

# **Ideological Capacities in Consumer Communities: An Exploration of the “Presenteers” Tribe**

## **Abstract**

**Purpose** – This study explores how a postmodern tribe enacts and re-interprets ideologies as a part of consumers’ collective experience, to enhance our understanding of consumer communities in conjunction with ideological capacities.

**Design/methodology/approach** – Community of “presenteers” is conceptualized as a self-organized tribe with heterogeneous components that generate capacities to act. Netnographic observation was conducted on 18 presenteer accounts and lasted around six months. Real-time data was collected by taking screenshots of the posts and stories that these users created and publicly shared. Data was analysed through adopting assemblage theory, combining inductive and deductive approaches. Firstly, qualitative visual-textual content analysis of the tribe’s defining components was conducted. Then, process continued with the thematic analysis of the ideological underpinnings of the tribe’s enactments.

**Findings** – Findings shed light on the ways in which consumer communities interpret the entanglement of religious, political, and cultural ideologies in shaping their experiences. In the case of the presenteers tribe, findings reflect a novel ideological interplay between neo-ottomanism, post-feminism, and consumerism.

**Originality** – The study offers a deep-dive into a unique tribe that is being organized around the consumer-created practice of “presenteering”, and investigates consumer communalization in alignment with the ideological turn in culture-oriented interpretative research on consumers, consumption, and markets. This exploration helps to bridge the research on the communalization of consumers to the recent discussions of ideology in postmodern market.

**Research limitations/implications** – The study provides contributions to the understanding of complexity in postmodern market through exploring a tribe’s ideological enactments that are both challenging and reflecting the surrounding culture, and theoretical implications expand our insights regarding the underpinnings of consumer communalization.

**Keywords** Consumer Tribe, Ideology, Post-feminism, Neo-ottomanism, Netnography, Assemblage

**Paper type** Research paper

## **Introduction**

*“But she - her life was as cold as a garret the dormer - window of which looks on the north, and boredom, the silent spider, was weaving its web in the darkness in every corner of her heart.” - Flaubert (1856).*

As in the classical story of *Madame Bovary* (Flaubert, 1856), homemaker women are intriguing figures of culture, being both locally embodied and globally transcendental agents (Friedan, 1963). Considering the growing middle-class economics and the spreading ideological entrapments in today's societies, they continue to be relevant; especially as empowered consumers of the postmodern market who can adopt or challenge certain commodities and ideas. Series like *Desperate Housewives* (2004-2012) and *Why Women Kill* (2019-2021) are global hits, and numerous reality shows like international *The Real Housewives* (2006-present) spin-offs and Turkish *Gelin Evi* (2015-present) saga confirm the cross-cultural gravitation towards contemporary homemaker women's experiences. The producer of *Gelin Evi* (Bride's House) writes that the show is not only an entertainment production; it is also a ground of spectacle to observe the consumption culture in Turkey (Semercioğlu, 2021). Bearing this thought, the distinct or shared practices that diverse clusters of homemaker women are engaging in our dynamic market, is a matter of curiosity.

The "presenteers" (*sunumcular*) that we introduce are one of many social media communities yet they are also unique, in the sense that; they consist of women from Turkey who are sustaining traditional homemaker roles, while simultaneously transforming the extents of this role. Their "presenteering" (*sunumculuk*) on Instagram empowers them to evolve and encompass „multiple orders“ (Firat, in Bradshaw and Dholakia, 2012). Presenteers not only authentically fashion a digital-age homemaker aesthetic, they also emerge as a complex community (Cova *et al.*, 2007). Since presenteers organically assemble around a self-organized relationship, which offers a medium for communal interactions that enable meanings of cultural value (O'Reilly, 2012); conceptualization of the presenteers is inspired by the theories on connection-desiring (Arnould *et al.*, 2021) and market-shaping (Woerman, 2017; Diaz *et al.*, 2020) postmodern tribes. Furthermore, presenteers are situated within ideologically contested context, a fraction of the polarization and tribalization worldwide.

With his emphasis on „how tribes are gathered or conflicts played out“ which is important since „it is here (...) symbolic interaction that congregations of consumers cocreate culture, community, and consumer value,“ Woermann (2017, p.154) saw the prospect of asking questions not only *on* but *through* consumer tribes. Drawing from the recent „ideological turn“ (Arnould *et al.* 2019) that promotes the investigation of the ideological underpinnings of consumer communities; the purpose of this study is to explore the ways in which a tribe utilizes ideologies as part of collective experience, in

order to understand how consumer communities use and also customize existing ideological frameworks. Accordingly, this research aims to address how consumers enact ideologies within the continuity of community, to mediate market and culture. We will, therefore, firstly review the discussions on communalization and ideologies in relevant literature. Afterwards, we will lay out a map of the presenteers tribe to better investigate the researched context. Then, we will demonstrate tribe's internal dynamics behind presenteeing and its external relationships with the surrounding social, political, and cultural context beyond. Lastly, we will discuss the implications of the amalgamation of ideologies as reflected and re-interpreted within the tribe.

## Literature

### *Consumer Communities*

Consumer communities are differentiated from individual consumers because they trigger discoveries not possible with examinations of segregated consumer subjects, and are deemed to be sites of value creation (Kozinets *et al.*, 2008). According to Maffesoli (2016), the reasons for consumers of postmodern market getting together and self-organizing as collectives is motivated by 'sharing of specific tastes (...) which act as a social cement' (p.742-743). Such collectives are described as similar to mosaics that represent elements of diversity as a whole, unstructured by rigid unities. DeLanda (1997) projected the future of worldwide internet as to be the endorser of faster communalization, as it does so today, in the form of internet-based mediums. On social media, consumers reciprocally produce and consume contents (Akdevelioglu and Venkatesh, 2022), becoming prosumers of market-based values and practices. In this regard, social media platforms generate relationships that enable new ways and meanings for consumption (Briaghi *et al.*, 2018). As so, by encouraging consumer tribalization around niche interests, social media becomes a mediator of market.

DeLanda's (1997) arguments converge with the discussions of Maffesoli (1997, 2007, 2016) on tribalization, especially in points where their ideas coincide, that the primitive ways of human organization have never been completely abandoned; they are taking renewed forms in reference to the postmodern sentiments of today's market (Firat and Dholakia, 2006). Tribes, as a typology of consumer communities, are „defined as a network of heterogeneous persons (...) who are linked by a shared passion or emotion; a tribe is capable of collective action“ (Cova and Cova, 2002, p.602).

Tribalizing consumers are the recursive subjects that are conjointly the agents and the targets of change, hence the active shapers of markets (Giesler and Thompson, 2016). Therefore, tribes that are generated by co-creative consumers who are seekers of community (Featherstone, 2007), exist due to, and for, the social consumption of certain passions and aesthetics. In this respect, social media-verse is an important ground of postmodern market, and this study aspires to provide a deeper understanding of social media tribes.

Market and consumption studies have been working on consumer communities from different standpoints: product-oriented research explored the co-creation of fan-fiction (Lanier and Schau, 2007); market-oriented research discussed communal agency in market emergence (Martin and Schouten, 2013); consumer-oriented research discussed typologies of tribal membership (Mitchell and Imrie, 2011) and consumer-entrepreneurs (Biraghi *et al.*, 2018); practice-oriented research focused on surfing (Canniford and Shankar, 2013) and salsa-dancing (Diaz Ruiz *et al.*, 2020). As our findings will show, presenters tribe exemplifies all characteristics of the communities posited by these previous studies. Hence, grounded on the rich tribal phenomenon under research, we take the opportunity to expand the scope of these studies on consumer communities, and, to further enhance our understanding on postmodern communalization in conjunction with the inquiry of ideological capacities.

### ***Ideological Capacities***

Once the borderless digital clusters of people gather around collective practices (Hewer *et al.*, 2015), they enable the spawning of ideologies in a flux of everyday experiences. The notion of ideology in our research compensates the meaning for the worldviews readily found in society and/or re-interpreted in situ by consumers, which are utilized to justify, take pride in, and make sense of attitudes and behaviours. These stances inform lifestyles of consumption (Crockett and Wallendorf, 2004; Sun *et al.*, 2014; Sredl, 2017; Caldwell *et al.*, 2020), or anti-consumption (Varman and Belk, 2009; Witkowski, 2020; Pecot *et al.*, 2021), and co-creation of markets (Sandıkcı and Ger, 2010), also the adaptation of marketplace behaviour (Izberk-Bilgin, 2012; Jung *et al.*, 2017; Crockett and Pendravis, 2017) in line with political, religious, and cultural ideologies. In this regard, ideologies can be considered as macro-forces that shape communities (Giesler and Fischer, 2017). Camberford and Pecot (2020) signalled the potential to contribute to the social sciences by exploring the ways in which historically rooted ideologies are

enfolded in everyday situations, since this would be beneficial to develop insight about re-interpretations of diverse worldviews in reference to lived culture.

For Huff *et al.* (2021), expressive capacities of objects, meaning the implications attributed in material, were derived from their interactions with the symbolic components within the related assemblage. In our study, ideology works in a similar manner. A rather extended sense of materiality (objects, activities, consumers themselves) is found ubiquitously linked to certain ideological implications that are accounted as capacities. However, in this study, we are specifically focusing on the agency of the consumer enrolment (both in what they say and in what they do) recreating these ideological capacities. Capacities that we conceptualize here aren't simply embedded in material components' properties, they are real as the materiality; but not 'actual if they are not currently manifested or exercised' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p.5). So, capacities aren't essential to an entity, they are emergent qualities. Hirschman (1988) argued that commodities 'provide little substance for the communication of an ideology,' while narratives 'display several important features relevant to their interpretation' (p.345). In line with this, ideological capacities in presenteers tribe are existent as they are articulated, referred to, and expressed.

Thus, this study evaluates consumer-curated and socio-materially laden engagements of a market-based community, among which we will discuss how ideologies are manifested and reformed. We explore presenteers tribe first by identifying its diverse components, and grasping the ways in which community's ideological enactments energize the ideological capacities. This then helps us to trace how consumer communities, as observed in the presenteers tribe, generate insights on the emerging presumption patterns in the market and expand our understanding of the simultaneously enacted and re-interpreted ideologies in the flow of communalized consumers' lived experiences.

## **Method**

### ***Assemblage Thinking***

For this study, we distinguish between domain and method theories (Lukka and Vinari, 2014). Our domain is about consumer communities and ideological capacities, as mentioned in literature section. For the method, assemblage theory is used (Canniford and Bajde, 2015). Askegaard and Linnet (2011) underlined the importance of sustaining

a closer examination of the researched context while managing to leverage discussions on the wider cultural context surrounding it. In this study, on a local level, presenteers tribe is nested within the socio-political and cultural context of contemporary Turkey.

Turkey has been undergoing „various structural and institutional transformations“ (Sandıkcı and Ger, 2002, p.5). These on-going changes lead to the emergence of new middle-class profiles, and owing to that, „conspicuous consumption became the main venue of symbolic expression“ (Sandıkcı and Ger, 2002, p.2). At the same time, presenteers tribe is nested within a postmodern market, where the „social“ today is an „amalgamation of individual and collective action at once an assemblage of human and non-human, in an ever-increasing array of digitally mediated processes and contingent socialites“ (Sujon and Dyer, 2020, p.1133). In this market, „what is happening - not just in Turkey but all around the globe - is (...) a cultural matter (...) of people becoming polarized“ (Taştan and Karanfil, 2021, p.15). Recursively, such a polarizing current „circulates into the tribalizing directions“ (Taştan and Karanfil, 2021, p.16) as well. Moreover, the data we retrieved consisted of blessed gold necklaces, ranting against a mobile application algorithm, piles of glassware, recordings of morning prayers, conflict on the rainbow colour palette, and much more. To dive into the depths of such a phenomenon of socio-material culture and heterogeneous elements of consumption, it was vital to recognize that this research operates on multiple layers linking the macro-surrounding to the micro-enactments within the market (Figure 1).

*[insert Figure 1 here]*

To summarize, with the purpose of understanding how ideologies are put to work within a consumer community, we focus on the engagements of the presenteers. Since presenteeing is a collective practice, we consider presenteers as a tribe consisting of heterogeneous consumers who are motivated by their passion for presenteeing. Advancing on our interpretative analysis, we assess the ideologies as tribe’s capacities that enable continuity of the tribe. In other words, our goal isn’t simply to understand interpretations of a group of consumer subjects (Woermann, 2017); but rather, to interpret the matter of understandings within a market-based community.

### ***Data Collection***

Due to the nature of the phenomenon, empirical observation was conducted through netnography (Kozinets *et al.*, 2014; Kozinets *et al.*, 2018; Bianotti *et al.*, 2020). First researcher followed a presenteer regularly appearing on her main flow, and an algorithm-incorporated snowballing was enabled (Williams *et al.*, 2017), by using the suggestion button on the right below this presenteer's profile. Then three criteria were used for the purposeful selection of the observed accounts: (1) popular (having +200k followers which is the average following mass of presenteer-influencers); (2) public (being non-private accounts); and (3) active (frequently engaging with the platform by posting on a daily basis). Based on these criteria, 18 presenteer accounts were chosen and systematically observed for six months. The first researcher used an iPhone 11 during the research and took *screenshots* of the *posts* and *stories* as a method of data sourcing within the limits of Instagram's regulations. Table 1 clarifies the sources without any identifying information, securing the ethics of fair use policy.

[insert Table 1 here]

### ***Qualitative Analysis***

The qualitative analysis was conducted through the collaborative efforts of both researchers, in a two-phased strategy: 1) inductive coding of raw data with manual visual-textual content analysis 2) deductive analysis of manifested ideologies with thematic analysis. We argue that adopting an assemblage theory methodology requires a multidimensional analysis since it guides the researchers to first „make a map (...), what distinguishes the map from the tracing is that it is entirely oriented toward experimentation in contact with the real“ (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p.12). We translate *mapping* as the inductive phase of analysis, engaging with raw data for identifying the components of the tribe to understand its internal mechanisms. This is also plausible for our interpretive approach, as it promotes a grounded entry to analysis (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). For that, manual content analysis was conducted (Figure 2). Hence, we started by engaging with raw data for identifying the components of the tribe to understand its internal components and defining mechanisms.

Owing to this first objective, the initial stage of analysis was open coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Iterative scanning of the visually and textually compound data that consists of Instagram content was implemented by dragging the screenshots into emic coding folders. These preliminary codes were the groupings of the properties

of people, activities, things, ideas, words, and rhetoric that were present in the presenteers tribes. Then, akin to axial coding process (Strauss and Corbin, 1998), grounded categories were drawn upon the meaningful relationships among emic codes. Accordingly, interlinked codes were combined into shared categorical folders of material and expressive components (presenteering, presenteers, presenteering equipment, kitchen space, traditional female activities, feminine discourse, conservative lifestyle activities, religious discourse, political discourse, conspicuous activities, network marketing, feminist discourse, instagramming, Instagram tools, followers).

[insert Figure 2 here]

In translating *tracing* which comes as a further signification level in assemblage theory, we resorted to the deductive analysis of tribe's manifest interactions, since our motivation is to discover the operation of ideologies as capacities of the consumer community under investigation. This can be regarded as etic level of abstraction of emic categories (Spiggle, 1994). Indeed, the depth of interpretation drawn from visual-textual data „depends on how successfully the links between the content of the images undergoing content analysis and their broader cultural context are made“ (Rose, 2016, p.88). So to better engage with data, we considered how tribal components align with wider cultural references (Rokka, 2010). For this second objective, we proceeded with thematic analysis (Braun and Clark, 2006; Braun and Clark, 2013), which is one of the „best qualitative data analysis method for getting in-depth and valuable insights“ (Naeem and Ozuem, 2021, p.187).

In this stage, based on the implications drawn from the categories constituting the heterogeneous components of the presenteers tribe, components repeatedly traced in recognition of the wider context that tribe is located within. This tracing unveiled the abstract ideological structures that connected to the empirical ground of the tribal phenomenon. Re-visiting the internal links between the categories in dialogue with ideological frameworks in the relevant literature, revealed the thematic linkages in the presenteers' tribal enactments to post-feminism (Lazar, 2014; Scott, 2017), neo-ottomanism (Yavuz, 2016; Alimen and Askegaard, 2020), and consumerism (Fine 1997; Baudrillard, 1998). We will elaborate on these themes in the upcoming sections of findings and discussion (Table 2). This phase helped to discuss the ideological themes as capacities characterizing the presenteers' tribal interactions while insights retrieved



from both visual and textual aspects of the data were considered equally important. Data collection process was called to an end when the analysis of new data began to fall into existent themes and ideological capacities full-fledged formed.

[insert Table 2 here]

Implementing a two-phase analytical process depicts a movement of iteration between the inductive-deductive coding levels (Boyatzis, 1998). Through this maneuvering, we purposefully identified the emic categories and interpreted the etic thematic frameworks (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). This directed us towards situating participants' ideological capacities in a broader context of ideologies signalling social, cultural, and political meanings. As so, the following section will describe the categorical findings as the components composing the presenteers tribe. Then the next section will share the themes drawn from the traces of post-feminism, neo-ottomanism, and consumerism, by demonstrating exemplifying enactments of tribe's ideological capacities. Workings of components and capacities of the presenteers tribe are illustrated below (Figure 3). Lastly, the discussion section will combine the insights of these findings by elaborating on the novel interplay between ideological capacities in the presenteers tribe and highlight the contributions of our study.

## **Findings**

[insert Figure 3 here]

### ***Presenteers Tribe***

Presenteering is the catalyst of the communalizing consumption, and it is a form of prosumption of everyday aesthetics (Toffler, 1980; Featherstone, 2007). In presenteering; production, socialization, and consumption are all at work in multiple layers. As so, presenteering is a consumer passion that exemplifies the enmeshed nature of socio-materiality in collective consumption practices. Although currently booming through Instagram, with its highly visual emphasis, presenteers refer to how Facebook groups were previously used for sharing tribe's then-aesthetics (Visual 1). The "presentation" (*sunum*) is the output of the presenteering, which could be the complete catering for an eight-person dinner, or just a single dessert serving, but all carried out in

the attentive fashion of presenteeing. Several hashtags such as "presentation is important" (#*sunumönemlidir*) are used for connecting around presentation contents. Presenteeing as a noun was originally used by the presenteers for what they do in an enthusiastic manner that later evolved into their semi-professional influencer life. Jargon extends to special objects used for presenteeing; an example is an elevated plate for serving treats known as "for-presentation" (*sunumluk*). Lastly, a special verb of "presentee-ing" (*sunumlamak*) emerged to refer to making a serving in style of a presentation. We will be using presenteeing noun to refer to consumers' passions and actions around this practice (Visual 2).

[insert Visual 1 here]

[insert Visual 2 here]

Leading presenteers are consumers who are young-adult or adult Muslim women, living in various cities in Turkey, married with children or newly married and planning for motherhood. They are majorly veiled; an up-to-date version of Sandıkcı and Ger's (2010) consumer subjects, negotiating modesty and fashion akin to discussions of Lewis (2010). This is valid in a broader sense, as modesty is „central to the formation of middle-class femininity“ (Skeggs, 2004, p.100). Even though presenteers wear modern clothing styles, some details in their styles are distinctive. Wearing dashing accessories is popular, specifically; the stacked gold bracelet combinations, such as mixing the ones carved with *tuğra* (calligraphic signatures of Ottoman sultans) with the designer duplicates. Also, necklaces with replica *reşat* (gold coins used in the Ottoman era) pendants and pearl amulets carrying scripts from Quran.

Presenteeing equipment commonly includes *cezve* (coffee pot), modern coffee machines, gold/silver mirror trays, collections of custom-designed Turkish coffee cups and coasters, embroidered napkins, gold/silver treat stands, varieties of *demlik* (teapot) in porcelain/glass and traditional as well as the automatic versions, kettles strictly in pink/white/gold, crystal glassware sets, *ince belli* (thin-waist) tea glasses besides Western fine-bone tea cups, gold-coated tools, dough mixers, pastry gadgets, and lastly, full sets of serving utensils for different presentation concepts (gold, pinkie, silver, country, white). None of the presenteers were seen consuming alcohol during our observation, nonetheless, glassware that are marketed for martini/wine/champagne consumption isn't banned from their kitchen; on the contrary, these are considered

"elegant," and alternatively embraced (Cova *et al.*, 2007), as dessert cups for after-dinner presentations, or used for soft drinks.

Kitchen space has been a concern of consumer studies (Southerton, 2001), and it is the base station of presenteeing, where innovation and creative energy is concentrated. It is a powerful domain where presenteers' tastes are initially manifested. This space has the same luxurious taste in each presenteers' house, even though other parts of the houses aren't necessarily decorated to the same standard. In line with current decor trends, kitchens are surrounded by white/grey walls and marble/granite or faux marble tile flooring, filled with crystal chandeliers, white/grey or faux marble patterned carpets and matching curtains. Very characteristic among tribe are the fancy wall signs and spiritual-motivational posters.

In many cultures, traditional female activities can be listed as cooking, cleaning, child-bearing, nurturing, and catering for the household. Interior design, DIY and crafting, decorating oneself with unostentatious makeup and humble fashion, watching soap operas, listening to pop music, exchanging consumption preferences with social circle, and above all else, choosing homemaking as a career, are traditionally female activities, reflecting a rather sophisticated tone with an advertorial sense (Lazar, 2014). We used the *traditional* notion for this description, since we acknowledge that *females* have never been one-dimensional beings, but in opposition to this reality, this is nevertheless the traditional conceptualization of them (Scott, 2017). As it happens, the traditional female activities compensate only for what is happening on the surface.

Feminine discourse in presenteers is generally prevailing, yet more apparently used in relation to traditional female activities. In presenteers' expressions, statements on how seeing the whole house totally cleaned is the "best feeling for *any* women", or articulating women are "best at appreciating finer things" are categorized together in the feminine discourse. Instagramming jargon utilized by presenteers emphasizes this femininity. For example, while sharing the links for trending products, or talking about presenteeing, rhetoric is very sincere and presenteers use a dialogical speech style, referring to the audience as "ladies" (*hanımlar*), "mothers," and "madams" (*bayanlar*). Frequently articulated is the concept of how Network Marketing (NM) is "great for women" because it is a career that does not cause neglect of the perceived marital, parental, and homemaker "duties" of the women.

In the context of Turkey, conservative lifestyle activities include marriage, parenting, maintaining close ties with relatives, and cultivating same-sex friendships. In

addition to these cultural aspects, activities specific to religiousness are also relevant. Reading the Quran, praying, fasting during Ramadan are religious activities that emphasize the Islamic religiosity in the practices of the tribe. Religion is also operated in consumption preferences (Karataş and Sandıkcı, 2013), as seen in the presenteers' tendency to purchase halal brands. Even though all presenteers during our observations identified themselves as "Muslim," not all were involved in Quran readings or in routine prayers. Still, as in a reflection of the context, conservative lifestyle category here is culturally relevant for the presenteers tribe, while leaving room for heterogeneous conservativeness regarding religious practices (Jafari and Süerdem, 2012; Jafari and Sandıkcı, 2015).

Religious discourse is expressed in no direct relation to any activities, but utilized in abundance. References on which presenteers root their religious expressions are variable, thus we identified four sub-categories. First is modern hodjas, who dress in a modern way, and only use Arabic words as necessary terminology regarding the Quran, and otherwise use Turkish. Second references are rooted in the state authority, which is Presidency of Religious Affairs. Third is the Islamic spirituality, contenting the non-personal Instagram accounts which post meditative music and quotes about *Mevlevi* philosophy. Final reference is sectarian leaders, who are self-claimed sheiks, from whom presenteers seldom share quotes, although these presenteers may not be active members of any sects. It is vital to see that behind different understandings of Islam, varying types of references aren't always harmonizing, yet somehow, they prevail together within the tribe, even in the provisioning of the same presenteer.

Political discourse in the presenteers tribe is nonetheless divergent, yet collectively pointing into a particular front. Usually found as relying on a subtle nationalism in their political stances, presenteers generally display economic liberalism and cultural conservatism. Although a few, some presenteers directly quote from current right-wing politicians in their contents. Furthermore, it was observed in the tribe that presenteers often identify with Muslims of differing nationalities. This is something called "ummah consciousness" (*ümmet bilinci*), adding religious aspects to the political dialogue within the tribe. This is also in line with the surface-politics of the right-wing in Turkey for the past decades. Nationalism, unless when it is the handiest tool, has a derivative value, since the common ground is sustained as Islamic solidarity.

Conspicuous activities that are constituted of the following trends and fun-infused consumption are observed in tribe in line with the global consumer culture

(Fine, 1997), yet here we point to the consumerism that is reflected through Instagram. The buzzword of *flex* can be used for describing the digital version of social behaviour that Veblen (1899) conceptualized as conspicuous consumption. Similar to other social media influencers, flexing of trendy commodities and taste is widespread in presenteers' contents. More novel to presenteers tribe; flexing skilfulness in traditional female activities (pristine cleaning, fancy cooking) goes hand in hand with the flex of newly accomplished network marketing status (earning promotions, receiving rewards).

Network Marketing (NM) or in other words multi-level-marketing, is an important activity, a practice-within-practice for the presenteers tribe. To emphasize the heterogeneity of the tribe, we included few presenteers who were not involved in NM; but, among those, a presenteer was contracted with one of the two dominant NM brands (coded as F and H) during our observations. NM practice which presenteers engage in isn't majorly different from comparable practices in other NM phenomena. NM generates a hype for levelling-up with new status (gold director, president, emerald manager), and obtaining the girl-boss merit of succeeding. Presenteers fiercely compete for promotions, while for their own teams, they prepare collaborative meetings and correspond via lengthy motivational phone-calls (Pratt, 2000). Presenteers mention that their day is divided in two; for family and homemaking, and for work. They show their work space, laptops accompanied by tea presentations in the middle of the night, claiming that they are "always working" for their dreams.

Feminist discourse in the tribe is particularly used in relation to activities of NM. Presenteers opportunistically put emphasis on a much friendly *sisterhood bond* between their NM recruits (Kong, 2002). During NM-oriented engagement with the audience, presenteers call them "women" (*kadınlar*). Under this category, the role of *being a lady* seems to be put aside, but only on the surface. Presenteers issue speeches that designed in both rescue and escape rhetorics (Kent, 2015) for motivating the NM team as well as to recruit new members. These are usually expressed as advising women to believe that they can achieve earnings in NM, because many other women are already *winning it all*. Eagerness to succeed, pep-talks persuading people that they can make it, and strategic positioning of the NM in presenteers tribe are provisionings of neo-liberal feminism.

Instagramming of presenteers is especially invested in exchanging ideas about homemaking, dealing with motherhood, and the proper approaches to religiosity through social media. Favouring the fit between the influencer and the endorsed brand (Breves *et al.*, 2019), many modest fashion boutiques and presenteer-suggested home

goods are advertised. However, more importantly, in support of NM activities, presenteers are instagramming to attract new NM recruits to their teams, and being influencers, makes it easier to reach a wide range of prospects. Instagramming of presenteers' tribe can be thought of as a non-stop „gold day“ (Ertimur and Sandıkçı, 2014), where the hosts are presenteers and the guests are followers, banter is equally personal and additionally commercial, and laughter is in *emojis*.

Instagram tools are of a variety. Smartphones, laptops, hashtags, codes, algorithms, tags, and the content formatting aspects of Instagram are among features shaping the instagramming dimension of presenteeing practice. Besides from the social media platform's own programming, electricity and infrastructure for accessible internet connection are miscellaneous materials that can be accounted as equally important tools for engaging with social media. Recognizing these tools are important because, same Instagram algorithm that makes a community to gather around similar enthusiasms, as in presenteers tribe, can also act as a blocking filter in controversial situations, a point that we will examine more closely in a demonstrating situation.

Followers refer to the category under which people other than presenteers who are involved in the tribal communalization are grouped in four not mutually exclusive sub-categories. The aspiring presenteers directly interact with presenteers, asking for links of the materials included in the presenteers' contents, requesting and occasionally giving cooking tips and religious advice. The NM recruits are the newcomers or existent employees who work on F/H brands as members of presenteers' teams. These people desire to achieve higher levels in NM, and for that attend the educational sales meetings moderated by the presenteers. The NM brand officials are the coordinators, PR representatives, or CEOs of NM brands. They promote the statuses of the presenteers, and reward them for their sales success. Lastly, the following mass is one of the inevitable human components; they are the power-suppliers of social media influencers. They view, like, comment, and re-post the presenteeing content.

### ***Ideological Capacities in the Presenteers Tribe***

Goulding and Shankar (2002) studied a feel-young mature group of consumers of rave culture and discussed that these consumers were experiencing rave clubbing as „an environment which links them with others who share something that is mutually valued“ (p.649). Similarly, presenteers tribe is an ephemeral contingency evolving around a passion, driven by „shared emotions, styles of life, new moral beliefs, senses of injustice

and consumption practices" (Cova, 1997, p.301), and, is utilizing social media to come together. In this section, we will demonstrate how ideological enactments of presenteers enable mediations between the diverse tribal components that are explained in the previous sections, and, function as position markers of the tribe concerning the wider social, political, and cultural context.

It is fundamental to recognize that, to study consumer tribes, „we should be thinking in terms of processes where subjects like companies and consumers exist within the confines of a situation that no one truly controls" (Cova et al., 2007, p.8). During our observations on presenteers tribe, we came across certain situations that needed to be viewed under a detailing lens, as this helped distinguishing the focus of analysis from the consumers, as the singular threads, to the collective pattern we were aiming at (Woermann, 2017). Here, the demonstrative findings on the tracing of capacities from tribal interactions are themed under post-feminism, neo-ottomanism, and consumerism. We will show with the examples below that these ideologies are not only manifested as provisions in the course of communalization like mundanely talking about presenteeing, but also as stances in critical moments of reflection occurring in response to external events.

### *Post-feminism*

As an ideological framework, post-feminism is „a way of making sense of paradoxes and contradictions in the representation of women" (Banet-Weiser, Gill, and Rottenberg, 2020, p.4). Both owning up to the ideals of the traditional femininity and the neo-liberal feminist girl-boss seen in the activities and the discourses of the presenteers, as well as the exemplifying situations demonstrated below, are related to post-feminist negotiation of tribe's conflicting identity modes.

“We are growing with the participation of thousands of women from each city and town in Turkey (\*pinched fingers\*), we are aware of our power (\*trophy\*). We were homemakers, now we are women who can stand upon their feet, women to women, shoulder to shoulder (\*right-facing fist\* \*left-facing fist\*)." (from a text on a presenteeer's story)

Presenteers are aware of their influence, since their investment on presenteeing is socially and economically empowering beyond their circles. In fact, a presenteeer shared a prior experience, as she has been a guest chef in multiple episodes of a cooking show. However, in a story session, she said she chose not to “live that life”. Immediately after, she posted a picture in the kitchen, noting in the captions that she is

pleased to be where she chooses to be. Another presenteer who was praised for always maintaining a pristine house was invited to a cleaning show during our observations. She was excited about the invitation and made a Q&A session to talk about it. The next day, she posted a story saying her husband "didn't like the idea" and that she declined the invitation.

These decisions make sense within the tribe, because there's the career opportunity given by NM, which offers the promise of a prosperous life that encompasses the *whole package* of traditional femininity and self-empowerment (Sullivan and Delaney, 2016). This is what presenteers claim as "victory of the homemakers". Presenteering has such dynamics that are complying with external institutions like media, in a way that being a TV star is possible. But, as exemplified in the above quote, most presenteers territorialize empowerment with humility due to compliance to not only the market opportunities but traditional cultural values, meanwhile presenteering remains an enthusiasm.

"My mother-in-law wanted me to wear [*the gold accessories that she was gifted in her wedding day*] for every place we visited, she really enjoyed it (\*star-struck\*). I will give [*gold*] to my daughters-in-law (\*smiling face with hearts\*). My mother also, (...) loves the investment in gold, behind every man of success, there's a bride that owns gold (\*grinning face with sweat\*)." (*from a text of a presenteer's story*)

"*Bismillahirrahmanirrahim [in name of Allah]. The reason for my silence for many days [referring to the content in the post, she shows the house she just bought with the keys on her hand]. May Allah grant more beautiful things to everyone who wishes. Thanks to F [her NM brand], I am able to do things (...) I would never have imagined.*" (*from a caption of a presenteer's post*)

In the tribe, it is dominantly accepted that a bride displaying the gold that families have gifted, rather than an act of signifying wealth, is a source of joy, using both the gold and the woman's body as a pedestal. First quote above implicates that it is even deemed to be "how it should be" for a properly wed female. Since presenteers are identifying as Muslims, but they engage in flex and satisfying "one's-self" (*nefs*) with approval gained from such interactions, thereof contradicting the tenets of Islam (Quran, 4:38, 31:18); there's a need to negotiate the gap between Islam and consumerism. For that, presenteers usually use notions around gratitude, honest earning, and sharing embedded in their contents. In addition, they position their flex content as self-empowerment blueprints for their followers.

*Neo-ottomanism*



The neo-ottomanism capacity here refers to an ideological theme that frames Turkey as the historical “world leader,” and thus resolving conflicts in international arena is an inherited responsibility (Altunışık and Martin, 2011). Neo-ottomanist ideology has been propagated by the current government, and the narrative of it prevails as manifestation of the government’s ruling power (Karakaya, 2018; Çevik, 2019). Even putting aside the gold-bursting style in presentations, the aesthetics of the presenteers’ homes remind us of Presidential Palace that is constructed by the current government (Ghulyan, 2019). However, the resemblance in symbolism (Orhan, 2016), doesn’t directly translate into the tribe’s embrace of the government’s neo-ottoman discourse. For assigning that, we consider the tribe’s enactments.

“Turkish women are always strong; we make everything we touch in the best way. For the economy of our country, to support the national capital, we will always shop for Turkish products from H [*her NM brand*]. By the grace of Allah, we will win (\*party popper\* \*party popper\*). We will provide additional income to our house and our husbands (\*red heart\* \*flexed biceps\*.” (*from a text on a presenteer’s story*)

NM brands’ are promoted by presenteers with nationalist associations, highlighting that followers can support country’s domestic production capacity, by working in presenteers’ teams or just by being their consumers; as buying and selling these brands are crucial to “disarming other countries in the global market”. Phrases like “%100 made in Turkey” are frequently used in texts. In addition, religious links are also used. Product contents are said to be halal, and the production process is deemed to be halal-certified. Sandıkçı and Ekici (2009) argued that, some Turkish consumers who opposed to a religiously conservative version of nationalist ideology were critical of particular brands with a perceived link to such stance. Presenteers, on the contrary, aren’t only the supporters, but also the re-producers of a Turk-Islam ideology through their expressions regarding their NM brands.

“Religious Affairs says network business isn’t permissible, what do you think sister? I want to get in NM, but I am scared.” (*from a follower’s question on a presenteer’s Q&A story session*)

“Our earnings are halal and our products are completely halal certified. Let us explain the details dear, just leave your number (\*fire\*.” (*the presenteer’s response to above question on story*)

External institutional forces other than the market are at play within the dynamics of the consumer experiences (Van Buren *et al.*, 2019). Rather specific to the Islamic contexts, fatwas from religious bodies can be considered as reliable sources of evaluation of the morality of particular practices (Sandıkçı, 2020). We came across a

tension around Network Marketing Fatwa that relates to proscription activities in presenteers tribe. When a presenteer started a Q&A session, a potential NM recruit sent a question implying hesitancy due to the fatwa issued by the Presidency of Religious Affairs about the impermissibility of profiting from pyramid-schemes and fraudulent NM systems. In this situation, a governmental institution is disrupting private business, by a simple condemnation, and this causes a conflict between religious ideology and neo-liberal ideals of „making it“ within the tribe, which requires mediation. The tribe works this out via utilizing a marketer’s approach, in line with how other NM communities negotiate legitimacy (Achrol and Kotler, 1999). However, in the specific tribe of presenteers, ideologies are enriched with contextual elements.

The two NM brands (F/H) were both negotiating the permissibility of their operations as “halal” and “real winner,” with claiming that their brands have specially issued fatwas from the presidency, received after proving their compliance to the Islamic regulations. In addition, sharing the sources of wealth is being positioned as an opportunity for “conductive to other women’s gains” so NM is framed as doing “good” (*sevap*). Religious ideology is used as a vantage point in negotiations (Izberk-Bilgin, 2012), while the permissiveness of NM supported by the promise of a sisterhood of travelling profits. Such disruptions occurred at multiple points, in which presenteers utilized a targeted marketing discourse (Gabbay and Leenders, 2003), incorporating a negotiation of their religious and materialistic neo-liberal values legitimizing a mutual desirability of both the *worldly-world* and the *afterworld*.

“What does the sudden request for international help initiated by some influencers and celebrities really mean? In the war of national states and globalists, the globalists want to defuse not only Turkey, but other nation states as well, by using the climate-change as a weapon to make states insufficient.” (*from a quote shared in a presenteer’s story*)

Turkey experienced devastating wildfires in the summer of 2021 that wreaked havoc all around the country. Then, the wildfire edition of global conspiracy theories erupted. During the fires, social media influencers organically created a hashtag titled “global call” that raised international community’s awareness and asked other countries to supply extra extinguisher airplanes for the burning forests. Many celebrities re-posted the call, and movement took off. On the other hand, some people were discontented, suggesting that the call “tarnishes the image of strong Turkey”. This public division intervened by the government with a propaganda that implied “Turkey needs no help”. Consumers with conservative lifestyles tend to show submissiveness to government’s

authority (Jung *et al.*, 2017). Consequently, it was no surprise that presenteers actively spread awareness about the disaster, while complying with the government's position on the wildfire hashtag-debate. Such that, a preteer who initially used the organic hashtag and supported the global call, and even advocated against the backfire on it in series of stories, later, to clarify which side she is on, issued an apology and used the government-prompted hashtag after governmental figures pointed fingers on that "globalist" hashtag as an act of "disgrace towards the nation".

"What do you think about homosexuals? *Inshallah* [with Allah's will] your ideas are to bring light to ours." (from a follower's question from a preteer's Q&A session)

"We think what our religion thinks (\*herb\*). It isn't our place to think when there are hadiths on the subject (\*pinched fingers\*). I wish healing to those who will be treated (\*palms up together\*)." (the preteer's response to above question)

As mentioned, a conservative lifestyle doesn't directly mean embracing right-wing policies. This is the reason why the right-wing ideology is seen as prevailing within the presenteers tribe, but not being the only interpretation of their basic arguments relevant to current issues in the macro socio-political scene. LGBTI community's suffering in Turkey has deteriorated during the past decade (Muedini, 2021). As a result of politicians' rants triggering societal polarization, the „rainbow“ has become a controversial signifier that people exploit to manifest their stances, which the above quote exemplifies. All in all, rainbow is a political indicator globally, as being against it embraced as a *right thing* to do.

When a Masjid al-Aqsa attack erupted on the eve of holy Ramadan Aid in 2021 and headlines collapsed onto the global news, #protests quickly went viral. Presenteers are far from mute against such events, and jumped into hashtag activism (Freelon *et al.*, 2020). In the midst of this, a preteer posted a picture of Quran, captioning it with a call for collective readings for all troubled Muslims. However, the Quran book she used had a multi-colouring on the edge of the pages, as if it was published in rainbow-colours. This publishing style is widespread, since it makes finding different surah easier. Unexpectedly, some followers reacted negatively to this image. There were comments under the post shaming the preteer for "being insensitive about an important issue" at a time when "Muslims needed solidarity the most". The preteer flashed back, accusing the hecklers of wicked intentions.

Another situation followed. A queer influencer who released a hit pop single received an award from a prestigious music organization in Turkey. A preteer, not

with the rainbow Quran, shared a story expressing her support for the backlash against the organization giving the awards. A follower sent a direct message to her, articulating that, although it was enjoyable to follow her presenteeing content, hate-speech is "unpleasant" and "disrespectful". A screenshot of this direct message was posted on the stories with a furious reply as the presenteer said she was "disgusted" by the people "who tolerate such evil" acts. Based on the expressions evolving around the cases and the acceptance of them in the tribe, right-wing ideology is incorporated while discussing ideological capacities. On the other hand, it is wrongful to assume that right-wing references are the only prevailing ideologies within the tribe. As we can see, both presenteers and followers may have heterogeneous worldviews existing together within the tribe, which is exactly what necessitates the utilization of consumer-enacted stances.

*\*your post goes against our community guidelines\* (notification by Instagram)*

*"If we aren't to become one for Jerusalem and Masjid al-Aqsa, we cannot make it (...). I, on my own behalf, will do whatever I can to bring voice [on this issue]. (...). Then bring more comment and likes, this will erase all that spam. I kindly ask you to leave many comment and likes on my account if it isn't a trouble for you (\*bouquet\*)." (from the text on the presenteer's story)*

During the situation responding Masjid al-Aqsa attack in 2021, presenteers showed their support to struggling Muslims. Further, certain presenteers implied a neo-ottoman ideal (Yavuz, 2016; Erdem, 2017), as they perceived events as "destiny is asking Turkey to protect Muslims" in the lands that were centuries ago a part of the Ottoman Empire. Community guidelines on Instagram are programmed into gatekeepers that act as a censorship institution, mediating ideological surveillance (Rokka, 2021). In other words, digital media is where non-human things (electricity, wires, air, phones, computers, plastic, metal) constitute the forms of intangible things (algorithm, word-filtering, image-blurring) which shapes the human actions. However, the very platform, which is also an internal component of the tribe, acted as an external disruptive agent. As implied in the above quote, when some presenteers propagated against attacks, Instagram intervened by restricting engagement on political content and sending warnings about blocking presenteers' accounts. While facing such a situation, presenteers took up arms for solidarity against the algorithm. Firstly, they called for more engagement from followers to initiate the tribal power over the mysterious algorithm. Secondly, they posted a greater number of presenteeing contents (more than usual) in-between the political ones to manipulate the surveillance filter. Thousands of people's fingers tapping and typing, is, the way that social media wars are won. In the

meantime, indeed the interest in the conflict was lost and it became an out-dated issue on global news.

### *Consumerism*

Although below given a single situation demonstrating the broadest sense of consumerist ideology in the presenteers tribe, consumer communalization in postmodern market itself can engender an understanding of the larger picture of how contemporary cultures interlock with consumption (Baudrillard, 1998). Therefore we propose and further elaborate in the discussion section; as exploration of presenteers tribe reveals, consumption is reflected in the prevailing ideologies informing the market and can act as driving foci of collective practice, as an ideology in its own right (Schmitt *et al.*, 2021).

"It is Sunday, my dears, so we cannot go without preparing a nice presentation... We love presenteeing. We are addicted, no joke!" (*from a vocal expression in a presenteeer's story*)

"There are so many more cup sets that I can't fit in a drawer, ladies. Well, since I'm a presenteeer, I just can't serve with the same cups every day, that's why we use different, colourful ones. Actually, I'm thinking of putting a glass cabinet here [*pointing to a wall*] to hold my colourful cups." (*from a vocal expression in a presenteeer's story*)

What gives purpose to all embroidered napkins and pastry sprinkles is the passion for presenteeing. Socialization around mutual interests stimulates the potent co-creativity within tribes. Despite these blessings, above statements make it apparent that presenteeing can also be a curse. A presenteeer expressed her devastation about her failure to find proper places for the collection of coffee cups she owns. Presenteeers' feeling of obligation to buy different presenteeing equipment to create content reminds of the „Diderot effect“ (McCracken, 2001). The passion of presenteeing necessitates certain materials for its practice, emerges as a community consisting of self-manifesting consumer identities, and circulates on the increasing consumption of the commodities that comply with and further promote this culture.

### **Discussion**

Crockett and Wallendorf (2004) interpreted ideological references in consumers' provisioning that were not necessarily intentionally created as political stances. Likewise, our methodology stands on making sense of both direct and indirect utilization of ideological interpretations (Crockett and Pendravis, 2017). Distinctively,

instead of retracting statements in a researcher-directed flow, this study extends the investigation of ideologies in culture-oriented marketing literature methodologically, by observing consumers' interactions as they express themselves autonomously. Digitally connected communities open avenues for consumers to wilfully operate their ideologies; both in triggering situations, where ideologies may be expected to come forward as reactions, or most spontaneously, in totally mundane occurrences. Likewise, in this study, the ideological frameworks of post-feminism, neo-ottomanism, and consumerism synthesized from the interpretation of the communal enactments as the presenteers tribe's capacities, to highlight ideological (inter)play taking place within the grounds of consumer communities.

Rottenberg (2013) claimed that the 'convergence between neoliberalism and feminism involves the production of a new kind of feminism' that postulates for a women subject, for whom 'calibrating a felicitous work-family balance becomes her main task' (p.421-422). The women of the presenteeing world, as analysed in multiple situations, willingly abandon any attempt at fully professionalizing presenteeing. Also, through engaging in treasured NM, women are to earn money and increase their status without neglecting their traditional duties. Just like politicians calling for partisans, presenteers are calling for women whom are willing to conserve traditional femininity, but also aim at their own economic empowerment. Such discourse is parallel to Sullivan and Delaney's (2016) findings on religious NM community in a different context. Translating this to the post-feminist terminology (Rome *et al.*, 2020), the choosing not to choose trope (Scott, 2017) is a myth, and that interpreting this as an act of free will simply serves to smooth over ideological struggles (Holt, 2006), reside behind the multi-faceted existence of the tribe. However, for presenteers, this neo-liberal feminist vibe is also found as mixed with other in-between ideas.

Gill (2007) emphasized that discussions around post-feminism seek what is distinctive about diverse contemporary sensibilities. As so, it has been observed that, considering the post-feminist capacity in the presenteers, it is appropriate to draw parallels with right-wing nationalist feminism akin to the arguments of Gullace (2014). This means that the post-feminism in the tribe can be understood as energized by the neo-liberal, culturally conservative, subtly nationalist, and self-empowered women of the presenteers tribe. Such findings shows that post-feminist capacity in presenteers tribe builds on the discussions about diversity of contemporary feminisms, yet domination of neo-liberal ethics is a shared paradox (Rome and Lambert, 2020). This

feature of today's post-feminisms, which revealed by our exploration of presenteers tribe with a focus on the ideological plays, can be further explored in relation to contemporary communalization.

The 'folding-in of the past and the future into the burgeoning here-and-now present' (Firat and Dholakia, 2006, p.127) can be seen in the components of the presenteers tribe, in form of references to the imagined past and an ideal future present. In addition to the Ottoman-inspired dashing materiality, interpretations of Islam and liberalism are also critical for developing this neo-ottoman capacity. Parallel to this, in presenteers' expressions, we observed evidence for the arguments of Jafari and Süerdem (2012), since multiple interpretations of Islamic ideology can be seen as influencing the meanings evolving around consumption. Religiosity is constantly being shaped by consumption, in name of complying with the flex culture. Religious ideals, thus, are latently downplayed in social consumption for the love of go(l)d, allowing the activation of an ideology within a cultural market that is rooted in re-imagined traditions. Desire for certain products is promoted, while this results in the need for women's economical availability for purchase. This issue is then resolved with invitations to NM teams, claiming guaranteed earnings accompanied by consensus around religious compliance.

Here, the triangle between conspicuous consumption, interpretations of Islam, and neo-liberal mind-set with a glimpse of rhetorical nationalism and soft statism coalesce to create the framework of a neo-ottomanism ideology (Yavuz, 2016; Alimen and Askegaard, 2020). Through this neo-ottoman capacity; presenteers can engage in consumption that is materially conspicuous, yet polished with spiritual humility, and presumption that is fully neo-liberal, yet addressed with nationalistic pride. Owing to presenteers bringing together the essentially contradictory ideals of neo-liberalism, nationalism, political Islam, and cultural conservatism in their tribal enactments, the findings demonstrated the neo-ottoman melting pot of concessions.

The ideology of consumption fuelling the very genesis of the presenteers tribe is influenced by diverse ideologies such as political, religious, cultural ideologies of the particular context in which the phenomenon is embedded. Consumerist stance is found as a driver of the community's interpretation of existing ideologies. Marketing, in fact, is a tool for enabling legitimization of NM activities in line with the tribe's religious worldviews (Firat and Dholakia, 2006). Consumerism is cultural, religious, and

political; just like other ideologies are, all entangled with diverse sets of values and meanings that are constantly reforming.

Overall, discussion of ideological capacities underlined how different ideologies are worked out and worked together through presenteers' communal enactments. We extend the conceptualization of consumer communities as being „entangled in (...) nexus of passions, power and cultural politics“ (Hewer *et al.*, 2017, p.600). By providing the opportunity to discuss novel forms of ideological capacity, the insights retrieved from presenteers tribe contributes to our understanding on the implications of ideologies for consumers' collective practices (Crockett and Pendarvis, 2017). Most importantly, as we demonstrated in many situations, while communalized consumers benefit from complying with the ideological frameworks prevailing in their surrounding context, they also re-formulate the existing nexus per their competing interests, and so, actively engage in the construction of new negotiation grounds. Therefore, we argue that consumer communities are both reflecting and challenging the existing ideological frameworks, hence, synchronously consuming and producing meanings through market. In this regard, our insights enrich the previously discussed theorizations of consumer communities as being sites of value creation, by adding a nuanced layer to our understanding of the postmodern tribes.

## **Conclusion**

In this study, we explored the ideological capacities of presenteers, a tribe created by Turkish homemaker women on Instagram. Based on an interpretative approach, we mapped out the diverse components that make up the parts of the tribe and traced its interesting internal dynamics as well as external relationships. It was critical to emphasize the tribe instead of a group of consumers since leaning on consumer-created data helped to understand what consumer communities synergistically curate, and how they collectively engage with the local and the transcendental dimensions of the market. We found that religious, political, and cultural ideologies entangle as they energize the emergence of the neo-ottoman, consumerist, and post-feminist ideologies, which are capacities continuously grounding the presenteers tribe. While we focused our exploration on the ideologies of the presenteers tribe, our discussion has implications for developing an understanding of the importance of the ideological play and how it partakes in consumers' communalization.



We suggest that future research should develop on ideology and consumption debate, as the two “are co-constitutive, with neither idealist nor materialist perspectives telling the whole story” (McAlexander *et al.* 2014, p.872). Similar to recent studies which advise future research to work on unique tribal capacities that can influence markets (Diaz Ruiz *et al.*, 2020), we encourage employing an interpretive approach to further investigate ideologies in consumer communities.

Furthermore, culture-oriented consumer studies are falling behind the consumers’ aspirations of living the insta-worthy life (Schöps *et al.*, 2019). Instagram as a platform may one day disappear, but new ones will surely appear. We believe researchers should sign in, scroll, tap, and swipe. These are what consumers are doing, this is where consumption is taking place and markets emerge; not consecutively, instead, *simultaneously* (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). In this sense, benefitting from social media as an evolving market without borders is a valuable pursuit to expand our understanding of constantly changing and re-organizing consumer communities.

Implications of the ideological play in presenteers tribe also promote the empirical exploration of the diverse experiences of contemporary homemaker women, and the representation of them as not passive objects but recursive agents of the postmodern market. For instance, exploring the American #TradWife phenomenon (Proctor, 2022) would extend the discussions we situated here about social media communalization and consumer ideologies by grounding on another cultural context. Beyond the passion-driven tribal organizations, studies can elaborate more on the different forms of market engagements in which homemaker women are observed as being actively involved.

To conclude, this study extends the literature on the co-constitution of ideology and consumption and links the on-going discussions on ideology to consumer communalization. We demonstrated that ideologies affect the patterning of prosumption, and in turn, motivate tribal clustering within postmodern market. We argue that tracing ideological capacities within a tribe brings an understanding of consumer communities’ potential to act on controversial happenings. Moreover, we bring forward a dynamic reconceptualization of consumer communities; as they use and customize the a-priori ideological frameworks in their context hence influence the continuous re-making of not only their own consumption experiences but their related culture and market as well. Consumers create the culture that theories strive to understand; and this contemporary sociality, is vague. New components can emerge,

others can fade, new relationships can be established; thus, new capacities can appear while others become obsolete. So, it is valuable to contribute to the exploration of consumer tribalization through a complexity lens, and, being open to the vast knowledge offered by each unique contextual background. Therefore; without isolating religious influences or political stances, future research can be construed as a demonstration of the *unicity* within the lived cultures.

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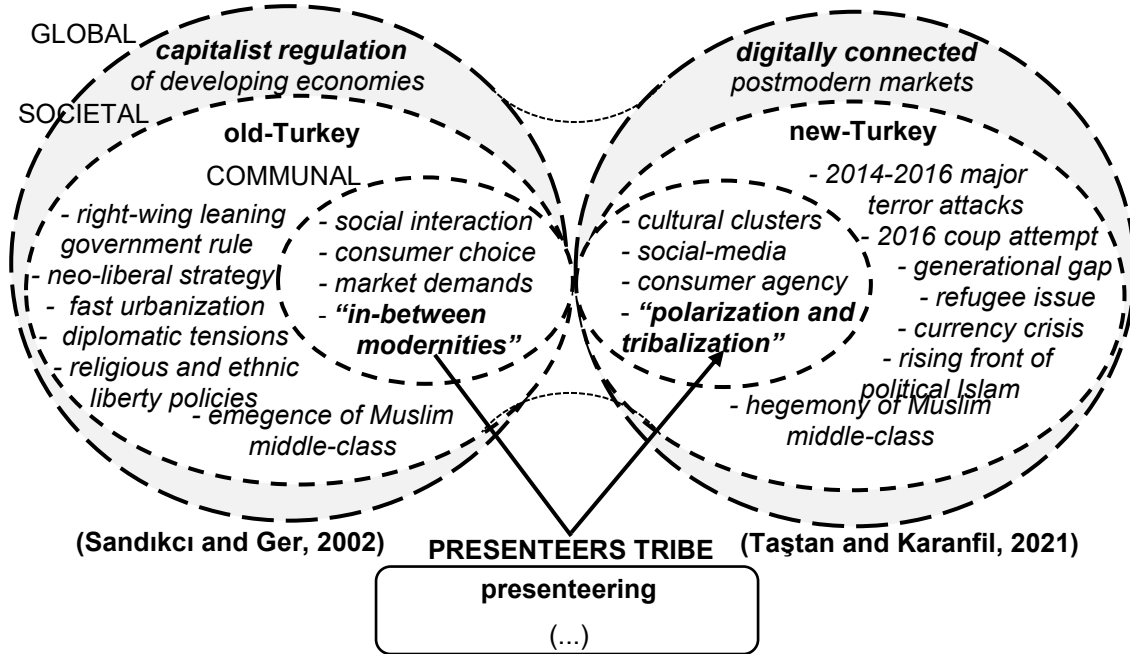
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Tables, Visuals, Figures

Figure 1. Multiple dimensions of the context.



Source: Authors own work.

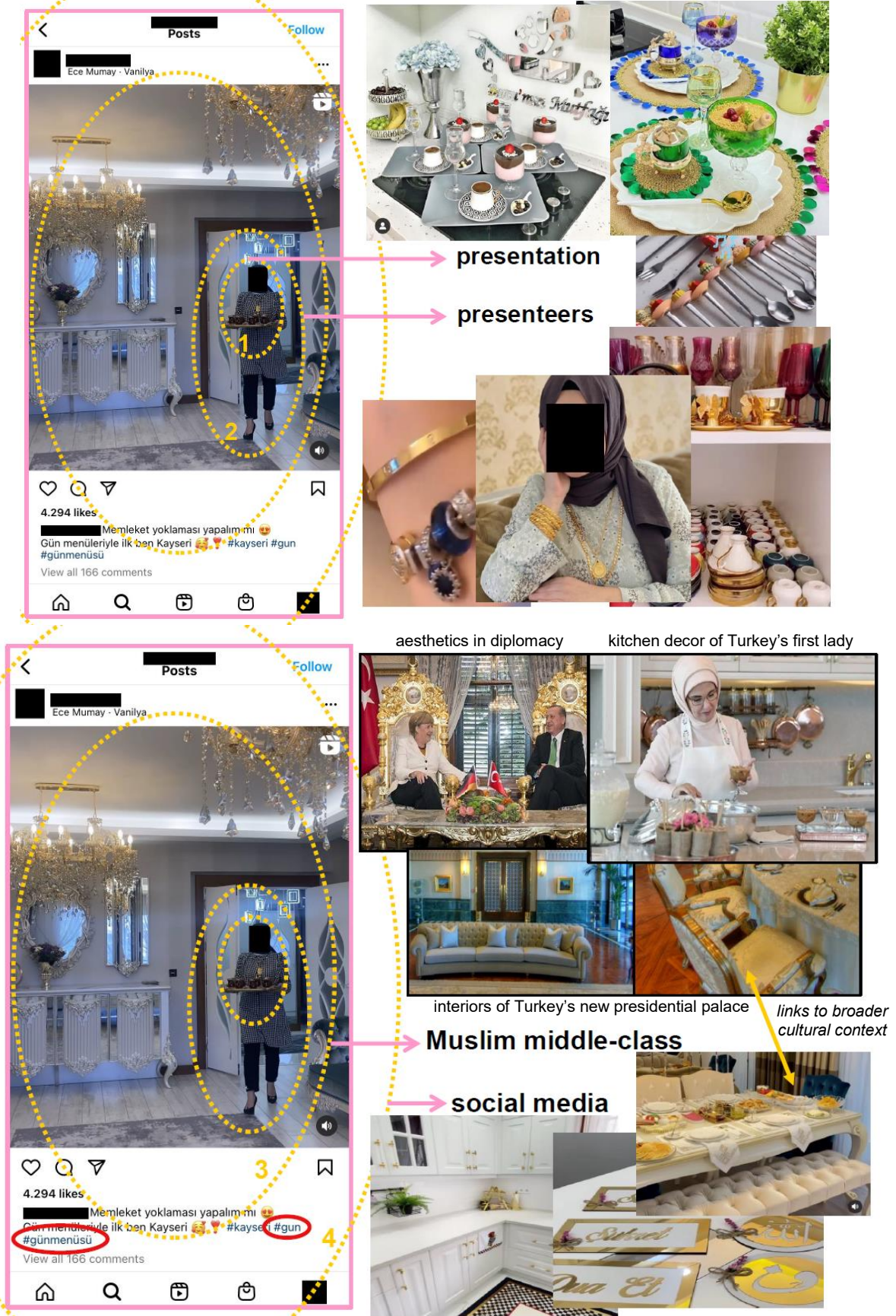
Table 1. Observed presenteers.

<b>account status and/or biography information</b>	<b>number of followers</b>	<b>network marketing brand *</b>	<b>marital and household status</b>
public figure	245k	F	married, 1 child
personal blog	466k	F	married, 1 child
personal blog	595k	F	married, 1 child
"presenteer"	727k	H	married, 2 children
"presenteer"	546k	F	married, 2 children
"influencer" "youtuber" "entrepreneur"	486k	F	married, 1 child
public figure	524k	H	married, 2 children
product/service	388k	F	married, 2 children
personal blog	651k	none to H	married, 2 children
personal blog	367k	none	married, 1 child
"presenteer" "entrepreneur" "mother"	449k	none	married, unknown
public figure	229k	F	married, 1 child
personal blog	940k	F	married, 1 child
"youtuber" "presenteer"	273k	F to H	married, 2 children
personal blog "presenteer"	457k	none	married, 1 child
personal blog	420k	H	married, 3 children
personal blog	234k	F	married, planning
public figure	287k	H	married, 2 child

\* The two network marketing (NM) brands are coded with their initials being F and H.

**Source:** Authors own work.

Figure 2. Manual visual-textual analysis of content.



Source: Authors own work.

Table 2. Themes and coding.

ideological capacities (themes)	tribal components (categories)	exemplifying properties (codes)
post-feminism	presenteering	- "presentation is important"
	presenteers	- identifying as "presenteer"
	presenteering equipment	- items "for-presentation"
	kitchen space	- characteristic wall signs
neo-ottomanism	traditional female activities	- catering for the household
	feminine discourse	- "ladies"
	conservative lifestyle activities	- halal consumption
	religious discourse	- posting religious quotes
consumerism	political discourse	- "ummah consciousness"
	conspicuous activities	- engaging in flex culture
	network marketing	- working with F/H brands
	feminist discourse	- "women"
	instagramming	- affiliate links
	instagram tools	- algorithm
	followers	- following mass

**Source:** Authors own work.



Visual 1. Selected presentations in "pinkie" trend.



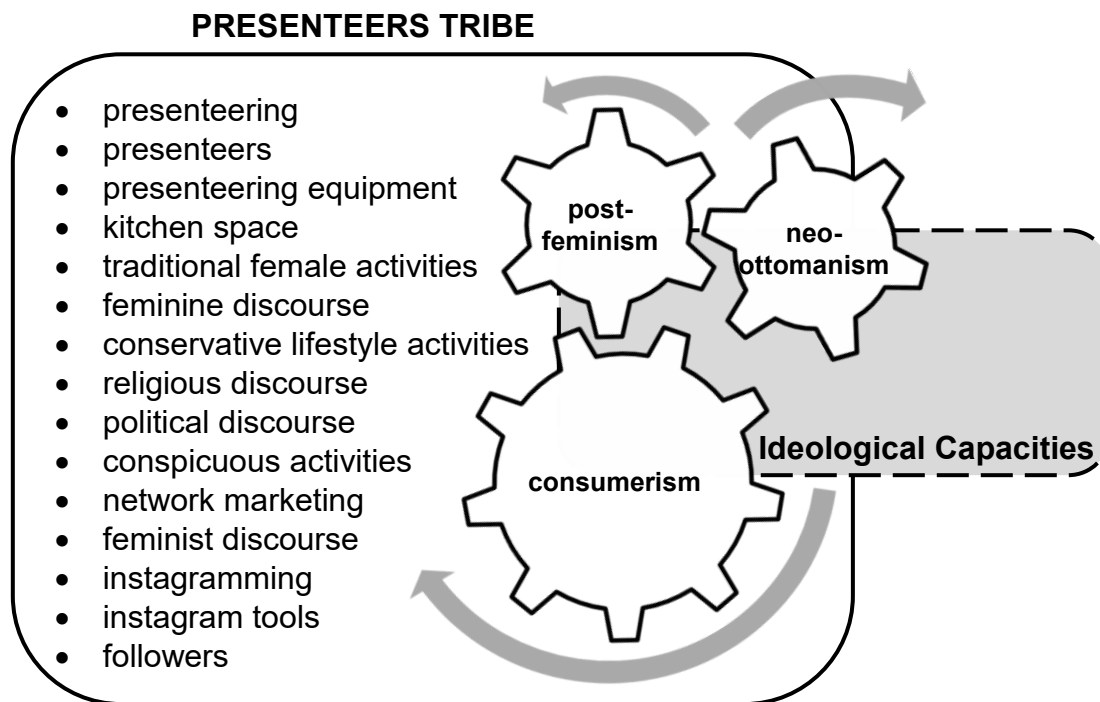
Source: Authors own work.

Visual 2. Selected presentations in "gold" trend.



Source: Authors own work.

Figure 3. Interplay of ideological capacities in the presenteers tribe.



**Source:** Authors own work.