize a "researcher bias". In the analysis process, open coding was conducted based on the statements of the participants. Themes and subthemes were created within the framework of the gathered data and these were analyzed from 602 selected codes. Later on, the themes which were created in terms of the

statements of the participants were compared with the literature review and the theoretical tools of the study and the suitable ones were thematized and discussed under the concepts of the relevant theories.

The statements of the participants were directly translated after the coding process to English from Turkish and these were given in the findings section. The original statements in Turkish were given as endnotes in the relevant pages. As it was stated in the paper of informed consent, and due to ethical and privacy concerns, the names and surnames of the participants were concealed. The participants were referred to by the initials of their names, middle names – if they had one – and surnames.

5.6. Research limitations

Like every other academic and social scientific study, this work also has some shortcomings which I would like to address at this point. First of all, and as mentioned above, this study aimed to further our understanding regarding the relationship between complex and social phenomena. This nature of my purpose in this study rendered it a qualitative research and therefore, the sample of this study was formed accordingly. Because of this, the results obtained in this work do not carry the characteristic of generalizability towards whole populations, certain social groups, or even a whole and complete account of comprehension regarding the relationships between Scopophilia, Instagram, empowerment and Surveillance Culture. The results in this study represents only but a fragment of understanding the abovementioned phenomena (which is very rich on social relational content), and on the basis of the individuals' perceptions, understandings and attributed meanings, who were subject to this research. While this may be controversial in terms of "limitations", I believe it is an important factor and requires making a note of it.

The second limitation is about the observation of Scopophilia. To the best of my knowledge, a standard tool/scale in terms of observing, measuring and evaluating Scopophilia does not exist. I tried to overcome this problem by focusing on the social implications and effects of Scopophilia rather than handling it as a psychoanalytic phenomenon. As I have mentioned it on the section of "problem and conceptual framework", I have formulated my original detection tool in a social scientific manner which is based on the reasons of self-presentation, as perceived and stated by the subjects themselves, and based on other questions which are formulated to observe Scopophilia among users. While I believe these questions are sufficient

to reveal motivations and acts which are related to Scopophilia, nevertheless, the lack of supporting theory and practice regarding my method comes forward as a limitation.

The third limitation of this study is about the trilateral relationship between Scopophilia, Instagram and empowerment (surveillance culture in the macro sense). It is plausible to say that the linkage between these components embody the capability of triggering and supporting each other – which their revealment was my main purpose. However, it would be too daring to say that Instagram usage, motivated by Scopophilia itself alone fully explains the empowerment processes or Surveillance Culture, or the other way around. Undoubtedly, there exists many other external factors which have the power to affect these phenomena, such as the political, economic, social traditions of a given society or simply as the cultural structure of societies. In short, it can be said that the results of Scopophilic motivations, Instagram usage patterns, empowerment processes and the establishment of Surveillance Culture cannot fully be attributed to each other. Therefore, I discuss the insufficient power of each phenomenon regarding the explanation of each other – if it can be acknowledged as a limitation – as a limitation of this work.

With regards to the fourth limitation; every bit of data obtained throughout the interview phase of this study was based on the verbal statements of the participants. No matter how much I emphasized "sincerity" and "honesty" as the most important qualities which were expected from the interviewees, for whatever reason, there is always a possibility of receiving distorted answers from them. Although perhaps this last one may not be considered as a limitation since most of the social scientific research which deal with data obtained in the verbal form from participants do encounter, I believe it was necessary to point this situation out in this part of my study.

As the final limitations of this study, I would like to mention a contextual and a demographical drawback. The available means of the author limited the selection of the participants to a specific context, which is Ankara, a metropol and the capital city of Turkey. The study should be read and evaluated with bearing this fact in mind. The results are contextual in this manner and as mentioned above, having ideas regarding the generalizability of this study means swimming in dangerous waters which may lead the reader to erroneous conclusions.

Furthermore, the demographical drawback is about the age range of the participants. The Interviewees who participated in this study belonged to various ages between 25 and 33. This

means that the findings have the power to only reflect the Instagram usage patterns of the people who belong to the given age range. Individuals who are younger and older may have differing ways of perceiving and using the application since their wants and needs would surely be disparate as well as their obtained degrees of empowerment types, their Scopophilical urges and the social acts which follow these impulses. Having completed the method section, I now turn to the section of findings and discussion which contain the collected data and their sociological implications.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the findings of the study will be presented and discussed. First of all, the demographic information of the participants is given. After that, the themes which were determined according to the obtained data will be brought forward alongside with the statements of the participants regarding each of the thematized phenomenons and argumentations. Firstly Scopophilia; as divided into "the love of looking" and the "love of being looked at" will be put forward. Then, the empowerment processes which consist of 6 types of empowerment will be elaborated. After these two, Surveillance Culture will be referred to under three main sub-sections which are determined in terms of the subject who has the quality of being an "active agent", having the capacity and empowered status to make perceived changes on his/her life or in a broader scale. From the 165 pages of deciphered data, approximately 600 codes/expressions were determined and approximately 10% of these were used in this section. The sheer number of participant statements in this section is the result of the concern of not wanting a huge amount of social scientific data to go to waste. Therefore, I apologize in advance for the possibility of boring the reader of this work with long sentences which were expressed by the interviewees.

In this study, 3 pilot interviews and 14 main interviews were made. As mentioned above, 2 of the interviews were deemed as unusable while the other 12 went through the analysis procedure. The participants' age varied between 25 and 33. As for sex, 8 of them were Female while 4 of them were male. Their educational status was also varied; from "undergraduate student" to "Ph.D. student". 3 of the participants were unemployed while the other 9 were employed in certain work areas. Finally, 5 of them were single, 3 of them were in a relationship, 2 were engaged, and 2 of them were married in the period when the interviews were conducted. Below can be found a table regarding the demographic information of the participants.

Table 2. The Demographic Information of the Participants

Code Name	Age	Sex	Educational status	Occupational status	Relationship status
C.E.Ü.	28	Male	Undergraduate student	Employer/employed	Married
D.Ç.	28	Female	Masters' student	Unemployed	In a relationship
D.M.G.	28	Female	Masters' degree	Employed	Single
D.K.	28	Male	Bachelors' degree	Employed	In a relationship
E.Y.	25	Female	Undergraduate student	Unemployed	In a relationship
E.C.	28	Female	Masters' student	Employed	Single
H.B.	27	Male	Undergraduate student	Employed	Single
N.Y.	28	Female	Bachelors' degree	Employed	Engaged
Ö.K.	31	Female	Ph. D. student	Unemployed	Engaged
Ö.T.	27	Female	Bachelors' degree	Employed	Single
Y.E.A.	31	Male	Bachelors' degree	Employed	Married
Z.G.	33	Female	Masters' degree	Employed	Single

6.1. We love to look, we love being looked at

D.K.: The photographs which we share in the world of Instagram the most of the time are photographs which in them, we are always happy, doing well and which we have

the tendency to always share positive photographs, and the tendency to like and to be liked.[1]

The above statement of one of the interviewees speaks out for all of the participants. Although in different and various degrees, it was observed that all of the 12 interviewees had purposes of liking and being liked through sharing pictures and photographs and they showed Scopophilical tendencies to a certain extent when using Instagram. It became apparent to me that the use of Instagram and these Scopophilical usage patterns were supporting/reinforcing each other in a mutual way. "The gaze" was the main motivator for using this platform of social media. The Scopophilical Instagram usage of the participants are presented below under the two components of Scopophilia; "the love of looking" and "the love of being looked at".

6.1.1. The love of looking

Ö.K.: I like them. Generally I like all of the posts of the people I love. I like them even if its not beautiful. I like even when I do not find the post beautiful. Other than the people I love, I like if they are beautiful. If they appeal to my visual pleasure…sometimes I get carried away, thinking that I have spent way too much time on the application. There are too many attractions, I guess it attracts oneself. You look and see too many colorful visuals, I can get carried away in an instant yes.[2]

D.Ç.: I seek visual pleasure. Because generally I look at localities where celebrities go, for example the Northern Lights, shooting and sharing the photograph of that place.[3]

Instagram users who are the subject of this study like – and sometimes love – to look at others' posts when using the application. While the ways of their expressions and the reasons for liking/loving to gaze over content which is shared by other individuals differs in terms of individual hobbies, tastes, preferences, pragmatic goals, to obtain psychological relief, escape boredom and so on, the result stays the same. The existence of a rich/abundant external

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[1] "Instagram aleminde bizim paylaştığımız fotoğraflar hayatımınızın çoğu zaman bizim hep mutlu olduğumuz ve hep olumlu gittiği dönemlerde hep pozitif fotoğraf paylaşma ve beğenme, beğenilme eğilimli olduğumuz fotoğraflar oluyor".

[2] "Beğeniyorum. Genelde sevdiğim insanların her şeyini, çoğu şeyini beğeniyorum. Güzel olmasa bile beğeniyorum. Güzel bulmasam bile beğeniyorum. Sevdiğim insanların dışındaki şeyleri güzelse beğeniyorum. Gözüme hitap ediyorsa beğeniyorum… Bazen kapılıyorum, çok fazla vakit geçirdiğimi düşünüyorum. Çok fazla atraksiyon var, insanı çekiyor sanırım. Bir ona bakıyorsun çok fazla renkli görsel var bir anda kapılıp gidebiliyorum, evet".

[3] "Göz zevkine hitap etme durumunu arıyorum. Çünkü genelde ben şey resimlerine bakıyorum. Ya ünlülerin gezdiği yerler oluyor, mesela kuzey ışıklarına gitmiş orayı çekmiş falan".

viewing content which is accessible by only a swipe or two of the thumb seems to have been ensuring the marriage of the love of looking and Instagram usage. Therefore, The comments of the participants regarding the love of looking may consist the visuality of the opposite sex and fashion;

> Y.E.A.: I follow them, I'm following Victoria's Secret for example. (why?). The models are very beautiful. And oh, the guys are making really good designs. I truly admire them. When you look, you say "they have really done this thing" both with your eyes and your heart.[4]

They may consist preferences and hobbies;

> E.Y.: Firstly it has to have an appeal to me. It has to appeal to my tastes. The visual must be beautiful. (what kinds of tastes for example?). If it is a page/account in a cultural sense, I would definitely like the book or a quotation of my taste. If it is a picture that I love for example I like pictures in picture accounts which I can draw. I do not watch the pictures which I can have a difficult time drawing. I get bored. (I understand). The ones which I find close to me.[5]

> H.B.: I edit them. (Why?). Because as I am a photographer at the same time I edit the light…(in order to appeal to the eye?) I edit them because I like to juggle with the photograph rather than to make it eye-pleasing. It is more of a visual thing for me; for my own visual pleasure. It has nothing to do with Instagram. It is just because that I am into photoshop, because I am a designer, because I am a perfectionist, that I want the better one, the one which is a little bit better.[6]

> Z.G.: There is a minimalist world in Instagram; with the art of minimalism, for example only a tiny aeroplane from the sky. Plain, understandable and clear. I look to these kinds of photographs…Thereafter, again art visuals and visuals which are about photography catches my attention better…(what can be the reasons for the minimalist photos or photos on art that they draw your attention? Perceiving them as pleasurable? Or are there other reasons?). Because it appeals to the eye and because it offers me new ideas since I am a designer, I can pick up pretty good stuff. For example I absorb

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[4] "Takip ederim, Victoria Secret's ı takip ediyorum. (Neden?) Mankenler çok güzel. Bir de şey adamlar gerçekten çok güzel tasarım yapıyorlar. Adamları gerçekten takdir ediyorum. Baktığın zaman gözünde, gönlünde, kalbinde… 'Hakikaten yapmışlar' diyorsun".

[5] "Iıı öncelikle bana hitap ediyor olması lazım. Zevklerime hitap ediyor olması lazım. Görüntünün güzel olması lazım. (ne zevkleri mesela?) Kültürel anlamda bir sayfaysa eğer sevidiğim bir kitap, sevdiğim bir söz ise mutlaka beğenirim. Sevdiğim bir resim ise yani mesela resim sayfalarında çizebileceğim türden resimleri beğeniyorum. Çizemeyeceğim çok zorlandığım resimleri sıkılıp sonuna kadar izlemiyorum. (anladım) Kendime yakın hissettiklerimi".

[6] "Editlerim. (Neden?) Çünkü aynı zamanda fotoğrafçı olduğum için ışığını… (göze hoş gelmesi için?) göze hoş gelmesinden ziyade ben seviyorum fotoğrafın üzerinde oynamayı seviyorum. Daha çok görsel şey için benim için, görsel zevkim için. Instagramla alakası yok ben sadece fotoshopla ilgilendiğim için, tasarımcı olduğum için, daha iyisini, mükemmeliyetçi olduğum için, biraz daha iyisini istediğim için yani".

foreign designs which I see. Again, I can absorb things related with minimalism. Because normally, I am a person who loves simplicity. But my life is completely chaotic. That is to say, the thing which satisfies me is the desire to be admired when making designs. For example, I would like to be admired through my designs. Here of course, I mean the highly praised foreign posts which I see on Instagram and the ideas which I extract from them, the small details. (ok, and do you feel a visual pleasure, happiness when you gaze upon them?) Yes, because the people who share these posts do not want everyone to understand the posts. They only want a small group of people to understand them. Now there is such a mindset on Instagram. If I examined the post and found the small detail in it and be happy, I can say that the owner of the post has achieved his/her purpose. He/she has reached me. Now in my opinion, this is the main purpose of Instagram….[7]

Furthermore;

Ö.T.: Kids. Chubby kids. They come sweet for laughing, you love them. Then animals, again for laughing or there are different animal videos. To see them. Just animals. Then there are the photographs of the athletes. How did they gain muscle mass, how did they lose weight. "for example, especially "before-after" photos motivate me. Or I can see the correct version of an exercise which I was doing wrong (which kind of pages/accounts fo you follow?). Sports pages, locality pages, those types (do you think that you seek a sort of "visual pleasure" while you actualize this act?). Of course. I do because there are times that I look to a photograph many times since I find it very beautiful or since I wonder "how come did it be like this" (what kinds of photographs?). "Before-after photographs…hair styling saloons, hair. Hair which look beautiful. If the account is popular enough, I can go to that saloon…Actually, I do not have a criteria for liking. I like if the person in the photo looks beautiful. Or if the locality is nice, if it attracts my attention, be it a greenery, or a dim place, I like it directly. According to my tastes.[8]

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[7] "Bi minimalist bir dünya var instagramda, minimalizm sanatıyla, mesela atıyorum gökyüzünden sadece ufacık bir uçak. Sade, anlışılır, net. Bu tarz fotoğraflara bakarım yani…Ondan sonra şeyde yine sanat görselleri üzerine, fotoğrafçılık üzerine olan görselleri daha çok dikkatimi çekiyor… (Minimalist ya da sanata dair fotoğrafların dikkatinizi çekmesinin nedeni ne olabilir? Size hoş gelmesi mi yoksa başka bir neden mi?) Ya hem görsel olarak hoş gelmesi, hem bana yeni fikirler sunması, çünkü tasarımcı olduğum için ordan çok güzel şeyler kaptığım da oluyor. Mesela başka yerlerde yapılan yurtdışında yapılan tasarımları orda görüp ben de burada kendime bir şeyler katabiliyorum. O tasarımın bir parçasını ben kendime katabiliyorum. Yine minimalizmle alakalı kendime bir şeyler katabiliyorum. Çünkü ben sadeliği çok seven birisiyim normalde. Ama hayatım tamamen karma karışık. Yani bana bir şeyler kattığı için şey anlamda iş hayatında olsun normal yine beni tatmin edecek olan şey tasarım yaparken ki beğenilme arzusu aslında. Ben yaptığım tasarımda beğenilmek isterim örnek veriyorum. Burada tabii ki instagramda gördüğüm yurtdışında yapılan ve takdir edilen, çok takdir edilen paylaşımlar ve bu paylaşımlardan kendime aldığım fikirler ve parçaları diyeyim onların küçük detayları. (Peki onlara bakarken görsel bir haz, mutluluk duyduğun oluyor mu?)Oluyor, çünkü şöyle bir şey oluyor insanlar oraya atıyorlar hani ama ounu herkesin anlamasını istemiyorlar sadece belli bir kitle anlasın istiyorlar. Şimdi böyle bir akıl da var instagramda. Hani ben o kısma inceledikten sonra o aradaki detayı görüp mutlu olabiliyorsam demek ki adam o hedefine ulaşmış, bana ulaşmış. İşte instagramın asıl amacı bu bence…"

[8] "Çocuklar, tombik çocuklar. Gülmek için, tatlı geliyor, seviyorsun. Sonra hayvanlar, yine gülmek için ya da değişik hayvanlar video su da oluyor. Onları görmek için. Sadece hayvan. Bir de sporcuların fotoğraflarını görüyorum. Nasıl kas yapmış, nasıl zayıflamış. 'Before-after' fotoğrafları çok motive ediyor beni mesela. Ya da yanlış yaptığım bir hareketin oradan doğrusunu görebiliyorum. (Ne tür sayfaları/hesapları takip ediyorsunuz?) Spor, mekân o tarz. (Bu eylemi gerçekleştirirken bir "göz zevkine hitap etme" durumu aradığınızı düşünüyor

Having individual pragmatic goals can also be a motivator for the act of gazing on other peoples' shared content on Instagram. Such as in the case of Ö.K.and N.Y.

> Ö.K.: Yes, I have used Instagram for it. I still do. I stalk regularly. I don't know, maybe to be informed about peoples' lives. "I'm not seeing him/her, what is he/she doing" such and such. The ones I stalk are usually the ex-girlfriends of my boyfriends. I look at their pages, their profiles are sometimes open, and sometimes closed in an interestingly way. I look at them, seeing that they have weird and unrefined tastes, I satisfy myself. I say "he was dating them, now he is with me, shit, he is very lucky". Sometimes they have so much nonsensical shared posts so that I say "what a retard".[9]

> N.Y.: People do not attract me, just the ones who I love. Apart from that, a commercial perception based on shopping makes me relaxed. That is to say, things attract my attention better are ideas and comments regarding something which I would like to buy and use in daily life, research and photographs regarding these commodities. For example, I liked a ring model thinking "where can I buy this, is it a popular model, which is the latest 2019 model, which is the most popular" (after you saw it, did you go and try that ring or did you look at it in real life?). Yes, yes, I liked a ring very much then I went and saw it for example. It was not good looking as it was in the photos.[10]

It is clear from the aforementioned statements that the "spectators" of Instagram have needs and/or desires of visuality which they need to satisfy (Rio,2012). It is Instagram which satisfies a certain desire of looking that can manifest in various forms and furthermore, the acts of watching which are driven from this desire results in deriving a feeling of happiness for the individuals through gazing at mundane and daily activities of others (Şimşek, 2018). The love and the act of looking, gazing is indispensable for Instagram use. In this sense, it can be said

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musunuz?) Tabiiki de. Düşünüyorum, çünkü bir fotoğrafa defalarca baktığım oluyor, çok güzel diye ya da 'nasıl olmuş ya bu' diye. (Ne tür fotoğraflar?) 'Before-after' fotoğrafları…Kuaförleri takip ediyorum, saçları takip ediyorum. Güzel görünen saçlar. Eğer çok popülerse o hesap o kuaföre gidebiliyorum mesela. Bunun gibi…Beğenme kriterim yok aslında. O fotoğraftaki kişi güzel çıktısa direkt beğeniyorum. Ya da mekân güzelse, ilgimi çekiyorsa, yeşilliktir, loştur, yine direkt beğeniyorum. Kendi zevklerime göre".

[9] "Evet, kullandığım oldu. Hala da oluyor. Düzenli şekilde stalklıyorum. Bilmiyorum, insanların hayatından haber almak için herhalde. Görüşmüyorum, etmiyorum ya 'aa napıyor' falan. Genelde bu sevgililerimin eski sevgilileri oluyor. Onların sayfalarına bakıyorum, bazen açık, bazen kapatıyorlar profilleri ilginç bir şekilde. Bakıyorum işte yine acaip rafine olmayan zevkleri var, kendimi tatmin ediyorum. 'Bunlarla çıkmış, şimdi benimle birlikte, oha çok şanslı' falan diyorum. O kadar abuk subuk paylaşımları oluyor ki bazen 'gerizekalılar' falan diyorum".

[10] "İnsanlar ilgimi çekmiyor, sadece sevdiğim insanlar dikkatimi çekiyor. Bunun dışında daha çok alışveriş üzerine ticari amaçlı bir algı beni rahatlatıyor. Yani günlük hayatta kullanabileceğim, almak istediğim ne varsa instagram üzerinden onunla ilgili tüm düşünce ve yorumları gördüğüm için bunun üzerine bir araştırma, bunun üzerine fotoğraflar görme, bunun üzerine sayfalara bakmak daha çok dikkatimi çekiyor. En basitinden yüzük modeli mesela beğenmiştim. Hani bu 'nerelerde var, beğeniliyor mu, en son 2019 hangi yüzük çıktı, en popüleri hangisi' (Peki gördükten sonra o yüzüğü gidip denediniz mi ya da baktınız mı?) Evet, evet, bir tane yüzük çok beğendim, sonra canlısına gidip baktım mesela. Fotoğraflardaki kadar iyi durmuyordu".

that the desire to watch the displayed is prevalent among Instagram users. It seems that viewing selfies and other photographs and/or pictures truly give us an instant, but perhaps fleeting gratification (Wendt, 2014). The eyes of the users are satisfied by the visual which appeals to them. They are effected and drawn, attractred by the spectacle which is perceived "beautiful" by them in many different ways. Their gaze is sometimes rewarded by relaxation, sometimes by happiness and psychological wellbeing, and sometimes by motivation. The aforementioned statements of the participants brings to mind the quotation of Mateus; "…the centrality of images, the pleasure to watch and the Scopophilical behavior, they all characterize social networks" (Mateus, 2012, p. 208). Although these acts have different and individualized motivations, one specific motivation comes forward in terms of checking other pages, accounts and posts on Instagram; "curiosity".

6.1.2. Curiosity

Again, there was a consensus among my participants regarding curiosity being the sole or most powerful motivator for Instagram use. All 12 participants explicitly stated that curiosity was the reason that Instagram gained this much popularity and that it was the reason which they found themselves this deep into using the application. And most of the time, this curiosity was aimed at other individuals' acts, preferences, shared posts, photographs, videos etc. In other words, the object of this curiosity was mostly another individual. Other times, the aforementioned curiosity which triggered the act of gazing on Instagram was existent in terms of certain environments/localities and in a lesser fashion; in terms of commodities and products. Moreover, it can be inferred from the statements of the participants that Instagram had further supported and nurtured this "impulse" of curiosity:

> D.Ç.: Oddly, there is a curiosity, I want to look. I automatically open Instagram when the phone is in my hand. Not even Whatsapp but Instagram (where can this curiosity come from, can it be an inherent human trait?) I don't know, maybe. Actually it existed before, I was not using the application very much. Perhaps one wants to look since the application got popular and since everyone started to use it (does the application support this instinct?). Yes, for example, I was using Twitter, now I'm not using it anymore. Thus this is better…For example, I follow other stuff, we get informed about everything directly, about their lives (what is the reason for this following act?). Curiosity. We are curious. You wonder about the things that they do.[11]

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[11] "Bir merak var tuhaf bir biçimde bakmak istiyorum. Elimde telefon olunca hemen instagramı açıyorum direkt. Whatsapp ı bile açmıyorum direkt instagramı açıyorum. (Bu merak nereden gelebiliyor olabilir, insanın özüne içkin bir şey olabilir mi?) Bilmiyorum, belki de. Aslında eskiden beri vardı, çok girmiyordum herhalde popülerleştikçe biraz ve herkes kullandıkça insan bakmak istiyor. (Uygulama bu dürtüyü destekliyor mu?) Evet. Mesela twitter ben kullanıyordum artık hiç kullanmıyorum twitter ı. Demek ki bu daha iyi…. mesela diğer şeyleri takip ediyorum,

Ö.K.: Of course, it is a performative field which demonstrates identity. Sometimes I think this can be a dangerous thing. I think that trying to show our identity through Instagram can make us look diffident. Closing the account came to my mind from time to time but I continued to use it in order to hear from some people, to withhold the act of following people and in order to be informed of their lives. For 1 or 2 times, I attempted to close it, in other words I freezed it when I was too busy (why did you reopen it?). Curiosity, being fidgety, incontinency, habituality.[12]

H.B.: It happens. Sometimes I look at my ex-girlfriend (why?). Well, if Instagram is the only platform for us to communicate, and if I am curious about "what is she doing right now?", lets say that it is a completely emotional impulse. Other than that, I do not engage in stalking.[13]

N.Y.: We can be curious about someone who passes the street we can look and examine them (so can we say that Instagram increased this impulse?). Yes, it reinforced it. Before Instagram, when we used to get curious about someone, the continuation of the subject was dependent on his/her location. Now, since the location of him/her is also shared and if the account is also not a private one, you can always see where he/she is. That is the reason of the reinforcement of this emotion. You have the ability to reach more people. You get more curious and you look further/much more (in terms of quantity)…looking at one drags you to another one, that drags you to a third one (a constant need to look?). Yes, it creates a constant emotion of curiosity and time passes when looking to this, to that and so on.[14]

Ö.T.: It once was the thing I have done most on Instagram, looking to someone whom I was curious about, thinking; "what is he doing, who is the latest person that he added and where from, whose photograph did he like" and so on. This cost me a lot of time

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direkt her şeyden haberdar oluyoruz, hayatlarından haberdar oluyoruz (Peki bunun nedeni nedir?) Merak, merak ediyoruz. Ne yapmış merak ediyorsun".

[12] "Tabii böyle kimliği gösteren perfomatif bir alan orası. Bunun bazen tehlikeli olabileceğini düşünüyorum. Kendi kimliğimi oradan göstermeye çalışmamın, özgüvensiz durabileceğini düşünüyorum. Kapatmak kimi zaman aklıma geldi, ama yine de birilerinden haber almak, birilerinin takibini bırakmamak, o insanların hayatlarından haber almak adına devam ettim. 1-2 kere kapatma girişimim oldu yani dondurdum, çok meşgul olduğum zamanlarda. (Niye tekrar açtınız?) Yine işte merak, duramama, kendini tutamama, alışkanlık".

[13] "Oluyor. Eski kız arkadaşıma bazen bakıyorum. (Neden?) Yani haberleşebildiğiniz tek alan instagram ise ve onun hayatını "ne yapıyor acaba şu an" diye merak ediyorsam, tamamen duygusal bir dürtü diyelim biz ona. Ama onun dışında bir stalk yapmıyorum ya".

[14] "…Yoldan biri de geçse bununla alakalı merak edip bakabiliyoruz, inceleyebiliyoruz (Peki instagramın bu dürtüyü artırdığını söyleyebilir miyiz?): Daha çok pekiştirdi, evet. Sadece eskiden merak ediyorsak o konu orada kapanıyorsa şimdi merak ediyorsun, bir şekilde onunla ilgili en basitinden şimdi konum da paylaşıldığı için, o konumu yazdığında hesap açıksa onun da orada olduğunu görebiliyorsun. O yüzden bu duyguyu da pekiştiriyor. Daha çok insanlara ulaşma oluyor. Daha çok merak ediyorsun, daha çok bakıyorsun… bir bakarken o diğerine sürüklüyor, ona baktıktan sonra diğerine sürekliyor. (sürekli bir bakma ihtiyacı?) Evet, sürekli merak duygusu oluşturuyor evet o da ona o da ona derken zaman geçiyor".

back in the day (why did you do such a thing?). I think its an obsession or the feeling of curiosity. "I wonder where is he, what is he doing" sort of.[15]

The last statement that I will share regarding this topic touches on the fact that the ability to look, gaze over other people in an intensive and easy manner have created a society of "surveilled" individuals. This is an interesting statement since it also argues the negative consequences of this "newly" obtained power to "watch":

> Z.G.: The curiosity phenomenon is already the motivator of us all. Social media constantly feeds it in these types of situations…when you fall in love with someone, when you flirt with that person, it gives the material of "what is he doing, where is he, how is he doing?". Now even when you are sitting here at this moment, we are findable without the need of using Instagram, we have transformed into a surveilled society (people are surveilling each other nowadays, we used to say that the government was surveilling us). Exactly, and the boundaries no longer exist – this is also a situation among most of the psychological problems – we intervene into private lives too much…where this will lead is being argued, perhaps the 3rd World War will take place on the cyber realm, you never know.[16]

These statements of my participants can be interpreted as proof for the validation of Freud's (2017) argumentation that curiosity is the basis of Scopophilia in terms of the love of looking. People wonder, they cannot suppress – or perhaps they do not want to suppress this feeling which its origin is unknown to them. And since they have an application such as Instagram right under their hands, they give in to their wants and they start an endless journey of gazing others. Scopophilia supports and increases Instagram use while Instagram use supports and increases Scopophilic desires.

6.1.3. The love of being looked at

It would be absurd to think an application which emphasizes visuality without the second dimension of Scopophilia, which is "the love of being looked at. While the collected data indicated that every single one of my participants showed signs of possessing the "love of

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[15] "Bir ara en çok yaptığım şeydi instagramda. Merak ettiğim birini 'ne yapıyor, nereden, kimi eklemiş en son, kimin fotoğraflarını beğenmiş' gibi baya bir zaman harcattırdı bana zamanında. (Neden böyle bir şey yaptınız?) Takıntı bence ya da merak duygusu. 'Acaba nerede, kimle, ne yapıyor'".

[16] "Ya merak olgusu zaten hepimizin motivatörü. O tip durumlarda sosyal medya onu besliyor sürekli …birine aşık olduğunuzda, onunla flörtleştiğinizde, 'n'apıyor, nerde, nasıl?' bunun malzemesini verebiliyor. Şu an şurada oturduğunuzda bile instagrama gerek olmadan bulunabilir haldeyiz, gözetlenen topluma dönüştük (Artık insanlar birbirini gözetliyor, eskiden derdik ki devlet bizi gözetliyor) Aynen öyle ve şey kalktı, psikolojik sorunların çoğunda da o var, sınırlar kalktı aradan. Özel hayatlara fazlasıyla müdahale ediyoruz…bu nereye gider bu konuşuluyor, belki de 3. Dünya Savaşı siber ortamda olur, bilemezsin".

looking", this situation – while again manifesting in the statements of all 12 interviewees – became a lot more apparent, obvious and "intense" regarding "the love of being looked at. It would not be an exaggeration to state that that popularity of Instagram depends on this impulse of individuals. As it will be clearly seen in the statements of the participants below, The love of looking is primarily based upon psychological needs and wants such as; being remembered, the need to be approved, of socializing, of being different from others, to cease the feeling of loneliness, to eliminate boredom, to gain prestige based on the presented acts on the shared posts, to prove oneself's worth to others, to draw/seek attention, to satisfy one's ego, to be known/recognized by others – to validate one's existence (Boyd, 2014, qtd. in Lyon, 2017; Mateus, 2012; Şimşek, 2018) to impress others in various ways and finally and most importantly to be liked, admired, perceived as attractive and beautiful.

> C.E.Ü.: As a matter of fact, I feel ashamed when they like (photographs) and I feel happy, I feel very happy when they like…It happened after my wedding. I shared our dance video, it was found highly likeable and it recieved a lot of comments. I instantly said that "I should share one more at once, now, now, now". Because the video had a continuation. I said O should upload it this instant.[17]

> D.Ç.: You look and if you see they recieve more likes, you use it more actively. If the likes go down, if people start not to give a damn, you don't use it that much. For example the reasons behind men not using it very much is because they do not write comments under their posts such as "terrific" and so on…for example, when I go somewhere, I want people to see it (why for example?). I don't know. But an urge to share appears. For example my phone line is closed to abroad calls but you want to use the internet, why? You want him/her to see that you are there, you want to put a picture. Perhaps it can be a desire to be admired externally…when the like is recieved, when people find it beautiful, of course it satisfies.[18]

> H.B: When it recieves a high number of likes, one becomes truly happy. Thus when the likes decrease, one becomes sad as well. It is just a heart popping up after all (the symbol referring to "likes") but since we have reached such a state, we are not aware of that. People really get sad in the meaning of; "I doubt whether people like me?".

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[17] "Ben onlar beğenince utanıyorum aslına bakarsan ve mutlu oluyorum, çok mutlu oluyorum beğendiklerinde… düğünümden sonra oldu. Bir video paylaştım, dans videomuzu paylaştım, çok beğenildi, çok yorum geldi, hemen dedim ki, bir tane daha koymalıyım, hemen hemen hemen hemen. Devamı vardı çünkü videonun, hemen koymam lazım dedim".

[18] "Baktın çok beğeniliyorsa daha aktif kullanıyorsunuz, daha çok sevmeye başlıyorsun. Eğer zaten azalırsa, çok kimse takmazsa kullanmıyorsun ki çok sık. Mesela erkeklerin çok kullanmamasının nedeni onların kendi aralarında yorum yazmıyorlar ya altına 'çok güzel' falan yazmıyorlar…Mesela bir yere gittiğimde direkt insanlar da görsün istiyorum. (Niye mesela?) Bilmiyorum. Ama insanın paylaşma isteği geliyor. Mesela yurtdışına kapalı hattım ama internetini kullanmak istiyorsun niye? Orada olduğunu görsün istiyorsun, resim koymak istiyorsun. Belki de dışarıdan beğenilme isteği olabilir… beğeni alınca, insanlar güzel görünce tabii ki tatmin oluyor".

The situation evolves into this. You are shooting a photo or you went to a place, for example you went to Fethiye, there remains the King's Tomb for example. Lets say you shot a photo in front of the door of the King's Tomb, with the sunset, a truly beautiful photograph. You say "I definitely need to share this on Instagram". You share it, then you see that it has recieved likes from 3 people. The fact that only 3 people out of your 300 followers likes the photograph demoralizes you. It means that you have impressed only 3 people out of 300 with that photo. The real purpose here is to impress people on Instagram and to interact and communicate...The purpose of Instagram is to recieve likes for your photographs, to ensure interaction and to socialize with others…what matters is that to fulfill the expectation of others in the best possible way and to make them do the "two tick" (again a reference to "liking" on Instagram) only this. This is the thing that satisfies you. This is the deal.[19]

E.Y.: The main purpose is to recieve likes and comments. Sometimes I think of removing a photo when the number of likes are low. In other words, the real satisfying thing there is to receive likes and positive comments, a friend to put a heart under the post. As a matter of fact, this encourages me. I should share one more photo, I should take a better one. The more the likes, the more enthusiasm to use it actively (the application).[20]

Y.E.A.: Do I want them to like/admire me? I do. Let them see me, "I too exist, see me too". This. The only reason is this (reason of sharing selfies on Instagram). Otherwise why should I share my photo?...I am aware of this situation, to make myself liked/admired…Sharing ourselves is completely instinctive. I am married. I do not have an intent with anyone. I love my wife, my wife loves me, I am not worried about making other women, girls like me. Definitely not. But then again, it inwardly pleases me. It is a very particular thing. I ask myself the reason for this, "what if they do like me, I have a wife, I love my wife" but it pleases me. What are we going to do about that?.[21]

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[19] "Çok aldığı zaman gerçekten mutlu oluyor insan. Böyle azaldığı zaman da üzülüyor. Alt tarafı hani orada bir kalp çıkıyor ama öyle bir hale gelmişiz ki onun farkında değiliz….Yani şeyi, insanlar gerçekten üzülüyor yani şey anlamında üzülüyor. "İnsanlar acaba beni beğenmiyor mu?" ona dönüyor çünkü olay. Bir tane fotoğrafı çekiyorsun ya da bi yere gittin, örnek veriyorum Fethiye'ye gittin, Kral Mezarı var orada mesela. Kral Mezarı'nın kapısının önünde fotoğraf çekilmişsin, gün batımı böyle çok güzel bir fotoğraf çıkıyor ortaya. Diyorsun ki "kesin ben bunu paylaşmam lazım instagramda". Paylaşıyorsun böyle, bir bakıyorsun 3 kişi beğenmiş. Senin takip eden 300 kişinin arasında 3 kişinin beğenmesi moral bozuyor. Demek ki o 300 kişinin arasında 3 kişiyi etkileyebilmişsin o fotoğrafla. Burada asıl amaç etkilemek instagramda etkilemek ve iletişim kurmak…Instagramın amacı senin oraya attığın fotoğrafın ne kadar beğeni alması, etkileşim sağlaması ve sosyalleşmek… önemli olan olay şu karşı tarafın beklentisini en iyi şekilde yerine getirip o iki tık, onu yaptırabilmek insanlara. Bu sadece, sizi tatmin eden şey bu. Olay bu yani".

[20] "Zaten asıl amaç beğeni ve yorum alması. Beğeniler düşük olduğunda fotoğrafı kaldırsam mı diye düşünmüyor değilim. Yani orada asıl tatmin sağlayıcı şey beğenilerin, yorumların güzel olması. Altına işte bi arkadaşımızın kalp koyması. Bu beni teşvik ediyor açıkçası. Bir fotoğraf daha koymalıyım. Daha güzelini çekilmeliyim. Ne kadar çok beğeni o kadar çok aktif kullanma isteği".

[21] "Beni beğensinler istiyor muyum? İstiyorum. Görsünler, 'ben de varım, beni de görün' bu. Tek sebebi bu. Ben niye kendimi koyayım ki…bu durumun farkındayım, kendimi beğendirme…Kendimizi koyma tamamıyla içgüdüsel bir şey. Evliyim, kimseyle bir niyetim yok. Karımı seviyorum, karım beni seviyor, başka kadınlar, kızlar beni beğensin derdinde değilim, kesinlikle değilim. Ama yine de içten içe hoşuma gidiyor. Çok değişik bir şey.

It can be seen here that even marriage does not prevent the urge to obtain some kind of pleasure from the act of being looked at. While the participants could not clearly explain the reasons of this innate urge, impulse, they do admit that it is there, they admit that it exists as a powerful motivator of Instagram usage and perhaps more.

> Ö.K.: I share my selfies with the thought of "I like/admire myself, you too like/admire me"…I would share (selfies) even if the "like" function did not exist. Because the main idea behind selfie sharing is someone to SEE those them. We know that people who do not like them also see them…also, by sharing our photograph, I satisfy my desires such as to bee seen and to be liked/admired through Instagram. I don't know the extent of this satisfaction though. We can say that we experience a momentary satisfaction.[22]

The statement of Ö.K. brings the argument to a new dimension. She states that although she engages in the selfie sharing activity because she seeks admiration, she also tells us that she would continue to do so even the phenomenon of "liking" did not exist on Instagram. Here, it seems that the main motivation of Instagram usage comes to the surface. The love of being looked at outweighs the impulse to be liked, admired and so on.

> Z.G.: We already want to be seen since we have entered the 2000's. In other words, the joke that Cem Yılmaz made in the movie; "will Zeki Müren also see us?" was always inside us, Instagram provided this. A concern for proving oneself on an unbelievingly extensive scale had begun among individuals. I'm surprised because following these, observing. But on the other hand, I'm not surprised. I'm saying that "this was our expected end" (so are you telling that this desire to be seen existed in people and that Instagram made it easier?). Yes, for a very long time. Think about it Hasan, I am 33 years old now, there was an actor which I was personally following for 20 years. When the first time I saw him, it was impossible even to find his pictures in the newspapers and he was living through tough times in those years. Right now, this man can answer a question of yours when you write to him on an Instagram live session. What kind of a perception does this opportunity creates? This is a huge change…I guess it is more focused on taking pleasure…being liked is something like this; "he/she liked me, I am seen, I am beautiful, I am this, I am that.[23]

Nedenini soruyorum, 'beni beğense ne olur, karım var, karımı seviyorum' ama hoşuma gidiyor içten içe. Onu napıcaz?".

[22] "Selfielerimi Ben kendimi beğeniyorum, 'siz de beni beğenin' düşüncesiyle paylaşıyorum…Eğer beğeni özelliği olmasaydı bile paylaşırdım. Çünkü paylaşmamızın asıl nedeni birilerinin görmesi aslında, beğenmeyenler de görüyor onu biliyoruz… selfieden kasıt yine kendi fotoğrafımızı paylaşmak. Kendi fotoğrafımızı paylaşarak, görülme, beğenilme arzum var, bunları tatmin ediyorum. Ne kadar tatmin ediyorum bilmiyorum ama instagram aracılığıyla. Anlık bir tatmin yaşıyoruz diyebiliriz".

[23] "Görünmeyi zaten 2000'lere girdiğimizden beri istiyoruz. Yani Cem Yılmaz'ın o filmde yaptığı 'Zeki Müren de bizi görecek mi?' esprisi varya o hep içimizde vardı, Instagram bunu sağladı. İnanılmaz derecede insanlarda bir

The last statement of this section refers to the already existing Scopophilic impulses which reside in individuals and that the advent and rise of Instagram had amplified and supported these urges and desires. It is argued that the opportunities – social media – that enabled the amplification and further nurturing of these opened up new possibilities in terms of various changes in the daily lives of individuals. The characteristics of these changes being positive or negative, is of course, debatable. Before concluding the result section for Scopophilia, I would like to present my findings in terms of the reasons for self-presentation to keep things social-scientific.

6.1.4. Reasons and ways of self-presentation

I believe that the existence of the "love of being looked at" among my Instagram using participants is clearly demonstrated above, since my participants have shown honesty and sincerity more than expected, acknowledging that they possess this urge in varying degrees. However, with concerns of staying true to my methodology and to place the existence of the love of being looked at a more social-scientific platform/literature, I present my participants' love of being looked at, related to their self-presenation patterns on Instagram under this section.

> E.Y.: I definitely prepare it (the photo for sharing). Especially if the setting is messy, I tidy the place up. After all, I am shooting and sharing that photo in order to be liked and to obtain approval. Therefore, things in the photo must be "decent". At least it should have a story for example, if the caption which I will write under the photograph will be about me being happy or having fun, I should create a happy setting. Or if the theme is "I am studying too much and tired", I put my books on the background, roll my eyes, put on my eyeglasses and shoot photos which are appropriate for the setting because this is what I want, I need to achieve that like...I need to have the lighting, everything under control. It will please the eye, it will not embarrass me.[24]

kendini kanıtlama telaşı başladı. Bunları gözlemleyerek bir şeyleri takip ettiğim için aslında şaşırıyorum. Ama bir yandan da şaşırmıyorum. Şey diyorum 'sonumuz buydu'. (Yani insanlarda bu görülme isteği ezelden beri vardı, Instagram bunu kolaylaştırdı?) Evet, çok uzun süredir. Ya Hasan düşünsene ben şimdi 33 yaşındayım, 20 yıldır bilfiil takip ettiğim bir aktör var. Ben bu adamı ilk gördüğümde gazetede resimlerini görmek bile imkansızdı ki o zaman çok sorunlu yıllar yaşıyordu. Adam şu an Intstagram canlı yayında soru yazdığında cevap verebiliyor. Bu imkan nasıl bir algı yaratır? Büyük bir değişim bu... Biraz daha haz almaya odaklı galiba...Şöyle bir şey beğenilme, "o beni, beğendi, ben görülüyorum, ben güzelim, ben şöyleyim".

[24] "Kesinlikle hazırlarım. Özellikle çevreyi mesela dağınık bir ortamsa mutlaka toplarım. Ben zaten beğenilmek için o onayı alabilmek için ıı o fotoğrafı çekiyorum ve paylaşıyorum. O fotoğrafta da bişeylerin düzgün olması gerekiyor. Yani en azından bir hikayesinin olması mesela, altına yazacağım yazı çok eğleniyorum, mutluyumsa mutlu bir ortam oluşturmam lazım. Ya da çok çalışıyorum yorgunum temalı bir fotoğrafsa arkaya kitaplarımı koyup biraz gözlerimi devirip gözlüğümü gözüme takıp ıı ona uygun fotoğraflar çekerim. Çünkü zaten bunu istiyorum bu beğeniyi almam gerekiyor... ışığını her şeyi kontrol altında tutmam gerekiyor. Göze hitap edecek beni utandırmayacak".

Ö.T.: Yes, of course, I change a lot of poses, trying each of them in order to adjust the angle (how many poses for example?). If I say that "today I am beautiful", I shoot around 50 so as one of them should come through the others. Because since I am not so photogenic, I am trying different angles or I change the place where I sit or change the location of the objects (do you tidy up your hair etc.?). Totally, make up and so forth (ok, so what is the reason for you to make these preparations?). To appear more beautiful in the photos of course.[25]

Ö.K.: Yes, I edit them (To look better?). Yes, it can be to look better, to make the color of my hair and skin to appear in a certain way. To appear younger. To appear more romantic in the black & white photos. If there is a certain object, it can appear more pleasant.[26]

D.Ç.: It so happens that we adjust the setting. For example, my friend tells me to "pose like this" for example, puts some stuff here, puts her drink, I have done that but not in the way of clothing, clothes. If my friend tells me to tidy up my hair, I do it. But I do not do anything automatically (what is the reason of these preparations?). It is that the photo ambiance look pretty, to please the eye…Actually you already want to present yourself. You want to show yourself. Or you get graduated, sharing lots of pictures, actually they don't care but you want them to see where you graduated from (the reason?). No reason, personal satisfaction in my opinion.[27]

Generally speaking in terms of the participants, it was stated that certain acts were followed before sharing photographs and selfies on the realm of Instagram. These were detemined as using different photograph filters, the arrangement of the location – or removal – of certain objects in the setting, tidying up hair and taking heed on the apparel, adjusting the light, regulating the background, fiddling with the magnitude of the photo, adjusting the angle, putting on make-up and fingernail polish and so on and so forth. The purpose behind nearly

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[25] "Evet, tabii ki açıyı ayarlamak için, çok poz değiştirdiğim, denediğim oluyor. (Kaç poz mesela?) 'Bugün güzelim' dersem bir böyle 50 tane falan çekiliyorum ki arasından bir tanesi çıksın. Çünkü çok fotojenik olmadığım için açılardan deniyorum ya da işte oturduğum yeri değiştiriyorum, objelerin yerini değiştiriyorum. (saç falan dikkat ediyor musunuz?) Aynen, makyaj falan. (Peki bu hazırlıkları yapmanızın sebebi nedir?) Fotoğrafta daha güzel çıkmak tabii ki".

[26] "Evet düzenlerim. (Daha iyi görünmek için?) Evet, daha iyi görüneyim, saçımın rengi, tenimin rengi şöyle çıksın. Daha genç görüneyim olabilir. Siyah-beyaz fotoğraflarda daha romantik görüneyim. Belli bir obje varsa siyah-beyaz daha güzel çıkar falan".

[27] "Çevre düzenini ayarladığımız oluyor. Mesela bir şey çekilcez ya da mesela arkadaşım 'şöyle dur' diyor mesela buraya bir şeyler koyuyor, içkisini falan koyuyor o şekilde yapmışlığım var ama giyim, kıyafette olmuyor. Karşıdaki mesela 'saçını düzelt' diyorsa düzeltiyorum ama kendim otomatik bir şey yapmıyorum. (Nedeni ne peki bu hazırlıkların?) Fotoğraf ambiansının güzel durması, göze hitap etmesi… Aslında zaten kendini tanıtmak istiyorsun. İnsan kendini göstermek istiyor zaten. Ya da mezun oluyorsun, bir sürü resim koyuyorsun, aslında onların umrunda değil ki sen istiyorsun ki 'şuradan mezun olmuş' görsünler istiyorsun. (Nedeni) yok aslında, kişisel tatmin bence".

all of these acts can be gathered around the desire to be liked/admired, to be approved, and the photograph to be visually eye-pleasing.

These acts which are done before sharing the photograph indicate that some sort of calculation is made by the users. The aforementioned practices are not done arbitrarily. On the contrary, they are engaged in order to recieve a certain "benefit" which is worthwhile for the users to obtain. ALL of the acts in terms of self-presention consist of actual, observable and physical changes. This is not a baseless fact since the perception of the physical can best be realized by the "eyesight", by the "gaze" itself. Especially if the relationship is not a "face to face" one, but one using a social media channel as a medium, the eyesight remains as the only medium to percieve these acts of self-presentation. They ACT in order to be seen. Therefore, it can be inferred both from the statements and from logic that the motivator which leads these Instagram users to self-present themselves in ways which they assume to be likable/admirable, approvable etc. is none other than the love of being looked at.

Be it both men or women, social media users – in my case Instagram users – make themselves – making use of Balls' (2009) term – "exposed" on social media with wanting to be seen, as well as to see (Marx, 2015) . As argued in the theory section, the reasons for self-exposure was not dataism (Van Dijck, 2014), the rising of a therapeutic culture (Bruno, 2014) or narcissism (Boyd, 2007). Perhaps "attention seeking" (Boyd, 2007) can be considered as one of the "sub" reasons for exposing oneself on social media, but the findings indicate that this emotion of attention seeking, along with the desire to be liked, admired, known, appreciated and so on, falls right under the innate impulse of Scopophilia as a general and comprehensive phenomenon. In this sense, it can be argued that the reasons of self-presentation observed in this study draws parallel lines with the account of Bazarova & Choi (2014), who argue that these self-expressing and sharing acts serve as a tool for personal satisfaction of instrumental needs regarding the attainment of social validation, developing and enhancing social relationships and so on. Therefore, Scopophilia may be one of the answers to the question of Bruno (2014) which emphasizes the reasons of oneself to disclose personal data and pictures online. He states that there was not an empirical data and evidence to answer this question so far. I believe I have provided at least some data to shed light on this matter.

Furthermore, my findings are consistent with the findings of Gündüz, Ertong Attar & Altun (2018) who found that specifically Instagram users were deriving a sense of pleasure from being looked at. To achieve this pleasure, they were making efforts and spending a

considerable time to design their profiles in order to present a flawless performance and appearance on the "Instagram stage. The participants of the study stated that they achieved emotional satisfaction from their actions of self-presentation and from the results of those actions which involves them being liked and watched by others. My results are completely in line with this study in terms of the reasons of self-presentation and the existence of Scopophilic urges. It can be said that we are living in an impression management society (Marx, 2015) where we consume an endless stream of visuals and images willingly (Şimşek, 2018) to satisfy our Scopophilical impulses. We are seen, therefore we are (Bauman & Lyon, 2016).

After trying to show my participants' Scopophilic behaviour patterns when using Instagram and the bondage between Scopophilia and Instagram as best as I can, I now turn to present my findings regarding the second research question; Instagram usage – which was shown to be motivated by Scopophilia to a certain extent – and the empowerment processes which these usage patterns can/do trigger.

6.2. Instagram, a tool for empowerment

The relationship between Instagram usage and the types of empowerment are discussed under this section in line with the second research question. According to the definition of Pierson (2012); empowerment is a process which fosters power in individuals to make use in their daily lives. It refers to a feeling which enables people to control their lives while using the opportunities which they encounter within the flow of life. Basicly, being empowered through empowerment processes entails having an enhanced capacity and means to make choices and then convert those choices into desired actions and outcomes (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005). The existence of these processes require intentful action and a mean. While the intentful action varies among participant's needs, desires and aims, the mean here is no other than Instagram Itself.

Just like Scopophilic desires and behaviour, all of my 12 interviewees were observed to have been empowered regarding certain types of empowerments on different degrees. The types of empowerment which they have shown to possess varied according to their different aims and purposes when using Instagram. Now, I will give their thoughts and actions which render them empowered.

6.2.1. The power to constuct and present an identity – empowerment on identity construction

Social media gives individuals the means to control and manipulate the impression which others have, related to the user (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). This power coupled with the desire to be presented in the virtual arena via constructing a digital self (Schau & Gilly, 2003), acts of self-presentation can turn into acts of empowerment related to identity construction. It is argued that the selfie is the main tool for this construction and that in the end, individuals are left as agents of their own self-representations in the form of images (Senft & Baym, 2015). With related to the terminology of Boyd (2007), this process is called an "identity performance". In this process, the aim of the social media user is to manage the impression which he/she makes over others. Successfully achieving this goal results in what is called here; "empowerment on identity construction.

Regarding a construction of identity and presenting it over Instagram through an "identity performance", my participants stated that they either engaged in this type of construction or that they often see a vast number of individuals – mostly friends or acquaintances – engaging this type of action on Instagram:

> E.Y.: Yes I do (to use Instagram for identity construction and presentation). It happens like this; I am trying to be the person who I want to be on Instagram. For example if I want to be an E.Y. who travels a lot, I create an image of a person who travels often. I am creating an image and then I am trying to live according to that image. I tell myself that I am known around like this travelling person. I feel the need to act as according to the persona which I'm known to be of when being together with another person…This improves my personality. By doing this, I evolve to the person who I want to be.[28]

> Ö.K.: Yes, I have created an online identity. But this identity is not completely dissimilar with me. It is a part of me. It may not represent my 100%, but its representability potential is high. I am seen as how I want to be seen. Not 100%. The whole of me is not on Instagram thats all. Only a fragment of a third.[29]

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[28] "Oluyor, şöyle oluyor. Olmak istediğim kişi olmaya çalışıyorum orada. Mesela ıı çok gezen bir E.Y. olmak istiyorsam orada çok geziyormuş imajı yaratıyorum. Bir imaj oluşturuyorum ve o imaja bağlı yaşamaya çalışıyorum. Yani diyorum hani ben böyle tanınıyorum. O insanın yanında mesela beni tanıdığı şekilde, beni instagramda gördüğü şekliyle hareket etme ihtiyacı duyuyorum... Kişiliğimi geliştiriyor. Olmak istediğim insana doğru evriliyorum".

[29] "Evet, online bir kişilik oluşturdum. Ama online kişilik benimle taban tabana zıt bir kişilik değil. Yine benim bir parçam, yüzde yüz beni temsil etmiyor olabilir, ama temsil potansiyeli yüksek. Görülmek istediğim şekilde görülüyorum, yüzde yüz değil ama. Sadece Instagramdaki kişi değilim, üçte birin bir parçası".

C.E.Ü.: It was positive. Like I said, I am very careful about this topic because I am an artisan. I am born and raised around this neighbourhood and my Office is also here. Therefore, in order for me to earn money, the people here have to know me well. This was initially the thing which I was careful about. I believe it had a positive return to me, to my work. Because like I said before, most people thought wrong about me (you corrected this?). I think I corrected this through Instagram.[30]

Instagram is considered to be a platform where individuals have the power to create, control and convey their perceived "ideal" identity since when sharing selfies, people can highlight the aspects of their lives which THEY want highlighted (Shin et al., 2017; Sung et al., 2016; Gonzales & Hancock, 2011; Nilsson, 2016; Çadırcı & Güngör, 2016; Kwon & Kwon, 2015; Yang & Li, 2014). Furthermore, my participants shared posts which made them feel "distinct" from others and provided them with a feeling of satisfaction (Wendt, 2014).

According to these statements and the ones which I cannot share due to time and space concerns, it is clear that Instagram is being used for these purposes by my participants. They do so in order to manipulate and change the perception of others in a way which would be benefical for the user according to his/her evaluation of what is "useful" for themselves. This process as a whole, defines empowerment on identity construction.

6.2.2 Being happy – psychological empowerment

The psychological form of empowerment refers to a positive set of psychological states (Ambad, 2012) such as intrinsic motivation (Taştan, 2013), meaning, competence, self-determination, impact (Spreitzer, 2007) and most importantly; self-esteem, which is a highly influencing factor speaking in terms of psychological empowerment (Masud, Rahman & Albaity, 2013). Such as the aforementioned type of empowerment, psychological empowerment processes are also triggered through Instagram use. An example of the statements demonstrate this fact:

D.Ç.: When you upload a picture to Instagram and receive many likes, it of course increases my self-esteem. Or numerous followers come with this. They wait for you to upload pictures. I think that I am satisfied with this, I become happy.[31]

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[30] "Olumlu oldu. Dediğim gibi, insanlar, çoğu insan, esnaf olduğum için zaten bu konuda çok dikkat ediyorum, doğma büyüme bu muhitte oturuyorum ve benim iş yerim de burada, buradaki insanlar da beni iyi tanıması gerekiyor ki ben de para kazanabileyim, ekmeğimi kazanabileyim. İlk önce dikkat ettiğim şey zaten buydu. E olumlusu, buna olumlu olarak dönüş olduğunu düşünüyorum, işime. Çünkü insanlar beni, demin de dedim beni yanlış tanıyorlardı çoğu insan (siz bunu düzelttiniz?) ben bunu düzelttiğimi düşünüyorum Instagram aracılığıyla".

[31] "Instagrama resim koyduğumda çok beğeni oluyorsa tabii ki özgüvenimi artırıyor. Ya da çok takipçi geliyor. Senin resim yüklemeni bekliyorlar. Bende bir tatmin olduğunu düşünüyorum, mutlu oluyorsun".

Ö.T.: It definitely increases it. It can provide you motivation for your physical appearance, sometimes a psychological relaxation occurs…I never used it in order to increase my self-esteem but I can say that it increases slightly when I use it. Because the received comments, likes or someone who I don't even know commenting to my photo. In my opinion, this increases for everyone (self-esteem).[32]

Y.E.A.: I love animals. I especially follow cats and dogs. They have a page for example called "meow" (miyav). Everyone share their animals on that page with a hashtag. You have a cat too. Watching it move and play gives you joy. I enjoy watching their goofiness very much on Instagram. You forget the crowd when I see that goofy gesture of the cat when waiting for the elevator, you laugh at the cat inwardly. You relax.[33]

Z.G.: Sometimes I think myself as the models who break that body perception or women who, I forget her name, there is a woman from America who I follow; like them, I think myself as increasing the awareness for things. Because I have a bone disease, in my skull, a desease called fibrodysplasia. Since there is an excessive largeness, I used to have a problem with having peace with it since my puberty, Instagram broke that feeling/perception…Actually we all have a self-esteem problem. We use Instagram to get rid of that problem.[34]

As it can be seen from the statements, the use of Instagram enables its users to raise their self-esteem levels, improve their mood and motivation, and provide them with feelings of relaxation. Some of the participants stated that relaxing through Instagram posts was among the most important reasons for using the application. These findings are also in line with the literature regarding the subject (Valkenburg et al., 2006; Gonzales & Hancock, 2011; Bareket-Bojmel et al., 2016; Sorokowska et al., 2016; Shin et al., 2017). To summarize, Instagram

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[32] "Artırıyor kesinlikle. Gün içinde sana motivasyon sağlayabiliyor dış görünüşün için, psikolojik olarak bazen rahatlama olabiliyor…Özgüvenimi artırmak adına hiç kullanmadım ama kullandığımda özgüvenimin biraz arttığını söyleyebilirim. Çünkü gelen yorumlar, gelen beğeniler ya da hiç konuşmadığım birinin bile fotoğrafıma yorum yapması gibi. Bence bu herkeste artar diye düşünüyorum".

[33] "Ben hayvanları çok severim, özellikle kedileri takip ediyorum, köpekleri takip ediyorum. Onların sayfaları var mesela 'miyav' diye. Herkes oraya hayvanlarını hashtag leyip koyuyor mesela. Komik video lar var. Çok hoşuma gidiyor. Sen de kediye sahipsin. Onun hareketlerini izlemek mutluluk veriyor. Ben de instagramda o kedilerin şapşallıklarını gördükçe çok keyif alıyorum. Asansörü beklerken o kalabalık ortamda, kedinin o şapşal hareketini görünce o kalabalığı unutuyorsun, kediye gülüyorsun içten içe. Rahatlıyorsun".

[34] "Bazen kendimi şey gibi düşünüyorum, şu beden algısını yıkan mankenler ya da şeyler varya kadınlar, adını unuttum Amerika'da bir tane takip ettiğim var da onlar gibi bir şeylerin farkındalığını artırıyormuşum gibi düşünüyorum. Çünkü bende kemik rahatsızlığı var, kafatasımda, fibrodisplazi denen bir hastalık. Aşırı bir büyüklük olduğu için ergenliğimden beri onunla barışmakla baya bir sorun yaşadım, instagram o algımı yıktı…Hepimizin aslında özgüven sorunu var, özgüven sorununu kapatmak için instagramı kullanıyoruz".

empowers its users also in the psychological sense and renders them "happy" individuals. The extent and duration of this happiness is another topic for debate.

6.2.3. Increasing social capital – social empowerment

As said before, social capital was defined as "the sum of the 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" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119). Furthermore, social capital was divided into two categories by Putnam (2000; qtd. in Ellison et al., 2007) which are "bridging" and "bonding" social capital respectively. While the former represent relatively weak ties in which are formed in order to mostly achieve pragmatic goals such as engaging in small talk to pass time etc., the latter points out to more personal relationships which effect the daily lives of individuals in a broader scale. It was argued by Schwarz (2010) that selfies are used as a convertible currency in terms of social capital. He states that the photographic self-presentation is a medium to establish/join social circles and such. This seemed the case in relation to my interviewees as well.

In terms of the Instagram usage of my own participants, it became clear that both types of social capital which were mentioned above, and were obtained/accumulated through Instagram usage behavior, again in line with personal needs, wants, desires and needs;

> Ö.K.: I use it for both (meeting new people and maintaining already forged relationships). For example I meet new people sometimes. I ask him or he asks me. Generally if there is a photo taking activity taking place we add each other; "mm do you have Instagram?". Then we "like" each other. Then we text. "How are you, are you ok, did you come to Ankara?" and such…the benefits are that I get to know new people. Lets say that I met someone at a place, I wouldn't have had the chance to meet with him/her again if we didn't follow each other from Instagram. But when I follow him/her from Instagram, I hear from that person, I gain an acquaintance somewhere. Making a circle of friends.[35]

The type of social capital accumulation occurring in the case of Ö.K. can be categorized as "briding social capital". In general, she uses Instagram to meet new people to socialize and "have a good time", perhaps have an enjoyable evening – a hang out – after a tiring day. In this case, she uses Instagram both as a conversation starter with; "mm do you have Instagram?"

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[35] "Her ikisi için de kullanıyorum. Mesela bazen yeni birileriyle tanışıyorum. Ben soruyorum ya da o soruyor. Genelde fotoğraf çekiliyorsa ortamda 'aa instagramın var mı' falan, ekleşiyoruz. Sonrasında işte karşılıklı beğeniyoruz birbirimizi. Sonra mesaj atıyoruz. 'Nasılsın, iyi misin, geldin mi Ankara'ya' falan…faydaları, yeni insanlar tanıyorum. Orada tanıdım bir insanı, ortamda yeni tanıdım diyelim, instagramdan eklemezsem diyelim ki bir daha görüşme şansım olmazdı. Ama instagramdan eklersem fiziki olarak görüşmesek de ondan bir haberim oluyor, bir tanıdık olmuş oluyor bir yerde, çevre edinme".

and as a tool to maintain that relationship or at least as a tool for obtaining information – keeping tabs – on her new member of her circle of friends. In the end of the day, she is left with a new acquaintance, resulting in the accumulation of social capital, which can be also termed as "social empowerment".

> E.Y.: Yes, I use it for the process of socializing. For one thing, we meet with people who we do not see very often through this. This is a fact. I found my childhood friend whom I last saw in primary school. But we started messaging as if we were seeing each other everyday. We established candor between us. After meeting on Instagram, we saw each other in the public bus in practical life and we hugged and kissed each other; "aah how are you? How is it going?" as if years hadn't passed. I am sure that if we didn't talk on Instagram, if we didn't follow each other, If I didn't message her, I would ignore her on the bus. Because I wouldn't get a hold of that sincerity. I would shy away. But she went and came back from a foreign country and I asked something about it. I needed information. She tried to help in a warmhearted kind of way, she payed attention to my problem and I said to myself, "aah, our connection was strong" (do you still see each other?). Oh yes, definitely. After that encounter in the bus, we see each other and hang out occasionally.[36]

While it is difficult to differentiate between which type of capital does the one accumulated by E.Y. belongs, it can be said that perhaps it is closer to "bonding" social capital since the friend is a long lost "best friend" kind of friend. In another statement, E.Y. tells us that this friend of hers was a friend that she valued very much. Furthermore, the fact that they rekindle and maintain their friendship initially by Instagram and later on by seeing each other occasionally and occupying an important space in each others' daily lives indicate that this process can be termed as "bonding social capital accumulation" for both of them, which is considered as a type of social empowerment.

The findings regarding the assumed existence of social empowerment through Instagram usage patterns are consistent with literature which claim that social media use results in social capital accumulation in the form of building one's social circles via increasing social contacts and mutual interactions (Matthews, 2015; Marwick, 2015; Wendt, 2014; Li & Chen, 2014; Steinfield et al., 2009), in the form of obtaining "bridging social capital" (Brandtzaeg, 2012;

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[36] "Sosyalleşme süreci için evet kullanırım. Ya bir kere çok sık görüşemediğimiz insanlarla bunun üzerinden görüşüyoruz. Bu bir gerçek. Çocukluk arkadaşımı buldum ben ııı en son ilkokulda falan görmüşüm. Ama sanki her gün görüşüyormuşuz gibi bir mesajlaşma durumu oluştu. Samimiyeti sağlıyoruz. İnstagramda karşılaştıktan sonra pratik hayatta otobüste karşılaştık ve sanki gerçekten araya yıllar girmemiş gibi ''aa nasılsın, nasıl gidiyor şeklinde sarılmalar, öpüşmeler oldu. Oysaki ben şundan çok eminim instagramdan konuşmasaydık, birbirimizi takip etmeseydik, otobüste gördüğümde görmezden gelirdim. Çünkü o samimiyeti yakalayamazdım. Çekinirdim. Ama ben ona yurt dışına gitmişti onunla ilgili bir şey sordum hani bir bilgiye ihtiyacım vardı. Sevgi dolu bir şekilde yardımcı olmaya çalıştı, problemimle ilgilendi ve dedim ki ''aa bizim bağlarımız güçlüymüş (birbirinizi hala görüyor musunuz?). Aa evet, kesinlikle. Otobüste karşılaştığımızdan bu yana sık sık görüşüp takılıyoruz".

Lin et al., 2011; Barkhuus & Tashiro, 2010; Steinfield et al., 2008) and in the form of "bonding social capital"(Johnston et al., 2013; Liu et al., 2013). Instagram is also used with the concern of interacting and socializing with others (Garcia Galera et. al., 2017).

6.2.4. Raising awareness and acting! (well, sometimes) – political empowerment

Possessing the power of decision making, influencing any structure of power in anyway possible in terms of emposing a different thought to them, or basicly supporting certain political movements, social causes or trends and raising awareness regarding these can be termed as "political empowerment". It is mostly about disseminating thoughts, problems and grievances to a wide group of audience (Chen, 2017). Social media is considered as a platform which vilifies discrimination and alienation of any type and it is known for its qualitites of uniting individuals while helping them to voice their thoughts, ideas and demands on common areas of interests (Ünür, 2016). This characteristic enables individuals to speak out their free will (Bayraktutan, 2013). My findings were consistent to these accounts to a certain degree. I say "to a certain degree" because my participants were using Instagram to voice their thoughts and ideas. But only to the extent that they speak out just enough not to be a target of the governmental power structures. The statements of my participants regarding this situation can be found in this section and under the section of "Everyone watching everyone: a Surveillance Culture".

It can be said that the main fact behind the potential of social media for political empowerment is that the motivation of "wanting and making the society aware of a problem which is experienced" by the individual him/herself. Therefore, it can be argued that social media use as an alternative form of social participation which has the ability to politically empower its users. Halupka (2014; qtd. in Garcia Galera et al., 2017, p. 131) talks about "clicktivism" as a social media activity which results in the circulation of knowledge, political change or the attainment of the feeling "satisfaction" for being involved in the social media activity. These results were observable in the statements of my participants in terms of political empowerment:

> Z.G.: I prefer to draw the attention to the problems of women more than other things. It comes more alluring to someone who created a "body awareness" (Why are you doing these, these sharings?). Well, at least to give a message to people who are close

to me; "I saw this, you can see it too. Love yourself, whatever you are, whoever you are.[37]

In a given statement before, we saw that Z.G. had a unique health problem regarding the bones of her skull. Therefore, her situation and use of Instagram here is also unique and falls right under the argumentation of Murray (2015) who claims that social media is an enabler for political engagement, a means to defy and reject societal norms and standards of the female body regarding what is normal and likable which are dictated by the "patriarchal oppression" for women and to enhance a positive attitude regarding the female body. After a period of shyness regarding her condition and appearance, Z.G. started to see people with similar conditions and health problems and how they achieved a peace with their situations on Instagram. Then, she started to share her photographs through the app and she managed to overcome her shyness and shameness, learning to love her self no matter what.

> Ö.K.: Yes. I share posts like these in order to draw peoples' attention. I share stuff to make people know about them. I'm following the Şule Çet lawsuit for example, I posted about it. Because there may be people who are not aware of these occurings since they do not appear on mainstream media. I posted about the train accident which happened in Çorlu, about political events which are historical and are forgotten such as the Srebrenica massacre. Why am I sharing these? Because they are things which I give value and importance. Since I am a political person (What could be the consequences of these?). I don't know if it had a practical benefit but its just about them seeing these. But I guess that one or two could have opened and looked them up on Google; "oo, what is this Srebrenica massacre?" or perhaps they searched about the Şule Çet trial, about it being a suicide or a murder.[38]

The statements of Ö.K. refers to Halupka's conceptualization of clicktivism, and political empowerment mentioned above; where by sharing content enables her to circulate knowledge in order to make her feel satisfied. Since she defined herself as a "political person", it can be assumed that acting accordingly and sharing "political" situations and events with others can be deemed as satisfactory in terms of her daily life. While it may be hard to attain actual and

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[37] "Kadınlarla ilgili problemlere daha çok dikkat çekmeyi tercih ediyorum. Beden farkındalığı oluşturan biri için o bana daha çok cezbedici geliyor. (Neden bunu yapıyorsunuz mesela, bu paylaşımları?) Ya en azından yakınlarıma şöyle bir mesaj vermek için 'ben bunu gördüm, siz de görebilirsiniz, kendinizi sevin, ne olursanız olun, kim olursanız olun'".

[38] "Oldu. Böyle paylaşımlar yapıyorum dikkat çekmek adına. İnsanların bir şeylerden haberi olsun diye bir farkındalık yaratmak amacıyla bir şeyleri paylaştığım oluyor. Şule Çet davasını takip ediyorum mesela, onunla ilgili şeyler paylaştım. Haberi olmayan insanlar olabilir, çünkü anaakım medyada gözükmeyen olaylar bunlar. Çorlu'daki tren kazasıyla ilgili paylaşımlar yaptım. Srebrenica katliamıyla ilgili, daha önce unutulmuş, unutulmaya yüz tutmuş, tarihi, politik olaylarla ilgili. Niye bunları paylaşıyorum? Çünkü benim önem, değer verdiğim şeyler. Belli politik bir insan olduğum için. (Sonuçları ne olmuş olabilir?) Bir pratik faydası oldu mu olmadı mı bilemem sadece görmeleriyle. Ama tahmin ediyorum ki bir iki kişi de olsa açıp bakmıştır, 'aaa Srebrenica katliamı ne acaba' google a belki yazmışlardır veya Şule Çet davasıyla ilgili gerçekten intihar mı cinayet mi".

physical results rather than encouraging a few other people to search about the shared political posts, Ö.K. still feels politically empowered since believes she has done something of "value" by circulating information on rather "invisible" events when thought in terms of the mainstream media. And this thought makes her satisfied.

This statement of Ö.K. serves as an example for the other participant's acts on Instagram regarding political empowerment. Having said this, Instagram is generally regarded as a "soft" and "enjoyable" platform. It is a venue where organization and awareness activities are carried out instead of "excessive" ideological representations. The posts shared mostly consist of social responsibility projects, womens' rights, childrens' rights, animal rights, environment protection programs, the disclosure of criminals who harm or engage in violent activities towards women, children and animals, LGBTI awareness and organization posts, posts regarding the promotion of health and the encouragement of a healthy life, posts about global health problems and so on and so forth. When the main reason of sharing such posts was asked to the participants, the answer more or less stayed the same; "to create a public opinion", "to raise visibility and awareness regarding these topics". On a deeper level though, and following Halupka, it can be said that these acts may satisfy individuals personally in terms of their perceived identities and a feeling about social responsibility perhaps. A final note; Twitter is considered a better and more suitable platform for political and organizational acts. The "thought" is better heard and debated upon Twitter. Instagram is considered more as a venue for enjoyment and fun.

6.2.5. Supporting the budget – economic empowerment

Economic empowerment is defined as an achievement which contains obtaining, maintaining and improving standards of living, with processes of "physical development" (Pradono et al., 2016). This type of empowerment mostly emphasizes the physical means of improving individuals' lives such as monetary elements; money, immovables and real estate properties etc. in terms of increasing physical comfort and convenience for the individuals who are empowered economically. According to the statements of individuals, Instagram is extensively used for these purposes. Especially women are benefitting from Instagram's economically empowering quality:

> N.Y.: I happen to find a lot better quality products. Stylish products and products which are from the latest fashion right now, or if I am to buy the cheapest lipstick, such economic accounts exist. I follow where the cheapest product is. In other words, I generally use it for shopping (You see the reflection of this act in your daily life?). Yes, when I am to buy something, I can buy by following those pages. In short, "this

is coming here, it will have a discount", I can go get it at once…another thing, for example if I decided to buy a shampoo, I read all of the comments on it and there were loads of good comments (again over Instagram?) yes, and when saw that it had a discount, I went and bought it immediately. For example if I had gone to the store on another time, maybe I would have missed that discount. I looked at the discount date and time, and then went to the shop to buy it…It can be an outfit, an ornament that is to say an accessory. It can be a book, a small gift/souvenir. You can find and obtain everything via searching it from Instagram as well as a shop and with a lot better quality and price too.[39]

It can be seen from the statement that Instagram helps its users to find the optimal products according to their needs and in optimal prices as well. For the enthusiastic Instagram worm who likes to do a little research regarding commodities online, this situation provides both a feeling of, and a solid and observable economic empowerment. This way, savings in certain amounts of both money and time – Instagram removes the necessity for the user to actually go and wander in shopping centers or other shops – are ensured, benefitting people in the practical sense. Just as once accurately stated by Franklin; "time is money".

Furthermore, it can be argued that a "two-way" economical benefit takes place when using Instagram for commerce purposes. In this case, both the buyer and the seller benefit since the former receives a desired product whereas the latter receives "money", again a desired product – the purpose of being a seller in the first place. These can be considered as compatible with earlier studies which claim that Instagram can be used for economic benefits (Barczyk & Duncan, 2011; Mohsin, 2019).

Within the scope of economic empowerment, the other statements of the interviewees are as follows; examining and buying products such as cosmetics, clothes, ornaments and accessories, books, souvenirs, shoes, furniture. Moreover, my Instagram users also check the discounts and services given in certain establishments such as cafes, restaurants, hotels, nail-saloons and hairdressers. If they find these places qualified enough in terms of prices and if they deem the services satisfactory, they go and spend money in these establishments

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[39] "Çok daha kaliteli şeyler bulabiliyorum. Çok daha son moda, dayanıklı en azından eşyalar için şu an, ya da bir ruj alacaksam bile en ucuzu, ekonomik olarak da böyle hesaplar var. Neyin nerede en ucuzu var, bunları takip ediyorum. Yani alışveriş amacıyla kullanıyorum genellikle. (Hayatınızda bunun pratik yansımasını görüyor musunuz?) Evet, herhangi bir şey aldığımda onları takip ederek alabiliyorum. Yani 'şu şuraya gelecekmiş, indirime girecekmiş', hemen gidip alabiliyorum… başka bir şey, mesela bir şampuan beğendim, onunla ilgili yorumları okudum çok fazla, çok iyi şeyler vardı (yine instagram üzerinden?) Evet, yine instagram üzerinden ve şampuanın indirime girdiğini gördüm hemen gidip aldım. Mesela kendi başıma gitseydim belki de o an o indirim olmayacaktı. Ben instagramdan tarihiyle saatiyle bakıp gidip aldım…Giysi de olabilir, takı üzerine olabiliyor, aksesuar yani. Kitap üzerine oluyor, hediyelik eşya üzerine oluyor. Bir insanın dükkandan gidip alabileceği her şeyi instagram üzerinden araştırıp bu sayfalar aracılığıyla çok da iyisini ve ucuzunu bulup, temin edebiliyorsun".

according to their needs and wants. For another reflection of economic empowerment; which contains the selling of the product instead of buying with optimal quality and price, I give the second statement of this section:

> H.B.: I used it once. For example I've established a hardwood workshop. I wanted to sell my handmade products through Instagram. We accessed to some people via certain hashtags. I used it for that purpose (so you made financial gain?) I made financial gain.[40]

This statement directly refers to engaging "e-commerce" activities through social media (Leskovec et al., 2007) and specifically, Instagram (Ting et al.,2015; Xue, 2018). Instagram not only allows buying but also selling. Furthermore, this quality not only enables the user to just sell products. First of all, it eliminates the necessity to pay for advertisement and promotion. Secondly, restraints in terms of spaciality are broken, enabling the access to a higher number of customers. Finally, taxes related to a "workplace" cease to be a burden on the seller.

According to the statements of my other participants, Instagram is used for the promotion and selling of boutique products, home cooked food, special designed products and hand made products (i.e. wallets, ornaments, wooden knick-knacks, antiques, shoes etc.). Instagram is used both for purchasing and selling purposes by its users. Through research and a thorough analysis, users find the optimal product with the optimal price to suit their needs and to empower themselves economically. The same goes for the sellers. After all, Instagram is a platform which is full of possibilities for a seller;

> Z.G.: I am a grandson of a grocer, it would draw a lot more attention if I just opened up a grocery on Instagram.[41]

6.2.6. A personalized encyclopedia for self-development both theoretical and practical – informational and educational empowerment

In our time, it is virtually impossible to spend a whole day without being exposed to a source of information if we are not living completely secluded from others. The source of the received

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[40] "Kullandım bir kere. Ahşap atölyesi kurmuştum ben mesela. Orada yaptığım ürünleri instagram üzerinden satmak istedim. O yüzden çok kişiye erişmek istediğim için de instagramı kullandım. Bazı etiketlerle birkaç kişiye erişim sağlayabildik mesela. O amaçla kullandım. (Maddi kazanç sağladınız yani) Maddi kazanç sağladım".

[41] "Şu an ben bir bakkal torunuyum, şu an instagramda bir bakkal açsam daha çok dikkat çekecek".

information shows variation. We may use the TV, the radio, newspapers, magazines and/or books to obtain info regarding national and/or international news, events or, we may use them to "learn" and develop ourselves regarding our hobbies, science, art, the academia, craftsmenship, sports, cooking and so on. As well as the traditional medium of information dissemination, we also use our smartphones and social media for gathering "intelligence" according to our aims and purposes. Social media enables obtaining, sharing/exchanging knowledge (Punie, 2009, qtd. in Pierson, 2012; Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010) and it allows to train oneself in an intellectual manner without the constraints of time and space (Garcia Galera et. al., 2017). It was observed that my participants engaged Instagram for these purposes as well as other empowering acts and usage patterns. While some people just get "informed", others actually put their newly learned theoretical information into use and practically benefit from what they learned on Instagram;

> Y.E.A.: Oriented towards my hobbies. There is a do-it-yourself thing, some stuff I made myself by looking from Instagram you know? (what, for example?) there is a simple lemonade in Starbucks called Cool Lime, they sell it on a very steep price. I made that, do you know how easy to make it? You knead lemon crusts, peppermint, sugar together and add water. I'm making this, drinking it with my wife. Easy as that. Also it adds something to you (in terms of learning something new).[42]

> N.Y: Since we are in the technology age, we are doing everthing on the internet. People absolutely learn some things in any platform which has access to the internet (what have you learned from Instagram for example? In terms of information, skills?). It can vary according to your fields of interest. You can find many examples with respect to your inclinations. For example if you are interested in recipes, there are thousands of recipe pages on Instagram which publicly share all of the recipes which are used in private, high priced and fancy restaurants (what are the benefits of the information you obtain from Instagram?). It makes life easier, it teaches something. For example, you learn the easy recipe of a pasta which you love, then you use it in daily life. Or I don't know, someone writes; "if you rub this to your fingernails, if you mix lemon with vinegar, it nutrifies your nails". You use this after learning it. What I mean is that you can channel both the small and big things which you learn on Instagram to your daily life. That's the reason I benefit from it.[43]

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[42] "Hobilerime yönelik. Kendin yap olayı var, Instagram'dan bakıp bir şeyler yapmışlığım var biliyor musun? (Ne mesela?) Starbucks'ta Cool Lime diye basit bir limonata var, baya yüksek bir fiyata satıyorlar. Onu yaptım, o kadar basit bir şey ki. Limon kabuğu, nane, şeker, bunları yoğuruyor, soğuk su ekliyor. Yapıyorum, hanımla beraber içiyoruz. Bu kadar basit. Bir şey katıyor da".

[43] "Artık teknoloji devrinde olduğumuz için her şeyi internet üzerinden yapıyoruz. İnternet ulaşımı olan her mecrada mutlaka insanlar bir şeyler öğrenebiliyor. (Instagramdan ne öğrendiniz mesela bilgi, beceri?) Instagramda araştırdığın ilgi alanlarına göre değişiklik gösterebiliyor. Neye yönelim sağlarsan onunla ilgili çok sayıda örnekleri bulabiliyorsun. Mesela yemek tarifleri üzerine çok ilgiliysen binlerce yemek tarifi sayfası var ve özel, pahalı pahalı restoranlarda yapılan tün tarifleri burada yayınlayan hesaplar var. Böylece hani bu konuda mesela bir şey öğrenmiş oluyorsun (Instagram üzerinden elde ettiğiniz bilgilerin size faydaları nelerdir?) Hayatı kolaylaştırıyor, bir şey

Lastly but not leastly;

> H.B.: I believe I improve myself this way; since I am studying history, I follow certain archeological digsites, history books, and the posts of old bibliopoles. I can receive news about a new excavation, for example they are sharing the video of opening a sarcophagus in that excavation in Egypt. In that moment, you can see what comes out of that tomb. You can read about this in magazines or books but the important thing is to live that moment, I mean seeing it there…Besides, they share a post about a book making reference for you to visit a museum in the simplest term. You both get informed and it opens many doors for you.[44]

The common point concerning all three of these accounts is that they use Instagram for acquiring knowledge on their personal interests, hobbies etc. Furthermore, and what I consider worthy to mention and think upon is the fact that they are not content with learning the theory of something. Most of the time, they use that information in their daily lives to achieve a desired end. While even using the platform for collecting theoretical information about something can be defined as empowering according to the definition I used throughout this study, transferring the theory into the field of practice definitely qualifies as empowering. For these people, Instagram serves as a personalized encyclopedia for self-development. There were accounts which claimed that social media and Instagram use resulted in gaining information and raising the intellectual level of the user (Amedie, 2015; Garcia Galera et al., 2017) and it provided the platform for the dissemination of such information (Chante et al., 2014). Based on my findings, I carry these argumentations one step further and assert that Instagram also equips its user with information which is usable in daily life in order to accomplish a need or desire.

The information provision dimension of Instagram shouldn't be disregarded either. Looking at all of the statements made by my 12 interviewees revealed that Instagram was used to collect information about; touristical sites, places to visit and see, live press conferences of

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öğretiyor. Mesela çok basit, çok sevdiğim bir makarnanın tarifinin nasıl olduğunu öğrenip, günlük hayatta onu kullanıyorsun. Ya da işte ne bileyim birisi bir şey yazıyor; 'tırnaklara şu sürülürse, limonla sirkeyi karıştırırsan işte tırnakları besler' diyor. Mesela sen bunu öğrendiğin için bunu kullanıyorsun. Yani orada öğrendiğin çok küçük şeyi de çok büyük şeyi de günlük hayatına aktarabiliyorsun. O yüzden faydasını görüyorum".

[44] "Şu şekilde geliştirdiğini düşünüyorum. Ben dediğim gibi tarih okuduğum için bazı arkeoloji kazılarını, bazı tarih kitaplarını, eski sahafların paylaşımlarını takip ediyorum. Her an yapılmış yeni bir kazının haberini alabiliyorum örnek veriyorum ve o kazıda Mısır'da bir tane lahitin açılışının videosunu paylaşıyorlar o an O lahitin içinde neler çıktığını görebiliyorsun. Bunu dergide de okuyabilirsin, kitapta da okuyabilirsin ama önemli olan onu anlık yaşamak yani orada görmek…Bir de şey paylaşıyorlar bir kitap paylaşıyor bir kaynakça gösteriyor nasıl deyim en basitinden bir tane müzeye bile yönlendirebiliyor seni. Hem bilgilenmiş oluyorsunuz hem de birçok kapı açan bir şey oluyor yani".

municipalities, general health and healthy lifestyles, new technologies and products of home technologies. Hobbies (automobiles, drawing, handicrafts…) language and language practice, increasing literary competence (by reading critcisms aimed at a book, article etc. and by forming an opinion related to books to read by suggestions), art, cinema, festivals, concerts, theathre plays, political events, academic fields (archeology, psychology, philosophy), philosophers, thinkers, artists, politicians, professional knowledge (graphic design, influential communication techniques, authorship, addiction counselling etc.) self-improvement (designing a house, putting on make up in a professional way etc.) national and international news and events, sports and sports news, nutrition and so on.

The length of this list is undoubtedly determined by the number of users. Each person is a microverse in him/herself with their own and unique passions, needs, hobbies and aspirations. Therefore, each individual benefit from Instagram associated to informational/educational empowerment in a unique way. The information gathered from Instagram provides practical, economic "profits" and profits which are hedonic in nature (not in the sense of the pleasures of the physical body but the pleasures of the mind). Finally, this info collection is realized through a pool which is consisted of brief data. Like we said, time is money, now more than anytime.

According to Manning (2014), social media has five main functions in general; a) identity construction, b) relationship establishment and maintenance, c) work related function (for users whose work is related to social media use), d) seeking and obtaining information, sharing/disseminating personal or collective ideas, and e) entertainment. When looked from my findings and terminology, it can be said that Mannings' categorization could be revised and extended as; a) empowerment on identity construction, b) social empowerment, c) economic empowerment, d) informational/educational empowerment, e) psychological empowerment and f) political empowerment. While the terms may differ, the content and meaning seems to draw 2 consistent and parallel lines.

6.3. Everyone watching everyone: a Surveillance Culture

The third section of the findings chapter is devoted to the obtained data regarding Surveillance Culture. The interviews revealed that Instagram usage patterns which tend to reflect Scopophilic desires of looking and being looked at and which empower individuals on certain fields in daily life, supports a "Surveillance Culture", where "surveilling" and "being surveilled" by others is the main norm (Lyon, 2017);

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D.Ç.: This is normalizing (surveilling others and being surveilled by others) because Instagram contributes to it. Instagram normalizes this to us, actually by no means checking others' lives is a normal thing. But since Instagram paves the way for this and since everyone uses it, this comes as a very natural thing to us.[45]

D.M.G.: Right now we are surveilled and surveilling very easily, I mean we establish a dominance over others while learning everything about them without them knowing.[46]

Ö.T.: Yes, very normal. Because now everyone is aware of this. All of the institutions, all of the people are aware that they are being watched or being followed constantly. They share posts knowing that they are being watched anyway. At the same time, they try to show to others that they are also watching. It influences a lot in my opinion (According to you, what is the role of Instagram within this normalization process?). It increased it of course, everything is normalized now. All posts, all surveillance activities. It was not like this before, when it was not this active. No one knew about anyone before Instagram.[47]

According to these statements and others which I do not have the space to share here, the perception of the participants regarding the relations of surveillance is amplified by Instagram use. Therefore, it can be said that the use of the Instagram application in the sense of watching others; institutions, politicians, writers, thinkers, celebrities, friends, co-workers, family members and so on, can be seen as providing support to a Surveillance Culture where everyone is both the subject and object of surveillance. But what is the meaning of this? What are the social and practical implications of a Surveillance Culture?

According to both my interviewees and the literature, the politician shows him/herself and continues his/her campaign through Instagram, as well as other social or traditional media platforms (Ekşi, 2018), minorities use this application to organize and to make sure that their voices are heard and thoughts are known throughout the world (Chen 2017), brands present and promote their products through Instagram (Ting et. al., 2015), and celebrities and their

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[45] "Instagramın buna katkısı olduğu için bu normalleşiyor zaten. Instagram bize bunu normalleştiriyor, aslında hiç normal bir şey değil kimsenin hayatını gözlemlemek. Ama instagram buna yol açtığı için ve herkes bunu kullandığı için çok normal bir şeymiş gibi geliyor bize".

[46] "Şu an birçok kolay hem gözlenip, gözlüyoruz yani başkalarının üzerinde de bir hakimiyet kurup hani her şeyini öğrenip hiçbir bilgisi dâhilinde olmadan".

[47] "Evet, çok normal. Çünkü herkes artık bunun farkında. Tüm kurumlar, tüm kişiler gözetlendiklerinin ya da sürekli birilerinin takip ettiklerinin farkında. Zaten gözetlendiklerinin farkında olarak paylaşım yapıyorlar. Aynı zamanda karşıya da gözetlediklerini belli etmeye çalışıyorlar. Bence etkiliyor baya. (Sizce Instagram'ın bu normalleşme sürecindeki rolü nedir?) Artırdı tabii, her şey normalleşti artık. Tüm paylaşımlar, tüm gözetlemeler. Önceden bu kadar değildi, bu kadar aktif değilken. Instagram yokken kimsenin kimseden haberi yoktu".

"would – be – like" followers maintain their "existence" via this component of social media (Marwick, 2015). The acts of surveilling and being surveilled had become a part of daily life thanks to Instagram. It made easier for us to observe and watch the lives of individuals who we are "curious" about. Other than making/engaging this observing act easier, Instagram also normalized this behavior for people. It became the information bank for the average user and provided every type of information on the acts of institutions, groups and other individuals.

A user can surveil the life of an adored artist, a boss can surveil his/her employees' free time activities via Instagram. Of course the most important two facts here – also the enablers of the acts of surveillance – are firstly; the users' "desire" to be looked at and adopt Instagram usage patterns according to this desire by using the application in order to be "seen";

> Ö.K.: Yes, not a contribution, but it "pokes" you know? Since we have Instagram on our phones, lets say we took a photograph for it to be a memory, but there is Instagram; "oo let me upload it there too, let everyone see it". [48]

The second fact which I saw the enabler of the acts of surveillance is of course the feeling/emotion of "curiosity" which makes up the driving force of the desire to "look", that is the other pillar of Scopophilia;

> H.B.: Curiosity. 100% curiosity, to be curious about their lives.[49]

As it is seen here, Scopophilia and Surveillance Culture are closely connected phenomena which feed and support each other. But where do we put empowerment in this equation? The question of if this Surveillance Culture empowers individuals in any way however, is a complicated and multi-dimensioned matter which cannot be regarded as purely black or white. The responses of my participants regarding this matter was divided into three sub-sections; the first account considers both the power structures and the individual as active agents. The second one attributes the title "agent" to the individual and finally, the third one argues that the activeness of the individual is (ultimately) nothing but an illusion and that the state holds all the cards in terms of power and authority.

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[48] "Evet. Katkı değil de dürtüyor işte. Instagram var ya telefonumuzda, bir fotoğraf çektik diyelim ki anı diye çektik şurda, ama Instagram var 'aa dur oraya da atayım, herkes görsün'".

[49] "Merak ve tamamen merak ya yüzde yüz merak, yaşantılarını merak etmek".

6.3.1. Dual agents; power structures and the individual

> D.M.G.: Both actually. Actually it works both ways in Turkey. Sometimes it causes pressure and some changes but sometimes it acts as the exact opposite; there are people who get arrested for sharing certain posts on social media. That's why I don't think it is a safe platform…But then again, it is used as an agency authority and a tool for pressure.[50]

The "changes" which my interviewee talks about here is created through the pressure of the public opinion and certain NGO's directed at the Turkish Government. She believes that Instagram helped the main opposition party; Republican People's Party to gain solid ground and win the regional elections especially in the city of Istanbul, which was seen as a lost cause for a very long time by the supporters of the Republican People's Party. This may be a fact. Instagram truly can bring social or political change in the context of Turkey as well as around the globe. While at the moment it is impossible to pinpoint the exact influence of Instagram in such changes, this is the perception of my participants. After pointing out that Instagram can be a venue for change, my interviewee touches upon the fact regarding the arrests because of certain posts is also important. It is well known that people are sued and sometimes arrested for posts which they insult the president. In 2017 alone, there are 20.539 recorded enquiries and 6.033 criminal prosecution resulting from this act (Sezer, 2018). This shows that Instagram and other social media platforms can also serve as tools which the government uses as an excuse to implement its power and to show off its force. This fact validates the findings of studies which condemn the use of social media for "augmenting" the surveillance for enabling the control of governmental and/or corporal organizations in a way to undermine and pacify individuals (Fuchs, 2015; Van Dijck, 2014)

6.3.2. The individual as an empowered agent

There are notable accounts from the participants in terms of Instagram being used as an empowering tool in terms of surveillance and Surveillance Culture against the power structures or governmental pressure and/or insufficiencies regarding law for example and unjust acts;

> C.E.Ü.: Nowadays, the law is definitely maintained through social media. If a person gets beaten or if he/she commits a crime in a place without cameras, these things are forgotten. But if those are shared through social media, they are definitely disseminated. A child with cancer, or a woman who is harmed by a man…or

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[50] "ikisi de aslında. Ya aslında hani her iki türlü de işliyor Türkiye'de. Kimi zaman çok hani, baskı oluşturup bir şeylerin değiştirilmesine yol açıyorken, kimi zaman da tam tersi, hani bir sürü sosyal medya paylaşımı yüzünden tutuklananlar oluyor o yüzden hani çok güvenli bir alan olduğunu düşünmüyorum ben…Yani faillik yetkisi, ve baskı unsuru olarak kullanılıyor yine de".

homosexuals. I believe that these people are more powerful after social media these days.[51]

In this exemplary statement, it is argued that the "visibility" which is provided by Instagram is used as a tool to empower individuals in terms of raising their voices, ensuring that their ideologies, life styles, frustrations and problems are heard and legitimized by the general society. This quality of the Surveillance Culture directly reflects the political empowerment dimension which was argued in above sections and chapters. The voices which are silenced or at the best, ignored by traditional media channels seemed to find an outlet for crying out loud their oppressed voice, thanks to social media and Instagram. Another example;

> H.B.: In my opinion, they are completely active agents. He/she can make his/her voice heard very easily in any field and regarding any institution and establishment via social media. For example we are the Ministry of Health, people comment under our posts, we pay attention to those comments…People communicate with us actively and that communication reaches even the most important office/post. In other words, the solution starts there. If a solution is to be found, it starts there.[52]

Like I have stated this situation in the above sections, people who are unable to share their thoughts, concerns and grievances with others and who do not have the means to deal with their problems effectively with their existing means, use their "social media capital" in order to solve their problems to a certain extent. It should be noted that my participants do not engage in such acts to "solve" their personal problems. Their empowerment acts (here, political empowerment), are limited by the Instagram usage patterns which were elaborated at the empowerment section of this chapter. Their statements regarding Surveillance Culture and its benefits in terms of empowering the individual almost always consider "other" individuals rather than themselves. Nevertheless, these voluntary acts of the individual may allow him/her toengage in what is called a "participatory surveillance" by Albrechtslund (2008) which emphasizes seeking and obtaining information and communicating with others to organize regarding various events.

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[51] "Artık günümüzde hukuk, sosyal medya üzerinden ilerliyor kesinlikle. Eee bir insan, kameranın olmadığı bir yerde dayak yiyorsa, ya da bir suç işliyorsa, unutuluyor. Fakat o, sosyal medya'da paylaşılıyorsa kesinlikle bir şekilde bu yayılıyor. Bir kanserli bir çocuğumuz, ya da zarar görmüş bir kadın, bir erkekten zarar görmüş bir kadın…homoseksüeller. Günümüzde sosyal medyadan sonra daha güçlü olduklarına inanıyorum bu gibi insanların".

[52] "Şu an bence tamamen aktif faillerdir. İstediği her alanda, istediği her türlü kuruma, kuruluşa, böyle bir topluluğa ulaşabilir ve ulaştığı topluluğa sesini çok rahat bir şekilde duyurabilir sosyal medya aracılığıyla. Mesela biz Sağlık Bakanlığı'yız, bizim yaptığımız paylaşımların altına yapılan yorumlar oluyor, biz o yorumları dikkate alıyoruz…İnsanlar bizimle aktif bir şekilde iletişim kuruyor ve o iletişim burada gitmesi gereken en önemli yere bile gidiyor. Çözüm orada başlıyor yani, eğer bir çözüm bulunacaksa o çözüm orada başlıyor".

As I have already argued, other statements from my interviewees provide information about the benefits of a Surveillance Culture through Instagram use concerning individuals can be summarized as; expressing oneself, increasing self-confidence, obtaining information on certain topics, gaining awareness regarding the occurings and events in the country and in the world, developing a different and critical viewpoint related to these occurings and events, trying to change others' ideas, attitudes and finally behaviours according to their newly developed critical viewpoints, being informed, and lastly, to say thay "I am here!". By doing so, we actively, willingly and consciously produce our own surveillance to see that it has become a part of our daily lives (Finn, 2011).

In terms of the Surveillance Culture, Instagram allows the surveillance of the power structures. It does not allow however, the supervision or inspection of the organs of state power and such to a significant extent. Ultimately, the power of the social media is enough to "degass" the population and make them feel "empowered" in the political sense but its power is not enough to make actual and solid changes regarding the agenda of the ones in power, or to make inspections related to power structures. This is the topic of the final section of Surveillance Culture.

6.3.3. Power structures; the ultimate agents of society

In the above sections, the possibility of individuals being active agents in a Surveillance Culture was argued according to the statements of the participants. Here however, it will be argued that in the last instance, especially governmental power structures have the biggest slice of the cake of empowerment from this Surveillance Culture. In the least, it can be said that the Instagram usage of the individuals do not solidly effect or change power structures in the context of this research. In this sense, I deem the following statements worthy to reflect the capabilities of the state, or the ways that its capabilities are perceived by Instagram users in a Surveillance Culture.

> Ö.K.: Sometimes it seems way too politic, I remove the post because I don't want something to happen to me…Instagram is creating an illusion, as if you are the one determining the Surveillance Culture. You post whatever you like; "oo look, you are free to make your own choices, you shared this post so your life is in your control" and such. I think that this is an illusion. I can not share certain things like I mentioned before, for example I prefer to share political posts. But I choose specific posts among a broader selection of posts, I apply a self-censor to myself, because of the state. I do not share stuff which I think may harm me because of governmental oppression. The

reason for this is that the examples I saw before, lots of people getting judged and imprisoned because of social media.[53]

H.B.: You can only use it to the extent permitted by the state.[54]

E.Y.: I don't use it in terms of politics because I don't feel safe in our country. Well, I'd do this but what if something happens to me the other day? Because there is something called "digital footprint". That's why I don't dare to use it this way.[55]

C.E.Ü.: I'm married, I have a job, I can not take this risk. You can not take this risk in this country…everyone is being listened, being watched, such and such.[56]

D.Ç.: As you know, there are arrests, somethings going on, that's why I've erased them all.[57]

All of these statements signify that Instagram users are not comfortable regarding the posts which they WANT to share because they are afraid that something may happen to them. All of them think that they are watched by the state one way or the other and that a lawless act may fall upon them if they become too careless in their Instagram usage patterns. Ultimately, the state is the sole source of power and that social media is not enough to overcome or even equally distribute this power among the people in the face of governmental power structures. All of my participants had the notion that the state was somewhat surveilling them. The final statement which I would like to use here beautifully objectifies the limits of Instagram usage in terms of empowering individuals in a Surveillance Culture;

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[53] "Bazen çok politik geliyor kaldırıyorum, başıma bir iş açılmasın diye…Instagram bir illüzyon yaratıyor, gözetim kültürünü sen belirliyormuşsun gibi. Sen oraya istediğini koyuyorsun 'aa bak seçimlerinde özgürsün, bunu oraya koydun demek ki hayatın senin kontrolünde' gibi. Ben bunun bir ilüzyon olduğunu düşünüyorum. Ben belli şeyleri koyamıyorum mesela daha önce de bahsettiğim gibi politik şeyleri koymayı tercih ediyorum. Ama yine onların arasından seçiyorum, kendime sansür uyguluyorum, devlet yüzünden. Bana zarar verebileceğini düşündüğüm şeyleri koymuyorum devlet baskısı yüzünden. Çünkü daha önce gördüğüm örnekler olmuştu, sosyal medya yüzünden hapse atılan, hala yargılanan bir sürü kişi var sosyal medya paylaşımları yüzünden".

[54] "Sadece devletin izin verdiği kadarını kullanabiliyorsun".

[55] "Siyasi anlamda kullanmıyorum çünkü ülkemizde kendimi güvende hissetmiyorum. Iıı ben bunu yaparım ama yarın öbür gün ya başıma bir şey gelirse? Çünkü dijital ayak izi diye bir şey var o yüzden cesaret edemiyorum".

[56] "Evliyim, işim var, eee bu riski alamam. Bu ülkede bu riski alamazsın…herkes dinleniyor, gözetleniyor, falan filan."

[57] "Çünkü biliyorsun ki tutuklanmalar oluyor, bir şeyler oluyor, o yüzden hepsini sildim".

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Ö.T.: In my opinion, they cannot intervene. They look as if they are active, but they continue to be passive. Because I think that it is very difficult for a shared post to make an influence in real life. It's just about satisfying oneself. It is thought as; "I can go/rise up against authority or I can express what I know in a comfortable way, if these are heard by others, they can benefit from them" but I don't think that there is a group which pays attention to these (do you think that Instagram gives agency to individuals in terms of processes like political, social etc.?). It does seemingly. In reality, it does not, it does not give agency in the practical sense.[58]

The statement speaks for itself. This type of awareness and thoughts were commonly found on all of my participants. Although they express and accept the fact that Instagram and social media in general could be used for "awareness"and "organization" purposes to a certain extent, for making oneselves ideas and thoughts heard to a broader audience and for arranging online petitions and so on, they also acknowledge that these effects occur only within the limits and the framework which are determined and permitted by no other than the state itself. It should be noted that the state has the power to intervene and block access to the content which is shared on social media when it deems necessary. It can even restrict access to the content by a court verdict resulting in the removal of the post/content from circulation on the online arena.

Social media is a great asset for individuals to voice their thoughts and feelings but this does not change the fact that the state can and does apply pressure and oppression to certain individuals and groups regarding their social media behavior. Furthermore, in addition to the power structures such as the state, the fact that the international companies surveilling individuals under the title of "consumers" comes to the fore. Multinational corporations which seemingly don't have the oppression and pressure card which states have, also surveil and observe individuals' internet usage patterns such as "shopping" and "searching", with the hopes of manipulating their purchasing behavior directly and/or indirectly to gain profits.

According to the perceptions of my interviewees, the Surveillance Culture which is supported by Scopophilia and Instagram usage is seen as an unclear and blurred phenomenon where no certainties reside within. The ambiguity of the Surveillance Culture, its capability to manifest differently in different time periods and contexts (Lyon, 2017) and its relationship with social media can be seen as its quality of fluidity, which begs for further study on the matter. It can

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[58] "Bence müdahale edemiyorlar. Aktif gibi görünüp hala pasif olmaya devam ediyorlar. Çünkü instagramda paylaşılan bir şeyin reelde bunu etkilemesi çok zor bence. Sadece bence kendilerini tatmin etmek biraz. Daha çok 'ben otoriteye aslında ters düşebiliyorum ya da bildiklerimi rahatça ifade edebiliyorum, bunlar duyulursa belki faydası olur' diye düşünülüyor ama bunları ciddiye alan bir grup olduğunu düşünmüyorum. (Instagram bireylere politik, sosyal vb. süreçlerde faillik yetkisi (söz sahibi olmak) veriyor mu sizce?) Görünürde veriyor, reelde vermiyor, eylemsel açıdan vermiyor".

be both emancipatory and inhibitory. Not much can be said before further inquiry is made into the matter.

> Z.G.: Actually on the one hand we can say that it creates a democratic environment but on the other, it creates a dump, something is off balance here, it is chaotic, limitless. Dangerous. Just like walking on a thin rope.[59]

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[59] "Aslında bir yandan demokratik bir ortam oluşturuyor da diyebiliriz bir yandan çöplük de oluşturuyor, dengesiz bir şey var, kaotik bir şey, sınırsız. Tehlikeli. İnce bir ipin üzerinde yürümek gibi bence".

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER RESEARCH

Throughout this study, I tried to show the relationship between 3 phenomena which I believed that their existence supported and nurtured each other, at the same time governing certain daily practices of individuals which I have deemed worthy to study upon because of their extensive presence within the world of the 21st century. I tried to determine both the existence and the interrelationship between Scopophilia, individual empowerment and finally Surveillance Culture through 3 main research questions, all connected to each other intrinsically or extrinsically.

Firstly, I stated the importance of eyesight (Berger, 2017), and the existential situation of "I am seen, therefore I am" (Bauman & Lyon, 2016) especially in our society saturated with visuals now more than ever. I argued that spectatorship as a social activity was evolved in such a way which rendered visibility as a desired quality in our society of the 21st century (Şimşek, 2018), emphasizing the widespread tendency among teenagers and adults alike to both "display" themselves and their desire to watch the displayed. I then introduced Freuds' term Scopophilia to frame, understand and explain these tendencies and behaviors. The term which originally consisted of the love of looking was expanded into "the love of looking and the love of being looked at (Bauman & Lyon, 2016; Şimşek, 2018) and was used with this expanded meaning. It was argued that Scopophilia was a common humane drive which all children who are born with eyesight have to a varying extent (Rio, 2012).

In order to test these argumentation about the existence of Scopophilia, two analytical tools were used; the impulse of curiosity as a Scopophilic motivator (Freud, 2017) when using Instagram was called forth for the determination of the "love of looking", and the reasons and ways of self-presentation (Mateus, 2012) on Instagram was explored in order to designate the "love of being looked at" among my participants. According to both the participants' statements and their shared photos and pictures which were never posted in a haphazardly and random fashion but always in a purposeful and "designed" manner, it was found that every

single one of the interviewees possessed both the love of looking and the love of being looked at to a certain degree.

Therefore, the sample of this study confirmed that individuals do want to see and be seen via social media in our society (Marx, 2015) where impression management is of utmost importance regarding social relations. Thus, the visual material is extensively both produced, distributed, and consumed (Senft & Baym, 2015). It should be noted here that as a complementary argumentation to Mulvey's (1975) account of women being gazed upon by men; it can be said that in our time, men are being gazed upon by women in an objectifying fashion too. In other words, nowadays everyone is gazing and being gazed by everyone in a willful manner. Everyone is both the object and the subject of the eyesight. Thereby rendering the "amphyoptic" model of Mateus (2012) a fit one for analyzing and explaining contemporary surveillance patterns.

As an innate impulse, our curiosity "pokes" us to consume an unending stream of visuals (Şimşek, 2018) while engaging in self-presentation acts to make ourselves seen by others (Mateus, 2012) to satisfy our needs and desires to be liked, admired, approved, accepted, to prove ourselves, to let our existence be known for others and to win the appreciation of them regarding the things we do and so on. The existence of all of these acts engaged on Instagram which are motivated by Scopophilia are not a product of mental illness, on the contrary, I believe that these attitudes and actions to know and like, and be known and liked by others are the pursuit of the mind and heart for a mental and emotional wellbeing in a world which is increasingly getting devoid of deep and committed friendships and relationships. It is known that are brain is designed and evolved to adapt the human body in any environment and maintain its mental and physical wellbeing as in the best possible way that it can (Canan, 2019). Perhaps these increased Scopophilical urges in our increasingly isolated society are the attempts to attain a healthy and happy existence.

After Scopophilia, I defined and elaborated 6 types of empowerment according to the literature with the assumption of their existence supported, perhaps even generated through Instagram use. In the theoretical sense, these types of empowerments served the Instagram using individuals to make their daily lives easier for them in various ways. Furthermore, it was initially thought that these empowerment processes helped individuals to be more satisfied with their lives.

The results were consistent with the literature review. My participants and a lot of their "friends" and "acquaintances" were using Instagram to create and present an online identity, and highlight upon the characteristics of themselves which they wanted to highlight, for personal reasons (Collin et al., 2011; Fox & Rooney, 2015; Shin et al., 2017; Sung et al., 2016; Gonzales & Hancock, 2011; Wendt, 2014), empowering themselves and achieving desired goals in the end. For psychological empowerment, the interviewees were using Instagram to achieve a positive set of psychological states (Ambad, 2013) such as happiness, relaxation, raising intrinsic motivation (Taştan, 2013) and raising self-esteem (Masud, Rahman and Albaity, 2013). Instagram is resourceful enough to provide these to them.

Instagram also supports its users with social empowerment processes which results in the accumulation of the social capital of the individual (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The categorization of the bridging and bonding social capital can be seen within the statements of the participants. The findings regarding the assumed existence of social empowerment through Instagram usage patterns are consistent with literature which claim that social media use results in social capital accumulation in the form of building one's social circles via increasing social contacts and mutual interactions (Matthews, 2015; Marwick, 2015; Wendt, 2014; Li & Chen, 2014; Steinfield et al., 2009), in the form of obtaining "bridging social capital" (Brandtzaeg, 2012; Lin et al., 2011; Barkhuus & Tashiro, 2010; Steinfield et al., 2008) and in the form of "bonding social capital"(Johnston et al., 2013; Liu et al., 2013).

While limited, Instagram also allows individuals to be empowered politically by sharing posts in order to raise awareness in terms of "political" matters. In this sense, the shared posts contain social responsibility projects, women's' rights, children's' rights, animal rights, environment protection programs, the disclosure of criminals who harm or engage in violent activities towards women, children and animals, LGBTI awareness and organization posts and so on. While having a minimal effect on political matters, Instagram does enable its users engage in political activities (Murray, 2015), help them to disseminate their ideas to larger audiences (Chen, 2017). Furthermore, Instagram serves as a platform for an alternative form of social participation which is termed "clicktivism" (Halupka, 2014, qtd. in Garcia Galera et al., 2017, p. 131) and which involves the circulation of knowledge, political change or the attainment of the feeling "satisfaction" for engaging in this social media activity.

Instagram supports the budget of its users and helps them to find the optimal product at the optimal price. Furthermore, it enables the promotion and selling of certain boutique products.

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It is both used for purchasing and selling purposes. Small or big, these actions result in the improvement of the individuals' "physical development" (Pradono et al., 2016) by finding the most quality commodity with the cheapest price possible. Furthermore, it was found that Instagram buys the necessary time for the working user to search and shop. These findings are in line with previous studies which claim that Instagram can be used for economic benefits (Barczyk & Duncan, 2011; Mohsin, 2019). The same goes for promoting and selling products on Instagram. My participants were using Instagram or other social media channels to engage in "e-commerce" (Leskovec et al., 2007; Ting et al., 2015; Xue, 2018) and to make profit.

Lastly but not leastly, Instagram does serve as a personalized encyclopedia for self-development both in the theoretical and practical sense. It procures the information which the user seeks to inform and/or educate him/herself in a desired direction or profession. When carefully, rigorously and selectively collected, the acquired information from the vast "knowledge bank" of Instagram actually helps to increase the intellectual level of its user (Amedie, 2015; Garcia Galera et al., 2017).

Finally, Surveillance Culture as termed by Lyon (2017) was defined and linked with the other theoretical pillars of this study. It was ultimately found that Surveillance Culture as it is in the context of Turkey, was not established in a way to make the individual an active agent against power structures and governmental organizations. Although there are countless accounts throughout the literature review of this study suggesting otherwise, the findings indicate that achieving an agency of the individuals regarding surveillance practices and a solid, effective political empowerment by Instagram seems like a distant dream.

Yes, the marriage of Scopophilia and Instagram is a powerful coupling in terms of supporting a Surveillance Culture in the context of Turkey, but it seems that it does so in favor of the power structures such as the government and multi-national corporations. Instagram can and does benefit individuals in their daily lives socially, economically, informational, psychologically, in terms of identity construction, and perhaps to a certain extent politically. But it was found that giving Instagram a role of changing, altering or effecting the existent power structures in a meaningful way within a Surveillance Culture where individuals have obtained the power to gaze and surveil as well as state structures seems "difficult" to put it mildly. The individual is empowered in the Surveillance Culture politically as long as he/she directs his/her power against not the state structures but against other individuals who may slip the grasp of justice. Their invisibility shatters when encountered with the "all-seeing-eye" of

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the social media and justice and its institutions may function better and rapidly in the presence of the masses who see and react harshly to an unjust act. The recent case of Şule Çet where the power and pressure of social media in terms of creating awareness among countless individuals ensuring the "wanted" punishment of the alleged killers of a woman can serve as a solid example for this argumentation (Öztürk, 2019). Nevertheless, and as saddening as it is, if the target is a component of the state structure and such, the power of social media to bring justice seems to fade away.

Todays' situation resembles more and supports the argumentation of Mathiesen (1997), that in our "viewer" society, both the panopticism and synopticism feed on and enhance each other with the aim of checking and regulating the behaviors of individuals. Therefore, the data at hand suggests that the Surveillance Culture ultimately benefits power structures against individuals in terms of Instagram use. Individuals gain some benefits and justice from time to time and here and there through Instagram use, but at the end of the day, the system which generates inequalities and injustices generally does not change in the slightest. While it can be said that Scopophilia, Instagram use and Surveillance Culture support and empower each other, the same thing cannot be said of political empowerment processes of the individuals.

Instagram usage in the context of Turkey cannot be thought as a tool for major empowerment gains regarding the ordinary citizen or individual. In this sense, it can only be thought as a tool to multiply the power of the ones who already have a significant amount of power, authority and influence over masses, such as country leaders and institutional formations (Ekşi, 2018) and perhaps social media influencers who are comprised of highly known and popular individuals, writers, bloggers, celebrities, artists etc. (Freberg et al., 2010). For the ordinary daily user, Instagram is unable to go beyond being a tool of personal satisfaction, happiness and relaxation, while providing the user some empowerment processes to make his/her life easier in the mental, intellectual, and practical sense which were exampled above. Nothing more. It is a toy, a game, a bubble where the individual feels happy and safe inside it, using it for personal satisfaction.

In this sense, the Surveillance Culture we experience today is Huxleyan rather than Orwellian. The access to information and gazing is not restricted. On the contrary we are bombarded in terms of visuals. We are drowning in information. We have personal pass time toys – such as Instagram – which we cannot give up on using. We fall to the allure of the visuals while sometimes forgetting that our political actions and choices are in fact restricted by certain

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power structures. Instagram can provide big changes in our microverse but it is unable to generate the same changes in the macro sense, according to this study. Everyone watches everyone, but it is the state whose surveillance is accompanied with a solid enforcement in line with its perceived benefits.

It seems that visuality is the norm of our todays' society. It is the establisher and the carrier of almost all of the relationships which are forged and maintained on the social media. In order to better understand the dynamics of and the linkages between phenomena such as Scopophilia, Surveillance Culture and social media, I would suggest that the focus can be over on the aspect of "visuality" and the amphyoptic model of Mateus (2012) which consists of the individual seeing the many and the few at the same time while also being seen by the many and the few. I believe that it is especially important to conduct studies on Scopophilia and Surveillance Culture in Turkey since they are few in number and since the importation of such research from other contexts wouldn't have the parameters to explain our "technology and social media loving" society. Moreover, it was seen that Scopophilia had the title of a "powerful motivator" in terms of individual behavior in our time. More research on the matter can help us better understand the human behavior and the relationships forged among individuals, groups and finally, institutions.

Finally, I believe that a comparative evaluation of different social media components in terms of a "division of labor" regarding the types of empowerment can be a fruitful area of research in future studies. Among the six types of empowerment, only "political empowerment" seems to fall behind others in the context of Instagram and its use. Sharing certain visuals which appeal to the eye have the power to construct an identity, accumulate social capital, provide psychological relaxation and motivation, information which can be practiced in daily life for personal gain in any type, and to obtain certain economic benefits. But solidly affecting political processes may be the job of another social media member. In this sense, determining the political empowerment capacity of social media, Twitter usage patterns in Turkey may be given a thorough investigation since my participants were found inclined towards the idea that Twitter is an arena more suitable for providing the proper equipment to fight the battle of political empowerment against power structures.

I tried to portray a picture regarding Scopophilia, Instagram use, empowerment and Surveillance Culture in the Turkish context. While my sampling does not allow generalizability, it is a humble attempt to uncover and understand the existence and the

relationships between these phenomena. I would consider myself happy and have a feeling of accomplishment if I was successful to shed the faintest light over these concepts and their practical and societal reflections.

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APPENDICES

A. HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
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12 Haziran 2019

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Çağatay TOPAL

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız **Hasan ÇERÇİOĞLU' nun "Akıllı Telefon Uygulamalarının Skopofilik Boyutu: Türkiye'de Instagram Kullanımı Üzerine Bir Vaka Çalışması"** başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **272-ODTÜ-2019** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof. Dr. Tülin GENÇÖZ

Başkan

Prof. Dr. Tolga CAN
Üye

Doç.Dr. Pınar KAYGAN
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Süreyya Özcan KABASAKAL
Üye

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B. TÜRKÇE ÖZET / TURKISH SUMMARY

Bireylerarası ilişkiler ve pratikler gibi sosyal fenomenlerin sürekli ve hızlı bir biçimde değişikliğe uğradığı bir dünyada yaşıyoruz. Böyle bir zaman ve dünyada akıllı telefonların insanların en yakın arkadaşlarından biri olarak öne çıktığı görülmektedir. Toplu taşımada, spor salonunda, iş yerinde, bir restoranda, konserde hatta tiyatroda bile insanların sürekli akıllı telefonlarıyla meşgul olduklarını görmenin işten bile olmadığı bir dönemden geçmekteyiz. Bu meşguliyetin önemli bir payına sahip olan sosyal medya kullanımı kapsamında bir örnek verilecek olursa dünyada yaşayan 3,4 milyar insanın aktif olarak bir veya daha fazla sosyal medya hesabı kullandığı, bunlardan 1 milyarının ise Instagram kullanım pratiklerine sahip olduğu görülmektedir (Kemp, 2019a).

Aslına bakılırsa sosyal medya kullanımının günlük hayatımızdaki nüfuz derecesini görmek için istatistiklere pek te ihtiyacımız yok aslında. Bu durumu somut bir şekilde görebilmemiz için biraz etrafımızı, yakınlarımız ve arkadaşlarımız da dâhil olmak üzere insanların ne yaptıklarını gözlemlememiz yeterli. Gerek kendi sosyal çevremizde bulunan insanlar, gerekse diğerleri, herhangi nedenle olursa olsun yoğun bir sosyal medya kullanım pratiğine sahipler. Dolayısıyla 21. Yüzyılda akıllı telefonlar ile sosyal medya mecralarının son derece etkili bir biçimde gündelik hayatımıza girmiş oldukları gerçeği, oldukça açık bir tespittir (Ting vd., 2015). Dahası, sosyal medyanın hayatımızdaki nüfuzunun günden güne arttığı, hatta bu durumun bazı insanlar için "varoluşsal" bir kaygı yarattığı görülmektedir. Descartes'in "düşünüyorum, o halde varım" formülasyonu, kendilerini sosyal medyada gerek fiziki olarak, gerekse eylemleriyle sunmayı bir yaşam tarzı haline getirmiş bu insanlar için "görülüyorum, o halde varım" (Bauman ve Lyon, 2016, s. 144)'a evrilmiştir. Sosyal medyaya evrenine bu denli "dalmamış" olan geri kalanlarsa, bu evrenin çekimine bir şekilde kapılıp bu mecraları kullanmakta, kendilerini bu evrenden bir şekilde uzak kalmayı başarmış olanlar ise çevrelerinde bulunan insanlar aracılığıyla sosyal medyadan haberdar olmaktadırlar.

Yukarıdaki argümanlara ek olarak, sosyal medya kullanımının yalnızca bireylerle ve belli başlı gruplarla sınırlı olmadığı, devletlerin çeşitli kurum ve yapılarının, çeşitli başkanlıkların, bakanlıkların ve bağlı kuruluşların, iş dünyasında bulunan küçük veya büyük şirketlerin de kendilerine özgü ve özel sosyal medya hesaplarına sahip olduğu ve bu hesapların, ilgili kullanıcıların kendi amaçlarına yönelik bir biçimde gündelik ve yoğun olarak kullanıldığı da dikkat çekilmesi gereken başka bir durumdur.

Toplumsal olarak topyekûn ve yoğun bir biçimde kullanılan sosyal medyanın "görmek/görsellik" kapsamında birtakım sosyolojik sonuçlara ve çıkarımlara işaret ettiği ve dolayısıyla "bakış" (gaze) olgusunun öneminin bu kapsamda altını çizdiği düşünülmüştür. Sosyal medyanın bu bağlamda yaşadığımız dünyayı fotoğraf, resim, video, diğer görseller, emojiler vb. olguların sirkülasyonu aracılığıyla görsellik açısından "doygun" hale getirdiği, önemli ve sosyolojik araştırma gerektiren bir konu olarak belirlenmiştir.

Söz konusu dijital platformların yoğun kullanımının haricinde, bu kullanım örüntüleri ile sosyal medya araçlarının icadının ve bunların dünya çapında artan bir yaygınlık göstermelerinin, "gözetim pratiklerini" de (bireyin, diğer kişi, grup veya kurumları gözetlemesi, izlemesi ve aynı zamanda bunlar tarafından gözetlenmesi, izlenmesi) artırdığı, sosyal medya platformlarının, özellikle Instagram gibi kullanıcının görsel sunumunu teşvik eden uygulamalar sayesinde "görmek", "bakmak", "görülmek" ve "bakılmak" dürtülerinin tetiklendiği, bu dürtülerin ve sosyal medya kullanımının birbirini destekleyerek, besleyerek yeniden ürettiği düşünülmüştür.

Bu kapsamda, yukarıda adı geçen dürtüler ve "bakmak" ve "bakılmak çerçevesinde olmak üzere Sigmund Freud tarafından tanımlanan ve insanın sahip olduğu görmenin ve görülmenin hazzı/mutluluğunu açıklamak amacıyla kullanılan "Skopofili" terimiyle kavramsallaştırılmıştır. Gündelik hayat pratiklerinin ve çağdaş toplumları yönetip yönlendiren kültürel norm ve kodların artan bir biçimde sosyal medya ve Skopofilik davranışlar tarafından etkilenip şekillendirildiği (Mateus, 2012) ve bu ikisinin herkesin herkesi gözetleyebildiği ve herkesin herkes tarafından gözetlenebildiği bir Gözetim Toplumunun (Lyon, 2017) oluşumuna katkıda bulunduğu veya bu tarz bir toplum yapısını desteklediği addedilmiştir. Son olarak, Yine Skopofili'den ve sosyal medya kullanımından doğduğu düşünülen 6 çeşit bireysel güçlendirme türünün incelenmesi amacıyla "bireysel güçlendirme" kavramı çalışmaya dâhil edilmiştir. "Görüntü/görsellik" üzerine olan vurgusu diğer sosyal medya platformlarından daha fazla bulunduğundan, bu çalışmanın sosyal medya elemanı "Instagram" uygulaması olarak belirlenmiştir.

Dolayısıyla bu çalışmada, günümüzde toplumsal yaşamda ve hem bireysel, hem de kurumsal pratiklerde önemli bir yere sahip olduğu düşünülen sosyal medya kullanımı, belirli ölçülerde bu kullanımı tetikleyen Skopofili ve bu ikisinin kapsamında ve etkileşimi sonucunda açığa çıktığı ve/veya hali hazırda mevcut olduğu durumda ise desteklendiği kabul edilen Gözetim Kültürü ve bireysel güçlendirme türleri incelenmiştir. Bu araştırma, belli başlı insan davranış

örüntülerini yönlendiren ve toplumumuzun bir takım özelliklerini yansıtan yukarıdaki kavramlar kapsamındaki anlayışımızı ilerletmek amacıyla kaleme alınmıştır.

Araştırmanın metodu üzerinde konuşmak gerekirse; bu çalışmada Skopofili, Instagram kullanım örüntüleri, bireysel güçlendirme türleri ve Gözetim Kültürü arasındaki ilişkilerin bağlamsal olarak incelenmesi/tespit edilmesi ve yorumlanması amaçlanmıştır. Söz konusu kalitatif sosyal bilimsel gerçekliklerin, etkilerin ve anlamların araştırılması adına nitel bir araştırma tasarımı belirlenmiştir. Buna ek olarak, çalışmanın içerdiği bileşenler özel olup zamana ve mekâna bağlı bulunduğundan bir "örnek olay/vaka çalışması" formatı benimsenmiştir. Metot kapsamında olmak üzere Skopofili, bireysel güçlendirme ve Gözetim Kültürü ile ilgili 3 temel araştırma sorusu formülize edilmiştir. Bu üç fenomene ve aralarındaki bağlantılara/ilişkilere yönelik veriler, standartlaştırılmış derinlemesine görüşmeler ve 79 adet araştırma sorusu aracılığıyla toplamda 12 katılımcıdan elde edilmiştir. Skopofili'nin varlığı ve içerdiği "bakmanın/görmenin" ile "bakılmanın/görülmenin" hazzı/mutluluğu, sırasıyla Freud'un (2017) "merak" ve Mateus'un (2012) "öz-sunum nedenleri ve türleri" çerçevesinde incelenmiştir. Gözetim Kültürünün mevcudiyeti ve diğer kavramlarla olan ilişkisi, David Lyon'un (2017) ilgili kavramsallaştırması ve bu kültüre atfedilen belli başlı özellikler kapsamında oluşturulan sorularla ölçülmüştür. Son olarak bireysel güçlendirme türlerinin varlığı ve dereceleri ise, teori kısmında etraflıca anlatılan ve açıklanan geniş bir literatüre dayandırılan görüşme soruları ile ölçülmüştür. Bu bağlamda oluşturulan görüşme soruları, 6 tür güçlendirme etrafında şekillenmiştir (kimlik inşası kapsamında güçlendirme, psikolojik güçlendirme, sosyal güçlendirme, siyasi/politik güçlendirme, ekonomik güçlendirme ve enformasyonel/eğitimsel güçlendirme). Ana araştırma sorularını bir araya getirme ve özetleme amacıyla; bu araştırmanın "Skopofili ile tetiklenen davranışların bir sosyal medya platformu olan Instagram kullanımı aracılığıyla güçlenmiş bireylere ve bir Gözetim Kültürüne neden olup olamayacağı veya bu süreçlere bir katkı sağlayıp sağlayamayacağını" incelediği söylenebilir.

Örnekleme tekniği olarak kartopu örnekleme tekniğinin kullanıldığı çalışmada 12 katılımcının da araştırma içeriğine uygun olarak seçilmesini sağlamak adına yine literatür taraması aracılığıyla 8 kriter kullanılmıştır. Bunlar; 1) 18-34 yaş arasında olmak, 2) 250 veya daha fazla takipçiye sahip olup 250 veya daha fazla kişiyi/sayfayı takip etmek, 3) Ankara'da yaşamak, 4) Instagram uygulamasını en az 5 yıldır kullanıyor olmak, 5) uygulamayı aktif bir biçimde günlük olarak kullanıyor olmak, 100'den fazla gönderiye sahip olmak ve Instagram'ın beğeni, yorum, hikâye oluşturma ve paylaşma, fotoğraf ve video düzenleme gibi özelliklerini sıklıkla

kullanıyor olmak, 6) uygulamayı günde en az 1 saat kullanıyor olmak, 7) görüşmenin gerçekleşeceği zamandan önceki 7 gün içinde en az 1 içerik/görsel paylaşmış olmak ve son olarak 8) araştırmacı ile iletişime geçmeden önceki gün uygulamayı herhangi bir nedenle kullanmış olmak. Yukarıda belirtilen kriterlerin kullanımı, elde edilmesi amaçlanan verilerin olabildiğince rafine bir biçimde toplanması kapsamında destekleyici olmuştur.

12 katılımcıyla gerçekleştirilen derinlemesine görüşmeler, Ankara'da ve birbirinden farklı mekânlarda yürütülmüştür. Her biri ortalama 77 dakika süren görüşmelerde verinin toplanması, katılımcıların rıza ve onayı sonucunda bir ses-kayıt cihazıyla gerçekleştirilmiştir. Görüşmelerin tamamlanmasının ardından elde edilen veriler, analiz süreci kapsamında ilk olarak deşifre edilerek Word metni formatına dönüştürülmüştür. Bu aşamada elde edilen veri metni 165 sayfaya tekabül etmiş olup bulgular ve tartışma kısmında kullanılan veriler bu havuzun içinden alınmıştır. Analiz kısmının son aşaması çerçevesinde kalitatif veri analizi programı "MaxQDA" 2018 edisyonu kullanılarak katılımcıların ifadeleri/beyanları temelinde açık kodlama işlemi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Elde edilen veriler kapsamında temalar ve alt temalar oluşturulmuş ve bunlar analiz edilmiştir. Sonrasında ise katılımcıların ifadeleri aracılığıyla oluşturulan temalar taranan literatür ile ve metnin içerdiği teorik araçlarla karşılaştırılmak suretiyle incelenmiş ve değerlendirilmiştir. Bu süreçte katılımcılardan elde edilen verilerle meydana getirilen 602 kod kullanılmıştır. Metnin bulgular ve tartışma kısmında ise bu kodların yaklaşık %10'una denk gelecek şekilde 59 ifadeye yer verilmiştir.

Araştırma boyunca mevcudiyetlerinin birbirini desteklediği ve aynı zamanda içinde bulunduğumuz 21. yüzyılda bireylerin belli başlı gündelik pratiklerini yönlendirdiği, bu nedenle de sosyal bilimsel araştırmaya tabi tutulması gerektiği düşünülen 3 fenomen arasındaki ilişkiler ve bu ilişkilerin niteliği üzerinde durulmuş, bu ilişkiler ve bunların toplumsal yaşam üzerindeki etkileri anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Diğer bir deyişle, Instagram temelinde olmak üzere Skopofili, bireysel güçlendirme ve son olarak Gözetim Kültürü olgularının varlığı, bunların arasındaki ilişkiler ve toplumsal yapı üzerindeki etkileri incelenmiştir.

Bu araştırmanın kullandığı örneklem, sosyal ilişkiler nezdinde intiba/etki yönetiminin son derece önemli olduğu günümüz toplumunda bireylerin sosyal medya aracılığıyla "görmek/bakmak" ve "görülmek/bakılmak" istediği tezini (Marx, 2015) doğrulamıştır. Dolayısıyla, görsel materyal yoğun olarak hem üretilmekte, hem dağıtılmakta, hem de tüketilmektedir (Senft ve Baym, 2015). Bu noktada kadınların erkekler tarafından

"bakılan/gözün dikildiği görsel bir obje" olarak görüldüğü argümanına sahip olan Mulvey (1975)'in düşüncelerine tamamlayıcı bir katkı olarak günümüzde erkeklerin de, sosyal medya kullanan kadınlar tarafından "nesneleştirilebildiği" söylenebilir. Diğer bir deyişle, artık genelde sosyal medya, özelde ise Instagram kullanan herkes, iradi bir biçimde hem herkesi gözleyebiliyor, hem de herkes tarafından gözlenebiliyor. Günümüzde artık herkes görme duyusunun hem objesi, hem de süjesi haline gelmiş durumda. Bu durum ise Mateus'un (2012) "amfioptik" modelinin çağdaş gözetim pratiklerini analiz etmede ve anlayıp açıklamada uygun bir model olarak kullanılabileceğini gösteriyor.

İçgüdüsel bir itki olarak görülen merak duygumuz, kendimizin ve/veya yaptığımız işlerin başkaları tarafından beğenilmesi, takdir edilmesi, onaylanması, kabul görmesi, varlığımızın bilinmesi vb. ihtiyaç ve arzularımızın tatmin edilmesi kapsamında Instagram üzerinden öz-sunum pratiklerine yönelerek başkaları tarafından görülmemizi sağlamamızın (Mateus, 2012) yanında, aynı zamanda "görmek/bakmak" amacıyla sonu gelmeyen bir görsel tüketimine girişmemize neden oluyor. İtici gücü Skopofili olan tüm bu Instagram pratiklerinin varlığı, elde edilen bulguların yorumlanmasına göre zihinsel bir hastalığa veya rahatsızlığa işaret etmemekte. Aksine, bireylerdeki görme ve görülmeye yönelik Skopofilik tutum ve davranışların beynin ve kalbin derin ve anlamlı dostluk ve arkadaşlık ilişkilerinin git gide azaldığı bir dünyada zihinsel ve duygusal sağlığı arayışlarının bir sonucu olarak görmekteyim. İnsan beyninin, insan bedenini her türlü çevresel şarta adapte etmek ve zihinsel ve fiziksel sağlık halini mümkün mertebe korumak amacıyla tasarlanıp evrimleştiği bilinen bir olgudur (Canan, 2019). Belki de gittikçe yalnızlaşan toplumumuzda gittikçe artan bu Skopofilik itkiler, sağlıklı ve mutlu bir varoluşa ulaşmanın ve bu varoluşu sürdürmenin yollarından biridir.

Skopofili'nin ardından, taranan literatüre dayalı olarak tanımladığım ve Instagram kullanımının tetiklediğini düşündüğüm 6 bireysel güçlendirme sürecini açıklamıştım. Teorik manada bu güçlendirme süreçleri, Instagram kullanıcılarının gündelik hayatlarını çeşitli şekilde kolaylaştırmaktaydı. Dahası, söz konusu süreçlerin bireylerin yaşamlarından daha hoşnut olmalarını sağladığı düşünülmekteydi.

Elde edilen bulgular, literatürü ve düşüncelerimi doğrular nitelikteydi. Katılımcılarım ve onların pek çok "arkadaşı" ve/veya "tanıdığı", Instagram uygulamasını çevrimiçi bir kimlik oluşturmak ve bu oluşturulan kimlik kapsamında kişisel herhangi bir nedenden ötürü kendilerinin istedikleri özelliklerine vurgu yapmak amacıyla kullandıkları (Collin vd., 2011; Fox ve Rooney, 2015; Shin vd., 2017; Sung vd., 2016; Gonzales ve Hancock, 2011; Wendt,

2014), bu kapsamda güçlendikleri ve hedeflenen amaçlarına ulaştıkları görülmüştür. Psikolojik güçlendirme çerçevesinde ise katılımcıların Instagram uygulamasını mutluluk, rahatlama, içsel motivasyonu artırma (Taştan, 2013) ve öz saygı ile öz güveni artırma (Masud, Rahman ve Albaity, 2013) gibi pozitif bir takım psikolojik ruhsal durumlara ulaşmak (Ambad, 2013) amacıyla kullandıkları belirlenmiştir. Bu arzulanan sonuçları elde etmek konusunda ise Instagram'ın yeterli olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır.

Instagram kullanımı, aynı zamanda kullanıcılarını sosyal güçlendirme süreçleriyle desteklemekte ve bireyin sosyal sermayesinin (Bourdieu ve Wacquant, 1992) artmasıyla sonuçlanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda sosyal sermaye türlerinden "köprüleme" ve "bağlanma"nın Instagram aracılığıyla birikimi, katılımcıların ifadelerinde yer bulmaktadır. Instagram kullanım örüntülerine dayalı olarak ortaya çıktığı düşünülen sosyal güçlendirmeye ilişkin bulgular da sosyal medyanın sosyal bağları kuvvetlendirmek, bunları nicel olarak artırmak ve başkalarıyla olan ortak etkileşim süreçlerine olanak sağlamak suretiyle sosyal sermaye birikimine destek olduğu argümanlarını içeren literatürle uyumludur (Matthews, 2015; Marwick, 2015; Wendt, 2014; Li ve Chen, 2014; Steinfield vd., 2009;Brandtzaeg, 2012; Lin vd., 2011; Barkhuus ve Tashiro, 2010; Steinfield vd., 2008; Johnston vd., 2013; Liu vd., 2013).

Her ne kadar kısıtlı olsa da Instagram, bireylerin "siyasi" konularda farkındalık oluşturucu/artırıcı çeşitli paylaşımlar yapmaları aracılığıyla onların siyasi/politik olarak ta güçlenmelerini sağlamaktadır. Bu kapsamda yapılan paylaşımlar, sosyal sorumluluk projelerinden kadın, çocuk ve hayvan haklarına, çevreyi koruma programlarından kadınlara yönelik şiddet eylemlerinde bulunan suçlu bireylerin ifşa edilmesine ve LGBTI hakkında farkındalık oluşturmaya kadar geniş bir yelpazeye sahiptir. Siyasi süreçler bağlamında minimal etkiye sahip olan Instagram kullanımı, kullanıcılarının siyasi aktivitelerde bulunmasına (Murray, 2015), kendi fikirlerini geniş bir seyirci/alıcı kitlesiyle buluşturmasına (Chen, 2017), ve "kliktivizm" adı verilen alternatif bir sosyal katılım sürecine dâhil olmasına (Halupka, 2014, akt., Garcia Galera vd., 2017, s. 131) izin vermektedir. Kullanıcılar, söz konusu kliktivizm kapsamında bilginin sirkülasyonunu sağlayarak bu çeşit "politik" bir sosyal medya aktivitesinde bulundukları için bir "memnuniyet" hissine sahipler.

Instagram, kullanıcılarının bütçesini de desteklemekte ve onlar için optimal ürünü optimal ücrete edinmelerini sağlamakta. Dahası, uygulamanın kullanımı çeşitli butik ürünlerinin tanıtımına ve satışına da izin vermekte. Instagram, hem satın alma, hem de satış yapma amaçlarıyla da kullanılan bir sosyal medya mecrası. Küçük veya büyük olsun bu kullanım

örüntüleri, aranan ürünün en kalitelisini ve fiyat olarak en ucuzunu/uygununu bulmalarını sağlamak suretiyle bireylerin "fiziki koşullarının gelişimine" (Pradono vd., 2016), en basitinden ekonomik anlamda tasarruf yapabilmelerine olanak tanımakta. Buna ek olarak, Instagram kullanımının çalışan kullanıcılara almak istedikleri ürünleri seçip, beğenip, satın alabilmek için ihtiyaç duydukları zamanı da kazandırdığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu bulgular, Instagram uygulamasının ekonomik fayda sağlamak için kullanılabileceği iddiasını taşıyan çalışmalarla paralellik göstermektedir (Barczyk ve Duncan, 2011; Mohsin, 2019). Birtakım ürünlerin Instagram üzerinden tanıtımının ve satışının yapılması konusunda da aynı durum geçerlidir zira katılımcılar, Instagram ve diğer sosyal medya kanallarını "e-ticaret" çerçevesinde kullanıp nakdi kar elde etmek amacıyla da kullanmaktadırlar (Leskovec vd., 2007; Ting vd., 2015; Xue, 2018).

Instagram uygulamasının bireysel güçlendirme süreçleri bağlamında katkıda bulunduğu son güçlendirme türü olan enformasyonel/eğitimsel güçlendirme konusunda konuşacak olursak, Instagram'ın bu çerçevede hem teorik, hem de pratik bir öz-gelişim için kullanılabilecek, kişiselleştirilmiş bir ansiklopedi işlevi gördüğü söylenebilir. Uygulama sayesinde kullanıcı, bilgi edinmeyi/kendisini eğitmeyi hedeflediği bir alanda aradığı her türlü bilgiye ulaşabilmektedir. Dikkatli ve titiz bir seçim aracılığıyla Instagram'ın "bilgi bankasından" edinilen bilgiler, kullanıcısının entelektüel düzeylerinin gerçek manada artmasını sağlayabilmektedir (Amedie, 2015; Garcia Galera vd., 2017).

Son olarak, "Gözetim Kültürü" olgusu, bu araştırmada Lyon (2017) tarafından tanımlandığı şekilde ele alınmış ve çalışmanın diğer teorik sütunlarıyla ilişkilendirilerek incelenmiştir. Gözetim Kültürü'nün Türkiye bağlamında bireyi güç yapılarına ve hükümetin kurum ve kuruluşlarına karşı güçlendirecek, onu aktif bir fail konumuna sokacak bir biçimde gelişmediği ortaya konmuştur. Bu araştırmanın literatür taramasında bu durumun aksini iddia eden pek çok çalışma bulunmasına karşın, elde edilen verilere bakıldığında gözetim pratikleri kapsamında bireyin bir faillik sıfatına sahip olması ve Instagram aracılığıyla siyasi/politik çerçevesinde sağlam ve etkili bir biçimde güçlenmesi, erişilmesi oldukça zor uzak bir hayal gibi görünmektedir.

Evet, Skopofili ve Instagram'ın yaptığı evlilik, Türkiye bağlamında ortaya çıkan bir Gözetim Kültürünü destekleyici ve güçlendirici bir birliktelik. Ancak görünen o ki bu birliktelik, Gözetim Kültürünün hükümetin çeşitli organları ve çok uluslu şirketler gibi güç yapıları lehine gelişmesini/evrilmesini sağlamakta. Instagram, kullanıcılarına gündelik hayatlarında kimlik

inşası ve sunumu kapsamında, psikolojik, sosyal, ekonomik ve enformasyonel/eğitimsel ve belki de bir dereceye kadar siyasi güçlendirmede bulunabilir. Bununla birlikte, Instagram'a bir Gözetim Kültürü içinde olmak üzere mevcut güç yapılarını anlamlı bir biçimde değiştirme ve etkileme rolü verildiği takdirde, uygulama bu konuda en hafif tabirle yetersiz, dolayısıyla işlevsiz kalacaktır. Gözetim Kültürünün bir parçası olan birey, sosyal medya aracılığıyla elde ettiği siyasi/politik gücü kurumsal güç yapılarına değil de adaletten kaçma eğiliminde olan/kaçan birey ve gruplara yönelttiği ölçüde gerçek bir etkide bulunabilir ve ancak bu şekilde anlamlı bir siyasi/politik güçlendirme sürecine sahip olabilir. Genelde sosyal medya, özelde ise Instagram bu biçimde kullanıldığı zaman, söz konusu suçluların sahip olduğu "görünmezlik", suça karşı tepkisini ortaya koymaktan en ufak bir şekilde çekinmeyen kitleler ve sosyal medyanın her şeyi gören gözü ile karşılaştığında paramparça olmakta, bunun bir sonucu olarak ta adalet ve ilgili kurumlar suçlunun belirlenmesi ve hak ettiği cezayı alması kapsamında daha hızlı bir şekilde faaliyet gösterebilmektedirler. Yakın bir zamanda gerçekleşen ve tabir-i caizse sosyal medya'nın örgütleme, farkındalık ve baskı oluşturma gücü sayesinde suçluların ceza alması ile sonuçlanan Şule Çet olayı (Öztürk, 2019), bu argümana somut bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Ancak ne yazık ki, Instagram kullanarak siyasi bir güçlendirme sürecinden geçen birey hedefine kurumsal güç yapılarını koyduğu zaman sosyal medyanın "adaletin temin edilmesine" olan desteği solup gitmektedir.

Görünüşe göre günümüzdeki durum, Mathiesen (1997)'in bahsettiği "izleyici" toplumunun sahip olduğu özellikleri göstermekte. Buna göre hem panoptisizm hem de sinoptisizm, birbirlerini destekleyerek bireylerin davranışlarını kontrol etme ve düzenleme amacını taşımakta. Dolayısıyla, elde bulunan veriler uyarınca Gözetim Kültürü nihai kertede ve Instagram kullanımı bağlamında güç yapılarını bireylere karşı güçlendirme işlevi görmekte. Bireyler, Instagram kullanım örüntüleri aracılığıyla bazen siyasi olarak birtakım kazanımlar elde etmekteyken, günün sonunda, eşitsizlik ve adaletsizlik üreten sistemde genel olarak en ufak bir değişiklik olmamaktadır. Her ne kadar Skopofili'nin, Instagram kullanımının ve Gözetim Kültürünün birbirlerini besleyen olgular olduğu söylenebilse de, aynı şeyleri bireylerin siyasi güçlendirme süreçleri için söylemek mümkün görünmemektedir.

Türkiye bağlamındaki Instagram kullanım örüntülerinin sıradan vatandaş veya birey için başlıca bir siyasi/politik güçlendirme aracı olarak kullanılamayacağı ortaya çıkmıştır. Buna ilişkin olarak Instagram'ın hali hazırda kitleler üzerinde belli miktarda siyasi/sosyal güce ve otoriteye sahip olanların –siyasi liderler ve kurumsal yapılar (Ekşi, 2018) ve/veya sosyal medyada bulunan ve geniş kitlelerce tanınan ve popülerliğe sahip olan bireyler, yazarlar, blog

yazarları, ünlüler, sanatçılar, oyuncular vb. (Freberg vd., 2010) – gücünü artırabileceği bir araç şeklinde kullanılabileceği söylenebilir. Sıradan günlük kullanıcı içinse Instagram, kişisel bir tatmin, mutluluk ve rahatlama aracı olmanın, kullanıcının hayatını zihinsel, entelektüel açıdan geliştirmenin ve belli başlı konularda pratik açılardan belli bir dereceye kadar kolaylaştırmanın ötesinde bir işleve sahip olamamaktadır. Ne daha fazla, ne daha eksik. Instagram, kullanıcısının içine daldığı zaman kendisini mutlu hissettiği ve kişisel tatmin amacıyla kullandığı bir oyuncak, bir oyun adeta.

Bu çerçevede tartışıldığında, bugün deneyimlediğimiz Gözetim Kültürünü Orwell'ci olmaktan ziyade Huxley'ci olarak değerlendirmek mümkündür. Bu kültürde bilgiye ve bakmaya, görmeye yönelik erişim kısıtlanmamıştır/engellenmemiştir. Bunun tam aksine bu kültürde, görsel formunda bir enformasyon bombardımanına tutulmaktayız. Enformasyon içinde boğulmaktayız. Kullanmayı bırakamadığımız, bırakmak istemediğimiz – Instagram gibi – kişisel "zaman geçirici" oyuncaklara sahibiz. Siyasi eylemlerimizin ve kararlarımızın belli başlı güç yapıları tarafından kısıtlandığını unutarak görsellerin cazibesine kapılmaktayız. Bu çalışmaya göre Instagram bizim mikro evrenimizde büyük değişikliklere yol açabilmekte ancak makro dünyamızda aynı değişiklikleri sağlama kapsamında yetersiz kalmaktadır. Türkiye penceresinden bakıldığında herkes herkesi izlemekte, gözetlemektedir, ancak hem gözetleyen, hem de bu gözetleme işlemi sonucunda çıkarlarına yönelik olarak somut yaptırımlar uygulayabilen aktör, kurumsal güç yapılarıdır.

Görünen odur ki, görsellik, ve göze hitap eden unsurlar, günümüz toplumunda ve gündelik yaşamında önemli bir yere sahiptir. O görsellik ki sosyal medya aracılığıyla kurulan ve sürdürülen neredeyse tüm bireylerarası ilişkilerin temeli ve taşıyıcısı olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Skopofili, Gözetim Kültürü ve sosyal medya gibi fenomenler arasındaki dinamikleri ve bağlantıları daha iyi anlamak amacıyla "görselliği", bireyin hem çoğunluğu ve azınlığı gözetleyebilmesini, hem de bunlar tarafından gözetlenebilmesini içeren, Mateus (2012)'un "amfioptik" kavramsallaştırmasının odak noktasına alınması gerektiği kanaatindeyim. Buna ek olarak Türkiye'de sayıca oldukça az olduklarından ve ithal araştırmalarla ve parametrelerle açıklanamayıp bağlamsal verilerle açıklanabilecek fenomenler olmalarından ötürü Skopofili ve Gözetim Kültürü ile ilgili çalışmalara ağırlık verilmesi özellikle önem arz etmekte ve önerilmektedir. Bundan başka, Skopofili'nin günümüzde birey davranışını açıklamada kullanılabilecek güçlü bir motivasyon kaynağı olma sıfatını taşıdığı belirlenmiştir. Konu üzerine gerçekleştirilecek yeni çalışmalar insan davranışını ve bireyler, gruplar ve kurumlar arasında kurulan günümüz ilişkilerin mahiyetini daha iyi anlamamızı sağlayabilirler.

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Son olarak, farklı sosyal medya bileşenlerinin güçlendirme türleri temelinde bir "işbölümüne" sahip olup olmadıklarını anlamak amacıyla gerçekleştirilecek karşılaştırmalı çalışmalar, gelecekte yapılacak araştırmalar için verimli bir alan olabilir. Bu çalışmada incelenen ve tartışılan 6 güçlendirme türü arasında yalnızca siyasi/politik güçlendirmenin Instagram kullanımı kapsamında belirgin bir biçimde ortaya çıkmadığı görülmüştür. Siyasi süreçleri etkili bir biçimde etkileyebilme potansiyelini başka sosyal medya mecraları taşıyor olabilir. Bu anlamda Twitter ve Twitter'ın Türkiye'deki kullanım örüntüleri incelenebilir zira katılımcıların tamamı, bu dijital mecrayı siyasi güçlendirmeye ilişkin olarak daha uygun bulduklarını belirtmekten kaçınmadılar. Onlara göre Twitter, güç yapılarına karşı verilecek savaşta bireylere uygun donanımı sağlayabilecek olan bir mecradır.

Gerçekleştirdiğim bu çalışma boyunca Türkiye bağlamında olmak üzere Skopofili, Instagram kullanımı, bireysel güçlendirme ve Gözetim Kültürü hakkında bir resim çizmeye çalıştım. Her ne kadar çalışmanın örneklemi anlamlı bir genellemeye izin vermese de bu inceleme, yukarıda adı geçen fenomenlerin varlığı ve aralarındaki ilişkileri hakkında bilgi edinmeyi amaçlayan mütevazı bir girişim olmuştur. Bu kavramlar ile bunların pratik ve toplumsal yansımaları üzerine en cılız bir ışık dahi tutabildiysem, kendimi başarılı sayarım.

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