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**THE ROLE OF CLOTHING IN THE FORMATION OF VEILED
MUSLIM WOMEN'S IDENTITIES AND VEILED MUSLIM WOMEN'S
IDENTITIES
IN TODAY'S TURKISH SOCIETY**

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ÖRTÜLÜ MÜSLÜMAN KADIN KİMLİĞİ OLUŞUMUNDA GİYSİNİN
YERİ VE BU BAĞLAMDA GÜNÜMÜZ TÜRKİYE’SİNDE ÖRTÜLÜ
MÜSLÜMAN KADIN KİMLİKLERİ**

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to define how the veiled Muslim women's identity is shaped by fashion and consumption based on 'clothing' and in this context, to define the types of veiled Muslim women's identity distinguished by 'veil' and 'clothing' in today's Turkey. In the study, based on the concept of identity, the individual and social identity created with clothing, clothing as an element of consumption and its effects on consumption and identity formation and its effects on an economic, social, and cultural social identity, the concept of fashion which is the most fluid structure in the concept of consumption, identities shaped by fashion formed by the sameness and difference tendencies, the definition of the veiled Muslim woman, and in the context of these conceptual structures, ten covered Muslim women's identities in today's Turkey, which are distinguished by their veiling styles, are examined. The veiled Muslim women's identities defined in the study are included in the literature for the first time in this context. The virtual ethnography method was used to examine the veiled Muslim women's identities in depth. As a result of the research, in addition to the concept of 'hybridization' defined regarding the Islamization of the sectors, the *tesettur* clothing sector, and the Islamist women's identity, in this thesis, hybridization is explained with the veiled women's identities that exist today.

Keywords: Veiled Muslim women identity, an identity formed by clothing, conspicuous consumption, modest fashion '*tesettur*', hybridization

ÖZET

Bu tezin amacı; örtülü Müslüman kadın kimliğinin ‘giysi’ temelinde moda ve tüketim ile nasıl şekillendiği ve bu bağlamda günümüz Türkiye’inde ‘örtü’ ve ‘giysi’ ile ayrılmış örtülü Müslüman kadın kimliği çeşitlerini tanımlamaktır. Çalışmada kimlik kavramı temelinde, giysi ile oluşturulan bireysel ve toplumsal kimlik, giysinin tüketim unsuru olması sebebiyle tüketim kavramı ve tüketimin ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel bir toplumsal kimlik oluşumuna etkisi, tüketim kavramındaki en akışkan yapı olan moda kavramı, aynılık ve farklılık eğilimleriyle oluşan moda aracılığıyla şekillenen kimlikleri, sembol haline gelen örtülü Müslüman kadın kimliği tanımı, melezleşen İslami sektörler ve bu kavramsal yapılar bağlamında örtüyle çeşitlenen günümüz Türkiye’indeki on örtülü Müslüman kadın kimliği incelenmiştir. Tanımlanan örtülü Müslüman kadın kimlikleri ilk kez bu kapsamda literatürde yer almaktadır. Örtülü Müslüman kadın kimliklerini derinlemesine incelemek amacıyla sanal etnografi yöntemi (Virtual ethnography method) kullanılmıştır. Araştırma sonucunda, sektörlerin İslamileştirilmesi, tesettür giyim sektörü, İslamcı kadın kimliği ile ilgili tanımlanan ‘melezleşme’ kavramına ek olarak, bu tezde melezleşme günümüzde yer alan örtülü kadın kimlikleri ile açıklanmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Örtülü Müslüman kadın kimliği, giysiyle oluşan kimlik, gösterge tüketimi, muhafazakar moda / tesettür giyim, melezleşme

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the role of clothing in the formation of Muslim women's identities and Muslim women's identities that are distinguished through different styles in today's Turkey. According to the Guide to Understanding Turkey published by Ipsos, 60% of women in Turkey are veiled.¹ As a designer and a veiled woman myself, I study veiled Muslim women's identities which are influenced by *tesettur* clothing or conservative clothing, a sector which I had the chance to observe firsthand. As a result of the research, 10 different identities of Muslim women, aged between 18-50, living in Turkey and sharing their photos on Instagram which is a visual social media platform, were identified. This study examines how these 10 different Muslim women's identities are formed and reflected by clothes, consciously or unconsciously.

Today, Muslim women's identities have been studied in two stereotypical forms in Turkish academic literature. In this thesis, the veiled Muslim women's identity is defined according to the types of 'clothes' borrowed from the conceptual literature, and according to the types of 'veil' in the context of the thesis. Two main terms related to the concept of *tesettur* in Turkey are used in both academic studies and socio-political debates: headscarf and turban.² The first of these is the identity of the 'Islamist Muslim woman' in which the headscarf is used as a political symbol and Islamism is adopted as a political ideology. In this type of Muslim woman identity, clothing is generally observed as clothes like a top coat, which is far from fashion and is closer to the definition of the ideal *tesettur* described in the Qur'an. The other veiled Muslim woman identity, which is mentioned in the academy as the second type, is the type described as capitalist Muslims. In this type of identity, it is seen that the dress of Muslim women, who gained wealth by the rise of today's political power, is shaped by more modern influences. Their veiling with trendy

¹ "Türkiye'yi Anlama Kılavuzu", *Halkla İlişkiler*, access March, 2012, http://www.halklailiskiler.com/pdf/Turkiyeyi-Anlama-Kilavuzu-EKıtap_1347963063.pdf, 110.

² Nazli Alimen, *Faith and fashion in Turkey: consumption, politics and Islamic identities*, (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019): 48.

brand pieces is more modern, and this veiled Muslim women's identity is referred to in academia as Islamic capitalists. In the last part of the thesis, various veiled Muslim women's identities, which have not yet been discussed in academic studies, but which are frequently encountered in the streets, schools, restaurants, in all areas of life, and are distinguished by their clothes, are analyzed and defined. In this context, this thesis aims to contribute to the Turkish literature for the studies of veiled Muslim women's identity.

Identity has a structure that is not fixed, fluid, and suitable for change and transformation, which is defined by sameness and difference. Identity is defined as how one sees oneself and how others see that person, a combination of samenesses and differences.³ The identity that a person creates with their own characteristics is individual identity, and the identity created by social relations is social identity.⁴ It reflects our identity, how we experience social, cultural, and economic relations, and who we are.⁵ Elements that determine personal identity such as gender, age, religion, racial characteristics, class, height, appearance, posture, speech, and facial and body expressions are defined as a personal showcase.⁶ The memory of social, cultural, and economic relations from the past also has an important place in the identity of people. According to Sahlins, social identity is formed by communication with interaction.⁷ Changes that build social identity in Turkey; modernization transitions, the rise of Islamic identity, experiences with the Kurdish problem, economic life, and identity definitions.⁸

³ Saime Tuğrul, "Kimlik" (Lecture, Kimlik, Hafıza ve Kültür , İstanbul Bilgi University, İstanbul, Ekim 23, 2017)

⁴ Anthony Giddens, *Modernite ve Bireysel-Kimlik Geç Modern Çağda Benlik ve Toplum* (İstanbul: Say Yayınları, 2010): 75.

⁵ Mutlu Binark and Kılıçbay, *Tüketim Toplumu Bağlamında Türkiye'de Örtünme Pratiği ve Moda İlişkisi* (Ankara: Konrad Adenauer Vakfı, 2000): 13.

⁶ Erving Goffman, *Günlük Yaşamda Benliğin Sunumu* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları , 2009): 35.

⁷ Marshall Sahlins, *Batı'nın İnsan Doğası Yanılsaması* (İstanbul: bgst, 2012) : 121.

⁸ Fuat Keyman, "Sistem kurucu ve sistem dönüştürücü bir toplumsal gerçeklik olarak kültürel kimlik olgusunu yeniden düşünmek", *Kimlikler Lütfen* (Ankara: ODTÜ Geliştirme Vakfı Yay, 2009): 51-52.

People feel a sense of belonging by acting according to the norms of the social environments they want to be in and by getting the approval of others. Therefore they act according to the norms of that social environment, with concrete actions, namely, consumption. Because 'others' define the person by interpreting their items of consumption as a showcase.⁹ According to Bauman, the affirmation of the identity by a stronger power strengthens the identity.¹⁰ In addition, how we see others, our similarities, differences, and relationships shape our identities.¹¹ With the effect of identity, globalization, and capitalism, many types of products are produced that can diversify identities. Thus, the person can easily find a product to use for the identity they want to reflect. Bauman states that due to this variety of products, people's identities will be changed and discarded like costumes.¹² For this reason, the construction of identity, which enters a cycle with consumption, never ends, is constantly updated, and is always reborn.¹³

With appearance becoming increasingly important in the modern period, clothing has now turned into an indicator of consumption beyond being a basic need.¹⁴ Thus, a consumer society has formed in which economic, social, and cultural relations are in one place. An identity structure has been created by displaying a certain consumed product or service and is always kept up to date.¹⁵ As trends change, people continue to consume new indicators to protect the social identity and social approval they have acquired by consuming. Today, this fashion change, the display of indicators, is experienced in social media.

⁹ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2000): 229.

¹⁰ Zygmunt Bauman, *Parçalanmış Hayat*, (İstanbul: Ayrıntı, 2001): 369

¹¹ Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity* (London: Routledge, 2008): 18-22.

¹² Zygmunt Bauman, *Postmodernlik ve Hoşnutsuzlukları* (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2000): 124.

¹³ Zygmunt Bauman, *Etiğin Tüketiciler Dünyasında Bir Şansı Var mı?* (Ankara: De Ki Basım, 2010): 16-21.

¹⁴ Jean Baudrillard, *Selected writings*, (Stanford University Press, 1998): 47.

¹⁵ Mutlu Binark and Kılıçbay, *Tüketim Toplumu Bağlamında Türkiye'de Örtünme Pratiği ve Moda İlişkisi*, 14-15.

Clothing is the first consumption item that appeals to large masses with industrialization. With the cheapening of clothes, they lost their economic value and acquired a symbolic indicator value.¹⁶ According to Crane, clothing, which is the most visible form of consumption, is one of the most important indicators of identity construction and social class distinction.¹⁷ Today, clothing is an indicator of issues such as social identity, gender, social class, and occupational status¹⁸ since clothes, which are a form of nonverbal communication, are worn for 'others'.¹⁹ According to Veblen, no element of consumption can be a more obvious indicator than clothing. Because a person first reflects their financial situation with the clothes they wear.²⁰ Thus, by looking at the person's clothing, various information can be obtained ranging from social identity to social class.

The concept, which is popular in all areas of consumption, is defined as 'fashion'.²¹ Being the same and being different from each other are indispensable trends in fashion. The structure of fashion includes constant change. In the 19th century, people follow the fashion of the class they want to be with the concept of 'class fashion'. Today, however, as the variety of products has increased, consumer fashion has emerged. In consumer fashion, fashion is formed not only for the upper classes but also for all classes.²² In this context, nowadays three different fashion structures can interact with each other: luxury designer fashion, industrial fashion and street style.²³

¹⁶ Diana Crane, *Moda ve Gündemleri Giyimde Sınıf, Cinsiyet ve Kimlik* (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2018): 18-19.

¹⁷ Ibid: 13.

¹⁸ Anthony Giddens, *Modernite ve Bireysel-Kimlik Geç Modern Çağda Benlik ve Toplum*, 132-133.

¹⁹ Diana Crane, *Moda ve Gündemleri Giyimde Sınıf, Cinsiyet ve Kimlik*, 368.

²⁰ Thorstein Veblen, *Aylak Sınıfın Teorisi*, (İstanbul: Babil Yayınları, 2005): 115.

²¹ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*. Çeviren Özden Arıkan (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000): 35.

²² Diana Crane, *Moda ve Gündemleri Giyimde Sınıf, Cinsiyet ve Kimlik*, 217-218.

²³ Ibid: 262.

A person expresses something about themselves with their clothes, and others can make inferences about that person's status and lifestyle thanks to the signs they see in that person. However, the meanings of a certain style change according to time and place.²⁴ As fashion is constantly changing just as the meaning of fashionable clothing this year and five years from now will be different, the meaning of a veiling style that is fashionable in Turkey may be different from the meaning it expresses in another country.

Fashion embodies both imitation and differentiation at the same time.²⁵ In this context, in addition to the conceptualization of Simmel, Veblen and Bourdieu, who associate the concept of fashion with social class, Davis also states that the meaning of fashion and clothing has a cultural dimension.²⁶ According to Simmel, who states that fashion in clothing is respectively adopted by the upper, middle and lower classes, the lower classes imitate the dressing style of the upper classes in order to gain status and destroy boundaries. However, when that fashion becomes available, the upper classes turn to a new fashion.²⁷ Thus, the lower classes begin to imitate the new fashion, and this cycle continues.²⁸ This cycle has been defined by Veblen and Simmel as the 'top-down' concept. Fashion moves away from fixation thanks to the dynamic cycle of imitation and differentiation.

From a different point of view, Blumer states that social classes are not separated by fashion. Because fashionable clothing means moving in the accepted direction.²⁹ According to Blumer, being modern and up-to-date is more important than status and social class.³⁰

²⁴ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 16-18.

²⁵ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies* (London: Berg, 2013): 31.

²⁶ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 24.

²⁷ George Simmel, "Fashion". *The American Journal of Sociology-The University of Chicago Press* (1957): 541.

²⁸ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 126.

²⁹ Ibid: 130.

³⁰ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 230.

Communication with clothes functions as something to describe a social environment and social class. When we see a person for the first time without knowing them at all, we can get an idea about that person thanks to that person's appearance and attitude.³¹ Yet, this impression can be misleading. Because the person may have dressed and behaved in accordance with the identity they wanted to be associated with.³² From a similar point of view, Locke states that two different identities will be reflected when a person dresses differently today than yesterday.³³ People express a wide variety of meanings with the clothes they wear. The interaction that occurs when the meaning of the garment is the same by the wearer and the perceiving person, is conceptualized by symbolic interactionism.³⁴ Clothes also reflect social class, gender, religion, occupation, and origin.³⁵ In the example of religion, the identities reflected by the 'veil' are defined in the following sections of this thesis.

The most visible symbol in Turkish modernization is the veiled Muslim woman. As seen throughout Muslim countries, the 'veil' has become a symbol of the secularization of women's appearance.³⁶ Since the concept of identity is built with symbols in Turkey, it has become inevitable for the veil to be in the foreground. Ideologically, we can count the political identity, practically the personal Muslim identity, the social identity reflecting the social class with the consumption of the veil and clothing, as the meanings of the 'veil'. Göle, who semantically divides the veil into headscarves and turbans, defined the traditional veiling with the headscarf, and the veiling adopted by the political stance with the

³¹ Erving Goffman, *Günlük Yaşamda Benliğin Sunumu*, 15.

³² Ibid: 76.

³³ John Locke, *Of Identity and Diversity* (London: The Project Gutenberg E-Book, 2004): 11.

³⁴ Susan Kaiser, "Toward a contextual social psychology of clothing: A synthesis of symbolic interactionist and cognitive theoretical perspectives" (*Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 2.1, 1983): 2.

³⁵ Diana Crane, *Moda ve Gündemleri Giyimde Sınıf, Cinsiyet ve Kimlik*, 16.

³⁶ Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2011): 50.

turban.³⁷ With the strengthening of the Islamic movement, the meaning of status reflecting social class was added to these two meanings.

With the Islamic movement, a new veiled Muslim woman identity has emerged, which is expressed as the 'Islamic woman' who rejects the traditional veiling. They are educated, urban, young and modern compared to the traditional veiled woman. They reject the traditional veiling of their mothers, that is, the '*aunt model*', accusing them of not knowing Islam.³⁸ This new type of veiling by prioritizing Islamic sensitivities was found unsettling by the secular sections of society. Discussions about the headscarf started with the veiled Muslim women who entered the universities with a veil called 'turban'. It has received many reactions from the secular community with the difference in veiling between Islamic women and traditional women and the difference in the meaning of the veiling. After the February 28 and general elections of 1999, it was forbidden to enter the parliament, public institutions and universities with a veil.³⁹

"*Tesettur*", which we can define as the ideal form of covering, is a *fard* commanded by the religion of Islam for Muslim women. In the light of verses and hadiths, the ideal form of coverage can be created by examining it. In the following pages of the thesis, in the "Ideal Veiled Muslim Women's Identity" section, the interpretations of different Islamic scholars and the hadiths from different sources are examined. The verses in the Qur'an, the holy book of Islam, in which veiling is made obligatory and its limits are explained, are Azhab 59, Nur 31 and Nur 60. In these verses, the way and limits of veiling, the definition of 'awrah', the definition of 'jilbab' that provides veiling, the form of 'khimar', which is the top cover, the definition of 'adornment', and old age in veiling are mentioned.

³⁷ Ibid: 16.

³⁸ Ibid: 16.

³⁹ Nilüfer Göle, *Melez Desenler* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2000): 17.

The veiled Muslim woman has been the most important subject of modernization. Since the veiling worship commanded in the religion of Islam is visible to other people, the veil has become a symbol.⁴⁰ According to Barbarosoğlu, who defines the veil as having a transparent meaning, veiling means nothing other than expressing that a person is a Muslim.⁴¹ But with Göle's definition, the cover serves as a political litmus. With the strengthening of the Islamic movement, women became the subject again.⁴² In response to the criticism that the traditional women of Islamist women cover their heads without knowing enough about Islam, they are also in a dilemma. The fact that the female body is private in Islam and that the woman is in the foreground with her covered body in the Islamist movement has created a paradox.⁴³

The communicative language of clothes express the wearers' private and public identities.⁴⁴ Thus, the effect of clothing on creating a veiled Muslim woman identity is observed in the context of the 'variety of veiling'. In this context, there is clothing, fashion and consumption in parallel with the formation of the veiled Muslim woman identity. The first fashion icon among Turkish Muslim veiled women is Şule Yüksel Şenler. She acted as a role model as well as making speeches on religious and social concepts regarding the headscarf in her conferences.⁴⁵ With the new type of veiling style of Islamist women, 'fashion' began to be used in *tesettür* for the first time. Şule Yüksel Şenler tells how she created the covering style, called Şulebaş, which laid the foundations of today's headscarf fashion, out of a need so that her hair would not be exposed in the wind. She says that she would look for new styles by replacing hats with headscarves in the photographs of European models in magazines. She starts going to conferences with this style and

⁴⁰ Ibid: 131.

⁴¹ Fatma Barbarosoğlu, *Kamusal Alanda Başörtülüler* (İstanbul: Timaş, 2004): 75.

⁴² Nilüfer Göle, *Seküler ve Dinsel: Aşınan Sınırlar* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012): 98.

⁴³ Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, 115.

⁴⁴ Fatma Barbarosoğlu, *Kamusal Alanda Başörtülüler*, 27.

⁴⁵ Rustem Ertug Altınay, *Islamic Fashion and Anti-Fashion: New Perspectives from Europe and North America*, edit: Annelies Moors, Emma Tarlo (London: Bloomsbury, 2013): 107.

women followed her with great admiration. After Şenler, it is understood that wearing the headscarf is also a style, and this remarks a turning point in terms of the headscarf being influenced by fashion.⁴⁶ 'Tekbir Giyim', on the other hand, used the words '*tesettur*' and 'fashion' in its advertisements for the first time in the new veiling style.⁴⁷ For this reason, 'fashion', with the new veiling of Islamist women, became a concept used for the first time in the context of *tesettur*. As a result, the fact that fashion is a consumption-oriented concept with the virtue of avoiding waste and extravagance in Islam has created tension for veiled Muslim women.

This tension has started to occur not only in *tesettur* clothing but also in all sectors. As a result of the incompatibility of consumption-oriented capitalism and Islam, the concept of the Islamic economy was formed with the '3rd way' that emerged, and various sectors were Islamized.⁴⁸ According to Göle's definition, these 'hybrid sectors' formed by the Islamic economy strengthened the Islamic capital. Thus, economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital has now begun to intersect with Islamic capital and has been criticized by Islamic intellectuals.⁴⁹ The indicative meanings of luxury consumption elements in Islamic sectors defined the Islamic bourgeoisie.⁵⁰ The *tesettur* clothing sector, which is the most visible of these new Islamic sectors in daily life, gave a new identity to the veiled Muslim woman. In this context, various veiled Muslim women's identities formed by clothing within the framework of the 'veil' will be examined in this thesis.

The 'Islamization of sectors', brought about by the tension between Islam and capitalism; Göle's concept of hybridization emerged as an Islamic middle way with Gökariksel and McLarney's "3rd way" concept. In this study, I explain

⁴⁶ "Şule Yüksel Şenler Mücadelesini Anlattı", Yeşil Topuklar, access , , <http://www.yesiltopuklar.com/sule-yuksel-senler-mucadelesini-anlatti.html> .

⁴⁷ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 221-222.

⁴⁸ Banu Gökariksel and Ellen McLarney, "Muslim Women, Consumer Capitalism, and Islamic Culture Industry" (*Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 2010): 4.

⁴⁹ Selin Ongun, *Başörtülü Kadınlar Anlattı: Türlü Erkekler* (İstanbul: Destek, 2010), 12.

⁵⁰ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 233.

hybridization with hybridized veiled women's identities in today's world.

Due to the strengthening of the Islamist movement and subsequent Islamic capital, and the conservative political power, new disguised Muslim women's identities have emerged. The new veiled Muslim woman identity, which has replaced the traditional veil, is generally young, educated, urban and modern.⁵¹ The newly formed covert Muslim women's identities differ in terms of class, religiosity, age, ethnicity, nationality, gender, sexuality and politics.⁵²

During the AKP rule, a period of relief, freedom and normalization⁵³ began with the reduction of political troubles in the Islamic section of the society. Especially when the problems and bans they faced after the 1999 general elections and the February 28 period came to an end, a new consumption-oriented mass emerged due to the neo-liberal consumption culture of the AKP. The Consumptionscape⁵⁴ for veiled Muslim women has widened. Thus, veiled Muslim women identities have also diversified. Since Turkey switched to a market economy in the 1980s, it was likely that neoliberal consumption policies would be on the country's agenda, even without the AKP.

A person can show that they believe in the religion of Islam by wearing the clothes they choose, that is, the veil and *tesettur* clothing.⁵⁵ For this reason, it is easily understood by other people that a veiled woman is a Muslim in comparison to the visibility of a Muslim man.⁵⁶ Especially since the veiled Muslim women's identities are examined, the role of veiling and veiling in the diversification of these identities is examined. Thus, a contribution is made to the academic literature with

⁵¹ Ibid: 44.

⁵² Banu Gökariksel and Ellen McLarney, "Muslim Women, Consumer Capitalism, and Islamic Culture Industry", 6.

⁵³ Merve Kutuk Kuris, "Piety, fashion and festivity in a modest fashion shopping mall in Istanbul.", *International Journal of Fashion Studies (Bristol: Intellect Ltd Article, 2020)*: 184.

⁵⁴ Özlem Sandıkçı, Güliz Ger, "In-between modernities and postmodernities: Theorizing Turkish consumptionscape", *Advances in Consumer Research*, no. 29 (2002): 1.

⁵⁵ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 404.

⁵⁶ Fatma Barbarosoğlu, *Kamusal Alanda Başörtülüler*, 75.

the definitions of a new veiled Muslim woman identity that is different from the Islamist woman and Islamist capitalist woman identity. Veiled Muslim women's identities, which have not yet been discussed in academic studies, but appear in all areas of life and are distinguished by their clothes, in other words, their appearance, are examined in this thesis. In this context, the answer to the question of how the concept of clothing and the 'cover' affects Muslim women's identities is sought.

Veiled Muslim women, who differ in various issues, can be defined by their identities. In this part of the thesis, since the subject is not included in the academic literature, some of the identified veiled Muslim women's identities cannot be cited as references, because the definitions are determined by me. As someone who has been a designer in the conservative clothing industry for years, my observations and social media users living within the borders of Turkey have been examined and their own explanations are used. In this context, I identified 10 veiled Muslim women; 'Islamist Activist Muslim Woman Identity', 'Modern Modest Woman Identity', 'Traditionally Veiling Muslim Woman Identity', 'Identity of Muslim Women Wearing the Burqa', 'Identity of Women Wearing the Abaya', 'Identity of Muslim Women Wearing the Bonnet', 'Identity of a Muslim Woman Partially Covering Hair', 'Identity of Devotee Muslim Women', 'Identity of a Muslim Woman with Bandanna-on-Headscarf Style' and 'Identity of a Muslim woman who has renounced the veil'. I identify the various Muslim women's identities in the light of Weber's concept of "ideal type"⁵⁷, because there is fluidity and flexibility among the given identities.

⁵⁷ John J. Macionis, *Sociology* (Boston: Pearson Education, 2014): 99.

CHAPTER 1: IDENTITY

“My identity is what makes me unique.”⁵⁸

Every human is a subject with an identity. The building blocks of identity are the experiences, thoughts and feelings of a person since their infancy. The society one lives in also shapes the identity. Collective feelings of joy and sorrow and many others contribute to the formation of identity. Besides internal and external factors, identity is also shaped by how one is viewed by others. It extends to all characteristics of a person, how one sees themselves and how they are seen by others shape the identity.⁵⁹ It cannot be expected that all these factors lead to a final form of identity for identity is not fixed but fluid.⁶⁰

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, identity is derived from the identical root of “idem”, meaning “the same”, in Latin.⁶¹ “Sameness” which is explained as classifying, associating and connecting is discussed in the context of likeness and difference. Identity means a union of “samenesses”, and is a combination of how one sees themselves and is seen. As long as the individual exists, the individual is the same despite whichever changes it goes through.⁶² Thus, it is possible to define identity as a totality of likenesses and differences to others.

Identity, which is formed through the surrounding social, cultural and economical relationships, is a non-fixed structure that reflects who we are and how we experience these relationships.⁶³ Rutherford adds to this definition the past experiences and suggests a synthesis of a person’s past experiences regarding the

⁵⁸ Amin Maalouf, *Ölümçül Kimlikler* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000): 17.

⁵⁹ Muhittin Aşkın, “Kimlik ve Giydirilmiş Kimlikler.” *Atatürk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 10 (2010): 1.

⁶⁰ Butler 2008, 227; Bauman 2001, 227; Binark-Kılıçbay 2000, 13; Maalouf 2000, 32; Tuğrul 2017; Rutherford 1998, 9; Kaiser 2013, 404.

⁶¹ Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 16-17.

⁶² Saime Tuğrul, “Kimlik”, Ekim 23, 2017.

⁶³ Mutlu Binark and Kılıçbay, *Tüketim Toplumu Bağlamında Türkiye’de Örtünme Pratiği ve Moda İlişkisi*, 13.

social, cultural and economical relationships in the formation of identity.⁶⁴ Even a person's approach to situations as someone with a past in addition to their current conditions, their balancing and resolving practices shape the identity. People can shape their identities with later developed approaches to certain events in the past that the individual have not personally live through. That is why social history is a founding block in an individual's identity in addition to the current conditions.

In the context of Turkey, the changes that shaped the social identity can be classified under four categories such as the crisis of modernization, the rise of the Islamic identity and the events that occurred in the context of the Kurdish problem, economical life, and identity. The issue of identity can be further explained as identity and difference, the other, relationships of self and otherness.⁶⁵ The social quality of Turkey was affected by these categories, and therefore individual identities have shifted and transformed in line with the social characteristics of the country.

Individual identity is the one that the individual builds with the self-related building blocks while social identity is the one shaped by the social relationships. In other words, while individual identity refers to a "personal self", social identity refers to a "social self".⁶⁶ Locke suggests that individual identity relies on memory, and sensations and perceptions form the self."⁶⁷ Self identity is at the identity of consciousness. Identity is as reachable as this consciousness can reach previous events and thoughts.⁶⁸ Our past actions form the majority of a person's self-perception. Thus the connection between the individual identity and the mind is very strong. Especially the memories regarding regret are important in identity

⁶⁴ Jonathan, Rutherford, *Yuva Denilen Yer: Kimlik ve Farklılığın Kültürel Politikaları* (İstanbul: Sarmal Yayınevi, 1998), 20.

⁶⁵ Fuat Keyman, "Sistem kurucu ve sistem dönüştürücü bir toplumsal gerçeklik olarak kültürel kimlik olgusunu yeniden düşünmek." *Kimlikler Lütfen*, 51-52.

⁶⁶ Anthony Giddens, *Modernite ve Bireysel-Kimlik Geç Modern Çağda Benlik ve Toplum*, 75.

⁶⁷ John Locke, *Of Identity and Diversity*, 9.

⁶⁸ Ibid: 19.

formation.⁶⁹ According to Giddens, the identity of self is that the individual is conscious of themselves. In other words, individual identity is not a combination of characteristics, but the self that the individual perceives reflexively on the basis of their biography.⁷⁰ Similarly, according to Goffman who distinguishes social and self identity by suggesting that self identity is shaped by the past and the biography and becomes a relatively tangible reality, other people's concerns and definitions are important in the formation of social and self identity.⁷¹ The negative or positive effects of the past are significantly important in the construction of identity in society and the individual.

The construction of identity contains a multitude of many belongings, but not all carry the same weight. Most of these belongings, which constitute the building blocks of the person, are not innate but acquired later.⁷² Identity begins to form from birth and is constantly changing. According to Sahlins: "Personality is gradually attained through social interactions, particularly interactions involving reciprocity and interdependence; because these interactions form and teach the child's social identities."⁷³ Habitus, which is defined as 'the sum of acquired tendencies', is also acquired in early childhood, because habitus is formed by the actions of the person.⁷⁴

Some group ties such as religion, race, class, ethnicity, gender, and nationality emerge in the process of constructing self identity. The subject of modern times qualifies the identity with these group connections. Social relations emerge and the idea of cultural identity is formed in the way.⁷⁵ Goffman called the elements that determine self identity the personal showcase:

⁶⁹ Paul Connerton, *Toplular Nasıl Anımsar?* (İstanbul: Ayrıntı, 1999): 42.

⁷⁰ Anthony Giddens, *Modernite ve Bireysel-Kimlik Geç Modern Çağda Benlik ve Toplum*, 74-75.

⁷¹ Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 95.

⁷² Amin Maalouf, *Ölümçül Kimlikler*, 18.

⁷³ Marshall Sahlins, *Batı'nın İnsan Doğası Yanılsaması*, 121.

⁷⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Ayırım* (Ankara: Heretik Yayınları, 2015): 254.

⁷⁵ Jorge Larraín, *İdeoloji ve Kültürel Kimlik* (Sarmal, 1995): 212.

Parts of the personal showcase include gender, age and racial characteristics; height and appearance; posture; speech patterns; facial expressions; body expressions etc. Some of these tools, such as racial characteristics, are relatively stable and do not differ from situation to situation for that individual for a certain period of time. On the other hand, some of these signage devices, such as facial expressions, are relatively mobile or temporary and can change from one moment to the next during a performance.⁷⁶

Defining self identity as a showcase is because it is readable by other people. Since some of the building blocks mentioned in identity formation can be seen concretely and the identity of the person can be perceived by others.

The societies and social environments we live in have certain norms and although there is no written rule, there is a know-how regarding a specific environment. People also know that by acting in accordance with these norms, they will receive the approval of that society and be accepted. Due to these norms, which are the unwritten rules of exclusion or adoption from the social environment, people desire social approval in order to feel they belong. Thus, they feel respected and valued with social approval. The fastest way to reach that feeling by obtaining social approval is consumption. Identities are produced communicatively and in market-based societies through consumption. Because identity depends not only on the desires of the individual, but also on the approval of the people with whom they are in communication.⁷⁷ From the clothes one wears to the car one rides, the neighborhood one lives in, the vacation one goes to, the school one sends their child to, the leisure time activities, each consumption preference defines the attributes of the person. Constantly comparing oneself with other members of the social environment one wants to be in is also important in the construction of identity. Like this comparison, the construction of identity never ends, and as human life

⁷⁶ Erving Goffman, *Günlük Yaşamda Benliğin Sunumu*, 35.

⁷⁷ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 229.

continues, it is constantly re-formed to adapt to the social environment in the society in which they live.⁷⁸ According to Giddens, this situation has gained more importance in today's conditions than in the past: "However, due to the openness of social life, the plurality of action environments and the diversity of authorities, the choice of lifestyle is gaining more and more important in the construction of individual identity and daily activity."⁷⁹

It will not be easy for a person to construct an identity for themselves. Because, according to Bauman, if the identity that one has constructed cannot be approved by a stronger power, the formed identity is insecure. The difference between the identity defined in society and the identity one creates is as delicate as the difference between self-confidence and insanity. For this reason, individuals feel the need to include themselves in a society with the identities they create.⁸⁰

Social identity emerges by being defined on the basis of difference. The difference is made against the closest person, who represents the greatest danger.⁸¹ The construction of cultural identities should be considered with the existence and expression of the "other". Social identity and self identity are closely related to each other. One of the most important reasons for this is the importance of society and culture in the construction of individual identity. Both are effective in building each other. In addition, the diversity of culture affects the diversity of lifestyle, and the diversity of lifestyle affects the diversity of identities.⁸² Thus, while a wide variety of self identities diversify social identity, social identity also affects self identities.

⁷⁸ Zeynep Kadioğlu, "Kitle İletişim Araçlarının Şekillendirdiği Sosyal Kimlikler ve Aidiyet Duygusu Ekseninde Tüketici Davranışları" (*İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi* II, no. 45, 2013): 6.

⁷⁹ Anthony Giddens, *Modernite ve Bireysel-Kimlik Geç Modern Çağda Benlik ve Toplum*, 16.

⁸⁰ Zygmunt Bauman, *Parçalanmış Hayat*, 369.

⁸¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Ayrım*, 694.

⁸² Jorge Larraín, *İdeoloji ve Kültürel Kimlik*, 197-198.

In general, identity combines and reflects all the qualities of a person. The identities lead a person to what they can be.⁸³ With the concept of identity, both how the person sees themselves and how society sees the person are discussed.⁸⁴ Because identity, which is the way we are distinguished from other people, is shaped by how we see others, our similarities, differences and relationships as well as who we are.⁸⁵ Göle also supports this argument and states that identity is not only created by a person, but also by the people one is in a relationship with. The 'approval' of the people involved is effective in the identity formation process and is produced communicatively.⁸⁶ In other words, the self identities that are constructed are not only about the person himself, but also about how other people see and define that person.

Since the creation of humans, identity, in simpler terms, the self – not what we are, but what we create, such as identity⁸⁷ – has existed even though it is seen as unimportant and individuality is not rewarded. However, in certain periods, identity has been considered as a problem. Identity begins to become complex in the modern era, because modernity confronts people with complex choices and diversity.⁸⁸ While the problem of identity in the modern era is how to construct identity, how it will be consistent and how it will be universally accepted, nowadays it is generally difficult for people to carry identity for a long time. Because it has become impossible to have a reputable identity for life, so today there is a need to stay away from fixed identities.⁸⁹ For this reason, the identity issues discussed have also changed shape and the discussions have a different direction and pursue how to reach a constantly updated and consistent identity instead of how to construct identity.

⁸³ Zygmunt Bauman, *Postmodernlik ve Hoşnutsuzlukları*, 102.

⁸⁴ Muhittin Aşkın, "Kimlik ve Giydirilmiş Kimlikler", 1.

⁸⁵ Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 18-22.

⁸⁶ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 229.

⁸⁷ Anthony Giddens, *Modernite ve Bireysel-Kimlik Geç Modern Çağda Benlik ve Toplum*, 103.

⁸⁸ Ibid: 110.

⁸⁹ Zygmunt Bauman, *Postmodernlik ve Hoşnutsuzlukları*, 175.

Explaining that identities are not fixed, they must all be built and it is uncertain whether the construction can be finished or not, Bauman mentioned that, unlike modernity, identity is not fixed in postmodernity:

It is not how an identity is built, invented and discovered, not even how it can be collected or even bought, but how to prevent it from being so binding/tight – sticking to the body. A tightly constructed and durable identity has become a burden, a liability, rather than a common good. The essence of postmodern life strategy is not identity construction, but avoidance of fixation.⁹⁰

In contrast to the old religion-oriented world system in the Middle Ages, in modernism, humans are at the center of everything and have become a subject.⁹¹ In the postmodern person, on the other hand, the identity of the subject is not fixed and permanent, but takes on different identities at different times.⁹² One of the most important reasons for this is that globalization affects identities in various ways.⁹³ With globalization, social relations are seen throughout the world. Thus, it is inevitable that events in distant localities will be shaped by events far away or, on the contrary, events in local will affect centers.⁹⁴ For this reason, a social crisis experienced in the most remote corner of the world spreads to the world through various media channels, causing a general social crisis not only in the place where it is experienced. Thus, social identity and self identities are affected by the attitude acquired in the face of events that are spreading more rapidly today.

While identity is more fixed and corrective in the modern era, it is fluid, unstable, uncertain and unreliable in today's postmodern era.⁹⁵ According to Kaiser, from the 1960s to the present, in the postmodern period when the capitalist market

⁹⁰ Zygmunt Bauman, *Parçalanmış Hayat*, 126.

⁹¹ Jorge Larraín, *İdeoloji ve Kültürel Kimlik*, 198.

⁹² Ibid: 207.

⁹³ Ibid: 213.

⁹⁴ Ibid: 207.

⁹⁵ Zygmunt Bauman, *Parçalanmış Hayat*, 254.

is on the rise, the commodities presented to people to produce identity have increased tremendously.⁹⁶ While creating an identity, people can access, match, mix and easily access a wide variety of products, and thus easily access the identity they are trying to reflect. In the past, durable items were replaced by items that were consumed instantly and quickly. In a world with this rapid cycle, it is inevitable that identities will be changed and discarded like a costume.⁹⁷ Now, in today's consumption society, one consumes in order to get the approval of the social environment they want to belong to and so that others can read the identity they want to reflect.

According to Bauman⁹⁸, who states that identity is not a goal but a phenomenon that needs to be discovered, it also constructs, transforms and updates identity through consumption:

It is no longer a problem for us to choose the means necessary to obtain an alternative identity of our own choosing (if we have enough money to buy the equipment necessary for it). Equipment is waiting for us in stores that will transform the character we want to be, to be seen, to be recognized at once.⁹⁹

According to Bauman, who emphasizes that identities are masks that are worn one after another, identity construction never ends and is not final. It is renewed, changed, corrected with the ever-changing world conditions and is always in a state of being reborn. Therefore, it causes constant anxiety.¹⁰⁰ According to Larrain, identities do not change only in times of crisis, but when harmony and stability are replaced by doubt and uncertainty, identity becomes controversial.¹⁰¹ Consistent change always keeps the identity up-to-date, and as the attitude is

⁹⁶ Susan Kaiser and friends "Fashion, postmodernity and personal appearance: A symbolic interactionist formulation." *Symbolic interaction* 14.2 (1991): 167.

⁹⁷ Zygmunt Bauman, *Postmodernlik ve Hoşnutsuzlukları*, 124.

⁹⁸ Zygmunt Bauman, *Kimlik* (Ankara: Heretik Basın, 2017): 25.

⁹⁹ Ibid: 103.

¹⁰⁰ Zygmunt Bauman, *Etiğin Tüketiciler Dünyasında Bir Şansı Var mı?*, 16-21.

¹⁰¹ Jorge Larrain, *İdeoloji ve Kültürel Kimlik*, 197-198.

updated despite the social and personal situations, the identity of the people is kept from getting fixed.

Identity has a structure that is not fixed, fluid, and suitable for change and transformation, which is defined by sameness and difference. In the construction of identity, the building blocks of the individual and the norms of the society in which one lives, which we can summarize as internal and external, have an important place. In addition to the cultural and economic relations of the individual with the society one lives; the attitude of the society towards the past is effective in the construction of his self identity. At the same time, how that society sees the person is also important. Because people feel a sense of belonging by acting and being approved according to the norms of the social environments they want to be in. They achieve this with concrete actions, namely consumption, according to the norms of that social environment. Because 'others' define the person by reading with the things they consume like a showcase when they see it. In the modern era, people who could only become subjects, and therefore self identity, have evolved into a consistent and changeable identity today. According to Foucault, who thinks that your identity is not given, but that we should create it like a work of art, “If a lamp or a house can be a work of art, why not human life?”¹⁰²

¹⁰² Zygmunt Bauman, *Etğın Tüketiciler Dünyasında Bir Şansı Var mı?*, 107.

CHAPTER 2 : CONSUMPTION

Since the beginning of humankind, nutrition, shelter, and clothing have been among the most basic needs for all.¹⁰³ In the modern period, physical appearance has become important for individuals and society, and therefore consumption has gained importance. In contrast to the pre-modern society, consumption is now based on a code of signs and differences, and not on need.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, consumption is no longer a need, it is meeting demand¹⁰⁵, the satisfaction of hedonistic emotions¹⁰⁶, and the expression of identity. According to Baudrillard, who criticizes the philosophy of consumption, the age of production is over and the age of consumption has begun.¹⁰⁷ People now define themselves through their consumption, try to gain a place in the class they want to be in, and create self-identity and social identity with their indicators.

Etymologically, “consuming” means to destroy, spend, appeal, and finish. Baudrillard defined consumption as the consumption of signs and symbols. (bocock 1997:75) Because people create an identity by obtaining social approval with their appearance they create with these indicators. According to Baudrillard, the construction of an identity through exhibiting the purchased product or service and the process to keep it up-to-date defines the concept of consumption. (bocock 1999:74)¹⁰⁸ Because the habit of need-oriented consumption has been left behind and consumption has gained different meanings.

¹⁰³ Marshall Sahlins, *Taş Devri Ekonomisi* (İstanbul: bgst Yayınları , 2010): 21.

¹⁰⁴ Jean Baudrillard, *Selected writings*, 47.

¹⁰⁵ Zygmunt Bauman, *Etiğin Tüketiciler Dünyasında Bir Şansı Var mı?*, 147.

¹⁰⁶ Zeynep Kadioğlu, “Kitle İletişim Araçlarının Şekillendirdiği Sosyal Kimlikler ve Aidiyet Duygusu Ekseninde Tüketici Davranışları”, 2.

¹⁰⁷ Jorge Larraín, *İdeoloji ve Kültürel Kimlik*, 150-153.

¹⁰⁸ Mutlu Binark and Kılıçbay, *Tüketim Toplumu Bağlamında Türkiye’de Örtünme Pratiği ve Moda İlişkisi*, 14-15.

It is not enough to consider consumption as a purely economic term, because consumption is also a social and cultural process.¹⁰⁹ Social perceptions of people determine their consumption behavior. Perceptions formed by indicators and symbols determine the consumption needs of people.¹¹⁰ The choices made among many options are related to the cultural choices of the society which is made up of individuals.¹¹¹ It is the question of which social environment is desired by consuming in social identity and what is aimed to be reflected by consuming regarding self-identity. To reflect this, three consumption patterns can be seen as consumption for personal display such as nutrition, culture and clothing, and beauty.¹¹² As others see the products and services used by people, the desired identity is achieved. According to Sahlins, "Consumption is in another sense the recognition and monitoring of relationships."¹¹³ For this reason, it is considered insufficient to define consumption only in economic terms. Similarly, according to Bauman, consumption, which shapes every aspect of our lives and every relationship, is of great importance today:

We now live in a global consumer society and there is no way that patterns of consumption behavior do not affect every other aspect of our lives, including our work and family life. Now we are all under pressure to consume more, and in this way we ourselves turn into commodities in consumption and labor markets.¹¹⁴

The consumer society aims to satisfy the desires of people as no society has before.¹¹⁵ In addition to the purpose of satisfying desires, the greatest achievement of the consumer society is its capacity to reproduce and spread itself. It ensures the continuation of the economy thanks to the "buy, use, throw away" cycle.¹¹⁶ In the

¹⁰⁹ Zeynep Kadioğlu, "Kitle İletişim Araçlarının Şekillendirdiği Sosyal Kimlikler ve Aidiyet Duygusu Ekseninde Tüketici Davranışları", 1.

¹¹⁰ Ibid: 2.

¹¹¹ Ibid: 1.

¹¹² Pierre Bourdieu, *Ayrım*, 274.

¹¹³ Marshall Sahlins, *Batı'nın İnsan Doğası Yanılsaması*, 61-62.

¹¹⁴ Zygmunt Bauman, *Etiğin Tüketiciler Dünyasında Bir Şansı Var mı?*, 53.

¹¹⁵ Ibid: 146.

¹¹⁶ Ibid: 127.

consumption economy, the product first emerges and then creates a usage area for itself.¹¹⁷ The circulation of the product due to the buy, use, throw cycle creates a living economy in motion.¹¹⁸

The most important issue in consumer society is to be on the move. According to Weber, the ethical principle of production is the delay of satisfaction, the deception of the satisfaction of consumers. Because a satisfied customer is a great threat to a society whose goal is customer satisfaction. Therefore, things that he will desire more must come up. And so these new needs are desired more than the actual needs at the time. According to Bauman, it is the imperfect consumers who go after what is believed to be a new need.¹¹⁹

People who are the end-users of goods and services are consumers and this concept unites people rather than differentiates them. Thanks to the act of purchasing, people are united under the concept of “the consumer”.¹²⁰ The movement trajectory of cultural meaning in modern developed societies; the culturally formed world reaches consumer goods through the advertising and fashion system, and consumer goods reach the consumer through consumer rituals.¹²¹ Consumption urges of consumers who become similar to each other as they consume can be explained with two concepts: hedonistic and utilitarian. The consumption that a person makes for needs such as shelter, clothing, and nutrition in order to maintain their life is called utilitarian consumption. Hedonic consumption, on the other hand, is consumption aimed at providing emotional satisfaction to the individual. The individual attaches importance to the social gains

¹¹⁷ Ibid: 138.

¹¹⁸ Ibid: 135.

¹¹⁹ Ibid: 128.

¹²⁰ Zeynep Kadioğlu, “Kitle İletişim Araçlarının Şekillendirdiği Sosyal Kimlikler ve Aidiyet Duygusu Ekseninde Tüketici Davranışları”, 2.

¹²¹ Grant McCracken, "Culture and consumption: A theoretical account of the structure and movement of the cultural meaning of consumer goods."(*Journal of consumer research* 13.1, 1986): 81.

of owning the product or service, rather than its function.¹²² According to Kawamura, the garment itself is less important than the value it creates at the time of purchase.¹²³ Likewise, according to Bauman, the appearance of the use-value is in the foreground rather than the use-value of the product. For this reason, visible indicators of consumption are more important than use-values.¹²⁴ Because the social approval and pleasure gained when buying and using a garment is much more valuable than the payment for that garment. In other words, the individual bought the clothing not because he needed it, but for the social gain and pleasure that the clothing would provide to that individual. However, these are not clear-cut definitions, because an individual can do both hedonistic and utilitarian consumption.

2.1.RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CONSUMPTION, CLASS, AND IDENTITY

While the perception of social class was more influential on the style and identity of people before the postmodern period, this situation is less evident in today's societies.¹²⁵ People of all classes ideally embrace what is fashionable in the upper class, although the boundaries between classes become vague and transitive.¹²⁶ People often consume according to the indicators of the social environment in which they want to be included, by reducing other invisible needs, by saving money, or as a modern possibility, by paying in installments. An individual who has gained a place in the social environment they want to be in with their consumption of indicators is always inclined to new indicators in order to maintain this identity. Because upper classes are always imitated while lower

¹²² Zeynep Kadioğlu, “Kitle İletişim Araçlarının Şekillendirdiği Sosyal Kimlikler ve Aidiyet Duygusu Ekseninde Tüketici Davranışları”, 4.

¹²³ Yuniya Kawamura, *Fashion-ology* (Oxford: Berg, 2005): 99.

¹²⁴ Anthony Giddens, *Modernite ve Bireysel-Kimlik Geç Modern Çağda Benlik ve Toplum*, 248.

¹²⁵ Yuniya Kawamura, *Fashion-ology*, 99.

¹²⁶ Thorstein Veblen, *Aylak Sınıfın Teorisi*, 66.

classes are always excluded.¹²⁷ People know that if they cannot keep up with the new, and acquire the current indicators, they will be excluded.

People constantly update their identities by consuming products and services (bocock 1999:74).¹²⁸ Since the beginning of the postmodern era, consumption has been conceptualized as a way of playing a role, because consumers try to show their constantly updated and developing concepts of identity by consuming. With the change in fashion, people continue to consume new indicators in order to maintain the social approval they have already acquired. These updates, which affect social consumption habits, are experienced faster with mass media.¹²⁹ Especially Instagram is one of the most important social media tools that affect today's social consumption habits.

According to Giddens, “To a large extent, the self-conception translates into the quest to have desirable goods and achieve artificially framed lifestyles.”¹³⁰ People determine their consumption preferences according to the social class they want to belong to, together with their consumption motives, that is, consumption behaviors and norms learned from childhood. According to Kaiser, Freeman, and Chandler (1993), people define themselves with their favorite clothes, and can affect their communication with other people.¹³¹ Whether it is real or desired, such as looking rich, looking cool, looking intellectual, looking like a rocker, or looking ladylike, people consume in order to achieve it. Consumption takes place according to the norms of the social environment. By reflecting one’s self-identity through consumption, one hopes to gain the approval of the social environment they want to belong to, by consuming like the desired group. Because, according to Solomon,

¹²⁷ Gregory P. Stone “Symbolic Interaction”. *Sociery for the Study of Symbolic Interaction* (Wiley), no.1 (Fall 2016): 8.

¹²⁸ Mutlu Binark and Kılıçbay, *Tüketim Toplumu Bağlamında Türkiye’de Örtünme Pratiği ve Moda İlişkisi*, 14.

¹²⁹ Zeynep Kadioğlu, “Kitle İletişim Araçlarının Şekillendirdiği Sosyal Kimlikler ve Aidiyet Duygusu Ekseninde Tüketici Davranışları”, 2.

¹³⁰ Anthony Giddens, *Modernite ve Bireysel-Kimlik Geç Modern Çağda Benlik ve Toplum*, 248.

¹³¹ Diana Crane, *Moda ve Gündemleri Giyimde Sınıf, Cinsiyet ve Kimlik*, 14.

an individual expresses themselves through the products they buy and reminds themselves of who they are.¹³² Thanks to the clothes, shoes, and accessories worn, an identity that is desired to be shown is created. At the same time, this situation is not final, it is constantly changing and updated. As these changes occur, the individual continues to consume in order to maintain the acquired approval in that social environment.

The consumption preferences of the upper class are taken as a reference point for other classes that want to appear rich in the consumer society. With the spread of the elements belonging to the upper classes, which is defined as 'democratization'¹³³, the upper classes make new consumption preferences as their preferences spread to the lower classes. Because they make new choices with the perception that what has become widespread has become worthless and with the urge to be different.¹³⁴ This situation can be conceptually explained by the trickle-down effect; because it is the effect of a product or service that at first has a price that only the upper classes can afford, and then becomes cheaper and can be bought by the lower classes as well. For this reason, when the fashionable product or service reaches the lower classes of society, it falls out of fashion in the upper class.¹³⁵

Social capital is the mutual recognition that comes from being included in a social class, having a network of relationships, and the resources associated with that social environment.¹³⁶ The economic relations of people within the same social class reveal this dynamic. According to Bourdieu, who defines classification as the practice of political power, class relations have a symbolic dimension that cannot

¹³² Zeynep Kadioğlu, “Kitle İletişim Araçlarının Şekillendirdiği Sosyal Kimlikler ve Aidiyet Duygusu Ekseninde Tüketici Davranışları”, 5-6.

¹³³ Pierre Bourdieu, *Ayırım*, 311.

¹³⁴ Zeynep Kadioğlu, “Kitle İletişim Araçlarının Şekillendirdiği Sosyal Kimlikler ve Aidiyet Duygusu Ekseninde Tüketici Davranışları”, 12.

¹³⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *Ayırım*, 343.

¹³⁶ Ibid: 17.

be ignored and cannot be explained only by economic relations.¹³⁷ Because consumption also has an important dimension defined by social and cultural relations. It also defines the perceived existence of a social class in addition to its own existence.¹³⁸ The way a social class is perceived by others in social, cultural, and economic dimensions is as important as how that class defines itself.

2.2. CLOTHING AND CLASS

Since the 19th century, clothing has been a form of communication that reveals information about people's social status, character, and identity. Since women with limited involvement in public spaces at that time were generally defined by their clothing, they spent a lot of time and money in order to dress in line with the upper classes.¹³⁹ By the end of the 19th century, clothing began to become cheaper with the increase of industrialization and became available to the lower classes. The first consumer goods to reach large masses were clothes because clothing is an object of desire for all social classes.¹⁴⁰ In the 20th century, as ready-made clothing suitable for every economic income became widespread, clothes consumed their economic value, and a symbolic value was formed for clothes.¹⁴¹ Likewise, according to Davis, the creation of social class identities with clothes and the display of expensive clothes created symbolic meanings over time.¹⁴² These symbolic meanings strengthen the class belonging as a result of the consumption of signs. Crane explains that in social classes, clothing is the most visible form of sign consumption:

Clothing, as one of the most visible forms of consumption, plays an important role in establishing identity. Clothing, which is one of the most prominent indicators of

¹³⁷ Ibid: 18.

¹³⁸ Ibid: 700.

¹³⁹ Diana Crane, *Moda ve Gündemleri Giyimde Sınıf, Cinsiyet ve Kimlik*, 172.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid: 18.

¹⁴¹ Ibid: 19.

¹⁴² Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 41.

social status and gender, and therefore effective in protecting or breaking down symbolic boundaries, shows how their position in social structures have been perceived in different eras and how status boundaries are determined.¹⁴³

With the beginning of the modern era, the importance of certain appearances and behaviors has increased even more. In the times before modernity, appearance norms were generally determined according to traditions. Appearance is a sign of social identity rather than self-identity. Today, clothing is an indicator of concepts such as social identity, gender, class position, and professional status.¹⁴⁴ Thus, by looking at a person's clothing, certain definitions can be applied.

According to Crane, who examines clothing as a type of consumption, a form of nonverbal culture, and the presentation of the 'I' in the public sphere, "Clothing is for public spaces; we dress for others, not for ourselves."¹⁴⁵ Because the individual needs the social approval of the class they want to belong to. Clothing is one of the most important ways of positioning social status.¹⁴⁶ For this reason, the fastest and most obvious way of gaining social approval is clothing.

According to Simmel; fashion in clothing is adopted by the upper, middle, and lower classes, respectively. The lower classes desire the clothes of the upper classes and try to gain status. Thus, a process of diffusion between classes develops. "Until a certain fashion reaches the working class, the upper class adopts a new style, as it loses its appeal in the process of popularization."¹⁴⁷ Some (?) other theorists emphasize that the upper classes, who are well-placed and wealthy, are generally indifferent to fashion, while those who have risen from the lower classes

¹⁴³ Diana Crane, *Moda ve Gündemleri Giyimde Sınıf, Cinsiyet ve Kimlik*, 13.

¹⁴⁴ Anthony Giddens, *Modernite ve Bireysel-Kimlik Geç Modern Çağda Benlik ve Toplum*, 132-133.

¹⁴⁵ Diana Crane, *Moda ve Gündemleri Giyimde Sınıf, Cinsiyet ve Kimlik*, 368.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid: 369.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid: 20.

to the upper classes consume to gain certain indicators to distinguish themselves from where they come from. (McCracken 1985:40).¹⁴⁸ For this reason, people with a well-founded position in their social class generally do not need indicators for social approval.

2.3. SYMBOLIC AND CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION

The symbolic value of the product or service emerges with the expression of consumption and social identity.¹⁴⁹ Without consumption, products would not have a symbolic value. In other words, if the purchased product and service did not have a symbolic meaning, consumption could only be for needs. According to Veblen in his definition of indicator consumption, no consumption type can be as clear an indicator as clothing:

Other methods of revealing one's finances serve their purpose effectively, and other methods are always up-to-date and ubiquitous, but spending on clothing has this advantage more than most other methods since our clothing is always obvious and can show our financial situation at first glance to all observers. It is also true that the expense considered to be for vanity is more clearly evident and is perhaps applied more broadly to clothing than to other lines of consumption.¹⁵⁰

“The need for clothes is an extremely “high” or spiritual need.”¹⁵¹ According to Veblen, emphasizing that the determination of the commercial value of clothes in modern societies depends on fashion and reputation rather than the concrete form of the clothes. Because in today's society, as an instinctive perception, if a garment is not expensive, it is vulgar.¹⁵² Conditions such as high price and not easily accessible (limited number) are a reputable situation for the product. Thus, people buy a position by consuming these products.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid: 21.

¹⁴⁹ Yuniya Kawamura, *Fashion-ology*, 54.

¹⁵⁰ Thorstein Veblen, *Aylak Sınıfın Teorisi*, 115.

¹⁵¹ Ibid: 116.

¹⁵² Ibid: 116.

In addition to the consumer, manufacturers also plan associations according to brand perception. It is aimed to make the individual feel an emotion by consuming the product or service produced at every stage where the brand's name is mentioned, its logo or the product appears. In addition to the product or service, the promise of a lifestyle, desired social status and belonging to the social environment is also marketed. Thus, by targeting the emotions of consumers, producers aim to associate themselves with a certain feeling when people buy that product or service.¹⁵³ Thus, the desire of the consumer to reflect their identity according to a certain social environment to which they want to belong is also the goal of the producers.

In the consumption society, where conspicuous consumption is one of the reasons for existence, people do not consume for their needs, because consumption itself has now become a necessity. With the concept of "manipulation of needs", a person begins to need what they normally do not need. People who are not able to afford the consumption options of the desired social environment change the order of priority in their own need pyramid. According to Bourdieu, who states that the body becomes an object, the lower classes use clothing realistically and functionally for needs.”¹⁵⁴ But the middle and especially the upper classes have generally made consumption a necessity.

According to Veblen, since human beings see wealth and power as conditions for each other, they show their wealth and therefore their power by conspicuous consumption. Thus, the purpose of conspicuous consumption is realized by gaining "respect" in the society they live in.^{155 156} As Veblen exemplifies "conspicuous consumption", aristocratic women show themselves with their

¹⁵³ Zeynep Kadioğlu, “Kitle İletişim Araçlarının Şekillendirdiği Sosyal Kimlikler ve Aidiyet Duygusu Ekseninde Tüketici Davranışları”, 10.

¹⁵⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Ayrım*, 296.

¹⁵⁵ Thorstein Veblen, *Aylak Sınıfın Teorisi*, 72.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid: 253.

clothing and homes, and they draw attention to themselves in society.¹⁵⁷ Likewise, for Marx, luxury is a spectacle of wealth and a source of prestige.¹⁵⁸ Conspicuous consumption is only for gaining value from others, not for self-identity satisfaction. Because the most important factor in conspicuous consumption is a reference. For this reason, people should gain the admiration of others in the class they belong to, and consolidate and protect their status; they desire to be a leader in the class with vertical mobility or to be accepted into the upper class.¹⁵⁹

Today, consumption is not just an economic concept for needs. Consumer society has formed in which economic, social and cultural relations coexist. It has become important for people to get social approval from the social class they want to belong to by consuming products and services that can be called indicators. In addition to the formation of self-identity, people consume to acquire a social identity. The most visible form of consumption of this indicator is clothing. Thus, people form their social identity with their clothes according to the norms of the social class they want to belong to. As a result of the consumption of indicators, the social approval of people with their clothes should be kept up-to-date as a result of changing fashion. Because an individual defines themselves with the products and services they buy and continues to consume in order not to lose the social environment they are in, that is, the social class. Thus, by looking at the person's clothing, various information can be obtained, ranging from social identity to social class.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid: 13.

¹⁵⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *Ayrim*, 419.

¹⁵⁹ Zeynep Kadioğlu, “Kitle İletişim Araçlarının Şekillendirdiği Sosyal Kimlikler ve Aidiyet Duygusu Ekseninde Tüketici Davranışları”, 11.

CHAPTER 3: FASHION

Fashion is defined as what is popular in every field of consumption such as clothing, accessories, home decoration, or vacation preferences. According to Simmel, fashion, which represents the individual needs of people to some degree, is a product of social demands. Fashion is created because of demand, not as a result of necessity. It is created based on various subjects from religious beliefs to scientific developments, and thus external elements, namely social statuses, behaviors and practices, become the determinants of fashion.¹⁶⁰ Certain public events and even economic problems can affect fashion. The processes of unification and separation in society also occur within the concept of fashion.¹⁶¹ Because one of the trends that complement fashion is the feeling of being the same, and the other is the feeling of being different.

According to Blumer, fashion is not just about clothing. It is a process that occurs in almost every area of social life. It is a modern construct.¹⁶² It embraces all appearances such as all kinds of clothing, art, behavior, and abstract structures.¹⁶³ Therefore, the concept of fashion is in all areas of life, and the demand for the most popular is the influence of fashion. The act of buying a popular shoe or going on vacation to a popular hotel can be described as “following fashion”. Interpreted as an idea of value in the light of the feeling of accessing fashion¹⁶⁴, fashion creates a strong influence on human consciousness.¹⁶⁵

The word 'fashion' comes from Old French, according to the Oxford English Dictionary. It means "to make" in the sense of “fabricating”, which also fits in

¹⁶⁰ George Simmel, “Fashion”, 544.

¹⁶¹ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 35.

¹⁶² Ibid: 132.

¹⁶³ George Simmel, “Fashion”, 557.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid: 547.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid: 548.

today's language.¹⁶⁶ Various terms for the word "dress" have been used by some social scientists, such as 'appearance', 'clothing', 'ornament', 'adornment' and 'cosmetics'. In light of these terms, Eicher and Higgins' definition of dress is: "an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body".¹⁶⁷

With his fashion theory for the contemporary mass society, for Blumer, fashion is a tool that provides periodic change for the mass society that cannot both establish an identity and maintain order with traditions. Because fashion provides continuity and change.¹⁶⁸ According to Kaiser, who defines fashion as both a social process and a material practice similar to culture, both fashion and culture are in constant change.¹⁶⁹ With Simmel's point that "The fact that change itself does not change", the change in fashion is inevitable.¹⁷⁰ Fashion holds a collective structure with other people and emerges when the body is in motion in time and space.¹⁷¹ This mobility keeps fashion up to date and alive. Clothing must not only be ostentatiously expensive and uncomfortable but must also be up-to-date. No explanation is as satisfying as that offered by constant change in fashion.¹⁷² As Veblen says, we are often quite candidly prepared to find such fashionable things enjoyable.¹⁷³

In the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, people created a fashion system in which they dress according to the social class they are in or want to be in. Therefore, a central fashion design and production in which the designers were in line with the emerging class fashion became inevitable.¹⁷⁴ At that time, designs for the upper class were made in certain fashion centers. Following class

¹⁶⁶ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 25.

¹⁶⁷ Mary E. Eicher, Higgins and Joanne B. "Dress and Identity". (*Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, 1992): 7.

¹⁶⁸ Yuniya Kawamura, *Fashion-ology*, 47.

¹⁶⁹ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 39-40.

¹⁷⁰ George Simmel, "Fashion", 557.

¹⁷¹ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 15.

¹⁷² Thorstein Veblen, *Aylak Sınıfın Teorisi*, 118.

¹⁷³ Ibid: 95.

¹⁷⁴ Diana Crane, *Moda ve Gündemleri Giyimde Sınıf, Cinsiyet ve Kimlik*, 217.

fashion, consumer fashion has emerged and diversity has increased. In consumer fashion, fashion is formed according to all classes, not according to the tastes of those in the upper classes of society.¹⁷⁵ Towards the end of the 20th century, the consumer fashion aims to add variety to consumer products as well as to give meaning to clothes.¹⁷⁶ According to Bauman who made the statement that “You can choose your look and be.”¹⁷⁷ meanings are chosen for the ‘clothing’ indicator, not vice versa.¹⁷⁸

In the consumer society, fashion has diversified and evolved, due to the complex relationships, diversity and increased contact between social groups. While there was a centralized fashion creation and spread before 1960, upper classes of the society were the reference for the rest. Fashion would take shape according to the fashion sense of the upper class. Today, there are three different fashion structures; luxury designer fashion, industrial fashion and street styles. These three fashion categories often influence each other.¹⁷⁹ The 'luxury fashion' created in certain cities defined as fashion capitals targets the upper and sometimes the middle classes. Industrial fashion, another construct, captures different ages, different lifestyles and different ethnic cultures. The styles that emerge in different social classes are often short-lived. All three fashion categories reflect the fashion system of the consumer society.

Clothes that were only available to the wealthy before industrialization became available to most people with the industrialization of fabrics and textiles. Therefore, industrialization has changed the way and concept of production and consumption.¹⁸⁰ While the democratization of fashion continued after the 1870s, the industrialization of clothing and textiles made prices cheaper. Thus, accessible

¹⁷⁵ Ibid: 218.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid: 380.

¹⁷⁷ Zygmunt Bauman, *Etğin Tüketiciler Dünyasında Bir Şansı Var mı?*, 126.

¹⁷⁸ Zygmunt Bauman, *Postmodernlik ve Hoşnutsuzlukları*, 195.

¹⁷⁹ Diana Crane, *Moda ve Gündemleri Giyimde Sınıf, Cinsiyet ve Kimlik*, 262.

¹⁸⁰ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 52

clothes were created for people of a wider range of social classes.¹⁸¹ As a result, the consumption and fashion system has ceased to be class-oriented. Kaiser, states that fashion and culture flow through representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation¹⁸², and that “Indeed, fashion highlights the multiple intersections and entanglements among gender, race, ethnicity, national identity, social class, sexuality, and other facets of our identities”.¹⁸³ Thus, the class-centered fashion system made sense by addressing all aspects of the person and the society.

Fashion has always existed and is eternal.¹⁸⁴ According to Simmel, who states that fashion includes mutual imitation, the individual is adopted by a social set that frees them from their responsibilities.¹⁸⁵ It includes both imitation and differentiation at the same time. Fashion produces clothing and appearance, and evaluates subject positions such as gender, ethnicity, and class; concentrates on ideas, and navigates power relations as well.¹⁸⁶ For Simmel, fashion rebels against the boundaries between social classes through the subject positions of gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality and age.¹⁸⁷ According to Kaiser, how people in this subject position wear metaphors and how it appears is communicatively important.¹⁸⁸ Thus, fashion has an undeniable influence on the impression of appearance.

Connerton stated that reading clothes are similar to reading a literary text; and he describes an example of a beginning with bodily practices after the French Revolution. The first of the stages of change in dressing after the revolution in Paris occurs from 1791 to 1794, during which clothes take on a uniform-like form as a sign of equality.¹⁸⁹ Here, the identity described with these certain clothes is

¹⁸¹ Ibid: 219-220.

¹⁸² Ibid: 41.

¹⁸³ Ibid: 22.

¹⁸⁴ George Simmel, “Fashion”, 556.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid: 558.

¹⁸⁶ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 16.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid: 61.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid: 21.

¹⁸⁹ Paul Connerton, *Toplumlar Nasıl Anımsar?*, 22.

equality. It is an attempt to eliminate class difference by making the body neutral in light of the principle that everyone is equal whether poor or rich. After a while, the period of freedom, namely the 1795 Thermidor period begins the period of freedom in clothing. Prohibitions and rules of the previous period are lifted; it was a period of comfortable, common, a free period in terms of clothing. While women would prefer muslin dresses that are thin enough to show through, men would prefer tight trousers and shirts ruffed on the neck.¹⁹⁰ The identity displayed with these clothes in this period is freedom. With this historical example given by Connerton, the meanings expressed by clothes have changed in different periods.

The image conveyed to people through fashion is a symbolic indicator with the feelings, thoughts and sensitivities (Davis 1982). When fashion and clothing are examined sociologically, according to Davis; people tell something about themselves through their clothes, and when others look at that person, they connect with symbols in understanding their status and lifestyle.¹⁹¹ Because it is inevitable to express something with the clothes chosen.

Clothes do not always mean the same thing.¹⁹² Higgins and Eicher state that the same clothes can mean different things as time changes, and that the clothes defining certain identities may change following the social structures and technology in society.¹⁹³ At the same time, different societies wearing the same clothing may convey different meanings.¹⁹⁴ A garment may not express the same thing this year as it expressed last year, or what it expresses in Turkey may not be the same as what it expresses in another country. Both the change of time and the change of place affect the meaning of clothing, because the fashion of places and times is dynamic. This different meaning is also influenced by the individual's identity, mood, situation, place, society, and mood of others.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ Ibid: 23.

¹⁹¹ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 16.

¹⁹² Ibid: 18.

¹⁹³ Mary E. Eicher, Higgins and Joanne B. "Dress and Identity", 15.

¹⁹⁴ Diana Crane, *Moda ve Gündemleri Giyimde Sınıf, Cinsiyet ve Kimlik*, 375.

¹⁹⁵ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 19-20.

In other words, clothing categories such as clothes, shoes, bags and accessories differ according to how the wearer carries them on their body, tastes, social identity and how others perceive these symbols. Social scientist Simmel (1904) explains the basis on which fashion is valid with social class, which Veblen (1899) also agrees.¹⁹⁶ On the other hand, Davis (1992) criticizes Veblen for overemphasizing status differentiation, while Crane (2000) criticizes Veblen for overly linear class ranking.¹⁹⁷ When examined in general, the meanings of clothes are cultural.¹⁹⁸

3.1. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FASHION AND IDENTITY

Emphasizing that identity should be created from scratch like a work of art, Foucault asks, "If a lamp or a house can be a work of art, why not human life?".¹⁹⁹ Considering that the most beautiful art can be human life, an identity formed through clothing is inevitable. Clothing has a significant effect on the identity formation of individuals. Identity is acquired when cast into the shadow of a social object. Stone(1962)²⁰⁰

Fashion emphasizes one's identity through negligence and observation.²⁰¹ According to Kaiser, who states that fashion is a social form, fashion affects the outer part of life, namely the social aspects.²⁰² Before getting to know a person, one acts according to the impression another's appearance makes. According to Davis, referring to the relationship between fashion, clothing and identity, the cause of instability in fashion is indecision regarding identity.²⁰³ As the number of identities

¹⁹⁶ Ibid: 20.

¹⁹⁷ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 251.

¹⁹⁸ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 24.

¹⁹⁹ Zygmunt Bauman, *Etiğin Tüketiciler Dünyasında Bir Şansı Var mı?*, 107.

²⁰⁰ Mary E. Eicher, Higgins and Joanne B. "Dress and Identity", 13.

²⁰¹ George Simmel, "Fashion", 549.

²⁰² Ibid: 554.

²⁰³ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 104.

in a person increases, the meaning of fashion becomes uncertain. According to Davis:

Our social identities are rarely the stable amalgams we take them to be. Prodded by social and technological change, the biological decrements of the life cycle, visions of utopia, and occasions of disaster, our identities are forever in ferment, giving rise to numerous strains, paradoxes, ambivalences, and contradictions within ourselves. It is upon these collectively experienced, sometimes historically recurrent, identity instabilities that fashion feeds. (1992: 17)²⁰⁴

Identity is not fixed, it is often fluid and complex. People who have a sense of identity and belonging related to a musical genre adopt that a certain style and project an identity that crosses all national, racial and religious boundaries. Likewise, we can cite Islam as an example. People can express their devotion to Islam in certain ways. An example of this is the headscarf of Muslim women.²⁰⁵ The identities of Muslim women formed by the 'veil' will be examined in the following sections.

3.2. RELATION BETWEEN FASHION AND CLASS

Simmel associates the concept of social class with the concept of fashion with the statement that “Fashion is a product of class distinction.”²⁰⁶ According to Baudrillard, we live in a world of imitations where everything is representative.²⁰⁷ Fashion is social equalization and imitation and it separates periods and social classes by constantly changing. While those belonging to a certain social class are united through fashion, those who do not belong are separated from them. According to Simmel, the lower classes imitate the fashion initiated by the upper

²⁰⁴ Yuniya Kawamura, *Fashion-ology*, 31.

²⁰⁵ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 404.

²⁰⁶ George Simmel, “Fashion”, 544.

²⁰⁷ Zygmunt Bauman, *Parçalanmış Hayat*, 208.

classes in order to destroy the borders; but the upper classes abandon that fashion that has become accessible for a new fashion.²⁰⁸ Because the lower class wants to be the same as the upper class; the upper class wants to be different from the lower class. According to Simmel, who explains that fashion is an imitation of a particular example, fashion meets people's demands for harmony:

It satisfies to no less degree the need for differentiation, the tendency towards dissimilarity, the desire for change and contrast, on the other hand by a constant change of concepts, which gives to the fashion of today an individual stamp as opposed to that of yesterday and tomorrow, on the other hand, because fashions differ for different classes- the fashions of the upper stratum of society are never identical with those of the lower.²⁰⁹

Fashion constantly transforms concepts such as social classes, clothing, appearance, aesthetic values and human expressions. According to Simmel, these changes affect the upper classes. Lower classes copy upper classes and therefore upper classes move away from that fashion. Thus, the upper classes adopt a new fashion.²¹⁰ On the other hand, according to Simmel, similar to the upper classes that have trouble accepting change due to their conservative stance, the lower classes also change slowly.²¹¹

According to the French sociologist Bourdieu (1984), who explains fashion with the concept of social class; cultural tastes and the struggle for a class belonging uses clothing and fashion as determinants. One acts according to the class they want to belong to by wearing fashionable clothes. He explains fashion together with the theory of 'distinction' and emphasizes the concept of 'pleasure' as a demarcation between social classes. People reflect their social identity with their preferences

²⁰⁸ George Simmel, "Fashion", 541.

²⁰⁹ Ibid: 543.

²¹⁰ Ibid: 545.

²¹¹ Ibid: 555.

because preferences constitute important indicators of social identity.²¹² In addition, 'fashion' has a more striking role in modernity than in the past. The reason for this is that the differences in living standards are sharper and bigger.²¹³ The diversification of clothing and the constant renewal of fashion has increased the importance of 'fashion' in the social structure.

The spreading process, which is defined as democratization in clothing, leads to diversity, not to a standard. According to Crane, who exemplifies Bourdieu's spread between classes with the distinction between young and old, as the fashionable clothes adopted by the youth spread to the elderly, the young move on to a new fashion.²¹⁴ Because the 19th century class fashion has now been replaced by consumer fashion. On the other hand, consumer fashion is an unpredictable and highly variable construct compared to social class fashion.²¹⁵ Consumer fashion has many more variables than class fashion.

In the social structure, the fashion starting from the upper class and reaching the lower classes with a downward movement is defined as Veblen (1899) and Simmel's (1904) 'top-down concept'. It stops at a certain point before it reaches the lowest class, because as it descends into the lower classes, it gradually becomes out of fashion. The fashion that spread to the lower classes is now commonplace, so the upper classes turn to a new fashion and start the cycle again.²¹⁶ This cycle continues unceasingly because the tendency to imitate and differentiate coexist based on fashion.

Until the 1960s, when the number of young people increased, Simmel's 'top-down model' was the most important form of spreading fashion. The population explosion caused by the increase in the number of young people called the baby

²¹² Yuniya Kawamura, *Fashion-ology*, 29.

²¹³ George Simmel, "Fashion", 546.

²¹⁴ Yuniya Kawamura, *Fashion-ology*, 29.

²¹⁵ Diana Crane, *Moda ve Gündemleri Giyimde Sınıf, Cinsiyet ve Kimlik*, 380.

²¹⁶ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 126.

boom has increased the influence of the younger generation in fashion. From the 1960s on, the 'bottom-up model' became the new fashion model. In the bottom-up model, the new fashion emerges from the lower classes and spreads to the upper classes. Thus, with the bottom-up model, age replaces social status. In both models, 'top-down' and 'bottom-up', media ensures dissemination.²¹⁷

While Veblen and Simmel evaluate the concept of top-down similarly, they ground fashion on different foundations. For Simmel, fashion is a social economic process, whereas for Veblen it is a social disease. Being like others (imitation) and distinguishing oneself from others (differentiation) is Simmel's definition of fashion. Veblen, on the other hand, refers to fashion with the concepts of 'conspicuous consumption' and 'conspicuous leisure'. In addition, Veblen defined fashion as the cause of a social disease far from an economic meaning.²¹⁸

For Simmel, fashion involves being the same as others and differentiating from others at the same time. These two tendencies are vital for fashion to exist. Without either of them, fashion loses its effect.²¹⁹ Because unless these two tendencies, namely imitation and differentiation, interact, a cycle does not occur in fashion and fashion becomes fixed.

Although Simmel has never used the concept of “trickle-down theory” Kaiser defines the trickle-down theory which emerged thanks to his conceptualization with the following statement: “The trickle down theory relies on the social-psychological motivation to imitate the style-fashion-dress worn by higher classes, and that of the highest class to differentiate itself from lower classes by moving on to new looks.” Thus, in the top-down trickle theory, this cycle occurs as the lower class imitates the upper class, the upper class differentiating from the

²¹⁷ Diana Crane, *Moda ve Gündemleri Giyimde Sınıf, Cinsiyet ve Kimlik*, 31.

²¹⁸ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 31.

²¹⁹ Ibid: 59.

lower class because it is identical to the lower class, and the lower class imitating the new fashion that occurs later, is an inevitable element of fashion.

Bringing a different perspective to this picture, Blumer argues that fashion does not serve class differentiation:

The effort of an elite class to distinguish itself with its appearance is not the cause of the fashion movement; but it is a part of the movement. Although the prestige of elite groups is more than determining the direction of the fashion movement, it is effective to the extent that it represents this movement and provides an appearance of it. People of other classes who consciously follow this movement do so because that is the fashion; not because the elite group has its own prestige. Fashion disappears, not because the elite group has given up on it, leaving its place to a new model better suited to the emerging taste. "The fashion mechanism does not arise as an imitation of a class and to respond to a need for class differentiation; it emerges in response to the desire to behave in accordance with the fashion, to be in line with the acceptable, to express new minds emerging in a changing world."²²⁰

According to Goffman, in the concept that Veblen defines as conspicuous consumption, the aim of husbands is to acquire social status, while the aim of wives is to show the obtained status with symbols such as clothes.²²¹ But Blumer, in his article *Fashion: From Class Differentiation to Collective Selection*, criticizes people's adoption of fashion because of their desire to look rich. Because, according to Blumer, status and social class belonging are less important than being modern and current in the adoption of fashion.²²² With the decline of social class fashion, this becomes even less important.

According to Kaiser, who states that the person who wears a garment also wears the ambiguous relationship between art, personal mood, and the social

²²⁰ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 130.

²²¹ Erving Goffman, *Günlük Yaşamda Benliğin Sunumu*, 104.

²²² Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 230.

structure they are in, fashion is ambivalent.²²³ According to Davis, fashion change depends on 'culturally coded identities' together with gender, social class and all determinants of identity. Like Davis, Kaiser, Nagasawa and Hutton (1990) evaluated the concept of fashion with ambivalence and ambiguity.²²⁴ In addition; Simmel, Veblen, and Bourdieu define clothing based on its status/class separative function. However, in addition to revealing information about people's social class, according to names such as Blumer, Konig, Wilson, clothing also conveys other meanings.²²⁵ Since the social class fashion conceptualized by Simmel and Veblen reduces the effect of the period, clothing now has many different meanings.

The system of fashion is one of the ways how the meaning is transferred to the product and service.²²⁶ At the same time, this system is a movement of meaning and a means by which goods are detached from their meaningful properties. The fashion system, which is a means of communication and meaning transfer, is considered in three different ways. In the first of these, it is stated that "the system of fashion transfers meaning from the culturally constructed world to consumer goods that is very similar in character and effect to the transfer performed by advertising." In the second, "the system of fashion modestly invents new cultural meanings.". These invented meanings are realized by people called opinion leaders who have natural beauty and are respected. Third, "the fashion system engages in a radical reform of cultural meanings." Cultural meanings in industrially developed societies are also constantly changing. Therefore, changes in the system of fashion serve to capture cultural meanings.²²⁷ Fashion is always on the move and keeps up with the day.

²²³ Susan Kaiser and friends "Fashion, postmodernity and personal appearance: A symbolic interactionist formulation.", 165.

²²⁴ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 32.

²²⁵ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 74.

²²⁶ Grant McCracken, "Culture and consumption: A theoretical account of the structure and movement of the cultural meaning of consumer goods.", 77.

²²⁷ Ibid: 76.

3.3. LANGUAGE OF CLOTHING, COMMUNICATION WITH CLOTHING, APPEARANCE

Those who do not make decisions based on appearance are, at best, shallow people. The real mystery of the world is not in the invisible, but in the visible. Oscar Wilde²²⁸

The most effective stimuli that reveal the personal showcase are appearance and attitude. The stimulus that reflects a person's social status is appearance, and the stimulus that reflects their expectation of how to be interacted with is defined as attitude.²²⁹ Communication through clothing is provided by the person's external appearance; and this communication is used as an indicator of social class and social environment because status symbols are important in the sense that they are the expression of material existence in social classes.²³⁰ It is conceptualized as an impression, a tool that conveys the observer's reaction, giving information about the facts even if it is not visible to the naked eye; in other words, the impression is transmitted to and received from others.²³¹ It provides the impression of mutual interaction between the wearer and the observer.

When a person enters a new environment in which they are not previously known, their appearance and attitudes may provide ideas to others. Because, due to the ideas they have acquired about similar people before, they can get various clues to understand the new person, since they have an already formed definition in their minds.²³² Goffman puts this as, "A person will inevitably behave in a way that is expressive in one way or another, and that the observers will get an impression in some way."²³³

²²⁸ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 13.

²²⁹ Erving Goffman, *Günlük Yaşamda Benliğin Sunumu*, 35.

²³⁰ Ibid: 46.

²³¹ Ibid: 231.

²³² Ibid: 15.

²³³ Ibid: 16.

The first impression is very important in daily life.²³⁴ A person expresses themselves through the impression they give and the impression they emit. The impression people give is usually communicated through verbal signs, which is traditional communication. The impression people emit can be defined as the impression the observers evaluate based on their own discoveries regarding the person. It is possible to convey false information with both forms of communication. The impression people give involves deception, and the impression they emit involves acting.²³⁵ Goffman expresses presenting a different and deceptive impression of oneself as “Even though people are usually what they seem, it makes people think that such appearances may be shaped.”²³⁶ Therefore, there is a possibility that the impression may be misleading.

“Isn't clothing actually a visual language with its own unique grammar, syntax, and vocabulary?”²³⁷ Clothing is a visual and distinctive form of communication because it is not a verbal or written form of communication like a traditional form of communication. According to Davis, who states that communication through clothing is related to cultural values including the self, self-identity, social identity, gender, sexuality, social status, age and similar terms:²³⁸

Clothing can easily be a visual metaphor for recording the culture-based instabilities that resonate within and between identities. Clothing as a visual metaphor can convey many things, including something as subtle as, say, the wearer's awareness of what is being 'spoken'. Therefore, many of the outfits, especially those that reflect a high level of fashion consciousness, limit their sentences like quotation marks in order to convey meanings completely different from those that appear at first glance through Confusing.²³⁹

²³⁴ Ibid: 24.

²³⁵ Ibid: 16.

²³⁶ Ibid: 76.

²³⁷ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 15.

²³⁸ Ibid: 211.

²³⁹ Ibid: 37.

In the context of the relationship between body and self-identity, appearance, the way of dressing and the garments that reflect certain clues regarding communication is important.²⁴⁰ While the clothes that make up the appearance reflect the self-identity that the wearer wants to have, it also reflects a social identity formed according to the norms of the social environment in which they want to be. According to Locke, a person can reflect two different identities by clothing differently. Because it is possible for the base that creates self-identity to change at other times, even if self-identity does not change.²⁴¹ Therefore, one has the opportunity to present various identities by simply changing their clothing.

According to Giddens who defines clothing as a symbolic means of self-presentation, clothing is a tool for creating an external form of self-identity rather than bodily protection.²⁴² Because clothing, which is a way of showing oneself, is a way of communication related to hiding and displaying self-identity with certain elements.²⁴³ The clothing worn carries a symbolic meaning for the self-identity it reflects and the social identity perceived by others.

According to Göle, the things people possess are "expressive". Because these visible items carry meaning and communicate.²⁴⁴ The most visible of these expressive items is clothing. Before talking to a person, a definition is formed in the minds of those who see the appearance. In addition, according to Farberman, Stone explains the social psychological importance of clothing with four items: "non-ranked status aggregates; personalization; a universe of appearance;

²⁴⁰ Anthony Giddens, *Modernite ve Bireysel-Kimlik Geç Modern Çağda Benlik ve Toplum*, 132-133.

²⁴¹ John Locke, *Of Identity and Diversity*, 11.

²⁴² Anthony Giddens, *Modernite ve Bireysel-Kimlik Geç Modern Çağda Benlik ve Toplum*, 86-87.

²⁴³ Ibid: 88.

²⁴⁴ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 228.

identity.”²⁴⁵ People's clothing is an indicator of these four items with which they interact with other people.

According to Connerton, who states that clothes are indicators and have meanings about the social position of the people who wear them:

Reading or putting on clothes is significantly like reading or writing a literary text. Just as a person reading a literary text connects the object in question to a literary genre, so does the person interpreting the clothes. A single literary property or a single dressing property carries a meaning thanks to it being a part of a bigger whole of meanings and in both cases, such a whole should give more or less clear clues as to the type of change or clothing interpreted from the point of view.²⁴⁶

With clothing, certain judgments are produced in the minds of others regarding age, gender, activity, class, time and place. Therefore, the system of fashion is a system that has grammatical rules and creates meanings with their combinations. This defined language of clothing, that is, the meaning reflected by the person wearing the clothing, is in the eye of the observer.²⁴⁷ Likewise, according to Sahlins; clothing is similar to the structure of language. It is not important how the sound is produced, but how it separates from other sounds. In clothing, too, varying with cuts, patterns, colors, and shapes, the garment brings men or women into a suitable form for all kinds of spaces and determines status categories.²⁴⁸

According to Crane, who defines clothing as a form of nonverbal and visual communication: “Clothing often reveals occupation, religion and regional origin as well as social class and gender.”²⁴⁹ The fact that the dress reveals the religious identity is clearly evident especially in the veiling of women.

²⁴⁵ Gregory P. Stone “Symbolic Interaction”. *Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction* (Wiley), no.1 (Fall 2016): 5.

²⁴⁶ Paul Connerton, *Toplumlar Nasıl Anımsar?*, 24.

²⁴⁷ Ibid: 60.

²⁴⁸ Ibid: 58.

²⁴⁹ Diana Crane, *Moda ve Gündemleri Giyimde Sınıf, Cinsiyet ve Kimlik*, 16.

In McCracken's article 'does clothing have a code?', a visual communication tool bases clothing on a 'code' and indicates that this clothing code is similarly unknown in the society that uses it. Because the codes of clothing communication depend on the social position of the people and the social characteristics of the outer appearance formed by the clothing.²⁵⁰ We can express these communication codes in the same way as signs, so that through clothing codes the person projects to others the expressions they want them to perceive.

According to McCracken, the 'meaning' of consumer goods is not just about status, as Veblen says, but is very diverse and complex. The meaning of the products is sometimes obvious and sometimes hidden.²⁵¹ Besides, this meaning can be transferred, moved, and manipulated. He states that the meaning as “culturally constructed world, consumer good and individual consumer” resides in three places. Advertising, the fashion system and consumer rituals have been defined as the means by which meaning is extracted from and transferred between these spaces. While the advertising and fashion system carries meaning from the culturally constructed world to consumer goods, consumer rituals carry the meaning of products from consumer goods to consumers. This is the trajectory of the movement of cultural meaning in modern developed societies.²⁵²

²⁵⁰ McCracken, Grant and Roth. “Does Clothing Have a Code?” (*International journal of research in marketing*, 1989): 13.

²⁵¹ Grant McCracken, "Culture and consumption: A theoretical account of the structure and movement of the cultural meaning of consumer goods", 78.

²⁵² Ibid: 81.

3.4. COGNITIVE AND SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM IN COMMUNICATION THROUGH CLOTHING

“A woman's dress is the expression of her innermost thoughts, the sword of a tongue and a symbol.” Balzac, *Une fille d'Eve* (1839)²⁵³

Clothing is not just a piece of cloth protecting our body, it is a symbolic representation and a means of being understood by others. Kaiser's communication through clothing is defined by two different approaches, cognitive and symbolic. In cognitive theory, clothes are cues that other people can discern in order to understand the people being observed. In symbolic interactionist approach, the role of clothing in social communication is more important since there is mutual communication. The thoughts of both the wearer and the observers are evaluated. These two approaches are not mutually exclusive, so clothing can be studied in two ways, its value in communication and its value in social perception.²⁵⁴

In symbolic interactionism, the meanings of clothing symbols and the social interaction of clothing are important. In social interactions, clothing serves the negotiation of identities and the definition of situations.²⁵⁵ In order for the symbolic interaction to occur correctly, the meaning that the wearer reflects with the symbol must be the same as the meaning understood by the observers.²⁵⁶ A reciprocal social symbolic interaction occurs when the wearer reflects and the perceiver understands the same. In symbolic interactionism, the initiators and receivers of the meaning conveyed by clothing render the clothing a two-way communication tool.²⁵⁷ According to Blumer (1969), who states that symbolic interactionism is a process, the meanings of symbols have an important place in most interactions.²⁵⁸ These

²⁵³ Diana Crane, *Moda ve Gündemleri Giyimde Sınıf, Cinsiyet ve Kimlik*, 170.

²⁵⁴ Susan Kaiser, "Toward a contextual social psychology of clothing: A synthesis of symbolic interactionist and cognitive theoretical perspectives", 1.

²⁵⁵ Ibid: 2.

²⁵⁶ Ibid: 2.

²⁵⁷ Ibid: 3.

²⁵⁸ Ibid: 2.

meanings refer to many situations, and social variables defined by clothing, according to Kaiser:

- 1.Degree of formality
- 2.Identities of, and relationships between, participants
- 3.Degree of familiarity with a situation
- 4.Salience of a situation, or the degree of regard that individuals hold for it
- 5.Possibilities for overt actions such as physical activities²⁵⁹

As fashion changes, the perceived meaning also changes.²⁶⁰ Because, in cognitive and symbolic interactionism; the meanings of clothing tips may vary in different situations, and the use of meanings may change with the change in fashion. In addition, in societies with cultural clothing codes, the change in fashion has less influence on the way of dressing.²⁶¹ The change in fashion, time and place greatly changes the meaning of mutual interaction.

The concept that is popular in all areas of consumption is defined as fashion, and being similar to and different from each other are indispensable trends of fashion. In the light of the concept of fashion, the social identity is created with clothes, according to the desired self-identity and the desired social environment. The clothes that make up the appearance under the concept of fashion have been an indicator of social classes. As the lower classes imitate the upper classes, the upper classes progress into the new fashion; therefore fashion is in a constant upward cycle and change. With the increase in access to clothes after industrialization, the fashion of the social class gradually shifted to the fashion of the consumer society. With pre-industrial top-down or post-industrial bottom-up theories, it can be seen that clothing is an element of mobility between classes. Since the meanings are attributed to the products in the consumer society, it has further strengthened the meaning of the clothes. As the clothes have diversified, different meanings have emerged for each type. At the same time, the meanings of clothing may change due

²⁵⁹ Ibid: 2.

²⁶⁰ Ibid: 5.

²⁶¹ Ibid: 7.

to reasons such as fashion being constantly changing in an upward cycle, changing time, changing place, and changing social culture. The interaction that occurs when the meaning of the garment is the same by the wearer and the observer, is conceptualized as symbolic interactionism.

CHAPTER 4: VEILED MUSLIM WOMAN IDENTITY

4.1. MODERNIZATION AND THE VEILED MUSLIM WOMAN

The most visible symbol of Turkish modernization is the woman and her veil. While modernization in Western societies is shaped by industrialization, increased production, and social class structures, Turkish modernization has progressed differently. With the reforms by Atatürk, the 'symbolic' importance of appearance was emphasized and an ideal image of the woman was determined.²⁶² Through these various reforms, women as the symbols of modernization were encouraged to study and take part in politics.²⁶³ Thus, women have begun to take a place in social life. With the independence of 'women' in Turkey from traditional Islamic life elements, modernization has taken place.²⁶⁴ Women are often central to modernization in Muslim countries. Thus, in the modernization process, women's way of dressing and their veils have been emphasized.

In the modernization process of Turkey and the secularization of social life, women have been at the forefront both physically and with their public visibility.²⁶⁵ With the increased education and participation of women in the workforce, in civil society associations and foundations, and their adaptation to the latest fashions in clothing, the privacy of the woman was damaged especially following the second Constitutional era. Before this period, the woman's covering and not leaving the house constituted the private sphere. In this period, especially urban women demolished the gender segregated *haremlık-selamlık* practice in areas such as education, fashion, workforce, and entertainment. They shared the public space with men and became visible.²⁶⁶ As the private sphere began to crack, the state aimed to discipline women's public life with police measures.²⁶⁷ Women who

²⁶² Nilüfer Göle, *Melez Desenler*, 128.

²⁶³ Ibid: 50.

²⁶⁴ Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, 26.

²⁶⁵ Ibid: 31.

²⁶⁶ Ibid: 72

²⁶⁷ Ibid: 70

became visible in social life with Atatürk's reforms have been at the center of Turkish modernization with their visible 'image'.

Since the concepts of ideology and identity are based on signs and symbols in Turkey, it is inevitable for the veil to be significant. The concept of identity defined by clothing is more functional in Turkey. The veil ideologically defines a political identity, practically reflects the woman's personal Muslim identity, and finally expresses a social identity that reflects her social class through the consumption of modest clothing. According to Kadioğlu, women have been an important element of modernization since the westernization efforts that started in Turkey in the 19th century, and they were forced to choose between tradition and modernity. The veiled Muslim woman has become the symbol of modernization, as her way of dressing is an indicator.²⁶⁸

There are many meanings of the veil. On the one hand, it emphasizes the affirmation of women's Muslim identity, on the other hand, it puts an Islamist political emphasis. Today, the practice of veiling differs from traditional veiling with this dual meaning. In addition to these two meanings of the veil, it is possible to mention the meaning of the status based on the consumption power. Göle classifies covering into two categories as headscarf and turban. The headscarf reflects the traditional veiling that has been passively accepted from generation to generation, while the headscarf reflects the active reclamation by women who are modernizing and have a political stance. According to Göle, because of this semantic difference, educated women differ from traditional uneducated women and reject their 'mother's style'.²⁶⁹ In other words, the turban of the Islamist woman with a different meaning from the traditional veiling of her mother defines modern, urban, young, and educated women. In this context, the traditional veil reflects a pre-modern woman who is uneducated, passive, and trapped in the home.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁸ Mutlu Binark and Kılıçbay, *Tüketim Toplumu Bağlamında Türkiye'de Örtünme Pratiği ve Moda İlişkisi*, 10.

²⁶⁹ Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, 16.

²⁷⁰ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 42.

Educated women, who reject the traditional veil of their mothers, whom Göle describes as an "Islamic woman", emphasize their "covered identity" as a way of participating in social life comfortably, not being excluded from social life, unlike the older generation²⁷¹:

Islamist women are trying to establish their new identities by claiming the reasons for their exclusion and identification with the private sphere, instead of demanding full equality to be like the "other". They claim that a Muslim woman can be strong, rich, educated, a lawyer, or a doctor, by protecting their femininity, turbans, Islamic lifestyles, and motherhood roles. They protect their biological identities but are not limited to this, they try to fuse their identities in the public sphere with it. They try to make the private space attractive by redefining motherhood with a concept such as "educational motherhood" and trying to establish workplaces where housewives can work.²⁷²

Thus, they exist in the public sphere, which they feminized by preserving their identities. In addition, the reason why veiled Muslim women are seen as victims is symbolized with the headscarf. The veiled Muslim woman reflects political Islam as a social identity as well as the personal identity she creates in her private sphere. There is an ironic difference between these identities: while the Muslim woman creates a private identity in the private sphere, the private sphere disappears and she is in the position of a visible subject in the public sphere.²⁷³ This creates a dilemma. The question arises that whether modesty as the virtue of hiding the body or a visible but covered body with an apparent political stance is preferable.

²⁷¹ Ibid: 64.

²⁷² Ibid: 67.

²⁷³ Mutlu Binark and Kılıçbay, *Tüketim Toplumu Bağlamında Türkiye'de Örtünme Pratiği ve Moda İlişkisi*, 8.

4.2. 'THE HEADSCARF' AS A PROBLEM

“The judging of the actions of the old regime is the founding act of the new order.”²⁷⁴

The crisis, which is defined as the 'headscarf problem' in Turkish literature, started in the 1980s when Islamist girls wanted to attend university with their veils. The reactive stance experienced in this period caused the veiled Muslim women to be at the forefront with their social identities rather than the problem of personal identity. In Göle's definition, "Islamic girls focused on an ideal Islamic order based on the Age of Bliss rather than their own identity”.²⁷⁵

The difference between these two Muslim women, defined as traditional covering and Islamic veiling, started the headscarf debate. The traditional covering of lower and middle-class Muslim women in the slums does not attract attention, because while it is seen as a tradition and custom; women in universities covered in Islamist clothing stands out. Students, on the other hand, demanded to continue to attend their classes with their modest clothes. Therefore, in the headscarf debates that started in 1984, secular and Islamist groups became the parties to political polarization. The conflict between the two sides has been moved to the public sphere with discussions of identity, lifestyle, and art.²⁷⁶ The new type of veiling that emerged as different from the traditional veil represents a strong structure. The secular sections of society are uncomfortable with which is unlike the traditional veiling they are used to and consider innocent. Instead of opposing the traditional veiling of their grandmothers and grandmothers, they respectfully commemorate them.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ Paul Connerton, *Toplumlar Nasıl Anımsar?*, 18.

²⁷⁵ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 41.

²⁷⁶ Ibid: 28.

²⁷⁷ Nilüfer Göle, *Seküler ve Dinsel: Aşınan Sınırlar*, 101.

After the coup was carried out with anti-reactionary rhetoric and overthrew the REFAHYOL government on February 28, 1997, and after the general elections in Turkey on April 18, 1999, the 'turban problem' gained a different dimension. Merve Kavakçı, the first female MP to be elected from the Virtue Party in the general election, is also the first female MP to enter the parliament with a headscarf, albeit for a few hours. After this period, entrance to public buildings, universities, and parliament with a veil was prohibited, with the thought that Islamic symbols would pose a threat.²⁷⁸ While the headscarf ban in universities was lifted in 2007 during the Justice and Development Party government, it was lifted in 2013 in the public and parliament.

During the AKP rule, a period of relief, freedom and normalization²⁷⁹ began with the reduction of political troubles in the Islamic section of the society. Especially when the problems and bans they faced after the 1999 general elections and the February 28 period came to an end, a new consumption-oriented mass emerged due to the neo-liberal consumption culture of the AKP. The Consumptionscape²⁸⁰ for veiled Muslim women has widened. Thus, veiled Muslim women identities have also diversified.

According to Kütük-Kuriş who defines the period of relief and freedom as normalization: “With the normalization of Muslim lifestyles under the AKP, the consumer market has adopted inclusionary policies towards Islamic/modest fashion.”²⁸¹ The change in Turkey's Islamic sectors has to do with its economic, sociopolitical and cultural transformation during the AKP rule.²⁸² However, it

²⁷⁸ Nilüfer Göle, *Melez Desenler*, 145.

²⁷⁹ Merve Kutuk Kuris, “Piety, fashion and festivity in a modest fashion shopping mall in Istanbul”, 184.

²⁸⁰ Özlem Sandıkçı, Güliz Ger, “In-between modernities and postmodernities: Theorizing Turkish consumptionscape”, 1.

²⁸¹ Merve Kutuk Kuris, “Piety, fashion and festivity in a modest fashion shopping mall in Istanbul”, 184.

²⁸² Merve Kutuk Kuris “Muslim Fashionistas in Contemporary Turkey Devoted Mothers, Benevolent Philanthropists, and Leisure Enthusiasts”, *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, no. 17:3 (2021): 396.

would be wrong to attribute this transformation only to the AKP government. According to Sandıkçı and Ger, who underlined the fact that Islam has been in every field since the 1980s and the liberalization of the economy:

Especially since the 1980s Islam has a prominent role not only in the political arena but in the socio- cultural and economic domains. Liberalization and privatization of economy during the 1980s did not only change the lifestyle of urban seculars but created an Islamic bourgeoisie.²⁸³

4.3. VEILED MUSLIM WOMAN IDENTITY AND ‘TESETTUR’

A Muslim is a person who belongs to the religion of Islam and lives within the rules of religious orders. In this section, ideal Muslim women's veiling will be examined in the light of verses and hadiths.

4.3.1. IDEAL VEILED MUSLIM WOMEN’S IDENTITY

The study of muslim women’s identity and the role of their clothing in the building process of their identity, begins with the study of ‘tesettur’ (ideal veiling practice). Verses of Qur’an and *Hadith* (sayings of the Prophet) pose as the primary source in our study. In the holy book of Muslims, the Qur’an, there are three verses regarding the command of *tesettur*. These three are Surah-al Azhab: 59, Surah-al Nur: 31 and 60. Previous and following verses are also included as a complementary source.

لَقَدْ تَنَزَّلْنَا مُلَكًا نَاضِرًا لَّهُ لَنَهْرٍ لَّصِيدًا نَظْفَحِي رُفْنًا مَّجْجًا لَا وَنَدْبِي نَهْنَنِي لَا أَمْرَ هَظَنَمَاهُ
نَهْرُضِي لَنَهْرٍ مَّخْبِي لَاءَ تَهْبُوِيْدَ لَا وَنَدْبِي نَهْنَنِي لَا تَهْلُوْعُطَ وَآ نَهْنَأَ وَآ عَابَا بُنْهَلُوْعَ

²⁸³ Özlem Sandıkçı, Güliz Ger, “In-between modernities and postmodernities: Theorizing Turkish consumptionscape”, 3.

وَأَن يَهْنَأْنَ وَإِيَّائِهِنَّ يَسْتَلُونَ وَأَن يَكُنَّ لَهُنَّ خُصَائِمٌ يَرِيضْنَ وَأَن يُخْفِينَ ثِيَابَهُنَّ إِلَّا مَا بَلَغَتِ الْحُلُمَ أَوْ لَدَىٰ مَا يَرَوْنَ عَمَلًا يُدْرِكُهُنَّ بِهِ خِلَافٌ لَّهُنَّ الْغَيْبُ
وَأَن يَهْنَأْنَ وَإِيَّائِهِنَّ يَسْتَلُونَ وَأَن يَكُنَّ لَهُنَّ خُصَائِمٌ يَرِيضْنَ وَأَن يُخْفِينَ ثِيَابَهُنَّ إِلَّا مَا بَلَغَتِ الْحُلُمَ أَوْ لَدَىٰ مَا يَرَوْنَ عَمَلًا يُدْرِكُهُنَّ بِهِ خِلَافٌ لَّهُنَّ الْغَيْبُ
وَأَن يَهْنَأْنَ وَإِيَّائِهِنَّ يَسْتَلُونَ وَأَن يَكُنَّ لَهُنَّ خُصَائِمٌ يَرِيضْنَ وَأَن يُخْفِينَ ثِيَابَهُنَّ إِلَّا مَا بَلَغَتِ الْحُلُمَ أَوْ لَدَىٰ مَا يَرَوْنَ عَمَلًا يُدْرِكُهُنَّ بِهِ خِلَافٌ لَّهُنَّ الْغَيْبُ

And say to the believing women that they should restrain their eyes, and guard their hijab (virtue), and that they display not their ornaments except what appears of them. And that they draw their veils over their bosoms and display not their ornaments except to their husbands, or their fathers, or their husband's fathers, or their sons, or their husband's sons, or their brothers, or their brother's sons, or their sister's sons, or their women, or their slaves, or male domestics who have no natural sexual force, or children who know nothing of women's nakedness. And let them not strike their feet together so as to reveal their hidden ornaments. And repent you all to Allah, O you believers, that you may succeed. (An-Nur 24/31)²⁸⁴

دَعَوُوهُنَّ لَمْ يَكُن لَّهُنَّ حُلُمٌ أَوْ لَدَىٰ مَا يَرَوْنَ عَمَلًا يُدْرِكُهُنَّ بِهِ خِلَافٌ لَّهُنَّ الْغَيْبُ
دَعَوُوهُنَّ لَمْ يَكُن لَّهُنَّ حُلُمٌ أَوْ لَدَىٰ مَا يَرَوْنَ عَمَلًا يُدْرِكُهُنَّ بِهِ خِلَافٌ لَّهُنَّ الْغَيْبُ
دَعَوُوهُنَّ لَمْ يَكُن لَّهُنَّ حُلُمٌ أَوْ لَدَىٰ مَا يَرَوْنَ عَمَلًا يُدْرِكُهُنَّ بِهِ خِلَافٌ لَّهُنَّ الْغَيْبُ

As for women who are past childbearing, and have no hope of marriage; no blame (sin) shall attach to them if they lay aside their (outer) garments in such a way as not to show adornments. But to refrain (from that) is better for them. Allah is Hearer, Knower. (An-Nur 24/60)²⁸⁵

أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَتَّبِعُوا هَذِهِ السُّبُلَ الَّتِي سَلَكَتُمُوهَا فِي سَبْعِ مَوَاقِعَ مِنْهَا بَعْضٌ مَّا كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلرِّجَالِ وَبَعْضٌ كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلنِّسَاءِ وَبَعْضٌ كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلرِّجَالِ وَبَعْضٌ كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلنِّسَاءِ وَبَعْضٌ كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلرِّجَالِ وَبَعْضٌ كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلنِّسَاءِ
أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَتَّبِعُوا هَذِهِ السُّبُلَ الَّتِي سَلَكَتُمُوهَا فِي سَبْعِ مَوَاقِعَ مِنْهَا بَعْضٌ مَّا كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلرِّجَالِ وَبَعْضٌ كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلنِّسَاءِ وَبَعْضٌ كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلرِّجَالِ وَبَعْضٌ كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلنِّسَاءِ وَبَعْضٌ كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلرِّجَالِ وَبَعْضٌ كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلنِّسَاءِ
أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَتَّبِعُوا هَذِهِ السُّبُلَ الَّتِي سَلَكَتُمُوهَا فِي سَبْعِ مَوَاقِعَ مِنْهَا بَعْضٌ مَّا كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلرِّجَالِ وَبَعْضٌ كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلنِّسَاءِ وَبَعْضٌ كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلرِّجَالِ وَبَعْضٌ كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلنِّسَاءِ وَبَعْضٌ كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلرِّجَالِ وَبَعْضٌ كَانَتْ تَكُنُ لِلنِّسَاءِ

²⁸⁴ Prof. Dr. Nurettin Uzunoğlu, *The Holy Qur'an* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Foundation, 2017): 352.

²⁸⁵ Ibid: 357.

O Prophet! Tell your wives and your daughters and the women of the believers to draw their cloaks close round them (when they go abroad). That will be better, that so they may be recognized and not annoyed. Allah is ever Forgiving, Merciful. (Al-Azhab 33/59)²⁸⁶

Since it is relatively harder to define the boundaries of the command of veiling from only examining the translations, *tafsir* texts (annotated and interpretive translations of Quran) will be consulted. This study includes the views of ten scholars of *tafsir* who are Elmalılı Muhammed Hamdi Yazır, Mahmut Toptaş, Ibn Kesir, Seyyid Kutub, Mevdudi, Muhammad al-Ghazali, Ali Küçük, İhsan Eliaçık and Mustafa İslamoğlu. Through an examining of their *tafsir* books, their views on veiling and other views will be mentioned.

The majority of the examined *tafsirs* start by describing the *awrah*, meaning the parts in a person's body that is haram to look. This way they emphasize that men and women should first avoid haram through the gaze. *Awrah* is defined as the parts of the body between the belly and knees among women, between the belly and knees for men towards both men and women, and all parts of the body except for hands, face and feet for women towards men. Despite differences in the content, the majority of these scholars included in our study start explaining the verses regarding veiling by defining *awrah* first.

The interpretations continue by explaining the manner of the covering. Seyyid Kutub states that the veil should be worn in a way to extend past the neck and hand, and that the face is permissible to expose. He also explains that beautification is *halal* (islamically permissible) for women but only towards their husbands.²⁸⁷ Mevdudi similarly defines the veiling, adding that the veil should also

²⁸⁶ Ibid: 425.

²⁸⁷ Seyyid Kutub, *Fi Zilal-il Kur'an*. Çeviren Vahdettin İnce, Mehmet Yolcu Salih Uçan. (İstanbul: Dünya Yayıncılık, 1991): 476.

be opaque and loose enough to conceal the body.²⁸⁸ He addresses that the veil should extend past the neck and women should not expose their “ornaments” intentionally.²⁸⁹ Mevdudi defines wearing a veil as a whole covering of the head, neck and bosom, as well as the full body cover.²⁹⁰

Mustafa İslamoğlu states that the verses of veiling regulates the covering of the neck and bosom since they were often left uncovered at the time. He additionally states that these verses emphasize women should be involved in society by their character and not their femininity.²⁹¹ In a similar fashion, İhsan Eliaçık interprets the veil as a full covering of the neck and bosom, and that low cut clothing, slit cuts and tight clothing are excluded from the understanding of veiling. Through this concealing and keeping sexual beauty only to oneself, this practice aims at women’s visibility through their character within society.²⁹²

Ibn Kesir states concealed beauty enriches one’s emotions and that the manners of veiling is to extend the veil so as to cover the neck and bosom, hands and face excluded.²⁹³ Mahmut Toptaş adds feet to the exclusion, stating that hands starting from wrists, face within chin and hairline and between the ears, feet starting from heels are excluded. He also adds that the covering should not be transparent nor tight, it also should not resemble a specific clothing normally preferred by non-Muslims.²⁹⁴

Ali Küçük states women should protect their God-given bodies and similarly defines veiling as to extend the veil so as to cover the neck, bosom and

²⁸⁸ Mevdudi. *Kur'an Açısından Kadın* (İstanbul: Fikir Yayınları, 1985): 202.

²⁸⁹ Ibid: 204-207.

²⁹⁰ Ibid: 208.

²⁹¹ Mustafa İslamoğlu, *Hayat Kitabı Kur'an* (İstanbul: Düşün Yayıncılık, 2008): 685.

²⁹² R. İhsan Eliaçık, *Yaşayan Kur'an* (İstanbul: İnşa Yayınları, 2007): 243.

²⁹³ Ibn. Kesir, *Hadislerle Kur'an-ı Kerim Tefsiri* (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 2005): 5861-5881.

²⁹⁴ Mahmut Toptaş, *Kur'an-ı Kerim Şifa Tefsiri* (İstanbul: Cantaş Yayınları, 2008): 298-375.

shoulders. Unlike others, he states body must be covered in whole, including the hands and face under opaque and loose clothing enough to cover the whole body.²⁹⁵

Elmalılı Muhammed Hamdi Yazır defines veiling as cover over the *jilbab*. He describes two forms of covering, one is covering the head down to the eyebrows and covering the face except for one eye, the other is a covering half the face through wrapping over the forehead then over the nose and the chest, excluding both eyes.²⁹⁶ He similarly states that the covering must include the head, hair, ears, neck, bosom and the chest.²⁹⁷

In the examined *tafsirs*, the common view is that veiling cover should include the whole body, neck and bosom, except for hands and face with loose and opaque clothing.

The reasoning behind these definitions of veiling lies in the pre-Islamic *jahiliyyah* (pre-Islamic state of ignorance) era. According to İhsan Eliaçık²⁹⁸ and Ali Küçük²⁹⁹, the command of veiling is not only to cover the head, but to extend the veil past the neck since the practice of head covering already existed at the time. However, women would wrap their headscarves so as to expose their neck and bosom. According to Gazali's interpretation, some of the commands and practices of earlier religions were not new to Islam, but Islam elaborated and clarified these commands.³⁰⁰ According to Mustafa İslamoğlu, the veil that was used by free women at the time was an accessorial veil that extended from head to toe.³⁰¹

²⁹⁵ Ali Küçük, *Besairu'l Kur'an* (İstanbul: Beka Yayınları, 2021): 204.

²⁹⁶ Elmalılı Muhammed Hamdi Yazır, *Hak Dini Kur'an Dili*. (Eser Neşriyat ve Dağıtım, 1979): 3927-3828.

²⁹⁷ Ibid: 3505.

²⁹⁸ R. İhsan Eliaçık, *Yaşayan Kur'an*, 243.

²⁹⁹ Ali Küçük, *Besairu'l Kur'an*, 204.

³⁰⁰ al-Ghazali, Shaykh Muhammad. *A Thematic Commentary on the Qur'an* (Virginia: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2005): 379.

³⁰¹ Mustafa İslamoğlu, *Hayat Kitabı Kur'an*, 685.

Ibn Kesir³⁰², Mevdudi³⁰³ and Seyyid Kutub³⁰⁴ who compared *jahiliyyah* era to our modern *jahiliyyah*, also state that women at the time exposed their bosoms in front of men and that their hair was partially exposed and earrings would be visible. Elmalılı Muhammed Hamdi Yazır³⁰⁵ adds that women would fasten their headscarves at the nape, and their chest and neck would be left visible. This customary manner of covering continued to exist among Muslim women as well until the revelation of the veiling verses in Madina.

In Kutub's interpretation, men would stay away from women who were covered because they would think them to be free women and not slaves. Women who covered themselves firmly would be protected from the assaults of men.³⁰⁶ Ali Küçük³⁰⁷, Mahmut Toptaş³⁰⁸ and Ibn Kesir³⁰⁹ state that women should cover from head to toe in order to be known as free women and be protected.

Jilbab has different interpretations among the mentioned scholars. Ibn Kesir defines *jilbab* as the cover on top of the veil³¹⁰ while Elmalılı³¹¹ defines it as the *abaya* that covers the body from head to toe. According to İslamoğlu, *jilbab* is not the one-piece covering that conceals the body except for one eye because it makes the command of drawing the veil over the bosom pointless.³¹² As a common interpretation among the examined texts, *jilbab* is defined as an outer covering.

³⁰² Ibn. Kesir, *Hadislerle Kur'an-ı Kerim Tefsiri*, 5862.

³⁰³ Mevdudi. *Kur'an Açısından Kadın*, 207.

³⁰⁴ Seyyid Kutub, *Fi Zilal-il Kur'an*, 477.

³⁰⁵ Elmalılı Muhammed Hamdi Yazır, *Hak Dini Kur'an Dili*, 3506.

³⁰⁶ Prof. Dr. Seyyid Kutub, *Kadın ve Aile*. (İstanbul: İhtar Yayıncılık , 1994): 350.

³⁰⁷ Ali Küçük, *Besairu'l Kur'an*, 525-526.

³⁰⁸ Mahmut Toptaş, *Kur'an-ı Kerim Şifa Tefsiri*, 298.

³⁰⁹ Ibn. Kesir, *Hadislerle Kur'an-ı Kerim Tefsiri*, 6603.

³¹⁰ Ibid: 6602

³¹¹ Elmalılı Muhammed Hamdi Yazır, *Hak Dini Kur'an Dili*, 3927.

³¹² Mustafa İslamoğlu, *Hayat Kitabı Kur'an*, 685.

Surah al Nur: 60 is also accepted as a veiling verse and it mentions the exception about old women. In examined interpretations, Kutub³¹³, Ibn Kesir³¹⁴, Mevdudi³¹⁵, Eliaçık³¹⁶, Küçük³¹⁷, Elmalılı³¹⁸ and Toptaş³¹⁹ have the common view that it is agreeable to abandon the practice of the *jilbab* for women who are past child-bearing age, no longer interested in marriage nor are attractive for men anymore.

In the explanations regarding the manner of veiling and that *jilbab* is to be laid on top of the veil, the word “khimar” is often mentioned. According to Ibn Kesir³²⁰, Kutub³²¹, Toptaş³²², İslamoğlu³²³, Mevdudi³²⁴, Eliaçık³²⁵ and Elmalılı³²⁶, the word “khimar” translates to “veil” and is defined as the covering for the head, neck, bosom and the chest.

In addition to the explanations regarding the manner of veiling, Surah al Nur:31 specifies the people who are allowed to see a woman’s hair, neck, arms and ornaments, and who are forbidden to look. Kutub³²⁷, Mevdudi³²⁸, Küçük³²⁹ and Ibn Kesir³³⁰ have the common view about the issue that a woman’s husband, father, grandfather, sons, grandsons, father-in-law, blood siblings and step siblings, their sisters’ and brothers’ sons, Muslim women, slaves and *jariyah*, servants and old

³¹³ Seyyid Kutub, *Fi Zilal-il Kur'an*, 507.

³¹⁴ Ibn. Kesir, *Hadislerle Kur'an-ı Kerim Tefsiri*, 5965.

³¹⁵ Mevdudi. *Kur'an Açısından Kadın*, 292-293.

³¹⁶ R. İhsan Eliaçık, *Yaşayan Kur'an*, 252.

³¹⁷ Ali Küçük, *Besairu'l Kur'an*, 260.

³¹⁸ Elmalılı Muhammed Hamdi Yazır, *Hak Dini Kur'an Dili*, 3540.

³¹⁹ Mahmut Toptaş, *Kur'an-ı Kerim Şifa Tefsiri*, 400.

³²⁰ Ibn. Kesir, *Hadislerle Kur'an-ı Kerim Tefsiri*, 5880.

³²¹ Seyyid Kutub, *Fi Zilal-il Kur'an*, 476.

³²² Mahmut Toptaş, *Kur'an-ı Kerim Şifa Tefsiri*, 375.

³²³ Mustafa İslamoğlu, *Hayat Kitabı Kur'an*, 685.

³²⁴ Mevdudi. *Kur'an Açısından Kadın*, 207.

³²⁵ R. İhsan Eliaçık, *Yaşayan Kur'an*, 243.

³²⁶ Elmalılı Muhammed Hamdi Yazır, *Hak Dini Kur'an Dili*, 3505.

³²⁷ Seyyid Kutub, *Fi Zilal-il Kur'an*, 477-478.

³²⁸ Mevdudi. *Kur'an Açısından Kadın*, 210-223.

³²⁹ Ali Küçük, *Besairu'l Kur'an*, 205-207.

³³⁰ Ibn. Kesir, *Hadislerle Kur'an-ı Kerim Tefsiri*, 5863-5874.

men who no longer possess sexual desires, young boys who are not yet aware of their sexuality are allowed to look according to the Quranic verses. Elmalılı³³¹ adds paternal and maternal uncles to the list while Toptaş³³² also adds men who are not sane.

These interpretations often mention the word “*ziynet* (ornaments)” and it has various interpretations. The word literally translates to “adornment” and it means something to be concealed. According to Mevdudi, *ziynet* is fine garments, jewelry, things women adorn their heads, faces and bodies and they must be concealed.³³³ Ibn Kesir defines it as God-given beauty, fine garments, jewelry, adornments, kohl, and henna.³³⁴ According to Elmalılı, any kind of diadem, necklace, earrings and garments count as ornaments and even they should be concealed, much less exposing the body.³³⁵

In addition to the Quran, one other important source for the Muslims is the *hadith*. This study examines *hadiths* which are the sayings of Prophet Muhammad, regarding veiling from the books of six *hadith* scholars. The study includes a careful selection of *hadiths* regarding veiling from the books of İmam Nevevi, Ibn Kesir, Seyyid Kutub, Muhammed Ali Sabuni, Ibnu’l Mubarek El Mevsili and Muhammad Muhsin Khan.

There are *hadiths* that recount the events right after the revelation of Surah al Nur: 31, which are the verses about drawing the veils over the bosom in Buhari, one of the important and reliable sources of *hadith*. These *hadiths* tell of the first emigrant women in Madina tearing pieces from their outer garments to cover their necks and bosoms immediately after the revelation of these verses.

³³¹ Elmalılı Muhammed Hamdi Yazır, *Hak Dini Kur'an Dili*, 3506-3507.

³³² Mahmut Toptaş, *Kur'an-ı Kerim Şifa Tefsiri*, 374.

³³³ Mevdudi, *Kur'an Açısından Kadın*, 207.

³³⁴ Ibn. Kesir, *Hadislerle Kur'an-ı Kerim Tefsiri*, 5872.

³³⁵ Elmalılı Muhammed Hamdi Yazır, *Hak Dini Kur'an Dili*, 3504

Narrated Aisha: May Allah bestow His Mercy on the early emigrant women. When Allah revealed: "...and to draw their veils all over their Juyubihinna (i.e., their bodies, faces, necks and bosoms)..." they tore their Murut (woolen dresses of waist-binding clothes or aprons etc.) and covered their heads and faces with those torn Muruts.³³⁶

The customary manner of covering during the *jahiliyyah* was to fasten the veil at the nape as an accessory and leave the bosom and the chest exposed. Muslim women also continued this practice until the verse "...to draw their veil over the neck" was revealed. As understood from the aforementioned hadiths, Muslim women covered as commanded immediately, without looking for an extra veil and used the excess fabric from their garments.

In addition to the covering of the neck and the bosom, it is important for the understanding of Islamic veiling that the garments be loose enough to conceal the shape of the body, opaque enough to conceal the skin and without any revealings. These principles can be understood from the following hadiths:

Aisha narrates: Asma bint Abu Bakr came to the presence of the Prophet wearing thin clothing. The Prophet looked away and said: "O Asma, when a woman reaches puberty, it is suitable for her to only display these parts." And pointed to hands and the face.³³⁷

In this hadith from Muslim, the "dressed but naked" women are the ones who wear tight, transparent and revealing clothing. "Hair high like humps" is today interpreted as the big hair buns under the headscarves. It is told that this way of putting the hair in a bun is forbidden in line with this *hadith*.

³³⁶ Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan, *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al-Bukhari*. (Riyadh: Darussalam Publisher and Distributors, 1997): 245.

³³⁷ Ibn. Kesir, *Hadislerle Kur'an-ı Kerim Tefsiri*, 5861.

4.3.2. VEILED MUSLIM WOMAN IDENTITY

The visibility of the veiled 'female body' has become the symbol of the Islamic movement in modernization.³³⁸ The most important emphasis of the modern Islamist movement, which is a result of the conflict between Islamism, tradition, and modernism, is the veiling of Muslim women. A common social identity is formed through the symbol expressed by the Muslim woman's covering. There are various social identities formed by the veil with different meanings. This difference is visibly most easily understood from the way the person expresses themselves through clothing. The concept of "ummah" is re-formed with the sense of belonging to Muslim social identity and the indications of modest clothing. The modern Islamic social identity, which is formed by breaking away from tradition, is not formed by the advancement of traditional veiling, but by politicized, urban, and educated Muslim women bringing a new interpretation to Islam.³³⁹ In addition, other identities that emerge with the diversity of the cover are examined one by one in the next section.

The difference between these two Muslim women, defined as traditional veiling and Islamist veiling, became the two ends to the polarization between secular and Islamist groups in the headscarf debates that started in 1984. The new type of veiling, which differs from the traditional veiling style, has been called the "turban movement" in the Turkish media. The word turban, as a headdress of Muslim origin, is the name given to a cotton or silk long scarf that completely covers the head of the person. This meaning has passed from Ottoman Turkish to French and from French to Turkish. Thus, the word turban reflects the Ottoman-Turkish-Western interaction both as a word meaning and as a symbol meaning. It was originally formed from the words "tül(i)bend" in Turkish and "dülband" in Persian. According to Göle, the word 'turban' refers to the "violent nature of women's participation in Islamist movements". In other words, the symbolic

³³⁸ Nilüfer Göle, *Melez Desenler*, 131.

³³⁹ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 28.

meaning of the word turban refers to the religious politicization of veiled Muslim women and the power they gain.³⁴⁰ Thus, the word 'turban', which has a political meaning, is defined as Islamic veiling.

While the importance of communication, art, and knowledge production is at the forefront today, actions were important in the 20th century.³⁴¹ For this reason, women have adopted the Islamic movement in order to be subjects. As the Islamic movement became politicized, women were always placed in the foreground. The fact that women were at the forefront of these movements created a dilemma. The dilemma is that the female body is hidden and private according to Islam, but that women are positioned with their bodies, even though they are covered, in the political Islamic movement. Because on the one hand, it symbolizes the return to Islamic traditions, on the other hand, the fact that the politicized woman is always at the forefront with her body distorts the traditional Muslim woman representation.³⁴² Göle expresses a paradox experienced by Muslim women with Islamic veils, who are far from the traditional veiling in Anatolia:

Paradoxically, contemporary Islamist movements equip Muslims with a collective identity that is critical of both the traditional subordination of Muslim identity and the single civilizational imposition of Western modernity. In this case, Islamism can be considered a critical entry of the Muslim subject into the modern spheres of social life.³⁴³

In addition, he emphasizes that the Muslim woman, who is trying to create an identity based on being stylish, is losing her own identity:

The main issue that marked the 2000s was the increasingly narrowing “space” of the veiled women trying to gain identity through “elegance”. It

³⁴⁰ Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, 17-19.

³⁴¹ Nilüfer Göle, *Melez Desenler*, 9.

³⁴² Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, 115.

³⁴³ Nilüfer Göle, *Melez Desenler*, 136.

seems that as the stylish veiled women of the public sphere internalize waiting for approval, they will lose the pleasure of dressing according to their own principles; this will cause them to care more about dressing for "others".³⁴⁴

Bumin, who categorizes Turkish women as those who wear the headscarf, those who wear the turban, or those with no head covering, that is, the traditional, modern, and postmodern women; discusses the headscarved girls in the context of their individuality:

Because she is more of an individual. Next to the uncovered woman in a secularist religion, she usually shows a more advanced stage of modernity with her turban. Although she comes from a traditional background, the woman wearing a headscarf is neither the accepted type for the traditional culture nor the republican. She does not give in to traditional culture either; she doesn't want to look and live like her mother. She does not accept the imposition of the republican tradition that "you will have to reveal your head, you will go to the ball, you will look like this".³⁴⁵

In addition, it has been discussed that the veiled Muslim woman who takes part in political movements is used as a tool for political strategies.³⁴⁶ This is because the speakers at demonstrations and conferences are usually men, and veiled Muslim women appear as 'images'. This situation has changed, women have started to be subjects.³⁴⁷ Thus, in the 1990s, some women's platforms were established and conferences on the "identity of women" were held. At the same time, Islamist women actively participated in various conferences at the national and international levels with the desire to make their voices heard.³⁴⁸ While defining the concept of identity, according to Touraine, a person becomes a subject when they gain freedom

³⁴⁴ Fatma Barbarosoğlu, *Şov ve Mahrem* (İstanbul: Profil, 2012): 215-216.

³⁴⁵ Ibid: 164.

³⁴⁶ Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, 118.

³⁴⁷ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 52.

³⁴⁸ Ibid: 57.

in addition to their personal history. Thus, as the veiled Muslim woman identity became liberated by the Islamic movement, it acquired the position of a subject.³⁴⁹

Göle, like Binnaz Toprak, defines the Islamist women's movement as identity politics. This defined social identity is expressed as a quest for prestige, social status, and power.³⁵⁰ While it is expected that educated and urban veiled Muslim women will move away from Islamic values with their modernization, on the contrary, these women, who have a high level of Islamic knowledge thanks to education, have formed their social identities in the position of seeking rights in their cases.³⁵¹ Islamist women, who have achieved their visibility in society, have sought equality by questioning the power relations between men and women. With feminist references, they become a subject out of the object position and reconstructed the Muslim woman identity.³⁵² Thus, they broke away from the traditional definition of women and defined a new social identity for themselves.³⁵³ The Muslim identity, which regulates its position in modern life, has been reconceptualized through the Islamic movement.³⁵⁴

The veiled Muslim woman's concealment of her "femininity" by veiling highlights her difference from the modern definition of women's identity in the West. For this reason, the veiled Muslim woman adopted the slogan of "personality, not femininity".³⁵⁵ Educated, urban, modern veiled Muslim women who adopt this slogan state that covering their bodies gives them the freedom to be active in the social sphere.

³⁴⁹ Ibid: 142.

³⁵⁰ Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, 132.

³⁵¹ Ibid: 133.

³⁵² Ibid: 166.

³⁵³ Ibid: 167.

³⁵⁴ göle Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 11.

³⁵⁵ Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, 169.

Although they sound similar, the most crucial difference between Islamic identity and Muslim identity is the way of accepting Islam. Because, according to Göle, “Islamic identity involves rejecting the categories of "born as a Muslim" that have been handed down from generation to generation”.³⁵⁶ In addition, there is a composition that constitutes the 'Islamic social identity' defined as Islamist identity; Islamism (the social identity of the Islamic movement), fundamentalism (reinterpreting the religion of Islam), and radicalism (criticizing modernity).³⁵⁷ No matter how educated and modern she is, the veiled Muslim woman, who brings a new interpretation to the religion of Islam and is at the forefront of the Islamic movement, cannot be isolated from the radicality of the intellectuals in the Islamic movement who criticize modernity.

4.4. THE VEIL AS AN ISLAMIC SIGN AND SYMBOL

The command of veiling, which Islam has made obligatory for Muslim women, has become a visible descriptor. With the identity created by clothing, veiling is positioned as a symbol for Islamist women. As Göle underlines, “women are the newest actors of contemporary Islamism, and the veil is the most striking symbol.”³⁵⁸ Because the most obvious symbol showing the "otherness" in Islam is the "veil". Since the veil is a garment directly seen by other people, it is an indicator that cannot be ignored at first glance. In addition to the veil symbolizing that a woman is a Muslim, the Islamic identity also expresses these women as a symbol of chastity and morality.³⁵⁹

According to Göle, who expresses women as the symbol of the conflict between Islamic society and modern society, the “veil” is a versatile symbol that

³⁵⁶ Nîlûfer Göle, *Melez Desenler*, 28.

³⁵⁷ Ibid: 35.

³⁵⁸ Nîlûfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, 11.

³⁵⁹ Ibid: 11.

helps to express political meanings.³⁶⁰ The indicative meaning of a woman's veil may even reflect an impression of her political views. In Bernard Lewis's article, *The Return of Islam*, he states that Islam has a political character and shapes the lives of Muslims regarding Islam.³⁶¹ The rule of the majority, that is, democracy, since the birth of Islam also shows this.³⁶² With the Islamic movement rising in Turkey, the 'veil' began to be prominent in every field. Therefore, since the veil has become a political symbol in Turkey, another common meaning is that it acts as a political party litmus.³⁶³

In the global world, symbols are faster than words. The symbolic meanings of the 'veil' regarding the Muslim female identity can be expressed as being a political symbol in the Islamic movement, indicating social status with consumption, and personal Muslim identity. According to Balesescu, the 'veil' is no longer a sign of inferiority, it turns into a representation of power with the attainment of political power, a representation of prestige within the framework of sociocultural capital, and a new aesthetic representation with the development of fashion.³⁶⁴ In addition, according to Göle's definition, the 'turban' functions to distinguish people who believe in Allah.³⁶⁵ In addition to the concept of a veiled Muslim woman who obeys the command of veiling with her personal religious belief; covering as a visible and concrete symbol of the religion of Islam and a personal act, reflects a social rather than an individual meaning.³⁶⁶

When a woman in a veil is seen, she can be easily identified as Muslim, compared to Muslim men. Because the veil is a visible indicator. While Barbarosoğlu states that the identity of the veiled Muslim woman has a transparent

³⁶⁰ Ibid: 16.

³⁶¹ Fuat Keyman, "Sistem kurucu ve sistem dönüştürücü bir toplumsal gerçeklik olarak kültürel kimlik olgusunu yeniden düşünmek." , *Kimlikler Lütfen*, 205.

³⁶² Ibid: 207.

³⁶³ Nilüfer Göle, *Seküler ve Dinsel: Aşınan Sınırlar*, 98.

³⁶⁴ Ibid: 58.

³⁶⁵ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 132.

³⁶⁶ Nilüfer Göle, *Melez Desenler*, 122.

meaning for others, she rejects the other meanings of veiling. According to her, the only message given to a veiled Muslim woman's veiling dress should be to cover to gain Allah's approval.³⁶⁷

According to Fatma Barbarosoğlu, who states that clothing is a symbol of mentality³⁶⁸, the headscarf is not an identity, but a cover used by those who have an identity.³⁶⁹ According to Barbarosoğlu, who states that veiling is not a symbol, unlike Göle, if the headscarf were a symbol, it would not divide life into two. Because symbols belong to the external world.³⁷⁰ Even the symbols used to make an individual's identity visible are external. Clothing and accessories have a language, and the body that wears them uses the clothes on them as a communicating language.³⁷¹ In this context, the effect of clothing on the formation of Muslim identity is approached as the practice of veiling.

While identities are constructed through images, consumption criteria take place in the lead of fashion, replacing religious values.³⁷² In the fast and pleasurable complex environment where the new behaviors revealed by the consumption culture and city life are intertwined, the veiled Muslim woman exists as an identity that can be noticed depending on her clothing.³⁷³ The effect of clothing in creating the identity of Muslim women goes in parallel with consumption. For this reason, just as consumption determines a class and comes to an important position in identity identification, it is the same in Muslim identity. In the consumption culture and postmodernity, the concealed Muslim woman identity is now associated with belonging to a class together with the social identity it creates, rather than meeting needs.

³⁶⁷ Fatma Barbarosoğlu, *Kamusal Alanda Başörtülüler*, 75.

³⁶⁸ Fatma Barbarosoğlu, *Moda ve Zihniyet* (İstanbul: İz, 2009), 200.

³⁶⁹ Fatma Barbarosoğlu, *Kamusal Alanda Başörtülüler* (İstanbul: Timaş, 2004), 38-40.

³⁷⁰ Ibid: 62.

³⁷¹ Ibid: 27.

³⁷² Fatma Barbarosoğlu, *Şov ve Mahrem*, 169.

³⁷³ Ibid: 169.

In some countries other than Turkey, there are prohibitions because veiling is seen as a religious symbol. There are examples such as the prohibition of veiling in international football competitions³⁷⁴ (Fifa lifted the ban in 2012³⁷⁵), and the prohibition of veiling within religious symbols in France³⁷⁶.

4.5. FASHION IN MODESTY CLOTHING

This new type of veiling of the veiled Muslim woman, which came to the forefront with the Islamic movement, started to contain fashion elements for the first time.³⁷⁷ Because modern Islamic fashion has become independent of ethnic origin and thus the new generation of veiling has been stripped of ethnic traditional clothing. Emma Tarlo, in her book *Visibility Muslim: Fashion, Politics, Faith*, states with transnational research that the way of covering is shaped independently of ethnicity. Thus, an international modern Islamic fashion culture was formed. Most of the women Tarlo interviewed for her work emphasized that they preferred modern and Islamic clothing reflecting the traditional veiling style that came from their families.³⁷⁸ Thus, it can be understood that the veiled Muslim woman follows fashion with the influence of the consumption culture of the modern world, instead of traditional clothes.

The first fashion icon among Turkish Muslim veiled women is Şule Yüksel Şenler. She acted as a role model as well as making speeches on religious and social

³⁷⁴ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 62.

³⁷⁵ Ibid: 63.

³⁷⁶ Ibid: 206-207.

³⁷⁷ Nilüfer Göle, *Seküler ve Dinsel: Aşınan Sınırlar*, 39.

³⁷⁸ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 203-204.

concepts regarding the headscarf in her conferences. ³⁷⁹

Şenler emerged as the country's first Islamic style icon and set the standards for urban Turkish Islamic fashion, characterized by elaborately tied long headscarves that cover all hair as well as the neck- a style that was named by the media as Şulebaş (Şulehead)- and used in combination with overcoats, jackets, long-sleeved dresses, trousers, and skirts of various lengths. ³⁸⁰

Şenler, who inherently had a modern attitude due to her family, became a role model in the modernization of the veiled Muslim women's identities with her style of covering and dressing, in other words, with her appearance. ³⁸¹

The global clothing brand 'Tekbir Giyim' is the first to combine the words 'modesty' and 'fashion' in the new veiling style. Tekbir Giyim organized “veiled fashion shows” by using the term “modesty fashion” in advertisement brochures at that time. They changed the way of consumption by increasing diversity in the clothing sector with modest fashion and have been criticized for integrating veiling into capitalism. ³⁸² In this context, Şenlikoğlu defines the Muslim woman as not wasteful and not a slave to fashion. ³⁸³ The fashion and clothing industry, which is one of the sectors that emerged with the Islamic movements, has been criticized for its symbol meanings and capitalist aspects.

³⁷⁹ Rustem Ertug Altinay, *Islamic Fashion and Anti-Fashion: New Perspectives from Europe and North America*, edit: Annelies Moors, Emma Tarlo, 107.

³⁸⁰ Ibid: 107-108.

³⁸¹ Ibid: 110.

³⁸² Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 221-222.

³⁸³ Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, 150.

4.6. ISLAMIC CAPITAL AND ISLAMIC SECTORS

In the 1980s, Turkey entered a new era economically. In this new era, which has evolved into the free market, the economy has become liberal.³⁸⁴ At the same time, the concept of "Islamic capital" and "Islamic sector" emerged with the strengthening of the Islamic movement. In the modern world, Muslims in Turkey exist by adding an Islamic motif to certain areas. Especially with the strengthening of the Islamic movement, new Islamic sectors have emerged with the "Islamic Capitalist" identity. An Islamic version has emerged in business, media, advertising, commerce, banking, and many other sectors.³⁸⁵ From books to magazines, from clothing to accessories, from newspapers to television, from schools to restaurants, from holidays to associations, Muslim identity is redefined through consumption.³⁸⁶ These emerging new sectors turn into status expenditures that reflect social class, in addition to economic power.

There is a logical tension emerging between the basic elements of the religion of Islam and consumer capitalism. While there is avoidance of extravagance, avoidance of showing off, and community morality in Islam; there is a pretentious consumption, materialism, and individualistic mentality in capitalism. Emphasizing that capitalism and the religion of Islam do not agree, a new "Islamic economy" called the "third path" was revealed. Thus, the Islamic economy creates its own rules according to the values of the religion of Islam.³⁸⁷ The Islamists, who have shaped the building blocks of capitalism according to the rules of the religion of Islam, have adapted various sectors according to their religion with this new path they have found, the Islamic 'economy'. For example, instead of interest in the banking sector, since interest is haram in Islam, it has been converted as a contribution share in Islamic banking. In the Islamic tourism sector, a luxury hotel

³⁸⁴ Nilüfer Göle, *Melez Desenler*, 7.

³⁸⁵ Banu Gökankırsel and Ellen McLarney, "Muslim Women, Consumer Capitalism, and Islamic Culture Industry", 4.

³⁸⁶ Ibid: 1.

³⁸⁷ Ibid: 4.

with a private pool is offered for women. In the modest clothing sector, as in the consumption culture, clothes that are fashionable but regarding the covering principles are offered. The Islamic fashion and clothing industry, which is one of the Islamic sectors expressed as the third way, transforms the veil, which is the symbol of modesty, into a commodity.³⁸⁸

Göle, in her book *Hybrid Patterns*, describes the new sectors and identities created between tradition and modernity by the Islamization of various sectors as 'hybrid'.³⁸⁹ The transformed new Islamist identity is split in two. The interaction of the Islamist intellectuals representing the theory and center and the Islamist middle-class representing the social environment and practices reveal hybrid identities and hybrid sectors.³⁹⁰ Some of them are Islamic capitalists who have acquired social capital, who argue that their Islamist identity must be transformed to continue, and others are the Islamic intellectuals who criticize this hybridization.³⁹¹ In this context, in the example of the modest clothing industry, the fashion show of an Islamic capitalist firm with models dressed in modest clothing is also criticized by Islamist intellectuals.

The 'Islamization of sectors', brought about by the tension between Islam and capitalism; Göle's concept of hybridization emerged as an Islamic middle way with Gökıksel and McLaren's "3rd way" concept. In this study, I explain hybridization with hybridized veiled women's identities in today's world.

With the strengthening of the Islamic movement, a bilateral situation emerged. While modernizing and reflecting its power through education, media and

³⁸⁸ Ibid: 7.

³⁸⁹ Fuat Keyman, "Sistem kurucu ve sistem dönüştürücü bir toplumsal gerçeklik olarak kültürel kimlik olgusunu yeniden düşünmek." , *Kimlikler Lütfen*, 215.

³⁹⁰ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 236.

³⁹¹ Ibid: 216.

politics; it was criticized and caused a tension due to capitalism, modesty fashion shows and TV contests.³⁹² Generally, these criticisms are related to the relationship between the triad of Islam, modernity, and consumption by intellectuals from within the Islamic movement itself. These criticisms are generally against Islamic capital, which has economic power.

According to Bourdieu's definition, there are four types of capital examples in society. These are 'economic capital' that stands out with money, 'cultural capital' that stands out with education, 'social capital' that stands out with social relations, and 'symbolic capital' that stands out with prestige.³⁹³ Before the strengthening of Islamic capital, 'symbolic capital' includes status groups that lead a secular life.³⁹⁴ With the Islamic movement, symbolic capital has also become a status representation within the Islamic community. Consumption for 'Islamists' whose consumption style has changed, is used as a communication method with 'others'.³⁹⁵ They express the social class they want to belong to by consuming.

Parallel to the Islamic capitalization, a new consumption habit has emerged in the media and communication, banking and finance system, tourism and clothing sector, with the Islamization of the lifestyle.³⁹⁶ According to Göle, these consumption areas are very diverse: “From cultural criticism tools such as Islamic novels, movies, music, and newspapers, to alternative consumption strategies such as Islamic clothing and fashion shows, and to Islamized ways of living in the city, namely hotels and restaurants that do not sell alcoholic beverages and pay attention to prayer times.”³⁹⁷ After the Islamization of the sectors, the Islamist middle classes acquired a rapid social presence and experienced an 'upward' shifting social class mobility.³⁹⁸ Although it was criticized within the Islamic movement, new sectors

³⁹² Nilüfer Göle, *Melez Desenler*, 55.

³⁹³ Ibid: 97.

³⁹⁴ Ibid: 32.

³⁹⁵ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 217.

³⁹⁶ Nilüfer Göle, *Melez Desenler*, 137.

³⁹⁷ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 34.

³⁹⁸ Nilüfer Göle, *Melez Desenler*, 153.

were in great demand, so Islamic capitalists moved their economic and social classes to the top. According to Göle, who states that the elites that make up the upper class of Islamic capital are defined by cultural capital:

Their social status is defined by their cultural capital, not by economic power. However, the social status they have acquired through education is up to a certain limit; because the habitus of the provincial, Muslims is an obstacle to gaining social recognition and prestige. The questioning of Muslim identity through radical Islam empowers new actors of Islamist movements to seek social recognition of the cultural capital they have recently acquired through symbols of Muslim habitus (such as women's veiling, men's beards, and certain ways of greeting, eating, and speaking).³⁹⁹

According to Göle, the most important turning point of the Islamic movement with a Muslim social identity is the Welfare Party, which came to power by embracing the lower classes.⁴⁰⁰ With political power and a strengthening economy, Islamic capital has developed in every field. Thus, Islamists acquired a new social identity in the economic, cultural, social, and symbolic fields. Now, the first identity that Muslim women or men put forward and define themselves has turned into a class or status, not "being a Muslim".⁴⁰¹ In addition to the Muslim identity, the recent rich religious identity emerging especially after the 2000s illustrates this. Islamism transforms Islamic definitions, creates new actors, creates new public spaces, and questions the current cultural programs of self and modernity regardless of being in power or any political strategy.⁴⁰² Thus, the transformation of personal Muslim identity, Islamic social identity, Islamic capital, and Islamic sectors has become inevitable.

³⁹⁹ Ibid: 111.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid: 126.

⁴⁰¹ Selin Ongun, *Başörtülü Kadınlar Anlattı: Türbanlı Erkekler*, 12.

⁴⁰² Nilüfer Göle, *Melez Desenler*, 34.

The target audience of these new Islamic sectors such as modesty clothing and Islamic tourism is generally veiled Muslim women.⁴⁰³ When the modesty clothing sector, which is mentioned for the first time with fashion after the traditional veiling, is examined, Barbarosoğlu states that women wearing veils also establish their own identities on modern values.⁴⁰⁴ The veiled Muslim woman combines Islamic values with the concept of modern fashion. Because the veiled Muslim woman, who is the symbol of the Islamic movement, is an ideal consumer for the consumption market with her independent stance that makes her own decisions.⁴⁰⁵ Especially in the Islamic clothing and Islamic media sector, which is formed by the supply-demand balance created by the Islamic sector and the religious consumer, the Muslim woman is not only seen as a consumer but also as an objectified body.⁴⁰⁶ It is defined as a body transformed into an objective marketing product used to influence both consumers and consumers. In lifestyle magazines that identify the veiled Muslim woman as the target audience, examined by Lewis and Jones; the conflict between the virtue of Islam hiding the female body and the concept of consumption, which emphasizes the female body in magazines is shown clearly.⁴⁰⁷ Because there is a serious tension between the exhibitionist structure of fashion and its modesty-oriented structure that hides the body and the veil.⁴⁰⁸ Despite this tension and criticism, the modesty clothing industry is in high demand by veiled Muslim women.

According to Gokarıksel and McLarney: “For those who define themselves as Islamists—wearing certain types of clothing, eating certain foods, shopping in specialty stores, engaging in Islamic activities—consumption becomes a very

⁴⁰³ Banu Gökıksel and Ellen McLarney, “Muslim Women, Consumer Capitalism, and Islamic Culture Industry”, 2.

⁴⁰⁴ Fatma Barbarosoğlu, *Şov ve Mahrem*, 71.

⁴⁰⁵ Banu Gökıksel and Ellen McLarney, “Muslim Women, Consumer Capitalism, and Islamic Culture Industry”, 3.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid: 6.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid: 9.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid: 10.

important tool for establishing an identity.”⁴⁰⁹ Thus, the newly formed Islamist identity became a good consumer for new sectors. Barbarosoğlu states that clothing has an important effect on the formation of the identity of a Muslim woman, and she bases her thoughts on the following statement”⁴¹⁰ lifestyle in modern society, the way money is spent, the acceptance of status and class consciousness as class criteria has resulted in an excessive emphasis on clothing, which is their external indicator”. Because the most obvious of the new Islamic sectors that can be seen in daily life is the modesty clothing sector.

According to Göle, the reason for the production of Islamic versions in almost every sector is that “Islam is coded as an identity that stands outside and above modernity, and the approach that it can offer original institutions alternative to modern life was first generated by Islamic intellectuals, and later internalization by the masses”⁴¹¹. Although Islamized sectors such as Islamic radio-television, Islamic politics, and democracy, the Islamic clothing sector (such as tekbir clothing, vahdet shoes) and the Islamic tourism/vacation sector (caprice hotel) emerged with the strengthening of the Islamic movement; it receives criticism from Islamic sections as every newly formed Islamic sector has.⁴¹²

The first example of the Islamic tourism industry, Caprice Hotel was introduced as a vacation resort with Islamic values. Veiled Muslim women can swim in private pools for women. However, on the one hand, it offers an option suitable for Islamic values, on the other hand, it ignores another value of Islam, which is avoiding luxury, and not being extravagant. For this reason, while it is defined as 'the place where Islam is on a break' by Islamic intellectuals, it is emphasized as an important stage where Muslim identity succumbs to the modern

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid: 5.

⁴¹⁰ Fatma Barbarosoğlu, *Şov ve Mahrem*, 106.

⁴¹¹ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 218.

⁴¹² Ibid: 218.

consumption culture with which Muslim identity is tense.⁴¹³ Through the Caprice Hotel, the Islamic social upper-middle-class gains visibility and reflects the status level. By Göle's definition, a Caprice Hotel vacation has become a 'status filter'. According to Bourdieu, who does not see capital as only economic capital, economic capital should also be expressed culturally and symbolically.⁴¹⁴ Because a luxury hotel vacation will inevitably be a status determination element rather than a necessity. Social status is expressed in the indicative meaning of consumption.⁴¹⁵ For this reason, indicative luxury consumption elements such as the Caprice Hotel holiday determine the 'Islamic bourgeois'.⁴¹⁶ Going on a luxury Islamic vacation, wearing a luxury brand veil, or even dining at a luxury halal restaurant now denotes an Islamic bourgeois class.

The veiled Muslim woman, the most important symbol of Turkish modernization, has become an important symbol again with the rising of the Islamic movement. With the Islamic movement, a new veiled Muslim woman identity has emerged by moving away from the traditional veiling. In the light of verses and hadiths, the ideal form of veiling can be created. In this context, educated, urban, young, and modern Islamist women judge their mothers for not liking the traditional veil and not knowing the religion of Islam. The difference in veiling between these Islamic women and traditional women, and the difference in meaning reflected by the veil, has received many reactions from the secular community. Thus, headscarf debates and bans on covering in universities, public, and parliament began. The veiled Muslim woman, who became the subject in the Islamic movement, began to experience a paradox with the female body being at the attention center of the discussion since the female body is considered private in Islam.

The 'veiling', which is the most visible of the commandments of Islam and is complete with clothing, has many symbolic meanings. The veil, with the rise of

⁴¹³ Ibid: 219.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid: 226.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid: 227-228.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid: 233.

the Islamic movement, expresses a political symbol, a social status with consumption, and a personal Muslim identity. With the new veiling style of Islamic women, 'fashion' became a concept used for the first time in veiling. As a result, the fact that fashion is a consumption-oriented concept and the Islamic virtue of avoiding waste and extravagance has created tension for veiled Muslim women.

Turkey would have continued with its neoliberal consumption policies even without the AKP since Turkey had already switched to a market economy with the 1980 stabilization policies. Beyond politics, the world of consumption is managed by sectoral producers. Manufacturers of clothing styles are the main winners. According to Joanne, who does not define the producers as only those who produce the product, there are 'manufacturers' such as fashion journalists, fashion leaders, retail outlets in the fashion system⁴¹⁷. These producers ensure the growth and diversification of consumption and sectors through 'pleasure markets'⁴¹⁸. Because producers strive to appeal to the emotions of consumers. A consumer imagines stepping into the meaning and emotion that a brand produces, defines and reflects with advertisements around their products the consumer buys⁴¹⁹. Similarly, Baudrillard, referring to the fact that the producers create the needs, states that “The fact is not that 'needs are the fruit of production', but that 'the system of needs is the fruit of the production system'”.⁴²⁰

This tension has started to occur not only in modesty clothing but also in all sectors. As a result of the incompatibility of consumption-oriented capitalism and Islam, the concept of the Islamic economy was formed with the 'third way' that

⁴¹⁷ Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015): 475.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid: 483.

⁴¹⁹ Zeynep Kadioğlu, “Kitle İletişim Araçlarının Şekillendirdiği Sosyal Kimlikler ve Aidiyet Duygusu Ekseninde Tüketici Davranışları”, 110.

⁴²⁰ Jean Baudrillard, *Tüketim Toplumu: Söylenceleri / Yapıları*, çev. Ferda Keskin Hazal Deliceçaylı (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2013): 79.

emerged, and the Islamization of various sectors was realized. These hybrid sectors formed with the Islamic economy strengthened the Islamic capital. Thus, economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital has now begun to intersect with Islamic capital and has been criticized by Islamic intellectuals. The indicative meanings of luxury consumption elements in Islamic sectors defined the Islamic bourgeoisie. The modesty clothing sector, which is the most visible of these new Islamic sectors in daily life, gave a new identity to the veiled Muslim woman. In this context, various veiled Muslim women's identities formed by clothing will be examined.

4.7. METHOD

In the identification of Veiled Muslim Identities, the virtual ethnography method was employed as the research technique. Virtual ethnography is “to use ethnography as a method for analyzing interactions in cyberspace”⁴²¹. The use of this technique helps deepen the structural model analysis of veiled Muslim women’s identities. Thus, photos corresponding to selected identities will be included in the analysis.

The images and videos used are taken from social media, which is defined as new media. They are taken only from the accounts of people who have public accounts on social media platforms such as Instagram, YouTube and Twitter. It is therefore assumed that the owners consent to sharing of the mentioned pictures. Other images used were taken from the search engine *Google*.

⁴²¹ Flick, U. *An introduction to qualitative research*. (Fourth Edition: Sage, 2009): 236.

CHAPTER 5: VARIATIONS IN VEILED MUSLIM WOMAN IDENTITY IN TODAY'S TURKEY

Due to the rise of the Islamic movement and subsequent Islamic capital, new Muslim woman identities have emerged. The new Muslim woman identity, which has replaced the traditional veil, is generally young, educated, urban, and modern.⁴²² The newly formed veiled Muslim woman's identities differ in terms of class, ethnicity, nationality, religiosity, gender, sexuality, and politics.⁴²³

A variety of veiled Muslim women identities have recently emerged for certain reasons such as the strengthening of the Islamic movement, the formation of Islamic capital and the conservative political power with the AKP period, Turkey's liberal policies after 1980, the AKP's consumption-oriented policies, the tendency towards consumption that the relief brought, and the expansion of Consumptionscape⁴²⁴. During the AKP rule, a period of relief, freedom and normalization⁴²⁵ began with the reduction of political troubles in the Islamic section of the society.

A person can show that they believe in the religion of Islam by wearing the clothes they choose, that is, practicing modest clothing and veiling.⁴²⁶ Thus, a veiled woman is easily recognized as a Muslim compared to the visibility of a Muslim man.⁴²⁷ Especially since the veiled Muslim women's identities are examined, the role of veiling and veiling in the diversification of these identities is examined.

⁴²² Ibid: 44.

⁴²³ Banu Gökarıksel and Ellen McLarney, "Muslim Women, Consumer Capitalism, and Islamic Culture Industry", 6.

⁴²⁴ Özlem Sandıkçı, Güliz Ger, "In-between modernities and postmodernities: Theorizing Turkish consumptionscape", 1.

⁴²⁵ Merve Kutuk Kuris, "Piety, fashion and festivity in a modest fashion shopping mall in Istanbul", 184.

⁴²⁶ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 404.

⁴²⁷ Fatma Barbarosoğlu, *Kamusal Alanda Başörtülüler*, 75.

There has been a tension between the consumption-oriented structure of capitalism and the waste-free value structure of Islam. The 'Islamization of sectors', which emerged with the paradox between Islam and capitalism, has taken place. With Göle's concept of hybridization, Gökıksel and McLaren's concept of the "3rd way", an Islamic version "middle way" has emerged. In this thesis, I examine hybridization with the hybridized veiled women's identities that exist today.

In general terms, 'fashion', in specific, is a symbolic indicator of the image, emotions, thoughts, and sensitivities conveyed by veiling and veiling. When fashion and clothing are examined sociologically, according to Davis; people tell something about themselves through their clothes, and when others look at that person, they connect with symbols in understanding their status and lifestyle.⁴²⁸ Communication through clothing is provided by a person's appearance, and this communication is used as an indicator of social class and social environment. Because status symbols are important because they are the expression of material existence in social classes.⁴²⁹ According to Göle, the things people own are "expressive". Because these visible items carry meaning and communicate.⁴³⁰

There are many meanings for veiling. On the one hand, it emphasizes the affirmation of women's Muslim identity, on the other hand, it puts an Islamist political emphasis. Today, new veiled women's identities, which differ from traditional veiling, differ from these two meanings. In addition to these two meanings of the veil, the meaning of the status given by the consumption power can be added. Thus, the impressions are given by the appearance of the veil; personal Muslim identity defines a social-political identity and identity that determines social class.

⁴²⁸ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 16.

⁴²⁹ Erving Goffman, *Günlük Yaşamda Benliğin Sunumu*, 46.

⁴³⁰ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 228.

Some of the terms used by Magdalena Craciun to describe veiled Muslim women in her book *Islam, Faith and Fashion*; veil, modest fashion/conservative fashion, headscarved/veiled/covered woman, a woman with turban, veiled woman, covered woman, modest clothing, conservative clothing, modest clothing, and moderate clothing.⁴³¹ This dissertation defines the identities of Muslim women according to the kinds of veils.

Today, Muslim women's identities have been studied in two stereotypical forms in the field of academia. Two main terms related to the concept of veiling in Turkey are used in both academic studies and socio-political discussions: headscarf and turban.⁴³² The first of these is an Islamic Muslim woman identity, in which the headscarf is used as a political symbol and Islamism is adopted as a political ideology. In this type of Muslim woman identity, clothing is generally observed as clothes such as a top coat, which is far from fashion and is closer to the definition of ideal veiling described in the Qur'an. The second type of Muslim woman is the type described as capitalist Muslim in the academic literature. In this type of identity, it is seen that the dress of Muslim women, who are enriched by the strengthening of today's political power, is shaped by more modern influences. Brand pieces that follow the fashion are in a more modern way, such as the use of trousers, shawls, etc., and this veiled Muslim woman's identity is mentioned in the academic literature as Islamic capitalists.

I identify the various Muslim women's identities in the light of Weber's concept of "ideal type". For each veiled Muslim women's identity, a certain ideal type was identified. Thus the photos were selected for each identity with the help of virtual ethnography method. According to Weber:

... (Ideal type is) an abstract statement of the essential characteristics of any social phenomenon. The use of the word "ideal" does not mean that one or the

⁴³¹ Magdalena Craciun, *Islam, Faith, and Fashion* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 29.

⁴³² Nazlı Alimen, *Faith and fashion in Turkey: consumption, politics and Islamic identities*, 48.

other is “good” or “best.” Nor does an ideal type refer to any actual society. Rather, think of an ideal type as a way of defining a type of society in its pure form.⁴³³

The 10 identified Muslim women’s identities in my findings are therefore identified as the most effective and appropriate form within the group in Weber’s definition, and not as good or bad in any way. The definitions in the identities are not clear-cut or within strict boundaries. There is fluidity and flexibility among the given identities. The 10 Muslim women’s identities I defined in my work in the context of non-fixed fluid identities also have no fixed structure and therefore have certain degree of transitions among themselves and are updated in time.

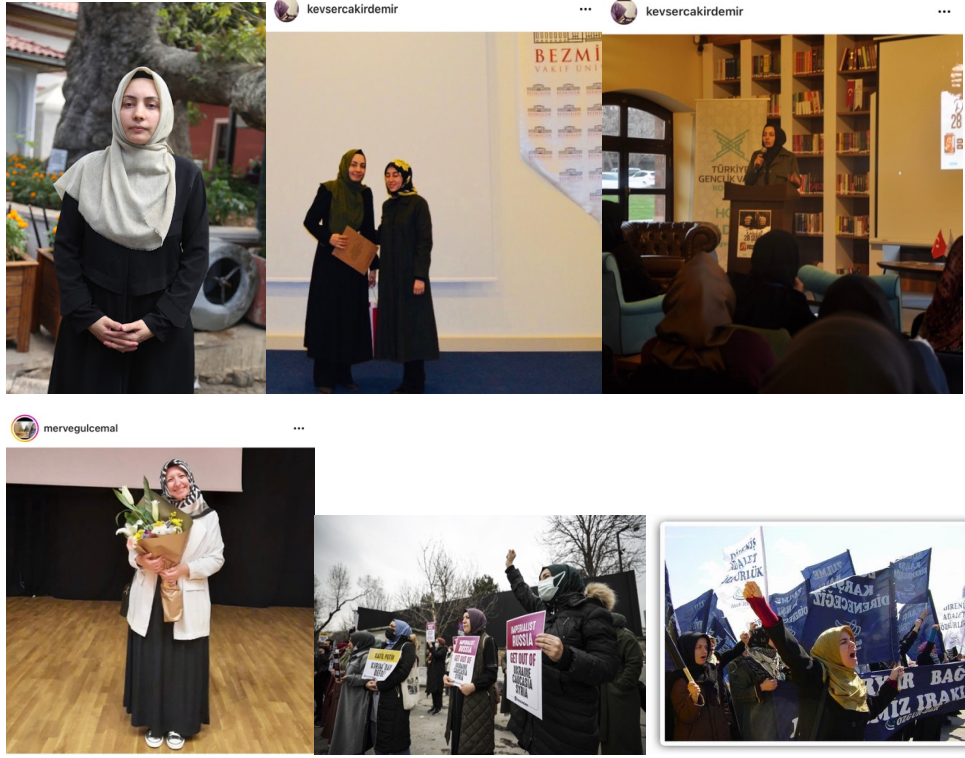
This dissertation examines the veiled Muslim woman identities, which have not been discussed in academic studies yet, but which are frequently encountered in the streets, schools, restaurants, and all areas of life. Veiled Muslim women, who differ on various issues, reflect their identities with their appearances. In this chapter of the dissertation, since the subject is not yet included in the academic literature, references to the identified types of veiled Muslim women's identities cannot be cited. As someone who has been in the modest clothing industry, my observations have been made with the analysis of social media users living in Turkey and their own statements.

The pictures below are screenshots from public social media accounts of from Google searches. It is therefore assumed that the owners consent to sharing of the mentioned pictures.

⁴³³ John J. Macionis, *Sociology*, 99.

5.1. ISLAMIST ACTIVIST MUSLIM WOMEN'S IDENTITY

Figure 5.1 : Islamist Activist Muslim Woman Images



The first of the disguised Muslim female identities that are the subject of academic studies is the 'Islamic activist Muslim woman identity'. The identity of the Islamist activist Muslim woman, who struggles to exist in the university, the parliament, and the public, where the headscarf was banned after February 28, is the subject of the academy with a political stance. The stance of this women's identity, which is combative, active in women's groups and politics, and frequently encountered in actions, has a political basis. Especially after the headscarf debates and bans, theses, books, and many articles were written on the identity of Activist Islamist women. Names such as Nilüfer Göle, Fatma Barbarosoğlu, Nazife Şişman, Mutlu Binark, Barış Kılıçbay, Alev Erkilet, Özlem Sandıkçı, Fuat Keyman also have studies on this identity. The identity of the Islamist activist Muslim woman is often the subject of academic studies, not with their clothes, but with their political stances.

The clothing of the Islamist activist Muslim woman identity is usually long coats and scarves. These clothes, which were preferred at the beginning of the Islamic movement, have gained a little more flexibility today. Long overcoats, long tunic-loose trousers, long skirts-jackets, scarves, or modest shawls are used. Generally, they prefer dark colors instead of striking colors. They do not prefer luxury brands in their clothing, cover, and accessories. Islamic activist Muslim women generally do not prefer make-up.

Islamic activist Muslim women, who emerged with the increase of Islamic movements, are in a radical movement that criticizes the traditional cultural Islam of Islam and Western modernism. This radical current tried to create a new alternative structure. The veiling of Islamic activist women has become a symbol of Islamism. Because while the culturally traditional cover of the elderly does not disturb the secular segment, the veiling of educated, urban Muslim women drew attention and created discomfort. For this reason, instead of the word headscarf, the cover of Islamist activist women has been defined differently and named as 'turban'. Thus, it is emphasized that the identity of Muslim women has changed and the turban is their new symbol. The veil, which almost lost its visibility on the outskirts of the city, highlighted the political and collective power of Islam with the use of the word turban, which created anxiety associated with reactionism.⁴³⁴

From a different perspective, religious children's book author Merve Gülcemal stated that the symbolic meaning of the headscarf is caused by politicians:

The headscarf is not political; it has been used by politicians. The headscarf is a religious belief and practice, but it has been exposed to politicians. I am one of those who have experienced this personally, on February 28, I lived it to my bones. Politicians have used the headscarf to say that we are far from religion.⁴³⁵

⁴³⁴ Nîlûfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, 125.

⁴³⁵ "Merve Gülcemal Instagram Post", access 4 December, 2021, <https://www.instagram.com/tv/CXDxv7RKDdd/?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=> .

According to Nazife Şişman, the way to prevent the headscarf from being used by politicians is:

If we want to get rid of the stereotype of "religion as an instrument of politics" in Turkey and to be able to discuss the manifestation of religion in the public sphere both theoretically and practically, we need to include the environment created by secular liberal modernity and the centralist-controlling dimensions of the nation-state.⁴³⁶

The dressing of the Islamist activist Muslim woman is a way of dressing in which her long and loose overcoat is complemented by a turban. At the same time, the meaning of this appearance symbolizes a political appropriation of the fact that Islamic values have become insignificant in tradition. Because Islamic activist Muslim women, who are educated and from the lower-middle class, distinguish themselves from the traditionally veiled uneducated women. They reject the 'aunt model' veiling, emphasizing that they are veiling following Islam.⁴³⁷

Islamist activist women who redefine their identities begin to become 'subjects' and express that they are 'liberated'.⁴³⁸ Islamic activist Muslim women, who want to redefine their personal and social identities in this context, want to take part in public spaces with their veils. They are fighting a cultural struggle rather than an economic one. For this reason, they take action with social movement organizations rather than parties.⁴³⁹

The Islamist activist Muslim woman emphasizes being defined by the nature of womanhood instead of equality with men in the struggle for identity. On the one hand, they glorify the role of mother, on the other hand, they emphasize their

⁴³⁶ Nazife Şişman, *Başörtüsü Sınırsız Dünyanın Yeni Sınırı* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2009): 16.

⁴³⁷ Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, 16.

⁴³⁸ Nilüfer Göle, *Seküler ve Dinsel: Aşınan Sınırlar*, 129.

⁴³⁹ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 46.

feminine characteristics. This new identity construction, which emerged with the Islamic movement, is not carried out on the basis of equality, but on 'difference'. For this reason, these new Muslim women in the Islamist movement are also described as Islamist feminists.⁴⁴⁰

The Islamic activist woman, described by Sandıkçı as a pious woman, is brave and determined enough to appear different from the traditional veiled woman with her 'modest' dress.⁴⁴¹ According to Sandıkçı from a different point of view: "While the 'religious woman' is tempted by suggestion, the 'modern consumer' is seduced by the beauty of the veil."⁴⁴² In this context, while the veiling of the Islamic activist woman is mostly due to indoctrination and religious virtues, the so-called modern consumer, the modern modest woman as this study examines, is attracted by the beauty of the veil.⁴⁴³

Hanife Gökdemir, one of the victims of February 28, states that at the beginning of the bans, men with long hair, beards, and earrings were not admitted to the university, as the headscarved women, and then, all bans were practically lifted except for the headscarf. She states that they, therefore, understand that the main target is themselves, 'headscarved people'. Gökdemir tells that she entered the university by wearing a beret only for exams during the bans, but then wearing a beret and wig was also prohibited.

According to the news of Kevser Çakır, which we can define as an Islamist activist Muslim woman, a protest was held by Islamic activist women in front of the Modest Fashion Fair held on April 8-11, 2010. Zehra Çomaklı made a speech

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid: 58.

⁴⁴¹ Özlem, Sandıkçı and Güliz Ger. "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey." *Fashion theory* 11.2-3 (2007): 197.

⁴⁴² Ibid: 200.

⁴⁴³ "Ezber Bozan Kişiler ve Sözler Seminerleri'nin İkincisinde Dönemin Tanıklarıyla 28 Şubat Konuşuldu", Mazlumder, access 2 March, 2013, <https://istanbul.mazlumder.org/tr/main/faaliyetler/seminer-panel-konferans/3/ezber-bozan-kisiler-ve-sozler-seminerlerinin-/9772> .

at the protest where the crowd chanted “Veiling not for show-off, but for Taqwa”, and “We will not be the object of capitalism!”, “Wake up, Resist, Liberate!”. In this speech, she emphasized that they were trying to prevent the damage done by capitalism to Islam, with the statements that "the perception of women's veiling was manipulated, the veil was first reduced to a headscarf, then it was transformed into an accessory under the name of "turban" and the woman was used as an object for pleasure.⁴⁴⁴

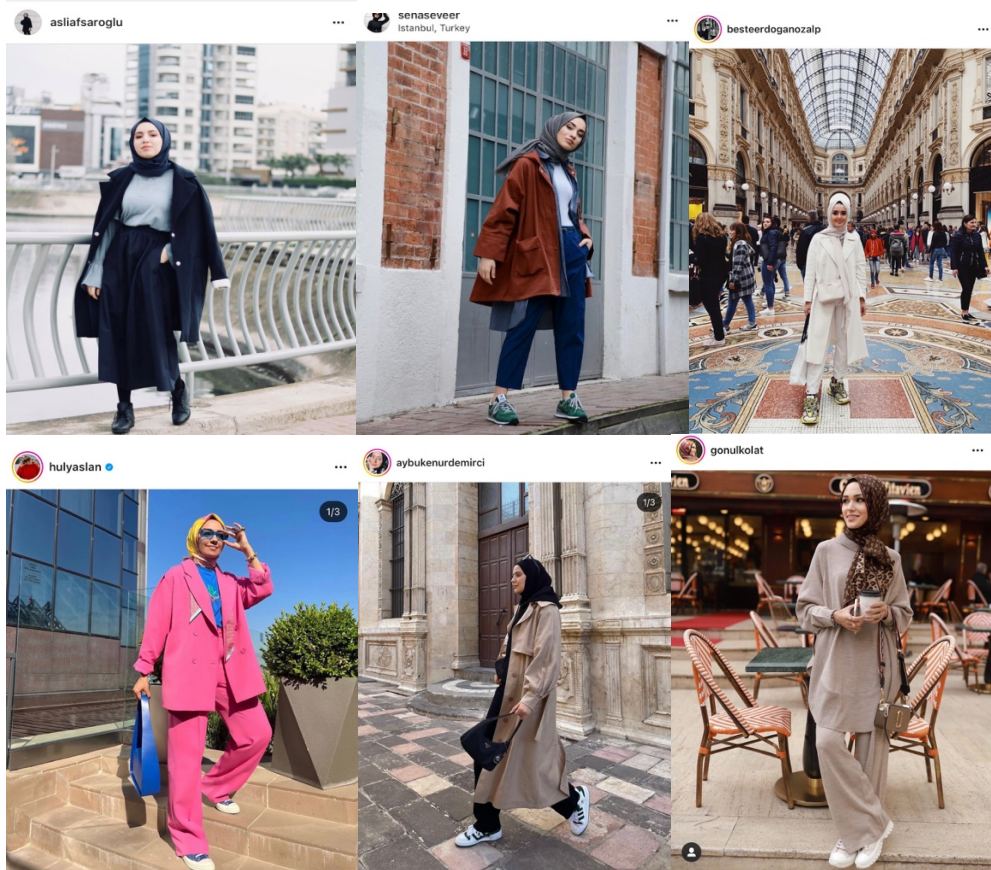
Erkilet, who distinguishes between Islamism and piety, says, "While Islamism includes piety, piety does not always include Islamism."⁴⁴⁵ He emphasized that not every pious woman has an Islamist identity, but that every Islamic activist Muslim woman is pious. In this context, the Islamist woman is 'pious'. Because the Islamist activist woman identity, the most important symbol of the Islamic movement, rejects the traditional *aunt* style, whose Islamic knowledge is insufficient. With her dress, she is in a style close to the 'ideal veil' and reflects her piety with her appearance.

⁴⁴⁴ “Başörtülülerden ‘Turban Modası’na Protesto!”, Timeturk, access 12 April, 2010, <https://www.timeturk.com/tr/2010/04/12/basortulululerden-turban-modasi-na-protesto.html> .

⁴⁴⁵ Alev Erkilet, “Sağ Siyasetin Payandası: Araçsal Dinsellik”, *Eleştirellikten Uyuma* (İstanbul: Büyüyenay, 2015), 85.

5.2. MODERN MODEST WOMEN'S IDENTITY

Figure 5.2: Modern Modest Woman Images



The second of the veiled Muslim women's identities, which has a place in the academic literature, can be defined as the 'modern modest woman identity'. Modern modest woman identity in academia treats the issue of the Muslim segment enriched by the formation of Islamic capital, together with the consumption-capitalism analysis and fashion and modern modest clothing. The subject of modern modest women's identity, on which there are many academic studies is examined by people such as Banu Gokariksel, Ellen McLarney, Selin Ongun, Fatma Barbarosoğlu, Alev Erkilet, Özlem Sandıkçı, Nazlı Alimen, and Magdalena Craciun. The modern cmodest woman identity is examined in academia with a focus on the way of dressing and, in particular, fashion and consumption. This

dissertation emphasizes the effect of the dress, which provides the concrete veiling of the veiled Muslim female identities, on the formation of identity.

The clothing of the modern modest female identity generally follows fashion. They do not hesitate to wear colorful clothes. They cover their shawls and scarves in certain styles. They prefer combinations such as tunic-trousers, skirt-shirt, loose trousers-shirt. According to the season, a trench coat or coat is preferred as outer clothing, they generally do not wear outerwear in summer. They prefer fast-fashion brands such as Zara, Mango, LcWaikiki, Defacto, and modest clothing brands of young designers such as He-qa, Qanu, Manuka, Be Blue. Those with higher economic income prefer world brands as luxury. They especially choose their products in the accessory category such as shawls, scarves, shoes, bags, and belts from quality brands. Most Muslim women in the modern modest woman identity prefer make-up.

When the dressing style is examined, we may need to divide the modern modest female identity into two different social classes. Although the lower-middle-class modern modest woman and the upper-class modest woman adopt the same style, they can be differentiated by the brands they use in their clothes and veils. A modern modest woman from the lower-middle class makes the same fashion combination from LCWaikiki, while a modern modest woman from the upper class makes it from Beymen. With the same combination, both visually reflect their modern modest identity, while also reflecting their different economic classes. In other words, while expressing the same social identity, it is understood that they are from different social classes.

It is insufficient to define consumption as purely economic because consumption is also a social and cultural process.⁴⁴⁶ A consumer society is a society in which economic, social, and cultural relations come together. The meanings of

⁴⁴⁶ Zeynep Kadioğlu, “Kitle İletişim Araçlarının Şekillendirdiği Sosyal Kimlikler ve Aidiyet Duygusu Ekseninde Tüketici Davranışları”, 1.

the clothes that are consumed, worn, and reflected by others can also be economic, social, and cultural. With the same consumption, while a cultural identity is desired to be reflected, it is also reflected as an economic identity to which class it belongs. For this reason, by looking at the person's clothing, various information can be obtained from his social identity to his social class.

In addition to the class distinction, there is an "Islamic value" distinction within the veiled Muslim woman identity. Although they dress the same, a group wants to protect the Islamic values in veiling to some extent. This identity group, for example, includes those who criticize and organize fashion shows. The modest business fair 'Lifestyle Turkey' does not organize fashion shows at fairs.⁴⁴⁷ Since personal display, in other words, appearance defines identities, the distinction of value is examined in the same category in this study. For this reason, since their external appearances are the same, those who criticize Islamic values and those who do not are categorized under the same identity definition.

Alev Erkilet, who examines "Islamic" fashion magazines; explains that the concepts of fashion and consumption should be considered in terms of the relationship between women and the public sphere. Veiling is a tool that connects Muslim women to the outside world, but fashion magazines affect women's visibility in consumption, not in production. Because the products in the magazines are not for covering, but for display.⁴⁴⁸ From the first modest fashion magazine Ala to the current Aysha magazine, it is inevitable that the modern modest woman's identity tends to consume. With the increase in Islamic capital, the products that can be reached by everyone from the lower class to the upper class have gained a wide variety in the modest clothing sector.

⁴⁴⁷ Şüheda Pehlivan, "Corporate gap filler: 'Lifestyle Turkey' modest fashion fair." *International Journal of Fashion Studies* (Intellect), no. 2, vol. 7 (2020): 259.

⁴⁴⁸ Erkilet, Alev. "Mahremiyetin Dönüşümü: Değer, Taklit ve Gösteriş Tüketimi Bağlamında "İslami" Moda Dergileri". *Birey ve Toplum*, Güz 2012. Cilt 2. Sayı 4.

For Zehra Özkaymaz, the owner of the modest clothing shopping center, where clothes that reflect the modern modest woman identity can be found, places modest dressing in between what she describes as modest dressing and immodest dressing:

What we call modest dressing is already a way of dressing between veiling and immodest clothing. A form of clothing that encompasses more restrained clothing. We are the fashion representative here. But veiling is not a fashion. There are certain limits to modest clothing. It happens that way.⁴⁴⁹

Fashion designer Z Serdengeçti criticizes the styling of fashion models with veils in modest fashion shows of the modest clothing sector, which is one of the hybrid sectors that emerged in the deadlock of capitalism and Islamic virtues:

I find it extremely wrong to have headscarves, bonnets, hats, and shawls used to represent headscarf in fashion shows or in fashion. Everyone can use the veiling style they want. But when a fashion designer makes a fashion model wears a certain veil, they idealize it. And this creates an 'impact' on society.⁴⁵⁰

Ezra Seziş, one of the first style consultants in the modest clothing industry, responds to the criticism of modern modest clothing:

I cannot practice modesty properly, because I am young and my *nafs* allow only so much. I look forward to the days when I will wear unobtrusive clothes in my later years. The main purpose of veiling is not to attract attention. Muslims should be encouraging, clean, stylish, well-groomed, and clear.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁹ “Zeruj Instagram Post”, access 20 May, 2018,

<https://www.instagram.com/p/BjAQz5Lnudq/?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=> .

⁴⁵⁰ “Zeynep Serdengeçti Instagram Post”, access 21 April, 2019,

<https://instagram.com/zserdengecti?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=> .

⁴⁵¹ “O defilenin organizatörü: Hakkıyla tesettürü yaşayamıyorum, nefsim bu kadarına izin veriyor”, T24, access 4 May, 2015, <https://t24.com.tr/haber/o-defilenin-organizatoru-hakkiyla-tesetturu-yasayamıyorum-nefsim-bu-kadarına-izin-veriyor,295539> .

Hülya Aslan, one of the leading names in the modern modest clothing industry, emphasizes that modest women can be stylish within certain measures:

In an interview I made, a fashion designer said “Fashion is not undressing, it's dressing,” This is the case. With very low-cut and bright colors, people do not look aesthetic, on the contrary, they look uncomfortable. I certainly do not emphasize this as a woman wearing a headscarf, the main thing is to gain an aesthetic appearance by covering femininity. This makes the woman more self-confident. It doesn't matter if you're wearing a headscarf or not. A modest woman can also be stylish and elegant if she knows her measurements. Harmony is essential; plain clothes, the right accessories, and the right color scarf or shawl...⁴⁵²

Youtuber Aslı Afşaroğlu, who can be included in the modern modest woman identity, emphasizes that she does not cover herself traditionally and culturally:

I started practicing modesty for religious reasons. Not for cultural or family reasons. Because my mom and dad never forced us. I did it on my own accord. I did it for the sake of Allah, it's one of the things Allah ordered.⁴⁵³

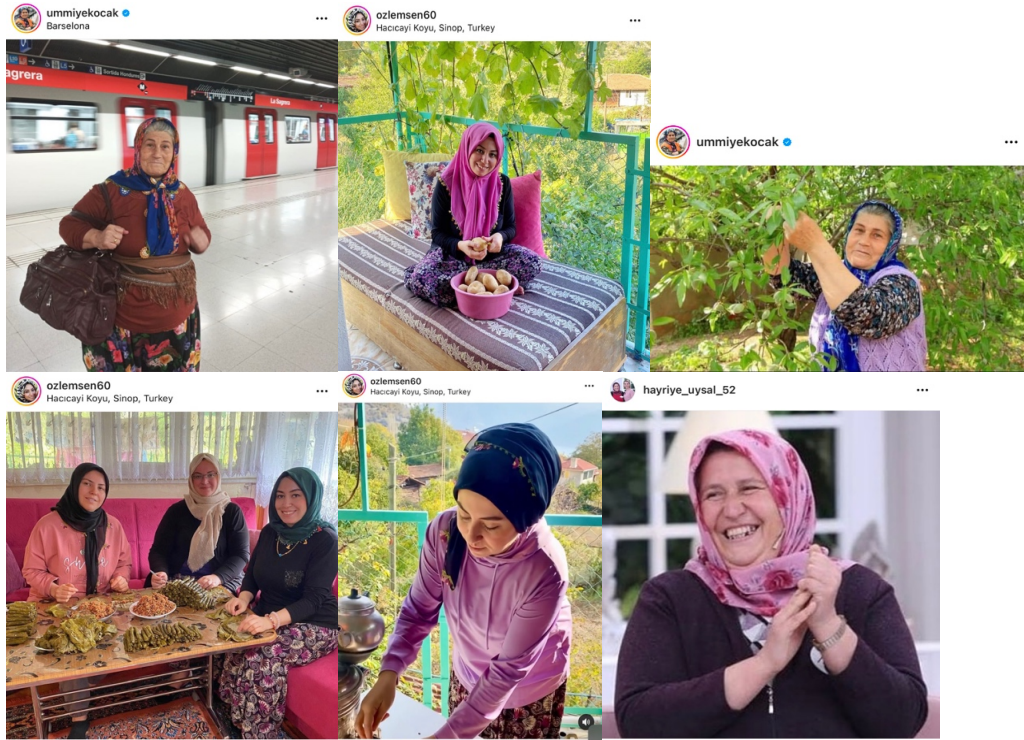
While displaying a modern stance with her 'modern modest woman's identity' dress complemented by a consumption culture, the modern modest woman also has a style of dressing with certain principles. They are sometimes criticized by the Islamic community for their distance from the ideal veiling concept.

⁴⁵² “Hülya Aslan: Moda soyunmak değil giyinmektir”, Türkiye Gazetesi, access 12 July, 2014, <https://m.turkiyegazetesi.com.tr/yasam/170405.aspx> .

⁴⁵³ “Açılma Düşünceleri, İzmir’de Öğrenci ve Kapalı Olmak”, Youtube, access 23 September, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QKw70YfNqxw> .

5.3. TRADITIONALLY VEILING MUSLIM WOMEN'S IDENTITY

Figure 5.3. : Traditionally Veiling Muslim Woman Images



The identity of women who adopt cultural veiling by integrating with the commitment to traditions and customs can be defined as the 'traditional veiled Muslim woman identity'. Traditional veiling in Turkey is also expressed as 'Anatolian style' or 'aunt style'. Often unconsciously, they have adopted the veil in terms of adherence to traditions rather than from an Islamic point of view.

The traditional veiled Muslim woman's dress is a loose skirt, a blouse, and a thin cotton fabric embroidered muslin. The veiling style of the muslins is sometimes tied from the back of the head with the neck visible, and sometimes it is in the form of covering the neck from the front. With the way of covering, sometimes the hair and neck are visible, and the arms are usually visible in their clothes. Women in the traditional veiled Muslim woman identity rarely prefer make-up.

According to Göle, who defines the veil in two different ways, the headscarf defines the traditional veiled Muslim woman's identity, while the turban defines the identity of the modern and political stance of the Islamist activist woman.⁴⁵⁴

In Göle's book 'Modern Mahrem', about the traditional veiling style, different from the 'turban', which is the form of veil created with the strengthening of the Islamic movement:

People have nothing but hearsay, tradition, tradition, and Islamic knowledge. Not based on research. Would you even believe that there are gaps between me and my parents and grandmother? Imagine how close we are to them, with our scarf and overcoat, right? ... However, their Islamism is not hearsay. Is this how it works, they say to us, you are inventing new rules.⁴⁵⁵

Firstly, women do not know what it means to be veiled. Because the purpose without covering is to hide the beauty, we see that those who cover according to tradition have their necks open, but their heads are covered. You know, the neck should not be revealed. Their hair is visible, their sleeves are short.⁴⁵⁶

With these expressions, the traditionally veiled Muslim woman's identity is criticized by Islamists because of her ignorance about the religion of Islam. According to Erkilet's definition, the traditionally veiled woman's identity is more insensitive and unresponsive than the Islamist woman's identity.⁴⁵⁷ While there is a veiling approaching the definition of ideal veiling in covering with a turban, the definition of ideal veiling in traditional veiling is stretched and hair, neck, and arms are visible even if the scarf is tied. For this reason, the differences in veiling styles gain importance when defining covered Muslim identities.

⁴⁵⁴ Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, 16.

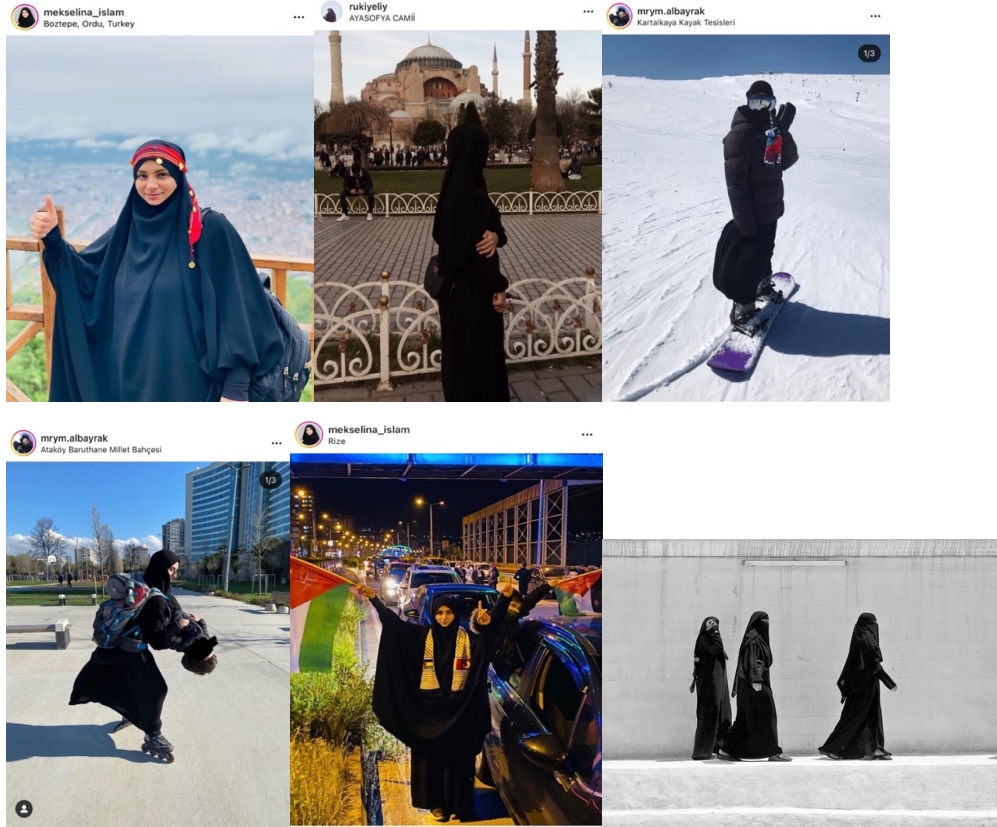
⁴⁵⁵ Ibid: 124.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid: 124.

⁴⁵⁷ Alev Erkilet, *Orta Doğu'da Modernleşme ve İslami Hareketler* (İstanbul: Büyüyenay, 2015): 193.

5.4. IDENTITY OF WOMEN WEARING THE BURQA

Figure 5.4. : Images of Women Wearing the Burqa



One of the veiled Muslim women's identities is the 'Muslim woman identity veiled with a burqa'. This identity is examined generally in relation to the early Republic period dress reforms. Women's clothing has gained importance since women have become a symbol of Turkish modernization. Thus, Turkish modernization was aimed at the modernization of women's clothing through dress reforms. Referring to this in her book *Modern Private*, Göle says: "The Islamic revolution, which put the woman's veiled body on the stage, has made its most invincible contradiction against the Western world the political symbol of its rebellion against the Western world."⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁸ Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, 114.

This identity's signature clothing is a black burqa. Although it is usually black, dark-colored burqas such as dark green, navy blue and brown are also rarely preferred. Some Muslim women who wear the burqa also use a face veil. The burqa stands out with its appropriateness to the definition of ideal veiling commanded in Islam. Some of the Muslim women who wear the burqa in Turkey belong to a community and complete their education in the form of *madrasah* from a young age and complete their compulsory education with distance education. Most Muslim women who wear the burqa do not prefer make-up.

Özlem Osma, nicknamed Mekselina İslam, who is known in the Popstar contest and now wears the burqa, describes what it felt like to be covered with a chador:

It's not like people won't like us or it will get too hot when we wear a veil, Allah azza wa jalla really helps. You feel so beautiful after wearing the veil... I feel like a princess in modest clothes. I love my veil so much that I say, O Lord, how beautiful it is, thank you, alhamdulillah. Therefore, our sisters should also take a step, Allah azza wa jalla definitely helps.⁴⁵⁹

In Özlem Osma's youtube video with Emine Şenlikoğlu, Şenlikoğlu quotes one of her teachers as saying, "The burqa is the jilbab in the Qur'an, but the jilbab in the verse is not just a burqa" (Surah Ahzab 59). In the same video, Osma said, "Allah SWT did not specify colors or style. It will not draw attention, will not show the body and will be loose. It's that simple. You call it ferace, you call it a burqa, up to you," and emphasized that the definition of ideal modesty is not just a burqa. Şenlikoğlu added, "A person may be well veiled, but not modest. Modesty is a position, it is a quality."⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁹ "Tesettür içinde kendimi prensesler gibi hissediyorum", Youtube, access 25 June, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/shorts/fTV4Pq0sNfo> .

⁴⁶⁰ "Emine Şenlikoğlu'nun evine baskın!", Youtube, access 12 April, 2022, <https://youtu.be/GQ1TI9VOdLE> .

Meryem Yaylı, who uses snowboards and skates with her burqa states that she has been wearing it for 12 years, that she has become one with her burqa, and that giving it up will give the same feeling of incompleteness as removing your arm and leg. She emphasizes that modesty liberates rather than restricts because she states that she feels comfortable and protected under the burqa.⁴⁶¹

In addition to the headscarf debates and bans in Turkey, there have been some veiling bans in various countries. As recently as 2007, Italy has banned burqas because it makes identification difficult.⁴⁶²

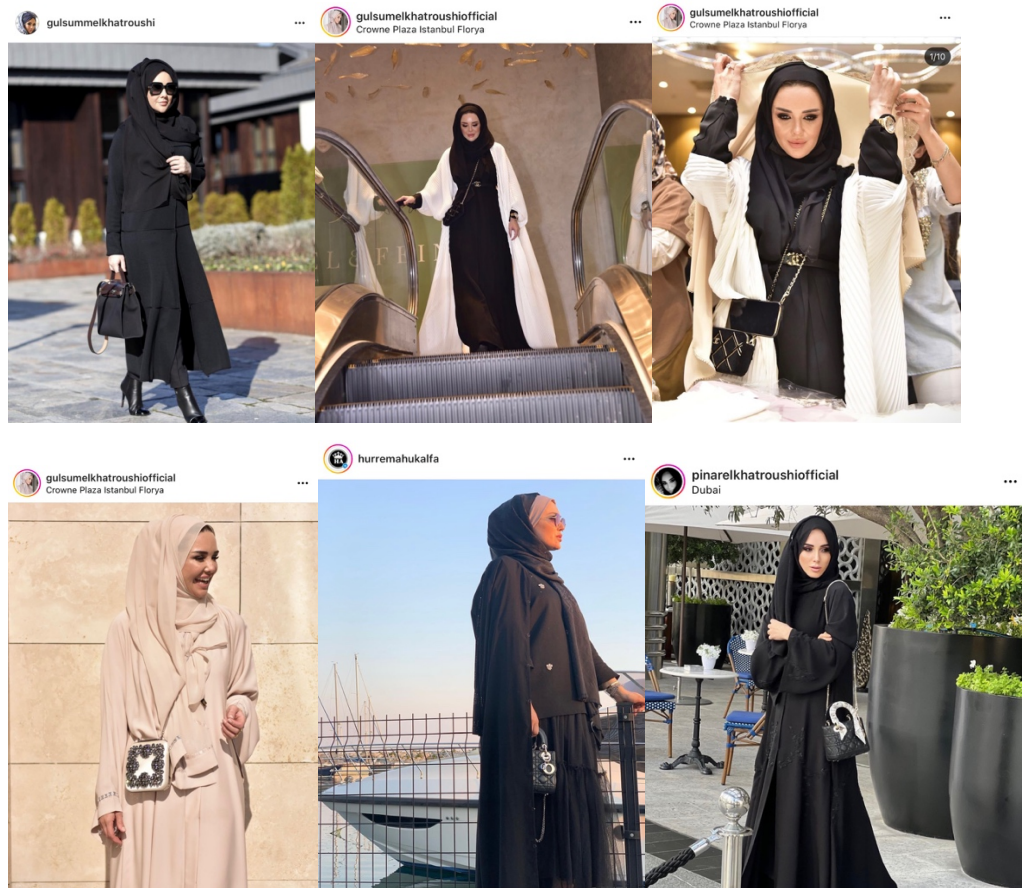
As the woman and her dressing style became a symbol in Turkish modernization, the 'burqa' was seen as an obstacle in westernization. Today, it is seen as extreme in terms of being radical in both the secular and modest sectors. This type of identity is a clear example of the Muslim identity formed by clothing.

⁴⁶¹ “Meryem Yaylı Instagram Post”, access 16 March, 2021, <https://instagram.com/mrym.albayrak?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=> .

⁴⁶² Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 4.

5.5. IDENTITY OF WOMEN WEARING THE ABAYA

Figure 5.5 : Images of Women Wearing the Abaya



The Muslim woman identity, which has adopted the Arab style of veiling and covered with the abaya, includes ultra-luxurious pieces in her clothes and accessories. In the case of Dubai, while paying attention to the limits of modesty with fancy and expensive products such as Arabic style, they cannot break away from luxury in consumption. This female identity, which is generally covered by the dressing style of the upper classes of the society, defines its identity with luxury elements.

The garment of Muslim women's identity covered with the abaya is a long, one-piece, high-quality, and flowing abaya, resembling a topcoat. A draped shawl is usually worn over the abaya. The veiling style of the shawl is generally similar to the veiling style of Arab countries. Abayas are sometimes decorated with

embroideries, lace, and stones. Accessories such as bags, shoes, and belts are preferred by ultra-luxury world brands. They mostly prefer make-up. The Muslim woman's identity covered with an abaya is economically included in the upper class. It shows its economic class and identity with its abaya, the way it covers its shawl, and its outer appearance with luxury accessories.

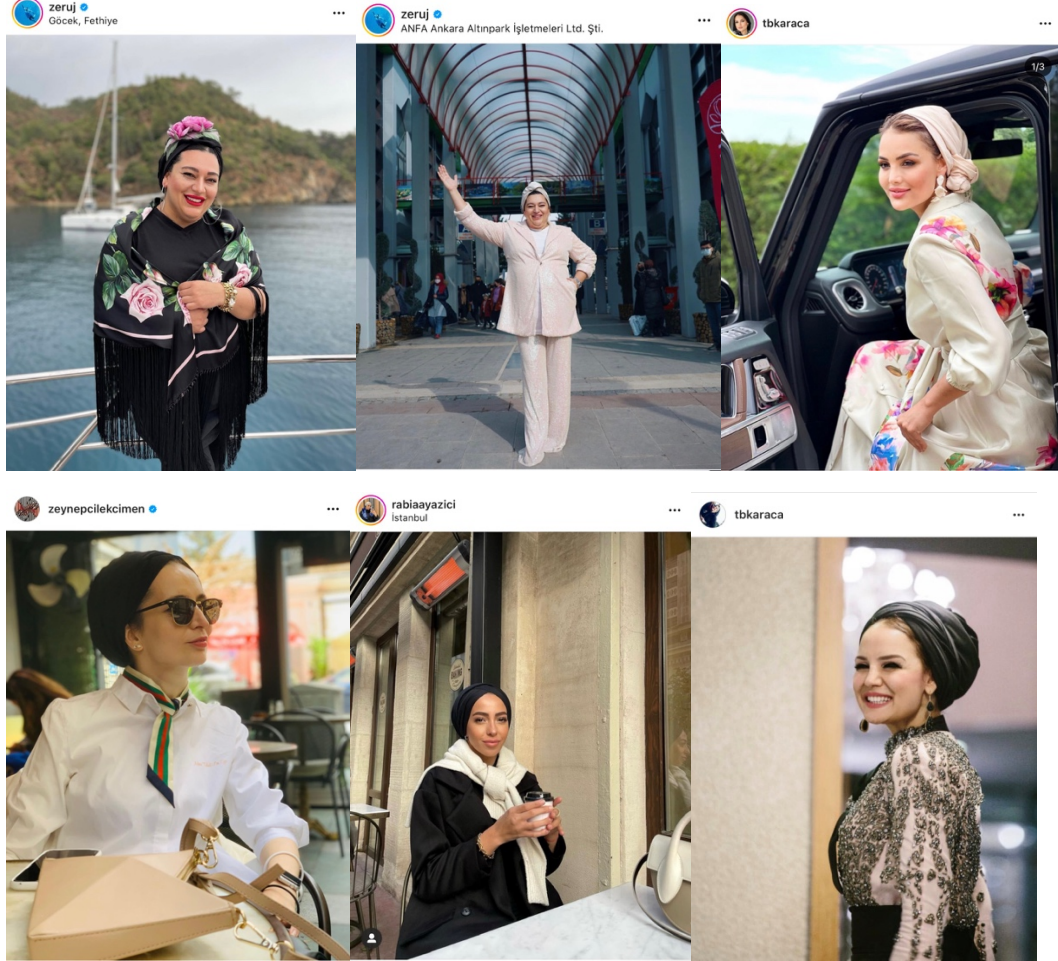
Covering with an Arabian-style veil and abaya, Gülsüm Elkhatrroushi tells the story of the difficult veiling for her:

On the way to Umrah, I fell started practicing veiling, I cried a lot. Because my environment is different, my mother doesn't practice, my siblings don't practice. Everyone tells me not to dress in burqas. They tell me, girl, you're young, you'll do it when you're old. My husband would love me to (cover up) but would not pressure me. I decided on the plane, I started practicing. I deleted my old pictures (from social media) so that I would be ashamed of people when I returned and I could not stop practicing. It was very nice there, everything was 15 days, I couldn't leave the house for 4-5 days after I returned. I stopped seeing my teachers. They prayed for me a lot. 'You don't have to, you can go back if you want. But you will be left as half, one way or the other.' they said. One night, I cried a lot on the prayer mat, so that my God would make it easy for me. Because I had no one left. I didn't have a single veiled friend. It was a very difficult time, but then I believe, with prayers, it passed. Then everyone loved me, now there are many (cries).⁴⁶³

⁴⁶³ "Gülsüm Elkhatrroushi Tesettüre Girme Sürecini Gözyaşlarıyla Anlattı", Youtube, access 8 February, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jAA5ph5ytR0&t=107s> .

5.6. IDENTITY OF WOMEN WEARING A BONNET

Figure 5.6 : Images of Women Wearing a Bonnet



One of the veiled Muslim women's identities in the one veils with a bonnet. It can be seen as the extreme point of modern modest women's identity. This women's identity is generally dressed similarly to the modern modest women's identity, but she covers with her neck and hair partially visible with a bonnet.

The dress of the Muslim woman, who is covered with a bonnet, generally follows the fashion. They use colors in clothing. They make their coverings by tying their shawls or scarves to their heads in the form of a 'bonnet', leaving their necks open. They make outfit combinations such as tunic-trousers, skirt-shirts, and trousers-shirt. They only wear outdoor wear in cold weather. They prefer fast-fashion

clothing brands and designers' modest clothing brands. Luxury clothing is also seen according to their economic class. Those with higher economic income prefer world brands for luxury in clothes, covers, and accessories. The majority of Muslim women who cover with bonnets prefer make-up.

Women with a Muslim female identity who are covered with bonnets define themselves as "I don't practice modesty; I just wear a veil". Zehra Özkaymaz, owner of a modest clothing mall, states that covering with her style of covering, a bonnet, is not the ideal veiling:

In the past, there were headscarved and uncovered. Now, there are those with covered hair and uncovered hair. This has nothing to do with religion. I say this for young people. There is no such form of veiling. This is not a veil. If you have a thought that I will wear a bonnet and be veiled, this is not veiling at all. But you can think of it as covering your hair or covering your skull. This is an accessory. This is a very difficult explaining to do, I wouldn't want to be proudly saying that this is also veiling. I'm not proud at all, I'm actually sad. But I can also say that girls who want to step into modesty, they should not take it as an example. Don't ever say, my veil is this much, I should quit altogether. Think one step above that, aim for one step above, not one step below. So you should always aim at the right path. It's good as much as you do towards the right path. Know that this is good, but do not say that this is not possible and leave. Try to do better.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶⁴ "Zehra Özkaymaz Instagram Post", access 7 June, 2022, <https://instagram.com/zeruj?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=> .

5.7. IDENTITY OF WOMEN WHO PARTIALLY COVER HAIR

Figure 5.7.: Images of Women Who Partially Cover Hair



This women's identity at first glance seems similar to the modern modest Muslim female identity. This identity, who covers without wearing an inner cap to prevent the hair from being seen, can be defined as a sub-category of the modern modest woman identity. Generally, in their statements, reasons such as "my hair is falling out due to lack of air" or "tying the inner cap gives me a headache" are presented for not wearing an inner cap. Women in the identity of Muslim women who cover themselves by showing their hair describe themselves as "I don't practice modesty, I am wearing a veil, I hope one day I will be fully modest."

The identity of the Muslim woman, who is partially cover hair, also follows the fashion in the same way as the modern modest woman's identity. Her clothes are exactly the same as the modern modest woman's identity. They love color and prefer makeup. Although they use scarves occasionally, they generally prefer shawls. Unlike the modern modest woman identity, she does not wear an inner cap and her hair is slightly visible from the front of her shawls. They generally prefer trouser-shirt combinations and prefer outdoor wear in cold weather. They prefer luxury brands, fast-fashion brands, and modest designer brands according to their economic class. Thus, they reflect their identities with their appearance.

Hilal, nicknamed Rimel Aşkına, who actively uses social media, is about the veil she wears with her hair visible without wearing an inner cap:

I know I'm not doing something right. Most importantly, I never said that I am the best, I'm doing the right thing, I am veiled. I already know that I am not suitable for modesty. But modesty is not just about wearing a cap. If I wear a cap and cover all my hair, I will still not be modest. In order to be modest, I should not wear make-up, I should not wear trousers. In no way should I talk to men other than my family. I have to drape the veil from under the bust to my shoulders. I need to wear a topcoat, etc etc. This is a long list. I never say I'm perfect, that's what I can do, I can control myself so much and do this much. I wish I could do better, I wish I could fully cover up, I wish I could go into modesty fully.

It gives me so many headaches. And I wore a cap for the first two years I was covered, and I was dying of a headache every night when I came home from school. It's a pain in my neck that hits my eye and I can't stand it. I pull my shawl well forward (so that the hair isn't visible), but it also slips over time.⁴⁶⁵

Three years after she made this statement, she explained that she started wearing an inner cap, along with an emotional and kind e-mail she received about being an example to the young people who followed her while she was going through a spiritual process. Hilal, who thinks in the same way that wearing a cap is insufficient for modesty in her previous statement, expresses the peace that wearing a cap gives her and that she feels freer by wearing a cap.⁴⁶⁶ (I don't use the inner capless image in the images out of respect for her decision.)

⁴⁶⁵ "Makyaj & Sohbet || Neden bone takmıyorum ? Olumsuz eleştiriler hakkında", Youtube, access 4 December, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QZqNoW70r40> .

⁴⁶⁶ "HAYATIMI DEĞİŞTİREN MAIL, BONE İLE BAŞÖRTÜ İÇİ TOPUZUMU NASIL YAPIYORUM?", Youtube, access 17 May, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DnzcAWFco-A> .

5.8. IDENTITY OF DEVOTEE MUSLIM WOMEN

Figure 5.8.: Devotee Muslim Women's Images



The veiled Muslim woman identity, which is defined by another dress and veiling style, is the 'intentionally veiled Muslim woman identity'. Devotee Muslim women wear the veil according to the veiling style of their religious community. One of the most visible examples of Muslim women with devotee veils is the veiling of women who belong to the Süleyman Efendi community.

As an example of the Muslim woman's identity with a devotee veil, the dress of the women of Süleyman is a skirt-shirt, an outer garment such as a top coat or a trench coat, and a silk scarf. They prefer skirt length about one inch shorter than full length. Sometimes they prefer make-up. The scarves of this female identity, who usually shop from brands such as Armine and Aker, are silk and patterned. They like to wear branded clothes. They cover their scarves by tying knots in the front. It can be understood from the clothes of the women who define themselves as "Süleymanlı" and especially from the way they cover the headscarf to which community they belong.

It is becoming more noticeable among the people that the *Süleymanlı* women used to tie their headscarves with the veiling style of their own community. They usually use a medium-size 90cmx90cm headscarf. They tie

their scarves loosely and fluffy under their chins. The reason why they tie their headscarves in this way is that the daughters of Süleyman Hilmi Tunahan, the leader of the community they belong to, are covered in this way.⁴⁶⁷

The concept of the religious community generally constitutes a social identity that looks after the common interests of its members.⁴⁶⁸ This social identity, which is formed by community commitment, is guided by community leaders in all areas, especially cultural.⁴⁶⁹ According to Erkilet, Süleymanism arose as a result of the secularism practices in the one-party period, when the religious and state affairs were separated, and the people could not find an imam for their religious requirements. This religious community, started by Süleyman Hilmi Tunahan, responded to the religious needs of the people of that period, such as learning the Qur'an and bathing the deceased.⁴⁷⁰

Likewise, as an example of a different community, the identity of a devotee Muslim woman of İsmail Ağa community can be cited, but not every woman with a burqa is a member of İsmail Ağa community. Women who belong to the İsmail Ağa community, concentrated in Fatih Çarşamba, usually wear burqas, so the community they belong to and their identity can be understood with a concrete expression from their clothes. (see section 4- Burqa-Covered Women's Identity)

⁴⁶⁷ Nazlı Alimen, *Faith and fashion in Turkey: consumption, politics and Islamic identities*, 81-82.

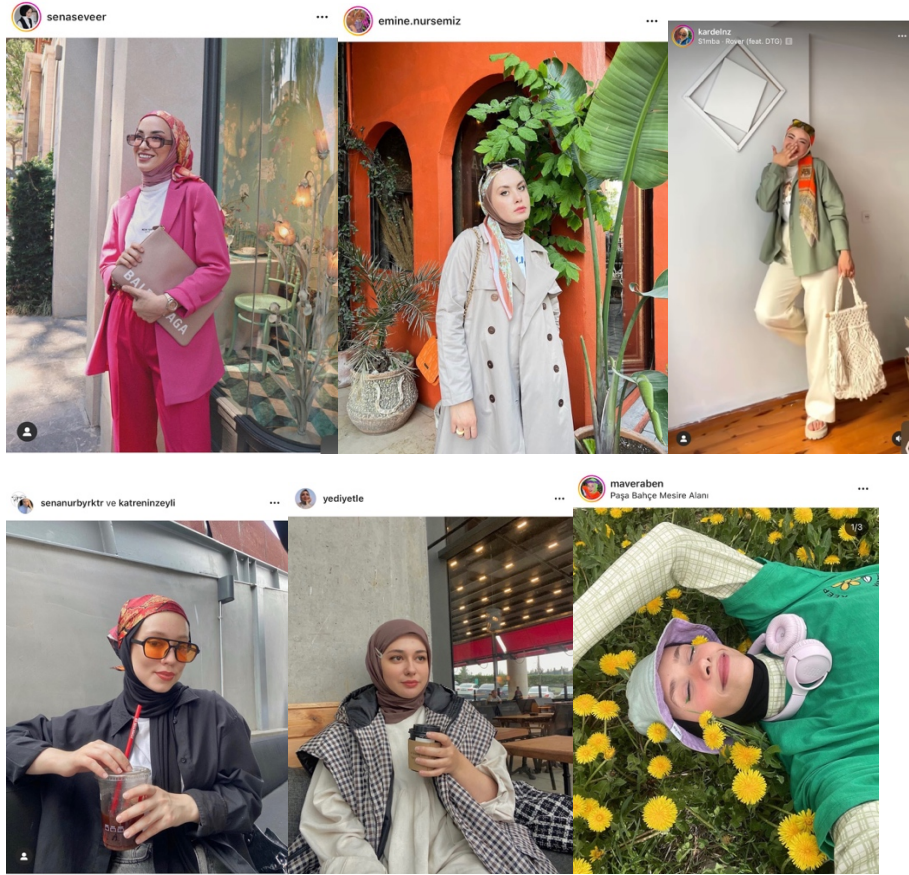
⁴⁶⁸ Nîlûfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 149.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid: 150.

⁴⁷⁰ Alev Erkilet, *Orta Doğu'da Modernleşme ve İslami Hareketler*, 152.

5.9. IDENTITY OF MUSLIM WOMEN WITH BANDANNA-ON-HEADSCARF STYLE

Figure 5.9 : Images of Muslim Women with Bandanna-on-Headscarf Style



This type of women's identity is largely similar to the modern modest Muslim women's identity. The only difference between them is the element of age. The new generation of young girls adopts this style; in which they wear colorful bandanas over their headscarves. Except for the way of covering, their clothing styles are in the same style as the modern modest Muslim woman identity.

Since the identity of Muslim women covered with a bandanna-on-headscarf, is an identity generally adopted by young girls, they prefer clothes from fast fashion brands and young modest designer brands rather than luxury products. They wear outer clothing in cold weather. They mostly prefer make-up. They use colorful, sporty, and fashionable products. They make combinations such as trousers-shirt,

sweatshirt-trousers. They add movement to the combinations with accessories such as bandanas, hats, and buckles on their covers. They reflect their identities with their energetic appearance.

Young women with this identity, in addition to the bandanna, also wear buckles and hats on their covers. Feyza Nur Bayraktaroğlu, who has been veiled about this for a year:

Even if there are people who like to wear buckles, this is not a bad thing. If anyone asks why you still wear a buckle despite the criticism, I like to wear buckles. I also feel that my face is lifted when I wear a buckle, and this increases my self-confidence a little more. And when I wear a scarf, I feel it makes my face smaller, when I put on a buckle, my face opens up a little more.⁴⁷¹

5.10. IDENTITY OF A MUSLIM WOMAN WHO STOPPED PRACTICING THE VEIL

Three different reasons are observed for Muslim women who have given up on the veil. Rather than personal exceptional circumstances, it can be defined as not being able to cover ideally, emphasizing not feeling belonging to the group they are often associated with, practicing veiling due to the imposition of family or social environment. It has been observed that there has been Muslim women who give up their headscarves due to the mentality that veiled Muslim women are generally AKP supporters, and the women wanted to emphasize that they do not belong to that certain sub-group. There are also women today who gave up the practice when they were freed from the impositions of family or social environment that made

⁴⁷¹ “Şal Üstüne Şapka Takma || NEDEN TOKA, BANDANA TAKMA, EŞARP VE ŞAL YAPIMI”, Youtube, access 24 January, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vVInRhi8BnU>.

them cover without being very conscious about it in the first place. Last observed reason is not being able to cover ideally according to Quran.

Some of the Muslim women who gave up the veil state that they gave up because they could not cover it as in the 'ideal modesty'. Influencer Ebru Sever Türk, who we can include in the 'modern modest Muslim female identity before giving up her veil, said, "I did not change my religion. I have not lost my faith. I am not one of my beliefs. I just took off my headscarf because I couldn't believe that I had accomplished modesty. Nothing else."⁴⁷² she explained why she gave up her veil.

Similarly, designer Tuğba Çelebi, who we can include in the 'female identity covered with bonnet' before giving up her veil, said, "I could not put on my veil in a sincere way. Once people interfered in my sincerity, I said that what I could not do for God, I should not do for people anymore. I was very tired, I fought a lot with myself. I am more sincere now, I am more modest than before, I know that."⁴⁷³ with this explanation, she frankly explained that she could not wear her veil.

Zehra Özkaymaz, who can be included in the identity of the Muslim woman who covers with a cap, states that the veiling is also a gradual one and that better veiling should always be aimed:

Do not say that this much isn't veiling, that you should give up on it. Think one step above that, aim for one step above, not one step below. So you should always aim at the right path. Whoever does what and how much on the right path is better for them. Know that this is better, but do not say that this is not possible and leave. Try to do better.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷² "Tesetürden çıktığı için linç edilen Ebru Severtürk, hakkında çıkan iddialara yanıt verdi.", Youtube, access 20 January, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ept16KH2JY4> .

⁴⁷³ "Tuğba Çelebi Instagram Post", access 20 June, 2022, <https://instagram.com/tugbacelebi?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=> .

⁴⁷⁴ "Zehra Özkaymaz Instagram Post", access 7 June, 2022, <https://instagram.com/zeruj?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=> .

Youtuber and writer Başak Kaplan states that in today's Turkey, veiled Muslim women are defined by their veil, categorize and classify them with the following statement:

Veiling marks you directly and stigmatizes you. It puts you in a class, a position. And if you think that you are not from that class, you will constantly feel obliged to prove yourself. 'Don't mind that I'm veiled, I'm actually open-minded', 'don't mind that I'm veiled, I'm actually a university graduate' or 'don't look at me as a woman with a head covered but wearing jeans, I'm actually much more faithful', 'don't look at me that I'm veiled, I'm not an AKP supporter'.

A veiled person gets a ton of comments about their veil and that it is never enough.⁴⁷⁵

Based on Nazife Şişman's definition of "headscarf as a symbol of AKP line"⁴⁷⁶, leaving the practice of modesty or veil can be expressed as a result of the association of veiled women with a certain political party in Today's Turkey, and the desire of these women to break out of this stereotype. In particular, the 'modern modest Muslim woman identity', which is perceived by people as a supporter of the AKP due to their dressing and veiling style, and the women with the bonnet, women who partially cover their hair and the women with bandanna-on-headscarf, which can be considered as sub-categories of modern modest Muslim woman identity are significantly more tend to give up on the veil.

Rabia Karaca, who has a background in Quran memorization practice and owns a modest clothing brand: "The headscarf is a religious value, but nowadays it is politicized in Turkey." In a youtube video she made her explanation, she describes her giving up on the veil as follows:

⁴⁷⁵ "Başörtüsü Neden Politiktir", Youtube, access 8 December, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D_Re7CKKbVY.

⁴⁷⁶ Nazife Şişman, *Başörtüsü Sınırsız Dünyanın Yeni Sınırı*, 54.

About the decision to give up the veil: I took this decision within a month. I took such a decision at a stage where I questioned myself, at the stage where I asked myself whether I am living according to my own choices or care too much about what others think and say.⁴⁷⁷

In a Youtube video Özlem Osma shot with Emine Şenlikoğlu, Şenlikoğlu states that "Those who have faith but give up on the veil eventually start wearing it again"⁴⁷⁸, pointing out that Muslim women who are conflicted about the veil will eventually take on the veil with their faith in Allah and His command.

It is observed that the majority of Muslim women who give up the veil due to the reasons for not being able to cover ideally and emphasizing that they do not belong to the section with which they are associated, belong to the sub-categories of modern modest Muslim women's identities.

⁴⁷⁷ "Linç Hakkında", Youtube, access 8 December, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wK6io70Vcb8&t=3s> .

⁴⁷⁸ "Emine Şenlikoğlu'nun evine baskın!", Youtube, access 12 April, 2022, <https://youtu.be/GQ1TI9VOdLE> .

CONCLUSION

In the conclusion, I tried to find an answer to my research question in line with some of the concepts examined throughout the thesis. As a next step, I present some of the definitions and findings that were not covered in academia so far. In the final part, I discuss how this work can be developed for future research.

First of all, this thesis seeks answers to the following questions: How is the identity of the veiled Muslim woman formed on the basis of 'clothing' through fashion and consumption? What are the disguised Muslim female identities in today's Turkey? In an attempt to answer this question, this thesis examines the following topics starting with the concept of identity, the individual and social identity formed by clothing, clothing as an element of consumption and its effects on consumption and identity formation, the concept of fashion, the identity expressed by fashion, the definition of the veiled Muslim woman identity, veiled Muslim women's identities distinguished by the veil styles.

Examined concepts;

- Identity
- Consumption
- Fashion
- Veiled Muslim Women's Identity

As defined with the information in light of these concepts:

- Types of Covered Muslim Woman Identity in Today's Turkey

6.1. CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF IDENTITY, CONSUMPTION, FASHION AND IDENTITY OF THE VEILED MUSLIM WOMAN

Identity defines how a person interacts with the social, cultural and economic relations in which they are in, and thus defines who the person is. In addition to how a person sees themselves, how others see that person is defined as 'identity'.⁴⁷⁹ Identity, formed by sameness and difference, is a structure that is not fixed and is open to change and development.⁴⁸⁰ While the identity formed by the building blocks related to one's own self is defined as self-identity, the identity formed by the interaction with social relations is expressed as social identity.⁴⁸¹ Elements such as appearance, height, age, gender, religion, ethnicity, social class, manners, speech, and body language, which form a kind of personal showcase of the person, constitute self-identity.⁴⁸² In addition to interaction with social, cultural and economic relations that form the social identity, the memory of these relations is also important in this process.⁴⁸³ The rise of Islamic movements is one of the changes that build social identity in Turkey.⁴⁸⁴ The rise of Islamic movements, which is the subject of this thesis, placed at the beginning of the veiled Muslim identities, creates a social, economic and cultural memory that constitutes the social identity in Turkey.

People gain social approval and nurture a sense of belonging to a certain social environment by behaving according to the identities and the norms of a certain social class they aspire to be in. Acting according to the norms of the social class is most easily achieved through consumption. Through consumption, people

⁴⁷⁹ Mutlu Binark and Kılıçbay, *Tüketim Toplumu Bağlamında Türkiye'de Örtünme Pratiği ve Moda İlişkisi*, 13.

⁴⁸⁰ Saime Tuğrul, "Kimlik" (Lecture, Kimlik, Hafıza ve Kültür, İstanbul Bilgi University, İstanbul, Ekim 23, 2017).

⁴⁸¹ Anthony Giddens, *Modernite ve Bireysel-Kimlik Geç Modern Çağda Benlik ve Toplum*, 75.

⁴⁸² Erving Goffman, *Günlük Yaşamda Benliğin Sunumu*, 35.

⁴⁸³ Marshall Sahlins, *Batı'nın İnsan Doğası Yanılsaması*, 121.

⁴⁸⁴ Fuat Keyman, "Sistem kurucu ve sistem dönüştürücü bir toplumsal gerçeklik olarak kültürel kimlik olgusunu yeniden düşünmek", *Kimlikler Lütfen*, 51-52.

allow others to see and define themselves as a showcase.⁴⁸⁵ According to Bauman, who emphasizes the importance of obtaining social approval, if a person's identity is approved by a power greater than them, their identity is affirmed greatly.⁴⁸⁶

With the effect of capitalism and globalization, product diversity has increased, so it has become easier to find many kinds of products that can express our identities.⁴⁸⁷ Thus, just as every identity has diversified, veiled Muslim women's identities have also diversified as the products appealing to them have increased. However, none of these identities are final. The construction of the identity, which enters a cycle with consumption, never ends, it is constantly updated and always reborn.⁴⁸⁸

Clothing has turned into an indicator and symbol of consumption rather than a basic necessity, with the importance of appearance with modernity.⁴⁸⁹ Thus, the consumer society emerged. Consumption society that leads to consumption of indicators through clothing includes economic, social and cultural relations. There is an active construction of identity that is constantly updated with the indicative meaning of the products consumed in the consumer society.⁴⁹⁰ People aim to protect the social identity they reflect by consuming new indicators as fashion changes. Especially with the introduction of social media into our lives, these changes are happening very quickly today.

With the effect of industrialization, clothes became cheaper and became the first consumption item to reach large masses. Thus, clothes that lost their economic value in class society gained symbolic value in consumer society.⁴⁹¹ Thus,

⁴⁸⁵ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 229.

⁴⁸⁶ Zygmunt Bauman, *Parçalanmış Hayat*, 369.

⁴⁸⁷ Zygmunt Bauman, *Postmodernlik ve Hoşnutsuzlukları*, 124.

⁴⁸⁸ Zygmunt Bauman, *Etiğin Tüketiciler Dünyasında Bir Şansı Var mı?*, 16-21.

⁴⁸⁹ Jean Baudrillard, *Selected writings*, 47.

⁴⁹⁰ Mutlu Binar and Kılıçbay, *Tüketim Toplumu Bağlamında Türkiye'de Örtünme Pratiği ve Moda İlişkisi*, 14-15.

⁴⁹¹ Diana Crane, *Moda ve Gündemleri Giyimde Sınıf, Cinsiyet ve Kimlik*, 18-19.

'consumer fashion' has emerged instead of 'class fashion'.⁴⁹² Today, clothing, which is the most visible form of consumption are indicator of social identity, gender, social class, and occupational status.⁴⁹³ Similarly, Veblen, who states that clothing is the most obvious consumption element, states that people immediately reveal their financial situation with their clothes.⁴⁹⁴ In this context, various definitions such as social identity, social class and status are made by looking at the person's clothing.

Fashion is what is popular in every field of consumption. In order for fashion to occur, the definitions of 'to be the same with each other' and 'to be different from each other' must coexist⁴⁹⁵ since the concept of fashion includes both imitation and differentiation at the same time.⁴⁹⁶ In this context, in addition to the conceptualization of Simmel, Veblen and Bourdieu, who define the concept of fashion with social class, Davis also states that the meaning of fashion and clothing is cultural.⁴⁹⁷ Blumer, on the other hand, states that being modern and up-to-date in the following fashion is more important than status and social class belonging.⁴⁹⁸ According to Simmel, who states that fashion in clothing is respectively adopted by the upper, middle and lower classes, the lower classes imitate the clothes of the upper classes in order to rise to the upper classes. However, when that fashion becomes available, the upper classes turn to a new fashion.⁴⁹⁹ Thus, the lower classes begin to imitate the new fashion again, and this cycle continues.⁵⁰⁰ This cycle has been defined by Veblen and Simmel as the 'top-down' concept. Thanks to the sameness and difference tendency of fashion, this cycle continues endlessly.

⁴⁹² Ibid: 217-218.

⁴⁹³ Anthony Giddens, *Modernite ve Bireysel-Kimlik Geç Modern Çağda Benlik ve Toplum*, 132-133.

⁴⁹⁴ Thorstein Veblen, *Aylak Sınıfın Teorisi*, 115.

⁴⁹⁵ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 35.

⁴⁹⁶ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 31.

⁴⁹⁷ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 24.

⁴⁹⁸ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 230.

⁴⁹⁹ George Simmel, "Fashion", 541.

⁵⁰⁰ Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 126.

People can make inferences about the status and lifestyle of a person, thanks to the indicators they see in them. When we see someone we don't know for the first time, we can get an idea about that person thanks to that person's appearance.⁵⁰¹ However, these meanings of clothing change according to time and place.⁵⁰² Since the concept of fashion is structurally constantly changing, it is inevitable that the meaning of a fashionable garment a year later will be different, and that the meaning of a fashionable veiling style in Turkey will be different from the meaning it expresses in another country. At the same time, the meanings expressed by clothing, that is, appearance can be misleading. Because the person may be dressed by choosing clothes suitable for the identity they want to be thought about.⁵⁰³ According to Locke, who makes a similar definition that may be mistaken, two different identities can be reflected when a person dresses differently today than yesterday.⁵⁰⁴ In addition, the meaning conveyed by clothing is conceptualized by symbolic interactionism, which means that the wearer and the observer express the same meaning in interaction.⁵⁰⁵

6.2. VEILED MUSLIM WOMEN'S IDENTITY

Similar to Muslim countries, the secularization of women's appearance in Turkey has become important for the modernization of the country, so the most visible symbol in modernization is the veiled Muslim woman.⁵⁰⁶ The 'veiling', which is the most visible worshipping practice that is obligatory for women in Islam, has many symbolic meanings. We can define the meanings of 'veil' as a political identity in terms of ideology, personal Muslim identity in terms of practical

⁵⁰¹ Erving Goffman, *Günlük Yaşamda Benliğin Sunumu*, 15.

⁵⁰² Fred Davis, *Moda, Kültür ve Kimlik*, 16-18.

⁵⁰³ Erving Goffman, *Günlük Yaşamda Benliğin Sunumu*, 76.

⁵⁰⁴ John Locke, *Of Identity and Diversity*, 11.

⁵⁰⁵ Susan Kaiser, "Toward a contextual social psychology of clothing: A synthesis of symbolic interactionist and cognitive theoretical perspectives", 2.

⁵⁰⁶ Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, 50.

application, and social identity that determines social class in terms of consumption. According to Barbarosoğlu, veiling does not have a political meaning, but a straightforward meaning that indicates that the person is a Muslim⁵⁰⁷ while according to Göle, it acts as a political litmus.⁵⁰⁸ The veiling of Muslim women with a political stance is referred to as the 'turban', while the traditional “aunt style” veiling is referred to as the 'headscarf'.⁵⁰⁹ In addition to Göle's work, which semantically defines veiling as a headscarf and turban, I add that the veil is a status meaning that reflects social class, with the strengthening of the Islamic movement and the proliferation of Islamic capital.

With the strengthening of Islamic movements, a new veiled Muslim women's identity, expressed as an educated, young, modern, urban citizen, who rejects the traditional veiling of their mothers, has emerged as an 'Islamist woman'.⁵¹⁰ This new type of veiling, which pays attention to the Islamic sensitivities that attracted the attention of the secular sections, caused the anxiety of 'reactionism'. Therefore, the headscarf debate has started. Due to the difference in veiling between Islamist women and traditionally veiled women, the meaning of the different styles, and the debates they cause, it was forbidden to enter the parliament, public institutions, and universities with a veil, especially after the February 28 and 1999 general elections.⁵¹¹

During the AKP period, the period of relief and freedom began with the reduction of political troubles in the Islamic section. With the normalization⁵¹² experienced when the problems and prohibitions they faced came to an end, with the neo-liberal consumption culture of the AKP, and with the development of

⁵⁰⁷ Fatma Barbarosoğlu, *Kamusal Alanda Başörtülüler*, 75.

⁵⁰⁸ Nilüfer Göle, *Seküler ve Dinsel: Aşınan Sınırlar*, 98.

⁵⁰⁹ Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, 16.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid: 16.

⁵¹¹ Nilüfer Göle, *Melez Desenler*, 17.

⁵¹² Merve Kutuk Kuris, “Piety, fashion and festivity in a modest fashion shopping mall in Istanbul”, 184.

Consumptionscape⁵¹³, a consumption-oriented mass emerged. With the strengthening of Islamic capital, a wealthy religious class emerged and was called the Islamic bourgeoisie.⁵¹⁴ Thus, the identities of veiled Muslim women have also diversified. Since Turkey switched to a market economy in the 1980s, it was likely that neoliberal consumption policies would still be continued to be implemented, even without the AKP.

The section of the thesis called 'ideal veiled muslim woman's identity, expresses 'veiling', which is the ideal form of covering, in the light of verses and hadiths. The 'veiling', which is an obligatory act of worship for Muslim women, has been analyzed from the interpretations of 10 different Islamic scholars and different hadith sources. The verses in the Qur'an, the holy book of Islam, in which veiling is made obligatory and its limits are explained, are Ahzab 59, Nur 31 and Nur 60. In these verses, the way and limits of veiling, the definition of 'awrah', the definition of 'jilbab' providing veiling, the form of 'khimar' which is the top cover, the definition of 'adornment', and veiling in old age are discussed.

Clothing expresses the self and social identities of the wearers through its nonverbal and communicative language.⁵¹⁵ Therefore, the effect of clothing on creating a veiled Muslim women's identity has been observed, in particular on the 'diversity of veiling'. In this context, clothes, fashion and consumption, in general, hold a place in the formation of the veiled Muslim women's identity. With the 'turban', which is expressed as the new type of veiling style of Islamist women, 'fashion' began to be used in *tesettur* for the first time. 'Tekbir Giyim', on the other hand, became the first *tesettur* clothing company to use the words 'tesettur' and 'fashion' in its advertisements for the first time in the new veiling style.⁵¹⁶ For this reason, 'fashion', with the new veiling of Islamist women, became a concept used

⁵¹³ Özlem Sandıkçı, Güliz Ger, "In-between modernities and postmodernities: Theorizing Turkish consumptionscape", 1.

⁵¹⁴ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 218.

⁵¹⁵ Fatma Barbarosoğlu, *Kamusal Alanda Başörtülüler*, 27.

⁵¹⁶ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 221-222.

for the first time in *tesettur*. As a result, for veiled Muslim women, the virtue of avoiding waste and extravagance in Islam and the fact that fashion is a consumption-oriented concept have created a 'tension'.

This tension has started to occur not only in *tesettur* clothing, but also in all sectors. For this reason, as a result of the incompatibility of consumption-oriented capitalism and Islam, a new concept of the Islamic economy, called the '3rd way', has emerged.⁵¹⁷ These 'hybrid sectors' formed by the Islamized economy, as defined by Göle, strengthened the Islamic capital. Thus, economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital has now begun to intersect with Islamic capital. Islamic capital has often been criticized by Islamic intellectuals because of this 'tension'.⁵¹⁸ According to Göle, the consumption of luxury indicators in Islamic sectors created the Islamic bourgeoisie.⁵¹⁹ The *tesettur* clothing industry, which is the most visible of these new Islamic sectors in daily life, has given the veiled Muslim woman many new identities. In this context, various veiled Muslim women's identities formed by clothing within the framework of 'veiling' were examined.

6.3. FINDINGS AND DEFINITIONS: TYPES OF VEILED MUSLIM WOMEN'S IDENTITIES IN TODAY'S TURKEY

For certain reasons such as the strengthening of the Islamic movement, the formation of Islamic capital and the conservative political power, a wide variety of veiled Muslim women's identities have emerged. The fact that a veiled Muslim woman has belonging to the religion of Islam is clearly understood through her veil and *tesettur*.⁵²⁰ In this thesis, how veiling and veiling diversified the veiled Muslim women's identities and the emerging diversity were examined. In this way, I hope

⁵¹⁷ Banu Gökıksel and Ellen McLarney, "Muslim Women, Consumer Capitalism, and Islamic Culture Industry", 4.

⁵¹⁸ Selin Ongun, *Başörtülü Kadınlar Anlattı: Türbanlı Erkekler*, 12.

⁵¹⁹ Nilüfer Göle, *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri*, 233.

⁵²⁰ Susan Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 404.

to contribute to academic studies with my definitions of 10 different veiled Muslim woman identities, which differ from the Islamist woman and Islamic capitalist woman identities that are discussed in the academic literature. I identify the various Muslim women's identities in the light of Weber's concept of "ideal type"⁵²¹. There is fluidity and flexibility among the given identities. These veiled Muslim women's identities, which have not yet been included in academic studies with the subject of different identities created by clothing, appear in all areas of life. These women's identities differ from each other in terms of social class, political stance, personal Muslim identity (religiousness), social identity and age. Some of the veiled Muslim female identities cannot be cited for their definitions, because the definitions are mine. As someone who has been a designer in the modest clothing industry for years, I use my observations and the explanations of 'veiled' social media users living within the borders of Turkey.

In this part of the thesis, since the subject is not included in the academy, I define 10 veiled Muslim women in this context;

- 1- Islamist Activist Muslim Woman Identity
- 2- Modern Modest Woman Identity
- 3- Traditionally Veiling Muslim Woman Identity
- 4- Identity of Muslim Women Wearing the Burqa
- 5- Identity of Women Wearing the Abaya
- 6- Identity of Muslim Women Wearing the Bonnet
- 7- Identity of a Muslim Woman Partially Covering Hair
- 8- Identity of Devotee Muslim Women
- 9- Identity of a Muslim Woman with Bandanna-on-Headscarf Style
- 10- Identity of a Muslim Woman Who Stopped Practicing the Veil

In addition to the concept of 'hybridization' defined by Göle regarding the Islamization of sectors, the veiling clothing industry, and the Islamist women's

⁵²¹ John J. Macionis, *Sociology*, 99.

identity from general to specific, in this study, I explain hybridization with the veiled women's identities that exist today.

- In the identity of the Islamist activist Muslim woman, the fact that the female body is private in Islam and that the woman is in the foreground with her covered body in the Islamic movement creates a paradox.⁵²² Radical Islamic intellectuals criticized the female body, which should remain hidden in Islam, at the forefront of actions. Thus, a hybridization takes place between two extremes.

- The hybridization in the identity of Modern Modest Woman and its sub-categories Identity of Muslim Women Wearing the Bonnet, Identity of a Muslim woman partially covering hair and Identity of a Muslim Woman with Bandanna-on-Headscarf Style is due to clothing. There is a hybridization between the two extremes with the consumption orientation of fashion and the virtue of avoiding waste and extravagance in Islam.⁵²³

- The most extreme example of the 'hybridization' between the two extremes, which are expressed as consumption and waste, is seen in the identity of Muslim women wearing the Abaya. They use the most luxurious world brands in their clothes and accessories. They can stay in the most luxurious hotels, including pilgrimage and umrah, and share on social media.

- There is tension between capitalism and Islam in all the veiled Muslim identities I have described. I explain the veiled Muslim women's identities with the concept of hybridization, as an Islamic

⁵²² Nîlûfer G le, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve  rt nme*, 115.

⁵²³ Banu G karıksel and Ellen McLarney, "Muslim Women, Consumer Capitalism, and Islamic Culture Industry", 4.

intermediate version has been created between consumption and avoidance of waste.

6.4. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In this thesis, ten different veiled Muslim woman identities, which are shaped by the 'veil', are defined in the context of consumption, fashion and clothing concepts from general to specific. However, it is possible to define more Muslim women's identities, who adopt many more styles today. In this study, I have defined the ten most popular social media posting identities in today's Turkey. Veiled Muslim women's identities, which will become more diverse daily with the effect of globalization and social media, can be examined for future studies. Interviews can be carried out with people selected from these identities. In addition, this study, which I have carried out based in Turkey, can be studied with different forms of veiling throughout the world.

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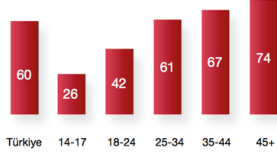
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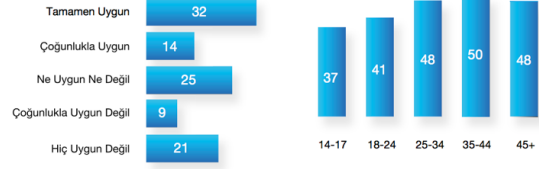
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ANNEX1- IPSOS: A GUIDE TO UNDERSTANDING TURKEY

GRAFIK 87: "Dışarı çıkarken örtünürüm" (%)



GRAFIK 88: "Evleneceğim kişinin veya eşimin başının örtülü olmasına önem veririm" (%)



Kadınların %60'ı dışarı çıkarken başını örtüyor. 18-24 yaş arasında başını örtme oranı ise %42.

Erkeklerin %46'sı evleneceği kişinin veya eşinin başının örtülü olmasına önem veriyor. İleri yaşlardaki erkekler evleneceği veya evli olduğu kadının başının örtülü olmasına daha fazla önem veriyor.