

Routledge Critical Leisure Studies

GENDER, CLASS, AND RESPECTABILITY IN LEISURE

**UNDERSTANDING WOMEN'S 'FREE TIME
ACTIVITIES' IN MODERN TURKEY**

Gökben Demirbaş



Gender, Class, and Respectability in Leisure

This book interrogates the role of gender and class in shaping women's everyday leisure practices. Drawing on empirical research in urban Turkey, the book explores how leisure is perceived and practised by women within their communities.

The book examines the relationship of women's leisure to their labour, women's access to and uses of public leisure spaces, and the dynamics of their everyday sociability within their neighbourhoods. It is the first book to apply Skegg's concept of 'respectability' – socially recognised judgments and standards which label the 'right' practices, that hold morality and power in a given context – as a theoretical tool with which to understand leisure in a country in which modernisation and Westernisation have been a central dynamic shaping political, social, and cultural life. This analysis reveals that two measures of gendered respectability – reproductive work and the honour code – and how they mediate with the classed measures of respectability, are essential to understanding women's leisure practices in the Turkish context. The book argues that these interactions are likely shared in many Global South countries, including Islamic societies. Therefore, this analysis shines important new light on women's experiences more broadly, and on the social, political, and cultural dynamics of traditional social structures in a modernising world.

This book is fascinating reading for anybody with an interest in leisure studies, women's studies, sociology, cultural studies, or Middle East studies.

Gökben Demirbaş is Lecturer in the Political Science and Public Administration Department at Trakya University, Turkey. She received her sociology PhD degree from the University of Glasgow in 2018. Her research interests include different aspects of the sociology of leisure with a particular focus on gender, class, everyday life, culture, urban space, youth, and citizenship.

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in Modern Turkey

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To my mother *Nejla*, and my father *Avni*



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Introduction

The central concern of this book is to invite scholarly attention to the lack of social class and capitalism in feminist leisure scholarship. Feminist scholarship has a strong place within the broader leisure studies, 'providing critical insight, correcting androcentric biases, identifying future areas of research, advancing innovative methodologies, and addressing key gaps in knowledge – specifically around issues of equity and social justice' (Parry et al., 2018, p. 1). Throughout the 50 years of its existence, various feminist perspectives have contributed to leisure knowledge and research. A recent book, titled *Feminisms in Leisure Studies*, for instance, brings together these different perspectives – ranging from poststructural feminism, intersectionality, and queer theory to masculinities– to unpack methodological and substantive issues essential to leisure studies. The striking point here is that none of the perspectives that are elaborately worked through in the referred book identify capitalism and social class distinctions as *substantial* matters to the production of knowledge on leisure. Reading through each perspective, one gets the feeling as if capitalism and class disappeared, at best lost their gravity, in today's world. Is this possible given the fact that leisure is one of the most commercialised areas of life? One that promotes a certain structure of feelings, and certain 'appropriate' ways of being in this world. Can feminist leisure scholarship afford to ignore social class?

This book argues that it is necessary to acknowledge that capitalism is a historically specific system of power made up of the context in which contemporary leisure relations are (re)produced. The philosophy of acquisition, competitive individualism, and the division of interests underpin this power structure. As Rojek ([1985] 2014) highlights, there have always been competing paradigms in the leisure field, holding different levels of power. Class-centred approaches, although never dominant, brought considerable depth and expansion to the field. One of the goals of this book is to highlight that feminist leisure scholarship is not exempt from paradigmatic rivalry. As will be shown in Chapter 2, feminist leisure research, in fact, employed a capitalism- and class-focused perspective as its departure point and brought extensive empirical knowledge into leisure studies, challenging the field's

most secure assumptions, its exclusionary and problematic theoretical and methodological roots (see Wimbush & Talbot, 1988). In the following decades, it continued to closely engage with the broader feminist interventions to social science thinking (Wearing, 1998; Watson, 2018). Today, it is widely acknowledged that (i) gender is a structure reproducing various kinds of femininities and masculinities, always in intersection with class, race, sexuality, and other structural discriminatory mechanisms, and (ii) individuals are agents who are well capable of resisting or negotiating with these complex and dynamic structuring forces. Progress, however, has come at the expense of losing sight of the significant role of capitalism and class conflicts in shaping leisure experiences:

[W]ithout understanding the development of capitalism and its methods we cannot fully understand how class, race, gender and sexuality as classificatory systems of value proceed into the present... We cannot understand the forces that shape the conditions for our subjectivity and enable us to exist as value.

(Skeggs, 2019, pp. 32–33)

The lack of a focus on capitalism and social class poses grave risks for the production of knowledge. Among many, a critical risk is ignoring the relational facets of human history and interaction, which presents itself in the adoption of an uncritical understanding of ‘individuality’ or ‘selfhood’ as universal, essential aspects of human nature positioned outside of cultural processes. Hence, this book aims to reinstate social class into feminist leisure scholarship, drawing on feminist and postcolonial cultural theory – in particular Beverley Skeggs’s theory of person Value(s), brought together with Homi Bhabha’s (1994) theory on the enunciation of cultural difference from the minority perspective, and (postcolonial) feminist scholarship of the Middle East and other southern and eastern regions of the world. The concept of ‘respectability’ constitutes the backbone of this book bringing these diverse scholarships together (see below). Therefore, the intention of the book is not to return to a classical class model, but to contribute to the most contemporary debates in the feminist leisure scholarship.

These concerns and aims are satisfied through an empirical study on women’s everyday leisure, conducted in two differently classed neighbourhoods of a metropolitan city in Turkey. The research explores how leisure is perceived and practised by women on a day-to-day basis within their local contexts, by examining closely the relationship of women’s leisure to their labour, their access to and uses of public leisure spaces, and the dynamics of their everyday sociability within their neighbourhoods. Shedding light onto the relationship between the individual women, their families, and the neighbourhood-based community within which their everyday leisure practices are (re)structured and (re)negotiated, the main objective herein is to contribute to

a more global assessment of the significance of gender in shaping women's access to and enjoyment of opportunities for sociability and relaxation.

The critical contribution of this book lies in its approach to the formation of subjectivity, as always embedded into the discursive and material processes of class-based cultural distinctions that are (re)produced within and through leisure. Developing a critical perspective on 'individuality' and its relationship to the 'cultural' is particularly necessary given the current interest in non-Western cultures in leisure studies, alongside the broader political developments rising at a global scale, such as right-wing populism, racism, Islamophobia, and masculinist restoration. Although feminist leisure scholarship tore down the male-centric roots of the subject field and gradually grew into the dominant knowledge, it fell short of overthrowing the Western-centric roots of the field. Starting with the 1990s, feminist leisure research acknowledged racial inequalities and cultural differences in experiencing leisure. As a result of this, the twenty-first century has witnessed the proliferation of studies on the gendered leisure experiences of immigrant women in Western societies and the women of the Global South – masculinities and non-heterosexual identities are yet to be thoroughly explored. At this point, Islam, accompanied by the idea of *honour*, has become the major point of reference. A closer examination of these studies, which are far from being homogenous, not only exposes certain shortcomings of the literature but also the theoretical and methodological choices lying behind them, which demand careful consideration.

Studies focusing on immigrant communities in the Western sphere concentrate on cultural diversity, individual identification processes, or racial discrimination. A shared departure point of these studies is that Muslim women's participation in leisure, particularly in sports and physical activity, is significantly low in comparison to other social groups. The first group of studies, aiming to inform public policy, describe Muslim women's leisure patterns and choices in detail, arguing that this issue should be assessed around *cultural diversity*. The main point they make is that Muslim women are not necessarily suffering under the 'oppressive' Islamic culture but choosing to live by this belief system. Western societies should respect cultural differences and public policies should be designed as inclusive, providing leisure spaces and services fitting into the leisure cultures of Muslim families (see Stodolska & Livengood, 2006; Höglhammer et al., 2015). Other studies concentrate on understanding the complexities of young Muslim immigrant women's identity-making, expressed through their strategies and negotiations of leisure (Green & Singleton, 2006; Walseth, 2006). These studies point out the variety of views among Muslim immigrant women, some embarking on the religious script, and family and community values while others diverge from them. The participants of these studies seem to navigate the cultures of their country of origin and the country in which they currently live. Focusing on individual responses without embedding them into broader

power relations carry certain limitations. In the Western sphere, there is a tendency to bring members of different countries together under the category of Islam, as if religion is the only, at best the most powerful, determining factor of the cultures of these very different societies. Furthermore, there are significant risks associated with concentrating on the indicators of cultural differences themselves rather than the *purposes* for which these differences are formulated and brought out. Few studies highlight these dangers and shift their lens on the ongoing racial discrimination of immigrants through Islam in Western public spaces and how prejudices result in various types of discrimination (Watson & Ratna, 2011; Kloek et al., 2013; van den Bogert, 2021; Soltani, 2021). These studies show the details of the various ways in which Muslim women are discriminated against in Western leisure spaces. Yet, their approach to the topic does not provide us with tools that will support us in grasping how European ideas of cultural superiority, freedom, and individuality are historically established in contrast with Muslim culture. Neither do they inform us on other aspects of the participants' cultures, such as class, ethnic, or religious cleavages, which are likely to be very powerful factors of the various social and subjective positions within a national context.

Intersectionality appears as the major theoretical and/or methodological framework of this final group of studies. The critical point made in this book is that when scholars concentrate on the immediate moments of discrimination and the (re)actions of the actors involved without embedding them into the historical and contextual legacies of the formation of moral judgments, social and subjective positions, and power relations within a certain national space, we are then deprived of certain fundamental scientific tools and explanations. In another saying, intersectionality alone does not provide us with an adequate framework to question the very historical roots of the concept of individual/ity and its place in the enunciation of cultural difference. It does not provide us with the tools to discern, historically, which groups are denied of being a subject of value, under which discursive and material mechanisms. Furthermore, while intersectionality is commonly used in recognising how gender and race come together, class and capitalism have been made secondary, if not silent, in this process. Yet, cultures are dynamic, for the very reason of being *ab initio* entangled with socio-economic and political processes.

Few studies on women's leisure in non-Western societies are interested in the entanglement of culture with the economic and political processes. The majority of studies demonstrate solely the details of the lack of individuality and the ways in which women are constrained under the patriarchal cultures of these societies. Be it Islam, Hinduism, or Confucianism, studies assert that these religious scripts suggest an idea of *honour* and familial *piety* that subordinate women under male and family control, restricting their participation in the public sphere for leisure purposes (Nagla, 2006; Lee & Zhang, 2010). Only a few studies in this strand of literature pay attention to social class,

demonstrating how these cultures are malleable, and class presents itself not only in material differences in access to leisure but also through women's embodiment of individuality, interpretations of the role of the culture in their lives, and consequently how they feel entitled to certain types of leisure. For instance, in the case of whether a woman needs the husband, and/or family's consent to practice leisure, studies show that the higher-class Muslim women interpret the Islamic rules differently in comparison to lower-middle and working-classes (Saad, 2007). The former group bring forward the argument that Islam supports women's engagement in physical activity for health and well-being reasons, and also according to Islam, partners should be respectful of each other's needs in marriage (Şehlikoğlu & Karakaş, 2016). The class character of these interpretations is invisible in studies on young Muslim women in the Western sphere. For instance, the latter group of studies argue that separating culture from religiosity- identifying culture as restrictive but the religion itself as emancipatory- is a conscious strategy of young Muslim immigrant women in expanding their opportunities to attend physical activity (Walseth & Amara, 2017, p. 26). How do we settle with these two different assessments of the same finding occurring across different national contexts? This book explores the very complex relationship between 'individuality' and 'culture' by shedding light on women's leisure in a country context that defies easy conclusions on Islamic culture, class differences, and the idea of *honour*.

Concepts and Framework

The prominent sociologist Beverley Skeggs's theory on person Value(s) constitutes the theoretical background of this book. In the making of her theoretical and methodological position, Skeggs follows a path where she adopts feminist, Marxist, Bourdieusian, anthropological, de/postcolonial, and cultural theories, while simultaneously overcoming some of their limitations. This is only possible through sticking to a central concern, that is how to establish a sociological approach that allows us to thoroughly involve discriminated groups- who are active in the making of the World- without falling into the traps of liberalism and capitalism on the way. These traps are (i) making universalising and/or essentialising claims through de-historicising and de-contextualising the knowledge acquired on a specific society or social group at a specific time in history, (ii) bringing forth one aspect of reality, either structure or agency, and treating them separately, and (iii) representing discriminated groups- interpreting their feelings, behaviours, and identifications- in a way that serves to the middle-class desire of not 'to be held as responsible for perpetuating or agreeing with inequality' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 116). In sum, while Skeggs deals with contemporary sociological questions on representation, subjectivity, and complexity, she constructs a view that is rigorously relational. Historicity and contextuality become central vehicles of such a perspective, a way of deconstructing the most taken-for-granted assumptions

about human nature, e.g., selfhood, individuality, and identity. This allows us to question the Western universalising and essentialising claims, and not to adopt an Orientalist view on cultures and the selves. Simultaneously, it warns us not to lose sight of the central role of capitalism, in order to grasp how the structural forces of gender, class, race, and sexuality are 'entangled like a snarling vine' (Satnam, 2019; cited in Skeggs, 2019).

Personhoods vs. Selfhood

Agency is a central interest of contemporary sociology, fleshed out in empirical details describing individuals' ways of 'resistance', 'resilience', 'negotiations', etc. It is simply defined as a capacity to engage in purposive action, make choices, and impose them on the world. While it has become a standard knowledge in social sciences that people are aware of the material and moral discrimination they are subject to, the concern of the social class theories is that which ways of knowing, thinking, behaving, or feeling are recognised by academics (implies a process of inscription) as signs of *reflective, knowing* self. For instance, can emulation, or utilising the tools of the oppressor be counted as 'resistance'? Would the subject lose from her 'agency' if she tried to appear respectable by disidentifying herself with a label (such as working-class, Black, Muslim, etc.) that attributed her negative value, and tried to acquire respectability through representing herself, bodily and affectively, like the oppressor? Does celebratory individualism not only throw structural forces shaping our subjectivity out of focus but also reduce the complexity and depth of people's subjectivity into a few recognisable actions? Can we imagine subjectivity and social relations different from what is valued in contemporary societies?

A way of acquiring a relational perspective is to start with deconstructing the most taken-for-granted concepts of sociology, such as the 'individual', and the 'self'. Skeggs (1997, 2004, 2011, 2014) departs from a foundational Marxist assumption that different social and economic relations lead to different relationship patterns which in turn yield different forms of personhoods. In the case of capitalism, the value becomes established through the exchange in which the relationship to the commodity itself generates different forms of personhood. Individuality, then, is a product of capitalist history that has taken place in European countries, and it is historically exclusionary, as it is based on one's capacity to own private property and think her material and non-material properties as sources of her value.

Skeggs prefers to use the concept of 'personhood' instead of selfhood and individuality. This conscious choice allows her to put a distance with/overcome the exclusionary and classifying content of these concepts and acknowledges that there are other ways of being a subject of value, of non-capitalist values defined by use-value rather than exchange-value (Skeggs, 2014). This is also a foundational Marxist assumption. She employs an

anthropological understanding of personhood that refers to ‘legal, social and moral states generated through encounters with others... Value infuses these person-states when we look in detail at the historical conditions of possibility for person value(s): how value is attached to different conceptualizations and practices of personhood’ (Skeggs, 2011, p. 498). It is also a way of presenting that a person is not completely made of the liberal, capitalist, patriarchal, colonialist, etc., logic. There are values beyond Value and the groups, such as working-class, Blacks, and persons from non-Western nationalities, who are given so little (most of the time negative) value in the dominant symbolic order, have their own system of values (Skeggs, 2014). These different forms of values and personhoods are mostly ‘imperceptible to the bourgeoisie gaze’ (Skeggs, 2011, p. 496). Such a conceptual choice allows us to interrogate, on the one hand, ‘how the *possessive* individual version became the dominant symbolic model for proper personhood, legitimated through law and the social contract, extended through commodification and morally legitimated’ (Skeggs, 2011, p. 501) and to acknowledge other ways of being and sociality, which may carry within themselves the seeds of an anti-capitalist world (Lefebvre, 1996).

The anthropological use of the concept of personhood is crucial at this point since it opens up space to the literature on Mediterranean societies, to the idea of honour and shame, which is essential in understanding the immigrant communities’ leisure as well as many societies of the Global South. Such use allows us to explore the domination of the *possessive* individual personhood from a minority perspective.

Respectability: Honour vs. Civility

Respectability plays a central role in Skeggs’s theory; it refers to the dominant social behaviour codes – i.e., socially recognised judgments and standards labelling the ‘right’ practices – that embody moral authority in a given era and context. Skeggs (1997, p. 66) highlights that people recognise these codes and produce themselves as subjects in alignment with them. This, however, is not an unproblematic process since the *raison d’être* of respectability is to produce and consolidate inequality and discrimination. ‘Different groups have differential access to the mechanisms for generating, resisting and displaying respectability’ (Skeggs, 1997, p. 2). The processes of constructing subject positions revolve around the recognition of one’s social and moral position. These acknowledgements facilitate individuals in navigating categorisation schemes and assessing and evaluating themselves accordingly. Yet, people rarely accommodate these classificatory positions with comfort, particularly when they are categorised as ‘non-respectable’. As Skeggs (2004, p. 117) underlines: ‘Who wants to be seen as lacking in worth?’ Clearly, nobody. How does then a person go through the processes of social and cultural distinction and (dis- or re-) identification which is at the same time a process

of constructing a subject position that claims respect/ability? Respectability, thus, is a singular concept that allows us to understand the daily class struggle presenting itself through moral judgments of one's self and others.

The speciality of the concept of respectability lies in its gum-like nature, holding the judgments of class, race, gender, and sexuality together. It demonstrates how these classificatory systems of values are internally linked producing cultural distinctions and subjectivities. Capitalism is essential to the formation of respectability as it suggests *possessive* individuality, accruing value through its exchange capacity as the dominating type of personhood. In the course of history, the European personhood, the *possessive* individual and the *split* self, excluded various groups from being a subject of value by labelling them as morally degenerate, lacking self-discipline, and self-reflexivity. 'Property and propriety have always divided women by class and race, manifest in respectability as a mechanism of moral order' (Skeggs, 2019, p. 32).

The European personhood was a central point of reference in legitimising not only slavery and class distinctions in European societies but also Western imperialism and colonialism, which 'involved the denigration of other ways of relating to people and objects – a form of personhood premised upon disinterest in the objects/subjects of exchange, but interest in the profit that can be made from exchange itself' (Skeggs, 2011, p. 500). Societies of the Global South, which have been subject to imperialism and colonialism, living in a context in which the honour–shame complex 'amounts to the socially appropriate behaviour' (Herzfeld, 1980; Stewart, 2013), are deemed non-respectable, as non-individuated populations suffering under oppressive, feudal relations, lacking civilisation. Islam, in particular, has been problematised as the source of this 'outdated' and 'degenerated' morality. Harem, polygamy, segregation of sexes, withdrawal of women from the public sphere/spaces, etc., are all considered incommensurable differences, as constitutive limits to European personhood (Akşit, 2015). The history of nationalism, in fact, encompasses the trajectories of countries like Turkey, which redefined their cultural authenticity to counter the negative value attribution to their society and culture. In the process of formulating their culture, modern yet not a blueprint of the West, hybrid forms of respectability, as a signifier of national belonging, have been formulated (Bhabha, 1994).

National Space and National Cultural Capital

Skeggs highlights that the content of respectability, i.e., formation of classes and personhoods, varies across national contexts, since 'different systems, circuits of exchange and value attribution... have to cohere with other modes of governance' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 143). National space, then, is considered as a field, a metaphorical space in which legitimation is secured through national belonging, which constitutes the symbolic capital. The process

of the formation of national belonging is, as Bhabha (1994) underlines, an ambivalent process in which mimicry is utilised. Mimicry is a double articulation, both reproducing the Western ideal of civility but also resisting it through finding the roots of the superiority of a national culture in the imaginary historical roots. This process involves essentialising and spatializing characteristics:

the imaginary nation does not rely on the interiorization or essentialization of the other (as previous theories on race have often assumed), but on the construction of the other as an *object of spatial exclusion*. In order to produce spatial exclusion a centre has to be constructed that represents 'real' belonging, and those who really belong have to display and embody the right characteristics and dispositions. In many circumstances essentializing and spatializing work together.

(Skeggs, 2004, p. 19)

Formation of national cultural capital results in social groups who have the right dispositions— the way one performs a national subject through attire, attitudes, etc.— to be counted as the respectable subjects of the nation, and others who need to learn to practice the right capital. This is a fundamental difference in any society between the persons who can just '*be what they are*' as opposed to those who... have to constantly prove that they are capable of carrying the signs and capital of national belonging. This process becomes particularly apparent when the concept of the "self" is investigated' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 19) in a given national context.

Üstüner and Holt (2010) argue that in less industrialised countries (LIC), i.e., the Global South, the social class forming the dominant symbolic order does not embody an attitude of 'be what they are', since in order to be counted as 'civilised' they need to continuously disown their local habits and values. Writers reflect on the emulation of the upper/middle-class consumers of the LIC to the upper/middle classes of the Global North. An interesting point they highlight is that 'the Western lifestyle is a myth constructed within the national discourse of the (LIC)' (p. 39) which is central to the construction of the upper/middle-class status in a given LIC context. This results in 'importing' the cultural capital: 'It is not the fruit of indigenous socialization as is the case in Bourdieu's France. Rather, it is based upon the ability to properly interpret, learn, internalize, and then enact the consumption of a distant other... as *detrterritorialized cultural capital*' (Üstüner & Holt, 2010, p. 50). The new middle class invests in the Western lifestyle myth, yet no matter how much they mimic 'they realize that they are unable to imitate the core of Western middle-class consumption: expressing one's individuality through one's pursuit of particular experiences' (Üstüner & Holt, 2010, p. 51). This is due to the gravity of social relations in the context under inquiry and the standing of their nationality in the global hierarchy.

Enterprising Self vs. Connective Self

In the contemporary era of heightened 'competitive individualism', the respectable self in the Western sphere is defined by her capacity to optimise herself by acquiring the 'good life', demonstrating a seemingly *authentic* self. It is about 'turning one's self into a marketable product, into a commodity, ultimately, becoming more easily controlled through ethical self-governance... The sort of labour that is being sold is related to the wider qualities of *being a particular sort of person and having a particular composition of cultural resources*' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 73). Leisure activities, such as sports, yoga and meditation, certain forms of holidays, etc. have become tools for acquiring the new middle-class, 'enterprising' identity (Banks, 2009; Rojek, 2013; Batchelor et al., 2020; Sharpe et al., 2022). In terms of femininities, McRobbie (2015) highlights that the new middle-class femininity involves a higher individualism, self-esteem, and a discourse of 'choice', dis-identifying itself from the personality characteristics of the traditional middle-class femininity, as its core concern is not family/home anymore, but career. Yet, in the era of postfeminism, what takes place is, in fact, a fine-tuned patriarchy functioning through delegating authority to women, where aligned self-assessment and self-regulation are covered up with a vocabulary of 'autonomy' and 'choice'.

Özyeğin, drawing on Suad Joseph's (1993) work, argues that despite the unarguable influence of Western ideas on the formation of the respectable middle-class self in non-Western, particularly Muslim, countries, 'the key component of selfhood is not autonomy or individuality, as it is in many Western contexts, but rather a relational experience with members of one's family' (2015, p. 22):

In such contexts, [Joseph] argues, individuals 'are open to and require the involvement of others in shaping their emotions, desires, attitudes and identities' (Joseph 1993, 468). The actions and opinions of family members do not simply influence an individual's selfhood—they are instrumental to its completion. Their "security, identity, integrity, dignity, and self-worth... [are] tied to the actions of [that person]" (Joseph 1993, 467).

(Özyeğin, 2015, p. 23)

Although connectivity is a fundamental aspect of how one constructs his/her subjectivity in many non-Western contexts, for this very reason, it has a strong place in the (re)production of patriarchal relations. Özyeğin (2015) highlights that this hybridity results in 'fractured desires' among socially upward segments of the middle class, and I would add working-class fractions to this framework.

This book explores how these ideas on social class morality in non-Western contexts operate through an empirical focus on women's leisure in Turkey.

The Turkish Context

The political tension between secular and conservative segments of society is a core characteristic that defines social class divisions in Turkey. This is due to the history of the country's modernisation. In Turkish modernisation, symbolic violence has been perpetrated through codes of attire, sexed bodies in space, and discourse of individuality (Karademir-Hazır, 2014, 2017). Hierarchical categorisations have derived from a cultural framework that values the secular body over the pious, urban over rural, educated over non-educated, etc. The contemporary subjectivities available to take up, the forms of interpretations, and cultural distinctions across social classes in the country can only be grasped through a historical evaluation.

A concern with modernisation and the necessity to change the dominant mode of respectability emerged in the nineteenth century of the late Ottoman era, within a global context in which the Ottoman/Islamic culture, the honour-shame complex, was categorised as 'backwards' and 'non-emancipatory' over against the European 'civility'. Framing the Ottoman/Islamic culture as the constitutive 'Other' has been executed through a focus on Muslim women's conditions and rights in the Ottoman Empire. The existence of harem, polygamy, segregation of sexes, and Muslim women's withdrawal from public spaces were criticised as the source of a 'backwards' and 'perverse' culture, not allowing women to identify themselves with a 'selfhood' other than their sexuality. In response to such othering, Turkish nationalism sprung breaking its ties with the Ottoman/Islamic morality.

The ideas on modernity that emerged in that era were transferred to the new Turkey, institutionalised, and consolidated under the Republican regime. The constitutive cadres aimed to build a modern nation in which women would be 'stripped of the chains of tradition and religion' so that they could devote themselves to the construction and reproduction of modern Turkish nation and culture. Although, under the new state, the participation of women in the public sphere, equal rights with men, and mixed socialisation are all legally guaranteed and recognised as ideals of social conduct, the image of the 'modern' woman remained subordinated due to the recognition of their primary roles as wives and mothers. The respectable femininity of the secular Republic defined women within the family and largely gave control of their mobility to the male members and the family. Hence, it did not eliminate the idea of honour. Moreover, while women from a small, urban elite had access to new legal and institutional rights in education, employment, and marriage, the majority of the female population living in rural areas (about 84%) only gradually received basic rights and services, in areas such as education and health. The institutional attempts to change the inequalities within the private sphere of the family largely failed in everyday practice. Nevertheless, through the gradual changes in economic conditions, family relations, and women's roles within the family changed as well.

The period between the 1950s and 1980s brought greater changes to the political regime and economic relations of the country. The dominance of the constitutive cadres under a single-party regime came to an end by 1950, a decade in which a more liberal and culturally moderate party came into power. 'In contrast to the previous period, the Democrat Party's understanding of modernity highlighted religious and traditional elements and tended towards populism' (Tuncer, 2018, p. 7). In the 1960s and 1970s, there was a surge in the popularity of leftist ideology, and many groups within society, such as public servants, labourers, and college students, started advocating for liberty and freedom. Women were encouraged to enter the public sphere in these decades by a variety of means, such as pursuing higher education, finding employment, and engaging in social and political culture. Middle-class families started living in modern apartments and enjoyed the abundant leisure opportunities of urban areas. Women, albeit under the moderate or direct surveillance of their families, attended theatre, cinema, music venues, etc. As for the rural population, family practices, people's relations to their labour, and living conditions changed via the mechanisation of agriculture and the state-sponsored import-substitution industrialisation process, which eventually resulted in mass migration from rural to urban areas. Devoid of social housing and other resources, the new workers in the cities constructed their squatter houses, the *gecekondu*, and for decades lacked basic infrastructure, let alone public leisure services. The chain migration and inadequate welfare policies largely left rural-to-urban migrants to their fates. Migrant women, who were unwaged agricultural workers in rural areas, became largely confined to their neighbourhoods in the city. The chain migration and spatial exclusion (clustering of migrants in their neighbourhoods, far from middle-class living spaces, and lack of access to public leisure spaces in central areas) resulted in the perpetuation of the honour code in cities among the working classes. Urban life is perceived as containing many dangers to women's honour, for which male control over women's behaviours increased in these settlements. The urban middle class, who were, by the mid-twentieth century onwards, living in modern apartment buildings and participating in many entertainment opportunities of urban life, were looking down on rural-to-urban migrants, avoiding them both socially and spatially. According to the middle class, whose ideas were being represented through media, these migrants were 'ignorant', and they were not *getting it right*, not learning how to behave in public, how to entertain, dress, etc. They were not restraining their sexuality, having too many children while living in poverty, and had no taste. This 'othering' morality would take a more contested shape in the upcoming decades.

Turkey faced a military coup in September 1980, which can be defined as a watershed moment marking deep transformations in society. A new breakthrough in the economic and political relations with the Western world as well as the diversification of local actors in politics and economy generated

significant changes in the mode of respectable femininity, turning it, *once more*, into an area of intense struggle. Turkey opened up to the world on a sociocultural and economic level in the 1980s as a result of its economic liberalisation process. The media's promotion and marketing of consumer products and services through mass communication channels raised demand for them. A larger portion of Turkish society became acquainted with Western cultures and consumer goods as a result of the proliferation of lifestyle magazines and private TV channels (Kozanoğlu, 1992). Popular Western TV series, shows, and movies started to be streamed on the new private TV channels. Western lifestyle magazines and their Turkish equivalents exemplified the most contemporary ways of being a subject of value, through acquiring the right Western brands and styles. Consumption was also promoted through government policies, reaching out to all areas of life, from fashion to housing. This era marked the beginning of a new capitalist urban life and culture, which equated 'the good life' with the ability to consume in Western style. While marriage and family still being quite important for the middle classes, the new femininity is defined through a woman's individuality, authenticity, and higher self-esteem. Having a successful career in acquiring a strong, independent woman image grew in importance. Childcare, now, is mostly executed by nannies, the household chores largely left to domestic workers; the new middle-class women began acting more like a manager role in the private sphere. Children are also raised in accordance with the latest standards, being sent to private schools, sports and/or cultural courses at weekends, etc. The new femininity requires keeping up with the latest fashion in terms of attire and home décor, particularly presenting women's authentic taste and abilities to combine stylistic products (Erkan, 2020). A critical factor of the new middle-class respectability is that it is an exclusively secular lifestyle, which is challenged by the rising Islamic bourgeoisie as well as political Islam. The neoliberal economy allowed 'the religious and conservative small-scale rural businesses, adopting the contemporary logic of capitalism, grew into bigger companies operating in the cities' (Sandıkçı & Ger, 2007, p. 194), creating a new consumer segment as well as an alternative market for those who were religious. This alternative market, which would grow further in the twenty-first century, involves leisure venues, such as Islamic holiday resorts (Şehlikoğlu & Karakaş, 2016), *tesettür* fashion (Sandıkçı & Ger, 2007), home décor and food, etc. The growth of the Islamic consumer market coincides with the single-party authority of the Justice and Development Party (the AKP) throughout the twenty-first century, which differed itself from earlier anti-capitalist, Islamic parties and exhibited a pro-capitalism, pro-modernism attitude, combining these with Islamic and nationalist values. Pro-capitalism brought with itself, 'the new pious female embodiment styles appropriated by upwardly mobile women enable them to differentiate themselves from other traditional, "ignorant" and "underdeveloped" covered women' (Karademir-Hazır, 2017, p. 428). Recent studies highlight that 'in terms of the experience

of embodiment tastes, class and cultural capital now seem to crosscut the secular–religious distinction in Turkey, imbuing the culturally competent and globally orientated sections of each fraction with self-confidence and providing advantages to be realised on an inter-subjective level (Karademir Hazır, 2017, p. 429).

Although seeking status recognition through consumption is a shared orientation, the ‘respectable’ femininity promoted by the Islamic bourgeoisie, in many ways, stands in contrast with the secular lifestyle. This is also reflected in the neo-conservatism of the ruling party, which has also led to a central discussion of the freedoms around lifestyles. Sexual honour, i.e., the societal emphasis on virginity, continues to heavily affect women’s lives in contemporary Turkey. The extent to which women participate in the reproduction of the honour code, on the other hand, is complicated and it takes a certain hybrid form in each social class. All these dynamics changed the patterns of production and consumption in Turkish cities and opened new axes of social differentiation and stratification, which transformed class cultures and cultural distinctions, making contemporary Turkish society more complex to understand (Kandiyoti, 2002).

Researching Women’s Leisure in Turkey

This book is built on the data gathered from sixty-eight women residing in two differently classed neighbourhoods in a metropolitan city of Turkey. The key aim of the research was to interrogate women’s experiences of leisure embedded in the complex reality of their everyday rhythms and spaces. The exploratory, ethnography-orientated focus on the *everyday as a whole* is also what makes the research distinctive in comparison to the existing studies on women’s leisure in Turkey.

Leisure studies has been a growing, interdisciplinary subject field within Turkish social science literature since the 2000s. Within these early studies, leisure is translated into Turkish as *boş/serbest zaman aktiviteleri* (free-time activities), connoting a male-centric and Western-centric notion of leisure, which separates leisure (as the realm of freedom) from the realm of obligations/necessity (work, family and other). Such an approach fails to consider the subjective meaning of leisure as a quality of experience, or state of mind. Works on ‘free time activities’ encompass the fields of sports and recreation studies, tourism studies, management, and architecture (Demir, 2005; Erkip, 2009; Koca et al., 2009; Sönmez et al., 2010; Gürbüz & Henderson, 2014). In sociology, the sub-discipline of *boş zamanlar sosyolojisi* (the sociology of free time) has a marginal status. The very few studies on leisure published by sociologists (Aytaç, 2002, 2006; Kılınc, 2006) are mainly theoretical works covering classical and contemporary mainstream ideas on leisure developed in Western contexts, ranging from the theories of Aristotle, Veblen, and Marx to those of Parker, Dumazedier, Marcuse, and Baudrillard. In both

strands of leisure literature, feminist research and perspectives remain highly under-represented.

Among the newly emerging leisure literature, a few empirical studies do, in fact, provide insights into gendered aspects of leisure in combination with other social aspects such as religion, politics, and class. In evaluating the nature and the content of the information provided, it is crucial to make a distinction between quantitative and qualitative research. Time-use surveys provide information regarding time spent on leisure activities, yet they present a very limited understanding of the gender-related factors affecting leisure participation. For instance, using a time-use survey conducted in Ankara, Erkip (2009) emphasises local settlement characteristics as the most influential factor shaping leisure participation in the Turkish context, with education being the second most influential factor. Gender does not appear as an important factor in her study. Other quantitative research on women's leisure activities identifies factors affecting their leisure participation. For instance, Demir (2005) found that, regarding the 45 variables he identified, female students were more likely to be significantly influenced by (a) responsibilities, (b) satisfaction and expectations from life, (c) perceptions of opportunities, (d) social politics, (e) ethnicity, and (f) the status of men and women in society. While Demir does not provide further explanations of the variables identified, he suggests that an interpretive study may be useful to gain more insights into the major factors influencing leisure participation according to gender.

Few qualitative studies, on the other hand, are insightful in terms of how social class produces myriad ways of bodily and emotional intimacies, feminine subjectivities, etc., expressed within/through leisure. Yet, these studies focus on specific activities, mostly sports and physical activity (Koca et al., 2009, Duman & Koca, 2020; Şehlikoğlu, 2021), or specific leisure venues, such as Islamic hotels (Şehlikoğlu & Karakaş, 2016). For instance, Koca et al.'s (2009) study on women's participation in leisure-time physical activities (LTPA) illustrates how doing sport is a classed leisure activity. While middle-class women gain family support for attending sports centres, working-class women face family and community pressure to attend women-only sports centres. Şehlikoğlu and Karakaş (2016) examine upper-class Muslim women's preference for Islamic *tesettür* (veiled) hotels as holiday venues in Turkey. The political and economic context in Turkey was characterised by scholars as providing a niche for the emergence of such holiday spaces. Women's use of these hotels was analysed through their understanding of ways to bridge Islamic spirituality and values with capitalist consumption. Turkish upper-class Muslim women's use of spiritual services 'such as performing prayers, reading the Quran, and attending religious sermons (*sohbet*) at designated prayer spaces in the hotel, along with ample opportunities for swimming, sightseeing and relaxing give hotel residents "the best of two worlds"' (Şehlikoğlu & Karakaş, 2016, p. 165). These religious services as justifying factors were used by the authors to analyse the detachment of Muslim

upper-class women from their working-class, Muslim sisters in terms of their leisure and consumption.

The insightful qualitative studies, however, do not allow us to explore in detail how women's leisure is embedded into their *everyday as a whole*. This study employs a general exploration of the everydayness of women's leisure, engaging with feminist critiques of blurring the boundaries of work, free time, and leisure to deconstruct such divisions. It starts from the *everyday as a whole* to point out the relationship between the informal and formal spheres of leisure.

A qualitative approach seemed to be the most suitable methodology for uncovering lived experiences in dynamic, complex social arrangements, as it provides a sustained focus on the context (Rossman & Rallis, 2012, pp. 6–8). Qualitative inquiry has a prominent place in the epistemological and methodological considerations of feminist social research. Its aptitude to explore under-researched areas of social life in depth is welcomed by many feminists, who criticise the sole focus on formal and public spheres, formal actors and institutions of economy and politics, and certain forms of actions (Nagar et al., 2002, p. 260). This partial focus obscures the complexity and diversity of the social phenomena because it excludes from research the social worlds consisting of informal spheres, informal actors and less 'important', more mundane actions. Starting from these areas of social life allows researchers to understand how social systems function by illustrating 'the interplay between the informal, interpersonal networks and formal, official social structures' (Millmann & Moss Kanter, 1987, p. 32). Therefore, the everyday, which contains the mundane aspects of our social life, becomes more prominent from a feminist perspective. Everyday mostly happens at a local level; the gendered body is embedded into the local, even though multi-layered structural aspects play a role in its movement and actions. In studying the everyday, researchers are able to connect individual biographies with broader national and global trajectories.

Most of my data was collected through the walk and talk interviews and focus groups; the latter was combined with mapping techniques. These methods were supplemented with participant observation in leisure spaces and the analysis of secondary data (e.g., demographic information on resident profiles). Contextualising women's leisure within their everyday spaces, particularly within the neighbourhoods they inhabit, was a central concern of the research. Therefore, I decided to investigate the practices of leisure not only at home and through sit-down interviews but also by using a number of methods that can reveal meanings, memories, and practices *in situ* in relation to the place of residence and the community within it. The walk-and-talk interview, a type of go-along interview, is considered to be effective at gathering data about people's experiences of their local residential context and their mobility within it (Carpiano, 2008). I left the time and the choice of route in the neighbourhood to the interviewees. This way, I could grasp

their mobility decisions and reactions in an environment that was familiar to them, rather than force them to walk in places in which they feel uncomfortable. I also conducted focus group meetings to grasp the 'group interaction' (Kitzinger, 1995) to reveal diversity in meanings and experiences, which was supported by mapping exercises. There are several advantages to using maps in focus groups, e.g., participants can better organise their thoughts through the graphical representation of experience; or a map could influence the depth and detail of individual reflections (Wheeldon, 2011, p. 510). I divided the focus groups into two parts. In the first part, the participants were asked to draw actual maps of their neighbourhoods, consisting of places they know and spend time in during an ordinary day. In the second part of each focus group, the participants were asked to draw a mind map of their everyday routines. Once again, I left the decision of time and place to my participants since I recognised the requirements of their daily responsibilities and unpaid labour. Finally, I used participant observation in places and spaces for leisure, intending to access individuals' tacit practical knowledge, which cannot be grasped by simply asking questions (Zahle, 2012). Participant observation provides the researcher with a chance to have spontaneous encounters with a larger number of people and observe their interactions, gestures, and words, as well as the atmosphere in which they occur. Researchers such as O'Reilly (2009) and Brewer (2000) note the ambiguity in the practice of the overt-covert distinction to describe the status of the researcher in the field due to the different levels of openness and the fact that the roles developed in the field vary with time and location. This study implies participant observation in terms of hanging around, observing, and trying to participate in conversations as little as possible. For instance, at home gatherings, my participation was overt since all of those in attendance knew that I was doing research. During my walks on the walking trail or my conversations sitting on the playground benches or in the tea garden, I did not inform anybody in these places of my role, unless I spoke with them.

The research is conducted in two neighbourhoods, typical examples of a working-class (Panayır) and a middle-class (Yasemin Park) living space. These neighbourhoods represent not only how the broad categories of being a working-class or a middle-class in Turkey evolved in time, in terms of their spatial/material opportunities, and social relations, but also how social class fractions emerged and consolidated within each broad category; these fractions are in tension with each other. A daily class struggle is taking place within and across these classes, which is strictly tied up with the political and economic struggles in determining the national cultural capital in Turkey. The contestation over the moral judgments on what constitutes respectable femininity is part of this national struggle, if not at the heart of it. The neighbourhoods provide us with a minuscule picture of it.

I spent my childhood and adolescence years in the working-class neighbourhood under inquiry, then I moved to another city for university education.

I am, therefore, one of the few socially upwards ex-residents of this working-class neighbourhood. My trajectory has, no doubt, shaped my academic endeavour, as many of us desire to understand the different worlds we are born in and move to in the later stages of our lives. Nonetheless, it is crucial to recognise the challenges that come with this trajectory. Firstly, I was aware that I should not equate my views and experiences with my participants' experiences, feelings, and perceptions. Some of the examples in my encounters with women during the interviews reflect this gap between our views. For instance, before women told me how they felt about the construction of the walking trail, its location and its structure, I thought the trail was built in the wrong location with an inadequate design. I thought women would not use it because it is located along the main road and it is usually busy with traffic. The trail is a straight pathway divided in two by a roundabout, where there are several stores, markets and shops, with males swarming around them, which concern women in terms of honour and safety. However, almost every woman I interviewed took me to this trail for our walk-and-talk interview, which not only changed my opinion about the trail but added to my curiosity as to why and how women were using it so frequently. In fact, the location of the trail is beneficial for women compared to a quiet and isolated area that would be less safe for women. In particular, those women who, out of fear of being harassed, would have not been using the trail as often as they do now.

Arranging the 'right' level of intimacy and respecting the varying political views of women was another type of challenge. I was interested in the Women's Solidarity Association of the neighbourhood. My regular attendance at the association allowed me to observe and gather distinct forms of knowledge about the female community in the neighbourhood. Yet, I did not want to be seen as too dependent on and close to the association since during other interviews and focus group meetings, I had gradually discovered the particular ways in which other women perceived the association. The association is identified with Alevi and Kurdish residents, and socialist and feminist ideas. Other women's groups in Panayır do not want to attend the events of the association because of the opposing political views and ethnic and religious divisions in Turkish society. Once, when I tried to encourage the women to attend, I was immediately confronted with political arguments about how the association had a certain political agenda rather than being a place for women from different backgrounds. I realised that such position-taking might limit my access to a variety of women and/or break the trust already gained.

Finally, I had to negotiate what to do in the neighbourhood because not only my family but also my relatives lived in Panayır. In that sense, although I am an educated employed woman with a higher status than probably any other woman in the neighbourhood, I was not much different when it came to following the rules of communication and socio-spatial use for leisure. For instance, when I went to the playground once, all the benches were

occupied by male residents in a scattered manner: one man on one bench and then another one on the other. I felt anxiety when deciding whether or not I should sit next to a man. One might find this feeling odd, but as a woman growing up in this neighbourhood, sitting on a bench with a man might well be perceived as wrong. Therefore, I had this anxiety and pressure on me. It was the same for the tea garden. On many occasions, I wanted to sit in the tea garden as I thought this could perhaps open up a place for women's leisure. However, I felt the pressure of having a family and relatives in the same neighbourhood.

The 68 women in this research considerably vary in their demographic profile. This is due to choices made in recruiting participants. Conducting exploratory, ethnographically orientated research, I decided to keep the participant profile open. All female inhabitants of the two neighbourhoods were considered as potential participants. The variety is sought through keeping an interest in the lifecycle approach. I divided the participant recruitment into three age groups: 18–25, 26–45, and 46+. Considering the legal marriage age, female labour participation patterns, and the female higher education participation rates in Turkey (see Chapter 4), the *average* profile of the participants in the first group is expected to be single, employed and/or student. The second category, *on average*, might consist of married, (un)employed women with children under 15. In the final category, the women are *likely* to have grown-up children and be close to their retirement or already retired. Such categorisation, however, did not mean that I remained inattentive to the examples that did not fit into each age category. Participants were recruited via gatekeepers and snowballing techniques.

The social class profiles of the participants were formed only afterwards, through a reflection on their accounts. Therefore, the number of participants in each category varies considerably, with only a few women in some categories, while others contain a larger number. Nevertheless, in the middle-class neighbourhood, the research could identify the traditional and the new middle classes, the new rich, and lower-middle class groups, and in the working-class neighbourhood, the traditional and the 'respectable' working class, and precariat. The categories are formed concerning the material and affective dimensions of the sample. Class is not only about material opportunities but also about perceptions and evaluations of one's self and others' worth, about emotional and affective aspects of life. 'Individual emotional experiences are tied strongly to external structural conditions and thus should have a central place in class analysis' (Karademir-Hazır, 2017, p. 415). I, therefore, grouped participants of each neighbourhood in terms of their feelings and perceptions of entitlements and non-entitlements. A central aspect of distinction is how these women think of themselves in terms of individuality and the freedoms they have.

Layout of the Book

Chapter 2 reviews the feminist leisure literature to set the debate for the book. It traces the complexions of 'respectability' in the literature as the theoretical and methodological discussions evolved in the last five decades. The chapter problematises the constant narrowing down of the explanatory power of the concept by ripping it off from its class base and confining it solely to gender. Most significantly, this narrowing down leads to the continuous treatment of gender, class, race, and sexuality as separate and independent classificatory systems, existing side by side and affecting people's lives on different grounds. In the contemporary era, such separation is not overcome, but reproduced through the increasing adoption of the perspectives on 'intersectionality' and 'subjectivity'. Particular attention is paid to the literature on Muslim immigrant women's leisure in Western societies and women's leisure in non-Western societies, which leads us to question the existing theoretical and methodological positions underpinning these studies.

Chapter 3 lays out the core theoretical premises of the book, drawing on feminist and postcolonial cultural theory. It highlights that the self is not a universal form of personhood, but part of a system of inscription, and perspective on a person's relationship to his/her environment. Personhoods are always embedded into cultural processes, and it is the history of inscription that would inform us on the kinds of personhoods available to take up in the contemporary world at national and global scales. The types of personhoods are both shaped by the dominant symbolic order but also there are personhoods and values beyond capitalism.

Chapter 4 shifts the focus from theoretical debates to the historical example of Turkey as a context for the following empirical chapters. The chapter dwells on the one-hundred-fifty-year-old tension between 'traditional' and 'modern' conceptions of respectable femininity, contending that honour and sexual restraint have been prevalent in Turkish society even after the Republic of Turkey was established. Class struggles and conflicts have taken on their current forms as a result of the concept of honour continuing to manifest itself across social groups and cultural classifications, albeit with notable modifications. In the last few decades, the country has seen a particularly high level of tension between 'traditional' and 'modern' ideas of respectable femininity. This is because broader representations have strengthened the exclusively secular Western lifestyle as the cultural capital, while the political representation of conservative ideals has created a contested space.

Chapter 5 familiarises the reader with the research context, and the participant profiles, which makes the generalised accounts of histories and trajectories of the changing modes of respectable femininity and its contestations more perceptible.

Chapter 6 dwells on a central topic of leisure studies, the role of responsibility as a moralising mechanism shaping the intricate relations between

women's work (care work, unregistered or registered labour), and leisure. Shifting the attention from the North American and European context to the Global South reminds us that exploitation of women's labour for social reproduction as well as cheap labour for capitalist accumulation are still widespread phenomena across the world, having detrimental effects on their leisure. The chapter has explored how responsibility as a defining criterion of respectable femininity plays a role in this picture. Responsibility is like a point of gravity, orienting women towards choosing or combining their leisure activities with some kind of work, turning them into productive pursuits. Individuality is 'earned' and expressed through the exhibition of a high level of responsibility, which is a key mechanism in (re)formulation and demonstration of respectability and is central to the regulation of leisure. The chapter displays when and for whom a work (be it informal labour or care work) becomes 'leisurely', and how this 'leisurely' work is propertised in acquiring value. The first section of the chapter elaborates on the widespread exploitation of women's informal labour by defining these works as 'leisure/ly'. The second section focuses on care work. A point worth highlighting is that the new middle class perceive childcare 'leisurely' despite the clear inequalities they are subject to.

Chapter 7 shifts the focus to spatial characteristics of women's leisure. It argues that social class gives shape both to the existence of leisure spaces in one's neighbourhood and the ways in which the 'respectability' of social behaviour is constructed differently. In working-class neighbourhoods of Turkey, the dominant set of social relations is reproduced around the honour code, where mixed-sex socialisation outside of the family circle is largely disapproved. Such disapproval results in the segregation of leisure spaces for the sexes. Mixed-sex socialisation in public leisure places is rather appropriated in the form of 'family leisure'. Women self-censor their behaviours with a high level of anxiety, which stems from the fear of losing social networks. The middle-class living spaces, on the other hand, offer the potential for new, relatively more egalitarian, gender norms and negotiation patterns in one's everyday living environment. They do not only provide a wide range of leisure spaces, but its dominant set of social relations, which are reproduced around the civility code recognise the equal rights of women and men to use public leisure spaces. The dominating rule of mutual respect and everybody minding his/her own business create a certain level of freedom for women in their behaviours in the neighbourhood and women feel less anxious about the potential harm to family reputation, gossip, or other forms of community pressure. Focusing on the relationship between the individual, family and community, the chapter exemplifies the ways in which male control over women's access to and use of public leisure spaces and women's reactions take shape in certain forms across social classes. A shared attitude of negotiation and self-surveillance is observed in both neighbourhoods in the behaviours of women of social ascendancy and their families. The 'respectable'

working-class women and the new middle-class women of the new rich families share an experience in which men in their families are less conspicuously controlling, yet there is a silent agreement on propriety.

Chapter 8 focuses on socialising as leisure and its class characteristics. It explores how social class shapes women's neighbouring practices. The fundamental difference between the neighbouring relations in the estate and those found in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods is the degree of 'autonomy' and 'control' women have over their contact with neighbours. The level of intimacy appropriated in each neighbourhood reflects the class identities found therein. The first section in this chapter highlights that the mechanisms for appropriating 'autonomy' and 'intimacy' in neighbouring are tied to changing socio-spatial circumstances, such as increases in density and/or crime, as well as changing notions of 'appropriate' sets of social relations. The second section focuses more specifically on a leisure activity, Reception Day, to illustrate the ways in which neighbouring as leisure has been practised and has changed over time. It is evidenced that while in middle-class circles, Reception Day is still practised as a neighbouring activity creating bonding among neighbours, its practice in working-class neighbourhoods rarely involves gatherings or socialisation; instead, its function is rather reduced to being a method of saving money. The examination of leisure aspects of neighbouring sheds light on the dynamics of privacy and intimacy in working-class and middle-class women's everyday lives in Turkey.

The final chapter highlights the main findings, and the limitations as well as offering future orientations.

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The Structure and Agency Debate

Identifying the Margins of Feminist Leisure Research

Respectability has always been, directly or indirectly, present in the feminist leisure literature. Despite the evolution of the theoretical and methodological discussions and the expansion of the social groups studied throughout the last five decades, a limited understanding of respectability remained intact. The concept refers to how the heterosexual family ideal in different societies/cultures imposes a certain ideology of respectable femininity aiming to regulate the leisure behaviour of women. Although this definition is, *prima facie*, correct, its explanatory power has been narrowed down by being disconnected from its class base, which has critical consequences. Most significantly, it leads to the continuous treatment of gender, class, race, and sexuality as separate classificatory systems, existing side by side and affecting people's lives on different grounds. In the contemporary era, such separation is not overcome, despite the increasing adoption of the perspectives on 'intersectionality' and 'subjectivity'. Respectability, if understood from a social class perspective, brings into light how 'categories are not only interrelated, but internally linked' (Lury, 1995, p. 35). The concept is in dire need of being juiced back to life in leisure research as a sociological tool, part of a certain theoretical and methodological perspective within the feminist cultural theory.

The evolution of the framings of leisure in feminist accounts can be studied under three categories: leisure as a site of (i) constraints, (ii) empowerment, and (iii) complex power relations. The fundamental discussion grounding all three of these approaches rests in the question of how to frame the relationship between the individuals and the societies in which they live; in other words, how to define the relations between structure and agency. The first approach, socialist feminist in orientation, de-constructed the work/leisure separation and the idea of individual freedom in leisure and focused instead on the ways in which leisure is a site of patriarchal constraints in a capitalist society, similar to, if not more constrained than, other areas of life. The second approach, poststructuralist in orientation, argued that leisure is different than other spheres of life insofar as it can be read as the site of resistance and empowerment for women; a site in which individuality is

constructed and expressed. The notion of freedom is more legitimated in the leisure sphere than elsewhere, and therefore, even though the degree of freedom they have at their disposal may be limited, women can still resist male domination in the leisure sphere more than they can in other spheres. The third approach shifts the focus to an acknowledgement of the intersection of multiple structural inequalities, identities, and individual responses to constraints. The focus on subjectivity and intersectionality is fed with the spatial and cultural turns in leisure sociology. Studies started to investigate the spatiality of leisure inequalities; cultures have become another focus of attention as the studies were interested in the leisure experiences of non-Western communities.

A review of respectability within and across these categories demonstrates the salient features of feminist leisure literature, which also form its limitations. Respectability has consistently been narrowed down to a solely gender-based focus despite the increasing recognition of intersectionality and multiple identities. Although it is now standard in the field that gender, class, race, and sexuality intersect with each other in shaping social relations as well as subject positions, what is not clear is *how* exactly these classificatory systems of value intersect with each other. Sharing Skeggs's view on intersectionality, particularly its popular use, that it has become '[an empty performative] gesture that produces nothing other than a statement of no-intent' (Skeggs, 2019, p. 29), I argue for the necessity of a relational understanding that starts with historicity and contextuality and explores how both dominant symbolic order and structural inequalities evolve, alongside the individual reactions, both not fixed and reduced to binary positions. In such an understanding, gender, class, race, and sexuality do not 'intersect' with each other but, 'entangle like a snarling vine' (Skeggs, 2019, p. 29). They would be situated into 'the context of history and general power structure of capitalist society' (Rojek, 1985, p. 3). Historicity and contextuality not only inform us on how structural forces entangle with each other but also how they form the possibilities of personhoods available to take up since individualisation is a cultural process embedded into the processes of distinction. In sum, this chapter, through shedding light on respectability, closely examines the theoretical and methodological shifts in feminist leisure research and argues for reinstating social class into the field and the vital necessity of building synthesis with cultural studies/feminist cultural theory, a suggestion made two decades ago by Deem (1999).

The chapter starts with outlining the framing of 'respectability' by the pioneering feminist research in the subject field. Feminist leisure research, in fact, starts with a social class perspective and demonstrates how respectable femininity was constructed and consolidated throughout the history of patriarchal capitalism. Although these studies extensively and empirically demonstrate the ways in which middle-class hegemonic discourse on respectable femininity attributes negative value to working-class femininity, the class

character of respectability disappears from the scene when the lens is shifted onto the local level presented through the empirical data. At the local level, class is used to explain material differences in women's leisure experience. The separate treatment of gender and class and confinement of respectable femininity into gender is constructed in this era. The second section shifts the focus to poststructuralist critique in which the energy is directed to understand how the individual exercises her agency and resists to the constraints to leisure. This book is highly critical of such a perspective since it consolidates the separate treatment of structure and agency. Although its departing point is to save the subject field from 'reductionism' and 'fixity', I argue that both are re-generated this time with a liberal attitude. In this era, the focus is rather on how women resist the ideals of respectable femininity. The unquestioned, a-historicised acceptance of the concept of the self/individual consolidated an idea that selfhood and individuality are equally accessible by all human beings, where a person although not able to escape from structural forces can nevertheless choose to live out certain aspects of the structures. The next section identifies studies, mostly produced in the twenty-first century as studies focusing on complexity and dynamism. The main concepts of this era are 'intersectionality' and 'subjectivity'. It is now standard in the subject field, similar to the broader social science realm, that gender, race, class, and sexuality intersect with each other in producing the social relations of groups that hold a combination of identities, who are discriminated, being subject to exclusions, etc. These individuals are not completely absorbing the broader schemas/norms they are imposed with and construct their subjectivity that incorporates various ways of negotiation and resistance. Respectability is once more used in these studies in a very limited manner, completely devoid of its class roots, limited to explaining gender-based morality and how it is resisted. A remarkable point is that the inclusion of social groups, such as South Asian citizens/immigrants in the UK or immigrants from Muslim societies living in other European countries, has not changed this perspective on respectability. The concept, this time, is understood around the idea of 'honour' as a criterion of respectable femininity in Islamic culture and how women negotiate and/or resist it. The majority of the studies of women's leisure in countries like Iran, India, Taiwan, China, and Turkey supported such framing of respectable femininity. Few studies, though, include how social class not only determines access to leisure goods and services but also shapes the perspectives and discourses of women from different classes on the nature and extent of their right to leisure. The chapter concludes by inviting feminist leisure scholarship to refocus on capitalism and embrace a social class perspective in which respectability reveals the interlinking of gender, class, race, and sexuality; adoption of a feminist cultural theory, first and foremost, allows us to critically reflect on what we understand from culture and cultural.

Leisure as the Site of Patriarchal Constraints: The Socialist Feminist Perspective

Respectability first appeared in the field through the pioneering feminist sociological research, emerging in the 1980s in the UK. The research conducted by Dixey and Talbot (1982), Deem (1986), and Green et al. (1990) together with some other scholars of the era (see Wimbush & Talbot, 1988), can be considered landmark studies laying the stones of empirically grounded feminist knowledge in sociology of leisure.

Socialist feminist in orientation, these studies employed a social class perspective on leisure. Dixey and Talbot (1982), for instance, in their seminal research on working-class female bingo players in Armley, Leeds, criticise the existing class analysis in the leisure subject field in terms of reducing the endeavour to identifying occupational groups and their differing tastes and activities of leisure. Referring to Raymond Williams (1961), writers suggest that scholars should approach class culture as a whole way of life, a perspective on social relations. In line with such perspective, their intention in their research was not to 'provide an exhaustive account of what cultural differences mean in terms of leisure outcome', but to relate 'the leisure forms [such as bingo] to the values and experiences of the working-class' (p. 15).

Dixey and Talbot (1982) start with an analysis of how the dominant symbolic order, i.e., the middle-class cultural hegemony, represented in the discourse of the media and politicians, categorises working-class women as 'non-respectable' due to their leisure culture. It is stated that through bingo playing women neglect their primary roles as carers within heterosexual families and that they act selfishly, spending their money on gambling instead of meeting their family needs. Women in the study were well aware of this cultural misrecognition, yet they kept attending bingo clubs in significant numbers. Writers demonstrate the conditions under which working-class women turn their steps towards bingo and the meaning of the activity in their lives. They argued that 'bingo is played not as a positive choice but due to a lack of alternative' (p. 169) in an era where the de-industrialisation and re-housing schemes were making irreversible changes in the working-class community culture in the UK. The informal and intimate contact among women in traditional working-class neighbourhoods was destroyed. Asking for a favour or visiting each other's homes was not happening anymore. If neighbours arranged a meeting, it was unlikely to be at home (pp. 64–65). The traditional culture was missed by many women in the study since it was a source of relieving the loneliness of housework. Attending bingo clubs, therefore, emerged as a source of companionship, a refuge which offers excitement (p. 170) and access to community care, especially for elderly women (Dixey, 1987).

This resistance to middle-class cultural hegemony does not mean that women do not engage in 'respectability work'. Attending bingo clubs, as an

alternative to pubs, was in fact an expression of the desire not to be identified as 'non-respectable' within their local community. Since pubs were perceived as a male-dominated environment, women on their own felt out of place and unwelcome, and they had to be escorted or arrange to meet someone there. It was not possible to drop in casually. Furthermore, the notion that 'boys don't like girls who drink' was deeply inscribed in most women's unconsciousness, which means women most of the time restricted their behaviour in pubs in order to appear 'respectable'. The clubs, on the other hand, provided a variety of entertainment for women as it was possible for them to drink, take their children, meet relatives, play bingo, dance, and chat (Dixey & Talbot, 1982, p. 68).

The idea of becoming or remaining 'respectable' within/through leisure in one's local environment is also explored in other works of the era. Deem (1986), in her research in Milton Keynes, explored women's participation in out-of-home leisure, such as attending 'leisure centres, evening classes, bingo sessions, sports and hobby classes' (p. 24). She reflects on what kinds of leisure activities are perceived as more respectable/acceptable, and with whom, where and when. For instance, she points out how women and their male partners negotiate 'risky' or 'safe' spaces for women's leisure. Women perceived activities like evening classes as safe due to being with other women and engaging in some kind of specific activity. Their male partners felt 'unthreatened' because 'their' women were out where they would not encounter other men. However, in the case of women engaged in simply drinking, walking, or sitting, men in the family react either with jealousy or by expressing concerns regarding the potential threat of violence and harassment (Deem, 1986, p. 29). Green et al. (1987, 1990) scrutinised the regulation of women's access to public places and of their behaviour in such places in relation to the male perspectives of women's right to occupy particular spaces. They support the findings of the earlier studies by emphasising men's strategies for maintaining their control of public leisure venues.

Male social control can take a number of forms, ranging from silent disapproval, joking or ridiculing behaviour, sexual innuendo through to open hostility...Ideologies about appropriate feminine behaviour reinforce the popular assumption that 'respectable' women have no place in such venues without a male escort. Unaccompanied single women or women in groups are therefore considered to be potentially sexually 'available'.

(Green et al., 1987, p. 76)

Writers also emphasised that many women learn to constrain their own behaviour from an early age to avoid confrontations with men in particular and/or general social disapproval. They state that the ideology of respectable femininity sets domesticity and maternity as 'integral' parts of a woman's identity, and they are presented as the source of women's leisure. Respectable femininity

shapes 'appropriate' meanings of leisure for women, in which seeking personal pleasure from leisure is considered selfish (Green et al., 1990, p. 33).

The pioneering feminist research is the only strand in which the history of capitalism and social class was integral to the theoretical perspective taken, a strand in which respectability is framed and analysed elaborately. Yet, the framing of the concept carried certain limitations. The exclusionary character of middle-class respectability, attributing negative value to working-class femininity, is most explicit when authors reflect on the moral discourse reproduced at the national level. Shifting the focus down to the local level, to the analysis of the empirical data gathered, this insight into the class character of respectable femininity is largely lost. Describing the prevalent male control over women, it seems that the morality around femininity is a constraint to women's leisure experienced in the same way by all women, in spite of their class positions. Early feminist leisure research provided us with an account of how the sexual division of labour historically emerged, i.e., domains separated public and private, throughout industrial capitalism, which is of critical importance in understanding the devaluation and invisibility of women's work and leisure. Yet, the account of how middle-class femininity was made dominant, and its class roots were made hidden through the institutionalisation process of the nation-state and modern citizenship. Whose standards of housework and childcare, whose judgments on sexuality, responsibility and individuality were made symbolically dominant and constructed as an ideal to aspire to and achieve. The lack of such history produces an understanding of respectability that is solely associated with gender. The primacy of gender relations in structuring inequalities in women's experiences of leisure is the central theme of these studies and roots their categorisation of women as an oppressed group with certain experiences in common (Dixey & Talbot, 1982, pp. 13–14; Deem, 1986, p. 11; Green et al., 1987, 1990, p. 4). Such a perspective also assigns different roles to gender and class in explaining women's leisure constraints.

Class is used in explaining women's differentiated access to leisure services and products since industrial capitalism resulted in the commercialisation of leisure. 'The involvement of commercial interests brought a fundamental change. Entertainment now was "bought" rather than "made"; a dichotomy emerged between leisure producers and leisure consumers' (Dixey & Talbot, 1982, p. 7). Green et al. (1987, p. 55) point out that when leisure is commercially organised, 'buying power (or lack of it) can significantly enhance or restrict the range of leisure "choices" available'. In their research, two-thirds of the women reported that lack of money was a major constraint on their leisure and half the women said that they would go out more often if they had more money. At this point, they foreground the differences in women's and men's leisure when money is tight:

Leisure is one of the areas where spending is cut back. Because women's leisure is usually regarded as a comparatively low priority, women often

bear the brunt of such financial belt-tightening, with men retaining the right to some money for personal leisure spending.

(Green et al., 1987, p. 56)

Purchase power also creates differences among women in terms of their geographical mobility. For instance, on the whole, the middle-class women in Deem's (1986, p. 8) study have more inclinations to engage in leisure activities outside the home than working-class women. The more geographically mobile middle classes are less likely to have relatives living in the same area, and their leisure companions tend to be friends, colleagues from work, clubs, or interest groups. Working-class women's leisure, on the other hand, frequently revolves around other women living nearby, such as extended family networks.

Gender, on the other hand, as a structural mechanism, is understood as separating all women from all men. Deem (1986) finds defining women's leisure at home particularly difficult because it is more likely to overlap with or occur concurrently with non-leisure activities. For instance, she notes that knitting and sewing may be undertaken as a way of reducing expenditure on clothing or as an activity which in itself is enjoyable and can be done whilst watching TV and talking (Deem, 1986, p. 34). Dixey and Talbot found that 'daily life for housewives in Armley revolves around the routine of the breadwinner...the work patterns of men are accommodated' (Dixey & Talbot, 1982, p. 27). Green et al. highlight that where men's employment takes priority and women are responsible for caring for their husbands (children and other dependents), many women have to organise their own work routines and leisure patterns around their husbands' work and leisure patterns (Green et al., 1987, p. 64). The sexual division of labour results in leisure becoming a phenomenon that is not easily separable from other aspects of women's lives, and which is closely interwoven into everyday routines (Deem, 1986, p. 134). Women's home-based leisure and enjoyment often revolve around and derive from the same activities and tasks that form part of their work in the household or fit into those tasks and activities, sometimes simultaneously (Deem, 1986, p. 81). Consequently, leisure, as Green et al. (1990, p. 1) describe it, 'has a chameleon-like quality, changing its skin in relation to surroundings...For most individuals, it is the quality of experience that is important, rather than the venue of the activity, and the chance it affords for a 'break', a 'change' or 'time to be yourself'.

The analysis of structural aspects, i.e., gender, class, and age, is far from simplistic. The multi-layered analyses and the recognition of diversity, alongside the emphasis on structural aspects in shaping women's leisure, are central features of the studies covered above. The complexity presented in the findings of these studies can be exemplified by Deem's statement:

The relation of gender, class, the lifecycle is not always straightforward, (e.g., middle-class women have more leisure than working class). For

instance, single women do not invariably have leisure-filled lives; some middle-class women seem more constrained than some working-class women despite the formers' undoubted economic and social advantages. (Deem, 1986, p. 141)

Although complexity is an important dimension of the analyses presented in these studies, the central point made is about the importance of gender as a major division in structuring perceptions and experiences of leisure. This focus had serious consequences on how respectability, 'one of the most ubiquitous class signifiers' (Skeggs, 1997, p. 1), is confined to gender solely as shared by all women. This position prevented scholars from going deeper in explaining the complexity and diversity among women. For instance, respectability could have been useful in explaining why 'some middle-class women seem more constrained than some working-class women despite the formers' undoubted economic and social advantages' (Deem, 1986, p. 141). Yet, doing this requires a different perspective on social class.

This body of research was fiercely criticised by the following studies, accused of being 'reductive', 'fixing' women into boundaries of the structural constraints, and denying their 'agency' in resisting those constraints. Alongside such critique, it was highlighted that capitalism is not the only structuring force in constraining women's leisure. Colonialism, racism, and heterosexuality also constrain certain groups of women's access to leisure. Therefore, other theoretical approaches are needed to explore how women belonging to different social groups experience and construct leisure. Consequently, the retreat from class left the limited understanding of respectability and the separated treatment of class and gender in the field unquestioned, ripping off the possibilities of constructing a nuanced scientific perspective. In other words, the 'baby has been thrown out with the bath water' (Skeggs, 1997, p. 6).

Leisure as the Site of Empowerment: The Poststructuralist Critique

Drawing on a 'feminist perspective on leisure, which incorporates ideas from symbolic interactionism and cultural theory, as well as Foucault's concepts of power, discourse, subjectivity and resistance' (1998, p. xvi), Wearing (1990, 1995, 1998) reconceptualised leisure as a potential site of empowerment and resistance. She criticised Marxist (Coalter & Parry, 1982; Rojek, 1985; Clarke & Critcher, 1985) and socialist feminist (Dixey & Talbot, 1982; Deem, 1986; Green et al., 1990) perspectives for reducing leisure to a site of constraints and for representing women only as subjects who incorporate the male-dominated ideology and reproduce patriarchal ideology. She asserted that such conceptualisations of women's agency reduce women to 'passive victims' of male domination. Another point of her critique is that leisure studies need to use other theoretical perspectives, rather than the Marxist perspective, which

allows space for more 'balance' between structure and agency. Drawing on Foucault's ideas on power, freedom, and resistance,¹ Wearing emphasised that 'women do not fully incorporate and reproduce male domination, but also resist it in the leisure sphere' (1998, p. 38). It can be said that the overarching aim of Wearing's studies has been to suggest a view of power that incorporates resistance. Power and resistance, in her view, go hand in hand because 'the essence of the power relationship is not to discover what we are, but to refuse what we are and to reach towards what we could be' (1990, p. 41).

Wearing does not directly utilise the concept of 'respectability', yet her sole focus on agency produces a particular understanding of the concept. What Wearing is interested in is women's resistance to the regimes of value in different socio-cultural and political contexts. An example of how women resist the respectable femininity ideal is the case study on first-time mothers' leisure practices. Wearing conducted interviews with 60 participants who attended baby health centres in Sydney. She interpreted some of their leisure accounts as evidence that these women were conscious of their individual right to leisure and as proof of their resistance. For instance, she captured women's strategies for negotiating childcare with their husbands, sisters-in-law, or mothers-in-law in order to attend healthcare sessions and meet with other mothers to chat and exchange information on mothering. She interprets these practices as strategies of resistance, evidence of the mothers' conscious perception of themselves as human beings, who deserve a break from care work (1990, p. 51). The point made is that women do not fully incorporate the logic of patriarchy that is imposed on them through structures. What women resist is the idea of respectable femininity derived from care work. Their agency is to defend themselves as respectable subjects even if they behave outside of the expectations of their heterosexual family and society in general.

Through resistance, Wearing suggests, women carve out their leisure as 'personal space' or 'my space'. Her conceptualisation of leisure as 'my space' is built on the idea that the leisure sphere carries a degree of freedom, which makes its function for the individual different from spheres that are compulsory, dutiful, or necessary. Drawing on Foucault, Wearing (1990, p. 44) interprets leisure space as a 'heterotopia',² or space over which the person has some control to be used for his/her own satisfaction. She argues that the relative freedoms associated with the leisure sphere are more likely to provide spaces in which women (and men) can 'express values, ideas, projects and demands which do not conform to dominant social interests' (p. 40). Leisure space (heterotopia), therefore, is a space 'where "I" can resist and move beyond the societal input, which constructs "me" of the self' (Wearing, 1998, p. 146). Leisure as 'my space' can also include other people, relationships, and group resistance – it is personal space in the sense that the person chooses to use the space for themselves in some way (p. 146). Wearing (1998)

provides us with an example of the postcolonial critic Grace Mera Molisa, who is a Ni-Vanuatu politician, poet, and campaigner for women's equality in politics. Wearing, referring to her speech on the difference between the European middle-class women and Vanuaaku slave women, points out the structural inequalities among these women being a result of colonialism. She is not interested in explaining the racial capitalism rooted in the history of colonialism, in fact in providing any other structural account. Her main point is that even for the colonised leisure can be a personal space. As it was for Grace Mera Molisa writing evocative poems expressing the conditions and needs of her 'people' in her 'personal space'. Similar examples are given, such as Ruby Langford and Lisa Belleair, Aboriginal Australian women writing their poems and books in their personal space and meanwhile, this space allows them to grow as political subjects (see Wearing, 1998, p. 168).

Another aspect of Wearing's work is its framing of women's leisure in public spaces, which is one of the central themes of the current book. Drawing on critical feminist perspectives on public space, she (1998) highlights women in urban space as agents who are capable of making their leisure space by using it in the way they want; she foregrounds that by highlighting how public leisure space may enable a 'becoming' beyond categories assigned at home. Following de Certeau (1988), Wearing distinguishes between the concepts of 'place' and 'space'. 'Space is a practised place,' says de Certeau (1988, p. 117). 'The street defined by urban planning is the place which becomes transformed into space by the people who use it.' Space-making represents a social process where a place acts as a material resource which over time has social significance for a group of people. The people who give social value to space are those who 'practice' the place, who use it, experience it, and give it social meaning (Wearing, 1998, p. 134). Wearing refers to de Certeau's understanding of the tactics of everyday life in carving out spaces for leisure in the city. De Certeau (1988, p. 35) insisted on the power of the subordinate to 'make do with what they have' to construct *our* space within *their* place and attack the system at its vulnerable points. Resistance involves the use of a variety of tactics, solitary or cooperative, to carve out space for oneself within the constraints of the powerful (Wearing, 1995, p. 273). For women, creating a safe and friendly space where they can experience leisure becomes a priority (Wearing, 1998, p. 137). If women have access to public leisure spaces in the city, it can provide interactions and experiences which extend their horizons beyond the constraints on individual identity imposed by their confinement to the home (p. 138).

The idea of incorporating resistance and empowerment into the framework of women's leisure is crucially important and potentially enriching, yet I believe that Wearing's critique of the pioneering work is overstated. The criticised body of work did not necessarily put women into a passive victim position. For instance, Green et al. (1990) devote their last chapter to women's capacity to develop and maintain leisure networks among family and kinship groups, with

neighbours, at work, or with best friends. They point out the long-time practices of women creating these female-only support groups whenever and wherever the opportunity emerges. Also, Dixey (1987) emphasises the widespread playing of bingo among working-class women as a case in point. Despite the disapproval of society, the harsh news in the media, and the material scarcities, women, especially the elderly, continue to play bingo to maintain social networks and access to community care in the UK context, where the existing caring and social networks are failing due to de-industrialisation, urban regeneration, and the welfare policies of the state. She describes how women create their own patterns of using the bingo halls and how the possibility of winning excited and encouraged women to attend (Dixey, 1987, pp. 206–207). It is, then, difficult to understand how exactly the examples of resistance provided by Wearing are different from examples of the pioneering studies.

Although Wearing claims to provide a grounded, 'balanced' and more 'realistic' analysis of women's leisure, my understanding of her framing is that her concern and overemphasis on presenting women as resisting subjects and leisure as the site of empowerment reduces her analyses and conceptualisation to a 'celebratory subjectivism'. Her interpretation of certain practices as 'resistance' to male domination is questionable. For instance, according to Wearing, a mother's act of leaving her child to another woman, such as her sister-in-law or mother-in-law living nearby, and going out for leisure is an indicator of her consciousness of her identity beyond motherhood and her right to leisure. Thereby, this act is resistance. Her analysis does not extend further than discussing whether sharing care work with other women is really a form of resistance that has a potential for social change or whether such sharing is already appropriated by male dominant gender ideology. The root of such limitations, as Shaw (2001, p. 190) also argues, lies in Wearing's conceptualisation of resistance by mainly focusing on individual empowerment as the end product rather than broader social change. McNay (1992) also criticises the Foucauldian/poststructuralist feminist view of resistance more broadly: 'The fact that individuals do not straightforwardly reproduce social systems is not a guarantee of the inherently resistant nature of their actions' (p. 113).

There is scarce intention in Wearing's work to explain how conditions of existence and subjectivity came into practice, how these structural constraints that are assumed already there emerged and took their shape throughout history, and how they inform the subject positions taken which are richer than the subordination/resistance dichotomy. Structure and agency in her framework are deliberately kept separate. Class and capitalism, as well as colonialism, are thought of as determinants of the structure, not the agency. There is a deliberate separation of these two to make her point. In this post-structuralist thinking, agency or subjectivity can only, and very consciously, go against the structuring forces. The crucial point here is how the self and the individual are formulated. The self is understood

as a *neutral* concept available to all, rather than an inscription, a position of personhood...requiring for its construction the exclusion of others. The method of constructing a biography is seen to be a *neutral* method, something that one just does, rather than something dependent upon access to discourse and resources.

(Skeggs, 2004, pp. 52–53)

Poststructural thinking postulates an understanding of the individual who, although constrained by structural forces, can decide on which forces to ignore, who ‘can live out, *biographically*, the complexity and diversity of the social relations that surround them’ (Skeggs, 2004, pp. 52–53). What is not touched upon in this thinking is that ‘individualisation cannot be anything but a cultural process involving differentiation from others and differential access to resources’ (Skeggs, 2004, pp. 52–53). A good example of this is how some middle-class transgender women seek incorporation into social hierarchies in postcolonial India by using the international term ‘transgender’ in identifying themselves and highlighting their differences from *hijras* (historically recognised, yet socially marginalised gender nonconforming people), attributing negative value to *hijra* culture (see Mount, 2020). Consequently, the concepts of the self and the individual should not be de-historicised and de-contextualised as if everybody has equal access to material, social and cultural resources, to the forms of interpretation to *know* and *narrate* the resisting self. The groups who are denied from being a subject of value can still resist, yet it may not be perceptible as resistance, since it is executed through ‘mimicry’. For instance, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the black petit bourgeoisie church women in the United States utilised mimicking the white Victorian codes of female respectability, asserting these codes through various methods, to save young black female domestic workers from sexual harassment and rape. Respectability for these women was a strategy of resistance to the dominant morality which positioned them as ‘primitive’, ‘excessive’ and ‘sexually available’. From the 1960s onwards, together with the civil rights movements, this strategy has been criticised as reactionary, focusing on individual social mobility rather than structural issues. Nevertheless, studies show that this strategy is still prevalent among subordinated groups, particularly amplified through the symbolic dominant order promoting self-sufficient, self-responsible ‘enterprising self’ (see Pitcan et al., 2018; Dazey, 2021). Therefore, it is crucial to consider the intricate ways of resistance strictly embedded into the cultural processes of distinction and (dis)identification.

Leisure Site as Contested: Reproduction and Dynamism of Complex Power Relations

Some feminist scholars approached the poststructuralist shift from gender and class to the dynamics of fluidity and individual resistance with caution.

These scholars acknowledged the fact that there are other structural divisions besides gender and class, such as race and sexuality. Their emphasis was rather on the complexity of the social phenomena, which cannot be reduced to binary positions of fixity/fluidity, subordination/resistance. Some scholars, e.g., Scraton (1994), Scraton and Watson (1998), continued to insist that while diversity and plurality of women's experiences are crucial to consider, it is still important to keep to the fact that women's life chances and mobilities are determined by their material realities:

Being black, gay, lesbian, disabled, is not only about lifestyle; it is also about material realities. Broad shared categories have immense political and social implications and cannot be deconstructed to individual identity and experience...Gender does exist with women unequal and exploited in many situations, albeit at different times, to differing extents, and in different circumstances.

(Scraton, 1994, p. 257)

Spatial turn in social sciences had an impact on feminist leisure research as this strand of work largely focused on the complex power relations in consuming urban spaces for leisure purposes. Social behaviour is space- and place-sensitive and individuals act and react according to the different socio-cultural settings in which they perceive themselves to be (Mowl & Towner, 1995, pp. 102–103). Therefore, focus on public leisure spaces enabled 'researchers to look closely at multiple material relations in spatial contexts, from various aspects of uses of physical spaces to micro-level interactions and their apparent consequences' (Watson & Ratna, 2011, p. 82). Scraton and Watson (1998, p. 123) argued that 'The challenge for leisure studies is to complement the field's already multidisciplinary base by drawing on work that opens up the complexities of space as a site for the maintenance and reproduction of complex power relations.'

Cultural Differences and the Rise of Islam as a Reference Point in Western Studies

Respectability gained a new dimension as scholars turned their attention to immigrant communities in Western countries with a keen interest in understanding cultural differences (some prefer diversity) and racial inequalities among women. A shared interest of many studies on this topic was to understand what the constraints to immigrant women's leisure are and how women negotiate their access to leisure. Islam emerged as a shared cultural reference point, categorising immigrants from different nationalities/countries together, defining the relationship between structure and agency, and most importantly separating immigrants from mainstream societies of the West. Muslim women's low participation in physical activities and leisure spaces raised

concerns over inequalities and issues of social justice. We can identify three types of studies focusing on different aspects of the phenomena.

A group of studies concentrated on describing how Islam influences leisure choices and results in cultural diversity in leisure behaviour (Stodolska & Livengood, 2006; Höglhammer et al., 2015). For instance, Stodolska and Livengood (2006) argue that Islam produces a family oriented leisure culture responding to 'the need to teach and supervise children and to pass traditional moral values to subsequent generations; the requirement of modesty in dress, speech and everyday behavior' (p. 293). A main emphasis in this strand of research is to call scholars not to impose a Western understanding of gendered leisure constraints and freedoms on immigrant women. Muslim women are not perceiving themselves as constrained by Islam. They are actors in the making of the World as faithful Muslim women living in accordance with their religion and choosing their leisure themselves. These studies suggest that policymakers need to recognise these cultural differences and treat them as cultural heritage to promote appropriate resources for Muslim communities.

Another group of studies concentrate on the extent to which Muslim women identify themselves with Islamic morality. In these studies, the gap between a person's own idea of respectability and her family's and/or communities' idea of respectability is explored. An example is Green and Singleton's (2006) study on the constructions of risk and safety in the leisure lives of young, working-class women in the UK. This research reveals that while all women in the study felt at general risk of sexual harassment and losing individual respectability, South Asian women were also concerned about their families' honour and their reputation in the local community. Green and Singleton (2006, p. 863) highlight that central to South Asian young women's experience was 'the notion of honour, *Izzat*, which underlines young Muslim women's responsibility of safeguarding themselves through respectable and chaste behaviour, and other female members' protection. In consequence, these women articulated a feeling that 'their behaviour and actions were under the scrutiny of other community members for the potential transgression of this code.' (p. 863). To avoid family and community pressure, these Young South Asian women use taxis to access leisure spaces as a strategy to avoid being spotted by family and community members. Some of these women went a step further by concealing their faces and identities when travelling in a taxi, which they referred to with the metaphor of 'ducking' (p. 863). In the same year, Walseth (2006) investigated how young Muslim women's 'identity work' impacted their involvement in sports and physical activity. Here, too, family, community, and religion, Islam in particular, appear as entities of cultural maintenance, enforcing a certain idea of respectability through the concept of 'honour', which is pressed on women to act in a certain way. The study shows how young, Muslim women construct their own identity through (dis)identifying themselves with their collective identities. Women struggle

with navigating their way on how to become a person of value within/across different cultural logics. These studies seem to point out the clash between the criteria of respectable femininity between the culture of origin, mainly Islam, and the culture of the country lived in.

The final group of studies on Muslim immigrant women concentrates on racial discrimination applied to Muslim women in their leisure experience in Western public leisure spaces (Kloek et al., 2013; van den Bogert, 2021; Soltani, 2021). Studies document various ways in which Muslim women, particularly if they are veiled, receive verbal remarks or mimicked gestures suggesting they do not belong in these spaces. Van den Bogert (2021) describes the ways in which Muslim girls with headscarves are singled out in 'male' and 'secular' football spaces, where they receive negative comments from the audiences, are looked down on in terms of their skills by Dutch male and female players, and sometimes they are 'convinced' not to take part in the plays by their trainer due to their headscarf. Muslim women in Kloek et al.'s (2013) research state that they receive unpleasant looks or discriminatory comments from Dutch citizens. A remarkable example is how some veiled women visiting a museum were commented on by Dutch women as 'Are they allowed to visit a museum?' (p. 412). Muslim women's responses to such racial discrimination vary from not caring and trying to adapt, to actively resisting. These studies point out the dangers of overemphasising the religiosity of Muslim immigrant groups and the overuse of religious differences as the sole frame of reference, which result in cultural essentialism that 'Muslims are inherently different from "secular" Europe' (van den Bogert, 2021, p. 1846). Instead, they draw our attention to the multiplicities of Muslim women's realities and that it is not necessarily Islam itself, but the exclusionary and racialised discourse of Western morality that is restricting Muslim women's leisure participation.

Intersectionality (Soltani, 2021) or 'thinking intersectionally' (Watson & Ratna, 2011; Watson, 2019) is suggested in this final group of studies as an approach to apprehend complexity, to focus on the dynamic nature of social categories, intersecting dimensions of social identities and power structures. Scholars in the field are mostly aware of the critique raised on the concept of intersectionality. Thereby, Watson and Ratna (2011) do not suggest intersectionality as a methodology, but focus on the strengths of thinking intersectionally:

For us, intersectionality therefore offers an approach through which to examine the relationships between different categories as they are configured in our notion of space for leisure where leisure is understood as both spatially contextualized (Crouch, 2006) and "intrinsically political" (Rojek, 2005, p. 13). This enables us to explore different social relations and their influence on leisure as dynamic processes rather than as separate categories.

(Watson & Ratna, 2011, pp. 74-75)

It is not an easy task to grasp the essential difference between intersectionality as a methodology and thinking intersectionally. The concern of this book is rather on the lack of suggesting a certain theoretical and/or methodological perspective in understanding *how* different classificatory systems of value intersect – but more importantly, internally linked – with each other; intersectionality, otherwise, is bound to be a statement of acknowledgements (see Skeggs, 2019). It is argued in this book that the lack of locating these classificatory systems of value in a broader history of capitalism and employing a genuinely relational approach results in the opposite of the claim. The ultimate interest of the many studies summarised above, as well as the section below, is limited to presenting, separately, the structural constraints, and individual responses to these constraints in the form of negotiations and resistances. Ultimately, this ongoing lack of a social class understanding and lack of feminist cultural theory results in continuous separate treatment of gender, class, and race, as well as making a narrowed understanding of respectability prevalent in feminist leisure research.

The idea of ‘honour’ and the role of religion in the construction of ‘respectable femininity’ in cultures other than Western are further explored by scholars of the non-Western countries. Studies summarised below make more of an endeavour to connect religion with other socio-political and economic characteristics of the contexts under investigation.

The Problem of Culture: Women’s Leisure in (Some) Non-Western Contexts

By roughly the beginning of the twenty-first century, a new interest grew among the Western leisure studies community, the need to represent studies from non-Western contexts. Such interest is reflected in the papers that critically evaluate the existing state of leisure research. For instance, Henderson and Gibson (2013, pp. 120–121), reviewing feminist leisure research between the years 2006–2010, found that women outside of Europe and North America were described in about 14% of the studies. Be it voluntary, simply a coincidence, or inspired by the summarised interest, a range of articles presenting studies on women’s leisure in Iran (Martin & Mason, 2003, 2006; Arab-Moghaddam et al., 2007), Egypt (Saad, 2007), Oman (Al-Sinani & Benn, 2023), China (Lee & Zhang, 2010), Turkey (Koca et al., 2009; Aydın & Özel, 2023), Japan (Iwasaki et al., 2006), Taiwan (Tsai, 2006, 2010) and India (Nagla, 2006; Dilbaghi & Dilbaghi, 2007) have been published. What are the theoretical, methodological, and empirical insights we gain from this body of work?

Respectability appears as the central theme in this strand of the literature, as scholars concentrate on how conservative elements of a culture constrain women’s access to leisure in the country context under investigation and whether class makes any difference. Nagla (2006), for instance, in her study

on women practising yoga in Haryana, India, found that gender was the strongest shaping factor, irrespective of class and religious differences. What is meant by gender in this study is the overt male and family control over women's leisure choices with concern over 'honour' and family reputation. The majority of the women in her study, in spite of their varying education and employment status, stated that their husbands and/or other heads of the family (father-in-law or elder brother-in-law) decided for them to attend the yoga camp. A similar finding on seeking permission is brought in by Tsai (2006) on Taiwanese women's leisure. Tsai states that the Confucian philosophy has 'perpetuated as the quasi-official ideology of Taiwan's society up to the present day, setting the patterns of living and standards of social values and attitudes toward correct personal behaviour and the individual's duties to society' (Tsai, 2006, p. 469). By referring to the yin-yang division in Confucianism, which consigns women to a lower status in the sets of social relations, Tsai (2006, p. 474) points out that most married respondents live with their parents-in-law to fulfil their need for filial piety and women usually have to ask for permission to participate in leisure activities, especially when their husbands or mothers-in-law are at home. In the urban Egyptian context, Saad (2007, p. 47) especially highlights the finding that 'irrespective of social class, mothers expressed an inclination to dress up and behave in a conservative manner in public areas' to avoid sexual harassment and the male gaze as well as to protect the family honour and reputation. The difference that class makes in this scene is that while upper-class mothers were able to pursue leisure activities at private sporting clubs, summer resorts and other high-expense places (Saad, 2007, p. 47); middle- and lower-middle-class mothers were financially incapable of gaining access to such elitist leisure areas and instead more often used public venues, such as the banks of the river Nile or public parks.

Some studies in this strand of research paid attention to the differences that social class makes in women's understanding of respectability. Saad, for instance, hints at how social class creates a difference in framing respectability:

All lower-class mothers and two of the middle-class mothers found it religiously justifiable that their husbands would assume authority over them. They noted that as 'respectful Moslem women' they had to seek their husbands' permission before going out to visit friends, family or other leisure pursuits. All upper-class mothers and six middle-class mothers rather stressed that Islamic prescriptions supported the rights of women and stressed loyalty, mercy and understanding between husband and wife.

(Saad, 2007, p. 49)

It seems that upper-class respectable femininity in Saad's work contains more of a claim of individuality, a knowing, reflexive self, which is manifested through claiming leisure as an individual right. A similar attitude is prevalent

in the accounts of the female higher-class consumers of the *tesettür* (veiled) hotels in Turkey (see Şehlikoğlu & Karakaş, 2016). Koca et al.'s study on women's leisure time physical activity (LTPA) in Turkey presents a broader picture of social class differences. Researchers (2009) highlight that for some middle-class women, family support in attending private sports centres largely emerges from the sport being part of the family's life and a way of life for all family members. Lower- and lower-middle-class women could not get family support as they faced a list of restrictions, such as spending money on leisure was seen as a luxury, the family pressures to attend women-only centres, not being allowed to travel alone in the city, and the necessity to convince people (husband, mother-in-law, etc.) to allow them to attend those centres (see Koca et al., 2009, pp. 213–239). Finally, Naganathan et al. (2021) question which groups of women in India have the requisite resources to divert themselves from traditional understandings of respectable femininity and frame leisure as a legitimate personal pursuit/space. They focus on the new, urban Indian middle-class women (UIMW), part of the IT workforce and under the age of 30. 'This very personal pursuit of leisure by UIMW women is unexpected in the Indian context and signals the emergence of a new segment of modern Indian women... [by whom] leisure seen not as a luxury but a necessity' (pp. 846–847). Writers draw our attention to how families of this new segment are learning to appreciate this need for personal space and leisure. In sum, these studies warn us of the class-based roots of women's agency and empowerment, which is usually overlooked in the literature. They remind us how class is an intimate feature of the self, informing our understanding of what we are entitled to (Skeggs, 2004).

The cultural turn in feminist leisure research, as summarised thus far, brought up the idea of 'honour', i.e., the importance of family reputation and community control, as being one of the most widespread factors in shaping non-Western women's leisure. Most of the studies have a descriptive nature, explaining the leisure outcomes of such cultural dynamics. They fail to construct a critical theoretical and methodological approach questioning what is meant by 'cultural' itself (Lury, 1995). This endangers the field as studies may result in confirming cultural essentialism. For instance, from the writings on the role of religion in leisure, it should not be deduced that there is a coherent, unitary form of religious living, such as one 'Islamic culture' around the world. Kağıtçıbaşı (1986) directs our attention to the complex relationship between religion and culture. She emphasises that despite the religious differences, Turkish family cultures and sex roles are more like Greek culture and less similar to Muslim Indonesian family cultures and sex roles:

All this shows that there is much more to culture than religion and calls for caution in making any generalizations about "Moslem culture." As for East Asia, the Chinese and Korean societies have rather different cultures and religions. Nevertheless, there are similarities to the Middle East in terms

of women's subordinate positions. The Confucian ethic of filial piety and ancestor worship and the corresponding importance of the male lineage are basic cultural characteristics underlying sex role status differentiation. (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1986, p. 487)

Cultures consist of different systems which produce meaning and language, religion, custom and tradition are powerful systems of meaning which produce culture. However, it is the composition of those various systems of meanings and how they intersect within the society with social structures and institutions that impact how everyday affairs are lived (Inglis, 2005, p. 6).

Feminist scholars specialised in the Middle East and North Africa, as well as the South Asian sub-continent recognise 'the genuine difficulty in conceptualising the role and specificity of Islam in relation to the position of women' (Kandiyoti, 1991, p. 2). Nonetheless, they argue that 'an adequate analysis of the position of women in Muslim societies must be grounded in a detailed examination of the political projects of contemporary states and of their historical transformations' (Kandiyoti, 1991, p. 2). The histories of these nation states are, undoubtedly, conjugated to the history of Western capitalism, imperialism, and colonialism (see Bhabha, 1984; Abu-Lughod, 2016; Mohanty, 2003). This book argues that respectable femininity is a moral discursive position that is (re)created as part of these political projects and it is an integral part of the enunciation of cultural differences (Bhabha, 1994). This not only requires anchoring into historicity and contextuality but also a theoretical and methodological perspective that allows us to make sense of cross-cultural inequalities, and their sources like capitalism. We need a theory on understanding these without falling into fixity, reductionism as well as subordination/resistance binary positions.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an evaluation of the main theoretical and methodological positions taken and the knowledge produced on women's leisure in feminist leisure scholarship through a sustained focus on 'respectability'. A feminist approach without reflecting on respectability is unthinkable as the concept refers to morality produced around gender roles and responsibilities aiming to regulate leisure behaviour. The matter of *how* respectability is framed informs us on how the relationship between the structure and agency, the construction of subjectivity, and the intersection of gender, class, race, and sexuality are understood. In other words, the ways in which respectability is framed inform us of the nature and content of the theoretical and methodological positions taken.

The chapter has concerned itself with the question of how the framing of respectability remains intact despite the crucial changes in theoretical and methodological positions that occurred across five decades of feminist leisure

research. The answer is the lack of focus on capitalism and narrowing class down to material differences; this poses certain dangers to our knowledge production on leisure. A particular danger is falling into fixity, reductionism, and essentialism even if the direction of the sociological endeavour is to avoid those. This danger presents itself in the unquestioned use of the concepts of the individual/ity, self/hood, subjectivity, agency, and culture. Historicity and contextuality are necessary as they allow us to understand how the ideas and concepts we accept as neutral today came into existence under specific conditions in specific contexts in which only certain groups held power and constitutively positioned other groups outside of what is counted as theirs. Concepts like 'self/hood', and 'individual/ity', which are accepted as neutral and assumed universality, are no exception; neither culture can be understood merely as diversity. Hence, it is a vital necessity to bring research and discussions on capitalism into the subject field.

The following chapter outlines a theoretical perspective on respectability embedded into Skeggs' framework on person Value(s), processes of value production, and attribution.

Notes

- 1 Foucault (1998, pp. 95–96) emphasises the relational character of power relationships, whose 'existence depends on a multiplicity point of resistance [and] these points of resistance are present everywhere in power network'.
- 2 Foucault's concept, 'heterotopia', which is 'other' places and spaces that function in non-hegemonic conditions (see Foucault, 1986) has sparked the interest of scholars in sociology, human geography and urban studies and has particularly contributed to gender and space analyses.

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Respectability

A Framework for Studying Leisure

Skeggs's sociology, as noted in Chapter 1, is concerned with developing sociological thinking that thoroughly involves the realities of discriminated social groups, their perspectives, values, emotions, aspirations, and experiences without falling into the traps of liberalism and capitalism. This requires a critical evaluation of the history of capitalism and liberalism, one of which puts a certain distance with the ideas on the self/hood, and individual/ity as they are historically exclusionary. Skeggs (1997, 2004, 2011, 2014, 2019) argues that the individual in contemporary discourse historically refers to the *possessive* individual. How does this *possessive* individual come out in the course of history as a subject of value? What are the main features of a *possessive* individual? Which mechanisms and processes that concealed the exclusionary nature of the *possessive* individual led to the emergence of the ideas of the *inner-looking, knowing, and reflexive* self. How did the capitalist logic of abstraction and rationality de-historicised and de-contextualised the self, thereby making it appear universal, fixed, and taken for granted, and consolidating middle-class respectability? What is the role of nationalism and citizenship in this process? Before outlining her account of this history, it is crucial to state that to avoid the traps inherent to the concepts of the self and individual, Skeggs (2019) prefers to use the concept of 'personhood'. Drawing on an anthropological perception of the concept, the concentration is laid on how the legal, social, and moral states are generated through encounters with others. 'Value infuses these person-states when we look in detail at the historical conditions of possibility for person value(s): how value is attached to different conceptualizations and practices of personhood' (Skeggs, 2011, p. 498). It is also a way of presenting that a person is not completely made of liberal and capitalist logic. There are values beyond Value and the groups who are given so little, most of the time negative, value in the dominant symbolic order, have their own system of values (Skeggs, 2014).

How do we make sense of the ways in which value is generated through exchange and, more broadly the processes of conflicts and struggles for value attribution?

Skeggs (2004, p. 10) argues that the value is not generated through the exchange of the object directly but through (i) the relationship that enables the exchange to take place and (ii) the perspective that is taken on the exchange. Morality enters decisively into the value generation process as it informs the perspective taken, for which it has to be made recognisable and propertisable. The inscription is a central feature of value attribution because it makes respectability recognisable and propertisable. 'A process of inscription refers to the way value is transferred onto bodies and read off them, and the mechanisms by which it is retained, accumulated, lost, or appropriated' (Skeggs, 2004, pp. 12–13). In today's world, re-valuation of the capitalist inscription operates by political and popular representations. Representation functions to 'condense anxieties onto a particular visual and identifiable source, enabling the real source of problems to be supplemented and displaced' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 38). In this way, it informs the people on what sorts of personhoods are available to take up in constructing one's self as a subject of value. The history of the inscription is necessary to understand since 'historical legacies inform contemporary representations' (Skeggs, 1997, p. 1). Although inscription plays a crucial role in establishing the exchange value, it still cannot control every person's or group's reaction. 'The refusal to accept inscription and be beyond its value is a significant act in challenging the dominant symbolic order' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 13). People whose cultural characteristics are attributed with negative value, who are placed as the definable 'Other'/the constitutive limit to respectability, may re-evaluate this negative inscription, which makes the content of respectability less fixed and more open to contestation. Nevertheless, the contestation gets more difficult when 'the value attached to their inscription is institutionalized, written into social relations by forms of authorization and legitimation' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 14). This difficulty makes us question how and why some cultural characteristics can become propertisable and others not. Or who can propertise a cultural characteristic (a resource) and who cannot?

Skeggs draws on a Bourdieusian theory of value attribution. According to Bourdieu, the operation of propertising relies on four types of capital, which are economic, social, cultural, and finally symbolic capital. Cultural capital is central to the production of difference not only among but within classes. It can exist in three forms: (i) embodied state, which is the long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body, (ii) objectified state, which is in the form of cultural goods, and (iii) institutionalised state like educational qualifications. Bourdieu defines cultural capital as high culture since he is interested in the capital that is already legitimated; the capital that already has symbolic value. Skeggs, on the other hand, wants to keep use-value and exchange-value separate to give space to personhoods, cultural assets, and moralities of the social groups that are given so little value or excluded from the dominant symbolic. She focuses on resources (economic, cultural, moral) instead of just capital, to show how some cultural resources do not operate as forms of

capital and hence are not exchangeable but do have value for those who use and make them. And that difference between resources and capital informs us on the conflicts and struggles for value attribution.

A critical advantage of Skeggs' theory of Value(s) is that it not only historicises the construction of respectability but also contextualises it: 'All capital is context specific' (2004, p. 19). A crucial context is the national space, which is an important determinant in the making of respectability. Formation of classes and personhoods are nation-specific: 'Different systems, circuits of exchange and value attribution can therefore be seen as nationally specific, as they have to cohere with other modes of governance' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 143). Within a nation, cultural properties of national belonging constitute the symbolic capital of the field. Nonetheless, national spaces and the self that is symbolically dominant in each national space cannot be studied in isolation; the global dynamics of capitalism and its Euro-centric roots constitute the genesis of the story.

Formation of Respectability: The History of the Making of European Personhood

Skeggs (2004, 2014) departs from a foundational Marxist assumption that different social and economic relations lead to different relationship patterns which in turn yield different forms of personhoods. In the case of capitalism, the value becomes established through the exchange in which the relationship to the commodity itself generates different forms of personhood. The *possessive* individual is a form of personhood that has been made symbolically dominant under capitalism. The emergence of this type of personhood dates back to the twelfth century, to the encounter of the White, European man with the people of West Africa and their culture. The European man observed that West Africans give their objects a sense of personality, memory, and history- something that the European man described as fetishism. Conversely, he believed that the value of an object can only be created within/through exchange. This viewpoint forms the backbone of slavery, which is constitutive to capitalism; it also serves as the ideological foundation of capitalism, separating use-value from exchange-value, associating use-value with 'primitive' cultures and personhoods, and exchange value with being 'civilised' and 'individualised', i.e., with being a subject of value. Thereby, the subject of value is the *possessive* individual, who holds a capacity to own property privately and thinks of his individual interest in terms of benefiting from the exchange. Skeggs (2014, p. 4) notes that 'the umbilical connection between property and propriety from the fifteenth century...has been institutionalised in law and social institutions through social contract'. The history of liberal democracy is, therefore, indissociable from the development of capitalism.

The development of capitalism and the liberal idea of social contract throughout the centuries gave rise to a generalised ideal of the individual

and a principle of freedom which is considered as an ideal that separates the 'worker' from the 'slave'. 'The social contract was devised on relationships between those who were not considered to be propertizable to each other' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 175). This is defined by Marx (1970 [1857]) as the great myth of the social contract; it makes people believe that they are all *possessive* individuals. How can a worker – who is in fact dispossessed through capitalist processes, such as through privatisation of commons (see Federici, 2019; Harvey, 2011) – be *possessive*? This requires a logic of a self that is *split* between mind and body. Abstraction is inherent to the logic of capitalism (see Lefebvre, 2009; Wilson, 2013). The workers, first, need to have an abstract idea of themselves separate from their bodily existence, then they need to have a proprietorial relation to themselves as bodily property. Now, the worker has become the *possessive* individual exchanging his capacity to perform labour rather than himself. Yet, the recognition of his individuality has not positioned him in an equal relationship with the capitalist. How then do these *possessive* individuals living in different realities come to define themselves and 'others' in class terms?

The need for political representation required the middle class to be consolidated as a group, for which it had to define itself as different from both the aristocracy and the working class. But this process is not about merely highlighting the differences in neutral terms; the ultimate aim is to attribute value to being a middle class that other groups do not possess through which also to acquire moral authority and political power. Hence, in the early nineteenth century, 'class emerged as a category to define the urban poor' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 36). Gender, race, and sexuality were central to class definitions and distinctions as classes were made through judgments on 'degeneracy'. They were the means through which class differences came to be known, spoken, experienced, and valued. Skeggs (2004) elaborates on this point by drawing on the works of a number of scholars. For instance, Finch (1993) illustrates how the class was particularly gendered, conceived through the interpretation of the behaviour of women in urban slums, and the classification of them into 'respectable' and 'non-respectable'. According to McClintock (1995), the term 'degeneracy' is used to categorise racial 'types' just as much as it is to describe urban impoverished people. Foucault (1979, p. 100) highlights how the middle class defined itself through sexual restraint and monogamy as opposed to the aristocracy and the working classes who exhibit 'excessive' sexual behaviour.

Together with the consolidation of the middle class, the idea of split-self has become symbolically dominant. Skeggs (2004) argues that the split self is an appropriate form of identity for a society based on exchange. The split between the abstract idea of the self and the bodily form of the self gave rise to an understanding of an 'inner self' that can observe, judge and discipline one's self, and give shape to its 'outer appearance'. The responsibility is now on this split self to incorporate and exhibit the external ethical system as a

property of the self in order to become a subject of value. 'One's value as a self depended upon self-central, monitoring, and conduct, i.e., propriety' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 33). This is utilised as the core cultural distinction between the white, European personhood and the working-class, Black, or colonised societies, as the latter were labelled as lacking the *reflexive, knowing, disciplining* self. They are described as 'close to nature' as opposed to the 'rationality' of the white, European men. Women are categorised in the former as 'masculinity developed through the dichotomy of reason and nature' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 34). These dichotomies are bound to be brought to the public through representations. Skeggs argues that the *raison d'être* of the negative judgments serves to attribute value to the white, European middle-class culture and self. 'This is what the representations of the working class should be seen to be about; they have absolutely nothing to do with the working class themselves but are about the middle class creating value for themselves in a myriad of ways, through distance, denigration and disgust as well as appropriation and affect of attribution' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 118). The methodological principle of classification, particularly the use of quantifications and empirical observations, played a significant role in the exhibition and institutionalisation of class differences as they identified which attitudes, ways of thinking and manners are inscribed with value.

The desire to control the population more generally through knowing and categorising led to a shift of focus from split self and class differences to social body and citizenship. The split self is an abstraction, and abstraction is the source of alienation (Lefebvre, 2009). It conquers the social and spatial organisation of life by reducing the difference in domains, spaces, personalities, roles, etc., to a minimum, and devastates the complexity and multifaceted aspects of interaction, labour, etc. Conceiving what it means to be a woman, man, citizen, etc., is central to the process of abstraction demonstrating that in the beginning, these frameworks are simply a fantasy, but a very seductive one since 'it offers to its subject power over others, oneself and the prediction and control of events' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 35). Through a set of practices, its applicability is guaranteed, for which the subject, particular spaces, and assets need to be produced as a sign (of respectability, power, etc.) in this abstraction. As Lefebvre (1991) underlines in his theory on the production of space, it is the representational space in which political rhetoric makes the ideology appear as 'natural', as shared by all.

The rise of nationalism shares its roots with the rise of social body and citizenship. The desire to know society more generally led to describing, quantifying, and categorising the segments of the population. People, then, are classified based on:

a method by which each group is both allocated a potential change value in terms of productivity and classified according to moral principal. Division drawn between those who want and capable of work [deserving poor]

and those who are idle and incapable [undeserving poor]...Classification enables moral responsibility, agency and value attributed to some parts of the social body, whilst other parts can remain unseen and irresponsible for their power effects ... serves the bourgeoisie by describing economic divisions in scientific terms, making division appear as a law of nature beyond change.

(Skeggs, 2004, p. 36)

Skeggs (1997, 2004) notes that by the early nineteenth century, we see the social body in two ways, the mass and the nation. The mass is defined as the population which lacks individuality and needs discipline and care. The nation, on the other hand, is categorised as an organic whole, carrying certain (bourgeoisie) cultural qualities that need to be internalised by its members. As exemplified in the history of urban parks, the bourgeoisie reformers' concerns and 'anxiety over incorporation is played out in debates over citizenship' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 39). The nineteenth-century industrial cities were characterised by an astonishing contrast between the enormous level of wealth and dreadful scenes of poverty as was the case of British cities, like London, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, etc. The 'middle-class [felt a] horror at the disorder and chaos of the nineteenth century city' (Marne, 2001, p. 425) and sought to build urban parks with multiple purposes. Social reformers created a public debate which is summarised under the umbrella term of the 'public park movement' with a concern of the moral and medical necessities in creating a civilised society. In other words, according to the social reformers the working classes both needed fresh air, oxygen, and exercise to remain healthy and acquire civilised leisure pursuits and manners in order to become respectable citizens (Zieleniec, 2002). O'Reilly, in exemplifying the municipal parks of Manchester in the Edwardian era, highlights that the order was essential in park use, such as 'visitors were told to keep off the grass; they were restricted to the main walks in the park' (2013, p. 140). These are the signs of middle-class respectability and are utilised in 'healing' the disorderliness of working-class leisure habits.

The case of urban parks illuminates how citizenship 'was a mechanism by which dominant class divided oppositional class forces by "individualising" them...the respectable section of the working-class who, in return for political rights and social benefits, are expected to labour for the improvement of the race, the economy and extension of empire' (Skeggs, 2004, pp. 39–40). Skeggs, drawing on Day's (2001) work, highlights that citizenship increased social divisions, unlike its argument of reducing them because it divided the working classes morally into 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor categories. 'The language of citizenship located culture as the sole marker of class difference' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 40). Belonging to the national space is about acquiring the right cultural capital, which is incarnated in many leisure habits. This is, however, not to suggest that the working class

merely adopted middle-class habits and morality. Skeggs highlights that the members of the working class did not recognise themselves as framed by the bourgeoisie.

whilst huge amounts of energy are put into defining, knowing, classifying, recognizing and moralizing the working class, they go about their business using their own definitions and valuations. The gap between the classification and positioning enables the exploration of how the class actually does and does not work. This gap is the area of negotiation between classification, positioning and experience, site of mediation, challenge and conflict...However, just because some people refuse to recognise the way they are being positioned, does not mean that class has no effect. Rather the observe: energy may be put into resisting the classification. But this resistance may not be perceptible to the bourgeoisie gaze.

(Skeggs, 2011, p. 496)

Respectability, as summarised thus far, is central to the development of class categorisations as well as national belonging. Skeggs, as can be observed from the beginning of her questioning, embarks on a nuanced perspective, one that incorporates Western imperialism and colonialism. 'The regulation of moral behaviour during the nineteenth century was part of a wider formation of *class identity, nation and empire*' (Skeggs, 1997, p. 42). Building on this reflection, Skeggs argues that national space is essential to take into account as it is in this space where the content of class distinctions is framed as well as cultural capital necessary to be identified with national belonging.

The question deserving attention, then, is how the process of the formation of a respectable self, in particular respectable femininity, has taken place in countries other than Western/European. While the incorporation of postcolonial thinking, imperialism, and colonialism is important to Skeggs's sociology, here, we reach its limits, since Skeggs returns to empirically deal with white, working-class women and gender in leisure spaces, and media in Britain. This is not to criticise her logic fundamentally; every empirical study has its limits. My emphasis here is to warn the reader that now a new task begins. How do we apply this framework in understanding respectability in different national spaces, ones that are non-Western? What does belonging to a non-Western society mean? How the ideas of the self and individual were developed in the nationalisation processes of those countries whose cultures were positioned at the constitutive limit to Western respectability. While such positioning is shared by the non-Western world, it is crucial to acknowledge that at every national space, the circuits of exchange, knowledge, resources, and power relations vary, and have decisive impacts on the kind of respectability that is made symbolically dominant.

The Rise of Nationalism and the Colonial Moment: Construction and Consolidation of Modern Feminine Personhoods in Non-Western Contexts

In the course of colonisation, ‘the ideologies developed since the twelfth century to de-legitimize slaves by rendering them inhuman were modified to draw distinctions between the “civilized” and the “primitive”’. (Skeggs, 2014, p. 7). This ‘civilising gaze’ of Europe put imminent pressure on other societies, whether or not being officially colonised, since their cultures, categorised as ‘backwards’, ‘primitive’, and ‘non-emancipatory’, were forming the constitutive limit of European respectability. The peoples of non-Western societies were framed as non-individuated populations suffering under feudal cultural pressures. Nonetheless, there were already different classes in these societies, and those from higher social classes were more concerned about this negative value attribution than others because they saw it as a loss of authority and respect. How should one react to such a classification? They had to articulate their version of cultural authenticity and difference in reclaiming respectability. Nation-building is a particularly significant process of claiming respectability. As Bhabha (1994) underlines, becoming civilised without being completely Westernised is largely an ambivalent process of mimicry. It is a process of the enunciation of cultural difference, which also involves struggles among different local groups with varying powers. Nation-building, for non-Western societies, involves a period of interregnum, ‘a time of cultural uncertainty, and most crucially, of signification or representational undecidability’ (Bhabha, 1994, pp. 34–35). This undecidability, however, eventually boils down to certain representations, forming the dominant symbolic; institutionalised, consolidated through political domination/processes, yet not unchangeable, always subject to challenge and resistance (Skeggs, 2004).

The process of nation-building, the formation of national space and belonging, in these countries is not similar to the rise and content of nationalism in European countries. In a non-Western context, the rise of nationalism requires ‘mimicry’:

Mimicry is the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation, and discipline which ‘appropriates’ the Other as it visualizes power. Mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate, however, a difference or recalcitrance which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance, and poses an imminent threat to both ‘normalized’ knowledges and disciplinary powers.

(Bhabha, 1984, p. 126)

Nation states need to attribute value to their culture and define their culture both as authentic and civilised. Therefore, they need to imagine a root culture which can be propertised in the re-valuation of their current status.

The Politicisation of Islamic Morality, the Idea of Honour and Shame

In the course of the enunciation of cultural difference, Islam has been politicised both by the European powers and thereafter countries where the major religion is Islam. The morality embodied by Islam is categorised as 'backwards' and 'non-emancipatory' and defined as the constitutive limit to European 'civility' and 'individuality'. Central to Islamic morality is the idea of honour, presented in the anthropological tradition as the honour-shame complex, which imposes the heterosexual family, segregation of sexes, and women's withdrawal from public spaces where male public members are present. This antagonism between European secular cultures and Islamic culture is still alive today, in fact, it is fuelled by the current rise of right-wing populism, anti-migration, and anti-Islamic discourses in many Western countries. Therefore, it is worthwhile to consider how the idea of honour ought to be interpreted. This book argues that it is especially necessary to be alerted to its Euro-centric interpretation, but also its place in the formation of the national cultural capital in countries where the dominating religion is Islam.

Northern Europeans were formerly defined by the honour–shame complex, e.g., the practice of dueling. However, it vanished in Euro-American communities when state judicial control was introduced. Stewart (2015), describing the trajectory of honour and shame, highlights that 'honor and shame had largely become extinct in Western societies by 1900' (p. 182) and 'by the middle of the twentieth century the word "honour" was well on its way to obsolescence in ordinary English language usage' (pp. 183–184). This is the time when the concept found itself a new appearance through anthropological scholarship, defining the societies of the Middle East and Mediterranean but also the immigrants from the region in North European countries, utilised to point out the cultural differences of these societies. The 1960s anthropological literature viewed honour as a Pan-Mediterranean marker of personal and group prestige (Peristiany & Pitt-Rivers, 1966). Although this perspective on honour first dominated scholarly understandings of social and sexual relations in the Middle East and the Mediterranean, it came under heavy criticism later for homogenising and essentialising the region (see Herzfeld, 1980; Abu-Lughod, 2016). 'Some argue that the honour/shame complex does not exist in all Mediterranean societies, others that it exists in too many other societies across time and space to be considered distinctively Mediterranean' (Parla, 2020, p. 79). In the broader sense, the concept of honour refers to 'clusters of meaning which serve as cultural "maps" for individuals [that] enable persons to find a path in their own culture' (Sirman, 2014, p. 4). In other words, as Herzfeld (1980) highlights honour defines the 'socially appropriate behaviour' (p. 349) which may differ from context to context, and also among different social groups within a context. While anthropologists, e.g., Herzfeld (1980), Abu-Lughod

(2016) Wikan, (1984), and more, worked to deconstruct the homogenising and essentialising (thereby affirming an incommensurable difference from Western civility) accounts on the honour and shame, in Western societies, another wave of homogenising and essentializing emerged, this time, through a focus on ‘honour crimes’:

This stigmatization, in turn, led to another wave of critical response on the part of anthropologists who took pains to demonstrate that honour crimes were not timeless practices intrinsic to the Middle East or to Islam. Instead, they were part and parcel modern institutions, including, for example, juridical processes in Turkey (Koğacıoğlu, 2004; Parla, 2001; Sirman, 2006), assimilationist policies in Germany (Ewing, 2008) or global power hierarchies that justify military interventions in the name of saving non-Western women from cultures of violence (Abu-Lughod, 2002).

(Parla, 2020, p. 85)

The critical epistemological issue at hand here is that the honour-shame complex is understood as evidence of the non-coevalness of the Middle Eastern and North African societies, as societies which fell behind in catching up with modernity and individual rights (see Stewart, 2015). Societies under this category, however, are far from being static; they defy easy descriptions. Coombe (1990), similar to many other postcolonial scholars, draws our attention to the power asymmetries and various social positions in a given society:

Can it really be said that the ‘individual’s foremost concern is prestige and reputation for honour of his family’ if the individual we consider is a Pistiolis, the subordinate male in a *stani*, the fifth daughter, the disgraced wife or the seduced daughter? What does this system of values look like from their perspective? To say that reputation, founded on honour, is the meaning of social life again begs the question of perspective. Certainly this would seem to be the point of view of the dominant adult men in this society but can we assume that this is the meaning of social life for women, children, or those whose life situations preclude success in these terms?

(Coombe, 1990, p. 225)

A good example of such questioning is Unni Wikan’s (1984) seminal work where she deconstructs the male canon scholars’ understanding of honour and shame as binary terms, by delving into the everyday lives of (poor) women in Oman and Egypt. Wikan argues that ‘whether people are preoccupied with shame or with honour is vital because the two relate differently to behaviour. Whereas honour is an aspect of the person, shame applies to an act only’ (1984, p. 636). Women in her research regulate their behaviour with a concern of avoiding shame more than acquiring/affirming honour. This brings us to the relation of such an understanding to Skeggs’s respectability.

Critical feminist studies of the Turkish context, for instance, are interested in the continued relevance of the 'culture of honour' to everyday experience and institutional discourse in the country (Parla, 2020). I propose that it can only be grasped in depth through thinking about the culture of honour together with Skeggs's theory of person Value(s) and the concept of respectability. The idea of honour is, to reiterate, a socially appropriate behaviour that is identified as 'non-emancipatory', and 'non-individuating' in the eyes of Western societies. It is a system of morality considered as *not necessarily* measured by personal internalisation of the external ethical system, that is made a property of the self. The central concern here is how the culture of honour merges into the formation of civility and individuality in a given national space. The endeavour of this book, as well as the many critical feminist studies of the region, is to grasp the most contemporary complexion of such hybridity.

The Rise of the 'Enterprising Self' and the Contemporary Signs of Respectable Femininity

Respectability, as seen thus far, has always been a site of struggle; this section suggests an outline of its contemporary complexion. To reiterate, respectability is always historically and spatially located, particularly within national spaces. Nonetheless, as this section aims, it is possible to reflect on some aspects of it, most importantly its Western-ness, that can potentially travel across differences and different contexts, shaping the content of and relations between social classes therein. A critical point here is how the middle classes, who are identified as the 'the vanguard of the modern, as a national identity and a cultural resource' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 94) keep up with these identifications as 'symbolic proves itself able to adapt to emerging social conditions' (McRobbie, 2015, pp. 10–11). The middle-class moral authority is fragile because the values signifying respectability are subject to an everyday struggle, challenged by those whose subjectivities and cultures are attributed to negative values. Some of their critiques gain ground in time, undermining the power of middle-class morality and cultural practices. Yet, middle-classes desire to 'hold the authority to attribute value', and simultaneously not 'to be held as responsible for perpetuating or agreeing with inequality' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 116). Thus, the signs of respectability and distinction need to be continually updated/re-valued for which new associations between the object (products, ideas, affects, etc.) and value have to be established. Representations become important in creating these new associations.

Skeggs (2004) highlights that understanding social class positions is particularly difficult in today's societies since 'we are in a period where the proliferation of difference through markets, advertising, and other sites of the popular, means that recognition of difference is a lot more difficult to maintain, to know and to see; boundaries are far more permeable than in

the past' (pp. 96–97). McRobbie's (2015) reflection on consistency of the Western idea of 'imperfection' with the idea of 'perfect', and the distance of the imperfection of the upper/middle classes from the imperfection of 'others' is an insightful example in showing how blurred the scenery is today. McRobbie evaluates the accounts of Dunham, a white, upper/middle-class woman, who embraces her 'failure' in her youth, framing it as part of 'growing up', of exploring one's authentic self, while 'being able to live in a "hipster" part of New York (formerly a black neighbourhood) thanks to the support of well-off parents'. McRobbie questions 'What does this kind of pose mean to the young black mother of two who is also in her late 20s?' (2015, pp. 14–15). In a similar vein, the seeming embrace of bodily 'imperfection' is presented as part of the respect for identities and women while simultaneously a culture of extreme/fine-tune self-discipline is promoted with the ever-expanding fashion-beauty market, which is built on the ideas of undisciplined bodies as lacking value (see below). Here, scholars like Skeggs, and McRobbie direct our attention to the consequences of the expansion of commodifying the market. The search for new audiences and markets requires *re-valuation* of 'what was projected onto one group (the working-class) as the site of immoral and dangerous ... [to attach] to another group (the middle-class) as exciting, new, and interesting' (Skeggs, 2004, pp. 104–105). For instance, in terms of sexuality, what defines respectable femininity today is a 'respectable excess'. Yet, class distinctions are still in place to the receptive eye. The precondition of the respectability of sexuality lies in its boundaries. 'Contained "excess" is acceptable within limits, if practised by those who are seen to be capable of self-governance and restraint: it may even enhance their productivity' (Skeggs, 2004, pp. 104–105). The excess in sexuality may still be utilised in attributing negative value to working-class women.

In making sense of the contemporary social class positions, it is important to understand that a new kind of subjectivity has become dominant, the *enterprising self*. The concept refers to a heightened middle-class individuality, whose respectability depends on the capacity of 'optimising the self', which is built on an aspiration of 'perfection' through acquiring a good life. In today's world workers do not only need their skills to sell their labour, but they have to prove themselves, by acquiring the right dispositions, affects and attitude, as the right candidate, a reliable worker who carries 'the wider qualities of *being a particular sort of person and having a particular composition of cultural resources* [emphasis added]. Certain personality characteristics are required, and it is more likely that these will impact upon a person's subjectivity, of who they think they are' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 73). Sharpe et al. (2022) elaborate on how this idea of the responsible, enterprising, optimising self is institutionalised and promoted through social policy, such as community-based youth recreation programmes. Other recent studies on leisure also detail how young people (encouraged to) use their free time and leisure

pursuits in constructing themselves as enterprising selves (see Banks, 2009; Batchelor et al., 2020; Gotfredsen et al., 2022).

In the case of respectable middle-class femininity, the change that has taken place in line with the enterprising self was a move towards more self-esteem, success, competitiveness, and autonomy in the formation of female subjectivity. A critical point of attention here is on the place of feminism in the formation of the new respectable femininity. McRobbie highlights that in the process of the construction and consolidation of the feminine enterprising self, 'something of feminism is attached to a competitive individualism' (2015, p. 4). 'Feminist ideas have slowly worked their way into the material and ideological structures of society and have become part of the general culture of [respectable] femininity' (McRobbie, 1993, p. 409). The traditional domains of femininity, such as magazines, TV shows, social media, ads, and the film and theatre industries, are now deeply ingrained with feminist themes. The regular fare of plays, shows, soap operas, and 'sitcom' content often includes feminist themes. Consequently, contemporary respectable femininity 'incorporates certain "structures of feeling" which emerged from the political discourse of feminism in the 1970s. But it also, and perhaps most powerfully, exists as the product of a highly charged consumer culture which in turn provides subject positions for girls and personal identities for them through consumption' (McRobbie, 1993, pp. 422–423). The result is a fine-tuned patriarchy functioning through transferring authority to women, where aligned self-assessment and self-regulation are covered up with a vocabulary of 'autonomy' and 'choice'.

McRobbie (1993, 2008, 2015) lays out the confusing and contradictory aspects of the new mode of respectable femininity through her concept of the idea of 'perfect'. A critical feature of the new mode of femininity is that 'it can be endlessly constructed, reconstructed and customized' (McRobbie, 1993, p. 416). A vast market of 'guides, manuals, and self-help devices are at their disposal, to constantly improve themselves and manage a self which is in itself a dangerous fiction' (McRobbie, 2015, p. 6). The perfect represents a heightened form of self-regulation based on an aspiration to some idea of the 'good life'. While housework is understood as routine and unrewarding, the perfect invests in various technologies to form a respectable self. McRobbie warns us of the dangers of the illusion of control and choice embedded into the discourse and thinking of the perfect femininity as it materialises a fantasy, the most contemporary version of the capitalist logic of rationality and measuring. McRobbie highlights that 'the power of patriarchy could be both fine-tuned and finessed by delegating authority over women to a field from which masculine domination appeared to be completely absent and instead where women self-regulated through a vocabulary of choice' (2015, pp. 10–11). In the end, women are left with the option of only blaming themselves if something in their lives goes wrong.

It is crucial to highlight that the new mode of respectable femininity outlined above initially emerged in Western societies when young women

started gaining better educational qualifications, entering the labour market in unprecedented numbers and, instead of leaving the workplace with the onset of motherhood, are delaying maternity, avoiding it altogether, or else returning to work not long after childbirth. This emphasis among young women on wage-earning capacity, along with changes in sexual status and maternity, is also an increasingly global trend (McRobbie, 2008, p. 534). Western popular culture in particular travels across national spaces creating new modes of mimicry. Nonetheless, the studies on the societies of the Global South demonstrate that the global trend of the new middle-class respectability operates within the fabric of cultures of various levels, ranging from national level to specific class fractions and sub-cultures. Scholars, therefore, ought to 'historicize [their] studies of the local while paying attention to both the continuities of cultural ideas and the ruptures caused by globalization, urging us to see the deep structures of culture as capable of containing and exhibiting contradictions' (Özyeğin, 2015, p. 2). The question is, then, how the upper/middle classes of each nation, who are identified as the 'vanguard of the modern' keep up with this most contemporary form of belonging to the middle class.

To reiterate, respectability is rarely a concern of the social groups that already have it. The middle class can just *be what they are* as opposed to those who have to constantly prove that they are capable of propertising the right cultural resources in the right manner. Applying this on an international level, Üstüner and Holt (2010) argue that in less industrialised countries (LIC), i.e., the Global South, the social class forming the dominant symbolic order does not automatically bring with itself a feeling that *being what they are* is enough. The upper/middle classes of the LIC need to continuously disidentify themselves from the local habits and values in order to be counted as 'civilised'. Writers reflect on the emulation of the upper/middle-class consumers of the LIC to the upper/middle classes of the Global North. The fundamental aspect of their logic is that 'the Western lifestyle is a myth constructed within the national discourse of the (LIC)' (p. 39) which is central to the construction of the upper/middle-class status in these contexts. The cultural capital, then, is 'imported'. Üstüner and Holt (2010, p. 50) highlight, 'it is not the fruit of indigenous socialization as is the case in Bourdieu's France. Rather, it is based upon the ability to properly interpret, learn, internalize, and then enact the consumption of a distant other...as *detrterritorialized cultural capital*'. The new middle class of countries like Turkey invests in the Western lifestyle myth, yet no matter how much they mimic 'they realise that they are unable to imitate the core of Western middle-class consumption: expressing one's individuality through one's pursuit of particular experiences' (Üstüner & Holt, 2010, p. 51). This is due to the gravity of (the material and discursive aspects of their) social relations in the context under inquiry, and the standing of their national cultural capital in the global hierarchy. Within the national context, on the other hand, their new middle-class femininity still dominates the symbolic order; yet it involves differences from the Western idea of individuality.

Özyeğin, drawing on Suad Joseph's (1993) work, argues that despite the unarguable influence of Western ideas on the formation of the respectable middle-class self in non-Western, particularly Muslim, countries, 'the key component of selfhood is not autonomy or individuality, as it is in many Western contexts, but rather a relational experience with members of one's family' (2015, p. 22):

In such contexts, [Joseph] argues, individuals 'are open to and require the involvement of others in shaping their emotions, desires, attitudes and identities' (Joseph 1993, 468). The actions and opinions of family members do not simply influence an individual's selfhood—they are instrumental to its completion. Their 'security, identity, integrity, dignity, and self-worth ... [are] tied to the actions of [that person]' (Joseph 1993, 467).

(Özyeğin, 2015, p. 23)

Although connectivity is a fundamental aspect of how one constructs his/her subjectivity in many non-Western contexts, for this very reason, it has a strong place in the (re)production of patriarchal relations. Özyeğin (2015) highlights that this hybridity results in 'fractured desires' among socially upwards segments of the middle class, and I would add working classes to this framework.

Politics enter decisively into this complex picture of identifications and formation of moral discursive space. Particular attention needs to be paid to the tension between the political rhetoric of the ruling elites and the broader representations, as is the case in Turkey. In many countries of the Global South, conservative political authorities promote rather traditional femininity which disrupts the institutionalisation of the most contemporary habits and complexion of the self, i.e., the Western ideal of the 'perfect'.

Conclusion

The present chapter has laid out a theory for studying (women's) leisure. It employed Beverley Skeggs's theory of person Value(s). Historicity and contextuality are central vehicles of Skeggs's theory, which is built on the fundamental premises of Marxism. The central benefit of this theory is that it questions the most taken-for-granted ideas on self and individuality, opening up a space for other types of personhoods and values, without rejecting the gravity of the dominant symbolic order. Respectability is utilised in the formation of class, nation, and empire. This acknowledgement not only demonstrates the interlocked dynamics of gender, class, race, and sexuality but also allows us to think about the differences in the content and signs of respectability within/across different national contexts.

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Context Matters

A History of the Changing Modes of Respectable Femininity in Modern Turkey

The current chapter provides the reader with a historical account of the changing modes of respectable femininity in Turkey. As mentioned in the previous chapter, respectable femininity can only be grasped if it is fully contextualised in a national space. Turkey is a country that defies easy descriptions, presenting a useful ground in making sense of how the idea of honour is a dynamic part of the formation of national cultural capital, which also represents middle-class respectability/morality. The chapter dwells on the 150-year-old tension between ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ conceptions of respectable femininity, contending that honour and sexual restraint have been prevalent in Turkish society even after the Republic of Turkey was established. The idea of honour has persisted throughout social groups and cultural categories, albeit with significant variations, giving rise to class struggles and conflicts in their current manifestations. The nation has witnessed a particularly high level of conflict in recent decades between ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ conceptions of respectable femininity. This is because broader representations have strengthened the exclusively secular Western lifestyle as the cultural capital, while the political representation of conservative ideals has created a contested space.

Formation of the Modern Turkish Woman: Late Ottoman Era Struggles on the Definition of Respectable Femininity

The Ottoman Empire as an empire of the pre-existing political and social formation experienced capitalist accumulation and imperialist expansion processes, taking place between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, quite differently in comparison to the European colonial empires. The famous nineteenth century, which is considered ‘the logical *culmination* of processes that had been going on in previous centuries’ (Sajdi, 2007, p. 17), represents the turbulence and equivocalness of the processes the Empire had gone through in adopting the legal, social, and moral states offered by the West. Concerning its image in the eyes of the West and to be counted among the Great Powers, the Empire executed a Western-style state-driven reform movement, starting

with the announcement of the *Tanzimat Fermanı* (1839), which is usually accepted as the *beginning* of modernisation in the Middle East. A series of legal, political, and administrative changes were made, such as the opening of modern schools, the establishment of a modern military system, local governments, and many more (see Mardin, 2006).

This era, at the same time, is a process of struggle on the 'regulation of the moral behaviour'. Both the ruling elite - the Sultan and his bureaucratic cadre - and their critical counterparts - the prominent male and female intellectuals of the era - were concerned with the Empire's cultural image and position in the world. The Ottoman/Islamic culture was classified as 'perverse', and 'backwards' by the European counterparts as they 'claimed an incommensurable difference, with Islam as the primary reason' (Akşit, 2015, pp. 133-134). Harem, polygamy, women's lack of rights and individuality, the segregation of sexes, and the lack of women's presence in public spaces were seen as rooted in the Islamic culture. As Akşit (2015, pp. 135-136) highlights 'the mystified harem made the private sphere in Europe appear more appealing because...no matter how confined, the European lady was at the very least more independent than the occupant of the harem, the slave-wife'. How should the Empire respond to such negative value attribution? Although there was a relative consensus among the competing political groups on adapting to Western science and technology, the area of culture was an uphill battle.

The ruling elite of the Ottoman Empire occupied a conservative position towards women's rights and responsibilities, since they were interested in protecting the Ottoman/Islamic moral values: 'Controlling Muslim women, by any measure, was perceived as a safety valve against the changes brought by modernization' (Çakır, 2009, p. 78). The Ottoman/Islamic respectability - also read as the honour code - prescribed women modesty in attire and their withdrawal from public spaces as much as possible. If their public presence was unavoidable, then women and men needed to be strictly segregated from each other. The edicts of the Ottoman Empire published between the 17th and 20th centuries inform us that the urban women, particularly the Istanbulites, were hardly performing the respectable femininity imposed by the Empire. The edicts described in minute detail how Muslim women should dress and behave in public, and their possibilities of leisure. For instance, women's visits to recreation spots were under strict control. An edict from 1811 demonstrates that Muslim women in Istanbul were allowed to visit certain recreation spots only on Friday or on Sunday between allocated hours. Their presence in non-recreational green areas, on the other hand, was forbidden due to the danger of mixed-sex socialisation (Çakır, 2009, pp. 83-85). Such official restrictions continued until the very end of the Empire (see Ryan, 2018).

The male and female reformists fiercely criticised the attitude of the ruling elite as they were interested in re-defining the society and its cultural authenticity. On the one hand, Ottoman female intellectuals, like Fatma

Aliye, rejected the negative value attribution to their culture and femininity by Europeans. Aliye had knowledge of the Quran and argued, through her concept of the *Islam Kadını* (Woman of Islam), that Islam does not place women into a backwards position (Zihnioğlu, 2003). She also argued that 'harems and the women in them were of greater interest and complexity than Europeans perceived; they even offered advantages over the European home. Other female intellectuals of the era also argued that harems were essentially not so different from European domestic arrangements' (Akşit, 2015, pp. 135–136). On the other hand, these intellectuals were not idealising harem or the existing application of Islam; they were in alignment with the critical male reformists in demanding changes on social, economic, and legal grounds, that would bring more rights for Muslim women. Prominent demands were equal rights in divorce, the abolition of polygamy, being able to choose one's partner, and the right to education and work (Çakır, 2009; Zihnioğlu, 2003). Their ideas were disseminated through the medium of newspapers and journals.

The 1908 'revolution' (see Kansu, 2016) was executed by the Young Turks, and changed the regime of the Empire from absolute to constitutional monarchy; (known as) the Second Constitutional Era (1908–1918) is a critical milestone in Turkish history. From this moment on, the Committee of Union and Progress, which ruled the country, shifted the emphasis from Islam and the Empire to Turkish nationalism. At the time, the Ottoman Empire already lost a significant size of its lands and many non-Muslim, non-Turkish communities of its population. The Young Turks called the Empire Turkey and imagined its future around the Turkish community. This required a new definition of cultural authenticity, which would serve to put a distance between the 'backwards' and 'non-emancipatory' Ottoman/Islamic culture and simultaneously resist Orientalism. According to the new ruling elite 'The Turkishness was de-subjectified within the heterogeneous Imperial population, solely defined with Muslimhood, and confined to a rural culture; its respectability now needed to be returned' (Şenol Cantek, 2016, p. 30). The formation of Turkish nationalism was hinged upon the respectability claimed through women's elevated status in the 'imagined' authentic Turkish culture that existed before the Ottoman/Islamic era. Ziya Gökalp, who is a historian and considered as the intellectual founder of Turkish nationalism notes, 'Turkic tribes were both democratic and feminist. As it is, democratic societies would generally be feminist. Another source of the feminism of the Turkic tribes is shamanism which relied on the holy power of women' (Gökalp, 1976, p. 158, cited in Durakbaşa, 2017, p. 121). According to Gökalp 'national family' would not be a copy of the European 'modern family'. There was made a distinction between 'civilisation' and 'culture'. The contemporary civilisation offered by the West is already found in the Turks' own root culture (Durakbaşa, 2017, p. 121). This initial formation of Turkish culture would be the 'constitutive referent' of the new Republic of Turkey.

Starting with the very early days of the Second Constitutional Era, revolutionary elite women organised meetings and published journal and newspaper articles asking, 'What will be our share from the progressiveness of this era?' (Zihnioğlu, 2003, p. 45). They demanded the recognition of women's 'individual freedom' and 'selfhood'. The Committee of Union and Progress promised greater freedoms and a modern understanding of citizenship and democracy (see Kansu, 2016), which involved women's rights. Reformist men were against the segregation of sexes, and they desired Muslim women to attend mixed-sex public meetings, just like their non-Muslim counterparts. For instance, in those years, the consulates of the European countries often organised balls through which the modern lifestyle of nations could be demonstrated (Durakbaşa, 2017). Yet, the power of the Sharia supporters in the parliament and the political turmoil the country went through – in addition to the Balkan Wars and the First World War – prevented the execution of their vision. As the Empire opened secular schools for girls, allowed women's attendance at theatres, recreation spots, to use public transportation, all these had to be executed in segregation with men. Progressive women were hardly agreeing with the morality imposed through segregation. For instance, Ulviye Mevlan, publishing in the journal of *Women's World* (Kadınlar Dünyası), complained about the segregation of men and women in public spaces by the use of curtains:

We consider civility as nothing more than [modern] clothing, and cosmetics, and we cannot break away from our medieval customs. But civilisation means the development of morale, science, wisdom, and aesthetics. Civilised societies do not occupy themselves anymore with profane issues, such as the discussions on whether women should be counted as part of the population. Please! What is the value of theatre and play in a country where there are curtains on the tramway, curtains on the ferry, curtains in the subway, curtains in theatre? If the civilized, who have seen this, ask us 'Why do you need theatre if you are devoid of serious good manners when keeping your women and men together?' How can we respond?

(Çakır, 2009, p. 97)

As the quote demonstrates, respectable femininity is formed against two types of 'degeneracy' that are getting stuck with the 'medieval' customs, and 'false-modernisation'. According to progressive women, respectability is an ideal that needs to be internalised by the individuals, neither imposed through old-fashioned customs such as the segregation of sexes nor be shallowly mimicked through the consumption of Western fashion and lifestyle.

Mixed-sex socialisation is a desire of the upper segment who are occupied with the European ideals of respectability and nation-building process at the political level; at the economic level, the policy of the segregation of sexes ensured the exploitation of the lower-class Muslim women's

labour into the global capitalist economy. By the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was already part of the world economy and lower-class women 'were employed in the silk spinning, tobacco, canned food, and printing sectors as well as in making soap, matches, and paper' (Köksal & Falierou, 2013, p. 13). As Muslim women's employment was generally considered unacceptable, they were working from home, especially in the garment and shoe-making sectors. In certain sectors, though, female workers had to go out of their homes to the workplaces. Women's employment in the tobacco sector is an illustrative case of how segregation of sexes was considered as a middle-ground linking up the needs of capitalism with conservative cultural norms. Vardağlı (2013) notes that in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the tobacco sector was at the height of its expansion in the Empire:

In the late nineteenth century, women in the Selanik region constituted, in fact, a majority of the workforce in both industrial cigarette factories and tobacco processing workshops. Archival registers indicate that Muslim women workers believed to be the latest entrants into this labor force, worked in tobacco workshops as early as 1887...Several registers also show that the employment of Muslim women in the workshops led to social discontent within the Muslim community; it appears that the 'honor' of female Muslim tobacco workers also caught the attention of the Ottoman administrators. In 1911, the Ottoman government ultimately declared that the employment of Muslim women in the workshops did not violate Islamic rules, since their workplaces were separate from those of the men and their wages were paid by female supervisors.

(Vardağlı, 2013, pp. 53–54)

The segregation of sexes was used by the state as a guarantee of Ottoman/Islamic respectability. Yet, as we have seen above, progressive, upper-class women perceived this as an outdated custom, having no place in the modern world. Nonetheless, modernisation did not mean copying out of the Western lifestyle in a shallow manner, such as through Western attire, make-up, jewellery, and merely through a pleasure-seeking attitude.

The respectable femininity of Turkish nationalism is built on an ideal that is the opposite of a 'false-modernisation' which would bring degeneracy and dissolution of family and moral values of society (see Türe, 2013). The World War I and the following Armistice period (1918–1922) – when the Empire was occupied by the European Powers and an Independence War started against it – required an understanding of respectable femininity that is entangled with the rejection of Western Imperialism and hinged upon nationalism, religiosity, and moral values peculiar to the Ottoman/Muslim/Turkish culture. Hereby, urban women, who study or work, are often being criticised as presenting individualistic, unrestrained, overly liberal attitudes:

[I]n *Türk Kadını* [Turkish woman], which was a nationalist women's periodical, Nezihe Rikkat viewed the change in women's lifestyles and their entering the world of work as abnormal. In her article entitled 'Erkekleşme' [Becoming male] she disapproved of those women who regardless of their fragile natures 'walked boldly in isolated streets at midnight,' 'tussled with the police,' 'raced after trams,' 'blustered about in the streets' and 'plundered shops'.

(Metinsoy, 2013, pp. 91–92)

The attire has always been a central symbol of respectable femininity. Türe (2013) and Georjon (2013) provide us with abundant examples from the satirical press and erotic publications of the era in which flamboyant modern apparel was associated with degeneracy:

In a cartoon published in *Diken* an immigrant standing before a woman in a short skirt, exclaims: 'Poor thing, she didn't have enough money to finish her dress!' In another example, a *muhacir* [emigrant] woman, a child on her back, in torn clothing that leaves her half exposed, applauds the Istanbulite: 'Bravo to the women of Istanbul,' she says. 'In order not to make us feel ashamed [of our poverty], they also walk around half naked!' A Central Asian man is talking to an Istanbul resident, with two modern young women with short hair and short skirts in the background: 'They say that the women of Istanbul are very free,' he says naively, 'What a lie! I haven't seen a Muslim woman out in the street since I got here!'

(Georjon, 2013, p. 256)

Such examples do not only illustrate the relationship of respectability to the attire but also to urbanity. As can be seen from the excerpt, the peasant segment of society is presented as the rural *mass* who still live in accordance with Islamic morality.

Rural women held a more complex position in the eyes of nationalists. On the one hand, the Anatolian women were not displaying idealised, respectable, controlled sexuality. Elite women, like Halide Edip, were acutely aware of the distance between their and rural women's femininity. Edip is the daughter of a public servant in the Ottoman Palace, she is an Istanbulite lady, an intellectual who devoted herself to her nation. She actively takes part in the Independence War, alongside Atatürk, located around Ankara. In her memoir of the Independence War, she reflects on her encounter with rural women of Anatolia, reflecting on the alienation she feels when encountering Anatolian women, particularly due to the Anatolian women's unrestrained conversations on sexuality. An extreme example of such alienation occurs when rural women invite the *coquette* (*yosma*) of the village to dance for Halide Edip, upon which she immediately leaves the scene. She notes that 'bodily sins, actually all kinds of sins, were not leading to a moralistic burst of rage among

villagers' (Adivar, 1928, p. 207; cited in Durakbaşa, 2017, p. 134). Yet, the unrestrained sexuality is not enough to label rural women as non-respectable since, the rural Anatolian women devoted themselves to the nation during the Independence War, and therefore, were highly respected by the constitutive cadres of the Republic as well as Turkish intelligentsia. In fact, the elevated position of the 'Anatolian woman' within the national discourse was hoped to serve to close the gap between elite women and rural women under the formation of 'Turkish identity' (Durakbaşa, 2017, p. 136). Hence, Anatolian women, similar to lower-class urban women, were perceived as in need of discipline and education. Indeed, educating women was part of a broader attempt to transform *halk* (public/mass) to *yurttaş* (citizen/individual).

The public needs to internalise the morale and discipline pertinent to Turkish respectability. What did this ideal embody? As already mentioned, the old customs of Ottoman/Islamic morality, built on the idea of honour and the segregation of sexes, should be abolished. Women should internalise an ideal of good manners presenting itself in making modest choices in apparel and exhibiting *honourable* behaviour in mixed-sex public spaces. A concrete example can make this ideal more perceptible. Şükûfe Nihâl, an important feminist figure of her time, sought to describe the ideal schoolgirl in her article on the physical appearance of female students:

The ideal schoolgirl had such 'sublime thoughts' that they would not deign to use the 'despicable assistance of the paints and colors that were the requirements of debauchery.' These girls had such innocence that 'while they walked with all their simplicity, stateliness, and solemnity they spread purity into the streets they passed' and that their foreheads were 'so innocent that not a single hair would dare to sin by falling upon them.' She wrote, and probably hoped, that as a result of this upright behavior of the girls even the most unruly men among the populace would feel ashamed before them and respect their immunity.

(Metinsoy, 2013, p. 96)

A crucial aspect of this ideal is that it promotes women's participation in the public sphere in a secular fashion, which is necessary for the recognition of her individuality and citizenship. Yet, this participation can only be respectable if women control their sexuality and embody an inner-looking, reflexive self. This ideal of respectable femininity would be institutionalised in the new Republic of Turkey.

The Institutionalisation of Respectability: Building of the Republic of Turkey (1923–1949)

The establishment of the Republic of Turkey allowed the constitutive cadres to implement radical changes to transform the society and its symbolic

dominant order. The first two decades of the Republic, characterised by the single-party regime, played a key role in this radical execution of the modernisation project. Public services and the formal basis of social relations were transformed in a European and secular direction, explicitly disclaiming the country's Ottoman and Islamic past. Women's rights remained at the centre of these reforms representing the modern face of Turkey:

The Republican state itself evolved into what later scholars called a 'feminist' state, a male-dominated state that made women's equality in the public sphere a national policy. The new government radically changed laws, encouraged women to unveil, to enter the universities and professions, become aeroplane pilots, and run for parliament—in many cases before other European societies did.

(White, 2003, p. 145)

The importance of the republican reforms should not be denied as they brought considerable amendments to women's rights, such as civil marriage, outlaw of polygamy, equality in divorce, child custody, inheritance, etc. (see Özbay, 2014). Yet, it is also crucial for us to understand that the Republican mentality did not eliminate the 'transcription of the traditional virtues onto female bodies, but merely transfigured these bodies as both modern and chaste – the modern yet modest, publicly visible yet virtuous' (Özyeğin, 2009, p. 106). In other words, the idea of honour, albeit in its new form, survived within the new ideal of respectable femininity. How so?

Women's participation in mixed-sex public life was secured through family. Marriage and motherhood were envisaged as a national duty for women. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in his speech in 1923, called for women to 'take their places in the general economic division of labour' but also stated, 'A woman's highest duty is motherhood' (Duben & Behar, 1991, p. 221). 'The nation could only hope to rest on a foundation created by these conscientious housewives trained to properly raise citizens for the new republic' (Akşit, 2013, p. 140). In modern family, 'marriage was to be companionate, rather than contractual and segregated, and children were to be raised "scientifically" by mothers educated in the latest childrearing and household techniques imported from the West' (White, 2003, p. 146). But how to educate women in accordance with this national duty? The fact that a standard high school education did not provide young women with homemaking skills had led to concerns that womanhood was being split into two; uneducated homemakers, on the one hand, and educated working women,¹ on the other. The *Kız Enstitüleri* [Girls' Institutes] (1928–1940) were, then, established across the country to mitigate against this split by educating middle-class homemakers as well as the 'deserving' segment of the urban working-class who attended the evening classes (Akşit, 2013, p. 140).

The urban middle-class segment of the female population was encouraged to study at Girls' Institutes as they were considered as the agents of modern Turkish culture. Graduates were to give suitable content and appearance to a new elite in its public and private spheres, both with the attire they produced and in the homes that they decorated and maintained (Akşit, 2013, p. 134). Young women were encouraged to focus on the domestic sphere. The school magazines were promoting domesticity through various devices, such as poems: 'Dear Turkish Girl, discover your useless hopes and dispose of them, let motherhood be your ultimate aim!' (1937–1938 Institute Yearbook, 14; cited in Akşit, 2013, p. 143). Through such discourse, a moral division is made between the 'non-respectable' desires women could have, such as not getting married, working in male-dominated jobs, discovering one's sexuality, and the 'respectable' femininity which demands altruism and devotion from women to their family and their nation. The graduate is expected to be married to a state official, perhaps moving to a small town, and start practising respectability through 'producing new clothes for her family, decorate her home with curtains, tablecloths, tables and chairs, and turn her life into a showcase for the town' (Akşit, 2013, p. 146). In fact, these middle-class women gathered at each other's homes, organising Reception Days (see Chapter 8), which became like 'schools for modernisation for middle-class women [in which] modern manners, fashion, child-rearing practices and relations among spouses [were] discussed' (Özbay, 1999, p. 561).

Representation of women in public life, as explained thus far, is important for the Republic as mixed-sex socialisation is a sign of 'civility'. New urban venues and leisure organisations were designed for this purpose. The family tea garden concept, for instance, is a case in point. Unlike the male-only coffee houses, which have been a long-lasting part of the public scene since the seventeenth century (Sajdi, 2007; Akyazıcı Özkoçak, 2009), municipalities created local civic sites where women could enjoy a visible place within the public sphere (Wohl, 2017). Especially, in the 1930s, cultural venues like *halkevi* (people's house), *şehir kulübü* (city club), etc., were established in the cities of Anatolia, bringing female and male citizens together. These mixed-sex leisure spaces proliferated in the 1940s, including restaurants, music halls, theatres, large urban parks, etc. The crucial matter at this point is that these venues largely remained as *family* spaces, i.e., safe spaces for respectable middle-class women. In other words, *the mixed-sex socialisation was circumscribed by the family*. Studies show that at the level of everyday life, women's presence in urban public spaces was rather scarce in the early decades of the Republic. Tuncer (2018, pp. 70–71) notes that 'the Ankara [the capital city of the Republic] of the 1930s was often referred to as "a city devoid of women" in written and oral narratives'. Özbay notes:

The educational level of women, even among the middle and upper-middle strata was low and through the 1950s their participation in the waged

economy was circumscribed. There were few women to be seen on the streets, in parks or recreation centres.

(Özbay, 1999, p. 561)

Under such circumstances, for the middle-class women in provincial towns and cities, who were mostly unemployed, participation in public life was mostly limited to the female-only networks. Women mostly gathered at home, through activities like Reception Days: 'Reception Days were a kind of women's public space' (Özbay, 1999, p. 564). This pattern of modernity is nothing special to Turkey, as Kandiyoti (1977) highlights Reception Day emerged as a modern practice in many Middle Eastern societies in this era.

The majority of the population in the early decades of the Republic was living in rural areas. Thus, especially for the more conservative Anatolian cities and the lower classes, Girls' Institutes became a primary alternative to mixed-sex education imposed by the state. Mixed-sex schooling generated a certain level of resistance in rural areas. A fair example of this is the *Köy Enstitüleri* (Village Institutes) project (1940–1946). The project aimed to raise a generation of male and female teachers who would return to the villages and teach every aspect of modern life to the rural population. The curriculum of these Institutes included a few areas, such as modern mentality applied to the works done in villages, cultural activities, such as playing an instrument, reading classical literature, together with modern subjects such as maths, literature, etc. The project was part of cultivating Republican ideal citizens living in rural areas. However, the mixed-sex, boarding education created discomfort among the local rural communities, particularly escalated by the local establishment, that complaints were made about the fear of degeneration and loss of families' honour due to the danger of sexual conduct between male and female students (Tuna, 2009). An important point here is that the female students who graduated from Village Institutes also acquired respectability through propertising the idealised national culture. Therefore, they were not anymore, a representative of the ordinary rural women. For many decades, girls' access to education in Turkey, in fact, has been constrained. Families resisted sending their daughters to school, which created a point of conflict between the state and society. The ideology of honour created family examples in which sons became engineers, teachers, and lawyers, and daughters were still illiterate. According to the official statistics, women made up more than 70% of the illiterate population between the years 1975–2000 (Köse, 2016).

In the early decades of the Republic, what marked the conditions of women was the failure of the state to execute reforms, especially the ones concerning women's conditions in the family, to the vast rural hinterland, which contained approximately 84% of the population of Turkey (Kandiyoti, 1987; Tekeli, 1995). Women's conditions in the family remained firmly under the control of local communities and followed customary practices, which were

'denounced as "traditional" or even "backwards" by the enlightened technocrats of the republic' (Kandiyoti, 1994, p. 312). Indeed, the body of research conducted during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s provided evidence of the ways in which old practices were still prevalent and affected women's lives. The state failed in its implementation of the legal framework and turned a blind eye to the ongoing and highly unequal practices. For instance, during the first decades of the Republic, even though civil marriages were officially recognised and made compulsory, religious marriages prevailed, with serious consequences for women. As Kandiyoti points out, 'Thousands, even millions failed to register their marriages or children, especially their female children' (1987, p. 322) despite the laws that were passed in 1933, 1945, 1950, and 1956 for the legitimation of children born out of civil marriage (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982; Abadan-Unat, 1978).

The summary of the conditions highlights that the family- and home-orientated imagination of respectable femininity in Turkey presented itself in the early decades of the Republic. Although the middle-class women's attire, manners, mobility, and presence in public spaces seemed significantly different from the urban working-class and peasant women's realities, their individuality was still circumscribed by male and family control. Tuncer (2018) provides us with detailed examples of how middle-class femininity during this time was characterised by deference to the authority of the spouse and parents. The realities of all female groups would start changing in the subsequent decades.

The Consolidation of Respectability amid Social Change (1950–1980)

The period between the 1950s and 1980s brought greater changes to the political regime and economic relations of the country. This period is marked by rural-to-urban migration. Cities saw tremendous growth in both size and population as a result of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation. The dominance of the constitutive cadres under a single-party regime came to an end by 1950, a decade in which a more liberal and culturally moderate Democrat Party came into power. 'In contrast to the previous period, the Democrat Party's understanding of modernity highlighted religious and traditional elements and tended towards populism' (Tuncer, 2018, p. 7). In the 1960s and 1970s, there was a surge in the popularity of leftist ideology, and many groups within society, such as public servants, labourers, and college students, started advocating for liberty and freedom. Women were encouraged to enter the public sphere in these decades by a variety of means, such as pursuing higher education, finding employment, and engaging in social and political culture. While middle-class families started living in modern apartments, the majority of the population was still living in rural areas, albeit with the increasing influx of migrants to cities.

Middle-class women and urban inequalities in cultural terms have not gained the attention of researchers until the 1980s. A recent study by Tuncer (2018) on middle-class women's leisure habits and their use of urban leisure venues in the capital city of Ankara between the period of 1950–1980 provides us with a generous account of the content and boundaries of respectable femininity and its relation to leisure. It is crucial to highlight at this point that from the 1950s onwards, cities have become rich cultural sites, comprising enormous leisure possibilities, such as parks and picnic areas, cinema, theatre, music venues, restaurants, and cafes. Therefore, participating in leisure has become part of middle-class respectability. Tuncer's study is particularly important since it demonstrates how the idea of honour survived within the Republican middle-class respectability, and it created a very shy and timid way of women's presence in public life, particularly for leisure purposes, which only gradually left its way to more individualised experiences and discourses of choice. Tuncer interviewed two generations of women; the older generation was born before the 1930s and lived their youth in the 1950s, whereas the younger generation lived their youth in the emancipatory decades of the 1960s and the 1970s. Her findings highlight that women's engagement with public life and outside leisure activities were tightly controlled by their parents, with the primary concern being limiting contact with unrelated men. 'Women from both generations were clear that they had not been allowed to go out without one of their parents or a close relative' (Tuncer, 2018, p. 123). Tuncer highlights that there was still a significant difference between the older and younger generations. By the 1960s and the 1970s, younger middle-class women started to enter higher education and employment in growing numbers, which resulted in stretching out their possibilities of being in public spaces without the accompanying of a family member. Although initially, parents tended to allow their daughters' attendance to leisure activities on the condition that they would be accompanied by a brother, in time young middle-class women started to go to leisure venues like cinemas either alone or with friends (Tuncer, 2018, p. 93). As they expanded their relationship with the outside world, the younger generation of middle-class women moved away from their mothers' style of respectability. They started distinguishing themselves from the traditional role of the woman as a homemaker. '[T]he features of housewifery they avoided identifying were mainly those that they associated with their mothers, such as being house-proud, spending days visiting with neighbours or hosting reception days' (Tuncer, 2018, p. 171). The younger generation also did not share their parents' concerns about honour. As they were torn between their parents' traditional values and modern expectations of the era, they tried to stretch out their possibilities through various strategies, such as lying or sneaking out from home. These women, unlike their mothers, did not feel that they were doing something wrong by breaking certain rules. Nonetheless, it is crucial to highlight that the younger generation of middle-class women still lived under

the dominance of the honour code, albeit in a more moderated form. They would go out alone but had to seek a permit from their parents; they would also need to be careful in public spaces as they would be followed by a family member for control and affirmation of their respectability.

The gap between the urban middle-class and rural women remained, if not increased, in these decades. A traditional form of honour–shame complex dominated rural women’s lives. Through all the stages of a woman’s life in rural Turkey, separation from men was omnipresent, with interaction restricted to kin groupings (Dobkin, 1967, pp. 66–68). According to Delaney (1991), girls tended to be more spoilt than boys and were allowed a good deal of freedom of movement before the age of twelve as they were considered guests for a brief period in their parents’ home. From childhood, they were reminded that ‘one day they would leave their home and go to *e/* (stranger’s) home’ (Kandiyoti, 1977, p. 29). Until the 1970s, as the average age of marriage for women was 16 (Koç, 2014, p. 24), it is reasonable to think that girls traditionally left home soon after reaching puberty. Their choice of partner, rather than being a personal matter, was mostly arranged through families. A national survey carried out in 1968 showed that as many as 67% of Turkish marriages were arranged (Kandiyoti, 1987, p. 325). In analysing these figures, Kandiyoti highlights the disparity between the practice and the Republican imagination of an ideal family based on companionate relationships and romantic love. In practice, the emotional attachment was often expected to develop after marriage. Residence after marriage was patrilocal, with the newlywed bride living with her husband’s family in an extended household. The household included a senior male member as the head of the family, his wife, unmarried daughters, all male children, and their wives (Stirling, 1953).

After the passing of the male head of the household, the extended family would disband. Men usually established their own households, and a woman and her children became the point of a new residential unit. ‘A woman’s old age offered respite from heavy chores and duties since her son was on hand to offer assistance in the daily routine’ (Dobkin, 1967, pp. 67–68).

Scholars agree that it was the changing economic conditions on the ground, rather than the legal and institutional reforms at the state level, that led to a gradual breakdown of the traditional gender roles and accelerated social change (Kiray, 2007; Tekeli, 1995; Stirling, 1993; Kandiyoti, 2002). From the 1950s onwards, the population explosion, mechanisation in agriculture, and the increased industrialisation of urban areas resulted in mass migration and changes in the material and non-material conditions of a large segment of the population. Under the pronatalist policy of the Republic, the death rates decreased while the birth rates increased. Consequently, ‘the population of Turkey doubled in four decades from 13,648,000 in 1927 to

27,755,000 in 1960. This created dramatic unemployment in rural areas [, which] by the mid-twentieth century, resulted in seasonal or long-term migration to urban areas' (Kiray, 2007, p. 67) as well as to other countries, like Germany. Migration was also fostered by the mechanisation of agricultural production. In 1947, Turkey imported a significant number of tractors with the monetary support of the European Recovery Plan. While

four to nine agricultural workers lost their jobs for each tractor ... as many as 25% of the farmers lost their lands by selling them to the large landowners and thereby became a part of the surplus population in rural areas.

(Kiray, 2007, p. 74).

For instance, 'in 1957 according to the survey of the Public Employment Office, the number of people seeking jobs outside their village was 7,400,000 (the total population by 1955 was 24 million and the total labour force was 12 million)' (Kiray, 2007, p. 97). Although the state-owned enterprises supported import-substitution industrialisation policies and gradually increased Turkey's development while creating urban employment opportunities, the urban workforce did not easily accommodate rural migrants (Ilkkaracan, 2012) given the considerable gap between the industrial production growth (8% every 5 years) and the migration growth (18% every 5 years). This gap provides insights into the migrants' living conditions in cities. According to research conducted in Ankara *gecekondu* (squatter) settlements in 1962, 20% of residents were skilled workers, 10% non-skilled labourers, 3% were white-collar labourers, and the rest were under the category of 'others', which includes occupations like a peddler, repairman, shoe-shiner, etc.

According to Kiray (2007), the migrant masses, who mostly worked for small businesses on low wages, felt a deep insecurity for their survival. This sense of insecurity was eased by building *gecekondu* houses as 'a roof over one's head' and by keeping close relationships with relatives from one's village living in the same neighbourhood. Both the unwillingness of the state to produce social houses for the migrant working force and the limits of migrants' financial resources resulted in the construction of *gecekondu* (squatter) housing, which is defined as a 'social housing model that belongs to Turkey' (Çavdar, 2011, p. 54). Under the inadequate welfare conditions, migrants also acknowledged the importance and value of keeping kinship ties and having relatives close by (Özbay, 2014, pp. 66–67). In pursuit of solidarity, through 'chain migration', many families from the same village, city or region clustered in the same *gecekondu* neighbourhoods (Erder, 1997, 2002). Additionally, the relations between the family members in the city and in the village remained close for a while and the migrants mostly kept open the option of returning to their village. 'The continuing visits, the mutual exchange of money, food and gifts and letters are signs of the need for support and security' (Kiray, 2007, p. 102).

The role of the family and kinship as institutions, therefore, understood in economic terms as solidarity mechanisms, are still prevalent in Turkey despite the many changes the structures of families have undergone.

While the security offered by having a *gecekondu* property and keeping kin relations close helped migrant families survive, it also created new obstacles. The increased social control over women (Erman, 2001), the 'housewification' process of female migrants (Ilkkaracan, 2012) and the perpetuation of poverty into the next generations (Kiray, 2007) are some of those obstacles directly related to women migrants in the cities of Turkey. Ilkkaracan (2012) emphasises that the initial decades of the state-led modern growth process in Turkey facilitated the development of urban labour markets as a predominantly male institution, accompanied by the 'housewification' process for women. The latter concept refers to the confinement of migrant women's lives 'more and more to the immediate neighbourhood' (Kandiyoti, 1977, p. 71). Female labour force participation indicators also prove this point. For instance, Kandiyoti (1977) surveyed male industrial workers in the towns of Istanbul and Izmit (in 1975) and showed that only 2% of their wives were engaged in certain forms of paid employment. Kandiyoti points out that 'the relatively stable income of industrial workers meant that they could keep their wives at home' (Kandiyoti, 1977, p. 71). The stable income of industrial workers was due to the success of the strongly developed and extremely male-dominated trade unions in wage negotiations, which traditionally kept an exclusive focus on the maintenance of 'family wage' (Ilkkaracan, 2012, p. 13). As a consequence of the 'chain migration' and 'housewification' of the female population, the traditionally informed gender roles and everyday practices in rural areas 'migrated' to urban neighbourhoods with the rural population. Especially in gender terms, the basic question asked by several social scientists in Turkey can be summarised as follows: for many female rural-to-urban migrants in the city, 'did migration mean personal liberation from strict family control?' Erman (2001) emphasises that, on the contrary, male control over women's behaviours increased in these settlements:

What is evident in the research on Turkish rural-to-urban migrants are the continuous attempts of migrant men to preserve their control and domination of women, supported by institutions and the value system of patriarchal society. Especially in the dynamic context of Turkish society, where there is growing contestation over the prevailing norms and values, as men's traditional roles are challenged and their domination is threatened, they increase their attempts to fortify the system of patriarchy against these challenges.

(Erman, 2001, p. 130)

The urban middle class who were, by the mid-twentieth century onwards, living in modern apartment buildings and participating in many entertainment

opportunities of urban life were looking down on rural-to-urban migrants, avoiding them both socially and spatially. According to the middle classes, whose ideas were being represented through media, these migrants were ‘ignorant’, and they were not *getting it right*, not learning how to behave in public, how to entertain, dress, etc. They were not restraining their sexuality, having too many children while living in poverty and had no taste. A graphic example is the difference between the apparel of these two groups in the 1970s. The working-class women would wear trousers under mini-skirts, whereas the urban middle class would follow the latest fashion, and wear either the mini skirt or the wide-leg trouser. A journalist reflecting on her childhood noted:

My mother, aunt, my friend’s mother, my schoolteacher belonged to the group of women who did not wear trousers under a skirt; cleaners, char-women at schools, even most of the saleswomen wore them together ... Wearing a trouser under a skirt was like a uniform to the young migrant women in the city ... Mostly the trousers and the skirt would march to a different beat ... Migrant woman sees urban women in miniskirts and tight trousers. She feels that she needs to dress similarly. Yet, she feels uneasy due to both her own morality, but also the family and community pressure. She cannot travel in the city with her *şalvar* [baggy trousers used in villages] either.

(Kalkan, 1999, para. 2–4)

Wearing miniskirts with trousers is a sign of ‘respectabilitywork’ of lower-class women, yet at the same time, a signifier of their ‘failure’ to fit into the dominant symbolic order. Studies show that since the early decades of the Republic, rural migrants’ ‘atrocities’ would be presented in newspapers, as they were not consuming the public leisure spaces in the right manner (Tuncer, 2018). This antagonism would be heightened in the subsequent decades, generating new dichotomic expressions, such as ‘White Turks’ and ‘Black Turks’.

Fragmentation and Complexity in the New Era: 1980–2000

Turkey faced a military coup in September 1980, which can be defined as a watershed moment marking deep transformations in society. A new breakthrough in the economic and political relations with the Western world as well as the diversification of local actors in politics and economy generated significant changes in the mode of respectable femininity, turning it, *once more*, into an area of intense struggle. In the economic sphere, ‘export-oriented growth and market liberalisation were instigated under the military coup’ (Ilkkaracan, 2012, p. 13). In the area of production, the country aimed to gain a cost advantage and attract foreign investment for which

unionisation and collective bargaining rights were suspended and the wages were severely repressed. Western-style consumption, on the other hand, was promoted by the hand of public and private actors. In the political sphere, in an environment where the existing parties were closed under the military coup and the country was struggling to return to a democratic state, the political authorities pursued a Western-orientated policy, attending the United Nations (UN) World Women Conference in 1985, and signing the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in the same year, applying for full European Union (EU) membership in 1987. All these required legal and institutional changes towards the elimination of gender-based inequalities. Furthermore, feminist activism gained ground in the country in those years, questioning the confinement of women into heterosexual families and the idea of honour, which most clearly presented itself in violence against women. Meanwhile, Islam consolidated itself in the Turkish political arena in the early 1980s (Tekeli, 1995). As a consequence, the relationship with Western capitalism and liberal democracy, as well as the local actors acting through religious, feminist, and neo-liberal ideologies have since impacted on (re)formulation of respectable femininity.

In the 1980s, the process of economic liberalisation in Turkey led the country to open up to the world socio-culturally as well as economically. The demand for consumer goods and services increased with media advertisement and marketing through mass communication platforms. The proliferation of private TV channels, lifestyle magazines, etc. familiarised a broader segment of Turkish society with Western cultures and consumption products (Kozanoğlu, 1992). Popular Western TV series, shows and movies started to be streamed on the new private TV channels. Western lifestyle magazines and their Turkish equivalents exemplified the most contemporary ways of being a subject of value, through acquiring the right Western brands and styles. Consumption was also promoted through government policies, reaching out to all areas of life, from fashion to housing. For instance, Turkish companies that had accumulated their 'capital in manufacturing and subsidiary industry sectors until the 1980s began to discover urban rent and shifted their investments to urban lands' (Çavuşoğlu, 2011, p. 43). Local governments took over the authority for urban planning and land production opening large vacant lands on the edge of cities to construction. By marketing these lands to large real estate companies, they gained significant revenues and became the main actors in rent and speculation (Buğra, 2000; Çavuşoğlu, 2011). Leisure was at the centre of the real estate projects, offering a lifestyle that upper/middle segments of the population had been longing for (Perouse & Danış, 2005). Additionally, the construction of shopping malls and new entertainment centres in cities marked the beginning of a new capitalist urban life and culture, which equated 'the good life' with the ability to consume in Western style:

Frequent travel to the United States, dressing up in fashionable brands, eating international cuisine, taking a coffee break at the new fashionable cafes, pausing for an after-work drink at the stylish bars of five-star hotels, carrying a cell phone, joining American-style sports clubs, and living in gated communities were some of the requirements of this new good life that had become institutionalized by the late 1990s.

(Üstüner & Holt, 2010, p. 40)

While marriage and family are still being quite important for the middle classes, the new femininity is defined through a woman's individuality, authenticity, and higher self-esteem. Having a successful career and acquiring a strong, independent woman image grew in importance. Childcare is mostly executed by nannies, with household chores largely left to domestic workers; the new middle-class women began acting more like a manager role in the private sphere. Children are also raised in accordance with the latest standards, being sent to private schools, courses at weekends, etc. The new femininity requires keeping up with the latest fashion in terms of attire and home décor, particularly presenting women's authentic taste and abilities to combine stylistic products (Erkan, 2020).

A critical factor of the new middle-class respectability is that it is an exclusively secular lifestyle, which is challenged by the rising Islamic bourgeoisie as well as political Islam. The neoliberal economy allowed 'the religious and conservative small-scale rural businesses, adopting the contemporary logic of capitalism, grew into bigger companies operating in the cities' (Sandıkçı & Ger, 2007, p. 194), creating a new consumer segment as well as an alternative market for those who were religious. This alternative market, which would grow further in the twenty-first century, involves leisure venues, such as Islamic holiday resorts (Şehlikoğlu & Karakaş, 2016), *tesettür* fashion (Sandıkçı & Ger, 2007), home décor and food, etc. Although seeking status recognition through consumption is a shared orientation, the 'respectable' femininity promoted by the Islamic bourgeoisie, in many ways, stands in contrast with the secular lifestyle. Akyüz et al. (2019) in their research on women who are married to the new rich, known as the Anatolian tigers, describe the strength of traditional roles in this culture. For the new rich, women's domestic roles are seen as essential for a successful business and family life:

The narratives of entrepreneur men reveal that as long as women perform their expected roles without being too demanding on their husbands' autonomous areas, they are provided financial and social security and appreciated as successful mothers and housekeepers who maintain the well-being of the family.

(Akyüz et al., 2019, p. 309)

The traditional perception of 'respectable' femininity of the new rich, Islamic bourgeoisie is shared by the majority of the rural-to-urban migrant population of the working classes. Studies have shown that husbands in many working-class families oppose women's work outside of the home (Beşpınar, 2010; Ünalın, 2005; White, 1991). Beşpınar found:

Husbands think that urban life is dangerous for a 'chaste' woman since sexual harassment is high in public transportation and the workplace, also they are concerned about the views of the religious and ethnic community who perceive working women as indications of irresponsible, incapable husbands, and thus threatening their 'manhood'.

(2010, p. 525)

This morality based on honour code is, however, challenged by the economic climate aggravated by the neoliberal turn in economic policies of the 1980s and the 1990s outlined above. The repression of wages to gain a cost advantage in production left households with no option but women's monetary contributions for survival. During the early 1980s, 'the garment industry became one of Turkey's most important export industries' (Dedeođlu, 2010, p. 2) offering opportunities for merchants in the textile products industry to employ working-class women, considered to be a large pool of 'unused labour' (White, 1991, pp. 18–19). When working-class women started to enter the labour force, they were mainly employed in low-wage jobs, typically in non-unionised small workshop production (Kandiyoti, 1994, p. 308). Home-based production, e.g., piecework or family workshops, has flourished in Turkey under these conditions. Women find these jobs by using the neighbourhood or kin network (Çınar, 1994; Özbay, 1995). They are aware of the extremely low earnings, but they regard this kind of work as temporary and most suitable for their own limited conditions (White, 1991). Additionally, women of the *gecekondu* neighbourhoods started working as domestic workers in middle-class homes in growing numbers (Özyeğın, 2000), which also made the informal female labour force. These conditions brought new emotional and psychological dimensions of class inequalities which would be consolidated in the twenty-first century.

The rise of political Islam in the country is interrelated to these rising intra- and inter-class factions, such as the mobilisation of the Islamic bourgeoisie, taking the support of the rural and urban working classes, against the economic, cultural, and political domination of secular upper/middle classes. The right-wing Islamist *Welfare Party* (RP) increased its votes throughout the 1980s and the 1990s. The party utilised an iconic expression that emerged at the beginning of the 1990s, the 'White Turks', to delegitimise the symbolic and material dominance of the established class. The concept refers to 'the urbane, educated, rich and exclusively secular elite living in their sterile and secluded habitus (upper-class neighbourhoods, luxurious shopping districts,

chic restaurants and cafes), who had fostered their own tastes, lifestyle and cultural penchants disconnected from the ordinary citizen' (Gürpınar, 2020, p. 351). It emerged as a strong expression embedded in the Party discourse instrumentalised in attracting votes:

After the closure of the Islamist Welfare Party in 1998, Recai Kutan, then chair of the party, bemoaned that 'In this country, there are blacks and whites. Everything is permissible to whites, but not to blacks'. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan also embraced this rhetoric positing himself as the personification and bearer of the unprivileged. 'In this country, there is a segregation of Black Turks and White Turks ... Your brother Tayyip belongs to the Black Turks'. For the conservative intellectuals, this is no less than an outright class war between the privileged minority and the people in its entirety. (Gürpınar, 2020, pp. 351–352)

The class war, once more, has been executed through what constitutes respectable femininity. A remarkable example is the headscarf protests of the early 1990s, which were organised largely on university campuses by veiled medicine students. The students demanded veiled women's right to education and work. The protestors at the time had modest apparel matching the Welfare Party's discourse of *adil düzen* (Just Order), which is representative of an anti-capitalist and anti-Western ideology. The *turban*, which was used as a large headscarf, together with a long and loose overcoat emerged as the symbol of political Islam. This very low-key outfit of Muslim women was a conscious choice, representing the Islamist opposition's fight against 'capitalism's "factories of sins" as well as the "culturally degenerated" lifestyles of the secular middle classes' (Akçaoğlu, 2022, p. 88). The emphasis on the degeneracy of the culture under Western influence is also reflected in Islamic women's journals and discourses of veiled university students (Acar, 1980). The anti-capitalist discourse, however, would leave its place to neoliberal conservatism by the end of the 1990s.

The Twenty-First Century of Turkey: Consolidation of Secular/Islamic Tension under the AKP Regime

In 2002, the Justice and Development Party, the AKP, won the general elections with a strong parliamentary majority and since then has been in power. In the beginning, the party differed itself from previous Islamist parties and took a pro-capitalism, pro-Europe stance, which is reflected in its claim to be the new heir of centre-right identity, defining itself not as a Muslim democrat but conservative democrat (Güneş-Ayata & Doğançün, 2017). Embracing European values such as democracy, the rule of law and human rights supported the AKP in acquiring legitimacy and consolidating its power against the dominance of secular political elites (Güneş-Ayata & Doğançün, 2017,

p. 612). The EU accession talks in conjunction with the women's rights movements forced the AKP governments to achieve significant legal advances on gender equality between 2002 and 2012. The content of the fundamental laws, like the Civil Code, Penal Code, and Labour Law, were cleared from patriarchal mentality and concepts, such as custom, honour, and chastity, and were given the most advanced, egalitarian shape. In parallel, the changes made in the Constitution, as well as other laws, such as Municipal Law, held governments responsible for securing and promoting gender equality. Turkey's leading role in drafting the 'Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence' of the Council of Europe, known as the Istanbul Treaty, is a case in point (see Uygur & Skinnider, 2022).

This process involved dispute from the very beginning, as the Party's approach to the issues of gender equality has continuously been revealing its conservatism. The political representatives of the Party, most prominently Erdoğan, have been predicating the boundaries of gender equality in their vision, through their references to *fitrat* and the role of the family in the preservation and transformation of national culture (which is sometimes defined as Anatolian, and other times as Islamic culture). The concept of *fitrat* refers to the complementarity between men and women stemming from their 'natural', biological differences. Thereby, the Party embraces not equality between men and women but equality of opportunity (Güneş-Ayata & Doğangün, 2017, pp. 617–618). The Party embraces the heterosexual family as the pillar of society and culture, as the source of national pride. In documents and government programmes, women are usually targeted within the context of heterosexual family. Government policies bring forth the crucial role of women in social and cultural reproduction and concentrate on their motherhood and 'imagined' role in the protection of the family.

Although such a conservative approach to women's issues stands in contrast with the legal amendments made, it fits perfectly into the Party's neo-liberalism and also consolidates its political power. The AKP governments' neo-liberal policies, on the one hand, have strengthened the economic power of the Islamic businessmen, the Anatolian tigers and created a powerful fraction among the elite business segment of the country (see Buğra & Savaşkan, 2014). It also supported the growth of the Islamic market. On the other hand, the Party has given a central role to women in its mobilisation as well as family-based social policies. Women of the lower classes both gained material benefits, which they were devoid of under previous governments, but also cultural and symbolic capital. For instance, social benefits are given to women in the family (see Yazıcı, 2012). These protectionist policies towards lower-class women and families secure the votes of lower-class women. Furthermore, Doğan (2016) lays out how women in lower-class neighbourhoods experience a transformation in cultural and symbolic processes through actively participating in the Party's women branches.

In fact, they first experienced a change in their lifestyle ... Women unable to attend a university or join professional life felt themselves empowered through party activities. They entered the public sphere, received training from specialists, joined meetings and seminars, and expanded their social circle. Neighborhood youth, always worried about unemployment, built their future within the political field. They believed that they could rise through the ranks, just like the party's elite which also came from lower class families living in slum areas (p. 260).

The importance of such state and Party support for lower-class women is undeniable in a society where the level of public expenditure on care services is significantly low, which reproduces the conservative gender regime in the country. Some national data may help us in grasping this mutual support of cultural conservatism and economic neoliberalism. According to the September 2023 Household Labour Force Survey in Turkey, 35.6% of the female population aged 15 and over participate in the labour force, and for the same year, the net female employment rate is 31.2%. The female unemployment rate is 12.3% (7.5% for men), and the youth unemployment rate for the 15–24 age group is 22% for women (13.8% for men) (TURKSTAT, 2023). Household chores and childcare (also elderly and ill family members' care) are the main reasons for female non-employment. According to the 2021 family structure survey, women do approximately 90% of the household chores, like cooking (85.4%), dishwashing (85.6%), laundering (85.6%), cleaning the house (85.4%), and ironing (81.8%), while men mostly do activities such as small repairs (65.2%), and paying the bills (74.1%) (TURKSTAT, 2022). According to the results of a 2014–2015 time use survey, while men in the family spend 53 minutes per day on household work and family care, women spend 4 hours 35 minutes. The survey highlights that approximately 9 minutes (17.2%) of men's 53 minutes per day is spent on childcare (TURKSTAT, 2016). According to the 2017 OECD Report, early childhood education at the age of 3 and below is an exception in Turkey.

Almost no 2-year-olds are enrolled in early childhood education in Turkey, compared to 39% on average across OECD countries, and only 9% of 3-year-olds are enrolled in early childhood and pre-primary education in Turkey, against 78% on average across OECD countries.

(OECD, 2017, p. 2)

The 2016 family structure survey indicates that 86% of children in the 0–5 age group are cared for by their mothers, 7.4% by their grandmothers, 2.8% in nurseries and 1.5% by babysitters. Such inadequacy in the public provision of care work has tremendous results in shaping women's employment and the broader gender inequalities in Turkey. The lack of childcare services,

however, is not equally a problem for all women. Women with higher education tend to participate more in the labour force. In 2015, the labour force participation rate was 12.8% for illiterate females, 25.3% for females below high-school graduation level, 32.5% for females who graduated from high school, 38.5% for females who graduated from vocational high school, and 67.6% for females who graduated from higher education (TURKSTAT, 2022). Despite the glaring inadequacy of public care services, the current government in Turkey prefers to produce a different social policy to 'increase' female labour force participation, registering women's home-based care work. Therefore, the insignificant increase in female employment in the last decade is partly due to putting women who care for the elderly and ill at home on salary. Another example is The Ministry of Labour and Social Security's 'Grandmother Project to Support Women's Employment' which is designed 'to prevent women's pull-out from employment due to childcare and provide a context for children to grow up with their grandmothers, which also will serve for culture transfer' (The Ministry of Labour and Social Security, 2017; Doğan, 2017). The project provides financial support to grandmothers who look after their grandchildren below the age of three. It is a clear illustration of the Government's policies regarding the provision of state support to women within the boundaries of the heterosexual family.

The neo-conservatism of the ruling party has also led to a central discussion of the freedoms around lifestyles. In June 2013, during the Gezi Park protests, the central debate in the country was around the freedom to practise different lifestyles, which were mainly presented through leisure activities. For instance, the changes in alcohol usage regulations and the ban on alcohol consumption in public places and restaurants were an integral part of the discussions around lifestyles in Turkey, in particular during the Gezi park uprisings. Women were at the centre of these discussions. The 'supposed' attack on a veiled woman by a group of alcohol-consuming men represented the cleavages between the 'Western' versus 'Islamic' lifestyles and the struggles over regulating public and private lives. Furthermore, in the days of the Gezi uprising, the Prime Minister attended a TV programme and commented on an imagined scene of a young, unmarried couple sitting close to each other in the park. He stated:

Do the parents in this society, who demand respect for their moral values, want their daughter to sit on someone's lap? You can sit on the same bench with somebody and chat etc., we respect all of this. Maybe, I do not do so personally, but that is not an issue here. I believe that in this society, in terms of ratio, the vast majority, including women, do not welcome such a thing either.

(Altaylı, 2013)

In this statement, the sexual honour of women is associated with the honour of the family and the moral values of society. As we can see in the comments

of the prime minister of the era, in such a scene what is not acceptable is the position of the 'daughter', whereas the man's role and behaviour are not questioned. More importantly, this is not a personal statement; such a perspective finds its way into the Government's actions and policies and the regulations of institutions. For instance, during the JDP's ruling period, the public dormitories where female and male university students used to live in separate blocks, but shared common social facilities, were turned into separate male- and female-only public dormitories. This way, the opportunity for mixed socialisation for young people is prevented within the boundaries of such public institutions. In another speech on the mixed residence of young female and male students in private flats, the then Prime Minister stated, 'As a conservative democrat government we have to interfere with this situation'. Referring to the reports from neighbours of mixed-sex student residents, he stated, 'We cannot be under the charge of such moral disavowal...Because as a prime minister, I know the Anatolian culture, I know that the vast majority of mothers and fathers in this country will not allow such things' (AKPARTI, 2013). Soon after these statements were made, reports of citizens denouncing mixed-student accommodation in universities appeared in the news media.

As these examples reflect, sexual honour, i.e., the societal emphasis on virginity, continues to heavily affect women's lives in contemporary Turkey. The extent to which women participate in the reproduction of the honour code, on the other hand, is complicated and it takes a certain hybrid form in each social class. For instance, Özyeğin's research, *Virginal Facades* (2009), draws on the narratives of young female students in an elite university, who identify themselves as secular Turks. Özyeğin reflects on the processes in which these women negotiate the contradictory expectations regarding their sexual behaviour. While the parents of these young upwardly mobile women insist that their daughters remain virgins until marriage, the 'new culture in which these women socialise frames premarital sex morally acceptable within the context of love and emotional investment' (2009, p. 119). This contrast is sharpest among 'those who were raised in sexually restrictive small towns where mixed-gender interaction among youths and dating practices are limited' (Özyeğin, 2009, p. 109). The strategic responses of young upwardly mobile women to the tensions and disjuncture they face construct and reproduce 'virginal facades', as Özyeğin conceptualises, which allow young women to navigate the complex ambiguities of the moving boundaries of permitted and prohibited behaviour (2009, p. 119). Such studies direct us to consider a nuanced approach in assessing morality on respectable femininity in Turkey.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a historically orientated account of the contemporary tensions in determining what constitutes respectable femininity in

Turkey, as a contextual background for the following empirical chapters. It highlighted the central role of capitalism, in the form of imposing possessive individualism and the split self, in constructing cultural differences and hybridity. Western imperialism led to a tension between honour–shame complex and civility. Although the dominance of the honour code has been challenged by the institutional attempts of the constitutive authorities of the Republic of Turkey to ‘emancipate’ women through employment and education and via economic transformation (urbanisation, industrialisation, etc.), the honour code changed its shape and hybridised into new forms. The revival of religion and conservative ideas in the political sphere after the 1980s, and particularly from the 2000s, resulted in a re-strengthening of the honour code in the public sphere but with new patterns. Nonetheless, the global orientation of the economy simultaneously allowed the secular, upper/middle classes in Turkey to be integrated into the new Western signs of respectability.

The socio-spatial segregation that is rooted in the honour–shame complex is still prevalent in Turkey. The gap between the egalitarian legal framework and the organisation of social lives in practice determines the non-recognition of gender inequality in public discourse. However, despite its long-lasting denial in legal and institutional frameworks, the honour code still regulates life outside of formal employment and institutional spheres. One can find many examples to demonstrate such segregation in practice. For instance, when one buys a bus ticket in Turkey, the seats are gender-segregated. In terms of leisure, for instance, women are disadvantaged in their access to and use of public leisure spaces in a context where government rhetoric recognises the ‘appropriateness’ of socio-spatial segregation. The contemporary attempts of local and national governments to justify gender segregation in public life, such as the separating of public dormitories of female and male students and the introduction of pink buses for women-only use, contribute to the persistence of the honour code and the related gender inequalities in the public sphere.

The complex power relations in the Turkish context outlined above have influenced leisure outcomes for women. The following chapters of this book provide analyses of the contemporary dynamics of women’s leisure in Turkey through qualitative research conducted in two different neighbourhoods in a Western metropolitan city.

Note

- 1 The legal and institutional reforms were aimed at all women, but in practice, the ‘emancipated’ women, who had access to legal rights, education, and employment, were a small, urban, elite group, who were encouraged to attend universities, obtain professional degrees, and overstep the boundaries of respectable femininity. For instance, between 1920 and 1938, 10% of all university graduates were women (White, 2003, p. 150). Ayşe Öncü (1981) reflects on the legacy of

this history, questioning the relatively high ratio of women in specialised professions, such as engineer, doctor, etc. despite the significantly low level of literacy and labour force participation of women in Turkey in comparison to Western countries. (p. 181). This is a characteristic of 'developing countries', like Brazil, Argentina, Greece, etc., and nothing special to Turkey. In Western countries, for the 'prestigious' specialised professions to remain open to a closed, elite segment of the population took around 200 years. Developing countries need to raise specialised cadres in a considerably shorter time for which they had the option of opening these professions to lower classes or instead would prefer women of the upper-class segment (Öncü, 1981, p. 280). In Turkey, the entrance of elite women to universities and professions is a result of the summarised conditions.

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Spatial and Communal Characteristics of Respectable Femininity

An Introduction to the Empirical Analysis

The chapter aims to pull the reader into the research context, familiarising them with the socio-spatial characteristics of the neighbourhoods, the profile of the research participants and a general outline of their leisure practices. The neighbourhoods where the research was conducted are typical examples of the contemporary working-class and middle-class living spaces in Turkey, which turns the summarised features of the national context in the previous chapter into a more perceptible texture. The first section of the chapter outlines the historical development of each neighbourhood. These accounts will allow us not only to grasp the broad class characteristics of these living spaces but also how these broader categories of working- and middle- classes carry various fractions within themselves. Each neighbourhood contains different social class groups. This section also materialises how the existence and future of the neighbourhoods, similar to their residents, are strictly tied to the political history of the country. The second section carries the reader's focus to the broader characteristics of the sample, explaining both the general features of each group and the differences among them. These differences are framed around the common feelings and perceptions of the self. In other words, how women perceive their value in relation to the 'Other'. It also presents a range of leisure activities these women from different social class profiles have engaged with.

The Neighbourhoods

The neighbourhoods are located in the same area of the Turkish city of Bursa, next to one another, and 15 minutes' walk apart. This city is located in the Marmara region which is the centre of industry and trade in Turkey. Bursa is the fourth most populous city in the country, with approximately three million inhabitants (3,194,720 in 2022) (TURKSTAT, 2023). The beginning of the 1970s remains a distinctive period in the city's history due to the establishment of large-scale industrial facilities (automotive, automotive supply industry, textiles, machinery, and food industries), which attracted significant

migration from both its own rural areas as well as from other regions of Turkey, particularly the Black Sea and the Eastern Anatolia (Akay Ertürk, 2011, p. 375). The district where the two neighbourhoods, Panayır and Yasemin Park, are located is one of the three central districts of Bursa, with a population of approximately 891,250 (TURKSTAT, 2023). It contains most of the major industrial facilities and, consequently, the vast population of immigrants.

Panayır

Panayır is a typical working-class neighbourhood, carrying away the changing modes of being a working class in Turkey. The neighbourhood comprises the various segments of the working class ranging from the affluent to the precariat. Arrival year plays a crucial role in the status of the residents as the early entrants had more advantageous conditions in comparison to the latecomers and were able to accumulate wealth in time. Poverty is, therefore, lived in turns in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods and experienced under significantly different circumstances (see also Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2012).

The establishment of the current neighbourhood dates back to the 1970s, beginning with the construction of the second organised industrial zone of Bursa. Along with the other plants in the industrial zone, the formation of the Turkish Automobile Factory Incorporated Company in 1971 and the Sönmez ASF Facilities in 1975 (DOSAB, 2016) greatly increased the demand for labour. Migrants arrived, mostly from rural parts of the country, and started establishing their *gecekondu* (squatter) houses close to the factories. The zone was a suburban, agricultural land located right outside of the city. Migrants first created the village of Panayır. The second *mukhtar* of the neighbourhood, himself one of the first migrants, moved there in 1969 and built his house in 1972; he thus described the place in the first years: 'It was marsh ground; there were wooden houses and pathways'. Asli, who has been living in Panayır since 1985, describes the first years of the neighbourhood after their move:

Our Community Hall was a small wooden building...There were three mini markets, three barbers, one hairdresser, three haberdasheries...At that time Panayır was around 600 people, there were only detached houses... There were peach trees, apple trees; they used to grow corn. It was wonderful! We had runnels. We didn't miss our villages.

According to the descriptions of the participants and the *mukhtar*, there were a few farms and enormous green areas and the two runnels flowing through the neighbourhood helped the green space to flourish in spring and summer. The locals relished their time there and did not long for the bucolic surroundings of their villages.

Chain migration has been the typical migration pattern shaping the social and spatial configuration of the neighbourhood. Migrants for a considerable amount of time clung to their rural community, both to the ones who remained in the rural areas and to the families who migrated to the same neighbourhood with them. They would frequently return to their hometown during the early years of their journey, lending a hand with the harvest in exchange for food that would get them through the winter. Their interactions in the city followed a similar pattern. Relatively homogenous neighbourhood units were made up of immigrants belonging to the same hometown, ethnic, or religious identities, including Kurdish, Alevi, etc. Chain migration also led to the flourishing of *hemşehri dernekleri* (fellow countrymen's associations). There are many instances where the number of migrants from the same village is significant enough to create a village association; occasionally, the associations represent the city or regions from which the migrants originated. Additionally, Cemevi (Djemevi), the Alevi and Bektashi residents' prayer hall, has been serving as a hub for community life.

A crucial result of the outlined conditions has been the perpetuation of the idea of honour and the segregation of sexes in neighbourhood life, especially in terms of leisure experiences. While men have been hanging out in male-only coffee houses and the described associations, women have been mostly meeting each other at home, on the doorstep or in the gardens. Many of the women remained unemployed until the 1990s. During the day most of the men were outside of the neighbourhood for work, and women's mobility and their lives were severely restricted, mostly composed of spending time in the neighbourhood with children, neighbours, and relatives. They did not have playgrounds, parks, or any other public or commercial leisure facilities, except the natural surroundings. These women were combining leisure and care work at homes, in gardens, or the vacant green areas; among the works were washing carpets, baking bread, and preparing other kinds of food and preserves for winter, lacework and most prevalently childcare. Communising the housework allowed women to carve out opportunities to socialise together; a habit carried from rural life. The main leisure activities for women were having picnics and socialising with their neighbours and relatives. The political and economic dynamism in the country in the late 1980s and the early 1990s brought many changes to the outlined scene.

One of the crossroads in the development of the neighbourhood is its changing legal status. Panayır gained a legal, 'urban neighbourhood' status and obtained the right to benefit from municipality services when, in 1987, Bursa advanced to its metropolitan municipality status. The new status, however, did not lead to the provision of leisure services; on the contrary, it destroyed the existing possibilities summarised above. This legislative modification allowed for the construction of new homes in the green area surrounding Panayır in the 1990s, which paved the way for the development of high-security estates, a fashionable upper- and middle-class settlement

idea imported through globalisation. Also, the constant influx of migrants led to the growth of built environments and housing communities within the neighbourhood. Lastly, the expansion of the industrial zone into the neighbourhood intensified the runnels' chemical contamination, destroying the neighbourhood's remaining green spaces.

The 1990s were turbulent years in political and economic terms in the country, which left its mark on the changing living conditions and community relations in the neighbourhood. While employment possibilities in industrial cities and poverty in rural areas are the primary drivers of domestic migration, other factors, like conflict, have also driven people to the neighbourhood at different times. For instance, the 1990s were difficult years for the Kurdish population of the south-eastern region due to the war between the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and the Turkish state, forcing many citizens from the south-eastern region to migrate to the neighbourhood. In the same decade, the citizens from certain cities of the Black Sea region had to seek employment in metropolitan cities like Bursa as the coal mines in their hometowns were closed down in those years. While the migrant flow continued to the neighbourhood, neo-liberal policies were already crashing down the residents who were now facing unemployment, suffering under high inflation, and shrinking opportunities for housing. Families had no choice but to let women become employed. Ironically, the idea of honour and the necessity of the segregation of sexes, similar to the process that took place in the late Ottoman era, allowed the capitalist exploitation of female labour in these decades. Small textile ateliers, where the female residents, starting from a very early age, like 13, worked informally, mushroomed in the neighbourhood. Female employment has been increasing since then and more and more women have been travelling outside of the neighbourhood for work. Some women work in factories, some in the service sector, and others as cleaners in upper-/middle-class homes. The homemakers participate in other kinds of informal labour such as piecework, selling handmade or cosmetic products, etc., as a monetary contribution to their families.

The migration and illegal housing construction in Panayır went on throughout the 2000s, albeit at a decreasing pace. Recently, Syrian migrants have settled in the neighbourhood due to the war in their country. The influx of Syrian refugees has grown to the point where they have opened up stores, barbershops, and markets, and established their own social networks. Syrian migrants' labour is highly exploited in Turkey. I observed, for instance, how young Syrian women were working precariously in hairdressers with a constant fear of being fired and for a significantly low salary. These parameters allow us to conclude that poverty is lived in turns; the newcomers are mostly the precarious segment of the working-classes.

This difference between the living conditions of the old and the newcomers can be observed both socially and spatially. In the last decade, the municipality has been applying citywide urban regeneration policies, encouraging

the private sector for regeneration. The result of this promotion is the rapid emergence of small estates and apartments on every possible vacant piece of land in the neighbourhood. The contemporary housing stock in the neighbourhood has a complexion reminiscent of grease stains. One of the neighbourhood's most impoverished areas and a recently developed residential estate, for example, are located side-by-side and simply separated by a road. Similar scenes are visible in every part of the neighbourhood standing in contrast to the previous relative homogeneity. The more wealth accumulated by families, the better their buildings look. Panayır has now outgrown its current location and has virtually blended with the industrial area and the high-security estate communities surrounding it. Several stores and supermarkets with a more modern outlook opened in the neighbourhood in response to the needs of the growing number of locals. Despite this, it is unable to meet the leisure demands of its approximately 24,000 inhabitants (TURKSTAT, 2023) due to a shortage of parks, playgrounds, and other sporting and recreational facilities, as well as cafes and other places for socialising. The lack of public leisure facilities in the vicinity has more detrimental consequences for the precariat. The more affluent segments of the residents are able to reach out to certain leisure venues in the city, like going to the cinema, socialising at a café, going to the gym, etc. Furthermore, there is a growing gap between 'respectable' and 'precarious' working classes in the neighbourhood in terms of spatial exclusion and moral stigmatisation, reaching a point where the precariat youth generate their own subculture, which is made up through hybridisation of Western and local tastes. Eroding family and community support adds to the precarity of the newcomers. With time the close-knit relations, such as providing each other support for shelter, money, and/or food in times of need, left their place to a more urban, individualised communication. Although the fellow countrymen associations and religious centres are still in use, they are used more for leisure purposes, similar to male-only coffee houses, and residents have become relatively distant from each other in their day-to-day interactions. Migrants also stopped visiting their hometowns or receiving food from there *for free*. In summary, there is less support for the new migrants which means the male and female family members all need to work in order to survive in the city under precarious employment conditions for long hours with little hope for the future.

During the fieldwork in 2015, I obtained the neighbourhood census data of 2014 from the Turkish Statistical Institute (Turkstat). This data provides us with demographic details, presented in Tables 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3 below, respectively, on the age, marital status, and education level of the female and male inhabitants.

In 2014, the population of the neighbourhood was made up of 20,047 inhabitants and 4,739 households. The female resident population was 9,871 and the male resident population was 10,176. The number of the population under 18 was 6,163, and the 18-and-over population was 13,884. The

Table 5.1 Distribution of the Population in Panayır According to Marital Status (15+)

<i>Marital Status</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
Single	1,633	2,271
Married	4,994	4,991
Divorced	161	148
Widow	535	85
Total	7,323	7,495

Source: Census Data 2014, Turkstat.

Table 5.2 Distribution of the Population in Panayır According to Age

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
18–25	1,298	1,057
26–45	3,392	3,717
46+	2,178	2,096
Total	6,868	6,870

Source: Filtered from Census Data information on the distribution of female/male population in 5-year age groups, 2014.

Table 5.3 Distribution of the Population in Panayır According to Education (Age 6+)

<i>Education Level</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
Unknown	52	62
Illiterate	580	98
Literate	1,216	951
Primary School Degree	2,281	2,224
Secondary School Degree	2,609	3,359
High School Degree	1,094	1,906
2 Years College + University Degree	374	481
Postgraduate Degree	0	17
Total	8,206	9,098

Source: Census Data 2014, Turkstat

information on education highlights, firstly, the reproduction of class (Willis, 1981). Depending on their age, rural migrants became workers (in formal or informal employment) in the city, with most of the children of these migrants following a similar path. Secondly, it brings forth class as a shared character of the inhabitants despite the different ethnic and religious backgrounds they hold. The high number of primary and secondary school graduates illustrates the conditions of working-class families; whose children mostly enter the workforce rather than further education. The number of 580 illiterate women

most likely relates to the elderly population and is an indicator of gender inequality in access to education in rural areas.

The data presented on Panayır is in clear contrast to the middle-class profile of Yasemin Park.

Yasemin Park

The story of Yasemin Park is distinct and representative of contemporary Turkey, especially in terms of the shift of capital from manufacturing to the construction sector, the changes in urban land use, and the neoliberal economic processes identified in the previous chapter. This history is also necessary to illustrate the reasons behind the current variety in the middle-class profile of the estate residents. In 1996, the minister responsible for state-owned banks, who was also a businessman owning a large textile industry and trade group in Bursa, decided to use his land next to Panayır, which, at the time contained a farm and tobacco fields. He aimed to build a big gated-town project called *Yeşilşehir* (Greencity), referring to the 'green city' nickname of Bursa. Greencity was designed with a capacity to hold 15,000 flats on a 2,400-square metre area of land and a host of public facilities, such as schools, and was advertised in 1996 as 'the project of the 21st century' (Küçükşahin et al., 1997). The minister invited the President of the era, who was also a close friend of his, to the ground-breaking opening ceremony of the Greencity Project. A wide range of important figures in the country, such as prominent politicians, businessmen, the national press, and singers, attended the ceremony. The Greencity Project was symbolically distinct and representative of Turkey in a number of ways. In his speech, the President said, 'There are fifty towns in Turkey with a population exceeding fifty thousand residents and Greencity will be the fifty-first... Greencity will be the city of the 21st century' (*Sabah*, 1997). In the same ceremony at which government authorities threw gold coins into the construction site to symbolise the expected profitable results of this investment, the owner of the project was proud to announce that his companies' textile export rate had reached 400 million Turkish Lira in 1997. The importance of this news lies in the speech of the President, in which he stated that 'In 1964, the total exports of the country amounted to 400 million Turkish Lira; whereas now, one company on its own has been able to reach the same amount'. Referring to the growth of the economy, he emphasised, 'The dress is tight, the roads are narrow, and the direction is towards a greater Turkey. This movement cannot be blocked, it will only progress' (Küçükşahin et al., 1997).

In 1998, shortly after the first stage of the gated town project, which is Yasemin Park high-security estate, was completed, the Savings Deposit Insurance Fund confiscated the Greencity Project as part of the owner's properties, after his prosecution due to allegations that he had transferred state money illegally to his companies and corrupted the state. In the meantime,

Bursa's chamber of commerce took legal action against this move, claiming that 'the Greencity is an unlicensed project'. This was upheld by a court. The problem was that 'the district municipality made changes to the zoning plans which were in contradiction with the larger metropolitan zone plans that needed to be followed. This opened up the lowlands and the land where agricultural features should be protected' (*Radikal*, 1997; Grand National Assembly of Turkey, 1999). While these legal processes went on, the project stopped. Although the flat owners continued to move into their flats, the legal action meant that they would not be able to receive some of the facilities they had been promised, such as the swimming pool, the supermarket, and the school, which were yet to be built. When the first residents moved in, the construction of some apartments was still going on, but the public spaces were mostly completed. Due to the corruption case, the Savings Deposit Insurance Fund kept the project until 2004 and sold it to another rapidly developing real estate investment trust. From 2005 to 2007, the flats of Yasemin Park were sold to people at a lower price than initially planned. This had certain impacts on the resident profile of the estate. It allowed families who relied on one wage and with occupations like technicians, customs employees, or teachers to move into the estate. In 2007, the real estate investment trust decided to cancel the whole project and design a new real estate project for the rest of the land – Bursa Modern. This meant that residents of Yasemin Park would no longer benefit at no charge from the facilities of the later stages of the Greencity Project. In summary, Yasemin Park, originally planned as an elite gated community, as a result of the setbacks outlined above, lacked many of the amenities initially planned and became a gated estate more suitable for the middle-class inhabitants than the elite ones.

Yasemin Park is built on 121,500m² of land. It has two managements: Yasemin Park 10th and 11th Parcels. Yasemin Park 10th Parcel has 970 flats divided into 25 blocks and Yasemin Park 11 Parcel has 706 flats divided into 30 blocks (1,676 flats and 4 blocks in total). The population of the estate is approximately 6,000 residents. High fences covered with razor wire (and all covered in green grass) surround the estate. It has a picnic area, a kindergarten, a basketball court, a football pitch, a walking trail, abundant green spaces, a couple of ornamental fountains with gazebos next to these fountains, two drinking fountains, a tea garden, several benches scattered across the estate, parking lots and parking garages. The estate is designed in U-shaped block clusters. In each cluster, one sees a parking lot with bike rack spaces and a playground in the middle. There are also four 23-floor residences on each corner of the ornamental pool in the centre of the estate. The residents sometimes use the supermarket and the sports complex of Bursa Modern, which has an indoor pool. At the entrance to Yasemin Park and Bursa Modern estates, there is a private primary school, which provides bilingual education – in Turkish and English. There is also a bus stop on the street which passes through Yasemin Park and Bursa Modern and separates them.

I obtained information on the resident profile of the estate through one of the two estate management offices, and this information solely contains the occupations of the residents. The 11th Parcel management office manages 706 flats, of which only 600 were occupied during my fieldwork. The data represent only about 395 of them or only one-third of the female residents of the 706 flats. Rather than presenting precise types and rates of occupations, the goal here is to provide some illustrative data for the estate profile.

When one looks at the combined number of homemakers, unemployed, and retired women (169 out of 395), approximately 43% of the female residents are expected to spend most of their day in the estate. The other half held a variety of occupations, among which teachers, engineers, doctors, bank employees, and managers accounted for the vast majority (Table 5.4).

Based on the informal interviews with the estate management and on my observations in the field, two major groups can be identified in the estate. The first group consists of the traditional and the new middle classes. In brief terms, this group has high cultural capital, both in terms of education and highbrow or emerging cultural capital (Savage et al., 2015). They work in white-collar professions and mostly have a moderate amount of economic capital. Lastly, they typically have a secular lifestyle, which is evident not only in their apparel but also in their discourse, particularly in political commentary. The second group is made up of the new rich. The majority of the families in this group are capital-owner families, where the male head of the household typically runs a business (mostly owning a textile firm) and his wife stays at home to take care of the family. They hold a lower level of education, mostly below a university degree, and tend to have conservative values. This shows itself in attire. As observed, many of the adult women in this group are either veiled or modest in their clothing. It is possible to see unofficial divisions among these two groups resonating in their networks and friend groups. Sometimes these different groups clash with each other on political issues, e.g. secularism vs. conservatism. Alcohol use in shared leisure venues in the estate is a case in point. Pious female residents, for instance, complained about the use of alcohol in the picnic area, arguing that this is not suitable with the general character of the estate, which is a family space. (For further details on the tension between the new middle class and the new rich in Turkey, see Karademir-Hazır, 2014, 2017; Üstüner & Holt, 2010.)

The participants recruited for the research present, albeit in varying numbers, many of these variations within these two classes.

Aims and Methods

This research, in certain ways, resembles the early feminist research conducted in the UK, especially the works of Deem (1986) and Green et al. (1990), where scholars executed a general scrutiny of leisure embedded in women's everyday lives, rather than concentrating on a specific leisure

Table 5.4 Occupations of Female Residents in the 11th Parcel of Yasemin Park, 2014

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number</i>
Homemaker/Unemployed	137	Statistician	1
Teacher	52	Pharmacist	4
Retired	32	Technician	3
Engineer	29	Student	3
Bank Employee	15	Dentist	2
Doctor	14	Real Estate Broker	1
Manager	18	Architect	1
Lawyer	9	Police Commissioner	1
Accountant	9	Academician	1
Freelancer	7	Psychologist	1
Financial Consultant	6	Revenue Specialist	1
Public Servant	6	Secretary	1
Financer	5	Customs Employee	1
Fashion Designer	5	Translator/Interpreter	1
Textile Business Employee	5	Coordinator	1
Insurance Broker	5	International Relations Employee	1
Chemist	4	Merchandising Employee	1

activity, service, or venue. It seems like this kind of research is particularly fruitful when there is no or little prior research on a certain social group's leisure experiences. For instance, the first studies on immigrant women's leisure in the UK (Scraton & Watson, 1998; Green & Singleton, 2006) are also designed in relatively similar terms. An exploratory qualitative inquiry on women's leisure strictly embedded in the rhythms and socio-spatial conditions of their everyday lives is also needed in Turkey, as existing (feminist) studies on women's leisure carry certain limitations. These are either quantitative research focusing on pre-defined categories of 'free time activities' and assessing whether gender is a meaningful category in measuring participation in leisure activities (Erkip, 2009; Sönmez et al., 2010; Demir, 2005; Aydın & Özel, 2023), or qualitative studies concentrating on specific leisure pursuits such as sports, physical activity (Koca et al., 2009; Duman & Koca, 2020), holidays (Şehlikoğlu & Karakaş, 2016), etc. Thus, this research is the first of its kind in the context of Turkey.

The research is designed as an exploratory, ethnographically orientated study with a central aim of exploring how women experience leisure in Turkey in their day-to-day lives. It examines closely the temporal and spatial dynamics of women's leisure. The chosen methods also reflect the aims of the research. The walk-and-talk interviews (see also Carpiano, 2008; Evan & Jones, 2011), focus groups utilising mapping techniques (Kitzinger, 1995; Wheeldon, 2011), and participant observation (O'Reilly, 2009; Zahle, 2012) all had an aim to grasp women's leisure embedded into their cultural, and

socio-spatial conditions of living. Adopting a relatively unstructured questioning approach, participants were deliberately left to their own devices and creativity to express their everyday routines, rhythms, and activities; then it was up to the researcher to detect their leisure practices and elaborate on these during the meetings. To reiterate, the main aim behind all these choices was to develop a general understanding of the everydayness of leisure and the role of gender and class in this picture.

Participants

The reasons summarised above required openness in terms of participant profile. Although class is a central theme of this study, it did not focus on a particular fraction of the middle- or working-classes living in these neighbourhoods; these categories were rather kept as broad. All the female residents of both neighbourhoods, regardless of their different features and backgrounds, were considered as potential participants. I decided to use the lifecycle approach in outlining the 'desired' level of diversity in my research. I divided the participant recruitment into three age groups: 18–25, 26–45, and 46+. Considering the legal marriage age, female labour participation patterns, and the female higher education participation rates in Turkey (see Chapter 4), the *average* profile of the participants in the first group is expected to be single, employed and/or students. The second category, *on average*, might consist of married, (un)employed women with children under 15. In the final category, the women are *likely* to have grown-up children and be close to their retirement or already retired. Such a categorisation, however, did not mean that I remained inattentive to the examples that did not fit into each age category. Participants were recruited via gatekeepers and snowballing techniques.

The empirical findings presented in this book are built on an 8-month fieldwork, conducted with 68 women between the years of 2014 and 2015. The demographic profile of the participants, including age, education, occupation, the occupation of husband or father, marital status, number of children, and the years of residence in the neighbourhood and the city of origin are presented for each neighbourhood (see Appendix 1 for Panayır, & Appendix 2 for Yasemin Park). Some of the variations of middle- and working-classes in the historical accounts of each neighbourhood outlined above are involved in my sample. The categories below are formed concerning material and affective dimensions creating these variations. As highlighted within the literature on cultural class analyses, class is not only about material opportunities but also about perceptions and evaluations of one's self and others' worth, about emotional and affective aspects of life. 'Individual emotional experiences are tied strongly to external structural conditions and thus should have a central place in class analysis' (Karademir-Hazır, 2017, p. 415). I, therefore, grouped participants of each neighbourhood in terms of their feelings and perceptions

of entitlements and non-entitlements. A central aspect of distinction is how these women think of themselves in terms of individuality and the freedoms they have. The first four categories below live in Yasemin Park, while the last three are in Panayır.

The *traditional middle-class women* are formed by women of the middle-age and above. These women have higher education degrees, white-collar occupations, and high cultural capital, mostly involving highbrow cultural activities, such as listening to classical music, extensive reading, knowledge of classical literature, following movie festivals, and visiting art venues; they are less keen on acquiring emerging cultural capital (see Savage et al., 2015):

Evrım: Of course, I spare time for myself... after work, especially in autumn and winter... I have some friends from outside of the estate, we go out with them. I have a cinema group for instance, we don't miss any new movies, the good movies, or the festival movies, we watch five movies in one day, from morning to midnight. I have a group like that. And we do this quite regularly, two–three in a week. Nowadays, we don't go that much, but tomorrow we will go to this movie called Madimak... In the end, the theatre and opera, well not really opera there is a symphony orchestra, I really like a symphony. Or other sorts of concerts, we go to these concerts with another friend group. So, I do these activities.

Simultaneously, they either practised in the past or continue to practice some traditional middle-class feminine leisure pursuits, such as having close relationships with neighbours and developing both solidaristic and leisurely relationships. These women perceive themselves as more independent than their mothers, especially due to their access to education and employment. They are proud of both their motherhood and their career, as they were very hard-working in both areas. Their husbands did not support them in domestic tasks or childcare, yet this was not essential to their partnership. In other words, the double shift, albeit being complained about, was accepted as part of their respectable femininity. In terms of their sexuality, they were subject to more direct patriarchal pressure by their husbands and/or family than the younger generation today:

Aysun: My husband used to be very jealous at the beginning and I know how it feels. It is very difficult, very. I wish young women not to experience that. Why experience? Everybody should go around freely. A woman knows how to behave.

The Interviewer: What did you experience?

Aysun: Jealousy? When I got married, I worked but it was summer, so I was on holiday, and I didn't go out for 20 days. My husband went and returned... it was a very small district where we lived. 5–6 thousand people living in. The National Education Ministry Office called me to start my work. So, I

wore the shoes that I wore at my wedding...after that my husband let me go out 20 days later. I said, 'What are you doing? I regret that I married'.

The Interviewer: Did your husband prevent you from going out or you didn't choose to go out by yourself but wait for your husband to take you somewhere?

Aysun: Where will you go? There is no place. That is the first reason. Other than that, my husband...our flat was in the city centre, and when I went out to the balcony, my legs used to be seen from the guardrails of the balcony, so he covered it with a curtain. One day, hiding it under some jokes...he tried to lock me in and leave. We are 22 years old at that time. I said to him 'If you lock me in and leave, I'll go out to the balcony and shout to you "Where are you going, you didn't leave the keys? Then we both will be disgraced. I don't care. So go if you want"'. He slowly turned back and left the keys...I believe he loved me too, he struggled to marry me. Then we are human, why don't you take your wife to the city centre or entertaining areas to have a walk and have a good time together. Ok, I understand he was really busy. So, we didn't really go out often. Even before going out, he used to tell me 'You don't know this place yet. I know people here very well. Before going out, let me know'. Since he knew the people, I told him where I was going, so he could have an idea of if the family type or the people were decent to communicate with or not. So, I used to let him know where I'm going. Also, he told me not to wear a mini skirt, well it wasn't really mini. Ok. Then don't wear tight trousers. When we sat in a mixed group, he used to spoil all the pleasure, you can't speak too much, don't laugh too much. Because if you laugh you would be killed by the inches, his sullen face, and questions like 'Why did you laugh a lot? Why did you speak a lot?' But in time, years later, slowly everything changed. This boring and oppressive jealousy... for instance, you go somewhere, and his eyes used to check around if a man looks at you or not. Also, you can't really sit somewhere, let's leave. I mean I was beautiful and charming...He immediately used to say, 'Let's leave, let's go home'. When we go shopping, he doesn't like looking around, nagging me to buy whatever I need and leave. Men are like that...As I say wherever you go, they are the same.

Although some of them lived/negotiated with it, and few got divorced, these women never internalised this direct male control over their leisure. They construct their individuality despite these constraints which is a source of pride.

There are certain differences between the traditional middle class and *the new middle-class women*. The new middle class, which forms one of the two major middle-class groups in this research, is made up of young women coming from either traditional middle-class or petty bourgeoisie backgrounds. They have higher education degrees, white-collar professions, and also high

cultural capital. Their cultural capital differs from the traditional middle-class women in the sense that they have more of an inclination towards practising emerging cultural capital activities. For instance, the new middle-class women prefer listening to foreign pop, jazz, rock, or rap music, attending concerts of famous singers, and stand-up comedies, going to the gym, eating out at restaurants, and being interested in world cuisine, such as Chinese or Vietnamese, French, etc. or having a vacation abroad (see also Üstüner & Holt, 2010). Unlike traditional middle-class women, the new middle classes are less likely to complain about their partners, as most of the partners 'help' with domestic tasks or childcare. The new middle-class women undertake a managerial role at home and inform their partners on what they need to do (see also Erkan, 2006, 2020). What characterises the new middle-class women's femininity is that the responsibility of having and keeping up with a 'good' life is on them more than anyone else (see McRobbie, 2015). They, mostly, do not think of themselves as discriminated and/or constrained. For instance, their partners' near-zero contribution to care work is justified by these women since these partners are either working longer hours or they are not raised with the right mindset to share household chores and childcare. Nevertheless, these young, civilised men try to support their partners. They will execute any task at home when it is asked of them (see next chapter). This is considered evidence of equality and civility for the new middle-class women. There is more self-esteem and less resistance in their discourse and a more disposition towards enterprising and optimising their selves, not out of *necessity* but out of *pleasure* and *choice*. They are career women, competitive in their workplace, which requires working for long hours and managing stress.

Nehir: But to achieve this position, I did site management, the field architecture. When I was pregnant for 7 months, I was standing on the roof, with a helmet on my head, and steel-toed shoes on my feet, I received a steel roof there... I worked hard.

At home, they get support from domestic workers and/or their own families, who provide childcare support or cook dinner, and kindergartens or all-day-long private schools.

Alev: For cleaning yes, we have [a cleaner]. But for cooking no, I cook myself. My mother also lives here, so she also supports me in that sense. We also visit my mother-in-law regularly every week on a certain day. Therefore, we don't have difficulties in that sense, to be honest.

All of the single, young women in this group are university students who usually hang out at cafes, clubs, and restaurants along the famous boulevard located in the richest and the most secular district of the city, or at the elite

shopping mall, which is constructed as part of an exclusive, upper-class gated estate. Some of these women have their own cars, keen on consuming expensive brands, often go to concerts and vacations and are eager to travel abroad. Beril, for instance, was supposed to stay in Manchester in the upcoming summer to attend a language school there. Duygu got a promise from her father to send her on vacation in France.

The summarised fractions of the middle class, despite their differences, have certain things in common, such as having an exclusively secular lifestyle and a higher discourse of individuality and independence. Although they care about their family and children as a source of their respectability, they do not define themselves through these, but rather with their education, occupations, and their individuality. These characteristics in certain ways stand in contrast with the women of the new rich families.

The *new rich women* of the estate have mostly high school and below education levels; the majority of them are homemakers, who, in comparison to the two groups above, identify themselves with traditional roles of home-making and motherhood. Therefore, they invest themselves in caring for their homes, family, and children. These women spend most of their time in the estate and many of them hold conservative values. The interior design of their flats tells a great deal about their social class, presenting a contrast with traditional and the new middle classes who have Western-style living spaces. Some of these flats are palatial, decorated with gaudery, gold-plated furniture, and ornamental products, and exceptionally neat and clean. The more religiously conservative families of the new rich decorate their homes with gold-plated calligraphy. Also having a hammam instead of standard bathrooms has lately become a fashion among this fraction. They spend their daily breaks usually in the estate with their families and neighbours, or they visit the shopping malls nearby. Sometimes they go to the cinema with their kids and at weekends they tend to eat out with their families. Many of them have a summer house in nearby villages or in seaside towns and spend the summer months there. Courses, such as handicrafts, wood painting, needlecraft, etc., provided by the municipality, taking place in the estate, form some of their free time activities. The estate managements also target homemakers in their leisure services. For instance, they organise brunch for special days, such as Mother's Day.

Finally, few women in my sample belongs to the *lower-middle class*. These women and their families hold the lowest level of economic capital in comparison to other inhabitants. While women are usually homemakers, men in the families holds low-level technical positions, such as cadastral mapping technician, insurance expert, etc. They previously lived in working-class neighbourhoods and found the chance to move to the estate during the specific years when the flats in the estate were sold at a lower price.

Zerrin: Because this estate belonged to [the name of the businessman] before, the flat prices were very high. But the state confiscated, and we bought

these flats from the state far below their real value. So, because everybody had a chance to buy a flat from the estate, there is variety in terms of culture.

Zerrin, for instance, babysits for eight years to a family living in the estate. Although she foregrounds its non-material benefits, such as making friends in the estate through kids, its financial benefits are also undeniable. These women not only complain about the high maintenance fees but also the dominant culture of distanced social relations in the estate (see Chapter Eight). Their friendship networks are mostly made of the new rich women since culturally they feel closer to this group. Their general attitude towards interpreting their life and leisure circumstances would be defined as complacency. They are highly satisfied with their living conditions. Their leisure pursuits although similar to the new rich involve less commercial leisure. They also keep their social ties with their previous networks in working-class neighbourhoods.

The first category of women living in Panayır is the *traditional working-class women*. Most of the women in this category are middle-aged, married homemakers with children and living in traditional family and kinship relationships. Their fathers and/or husbands are employed or retired as workers; their financial resources are quite limited. Yet, they live relatively secure lives, particularly in comparison to the precariat. What marks the traditional working-class femininity is the dominance of the honour code regulating their social interactions. Their mobility is subject to a high level of male, family and even community control, and they socialise mostly in same-sex networks (see also Koca et al., 2009). Not only that their chances of overcoming these rules are limited, but they also practice this morale to varying extents. Their rural background and religiosity are central components shaping their moral values. Traditional working-class women do not always confirm/adopt the patriarchal control or constraints they are subject to. They construct themselves as worthy and skilful subjects beyond the patriarchal perception applied to them. This is central to their personal accounts, which separates them not only from the fractions of the middle classes summarised above but also from the 'respectable' working-class women. An example may guide us in grasping this:

Gülin: Yeah, I blow my cool. Well, my mum gets angry at me, says 'Your father died. Why don't you read the Quran for him?'¹. I say, 'I'm angry at him'. He is responsible for my current status. He didn't let me study. I could be in a better position.

As the excerpt suggests, these women are aware of the clear external pressures and control they are subject to and openly express that not acquiring cultural capital is not their fault. This leads to a feeling of complacency, despite the

anger occasionally expressed towards their fathers/husbands and broader family. Their complacency also stems from their limited mobility. They are not constantly exposed to symbolic violence of the higher-class morality as they spend most of their time within the neighbourhood with other women of their class. Therefore, they are not occupied with what people of other classes think of them on a day-to-day basis but are more occupied with what the other community members are thinking of them.

Feminist studies in Turkey, particularly studies of urban sociology, consist of abundant examples of traditional working-class women (see Alkan, 2005; Alkan Zeybek, 2011; Erman, 1996, 2001; Şenol Cantek et al., 2014). Veiling is a category largely applied to this group, together with attire reminiscent of their rural lives, yet slightly modified to an urban context. The attire involves long skirts or baggy trousers usually with flower motifs on them, a blouse, and a headscarf. If women need to travel, then, they wear a long, loose, and usually black topcoat on them. The colour match is not really a concern for these women, neither the body weight, make-up, skin beauty, nor any other fashion and beauty standards of modern societies.

The '*respectable*' working-class women in many ways differ from traditional working-class women. These are mostly young and single women who are either university students or graduated from a two-year college/university, and occupied, for instance, as a primary school teacher, nursery teacher, public relations officer, accountant, security guard, etc. Among them are also young women who have high-school and below education degrees but own a workplace, such as a small textile atelier, a hairdresser salon, or a stationery store. They are usually the daughters of traditional working-class families who migrated early to the neighbourhood and accumulated wealth in time, most importantly a regular income and a *gecekondu* house. They, in material and cultural terms, differ from their mothers and other traditional working-class women in the neighbourhood. Firstly, all of the women of this category in my sample have modern, urban attire, unlike their mothers. They wear jeans, T-shirts, and dresses and do their hair as well as make-up. Their leisure tastes also correspond with contemporary fashion. These women are not interested in traditional leisure activities of lacework, needlework, or knitting. These activities do not hold much value in the contemporary notions of respectability. Respectable working-class women are mostly interested in modern leisure pursuits. They enjoy, for instance, reading a book, going to café, cinemas, concerts, and doing sports activities like yoga, surfing on the Internet, watching TV series, etc. This fraction of the working class is called '*respectable*' because the prominent emotions and perceptions exhibited by the women in this category involve a higher level of individuality. Their individuality stems from their success in getting out of the dominant working-class morality, the honour code, though within certain limits (See Chapter Seven).

The women of the *precariat* fraction of the working class, although a minority in my sample, live under vulnerable conditions. They are either (il)

literate or at best have a primary school degree. They either live alone or with a partner and/or family, yet nobody in the family has a stable, secure job with an adequate income. They live in rented flats which are more slum-like and as can be guessed their lives are largely devoid of cultural capital, though not completely devoid of leisure. A particular problem they have at leisure is their social interaction with neighbours. Many of them feel marginalised in neighbouring relations. Dila, for instance, is an illiterate woman whose husband does not have a job. She complains about the marginalisation of her family:

Sevim: We lost the friendship. Nobody is frank with each other anymore ... When life becomes more luxurious, this moves us away from being human and sharing.

Dila: My grandchild, for instance, doesn't harm anybody and goes to play with my neighbour's child. The mother of the child excludes my grandchild. I asked, 'Why you do this to my grandchild'. She said nothing. Then I said to my neighbour, "Indict the fault in yourself". An adult around the age of 35, you don't want to mess around with her. You don't want to offend people, but they want to crush you.

The prominent feeling of the precarious women is resentment, reflected in their discourse on friendship (See Chapter Eight).

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the neighbourhoods, although they have broader class characteristics, also comprise the various segments of the classes they harbour. Most of the time these fractions are in tension/struggle with each other, employing different emotions, social positions, and affective aspirations. A focus on social class not only allows us to see the tension but also the historical and contextual roots of the tensions as the development of social class fractions are strictly embedded in the historical construction and reformulation of respectability within a national space. The participant profile of this qualitative study allows us to reflect on some of these fractions. Among the middle classes, the tension is between the two kinds of modern femininity, one independent, secular, work-orientated, and the other pious, homemaker, child-orientated. Among working classes, the tension is between three major groups, the rural-orientated traditional femininity defined by the honour code, the respectable who dis-identify themselves from the traditional working class femininity and feel closer to the modern new middle-class or the new rich (depending on their own occupational position) and the precariat who does not have the resources to become respectable in any group and feels excluded due to poverty. The following chapters will elaborate on how these women with different affective and material conditions experience leisure.

Note

- 1 It is thought that reading the Quran in the name of a dead person may benefit them in the otherworld.

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Responsibility

Or Labouring for Leisure

Women's leisure has long been researched around the fluidity within which specific experiences, e.g., knitting, sewing, needlework, and gardening, gain definitional validity as 'leisure' or 'work'. Deem (1986), for instance, found it particularly difficult in her research to determine whether activities like knitting and sewing are work or leisure:

For instance, knitting and sewing may be undertaken as a way of saving expenditure on clothes or as an activity which is itself enjoyable and can be done whilst talking, watching TV or in odd moments of time snatched from daily routine.

(p. 34)

The majority of feminist research foregrounds that work and leisure are historically shifting categories, which gain meaning only if they are fully contextualised within women's everyday lives. Langhamer (2000), for instance, by reviewing Mass Observation Surveys, shows that in 1920s England, women perceived the handicraft activities of knitting and sewing as their chief leisure activity; in the 1930s, the handicraft activities were an essential part of women's daily work, e.g., darning, patching, re-footing socks, and knitting jumpers for the kids. In the 1940s, needlework was characterised as war work; women knitted items for the troops (pp. 41–42). In a similar vein, women's care work most of the time combined with their leisure. For instance, spending time with one's children may involve work and leisure aspects. In sum, context is essential in identifying a certain activity as leisure since it:

consists of the interweaving of many strands within which 'work' and 'leisure', among other things, are located as a part of the whole. That is, work and leisure make sense only in relation to each other and to other parts of the whole. 'Leisure' certainly does not make sense on its own; it has to be understood as part of a conjunction of interests, needs, skills,

commitments, and obligations in women's lives, most importantly including those of 'work'.

(Stanley, 1988, p. 18)

There is more to women's leisure than simply identifying an activity as leisure or work. As Stanley highlights, the matter is how these categories are made meaningful in relation to each other. Social class comes to play a determining role in their relationship. On a moral level, activities like needlework, gardening, or care work are signs of respectable femininity as they show how a woman is not simply idle and/or selfish. Idleness, consuming resources, time, and space unproductively, is considered the enemy of respectable femininity since responsibility is a central mechanism through which respectability is demonstrated. Early feminist research has shown how not being engaged in productive leisure, but 'just sitting, relaxing and watching television might make [women] feel guilty and invoke comments about laziness from husband' (Deem, 1988, p. 11). Being engaged in the 'wrong' kind of leisure is also a source of being identified as non-respectable. Dixey (1988, p. 93) exemplifies how working-class women are portrayed as 'irresponsible' in newspaper articles for attending bingo sessions:

As cinemas and dance halls close, bingo places take over. More and more women are being drawn into the world of gambling. It is a world of deceit and ruin...where the prayed-for 'big win' is worshipped with all the anticipation of the second coming. And where nothing is sacred if it can be sold for betting money.

(Glasgow Evening Times, 25 March 1980).

Women, to be counted as 'worthy' selves, as a subject of value, need to *get it right* in leisure as well as in other areas of life. They need to present themselves as responsible selves. Particularly in today's world of heightened morality and individualism in which subjects *alone* are held accountable for their conditions and are encouraged to perform an enterprising self, the formation and exhibition of a responsible self within/through leisure become more of a necessity (Banks, 2009; Rojek, 2013; Batchelor et al., 2020; Sharpe et al., 2022; Gotfredsen et al., 2021). The question, then, is how responsibility is demonstrated within/through leisure. This varies across social classes since persons need requisite resources to present themselves in accordance with certain morality.

Informal Labour: An Issue of the Global South?

The relationship between women's informal labour and leisure is an under-researched area of inquiry in feminist leisure scholarship. One reason for such a gap is the peculiarity of the informal economy and employment patterns in

the Global South. This is not to suggest that informal labour is non-existent in the Western sphere or is insignificant. In fact, as Breman and van der Linden (2014) highlight, the labour informalisation rate has been rising in Western countries. Not to mention the fact that the informal employment rate differs across Western countries as 'overall, informality decreases from South to West to East to North' (Hazans, 2011, p. 11). The point here is that the dominant account on labour trajectory, i.e., from formal, secure employment patterns to most recently precarisation, is misleading because it is largely built on 'the experience of a handful of core countries within the Western bloc and a (male) labour aristocracy within highly differentiated working classes' (Mezzadri, 2020, p. 156). Breman and van der Linden (2014) foreground that this standard employment relationship is in fact a 'historical exception'. As the feminist political economy demonstrates, informality is still the norm of global capitalism:

The progressive pace of labour informalisation is remarkable and suggests that this is how work manifests itself in the twenty-first century. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2018), 85.8 per cent of total employment in Africa, 71.4 per cent in Asia and the Pacific, 68.6 per cent in the Arab States and 53.8 per cent in the Americas is either informal (based in the informal economy) or informalised (situated within formal production but based on informal relations). Total informal employment for the whole emerging and developing economies bloc is set at 69.6 per cent and, given the weight of this bloc and the extension of processes of precarisation across the whole Global North, it is 61.2 per cent at world level. In short, our entire planet primarily labours *informally*.

(Mezzadri, 2020, p. 156)

The relevance of the informal labour to leisure scholarship is that a focus on the informality of our work lives gives us a great deal of understanding of how women's labour is exploited through labelling their lives as 'leisurely', which is a tool of appropriation and devaluation of their labour and push this labour out of the recognised value generation processes. It is simultaneously a route of denying women's right to leisure.

Studies analysing the exploitation of women in the global informal labour market, e.g., Mies, 1982; White, 1991, reflect on how the systematic male perspective of viewing certain types of work as women's leisure activity (re) produces the global exploitation of women's labour. Maria Mies' (1982) research on lacemakers in Narsapur provides a historical overview of the ways in which the meaning of lacework has shifted across time and space. Class is a central aspect of this shift across the globe. According to Mies, for women belonging to the European leisure class, lace-making was a pastime activity. 'The 19th century bourgeois homes were decorated with these lace articles and lace collars, gloves, cuffs, ribbons, etc., which formed essential parts of

the women's dress' (p. 33). The practice has now penetrated the lower classes in the form of informal work. Both Western middle-class women and well-to-do Indian women, as customers, provide a market for these luxury items (p. 33). However, the poor Indian women who learnt to make lace 'had no use and no money for these luxury articles...The returns from this work are not even sufficient to guarantee the day-to-day survival of these workers' (p. 204). What Mies problematises is not primarily how women perceive lace making, as she evidences that women were 'well aware of the fact that lace making was work and not a leisure-time activity and that the wages for this work were too low' (p. 175). The problem lies in the general male-dominated view held by society and the official view 'voiced by lace exporters and traders as well as by government officials' (p. 61). She emphasises that the discourse that 'women of all castes and communities work harmoniously together in this ladylike "leisure-time activity" is a myth spread by the lace exporters and repeated by officials' (p. 115). Mies points out that the ideology of the homemaker who uses her leisure in a profitable way is an essential condition for the smooth functioning of the system of production and exploitation (p. 61). Mies is able to show that whilst around 90% of the expenditure that goes on recreation in lacemakers' families goes to the men, women and children hardly spend anything on their own recreation. 'Most women do not know any other recreation but sitting on their verandahs and chatting together. And even this "leisure" is often used to make lace' (p. 155). What emerges from Mies' analysis of the women's working day is the fact that the women practically have no leisure time at all. Grown-up women, as well as their small female children, work between 13 and 16 hours a day – 50–75% of this time is spent on lace making. In light of these facts, it would appear cynical to say that these women only use their leisure time for this 'hobby', or that it is only a part-time job, as most official statements put it (p. 140).

The feminisation of the informal economy has flourished in Turkey through the opening of the market for international trade in an economic climate aggravated by the economic policies of the 1980s and 1990s outlined in Chapter 4. In this era, wages were repressed to gain a cost advantage and attract global capital. The garment industry, as Dedeoğlu (2010) highlights, became one of Turkey's most important export industries, which relied heavily on cheap and unregistered female labour. Small, backstreet textile ateliers mushroomed in most of the *gecekondu* neighbourhoods in which women and children worked informally for long hours. Additionally, as many working-class families oppose women's work outside of the home, home-based production, e.g., piecework or family workshops, has flourished in the neighbourhood. The informal, i.e., unregistered, character of this type of production makes it very difficult to estimate its weight in the economy. Ilkkaracan highlights that in Turkey, 'three-quarters of adult women are nonparticipants in the labour force, and half of the participants are unregistered' (2012, p. 15). Analysing Household Labour Force Statistics 2010, Buğra (2014, p. 157) states that 'informal employment in

Turkey reaches over 40 percent of total employment and in the case of women over 58 percent of their total employment'. Education plays a significant role in participation in informal employment. The analysis of 2008 Household Labour Force Statistics by Ilkkaracan (2012, p. 21) highlights that

as many as 85 percent of employed women with no schooling and 58 percent of those with primary schooling participate in informal employment. The rate of informal employment is lower for high-school graduates, at 22.3 percent; for university graduates, it is only 5 percent.

(Ilkkaracan, 2012, p. 21)

Both quantitative data and qualitative insights into the ways in which female participation in informal employment is reproduced are crucial for understanding women's leisure because the patterns in women's leisure are inextricably linked to the patterns of their labour.

Jenny White (1991), who researched women's piecework in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods of Istanbul, states that women pieceworkers see their production activities as being primarily an expression of their traditional roles: 'They do not see themselves as "workers" at all' (p. 19). White emphasises that neither women nor the intermediary who mediates the production sees piecework as 'work'. The middleman in White's research reduces what these women do: 'Women just do this to kill time while they are watching their children and doing housework. They also work for lack of money; they want pots and pans; the peddler passes by. They don't tell their husbands' (p. 22). Although the women in White's study stated that the piecework is a form of 'work' and it is difficult and time-consuming, like housework, however, it is not employment:

Among themselves, the women keep to the fiction that they are not 'working'. This allows them to avoid the onus of being considered women who have economic dealings with strangers, women who have to 'work', presumably because their husbands are not able to support their families financially. As a result of this ideological filter, both the women themselves and their employers undervalue the women's labour and do not consider it to have a market value.

(White, 1991, p. 22)

White does not use the concept of 'leisure' in her study to refer to women's accounts of their piecework, and, as indicated above, women refer to it as work yet not 'labour' in the sense of employment. However, in a footnote, White refers to other studies around the world, such as Maria Mies's (1982) research in India and Beneria and Roldan's (1987) research in Mexico to support her statement that women perceive their work as 'leisure activity' (1991, p. 22).

Without underrating the invaluable contributions of these studies to feminist theory and research, I argue in this study for a more nuanced conceptualisation of leisure in the Turkish context. In countries like Turkey, where there is not a lexeme for the concept of 'leisure', just the translation of 'free time activities'¹, there is a danger in not distinguishing the male perspective, which reduces women's work to leisure, from what women themselves think of as their work or leisure activities. The women in this study refer to informal work as 'work done in free time', or 'work done because of gender constraints', and they do not refer to these activities as leisure. Funda, for instance, is living in Panayır. She is the mother of a small child; she left employment after marriage. Her husband does not allow her to work or go out alone, particularly in the evenings. Neither has he allowed her to use social media. She reflected on her free time activities: 'Basically, we are housewives; we don't have a social life. Do we have anything other than the work we need to do? No. I took this piecework; I do it in my free time'. Funda is aware that what she does in her free time is work, and it is the result of her lack of opportunities for leisure. Beren and Aslı also do piecework in their free time. Aslı describes one of her ordinary days:

I wake up in the morning and see off my husband to work, and then sit and do the piecework a bit or I sleep a little bit more. I go out and sit with my father or whoever else on the street. Then I come in and do my housework. My child spends time in front of the computer; I go out to sit with friends in the street. If I get bored, I have some relatives and other friends, I go to them, chat and come back in the afternoon, to make food for dinner. My husband comes back home in the evening, we eat our dinner, drink tea, otherwise, I go out into the street again.

The women participating in this study do not do piecework as a full-time job, as Aslı's routine indicates, but rather as flexible work that fills their time. Nevertheless, women are aware that it is work.

The Interviewer: How many women do you think do the piecework?

Aslı: Many

Beren: Non-employed women usually do.

Lale: I think women who don't have the possibility to work outside of the home, almost all of them do piecework, I think.

Aslı: Especially in our neighbourhood [unit], all of the women.

Lale: Because women think that even if the money they get is small, it will cover some of the expenses, like the school service payment or the grocery market expenses.

Beren: Women who have a better welfare level do not do this work because they think the payment per piece is very low.

Lale: That's right. There is a significant amount of work but too little payment.

Beren: Yes, that's true. For instance, the work we do is 60 kuruş [£0.15 in 2015] for each piece. If you complete 15 pieces in a day, which is not possible every day, that makes 7.5–8 Turkish Lira [approximately £1.50–£2]. Of course, it is more beneficial to give the work to women outside of the factory, because if you hire a worker to do this job in the factory, you need to give at least the minimum wage per day, 40 TL [£8]. You need to give social security, additional costs, and so on.

The more precarious women's lives get, the more time they spend in unregistered work, and the less their labour can be propertisable to acquire value. Gülay participates in informal work in a different sector, recycling. She is a divorced woman, living alone in a ground-floor cheap flat in one of the *varoş* (slum) units of the neighbourhood. She travels around the neighbourhood with her moped, from which a haulage hangs behind, and she collects plastics from the rubbish bins. Some women in the neighbourhood separately accumulate their plastics from the rest of the rubbish and give them to her, so she does not need to deal with the dirty bins. Then, she flattens the collected plastic products, breaks them into pieces to make them ready for recycling, and finally, she takes them to the firm to collect her money, which is paid for per kilogramme. As this is a labour-intensive process, it takes most of her time with little monetary gain, which restricts her leisure possibilities. Alongside the material limitations, this informal labour cannot be used as a cultural property since it does not hold a positive value in society. It is not only an unregistered job, but also an undesired job which refers to the bleakness of one's conditions. This is reflected in Gülay's feelings; she describes herself as 'lost in this life'. The negative value attached to her job and her singleness has an effect on her leisure. She becomes mostly left alone in her leisure pursuits, as her neighbours keep her at a distance (see Chapter 8). She spends most of her free time at home, watching TV or surfing on social media:

If you are rich, then there are a lot of people around you, if not then they make 'hıh', turn up their nose at you. I don't want this, rich or poor, we all eat bread. You eat bread for 5 Turkish lira, I eat for 1 Turkish lira or 0.50. You eat, I mean the rich...I eat soup. But we are all in a struggle for a living. The decay in neighbouring relations makes me sad, that is why I often stay at home. What I do, is I turn on the TV, I'm in front of it till evening. If I don't work, then till morning. Or on the Internet.

If she desires a change, once in a while, she gets on public transportation and travels through the city. She does not have the financial resources to consume commercialised leisure activities yet walking and watching around as the life flows in the city centre is free. In sum, her leisure is as precarious as her work (see also Millar, 2014).

The more 'leisurely' and less out of financial hardship the informal work becomes, the more culturally propertisable it gets. Women, then, can identify themselves through their informal work as 'enterprising' selves. Not the precariat, but homemakers of traditional working-class women or the new rich of the middle classes utilise informal work to accrue value, which goes hand in hand with dis-identifying themselves from the category of 'idle'. Some traditional working-class women in Panayır, such as Nevin and Ecrin, sell cosmetic products in their 'free time'. Nevin is a married woman with two children. She is 40 years old and has worked since she was 13. As she reports, 'I worked in textile for many years, 14 years at one place and then 6 years at another place'. When she had her second child, she could not afford a babysitter, nor did she have any female relatives nearby to look after her children. Therefore, she had to quit her job. Like many other unemployed women, she took on other informal jobs to earn money: 'I was doing some needlecraft to support my household expenses, but after a while, I realised that it makes me tired and my eyes throb with pain, so I tried something different.' She now sells cosmetic products to other women in Panayır. She defines herself as an entrepreneur and feels committed to her work: 'I found something for myself. Some women told me that I couldn't do it, that I wasn't capable enough. Just to spite them, I said I would do this work, and I'm doing it now, thank God. I want to reach a good position.' Her work takes place in time left from care work, and in places where women meet for leisurely socialising. During the fieldwork, I was invited to a gathering in the Women's Association of the neighbourhood where she demonstrated her products. These gatherings almost always function as leisurely moments since women constantly crack jokes and make funny interpretations of events told.

The homemaker women of the new rich families in Yasemin Park estate also engage in various kinds of informal labour. During my fieldwork, I was invited to a Reception Day (see more details about this leisure activity in Chapter 8) where the majority of attendants were homemakers. I was surprised by the variety of products made by and traded among women. The production and marketing of decorative products attracted my attention before the event. Prior to our leaving Sezin's flat that day – I attended the Reception Day through her – her neighbour arrived with a tray full of decorated Turkish delights. The rose-flavoured pink delights were covered with cream, making a rose motif with a pearl-shaped candy on top of it. These were the samples of an order for an engagement ceremony. This neighbour makes such decorations on Turkish delights, cookies, and cakes for special occasions, like engagement ceremonies, birthdays, and teething parties. Once we reached the host's flat for the Reception Day event, I learnt that the host is originally from a city in the southeast region which is famous for its pomegranate. Her mother made homemade pomegranate syrup and the host sold it to the guests on behalf of her mother. Sezin, on the other hand, brought her handicrafts to display and sell. These products included decorative candles,

scented photo frames, and painted wooden trays she had made. Sezin learnt to produce their products in the handicraft courses that she attended over the years. Sometimes women sell these products in charity sales. They also open social media accounts with a brand name for their business and advertise their products online to reach a wider audience. Here, there is not an urge to earn money to be used for essential needs, but a desire to exhibit a productive, responsible personality. Buse, the wife of another textile company owner, who herself is a tailor working from home, described the feelings of the new rich, homemaker women: 'They usually go to fairs/charity sales. I didn't ask how much they earn. Rather than out of financial need, everybody wants to be occupied with something...Women get bored at home. What will you do with the child at home?' She describes the variety of work homemakers do around her:

A friend of mine makes things with felt. I've a friend for example who makes necklaces. I don't know if you saw it on me. If anybody wants one, I direct them to her. Another friend makes leather bags. Sometimes she comes to me to sew certain parts of the bags. I see them when she comes, she does some painting on the bags. I have another friend who for a while sold underwear. I tried to encourage her to do something because she had some [mental health/emotional] troubles.

Buse herself had undergone a struggle with her husband to work. Before they got married, he assured her that she could continue working, but after the marriage, he would not allow it. Only when she had developed some psychological problems and troubles that had arisen in their marriage, as a result, did they make an agreement for her to work from home. Her customers are largely women from the estate. In sum, selling handmade products for these women has a different function. They live in traditional family arrangements based on the sexual division of labour, under these circumstances handicrafts are utilised for being respectably feminine, for not feeling and being labelled as idle, for seeking social recognition, having a public appearance that includes skilfulness, entrepreneurship, benevolence, etc.

The new middle-class women are less keen on informal work. The white-collar professionals who are active in employment are not interested at all in handcrafting or turning the products of their leisurely activities into money. The kind of leisure activities they engage with are rather framed as 'self-fulfilling', and 'skill-developing' leisure activities. Helin, for instance, is a new middle-class, university-educated homemaker living in Yasemin Park. She uses her free time attending courses from which she can learn new skills:

Every year, I go on a course. One year I attended a German language course, another year I attended a pastry course, and this year I want to do painting, we will see...I can do that, I mean, even if there is nothing

at home, I do cross-stitching or some other knitting...I really like making cakes and I also have a blog. I went on a pastry course for one month; I gained weight...Then I left...And the course was at the beginners' level, but I was more advanced than that. I mean, I always find something, I don't just sit at home, I always find something to do.

These leisure activities do not target any monetary purpose; they are not utilised in presenting women's philanthropic or entrepreneurial personalities. Yet, they have a meaning, as they are propertised for presenting the good life of the new middle-class. This good life is achieved effortlessly, in a leisurely manner, as the conditions are already there. Helin writes about and also shares pictures of how she renovates her daughter's room in her free time. This is presented as a do-it-yourself leisure activity, as she assembles furniture, paints the furniture and walls, and decorates the room with colourful objects. Here, the point is not to feel and to be seen as idle, without skills, and irresponsible. Yet, a perfect new middle-class woman image involves a certain relaxed, skilful attitude, combined with high family and children responsibilities (see also Mayoh, 2019).

Care Work: For Whom Is It 'Leisurely'?

The majority of the new middle-class women in this fieldwork were employed and had children mostly below fifteen years old. Although these women have the financial and cultural advantage in access to commercialised leisure, due to the double shift, they do not necessarily have leisure-filled lives. The new middle-class women talk about their years before marriage as a 'hectic' time in terms of leisure.

Ahu: I really like going out actually. Before I got married, I was going out a lot, I don't remember that I was sitting at home even one night. I was getting tired and used to say 'I won't go out tonight, no matter which friend calls' [...] But I used to end up going out...

The Interviewer: What do you used to do when you were single?

Helin: Oooo [laughing]

Mira: Well, we used to do many things because I was living alone in Ankara, and I had a friend group...

Helin: I was living alone in Bursa too.

Damla: I was living alone too.

Helin: The university life was great...

Ahu: When you are single and alone, you can go out every night...

Damla: There is no responsibility when you are single, what you do is studying and staying out...

[...]

Ahu: I, for instance, when it was quite rare in Bursa, I was a member of many associations, I established an association, I mean I had a very active life.

I worked at different types of jobs, like journalism, accounting...I mean really, I had a very active life and now it suddenly stopped.

Childcare, even if some of the new middle-class women are not willing to frame it as such, is the main reason for the lack of leisure. Yeliz, for instance, is a teacher and mother of two children, a seven-year-old and a two-year-old, explains this in detail:

I used to go to the theatre every second week but now I don't go anymore. I don't because I can't handle it. If I do, my children will ask questions: 'When will you return?', 'Why can't I come with you?' My son sleeps on the sofa, waits until I arrive, and I become sad seeing my children waiting for me. If I don't care...Let's say on Wednesday I went to visit a friend of mine. This would have meant that my son's arrival home and his sleeping time would have shifted to midnight. And the next day he would have woken up crying. He would have said: 'I don't want to go to school, I'm sleepy' So, what do you do? You automatically prevent yourself from going out on weekdays. You can't really move without adapting yourself. If you do, there will be consequences to pay at some point.

What seems to replace women's participation in cultural activities is playing with their children and attending their children's cultural events. Mothers' leisurely time with their children involves activities like going to the cinema, eating out, playing at home, or in the leisure venues of the estate. The events may involve birthday parties, performances organised by the school, or weekend courses. Alev, for instance, is a mechanical engineer. She reflects on her spare time for leisure:

I make spare time for myself. Maybe we can't find too much time because we come from work at a certain time. But I really like being with my son and playing with him. In the evenings, definitely, at least one hour of playing, and he has been used to that since he was little, he doesn't sleep without playing with me. So, with him, and sometimes his dad too, we create an environment where we can play together. And then, even if his dad is not able to join in, I do this. Since this has been the case since his early childhood, I really enjoy being with my son in my free time. The time we spend together is really joyful.

Similar to Alev, Yeliz, even as she reflects on the ways in which she is limited by childcare, prefers to spend her free time with her children:

Yeliz: If I have spare time, I usually go down for a walk or spend time in the playground with my children.

Buse: Again, the necessity/responsibility.

Yeliz: At least, there is a will here. I say: 'Children, I've got some spare time, let's take you to the playground'. I might not do it, but I enjoy doing it. If I take them out walking on a path, to a picnic area or a playground.

As can be seen in the excerpts, the discourse of 'choice' was prevalent among the new middle class. Childcare seems to be always carrying a double function for these mothers, leisure and work. While they play with their children, they are also keen on transferring certain skills and habits to their children. Most of the mothers in this group indicated that in the evenings, after work, they spend time with their children:

Yonca: Reading a book is what I do sometimes here [at the office], I can't say I read at home. My son usually plays in his room, or I always try to create habits for him to be honest, so that he can make use of some habits. Sometimes, I direct him to do some painting or something else because he can't sit in front of the TV all the time or play all the time. I try to infuse him with some habits so he can live more organised.

Although it is clear that they lost their leisure-filled lives after marriage, particularly after becoming a mother, women did not complain about the inequalities between them and their male partners in childcare and/or domestic work. A few women defined their relationship with their partners as equal:

Banu: My husband looked after our baby from 13 months on...We are sharing it in shifts...when one goes to work, the other looks after, and the other way around as well. Everything, feeding, and all other works, he did it perfectly...

Mira: I share 100%. I'm quite at ease. I can even go on holiday for days...But my daughter does not feel at ease without me, making her sleep at night and so on...These kinds of things are the issue, otherwise he is very sharing about the care.

The majority of the women in this group, however, clearly does the household chores and childcare themselves on a daily basis:

Pelin: When I finish my work at the workplace, my second work-life begins [others laugh]. I come home and try to cook in a rush. Then I try to deal with my children, I dance sometimes... 'Berkecan we are very happy *annecim* [minnie]', 'Ah, my dear husband' [she imitates a smiling face]. So, I try to forget my stress at work. Then I try to sit in front of [the] PC and draw my patterns [as leisure]. I look for a couple of them, let my mind go...Then I smoke a cigarette on the balcony with my husband, then 'bye-bye *kocacim* [hubby]' [...] That kind of rush, I've at home too, and I can sleep around 1.00–1.30 am at night.

When I invited them to elaborate on why and how their partners refrain from domestic and care tasks, the common explanations were that either men work for longer hours than themselves or these men did not grow up with a mentality that made these tasks appear natural to them. Hence, it is not their fault:

Damla: As we talked earlier about how men have these habits shaped since their early ages, we need to pay attention to that, I believe. For instance, I'm able to say like 'Ok, now I leave and better if you do this and that' to my husband.

The Interviewer: Ok. Then if you don't tell him what to do?

Damla: What could be is that let's say he would probably make our child eat his food, this is for sure since the child will be hungry and so on...But he might not ask "Do you have homework?" [...] It might not come to his mind, so I've to remind him.

These new middle-class men are perceived as the most civilised in comparison to other classes. The outstanding indicator of their civility is their 'help' in domestic tasks and some families also with childcare. The limitations of their 'help' came to the forefront once we started talking about women's personal leisure. Many women described personal leisure as a time to rest and recuperate or do personal care activities. Damla is a mother of two small children. As she has limited free time, she would like to use it for personal care. Yet, she had little time:

Damla: I, for instance, there are two years between my daughters' age. Deniz was 6-months-old, she could sit on the baby feeding chair. She was such a calm baby like she is now too. So, she was sitting on the baby feeding chair, I put her food in front of her and my other daughter was around two-years-old. And I was going to the hairdresser. I told to my husband to take care of them, and I left...It took like 2–3 hours because my hair was dyed and so on. When I arrived home back, my baby was still sitting on the baby feeding chair, poor baby didn't make any noise and he didn't take her out of the chair...I said why you didn't move her, she might have some pain in her legs sitting there for hours...

Alev: But since he takes it as an order...you only said to feed her, so he did what was told to him...

Damla: He says, 'But she didn't make any noise', I was like 'Yes, but still do you think a baby can sit on the chair for three hours without moving!'

The new middle-class men's 'help' in domestic tasks and care work is a distinguishing characteristic of their civility, which shows itself most sharply when the women of the new rich aspire to such partners. Sibel is a homemaker, married to a textile company owner, with two sons, living in Yasemin Park. She feels a deep disappointment for accepting the offer of marriage,

through which she found herself in a traditional arrangement of sexual division of labour:

Everything is on my shoulders: the cleaning, the shopping – the only thing he says is: ‘I’m the international minister; you’re the internal minister’, ‘What do I understand about housework?’, ‘So you want me to do the vacuuming! If I do it, then what are you going to do?’ Sometimes he says: ‘In that case, I should have given birth to our child, too!’ I’m getting tired because there are three men now. They want to eat and wear clean clothes. They eat a lot, and everything runs out every day in our house. I spend a lot of time shopping. I go to several grocery markets.

Sibel is not alone in her condition. As Akçaoğlu (2022) demonstrates, men of the new rich families have a great interest in strictly separating female and male roles in the family; they think sexual division of labour is necessary for a thriving business. While this division of roles into the public and the private justifies Sibel’s husband’s leisure at home, home is filled with a never-ending work rhythm for Sibel. She describes the previous Sunday as an example. They got up, and she prepared the breakfast. After that, she went grocery shopping. Then, she took her children to the swimming pool. She asked her husband if he wanted to come too, but he said, ‘No, I don’t like the pool’. Later in the evening, she took the children to visit a friend. She complains about her husband not participating in these ‘work tasks’:

It would be great if he would go and do the shopping while I was preparing the breakfast, or take the children out...You start questioning whether you are the housemaid, mother, or care worker. Why always me? The only difference...for instance, I could earn money and bring home...Sometimes my husband says, ‘It is like heaven being a woman – always visiting people or resting’. But that’s not true. I wish he helped me, I would be happier. For instance, if you ask me why I always focus so much on my children, it is because I think their father doesn’t do any activity with them, he doesn’t take them out, to the playground, and so on. Therefore, I’m trying to fill this gap.

As a consequence of the constant housework and childcare, Sibel complains about not finding time to rest. Most of the leisure activities she desires to practice underline her need to have a rest, stay by herself, and listen to herself:

Walking around here [in the estate] gives peace to a person. It is always quite silent. I really want to walk alone, sit beside the ornamental lake here. In the past, I used to long for such opportunities. But, if you ask me now, I don’t have time for it. In my previous flat, we had a terrace with a mountain view. I used to take my coffee, sit on the balcony, and read my

book. Now, here we have a balcony, but nobody sits out on it anymore. Maybe it is because we were living in the same building as my mother-in-law, and she used to spend a lot of time with my child. So, I could spare some time for myself. She shared some of my responsibilities.

Women's domestic responsibilities leave limited time for their leisure, particularly, when women are the only female family member. This is why the existence of another person to share these responsibilities is crucial for their leisure. Women like Sibel feel difficulty in contending themselves with the homemaker identity as it does not assign a higher social status and individuality. Remaining simply a homemaker in today's societies is seen as 'traditional'. Sibel continuously brought up her background in making her point about her dissatisfaction with the sexual division of labour in her family. She is the daughter of an immigrant Turkish family in Germany. She has become successful at school unlike many migrant children and finished gymnasium. She is aware of the meaning of this cultural capital. She could go to university and become one of the new middle-class women. Yet, she met her husband at the time and decided to get married. She feels she gave up a higher status, which she was capable of acquiring. Motherhood, on the other hand, partially compensates for this loss and provides her with a more respectable position in justifying her decision not to be employed that is a value-laden counter-reasoning used by women of lower social status (see Skeggs, 2011, pp. 503–504).

Conclusion

This chapter has set to work on a difficult topic, the relation of women's leisure to the various forms of their labour, such as care work, unregistered, unpaid, or paid labour, etc.; a topic protecting its acute importance to feminist leisure research. Shifting the attention from the North American and European context to the Global South reminds us that exploitation of women's labour for social reproduction as well as cheap labour for capitalist accumulation are still widespread phenomena across the world, having detrimental effects on their leisure. The chapter has explored how responsibility as a defining criterion of respectable femininity plays a role in this picture. Responsibility is like a point of gravity, orienting women towards choosing or combining their leisure activities with some kind of work, turning them into productive pursuits. The kinds of 'leisurely' work, one that women propertise in exhibiting themselves as respectable, however, vastly differs across social classes.

Note

- 1 Garry Chick (1998) evidenced that in many languages around the world, there is no lexeme for leisure. The concept of "leisure" is commonly translated as "free

time activities". Such evidence calls for further attention in framing work and leisure in these countries' contexts.

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Contested Spaces

Family, Community, and Women's Leisure

Respectability is a spatialised relationship. Accruing value requires navigating across the right spaces in the right manner. Concerning this, women's access to and use of public leisure spaces has long been an interest of feminist leisure research. Studies, e.g., Dixey & Talbot, 1982; Skeggs, 1999; Mowl & Towner, 2005; Green & Singleton, 2006, have highlighted that discourses of respectability are central to how women embody leisure behaviour and feel about being able to occupy space. It is well-evidenced that women's behaviours in public leisure settings are regulated, monitored, and judged by others in relation to commonly held assumptions made about what constitutes 'respectable feminine' behaviour (Mitchell et al., 2004). Therefore, women develop a sense of safety and risk in using or not using public leisure spaces. However, what constitutes 'respectable feminine' behaviour and how women acknowledge, perceive, and manage risk and safety when engaging in leisure change from context to context, and group to group.

The chapter, first, outlines the morality dominating each neighbourhood and the consequences of these class-based moralities on women's leisure. The idea of honour and segregation of sexes dominate the use of leisure spaces in the working-class neighbourhood. This seriously restricts women's space use for leisure. Labelling a leisure space as a 'family' space in working-class neighbourhoods allows women to feel safe and use these spaces. The mixed-sex socialisation and other signs of individual 'autonomy' mark the middle-class living spaces as 'modern'. The chapter, then, moves on to unfold how different social class fractions in each neighbourhood construct their subjective positions and cultural distinctions in relation to the dominant moral values of the neighbourhoods. For instance, the 'respectable' working-class women do not identify themselves with the honour code by exhibiting their capacity of 'choice', yet simultaneously demonstrate how 'honourable' their choices are. They internalise a hybrid understanding of respectability, speaking to both class worlds. A similar pattern is observed in the accounts of the young and single new middle-class women who come from the new rich families of the estate. This can be interpreted as having one's cake and eating it too.

‘What Will Others Say?’ Women’s Segregated Leisure in Working-Class Neighbourhoods

The dominant community values of Panayır, a typical *gecekondu* neighbourhood, are shaped around the honour code. The maintenance of women’s sexual honour is placed at the centre of conduct in the community and is reflected in the physical and social separateness of male and female spheres. Such segregation takes on a more pronounced form in leisure than in work and in other spheres of ‘necessity’. When one strolls around the neighbourhood, especially in the centre where all the shops and markets are located, one can observe many women working together with men in stores, supermarkets, bakeries, stationers, photo studios, restaurants, etc. I often observed men and women colleagues teasing each other and keeping a relatively close level of physical contact. When men and women who know each other through work encounter one another outside of the workspace in the public spaces of the neighbourhood, they apply the politeness codes of greeting. Spending leisure time together, on the other hand, is unwelcome. The spaces for leisure, unlike workspaces, are segregated. For instance, men tend to congregate and socialise in places like coffee houses, hometown associations, the family tea garden, the community centre, and football pitches. They generally dominate the main roads and public places of the neighbourhood. Women are less prominent and tend to congregate in more marginal public spaces, such as the side streets, playgrounds, school gardens, walking trails, or private spaces, such as houses and gardens. The honour code as the dominant value of the working-class community does not allow these men and women, unless they are family members, to spend their leisure time together. Beren, who moved from her village to Panayır through marriage and has been living there for more than ten years, summarises the ongoing practices of segregation in socialisation and conduct:

How can I put it? Unless it is necessary, we can’t chat with a male stranger. This is the reality...We say hi to each other, we are not close-minded...For instance, we know these people, we’ve lived on the same street for five to ten years, we greet each other, but sitting and chatting together is not for us. We have never seen this, and we continue the same practice.

Socialising with men who are not part of the family in leisure spaces is perceived as a direct threat to women’s chastity, which in turn reflects on the family members’ honour. Consequently, women and men tend to socialise separately in the neighbourhood. What are the consequences of such morality in everyday leisure practice?

Three spaces dominated women’s discussions of public leisure spaces in Panayır: playgrounds, the walking trail, and the tea garden. While women often used playgrounds and the walking trail, the tea garden appeared to be a

'no-go place' for them. In each case, the contested nature of the public leisure spaces in Panayır was pronounced in their talks – spaces which women struggle to win but lose. What emerged as a common theme from their discussions is the role that labelling those leisure spaces as 'family spaces' plays in increasing women's chances of using them and the pattern of women's withdrawal from public leisure spaces where there is a male-only congregation.

The playgrounds have always been one of the most 'acceptable' public places for women's leisure (i.e., chatting with friends while keeping an eye on one's child/ren). In Panayır, most of the playgrounds are surrounded by houses while others are located on empty lands outside of the housing clusters. The size of the playgrounds is usually small, containing only four swings, a slide, a seesaw, and some other equipment. The district municipality placed sports equipment next to these playgrounds, where women can do sports while their children play. The playgrounds are not evenly distributed in the neighbourhood because some parts of the neighbourhood still consist of illegal settlements, which the municipality does not supply with most public services, including leisure. The women in the study living in the illegal sections of the neighbourhood stated that they walk a considerable distance to take their children to the playgrounds. The majority of women in the study stated the importance and the necessity of playgrounds primarily for their children. However, the women themselves also valued playgrounds as a place of socialisation. It is one of the places in the neighbourhood where they socialise with other women and create opportunities to do so. Meryem described the role of playgrounds for many women in the neighbourhood:

When people move into the neighbourhood, they gain new neighbours, share their cultural practices, gain new friendships and you call the new friend a 'playground friend'. I have a playground friend too. When I go and sit there, naturally you greet each other and when your children start playing together, you start to chat as well, asking each other questions like 'Where are you from?' 'What do you do?' 'What is your husband's job?' 'Aaah! I had a friend from the same city or workplace ...' and so on ... So, the conversation develops. You meet the same person every time you go, or you go at the same hour on purpose to chat again. It is nice. It makes us close-knit.

I observed women's use of playgrounds for leisure purposes during the research. On one of my visits – a warm summer night – I observed that the women and children living in the surrounding houses swarmed to the playground. While children were playing in groups, women were engaged in some leisure activities. A group of women were having a picnic. Some young girls were walking around the playground while they were eating sunflower seeds and chatting. One woman was sitting on the sports equipment placed adjacent to the playground and doing lacework. Some women in the study,

like Funda and Beren, who are keen on representing themselves as ‘respectable’, criticise the traditional working-class women’s use of the playground as being ‘uncivilised’:

Funda: For instance, there is some sports equipment. The woman goes and sits on it and does her lacework all day. But this equipment is there for doing sports, not for sitting down on.

Beren: There are benches. But some women do not even know what the equipment is for. They sit and swing their feet. I wanted to take photos of them.

In the excerpt, class distinction presents itself. Funda and Beren are young women, living in affluent working-class families, and have middle-class aspirations. Their distinction from the traditional working-class women is visible not only in their clothing, e.g., following the *tesettür* fashion, but also in their perception of how to *get it right* in leisure. To know how to use the equipment and comply with it is a sign of a *knowing self*. In contrast, the traditional working class do not live with the same desire to represent themselves as respectable selves, particularly in their close living environment. The tension between traditional and ‘respectable’ working-class women on summer night gatherings is a case in point:

Elvin: In summer, all people can do is sit on the doorstep. Well, the streets are already quite narrow, and houses are adjacent to each other. People take their tea and sunflower seeds and come out to the streets as a summer night activity. They sit until late at night, like one or two a.m. But sleeping becomes an issue for the employed. I think this is the most important problem in this neighbourhood. People do not have respect for each other. Even if you kindly ask for it, nobody gets it, accepts it.

Nazlı: People do not think of each other ... They are not aware of what they do. Am I disturbing others? I shouldn’t speak loud late at night, she cannot think of this.

Gülin: Now, you shouldn’t condemn them. Don’t condemn, they have nothing else to do ... It is necessary. She cannot sit at home all the time and look at the walls.

Despite the disapproval of the ‘respectable’ working-class women, gathering on the doorsteps, in gardens or wherever possible and talking loudly and laughing while drinking tea and sunflower seeds is a very widespread leisure habit of the working classes (see also Açıkgöz & Demirbaş, 2023). As Skeggs (2004, p. 40) notes, ‘whilst huge amounts of energy are put into defining, knowing, classifying, recognizing, and moralizing the working-class, they go about their business using their own definitions and valuations’. In their ‘own’ space they do not feel the urge to think about how ‘others’ perceive

their outfit or manners; this would be different at times when they would find themselves in upper/middle-class living spaces. Özyeğin (2000), for instance, note how working-class women who work as cleaners in gated estates care about their outfits in order not to be classified as 'rural', a label that attributes negative value. Returning to the use of sports equipment by traditional working-class women, it is an expression of the relaxation and comfort of being in a familiar space, doing what they consider as leisure.

Women displayed their discomfort regarding the male use of the playgrounds, especially around the issue of risk and safety in using leisure spaces. For example, during one of my focus group meetings, Ada stated, 'I would like to have the playground closer to my home', and complained, 'Since men swarm there, we can't use it'. In another focus group meeting, Esin, who regularly takes her nephew to the playground, complained about the male-only use of these spaces:

The child sometimes wants to go to the playground, even in the evening when it is dark. But there are many men, it disturbs you. Because they can drink alcohol there in the corner sometimes. They prefer drinking at the sides of the playground where there is not enough lighting. If the child runs towards there, I have to run after him or her. Men do not think: 'The children come here to play, so we shouldn't drink here'.

As Stanko (1990) argues, fear of assault is a very real experience that makes women feel the need to protect themselves against potential dangers. In outside spaces, especially in the dark, men's use of alcohol adds extra reasons to stay away from playgrounds in the summer evenings. Besides their fear of assault, women are sensitive to the risk of being seen with men in the same leisure space, which may cause danger for their own and their family's honour and reputation. Meryem describes the discomfort women feel when men use the playgrounds:

When there are many men in the playground, women don't want to sit here and even when they explain the discomfort they feel, nobody takes any notice of them. This is such a small playground and then men come and sit here. Well, you already have many alternative places to go. So, if you see a group of women, please step aside as far as possible. I have seen this many times. For instance, the other day I came and sat here, and some women were saying: 'Ah, we feel uncomfortable because of these men, let's leave'. They said: 'We have no other place to go, and men still invade this place'. So, these women left in the end, because they couldn't feel comfortable.

Men's entrance to women's leisure spaces usually results in the withdrawal of women from these places. As Alkan Zeybek (2011) analysed in her urban

park case, labelling a place for leisure as 'family space' legitimates women's use of that 'safe' space and allows mixed-sex socialisation within it. At the same time, it does not allow for the men-only congregation. Women, as illustrated above, perceive practising leisure in the same space with male strangers as a danger to their reputation because their behaviour in public, particularly in leisure spaces, is monitored and judged by both men and women in their community, such as the walking trail.

Approximately four years prior to my fieldwork in 2015, the municipality built a walking trail in Panayır. The shape of the trail is a straight line built through the busiest part of the neighbourhood, surrounded by the main road on one side, and stores, supermarkets, and other workplaces on the other. It has trees on each side, both serving to enclose the space and offering shade on hot summer days. It is the only public place where women can do sports. Besides walking/jogging, women use sports equipment along the trail. They also use the benches in the playground, located in the middle of the trail, to have a rest. The women in the study celebrated the establishment of the trail and reported that they used it regularly. For example, Aslı walks there every morning with her friends from spring onwards. From the outset, she reports that women 'did not give a damn' about men's harassment, such as their honking from cars and their whistling, and in the end, men 'got used to seeing us there'. In time, the activities on the trail extended beyond sports purposes: the trail, and the playground located in the middle of it, turned into public venues for socialisation and hanging around. Especially in the evenings, residents from all age groups gathered in this area, walking in groups, and sitting on the benches of the playgrounds. It is a public place where they meet their friends, relatives, neighbours, and colleagues, sometimes arranged in advance and sometimes occurring spontaneously; they chat, exchange information, and joke, thereby reproducing social ties.

The walking trail is currently perceived as a 'family space', which allows for mixed socialisation. Women's desires to occupy leisure spaces, however, were not achieved in every example of 'family' space. For instance, women in this study were largely disappointed with the family tea garden that opened up in the centre of the neighbourhood three years before the research. It is an open space, surrounded by green fences and containing trees, tables, chairs, and a TV. As mentioned in Chapter 4, in Turkey, the 'family tea garden' emerged as a mixed-sex leisure space, as part of the modernisation project to allow women to socialise with their families. Despite the label 'family' in its name, women do not use the tea garden in Panayır; it is a male-only space. Many women noted how excited they got when they heard there would be a family tea garden opening in the neighbourhood. As Ada puts it: 'All we want is two chairs and a table under a tree where we can go and sit, drink tea, and get some fresh air'. However, according to my participants, immediately after the opening of the tea garden, the male residents 'invaded' the place and women did not feel comfortable going there. Suna, a 70-year-old

woman with considerable freedom to practice leisure for most of her life provides illustrative insights into how women feel community pressure and restrict themselves even when they overcome the layers of husband and intra-familial control:

When they first opened [the tea garden] I was very happy, I said: 'Aw, very nice, there is a tea garden opening for us'. The boys who run this place, I told them how happy we are...they said: 'No, *Abla*,¹ we are doing it for men.' I said: 'Shame on you, I got excited'. Then, they said: '*Abla*, please come whenever you want', and I said: 'Aah, no I won't, they would stone me!' So that kind of thing, I mean I can go if I want, and my husband wouldn't say anything but then I would be criticised by [others] around: 'What is this woman doing here?' So we are that kind of society.

As the excerpt indicates, sometimes it is not the pressure from the husband or the family that women find difficult to overcome, but rather the community pressure. The majority of women in the study echoed Suna's concerns of 'being criticised by others around'. Women perceive entering such places as 'risky' for family honour and feel the community pressure more intensively. This is the case especially when the place is surrounded by stores, offices, and local institutions, such as the community centre, health centre, and male-only coffee houses, where men sit in front of the shops, on the balcony of the community centre, and in front of the coffee houses all day. The heavy male presence creates pressure on women even while they are passing through the centre of the neighbourhood. The majority of my participants, such as Esin, expressed the unease they felt in male-dominated spaces:

To be honest, I feel uncomfortable when I pass by the coffee houses. When I walk in the neighbourhood, there is not much harassment, but in places where there is a heavy presence of men, you unavoidably feel stressed.

Only some of the women are able to use the tea garden and easily resist the male pressure in male-dominated places. These women are not necessarily the 'respectable working class' as we assume they have the highest level of individuality, but rather women who carry less of an attachment to the values of the community. One such woman is Feride, who is a leftist activist, believes in and actively works for gender equality, does not face strong male control or family control, and also has a place in the community as an association leader.

You mean the one opposite the *Mukhtar's* office, right? They told us that everybody would be able to go there. One day, a friend of ours here in the association came in very upset, almost crying, and asked me to have breakfast somewhere outside. We went to the *Börekçi*,² ate our *börek*, and

drank our tea. Then she told me that the tea she drank wasn't enough, she wanted more. She said let's drink tea here, indicating the tea garden. We just sat down, drank our tea, had a chat, and came back.

Except for this occasional presence of women, the family tea garden is a male leisure space where men play games and watch football. The following section focuses on how fractions of the working class react to these broader conditions differently.

Snatch Off or Step Out? How Working-Class Women Negotiate the Honour Code in Leisure

The vast majority of women interviewed in Panayır, as already suggested above, complained about the community and family control over their leisure practices in public. There is clearly a conflict between what women want as leisure and what is imposed on and/or available to them. Therefore, the matter at hand is not necessarily whether women are passive victims or free agents. It is rather the material and discursive conditions of individuality that separate traditional and 'respectable' working-class women from each other in their negotiation of leisure.

The traditional working-class women feel anxious about their appearance and conduct in public leisure spaces because of the danger of being judged through both male and female gaze. As most of their everyday is lived within the vicinity, the fear of losing social networks becomes the source of this high level of anxiety, which leads to a high degree of self-scrutiny and self-censorship. As Kader explains, 'You inevitably limit yourself...[Because] even when the pressure is not put into words, you understand it from the looks...You become annoyed by the stares'. The watchful observation of an individual's actions is usually followed by gossip. For instance, Sema is a 26-year-old married woman with three children. She lives in the same apartment with her mother-in-law, brothers-in-law, and sister-in-law. Her description of the impact of the looks and the gossip about her leisure behaviour illustrates this kind of informal community control:

There is no social life in Panayır. For example, in this neighbourhood, you can't take your children and go for a walk. They would find it strange, and everybody would immediately spread gossip about you like: 'She wore this'. 'She went there'. 'What is the use of it? You are a wife; you should sit at home'. So, people find it odd from the outside.

Under such circumstances, traditional working-class women feel the necessity to justify their leisure with an act that is related to their 'primary' roles. Keeping in mind that their mobility is mostly under the control of their husbands/fathers, (care) work is a more justifiable motive for becoming mobile

than leisure. Nevin, who has two school-age children, explains why mothers feel freer when the school starts:

Because she goes to school, she can go to a friend's for a coffee for one hour at that time. She doesn't need to explain this to her husband or her mother-in-law. If they ask: 'Where were you?', she can say: 'Well, I dropped into the stationary store for children's needs', and so on. It is a tool for them to get away from home, even for a little bit.

Snatching off moments of leisure in between responsibilities is more common among traditional working-class women as they lack financial resources and are subject to high level of control. This is not the case for the 'respectable' working-class women, who have more resources to extend their opportunities for leisure, simultaneously remaining respectable, and securing their family reputation within their communities.

A common strategy used mostly by the 'respectable' working-class women is travelling outside of the neighbourhood to practice leisure with people and the ways that they choose. In this way, they move out of the context in which both their own and their families' honour is scrutinised. For instance, Esma has male childhood friends living in Panayır. She describes their relationship as being like 'brothers and sisters'. However, she cannot walk and/or chat with them in the neighbourhood. She states, 'I know, and my family knows that we have been friends since primary school, but other residents might misunderstand'. The solution then is to socialise outside of the neighbourhood:

I usually go out and meet with my friends ... We usually sit and chat for hours, we don't do anything crazy, it's enough for us to sit together and chat. We have specific places; we go there. We have male friends from primary school, we are like sisters and brothers, if they have cars, and they usually take us to the seaside districts around.

Esma personally does not think that socialisation with male friends will result in the loss of her honour; this is rather a pressure from the community. More importantly, her personality does not allow others to decide for her. Respectable working-class women as outlined in Chapter 5 draw on a higher level of individuality and a more rebellious discourse as they dis-identify themselves from the working-class community norms. Esma, for instance, is brave to resist the male control coming from the community:

Male coffee houses mostly occupy a certain location in the neighbourhood. There are different coffee houses for people originating from different cities. When we pass by these coffee houses since we have been living in this neighbourhood for 20 years, people know us because of our family members; they do not stare and snipe at you. And the people from our hometowns

protect us. They warn you about what to do. They might say: 'Look, you did this, and people reacted in this way, so you'd better behave that way.'

The Interviewer: And how do you react when you are warned?

'That is nobody's business' and I continue because I can't act according to what other people think.

Esma has a certain subjective understanding of her agency; she is an independent woman who will not comply with the honour code. Simultaneously, as the previous excerpt suggests, she sometimes makes choices in circumstances not of her own choosing. Almost all of the young women of Panayır who participated in the study demonstrated a similar attitude.

The 'respectable' working-class women enter into a certain type of negotiation with their traditional working-class parents to secure their individuality as well as their family reputation. Parents do not deal with women's practices in detail; they allow women to make decisions regarding their own leisure, such as when and how to go out and return, with whom they go, and what kind of activities they engage in. In return, they expect 'respect' and 'decency', which is maintained by women by being honest with their parents and showing self-control. For instance, Nazlı and Esra are two single women. Nazlı is 39 years old, owns a small textile atelier and lives with her family. Esra is a 19-year-old woman about to start university. Their tactics of self-control in order to keep the agreement in place demonstrate the heavy reliance on male permission under the honour code:

Nazlı: My family has never restricted me in my life. It is about trust ... I never ask for permission, never in my life. When I go somewhere nearby or on holiday out of the city with my friends, I just let them know. But we also haven't faced any conflict or limitations because we live within the limits of our family, having friends our family could approve of. Actually, I haven't been restricted but I limit myself.

Esra: Well, my dad restricts me, but when I go somewhere, I usually come back earlier than his time limit, so the next time he would allow me to go again.

In the illustrated agreements, one sees that although the individual has relatively more space and opportunities for leisure, there is less room for deviance and disorder. In this way, surveillance, even if it is not practised directly on the individual, becomes powerful by extending itself to self-reflection and self-consciousness. Furthermore, women like Nazlı in the study, who have 'relative freedom', reflected a sense of pride in their narratives, where their fathers are idealised as benevolent and lenient, and women themselves as never disappointing them.

Traditional working-class women also benefit from the mild attitude of men in their families. These men stand by women and support their leisure;

they soften the community pressure and mediate the relationship between female family members and the community. The difference between these two groups of women is that while 'respectable' working-class femininity requires an emphasis on one's self-responsibility, traditional working-class femininity openly utilises male consent as a buffer against kinship and community pressure. If the traditional working-class women face any confrontation with relatives or other community members, they defend their interests by saying: 'Since my husband/father allows it, nobody can interfere' (e.g., Sevil, 46, illiterate, housewife). Suna, for example, states that her husband has never restricted her. When she and her daughter dressed up, socialised and travelled in the city in the ways they wished, other relatives started to gossip about them. Her husband gathered them all together and said: 'Until I die, nobody can interfere with my wife's and my daughter's lives.' Suna emphasises this point:

Why would my neighbour interfere with my life? Why would my brother-in-law interfere in my life? If my husband is in charge of me...If not...as they say: 'A widow has many enemies'. Maybe they might interfere a little bit if my husband is not there anymore. When he is in charge, nobody can interfere in my life, even my father can't say anything.

As the excerpt suggests, if a traditional working-class woman is supported by her family, there is more space to access leisure.

'Well, at Least I'm at Ease Here': Women's Leisure in High-Security Estates

In contrast with the working-class neighbourhood life exemplified above, Yasemin Park represents a different class and lifestyle concerning women's leisure. Yasemin Park, a high-security estate, is an example of the contemporary middle-class milieu in Turkey. The estate mainly attracts middle-class nuclear families, whose reasons for moving to Yasemin Park are usually the proximity of the estate to men's jobs and the appeal of the estate as a safe and child-friendly environment. It is designed and marketed as a residential environment for a comfortable and peaceful family life. Its features are described as offering a solution for middle-class families wishing to escape from the inadequacies of the city, such as disorder, pollution, congestion, and inadequate social services. The outdoor places of the estate are almost exclusively dedicated to leisure purposes. With its extensive green areas, some women described the estate as 'heaven'; a picnic area with all the necessary equipment, including barbecue pits, a fountain and tables, children's playgrounds for each apartment block and benches to sit around on, and the tea garden and the gazebos next to the ornamental fountains all make leisure easily accessible for the women of Yasemin Park. In addition to these places,

children can play on football pitches, basketball, tennis courts, a chess area, and a sandpit. The two estate managements also organise leisure events. Except for the family related events organised at weekends, such as barbecue parties, most of the events are organised by the women residents, especially housewives and mothers, who stay in the estate during the day. For instance, women participate in handicraft courses and in celebrations of special days, such as Mother's Day (see Chapter 5).

All leisure places are accessible to every resident in the estate, regardless of their gender. Unlike in Panayır, women and men can socialise together in the leisure spaces of Yasemin Park. It is important to remember that the socialisation of the middle classes is perceived as 'civilised', especially in its recognition of gender equality at a public level (see Ayata, 2002). Therefore, men manifesting civilised behaviour would prefer not to limit women's behaviours, at least not formally, in public life. Yasemin Park provides a great deal of facilities for women's leisure practices. The leisure venues create opportunities for women to escape isolation and establish new friendships. Helin describes the advantages of having a tea garden: 'In any case, you will meet somebody; somehow, you will become close. You will greet each other even if you don't know them. This summer, for example, I met two or three new people here'. The estate is also perceived as a safe space for leisure. Mira emphasises the advantages of having a walking trail, where one can have a walk without being disturbed by anybody:

You can even cycle here, there is a walking trail and a cycling trail here [it is mainly the same trail]. Are you familiar with the estate? [...] We have a very nice walking trail for instance; you can have walks without anyone disturbing you.

Alongside 'safety' an essential feature of estate life is 'order', regulating the use of leisure spaces. The common living rules of the estate, which residents are expected to commit to, are formally imposed by the estate managements. With each bulletin published by the estate managements, residents are reminded of the rules, such as throwing the rubbish out at certain times, not disturbing neighbours with noise, not leaving shoes and other objects on the doorstep, not hanging out clothes or shaking carpets or tablecloths from the balcony, not littering the public spaces, and so on. The 'appropriate' behaviour in using leisure spaces is also part of the same culture of order. Sibel, a homemaker with two children, belonging to a new rich family, describes the culture of civility and rule-boundedness as a class signifier:

The fees that are paid keep the resident profile more decent. For instance, here you don't leave shoes on the doorstep, it is a culture, residents warn the ones who leave them out. Here the thing is about not disturbing people, following the rules. Nobody sits on the grass here, although we have

extensive green areas. If we had had these areas in my previous neighbourhood, they would have been packed with women, children, families, drinking tea, eating seeds, and so on.

The different uses made of the green areas for leisure are perceived to reflect residents' social class and to contrast the estate life with working-class habits of using neighbourhood green areas.

The dominating role of mutual respect for each other's privacy and everybody minding his/her own business creates a certain level of freedom for women in their behaviours in the neighbourhood. This freedom is particularly important for the women of the new rich families as many of them come from working-class or lower-middle-class neighbourhoods. For example, Beste, a young single woman who had moved to the estate ten years ago, compares the estate with her previous *gecekondu*-like neighbourhood: 'At least I'm at ease here; nobody interferes in other people's lives'. The distinction between Panayır and Yasemin Park is reflected also in Arya's comment. Arya has a hairdressing salon in Panayır, where she had lived for 28 years before moving to Yasemin Park seven years ago. She goes every day to Panayır and her customers are mainly the female residents of the neighbourhood. She compares both neighbourhoods in terms of gossip:

You are at ease in Yasemin Park; nobody minds who comes to your house, and so on. But in Panayır, it is a bit more gossiped about. I don't pay attention to this gossip, so I expect nobody to talk about me. But women here complain about the gossip. In Yasemin Park, although it has a small population, people tend not to know each other and don't care what other people do.

Together with the dominance of privacy in 'respectable' social behaviour in the relations among inhabitants, the absence of the 'family circle of kin and villagers' makes life easier for female residents to practice their leisure in the community. This is because it creates a community in which women's behaviours are less surveilled and controlled, and this, in turn, enables women to exercise their autonomy and practice leisure activities as they want to. Alara, a 20-year-old university student, belonging to a new rich family, has both the experience of living among relatives in her previous residence and living away from them in Yasemin Park. She describes the changes in her leisure as follows:

We have become quite social. Previously, we were living in Istanbul. It was a family apartment. It wasn't possible to act like this, like going out for dinner or going to my father's friends' houses or they come to ours... We didn't have that kind of social life. As I said, a family apartment, so like: "What would our uncle say?", "What would our aunt-in-law say?" [...]

Because of them, we didn't have such a social life, but it's changed since we moved here.

Anonymity is the dominant rule in the estate to maintain the privacy of and the mutual respect among the residents. This less controlled environment reduces the potential level of anxiety residents may feel about losing honour and emanating from the forms of everyday tensions and struggles to control and maintain honour. It provides a larger leisure space, both in the physical and metaphorical sense, as can be seen from the excerpts, women of the new rich families enjoy the privacy of the estate most and are able to compare their lives with the lower-class neighbourhoods where they previously lived. Their leisure lives, nevertheless, were not exempt from the honour code executed by their fathers/husbands and/or families.

How Women Negotiate Male Control of their Leisure in High-Security Estates?

Although the dominant middle-class discourse recognises gender equality in terms of the inclusion of women in domestic and public entertainment, the male control over women's leisure continues at the family level, *particularly*, in the new rich families of the middle-class. This warns us of the idealised picture of the civilised community (see Ayata, 2002) as it might be illusory to a certain extent. Although the middle-class rhetoric of gender equality is dominant in the common living rules of the estate, male control at the family level still constrains women's leisure.

One of the clearest examples of men's control over women's leisure is the latter's use of the estate swimming pool. Yasemin Park does not currently have a swimming pool. Therefore, most of the residents go to the other gated estate next to Yasemin Park, Bursa Modern, which has an indoor pool in its sports complex. Due to the high demand from residents, the Yasemin Park estate managements have been working on a project to build a swimming pool in the estate. Almost every participant I interviewed raised the issue as a necessity, yet they demanded the pool mostly for children. Women state that they are either not allowed by their husbands to swim there or they themselves do not want to do so because of the danger of being subjected to male gaze and sexual harassment. As Buse states, 'Even if we had a swimming pool, I would not go there because my husband doesn't allow me to swim in an open space like here...My child would use it. I take him to [another district] swimming pool every day'. Meltem and Alara, two young university students, also expressed similar views on the swimming pool. Meltem emphasised their families' 'happiness' about not having a swimming pool in the estate. When I asked the reason, Alara replied, 'Well, if there were one, then it would be mixed, for both sexes'. Such an explanation implies that the families would not consent to their children using the swimming pool. Alara

herself would not swim in a pool of the estate due to the potential stares and harassment. She elaborated on what she means by that:

Here...[Name], a woman was going to a sports centre. Her husband was speaking with his friend, and this friend said to him: 'You should come to the sports centre in Bursa Modern, really hot women come here'. So then, the husband came home and told his wife: 'You won't go to that gym anymore'. Therefore, as long as there are people with this mentality, even if my parents allowed me, I wouldn't swim here.

In the excerpt above, one sees the ways in which the honour code is applied to women's leisure in Yasemin Park; how the female body is perceived as 'belonging' to her man and the bearer of male honour. Because the husband hears of other men staring at female bodies in the swimming pool, he resolves that the only way to prevent this from happening to his wife is to ban her from going to the swimming pool.

Similarly, Buse describes her disappointment with her husband in terms of his control over her leisure and mobility. She is a married woman with a six-year-old son, and her husband has a textile factory. She grew up in a sea-side town in Bursa, a holiday resort for the people of the city. For her and her community there, swimming, strolling around at night, going out for leisure purposes, and many other activities are not considered a danger to women's virtue. Currently, however, she faces several restrictions from her husband that significantly limit her leisure as well as other areas of her life. She is systematically subject to her husband's control, especially in terms of her social interaction with men or her spending leisure time in mixed-sex spaces. She is not allowed to go alone on vacation, swimming, or out at night. During our focus group meeting, she described how she spent her nights looking out of the window and missing her previous life when she used to go out at night. Other participants tried to encourage her:

Buse: The thing I want to do but cannot is to go out at night. Now, instead, I only look out from the window.

Hazal: You have a car; it should be easy for you if you want to go out.

Buse: It is not in my hands. With that husband, it is not really possible.

Yeliz: You can go out with your husband.

Buse: He might want to, but I don't want to go out with him. I'm not happy with him. When we go out, he controls me, like: 'Ok, you sit on that side, the other men are looking', and so on...As if all the men were waiting for me.

Buse also knows other women in similar situations, whose husbands use the facilities and the environment provided in the estate as a justification for forcing their women to stay in the neighbourhood. According to Buse, they say

'You can find everything in the estate. Why do you need to go out?' This male control is once again generated from the understanding that men have a right to control their women's behaviours and mobility. Another example is given by Meltem, a single university student from Yasemin Park. Meltem saw the leaflet for a tango dance course and asked her family about attending the course:

I called my mum and said that I'd go to a tango course. I never expected that she wouldn't allow it. I just wanted to tell them. And she said: 'What? Tango? Will you dance the tango with strange men?' [...] She told me to go to belly dance class instead. I was pissed off. Imagine! With ladies, 50 years old...will I do belly dance? She said: 'Ask your dad'. And my dad usually allows me to do many things...In the morning, I called my dad, I said: 'I'm going to take a tango course'. [...] He replied: 'If I was your partner, then it would be fine'. So, I couldn't go, and I was very sad.

Meltem is single and until she gets married, her body has to be protected from close physical intimacy with men, and this protection is seen primarily as the responsibility of the family. Her parents think that the limits of physical proximity with a male stranger are exceeded in tango; therefore, it can be practised only with 'acceptable' partners, such as a father, brother, or husband.

Although Meltem finds her parents' ban on tango unfortunate, she seems mostly in mutual agreement with her parents' restrictions on her time and space use:

For instance, I'm in Istanbul. They let me stay out until a certain time at night ... But I can understand because in time I can start to have empathy. So, I tell myself: 'It's quite normal. If I had a child, probably I wouldn't let them either'. Therefore, we have started to overcome these issues slowly.

Of particular interest in Meltem's excerpt are the ways in which she finds her parents' rules and restrictions normal. Dilara appears to have a similar perception:

My father approves of anything possible. He doesn't put up barriers. For instance, I'm going to France in February...But I also don't remember if I've ever asked for anything impossible from him ... If I think again ... My dad intervenes for instance; I can't come home late around 11–12 p.m. every week. This can be an example. From time to time, if there is an important event, such as a birthday celebration and so on, then the return time can be stretched.

Two of these three young women belong to new rich families, and one comes from a lower-middle class background. They, however, are not like their

mothers. They already go to university and the majority of them dream of white-collar occupations and a higher level of individuality. The narrative of the benevolent father and the understanding daughter who never disappoints her father, as referred to in Nazlı's case in Panayır, is also explicit from these women's accounts, as exemplified in the excerpts above.

The examples provided thus far evidence the relevance of the honour code even in a middle-class estate, especially when the protection of women's bodies and sexuality is the matter at hand. In the previous section, it was evidenced that in Panayır, even when male control at the family level does not occur, the values and the pressures of the community do not allow many women to practice leisure in the way they want in public leisure spaces. In Yasemin Park, on the other hand, even though the community values and the middle-class rhetoric of gender equality advocate the equal use of public leisure spaces, family-level male control might prevent women from practising the leisure activities they choose.

While traditional middle-class women were subject to similar limitations in their youth (see Chapter 5), it is difficult to assess the weight of male/family control over the new middle-class women as they hardly mentioned any open restrictions to their leisure except the two instances. The first instance is Alev's discomfort with not being able to go out alone at night to meet her friends:

The Interviewer: You also said that you don't go out, is this your choice or not?

Alev: No, I would like to go out, but my husband doesn't want that, he doesn't allow...

Ahu: Even if it is not very often...

Alev: No, it doesn't matter often or not ... But what he could do is that. Let's say I mentioned it a couple of times, so what he does is organise something immediately, so we go out together ... We actually go out very often together. To be honest, I don't become very sad. But of course, it would be nice to go out separately, with my own friends and chat ... If he would leave the decision to me, I would like to meet some friends at night outside and alone. Yes, of course, we meet with other mothers from the estate during the days, or some other friends. But I have also many friends from other networks, they don't have time and they go out in the evenings, but I'm not able to join them. So, if I could make my own decision, I would like to join them.

The second example is the group of young white-collar professional women I overheard during my participant observation in the tea garden of the estate. These young women had occupations like the architect, specialist bank employee, etc., and they were talking about a friend's problems in her private life. This friend had trouble with her husband and considered divorce because the husband did not allow the woman to swim in the estate swimming pool

and sunbathe in her bikini. The women I overheard were quite angry at this man and underlined how unacceptable this was during their conversation. Yet, this overhearing is not enough to draw substantial consequences on whether, and if yes how, the new middle-class women react to male control. Further research is needed on the weight of the idea of honour in the new middle-class women's body and space in relation to their leisure.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the spatial characteristics of women's leisure. It has been argued that the prevailing gender order, which confines women to the ideals of the heterosexual family, plays a central role in regulating 'respectable' female bodies in 'appropriate' leisure spaces. That said, social class gives shape both to the existence of leisure spaces in one's neighbourhood and the ways in which 'respectability' and 'appropriateness' of social behaviour are constructed differently. In *gecekondu* neighbourhoods, like Panayır, the dominant set of social relations is reproduced around the honour code, where mixed-sex socialisation outside of the family circle is largely disapproved. Such disapproval results in the segregation of leisure spaces for the sexes. Women are disadvantaged in the socio-spatial segregation. While men dominate the main roads and public places of the neighbourhood, women are largely confined to more marginal or private spaces such as streets, houses, and gardens. Mixed-sex socialisation in public leisure places is rather appropriated in the form of 'family leisure'. Labelling a leisure venue as a 'family space', therefore, prevents male-only congregation and appropriates women's use of it. Women self-censor their behaviours with a high level of anxiety, which stems from the fear of losing social networks. The high-security estates, such as Yasemin Park, on the other hand, offer the potential for new, relatively more egalitarian, gender norms and negotiation patterns in one's everyday living environment. The estate is an example of the new middle-class milieu in urban Turkey, designed and marketed as a residential environment for a comfortable, leisurely, and peaceful family life. The high-security estate does not only provide a wide range of leisure spaces exclusive for its residents, but its dominant set of social relations, which are reproduced around the civility code, recognise the equal rights of women and men to use public leisure spaces. The dominating rule of mutual respect and everybody minding his/her own business create a certain level of freedom for women in their behaviours in the neighbourhood, and women feel less anxious about the potential harm to family reputation, gossip, or other forms of community pressure.

Focusing on the relationship between the individual, family and community, the current chapter has exemplified the ways in which male control over women's access to and use of public leisure spaces and women's reactions take shape in certain forms across social classes. A shared attitude of

negotiation and self-surveillance is observed in both neighbourhoods in the behaviours of women of social ascendancy and their families. The 'respectable' working-class women and the new middle-class women of the newly rich families share an experience in which men in their families are less conspicuously controlling, yet there is a silent agreement on propriety. In these families, men do not control women's behaviours in detail but in return, they expect respect and decency. In this way, surveillance extends itself to women's self-reflection and self-censorship. One sees that although the individual has relatively more space and opportunities for leisure, there is less room for deviance and disorder. Between women, however, the relative freedom women achieve via mild authority results in a sense of pride in their narratives, where their fathers are idealised as benevolent and lenient, and women themselves as never disappointing them.

Notes

- 1 *Abla* means elder sister. While there are other purposes of differentiation like age, in gender terms 'it is common for men and women who are either not very familiar with each other or who are complete strangers to address or refer to one another by use of certain kinship terms. (Duben, 1982, p. 92). The purpose is to eliminate the possibility of illegitimate sexual contact or potential gaze in that way through the community, by addressing each other as (elder) sister, (elder) brother. In this way, it also works to develop trust by signifying safety in terms of sexual contact by reducing him/her to a family member.
- 2 It is a commonplace in Turkey to eat *börek*, which can be described as a mince-filled pie or filled pastry.

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Solidarity and Status

Neighbouring as an Everyday Leisure Activity

The existing leisure literature has highlighted that female-only socialisation, with friends, colleagues, relatives, and neighbours, is an important and common type of women's leisure (Green, 1998; Green & Singleton, 2006; Dilbaghi & Dilbaghi, 2007; Arab-Moghaddam et al., 2007). The importance of same-sex socialisation for women's leisure is generally conceptualised around its role in increasing women's well-being (Green, 1998; Wimbush, 1988; Wearing, 1990, 1998). Green (1998), in her study on 'women doing friendship', foregrounds the significance of female-only friendship networks as facilitating 'autonomy and freedom from caring responsibilities and providing a crucial forum for self-empowerment' (pp. 176–177). Accessing social life, engaging in the talk, sharing laughs, thoughts, feelings, and desires, and receiving certain forms of support are all considered to be valuable for women as forms of recuperation and therapy. Women's talk is particularly highlighted as 'a key aspect of leisure activities, arguably of the most satisfying and sustaining kind' (Green, 1998, p. 179).

Neighbouring is one type of networking with women living in the vicinity and it has a crucial place in women's lives, particularly those who have limited access to other contexts within which to establish networks or friendships, e.g., mothers of small children, unemployed women, homemakers, etc. The existing literature on women's leisure foregrounds the class character of social conduct shaping women's socialisation, particularly in neighbouring. A number of studies, with a broad temporal and geographical scope, (e.g., Lynd & Lynd, 1929; Peiss, 1990; Beyer-Sherwood, 2006; Stacey, 1960; Langhamer, 2000; Dixey & Talbot, 1982; Deem, 1986; Green et al., 1990), have highlighted that working-class women's leisure revolves around family, kin, and neighbours within the immediate living area, their neighbourhood. The geographically mobile middle-class women, on the other hand, feel freer to establish contact and choose the circles and friends they wish to socialise with. In terms of neighbouring, middle-class women tend to remain distant and selective in their contacts. Looking at working-women's leisure in 1920s New York, Peiss (1990, p. 13) highlights the central role of the neighbourhood in working-class leisure culture: 'Streets served as the centre of social

life in the working-class districts, where labouring people clustered on street corners, on stoops, and in doorways of tenements, relaxing and socialising after their day's work.' Peiss describes the working-class neighbourhood engendering a particular form of sociability for women:

Many women spend their leisure sitting on the steps of their tenement gossiping; some lean out of the window with a pillow to keep their elbows from being scraped by the stone sills; others take walks to the parks; some occasionally visit relatives or friends and there is, once in a while, a dinner party. (1990, p. 22)

This understanding of neighbourhood had been dominant in the literature throughout the twentieth century in Western contexts, e.g., until the rehousing schemes and de-industrialisation in the UK context. Dixey and Talbot (1982, p. 16), referring to working-class women's accounts in Armley, UK, defined the neighbouring practices described in the quote above as 'mateship' rather than 'friendship', a non-intimate interaction with familiar faces in semi-public settings. According to Dixey and Talbot, friendship among working-class women is less a conscious choice and rather an acceptance of who is available, whereas, for the middle class, it is a more conscious choice, where friendship does not revolve around an activity but is focused on the individuals who feel special to each other (1982, p. 64).

Because working-class women's access to other women for socialisation is largely dependent on the neighbourhood in which they are living, how socio-spatial change influences working-class women's socialisation has been an area of interest to researchers of women's leisure. Dixey and Talbot (1982) emphasise that in the UK, rehousing schemes removed the public and semi-public spaces of old neighbourhoods, such as communal streets, corner shops, and pubs, and placed people into blocks of flats where few people can be found to chat to. Therefore, rehousing schemes destroyed the 'community culture in working classes, the existence of closely knit circles of friends, workmates, relatives, and neighbours' (p. 15). In a relatively recent study, Mitchell and Green (2002) point out the ongoing importance of female kinship networks in the lives of young working-class mothers living in the UK due to the wider socio-economic inequalities which permeate these women's lives:

Socio-economic developments, such as increasing material wealth, new patterns of housing and social and moral changes, especially ideas of self-fulfilment and individualism, may be associated with and debated in terms of declining working-class neighbourhood cohesion, but as Bourke's (1994) and Roberts' (1995) results highlight, the importance of the extended family, particularly female kinship, cannot be dismissed.

(p. 4)

Studies show how these social networks, particularly kinship, still carry vital importance for single mothers of the precariat class (see Watt, 2018). Nonetheless, their focus largely shifted to solidarity for survival more than leisure. Neighbouring among middle-class women, on the other hand, seems to have lost its appeal, which may be related to increasing individuality and the changing nature of social relations.

(P)leisure of Neighbouring in Turkey

Women's neighbouring, particularly as leisure, is an under-researched area of inquiry in Turkey. The few studies that exist, e.g., Erman, 2001; Ayata, 2002; Mills, 2007, do not focus on leisure but rather on the everyday life of different classes, residential environments, and the changes in the notion of individual and community relations. These studies do, however, cover a number of neighbouring leisure activities. These activities range from more spontaneous and informal gatherings, such as meeting at people's homes, in gardens, in the street, on doorsteps, having a coffee, sitting, and chatting, to more organised social gatherings, such as Reception Days, playing tennis, practising other sports, or visiting shopping malls. It is argued that there is a traditional image of neighbouring in Turkish culture, which involves collective effort, familiarity, and intimacy, an image shared by both middle- and working classes, as well as the rural population. This traditional image is distorted in today's fragmented society, where women, seen as the driving agents of creating bonds and reproducing neighbouring, enter employment and/or higher education. This trend is taken up in Amy Mills's (2007) ethnographic exploration of *mahalle* (neighbourhood) as the space of belonging in Turkish urban culture. She foregrounds that in Turkish culture the image of neighbouring is portrayed as 'the collective practice which produces the space of closeness and familiarity' (p. 339). It functions to create the bonds of knowing (*tanimak*) among the residents of one's immediate living area. Drawing on de Certeau's work, Mills (2007) defines neighbouring as a tactic for assuring membership in the community, which mostly involves leisure practices:

The responsibility of visiting frequently enough to demonstrate membership in the community and the ways of visiting with other women (talking, reading coffee fortunes, drinking tea, eating, helping prepare food or interacting with children, or keeping company while someone does chores) are important characteristics of *mahalle* life.

(p. 341)

To illustrate the collective identity and efforts in Turkish neighbouring culture, Mills (2007, p. 340) gives an example: 'For instance, the problems of an individual resident become the *mahalle*'s problem and are resolved by collective

effort'. In this sense, according to Mills, in the Turkish cultural imagination, *mahalle* (neighbourhood) and *komşuluk* (neighbouring) are loaded with the meanings of 'innocence, purity, warmth, intimacy, unbrokenness', which are essential reasons for developing place attachment to one's neighbourhood:

The *mahalle* space is produced by the actions of daily life that link neighbours together in bonds of sharing, support, and reciprocity... Doors are always open to a visiting *komşu* (neighbour), and visitors come without calling first. *Komşuluk* is related to the cultural value of preferring to be with people over being alone and depends on women staying at home during the day while their husbands are out, although *komşuluk* is also sometimes done by employed women in the evenings or weekends. By linking the insides of homes to streets, visiting makes the residential street of the neighbourhood an extension of private family space.

(Mills, 2007, p. 340-341)

Mills (2007) highlights that within the contemporary context, women's living conditions, as well as their preferences, are fragmented. She analysed in her research the differences in accessing social life through neighbouring between women who occupy traditional and non-traditional gender roles; the former are long-term Muslim and non-Muslim lower-middle-class residents while the latter are highly educated new social actors who arrived with gentrification. She found that while lower-middle-class women who have less mobility and largely remain in the neighbourhood during the day value neighbouring practices, women with increasing education and financial independence experience greater physical mobility, but simultaneously lack the social relationships of neighbouring. Moreover, many of these women desire individual privacy in the home and reject 'the fluid private/public home/street boundaries of traditional *mahalle* life'. Despite the difference in actual practices, nostalgia for close-knit neighbouring is (re)produced within these groups, as well as at a national level. Mills (2007) conceptualises the nostalgia for close-knit neighbouring relations as a reflection of the fragmentation of the community in urban space and the tensions relating to the places of women and the family in the locality (p. 351).

Rather than being carried away with the normative connotations of warmth and solidarity and the nostalgia for close communal relationships, I focus, in this chapter, on the ways in which (lack of) neighbouring is given meaning and practised by different social classes. As McDowell (1999, p. 100) stresses, 'Community is a term that carries with it the connotations of warmth and solidarity, with the implicit assumption that a lack of community is a bad thing'. In line with the feminist perceptions of community, I understand the concept of community as 'neither be rejected out of hand, nor automatically seen either as a good or a bad thing, but the complexity of its construction and its purpose should be the subject of analysis' (McDowell,

1999, p. 101). The chapter focuses on the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, which may change and so boundaries alter in time. Central to the image and real neighbouring practices is the level of intimacy and solidarity women perceive as and/or consider 'appropriate'. Although neighbouring is a shared leisure activity across classes, its utilisation varies in terms of what else it serves. Historically, middle-class women used leisurely neighbouring activities to exhibit their status alongside supporting each other as friends when needed, whereas for the rural and the working classes the solidarity in times of hardship, and leisurely mateship were more central. These class-specific aspects of neighbouring (be it for leisure or solidarity) have been changing but the issue here is for whom it signifies a loss and for whom neighbouring is satisfactory enough to call it alive and well in their day-to-day lives.

Intimacy and Solidarity: Working-Class Habits of Neighbouring

As a typical *gecekondu* neighbourhood, *komşuluk* (neighbouring) has an important place in women's leisure in Panayır. As outlined in previous chapters, the majority of women's lives in Panayır revolve around family and the community, particularly women who are not in active employment or education. Furthermore, as Chapter 7 demonstrated, many women face constraints in their mobility for leisure purposes. Neighbouring, therefore, represents a crucial way for them to access social life. Chapter 6 highlighted that women use the home gatherings and women's circles in the neighbourhood for many purposes, including trade and productive activities as well as leisure. It is highlighted that the multi-purpose features of female-only networks reflect the importance of neighbouring in a sex-segregated society like Turkey.

The women in the study seemed to be divided between the ideas of having close-knit neighbouring relations, which they define as the source of their place attachment, and being disappointed with the decreasing collectivity and intimacy in neighbouring relations, which provide less potential for leisure and solidarity. Such divisions can be inferred from their comments on the familiarity (*tanımak/knowning*) they have with their neighbours. While some women in the study highlighted the fact that 'everybody knows each other' as an indicator of good neighbouring relations, the majority pointed out that 'nobody knows anybody else anymore' as the indicator of eroding social relations among neighbours. Merve and Esin, in one of the focus group meetings, reported the high level of familiarity among neighbours:

Merve: The neighbouring friendships are still intense here. When I go out of my home for example, if I meet a hundred people, I'm able to say hi to eighty of them.

Esin: My mum...When we were coming from there [pointing at the walking trail]... She spoke with all the women we met on the way...She asks: 'How are you?' 'How is your so-and-so doing?'

The familiarity exemplified above is a non-intimate social relationship, which is reminiscent of what Dixey and Talbot (1982) describe as mateship in working-class neighbouring culture. This is a general level of neighbouring, where familiarity provides a general feeling of *tanımak* (knowing) and intimacy and thereby reaffirms the sense of belonging to one's local community.

As the picture above demonstrates, neighbours also spontaneously visit each other during the day or sit on the doorsteps and chat (Figure 8.1). For instance, Feride, a retired textile worker, who moved to Panayır five years ago, considers neighbouring to be a good feature of Panayır:

People live in the traditional Anatolian culture. We have good neighbouring relations. If we go along some side streets, we can find a scene where women are all together eating some *kısır*¹ and drinking tea. This is quite a positive, sharing activity.



Figure 8.1 Traditional working-class women of Panayır chatting with their neighbours in the afternoon.

Source: Photograph taken by the researcher during the fieldwork.

The notions of sharing and collectivity characterise the traditional Anatolian culture to which Feride refers in describing neighbouring. Similar to Feride, Esma, the 23-year-old single woman living in Panayır for 20 years, highlights how the warm neighbouring relations are one of the best features of the neighbourhood.

Human relations are good, neighbouring is at a very high level, it is comfortable, women can sit on the street and gossip. 'Comfortable' in the sense that you can go out and sit on the street; twenty women at the same time can go and sit on the street, eat seeds, drink tea, that's what I like. Everybody knows each other.

The intimacy women reproduce through neighbouring is a source of security for them. It is, as Esma reports, a sign that human relations are good, and people are familiar and intimate with each other. The collectivity and intimacy culture allow women access to social life and therefore it is quite valuable for them. However, such ease and comfort in each other's homes and relations are not only reflected through leisure practices. The root of such familiarity and closeness emerges from solidarity and enables inhabitants to feel secure about their day-to-day lives at both physical and emotional levels, contributing to their overall well-being. Most of the comments regarding close-knit neighbouring involved accounts of solidarity alongside accounts of leisure. Merve, for instance, commented on the meaning of good neighbouring relations: 'You know people. I think if something happens to my child, someone who knows us can bring my child back. At night, for example...if something happens...' Yet, it is not only solidarity but leisureliness of *tanımak* (knowing) is also what Merve values.

In focus group meetings, I asked my participants to be creative in their drawings on what they wanted to tell me about their neighbourhood. Merve highlighted the open-air, considerably humble working-class weddings organised on warm summer evenings at a specific location in the neighbourhood (see Figure 8.2). These weddings give her happiness since she is able to spend some leisurely time, meeting old friends, relatives, villagers, people living far away, and not to mention the joyful dance in these gatherings.

Some of the women in the study referred to the metaphor of 'family' to capture the value they give to the intimacy and comfort in neighbouring: 'A neighbour is like family' (Ilke, 30, married, homemaker, two children). Like family members or close relatives, the ideal neighbouring involves visiting one another's homes and feeling comfortable, as Ela reports: 'We expect, for example, our neighbour to visit us; we will eat together, drink together...Our old neighbouring was like being a family really'.

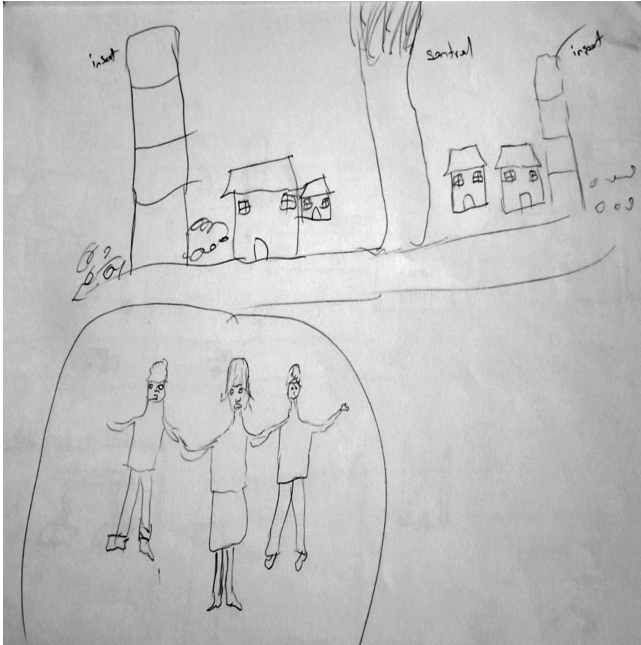


Figure 8.2 The map Merve produced during our focus group meeting in which she highlights how meeting people at weddings in the neighbourhood makes her happy.

Changing Nature of Intimacy in Neighbouring and Its Impact on Women's Leisure

Women's accounts of decreasing or eroding neighbouring relations dominated most of the data collected for this research. Women seemed highly concerned about and disappointed with the available socialising opportunities in their neighbourhoods. While many of them still had gender and class-based constraints on their freedom to engage in other networks, increasing individualism and distance in neighbouring relations had resulted in the loss of existing leisure networks for many of the women. The women provided three reasons that they felt were the causes of the lower levels of collectivity, solidarity, and intimacy and higher levels of individualism, distance, and privacy in women's relations with their neighbours. These reasons are increased employment, increased consumption, and less responsibility for supporting a neighbour. These factors inevitably influenced the leisure aspects of neighbouring, with access to social circles for sitting, chatting, and laughing becoming increasingly more difficult.

The women thought that one of the main reasons for the erosion of neighbouring practices was women's increasing entrance into the labour force:

Eliz: I think that among the people living around us, there used to be fewer people working. In today's conditions, I see many people working, especially from my environment. Well, I mean we all have workers around us. There are factories too.

Sevim: If you work and socialise, this takes you away from this crowd. So, you socialise, and you get away from these circles. But you also become isolated in the neighbourhood. In one sense, I'm happy to work and socialise, and on the other hand, I see, for instance, at funerals or weddings, we cook and eat all together and this is nice, too. So, in one place you are alone and in the other, you live in a crowd and this suffocates you.

Another reason is the increase in consumption, which results in a decrease in collectively doing housework, and, concurrently, an increase in individuality:

Lale: We don't do things together anymore, like sharing the work. For instance, in the past, neighbours used to make food preserves together, jams, *tarhana*,² bread. One day, one person's work, the next day, the other's...Now, even on festival days, you don't see communal activities.

Aslı: We used to make *baklava* together...Now you don't see this...In the past, it was very beautiful; we used to make pastries together on the roofs. There is nothing like that anymore. Neighbouring is over; we have become Europeanised now.

Lale and Aslı reported the role of 'collective housework' in facilitating/reproducing traditional neighbouring. Sharing the work is a sign of intimate, less private, more close-knit relations between neighbours. Historically, this kind of neighbouring resembles the *imece* (communal work) culture in rural areas in Turkey. *Imece* is both a social and utilitarian event, allowing socialisation during an otherwise tedious chore. The combination of work and leisure has created an understanding of solidarity and shared living among women. Commonising the housework also allowed women to carve out opportunities to socialise together. Similar carving-out strategies are also seen to be the long-lasting result of the gendered structuring of women's leisure. Neighbouring practices involving simultaneous work and leisure need to be understood in line with women's capacity to develop and maintain friendships via time synchronisation. In this way, they do work which lets them 'snatch' spaces for leisure and enjoyment rather than from planned activities (Deem, 1988). As Green et al. (1990, p. 143) note,

From Edwardian washhouses where women gathered to do their laundry, through the door-steps to Bethnal Green, to the factory canteen and teenage bedrooms of the present day, come accounts of close woman-to-woman relationships that provide the emotional, and sometimes material, support which makes life worth living.

The women of the study emphasised that the level of support, in the form of doing favours for each other, had significantly decreased among neighbours. Ada, for example, is a traditional working-class woman and a first-generation rural-to-urban migrant. Her husband works at a factory, and she has two young children, one going to university. They live in a rented flat and rely on quite a limited budget. She is a homemaker, and her circle of friends is made up of neighbours and relatives living nearby. Ada complained that when she became ill, none of her neighbours supported her: 'The houses are adjacent to each other, but everybody deals with their own stuff. There is no neighbouring anymore.' A precarious woman, Gülay, who has been living in Panayır for 35 years, similarly illustrated the differences between past and current neighbouring relations through the ways that neighbours treated each other in times of need:

In the past, for instance, if a woman gave birth, her neighbour could bring her a bowl of soup, some meals or come to her flat and help her with the housework and care work. But this is over now. Now, women visit the mother with a pack of biscuits or baby clothes. Nobody needs your gift... it means to support, respect and love for your neighbour. Don't bring baby clothes, ask me how I'm doing, help me with the housework, I don't want more. Now neighbouring is related to material wealth. In the past we had solidarity, now everything is based on money relations. If you have money, you have people around, if you don't have money, they turn up their noses at you.

The loss of warm and supportive neighbouring relations hurts precarious women more due to their vulnerability in the social hierarchy. Other women in Panayır provided similar examples. In one of the focus group meetings, Füsün talked about people's reactions to her support for a neighbour who was recovering from surgery:

My former neighbour had an appendectomy. It was around Ramadan and her daughter and son were fasting and yes, her husband wasn't fasting, but nobody cooked...you shouldn't only visit to give condolences...This person, can she cook? and feed her children? You need to think about that... When I cooked for her, others said: 'Are you a soft touch?' It is not about being soft; this should come from your heart. Another neighbour of mine was diagnosed with breast cancer, and they removed her breasts. I cooked and cleaned her flat, washed her clothes, ironed them. Her child should go to school and the woman said: 'I will either stop my daughter from going to high school this year or my son won't start primary school.' I said: 'I'll take your child to the school since I'll already take my child to the nursery, I can go 15 minutes earlier in the afternoon, but I can't bring him back in the evening...' She said: 'Ok, in the evenings, his father or brother will

bring him back from school.' [...] I took this child every day and looked after him when he didn't want to go to school...His teacher asked him who I was, and when he said that I was their neighbour, not a family member, the teacher was surprised and said: 'Is there still such a person today?'

Ela: When my mum had an operation, *komşu teyzeler*³ (neighbour aunties) raised me; I stayed with them...

Füsün: That is why maybe we develop trust among us...

Ela: Well, it is also the fact that in this day and age, everybody is looking out for his or her own interests. Does this person have an income? Does this person have any benefits for me? All right; if not, bye. In the past, it was different...If you didn't have money, others used to collect some and help you, but now you are excluded.

Solidarity, as the excerpts above suggest, comes from the women's need to be cared for and not feel alone in their times of need. It is crucial to reiterate at this point the historical conditions within which women's neighbouring in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods, like Panayır, took shape. As noted in Chapter 3, the women who migrated from rural to urban neighbourhoods largely became homemakers. In the close-knit neighbourhood environment where they had stopped working in agriculture but still lived in poor conditions without much technological equipment, women had to support each other through neighbouring. These women were operating on a different morality and logic of value. Supportive sociality allowed them

to have a good time in bleak conditions and cramped spaces...their best chance of value was moral and affective not financial – love...Theirs was a revalorisation of relationships made from local, familial sociality where other people were supportive connectivities, not sources for self-accumulation.

(Skeggs, 2011, p. 504)

The women's accounts below on the disappearance of supportive sociality seem to foreground that there has been a decrease in the awareness of the same fate but an increase in individuality. Meryem describes the reasons why many women do not feel the responsibility to support a neighbour anymore:

To be honest, nobody really behaves sincerely and cordially with each other. Why? This period is a very fast one; we live in a fast world. The employed ones, since they get very tired at work but also establish friendships there, they don't need an extra neighbour/friend. When she comes home, sits on the couch, and takes the remote control in her hands, browses the world and now we have internet...since she has all these, she doesn't need the next-door neighbour because everything she needs, she

has them in excess. She lives fast and preciously. Therefore, nobody needs anyone else. Well. If you have limited options, you don't have anywhere to go. If it is only work and home and no other network, no social facility, if she is out in the forests, then she would need people. But at this stage, there is no need to meet neighbours.

Under circumstances in which there is less time and motivation to establish intimate relations with neighbours, when there is less feeling of 'reliance' on and 'responsibility' for one's neighbour, cultural perceptions shift towards greater individualism or nuclear family focus. Women have started to possess more autonomy in choosing their friends and arranging meetings for neighbouring. They might also choose different ways to spend their time. As outlined in Chapter 5, one general pattern appearing among the women of Panayır is that they are spending their free time engaged in indoor pastime activities, such as watching TV and surfing the internet, particularly playing online games.⁴ Gülay feels that her neighbours do not welcome her. When she sees them on the street, they invite her to have a cup of tea with them on the doorstep. However, unlike her experiences in the past, her current neighbours do not invite her into their homes:

I have been living on this street for four years. We feel comfortable joking around. I mean, we don't visit each other in our flats, but when I see them on the street. I usually do not go out very often, but let's say when I go to the market and so on, we sit and chat for 15–20 minutes on the street. Or let's say when they make tea and sit on the street and I pass by, they will not let me leave until I drink a cup of tea or water at least. They like me, but we don't visit each other. I don't want to visit them either because when I moved in, none of them came and welcomed me.

The neighbouring relationship between Gülay and her neighbours on the same street is a non-intimate, mateship more than an intimate neighbouring within which one considers her neighbour as her friend and shares personal time and space. She reports,

'I feel sorry for the lack of neighbouring relations, and I close myself away in my home. I watch TV until evening and, if I don't work, until late at night. Or I spend time surfing the internet.'

Autonomy and Control: Neighbouring in Yasemin Park

The women from Yasemin Park emphasise the 'autonomy' and 'control' they have in their neighbouring relations. Under the civility code, residents respect each other's time and privacy. For instance, even if it is a quick 'coffee and chat break', they would not knock on a neighbour's door unannounced but rather call and arrange the meeting first. Aysun, a teacher

living in Yasemin Park, describes the ways in which she has contact with her neighbours:

For instance, we call each other: 'What's up? Come over, let's have a coffee', or 'Where are you? If you are at home, I'll pop in for a coffee'. and so on. I have friends with whom I can do this. I've a new next-door neighbour, a homemaker. I can ring the bell and ask her to come over for a coffee. There are people like this. We'd rather meet each other at home, on the balcony or you can go out for a walk together.

According to Aysun, there are different styles of neighbouring in Yasemin Park that may suit everybody's tastes:

I mean if you want to meet like-minded people and establish friendships, you can easily find friends. Or, if you say: "I don't want to meet anybody", you can stay at home and focus on your own life. Nobody will come and disturb you here. If you want to be alone, it is very easy, but if you want to socialise, it is easy as well. I mean in a [traditional] neighbourhood, even if you don't want to meet anybody, certainly somebody will knock on your door unexpectedly or they usually keep an eye on you. But here you meet people when you want to meet.

The 'autonomy' and the 'control' Aysun emphasises having in her communication with her neighbours are a 'marker of middle-class identity' (Ayata, 2002, p. 30). This identity, as the quote shows, is constructed in opposition to working-class neighbouring, which does not provide space for autonomy or respect for privacy and involves constantly inviting oneself over to a neighbour, asking for acute support, simultaneously, as elaborated in the previous chapter, watching of individuals, fault-finding, and malicious gossip. In that sense, the 'civilised' form of neighbouring is only possible through a break with the street level of intimacy. Asya, a married woman with three children and a homemaker living in Yasemin Park, emphasises the level of intimacy she prefers to have by comparing her style with the neighbouring in 'normal' neighbourhoods:

It is about how you understand neighbouring and your expectations of it...I think it is directly related to that. I personally do not like to appear in someone's flat out of the blue. I have close friends, we have breakfast together and so on...But we call each other first to check if the other person is available or not and then visit each other. So not like in normal neighbourhoods where women sit in front of their houses, or just knock on the door and enter...I don't like these things.

Both Aysun and Asya point out the differences between the working-class and estate styles of neighbouring. The major dividing line is whether one can

escape the 'street level of intimacy' and can keep 'mutual respect for privacy'. Aysun unpacks such differences between the working-class and estate styles of neighbouring:

The Interviewer: So, you say the sense of obligation to meet doesn't occur here.

Aysun: No. When I go out, the idea that whatever happens, I'll meet my friend, or I have to stop by doesn't occur to me. In [traditional] neighbourhoods, since you are physically close to each other, your existence or non-existence is personally visible; the time for yourself can only be at home...But still, you have to open your door to the guest who comes unannounced. I mean, here you have to as well, but you can be alone here easily. And especially when you are tired, it is a need.

While most of the employed women either do not have the time or prefer not to engage in daily neighbouring in the estate, some of the others emphasise the existence of a warm 'traditional' neighbouring culture in Yasemin Park. For instance, Yonca, an employed married woman living in Yasemin Park, describes the level of engagement with her neighbours:

In general, greeting each other, talking a bit, when you meet in the lift, saying a couple of words, teasing the child, that kind of communication...We are good in that sense as the whole apartment building... We are happy, there is not a neighbour that we complain about...These kinds of environments really make you closer. If I were a homemaker or a part-time employee, I certainly would establish more communication and I would enjoy it.

The whole family returns home together in the evening. Her husband goes home directly, but her son wants to play in the playground for a while before they enter their apartment. There she chats with her neighbours. Apart from such moments, she does not have time for neighbouring. Nevertheless, for Yonca, it is still a warm environment. Hilal, who is single and a teacher, goes a step further and describes the relations she has with her neighbours as a continuation of the 'traditional neighbouring culture':

Here we experience the Turkish neighbouring culture...We have a warm neighbourhood culture here. All the children go out, mothers, fathers, grandparents go out with them. We sit, drink tea/coffee, eat sunflower seeds and chat. In this way, we can look after our children, too.

The women who actively practice neighbouring in Yasemin Park become close in time. As a result, they perceive some of their neighbours as 'part of the family'. Dilara, the young university student whose family is one of the earliest residents, states:

This is quite an old settlement. Maybe that is what binds people together here. For example, in this estate, with one of our neighbours, we've been together for almost 13 years. Now with her, it is more than neighbouring, she has become almost like a relative. You feel comfortable, even when you ask for something, you are relaxed.

Some homemakers have a network of neighbours, some of whom become friends and a deep part of each other's lives. Gaye, for instance, describes her neighbour/friend group:

I think I'm very lucky in terms of neighbours because we have a very good group. For instance, we have a friend, in April we helped with the wedding preparations of her daughter, and everybody did something as best they could.

As can be seen from the excerpts above, neighbouring is not only about leisure but involves solidarity as well. Many of the women, particularly the homemakers, need such neighbouring circles. Zerrin, for instance, is a homemaker. She is married to a technician and has two daughters. She used to live in a neighbourhood similar to Panayır. When the flat prices fell in Yasemin Park between the years 2004–2006, her family had a chance to buy. They left the neighbourhood in which they had lived for more than 20 years, where they had established 'family like', close-knit neighbouring relations. In the new residential environment, Zerrin had difficulties getting into neighbouring circles. It took three years for her to get to know the women from her current friendship group in the estate. She observed that 'You either need to have a dog or a child in this estate to get to know people'. She could enter neighbouring circles only after she started to babysit for a dual-earner family in the estate. Currently, she has a small group of friends with whom she often spends time:

Very well, all my friends are good. I feel contented. All of them are younger than me, but that is fine. If needed, we become like mother and daughter or sisters...I'm really happy. We sit here [the picnic area], everybody prepares something at home, and we have our picnic, sometimes with a barbecue.

The overall data on neighbouring in Yasemin Park confirms a variety of neighbouring practices. While mutual respect for each other's privacy and the autonomy and control one has in establishing neighbouring practices are central to the neighbouring culture in Yasemin Park, the excerpts above evidence that the women residents also establish close-knit and solidaristic relations with some of their neighbours in time. These close-knit relations and the warm neighbouring described in the excerpts above challenge the credibility of the

discourse on gated enclaves as havens of individualism. Kenna and Stevenson (2013) highlight that many scholars working on gated residential estates argue that the existence of the neighbourhood-based community that is promised to potential residents by estate developers cannot be delivered primarily because the meaningful community does not form in circumstances of privatisation (Kenna & Stevenson, 2013, p. 412). However, Kenna and Stevenson's findings are in line with the findings of the current research that 'for some residents, a tangible sense of community can develop in these estates with many respondents saying that they experience and actively engage in creating what they consider to be community' (Kenna & Stevenson, 2013, p. 422). Nevertheless, a nuanced understanding of neighbouring cultures and communities is necessary. The warm neighbouring culture in Yasemin Park, which Yonca described as 'traditional', may be misleading if it is confused with the working class 'traditional' neighbouring culture. The difference lies in where the solidarity comes from; in Panayır it is the pessimistic solidarity coming out of the need to survive together, whereas, in Yasemin Park, the solidarity is voluntarist, emerging from friendship developed among neighbours. The balance between privacy and intimacy is different in these neighbourhoods.

The findings presented above suggest that middle-class women feel more content with their socialisation among neighbours than working-class women. While the contemporary socio-spatial conditions, e.g., increasing employment, changes in the composition of neighbourhood population, and the increased focus on the nuclear family, have created significant changes in women's socialisation in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods, middle-class women in gated estates can reach and reproduce social circles at the level of intimacy they wish. An example of a social gathering mostly organised among neighbours, the Reception Day may illustrate the differences between working-class and middle-class socialisation.

The Reception Day: An Example of Middle-Class Sociality/Neighbouring

The Reception Day is a traditional gathering activity among middle-class women in Turkey, as well as in the Middle East (Kandiyoti, 1977). It is a gathering where women receive guests on a regular, mostly rotational, basis. Özbay (1999) reflects on the reasons why the activity is called Reception Day in the first place. She points out the ways in which the gendered use of upper-class and middle-class home space was transformed during the early modernisation process of Republican Turkey. Traditionally, the Turkish home space was organised as a *haremlık* and *selamlık*; the former was used by the family and the latter was just for men to use to receive their guests. As part of the modernisation process, the *haremlık* transformed into the living room and the *selamlık* became the reception room. Unlike the male-only use of the *selamlık*, the new reception room was opened to women's use as well:

The reception room became a symbol of the relations of the household with the outer world, [it] opened its doors to women. Husband and wife together received their guests in the reception room during the evenings. During the day, when men were out at work, women regularly organised *Kabul Günü* or Reception Days in these rooms.

(Özbay, 1999, p. 561)

According to Benedict (1974), Reception Days historically emerged out of necessity when the central government invested in small towns throughout Anatolia as administrative centres in local regions. A cadre of non-local professional civil servants started settling in these small towns and the female leisure networks, organised as Reception Days, were used to bridge the wide social distance between the local elites and the non-local professionals (Benedict, 1974, p. 28).

Reception Days held important social functions. For instance, Aswad's study (1974) illustrated the ways in which the Reception Days complemented the male public world. Aswad found that these days serve to keep elite local families in contact and to gather information on political affairs, which was often difficult for the men. While there was less chance to develop close contact with men from the opposing political party in the local public space, women were able to gather in mixed groups and talk about politics among various other subjects. Özbay's study draws our attention to the role of Reception Day in women's urban life as 'schools for modernisation for middle-class women [in which] modern manners, fashion, child-rearing practices and relations among spouses [were] discussed':

Reception Days differed from the informal and intimate neighbourhood and familial relations. They had an official atmosphere in which women often did not bring their children and dressed in their best outfits. The Western furniture, such as armchairs and occasional tables, was not yet an internalised part of their culture and seemed to be even physically uncomfortable. This gave the feeling of being in a public place where the room was a showcase for the household and family.

(Özbay, 1999, p. 561)

Özbay points out the lack of women's presence in the public sphere in Republican Turkey despite the deliberate aims of the reformers:

The educational level of women, even among the middle and upper-middle strata was low and through the 1950s their participation in the waged economy was circumscribed. There were few women to be seen on the streets, in parks or recreation centres.

(p. 561)

Under such circumstances, for middle-class women in provincial towns and cities, who were mostly unemployed, participation in the public sphere was mainly limited to such female-only networks as Reception Days: 'Reception Days were a kind of women's public space' (p. 564).

In time, Reception Days became 'increasingly applied in the whole country, gradually expanding to lower income groups' (Tezcan, 1980, p. 40). As outlined in Chapter 4, in the first three decades of rural-to-urban migration, the majority of women who had been agricultural workers in their villages mostly became homemakers. Consequently, the reason for the expansion of Reception Day practice among lower income groups may well be a result of the 'housewifification' process. Furthermore, especially from the 1980s onwards, the name 'Reception Day' changed in time respectively to Invitation Day, Money Day, Gold Day, and Currency Day (Sönmez et al., 2010, p. 97). To give an example, if a group of ten women agrees to hold a Reception Day, it is defined as 'Gold Day' if the group agrees that every woman in the group except the host of the month would bring a (quarter) gold coin to the host. At the end of ten months, each woman would receive the same number of gold coins and each woman would host the others, cook for them, chat, and have a good time. Büyükokutan (2012) perceives the process of change from Reception Days to Gold Days to Money Days as a tool, a justification, and a modification to keep women interested and participating in these gatherings. Özbay (1999) stresses women's increasing contact with the outside world in the contemporary era of urban Turkey as the reason why Reception Days lost their significance for women:

For now, there were more women going outside the home, onto the streets and with various contacts in public life. Women had become almost totally responsible for daily shopping, and they took an active role in voluntary associations. They had begun to make regular contact with educational and health institutions for their children and other family members. Above all, more urban middle-class women were employed in the formal economy.
(p. 564)

The current section examines the contemporary Reception Day practice, particularly focusing on the impact of contemporary socio-economic and cultural changes. Today, Reception Days, Money Days, Gold Days, etc. exist concurrently; therefore, I refer to the original term 'Reception Day' in this study, for the sake of consistency.

The Reception Day is alive and well among the middle-class women in Yasemin Park. The majority of the women in the study perceived Reception Days as a chance to meet a wider circle of friends/neighbours. The female network in Reception Days involves a larger group than one's small circle of neighbours, with whom one becomes close friends and meets almost daily, as indicated in the following excerpt from my interview with Gaye:

For instance, I'm living in Cluster One, and most of the days I meet my close friends from the same cluster; but I have other friends from other clusters with whom I don't meet often. Once you know that you will meet them once or twice a month through Reception Days, then you want to attend. It is an excuse to meet people.

Homemakers, particularly, may use time more flexibly to extend their connections through Reception Days. After the Reception Day we attended together in Yasemin Park, Sezin stated that she had a further five Reception Day events to attend in different circles. Sibel was also involved in different Reception Day circles: one in Yasemin Park and one in her previous neighbourhood. She describes the differences between them:

I have also a Day in my previous neighbourhood with friends/neighbours from there. I think it's better because that group consists of my husband's childhood friends' wives. They are all around the same age as me; our children are of similar ages. We have more things in common. We have fewer things in common here with our Reception Day friends. I met them via my next-door neighbour.

The employed women, on the other hand, mostly stated that they usually do not have time for neighbouring on a daily basis. Some of them have one Reception Day a month, which is considered an opportunity to meet neighbours/friends and spend some leisure time. For instance, when I went to Hatice's office to recruit her for my fieldwork, she stated that it would be very difficult to get people together for a focus group meeting, but she invited me to a Reception Day to meet her friends living in Yasemin Park. In this group, almost everybody works as white-collar professionals, such as architects and managers, and they regularly meet each other once a month for leisure. The Reception Day had quite a lively atmosphere, with everyone constantly joking. I observed at this Reception Day that some of the women in the network were closer to each other than others and that they also met as often as possible outside of the Reception Day event.

Reception Days require a great deal of work, both before and after the event. Although the Reception Days I attended were organised at home and involved a relaxed atmosphere filled with friendly chat and jokes, most of the attendants were dressed up for the occasion, wearing makeup and high heels. Some of the veiled women had removed their scarves and were relaxed, yet their outfits were also carefully chosen. The host usually prepares plenty of food for these gatherings (Figure 8.3). While homemakers prepare the house themselves (the cleaning and the decorating), employed women usually have domestic workers to carry out the necessary work. Sibel, a homemaker from Yasemin Park, found the preparation too demanding. Therefore, despite her attendance, she does not like Reception Days:



Figure 8.3 An example of the food served at Reception Days in Yasemin Park.

Source: The researcher took the picture on a Reception Day in Yasemin Park.

The host usually prepares several dishes, like ten different dishes, and it is very tiring. It shouldn't make me tired. I shouldn't wake up at 6 am to get prepared for my Day hosting. It should please me rather than make me tired. I said to the others that we should reduce it to a coffee and dessert level, but they didn't accept that. It is a waste of time

Such over-preparation dampens the enthusiasm of women like Sibel for attending Reception Days. Buse had similar complaints about the preparations for Reception Days, which discouraged her and other women from organising concerted gatherings:

I used to attend until two years ago but have stopped since I started to work from home. You know the Reception Day is quite difficult. You know, my schedule is quite irregular. For instance, if I get a job and it needs to be done by the weekend, then I am not sure whether to take it or not because both taking it and not taking it may lead to trouble. Once it happened that way. I had a Reception Day coming up, for which I was the host. So, I thought I shouldn't take the work, but then women/my customers insisted a lot. On the one hand, I want to work, I need to finish it on time. On the other hand, if you participate in Reception Days, you need to finish the

cleaning the day before the gathering. You need to be free on the gathering day because on that day you need to prepare the food you will serve. If you count, that's two days gone...And then later you need to tidy, clean...For me, it is even more difficult, how could my customers know that I have a Reception Day gathering? As you know, most of the time women drop by unexpectedly. Therefore, I started to get stressed around the Reception Day gathering when I was the host. What will the house be like during the day or in the evening, tidy or not?

Moreover, some women are not satisfied spending time on these Days; they seek alternative pleasures to these gatherings and prefer outdoor activities and less preparation than the old-style Reception Days. One such example is Sibel:

I need to take something from the experience, learn something. What happens at these days now is that everybody sits around the table, eats, and a group leaves to the balcony to smoke. Sometimes I don't even understand whether we chat properly or not. I suggested to my friends that maybe instead of Reception Days at home, we can organise regular cultural tours, like visiting mosques or so on. But they didn't agree.

Some women would prefer not to attend such Days. For instance, Evrim, who is a data processor and lives alone in Yasemin Park, does not like Reception Days as a leisure activity.

I don't have time to do that, I can't. I think we have different mentalities from the other residents here. I might drink a coffee together with them, but I can't do Reception Days. I'd rather spare time for myself after work. I have some friends from outside of the estate; I socialise with them. I have a cinema group for instance; we don't miss any new movies...I really like symphony orchestras for instance and concerts.

The Reception Days for Evrim are an expression of a lifestyle, which she does not share. Women, like Evrim, who embody a lifestyle of intellectual and art-orientated leisure activities and a leftist ideology, do not share the idea of attending Reception Days.

I did not have a chance to attend a Reception Day event in Panayır; while the women in the study indicated that they used to and still have Reception Days, the ways in which it is practised have changed significantly. They now organise Reception Day in a manner where only the money is rotated. Women do not gather in a house and spend a couple of hours together anymore, but rather drop in quickly and leave the money on a monthly rotation basis. The Reception Day as a leisure space is not available in this new version.

The Interviewer: Do you have Reception Days or another type of meeting?

Funda: Yes, we still have the Reception Days. But people have stopped the eating, drinking festivities. They just go and leave a certain amount of gold or money. The meeting, chatting, and eating is over.

Beren: Yes, for instance, the one Aslı participates in is like that, just go and leave the money...

Funda: A woman came to me today, she says there is no gathering at home; we will gather the money each time and give it to one of us.

Deniz is a 38-year-old stationery shop owner in Panayır. She does not feel satisfied with the new trend of Reception Days:

Once I participated in this Reception Day where only the money is rotated. I didn't like it. Now people do not organise Reception Day for *muhabet* (chatting). It is not the same anymore. The Gold Days, the gatherings, chats, and affection. In my mother's times, aww, 12 or 13 women, singing, playing music, dancing, chatting, the food... Now it is not there anymore, it's only to rotate the money. This is for pecuniary advantage; I don't like it. For me, Reception Day means you need to come to my house, sit, chat, and laugh. We meet each other once a month, right... There is not such an atmosphere anymore. I don't know if the times are changing; people cannot find time... I would, in any case, I would try to find the time. Because only once a month you spare time for yourself.

Deniz refers to affection; seeing loved ones once a month for a quality chat and good time accompanied by good food, music, dance, and laughter. As one can see, in Panayır, there is a similar nostalgia produced about the old Reception Day events as the nostalgia for the everyday neighbouring patterns.

The findings presented above on Reception Days in each neighbourhood indicate the ongoing class character of sociability. The middle-class women of Yasemin Park have more inclination to organise Reception Days than working-class women, for whom these days now function as nothing more than a tool to save money. Özbay (1999) has highlighted the change in the significance of Reception Days in women's lives parallel to a change in their access to the public sphere of life. Historically, for middle-class women, most of whom were housewives and were not present in public spaces, e.g., in parks or other recreational areas, Reception Days represented a form of public space in which they reproduced the modern middle-class woman ideal. Özbay has foregrounded that today women have access to other public spheres via shopping, engaging in voluntary work, and attending to networks established via children's educational and health-related needs, etc. Therefore, the significance of Reception Days as a public space for women has decreased over time. This research is interested in Reception Days in terms of women's socialisation for leisure purposes. The findings presented thus far highlight that despite the

relative decrease in Reception Days' importance as the primary public space for women, middle-class women, in particular homemakers, still find it useful for leisure purposes, especially in terms of creating and maintaining friendships, accessing a broader circle of mates within the vicinity. Alongside these leisurely purposes, Reception Days allow women to trade their handmade products and practice solidarity among themselves.

The existing literature has also highlighted that Reception Day is not a gathering event inherent to working-class women's leisure culture. Historically, the vast majority of the working-class population in Turkey is rural-to-urban migrants of the second half of the twentieth century. In villages, women were under a heavy workload both at home and at agricultural work. For leisure purposes, they had domestic and neighbourly networks for visiting and they played a major role in communal leisure activities, such as religious festivals, and other important occasions (Kandiyoti, 1977, p. 71). Together with rural-to-urban migration, women who became mostly homemakers in cities adopted the Reception Day practice, which is interpreted as a sign of emulating a middle-class lifestyle. As the findings of the current research show, the socio-economic and cultural changes the working-class women experience today, e.g., entrance to the labour force in the formal or informal market, increasing individuality and nuclear family focus, increasing consumption, result in the renunciation of Reception Day practice.

Conclusion

The current chapter has examined women's neighbouring practices in Turkey as a form of leisure. Central to the chapter is the class differences in (re) producing gendered neighbouring relations. The 'autonomy' and 'control' that the women have over their contact with their neighbours is a dominant feature of life in the estate, marking out a middle-class identity. This is not the case in traditional neighbouring relations. Working-class neighbouring relations have historically been shaped around 'intimacy' and 'collectivity' rather than around 'autonomy' and 'privacy'. Nevertheless, the findings presented in this data suggest that neighbouring relations have changed to a significant degree in Turkey, particularly in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods, like Panayır. Elaborating on the accounts, which highlight the significant decrease in time spent engaged in social activities with relatives and neighbours in the society, this chapter foregrounded that increased employment, higher density in the neighbourhoods, and the increased focus on the nuclear family rather than on kinship networks have all resulted in decreasing close-knit, daily neighbouring practices. This change produces complex feelings among working-class women. While some women feel more independent in their practices, others, usually those women who have less access to alternative circles, feel disappointed about their socialisation. Middle-class women, on the other hand, are able to reproduce a balanced neighbouring practice where they can have

both a certain level of autonomy and intimacy. The findings on Reception Day practices in each neighbourhood have also indicated the class characteristics of women's socialisation. While middle-class women maintain access to social circles via such gatherings, working-class women rather seem to experience an imbalanced transition process from intimate and collective neighbouring circles to autonomously created networks, which sometimes results in isolation.

As McDowell highlighted, the concept of community usually carries the connotations of warmth and solidarity and implies that 'the absence of community is a bad thing' (McDowell, 1999). The traditional image of neighbouring in Turkey is also associated with warmth, intimacy, collectivity, and solidarity. The practices in traditional neighbouring involve frequent visits to each other's homes and sharing the day-to-day work as well as supporting each other in times of need. The majority of the women in Panayır report that such neighbouring relations do not exist anymore and feel nostalgic for past relations. However, it is crucial to highlight that women may also enjoy the liberating aspects of increasing individualism, especially the women utilising new tools, e.g., technology, employment, etc., to access different types and contexts of leisure. The women in Yasemin Park, on the other hand, use the nostalgia for intimate neighbouring as a tool to point out its existence in the gated estate. Descriptions of making a pot of tea and snacking on sunflower seeds, sitting in the playground, and chatting with neighbours while their children play evoke typically traditional neighbouring practices. The current chapter has highlighted the necessity of a nuanced analysis of the practices that might be identified as traditional neighbouring in the high-security estate because the context in which they emerge is different. In traditional neighbourhoods, the notions of collectivity emerge out of a necessity of pessimistic solidarity, whereas, in high-security estates like Yasemin Park, the notion of intimacy and collectivity is based on voluntarist actions, which do not dominate the whole set of social relations in the local community.

Notes

- 1 *Kısır* is a traditional side dish, meze or salad in Turkish cuisine, and it is considered as a "must" at gatherings.
- 2 *Tarhana* is a ready-made powder soup, prepared by women for winter and it is a traditional rural practice.
- 3 In Turkey, close neighbours who become like a relative in time are referred to each other with kinship labels, such as 'aunty'. Sometimes, the closest, usually next-door neighbours, can even be called *komsu anne* (neighbour mother).
- 4 Watching TV is one of the most commonly practised (94.6%) leisure activities in Turkey. According to the Family Structure 2016 statistics, 57% of women watch TV for 1-3 hours a day and 30% watch 4-6 hours per day (TURKSTAT, 2016f). Similarly, internet use among women from all levels of education has significantly increased since 2011, reaching from 8.6% in 2005 to 58.7% in 2017 (TURKSTAT, 2017).

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Concluding Thoughts

The purpose of this book is to invite scholarly attention to social class and capitalism in feminist leisure research. Although feminist leisure scholarship has been diversified and engaging with the most contemporary theoretical debates, it seems that a focus on capitalism and social class has remained undergrown. The book argues that this limits the interpretation of gendered subjectivities, which are always embedded into the processes of cultural distinctions. It is necessary to recognise capitalism as a historically specific system of power made up of the context in which contemporary leisure relations are (re)produced. Leisure is a highly commercialised area of life. The role of leisure in (re)constructing cultural distinctions has particularly become significant, as recent studies on entrepreneurial self and precarity highlight (see Banks, 2009; Rojek, 2013; Batchelor et al., 2020; Sharpe et al., 2022). Leisure 'choices' display personhoods that are attributed with a positive or negative value. In the contemporary world, subjects are expected to acquire cultural properties to display the 'good' life. Yet, who has the requisite resources to access the right material and non-material properties, to the forms of interpretation and mobility to construct their personhoods as enterprising?

Creating a critical viewpoint on 'individuality' and its connection to the 'cultural' is especially important in light of the growing global political movements such as right-wing populism, racism, Islamophobia, and the restoration of masculinist ideals, as well as the current interest in non-Western cultures in leisure studies. Feminist studies of leisure began to recognise racial disparities and cultural variations in leisure experiences in the 1990s. Thus, research on the gendered leisure experiences of immigrant women in Western cultures and women in the Global South has proliferated in the twenty-first century. At this point, Islam, accompanied by the idea of *honour*, has become the major point of reference. A closer examination of this heterogeneous body of research reveals certain shortcomings of the literature and the theoretical and methodological choices underpinning them, which demand careful consideration.

Research on immigrant communities in the West primarily focuses on issues of racial discrimination, individual identity processes, and cultural

diversity. These studies all start from the observation that Muslim women participate in leisure activities at considerably lower rates than women in other social groups, especially when it comes to sports and physical activity. In Western contexts, there is a propensity to bring people from many nations together under the category of Islam, as if religion is the only, at best the most powerful, factor shaping the cultures of these vastly disparate societies. Furthermore, there are significant risks associated with focusing on the markers of cultural differences themselves rather than the motives behind their formulation and manifestation. Few studies draw attention to these risks and shift their lens to the ongoing racial discrimination against immigrants through Islam in Western public settings and how prejudices give rise to different forms of discrimination. These studies provide specific examples of the several ways that Muslim women face discrimination in Western leisure spaces. Yet, the way they approach the topic lacks tools that will support us in grasping how Western notions of cultural superiority, freedom, and individuality are historically constructed in opposition to Muslim culture. Neither do they provide us with information on other facets of the participants' cultures, such as class, ethnic, or religious differences, which are significant determinants of the various social and subjective positions within a national context.

The interaction of culture with political and economic processes is a topic that is under-explored in studies on women's leisure in non-Western nations. While most of the studies solely display the details of how the patriarchal cultures of the societies restrict women and limit their individuality, only a few studies in this strand of literature pay attention to social class, demonstrating how these cultures are malleable, and class presents itself not only in material differences in access to leisure but also through women's embodiment of individuality, interpretations of the role of the culture in their lives, and consequently how they feel entitled to certain types of leisure. This work defies easy assumptions about Islamic culture, class disparities, and the concept of honour by illuminating women's leisure in a nation that presents a complex link between 'individuality' and 'culture'.

The book is based on eight months of fieldwork in two differently classed neighbourhoods of a metropolitan city in Turkey. Examining women's experiences of leisure entrenched in the intricate realities of their daily rhythms and settings is the main goal of the study. It employs a general exploration of the everydayness of women's leisure, engaging with feminist critiques of blurring the boundaries of work, free time, and leisure to deconstruct such divisions. It starts from the *everyday as a whole* to point out the relationship between the informal and formal spheres of leisure. Shedding light onto the relationship between the individual women, their families, and the neighbourhood-based community within which their everyday leisure practices are (re)structured and (re)negotiated, the main objective herein was to contribute to a more global assessment of the significance of social class in shaping women's access to and enjoyment of opportunities for sociability and relaxation.

The two neighbourhoods where the research was conducted are typical examples of working- and middle-class residential environments of the country. They carry class-specific notions of respectability codes and community cultures. Simultaneously, these living spaces inhabit social class fractions that emerged in time. The findings of the study bring forth the cultural distinctions and tensions within and across these social classes, which display the contestation over the moral judgments on what constitutes respectable femininity in the country.

The 68 women in this research considerably vary in their demographic profile, hence their social class profiles. In the middle-class neighbourhood, groups include the traditional and the new middle classes, the new rich, and lower-middle class, and in the working-class neighbourhood, the groups include the traditional and the 'respectable' working-class, and the precariat. The categories are created based on the sample's material and affective characteristics. Class is not just about financial prospects; it's also about how one views and assesses the value of others and oneself, as well as the subjective and emotional facets of life. A key point of distinction is how these women view their individuality and freedom.

The Key Findings

The book has recognised that both acquiring leisure taste and accessing the desired leisure experiences in practice are circumscribed by the ways in which gender, class, and other social divisions are interlocked in the socio-spatial context of women's everyday in Turkey. Women are constrained in multiple ways to access leisure activities. For instance, leisure activities, such as sports and cultural practices, that require material and value-based resources, e.g., money, transportation, amenities, time as well as social approval, are more subject to the impacts of social divisions, such as gender, class, education, age, marriage, etc. The activities, which require the least amount of mobility, financial resources, time allocation, etc., on the other hand, emerge as the mostly practised everyday leisure activities across classes. These are socialisation within the vicinity, e.g., neighbouring, and indoor pastime activities, such as watching TV, surfing the internet, and using social media.

A distinctive feature of the current book is its interest in the mechanisms under which (re)configuration of women's leisure takes place, rather than documenting gender differences in the frequency of leisure participation. In light of the contextual framework, the research has found that the honour code, exercised within family and community, regulates women's access to and use of public leisure spaces. That said, the reflection of women's bodies as the carrier of family honour is operated differently in different class contexts, in this research, a *gecekondu* neighbourhood and a high-security estate. Chapter 7 has illustrated that in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods, like Panayır, the dominant set of social relations is reproduced around the honour

code, where mixed-sex socialisation outside of the family circle is largely disapproved of. Such disapproval results in the segregation of leisure spaces for the sexes. While men dominate the central locations and public places of the neighbourhood, women dominate rather marginal sections of the neighbourhood, socialising on side streets, playgrounds, school gardens, the walking trail, or private spaces such as houses and gardens. Mixed-sex socialisation in these places is appropriated in the form of 'family leisure'. In this sense, labelling a leisure venue as a 'family space' is crucial for women's access to it. When male-only congregation takes place in public leisure spaces, women tend to leave them due to the potential harm their family reputation may face. In places for leisure where community members, friends, and neighbours encounter each other, both the male and female gaze regulate women's behaviours, which leads to a community pressure to behave 'appropriately', e.g., not entering male-only or male-dominant leisure spaces. Consequently, women self-censor their behaviours with a high level of anxiety, which stems from the fear of losing social networks. As exemplified in the case of Suna, women who have a relatively higher level of freedom in their behaviours within the family are concerned with gossip and a bad reputation within the community and therefore they do not use male-dominated leisure spaces, such as the tea garden. That is to say that gendered constraints over women's use of neighbourhood public leisure spaces do not always come from husband and/or family control but sometimes clearly from the neighbourhood-based community.

In high-security estates, like Yasemin Park, on the other hand, women's participation in public life is recognised as an indicator of the civility code, which is a marker of middle-class identity. The high-security estates in Turkey are largely defined as family spaces within which respect for privacy and individual preferences is prioritised as the common base of social relations. Consequently, mixed socialisation among men and women within families and/or as friends, colleagues, and neighbours in public leisure spaces of the neighbourhood does not result in gaze, gossip, and community pressure. However, middle-class families are not immune to gender inequalities. Therefore, looking at the community level and the formal basis of social relations was highlighted as illusory in this book. At the family level, particularly in the families of the new rich, male control over women's leisure activities and space use patterns was found. This was presented through examples including husbands and/or fathers not allowing their wives and/or daughters to swim in the estate pool (with the argument being that this is 'not appropriate in a family environment') or women not being allowed to participate in tango classes because of the potential for physical intimacy with a strange man.

At the discursive level, the vast majority of women expressed their consciousness and desire to demand public leisure spaces for women. However, not all of the women in the study perceived their rights to leisure from the

same angle, nor did they have access to or display the same level of power in their negotiation with family control over their leisure. Their desires for leisure, which highlight their agency and choices in leisure, vary from being compatible with the honour code to more confrontational positions. Moreover, the risks women may take in extending their leisure spaces are tied up with the extent to which they can play around the dominant codes of social behaviour. While the traditional working-class women utilised care work to snatch breaks of leisure under male and family control, the 'respectable' working-class were able to 'choose' their leisure practices by travelling outside of the neighbourhood or subtly negotiating the boundaries. The 'respectable' working-class women disidentify from the traditional image of working-class femininity by exhibiting their capacity of 'choice', simultaneously they underline how 'honourable' their choices are. They internalise a hybrid understanding of respectability, speaking to both class worlds. A similar pattern is observed in the accounts of the young and single new middle-class women who come from the new rich families of the high-security estates. Drawing on Özyeğin's (2015) work, this hybridity can be defined as a feature of the persons experiencing social upwards mobility in Turkey; what they inhabit is a 'fractured desire'. On the one hand, they have a desire

to renounce the normative model of selfless femininity ... to reject power and authority located external to the individual. On the other hand, there is the longing to remain loyal and organically connected to social relations, identities, and histories that underwrite the construction of identity through connectivity.

(Özyeğin, 2015, p. 3)

This brings us to the discussion on how different the experiences of the self in the Global North and the Global South contexts are.

Another line of difference is experienced in the understanding of responsibility as a key mechanism regulating the signs of respectable femininity. Responsibility is like a point of gravity, orienting women towards choosing or combining their leisure activities with some kind of work, turning them into productive pursuits. The kinds of 'leisurely' work, one that women propertise in exhibiting themselves as respectable, however, vastly differs across social classes. The more 'leisurely' and less out of financial hardship the informal work becomes, the more culturally propertisable it gets. Women, then, can identify themselves through their informal work as 'enterprising' selves. Not the precariat, but homemakers of traditional working-class women or the new rich of the middle classes utilise informal work to accrue value, which goes hand in hand with dis-identifying themselves from the category of 'idle'. The women of the new middle class, on the other hand, do not show any interest in informal labour. They experienced various leisure activities – representative of high and emerging cultural capital – in their youth, especially

until having a child/ren. Although it was clear in their accounts that childcare and other domestic tasks of social reproduction left little time for their personal leisure, almost none of the women in this category complained as the discourse of 'choice' was prevalent among the new middle class. Childcare seems like it always carries a double function for these mothers, leisure and work. While they play with their children, they are also keen on transferring certain skills and habits to their children.

Women's leisure was also examined in terms of their sociality, in particular, their neighbouring. Socialising with neighbours has emerged as a special activity for women within which they seek multiple aims, e.g., leisure, and solidarity. What makes socialising with neighbours special is that it offers a social life to women, especially to those who are restricted in their mobility, and who have to spend their everyday mostly in the vicinity. The social class differences in terms of the level of community control and individual autonomy appropriated in women's leisure behaviour have also emerged in their neighbouring relations. The 'autonomy' and 'control' that the women have over their contact with their neighbours are a dominant feature of life in the estate, marking out their middle-class identity. This is not the case in traditional neighbouring relations in the *gecekondu* neighbourhood, like Panayır. Working-class neighbouring relations have historically been shaped around 'intimacy' and 'collectivity'. Nevertheless, the findings suggest that neighbouring relations have changed to a significant degree in Turkey. Women's increased participation in waged labour, higher density in the neighbourhoods, and the increased focus on the nuclear family rather than on kinship networks have all resulted in decreasing neighbouring practices among women. This change has produced complex feelings among the women in Panayır. While the more mobile women, such as the 'respectable' working-class women feel more independent in their leisure practices, others, usually women who have less access to alternative circles, feel disappointed about their level of socialisation. The complaints on the disappearance of the old neighbouring practices are expressed through nostalgia for old, intimate, and solidaristic relations. Middle-class women, on the other hand, are able to reproduce a balanced neighbouring practice, where they can have both 'autonomy' and 'intimacy' in their relations at the level they expect it to be. They instrumentalise the nostalgic descriptions of intimate neighbouring as a tool to point out the existence of neighbouring in the high-security estate. Descriptions of making a pot of tea and snacking on sunflower seeds, sitting in the playground and chatting with neighbours while their children play evoke typical traditional neighbouring practices. However, we need to develop a nuanced understanding of such practices. The intimacy resembled in these practices is voluntarist in Yasemin Park and directly related to leisure as opposed to the meaning of intimate neighbouring in Panayır emerging from the need for solidarity under class disadvantages. Intimate and solidaristic neighbouring has been crucial for working-class women in terms of making

access to social circles available, developing a place attachment, and escaping from loneliness, as well as coping with class-based inequalities. The same intimate relations, however, have also been reproducing community pressure on women and restricting their leisure behaviour, as evidenced in the case of their access to neighbourhood leisure spaces. Therefore, it is also crucial to highlight that women may as well enjoy the liberating aspects of increasing individualism, especially the women utilising new tools, e.g., technology, employment, etc., to access different types and contexts of leisure. The critical question remains: who has the requisite resources to become more mobile and apply 'choice' in sociality?

The findings presented in the current book call for a careful and nuanced interrogation of women's 'agency' and 'resistance' in access to leisure, particularly in terms of the complexity and non-uniformity of their agency and the strictly bounded nature of their agency embedded into the socio-cultural framework and local context within which they act and react. In short, women's strategies to negotiate their use of leisure spaces largely vary in accordance with the level of control they are subject to in the family and the environment within which they need to carve out power.

The research was designed as an explorative study with a relatively small sample and therefore it does not aim to represent women's experiences of leisure at a societal level. It also developed a general explorative understanding of the leisure experiences of women belonging to various social class groups, living in working-class and middle-class neighbourhoods. Not being able to dive into the peculiarities of each group may be a limitation of the current research. Future research can focus on a specific social class fraction and consider their leisure experiences in relation to their subjectivities in detail. Additionally, special attention can be paid to women who are deemed as non-respectable, who are perceived as constitutive limits to respectable femininity. For instance, how women who are divorced and/or have a romantic/sexual relationship outside of marriage, single mothers, sex workers, or women embodying a blatantly sexualised outlook experience leisure. Moreover, a broader research agenda on leisure and respectability in Turkey can be developed, involving other groups' experiences as well, such as youth, masculinities, and the LGBTQ+ population. For instance, the conservative AKP governments have not only been targeting women; their political rhetoric, policy making, and institutional implications demonstrate a concerted effort in giving a conservative outlook to respectability. As the Party's chief mission is to raise pious generations, prevent the 'dissolution' of tradition, and protect the institution of the heterosexual family, they target each group of people in accordance with these aims. For instance, the AKP governments have been investing in youth leisure, as leisure activities are utilised in raising pious youth. The AKP governments' objectives on youth are exemplified in the Ministry of Youth and Sport's (MYS) mission. The MYS announced its responsibility of 'inseminating consciousness in youth and encouraging them

to transcend their private interests and personal liberties for the higher interests of the nation and the country' (MYS, 2019, p. 59). (See details in Açıkgöz et al., 2021.) The LGBTQ+ population in the country, on the other hand, is subject to open hostility by political authorities, reaching a point where the political authorities gave speeches highlighting that the Istanbul Treaty legitimised homosexuality, and this is the main reason for withdrawal from the Treaty. Attributing negative value to homosexuality has detrimental effects on LGBTQ+ populations' leisure rights and experiences, though these effects are not equally experienced by all members of the population. Meanwhile, (social) media representations of gay, lesbian, and trans citizens exhibit considerable social class differences, reminiscent of Mount's (2020) work on the formation of the new transgender female identity as opposed to the traditional *hijras* in India. Furthermore, the social divisions such as ethnicity (minorities such as Kurdish, Roma, etc.) and religion (non-Muslim population, Alevis, Islamic religious sects, etc.), which have particular importance in the Turkish context, are yet to be explored in terms of the impact of these identity features on leisure experiences. Future studies can focus on the uneasy relation of these groups to the cultural capital forming the Turkish national belonging. Finally, research on subcultures is preciously needed in Turkey as the precariat of the urban scenery gravitates towards distinct cultural expressions of their subjectivity. From another angle, the concept of the 'right to leisure' may be a subject of future research. As this book highlighted, it is crucial to imagine personhood and morality differently. This is inherently related to imagining leisure in a different way, one that is non-commercialised.

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Appendix 1

Demographic Information of the Sample from Panayır Neighbourhood

No	Name	Age	Education	Occupation	Occupation of Husband/Father	Marital Status	No. of Children/Ages of Children	Years in Neigh.	Previous Residence	City of Origin
1	Estra	18	High S.	Student	Worker (Factory)	Single	0	18	Bursa	Ardahan
2	Esin	19	High S.	Student	Worker (Factory)	Single	0	19	Bursa	Erzincan
3	Eliz	20	High S.	Student	Worker (Factory)	Single	0	20	Bursa	Erzincan
4	Ela	21	2 Years College	Teacher	Retired Worker (Factory)	Single	0	1	Eskisehir	Afyon
5	Sila	22	Illiterate	Non-employed	Worker (Textile)	Married	1/1,5	2	Kocaeli	Agri
6	Esmal	23	2 Years College	Public Rel. Manager	Worker (Factory)	Single	0	20	Tunceli	Tunceli
7	Ebru	23	2 Years College	Accountant	Retired Worker	Engaged	0	23	Bursa	Kars
8	Sema	25	Primary S.	Housewife	Worker	Married	3/9, 8, 2	15	Kars	Kars
9	Kader	26	Secondary S.	Housewife	Worker	Married	1/5	6	Istanbul	Ordu
10	Beren	28	High S.	Housewife	Worker	Married	2/8, 4	10	Ardahan	Ardahan
11	Fusun	29	Primary	Housewife	Retired on Disability/ Artisan	Married	3/14, 10, 6	14	Ardahan	Ardahan
12	Ilke	30	Primary	Housewife	Worker	Married	2/8,4	7	Bursa	Ardahan
13	Elvin	30	University	Textile Company Owner	Retired Worker	Single	0	27	Kars	Kars
14	Ezgi	30	High S.	Hairdresser	Retired Worker	Single	0		Tokat	Tokat
15	Funda	32	Primary	Housewife	House Painter	Married	1/3	12	Ardahan	Ardahan
16	Meryem	33	High S.	Security Guard	Non-employed	Single	0	4	Ardahan	Ardahan
17	Ecrin	34	University	Non-employed	Worker	Married	2/8,4	6	Antalya	Antalya
18	Lale	35	University	Teacher	Retired Worker	Single	0	20	Zonguldak	Ardahan
19	Ayla	35	Primary	Housewife	Worker	Married	1/16	16	Zonguldak	Rize
20	Gul	36	Primary	Housewife	Worker	Married	2/10, 3	10	Erzurum	Erzurum
21	Merve	37	Primary	Non-employed	Worker	Married	2/6,5, 3,5	22	Tunceli	Tunceli
22	Deniz	37	University	Shop Owner	Journalist	Married	1/8	30	Ardahan	Ardahan
23	Sumbul	37	High S.	Non-employed	Retired Worker	Single	0	3	Bursa	Tunceli
24	Gulin	38	Primary	Housewife	Worker	Married	2/20, 18	20	Ardahan	Ardahan

25	Nazli	39	Primary	Textile Company Owner	Retired Worker	Single	0	27	Kars	Kars
26	Nevin	40	Primary	Freelance Cosmetic Seller	Stallholder in Bazaar & Worker in Textile	Married	2/10, 8	7	Bursa	Edirne
27	Asli	41	Primary	Housewife	Worker	Married	2/20, 16	30	Kars	Kars
28	Ada	41	Primary	Housewife	Worker	Married	2/20, 17	21	Erzincan	Erzincan
29	Nesrin	44	Primary	Housewife	Dead	Single	0	37	Ardahan	Ardahan
30	Feride	45	Primary	Retired Worker	Journalist & Union Secretariat	Married	0	3	Bursa	Bursa
31	Sevim	46	Primary	Worker in Textile	Non-employed	Married	2/25, 21	26	Istanbul	Erzurum
32	Sevil	46	Illiterate	Housewife	Retired Worker	Married	3/26, 23, 21	1	Eskisehir	Konya
33	Gulay	48	Primary	Freelance Worker	N/A	Divorced	2/25, 23	35	Bursa	Bursa
34	Dila	50	Illiterate	Housewife	Non-employed	Married	3/32, 30, 28	6	Erzincan	Erzincan
35	Niran	62	Primary	Housewife	Retired Worker	Married	3/42, 40, 38	20	Zonguldak	Kars
36	Suna	70	Literate	Housewife	Retired Teacher	Married	2/50, 45	22	Tokat	Tokat

Appendix 2

Demographic Information of the Sample from Yasemin Park Neighbourhood

No	Name	Age	Education	Occupation	Occupation of Husband/Father	Marital Status	No. of Children/Agessin the Neigh.	Years in the Neigh.	Previous Residence	City of Origin
1	Beste	19	High	Student	Technician	Single	0	8	Bursa	Bursa
2	Duygu	20	High	Student	Company Owner (Textile)	Single	0	12	Agri	Agri
3	Meltem	20	High	Student	Insurance Expert	Single	0	6	Bursa	Bursa
4	Alara	20	High	Student	Company Owner	Single	0	10	Istanbul	Kars
5	Beril	20	High	Student	Company Owner (Textile)	Single	0	13	Bursa	Sivas
6	Buse	28	2 Years College	Tailor	Company Owner (Textile)	Married	1/6	7	Bursa	Bursa
7	Sellin	31	University	Manager in Textile Sector	Manager	Married	1/6		Bursa	Bursa
8	Asya	32	Secondary	Housewife	Company Owner	Married	3/12,9,3	10	Istanbul	Kars
9	Helin	34	University	Non-employed	Company Owner	Married	1/8	8	Bursa	Istanbul
10	Nehir	34	University	Architect	N/A	Divorced	1/6		Bursa	Bursa
11	Damla	35	University	Insurance Expert	N/A	Divorced	1/8	5	Bursa	Ankara
12	Yonca	37	Postgraduate	Administrative Officer	Financial Analyst	Married	1/	5	Bursa	Balikesir
13	Gaye	37	University	Non-employed	Company Owner	Married	1/6	11	Bursa	Artvin
14	Hilal	37	University	Teacher	N/A	Divorced	0	11	Ankara	Ankara
15	Yeliz	38	University	Teacher	Teacher	Married	2/7,2	2	Bursa	Karabuk
16	Sibel	38	High	Housewife	Company Owner (Textile)	Married	2/14,6	8	Bursa	Germany
17	Alev	38	University	Mechanical Engineer	Construction Engineer	Married	1/8	6	Bursa	Bursa
18	Haticce	38	University	Running Store		Married	2/13, 10	9	Bursa	Bursa
19	Azra	40	Primary	Housewife	Company Owner	Married	3/20,16,2	7	Istanbul	Kars
20	Arya	40	High	Hair-dresser	Company Owner	Married	1/8	7	Bursa	Erzincan
21	Defne	40	University	Non-employed	Company Owner	Married	1/6	7	Bursa	Bursa
22	Sezin	40	High	Housewife	Company Owner (Textile)	Married	3/26,20,13	13	Bursa	Bursa
23	Pelin	41	High	Manager in Textile Sector	Manager	Married	2/17,9			Izmir

No	Name	Age	Education	Occupation	Occupation of Husband/Father	Marital Status	No. of Children/Children of Children	Years in the Neigh.	Previous Residence	City of Origin
24	Hazal	42	University	Teacher	Teacher	Married	0	1.5	Bursa	Konya
25	Banu	42	University	Non-employed	Doctor	Married	2/13,9	5	Bursa	Konya
26	Ajda	43	University	Non-employed	Construction Engineer	Married	2/10,8	4	Istanbul	Tokat
27	Mira	45	University	Doctor	Doctor	Married	3/18,16,9	10	Bursa	Ankara
28	Aysun	48	Postgraduate	Teacher	Retired Sergeant	Married	2/25, 18	7	Bursa	Edirne
29	Ahu	50	University	Non-employed	Construction Engineer	Married	1/8	4mn	Bursa	Bursa
30	Zerrin	52	Primary	Non-employed	Technician	Married	2	8	Bursa	Bursa
31	Evrin	55	University	Data Processor	N/A	Divorced	2/26,23	11	Istanbul	Kayseri
32	Seren		High School	Housewife	N/A	Single	0			

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