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THE CONNECTION OF TURKISH "HOUSEWIVES"
TO THE WORLD BY HANDMADE YARN PRODUCTS

A virtual ethnographic study of the experiences of Turkish "housewives" knitting on YouTube

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ABSTRACT

This study has aimed to understand the experiences of the Turkish women who share their knitting videos on YouTube through using the virtual ethnography conducted. The participant women mostly describe themselves as a "housewife" and/or specify their roles through association with domestic tasks, which is related to the position of assigned to many women by Turkish society. Most of them were born in the '70s and they learned to knit during childhood from an elder person in the home due to the traditional and conservative environment of the generation. While some of these women had worked in the service sector, their lack of education and the physical requirements of working life has compelled them to stay at home. Now, however, technological development has become a solution to their economic concerns. Working from home is now feasible, as in the digital space they can remain anonymous while performing knitting. In addition, in case they face a problem from their social surroundings regarding their performance on YouTube, they apply some strategies by adjusting their behaviour and performance. Moreover, they benefit from YouTube by reaching further audiences through knitting online. Apart from getting income, while they make connections with others having the same interest, they also teach the viewers how-to-do. Overall, this research sheds light on the life circumstances of these housewives, the path to knitting online, and the effects of Internet use on their lives. Thus, it will be seen how Internet use at home motivates them in terms of economic, social, and cultural aspects through knitting online.

Keywords: Virtual etnography; knitting; Turkish women; housewife; YouTube

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PROLOGUE: *"The Story of My Life"*

"Do we have any better way to organize such wildly disparate experiences as a half-remembered crocodile, a dead great-aunt, the smell of coffee, a scream from Iran, a bumpy landing, and a hotel room in Cincinnati, than the narrative – an immensely flexible technology, or life strategy, which if used with skill and resourcefulness presents each of us with that most fascinating of all serials, The Story of My Life" (Le Guin,1989:p.42)

When I was a university student in Istanbul, I visited my home in Bursa and learned about the economic hardship of my aunt. Hence, I felt that something had to be done and I played the game by its rules: At my aunt's home; two older female cousins and my elder sister were knitting socks in the living room while our mothers were talking about domestic responsibilities. I was trying to understand how to knit because I thought that they would sell them to a textile factory. Nonetheless, I cannot say I was a successful knitter because the heating stove and the odour of burned orange on it had already made me drowsy. Moreover, my sister and I stayed there overnight; my aunt came into the room to check our quilt, whether it covered us or not. Everything was as it should be to make us feel safe. Yet, the next day was quite surprising. When I was expecting to go to the bazaar to have fun with my cousins, I found myself selling the socks on the street with no legal permit. Fortunately, we earned some money even though running away from the city police was not very fun when they discovered us selling without a permit.

In December 2018, I was a graduate student at Lund University in Sweden. It was a time when I was looking for a fun indoor activity during the cold winter, and I also learned that I was going to become an aunt. Thus, I eagerly started to search for the sock knitting patterns for my sister's baby. And, I found a video of "Ayten-ish Knitting" on YouTube. She looked like my female elders with her traditional cotton hijab. However, rather than being timid, she was self-assuredly talking to her audiences in a live broadcast while getting messages from all over the world in diverse languages. Her rhetoric was pleasant, courageous, and encouraging towards women. Therefore, she made me think about the impacts of knitting online by women living in a conservative society and inspired me to write this thesis.

CHAPTER I

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Introduction

Turkey is a country that has maintained cultural diversity during history as a result of having a transcontinental geopolitical position. Therefore, Turkey in the 21st century is socially and culturally the synthesis of the heritage of the Ottoman Empire, with Islamic constituents, and of Western Civilization acquired during the founding process of the Republic of Turkey (Kongar,2006:p.15). More particularly, the conditions of women in Turkey have been formed by this dichotomization between Western and Eastern values. Historically, as Turkish women have been deprived of a public domain through male-dominated traditions, they mostly lacked the position of authority when considering gender equality (Bingöl, 2014). However, it is also possible to see Turkish women who follow the necessities of the time alongside traditions. Also, some Turkish women are today highly educated and lead lives that are rather similar to the lives of women in Western Europe.

The focus of this thesis is Turkish "housewives" who are involved in YouTube through their knitting practices. Although many people in Turkey use the Internet, it may come as a surprise that "housewives" use the Internet to promote themselves and their handicrafts despite that Turkish traditions often consider women as belonging to the domestic sphere. However, to comprehend the condition of women in Turkey today, we need to consider that their labour force participation rate is very low (Karabıyık, 2012). While women working without being employed and getting paid in the agricultural sector are counted as labourers, housewives are omitted from the counting even though some of them work in the informal sectors (Toksöz, 2016). Consequently, this situation makes us understand that female labour force is defined according to their presence in the public sphere rather than according to their economic incomes and actual work. In general, if a woman is a housewife, she is to some extent invisible since Turkish women are seen as belonging to their homes and primarily having domestic responsibilities (Acar-Savran, & Tura, 2008: pp.10-12).

On the other hand, in a global era, the division between public and private spheres becomes indistinct. In particular, the Internet can make private life public. As will become clear in this thesis, the Internet, as a public domain, can give the "housewives" opportunities to express themselves and get an income even if they are excluded from the official accounts of the labour force. Today, it estimated that 72.9% of society uses the Internet in Turkey. The rate of male users is 80.4% while that of females is 65.5% (TUIK, 2018)[1]. Furthermore, in 2017, even if data shows that the Internet use of Turkish males (51.2%) is higher than that of Turkish females (33.5%) in terms of getting connected with the public authorities; statistics show a gap between the amount of daily Internet use of Turkish females and that of their use linked to public services (TUIK, 2018)[2]. This implies that women use the Internet mostly for other things than communicating with authorities.

In present-day Turkey, the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP), an Islamist and conservative party, promotes the role of women as a 'home-maker' (Dedeoglu, 2013). Therefore, the Turkish women and their income-earning activities online that I focus on in this thesis ironically remain invisible and are not considered as being part of the official labour statistics even despite that they have a world-wide audience of followers. Ayten who has a channel on YouTube introduces herself with the following statements in one of her videos:

> "*Hello ladies, welcome to my channel! Today, I want to meet you. I am a 43-year-old housewife. I've opened this channel to share my knitting activities with you. However, there are some important points for us [YouTubers], such as the number of subscribers, the duration of watching, comments and likes. If you care for these, we will help and support each other.*" [translated by Seyda]

While Ayten describes herself as a housewife, she also adopts a collective identity as a YouTuber with the emphasis of "us". As she aims to share her handicraft skills to her audiences, she additionally mentions the detailed ways to get support via the webcast on YouTube, which is a social media platform that gives users the

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[1,2] For the details, there can be looked at table 1 and table 2 in the appendix.

possibility to get income. They can earn money according to the number of views, especially average view duration, and the advertisements positioning correlative to their popularity by the YouTube administration. Also, she can get a chance to explain herself and to get contact with the others who reach her channel.

The purpose of this thesis is to research how Turkish "housewives" experience and find opportunities in the digital space. In particular, the main research question of the thesis is:

How is YouTube used by Turkish knitter 'housewives'
to increase different forms of capital?

Specific research questions:
1. What triggers Turkish women to knit online?
2. What differences are there between Turkish housewives knitting online and their offline peers? (for example, women keeping to themselves while neighbourhood women meet in groups, refocusing social relationships)
3. How does Internet use connected to knitting affect their lives and viewpoints?
4. How do the videos of knitting on YouTube show and interact with their socio-cultural values and norms?

The understanding of housewifery may differ according to socio-cultural background. In this thesis, when using the term "housewife" I refer to the concept in its most general sense: "a woman who does not work outside the home and whose main job is taking care of her children, cooking, cleaning, etc." (Cambridge online dictionary, n.d.). Also, "the different forms of capital" in the main question denotes Bourdieu's theoretical framework, which I will discuss in-depth in the theoretical chapter. This thesis builds on a virtual ethnography that I have carried out with the intent to learn the experiences of the Turkish housewives knitting on YouTube (see Methods chapter). That means that I have conducted in-depth interviews online via video chat with eight Turkish female participants to complement my observations and analyses of their videos on YouTube. As far as I know, there is no earlier study

about these Turkish housewife knitters. Therefore, this study will contribute and give further insight to research on women's use of the Internet, particularly YouTube's facilities.

Thesis structure

Below, I will mention existing literature about crafting on YouTube, selling the crafts online by stay-at-home mothers and discussions around these activities. In chapter 2, due to the age of participants (ranging from age 26 to 48 with an average of 37), there will be given an overview about being a woman in Turkey since the 1970s within the functioning of the society in terms of political, socio-economical, and technological aspects. Chapter 3 will discuss the methodology comprising virtual ethnography. There will be an explanation of how the research was conducted, giving information on the interaction between the digital era and individuals' daily lives, and philosophical interrogation based on the consciousness of the experiences. In chapter 4, there will be a theoretical framework, essentially based on Bourdieu, Bhabha, Papacharissi, and Goffman. Chapter 5 will describe the conceptual framework comprised of the interviews and virtual observation after the presentation of the informants. Related to that, information about interviewees will be given regarding research questions after a presentation of the informants. In chapter 6, theoretical analysis will take place concerning the theoretical and conceptual framework. Lastly, chapter 7 will discuss comparisons with previous studies, a summative conclusion of the arguments in the thesis, and recommendations for future research.

Existing research about women knitting online

As mentioned, there is no study providing a perspective on knitting women represented on YouTube, but there are studies of rather similar phenomena in different cultural context. These are the rise of stay-at-home mothers' businesses online in the US (Ioffe, 2010) and the emergence of "mompreneurs" in the UK (Ekinsmyth, 2011). According to Cultural Geographer Ekinsmyth (2011) the definition of mompreneur is:

"*an individual who discovers and exploits new business opportunities within a social and geographical context that seeks to integrate the demands of motherhood and business-ownership*" (p.105).

According to the research of Sociologist White (2015:pp.33-64) "Working eBay and Etsy: Selling Stay-at-Home Mothers" based on the American women who are crafting at home and selling their products online, most of the women, including single mothers, have steered away from their careers to home-based businesses in order to be able to spend time with their kids. Online marketing of handmade crafts seems like a part of a cultural trend in the US. Moreover; even though e-work style provides women with economic empowerment and the opportunity to build a connection with other women having similar interests and concerns, these women are also under the pressure of being sellers in the online marketplace by overworking to be distinguished within the competitive selling system in eBay[3] and Etsy[4]. However, apart from their labour conditions along with their domestic roles, comprehending their stance also becomes significant within the changing and complex relationship between domesticity and femininity among stay-at-home mothers. Unlike some feminist arguments, critical of the domestic responsibilities of women, these women profit from their traditional roles. By the same token, there also exists on-going discussion related to the home-based work of women within information and communication technologies (ICTs). While the European Union policies assume that teleworking [working at home] is 'family-friendly' and has an effect to reduce gender inequality, Sociologists Greenhill and Wilson (2006) criticise these policies by arguing that a labour-orientated perspective by Marxist approaches is necessary to disclose women's situations within familial relationships. Although temporal and spatial flexibility is offered to women in ICTs, traditional gender roles remain.

Moreover, Gauntlett (2011), who is a communication scholar, has scrutinized how publishing the crafting process online provides creativity, connection, and

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[3] eBay is an online shopping site that's best known for its auctions and consumer to consumer sales" ("eBay,"2019).
[4] "Etsy connects people looking for unique goods with independent sellers around the world" ("Etsy,"2019).

personal happiness in his book "Making is Connecting: The social meaning of creativity, from DIY and knitting to YouTube and Web 2.0". However, while he has been analysing the use of YouTube based on the creative activities building on philosophy, history, and politics, he does not touch upon the gender aspects. Furthermore, concerning these studies, YouTube has a different structure than eBay and Etsy in many aspects. Firstly, women do not need to sell their products to earn money on YouTube. Even though they have an option to do so without a mediator, they make money based on the numbers of views of the videos they have uploaded. Besides that, we will see how the Turkish case is both similar and different to the studies mentioned above; the reasons to be involved in the digital space in Turkey may be different than that of women living in the UK and US regarding socio-cultural distinctions. Therefore, as distinct from the research done already mentioned, my thesis conducted through virtual ethnography will be based on the triggers for working at home by the use of digital space according to Turkish housewives knitting on YouTube, who also have language barriers in using foreign-based online marketing websites like eBay and Etsy. Additionally, their motivations to knit online will be discussed regarding the specific social and cultural aspects of my informants' lives.

CHAPTER II

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Background: Being a woman in Turkey since the 1970s

In the 1970s (when the rural population was higher than the urban population in Turkey), founding and maintaining a patriarchal extended or nuclear family was essential for most regardless of if they lived in rural or urban areas (Duben, 2012:pp.67-79). According to a national survey carried out in 1968, 67 per cent of Turkish marriages were arranged by the couples' parents (Kandiyoti, & Kandiyoti, 1987). Remarriage was acceptable, particularly for men, and divorce rates were very low. Also, political authorities usually emphasized the importance of family in society and initiated making arrangements to establish a ministry of family. Further to that, back then, people had been motivated to keep family relations to have economic support in case of high inflation, unemployment, and ill-pay. Another motivation for maintaining the family structure for Anatolian peasants was that they were engaged in agriculture for cereal production by family labour with primitive technology. Moreover, the educational level of most people in the countryside was low and if there was a school nearby, girls' attendance was not prioritised (Özbay, 1998).

Patriarchal structures

The segregation between women and men were quite sharp among the peasants. While men were mostly spending their time outside, women were usually at home. Boys were treated as the future owners of the land, whereas parents kept in mind that girls were one day going to their husbands' houses, to "strangers", as daughters-in-law (Duben, 2012:pp.109-111). Social Anthropologist Kandiyoti (2013:pp.119-127) calls this structure *classical patriarchy*, even though the older women having become mother-in-law establish superiority over the young brides. This means that women's status changes through the process of women's lifecycle. While the affection between husband and wife should not be shown in public, the relationship between a mother and her grown up son was often stronger than that between husband and wife. Thus, if there was a conflict between a woman and her husband's mother, the husband often took the side of his mother, not of his wife.

This is because if the father having authority punishes the son, the mother would have protected her son's advantage. It has been related that the mother sees her son as an assurance in the future when she was going to be a widow or elder (ibid.:pp.28-30). Hence, within the system of classic patriarchy, in addition to the age-related hierarchy, there appears *bargaining with patriarchy* [as a collaboration between superior and subordinate] which means that women promise their obedience and honour in exchange for livelihood (Kandiyoti,1988). Regarding this, Aksu (2010:p.100) emphasizes that women's practices are constrained by spatial borders; their home and the closest neighbourhood and village. The activities of women are defined by unpaid work falling into the category of caring such as nurturance, organizing, and sustainability of daily life. Also, this traditional system comprises the basis shaping the 'ideal woman' through their connection with men: obedient, passive, less mobile, having limited space. However, even though there is generally a hopeless narrative on behalf of rural women in the society, it is also significant to mention their forms of resistance in private life. Regarding this, Sirman (1993) mentions how rural women who are seen as subordinate have an active role in the marriage and family. Regarding the division of labour on the farm based on gender; while men play a role in the decision-making process and outdoor works, manual labour is supplied by women whether unpaid family worker or paid worker. Therefore, to get work somewhere else or to find a female worker for the family farm, the social identity of woman in the network of women within solidarity is substantial. Thus, according to good reputation of her in the community, her family is able to sustain their livelihood. Further to that, her recognition also maintains her family's dignity by means of finding a decent bride for their son or being known well of her daughter by the boys' mothers.

Differentiation of the structure of domination

The migration from rural to urban areas or abroad in Turkey accelerated during the last decades of the 20th century due to the mechanisation of agriculture, increasing demand of domestic and foreign labour, and the difficulties to survive economically on agriculture (Özbay, 1998). Yet, this transformation has not much changed the existing gender inequality. Instead, it has amplified the socioeconomic

stratification among men in compliance with their assets. And, the position of women has been dependent on that of men in terms of the social and economic context. Still, the free time of women is less in comparison with men. Women have mostly been busy by doing housework and working on farms during the harvest seasons without pay (Kandiyoti, 2013:pp.30-32). However, while women living in rural areas and working free of charge without social security in the agricultural sector have been counted in the labour force, after the migration to the cities, those women having become housewives have been excluded from the scope of labour force (Önder, 2013). Further to that, according to Özbay's analysis (as cited in Acar-Savran, 2013:p.41), between 1950 and 1980, to be an 'urban housewife' was a dream for the females living in the villages due to the fact that they wanted to escape from the heavy workload in the rural areas and the authority of the elder woman in the family.

In the 1980s; as a result of new market forces, capitalisation of the countryside, and economic marginalization, Kandiyoti (2013:pp.137-138) states that the collapse of classical patriarchy began. Regarding this, younger men migrating to the urban areas with their families started to become independent from their fathers. It also meant that women expecting to be mother-in-laws could not be surrounded by obedient brides later on. Moreover, while men felt disappointed and ashamed due to their inability to perform the traditional roles as a breadwinner, women felt threatened because the increase of their spatial mobility linked to a paid job.[5] Due to the fact that women were working both inside and outside, they were 'open to the public' and so they used symbolic tools -for instance, wearing headscarves and simply styled clothes out of doors- showing that they were still modest and deserved to be protected. Thus, bargaining with the patriarchy has been reorganized (ibid:p.139; Kandiyoti, 1988; Kandiyoti, 1993). Also, Aksu (2010:pp. 97-110) states that there is also a change in bargain with patriarchy due to the fact that women having more space in comparison with before (mostly because of the

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[5] In this case, Aksu (2010:pp.124-130) mentions in her research about the process of hiring domestic workers that how habitus differences (especially resulting from the differences of economic and cultural capitals) among women create a division between 'housework' and 'homemaking' according to the work physical or mental.

migration from rural areas to the cities) look for jobs in a secret way from their husbands due to the increasement of the field of vision, desires, and power. To be precise, women's employment is framed by the women's workload at home, women's coping strategies against the inequalities in the house, and the process of the decision mechanism in the family (Kandiyoti, 2013:pp.140-145). Moreover, as explained before about the active role of rural women against the generalizing their experiences due to patriarchal structure, urban women also should not be seen as passive. In the cities, women come together with other women and experience the spatial differentiation within growing mobility. Thus, women gradually become visible by the effects of economic, social and political changes across the world on Turkish society. They become involved in politics for social and economic rights through the media (Dursun, 2011), and in women associations operating against domestic violence (Yüksel,1993).

Political aspects: Modernization within contradictions

It should be mentioned that socio-economic differences created some variations between women. While many women in poor communities were dependent on the men and under their control; in a wealthy family structure, women often had more free time to get an education and to be involved in controlling the property (Kandiyoti, 2013:pp.127-137). Yet, the minority of elite women who could have gotten a university education or a profession since the establishment of the secular Republic (1923) were just the 'window-dressing of Turkey' (Tekeli, 2004). On the other hand, as Abadan-Unat mentions (as cited in Sirman, 1993) the rural women, who were unaware of the civil, social, and political rights the Republic provided for women, were treated as a "second-class citizen" due to their lack of education. Because during the establishment of the Republic, attempts were made to reduce the influences of Islam and gender segregation in public and private life through either policies or educational institutions. However, even though there were noticeable efforts to be democratic as much as being secular, the Islamic groups were repressed (Arat,1993). Therefore, between 1920 and 1945, the "state's feminism" having limited impact on the society had been expressed as the definition of Turkish woman as a secular and educated woman, a mother raising beautiful

children for the nation, and an ideal wife (Alkan, & Çakır, 2017). However, by the labour movement in Turkey, having been influenced by the protests of 1968 in Europe, women showed themselves in the left-wing through founding a women's association in 1975 (Tekeli, 2004). The political power, which emerged after the military coup in 1980, kept society under surveillance and implicitly allowed the emergence of Islamic groups. Hence, women began to appear within the Islamic movement, particularly in resistance to the headscarf ban. Thus, modernist elites of the Republic were under risk due to the power of this elite Islamic group. By the politics of identity that emerged then, the concept of feminism and politics for women have become dissociated through the symbols of political Islam and of the identity of Kemalism [the ideology of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of Turkish Republic, rooted in nationalism and secularism]. To be precise, the modern feminist woman idea is at odds with the political ideas. Therefore, in the process of modernization by interacting with the West, identities in Turkey, as in other Muslim countries in the Middle East, have taken form within contradictions (Durakbaşa, 2013:pp.33-38).

Nowadays in Turkey: Women and Internet use

Feminist ideologies have affected women in Turkey, especially since around 1985. However, women in the feminist movement of Turkey have begun to question the patriarchal mechanism on women by an intersectional perspective within differences of sexuality, ethnic group and socio-economic class since 2000 (Sancar, 2011; Alkan, & Çakır, 2017). Additionally, many campaigns by non-governmental initiatives have initiated education for girls up until today and thus, a high proportion of girls now get at least primary education. Yet, even though the rate of higher education for girls is closer to the general ratio in Turkey (Özaydınlık, 2014), as Karabıyık (2012) states it can be said that Turkey falls behind the world (51.2% in 2010) with regards to the female labour force with 24% of women working. Also, gender-based division of labour can be seen by looking at the scope of labour force. Two out of three women are exempted from the labour force by being categorized as "housewife" by virtue of home tasks and family matters. (Toksöz, 2016). The part-time, flexible, or low-income jobs lacking social security

within neoliberal working arrangements are labelled by the government as 'contribution to family budget' to increase participation of women in the labour force. The government calls that as a pro-gender in the workforce. However, due to the fact that the policies have been formed within the viewpoints supposing woman as a wife, daughter or mother, so any facilities such as care service for children, regulations or institutions to alleviate women's responsibility are not offered to women. Instead, they have triggered the emergence of uninsured and informal labour for females such as cleaning, cooking or stitching and knitting piecework. Thus, because of the uncertain nature of day labour, those women have problems defending their rights (Özar, & Yakut-Cakar, 2013). Furthermore, in particular, the Internet penetration in Turkey is a great part of the users in geographical Europe by only 7.9% after Germany, France and Russia. For instance, in Turkey, the usage of Facebook considered as a website of Web 2.0 [the characterization of user-generated content by the growth of social media], is at the highest quantity by 44 million throughout Europe (Internet World Statistics, 2019). Especially since the Gezi Park Protests emerged in June 2013 in Turkey, it has been noticed that social media could have been a major role to revive the social movements through communication online insomuch that Prime Minister Erdoğan regarded Twitter as responsible for demonstrations (Hutchinson, 2013)[6]. However, while the number of female and male participants were close to each other; two out of three people having learned of the demonstrations from the Internet were men (KONDA, 2014). Yet, it is also seen that the internet use of females in Turkey is on the rise, in particular, through their protests online about male-dominant policies and discourses of government about women. Thus, they have succeeded to some extent to catch the attention to problems of women (Kaya, 2018).

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[6] Also, during recent years, it has been noticed that the contents on the Internet and social media have been controlled by the Turkish government. Besides having no access to Wikipedia at all, Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube have occasionally been blocked by the authorities (The Economist, 2018). In addition to that, some social media users have been arrested due to their social media posts comprising criticism about the government and military forces (Human Rights Watch, 2018).

CHAPTER III

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In-On-Off the Field: Methodology

Today's Ethnography within the E^3 Internet

Ethnography conducted digitally has become a burgeoning method among ethnographers. It is used to understand people through technological advancements, affecting many aspects of social life (O'Reilly, 2009: pp.215-220). In particular, the Internet is now perceived to be vital to humans as a sensory organ for perceiving the world. While perceptions related to authenticity, privacy, mediation, security, and sociality are affected by the use of the Internet; having an online identity within extended daily life amidst the popular and ubiquitous presence of social media has inevitably let people live in a new-dimensioned world having almost no offline lives (Miller et al., 2016:pp.100-113). Therefore, Hine's explanation (2015) of the Internet scope as an 'embedded, embodied and everyday' phenomenon which is termed as the E^3 Internet, in short, is an important concept to conduct a virtual ethnography. To be precise, within the change of the spatial understanding by the use of the Internet, there is no sharp distinction between online and offline or between there and here. Thus, by the Internet embodied in the moment, the perceptions of the individuals having different backgrounds have been interactively shaped. Because of its accessibility, mobility, practicality, and ubiquity, the Internet is used by many people on a daily basis (Ibid, pp:32-54).

However, ethnography for the E^3 Internet requires to look through the way of characterization and conditions. Hence, following the connections to have a holistic approach is critical by keeping the emergent structure of digital space in mind. Regarding the changeability, annihilation, and uncertainty of digital data; researchers should be adaptable and acknowledge that there is no one-side to the Internet. It is context-related within several circumstances (Ibid, pp.85-88). Related to the importance of content and complexity of communication, 'thick description' explicated by Geertz (as cited in Hogan, 2013) should be kept in mind: To better understand the relations and meanings in online venues, we should look at their constructions created within society. Anthropological approaches cannot be

narrowed to a participant observation at the every moment. Thus, virtual ethnography is valuable within its analytical perspective to comprehend the actual practices in their coherence (Horst, 2012: pp.72-74).

Virtual Ethnography and Phenomenology

Phenomenology is a philosophical approach which was founded by philosopher Edmund Husserl asking questions about human consciousness. His "transcendental philosophy", based on the critique of naturalism through the explanation of the reflexive constitution, explicates the reality differentiating within the social and cultural conditions. Hence, his philosophy has made scholars in social and human sciences think about the 'everyday life' of human beings, which they already try to comprehend (Öktem, 2005). Further to that, regarding the emergence of the digital era, since methodology has evolved to understand the effects of the virtual media in the everyday life of individuals associated with the perception of the world, phenomenological investigations have appeared (Richardson, & Keogh, 2016).

Regarding the interaction between online and offline lives today, the importance of "adaptive ethnography" (Hine, 2000:pp.154-156) has explained within its multi-sided structure by Hine (2015), due to the fact that "ontological diversity" has emerged within technology use:

> "This approach dwells on the importance of the ethnographer's developing sensitivity to the various possibilities of connection that different modes of presence and interaction offer, and argues for the importance of attention to the varying texture of social existence" (p.15).

At this point, as Richardson and Keogh (2015) have mentioned, phenomenology is effective to understand the intertwined connections between humans, the environment, and the digital world within the notions of 'relationality' by Gibson and 'intercorporeality' by Merleau-Ponty. According to Gibson (2014:pp.119-135); relationality between the organism and the environment is bonded to "affordance". While a living being sees something, it actually means that (s)he/it sees what can be doable. Therefore, individuals can perceive the environment in accordance with

its functionality and expediency for them. Correlatively, there is coordination between behaviour and environment. Moreover, Merleau-Ponty (2002:pp.240-273) has stated the importance of subjectivity and corporality in perception. Yet, perceptions related to the connection or experience with a thing cannot also be thought without a space or ground. Hence, the subject through the body perceives the thing within its composition in interaction. Thus, to be precise, persons' holistic phenome-nological viewpoints are useful to conceive the structure of the digital world, which is embodied and embedded in daily lives of the individuals, within virtual ethnography.

Engage with the field by Virtual Ethnography

YouTube as a video-sharing program consisting of hypermedia, with visuality, textuality and link directions. It uses "pull technology", which means that users need to have an account and they can organize what they want to follow to be informed from the channels freely rendering service to the public. The video has to be attractive to new users but also uses its own fanbase as marketing through sharing (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2010). For this study, I have been prompted to conduct a virtual ethnography due to a couple of reasons. First of all, according to preliminary research by covertly (as not showing my presence) looking at the profile of female knitters on YouTube, the potential participants as housewives knitting online live in the different regions of Turkey. Trying to meet all of them is costly and needs more time than the thesis writing duration comprised. More than that, due to the fact that the place they meet and represent themselves is a digital platform, to get in contact with and analyse their connection seemed more feasible and appropriate through the Internet. This situation grounded on certain reasons lends credence to Hine's statement (2015) "Ethnography is purposive rather than passive: however, it is not "adaptive" in the sense that we just do what the field tells us to, but rather, we actively adapt our strategies in order to explore something in particular" (p.54). I have watched many videos that female knitters have uploaded until April 2019, looked through the comments on the videos, and conducted qualitative interviews with eight of them. Hence, I embrace the narrative approach, meaning "[to] focus on the individual as the ultimate bearer of change"

(Polkinghorne, 1988:p.57), during the analysis of the interviews. Considering how integral of the observation of the videos on YouTube to the general analysis, I adopted the iterative-inductive approach. As Karen O'Reilly (2009:p.21) explains, iterative-inductive ethnography comprising the emergent themes during the research by iteratively reflecting the knowledge gotten during the process, helped me to grasp connectivity between the online and offline acts of the participants.

The selection of participants and sampling of cases

As I have already mentioned in the prologue, *Ayten-ish Knitting* inspired me to prepare this study. I searched by using some keywords such as 'knitting', 'knitting patterns', 'yarn' in Turkish. And, thanks to the infrastructure of YouTube, the relevant YouTube videos were shown to me through the recommendation section on the left side of the page. Thus, I could watch many of the videos of knitting by Turkish females. And, consequently, I had overtly (as being open with my identity) tried to get in contact with 27 Turkish women knitting on YouTube by virtual communication media, namely email services, and the comment sections of YouTube and Instagram.

At first, I preferred to send e-mail to give detailed information about who I am, what I aim for and how the conditions of interview would be managed. However, although I tried to contact women through e-mail, I only received one answer at first (by Leyla[7]). Hence, I had to change my strategy. Then, I started to ask for an e-mail address they use to give them more details after shortly describing my thesis project, in the comment section of their most recently uploaded YouTube videos. In this way, I sent an e-mail which was already prepared as a main draft. Yet, some of them wanted to talk through other instant messaging platforms such as Instagram Direct Message, Whatsapp and Facebook Messenger. After connecting by email address, just one of them (Ayten) accepted to be interviewed. Thus, I realized that direct connection online would not give a positive response in a short time. It encouraged me to use the snowball method and I asked Ayten for other connections. Therefore, she added me to a Whatsapp Group with six

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[7] The names used here are not the real names of the participants.

YouTuber women that she is in daily connection with. It was obvious that she told them my aim beforehand because five of them pleasantly accepted to interview with me. In addition to that, three of them separately made contact with another four YouTuber women having included the one I tried to contact before by email and YouTube comment. One of them accepted to be interviewed.

Overall, according to the outcomes of my attempts to make connections with YouTuber women on the Internet, it is seen that I did not get any rejection in front of their account audiences' eyes. However, I did not get a significant positive outcome as well. Rather, except two of the interviews (by Leyla and Ayten), the rest, namely six of them were made thanks to the mediations of participants. For that, the first circle of the chain was built with Ayten. Thus, I used snowball sampling, which is also known as "chain referral sampling" (Mack, 2005:p.5), even though this was not my original aim. Yet, gaining trust to have access for being recommended to interview also needs familiarity and time (O'Reilly, 2009:pp.199-200). However, in addition to those criteria comprising distinct perspectives on time and sociality in digital space, these particularities during the process eased the process of gaining trust: use of the university address to get connection, topic of the research, simple and clear questions during the interview, and Ayten's present popularity.

Seven interviews were carried out on Skype. One of them (Zehra) had been done through Whatsapp because of restrictions on her Internet quota. They were all informed that the interviews were going to be recorded and saved. Thus, the interviews done on Skype were recorded using Call Recorder of Skype. The online voice recorder was used for the interview done by Whatsapp call. In total, records of the interviews are fourteen hours and their transcriptions are about 85 pages in Microsoft Word.[8] To try and build a face-to-face relationship in the conversation, I asked them to use web cameras. Since I was researching their YouTube channels to watch their videos before the interviews, I already knew that five of them (Kevser, Burcu, Zehra, Pervin, Cemile) do not show their faces on their videos.

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[8] Regarding page calculation, only the women's statements are written by the setting of Times New Roman 12 point font, 1.5 spaced within the standard page margins.

They merely show their hands and talk about knitting; while Leyla, Ayten and Melek show their upper bodies and sometimes talk about other topics as well. Hence, I thought they would refuse an interview on camera. Yet, only one of them (Pervin) hesitated to use a web camera during the interview, telling me that she was not in good appearance. Therefore, it can be said that trust was already gained in a sense. The impact of the acquaintances was substantially determinant on that. Sometimes, also, during the interview, there were men of the family listening to us. Leyla's son was behind the camera during our Skype talk. And, the husbands of Ayten and Kevser interfered during the interview without appearing in the camera. Burcu's spouse walked behind her and showed himself.

Eight in-depth interviews were carried out, using a semi-structured interview guide. The methodology I used in the research is specifically related to its effectiveness in "obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviours, and social contexts of particular populations" (Mack, 2005:p.1). Thus, 22 main questions and related sub-questions were asked. Semi-structured interviewing is a useful technique in qualitative research, particularly in ethnographic researches, because it allows the researcher to direct the interviewees to the research aim but also gives room for flexibility. However, it is also important that the researcher should prepare the questions in a way as to not affect the participants' answers. By keeping in mind the background of the person being interviewed in terms of their socio-economic and socio-cultural positions to clarify the conversation is significant. Thus, researchers should observe and approach related circumstances during the interview. Related to this, providing a sense of sincerity, naturalism and a feeling of trust are also effective during the interview (Bray, 2008). For instance, when I was interviewing Leyla, according to my observation of her body language such as her hesitant talking and stiff sitting she was initially really shy. Yet, it turned out we had a similar sense of humour which helped me during the interview.

On the other hand, they all have mentioned about their online activities next to their daily housework. Therefore, related to the virtual ethnography by the approach of Hine (2015), which I have adopted here, I have tried to follow the

connections between online and offline. It embraces the connections between being an online 'housewife' in terms of having everyday tasks, and representation of society-rooted values and norms in an embodied way through embedded tools. For instance, they are mostly doing housework while the videos are being uploaded. And, watching online videos as a way of virtual anthropology which renders how socio-cultural patterns can be symbolized by an accessory or being carried within a word. That can be understood by giving some example from my observations. For instance; after I watched many videos of Cemile's hands knitting, she told me that she is a divorced woman during the interview. Yet, I was pretty sure that she was wearing a wedding ring on her left hand in her all videos. Therefore, I asked her if there is a specific reason to do it. Then, I learned that she wears wedding ring to protect herself from the gossips of the neighbourhood because she is divorced. Also, the frequency and intensity of the religious words which they all use in their videos made me informed about their religious beliefs.

Reflexivity

In general, during the interviews, I mostly tried to be a good listener. Because, firstly, I had noticed that they want to talk about their ideas. At this point, reflexivity in terms of how the researcher's attitudes, doings and reactions may have an impact on the field should be kept in mind (Della Porta & Keating, 2008:p.25). Regarding this, I noticed that my question "Do you think that knitting online as a Turkish woman gives you a mission?" was not in their thoughts. Because they do not have an environment or experience to think and to analyse themselves specifically as a 'Turkish woman' or 'Turkish housewife'. To be precise, none of them has built a relationship with a foreigner in that sense. However, the possibility of having a mission as a Turkish woman publicly performing in online space has been revolving around my mind due to my experiences and thoughts. Therefore, it should also be embraced that my position has affected my choice for the topic and approach for this study. As a female member of Turkish society while living in an international place like Lund and thinking about effects of globalisation, having come across other Turkish women online through a traditional activity has given me the idea to look at the interaction between 'online' and 'offline' places for them.

Moreover, besides acknowledging that my position is one which would not have emerged naturally, a detailed self-critique is needed herein related to how my attitude has been towards the topic, participants, and data. It can be stated that I have an advantage to understand the process of knitting because I knit as well. Yet, it also should be kept in mind that the process to learn to knit is different for us. Because I have many differences with them even though it is seen that I have similarities with them by being a woman born in Turkey and having lived there for 26 years. Seven of the interviewees are from another older generation than me but all have experienced marriage unlike me. Except one woman, they have not had any education higher than high school. None of them have experienced Europe. Nonetheless, their profiles are familiar to me, because I am the daughter of a woman who could not get educated although she wanted to due to the fact that her father believed in the superiority of males. Therefore, by the justification of that she could not protect her honour [essentially his family's honour] without a man, my grandfather married her off to my dad when she was 17 years old. Additionally, during the time period that my parents had financial hardship, she was mostly at home and had been knitting to get income. Thus, through her advice and my own observations, I have been raised while getting a perspective that a woman should have a profession to be independent. Therefore, when I faced those Turkish women who have knit online, I got excited about the digital space in case the Internet gives a chance to a woman staying home to have economic independence, improve their skills and reach out farther. However, during the research, their feeling of responsibility for the house works, which still has to be maintained, has forced me to think more about independency of a woman positioned in the socio-cultural context of the society.

As it is seen that during the process of the research, even though being totally objective and/or neutral is impossible, it is the responsibility of the investigator to come as close as possible. In this manner, I tried to not make a comment about my informants' statements. Also, I made an effort to not show any specific gestures or facial expressions except displaying that I was actively listening to them. When I felt a need to get a detailed response, I tended to give an example from socially

prevalent cases on the media. Luckily, all the interviewed women were talkative and wanted to explain their positions. At this point, as a researcher, to share a common mother tongue with the participants provides convenience in a sense to understand the implicit meanings of statements being culture-bound and specific to the society. Thus, the conversations could go deeper and expressive by sub-questions.

Ethical considerations

Besides researches in general, ethnographic studies take into consideration the ethical approach as the main concern due to its being done within individuals, communities and societies. During the ethnography, mostly the way of asking questions is important as to be transparent, neutral, and clear to get proper answers. Also, it is crucial to ask for permission regarding personal information. Researchers should assure confidentiality and give this sense to the informants (Bray, 2008). Related to that, AoIR guidelines (Markham, & Buchanan, 2012) prepared by Association of Internet Researchers Ethics Working Committee have been used at the present, while it is also being acknowledged that it is an on-going frame, and not static regarding updates of the technology and the Internet use. Regarding that, by considering that human subjects being in a place comprising the fluidity of private-public distinction, it should be kept in mind that data is affected by multi-directional factors, even implicitly by infrastructure. Also, the context of the field should be taken into account in terms of perceptions of the society, vulnerabilities of the individuals, and influences of the research. During the process of this research, I have tried to be clear, reliable and respectful to the personal privacy and safety. Hence, even though I have gotten informants' verbal consents to disclose and to analyse their words; by taking into consideration socio-cultural and political sensitivities in Turkey, and the probability of fallibility in translations from Turkish to English, I have preferred to anonymise their names to provide the participants' safety. I have chosen the research method of Hine (2015), as I mentioned earlier; thus, I have tried to make a connection between the analysis of the interviewees' narratives and the empirical data that I collected by viewing their videos online.

CHAPTER IV

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Theoretical Framework

Field, capital and habitus

The sociology of Bourdieu has argued that actors behave according to an immanent practical sense, intuition, and bodily predisposition, which gives importance to the rationale of the body and practices in the social world. Therefore, Bourdieu has explained his critical notions with the metaphor of a game. According to this, *field* is the place where the game (the area of ongoing socio-economic conflict ongoing, in sociological meaning) is to be played. In time, individuals come to be familiar to the paths, which they believe take them to the end of the road with rules unquestioned [*doxa*], and the thoughts and acts of individuals to get benefits and new opportunities [*illusio*], by holding their own -economic, cultural, social, and symbolic- strength [capital]. An entirety of the common predispositions of individuals [*habitus*] is acquired as a consequence of these behaviour patterns acquired when playing the game (Bourdieu, & Wacquant,1992:pp.98-100).

Besides this metaphor; field, capital, and habitus should be explained more to understand the practices of social actors. Regarding this, while *economic capital* is based on the command of economic resources, *cultural capital* comprises the knowledge and intellectual skills of a person and *social capital* explains networks of relationships. Any type of capital can have different functions in different fields and these capitals can have different emphasis according to the conditions individuals are in. Additionally, *symbolic capital* -which comprises recognition, honour, attention, or prestige- is formed as a reflection and/or total of the capital types in practice (ibid:pp.118-120).

Moreover, society is a macro-level social space comprising abstract and concrete micro fields. Capital emerges in different forms in the social space. The formation of the field, while concomitantly habitus is being formed, and governing of the field by habitus are tightly linked to the capital structure of the field. Therefore; field, habitus, and capital should be understood holistically as they interact with each other (ibid:pp.17-19). Habitus as an embodied sociality through

social norms or a human being is the thing generating the world instead of a rational state of play. In other words, habitus comprises the established predispositions such as class, language, gender, ethnicity -which social actors acquire in a certain environment through their social experiences and therefore have in their mindsets. Thus, social reality -which is a product of the decisions, acts, and cognition of the conscious individuals- has been the built-in process. However, although social actors have an active comprehension of the world and build their perspectives, this construction takes shape under the structural restrictions such as natal features in terms of geographical position, cultural values, socio-economical status, and health conditions (Bourdieu, 2001:p.39). Yet, habitus is not a fate, due to the fact that it is a product of history; by permanently encountering new experiences and being affected by them, it is an open predispositions' system (ibid:pp.133-134). To be precise, habitus is a subjectiveness becoming socialized because of the fact that subjectivity is shaped by society. Furthermore, habitus emerging by sociality being built throughout the bodies is an enduring and transferable perception, schemas of acts and tastes. Also, body is closely linked to various social power and social inequalities being maintained. Therefore, the body is a marker of social class[9] due to three factors: social position of individual, habitus being formed, and taste being developed in a certain environment. Hence, body is an output of cultural production and reproduction even though it seems that it takes its roots from nature (Bourdieu,1996:pp.18-24). Predispositions of habitus and types and levels of the capital being held have emerged within the instrumental relations related to any practices on bodies of social classes. Culture transforms into nature through the embodiment of the individuals and after class comes into existence, taste contributes to the presence of the class (ibid: pp.56-70). Therefore, the product of habitus embodied with the bodies such as decorations, rhetoric, dialects, styles or ethical perceptions has a function as a priori language which talks without personal viewpoint (ibid:pp.172-175).

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[9] According to Bourdieu, class is a cultural category, not an origin for social analysis. Therefore, class herein, which is handled with the social, cultural, and economic capital having dynamic structure, is one of the analytical tools to analyze socio-cultural fields (Swartz,1996).

Masculine domination and symbolic violence

In history, what does everlastingly emerge is a production of interrelated institutions such as family, state, religious organizations, and educational establishments (Bourdieu, 2001:p.34). Therefore, there is a need to deconstruct the process responsible for the matter of how history is turned into nature along the socially constructed world, and how cultural arbitrariness becomes natural. Regarding gender as a category built in daily life, inherent biologic and anatomical differences between the sexes are argued as the justifications for the gender-based division of labour. The symbolic order of sexes becomes concrete as a world-view being gendered through individuals' habitus[10] (ibid:pp.8-12). Gender as an identity or as "a sexually charactarized habitus" (ibid:p.3) has gotten into people's minds and bodies through everyday experiences and desires by the sexual division of labour embodied in the sense of power relations.

As the predominant existence of the male-dominant representation is approved by the social and biological (re)production activities in societies, the "common sense" of women to put into practice within power relations becomes embedded into the objectivity. Thus, 'symbolic violence', which is indwelled into the bodies without any physical force, emerges like magic (ibid:pp.33-38). Recognition acts, which are beliefs creating symbolic violence, are practical adoption of socio-cultural domination without being articulated. The effect of symbolic domination shows itself through cognition, comprehension, and actions by means of the ethnicity, gender, culture, or language, which are the constituents of habitus, beyond the control of the will and the decisions of the conscious. In particular, the practical actions usually take form of the physical experience of feelings (shame, timidity, anxiety, guiltiness, humiliation) or passion or affection (love, respect, admiration). These can especially be seen within the relationship of the kinship. The feelings or liabilities produced by the social conditions can be maintained for a long time even though circumstances change. Also, the spatial division between men and women under masculine domination, which is socio-

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[10] Bourdieu (2001) adds annotation about that his own way of thinking is also involved in this social structure through his habitus.

historically transferred to any society -emerging as "agoraphobia"- can prompt women to move away from the public (ibid:pp.38-42).

Furthermore, as Bourdieu (2001) states, division of gender is embedded into two things: Firstly, into the division of labour towards the protection of the social and symbolic capital, which takes the main role for any exchange of honour, word, gift, or threats. Secondly, into the habitus of the leading actors in the economy of symbolic goods. The actors here are men forced by the society to get the capability and to take the games seriously, which is the determinant of the perception of "honour"; and women, who are degraded into the object of exchange. Thus, investment to the social games (illusio) makes a man "a real man" within masculinity or the perception of honour (ibid:pp.42-49). However, within the formulation of social conditioning by Bourdieu (1996) as [(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice (p.101), it should be stated that a field is simultaneously a space of conflict as if it is a "battlefield" where participants compete to monopolize the forms of capital influent there (Bourdieu, & Wacquant,1992:p.17). Therefore, the practices produced by the habitus can enable the agents to improve strategy as an "active deployment of objectively oriented 'lines of action' that obey regularities and form coherent and socially intelligible patterns, even though they do not follow conscious rules "(ibid:p.25) to cope with the challenges in the battlefield.

Internet as a Third Space

"We are not living in a global village, but in customized cottages globally produced and locally distributed" (Castells, 2010:p.370)

As Bourdieu conceptualizes the field, it is not just as a space of the relations of meanings, rather, it is a space of power relations and of the conflicts aiming to change these relations. Related to that, when today's technological advancements are taken into consideration, it is seen that the scope of the socio-cultural encounters by individuals has expanded due to the structure of technology as embedded and embodied in everyday life. Thus, cultural meanings are in a constant state of flux through the environment of the Internet transcending spatial boundaries. When considering the Internet as a culture and cultural artefact within its involvement in daily lives of people (Hine, 2000:p.14); the emphasis of Bhabha (1994) on the

distinction between cultural differentiation and cultural diversity is significant. According to him; while cultural diversity involves pre-given values, differentiation of cultures arises out of the process of cultural interpretation which "discriminate and authoritize the production of fields of force" (p.54). The latter is connected to the explanation of Bourdieu (1993) about *field* regarding cultural production: "The field of cultural production produces its most important effects through the play of the homologies between the fundamental opposition which gives the field its structure and the oppositions" (p.44). In this regard, Bhabha's concept of 'Third Space' (1994:pp.35-38), as a hybrid field which embraces the production of social values through the reciprocal and alterable cultural identity negotiations, can be useful for analyzing the interactions and activities on the Internet. To be precise, looking at the definition with his own words can be helpful:

> "Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized, and read anew" (ibid.p.37).

Moreover; the research based on the international migrants in South Korea; Kim, Yun, and Yoon, describing the characteristics of the Internet within its hybridization process (2009) remark that hybridity is not a Westernizing process or homogenizing of the cultures as it has been discussed in regard to globalization associated with the concept grounded on colonialism. Therefore, it is seen that in spite of the fact that the Third Space has not been conceptualized within a specific place at first, the Internet can play a role as a medium going beyond the local identities by the blending of socio-cultural values.

Habitus of the new: "Digital habitus"

In addition to the cultural aspects of the Internet handled by Hine (2000), Sterne (2003) explains digital media through the Internet connection as a *field* affecting the individuals' socio-cultural values by linking *habitus* and *capital* in terms of Bourdieu's perspective. As he states that "there is always a person sitting at a keyboard and staring at a computer screen" (p.381). This is because social

networking on digital platforms provides possibilities to create, transfer, and change the knowledge of social identities in a transnational way[11]. It can be mentioned that the spheres of the social media, which also enable connection ubiquitously and widely in a low-cost and fast way, are dynamic due to the fact that they comprise the capacity to create the new social forms/structures and power struggles resulting in gaining social capital (Chesters, & Welsh, 2010:pp.120-121). In addition to this, the individuals who are Internet users having different habitus exchange their online and so-called offline resources within the digital space. Thus, they can benefit from their symbolic capital by performing online beside social capital. Hence, they can increase their symbolic capital by getting popularity through their shared contents which are liked, tagged, pinned or tweeted among/by other users. As well, some of the users can turn their symbolic capital into economic capital in fashion and media (Güzel, 2016). Some skills like knitting, which has been utilized by people in different contexts changing habitus (Newman, Goulding, & Whitehead, 2013), is a cultural capital connecting people by shared activities through the Internet (Gauntlett, 2011). Moreover, to comprehend and to analyze the way of acting online and how the offline process interacts with it, Papacharissi and Easton (2013) use the term 'habitus of the new' within the perspective of Bourdieu in terms of structure and agency in the social life. Thus, within the thoughts of Papacharissi, Streeter, and Gillespie in a dialogue (2013), 'digital habitus' emerges to explain social and cultural change in the understanding of humans in daily life by regarding historical background as well. Therefore, digital habitus can not be handled as a novelty detached from the context of mediated reality. Rather, it comprises accelerated reflexivity through the habituated predispositions and practices. Additionally, after Papacharissi's argument based on the differences of the habitus of Facebook and Twitter, the intervention of Streeter with an example has more comprehensive viewpoint to think the concept more broadly:

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[11] In particular, 'transnational habitus' is used to explain the identity negotiations of the expatriates on YouTube by Chang and Chang (2019).

"...wouldn't it be something more like a middle class teenage American woman's Facebook habitus, which would be distinct from, say a middle aged Chinese person's Facebook habitus? Bourdieu's examples—class-specific and education-related tastes and competencies, etc.—typically involved highlighting social differences in habitus" (p.602).

However, it should be stated that I am hesitant to use the term "digital habitus". Because Internet use, that is prevalent in the digital era, has its interaction with the everyday life of individuals. Sterne (2003) and Hine (2000) mention that technologies as cultural artefacts are affected by habitus, which is connected to field and capital. Yet, the discussion based on "digital habitus" is useful to think about the connection between "on-line" and "off-line" lives of people today. Furthermore, when the analysis of YouTube videos is the case, there emerges a need to look at the performances enacted by the users to understand the concept of "digital habitus" which is intertwined with habitus. Performance emphasized here is related to the mediation of the embodied consciousness within acts and emotions through the social position, which is expounded in detail by Bourdieu (2004) in his study "The Peasant and His Body". At this point, his emphasis on the connection between habitus and '*tenue*', which comprises "appearance, clothing, bearing, conduct", is essential (p.579).

Performance online

Regarding social roles and acts in daily life, Goffman (1956) defines performance as: "all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers" (p.13). He also names "front" in the meaning of expression equipment reflected intentionally or unintentionally by "the performer" during the performance. Further to that, "personal front" in any setting is based on the expression items, which follows him/her in a compatible way with his/her identity. Specifically, "personal front" comprises ethnicity, skin colour, gender, looks, bodily gestures, and speech patterns, just to name a few (ibid:pp.13-15). Thus, it can be said that "personal front", which follows the doer in the context

of self-representation during the acts, corresponds to what Bourdieu explains as constituents of the habitus such as dispositions and habits. Related to this Papacharissi (2012) states that: "while performativity enables individuals to 'do' social or gender roles, it also permits, even if ephemerally, subjective claims to symbolic capital via both habitually performed and reinvented identities" (p.1991).

Moreover, online presentation of the self by the emergence of social media use becomes networked performances towards imagined audiences (ibid). Hence, related to the intermingling of the boundaries between privacy and publicness by social network sites, the users demand to get benefits, such as social capital (Ellison, Lampe, Steinfield, & Vitak, 2010). In return, the cost of their online presence comprises of shown social identity affected by the socio-cultural environment they are in. Yet, at this point, it should not be overlooked that "habitus of the new", which is already connected to habitus, also becomes involved in the component of the social identity through the hybridization of the Internet as a Third Space.

Detailed grasp of social capital via online social networking

In recent decades, the understanding of social capital has drawn the attention of scholars who try to comprehend people's relationships. In particular; three sociologists/anthropologists Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam have become an inspiration for the explanations. Especially, the definition of Putnam facilitates the comprehension of connections between people in contemporary societies (Gauntlett, 2012:pp.131-134; Field, 2003:p.40). According to Putnam (2000), social capital means "social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity - comes in many different shapes and sizes with many different uses" (p.19). Additionally, there is a division between bridging social capital and bonding social capital. As "bridging social capital" comprising weak ties with distant friends or colleagues is inclusive, it tends to consolidate the homogeneity of the groups by a sense of necessity. On the other hand, as "bonding social capital" comprising strong ties with family members or close friends is exclusive, it exists as a superglue (ibid.pp.20-22). Nonetheless, it should also be kept in mind that social capital does not function just as a 'happy' glue sticking social beings together. It can also be

directed towards purposes which are brutal, selfish or competitive instead of trustworthy or ethical purposes (ibid:pp.19-20; Gauntlett, 2012:pp.128-130).

Moreover, at this point, the differentiation between social network and social media technologies can be mentioned. While social networks can be built in different levels among the people sharing the same environment during their daily activities, the social media technologies as a medium have changed the scope of people's social network within the extended connectivity beyond geographical boundaries. Except for professional users such as journalists sharing the news, ordinary social media users can create semi-public or public profiles and connect to others, even to those who live beyond their spatial existence, through the contents they create (Murthy, 2012). Nonetheless, as it is likely seen that bridging social capital is on the rise through social media use, it also does not mean that bonding social capital cannot be created in this way.

Overall, in the theory section, the concept of habitus in connection with field and capital is defined to comprehend the lives of individuals in touch with society. By the intention of analyzing the life circumstance of Turkish housewife knitters, masculine dominance having an implicit relation with symbolic violence is explained by the perspective of Bourdieu. Then, related to the aspect of the Internet that allows people to share information globally, the notion of Bhabha, Third Space is mentioned within its hybridization characteristic in terms of the exchange of socio-cultural values. Regarding the conceptualization of the effects of Internet on individuals' lives, there is handled the concept of "digital habitus". Due to the fact that these women share their knitting videos, the individual's performance with the explanation of Goffman is addressed by referring to habitus. Last but not least, in relation with enlarging spatiality in the digital era, to explain the connection built by the means of the Internet, there is benefited from the distinction made by Putnam between 'bridging social capital' and 'bonding social capital'.

CHAPTER V

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Conceptual Framework

Presentation of the informants

Here I will give some general information about the participants which can be useful before the theoretical analysis. The personal background (age, educational and work background, marital status, first marriage age, village experience, number of kids, the existence of support)[12] and digital background (the experience period on YouTube, video numbers uploaded, the attitude about speaking online, use of social media, the number of subscribers)[13] will be written in the descending sort by consideration of the numerical density of their subscribers. The main idea herein is to easily see the differences and similarities between the informants.

Leyla is a 48-year-old woman defining herself as a 'housewife'. She is married for 28 years and has two children. She is a primary school graduate, although she wanted to continue studying after that. She has sometimes been talking online and showing her body in videos. She has been recording YouTube videos for more than two years (28 months) and currently has 214,550 subscribers. Her knittings are mostly traditional based on the clothes like socks and vests. She verbalizes that she aims to give ideas about the contents of dowry[14] for prospective brides. Also, she records her videos within her home's environment. Apart from her knitting videos, she talks for women's independency and celebrates international women's day every year. However, even though she does not hesitate to show her body, her gestures and facial expressions are shy.

Ayten is a 45-year-old woman describing herself as a 'housewife' as well. She had to get married to her cousin in the village where she lives when she was 13 years old. However, she divorced after 17 years in defiance of all the troubles rooted

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[12,13] The tables giving knowledge about the participants personal and digital background will be presented at the part of appendix by table 3 and table 4.

[14] In this study, 'çeyiz' is translated as 'dowry', an old tradition in Turkey, comprising housewares, laceworks, knits, embroideries for bride-to-be. This tradition is maintained to make a contribution to the family being built. The preparation of handiworks for çeyiz is seen as the women's responsibility towards their sons and daughters. Therefore, the goods prepared and bought are exhibited at the house of soon-to-wed couple, and women from the side of both the bride and groom gather to see çeyiz on a specific day before the wedding (Nas,2018).

in her family and remarried again after two years. In total, she has five children. She is a primary school graduate and has known how to knit since she was ten years old when she learnt from her neighbours. In addition to the job sectors she worked in such as waitering and cookery; knitting has allowed her to earn money for most of the time. She has been recording YouTube videos for more than four years (56 months) and her husband has helped her in knitting and technical issues. She has often talked online and is showing herself in videos. She currently has 195,429 subscribers. According to her, the number of her subscribers is less due to the fact that she has a sharp-edged personality. She reflects her stance related to the disagreements about online knitting. She supports the use of others' patterns without hesitation regardless of tagging the creator if it is helpful for anyone. Hence, she talks in an inviting way instead of mentioning the restrictions and allows the others to use her knitting patterns. Thus, she helps many women to be situated on YouTube, including most of the participants of this study; namely, Cemile, Pervin, Burcu, Melek, Zehra. Ayten's knitting patterns have different varieties and colours. And, she is talking to her audiences even about social life. Also, she addresses her followers with their name by answering them at the very moment by means of online stream due to the fact that she is a popular and professional Internet user.

Kevser is a 40-year-old woman, being married to an imam for 19 years, and has two children. She is a high school graduate and even though she would have liked to continue to higher education, she could not do this due to the fact that they were living in the village. She has mastered knitting by herself since her childhood like local females do. While she has been putting her videos on YouTube for about two years, she has been presenting and selling her handcrafts on the Internet for nine years. She does not speak online other than explanation of knitting. Also, she is careful to not show her body except for her hands due to her religious beliefs. At present, in addition to her two accounts on Facebook (around 250-450 thousand followers), she has 110,126 subscribers on YouTube. Her Facebook accounts have been helping her to introduce her YouTube videos last two years. She mostly knits for kids and uses fun names in the titles. Also, 'hand-in-hand work' is written in her biography online. Besides sharing her other social media accounts shared, she

also gives her e-mail address out which shows her long-term use of the Internet. English translations are placed in the titles and explanations, even though they comprise direct translation of Google Translate. However, she does not make comments on her work very often.

Burcu is a 26-year-old woman with two kids. She got married by eloping with her husband who was 17 years older than her when she was 16 years old. Therefore she dropped out of high school. After she got married, she improved her knitting from her neighbour to keep herself busy at home. She has started to use the Internet at home approximately two years ago. After watching Ayten's videos and talking to her, she has created a YouTube account and uploaded knitting videos. Like Kevser, she just shows her hands and talks about knitting online due to her husband's jealousy. Currently, she has 76,136 subscribers. She mostly knits colourful and authentic decorations. Besides her basic presentation, she offers alternatives in her videos. She also gives place to celebrate religious days on her videos.

Zehra is a 43-year-old woman with one child. After a short period of being married, she divorced. She has been living with her family since then. She is a primary school graduate. Previously, she had worked as shop assistant and careworker, mostly without public insurance. However, due to her rheumatism diseases, it became hard for her to work. Therefore, during the last two years, she thought of returning to knitting like she learned from other girls living in her village when she was ten years old. Moreover, five months ago, she met Ayten online. Ayten's support of her to open a YouTube account was a kind of remedy for her economic concerns. Recently, she has started to earn money from YouTube. Thus, she does not have to depend on orders from others, which requires more physical effort. Nonetheless, because of the infrastructure in the building she inhabits, she does not have proper Internet at home. Due to the fact that she can use just limited mobile internet, she can upload five to six videos in a month. Nowadays, she has 12,376 subscribers. She has nothing written in the biography and video explanation parts. She also does not have well-separated video lists at all. She has been using solid colour at the background. As it was learned during the interviews, outside

voices are sometimes heard in her videos due to her limited technologic tools. In addition to that, she implies online that she is sensitive about the comments. Hence, she does not talk more than describing how to knit. When she explains her knitting, she has a slow and calm talk.

Melek is a 43-year-old woman with no kids. She is a history teacher and has been married to her colleague for 19 years. However, they cannot work for almost three years since the coup happened in Turkey. Because they had been seen as supporting the coup due to their commitments to the unions, it was alleged they staged the coup. Therefore, their teaching licenses were cancelled by a decree-law[15], like hundreds of thousands of other civil servants (Ozsoy & Hacaoglu, 2018). They initially tried to sell food to get income. Nonetheless, Melek would have liked to do something creative as she already had an interest in knitting. While she was searching for knitting patterns on YouTube, she met Ayten. With Ayten's support, she created her YouTube account 1.5 years ago. She speaks online, although not often. In addition to that; her husband, who opened a YouTube account related to the environment after her, supports her. Hence, she has stated that their dialogues are mostly about YouTube activities. She has 12,525 subscribers for now. She is interactive with the audiences by humble, energetic, supportive and educational talk. She is also giving advertisement and recommendation for the sustainable alternatives via the links on her YouTube page. In the videos, a song from either Turkish folk music or protest music come at first. English hashtags are used for her handicrafts. She has had an interview recorded by showing herself and her place. As she has mentioned a sense of art in her conversation, her account name is also associated with art.

Pervin is a 38-year-old woman with two kids. She is married since 19 years. She had worked as a cashier for ten years but she defines herself as a 'housewife' since last year. She graduated recently from an open high school, which has distance learning program. She opened her YouTube account five months ago with Ayten's

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[15] According to the report published by Stockholm Center for Freedom (2018, July), emergency decree-laws were issued for two years after the coup happened "to legislate a wide range of issues, seriously undermining democracy in the name of the security and safety of the nation. The government dismissed a total of 135,138 public employees" (p.6).

support. Yet, she had previously presented her handicrafts in the local bazaar in her city. She aims to create her own brand with her husband in the future. She presently has 4,227 subscribers. She just talks about knitting but she does not show her body except her hands. Her talk includes how knitting a shoe makes her feel and the importance of how much labour involved in. She is doing more colourful and fashionable handicrafts. In addition to the clearness of display, videos have been recorded more professionally with additional effects. Besides simple explanations, characteristic and descriptive words are used in the titles and the hashtags are written in English and Spanish.

Cemile is a 44-year-old woman with two children. She is a divorced woman since eight years and a primary school graduate. She worked at diverse jobs as cook, cleaner, dishwasher, even on night shifts for some. Therefore, she describes herself as a 'housewife' in a positive way due to her love of being at home. Ayten helped her to open a YouTube account after they had met online. In addition to that, her children also support her. She explains her knitting by showing her hands and recently has 2,625 subscribers. She gives the links of her other social media accounts in the biography part. She uses basic explanations for the headings of the videos by giving well-matched hashtags, and her Instagram link under the titles. Her handicrafts are slightly traditional.

Overall, the information about their personal lives given above comprising education, occupation, marriage status and family lives is assumed as having an impact on their existence on YouTube. Moreover, beyond this, their presentation way of their works through hashtags and explanations, and their potential to create an online network for sharing effectively are influential on their popularity. Although it will be broadly analysed later within 'habitus', it can be said in general their backgrounds, skills, tendencies and choices affect their online influences.

Life circumstances of the informants

All of the interviewees have experienced a heterosexual marriage at least once during their lives. Ayten was forced into marriage at the age of just 13 and she has remarried after overcoming a couple of hardships economically and socially. Some of them (Zehra and Cemile) are divorced at the moment. And, except Melek, all are

mothers. In general, they have mentioned that being a woman in Turkey is hard and being a housewife is also difficult because of all the household responsibilities. In this regard, additionally, the situation of one woman rejecting an interview with me after first asking her husband points to the difficulties. On the other hand, being a woman in Turkey is not experienced as negative by Melek who has lived in urban areas so far and has gotten a university education. Thus, her positive view of womanhood can be understood in relation to her family circle's positive attitude towards women. Therefore, during the explanation of these women's experiences associated with their families, she can be exempted.

Kevser, who has earned money by knitting for a very long time, is against labelling herself as 'housewife' because she feels she is a successful business-woman. Yet, she has also told that to be a woman and mother is tough in Turkey because she must be careful about her moves, clothes, and places she visits. This is because of the women's dependence on family reputation which is thought to be affected by women's behaviour. Moreover, since Burcu had been thinking that she could have worked such as a cashier or a shop assistant, she dropped out of high school to get married to her husband who is seventeen years older than her. Yet, now, she thinks her environment was an effect on her decision-making process. Because she has also emphasized that she felt the necessity to be careful about the thoughts of others on her doings during all her life due to the fact that she had been living with her divorced[16] mother. Today, that situation has been recurring by her husband's explanations to others through excessively telling that she knits online without showing herself. Due to her husband's jealousy, she even could not work outside. Hence, she states that they have worn down each other. She does not say that she regrets getting married early but seems thoughtful about it. This is because she even tried to keep on the right side of her husband in order to be able to use the Internet, he, therefore, has taken credit for her success in knitting. In addition to

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[16] In general, being a divorced woman is not treated well in Turkish society. They mostly face economic problems, neighbourhood pressure, marriage proposals from the environment, and not being accepted alone -more precisely, without a man- to rent a house or to buy a property. Their honour and prestige are seen as devalued by the community, thus, it is thought that they should be careful with their doings (Arıkan,1996; Can and Aksu, 2016).

this, Ayten could not even choose the time or person to get married. When she was just 13 years old, her father gave her in marriage to her cousin. She verbalized her feelings as:

> *"They force you to marriage and even though you don't understand anything they are telling you that you are a bride now. You have become a mother when you are 14 years old. How can it be possible to perceive the situation? After that, the struggle for life started for me, I was exposed to many pressures. I just waited for my kids to become grown-up and even though I was threatened, I divorced him after 17 years. It is hard to stand against this mentality which is trying to subdue you. And, I do tell that as a woman who sees herself independent."*

Additionally, one of the other challenges is fighting against the dominance of old women in the family. Ayten has been facing this situation by her mother's questioning for her talks aired on YouTube as if her behaviour is not warrantable. Also, Leyla has been patronized by her mother-in-law related to her minimal education during her married life. However, she also criticized herself:

> *"I always feel deficiency by thinking about why I didn't work when I was physically sound and strong. When I got married, not many women were working outside. Women were working at their garden or ranch. Then, some became a worker at the factories. Yet, we were living close to my mother-in-law. Even though I demanded to work, I couldn't due to her opposition."*

Furthermore, being a woman in a conservative society, predominantly Muslim society, have been correlated with the clothes more in comparison than with the other societies. Primarily, a woman wearing hijab is seen as telling something about her before she opens her mouth. Related to this, women are often evaluated by Turkish society related to the level of her religious belief. In Turkey, this situation is also connected with the fact that the hijab has been made an instrument by the

politicians[17]. Therefore, Melek has stated that she faced discrimination by her colleagues who are a big fan of 'secular political party'.[18] In addition to that, even though she is against the government as a citizen having gotten in trouble politically because of her opinions, she has mostly been assumed to be a supporter of the government due to her wearing hijab. Hence, this correlation annoys her. On the other hand, other participants wearing a veil (Pervin, Ayten, Kevser) have not mentioned that kind of problem for themselves.

They are mostly aware that their current socio-economic dependence on their husbands is greatly related to being raised with the viewpoint of 'girls do not need education'. Even though this situation was justified with the reasons such as economic problems and living conditions by their family, their male siblings had gotten support to have an education or job. For instance; as Leyla could not get education, she started to prepare a dowry at home by lace-knitting. Even though her teachers talked to her parents about letting her continue education, her parents refused it by saying that "*even your brothers did not want to go to school, there is no reason for you at all*". Moreover, Pervin could not get education after primary school due to the poor conditions in her village back in the old days. She held a high school diploma after marriage by distance education programme. However, it was not enough to join a design contest based on her interest due to the precondition expecting participants to hold an art education. In particular, the award was to exhibit the winning product abroad, which has given her passion to get university education later on. Similarly, Kevser, who grew up in a village, could not get university education because her family did not let her go outside of the village. Instead, the learning of the knitting skill dates back to their childhood days for all of the interviewees. Despite the fact that if they had been supported, they could have chosen to study; the knitting they learned was seen as an alternative of

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[17] As Gülbahar, who is a lawyer involved in the Female Platform on Constitution, has alleged that hijab has become to be used in the speeches of the politicians by objectifying of women (as cited in Korkut, 2008).

[18] According to the statements of Esmer (as cited in Yılmaz, 2017), who is a scholar of political sciences, Turkey has seriously polarized today and, due to trying to be aware of who 'the enemy' is, people become to know the other's political view at a glance.

studying in old times. Cemile, who would prefer her children to acquire a profession, verbalised that:

> *"I told my kids to hold a pencil instead of a needle. I crave that my children have an education. Because when we were kids, oldies told us that 'you are not studying so get a needle and make your dowry'. "*

However, within just two decades, it seems a change happened in the understanding of knitting. According to Burcu (age 26), her mother is criticizing her because she has been knitting (since her mother sees it as old-fashioned). Yet, she has improved her skill thanks to a middle-aged neighbour and has created a means of income and relief from repression at home. For Leyla, it seems that knitting has passed through the phases. While she was unmarried, she was knitting for her dowry. After she got married, she started to knit baby clothes. When her children grew up, she began to work on scarves. Furthermore, Melek, who defines herself as a bookworm in the old days, has stated that knitting skill seems to be lifesaving for her to earn money after her teacher certificate had been seized. Ayten earned her money by knitting at home during the period of her as a single mother. Pervin has been interested in design especially based on the clothes since her childhood. She has occasionally been doing handcrafts with her friends. By the same token, she does design shoes, which she knits at the moment, on her own. Kevser, who has participated in public education courses for nine years, perpetually improves her skill.

The women staying at home and not having work experience had been feeling more dependent on their husbands before they started to get money by knitting at home. Now, they all knit at home to get income, and they similarly see themselves as responsible for the house tasks. This is despite the fact that Kevser and Melek do not define themselves particularly as a housewife. Regarding this; Burcu, who could not even use the Internet until three years ago due to her husband's jealousy, criticized being a housewife and/or woman with this expression:

> *"A woman should give birth, take care of the kids, cook well and - excuse me- after all, like sat all day and having taken milk bath [like relaxed, and purified from stress], should be performative in the bed. Although the equality between men and women have been always talked about,*

men's job is easy. They have a working hour but women are working 24
hours a day, 7 days a week."

She also mentioned that sometimes she cannot comb her hair for a couple of days because of her tasks at home and childcare. Thus, she can find the time to knit between 10 pm and 4 am.

Furthermore; while Leyla, Kevser, and Burcu do not have work experience outside of the home at all, in spite of the lack of education and support, others worked in different sectors to get economic freedom before knitting online. Thus, they faced precarious work in the form of physical labour without insurance contract. Ayten worked as a dishwasher, domestic worker, waiter, and cook for long hours in a day. After her son's birth from her second marriage, she quit working outside. Pervin, who has worked as a shop assistant and cashier, had mostly felt unhappy and tired due to the busyness of her workload. Zehra was working as a saleswoman and caregiver. Yet, her health problem which got worse with work in poor conditions made it harder for her to work more. Due to the fact that her health condition is sensitive to the weather, she also needs to be inside. Cemile, who is a single mother like Zehra, is a divorced woman for eight years and living with her three children. She had worked as a dishwasher, cook, and domestic worker. Nonetheless, except for a little bit of domestic work, she has not worked for the last five years.

However, living without any support by a husband or a family has been mentioned as troublesome for some women in the interviews. In particular, regarding the situations of Zehra and Cemile, being a divorced woman rendered them a target to be sexually harassed at work. Being at home makes them feel safer. Cemile even carries a pocket tear gas if she is going outside. As Ayten, who experienced being a single mother for two years, has said that:

"Woman extremely struggle with being seen as an individual in Turkey.
Even in this work, a man can talk down to you by unmentionable words
as he wishes without any hesitation. And, when you start to complain of
that to the others, they are telling that 'Oh, shut up! Don't say anything,

he is a man'. But we are changing now, I also talk about that in my
videos."

Moreover, Zehra's ex-husband does not support her son neither economically nor emotionally. She has to live with her family because of economic hardship. Yet, her family makes her feel like a burden due to the fact that she has a kid and does not have a regular income. Therefore, she even does not want to take her father's death benefit (although the main reason to not work outside is her health condition). Being a divorced woman, even though she feels difficulty by the gaze of surrounding society, she tries to ignore them. This is because she has a kid to take care of. On the other hand, becoming a housewife is stated in a positive way by Cemile and her children reportedly agreed with her. Because of the fact that she was working mostly on the night shifts before, she wants to spend time at home during the day. Yet, even though her daughter can work and become a breadwinner, Cemile would like to support her family to some extent through knitting.

Internet use of Turkish housewives to knit online

When it comes to the triggers to knit online for these women, the reasons are connected to each other. As already implied; being a woman in Turkey, particularly in a conservative sphere, sways them since childhood to stay indoors since childhood based on their environments' gender perception. Besides modesty being inculcated related to their femininity, they have been raised by learning the domestic responsibilities such as house tasks or child-raising, which makes their staying at home a necessity. Additionally, while these circumstances make it harder for them to get further education to have a career, a lack of the work arrangements also makes working outside hard without paying regard to their motherhood and providing insurance. However, to learn knitting at home from their elders has been traditionally usual. Thus, the emergence of the Internet offers them an alternative to use their traditional skill online. In general, apart from YouTube, all participants use Instagram and Facebook for sharing their knitting activities. The tendency to use Pinterest (all of them except Leyla) is mostly because of searching for different knitting patterns. Yet, Twitter (only Ayten and Melek) is used with different motivations. While Twitter use is connected to Ayten's interest in digital platforms,

Melek's socio-political stance is influential via her Twitter sharings because it gives a place to follow the cases linked to her political situation.

Six years ago, when Ayten was looking for knitting models, she saw on Instagram that women were begging to get the children's booties' patterns. Nonetheless, the patterns were sold for money instead of being free. Hence, she has aimed to teach women the way of knitting on Youtube in order to offer her help that way without any charge. She encourages other women, who have gotten in touch with her related to their knitting interests, to open an account on YouTube. However, Melek has a different reason for knitting online than the other women. Due to the fact that her teacher certificate was seized for the political reasons, there are not many options for her to get an income. Even though she tried to sell mantı [Turkish type of ravioli] in the streets with her husband, who is in the same situation as her, they stopped doing it because she prefers to stay at home due to her nervousness around the political tension in Turkish society.

On the other hand, when their age range (other than Burcu, age 26) of 38-48 is considered, it is clear that their generation has not been a part of the emergence of the digital age. At this point, it is noticed that participants' relations with their kids play an essential role in their entrance to the digital world. Leyla was whimpering when saying this: *"I have two sons but I don't have a planted tree, my life has passed amidst the walls"[19]*. Therefore, her 27 year-old son convinced her to open an account on YouTube for showing her skill to others. Due to the fact that she was lacking in self-esteem, it took a while. She was hesitant to talk to people in her neighbourhood about her channel. Yet, when she got more positive comments and began to get a connection with her audience, she became motivated to do more. Her son also helps her to record video and to use Facebook and make translations to English. Before the Internet, Kevser was knitting for the people in her environment due to the fact that she had to live in the small towns near her husband's job. Then, she started to use social media to reach new customers by sharing her models since the last nine years. However, besides getting orders, when

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[19] I do not have a planted tree": By this Turkish idiom, she meant that she does not make a contribution to the world.

she started to get a high amount of messages about asking her to explain the knitting patterns, she was guided to YouTube by her followers. At this point, her 10 year-old son helped her. Thus, it can be said that the knowledge of their next-generation helps the online performance of knitting, an inherited skill from older generations. Furthermore, they also affect posterity through their online activities. In particular, Zehra's 12-year-old son and Burcu's 8-year-old daughter opened a YouTube account for themselves and their hobbies as well.

Moreover, some of them (Pervin, Ayten, Melek, Kevser) made a mention of their husband's support. Melek has generally gotten emotional support because of the fact that her husband started to publish the videos on YouTube after her. Kevser has received help from her husband through the English translation of her videos' explanations. Emel's (second)husband has given assistance to her in both technical and manual ways. He has been knitting at some point to ease her work, and they tried to learn the settings of Youtube together. Further to that, Pervin has been encouraged by her husband to get necessary certificates to create her own brand.

Motivations to knit online

Regarding the representation of knitting acts by Turkish women, it is necessary to touch upon the information technology related to the Internet, and the structure of knitting. This is because even though their Turkish expression can be thought as a limit to reaching more people on the Internet, there is no need for an excessive lingual ability due to the nature of knitting being generally a non-verbal activity. Therefore, to create accessible content with hashtags is sufficient to expand the realm of their viewership. Also, if they require a translation because of the comments, technological means of translation such as Google Translate is helpful enough to maintain audience communication. To be precise, thanks to their interest and the facilities of the Internet; they gain the potential to get income, make a connection, improve the skills and create an influence within a broad extent.

A solution for the economic concerns

The use of YouTube is a resource of income because YouTube pays the users according to the number of their videos, the average duration of the videos watched, likes and comments they get, and the advertisements which are positioned by

YouTube in accordance with the users' popularity as long as they continue to share and keep the videos on YouTube. If they feel a need and are able to, they can also get orders for knitted products through their connection online. Ayten, Burcu, and Zehra do not take orders online. Because to share the knitting videos on YouTube provides enough income for Ayten due to her popularity on the Internet. Burcu thinks that people in Turkey do not know the worth of handmade things. Therefore, she prefers to earn money by the video record which is done with less effort. Zehra records her knitting videos quite rarely because of the limited internet connection at home. Also, she cannot knit for long periods due to rheumatism in her hands. Just knitting during the videos even gives her pain. On the other hand, the other Turkish housewife knitters get orders via online connection. They send packages to the customers by mail. The continual sharings, particularly vocal and physical acting on YouTube, result in trust being built via the chain of like-minded people who have shared their videos. Thus, trustworthiness improves the chance to make money for these women by being watched and/or more getting more individual orders. Melek tells this:

> *"They don't know you in person but you build trust. If there had not been Internet, I couldn't have sold my crafts to even ten people. World is laid in front of you as a market if you think yourself as a producer."*

Melek, as a person having good relation with other females knitting online and even being seen as a personal development specialist by Ayten due to Melek's profession as teacher, continued:

> *"I know most of the women who are doing this handiwork online, the reason is absolutely economical for almost ninety per cent of them. Because everyone wants to contribute to their family budget or to give a pocket-money to her child in a way. There can be a reason related to proving herself but it is in the second place."*

Furthermore, due to the fact that the videos on YouTube are reached online as long as the user wants to keep them on the Internet, even if they do not get the order, they can still continue to earn money.

Moreover, as Melek mentioned, it can be said that they become involved in YouTube streaming very much due to economic concerns aside from the other benefits of Internet use. Because while they could get a small amount of money due to their limited environment in daily life, they can get a satisfying amount through the expanded social network online. Like Melek, Zehra does not have any options to earn money other than knitting at home but has different reasons for knitting online: having an ineligible health condition to work and being a single mother lacking the support of her family and ex-husband. When especially social life is scarce like in her case, the service of the Internet, particularly social media, becomes a lifesaver. Also; Burcu, who cannot work outside due to her husband's restriction but believes in the importance of women's economic independence, was trying to get permission to use the Internet from him until three years ago to create a workspace for herself. After she could start to knit online, she feels relieved being able to buy things she needs without asking him.

Besides seeking the fulfilment of basic necessities, the economic gain provides a sense of competence to Leyla due to being able to give pocket-money to her son, who is studying at the university. While Cemile is economically supported by her daughter, who is about to be married, selling goods online in an effort to prepare the dowry/wedding chest for her daughter's prospective home fulfils her sense of duty and loyalty. According to Kevser, who wants to see herself as a successful businesswoman, earning her own money to contribute to the household budget on an equal level with her husband is a neccessity. While her religious consideration is also taken into consideration through the fact that she shows her face to none of her customers and followers, knitting on YouTube is a golden opportunity for her. On the other side, Pervin would like to get income to accumulate capital for her goal comprising of creating her own brand of knitted shoes. Her knitting activities online has the double potential of generating publicity for her brand.

Moreover, Ayten's intention to knit online primarily seems to be about enabling other women to earn their own money. It is because many women send messages to her about their financial hardship. She has empathy with them due to

the fact that she had hard times to get income. Hence, she expands her social network on the Internet and gets in touch with them by the way of her videos and speaking. In general, they all mentioned that their followers send messages to them to get an idea about the crafts' cost. The knitter women get many texts comprising even unimagined prayers because the audiences knit in the same way they do and earn money by selling them.

Connection provider

In the broad scope, due to the fact that knitting is an interest linked to the individual's physical ability not requiring to move somewhere else or know a language, people from all over the world who have an interest towards knitting can connect by making handicrafts through just searching some keywords such as 'knit' and 'yarn'. Regarding this, Kevser, who tries to answer her commenters even in a foreign language by translation like the others, emphasizes how her network has become wider:

> *"I think it is a window to the world and it is very helpful as much as you can open. I notice that I have been watched in the countries which I have not known their names at all; particularly in the countries of Latin America such as Argentina, Chile, Peru. Hence, I too start to look at how they are knitting."*

Since all of them receive messages from all over the world, knitting online creates cultural interaction during the producing of handicrafts. As it was a Romanian female on YouTube who inspired Melek and Pervin to start knitting shoes, they mostly refer to her page within the links to thank her and to direct people to the original resource. In general, knitter women mostly get positive feedback from their videos shared. Therefore, they become motivated to do and to connect with people more. Furthermore, Burcu stated that she was almost in depression due to the fact that her feeling was as if she was locked at home. Hence, when she noticed that she did not have any friends in her environment, she thought to share her knitting patterns to communicate with somebody. After starting to knit online, she began to forget her loneliness by receiving comments. In particular, the followers' thankful messages make her feel useful in her life. Like Burcu, Zehra also feels similar

51

because she began to feel useless herself after her health problems restraining her movement. Leyla was belittled by her mother-in-law owing to the fact that she is a primary school graduate, and her husband's sisters are teachers. Therefore, even though she had been doing house chores most of the time, she was feeling idle. Yet, after her subscribers started to celebrate her on the teachers' day, she thinks herself as a teacher and a beneficial person.

Kevser and Leyla prefer not to be involved in a messaging group with the virtual acquaintances at all. To not prefer a specific group or have no friend online does not mean that they do not have any connection with their followers. They respond to the individual messages, which they received related to their works. Even distantly, they both would like to help others by knitting "*hand-in-hand*"- like it is written in Kevser's profile. On the other hand, to some extent, friendship is built within their activities online. As Ayten encouraged others who are in need economically and socially (Melek, Burcu, Zehra, Pervin, Cemile), to open a YouTube account after she received messages from them, there is being built solidarity. Regarding this, she calls them as either daughter or sister now. Additionally, they have a Whatsapp group to keep touch on a daily basis besides their information exchange based on knitting. Although they live in different parts of Turkey and do not know each other in person; they all know one another's living conditions and try to support remotely as much as possible. They mostly emphasized their feeling as if they are a family. Cemile explained that in a sentence: *"we wake up and write to each other even before washing our faces".* By their individual dialogues; while Burcu and Zehra see Ayten like an older sister within to consult, Cemile and Melek see her as a peer in the sharing of life experiences showing similarities. Overall, the others feel gratefulness towards Ayten because of her initiative. Moreover, Ayten also mentions the importance of sisterhood by social networking via YouTube when she talks to the audience. Some of her followers even ask to meet her in person. In this way, she also builds a connection with her audience outside of the Internet.

<u>Developing skills via 'Sadaka-i Cariye'</u>

The Internet provides enhancement of skills through its use as a learning portal. They are using the internet to get inspired or find new patterns for their next handicrafts. Thus, they learn the ropes even from the foreigners' contents due to the fact that craft-making does not need high language ability, and so can improve themselves in a broad scope. They also see YouTube in the way that Melek defined with a certain expression: 'Sadaka-i Cariye'. It means the permanent charity for the public in Arabic due to the fact that videos on YouTube are publicly accessible without a time or distance limitation. Regarding this, it is thought that sharing the videos, which shows the others how to knit, allows them to acquire merit in God's sight. This is further understood by Kevser's following statements:

> *"Language does not have importance because I too learned to knit shoes from a foreign female YouTuber, who does not know that I am praying for her, and, one day, I will announce that work to all the world."*

Internet is a must everywhere for Ayten, who checks if there is an Internet connection when she is going somewhere. She would like to get the information whenever she feels the need. On the other side, if there is a limitation on the living space, the Internet provides a possibility to expand it by cross-boundary communication. Pervin thinks that the Internet is a must for her:

> *"Regarding what I am doing, I can say that the Internet is a life for me. If there is no Internet, I cannot do anything and I cannot reach anywhere. Because I should use the Internet to improve myself at home."*

On the other hand, related to the videos on YouTube, the users' manner of speaking can be influential to trigger someone's skill and courage to improve. For instance, even though Burcu had already been knitting when she encountered Ayten's channel, Ayten's sincerity and self-confidence have energized her to learn more and even open a YouTube account. Also, apart from knitting Burcu watches movies or reads books online, but Cemile broadly uses the Internet more broadly:

> *"I can be a primary school graduate but I have a researcher soul. If I hear something, I immediately research it to learn what is that."*

Furthermore, social media especially YouTube renders a medium to increase their productivity. All of them enjoy knitting, and specifically creating a product makes them feel good. Therefore to present, show, explain, share their own handicrafts, and to get feedback makes them feel highly motivated to knit more. Leyla verbalised this in a sentence: "*a person can learn as much as (s)he is doing.*"

Strategies to keep modesty and build self-confidence

While watching their videos on YouTube, it was a remarkable thing I noticed that Cemile is wearing a wedding ring on her left hand in her videos even though she is a divorced woman. She explained that this is because she wants to protect herself from other men's gaze by showing herself as a married woman. Also, she would like to avoid people's questions about why and how she got divorced. Similarly, even though Burcu mostly knits colourful and authentic decorations, the background is plain and simple as much as possible. She tries to be meticulous in not using nail polish in her videos. Besides her husband's jealousy, she thinks some women can admire her and therefore face a problem by doing the same. Furthermore, while Pervin and Zehra do not have an issue to merely knit online, Kevser pays attention to not show her naked arms in the videos due to her own beliefs- not because of her Imam husband's banning it. On the other hand, according to the current sense of Turkish society in fashion, traditionality is observed in some videos. In particular, Cemile and Leyla mention Turkish customs and traditions for weddings. For instance, Cemile's YouTube account name is literally "Cemile's dowry chest". They mostly verbalize in their videos that they aim to give ideas about the content of dowry/wedding chest for the brides. Also, the other noticeable point is that all of them use religious expression most often such as: "inşallah [if god lets or god willing]", "'Bismillahirrahmanirrahim'[20]. Furthermore, when addressing the audiences, Cemile and Pervin, specifically try to address both males and females by telling "ladies and gentlemen". Yet, Ayten and Burcu mostly prefer to use "beautiful women", "sisters" or "mesdames". At this point, Ayten told that she is aware of the others, who behave against the prevalent thought that men cannot

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[20] In Islam, reciting bismillah means to start a new task within God; Allah's name.

knit, but she is not used to doing it. Others (Zehra, Leyla, Melek, Kevser) use gender-neutral words such as "friends" or "dear audiences/followers". Additionally, besides the salutation in a sorority-like and friendly manner, there is also some writings in their profiles stating: "we are a family" and "work hand in hand". These signify that they feel a sense of belonging to a virtual group, which comprises those have a knitting interest. Further to this; all mentioned that they had come across some comments or messages written by viewers with male nicknames/handles. After a while, it had turned out that they were written by women. According to Burcu, this is probably because their husbands/partners are restrictive and so women try to hide their identities. She expressed that she was doing the same. Therefore, in one respect, the Internet gives a chance to these women to reach data anonymously.

The Internet enables people to express themselves in a way but according to their preferences. However, there is the case based on Turkish knitter "housewives" on YouTube. As already mentioned, they primarily feel the responsibility to do house chores apart from their online activities in daily life. Hence, mostly they use the Internet to increase their knowledge, get income by knitting on YouTube, and to connect with the others having the same interest with them. Even though they also aim to help women in need in these methods, most of them do not see the Internet, especially YouTube, as a place to represent themselves except for knitting. The exception is that Ayten, Leyla and Melek have expressed themselves online within different ways.

Regarding the representation of themselves; Leyla, Ayten, and Melek allow their upper body to be visible in their videos. Melek has a couple of videos in which she explains herself and her works in detail. Yet, she mostly does not talk about her personal ideas in her talks on YouTube. In comparison to her, Leyla and Ayten have more videos and talk in them due to the fact that they had a YouTube account for longer than her. Leyla mostly talks to thank her subscribers and celebrate some special days such as International Women's Day, some national and religious festivals. Apart from her knitting videos, even though she does not hesitate to show her whole body, her gestures and facial expressions are shy in comparison with

Ayten. This can be related to her statements based on her modesty being caused in case any acquaintances see her online. Ayten unhesitantly talks in the live broadcast stream with her viewers by responding to them without specifying a certain theme. However, she states that some people make fun of her hijab and her accent. There is prejudice against her style because of the political affiliation made in Turkish society with women identity, as I already mentioned (pp.15-16). However, Ayten even mentions in her videos that she ignores them. This shows her contending way as she verbalized it during the interview:

> *"We, Turkish women, mostly face being criticized. Yet, we start to stand out and be independent. I am often talking about these in my live broadcasts."*

She addresses her followers by name by answering them in the very moment by means of online streaming due to the fact that she is a popular and professional user. Nonetheless, her use of religious words sometimes results in criticism of her videos because some people think that she is making religion an instrument. Because they think that religious beliefs are very sensitive and should not be taken advantage of by anyone. Even though Ayten, who believes that makes it easier to succeed working, does not agree with this, she tries to not recite bismillah vocally because of the reactions. Yet, she still thinks that to recall God's name helps to finish the work:

> *"I am so angry about that situation. Because when we start to work we are reciting bismillah. It is in our religion, it belongs to us."*

Therefore, she typically generalizes statements regarding religious beliefs because otherwise, she feels guilty. She mostly tells to the women, who criticize her, that she tries to help them rather than do harm. Moreover, she appears striking as a Turkish female, who is knitting online, due to her popularity on YouTube. Because she also has trouble with a few women about the originality of her patterns. Related to that, she had to delete some of her videos reported to YouTube. Nonetheless, she stated that she does not mind this situation at all. It is because she aims to empower women through her online activities as much as possible. At this point, while other participants do not make an issue of it Pervin has a different viewpoint. She is

critical of the use of another's model because she thinks that knitting online is a kind of promotion for her prospective brand. On the other hand, for a different reason than Pervin, Melek would like to create and share a certain number of models online, which equals to the number of decree-laws she is standing trial for, to protest in her way. Hence, it can be said that online knitting activities can function as a promoter of her future protesting plans.

Furthermore, as it becomes concrete with Burcu, knitting online is also a source of a sigh of relief when her former depression is taken into consideration. Being at home by undertaking domestic responsibilities, and having no friends around made her feel depressed before. In addition to that, it also provides an increase of self-confidence and self-consciousness, as is seen in her statements:

> *"Now, I am angry at my husband. If he had permitted me earlier to use the Internet, I wouldn't have felt myself that much alone and useless. Yet, at the moment, when I go in somewhere, I feel self-confident. I am aware of my abilities now."*

In addition to that, regarding the thoughts of Leyla before having a YouTube channel as "I have two sons but I don't have a stick in this world. My life has passed amidst the walls"; recording and sharing videos on the Internet create a kind of motivation for her life. Because she feels that she has a function as a teacher and believes that she has gone beyond the walls of her house by reaching people through YouTube videos. Also, Ayten explains how her presence on YouTube affects her within these statements:

> *"My life totally changed by the use of YouTube. For example, you become popular and the people's approaches towards you are in change. Especially, if you are doing good job, you get more economic power and you achieve dignity. Thus, my living standards are increased."*

Differentiation from other "housewives"

Even though six of them literally define themselves as housewives, all abstain from social activities associated with the housewives. In this manner, it seems that they all want to distance themselves from an ordinary housewife. Thus, they want

to be something else, to have another kind of identity. In general, they state that they do not enjoy being involved in the traditional gatherings of women such as 'altın günü' [which is a traditional meeting of women, mostly of housewives, each month to have a chit-chat and to collect money or gold by eating pastries together]. Rather, they choose to be at home to perform the house tasks and to knit yarns instead of being with other women for fun. This situation can be understood through many perspectives by looking at the differences in the women's justifications linked to that reaction, it is also important how digital engagement affects their life through their activities.

The effects of digital identity are significantly seen with Ayten, who has been using the Internet in a professional manner by taking precautions, such as having two Internet connections and many technological devices at home, in case of the disconnection of the Internet. Due to seven people in total required to be taken care at home after her last child she gave birth to, she can earn money instead of having fun. Also, she can help other women in need. Because since she has experienced how hard it is to get an income as a woman, she feels a responsibility to be online and she emphasizes that she does not have time "for this kind of gatherings" [altın günü].

On the other hand, to think about fun activities outside of home is almost impossible for Burcu:

> *"There is no possibility. Because sometimes I even cannot comb my*
> *hair. If video is done, meal is not; if latter is done, cleaning is not.*
> *Additionally, children mostly have school assignment as well. In fact,*
> *it is really hard."*

Due to the fact that she is very busy with her house tasks and childcare, she can go outside with her family just once per week when her husband is free. However, she takes the video recording as her duty because of the fact that she thinks it is necessary for her to get income. She also emphasizes that it provides her relief sometimes to not cook after cleaning and buying food, in addition to the benefit of getting a connection with others online. Thus, after she opened her YouTube account, she can offer her husband to dine out without thinking about its cost. At

this point, she dissociates herself from some women, who are demanding towards their husbands:

"Now, I have money instead of living at my husband's expense. I've never demanded from my husband like others, even not for clothes. It's embarrassing for me, I was asking my mother for my needs."

Moreover, when the social activities were mentioned to Leyla, she questioned herself in a sense:

"I was not enjoying to go out…Maybe to say that was a pretext. I tried to keep my kids at home in a peaceful environment. Also, our economic condition was insufficient to go out for fun. Yet, I am happy for now. If I had been in the streets, my husband and children would have been somewhere else. After a while, I already began to not want to go out a lot. Now, I have possibility to have fun but I want to share my knowledge instead."

Following the statement, she expressed her thanks to God due to her family's well-being. Because otherwise, it would be ungrateful of her. For her, other activities, which necessitates going out for fun rather than doing house tasks or childcare at home, means "roaming in the streets". However, she feels herself fully-responsible of taking care of the household. She stated that she does not have time to go out even to the public education centre for detailed knitting courses because of "three men at home" who need her care. Besides her moral self-judgment, it should also not be overlooked that being a housewife (having no proper income) makes her avoid having fun.

For Pervin, she perpetually would like to keep her Internet activities associated with her shoe-knitting sharing. She aims to create her own brand in that way. However, she thinks that she is different than other women in her local environment, who present and sell their handcrafts with her in the bazaar. As they demotivate her related to her online attempts, she thinks the reason is their jealousy of her success. More than this, she guesses it is about her husband's support of her. Others are mostly ruled and restricted by their husbands in her view. Therefore, she thinks that it is very hard to be a female entrepreneur without her husband's

backing. Other participant women express similar thoughts. Additionally, Ayten and Kevser get more than moral support from their husbands. Kevser's husband helps her through English translations of her videos' explanations. Ayten's husband has given assistance to her in both a technical and manual way. He has even been knitting at some point to ease her work at home, and they tried to learn the settings of YouTube together.

Overall, they mostly feel personally responsible for what they give as information to their followers. Therefore, they try to be careful as much as possible. Because, at first, they are aware that most women get income by watching them. They get many messages which state that the women watching them learn how to knit patterns and then sell these crafts to people in their neighbourhood. Also, Turkish housewife knitters know that some subscribers would like to follow a specific YouTuber because of the familiarity gaining during the way of knitting. To be precise, it can be said that knitting on YouTube gives a mission to these women.

CHAPTER VI

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Theoretical Analysis

From home to overseas by knitting

Eight women living in the different parts of Turkey, differentiated between a small village and a cosmopolitan city, have been knitting on YouTube for the last few years. All have relatively different social environments but they mostly meet on common ground when the subject comes to the effects of the Internet in their life. According to their statements, Internet use is a must for them regarding its impacts related to the economic return, enhancement of knowledge, expressing the self, and connection with the others. Therefore, besides their positionalities dynamically built by their social presence within their environment, they also hold a digital identity in the digital space, which is embedded and embodied in daily activities, by the use, change, and transformation of certain forms of their strength.

Regarding these, to understand the everyday life experiences of these women taking part in the physical and digital areas, which are interconnected, the concepts of Bourdieu can be mentioned, namely; "field", "habitus" and "capital". "Field" is analytically meant here "as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions" (Bourdieu, & Wacquant,1992:p.97). At this point, as well as stating that what exists as real in the social world is relationality between positions in society, rather than between subjects; he adds that many societies today are comprised of different micro fields, which are relatively autonomous, exemplified by the artistic field and economic field (ibid). Today, it is possible to mention digital space as a field as explained by Sterne (2003) connected to habitus and capital. Regarding that, knitting on YouTube is a micro-field formed by the habitus of Internet users. Moreover, as already mentioned in the theoretical framework; field, habitus, and capital necessitate being understood in a holistic way. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) have expressed the positionality in a field: "positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital), while habitus consists of a set of historical relations 'deposited' within individual bodies" (ibid:p.16). Therefore, in relation to socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-economic structures; it can be said that

these women have been sharing a similar set of dispositions due to being a woman living in Turkey. In particular, they have a similar habitus and act in the same micro-field. Thus, to comprehend the motivations of these females' knitting activities online, it is significant to refer to the society they live in by the analysis of field, habitus, and capital through the formation process.

Except for Melek, who has an educated family and lives in an urban area thus far, all the women are devoid of higher education. This means that they could not get institutionalized cultural capital, which amounts to the academic achievements recognized by the formal institutions and so it is rewarded in the labour market (Bourdieu,1986), therefore being unable to acquire some specific professions. This situation has emerged related to their generational, village experience having fewer facilities, and the mindset of their families and environments. How these make a difference can be seen in the comparison between these women. For instance; even though Cemile, like Melek, has not had a village experience, she merely got primary school education because her environment did not attach the importance to education for girls. In addition to that, although Burcu is from relatively the younger generation, the effect of her surroundings on her life is seen within her choices like dropping out the school and getting married early on by eloping. Thus, it can be said that social capital associated with their positionality, the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network (ibid:p.51), affects their forward status. Because their social capital comprises the parents, families and neighbourhood who do not prioritize girls' presence in public. Therefore, their way of getting economic capital, as a virtue of economic resources (Bourdieu, &Wacquant, 1992:p.99), ending up with the knitting at home can mostly be understood through their male-dominant social circle they are surrounded by at some point.

Male domination and the sexual division of labour, which becomes embedded and embodied through the daily acts, is explained by Bourdieu (2001)[21]: "men, who belong on the side of all things external, official, public, straight, high and

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[21] In this section, the statements quoted by the book of Bourdieu(2001) are from the analysis done in Kabyle which is predominantly Muslim community in the north of Algeria.

discontinuous...; women, by contrast, being on the side of things that are internal, damp, low, curved and continuous, are assigned all domestic labour" (p.30). Besides all the participants having explained their housewifery roles as if it should be, how this situation is practised since throughout their entire upbringing is seen through some of their narratives. For instance; Leyla and Kevser could not continue to study on account of their parents who did not prioritize the education of girls. Therefore, they have come to acknowledge that their family, which they are supposed to take care of, takes the priority above being outside for work. Moreover, it is most visible within the married life of Burcu since she cannot work outside or use the Internet, which goes virtually beyond the borders of home, without the permission of her husband. While he justifies this situation with his jealousy, after she started to use the Internet to knit online, his often explanations pointing frequently to the environment bothers her. Within his statements in front of others, he frequently emphasizes that Burcu does not show her body on YouTube. The situation Burcu is faced with as being under the control of her husband, who excuses this with his jealousy, can be explained by symbolic violence. This violence is applied without physical force as if being indwelled into the bodies within cognition, comprehension, and actions mostly through the reflection of the feelings (ibid:pp.33-42). Therefore, symbolic violence has an effect on symbolic capital, which is "the acquisition of a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honourability" (Bourdieu, 1996:p.291).

Moreover, sexual division has also taken root "in the division of the labour of maintaining social capital and symbolic capital which gives men the monopoly of all official, public activities, of representation, and in particular of all exchanges of honour"(p.47). Regarding this, the symbolic capital of Burcu, which is in the form of honour and modesty here, regarding whether her body is showed off online or not is maintained by her husband. He feels the need to explain her acts to others as if he has possession of her honour. Hence, even though that much limitation makes Burcu sometimes interrogate her affinity with her husband, these can be ignored because she thinks that he loves her and also they have children together. In addition to that, she stated that she can adjust herself to her husband's decisions due to the

fact that she is used to behaving according to the environment through living with a single mother during her childhood. Furthermore, the hardship of being a divorced woman in Turkey is also mentioned by Zehra and Cemile, who are currently single mothers. It can be said that single women- particularly divorced ones because they have lost the protection from males- are monitored closely by the surroundings in terms of the moral principles (Arıkan,1996; Can, & Aksu, 2016). While these 'moral principles' are determined through habitus comprising socio-economical lifestyle (Bourdieu, 1996:pp.309-312), they also create the ground for symbolic violence. Because, besides Zehra's health condition, one other reason for her being mostly at home is also related to what others say if a divorced woman acts 'inappropriately'. As well as the risk of physical violence which can be noticed by the harassment experiences Zehra and Cemile were previously exposed to, Cemile manages the situation by carrying tear gas for protection while going out. Moreover, how moral values of the environment become embedded into the females' lives are seen by Leyla's perspective. Because to go out of the home for fun is seen by her as if she is idling around. She thinks that she seems as a wanderer in the streets, which is found 'inappropriate', instead of taking care of her family. Bourdieu (2001:p.39) explains this with the *agoraphobia* that comes from the gendered spatial division and results in women being estranged from public life.

However, even though they are exposed to male dominance in a way during their life, there is also seen some 'battlefield' efforts. This is because these Turkish housewives are neither a static subject nor a subordinate as if doing nothing regarding their positionalities. 'Battlefield' here analogically refers to challenges of the participants within the forms of capital held in the game, which refers to the place of field (Bourdieu, & Wacquant,1992:p.17), by means of the strategies improved as the "lines of action" along with the regularities (ibid.p.25). For example, Ayten, who suffered from male dominance due to being forced to get married at a very early age, has challenged male dominance by working at very different kind of sectors. Because for her, to get her own economic capital would provide her with emancipation, especially in being able to take care of her kids in her plan to divorce her husband someday. Thus, after she became sure she would

able to stand without her ex-husband, which meant 17 years later, she got divorced. Besides her lacking a specific profession, she mostly had to work in hard conditions without insurance due to the fact that governmental implementations in Turkey ignore these women's needs during the period of work that is related to the role assigned to women sociopolitically in terms of housekeeping and childcare (Kandiyoti, 2013:pp.140-145). Like her, Zehra and Cemile worked uninsured and flexible mostly in the service sector. Specifically, this situation makes Zehra's health conditions tough because she has trouble getting medical service from the government while it is also hard to work physically for her. By the same token, for Cemile, she worked on the night shift for a long time to be able to take care of her children during the day.

Moreover, because of the structure of knitting activity, there is no need to be outside the home. Hence, it makes no distress for either men or women in terms of the effects of male dominance and its relation to women's modesty. In this way, as women do not need to challenge others for their doings, men do not feel the need to defend their 'manly honour'. In this regard, knitting has become an opportunity to get income at home for Leyla, Kevser, and Burcu, who have been living in keeping with their social roles assigned by their environments. Like them, Ayten was already knitting yarns at home and selling them to her surroundings while she was a single mother between her two marriages for two years. As time passes and technology improves, the Internet has become another option providing more facilities in a broader connection affecting the social network, economic profit, and knowledge gain. In particular, the fact that there is no need to reveal the user's identity makes its use attractive to them. On the other hand, it should be mentioned that knitting online is chosen by Melek for different reasons because of the fact that the process of her habitus formation is differentiated from other female participants related to her life path changing through the education, profession, and environment. Even though she has similar aims with others like getting income, social networking, and improving her skills; she came up with knitting on YouTube because her diploma was seized by the government and she does not want to spend time outside because of her fears for political persecution. Yet, eventually, it is seen

that knitting done online appears inviting for all of them whilst still doing housework associated their gendered social roles assigned.

However, it is also seen that some of them get backing at some point during their life experiences. The second husband of Ayten, Pervin's spouse and Kevser's husband support their wives related to their effort for work. Nevertheless, all these situations do not change their responsibilities at home, even for Melek. At this point, the emphasis of Bourdieu (2001) referring to current circumstances of women is important: "…after long struggles by women for recognition of their skills, [even after] technological changes,…the work of woman is condemned to remain invisible- she is expected to labour all day in the house" (pp.60-61). Therefore, as well as referring to or implying of themselves as a "housewife" regardless of their knitting workload online; their manner of life, which ended up by knitting online, is also related to their habitus, which comprises their skills, habits, and predispositions as an embodied social position, in a field having formed by the certain forms of capital embedded in a historical process.

The forms of capital acquired through the digital field

Within this section, the forms of capital will be subcategorized to understand clearly what these women acquire by knitting online. However, at the same time, it should be kept in mind that these capital are connected to each other within the habitus in a field (Bourdieu, & Wacquant,1992:pp.17-19). It is possible for capital to convert from one type to another, essentially to economic capital, described here by Bourdieu (1986) states:

> "capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility". (p.243)

Even though here it is not necessary to mention the institutionalized form of capital, capital here functions related to the digital field and the activities in the field connected to the transformations. Also, Bourdieu has not mentioned the transformation of other forms of capital between each other apart from economic capital. Therefore, I will mention how this is possible in the digital field.

Cultural capital

Seven of them, except Burcu, were born in the 1970s. Thus, while they were growing up, they saw their female family members with lace, canvas, embroidery and these kinds of handiworks. Also, they witnessed that some mothers were usually preparing dowry for their daughters at home. Therefore, they learned how to knit at early ages. Thus, this skill and other female domestic chores have taken the place of institutionalized cultural capital, which most of them could not get. According to the explanations of Bourdieu (1996:p.81) knitting as an inherited skill is inherited cultural capital, which is detailed by the term "embodied cultural capital" (Bourdieu,1986: p.245).

There is no doubt that individuals can reach a limitless amount of information on the Internet. Indeed, when the topic of research is specified such as knitting; there can be found diverse patterns without geographical borders with only small lingual help, which can be provided by the Internet. Therefore, by the means of the Internet use to get connection and sharing in broad spatiality, knowledge is interchanged in a global aspect. Also, by the inclusivity of the Internet related to the nonnecessity of having a public identity on, to get or share the information online spreads to even wider spheres. Thus, these women can improve their cultural capital broadly. Additionally, since YouTube as explained within a religious term by Melek as "Sadaka-i Cariye" [permanent charity], their videos continually give information to others. The viewers learn how to knit by watching Turkish women knitters' recordings. In this way, most of the women viewers get income by selling the handicrafts they do alongside these videos. Thus, Turkish housewife knitters think they acquire merit in God's sight in addition to their earnings. As will be mentioned, the inherited cultural capital of these women can also be transformed into economic, social, and symbolic capital.

Economic capital

To start knitting online for the purpose of earning income is the common aim for these women. Related to their habitus lacking institutionalised cultural capital - including Melek because her teacher certification was seized, the women benefit from their inherited cultural capital of knitting and transform it into economic capital. Therefore, the emphasis of habitus is here because how social capital is important in the acquisition of cultural capital should not be overlooked related to the socioeconomic differentiation in the society (ibid.). As already mentioned, social capital is limited for these women to a certain extent due to male dominance.

Before they use YouTube to knit, they could only sell their crafts by getting orders in their neighbourhood. However, the availability to receive an order from the environment was limited for them due to different reasons. Leyla, Kevser, and Burcu have not worked outside thus far and mostly spent time at home. In relation to the political stance of Melek, she does not work as a teacher nor does she have sociality same as before. Health condition of Zehra does block her mobility. Pervin, Ayten, and Cemile already get tired of working conditions. Therefore knitting on YouTube appeared as a solution for their economic concerns. The Internet gives them the possibility to expand their network. Even, they can earn money without getting orders as Ayten, Burcu, and Zehra do. Because YouTube pays them according to their videos' popularity.

Also, the structure of YouTube as a video-sharing website allows the audience to watch all processes of the knitting online. Yet, due to the distance between actual resource and the receiver/watcher/observer in the digital field, reliability and trust are necessitated (Rab,2012) -that is connected to symbolic capital (prestige) built online. The common view of these women is that they are watched and commented on in conjunction with the trust in them by the viewers. Because although all of them do not give their personal information, their videos saved on YouTube have continuity and that can allow the reliability for the audiences. On the other hand, as Cemile mentioned, there is also a tendency to follow a specific person's channel by the viewers, which can be related to the similarities of the constituents of habitus between the YouTuber and follower. At

this point, when the number of followers is looked at, it is seen that Leyla and Ayten, who reveal their identity, have more subscribers. Related to these; it should also be looked at how social and symbolic capital transform into economic capital.

Social capital

As Gauntlett (2011) has investigated in detail, the acts done together online connects people beyond the spatial borders. These women, without knowing a foreign language, can get the connection even with foreigners by their cultural capital. Yet, the social capital they get by that way is 'bridging social capital' which is inclusive and based on weak ties within the connection (Putnam, 2000:p.20-22). They do not have more dialogue apart from that which is connected to the videos of knitting through the comments. Moreover; Leyla and Kevser just acquire bridging social capital online at the community level- they do not prefer to talk to someone on a personal level. Yet, even though bridging social capital does not embrace strong connection between people, Leyla is satisfied with her social network online. To receive the messages comprising gratefulness towards her seems to heal her feeling of idleness.

On the other hand; for the others, the sense of community between each other shows how the Internet allows them to build bonding social capital in addition to their bridging social capital. Bonding social capital here refers to the exclusive connection which functions as super glue between the individuals (ibid.) due to the fact that they share their private life with each other and communicate every day. Even though they have not seen each other in person; social capital cannot be reduced to geographical proximity due to its connection with symbolic exchange apart from material change (Bourdieu,1986). Improving social dialogue through the online community by cultural capital is essential for the women who have a problem in taking part in public life. In this way, Burcu feels relieved of her loneliness due to her house tasks, children waiting to be taken care of, and her husband's jealousy.

Thus, while their cultural capital let them build social capital; built up social capital helps to get economic capital. To be precise, this is how YouTube works. Because it is seen that being commented on pleasantly by friends/viewers helps to get others' interest by building trust. These comments are seen mostly under the

videos of the women, who build the bonding social capital with the others. As Bourdieu (1986) has stated, the social capital of the individual increases to the extent that (s)he holds economic, cultural, and symbolic capital. Their recognition [symbolic capital] remains and "they are known to more people than they know" (p.251). Moreover, it is seen here, the other way around is also valid. On the other hand, it is seen that Kevser, who has not built bonding social capital on the Internet but built bridging social capital on other social media websites through the knitting for many years, has also a big amount of followers on YouTube because she can transform her social capital from other websites to YouTube. Therefore, it can be said that since bridging social capital built up for a long time can be transformed online, it can help in getting recognition.

Symbolic capital

As already mentioned above regarding the connection between social and symbolic capital, Bourdieu (1986) states that "social capital is so totally governed by the logic of knowledge and acknowledgement that it always functions as symbolic capital" (p.257). Therefore, it can be said that social capital built online is connected to symbolic capital in terms of prestige and reputation. Moreover, according to the representation of themselves online, audiences can sympathize through their similarities or differences. Although the knitting process on the video can give some clue to it, most of these Turkish female knitters keep their symbolic capital 'offline' by appearing modest/shy. Therefore, the women revealing their identity have more recognition and higher status: Leyla, Ayten and Melek. At this point, there can be also looked at the first three places by ranking them in order from most social capital: Leyla, Ayten, Kevser. Despite this, the most prominent name is Ayten because she expresses herself online and builds a connection with the audience and other knitters on YouTube. Due to the fact that she has a reputation online, some of her followers even demand to visit her. Also, except Kevser and Leyla, all other participants started to knit online through Ayten's encouragement. According to her statements, she has also held popularity in her environment. Indeed, she has already aimed to get prestige through knitting online. Because, due to her personal experiences, she would like to knit, reach the other women on the

purpose of helping them to get income, and talk more online to empower them. Therefore, she sometimes finds herself on a battlefield. Her clothes, words, and accent can be connected to her in conflict. Therefore, she sometimes tries to use strategy by not using religious words although it is hard for her. On the other hand, she gets support from some people related to the ridicule connected to her accent and appearance. This also allows her to get more symbolic capital in terms of recognition.

Illusio through knitting online

When explaining that the Internet provides a means for them to reach the capital, it is important to mention that motivations (getting capital) have not emerged in their mind all of a sudden. They give it a try by means of someone else while already originally having the motivation to get income at home firstly and for some of them, particularly Burcu and Ayten, to improve the connection. Knitting on YouTube gives an answer to their search for a (coping) strategy with these Turkish housewife knitters' positionality. Thus, for them, commencing to knit on YouTube emerges as illusio, which refers to an investment within practical expectations by deeming the game worthy of getting involved in within the game analogy (Bourdieu, 2000:p.208). Therefore, they invest their time, skills and reputation/modesty by hoping to gain capital. Furthermore, as Bourdieu states that "the illusio which constitutes the field as the space of a game that thoughts and actions can be affected and modified without any physical contact or even any symbolic interaction, in particular in and through the relationship of comprehension" (ibid:p.135). In this regard, the Internet blurs the borders between home and world through the socio-cultural exchange within the virtual position held, although they adjust the boundaries to the extent their habitus allows them.

Regarding the activity of knitting in itself, they mostly do not need to reveal their full identity. In this respect; this factor can decrease the concern related to the self. However; although Ayten, Melek and Leyla have revealed their identities by showing their faces online, it is seen that there still exist concerns connected to daily life. Because knitting online also shows the illusio in the digital field as a risk-taking (Bourdieu, 2000:p.28) via symbolic capital connected to their habitus. Therefore,

they need to apply some strategies when knitting online as well. For instance; wearing of a wedding ring by Cemile, who has been single for eight years since the divorce, is because she does not want to face others questioning her marital situation. Otherwise, she thinks it can cause neighbourhood pressure within gossip because she knows what people think of a divorced woman. Also, to not polish her nails by Burcu is a precaution taken to prevent the male dominance towards the women watching her. She thinks they can imitate her and this can cause a problem like she already has with her husband. Also, she calls her viewers as if they are all women: "mesdames". Since she cares for her image on the video due to her husband's control, to use feminine words, which shows she is acting only for women, is significant. The modest appearance of Leyla, which is visible with her stance in videos, is also related to her environment as if someone should tell something against her. It is not possible to see the uncovered arms of Kevser in her videos at all due to her religious beliefs. This is explained by Bourdieu (2001) in this way: "All the work of socialization [of woman] tends to impose limits on her, which all concern the body, thus defined as sacred, h'aram [sinful], and which have to be inscribed in the dispositions of the body"(p.27). Therefore, they are in an effort to adjust their representation online according to their concerns about the social environment which makes changes for the viewers as well. Also, it is seen that their Turkish audience also use some strategies such as using male nicknames to be involved in the digital space.

Differentiation of doxa

Doxa is explained by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, & Wacquant,1992:p.98) within the game analogy as the unquestioned rules, which are believed by the individuals becoming familiar to the path while playing the game. In other words, doxa is "sense of limits" or "commitment to presuppositions" of the game (as cited in Myles, 2004). A differentiated doxa is noticed that while talking about their social activities. Regarding the traditional gathering of housewives in Turkey[altın günü], they all stated that they do not have time for "this kind of gatherings". At this point, specifically, the implication "this kind of" is made to indicate their differences from the other housewives. Prior to their activities on the Internet, they are (separately)

in consensus separately that they do not have time to join fun female-only events because they feel responsible for carrying out household tasks instead. Since to support the house budget and the sense of responsibility to get income are added to these tasks, there is no time left for leisure for most of them. Further to that, moral explanations are added by Leyla and Burcu.

For Burcu, more than contributing to home expense, opting for going fun activities is perceived as spending her husband's money for her pleasure. Rather, she emphasized that "*I've never demanded [things] from my husband like others [wives]*". For her, "others" here are the women who enjoy their husbands' money without caring to have their own income. Also, she justifies her husband's jealousy, which causes the limitations towards her presence in public, by his experiences abroad for fifteen years. She says that "*Maybe other girls, abroad, are loose. Immediately becoming a friend and...*" The unspoken part, which, to tell, is inappropriate to tell for her due to her modesty, implies to develop an intimacy with a man. According to Bourdieu (2001), this is explained as that:

> "[The] schemes, in which a group embeds its fundamental structures …are interposed from the outset between every agent and his or her body, because the reactions or representations that one's body gives rise to in others and one's own perception of those reactions are themselves constructed according to those schemes. [Therefore] a reaction produced on the basis of the oppositions…like all judgements of the type.. 'it's a shame, in a girl', or 'it doesn't matter so much in a boy'.." (pp.63-64).

Hence, while looking at the entirety of Burcu's speech, that can be understood, for her, she is Turkish, Muslim, and a "decent woman", not like "others abroad". Moreover, according to Leyla, unlike Burcu, to demand something from a husband is possible within reason, rather, she also states that "*yet, my husband has never rendered me needy*". However, being "needy" is a very open-ended statement. Because when she was hypothetically expressing herself as "*If I had been in the streets, my husband and children would have been somewhere else*", to spend time outside of the home seems to her as irresponsible behaviour towards her family.

Later on, she added that "*I sometimes see some women around, who waste time online for fun without taking care of their kids coming from school or husbands coming from work*". Thus, it is understood that she does not see herself like "other women, who are wandering in the streets or do spend time in front of the computer for fun". She has "merely" been using the Internet to knit online on the purpose of getting the income and helping the women aiming to get income by knitting.

Overall, according to these women, they are aware of their responsibilities to their families. Therefore, they suppose that they hold different doxa than other women who are thought of as 'inappropriately-behaved', 'irresponsible', or 'fun-loving'. Moreover, it is also observed that there remains a differentiation of doxa along with the identity they hold as an active YouTube user, who knits online. However, the activity of knitting does not always require being specifically at their own homes during the time of fulfilling orders except for recording video. The preferences of these women towards staying at home are related to their digital identity which already enables them to surpass the borders of the houses in a space virtually expanded. They enjoy more in this way, which allows them to reach their aims. Also, the activities performed on the Internet are perceived as current, smart and new, instead of the traditional habits. Further to that, through the social media reaching far and wide, by their cultural capital, they have possibility to develop other forms of capital. Therefore, in a way, it can be said that the Internet has positioned them apart from their social roles assigned to them traditionally.

Performing on YouTube via Third Space

YouTube has a distinctive character in comparison with the other social media websites they have been using (such as Facebook, Twitter, Pinterest and Instagram). Because it is mainly based on video sharing that enables the users to show the whole process of the knitting and to get a bond with the viewers by means of the on-going connection. Therefore, first of all, it is important to understand what is meant here as performance. By the analogy between a performing artist and an individual, performance is referred by Goffman (1956:pp.13-15) as the activities of the person acted in front of the observers throughout the effects on the observers. In addition to that, he has used the "personal front" to explain the expressions of

the actor associated with her identity, which emerges during the acting. Hence, the personal front is connected to the person's predispositions and embodied reflections connected to them; such as gestures, appearance, style or ways of speech. As already mentioned, from the perspective of Bourdieu, these are involved in what he calls as habitus comprising skills, habits, and predispositions (Bourdieu, & Wacquant, 1992:p.16). Therefore, it can be said that while these women have been performing when knitting online, they reflect their habitus in this way. Thus, they allow watchers to be affected by them and later they are affected by the feedback.

Moreover, Bhabha (1994) explains the concept of 'Third Space', by referring the immigration process of the individual connected to the colonial power, as a 'hybrid field' that renders the situation of subject remaining in between the values of the country of origin and of the new settlement. I refer here to the Internet as Third Space which enables the hybridization of the fields. Fields are: home comprising traditionality and the Internet formed by different habitus. Therefore, I imply two side of hybridization process: Firstly, it appears between these women's domestic lives surrounded by their traditional dispositions in society and their Internet use that provides them surpassing the boundaries of home; secondly, it arises from the characteristic of the Internet allowing the users for the exchange of socio-cultural values in global aspect. Related to the first side, it can be said that capital gotten through the Third Space affects these Turkish housewife knitters' habitus. In other saying, it corresponds to the interaction between (so-called) "digital habitus" and "habitus". Further to that, the use of YouTube through knitting results in "an empowering condition of hybridity"(p.324) for these Turkish housewives. For instance; Leyla feels useful for society by developing her pedagogical skills through teaching online how to knit. As she has gotten more subscribers on YouTube day by day, her husband has begun to acknowledge the worth of her skill on YouTube. Even, he helps to record the videos when her son is not at home. Burcu feels herself to be more self-confident due to the fact that she can afford her needs. Her husband starts to recognize her success on handicrafts after her YouTube channel. Her eight-year-old daughter also has opened a YouTube account to talk about her accessories. Burcu has stated that her daughter was

thinking only men can do managerial activities but after Burcu became a YouTuber, but then her thoughts based on the sexual division of labour between men and women start to change. Additionally, Mine has had an effect on the women in her class at public education based on knitting. She usually shares her orders she has gotten online with them. Even, some of them have been inspired by her and opened a YouTube account. Melek would like to improve her knitting skill and to get income. By the same token, she also has a political protesting aim by sharing a specific number of models online, which equals to the number of decree-laws she has stood trial for. Ayten is a name known among the knitter females, she holds substantial symbolic capital at the community level. Due to the fact that she aims to reach more women by knitting online, it can be said that her main aim is to expand the scope of Third Space.

Secondly, hybridization in the field occurs between the Internet users interested in knitting by means of sharing of the knitting videos. Even though there is an extra need to research the audiences, the information gotten is that most of the viewers of these Turkish knitters get income. That indicates the empowering aspect of the hybridity for them as well. On the other hand, in Bhabha's words, Third Space also "represents both the general conditions of language and the specific implication of the utterance in a performative and institutional strategy of which it cannot 'in itself' be conscious" (1994: p.53). In this manner, Turkish housewife knitters have effects on the audience by the way of allowing the watcher to interpret their knitting performances via YouTube. Regarding Turkish linguistic skill which can mostly affect the local audience, it is noticed that all of them have used religious words quite often like "Bismillahirrahmanirrahim" and/or "İnşallah". Therefore, even though it is not seen whether they wear religious clothes or not in the videos, the use of these words reflects religiosity in a certain sense. Cemile and Leyla mostly mention 'dowry' as a recommendation for young girls in a traditional way. Also, difference in the forms of address to their viewers exists. Except the use of both gender terms or gender-neutral terms, it is noticed that Ayten and Burcu call their viewers as if they are women. Thus, by the interaction with Turkish audience, this

manner of speaking perpetuates traditional, religious, and gender-normative manners to some.

Furthermore, the intervention of the Third Space, beyond the spatial boundaries, allows "cultural enunciations in the act of hybridity, in the process of translating and transvaluing cultural differences" (Bhabha,1994: p.362). In particular, while these women have been knitting online, they reflect their 'tenue', which means embodied physical features (Bourdieu, 2004:p.579) in addition to verbal delivery. These women interact with a global community, which comprises individuals interested in knitting. Thus, apart from getting economic capital, they also improve their social and cultural capital within the exchange of their handcrafts' visuality. For instance; the patterns of Romanian knitter effected the process of knitting of Melek and Pervin. Additionally, the videos of these Turkish housewife knitters have been watched from all part of the world. Even though none of them have any foreign language skill, they get a connection through the frame of online translation tools, as well as they interpret the foreigners' knitting acts according to their comprehension ability while watching or displaying these.

CHAPTER VII

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Concluding Discussion

Within this research, it is possible to see how Gauntlett (2012) has argued that crafting on YouTube is connecting people, increasing creativity and providing happiness but this is not all. In particular, regarding the gender perspective of the research, the aspect of the female presence requires to be emphasized. Related to the argument of Wotanis and MacMillan (2014), who states that YouTube as a video-sharing website can both reproduce and defy gender inequities, I argue that YouTube provides them with space to increase their independence from the male dominance that they experience in their daily lives, by earning, sharing, and connecting through knitting.

Furthermore, apart from different explanations of "mumpreneur" in the last two decades (Richomme-Huet, & Vial, 2013), I would prefer not to call these Turkish housewives "mumpreneurs" as Ekinsmyth (2011) does because they do not fit exactly into the definition. Turkish housewives do not do marketing online and, except one, they do not have a specific career background. The knowledge of knitting skill is an embodied cultural capital gotten through the upbringing since childhood by female relatives and neighbours. It is related to the many hours Turkish girls spend at home compared to boys. Therefore, the emphasis here is being at home rather than being a mother, who is in between career and motherhood. However, Ekinsmyth has even mentioned that entrepreneurship is a controversial term due to the differences in the socio-economic settings of mothers. The demands, responsibilities, and abilities of mothers are variable according to the habitus connected to the surroundings. That shows us the importance of the "habitus" concept when analysing women working at home. As social and cultural capital are important for mumpreneurs, the way of getting this capital is also significant for the women in question.

Moreover, it can be said that mumpreneurs profit from their domestic roles, which are assigned to them traditionally, that is similar with the case of the women living in the US selling crafts online (White, 2015:pp.33-64). However, as it is

discussed whether teleworking is heaven or hell for the women working at home (Greenhill, & Wilson, 2006), regardless of the profession, it is common ground that they have been overworking and the distance between work and home life is blurry. This is because of the gendered labour division that women are presupposed to do regarding domestic tasks in addition to childcare. By technological progress, within the virtual borders transcending the geographical boundaries, it can be said that the answer of the question of whether teleworking is heaven or hell has also been bound to (digital) habitus, which is connected to the motivations. Regarding that, YouTube is not a platform providing benefits only to these Turkish housewives. Apart from the empowering speech given online in addition to knitting, even though most of the Turkish females' identities are not publicly shared through knitting in the digital sphere, their hands moving between needles and yarns on the videos function as a medium for their existence in the Internet. Further to that, by the continuous record of the explanation of how to knit, YouTube allows them to share their knowledge with the others. Thus, it is seen that the viewers mostly give feedback about that they get income by watching these women and applying the knitting patterns.

On the other hand, Turkish housewives knitting online set themselves apart from the ordinary housewives. Instead of choosing fun activities with their peers, they prioritize their deeds on YouTube due to feelings of responsibility towards the viewers within thinking the probability that if there is a need as they do. These Turkish women see publishing of the knitting videos online as a continuous charity providing religious benefit to them. Thus, the latter shows that how they give the meaning to their acts is also connected to their habitus. Moreover, if I turn back to the question that whether working-at-home is heaven or hell, according to the informants' all positive explanation and religious references, it seems as "heaven" for the Turkish housewives knitting online in the present. Furthermore, regarding the new debate topic between feminists based on whether digital places have the possibility to create a networked digital sisterhood among women (Fotopoulou, 2016), it can be said that even YouTube has potential for this solidarity. As it is taken into consideration that some Turkish knitter women have learned some patterns from foreigners, it can even be regarded as possible that YouTube can have

effect in "global sisterhood" of knitting women, which has long been searched for among feminists (Mohanty, 2003; hooks,2000).

Turkey is a country that bears witness to the dichotomization between modernization and conservatism during its socio-political history. The change in gender perception in the society in terms of social, political, and economical implementations in history, the circumstances of being a woman in Turkey since 1970 (due to the age range of the participants' of the research) has been handled in this thesis. In this way, the aim was to investigate the triggers of Turkish female housewives to knit online has been aimed. By the use of virtual ethnographic approach, in-depth interviews were conducted with eight Turkish women active on YouTube and their shared videos shared were analysed in an effort to achieve a holistic perspective. Moreover, since they have experienced living in the conservative environment, and/or village setting embracing traditional approaches, it has been seen that they have learnt knitting skill since their childhood by mostly being indoors due to the gender roles of the community based on male dominance. Related to this, most of them lacked higher education and professional career. Furthermore; while some of them have not tried a work life, others have had work experiences comprising hard conditions.

At the present, none of them have an institutional job and they describe their position by the housewifery roles. By the prevalence of the Internet use, they began to transfer their skill, which they already have, from home to farther places. Thus, digital space has become a medium to achieve their goals, which is primarily to have income. Most of them, who comprise the single mothers, a woman with no work background, and a female becoming unemployed due to political troubles, had met each other online with the purpose of learning knitting on YouTube. Also, regarding manner of life, they position themselves differently from an ordinary housewife in Turkey within their digital identity. They feel responsibility towards themselves, their families in terms of the economic gain, and also their audiences in need regardless of their digital identity's' publicity. At this point, it should be emphasized that, rather than being an inactive subject, they have applied some

strategies in daily life, even by their digital identity, to not conflict with the societal values according to the circumstances.

This research has shown that while these women maintain their domestic responsibilities at home, by getting online, they have a possibility to get economic capital by earning an income, social capital by sociality, cultural capital by the acquisition of knowledge, and also symbolic capital by obtaining prestige for some. YouTube as a video sharing website serves a function to build trust between the audiences and knitter women by the continuous performance of these women and their digital identity. They represent themselves through their acts, habits, preferences, and manner of speaking in addition to their way of communication in the comments. Thus, they can even build close relationships between each other. Besides this social connection, YouTube provides them a way to teach their skill online to the farther audience. In this way, while socio-cultural aspects have been intermingling in a global scope, the knitting videos helps the local viewers according to the feedbacks conveyed to Turkish female knitters. Therefore, it can be said that the latter point is one of the substantial drives to knit online after their personal income. Apart from some online talk of the female knitters, who aims to empower women; merely sharing of videos on YouTube without revealing the personal information even ensures women helping each other. Thus, while the Turkish women knitting on YouTube benefit from their domestic roles and traditional inherited skill with the aim of getting capital, the facilities of the technology and the Internet as a medium allows them to surpass the borders of home. Therefore, the argument of Virginia Woolf (2001) "[a] woman must have money and a room of her own" (p.2) can be revised for these Turkish housewife knitters living in between a conservative society and the actuality of the digital era as:" a woman must have yarn and an Internet connection of her own".

Last but not least, related to the uniqueness of this thesis topic, the arguments need to be clarified by further researches. Therefore, I would like to share some recommendations with relevant people concerning this topic. In my humble opinion, there could also have been used quantitative research methods regarding evaluation of connections online; such as (social) network analysis. However, my

lack of experience with quantitative methods rendered me hesitant. Also, as I emphasized in the analysis, to communicate with the audiences can render information in terms of the effects of the knitting videos on the audiences and the key characteristic of the Internet regarding the interaction in the broad scope. Yet, due to the fact that it would take more time than this study allowed, the timeline of the research should be prepared according to that.

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APPENDIX

Table 1: Internet use in Turkey						
Percentage of Internet usage by latest usage and sex, 2017,2018						(%)
	Internet					
	Total		Male		Female	
Latest Usage	2017	2018	2017	2018	2017	2018
Computer & Internet users	66.8	72.9	75.1	80.4	58.7	65.5
Within the last 3 months	64.7	71.0	72.8	78.2	56.6	63.9
Between 3 months and a year ago	1.1	0.9	1.1	1.0	1.1	0.8
More than one year ago	1.1	0.9	1.2	1.1	1.0	0.8
Never used it	33.2	27.1	24.9	19.6	41.3	34.5
TurkStat, Survey on Information and Communication Technology (ICT) Usage Survey in Households and by Individuals, 2018						

Table 2: Interaction with public authorities via Internet in Turkey						
Interaction with public authorities and activities in the last 12 months by sex, 2017-2018　　(%) (Respondents may choose more than one option, therefore total do not give 100)						
	Total		Male		Female	
Usage of e-government services	2017	2018	2017	2018	2017	2018
Individuals interact with public authorities	42.4	45..6	51.2	56.4	33.5	34.8
Activities						
Obtaining information from websites	37.6	41.7	46.6	52.5	28.6	31.0
Downloading official forms	22.5	25.5	28.6	32.1	16.3	18.9
Submitting completed forms online	30.4	30.1	36.2	35.6	24.8	24.7
TurkStat, Survey on Information and Communication Technology (ICT) Usage Survey in Households and by Individuals, 2018						

Table 3: Personal background of the participants

	Age	Education	Work exp.	Village exp.	Marital status	First mrrge	Child	External support
L	48	Primary school	No	Yes	Married	20	2	Yes (son)
A	45	Primary school	Yes	Yes	Married (2nd)	13	5	Yes (husbnd)
K	40	High school	No	Yes	Married	21	2	Yes (husbnd)
B	26	High school drop out	No	Yes	Married	16	2	No
Z	43	Primary school	Yes	Yes	Divorced	30	1	No
M	42	University	Yes	No	Married	24	None	Yes (husbnd)
P	38	Open high school	Yes	Yes	Married	19	2	Yes (husbnd)
C	44	Primary school	Yes	No	Divorced	19	2	Yes (childrn)

Table 4: Digital background of the participants

	Experience period (YouTube)	Online speech	Number of subscribers	Number of videos uploaded	Use of social media
L	4 yrs, 4mnths	Yes	214,550	711	Y,I,F
A	4 yrs, 8mnths	Yes	195,429	804	Y,I,P,F,T
K	1 yrs,8 mnths	No	110,126	623	Y,I,P,F
B	1yrs,7mnths	No	76,136	159	Y,I,P,F
Z	5 mnths	No	13,395	46	Y,I,P,F
M	1yrs,6 mnths	Yes	12,525	120	Y,I,P,F,T
P	5 mnths	No	4,227	48	Y,I,P,F
C	5 mnths	No	2,625	64	Y,I,P,F

Y:Youtube, I:Instagram, P:Pinterest, F:Facebook, T: Twitter(Data given above by 3th April, 2019)