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Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

**VEILING FASHION, CONSUMPTION CULTURE AND
IDENTITY: A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS FOR INTERPRETING
THE VEILED TURKISH WOMEN’S CHANGING CLOTHING
PRACTICES**

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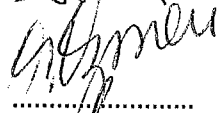
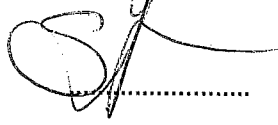
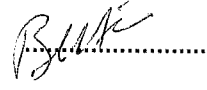
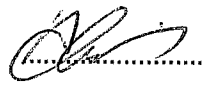
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ELİF DENİZ tarafından hazırlanmış ve sunulmuş "Veiling Fashion, Consumption Culture and Identity: A Qualitative Analysis for Interpreting the Veiled Turkish Women's Changing Clothing Practices."başlıklı tezi kabul edilmiştir.

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DECLARATION

I here by declare that this doctoral thesis titled as ‘**Veiling Fashion, Consumption Culture And Identity: A Qualitative Analysis For Interpreting The Veiled Turkish Women’s Changing Clothing Practices**’ has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resources in the reference list. I verify all these with my honour.

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.../.../.....

Elif DENİZ

ABSTRACT

Doctoral Thesis

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

**Veiling Fashion, Consumption Culture And Identity: A Qualitative Analysis
For Interpreting The Veiled Turkish Women's Changing Clothing Practices**

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Dokuz Eylül University

Graduate School of Social Sciences

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Covering the body with clothes happens to be one of the primary vital needs for humans throughout the history. However, in Islam, it turns into a religious order for Muslim men and women based on Islamic decretals. The rules of clothing for Muslim women are defined as ‘veiling’ that differentiates them from their counterparts as being encumbered with symbolical, social and religious meanings. Today, this bodily practice can not be interpreted without analyzing the rising pressures and changing circumstances of modern life if the veiled women are examined as consumers. The increasing purchasing power of Muslims and their rising visibility as demandants, also modern but religious identities, resulted as the identification of Muslims as an untapped and viable market segment which leads to the necessity to investigate their changing needs deeply.

This research analyzed the veiled Turkish women's changing clothing practices in the light of veiling fashion for the post 1980-period, in Turkey. The religious interpretations and regulations about veiling practice, the relationship between Islam and consumption, the rise of Islamic consumption space and veiling fashion as a phenomenon, the religious, political, economical and socio-cultural tensions that Muslim consumers experience and negotiate in consideration of modern lifestyles while constructing their contemporary identities were questioned and examined deeply with the help of a qualitative

analysis based on Hans-George Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics. The results reveal that the veiled women's clothing practices changes due to the fact that veiling turns into a commodity of consumption and fashion by losing its religious meanings and aims.

Keywords: Veiling, Veiled Consumers, Veiling Fashion, Islamic Consumption, Identity

ÖZET

Doktora Tezi

**Tesettür Modası, Tüketim Kültürü ve Kimlik: Tesettürlü Türk Kadınlarının
Değişen Giyinme Pratiklerine Yönelik Kalitatif Bir Araştırma**

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İngilizce İşletme Yönetimi Programı

Vücudu giysilerle örtmek insanlar için tarih boyunca öncelikli bir yaşamsal ihtiyaç olagelmıştır. Ancak bu fiil İslam’da Müslüman erkek ve kadınlar için İslami hükümlere dayanarak dini bir emre dönüşmektedir. Giyimin kuralları Müslüman kadınlar için onları hemcinslerinden farklılaştıran, sembolik, sosyal ve dini anlamlarla yüklü ‘tesettür’ olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bugün bu bedensel eylem eğer tesettürlü kadınlar tüketici olarak ele alınacaksa modern hayatın yükselen baskıları ve değişen koşulları analiz edilmeden yorumlanamaz. Müslümanların artan satın alma gücü ve talep sahibi olarak görünürlükleri, ayrıca modern fakat dindar kimlikleri, değişen ihtiyaçların derinlemesine incelenmesi ihtiyacına götüren, Müslümanların incelenmemiş ve filizlenebilir bir pazar bölümü olarak tanımlanmasıyla sonuçlanmıştır.

Bu araştırma, Türkiye’de 1980 sonrası dönemde tesettürlü Türk kadınlarının değişen giyim pratiklerini tesettür modası ışığında incelemiştir. Tesettür pratiğiyle ilgili dini yorumlamalar ve düzenlemeler, İslam ve tüketim arasındaki ilişki, İslami tüketim alanının ve bir fenomen olarak tesettür modasının yükselişi, Müslüman tüketicilerin çağdaş kimliklerini inşa ederken modern yaşam tarzları ışığında tecrübe edip uzlaştıkları dini, politik, ekonomik ve sosyo-kültürel gerilimler Hans-George Gadamer’in felsefi hermeneutiğine dayanan kalitatif bir araştırmayla derinlemesine sorgulanmış ve incelenmiştir. Sonuçlara göre, tesettürlü kadınların giyim pratikleri tesettürün dini anlam ve

amaçlarının çözümleriyle tüketim ve modanın metasına dönüşmesinden kaynaklanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tesettür, Tesettürlü Tüketiciler, Tesettür Modası, İslami Tüketim, Kimlik

**VEILING FASHION, CONSUMPTION CULTURE AND IDENTITY: A
QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS FOR INTERPRETING THE VEILED TURKISH
WOMEN’S CHANGING CLOTHING PRACTICES**

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.C.	After of Christ
AK-DER	Women Against Discrimination Foundation
AKP	Justice and Development Party
ANAP	Homeland Party
CHP	Republican People's Party
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
ESDH	Economy and Strategy Consultancy Services
EU	European Union
FGM	Fethullah Gülen Movement
FP	Virtue Party
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LCW	LC Waikiki
MAZLUM-DER	Organization For Human Rights and Solidarity For The Oppressed People
MHP	National Movement Party
MNP	National Order Party
MSP	National Salvation Party
MÜSİAD	Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Association
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
ÖZGÜR-DER	Association For The Freedom of Thought and Educational Rights
P1	Participant One
P2	Participant Two
P3	Participant Three
PBUH	Peace be upon him
PÜMER	Center For The Production of Projects
RP	Welfare Party
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
SP	Felicity Party

TGSD	Association For Turkish Apparel Industrialists
TL	Turkish Liras
TÜSİAD	Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association
TV	Television
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
YÖK	Higher Education Institution

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INTRODUCTION

The interest in understanding the relationship between Islam and consumption has been rising in the recent years. When it comes to the ‘veiling issue’ for Muslim women, the aim and the meaning of clothing and veiling should be revealed at first. Clothing is one of the natural and vital needs of humans, to protect their body from the external influences that can damage the body. It changes due to the nature, climate, seasons, culture, traditions, the religion and beliefs, ethical and moral values, sexes, duties, economy, aesthetical preferences and so on. However, when the clothing practice is interpreted in the light of Islam, it turns into a religious order or Muslims managed by regulations based on Islamic decretals. According to the main religious resources, Qur’an, sunnah and hadiths, the veiling is *farz* (strict religious duty) for Muslim women to obey and practice while they are managing their clothing decisions.

This research analyzed the veiled Turkish women’s changing clothing practices in the light of veiling fashion for the post 1980-period, in Turkey. To discover and understand the phenomenon of veiling fashion and the changing clothing practices of Turkish veiled women by considering the contemporary identity constructions, it was tried to answer two main questions; ‘What characterizes veiled Turkish women’s clothing practices and understandings of the practice of veiling?’ and ‘How are the veiling components used in the process of new identity constructions of Turkish veiled women related with the rising effects of veiling fashion phenomenon?’.

In the first chapter, it was turned back to the first years of Islam to understand the core meaning and the causes of veiling that became *farz* for Muslim women. The need of covering the body and general veiling practice directives mentioned in main Islamic resources were discussed. The hadiths, the general agreements of religious sect leaders, examples from the Prophet Muhammad’s life, and two main surahs, ‘An-Nur’ and ‘Al-Ahzab’ in Qur’an which gives the main directions for veiling, were examined and discussed. Since the aim and causes of veiling orders are highly related with the women’s status and identity concerns at the time of Arabic ignorance

and the era of bliss, women identity and statue problems were revealed to understand the necessity and purposes of veiling for the all Muslim women.

As the research analysis the post 1980 period in Turkey, the veiling debates, rising effects of Islamism, which leads to the new interpretations of the old Islamic paradigms and Islamic consumption were discussed to reveal the causes of the changing clothing practices of Turkish veiled women. The growing pressures of globalization and capitalism on Islam and the predisposing factors of Islamic revival and Islamic lifestyle were examined under several headlines. Firstly, the emergence of Islamic capital and business elite were discussed due to the increasing visibility of Muslims in business and public life with a rising purchasing power as independent individuals and modern consumers.

Secondly, the political factors effecting the veiling issue in Turkey were highlighted. The rise of Islamic parties in politic arena, their arguments and philosophy, needs and demands, the counter-views' arguments against their visibility, legal-political regulations and bans for veiling were discussed by considering the liberalization movements. Thirdly, socio-cultural factors including the westernization project of Turkey, rising feminist movements and women issues were analyzed to understand the changing circumstances and pressures that are effective on veiled women's contemporary identity constructions. Lastly, the veiling fashion phenomenon was discussed by considering the veiled women as consumers to analyze their changing clothing practices deeply, under the fusion of previously mentioned arguments and headlines.

In the second chapter, the history of hermeneutics and the philosophical hermeneutics of Hans-George Gadamer were discussed due to the fact that the qualitative analysis implemented in this research is based on hermeneutics and Gadamer's hermeneutical tradition. Before revealing Gadamer's tradition, four philosophers; Schleirmacher, Dilthey, Husserl and Heidegger, who made great contributions to hermeneutics and affected Gadamer's philosophical paradigm, were mentioned. After, Gadamer's tradition was discussed by explaining the keypoints of his philosophy in detail; the hermeneutical cycle, historical consciousness, tradition, prejudice and the fusion of horizons.

In the third chapter, the objective of the research and the research methodology including the sample and data collection, data analysis and limitations of research were explained in detail. Interpretations and findings were proposed under four groups of interpretations; The meaning and the aim of veiling in Islam for veiled women, The changes for veiled women after 1980's: lifestyles, images, role models, wealth, differentiation and identity construction, The veiling fashion, personal veiling stories, veiling practices and consumption, The veiling fashion magazines and the cross check of the changes related with the veiling decisions.

In the last part of research, the conclusion, the interpretations and findings were summerized which answer the research questions and it was aimed to propose a holistic insight about the research phenomenon.

CHAPTER 1

THE VEILING IN ISLAM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMISM AND ISLAMIC CONSUMPTION CULTURE IN TURKEY

1.1. THE NEED OF COVERING THE BODY AND THE MEANING OF VEILING FOR WOMEN IN ISLAM

Covering the body is one of the ancient vital needs for humans throughout the history. This need turns into a religious order for Muslim men and women in Islam arranged by numerous of directives based on Qur'an first, and then *sunnah* and *hadiths*. To understand the meaning of veiling, it is needed to discuss the women's life right before and after the introduction of veiling orders, the main reasons for these orders and the veiling directives mentioned in Qur'an via the surah of 'An-Nur' and 'Al-Ahzab'.

1.1.1. The Humans' Need of Covering the Body and Covering Practice Directives Mentioned in Qur'an

Covering the body with clothes is a natural need for humans, varies in terms of tradition and practice during the history. The types of covering practice become different according to nature, climate, seasons, culture, traditions, the religion and beliefs, ethical and moral values, sexes, duties, economy, aesthetical preferences and so on. The different types of clothing are important visual symbols that differentiate people and make them visible and distinguished among the others. Covering the body is a social but also a *fitri* (inborn) need for humans because they have a feeling of nakedness which makes them uncomfortable among the others and put themselves to shame. It is in human nature to have subtle emotions like the shame and covering the unsightly things, garnishing the body. As stated in Qur'an, in the surah of *Fatır*(35/39); '*...It is He who has made you successors upon the earth...*', *Al-Isra* (17/70); '*...And We have certainly honored the children of Adam... and preferred them over much of what We have created, with [definite] preference...*', *Luqman* (31/20); '*...Do you not see that Allah has made subject to you whatever is in the*

heavens and whatever is in the earth and amply bestowed upon you His favors...’ it is emphasised that humans are ambassadors of God on earth, have a *fitri* nature and have some duties in life.

The Qur’an explains the first ‘covering’ practice of humans in the surah of *Et-Taha* (20/121): ‘...*And Adam and his wife ate of it, and their private parts became apparent to them, and they began to fasten over themselves from the leaves of Paradise...*’. The first human Adam and Eve stepped into civilization and the fact of socialization by feeling the nakedness and their first reflex was covering the body to defeat that emotion. From that time and on, the humans covered their bodies as it is a necessity for being a human which other creatures do not have. During the time humans did not only cover themselves but learned how to dress. Covering the body can be primitive but dressing is a need that matches with the civilization (Erdoğan, 2008: 53; Duman, 2001). As stated in the surah of *Al-Araf* (7/26); ‘...*O children of Adam, We have bestowed upon you clothing to conceal your private parts and as adornment...*’, *Al-Nahl* (16/81); ‘...*and Allah has made for you garments to protect you from the heat (and cold), and coats of mail to protect you from your (mutual) violence...*’ states the purpose of the variety of garments and covering practice.

The Islamic scholars have been discussing the reasons of covering practice and have different thoughts. Today, the discussions about the verses state the orders of veiling and covering the body rised from the question of the practicability of the demands of Qur’an at this age’s circumstances. It is stated by the scholars that the verses should be evaluated within a contextualized interpretation, considering the historical circumstances of the verses’ rising time (Duman, 2001). The covering practice’s purpose in Islam is not for displaying the body, in contrast, to prevent salacity and reducing it according to the general view. The cover is the first house of the Muslims (Meriç, 1987: 30-33) and helps Muslims to execute and focus on their duties as the ambassadors of God as it is stated in the surah of *Al-A’raf* (7/26-27) ‘...*But the clothing of righteousness - that is best...*’.

In Qur’an it is stated that humans are created in two sexes; woman and man and they should not demand the superior characteristics of each other. Qur’an accepts and states the men and women’s existence in different linguistic-historical spheres. It is stated in the verse of surah of *An-Nisa* (32) as ‘...*And do not wish for that by which*

Allah has made some of you exceed others...'. Their differences lie in their natures but also can be functional/historical since it is also about the women's rights and status among the pointed context of historical moment which can change during the time. According to the men's *kavvam* role over women, it is understood that this quality comes from the men's ability to sustain the cost of living, getting more share from the heritage and gaining more *sevap* (good deed) by making jihad. These facts are ontological, functional and historical at the same time. When the differences between women and men is interpreted from this perspective it can be stated that these functions can change during the time between men and women and the interpretations can be flexible, not strict. Qur'an's main concern is moral and juridical. (Fidan, 2006: 65-69).

Covering the body is the first reaction of humans by getting a physical existence, the body. However the main focus of Qur'an is on the duties of the men and women, on the moral, about their *kulluk* (adoration to God), rights and responsibilities without making a competition between the sexes. On the other hand, the differences of the two sexes' physical existence (body and nature) made them the subjects of different covering practices. (Erdoğan, 2008: 27). Orders for men and women's veiling practices are stated in the verses of Qur'an separately but the equality between the sexes is stressed under the Muslim identity and *kulluk* by leaving the physics and reaching the moral in the verses like lined up below:

- The surah of *An- Najm* (53/45): '*...And that He [God] creates the two mates - the male and female -...*'
- The surah of *An-Nisa* (4/1): '*...O mankind, fear your Lord, who created you from one soul and created from it its mate and dispersed from both of them many men and women...*'
- The surah of *Al-Baqarah* (2/187): '*...It has been made permissible for you the night preceding fasting to go to your wives [for sexual relations]. They are clothing for you and you are clothing for them...*'
- The surah of *Ali' Imran* (3/195): '*...And their Lord responded to them, "Never will I allow to be lost the work of [any] worker among you, whether male or female; you are of one another..."*'

- The surah of *Et- Tawbah* (9/71): ‘...*The believing men and believing women are allies of one another...*’
- The surah of *Al-Baqarah* (2/228): ‘...*And due to the wives is similar to what is expected of them, according to what is reasonable. But the men have a degree over them [in responsibility and authority]...*’
- The surah of *An-Nisa* (4/34): ‘...*Men are in charge of women by [right of] what Allah has given one over the other and what they spend [for maintenance] from their wealth...*’
- The surah of *Al-Baqarah* (2/232): ‘...*Upon the father is the mothers' provision and their clothing according to what is acceptable...*’
- The surah of *Al-A’raf* (7/189): ‘...*It is He [God] who created you from one soul and created from it its mate that he might dwell in security with her...*’
- The surah of *Ar-Rum* (30/21): ‘... *And of His signs is that He [God] created for you from yourselves mates that you may find tranquillity in them; and He [God] placed between you affection and mercy...*’

As Erdoğan (2008: 41) argues that, Islam cares about the humans’ inborn needs, ranks them and does not see them at the same levels. It differentiates needs under the headlines of *zaruriyat* (first level necessariness to survive), *haciyyat* (second level necessariness) and *tahsiniyyat* (third level necessariness support the formers). They all form the *mükemmilat* (the perfection). *Tahsinniyat* is about leaving the nasty behaviors and reaching to a high morality level. The core meaning of veiling falls to the category of *tahsiniyyat* since it adds beauty to maturity to *zaruriyat* and *haciyyat* of the believers (Erdoğan, 2008: 43-44). It means that covering the body practice is about the material, visual and mundane but it is an instrument which helps Muslims to sustain their moral lives and religious duties in an appropriate way.

When the first creation of woman is analyzed, two different discourses occur based on the verse of surah *An-Nisa* (4/1): ‘...*O mankind, fear your Lord, who created you from one soul and created from it its mate...*’. One of them says the *nefs* (soul) is Adam, and Eve was created after and from him, the other says at the very beginning the soul was created, and after Adam and Eve were created from that soul.

The surah of *Al-A'raf* (189), *Fatir* (11) and *Al-Hujurat* (13) points the same fact and it is understood that at the very beginning the soul is neither woman nor man and there is a oneness about two sexes. The existence of two sexes depend on each other and without a woman the man's existence is beside the point, *vice versa* community (Fidan, 2006: 145-47).

After the separation of the soul into two; man and woman, dialectics occurs which emphasises the fact that woman and man can gain a substance and a meaning with each other and in that dependency a new ontological union rises. That dialectics is formed by the reflection of the two sexes on each other. The two can not be reduced into one but also they can not be detached from each other completely. The first thing arises from that reflection is the *family* and according to Qur'an it is the ultimate sphere that woman existence sustains in. Qur'an is interested in woman mostly inside the union called family within the context of woman's relationship with man. When families come together, the communities rise and Qur'an is not interested with a detached identity of a woman without man, family and community (Fidan, 2006: 147-49).

From the eyes of Qur'an, while discussing the covering practice for humans, it can be stated that neither men nor women can not be evaluated by a reductionist view. If the woman is the subject of the covering practice discussion, she should be put on one side of the scale but for a reliable and valid interpretation, the man, the family, the society and the complex relationships between these elements should be put on the other side of the scale. To understand the covering practice, the physical and moral existence of woman as a humanbeing and as a *kul* (prayer) for God should be reviewed holistically by linking and referring the other elements stated above. The woman identity, her religious duties and life-sustaining social practices, like veiling, should be discussed within a social, historical, political and cultural contexts, within multiple spheres.

1.1.2. Woman Identity and Covering Practices at The Time of Arabic Ignorance and The Era of Bliss After Islam

The Islam rised in 610 A.C. in Mekkah when Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) was at the age of 40. The verses about covering practice, the veiling for women, coincides with the 17-18th years of *nüzul* (coming down of the verses, the Islam, from God to the Prophet Muhammad) period which was completed in 23 years (Bazergan, 1998: 226-35). Before interpreting the veiling's meaning according to Qur'an and the reasons of orders stated in the surahs, that period's social and cultural circumstances should be reviewed firstly. The perceptions about woman identity and roles changes from time to time, from culture to culture and women's covering practices are strongly affected by the circusmtances of the discussed time-periods and by the perceptions. Qur'an gives keywords or general statements and draws a general frame to make a standart arrangement for veiling which does not change from time to time but also gives a free-will to interpret or to adapt those orders to make a fusion with the related age's socio-cultural-traditional circumstances without changing the core meaning and reasons to be veiled.

To understand the Islamic reform on women's social statue, rights and roles, it is crucial to understand the Arabic lands' social lifes, social and moral understandings, culture and traditions before and after the rise of Islam. For those times, not the written productions but the traditional practices and *şifahi* (oral) culture become more important to understand the issue (Bardakoğlu, 2005: 12-16) because of the Arabs' nomad lifestyle. The urban and rural women's identity were shaped under plural effects of Arabic lifestyles.

Before Islam and the Prophet Muhammad, in Arabic lands, women were not regarded as an element of life but they were more hardworking than men. All the house work, children care, field work were the duties of women. There were some women who were rich and influential people in society but they were rare. As the Arabic lands were deserts, close relationships between people were necessary to survive and woman-man relationship was also affected by this need. There was no *haremlık-selamlık* (for men and women sit seperately) and in all spheres they were together. However Arabs did not legitimize the women identity. Men had an

authority on women since it is believed that women rely on their emotions and nothing should be consulted to them. The *cariyes* (bondswomen) were like commodities, they were bought and sold to the others with no respect. It is believed that women's only duty is to serve men and make their life comfortable (Altıntaş, 2001; Demir, 1994).

At the Arabic state of ignorance (the previous period in history of Arabs before the Prophet Muhammad and Islam comes), the women were differentiated into two; the independent women and the *cariyes*. The *cariyes* were having fair and sexual relationship with men freely and the independent women were so careful to differentiate themselves from *cariyes* with the help of attiring style and behaviors since if a woman is a *cariye* she could be sold to men or be forced to become a slave by men so easily. The independent women were usually married and aristocrat, urban, coming from the rich families. It was so common to offer *cariyes zina* (adultery) in the middle of the streets by looking her attire as *cariyes* were not covering their bodies and seducing men with their behaviors. After the fusion of different cultures in the land of Arabia, the men used force even on independent women more as they were jealous, did not believe in women rights and women started to stay at homes, diverge and hide themselves from *na-mahrem* (infidel) men (Altıntaş, 2001).

At that times, women had no rights socially and legally. There was no limit of marriage for men. It was impossible to talk about women's rights about heritage and independency among society. The patriarchal system was the biggest pressure on women as their relatives were not regarded as family, the girls were not loved and treated as only consumers. The girls were buried alive as fathers had living anxiety and were afraid of poverty, also giving a birth to a girl was a shame for mothers. Men were isolating themselves from society if they had daughters. If men had debts to others, they could give their wives or daughters in exchange for their debts. Those women could be sold from the other men to whorehouses easily. The boys were dignified as they could fight at wars and pillage so that privilege differentiated them from girls and made girls valueless. Women's duties were making the housework and child-care and if they give birth to boys they could have a value among society. (Aktaş, 1998; Armaner, 1962; Toksarı, 1993).

Women were regarded as an object becoming an issue of rights and seizure at the time of marriage and marriage was a kind of 'woman-selling to the men' in exchange for Money. According to the traditions, the authority on women skips from father to husband if a woman marries, fathers were in charge about the marriage decisions, the husband could divorce and if he wants he could 'buy' lots of women to marry, if husband dies, the woman passes to the heirs of husband or turns back to her family if there is no heir so there was no independent women identity with excluding men's authority. On the other hand, in the urban area, cities like Mekka, Yesrib and Taif, the rich families' lifestyle was different and independent and aristocrat women had some rights *vis a vis* caravans. The society was divided into the wanderers; engaged in animal breeding, and the towners; engaged in agriculture and trading. A tribal society was in force and the tribe leaders were managing the cities based on ancient traditions and male authority. There were lots of wars between tribes and women were at the backstage to encourage the men and to serve medical assistance (Bardakoğlu, 2005: 12-20, Çağır, 2011).

At the ignorance times, women did not cover their body by excluding the face, hands and feet. They had traditional covering practices under the orders of their husbands or fathers and were close to men in social relationships. In urban life, women were walking around the city and making shopping freely. However, after Islam, with the rise of population and foreigners, some urban Muslim women started to stay at homes and pulled themselves back from social life to protect themselves. On the other hand, the wanderer women continued to live freely. Arab men were notable for their jealousy and women were defined as cheaters, gossipers, demons and vengefuls and they were not consulted about issues. In Arab lands, the wanderers were not covering themselves but the urban women were. The Prophet's tribe's Kureysh women were used to cover their body but in old Mekkah, the single women used to wear their most beautiful clothes, open their face and walk around Ka'bah to find husband and after the marriage they became veiled forever (Bardakoğlu, 2005: 12-15; Dağ, 1982: 187).

Arabic men were also addicted on splendor and beauty so much and for that reason the women were also addicted to *ziynet*, clothes and make up. Especially when they were going out, they were paying more attention to their garnish and apparel.

The scent and garnish culture was so sophisticated in Arab culture. Islam made a reform on those practices of men and women and brought some rules to regulate the social life and men-women relationship by highlighting the wrong traditions and converting them into right ones. The clothing and appearance of humans and their behaviors among the others were one of the most important issues since the sociality between people rises from them (Bardakoğlu, 2005: 17-20).

With the rise of Islam, it was highlighted that there is no discrimination between men and women as human beings and the main aim of men and women is praying to God as it is stated in the verses of the surah of *Adh-Dhariyat* (51/56) '*...And I did not create the jinn and mankind except to worship Me...*', the surah of *Az-Zumar* (39/6) '*...He created you from one soul. Then He made from it its mate, and He produced for you from the grazing livestock eight mates...*', the surah of *Ali-Imran* (3/195) '*...Never will I allow to be lost the work of [any] worker among you, whether male or female; you are of one another...*', the surah of *An-Nahl* (16/97) '*...Whoever does righteousness, whether male or female, while he is a believer - We will surely cause him to live a good life, and We will surely give them their reward [in the Hereafter]...*'. These verses state that women and men were created as *zevc* (couples) but it does not mean that they are the same things. Quite the contrary, women have the freedom of thought and free-will since they are responsible of their habits' consequences. They also have the right to marry, divorce, bear testimony and be engaged in art (Savaş, 1998: 101-12, Arpağuş, 2010: 589).

After Islam, the women gained power and became abler, but not a supernatural creature, and Muslim men empowered women by legitimizing their uniqueness and liberty. They protected their natural statues, became their subsidiaries. Islam brought some arrangements to empower the women's issues about economical, cultural and juridical. As it is stated in Qur'an, God created man and woman as a couple to live a happy and peaceful life. The Prophet highlights the most important role of Muslim women as the motherhood and it is advised men and women to get on with Islam which gives juridical, financial and civil rights to women and empowers their independent personality. The woman, in Islam, is not a prisoner or a slave next to the man and she is the shareholder of the man about every daily issue (Eren, 2007).

The women rights became one of the main issues of Islam. The roots of the problems about women lie in the societies' socio-economical circumstances, the patriarchal mindsets, the discourses and perspectives focus on men rights and otherise the woman, the prejudices and acceptances. That twisted perception does not approve the woman as the subject of her own life-journey and try to notarise it by the religion. However, at the core of Islam, there is no women issue/problem but there is the abuse of women right which Islam, as a religion, tries to offer solutions. The religion holds the societies' problems together, draws a horizon from above the facts and phenomenons (Bardakoğlu, 2007).

One of the most important advantage that Islam gave to women is the right of economic freedom. It was the proof of women's independent identity and free-judgement. The verses of surah of *An-Nisa* (4-7-32) '*...For men is a share of what they have earned, and for women is a share of what they have earned...*', '*...and give the women [upon marriage] their [bridal] gifts graciously...*', '*...and for women is a share of what the parents and close relatives leave, be it little or much - an obligatory share...*' states the fact that women can manage their own economy and their economic freedom and their rights should be under protection. They have the right of property, right to protect their economic values, to consume or save, to take heritage, to trade without the husband's permission and to benefit from the husband's economic values (Nargül, 2004).

According to the *sahih rivayets* (accurate religious hearsay) Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) was famous with his sensibility about women. He banned lots of ancient wrong traditions and discourses against women and became a right role model for men to imitate when the woman becomes an issue. He treated women as independent identities, listened to them, considered their ideas and recognized them. The women never hesitated to consult him and practice whatever he said. He advised positive discrimination against women and always stated the equality between men and women as human beings infront of God. All his behaviors were the proofs of the fact that, in Islam, women should have singular independent identities and have rights about their lifes and decisions (Sancaklı, 2009; Savaş, 1998: 97).

In the era of bliss (the period while Prophet Muhammad was alive after the rise of Islam), the Prophet took care of women's education himself. He gave some

public duties to women as they became mayoralities and taxers. He called attention to women's roles among society beside the family and their social statue in everyday life (Özek, 2005: 71). Muslim women were neither imprisoned in houses nor poured into streets. It became the natural rights of women to go outside to meet their needs providing that using their veils and watching their behaviors especially in front of men. It was highlighted that men are the leaders of family and the society but women have rights on men and for men *vice versa*. It was suggested to take precautions for women to keep their modesty and their role in family as a mother were significantly find voice in. The Prophet banned violence against women since Arab men were beating the women if they want, in the name of tradition. He warned men about looking after their mothers', wives' and daughters' rights and he made the men responsible for the education of women. (Toksarı, 1993; Aslan, 2011, Savaş, 1998: 98).

At the age of Prophet, there were some discourses states the fact that a Muslim woman should stay at home and should not rise her voice near men, not be flirtatious, not share the same places with men (Yılmaz, 2008: 289) and that thoughts created a solid image about Muslim women. However Qur'an did not bring brand new practices about veiling since covering the body is an ancient and traditional human habit and it was alive before Islam and Islamic civilizations (Savaş, 1991: 210). Qur'an turned the wrong traditions into right ones with open orders and firstly ordered to the Prophet's wives to be veiled as they were the role models for other Muslim women not about veiling but also about the other behaviors like speaking, walking and other etiquette rules. The women in Islam were regarded as the transporter of religious and familial culture (Berktaş, 2003: 213).

The orders about veiling practice in Qur'an, Prophet's wives' and the first Muslim women's practices create a guideline for the Muslim women in the history of Islam. Islam proposes some role models for the female believers under the images of some Muslim women's behaviors and life-journeys. For example the *Hacer* was the symbol of submission, *Hanne*: the commitment, *Meryem*: the modesty, *Havle*: resistance to injustice, *Ayşe*: the wisdom, etc. Islam gives advice to other Muslim women and guides them with the help of those women's (Prophet's wives) behaviors

to manage their life as believers. These sacred women images are acknowledged by the following Muslim women and are tried to be imitated (Ünal, 2007; Kübra, 2007).

The Muslims try to obey the rules of Qur'an and at the same time, they try to imitate the lifestyle and practices of the Prophet, the *sunnah*. It is stated in the surah of *An-Nisa* (4/59): '*...And if you disagree over anything, refer it to Allah and the Messenger, if you should believe in Allah and the Last Day. That is the best [way] and best in result...*' that *sunnah* is like a compass for Muslims to find the moderate way. Like the other issues about human life and practices, the veiling issue also should be analyzed with the help of Qur'an, *sunnah*, *hadith* and *tefsir* (hermeneutics), which Islamic Scholars consult and use to make interpretations.

The sayings and practices of the Prophet are transferred to the following ages by the *hadith* scholars. To understand the *sunnah*, the *hadiths* (more detailed explanations of some verses of Qur'an told by the Prophet) should be scrutinized. *Buhari*, *Tirmizi* and *Muslim* are the most referred *hadith* scholars and the other well-known *imams* (priest) can be aligned as *İbn-i Mace*, *Ebu Davud*, *Nesai*, *Beyheki*, *Taberani*, *Nevevi*. They transfer the Prophet's discourses and explain his practices in details. After the death of the Prophet, Muslims tried to handle the problems of life by referring to *hadiths* and made judgements (Manaz, 2008: 53).

The *hadith* scholars tried to analyze all behaviors of the Prophet if they are obligatory or not and made classifications while he was still alive since it is known from the surah of *An-Najm* (53/2-6) '*...Your companion [Muhammad] has not strayed, nor has he erred, Nor does he speak from [his own] inclination, It is not but a revelation revealed... And he rose to [his] true form...*' as all the acts and behaviors of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) rely on *vahiy* (divine inspiration) and they are absolute truths but some verses of surah of *Al-Kahf*(18/110) and surah of *Fussilat*(41/6) '*...Say, "I am only a man like you..."*', the surah of *At-Tawbah* (9/43) '*...May Allah pardon you, [O Muhammad]; why did you give them permission [to remain behind]? [You should not have] until it was evident to you who were truthful and you knew [who were] the liars...*' and surah of *Abasa*(80/8-10) '*...But as for he who came to you striving [for knowledge], While he fears [Allah], From him you are distracted. No! Indeed, these verses are a reminder...*' states that the Prophet is just a human like anyone else and can make mistakes and warned by God sometimes.

That is the reason why the religious resources are held together to make reliable interpretations. As Islam is a religion of *tevhid* (oneness), the believers should come together under a unity by referring the right resources about an issue (Gölcük, 2000: 163).

The women identity and image evolves during the time, the old image vanishes and the new ones occur. There is no stable historical women image since images, ideas and practices change. The women image is also flexible and mobile. The women image at the age of Arabic ignorance is different from the other times' Islamic communities' women images. When the world view, perceptions and paradigms change, women image changes. The language and history should be evaluated to understand changing women image. The women images in Qur'an like the images of Prophet's wives make a historical effect on woman since they became a role model with Qur'an's statements full of motivations. For example, on one hand Qur'an highlights virgin Meryem's image as a devotee woman as a positive motivation but on the other hand highlights *Ebu Leheb's* wife's (who did not obey the Prophet and helped her husband to oppress the Prophet) image as a negative motivation for the following Muslim women to get their acts together (Fidan, 2006: 131-33).

As the women existence can not be prisoned inside historical, categorical, contextual, notional, lexical, textual and judgemental spheres it exceeds itself and the discourses about it. The dimension about its old and actual situation is also the dimension which overflows to the future feeding new hopes. This is about to trust which parts of the history and dimensions to interpret woman image. Qur'an itself proposes hope and role models for women by stating the good behaviors and images of sacred women like *Eve*, *Meryem*, *Ayşa*, etc. They exceed the historical context, reach the future and affect every period of time and the Muslim women live at that time. These woman identities and images empower the woman existence, make projection, open a sphere for Muslim women to think, get hope and see their potential and ideal meaning worlds occur (Fidan, 2006: 137-41).

1.1.3. The Meaning of Veiling and Veiling Practice Directives for Women in Qur'an: The Surah of 'An-Nur' and 'Al-Ahzab'

In Islam, covering the body, dressing up or attiring styles have been discussed for centuries since this practice is connected not only with religion but also with traditions, culture and social life. Generally, the dressing up should be (Erdoğan, 2008: 54-55) halal, clean and appropriate for health, tectorium and suitable in terms of aesthetics without making discrimination between women and men. As Islam rised in Arabia and the original language of written Qur'an was Arabic, the words stated in the surahs derived from Arabic language were pointing that ages' people and practices at the very first hand. The orders and directions includes some words, especially the words about dressing up, which reflects that nation's and age's traditions, cloths, materials and daily practices. While interpreting the veiling practice for women, the words about veiling and cloth cast should be evaluated in that language's and age's context with the help of *tefsir*. There are varieties of woman modest dressing cast that have changed during centuries but to reach the core meaning of veiling for women, firstly the original Arabic culture and words stated in Qur'an should be reviewed.

In the surah of *Al-A'raf* (7/26-27) the first directions for humans about covering the body stated as; *'O children of Adam, We have bestowed upon you clothing to conceal your private parts and as adornment. But the clothing of righteousness - that is best... let not Satan tempt you as he removed your parents from Paradise, stripping them of their clothing to show them their private parts...'*, which covering the body starts with covering the private parts of bodies. However, as the *fitrat* and physical existence (body) of man and woman are different, the covering practice and special conditions for veiling are different for the two sexes in some ways.

In Qur'an, the specific directions for women about how to be veiled or covered stated in two surahs; *An-Nur* and *Al-Ahzab*, in detail. In the surah of *An-Nur* (24/31) it is stated for Muslim women that *'...And tell the believing women to reduce [some] of their vision and guard their private parts and not expose their adornment except that which [necessarily] appears thereof and to wrap [a portion of] their*

headcovers over their chests and not expose their adornment except to their husbands, their fathers, their husbands' fathers, their sons, their husbands' sons, their brothers, their brothers' sons, their sisters' sons, their women, that which their right hands possess, or those male attendants having no physical desire, or children who are not yet aware of the private aspects of women. And let them not stamp their feet to make known what they conceal of their adornment...' while it only gives general directions for Muslim (verse 30) men as '*...Tell the believing men to reduce [some] of their vision and guard their private parts...*' These covering directions includes some concerns about both the social relationships and personal practices. The other verses about women's veiling according to the age and social statue are:

- '*...And women of post-menstrual age who have no desire for marriage - there is no blame upon them for putting aside their outer garments [but] not displaying adornment. But to modestly refrain [from that] is better for them...*' (An-Nur: 24/60) directions for the old Muslim women who lost their sexual attraction.
- '*...O wives of the Prophet, you are not like anyone among women... do not display yourselves as [was] the display of the former times of ignorance...*' (Al-Ahzab: 33/32-33) directions for the wives of Prophet (pbuh).

As it is stated in the surah of An-Nur (30) '*...and guard their private parts...*', the word of '*furuc (private parts)*' is the plural form of '*ferc*' refers to the perineum, the part between the legs, in other words; the genitals (Duman, 2001). The core meaning of the verse points the fact that Muslims should 'cover and protect their *avrets* (genitals)' – *setr-i avret* – to protect their decency from *zina* and bad looks. According to the general belief, the *avret* includes the parts between the knees and belly for men, the body excluding the face and hands for women and it is an obligation for Muslims to cover them excepting going to toilet and having a bath (Apaydın, 2001).

On the other hand, for Muslim women, it is forbidden to show their body to non-Muslim women excluding the hands and face (Karaman, 1995: 140-41). When they are together, Muslim women can look only the parts of their body excluding the parts between the knees and belly (Öztürk, 2001). Muslim women are not supposed to cover their hair, head, neck, part of the arms and legs between elbows and

fingertips and feet when they are with their *mahrems* (the men who are not legally possible to marry; the son, father, grandfather, brother, uncle, father-in-law, son-in-law) (Apaydın, 2001). It is stated in the general thought of *Hanbeli*, *Hanefi*, *Maliki* and *Shafii* religious communions that women should cover their body excluding their face and hands but *Hanbelis* argue that the face and hands are also *avret*, *Hanefis* argue that the feet are excluded and *Shafiis* argue that except the praying practice, the woman's all body is *avret* when she is with *namahrems* (the men who are not mahrem) (Beşer, 1987: 95-100).

The most discussed part in *tefsirs* by Islamic scholars about veiling is the meaning of the word of '*humur*' which is stated in the verse '31' of surah *An-Nur*. It is the plural noun of '*hımar*' means the '*headscarf*' or '*scarf*' that covers the head (Kurtubi, XII: 230). It refers to the covering practice in its root meaning. The word of '*cuyub*' is the plural noun of '*ceyb*' means the '*collar*' that helps head go into the cloth easily. The meaning comes to the point that the Muslim women should use their scarves released upon their collars by preventing their necks and dewlaps to be seen. In the verse '59' of surah *Al-Ahzab*, the statement supports that interpretation; '*...the women of the believers to bring down over themselves [part] of their outer garments...*'.

Hatemi (1999: 324-25) and Öztürk (1995: 615) argues that the word of '*hımar*' is not the headscarf, it refers to the cloth. The verse does not order to cover the head and hair but means to cover the chest of the women. There is no specific and open orders in Qur'an stressing the covering of the hair. However, according to the traditions, it happened to be more convenient to cover the hair while covering the head and the parts of the body. Dalgın (2004) argues that the scarf or cloth should be wide enough to cover all the head, hair, neck, ears and the chest of women and the surah of *Al-Ahzab* supports the surah of *An-Nur* and the orders are *farz* (strict religious duty) to obey (Topaloğlu, 1987: 17-18; Karaman, 1995: 82) without discussion.

The word of '*cilbab*' means '*outer garments*' and was necessary for Muslim women to distinguish themselves from the *cariyes* (bondswomen) since at the Arabic state of ignorance, they were abused by men if they don not differentiate themselves with the help of veiling (Erdoğan, 2008: 59). Some other meanings refer to '*cilbab*'

are; a large *burqa* that women cover themselves when they go out (Öztürk, 2001), a *rida* (Cessas, III: 486), a *kamis* (shirt) and a *hımar* (scarf) (İsfehani: 134). There is not a variety of explanations according to *rivayets* (storied saying) and according to the classical *tefsirs* (hermeneutics) but the definitions vary from the Islamic scholars' point of view so lots of *cilbab* models arise.

Ünal (2001) states that *cilbab* is an over-cloth taken on *rida* (clothes worn at home by women) also used to cover the body starting from the waist and reaching to head, be hung down upon the neck and dewlap. On the other hand, before the orders about covering and protecting body as stated in surah of *An-Nur* (31), in the verse of '30' men are also warned about protecting their eye from *haram* (behaviors and acts lead to sin). It is *haram* and forbidden to look at women salaciously. It is interpreted as the fact that whatever the covering of the women is, it is also men's duty to protect themselves from *haram*. Covering the body practice can not be only based on protection from sexual seduction. The focus is also on the mental protection, arranging the thoughts and behaviors in a good manner (*Kurtubi, XII: 148*).

According to another description, '*cilbab*' is a large cloth that covers the body, seamy or seamless, sometimes includes the head and the shoulders, if necessary covers the women's face excluding one eye or two eyes (Beşer, 1987: 104). Karşlı (2003: 93) argues that, in dictionaries, covering the face is not stated but in *tefsirs* it is stated and discussed. Yazır (1996/6: 351) explains the *cilbab* usage as covering the whole body and with a part of the *cilbab* covering the face by excluding one eye, or covering the body including chest and covering the face excluding two eyes. However Ateş (1988/4: 95-97) argues that for women, it is not necessary to wear *chador* (black long burqa) and cover the face, wearing a simple cloth that covers the body which does not provoke men in a sexual manner is suitable to go out. Also Karaman (1995: 80) and Koca (1996: 121-24) argues that the reason to use *cilbab*; differentiating Muslim women from the *cariyes* at the time of slavery, is not valid today so the order is not supposed to be implemented since the same circumstances are not alive. On the other hand, the core meaning of veiling for women; protecting the modesty, should be always applicable. The *cilbab* is a symbol of the fact that if a woman uses it, it means she is very sensitive about her modesty and dignity (Dalgın, 2004: 285-86). It is the tradition which defines the shape, color

and gauge of *cilbab* (Karaman, 1995: 180) and it can change from time to time and culture to culture.

There are some discussions about the orders of the surah of *An-Nur* between *müfessirs* (glossator). *Taberi* talks about two different *kiraat* (pronunciation style) related with the word of '*faradna*' (verse 1/*An-Nur*). If it is read as '*faradna*' (only one *r*-without *shadda*) as the readers of *Medina*, *Kufe* and *Damascus* pronounce, it means 'the orders are explained openly and clearly'. The word of '*faradna*' has the same meaning with '*beyanna* (declaring)' However, if it is read as '*farradna* (double *r*- with *shadda*)' like the pronunciation of readers of *Taberî*, *Hedjaz* and *Basra* it means 'the orders are *farz* (obligatory)' and Muslims *have to* obey it (*Taberi*, VI: 99-100; *Kurtubi*, XII: 253). The original Arabic word is '*faradnaha*' (without *shadda*). Because of these different interpretations, the obligation of covering the head (including the hair, neck, ears, only the face is open) for Muslim women is discussed during the whole Islamic history, even today, and different *müfessirs* propose different interpretations. Some *müfessirs* like Ahmed Hulusi (2010), Suat Yıldırım (2012), Edip Yüksel (2012), Ahmet Tekin (2006), Bekir Sadak (2009) and Ali Fikri Yavuz (2008) proposed interpretations which does not include the word of *farz* (obligation) in their works of *Kur'an Meali* (Qur'an Meaning).

Nursi (1976: 185) argues that, for women, the veiling is *fitri* since they are weak and fragile in their nature and have a tendency to be veiled as they need men's protection for themselves, for their children and they are afraid of *namahrem*. They have the need to be loved, not to be hated and to be exposed to inhospitableness by men. In all the divine religions there are covering practices and headscarf usage varieties for women and it was also common before Islam in Iran, Byzantine and Indian civilizations (Mutahhari, 1999: 9-16). On the other hand, to analyze the meaning of veiling for women in Islam, the circumstances or special facts that cause verses to come down which warn the believers about their behaviors should be reviewed while interpreting the stated words or directions without taking them apart from their contexts.

In Qur'an, the verses about 'veiling' coincides with the first and second years after *Hendek* war. During the war times, when Muslim men were far away from home, the Medine's *münafıks* (factionous) were spreading gossips about muslim

women and the wives of the Prophet and created a social chaos. When the Prophet was married with his foster child's divorced wife (she was his aunt's daughter) with an order of God (*Al-Ahzab/37*), the *münafıks* claimed that they also would marry the Prophet's wives which was not possible. (Kesir, 1995/4: 163-200). The first orders aimed to teach Muslim women how to protect themselves and differentiate themselves among society as Muslim women.

After the Hendek war, on the road-back of the *sefer* (journey) of *Beni Mustalık*, the wife of Prophet Aişe fell behind and caught up the Muslim army on with the help of *Safvan bin Muattal*. When they reached Medina, a gossip of *zina* about Aişe and *Safvan bin Muattal* spreaded so quickly, some Muslims also believed in it and this incident confused the society for a month. The other incident lead the verses' coming down is about *Esma Binti Mürşide*. She was an intellectual woman lived at the time of the Prophet which other women frequently visited and consulted her. However, during their visits they were not covering their body in an appropriate way. Their necks, chests, *ziynets* and anklets were seemed obscenely. *Esma* said once 'How indecent these are!' and after the surah of *An-Nur* (verses 30/31) came down and warned muslim men and women about veiling (*Kurtubi, XIV: 155-156*). It became forbidden to show their *ziynets* (the necessarily shown parts are excluded) to *namahrem* (infidel) and to hit the ground with the noises of their feet since they are regarded as the practices of the devil (Esed, 1999/2: 712-13; Karaman *et all.*, 2004/4: 99).

When the surahs of *An-Nur* and *Al-Ahzab* came down, they stated some descriptions and orders for Muslims about how to behave and protect themselves from *zina* and slander of *zina* and how to save their *ziynets*. (Köksal, 2005/4: 393-409). The orders were about protecting the family life and social life and teaching *adab-ı muaşeret* (etiquette) to Muslims including how to veil or cover the body to make them role models for the following generations. At the Arabic state of ignorance, since *cariyes* were trying to be seductive by opening and exhibiting their neck, ear-rings and their *ziynets* (ornaments) with releasing their head-coverings, their apparel and behaviors were not approved by the society. They were ambling and making seductive movements. The streets of Medina were so narrow and when women went out to meet any kind of need at night the *fasıks* (sacrilegious) were

attacking women if they did not differentiate themselves from *cariyes* by covering themselves with *cilbabs* (*İbn Kesir*, XII: 6518-6527; *İbn Ebî Hâtim*, IX: 3155; *Taberi*, X: 332). There were some women who used *cilbabs* also to cover their faces and the whole body (*İbn Kesir*, VI: 482; *İbn Ebî Hâtim*, IX: 3154-55; *Taberî*, X: 332; *Kurtubî*, XIV: 156). The surah of *Al-Ahzab* (33/33) ordered Muslim women that ‘...do not display (*teberrecne*) yourselves as [was] the display of the former times of ignorance...’ and banned Muslim women to amble since the word of ‘*lâ teberrecne*’ means ambling and ‘*teberruc*’ means showing their *ziynets* and beauties to men (*Taberi*, X: 294).

Duman (2001) argues that *ziynet* includes all the things used to garnish the self. It includes all the objects, garments, jewellery but also includes the behaviors. The noun *ziynet* is derived from the verb of ‘*zâne-yezînü-zeyn*’ which means to garnish, decorate, ornament and pretty up. *Ibn Mesud* differentiated *ziynet* into two; *zahiri* (apparent) and *batin* (latent). The *zahiri* includes anklets, bracelets, earrings and hairbands, the *batin* includes only the garments. *Ibn Mesud*, *Ibn Kesir* and *Taberi* claims that *ziynet* is the *siyab* (garment). *Kurtubi* also differentiated *ziynet* into two; the *physical beauty* includes face and body beauty, the *arranged beauty* which is held by using garment and jewellery (*Kurtubi*, XII: 360). The Prophet ordered *Esma* to cover the parts of the body excluding the face and the hands by pointing at them. However some *müfessirs* argued that the face and hands should also be covered while not practicing hadj, umrah and prayer (*Ibn Kesir*, VI: 45; *Kurtubi*, XII: 52), *Imam Shafii* argued that the face also should be covered but the others claim that there are no strict rules for covering the face and hands (*Mevdudi*, III: 471; *Sabuni*, II: 169-184) and half of the arms (from elbow to wrist) are not supposed to be covered (*Kurtubi*, XII: 152).

Uysal (1970: 149) and Eren (1997: 196) argues that it is not forbidden to look at henna, ring, garments and the tattoo and dimple on the face since it is very difficult to cover them, also the women should be supposed to take or hold something with their hands and to open their faces at the circumstances of testimony, spousal and lawsuit. Dalgın (2004: 299-319) and Öztürk (1995: 615-16) argues that the face, arms (from elbow to wrist), the feet (to the wrist), the part of the hair which is anointed, at the time of houseworks the beetling part of hair from the scarf and the

neck are not supposed to be covered. Bursalı (1998: 263) states that covering the face and hands are necessary for young women who have sexual charm to protect themselves from the disturbances of men. Ateş (1988/4: 1808) argues that if these parts are forbidden to show, the women can not participate in public life and Islam is a religion that does not make life difficult but easier.

From the verses and orders it is understood that, for Muslim women, the first role models were the Prophet's wives. They were the first collocutors of veiling orders coming down and God declared the wives of the Prophet as the *manevi* (spiritual) mothers of Muslims (*İbn Kesir*, VI: 408) and declared that they are different from all the Muslim women and are supposed to act honorably according to Islam. In surah of *Al-Ahzab* (verse 33) the veiling or covering stated as not the order of 'being covered or veiled' but the order of 'not wearing revealing clothes/dress in a sexually provocative manner' and after supported by surah of *An-Nur* (verse 31)'s orders. These orders were all about arranging the moral behaviors of Muslims.

Wearing *cilbab* and protecting the body from the eyes of foreigners was also a tradition among Arabs and it was the symbol of women's independency and purity (Ay, 2001). However, after the rise of Islam, the veiling became the symbol of freedom and high social status for independent Muslim women to differentiate and protect them while *cariyes* were free to behave immorally (Ateş, 1996: 331-346, Bardakoğlu, 2005: 12-13). The aim of the veiling was not only about sexuality or sexual concerns at the very first hand as it was not an order including the *cariyes* (bondswomen). It is known that *Abdullah bin Omar* reprehended a *cariye* as she was covering her head with a headscarf and ordered her to take it off since she was not supposed to remind an independent woman (Erdoğan, 2008: 50). The verse below explains the differentiation between free women and *cariyes*:

'...O Prophet, tell your wives and your daughters and the women of the believers to bring down over themselves [part] of their outer garments. That is more suitable that they will be known and not be abused...' (*Al-Ahzab*: 33/59)

Covering the body is an ancient behavior and Qur'an did not bring brand new practices about that practice. Before coming the surahs of *An-Nur* and *Al-Ahzab* down, in the Arab society, women were covering their bodies in a variety of ways. The verses about covering the body and veiling are not about just covering the body

with cloths but about arranging the behaviors, protecting the eye and the body from *haram* and *zina*. It is notably stressed in Qur'an to prevent *zina* and protect the modesty. However the veiling is not a guarantee to empower sexual morality and protect women in society alone. It should be supported with other moral practices by Muslims with the help of obeying the other orders of Qur'an and the practices in sunnah to live a life that is suitable for Islam (Bazergan, 1998: 226-35; Ay, 2001).

1.2. THE RISE OF ISLAMISM, ISLAMIC CONSUMPTION AND VEILING DEBATES OF POST-1980 PERIOD IN TURKEY

Today, the world witnesses fast and inescapable changes in all aspects of the life including technology, culture, politics, economy, consumption culture, etc. Especially after 1980's, these changes showed themselves rapidly in Turkey due to some factors. The changes inevitably create some effects on the ancient teachings too, like religions, to synchronize with the changing needs of human and to convert them by ignoring the dogmatic nature of the religions. Islam gets its share from these changes in the name of 'Islamism'. To understand these changes and the nature of Islamism, it is needed to discuss the effect of globalization and capitalism on Islam first. And then, it is needed to understand what is happening from the point of view of the Muslim consumers throughout the rising Islamic consumption space by analysing the predisposing factors of Islamic revival and Islamic lifestyle in Turkey, in detail.

1.2.1. The Definiton of Islamism and Growing Pressures of Globalization and Capitalism on Islam

Islam is the religion of more than one billion people all around the world and one of the biggest teachings in human history. In 21th century, the effect of Islam shows itself at the levels of national identity among belief, attitude and morality spheres. After the collapse of Nazism, Fascism and Communism ideologies, the power of political Islam rised glamorously. Under global social, cultural and political

pressures, political Islam became a shelter to sustain Muslim identity and correlated with Islamic revivalism after 20th century (Nafi, 2012: 13-16).

Şentürk (2011: 17) argues that the term of *Islamism* has no commonly accepted definition as it has socio-political nature inside which was developed over time and ascribed meaning by different perspectives. In general, between 1850 and 1920, Islamism pointed out the revivalism of Islam against the West's colonial policy. Also, it was used to define the late declining Ottoman period's intellectuals' salvation politics. In the last decade it included the Islamic opposing parties' power takeover and for the Muslim communities' power struggle, 'Islamic movement' started to be used against the term of 'Islamism' alternately.

In 19th century, The Islam World met a specific historical period of Europe, the industrial revolution and globalization. The only changing thing was not the technology but the political organizations, lifestyles, social relationships and the worldview of people. As the 'enlightment' of 18th century put forward human mind, the 'improvement' idea marked on 19th century and it was equal to science. Since the hope that science would give all the knowledge about world, the sphere of religion became tight. In the improvement age, the religion was 'out of fashion' anymore because the science created a positive norm system substituting the religion, a man-made religion comprising the all (Türköne, 2011: 54).

With the rise of industrilization and rapid progress of urbanization, a group of intellectuals came up to represent the problems of the broken psychology of the mess. However, there is no 'enlightment' in Islamic history and no upside-down industrilization in Islamic nations but only a decline in military and political grounds and a defense against the attacks coming from West. Orientalism became a tool for the West to manipulate the decayed East. There is a huge philosophical aggregation behind the West's progress; materialism, positivism and rationalism, and Muslims felt a need to adopt these elements to progress and gain back the old power (Türköne, 2011: 56).

Türköne (2011: 17-23) argues that the rise of Islamism coincides with the period of 1867-1873 in which a group of Ottoman intellectuals attempted to defend Islam against the modern world's pressures and turned Islam into an ideology which is about 'symbolization'. Islam is a religion before anything else. It adds meaning to

the believers' lives and gives importance not to the world but afterlife. Islam is also a 'social' religion, puts norms into social life relationships and drives the community forward. This is why Islam is related with the politics since it includes who is going to govern the society, the rights and power of the governed. The Islamic nations, from the beginning, became both religious and political communities. The Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) was both the religious and political authority, the religious people identified the politics and they were supposed to obey the political authority ruled by *sheria* during the Islamic history.

The term of *Islamist* was firstly used by *Ziya Gökalp* in 1913 but after the Islamists preferred to define themselves as Muslims since they state that they do not create a new political thought but desire to understand and live Islam better. Being an Islamist should not be being something different from a Muslim. The people who use the term 'Islamist' against Muslim tried to highlight the ones who adopt an ideology and move beyond the Muslim identity. However, it is argued that the term of 'Islamist' is used to differentiate the Muslims from each other and to point out the ones who highlight the principles of Islam about the daily life along with the ethereal principles (Şentürk, 2011: 19-22).

If Islamism is regarded as a reservoir of thoughts and political movement native to modern times, *Ali Suavi* is the first leader and father of Islamism. *Namık Kemal* and *Ziya Paşa* followed him as the intellectuals of Istanbul. To compete with the West's world of freedom and democracy, he proposed the idea of 'El Hakimu Huvalah' (the sovereignty is God's). In today's context, Islamism came up in Turkey in 1960's, fed the tradition of *Milli Görüş* and turned into moderate Islam, a conservative ideology, with *AKP*'s power. However the West claims that the father of Islamism is *Cemaleddin Afgani* (1838-1879) who was indoctrinated by the West because of the colonialism politics on Muslim nations in the 19th. Islamists as the ones whose mission is to seek for the rejime in which the Muslims can pray conveniently, protect the new generations on the point of religion and make an effort to create a positive sphere for religion to spread around (Türküne, 2012: 64-71; Lekesiz, Yeni Şafak: 2012).

A discussion about Islamism started in July 2012, in Turkey. Mümtazer Türküne started this discussion by claiming that 'Islamism is dead'. Ali Bulaç,

Mustafa Akyol, Etyen Mahçupyan, Levent Köker, M. Kürşad Atalar, İbrahim Kiras, Sibel Eraslan, Murat Güzel, Ahmet Demirhan and Özlem Albayrak were the ones who participated in that discussion with their articles and thoughts. Türköne define some of them as *Soy İslamcı* (the root Islamist) who are representing the Islamic tradition in their private lives and he sets an equation like 'Islam = the regime of life = the sytem of politics'. This equation means that an Islamist is a person who arranges his/her whole daily practices and political thoughts only with Islam since Islam has social, poltical and natural aims like managing with power. The Islamists became Islamists as they walked around in the labyrinths of modern life and could not get out of that chaos and saw Islam standing there for fifteen centuries to lighten the insufferable burdens of life. Islamism became the subjective interpretation of Islam circled and defined by today's life's conditions (Türköne, 2012: 54-56).

Islamism, today, refers to the global and variable religious tendencies. It can be evalutated around the catharsis, *ummah*, pluralism and independency which have been differentiated among the fighting values of 19th century. In Turkey, Islamists firstly paid attantion to political freedom so the discussions about Islamism commonly evolved around politics. Islamism also can be defined as a 'defence reflection'. It proposes the religion as the actual but the civilization as the derivative, in contrast to the West. It codifies the civilization as the 'aesthetical pattern of the religion's way of living'. On the other hand the problems about Islamism rise around the detachment between the knowledge and the practice. It prevents to produce a special culture and the devoted Muslims who hold morality and faith started to diminish. It is the consequence of the Muslims' acts since they were educated in a Western style and adopted the West's language, notions, perceptions and methods. (Subaşı, Star: 2012; Albayrak, Yeni Şafak: 2012a)

Bulaç (2004: 48) defines Islamism as the rise and struggle of cultural, political an social leading groups for setting a world up consists of Islamic moral, cultural and social values. Kara (1986: 15) defines it as an activist, modernist, eclectic movement tries to make Islam dominant on belief, worship, moral, philosophy, politics, education and save Islamic world from the exploitation of the West and its despotic leaders, falsifications and superstitions. Atalar (2009: 210) claims that Islamism perceives the religion as a political ideology and Islamists have

a state demand. It is against the modernity but criticises the tradition and tries to find solutions to the life problems by referencing the main religious principles. Akdoğan (2000: 311) states that Islamism is the re-interpretation of the religion according to the needs of time, turning back to original resources and struggling with the inconvenient powers and notions against to the core of Islam. Karpas (2001: 27) believes that Islamism is a kind of modern and receptive movement that aims freedom and change in a European way.

Islamism is the name and the place of the phenomenological journey of Muslims who are considered as subjects. It is the only and most reliable mirror which shows where the world is going to. According to Kaplan (Yeni Şafak: 2012b), it is the only global movement which gives the light of hope to scientists, artists, politicians and the masses. This is why the West is trying to make Muslim nations secular and associate Islam with terrorism to prevent Muslims connect themselves with Islam directly. The lords of global systems know that if they finish Islamism they will kill Islam since Islamism is the soul of Muslim nations.

Türküne claims that Ali Bulaç is the only real Islamist left since leaving Islamism is the only way to move on with democracy. Islamists changed the state but also the state changed them *vice versa*. Islamism is an ideology and sets up its system on the real world but bases on only Islam. Ali Bulaç says ‘every Muslim is an Islamist, of necessity’ but being a Muslim is not enough for Islamists so these two adjectives occurred. An ‘-ism’ rises because the religion is poured into a pattern between the modern world’s problems and fictions and that ‘-ism’ fights with the mundane ideologies. Islamists do not seek the heaven not only in afterlife but started to set the heaven up in real world (Türküne, 2012: 10).

Bulaç (Zaman, 2012c; Zaman, 2012d) differentiates the Islamists under three generations:

- *The First Generation (1850-1924)*: Their aim was turning back to Qur’an and Sunnah. They proposed the idea of *jihād* revivalism to save the weakened Ottomans. The *içtihad* (judicial opinion) should be raised against the West’s reforms and the colonialism should be rejected. Their political tendency was towards the need of nation’s survive. They all had a grasp of Islamic knowledge, thought and history and also got a Western style education. They

were active at public spheres while protecting their civil characters. Lots of them became war veterans after the war of Çanakkale, the others lost political power and Islamism fell asleep until 1950's.

- *The Second Generation (1950-2000)*: Their reference frame was 'modern-nationalist nation'. They focused on the Islamization challenges West's socio-political structures. The moral or metaphysical autonomous spheres were attached next to Western style political, educational and economical agenda. Their main tendency was 'an Islamic state or society'. Those Islamists were commonly uninformed about Islamic knowledge, thought, history but got Western style educations and consisted of lawyers, doctors, engineers, journalists, academics and politicians aimed a modern power.
- *The Third Generation (after 1997)*: They rised after the 28 Şubat post-modern military coup, 1997. They accepted 'the individualism, secularism and the nationalist state' parametres and were contented with conservatism. They put *jihad* on the back burner, adopted EU (European Union) course of action and liberal policies. They could not re-define human-family, society-nation relationships and socio-politic foundations and civil religious communities which were supposed to support the society socially and morally. They became a part of political power race.

Aktaş (Taraf, 2012) states the types of Islamism as; *democrat, androcentric, authoritative, feminist, elitist, populist, local, global, Eastern and Western*. The agenda of Islamism consists of the issues like *revolution, universality, overwhelmed women, modern literature, economic progress, environmentalism, simple life, consumption ideology, civil disorder and rebellion to authoritative politics*. Islamists have discussed growingly these issues for the last three decades. The role of Islamism is great for announcing the women's voices for human and woman rights from the frame of Islam. With the Islamist wave the issues like public spheres, women issues, privacy, love, education, advertisement and interest were discussed also reaching lots of people in the society.

The main approaches and arguments of Islamism can be aligned as (Türköne, 291-92):

- *Islam is a 'rational' religion.* Islam includes a socio-political thesis that satisfies the modern needs, helps people to define a modern worldview, explains the changes and makes them dominant over every sphere of life. This thesis gives the main norms of social life, defines who is in charge and the rights of governed ones. It can be grounded on 'mind'.
- *Islam is a religion which is 'open' to the modern progresses.* Islam can adopt each newness of the age. It orders progress and have to be saved from the bounding links of the tradition. It should be turned into a transformative Islamic model.
- *The advances of the West should be adopted in an eclectic way.* The West is one step ahead in terms of science, technique, civilized practices, thoughts and theories. The Muslims should take the suitable ones and adopt them in a suitable manner to their societies.
- *The Muslims should have a principle of nationality.* Islam gives the essential of nationalism and Muslim communities should gather around this principle to create a political community.

Islamism is a new kind of ideology and it can be defined as 'the new ways of Islamic thought'. It arose because the ideology of traditional Islamic societies could not find satisfactory answers to the modern age's problems related with social changes, mass communication. The new religious intellectuals' queries empowered the solution need. Islamism includes the symbolic maps and systems for people to help them give meaning to their socio-political environments and creates psychological balance mechanisms. For Islamism, being ideological is about converting the 'traditional' into a 'modern' one as it was ideological from the very beginning, a brand new ideology was not created. Islamism arose with the fusion of the ideological way of thought coming from West and the traditional Islamic values under the systematization of the ideological form of Islam (Türküne, 2011: 28-29).

Islamism differentiated itself from the other movements at the point that it claimed Islam is both an ethereal and a mundane religion. It arose as both a discursive and an actual movement. It inclined to historical accumulations and sources and questioned them. It included reactions against misusing the fragile issues

like *taaddüd-i zevcat* (marrying more than one women). It is not a monolith movement but includes different perspectives and discourses inside. Seyyid Hüseyin Nasr is the most read writer all around the world with the rise of Islamism but he is not a Islamist. On the other hand, some intellectuals who do not use veil or pray, locate themselves in the middle of Islamic discussions. Some of them started to significantly criticize the patriarchy and the perspective that locates women as a supplemental sex. It caused women to deeply query their rights and roles according to Islam and to strain the whole cultural traditions. The Muslim women realized that surrendering men is not equal to surrendering God. They started to believe that using the veiling, and holding the other religious practices, should not be for satisfying men but for God (Aktaş, 2007: 57-67).

According to Şentürk (2011: 66-69), some conditions rised and fed the ground of Islamic revival. These are:

- The rise of colonialism and weakening of Islamic nations against the West in post-1800 period.
- The birth of religious intellectuals class. These are the people who were educated in the West and held the Western thoughts or discourses about democracy, freedom, domination of nation, egalitarianism, justice, etc. Their religious knowledge was weak but they believed that for being a Muslim, the lifestyle regulation should be arranged around a religious axis and they tried to find religious references to support internalised Western thoughts and discourses above.
- The emergence of public opinion with the help of various communication channels like TV channels and newspapers.
- The attempt of West to use Islam as a tool for colonization, especially in North Africa.
- In the late Ottoman period, the usage of Islam as a tool for foreign policy.
- The birth of ‘politic religion’ in Islamic nations under colonization acts in the late 1800’s and the visibility and rise of Muslim nations’ struggling against colonization as the public opinion with the help of communication channels.
- The reactions against Orientalists who tried to scandalize Islam claiming that Islam is against progression.

- The weakening of the community of scientists' interest and works about Islamic issues because of the birth of laic schools.

After 1990's in Turkey, Islamism did not remain limited around an elite class but spreaded among the ones who feel themselves religious too. It became a strong historical movement holding religious understandings at one hand and questioning the modern ones at the other. Also it criticised the previous perception varieties of lifestyles. The birth of that critic was connected with the ones' queries about Muslims' insufficiencies about mundane practices. The term of 'Islamist' turned into something different from 'religious', including a tendency for a specific Islamic understanding in a specific historical period. Islamists were regarded as the members of a generation who were re-procreating themselves but were insufficient to identify every detail in life in a religious way and shifted to politics because of existing politic pressures of 1990's (Aktaş, 2007: 53-55).

In Islamism, the way of verification of the religion itself has changed as a product of acculturation process coming from West. Seeking for the truth in the transcendental confirmation was exchanged with rational seeking for the rights and the truth. The suitability of Islam for the needs of the modern world was started to be questioned under mentalist paradigms of the new ages. A profanation showed up in Islam against the focus of afterlife concerns. The traditions of classical Islam based on the static society structures of Middle Age but to find solutions to the moderns ages' problems, Islamism turned its face to the main sources, Qur'an and Hadiths, and tried to create a new system with the help of this new ideology. It questioned the limits of human mind and practices with criticising the traditional tenets like *tevekkül* (faith), *itaat* (obey) and *kader* (destiny) and make a call for people to take action. Islam is *teocentric* (the main focus is on God) but Islamism is *anthropomorphic* (focus shifted on human), it turned to original resources of religion with an attitude grounds on the human itself and made people re-interpret themselves under modern values and norms (Türküne, 2011: 30-32).

Aftermath of 9/11 in USA, Islamophobia rised and Muslims all around the world started to be perceived as threat risks. The internal conflicts and partitions among Muslim nations caused the birth of some arguments state that Islam has being reinterpreted in a multiple but wrong ways by political Islamic structures. Islamists

have been criticised about converting and compressing Islam into political discourses and slogans as an ideology and taking Islam away from its cultural and practical roots. The West-oriented discourses have been covered by Islamic ones and gave sanctity to politic discourses (Nafi, 2012: 19-21).

Ergun (2012: 91) argues that Islamic philosophy is the biggest obstacle over against capitalism's and globalism's imperialist pressures because, in its nature, Islam is anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, insurgent and revolutionist. On the other hand some movements under Islam umbrella can serve to the criticised ideologies above. Islam is beyond the national boundaries so America and Europe usually see Islam as a threat for their international politics based on capitalism and globalization. It is argued that the discourses like 'modern Islam' or 'modernizing the Islam' is a kind of manipulation on Islam to reduce its global force. The West aimed to 'empty' Islam from inside with modernization discourses. In reality, the Islamization movements are a kind of tool to serve to the capitalist goals of the West.

Bulaç (Zaman, 2012a) argues that under hegemonic global pressures of the last decades, Islamists searched for support mechanisms against global political-military regimes. However, the alliances they set up with liberal, political left, nationalist intellectuals and powers affected Islamists' envisagement about society, paradigms and politics around a non-Islamic way. On the other hand, Bulaç (Zaman, 2012b) refers to the surah of *Al-Baqarah* (verse 85) '*...so do you believe in part of the Scripture and disbelieve in part? ... and on the Day of Resurrection they will be sent back to the severest of punishment...*' and claims that the Muslims should handle the life, human and society relations according to this frame of Qur'an even if they do not call themselves as Islamists. He argues that a Muslim can not arrange his life around any other philosophy but Qur'an and Sunnah. The Ottoman Empire was an Islamic but when the Turkish Republic was established as a secular state, the Islamism rose as an answer and challenge in the post-1900 period against the West's pressures.

Kiras (Star, 2012) proposes the definition of 'sociological Islamism' to understand what is happening about Islamism in the last decades and it should be read as a sociological development. He argues that the people who lived in rural before became or seemed more religious when they immigrated to urban since they

wanted to protect their identities. Sociological Islamism was born because of the identity need against cultural conflicts. It provides identities to shelter and protect the one from these conflicts.

‘The Social Islam’ thesis also supports materialism since the ownership is the base of modern capitalist system. According to Prof. Hayri Kırbaçoğlu, if all the Muslims in the society satisfy the basic human needs and if there is no unemployment and poverty, some of them could live in a more luxurious life. Ali Bulaç makes a distinction between capitalism and ownership and sees ownership a basic right for Muslims if it has ‘labor and effort’ in its core. The personal property or ownership is the most necessary element of capitalism but is criticised in Islam in terms of ‘labor/effort’ and the ‘rights of the workers’ and Islam claims that personal property does not include labor as the capital has to grow by holding the profits back from the workers. That is not equitable for the workers and as Islamic orders base on equity, the personal property is not suitable according to Islam (Ergun, 2012: 139-43).

Türküne states that Islamism is dead as an ideology as the heavy burden of political power made it collapsed. Islamism should break its connections with political power and create new projects. It consists of only the effortless ideas becoming heavier with the shield of divineness. A bridge was set up between the shield of divineness and the simple ideas consists of the facts that the ‘lifestyle’ created by West has been taken and it was said ‘Islam is a lifestyle’ and a uniform behavior pattern was created for every single sphere of life. Also it was said that ‘Islam foresee a state system’ without having any other idea except nation-state, and was said ‘Islam is a regime of politics’ and the whole Islamic reservoir was tried to be poured into a narrow receptacle. All of them caused Islamism to be the victim of its own inner conflict. A lot of ‘Islamism’ types rised since every type claimed that they have the right knowledge (Türküne, 2012: 10-12).

Ergun claims that (2012: 94-97) the ‘modern Islamist intellectuals’ are holding the Western codes ideologically since they are educated in a secular way and do not worry about moral issues but interested in mundane problems like seculars. When they try to modernize and re-interpret Islam, they reject the Islamic roots, history and ideology for the sake of West. These ‘so-called Muslim’ intellectuals are

on seculars' side in terms of lifestyle and ideology, they throw off Islam to advance materially. When these modernization attempts for Islam rises, they call themselves 'modern' but they became the slaves and the product consumers of the secular West, nothing more. It is claimed that, the 'newness' is inevitable but using the West's methodologies to become advanced is not so suitable for Muslims. Muslims should create their own methodologies by starting out Islamic sociology, psychology and so on.

Etyen Mahcupyan talks about 'the individualization of religion' and defines Islamism in modern times as 'secular Islamism'. It is claimed that, when the politics was attached to the individualization, nothing has left for Islamism (Türküne, 2012: 8). However, Şentürk (2011: 655-57) argues that the ending of Islamism is out of question since Islam and Islamism are equal to each other. The West and its values; the understanding based on consumption and the maximization of individual benefit pushed the humanity into a depression, destroyed the family and can not offer a solution for the age's problems. The consumption culture removed the people from being a social creature and promised a fake heaven. The depression created a dissatisfaction and made people feel alone and unhappy. However, Islam includes both justice, freedom, equality and family, friendship, love, devotion, loyalty and can be the only hope for the World. It is the fault of Muslims who can not live Islam deservedly if the movement of Islamism does not succeed.

Bulaç (Zaman, 2012e) argues that we live in media and mass age today and the consumption culture with the help of globalism turns everything into a show and the liberal market creates fake sanctities by turning *din* (religion) into *diyanet* (piety, a redemption mechanism of people about their regrets and moral values that does not include tangible judgements but includes rituals and ceremonies). The rituals take the place of the religion, *diyanet* replaces *din* and compensates the feeling of sin. Sacred/holy nights, holy birth weeks of the Prophet are arranged. The ones who do not care about the way of earning money *halal* or *haram* give donation and go to *Umrah* every year to clear his or her conscience. They are parts of the liberal mechanism. In a such mechanism, the consciences, the government and global capitalism are satisfied since *diyanet* overlaps *din*.

According to Kaplan (Yeni Şafak, 2012a) Muslim nations set up their relationships with Islam by the way of secular *zeitgeist* since they do not have their own *zeitgeist*. This can be defined as ‘age blindness’ and people do not aware of it. It means to be condemned to alienation, asimilation, pornography and to lose the ways of self-perception, hearing, thinking and being. This is what Muslims live today. However, Islamism can fight with it. It can be both *ilme’l-yakin* (epistemological), *hakka’l-yakin* (ontological) and *ayne’l-yakin* (phenomelological) and set up a direct relationship between Muslims and Islam.

Mahçupyan (Zaman, 2012) argues that there is a secularism inside Islamism as the consequence of the politization of religion. The fact which damaged Islamism is the relativist attitudes coming with profanation. The quest for leadership and power is the reason for the people who seek for their own base of legality and end up with not interpreting the original resources of religion and the politization of that re-interpretations. Aydın (Haber7.com, 2012) questions the Islamist men’s ignorance about the Islamist women’s demands and the uneasinesses of society. She claims that lots of Islamist women who are educated, hardworking, activist, artist and philosopher, are on the way. The traditionalists and *ulema* read myths based on hearsays and suppress the women’s demands. She criticises the fact that Islamism which was monopolised by men can not locate a place for women but houses and treat women as the the weaks and the others.

Sambur (Zaman, 2012) claims that Islamism is fed by the resources does not belong to Islam and should be differentiated from Islam. As a religion, Islam gives the mission to people that they sould direct the others to a right way about morality and belief. However, Islamists find this mission insufficient and pretend to control and manage every sphere of life of people. This is why they define Islam not as a ‘completed religion’ but a ‘holistic worldview’ so they focus on the state, the woman and the education and turn religion into a founding rationalism. Albayrak (Yeni Şafak, 2012c) claims that Islamism shrouded only the value of ‘family and woman’ since it could not propose a solution for overwhelmed middle-class’s problems. It could not establish its own language, literature, theatre, novel, poem, story and could not go beyond the imitation of time perception, aesthetical values, art style.

Akyol (Star, 2012) claims that the Ottoman Empire was rich about culture but the Turkish Republic is about ideologies. He argues that a new and a huge sphere is opening in front of the Muslims who became richer, urban and wealthy. This sphere is building a Muslim culture which can talk to the modern world perception that reaches from democratic politics to art, from cinema to philosophy.

According to Roy (1995: 251), the Islamism movement finished, palled and turned into a new-fundamentalism. It is argued that, Islamism could not find solutions, as it can be seen in Iran and Afghanistan and there are no alternative ideologies but the West's for the Islamic World. Kepel (2001: 13) states that the exhaustion of Islamist ideology and the cure is in the West. As Fukuyama (2002: 22) argues that, the end of the history came up and the power of liberal democracy is inevitable.

1.2.2. The Predisposing Factors of Islamic Revival and Islamic Lifestyle in Turkey:

The predisposing factors of Islamic revival and Islamic lifestyle in Turkey can be discussed under four headlines: *The economic factors*, including the emergence of Islamic capital and business elite, *the political factors*, including the Islamic parties and liberalization movements, *the socio-cultural factors*, including the westernization project of Turkey, *türban* issue and new identities, feminist movements, Islamic discourses and women's veiling.

1.2.2.1. The Economic Factors: The Emergence of Islamic Capital and Business Elite

Turkey stepped into an important socio-economical transformation programme in 1980's. *Turgut Özal* was leading that programme which meant leaving the previous state-controlled policies. Neo-liberal fiscal policies of *ANAP* (Homeland Party- *Anavatan Partisi*) and the attempts aimed to liberalize the governmental structures points out the engagement of economical and political spheres that caused the economic revival of 1980's. With *the decisions of January 24th*, the government

left interfering acts in favour of market with the help of corporatization, the strategies of import substitution, industrialization and the control of foreign currency. The import restrictions were shortened, the export was reinforced and the Turkish lira was made convertible. The *Customs Unions* became a subsidiary step in the liberalization process since the rate of protection for imported products from *EFTA* and *EU* countries was zeroised (Beriş, 2008, Tonus, 2007).

The aim of engaging with capitalist market environments lies beneath the attempts of leaving autarchic policies and adopting liberalization programmes after 1980's. From the beginning of 1970's, the need of reconstruction of both global and domestic economic relations rised due to the slackening global economic growth tendency, disabled classical production processes and ineffectual politic movements for changing societal demands. Turkey faced a serious depression in the second half of 1970's presenting with international payment difficulty and high increases in prices. *The decisions of January 24th* aimed to overcome that economic depression caused social and political problems (Öcal Tellan, 2008).

The developments of 1980's are not only about the domestic changes. The progresses lived in Turkish economy should be simultaneously evaluated with the changes in politics and global circumstances. The economic crisis of 1970's had a great effect on the countries worldwide which caused the limitization of the role of governments on national economies. The actors of oil crisis of 1973-74 were Suudi Arabia and United States which the former is the leading oil exporter and the latter is the importer of the world. The policies about oil supply and demand has been largely affected by these two countries' decisions and affected the global economy for years (Beriş, 2008; Rustow, 1977).

In October 1973, *OPEC* to quintuple the world price of oil, also was reinforced by a selective embargo, and it proved more harmful to the growth and stability of the less developed countries. The rise on oil prices affected energy and input markets negatively, so the production. In those years, on the other hand, Turkey was facing with high unemployment and inflation problems which spreaded on political and social dimensions and the capital-owning classes. In 1980, the most important characteristic of *the Decisions of January 24th* is the fact that, the market price became the only leading factor in the economic decisions processes which also

mean that producer-consumer prices would be arranged based on those market prices (Street, 1978; Kepenek ve Yentürk, 2003: 194-97).

With the economic reforms of 1980's, Turkey made a positive progress and engaged with foreign markets with the help of international expansion. It brought competitiveness, efficiency and quality and rised the rate of export. On the other hand, oil exporters like Suudi Arabia and Kuwait benefited from oil-dollar based capital after 1973-74's oil crisis and started to export capital to developing countries. It was the first serious attempt of those Muslim nations' engagement with capitalist system globally (Ergün, 2000).

The rise of Islamic banks (i.e. participation banks) which avoid interest and adopt Islamic laws and principles on finance, had a great contribution to the capitalist engagement process of Muslim countries. In 1974 the first interest-free bank, The *Islamic Development Bank* (Saudi Arabia) was established as an inter-governmental bank. The first private Islamic bank, the *Dubai Islamic Bank*, was also founded in 1975. Many other Islamic banks were established in 1980s. After the 1973's oil crisis, a need to recirculate massive sums of Arab petrodollars rised and Islamic capital started to be spreaded around the world with the help of Islamic banks (Ökte, 2010).

In Turkey, the years of 1980's became the period that includes the visibility of Islamic capital and Islam economy, started in Arabic countries in the previous decade. The liberalization movements empowered the Islamic movements in the economy. That Islamic establishments seduced the religiously sensitive citizens in terms of their capital management and personal economic decisions. 'Being engaged with capitalist economy by keeping the religious concerns' was the slogans of those Islamic establishments. This is why the Islamic capital is also called as 'Green Capital'.

Turkey met with participation bank models in 1980's, during the engagement with international markets process. This type of banking was introduced to Turkey's financial system due to make Turkish financial sytem gain depth, to enrich it in terms of financial tools and organizations. Also Turkey became the founding member of *Islamic Development Bank* in 1975. Today, in Turkey, the active participation banks

are *Albaraka Türk*, *Bank Asya*, *Kuveyt Türk* and *Türkiye Finans* (Özulucan and Deran, 2009).

In 1980's, with the foundation of *Albaraka* and *Faysal Finans* banks, it was aimed to pull over-accumulated capital of gulf countries into Turkish financial system to create new resources that the market needed and to create economic relationships between these countries. It was not rational to leave the funds of religiously sensitive investors out of the economic system due to the nonacceptance of interest revenue and that concern made the foundation of participation banks obliged (Yahşi, 2000). After 1990's, the Islamic capital ideology was defined by SMEs of Anatolia, called *Anatolian Tigers* and *MÜSİAD* (Müstakil Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği - Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Association).

Turkish Islamic Capital after 1980's can be discussed under three groups (Can, 1997: 60-62):

- *First Group*: The companies of *Nakşi* or *Nurcutarikats*. The revenues come from *mürits* (religious-follower) constituted the green capital. They empower and support each other to establish a positive atmosphere for religious people to trade and to get more revenues.
- *Second Group*: Aggregate corporations like *Yimpaş*, *Jet-Pa*, *Kombassan*, *Büyük Anadolu Holding*. These are the companies which valorize the capitals of the religious people who live abroad or in Turkey.
- *Third Group*: The religious-conservative businessmen like *Sabri Ülker*, *Erol Yarar*, *Ömer Bolat*, *Ali Bayramoğlu*. They gather under the same roof of *MÜSİAD*, who are the owners of Anatolian SMEs.

The role of business communities is a significant driving force for the modernization and democratization process in Turkey. It is possible to divide these communities into two; secular-modernist and religious-conservative. *MÜSİAD* (Association of Independent Industrialists and Businessmen) has a direct effect on the Islamic political parties' concerns about converting them from a radical to a moderate line. Where the state is authoritarian, like Turkey, the business elite's economic success depends on the collaboration with the state so it is possible to say that political Islam and Islamic economy in Turkey grow together (Başkan, 2010b).

MÜSİAD rised against TÜSİAD (Türk Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği - Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association) under the Anatolian religious and conservative businessmen. It was founded in Istanbul under the management of 12 businessman bearing the trace of Sunni Muslimism and representing Anatolian SMEs. Turgut Özal had a great role on MÜSİAD's identity constitution (Şenol, 2005). In 2012, MUSIAD had 33 branches in Turkey, 105 contact point in 45 different countries, 3300 members and represented 15000 enterprises (<http://www.musiad.org.tr/Tarihce.aspx>, Access Date: 17.12.12/14:19).

MUSIAD had an effect on the facilitation of the democratization of Islamist political parties because the member firms expanded their businesses through taking advantage of global opportunities and liberal movements rather than state sponsorship and protection. Islamic business elite started to support democratization and liberalization because they wanted to protect their material interests, property rights and long-term profitability of their investments against secular state elite (Başkan, 2010b).

The Islamic capital and business elite in Turkey have been empowered since 1990's and their visibility rised notably after 2000's when the religious-conservative political parties came to power and supported this business elite with their politic movements. The businessmen stepped into new business areas, cooperated with foreign companies, opened trade offices abroad, educated themselves and learned foreing languages, engaged in global markets with the help of governmental incentives and regulations. The interpenetrating relationship between *tarikats*, politics and Islamic business elite and supporting mechanism between these elements strenghtened the power of Islamic capital and the rise of Islamic bourgeois which is strongly criticized under politic and socio-cultural discourses.

1.2.2.2. The Political Factors: The Islamic Parties and Liberalization Movements

In Turkish political life, the Islamic idelogy became more visible after 1970's. Between 1970 and 1972, two religious parties were founded; the *National Order Party* (Milli Nizam Partisi-MNP, closed in 1971 due to the guilt of trying to

establish a theocratic order), the *National Salvation Party* (Milli Selamet Partisi-MSP, was banned after the military intervention in 1980). These two parties' goal was to represent the interests of small and medium-sized enterprises in Anatolian cities, as the promoters of these parties were also the provincial small businessmen whose desire was to have state protection and support for themselves economically (Başkan, 2010b).

After 1980's, the effects of globalization process, the market economy and the post-fordist organizational methods in production also appeared in Turkey. With the help of *Turgut Özal's* politics, a fusion of neoconservatism, neoliberalism and Islam rised. He lead the creation of new perspectives on the role of Islam and the Ottoman heritage. National history and culture were mostly related with Islam. He adopted economic liberalism and competition both within and outside of the country that strenghts the economy. *TÜSİAD* has been regarded as 'Kemalist national oligarchic bourgeoisie who enjoyed state patronage' and it was representing only a distinguished group (Alam, 2009).

From the beginning of Turkish Republic, Kemalism's target group was the urbanised/educated middle and upper class but the majority of the society consisted of the less educated, less affluent and more rural members. After 1980's, the latter group became more sceptical about the promises or the ideology of seculars' (powerful economy, equality between social classes, high living standarts, etc.) so they turned their face to Islamist parties, politically. Religiously motivated Muslims became much more visible in Islamic professional associations and other private voluntary organizations and they rised from 'bottom' to 'up' in the society (Mellon, 2006).

For a market competition the 'small-scale provincial business owners, the petit bourgeoisie of the larger cities and provincial bourgeois, or the *Anatolian tigers*' were needed and supported. When they became powerful as economic actors, a new Muslim bourgeoisie have emerged in Turkey who 'competes over the country's ideological and cultural orientation, is less dependent on the state and more embedded in Turkish-Islamic culture and demands a limited government power, larger political sphere and freedom for civil society. In 1983, After the foundation of the *Welfare Party* (Refah Partisi-RP, in 1983, was banned in 1988), in 1990

MÜSİAD showed itself with the supportive power of this religious party and became the voice of new Islamic demands in economic sphere (Alam, 2009; Başkan, 2010a).

In the post-1980 period, the prominent rise of Islamic groups had several national forces; the changing state ideology, the incorporated Islamic elements into official ideology, the combination of Islam and nationalism, and international forces like globalism pressures and market-oriented environment, behind this progress. A new liberalization programme, with the help of *World Bank* and *IMF*, adopted a market-oriented economic model and these liberal efforts encouraged the growth of private sector. (Başkan, 2010a).

Since the beginning of the 1990s, changing political and socioeconomical developments contributed to the change of social values in Turkey. The religiosity became a sound measure of conservatism which has two dimensions; men are regarded as more authoritarian, intolerant, old-fashioned, women are more state interventionist, religiously liberal, and supportive of the status quo. It caused people to move to the ideological right and Turkish religiosity was 'bifurcated around issues of gender and practice'. Shifting to conservatism was not regarded as a phenomenon started with election of the *AKP* in 2002 but a trend that caused religion to be more visible and apparent, and its roots can be traced in 1990's (Yeşilada and Noordijk, 2010).

Turkey first democratised in 1950 but after then, the military coups disrupted that process, affecting politics and economy. In 1997, when the *Virtue Party* (Fazilet Partisi-FP) was founded with a much more moderate stance and it was not able to keep up with global trends as it was anti-Western-statist. When the *Virtue Party* was banned in 2001, it caused a branch off. Two new parties came along; the *Felicity Party* (Saadet Partisi-SP, July 2001) and the *Justice and Development Party* (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi-AKP, August 2001) (Başkan, 2010a).

When *AKP* came to power with over a third of the votes and took power alone in 2002, it firstly aimed to replace secularist orientations with Islamic values and restore democratization attempts. It has distinguished itself with its discourses about the fusion of democracy and Islam as it was aware of the fact that Turkey is a bridge between Muslim Asia and Christian Europe so it was needed a 'moderate' politics to keep a balanced location on the global platform. The party was aware the

fact that Turkish society was divided into ‘competing classes, ethnic entities, religious groupings and ideological factions’ during the last decades so *AKP* created a discourse that aims to unite the members of society under one national identity which is fed by Islamic values. However *AKP* also was criticized because of its some political and economical policies and was accused by being pro-Western, pro-market and populist, not being an Islamist party as it wanted to be seen (Haynes, 2010).

In the election campaigns, *AKP* stressed some themes supporting globalization and market economy; ‘reformist, liberal and pluralist’. When the democratic discourses combined with *yeşil sermaye* (green capital, the capital of Islamists), a new ‘politically aware Muslim-selves’ showed up from within an Islamic-socio-cultural group with high economic power and religious concerns (Göl, 2009). Islamists started to participate in economics, politics, socio-cultural issues and that kind of Turkish-Islamic synthesis was regarded as an antidote against communism. When *AKP* and its leaders and deputies were resolved from the *traditionals* and defined themselves as the *reformists*, they became the new role models for Islamic society and put forward a new *Islamic lifestyle*. That’s because such socio-cultural-politic and financial attitudes were regarded as a conservative democracy. Furthermore, being a conservative democrat became different from being a Muslim democrat in a way that, the former attached itself to the customs and the traditions and the values of society, based on family (Criss, 2010).

The support for pro-Islamic parties, especially *AKP*’s back to back coming into power after 2000’s, resulted from the fact that they identified themselves *reformists* which is referred to ‘their ability to undertake sweeping market reforms’, and *conservative* which is referred to ‘their commitment to enhance the public presence of Islam’. Their aim was to bring market-oriented reforms but also challenge strict secularist and modernist policies of the state. This duality resulted with gaining the majority’s support that has different since the party promised to bring an egalitarian distribution of social justice and neoliberal policies for the development of the country, at the same time (Tepe, 2007).

In the 2000s, postmodernism and liberalism had a significant impact on Islamist movements and discourses of political parties. *European Union Membership* became much more important for Turkey as Turkish Islamism does not aim a clash

between East and West, besides it stresses the idea that Islamic identity is strong and can not be assimilated through the *EU* accession process. As *AKP* members defined themselves as the *reformists* they accepted new goals like; cooperation with the *IMF*, secularism, democratization and engaging in *EU*. During *AKP* governments period, dogmatic aspects of Turkish Islamism have been left behind, pragmatic ones are accepted under new conservative democracy discourses embracing secularism, pluralism, democracy, human rights, civil society and combining them with Islamic sensitivities and national interests. (Duran, 2010).

Globalization provided suitable grounds for the growing influence of religious actors and changing lifestyles in Turkey. A pluralist and market-oriented environment was supported by globalization effects. The liberalisation programme and export-oriented private sector made great contribution to the revival of Turkish economy. With the help of these economic developments, import-export mechanisms, especially the middle-urban class met new foreign brand-name products, new places for shopping and entertainment and became more consumption-oriented. The rise of advertising industry also empowered the birth of luxurious or bourgeois consumption patterns (Başkan, 2010b).

Especially after 2000's, Islamist businessman became successful in economic life in and out of the domestic markets, they became aware of alternative lifestyles and consumption patterns through engaging the world globally. They have adopted these lifestyles and patterns in terms of religious-concerned consumptions introduced them to the Islamic classes. As a result, a new market for *Islamic Lifestyle* and a new consumer segment showed up. Islamic businessman gained the trust of religious-middle class by adopting prescriptions of Islam to their business style (Başkan, 2010b).

Ergun (2012: 135-37) believes that the Islamists in Turkey lolled against *AKP*'s power and became the actors of the new sweating system. It is the result of the religious perception that focuses on capital and power. Capital and power have such a transformative effect on people that make people leave their ideals and focus on ownership. A kind of capitalist relationship occurred between new liberal Islamists that concretize the yawning gap between the poor and the rich. If the one carries an 'Islamic' etiquette, this conversion is perceived more lovably by the religionists. The

Islamization process created new social classes based on the level of power and capital, and the powerful ones create a new system for themselves under conservative discourses.

1.2.2.3. The Socio-Cultural Factors:

The socio-cultural factors can be discussed under two headlines: the westernization project of Turkey and *türban* issue, the feminist movements and Islamic discourses and on women's veiling

1.2.2.3.1. The Westernization project of Turkey, Türban Issue and New Identities

During the first period of Turkish republic, the women's veil, attire and body was an important issue for the politics since the Western discourses were imported, internalized and the veiling became the symbol of backwardness for women in Islamic nations. *Atatürk* strongly defended to dismiss the veil from the agenda of the country. By replacing *Sharia* family code with the Swiss family code, giving equal rights to women like divorce and custody, launching public relations campaigns to unveil women, setting European standards in terms of attiring, beauty and joining to social life, the women became the issue of politics not only by an Islamic way but also by a secular way (Vojdik, 2010).

In Turkey, 1923, the *shariah* (şariat) codes replaced by secular laws that were adapted from Switzerland and then women were encouraged to leave the veil and join to secular public. The modernization movements aimed to give women new roles, capabilities and responsibilities. Laicism pushed the religion from the public to the private and established a state control. However *Atatürk* did not ban but replaced the headscarf or the veil with Western style clothing. With the help of social and political reforms (e.g. voting right for women in 1934), he gave some opportunities to women in the nation-building process. On the other hand, only the educated, privileged and elite women benefited from these rights fairly and gained high positions of power in society but *covered* (kapalı, başörtülü) traditional pious women

were not so lucky like the formers due to the lack of education and forthcoming bans till the 1980s' increasingly tolerated environment (Aldıkaçtı Marshall, 2008; Turam, 2008).

In those years, the principles of modernization and Westernization have been implemented firstly on the gender identities. The *Hat Law* of 1925 was an example of proposing men's evolving modernity and Westernism in the public sphere. It was aimed by the secular state to erase the marks of Islam on attiring and to bring new marks of modern and civilised identities. Also a new modern lifestyle was promoted by making women more visible in the public life, next to the *Hat Law*. That lifestyle also included horseback riding, playing golf and gathering in coffeehouses and restaurants that served European dishes. The women near *Atatürk* showed up in banquets and dance receptions in Western-modern-elegant dresses to promote the changes (Çınar, 2008).

The changes on women were regarded as the developing *new women identity* of the new secular state. The Islamic attire of women was alienated from this new public sphere and lifestyle under some regulations and bans since the Muslim woman image was not suitable for that new lifestyle. The women's Westernized-modern public visibility was used strategically to promote Turkey's new secular identity. The women were encouraged to take active roles in society with the help of new civil code that gives equal rights for inheritance and marital affairs in 1926 and a full suffrage in 1934 (Çınar, 2008).

According to Kadioglu (1994), the reforms that were fed by the male Republican elite's thoughts on women's attiring, created a simulated image of modernity as while wearing modern clothes and adopting Western codes of conduct, women's self-perceptions, roles in the family and their relationships with men remained the same. Their sexuality was highlighted and feminist consciousness dried up. The outlook became modern but the values did not so the veiling became an element to reject this man-controlled modernization process and represented activism by some traditional religious groups from that time and on.

Atatürk's main goal was to motivate Turkey to catch up the West economically and technologically but he claimed that Islam had a retarder effect as it was conservative about politics, culture, education and economics. Based on his

thoughtst, *Turkishness* was proposed as a discourse with the aim of shifting the focus from 'Islamic society' to 'Turkish nationalism'. For the first decades of republic, Turkification, Westernization and secularization came together, lots of regulations occured and fostered Turkish nationalism (Mellon, 2006).

In that period it was strongly argued that this kind of transformation was a 'national duty' for women to complete the westernization process succesfully. The women body again became the issue of rules, regulations and politics ironically even if it was aimed to save the women from those kind of pressures and giving them freedom. The urban women could adopt themselves easily but the rural ones stayed conservative and protected their values and traditional identity so the veil and *headscarf* did not disappear from the nation, in contrast, transformed itself and became more visible as the issue of Muslim female identity for veiled women (Vojdik, 2010).

The women's role in constructing the nation's identity also became symbolic and sacred under hegemonic masculinity and political power. It is argued that, in Islamic societies, the politics of the veil and politicization of women's bodies can be discussed under the discourses of hegemonic and Islamic masculinities. The female body has been regulated by hegemonic masculinity during the history since while men served for the nation by defending the honor and freedom, women became the symbolic icons of nationhood. They were regarded as the decency of the nation, the family and the men so their body became the signifiers of those values and became sacred. To protect national and political identities constructed by men, the veil and *headscarf* became the issue of politics. However not only Muslim men but also the veiled women participated to these debates to defend their religious identities (Vojdik, 2010).

According to Göl (2009), there is an identity crisis in Turkey, between Islam and West and the rise of political Islam is a consequence of the failed modernization project of Kemalist secularism. Turkey shows different characteristic compared to the other Muslim countries. As a republic it has Islamic roots but lives a transition to a modern secular nation state and also is regarded as both a European and an Asian country because of its georgarphical location. It is the first and only Muslim country waits *EU* membership, so the 'Turkish identity' rolls around these circumstances,

culturally, historically and politically. Furthermore, the *Eurasianidentity* seems problematic for Turkey because Europe defines Turkey ‘not Western enough’ and not every Asian or Muslim country sees Turkey as a leader in Islamic geography as it is not a ‘pure Islamic state’ like Iran and Saudi Arabia.

Turkey’s transformation into a Western-style secular nation-state challenged the *national identity* issue. The religion and state were separated from each other institutionally for the sake of modernization process but on the other hand, it led the rise of industrialization, migration from rural to urban and new social relations among society. The focus shifted from ethnic, religious, and linguistic differences that shape people’s identity relating with the national identity. When a Westernized, modernized, and secular identity has been proposed to the nation by *Atatürk*, Islam was started to be regarded as the opposite. The aim was liberating the citizens from old traditions and cultural modes and giving them an equal identity in comparison to the Western ones that are sophisticated and modern. Thus, the first attempt was to remove Islam from the constitution and the second was supporting Western secular way of clothing and lifestyle (Oğuzoğlu and Kibaroglu, 2009; Yiğit, 2012).

According to the ideal meaning of secularism, the religion and the state have to be diverged but in Turkey, from the beginning of new republic, the secularization project progressed differently because the religion was put under the state control, not separated, religious laws replaced with secular ones and it was ‘an elite-driven, coercively achieved, ideological project’. It was elite-driven, hence it was poorly supported as the majority of population still were fragile ecclesiastically. Despite secular movements, Islam continued to be powerful in social life and created a symbolic system to form community’s and individuals’ identity. After 1970’s, Islamists started to rise against secularist with economic, politic, social and religious concerns (Başkan, 2010a).

Since the beginning of 1980’s to now, *Türban* became a sign or emblem to protest secular arguments and created debates in the sphere of politics in Turkey. Veiled women’s visibility in the public sphere had a central place among these debates because when the republic was founded, a shift to Western style attiring was a significant practice in the promotion of Turkish nationalism and Westernization.

Turning back to Islamic style attiring or visibility was interpreted as breaking off relations with modernization (Kadioğlu, 2005).

However in Turkey, despite the secular state's continuous efforts or bans, the veiling did not disappear in both urban and rural areas. The *türban* issue arose after the migrations of Muslims from rural to urban for education and employment. According to Islam if women use veil they can protect themselves from the gaze of men and set a boundry between themselves and men to protect their *mahrem*, or private. It can be argued that with these rules, Islam creates differentiation and segregation between the sexes in the public sphere so it constructs gender relations. From this point of view, the veil becomes the most visible marker of the differentness (Vojdik, 2010).

To create an Islamic state can be the aim of other Muslim countries but in Turkey, the aim of Islamist politics is more about the 'identity'. It is aimed to build a new type of identity that is oriented by *Sufism* (to reach the truth with the help of intuition that the mind is not able to) orders and constitute a daily life surrounded by the media, printed texts, households, neighbourhoods that have the same concerns, also Islamic symbols, norms, resources and organizations. The phenomenon of Islamism is complex and suffers from reductionist definitions like secular vs. religious, modern vs. traditional, urban vs. rural, progressive vs. conservative, etc. Power relations between Islamists and secularists effect the perception of Islamism. The rise of Islamism coincidence with the period that the West and Europe started to query enlightenment and modernity so it is reasonable to combine Islamism with post-modernism. 'The post-modernity of Islamism is embedded in four crucial features; being non-apologetic, de-centring of the West, living with plural identities in the public sphere and affirming the values of engagement and negotiation' (Alam, 2009).

In Turkey, the Islamist movements had proposed different characteristics *vis a vis* the other Muslim countries for the fact that Kemalist Revolution and secularist politics surrounded and limited the public expressions of religious faith, from the begining of the republic. The Kemalists' and Islamists' views on the identity of Turkey became distinct from each other while the former insisted on a modern European-style detached from its former origins (Ottomans) and identified Turkey as a part of the Europe but the latter desired a community of believers attached to its

past (Ottomans), Islamic history and identity, also identified Turkey as part of the Middle East. Furthermore, Islamists were anxious about the Westernization's and globalization's ruinous effects on Islamic values, mostly showed itself on clothing debates (Mellon, 2006).

For Alam (2009), Islamic identity is not a static ideological or behavioural understanding but is open to discussion. The post-modern features of Islamism in Turkey are formed during a long period. The Islamists rejected apologeticism and they aimed to live the century through the lens of Islam, not modernizing Islam, criticized modernity along with Western and Islamic historiography references hence do not attempt to reconcile Islam and modernity, proposed an Islamic way of life not the rise of a theocratic State.

Turkish people's self-identification and worldview were impressed severely by Turkey's Islamic identity for the last three decades. This *phenomenon* can be regarded as the symbol of the Islamic revival. It is argued that there are two phases of Turkish Islamism in the post-1980 period. Between 1980 and 1990, the focus was on a new Islamic identity and a quest for an Islamic state but after 1990 the focus shifted on not collective but individualist Islamic demands and experiences. Since 2002, during the power of *AKP* governments, Islamists experienced upward class mobilization and power in public spheres, they changed their worldviews as supporting democracy, pluralism and civil society. On the other side, since being rich and powerful mostly connected with secularists, Islamists under transformation were criticized about losing their spiritual identity by accepting these new *phenomena* (Duran, 2010).

On the other hand, since 1980's, under the pressure of modernization and globalization, lots of people started to seek for spiritual meanings, a sense of identity and community since the changings were so rapid and people had difficulties to keep up. However, they were also desiring to catch the *zeitgeist* so the traditional ones needed a commutative world view. Islamist discourses became the shelter since it is believed that Islam can offer any kind of solution even if the problems are modern (Mellon, 2006).

After the dissolution of Soviet Union, Turkey-NATO-United States tripodal relationship became more powerful as it is believed that Islam and democracy can be

melted in the same pot and Turkey can be a successful 'role model' in the geography of Middle East due to the fact that majority of the population is Muslim but the state is managed secularly. The positive image abroad fed Turkey's Islamization process at home as a moderate Islamic country. In 1990's, Turkey started to emphasise its effort for engagement to westernization process by accelerating European Union (EU) membership and desired to prove Europeans that Turkey is cheerful to create a westernized identity (Oğuzoğlu and Kibaroglu, 2009).

The emergence of the headscarf issue coincides with the emergence of differentiated public sphere which was a result of the rise of democratic and civil societies in West. After 1980's, Muslim societies joined into that evolutionary process and headscarf became an issue. In the West, especially after 9/11 attacks, that kind of religious symbols Muslim men/women use were regarded as the signs of political Islam, fundamentalism and terrorism. A kind of similar reactions have also been witnessed in Muslim countries, too (Toprak and Uslu, 2009).

For the last three decades, head-covering practices of women in Turkey highly discussed both politically and socially. Over the years, more than two thirds of people asserted that they were against *türban* ban however some veiled women, claim that they are oppressed and mostly excluded from the social sphere. A polarization and mistrust occurred between religious and secular groups and fanned the flame of discussions. As the head-covering practice is very visible and significant than the other religious practices, the women's piety was in sight more (Çarkoğlu, 2010). Furthermore, after 1980's they started to demand more place both in social and political sphere and the discussion rised: 'Is the veiling a political symbol or just a religious tradition?'.

In the 1980 and 1990s two groups with different demands and discourses rised in Turkey: the 'rural-conservative-Islamists' and the 'urban-westernized-secularists'. The headscarf issue became the focus of identity politics and political symbolism under the discussions of women's role and identity in society as it was not easy to distinguish if it has a religious meaning or turned into a political symbol. On the other hand, the practice of veiling has constantly gained new meanings from 1980's to 2000's because of Islamist social and political mobilization, engagement with global market economy, neoliberalism and Islamism fusion. These

transformations caused the rise of new representations of Islamists in socio-economic spheres with new demands economically grounded and culturally loaded (Kuran, 2010).

Headscarf or *veiling* can be used as an expression of social identity and ideology. In Turkey, there are four distinctive groups in which the Muslim women belong to and they can be differentiated as (Breu and Marchese, 2000):

- *The Traditionalists*: Veiled women who live in rural area, do not follow fashion, no strong economic power, veiling does not seemed to be political, not religiously but traditionally conscious about veiling practices (local), using headscarves with *oya* (needlelace) for these functions: used at puberty that reveals the passage from adolescence to adulthood, helps to protect the head and the hair clean, protects the working women from the external factors in the field (like sunshine), an esthetical cloth to show feminine beauty, an attire supplement that makes women uncomfortable if they do not use.
- *The Islamic Middle Class*: Veiled women who live in urban area, follow fashion, have economic power, veiling seemed to be political, not traditionally but religiously conscious about veiling practices (educated women, especially having university degrees) using modern style headscarves and *turban* in a variety of colors, fabrics, sizes, etc, are targeted by marketers as a consumer segment and attracted by marketing slogans include the fusion of ‘modesty’ and ‘modernity’ statements.
- *The Fundamentalists*: Veiled women who live in urban area, especially use *kara çarşaf* (chador) to veil, do not follow fashion, do not participate public life or business life, veiling seemed to be political.
- *The Secularists/Modernists/Kemalists*: Women do not prefer to use veil even if they call themselves ‘Muslim’, prefer westernized style of clothing, when they use headscarves or *turban*, it is removed from its religious context and used only for fashion.

In Turkey, the pressure on women’s veiling, Islamic symbols and their visibility in public increased in 1980’s. Kalaycıoğlu (2005) argues that, in 1980’s, religiosity became much more visible in public. The numbers of the *sıkmabaş-covered* women (women who use headscarf tightly without releasing it on their

shoulders) started to surge or so it seemed. It was a new style for Muslim women to cover their heads in that way. In those years, a group of *covered* medical students objected to study on male cadavers due to their faith concerns. Later on, problems at medical and nursing schools started. When *Professor İhsan Doğramacı* was the director of YÖK (Yüksek Eğitim Kurumu-Higher Education Institution), YÖK declared strict rules and punishments which it was forbidden to attire whatever a student wants to in classrooms, laboratories and operation theaters of the universities. The aim was putting a ban on *veiling* in these spheres. *Covered* female and male students protested the ban but *İhsan Doğramacı* used a terminology to differentiate the covered women. A shift occurred from *sıkmabaş* to *türban* because modernized pious women started to bare their necks, foreheads and faces and to wear scarf-like materials look like *türban* (sarık) of Ottomans. From the mid of 1980's, that style caused the headscarf to be perceived as *türban* and ever since the problem has been called as the *türban* issue.

After military coup of 1980, President *Kenan Evren* was persuaded by Prime Minister *Turgut Özal*, Prof. *İhsan Doğramacı* and Council of Higher Education about the fact that in universities the headscarf should have a pre-defined manner, like uniforms, preventing different kind of forms and colours. It is argued that the headscarf was a part of fashion like witnessed in Western countries so the *türban* debate rised, which is different from headscarf or traditional head-covering materials. In despite of those discussions, headscarf was prohibited in some universities. After the post-modern military coup in 1997, the prohibitions are started to be enforced strictly (Toprak and Uslu, 2009).

The visibility of *covered* women on the university campus in 1980's became a problem for secularist. Not long after, in February 1997, the headscarf was identified by the *National Security Council* as an 'Islamic threat' or *irtica* on the well-being and security of the country and it was banned in public offices, classrooms and universities. The headscarf issue had the ability to redraw the boundaries of the private on the body and boundaries of the public so it became a threat as it challenged and manipulated the boundaries normed by secularists. When *covered* women started to appear in campuses, the strongholds of secularism, it was an action for unsettling the authority of secularism over the body and imposing an

Islamic frame on the public-private distinction. On the other hand it was regarded as a dictation of the state to regulate and monitor appearing of people in the public realm (Çınar, 2008).

On the other side, lots of covered women believe that, the head-cover is a significant part of their religious identity. They want to take education, join workforce, perform their religious duty and want their personality to be realized. They argue that if democracy has plurality in its nature and if a secular, democratic and plural state guarantees every identity's rights, they should be in public sphere too, freely. They believe that, headcovering is not denying their identity and do not make them useless for society. On the contrary it justifies the presence of women's personality and makes them more active and free. It shows the fact that, *covered* women also want to participate in community life by performing their religious duty at the same time. They also refuse an imposed identity stereotype of a part of the society. They tried to manage hybridizations and negotiations between Islamic imperatives and the practices of secular life which can be called *self-reflexive transformation* (Toprak and Uslu, 2009; Duran, 2010).

Because of the bannes, the *covered* women who lost their jobs or education sued against the banners. *Türban* and *tesettür* happened to be perceived as a threat for the the secular political regime of Turkey and even veiled photographs to use of official documents were forbidden. The *türban* issue has been discussed by *The Provincial Administrative Courts*, *The High Administrative Court* and *The Constitutional Court* of Turkey and became an issue of politics between seculars and revivalists (Kalaycıoğlu, 2005).

After the rise of pro-Islamic government of AKP, the democratization process and new gender reforms also ignited the wick of the polarization debate; the *pious* (*dindar*) and the *secularist* (*seküler*) women. This polarization created disarray and confrontation in the society at large and it is argued that the two contrary female groups can be classified as *İslami* (Islamic) and *laikçi* (laicist). On the other hand, the ones called *pious* are the ones who makes faith the core value of their lives, politics and worldview. Furthermore they do not have a state-transformation aim, they are loyal to the state but desire to prioritize faith in all spheres of life, especially the public realm. Against the *Refah Party*'s female members' Islamist feminist slogans,

the *pious* ones do not define the headscarf as a political weapon or a resistance symbol and they accept the male-authority. According to the laicism the religion can not be not only privatized but should be controlled by the state. However, there are some laic feminists who desire religious freedom and cooperate with pious women about veiling issue (Turam, 2008).

In Turkey for years, the people who carry the signs of Islam like headscarf were not welcomed in the *officer's club* (orduevi) and its related facilities such as restaurants, gyms, parks, salons and ballrooms. Only the secular dress codes, western style suits and evening dresses, were allowed but the women who are above 60 years old were permitted to wear a headscarf (if not covering the whole hair and neck). The military officers have the similar arguments that, if the headscarf is not used as a politic symbol, it has to be tied up in a certain manner, it should not cover the whole hair. They believe that, if it is tied up like that, the woman is a 'traditional' Muslim lady, has no business with politics (Dağtaş, 2009).

On the other hand, the military officers marked the female body as a political sphere with those attitudes, banning and externalizing from the military places, giving orders about how to cover, showing an authority and power upon women even if they are ordinary citizens. At the end, some of the Muslim women and men obeyed it, some rejected and protested, some remained silent to these rules and a conflict arised. The reason why military and its officers take it (the right to interfere people's religious choices) for granted can showed itself in *The General Staff's* mission; '*Turkish military has proclaimed itself to be the embodiment of Turkish national identity, culture and civilisation*' so they had no doubt to see themselves responsible. Also they stressed that they got such a hectoring power (seeing themself the guardian of the nation) given by *Atatürk* himself and Kemalist reforms. They belived that military is the sign of modernity, elite and above the traditional society and that society has to follow them and their orders if they want to reach *contemporary civilisation* level that *Atatürk* always stressed (Dağtaş, 2009).

When *AKP* come to power alone in 2002, some outstanding reforms were the reduction of the military's dominance in politics, empowered women rights and equality efforts. The rights regarding marriage, divorce and property and the transformation of women's sexuality from a family honour to an individual right

gave power to women. Also *AKP* pulled the educated women into political realm but not the feminist and activist ones. The visibility of *covered* women in public spheres became an issue again when *Abdullah Gül* became the presidential candidate who is married a *covered* woman who was regarded as ‘unfit’ to represent modern Turkey (Turam, 2008).

After *AKP* came to power and proposed a conservative and religious identity, the president’s, prime minister’s and lots of ministers’ and deputies’ wives were wearing headscarves and started to be regarded as role models. After 2007 elections, the parliament passed the law allows wearing headscarves in universities but in 2008 *Constitutional Court* annulled the law and demanded *AKP*’s dissolution by the judgment claiming that it was at the centre of activities violating the rules of laic-government. However, *AKP* was not dissolved but *headscarf* issue became much more visible (Toprak and Uslu, 2009).

When *AKP* was elected in 2007 again, a loud public voice rised and pointed out the issue of women’s rights in a secular system since there was a clash between the secular and Muslim identity of Turkish women. Secular women insist on the fact that *AKP*’s ‘hidden agenda’ is a threat on their lifestyles, including concerns about free alcohol usage and clothing style which is not similar to veiling since they severely support a young, modern and urban profile. The Kemalist elite always desired to be part of the West but the majority of the society has an Islamic identity *per se* (Göl, 2009).

While at one hand, a lot of people in Turkish society do not consider headscarf as a threat to secularism or state structure, on the other hand secular elite and some feminist women do not have any sympathy toward veiled women and do not support their engagement to public life. They see headscarf as a symbol of backwardness and do not believe that the woman who use it can not be an independent person and have to live under the mercy of their husbands and the Islamist men. They believe that Islamist ideology does not propose an equality between men and women. Furthermore it is argued that, Islamist men compel the women to defend their headscarves since they want an Islamic regime and do not want women to be active in society or in public. (Toprak and Uslu, 2009).

After the rise of *türban* discussions, *AKP* and *MHP* (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi-National Movement Party) lifted the headscarf ban from the universities in 2008 but *CHP* (Cumhuriyetçi Halk Partisi-Republican People's Party) objected it and raised the hostility between pious and Kemalist women. Only after 5 months, the court reinstated the ban of wearing headscarves in universities after severe polarizing discussions. On the other hand, the early marriages among pious women was being discussed and criticised as a women right issue so the pious women and their lifestyle became the subject of political disputes. There was a lack of collective voice or organized resistance from pious women themselves as they refuse the mobilization and Kemalist women fed their discourses with Islamic patriarchy criticism emphasising the need of fighting fundamentalism (Turam, 2008).

However, lots of pious women did not see a need to mobilize collectively to defend their rights. This *non-defiance* politics was a product of social and political conditions, and pious ones seemed to focus on democratization and freedom, political reform and *EU* membership. As Turam (2008) states that *AKP*'s deputies' covered wives define themselves as individual citizens, not as 'confrontational' or 'radical' Islamist women so they want to be seen as 'good citizens' with this nonresistance image and they have more power in society. On the other hand, they admit that the headscarf ban was an offense to their identity, individual freedom and personal choice. Their discourses became a model for the other pious women among society.

The problem of religious symbols, like *Sikhs*' *türban* or *Kippa* or *Muslims*' *headscarf*, in the public space like schools, workplaces and courtrooms, have been also discussed in all Europe, not only in Turkey, for years. The acceptance of those symbols heavily rely on the country's political stance, culture and social history. In French, where the meanings of religious symbols (traditional or political) are not desired to be discussed, also these symbols are banned in public schools since 2004. In British classrooms however, *türban* and headscarves are allowed to wear. Between these extreme points, regulations and practices vary for different countries. However, being engaged with a religion is regarded as an outstanding feature of one's identity and shows his/her bond to a community, yet religious freedom feeds the democratic pluralism in a society. Furthermore, *European Court of Human Rights* states that 'Islamic headscarf is a "powerful external symbol" which is not easily reconcilable

with the message of tolerance, respect for others, equality and non-discrimination' which are aimed to be found in a democratic society (Rosenfeld, 2009).

Duran (2010) argues that Turkey also passes through a different transformation process about Islamic revivalism compared to the other Muslim countries like Iran, Egypt and Pakistan because there is no demand for setting up *Sharia* law or restoring the *Caliphate*. Furthermore, Turkish Islamism has a close connection with *sufism*. It can be obviously seen that Islamist movements' supporters like politicians, intellectuals and businessmen have been influenced by *sufism* teachings. On the other hand, Sunni traditions of majority and strong state relations with *sufism* teachings shape Turkish Islamism in a more moderate way. The religious communities like *Gülen* and *Nakşibendi* have a great effect on the interpretations of Islamic traditions and feed Islamism. These communities' members like intellectuals and politicians also were educated in secular institutions and created different discourses for Islamism. Moreover, Turkish Islamism can be regarded as an urban movement because it is empowered by a strong middle class which developed new public faces and spheres with its own identity politics (Duran, 2010).

The institutionalization of secularism resulted in a further rupture in both orthodox and heterodox Islam in Turkey. The former one was controlled through the birth of *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı* (Directorate of Religious Affairs), theology schools and appointed *imams* (sect leaders) but the latter one lived among the society sacredly and secretly with the help of informal mystical orders, practices and networks of *Sufi* lodges. A social base was needed for the emergence of Islamist formations and *Said Nursi* (1876–1960), his major publication the *Risale-i Nur* (*Epistle of Light*), *Fethullah Gülen*, *Nakşibendi Sufism* and the attempts of the sympathisers of them empowered the Islamist movement. *Nurcu* movements especially focused on social actions visibly, not political ones and also became 'spaces for building of like-minded social capital'. Furthermore, a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural society was desired (Çınar, 2008; Alam, 2009).

The *tarikats* have another power that they had an influence on Islamist women and *türban* issue and created a type of 'stratum'. Those women wanted to stay in the sphere of religion, attended to *İmam Hatip Okulları* (Islamic Divinity Students Schools), educated and became visible in public by demanding public

positions. After all, the *türban* issue rised. Furthermore, AKP's political support was behind the Islamist women that lots of women gained positions in the assembly like the female minister of education. They were encouraged to set up commissions nationwide and women's new roles reinforced the politics of Islamization of society. On the other side, *FGM* (Fethullah Gülen Movement) and its schools had a great impact on the process of Islamization of Turkish society with the aim of integrating Muslim Turkish communities into Europe. The people against *FGM* believe that their political agenda can not be without *türban* because it is 'the symbol, the flag or keystone of the Islamist system' (Criss, 2010).

However, *Nakşibendi* and *Gülencemaats* supported Islamic revivalism on a cultural basis. They discussed the *türban* issue by emphasising the dialogue between the parts of the society. According to their Sunni Islamic doctrines they believe in individual change and no conflict between the different parts of the society. As they aim a cultural revolution, they establish educational and social welfare institutions, publish some periodicals and newspapers, own TV and radio channels. The growing democratic environment and opportunities created a convenient place for them, which is out of the secular state control and helped to construct the new Islamic identities gaining self-representation and representing themselves as an integral part of the society, not shunned ones. As a result, Muslims in Turkey, who were poor and ill-educated before, became more and more modernized since 1980's under *sui generis* Turkey modernization process which includes both secular/Western and religious/Eastern values inside (Balkan Ekşi, 2008).

Besides all the discussions about the veiling or *türban*, according to O'Neil (2010), there is a relationship between appearance and personality or belief and dress codes are commonly affected by politics. When these codes are dictated by the state, it is not possible to say the fact that that clothing style represents the individual's belief or choice but represents the state's. As clothing becomes the *reflection of the self*, the one may adopt or manage his or her dressing strategically, especially for a specific purpose. When it comes to women, in Turkey, when they work to gain economic freedom, they were forced to remove their veils or headscarves due to the bans and some of them did. Also affecting the direct relationship between identity

and appearance by secular state dictated dress codes, it is aimed to create a desired citizen with derived religious signifiers in the public spheres.

Even though the debates about *türban* issue still continue in Turkey, in October 2013, the administrative arrangement which is about ‘the independence for the headscarf in public realm’ has accrued with the public mandate published by the official gazette. The statements and items that limits the female personnel’s attiring and bans headscarf wearing while working in public were removed from the dress code (of the year 1982). However, the ones who are expected to wear official dress like members of the military, the constables, the judges and district attorneys are excluded from this regulation.

1.2.2.3.2. Feminist Movements, Islamic Discourses and Women’s Veiling

In Europe, for thousand years, clothing or dress codes were used to clearly identify the individuals who are coming from the different social classes. In Ottoman Empire, a similar symbolization also was used. In the late years of Turkish Republic, clothing and appearance in the public sphere became a problematic issue. Secularism did not separate the religion from the state in Turkey but removed the religious symbols or signifiers from the public sphere and unfortunately the women were affected more than men as their veil or headscarf was a much more visible and outstanding religious signifier (O’Neil, 2010).

In Turkey, for the last decades, the veiling gained a dual meaning that consists of the practice of Islamic faith and an indicator of social class, lifestyle and status. This phenomenon can be recontextualized under the effects of pragmatist consumerism, neoliberal market environment and changing practices of everyday social life. With the help of the New Right movements in post-1980 period, the effects of neoconservatism and neoliberalism manifested itself on politics and socio-cultural developments. Islamist groups successfully incorporated into these changes with social *mobilization* and reproduced and reconfigured the Islamic identity. Socio-political domains of everyday life were challenged by Islamic paradigms and the practice of veiling started to be discussed under normalcy shiftings. In post-1980 period, the headscarf became the issue of identity politics and political symbolism

because it is the most apparent symbol of Islamization and the conflict divided the society into two groups; *seculars* and *Islamists*. Therefore, the veiling became an indicator of the ideological fault line between secularism and Islamism (Kuran, 2010).

Attiring styles and clothes give lots of opinion about the features of national and religious identity. The dressing style, in the beginning of 20th century, was related with Islamic orders for both men and women in Turkey. It is believed that modernization begins with the appearance so if the actual clothing style was addressing the Islamic traditions, they had to be removed immediately. The headscarf, veil, salwar (baggy trousers), fez and the related ones were banned with the birth of new Republic of Turkey (Yiğit, 2012). Those attempts created a platform for the debate about religious clothing style and veil issue from 20th to 21th century.

The headscarf is a part of Muslim women's attiring and can be read as the sign of faith, identity, or the 'other' since the immigration problem of Muslims all around the world lead the rise of attention for headscarf or *veiling* issue. Reducing the meaning of headscarf into an Islamist symbol creates problems because it has multiple meanings in society and those meanings change over time and place. Furthermore, the veiling styles of women show varieties due to the different styles of dressing and covering the head and it becomes an issue of fashion next to politics and culture. From the beginning of 1980's, the headscarf and tying style started to be discussed and *türban* was related with the ideologically motivated Islamism. The new dress codes, the rules and bans created new insights and imposed modern-western style clothing, also fed the veiling fashion innovations (Gökarıksel, 2012).

According to Kalaycıoğlu (2005) *türban* may not be as religious as it looks, it can have different meanings like; a pressure on the pious people, a vestige of traditionalism, a sign of modernity, an adaptation of peasant migrants to the city life, a sign of conservative values, a shield against the men and a sign of family honor. It is argued that, when a woman use *türban*, she becomes a *hanımefendi* (lady), not an easy or frivolous woman and allowed to go outside, to the public, with the consent of her patriarchal patrons as it is associated with the pride of a woman.

Furthermore, the roles of *veiling* can be defined as; covering the attracting parts of women to protect them from the men's inappropriate behaviors (like

harassment), protecting men from the women if they are *na-mahrem* (infidel), focusing on the women's character not on sexuality and helping them to join to the society and social life conveniently, making women feel closer to God and obey God's orders, which are all about the *meanings* and the *legitimization*. It is accepted that female sexuality has a great influential potential on 'faithful' men so that sexual expression has to be limited in public, an ideal womanhood should be stereotyped (different from culture to culture) for the sake of Islam-based life-organization and the men's faith since they are located at the centre of human existence in Islam, which has a communitarian aspect (Sündal, 2005).

The transformed Islamist movements embraced such a political discourse that constitutional limits should be applied to prevent the state from interfering in social and private life of Muslims. Furthermore, those movements included some universal values such as democracy, human rights and civil society, to create free spheres for social and individual choices and differences. Without any dominant comprehensive doctrine, it is aimed to create dialogue and interaction between different social groups or West and East. It is argued that Islamism also transformed itself into a 'post-Islamist' discourse by leaving political and revolutionary enthusiasm and focusing on social and cultural practices of daily life. The transformations do not propose anti-global or anti-Western discourses, in contrary it turned into the rejection of a Eurocentric definition of modernity and challenging the West because a new Islamic modernity is needed in this millennium (Duran, 2010).

The years of 1980's were under the invasion of Islamic daily lifestyles. While Islam was being redefined, an Islamic life organization including private schools, media institutions etc. was rising under the mask of political concerns. It is argued that, before 1970's, the clothing of Muslim women were different than the 1980's, it was more traditional. The *tülbent* (muslin), *şalvar* (baggy trousers) and *kara çarşaf*(chador) were the representatives of 'traditional' but after 1980's *veiling* issue risen and *veiling* was accompanied by large headscarves; covering all the hair and neck, and overcoats; loose and long, were not perceived as 'traditional' anymore. The later ones became the new daily clothing of Muslim women and also regarded as the new Islamic dress codes (Sündal, 2005).

O'Neil (2010) argues that there is an extensive regulatory regime on clothing and appearance in Turkey, with the help of secular state rules, and these dress codes try to modernize the citizens by a Western and secular way. It means that the appearance does not represent the individual's beliefs but represent the state's, so it is dictated. The ban on *headscarf* affected employees, students, TV presenters and religious officials, in other words lots of women. For Turkey, politics of clothing became an interesting issue because it is used as a tool to establish the modern state and continued to be used from different power groups. Dressing have different meanings like; supporting authority, representing social class, producing and reproducing values and they are so related with the politics of power. When Western style of clothing became the symbol of modernization for some, on the contrary, the rejection of this style, saving and defending the traditions became the symbol of independence or rebellion for the others.

Women in East/Middle East are born into patriarchal cultural aura. For example in Turkey, the women are free to be *veiled* or not but in Iran or Afghanistan the women *have to be veiled*; by using *burka* (burqa) which even forbids to show the face. These different patriarchal 'orders' or 'controls' cause the veiled women to experience *veiling* very subjectively. At this point, Islam is questioned by the fact that if it has an equalitarian ideology for men and women or not. The women's *veiling* choices, by the way, can be questioned by everyday life's sphere of *praxis*. As Turkey is not like the other Muslim countries, lived a secular revolution, *veiling* issue is mostly related with the sphere of culture that caused heterogeneous choices and lifestyles among veiled women. When Islam, women and daily life integrated, the domestic sphere clashed with publicity, the integration created the opposed relation between 'public' and 'private' (Sündal, 2005).

On the other hand, gender roles, feminism movements and the manipulations of media on gender images have a significant affect on the perception about veiling, headscarf and Muslim women. When Islamic movements rised in Turkey after 1980's, with the help of feminist discourses, it was started to question veiled women's roles, images, identities among the society and their traditional attiring practices, changing lifestyles and new demands.

Feminist movement started the fire of questioning the perception of women and women's perception of themselves. The Islamism could not close its doors on feminist movements even if they come from the criticised West. Feminism caused a positive progress on problematic man-woman relationships to a degree. However its suggestions were not sufficient for Muslim women's problem as it actually represents 'the white - middle class - Western women'. It created a paradox for the fact that it sublimated the 'white Western women' and trivialized 'the other women' and deemed the others worthy of being saved. It denied the differentness among women globally and proposed a discourse of singularity based on the Western woman identity (Aktaş, 2007: 141-42).

Aldıkaçtı Marshall (2008) proposes some distinctions between the 'Islamic', 'Islamist', 'Islamic feminist/feminism', 'Islamist feminist/feminism'. In Turkey, for feminist women, *Islamist* refer to the religiously and politically oriented women. Some activists identify themselves as Muslim/feminist but do not have such a religious orientation so they refuse to be called as *Islamic feminists*. On the contrary, a small group of women define themselves as feminist but not secular, define themselves as *Islamists* so their discourses and perceptions about women and *veiling* issue became different.

The rise of Islamism and the second wave of feminism coincides in the 1980's. A considerable number of women organizations established, women published books, wrote for journals and newspapers. Some feminist arguments support the idea that the Islamist women are ostracized by secular men and women, but they were also silenced by Muslim men for the sake of religion. According to some scholars and activists, Islam and feminism can be interpreted together by reinterpreting the sacred texts and empowering the women. On the other hand, some Islamist and secular feminists believe that, this kind of fusion is not possible since the nature of feminism based on secularism and egalitarianism which are not consistent with Islam. (Aldıkaçtı Marshall, 2008).

However, Islamic women intellectuals showed up to discuss *veiling issue* and the status of women in Islam under feminist discourses in Turkey. Some conferences and panels like "Meetings about Us" (Bize Dair Toplantılar) were organized in cooperation with *PÜMER* (Proje Üretim Merkezi; Center for the Production of

Projects), a research center established by a group of Islamic women intellectuals, journalists, writers, artists, and lawyers. Public life, culture, media, politics and family issues were discussed. Against some Islamist men's resistance for the visibility of Muslim women, those Islamic women intellectuals also attempted to challenge the Islamic male identities but they were given the go-by by those Islamist men. It started a new discussion and it is argued that the Muslim woman 'herself' could not become visible in public, practically, but her 'image' could (Çınar, 2008).

Some unincorporated associations about women rised in Turkey during feminism-Islamism fusion period. Some of them are; *AK-DER* (Ayrımcılığa Karşı Kadın Hareketi-Women Against Discrimination/Foundation: 1999), *ÖZGÜR-DER* (Özgür Düşünce ve Eğitim Hakları Derneği-Association For The Freedom of Thought and Educational Rights/ Foundation: 1999), *MAZLUM-DER* (İnsan Hakları ve Mazlumlar İçin Dayanışma Derneği-Organization For Human Rights and Solidarity For The Oppressed People/ Foundation: 1991). The former two especially concerned with discrimination against women who wear the headscarf and have an anti-political profile but the latter has wider concerns about human rights and relationships with political society. The aim of the female members of *ÖZGÜR-DER* is to set their own parameters of existence with Islamic references. For *AK-DER*, the *headscarf issue* is its *raison d'être* and adress the discrimination that women face, the identity problem, *the otherness*. The members hold anti-feminist discourses and are against for two types of discrimination; being veiled (headscarf issue) and being a women (identity and individualism issues). In the last instance, these organizations have a great role by playing an active role to meet Islamist women's needs like higher education rights, public visibility and headscarf issue and to propose solutions for the problems. On the other hand, no state authority or political party has rooted out the headscarf problem yet but these civil organizations are active agents that bring and sustain these issues on the public's agenda (Kadıoğlu, 2005).

On the other hand, some Islamists criticised those associations and movements and argued that post-feminist discourses are scunge inside and do not pay attention to women values. They disregard the inequality between men and women in their nature that Islam approves. It handles the women issue only from the viewpoint of gender mainstreaming question and suppresses the gender differences.

However, for some Islamists, the main goal should be the women's freedom to improve their personalities, not spreading the patriarchy and acceptance of it by women but also differentiate genders from each other. The differentness is valuable and real but should not be used for excluding or suppressing the other. As Qur'an says, the best veiling is not about clothing but about *takva* (piety). To exclude religious women from the society is an oppression for them (Aktaş, 2007: 136-37).

The Islamist and secular feminists' arguments have different ideological standpoints and offer different lifestyles, the former refer to Islam, the latter to secularism and some of them believe that Islam and feminism can exist together, some do not. The inequality and division of labor thesis between men and women, the headscarf as a controlling mechanism on female body is usually questioned by both groups. Islamist women mostly believe that if Islam is practiced fairly in daily life, there will be no need for feminism as Islam already gives privileged rights to women against men and there is no need to fight for rights. Also it is stressed that, for Islamist feminists, the starting point, Islamic queries about women can be fed by the interpretations of feminism but men should live Islam fairly and they have to gain equal status with women (Aldıkaçtı Marshall, 2008).

Furthermore, extension of women's rights by the state was criticised by some feminists under the name of 'colonial feminism' or 'state feminism' because the state granted these rights to women only for promoting the state's ideology and not for being interested in the women's well-being. It can be seen from the example of *Turkish Women's Federation*, in Turkey. It was formed in 1924 but only lived for 11 years since it was against the armament and signed an international petition, which was also against the secular republic's politics. When the federation dissolved, some feminists raised their voices due to the fact that the republic's action to undermine the development of an autonomous women's movement and it did not reemerge until the 1990s (Çınar, 2008).

It was claimed that the secular state unveiled the female body not for the sake of women but for the westernization process of the society, under hegemonic masculinity and political power. In Turkey, Kemalist women's feminism can be defined as 'state feminism' that sees the secular state as the main safeguard of women's rights and equality. For them, *Atatürk* is a very important actor who gave

an equal position to women in the society. As they do not approve the headscarf worn by pious women, the popularity and rise of the political Islam, they support the military dominancy and see it as the protector of secular republic (Turam, 2008).

Vojdik (2010) states that, Islamic veiling is both a religious practice and political symbol within Muslim countries. When the headscarf was banned in universities and government places, it became a more politicized issue in Turkey. From the view of some feminists, it is stated that the bans violate women's right for religious freedom or right for gender equality. For the others, veiling represents the symbolic subordination of women. However, veiling can have multiple meanings when it is analyzed through the lens of historical and social context in a particular location and time. It can be regarded as a religious symbol or practice, an issue of individual rights or liberty, a power relation between men and women, a gender issue that criticizes the regulation of women's bodies, a discussion between secularists and Islamists and a politics between West and East.

According to the various interpretations of the survey's results, gender inequality was regarded as the key factor for the societal problems in Turkey. It is claimed that women are suffering from this inequality, they are not free in their private lives, they are forced to accept the patriarchal rules, they can not participate to the workforce freely and excluded from the economic sphere. However, 'nearly nine out of ten respondents (88 percent) agreed that Turkey should be governed by democracy under by any means'. It is obvious that, on one hand, conservative views regarding the position of women are still dominant but on the other hand, the demand for democracy is increasing day by day in Turkey (Haynes, 2010). A desire to manipulate these conflicting situations skillfully can be seen in the political and societal discourses of *AKP*. Gender issues also feed *veiling* issue and privileges of the sexes.

The educated women coming from urban created a new elite group that query men's privileges and formed a basis for feminist movements of 1970's and 1980's. Before the military coup in 1980, the political activism of feminists was around leftist movements but after, with the help of bans, their activism moved to the streets. The institutionalization period of feminism occurred at the same time as 1990's, secular feminists showed themselves at universities, organizations, protested

violence against women, joined discussion process of law and demand participation in politics. On the other hand, from 1960's to 1980's only a small group of women who had religious concerns were seeking for women's rights without removing their headscarves. They became visible at streets as activists after the headscarf ban in 1980's. They also discussed the role of women at home and in society, the education and political participation rights loudly and 'support the activism of Islamist men and receive financial, emotional and ideological assistance from them' (Aldıkaçtı Marshall, 2008).

For Aldıkaçtı Marshall (2008), the role of media in Turkey also has a great influence on feminism issues and affects how these activists perceive each other. It is claimed that, the secular media 'depict Islamist women as radical militants who use the Islamic head-cover as a symbol of a backward social order'. They are regarded that they live under the pressure of Islamist men and abused by men to set up *şeriat*. On the contrary, from the point of Islamic Media view, the secular ones are regarded as people who are misandrists, against the idea of family, motherhood, sacred virginity and sexually deviant, also want sexual freedom, create antagonism between men and women but Islamist women are depicted as martyrs for their efforts to wear headscarves even under pressures and bans.

When *veiling* makes the feminine sexuality invisible, it also makes visible who they are and how they internalize Islam, the character of women. This is a two-edged situation for the fact that when some women claim that they are more respected, trusted and not harassed by the means of social relations. However, these women's discourses support the patriarchal bargaining that regulates gender relations (Sündal, 2005). On the other hand, the *fitri* (innate) woman discourses were coalesced with feminist discourses and women gained self-confidence and raised their egalitarian demands. They broke the perception of being solid and boring by participating communicative activities and it was the proof of not being luster, limited, ordinary, dependent, narrow minded, rude, peasant, bondswomen and the public women programmes were the alternatives as those women can not participate sufficiently public business life yet (Aktaş, 2007: 22-34).

1.3. THE BIRTH OF VEILING FASHION AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTIONS OF VEILED WOMEN AS CONSUMERS

The veiled women consumers should be differentiated from the other female consumers due to the necessities of Islam when it comes to the consumer behavior. By not ignoring their consumer identity, it is needed to analyze the dynamics of fashion, consumption, consumption culture and the global market structure by combining the concerns of veiled women's religious identity to answer the question of 'What is changing in veiled women's clothing practices?' in the light of fashion and identity constructions.

1.3.1. Veiling Fashion and The Global Marketplace

In the global marketplace, Islamic fashion or veiling fashion is getting more and more attention. There is no Christian fashion or Buddhist fashion specifically but Islam is being engaged with fashion since there are religious rules about attiring for women in Islam and attiring is connected with fashion inevitably. Also this dressing style is not about the location, nationality or the race but it embraces all the Muslim women with the same Islamic codes of dress all around the world. For Muslim women, the fusion of Islam and fashion could be nice and trendy but at the very first hand, the marketers are concerned about the scope of the market.

Veiling fashion is interesting since there is a huge Muslim population in the world. For now, Islam is the second largest religion in the world but it is estimated that, with the help of high birth rate of Muslims, it will be the largest in the near future. Since approximately the half of the world population consists of women and this population also includes a huge number of Muslim women whose demands have a complex relationship with veiling, dressing and fashion since they are always ready to demand and consume. Some general information about the global Islamic fashion industry is like the below (www.ttistextiledigest.com, 2012; muslimvillage.com, 2011):

- In 2010, 23.4% of the world population or 1.6 billion people were Muslims.

- Asia Pacific has the largest population of the world and also the largest Muslim population, or over a billion Muslims, a 62% of the world.
- There are 800 million Muslim women all around the world and 40% of that, or 320 million, is 25 years old. What makes it even more attractive is that the development of Muslim fashion stems from a young demographic.
- Bloomberg has estimated that the global Muslim fashion market could be worth \$96bn. For scale, comparing that to the entire UK fashion industry, which is valued at £21bn. The 16 million Muslims in the EU, a potential clothing market can be valued at US\$960 million to US, \$1.5 billion a year.

In the global market, The Arab fashion industry is outstanding since it is highly focused on veiling fashion. The French Fashion University in Dubai is training talented Arab fashionists and designers. Some Arabic style outfits can be sold for as much as USD \$10,000 and the population has a high purchasing power in the United Arab Emirates. Also the well-known international brands like Hermes, Gucci, Christian Lacroix are also trying to break into the Muslim market with scarves and other veiling components. A new generation of highly-talented designers such as Elie Saab, Robert Abi Nader, Abed Mahfouz, Walid Attalah are leading the veiling fashion globally. In cities like New York and Brooklyn, designers are opening Muslim model agencies and supporting the modesty on the catwalk (thepurplesharepoint.blogspot.com, 2010; www.guardian.co.uk, 2012).

In the centers of global fashion like New York, London and Paris, brands like Dolce & Gabbana introduced veiling fashion collections in the previous years. On the other hand Malaysia has an Islamic Fashion Festival and Indonesia has an Islamic Fashion Consortium whose chairwoman hopes to establish Indonesia as a global centre for Islamic fashion. Famous designers like Galliano and Ferretti designs abayas for haute couture collections to meet the Saudi Arabian customers' demands. Some products of a Qatari designers cost as much as \$20,000. In the Fashion Show of 2009 Paris, the made-to-measure abayas designed by Galliano, worthed up to \$10,000 and were donated to buyers including Saudi Royal Family. In the Saudi cities of Riyadh and Jeddah, ready-to-wear abayas are on sale for as much as \$12,000. Saudi princesses sometimes buy 15 to 20 evening gowns for as much as \$20,000 each. They also ask designers like Chanel and Gucci to design bags and

high heels to finalize their attires (muslimvillage.com, 2011; www.bloomberg.com, 2010).

In 2012, the Russian capital held the first Islamic Style Festival that was organized by the Council of Muftis in Russia. The aim was correcting the image of Muslim women's clothing, encouraging Islamic fashion designers to come out and present their work and showing the modernity of veiled Muslim women. In 2012 Hijab Festival of Indonesia, 'making Muslim women feel beautiful while wearing a hijab' rised as the main discourse of designers. There are lots of local brands and boutiques in Indonesia, supplying modest dresses to the market (www.patheos.com, 2012; khabarsoutheastasia.com, 2012).

On the other hand, countries like Pakistan, Indonesia and Malesia are trying to be the Islamic fashion centers. In Pakistan, the fashion industry is flourishing very rapidly. PFDC L'Oreal Paris Fashion Week took place in Lahore in 2012. In the country, bridal dressing is a major theme since in Pakistan the celebrations, festivals and marriages are done in an extravagant manner and people care about their dressing. The designers specifically focus on bridal collections and export them to the world. On the other hand, Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim-majority country, started to assert itself as a leader in the fashion for the faithfuls. Fashion shows and fairs are being organized and lots of Islamic lifestyle magazines are being published in the country (muslim-academy.com, 2012; veilingfashion.unc.edu, 2010)

It is obvious that the modest dressing is a growing phenomenon all around the world. The entrepreneurs are also turning to online retail as a way to reach out and market their products since women are online, affect each others decisions and share ideas so quickly. The veiled Muslim women become more and more conscious by accessing all the information via internet. The veiling fashion and Islamic lifestyle magazines also try to give information and lead the female consumers. The brands which combine the fashion and religious concerns at the same place develop loyalty at the target segment. The designers, labels, marketers and fashion houses are the key elements in this global Muslim market.

1.3.2. The Rise of the Islamic Consumptionspace and Veiling Fashion Industry in Turkey

The rise of the Islamic consumptionspace in Turkey coincides with the period of 1980's and 1990's, with the popularization of Islamism. Specialized businesses for Islamic goods came along to meet the changing demands of new Islamic bourgeois. They started to compete in every sector of economy and grew with the help of capitalism and liberalism movements. The new religious consumers, who also have money, pushed businesses to create and supply appropriate products for this new segment. When the Islamic capital grew after years, a new pattern of consumption rised among this religious segment and products started to be found in the market called as 'Islamic', ranging over clothing, halal food, vacations, entertainment, etc (Sandıkçı ve Ger, 2007).

It is obvious that Islamic consumptionspace started to compete against the seculars' in every domain of life. The Islamic attiring became a good example of consumption fusion and an issue of complex relationships between consumerism, capitalism, modernity and globalization. Islamic identities started to seek a negotiation among these multiple tensions without leaving religious symbolic expressions in the domain of consumption. For these reasons, the veiling fashion is a relatively new phenomenon in Turkey and its industry rised as a part of Islamic consumptionscape. The veiling and the headscarf is not a pure political or religious symbol anymore. On the contrary, they became the issue of a huge industry and marketing actions which is complex, dynamic and evolving with the help of new market trends and socio-cultural, economic and political developments (Sandıkçı and Ger, 2001; Gökarısel and Secor, 2011; Sandıkçı ve Ger, 2007).

The emergence of veiling fashion industry became directly related to the growth and diversification of the textile industry which was increasingly developed with the help of liberalisation and export-oriented policies after 1970's. The textile sector is one of the leading sectors in Turkey. Textiles and clothing industry play a critical role in the export-oriented growth of the Turkish economy since there are more than 40,000 textile and clothing companies in the country with an estimated workforce of 750,000 employees. Opening to foreign markets after 1980's, the

growth of clothing industry started to be fed by the developing textile industry and fashion design firms also started to be encouraged to stand out in the market. These sectors had a 18,5% share in total export volume in 2011 and Turkey is also the second largest supplier to the EU. The industry has the capability to meet high standards and can compete in international markets in terms of high quality and a wide range of products. Izmir, Bursa, Ankara, Denizli, Gaziantep, Kayseri, Tekirdağ, Adıyaman, Kahramanmaraş and Adana are now major cities for textile and clothing production. According to the TGSD's (*Türk Giyim Sanayicileri Derneği-The Association of Turkish Clothing Industry*) (2012) ready-to-wear clothing sector indexes, in the domestic market the expenditure rised from 35,1 to 47 billion Turkish Liras from 2007 to 2012. Turkey has a great export potantial in this sector since the export rate was 16,1 billion dollars and the import rate was 2,34 billion dollars in December 2012 (Gökarısel and Secor, 2010a; Gülcan *et all.*, 2011; TCP, 2012; www.tgsd.org.tr, 2012)

In the light of these developments and other socio-economic-political-cultural factors, the veiling fashion sector gained a distinctive part in Turkish apparel industry in the last decades. The producers, day by day, differentiated their brand names by altering their collections and engaged in sophisticated design, marketing, sales and production activities to satisfy the religiously concerned consumers' new demands. They segmented and targeted the veiled women specifically and became much better marketers in terms of identifying the veiled women's new needs, designing products for them and communicating with them. Over the time, the producers shifted their strategies from producing homogenized and conservative products like oversized headscarves and long overcoats to produce modern styles by being affected the trends of global fashion networks. They also educated and motivated their consumers and veiled women became better consumers in terms of demanding new products, constructing their new identites via products and standing out in the social spheres. The diversification of veiling fashion started to represent piety and fashion for women at the same time (Gökarısel and Secor, 2010a; Sandıkçı ve Ger, 2007).

Before 1980's, neither fashionable nor an industry at that time, the veiling was so homogeneous and consisted of components like angle-length overcoats and large scarves covering the whole head, chest and shoulders with muted, dark or

neutral colors. Also the headscarf was associated with the lower-class status and the migrants. However, after 1980's, with the rise of Islamic bourgeoisie, Western-oriented lifestyles started to affect Islamic consumers' and producers' decisions and daily practices. The young and educated urban women became the first representatives of new style of women's modest dressing. This style of covering created a profitable and differentiated veiling fashion industry (Gökarısel and Secor, 2010b).

When the small scale rural businesses, which are religious and conservative, grew into bigger companies with the help of capitalism and marketing efforts, they created an alternative market for the religiously concerned ones in the consumption domain that was dominated by Westernized goods. As the Islamic bourgeoisie developed a taste for bourgeoisie consumption under the effects of socio-cultural, political and economical changes, with new demands they became the target segment for those companies. Consumers and producers together, created the new Islamic consumptionspace in Turkey (Sandıkçı and Ger, 2001).

In 1980's, as an example, İstanbul Unkapanı district was established as an entire shopping center for veiled women's need of shopping for modest dressing. The veiling stores' names were quoted from Islamic terminology like 'Tehvid', 'İhvan' and 'Hak'. In time, the smaller ateliers became international companies by producing a range of clothing items. The homogenous style of veiling items turned into heterogeneous ones to differentiate the middle and upper classes' veiled women from the others. A well-known sector leader company called 'Tekbir Giyim' was established in 1982 and in 1990's, it arranged veiling-fashion shows by using famous Turkish models and became the target of severe critics as it was regarded as antithetical to the principles of Islam but the managers of the company rejected the claims and continued to create similar actions. It also gained a high brand-name awareness by using effective marketing techniques. It turned the veiling into the commercial and framed it as the fashion which led a new understanding for veiling in the context of marketing and consumption (Sandıkçı ve Ger, 2007).

The accelerated increase of the number of veiling fashion companies coincides with the rise of Islamic-oriented parties in Turkey, after 1990's. The well-known modest dress firms like *Tekbir*, *Aydan*, *SetrMS*, *Selam* and *Armine* started to

differentiate themselves by proposing showy catalogs, advertisements, haute couture collections and even fashion shows. They started to produce some products which seemed as the subsidiaries of new Islamic lifestyle, including *haşemas* (swimsuits for women that covers whole body without face, hands and feet), bridal gowns with scarves and sportswear. These new styles included trendy colors with a more close-fitting cuts (Gökarısel and Secor, 2010b).

Furthermore, the firms which produce headscarves like Armine strongly stressed that the scarf is a religious commodity to be respected. These companies claimed that they help veiled women to keep in touch with the modern age, to leave the old Anatolian covering style, dress fashionably without sacrificing any religious duty. They also stressed that the responsibility is on the consumers' shoulders to choose the method or style to use the religiously acceptable cloths and components. The relationship between these firms and their target market turns into a didactic relationship between the consumers and the producers since they learn from each other about the usage of the products of veiling. It means that veiling fashion raises the questions of piety, self, daily covering practices and fashion which are debated and never fully resolved (Gökarısel and Secor, 2010a).

However, modest dressing and the related sector is a roughly defined sub-sector among the Turkish apparel industry. It was estimated that approximately 200 firms were operating within this context in 2010. Since lots of the firms produce for both veiling and other styles, it becomes more difficult to locate and classify them as modest dressing firms. Lots of the firms are small to medium-sized operations and some of them are engaged in both wholesale and retail. The annual earnings are reported between 250.000 and 2 million Turkish liras (TL). The sector leaders like Tekbir Giyim reports over 20 million TL earnings by employing 1450 people and having 33 branches. Firms are usually located in İstanbul and Konya since entrepreneurs from Konya have an active role in MÜSİAD and these cities are the centre for Islamic bourgeoisie and green capital (Gökarısel and Secor, 2010a).

As it is known, the fashion industry is at the forefront of emerging industries globally and the phenomenon of veiling fashion has emerged in the context of local and global fashion systems for the last decades. The companies operating in this industry have to respond much faster to rapidly changing markets and the

consumer's appetite for variety. Ergonomics, trends and subjectivity are the crucial elements for a fashion product. Consumer preferences for fashion products are generally affected by identity and lifestyle concerns. Furthermore, consumers prefer products that are consistent with their identity and the clothing has the potential (and is commonly used) to reflect and convey the inner self (like self image, political affiliations, social aspirations, etc.). Hence, the fashion becomes a fundamental part of human behavior and is concerned with how individuals perceive an outlook and how it can be projected. Fashion products support personal identities, lifestyles and represents cultural norms and society through dressing practices. Since the fashion industry changes body image and beauty ideals over time, consumers demand those products to reflect the preferred images and lifestyles (Al-Qasimi, 2010; Rocha *et al.*, 2005; Moody *et al.*, 2010; Apeagyei *et al.*, 2007).

The fashion change is planned by the companies in the industry for target segments with its own fashion trends to motivate the consumers to buy new products continuously. Also, the mass media transfers the upper classes' choices to the lower classes to feed the fashion cycle so the fashion turns into a socializing agent and proposes social standards for the target segments. According to the definition of Solomon and Rabolt (2004: 6-19), fashion is 'a form of collective behavior, or a wave of social conformity' and refers to 'a style that is accepted by a large group of people at a given time'. Consumers use the products of fashion not only identify and distinguish themselves from others but also to negotiate their public images to manage appearance and balance their sense of affiliation and autonomy. With the help of these products, a variety of meanings are transferred by the self which includes different identities that are derived from different social roles and can be switched according to social situations (Law *et al.*, 2004; Piamphongsant and Mandhachitara, 2008).

Turkey is seemed to be a significant apparel-producing country for retailers in both the Islamic regions and the West. On the other hand, as Islam itself is not monolithic but constituted of many sects, practiced and experienced in different ways in daily life, Muslim consumers are different from the other consumers in terms of their religious concerns about their consumption decisions. Within the scope of veiling, although Islam is the common description, the religious clothing differs from

the context to context, the meaning and practices of veiling evolve across time and social classes. Being halal (religiously appropriate) was located at the center of Muslim consumers' consumption decisions especially about woman attiring. However, even if they seek for halal, Muslim consumers do not want the same products and behave in the same way. It also means that Islamic lives are dynamic, contested, multiple and negotiated (Akou, 2007; Sandıkçı, 2011).

The identification of Muslims as an untapped and viable market segment created an attention for the practices of Muslims, such as the attiring practices of veiled Muslim women. In the recent years, this interest turned into a need to understand the relationship between Islam and consumption practices deeply. The rising purchasing power of Muslims was regarded the signifier of the Muslims' visibility as consumers. Muslim businessmen started to combine Islamic principles with capitalist aspirations. Also, the Islamic marketing rose under changing demographics and purchasing power of Muslim consumers. These new circumstances made Muslim consumers and businessmen negotiate Islamic and consumerist values and made Islam and marketing inform each other. Hence, the religion became the homogenizing force across the Muslim population and the common descriptor explaining the behaviors of Muslim consumers (Sandıkçı, 2011). From this point of view, the veiled Muslim women should be also defined and analyzed as the consumers of ready-to-wear sector or clothing industry.

Turquility Market Research (Consumption Patterns) Report (2007) gives significant information about Turkish women consumers' lifestyles, profiles, consumption patterns about attiring and the consumer segments of ready-to-wear sector in Turkey. According to the report, Turkish consumers' lifestyles depend on *age, marriage status* and *profession*. The younger and single ones have more independent lifestyles and are more social. The young adults and adults are generally married and have children. They have more planned and home-dependent lifestyles. Even if the rate of magazine following is low (37%), the lifestyle fashion magazines like *Cosmopolitan* and *Marie Claire* are the favorite ones. The family is the most important value. The younger ones value individual goals, friendship and career but older ones value traditional and cultural values more. When it is about the outlook, the attiring is the first thing comes to mind. They care about what the others think

about their appearance and believe that the first thing is the attiring to make a good impression on someone. Also, their consumption is related with their income level. The women go shopping more than men (www.itkib.org.tr, 2007).

The Turkish consumers' daily clothing styles are depended on the weather, the journey, and daily activities. Women are found to be more sophisticated and have a creative attiring style. They struggle to show an original image by combining and mixing different accessories and components but men do not. Comfortable and casual clothes are more preferred and marginal styles are generally avoided. Lots of consumers do not prefer to use some specific fabrics like nylon and tulle. They claim that they feel better when they dress well. They also pay attention to the fabric and the functionality of the cloth (www.itkib.org.tr, 2007).

In the report, 5 different women consumer segment are found in Turkish ready-to-wear sector (www.itkib.org.tr, 2007):

- **Simple-Traditionalists (39%- approximately 994,86 YTL personal income-112 YTL expenditure per month):** The biggest segment. Mostly consists of business women. They value the religious norms and live according to the traditions. Earning their own money and reaching to the top position of the career is important. They follow economy and politics. This is the second segment which has the highest ready-to-wear expenditure. Need and functionality is the foci, quality and affordable price are sought. They have a simple and classical attiring style.
- **Pretentious Housewives (32%- approximately 890,74 YTL personal income-99 YTL expenditure per month):** The second biggest segment. Mostly consists of the housewives. They prefer to spend time in front of the mirror, go shopping for attiring, go to the places for entertainment, join cultural activities, follow the magazine news. They wear what the fashion is, even if it is marginal. The visibility of the brand, different elements in the cloths, to be admired by others and to show the body figure are important.
- **Consumers Who Are Focused On The Needs And Take Life To Heart (14%- approximately 966,71 YTL personal income-96 YTL expenditure per**

month): Lots of them works full-time. Career and family are more important. They do not like shopping, clothing and shopping do not have any importance in their lifes, they are just necessities. They prefer functional clothes that are suitable for work and external activities.

- **Consumers Who Pay Attantion To Their Outlook But Are Not Close Followers of Fashion (8%- approximately 897,05 YTL personal income-93 YTL expenditure per month):** Lots of them are women and they do not work. They are concerned about freedom, sexuality and personal happiness. They care about their health and fitness. They like to dress well and shopping not at the same level as the previous segment.

- **Egocentric and Materialistic Brand Addicts (7%-approximately 1434,47 YTL personal income-133 YTL expenditure per month):** A few of them are women who are concerned about freedom, sexuality and personal happiness. This is the segment which cares about the money most. They use branded products more and spend for those just for they are branded. They spend more money for ready-to-wear and do not wait for discounts and buy the product if they like.

According to the general consumer profile, %48 of women are working and their average monthly income is 1260 YTL (for women who works in her own business or who are salaried employee). They feel that they are out of the picture about life more than men and they are more zealous ones about joining into life. They seek for newnees, they want to be leaders, to feel close to family, to eat at elegant restaurants, to follow the news about celebrities and they care about personal care more than men. They go shopping with their moms, daugthers, friends, etc. to take advise. The most important information resource about attiring is the family's and friends' opinions and experiences. They are affected by the ads in the magazines. They like to see glossy papered magazines and they encouraged them to buy. They spend averagely 109 YTL per month for ready-to-wear products (www.itkib.org.tr, 2007)

On the other hand, after the rise of modest dress producers in the market, also there is an increase on the numbers of veiling fashion magazines in Turkey after 2000's. In 2013 three veiling fashion magazines exist in the market and continue to be published in Turkey: *Ala*, *Aysha* and *Enda*. The target segment of these magazines consists of veiled or religious Muslim women who seek for an Islamic lifestyle and consumption. Since the modest dress producers are especially operated as little boutiques in Turkey, the prices of products are high and these magazines promote these products and firms in their volumes. Some boutiques create different concepts like *Naqesh Cafe&Butik*. At the first floor, there are eating places designed in Ottoman style in where Turkish cafes and Ottoman cuisine are served. On the shopping floor, marbling arts decorate the walls, Islamic products are on sale including modest dress, scarves, rosaries, rugs and halal cosmetics. On the other floors there are conference rooms and lodges for business men/women for meetings or for other organizations. This new concept meets the all needs of religiously concerned consumers with a 450 square meters place and branches are being opened in big cities one after another (www.zaman.com.tr, 2013a; www.zaman.com.tr, 2013b).

Furthermore, modest dress designers like *Pınar Şems Kavak*, *Tuğba Kuşçuoğlu*, *Kuaybe Gider*, *Pınar Akşam* who are veiled and educated Muslim women started to stand out in the market in the last years. They create collections, attend fairs or organize fashion shows and market their brands. Some fashion shows and fairs for modest dressing started to be organized in Turkey in the last years with a high foreign attendance. Other young designers like *Şüheda Aydın (The brand: Şüşütown)* design products for young veiled women even at their homes, promote and sale them on internet by using social media and become veiling fashion setters (www.radikal.com.tr, 2013; www.hurriyet.com.tr, 2012; www.aksiyon.com.tr, 2013; www.zaman.com.tr, 2013c).

The fashion trends, religious concerns, daily consumption, attiring patterns, changing lifestyles and consumer profiles should be analyzed together to understand veiled Muslim women's attiring practices and product choices. According to Islam, it is permitted that the pursuit of desires are right and proper if they are integrated with religiously advised principles like fairness, sharing, seeking virtue, generosity, fair

play and compassion, etc. If the demands are in line with the teachings of Islam, that kind of consumption is suitable for the Muslims. However, mixing the religious concerns and mundane desires creates a tension for religious consumers. In the new Islamic consumptionspace, new identities and consumption patterns emerge as consumers negotiate various tensions between the Eastern and Western values. The market and consumption played a great role in the rise of veiling fashion industry globally and the differentiation of Muslims consumers as a distinctive market segment. In the veiling fashion industry, the Muslim entrepreneurs are designing, producing and marketing products for Muslim consumers and the meaning of veiling has been changed and dis/advantaged or marginalized Muslim identities turned into consumer subjects in the market (Sandıkçı and Ger, 2001; Sandıkçı, 2011).

1.3.3. Veiling Fashion, Consumption and New Identity Constructions of Veiled Women

In Turkey, since 1980's, a distinct consumer segment consists of veiled Muslim women rised under the social, economic and political changes through the process of identity formation and negotiation. With the help of consumerism, capitalism, sector dynamics and marketing activities, new representations of veiled women are shaped and transformed by advertising and commercial imagery growingly. The Islamic fashion industry created a 'modern' veiled woman image through new consumption practices and commercial products. These new images and identities were legitimized and privileged over the old ones by using fashion, media constructs and contemporary commercial representations since those images and identity stereotypes change again and again over the time, inevitably (Sandıkçı ve Ger, 2007).

One of the main factors led to the birth of new patterns of consumption practices especially among Muslim women is the Islamization of the ways of life. As the religion is reinterpreted in the light of modern times, Muslim lifestyles changed through using all the latest technology, modern gadgets and public places. Under the fusion of Islam and modernity, the self-reflexivity, individuation, public places and mass media tools turned into transformative forces. Veiled women redefined the

frontiers between modernity and identity with the help of their different roles in life; as a young girl, wife, business woman, mother, and grandmother. The traditional roles were updated by attaching the public places along with the domestic private spheres. New public roles for women were legitimized by new lifestyles and ideologies (Göle, 2000).

Within the changing circumstances, the veiled women started to criticise the tradition, to break the taboos of so-called Islam, increase their visibility in public spheres, to enlarge their limited domestic spheres by joining into the workforce, to being inspired by feminist thoughts, affirming their personalities without relying on men and being independent of her husband and children. The sacred *femininity* was interchanged with *personality* for veiled women by creating self-definitions and life-strategies. They started to mention their unique life stories and rejected the Muslim woman identity that projects the male point of view. Their all practices turned into a matter of choice and under their veils they created new Muslim woman profiles. They were all empowered by new Islamic lifestyle values (Göle, 2000).

The modern demands of time made Muslim women to question their identities more. The women's so-called duties based on so-called Islamic orders like making housework and caring for children started to be criticised by pointing the patriarchy. They wanted to reshape their responsibilities by reinterpreting the Islamic orders taken from original resources in the light of modern concerns. In 1980's the conformism was being regarded as a wrong fact by Muslims but in 1990's they desired to deepen their individualities and recognise life again by leaving the simplicity. The demand of change among Muslims was the consequence of the desire of getting rid of the illiberality. Hence, lots of Muslim women started to prefer career over motherhood, construct independent identities even if they still called themselves religious (Aktaş, 2007: 15-22, 73).

The growing role of material life and the religious concerns clashed in the contemporary lifestyles of Muslims. Since the materialism is an economic orientation to life and despite the religious discourses against materialism, the desire of a 'good life', worldly possessions, seeking for pleasure and happiness through materials, overdone reliance on consumer goods, self-expression and status claiming occupy much more places in Muslims' lives more than ever. (Ger and Belk, 1999). As the

lifestyle is a system concept and is about a distinctive mode of living, it is composed of and affected from the factors or the dynamics of a living in a particular society. Thus, the veiled women started to choose from a range of identities and position themselves in the middle of life according to their social environments and religious lifestyles (Mossinkoff and Corstanje, 2011; Plummer, 1974).

Among the Muslims, the changing lifestyles signify the shifting from the traditional Islamic cultural components to Western-oriented cultural components. However, the question of new Islamic lifestyles is not just about the trend, fashion or free personal choices but also about more complex relations of power and statue between the individuals. In a paradoxical way, the more veiled women participated into the public and business life, rised their visibility and got education, the more they started to seek Islamic references for their new lifestyles and choices while redefining and reinterpreting their life decisions. For Muslim veiled women, the veiling symbolizes the Islamization of a way of life including some conceptions like gender identities, aesthetics, religious practices, and spatial organization. However, its meaning has shifted from the pure modesty and virtue to the signification of new Muslim woman identity and image, modern appearance management and public participation. Thus, all the daily practices of Muslim women including veiling can be also defined as the *semiology* of Islamic lifestyle (Göle, 1997).

Since the visual, corporal and audible presence of Muslim women circulated more among the public spheres, the Islamic participation of veiled women gave birth to the questions of veiling and spatial segregation. As the veiled women's body, self and everyday life requires rhythmmed spaces according to the Islamic rules, benefiting from the new Islamic lifestyle needed new interpretations for daily practices. Lots of Islamists used to propose a simple, slow and modest lifestyle against modern one but some Islamists positioned veiled women in the middle of new modern lifestyles with new discourses (Göle, 2000; Aktaş, 2007: 21-22).

The new Islamic identities of veiled women are transferred by bodily practices like veiling, verbal communication and management of public space. Islamic self also is affected by liberal and modern definitions of the self and the social differences are carried out by bodily signs and practices. The components of veiling, like headscarf, propose symbolic meanings that is loaded by not only

personal but collective interpretations since the meanings are communicated and evolved in the public. Hence, the veiling for women is a *bodily sign*, identifies the carrier as a zealous religieuse and a *practice* carried out in both private and public realm, under complex meanings by conveying social information to others. It distinguishes the carrier as a Muslim by expressing Islamic religiosity personally and collectively (Göle, 2003).

On the other hand, the new veiled woman, as consumers, started to portray a modern consumer profile who are seeking for fashionable, elite and chic outlook under the changing dynamics while constructing their new images and identities. They had the need to be admired and wanted to be perceived as beautiful like their uncovered counterparts. The Islamic fashion industry played a significant role in shaping this consumer segment members' identities with complex and multidimensional processes. As the religion has multi-dimensional effects on consumers' choices, it affects the marketplace activities similarly. Market forces translate spiritual practices and beliefs into demands to affect consumers' religious identities and practices. Those forces also led the businesses of the sector to act faithfully and competitively at the same time to satisfy veiled consumers' both mundane and ethereal needs (Sandıkçı ve Ger, 2007).

The contemporary consumer culture is about 'feeling the self at the core of the life with the help of consuming' and is far away from the religious ideal of 'knowing the self thus knowing the God' for Muslims. Doing or having something that worths to be seen and called and 'being something' is the aim of the 'world of images'. 'Buying a new -yourself-' in the consumption context means to shop continuously. With the slogans, 'having a new self' is only possible with buying commercial products. It becomes easy to leave the old 'I' and get the new 'I' by buying brands and carrying logos. The demands became somewhat personal under the pressures of slogans like 'wake up the giant inside' or 'you have a limitless potential' and everyone, even if a religieuse, started to desire being 'passionately in love' with something (Aktaş, 2007: 9-11).

The veiled women were affected by this consumer culture, consciously or not, while constructing a new consumer segment in Turkey, like the rest of the Muslim nations. During 1990's, this segment's consumers learned to use the products that

were marketed as ‘Islamic’ to mark their lifestyle. A fusion of modern capitalist life and religion especially showed itself in the fashion of veiling. As the veiled women’s visibility rised in public spheres and business life, new demands for clothing items, like headscarves and coats, occured which had to be parallel with both religious concerns and the *zeitgeist*. Especially the younger, educated, wealthy veiled women created heteregeneous images by using and mixing the various clothing items like smaller headscarves, brighter and trendy colors, tighter and shorter tops and bottoms to mark their taste, difference and social position to differentiate themselves (Sandıkçı ve Ger, 2007).

The ‘chichi’ headscarf of today became a kind of reaction to the perception that veiled women are not pretty but ugly. Using that headscarves simulated the veiled women with secular-modern ones and made them the candidates of consumer culture. Shifting to modernity also effected the religious perceptions and empowers the women’s demand of being a ‘subject’. The veiled women felt a pressure that they should use the ‘chichi’ headscarves to prove that they are harmless, cheerful, trendy and using those headscarves helped them to internalize modern life demands to get a foothold in the public. (Aktaş, 2007: 36-37, 91).

Furthermore, these veiled women became much more concerned about status display and differentiation after 2000’s by admiring and following some rising role models. The politics had an outstanding role at this point since the rise of a conservative government changed the political climate of the country. Religious citizens liked and supported the conservative male politicians and also the wives of ministers and deputies became more visible in media with their veiling styles (Sandıkçı ve Ger, 2007). Lots of news in the media occured about especially *Emine Erdoğan* (wife of Prime Minister) and *Hayrunnisa Gül* (wife of President) and their veiling styles. From 2000 to 2013, there was an observable change in their veiling styles in the light of critics. They worked with famous designers to manage their attires and lots of veiled women in Turkey imitated their styles and demanded same attiring components from the producers. The parts of this cycle; consumers, producers, designers, role models, are feeding each other interrelatedly. (www.yesiltopuklar.com, 2010; www.ntvmsnbc.com, 2011; www.haberpi.com,

2011; www.habervitrini.com, 2007; www.modemod.wordpress.com, 2011; www.darunnisa.com, 2012).

Today, with the help of fashionable ways of Islamic dress, the veiling lost its traditional previous meanings and homogenizing feature and embraced esthetic values, symbol of prestige and distinction for veiled women. Without giving up being Muslim for being modern, the new symbolic meanings of veiling were voluntarily adopted by veiled women to increase their visibility in public and to expose their embodied difference in terms of attiring practices, lifestyles, etc. As the veiling is a *stigma*, marked on the body, and visible to others, the veiling helped women to construct a more abstract identity among the others loaded by new interpretations and meanings (Göle, 2003).

The veil has multiple functions like being an *attire* or a *dress* worn at special locations and a *device* facilitating the gender segregation in society through its core religious purpose. As dress is a significant symbol acting as a medium, it helps people to constitute and represent themselves through social interaction. Since the *identity* consists of *personal* (personality, physical and intellectual traits, etc.) and *social* (sex, race, class, nationality, etc.) components and since individuals can have numerous different *selves*, the identities can vary in different contexts in terms of coexisting identities that are constructed by the aspects like politics, clothing, gender, etc. Also, the fusion of images, representations (physical, symbolic, verbal, textual and behavioural) and related meanings take part in an individual's identity. When it comes to the dressing issue, it turns into a purposeful practice that conveys meanings and information in the context of social interactions and social systems (Lewis, 2006; Omair, 2009).

In addition, dressing functions as a discursive daily practice of the gender and acts as a nonverbal language. It also, constitutes a cultural statement and like all the cultural *phenomena*, it gives information about the society both on physical and symbolic levels. The dress and its fabric, quality of cut, etc. turns into an economic indicator by representing the carriers' socioeconomic status. Within Islamic societies, dressing also constitutes a cultural complex and reflects religious and political norms. On the other hand, it is an issue of the material culture. Hence, the veil can not be defined as a simple garment or dress worn in particular places. For a Muslim

women, the meanings of veiling can vary greatly even from one phase of her life to the next. A variety of versions exist for the veil, its combinations and garments changes over time and place and turn veil into a *sartorial mechanism*. A Muslim woman is expected to manage her veiling differently according to her age, marital, social and economical status. Therefore, it makes the veil also the issue of time and space (Huisman and Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2005; Stillman and Micklewright, 1992; Davary, 2009; Lewis, 2007; Lewis, 2006).

Since the clothes and fashion acquire social meanings, the carriers express the features of their identities through walking, dressing and managing their bodies in the social spheres. Veiling, as a situated bodily practice, requires different techniques to manage a Muslim woman's body such as how to wear the veiling components, how to combine them, how to tie the scarf, etc. As the veil gives different meanings through the location and time, managing this attiring is different from the other types of clothing. It can be called as *veiling regimes*, including "to do's" and "not to do's", dress codes and hegemonic rules regarding women's veiling. The meanings of veiling are also affected from the new media and cosmopolitanism. The more people connect to each other, the more their identities will be hybrid and split among the multiple groups and the choice of veiling has been framed by women's subjective interpretations in the context of urbanism, femininity and religiosity (Lewis, 2006; Secor, 2002; Cooke *et al*, 2008).

For Muslim women, the veiling is their *alamat-i farika* (identification mark) of their religiousness and differentiates their identities as it is visual. However, the modest dressing is so problematic in terms of style. The Muslim religious scholars could not propose a modest dressing style which is accepted by all the Muslim believers. The variables that determine the religious apparel, beside the Islamic rules, are the Muslim countries' *laws in charge, history, traditions, education level, political conjunctures and lifestyles* (Erdoğan, 2008: 64-65; Bulut, 2008: 109).

The veiling and its attiring style became more sensational, glamorous, eclectic and exploratory during the time within the language of fashion and the new meanings of veiling started to circulate with the help of marketing communication. As the fashion advertising calls consumers to think of themselves in terms of an image, the pious women image started to be articulated with modern women images in a

religious context to seduce the veiled female consumers to demand the products which help to construct those new images and identities. The companies started to use fashion photography to change and alter the veiled woman stereotypical image as ‘threatening’ or ‘unfashionable’ by constructing a new modern Muslim female identity in terms of sexuality, beauty and attractiveness (Sandıkçı ve Ger, 2007).

On the other hand, not local but the global growth of Islamic consumer sector created a fusion of fashion and religiosity, modesty and beauty. The veiled women’s everyday attiring practices turned into fashionable practices including pleasure. Also it became the part of veiled women’s complex embodied performances of identity. The marketing messages started to include some practical solutions about the usage of veiling in modern times to attract veiled women’s attention. With new practices, veiled women engaged in fashion practices knowingly without sacrificing the religious rules (Gökarısel and Secor, 2010b).

It is obvious that the discourses of beauty, religion and modernity in the media, advertising and commercial imagery are changing in Islamic regions. The display of women’s beauty and sexuality in public spheres loaded by Western values clashes with the traditional values requiring modesty and promoting a virtuous public domain. The veiling, loaded by religious values and purposes, is being reinvented and turned into a sophisticated fashionable garment denoting prestige, status and modernity by blurring the boundaries between religious duties and contemporary consumption practices (Sobh *et al.*, 2008).

The Islamic culture industry including the veiling fashion has been created by the effects of Islamic movements and neoliberal consumer capitalism and the commodities, media, advertising, business and consumer segments which are called as ‘Islamic’. The Islamic knowledge, selves and practices have been affected by commodified Islamic cultural forms with a repertoire consists of lifestyle magazines, newspaper, TV shows, restaurants, holiday resorts, etc. Among the spheres that include that repertoire, Muslims started to construct their identities through commodities and consumption practices within a religious context. They also connect with each other through the Islamic products (Gökarısel and McLarney, 2010).

When the products became Islamic in the light of religious concerns, they also became the issue of both material and symbolic production. Furthermore, since the fashion is affected by social relations, cultural identities and economic power, the Islamic commodities' meaning could not remain fixed but changed in terms of form and meaning from time to time, place to place under the circulation and socio-spatial travels. Both the veiled female consumers and producers understood, enacted and mobilised the components of veiling fashion. With the help of public self-representations of the companies, veiling fashion became the part of the performance of pious femininities (Gökarısel and Secor, 2010a).

These religious commodities also have a *sign value* which circulates around time and places. That value is never fully established since it has multiple relations with its surrounding variables. It means that there is a *heavy symbolic load* on these products which is affected by not only religion but also social, cultural and political changes. Hence, the significations of the veil become instable as it plays the role of the signifier and the commodity at the same time in the context of fashion. It causes definitions and redefinitions of the products' functions and meanings (Gökarısel and Secor, 2010a).

In this new Islamic culture industry the Muslim women are targeted mostly since they have been identified as a niche market with special needs and demands. Their rising demands and visibility caused the rise of a new Muslim femininity to be produced, circulated and consumed, consists of images, practices and ideals in the marketplace. The market forces affected the contemporary Muslim femininity, women's identities, lifestyles and belongings with the help of consumer capitalism. In the marketplace, a new Muslim womanhood was constructed through the images and newly generated knowledge and the veil became the marker of self-expression. The veiled images reproduced the particular ways of practicing the veiling, Islamic piety, femininity and self-fashioning through commodities (Gökarısel and McLarney, 2010).

The *phenomenon* of fashion has reflected itself in Islamic way of life by veiling fashion among the Muslim nations in the last decades. The word of *fashion* has its origins in Latin, is derived from the word 'modus', means that 'the boundary that can not be formed'. It also accelerates the process of consumption in the light of

marketing activities. Every fashion season, new identities and images are created to seduce consumers for consuming the products. As it is difficult to set apart the fashion from the politics of body and identity, fashion proposes multiple meanings by making the body a cultural appearance (Gençtürk-Hızal, 2003; Barbarosoğlu, 1995: 26).

Also, fashion is a way of communication and it expresses identities on the basis of choices in socialization process by symbolic interaction. It is a 'temporal newness' and the expression of all the outlooks of the individual related with his/her lifestyle. The lifestyle comprises the notion of taste and arrange the individual's life, practices and relations within this context. Fashion, connected with lifestyles, helps individuals to create an identity which is desired to be seen and perceived from the others. It also helps to construct multiple identities proposed in different time and places through different clothing, walking, stance, etc. Hence, the fashion turns into a tool helping the individuals to shape their singular and collective identities among the society by proving that the individual belongs to a specific group but also s/he is different from the others in the group with his/her unique identity (Gençtürk-Hızal, 2003).

With the rise of advertisements and fashion shows, the veiling has been included into fashion sector, day by day. It can be argued that, the traditional-stable-religious meaning of veiling faded when it was included in fashion and became an object of consumption. After 18th century, in Western clothing, the dialectics between eroticism and modesty was used and fed consciously in women fashion. Giddens (1994: 23-27) argues that, in modern times, the sexuality became the base of modernity, and the power groups have a great attention on sexuality with a great desire of control. With each change in fashion, another part of women body has been valued in terms of eroticism and people were manipulated by combining the fashion and body's sexual stimulating function (Davis, 1997: 97-109). The veiling, its styles and meanings were also affected from these global changes.

However, the veiling differs from the other types of clothing by being a visible form of public consumption that its core meaning includes not revealing the feminine sexuality in public. Veiled women also have to situate themselves in some established codes of behavior. In addition, the perfume, tattoos, make-up and

accessories finalize the outfit or even plastic surgery are discussed under the issue of public consumption proscriptions according to Islam. Generally, there is a social requirement in Muslim communities that women are expected to match all their behaviors and clothing practices in the light of Islamic rules to be modest (Sobh *et al.*, 2008) even if it is trendy or fashionable.

The veiled women engage in the practices of veiling fashion by projecting themselves in an Islamic way but also displaying their beauty, style and wealth within a frame of moral discourse. Furthermore, since the veiling is connected with Islamic moral conduct, it can not be interpreted as a singular act but it is a part of the way of life that confirms its virtue so it becomes an instrument keeping the woman's body, conduct and desires under a religious discipline, or an ethical project of the self (Gökarısel and Secor, 2011).

Even if the veiling fashion became a perfect melding of fashion and piety, in practice, it is related with the ambivalence since the veiling is about Islamic rules but fashion is about consumption. From this point of view, consumers of veiling fashion also execute an ethical practice by combining the fashion and religious duty. This practice also engages a complex field of body and external spheres like homes or public places. The religiously conscious consumers hold both the issue of self-governance and management of *nefis*, the bodily and material desires are related with the consumption, at the same time (Gökarısel and Secor, 2011).

In the development of new Muslim segments, the commercial design, manufacture and marketing of new forms of modest dress have a significant role since they point out the codes of feminine body management in the light of religion. Also these faith-based consumer practices and identities were coded oppositional to Westernized or secular lifestyles by turning Muslim identities into consumer subjects. The Islamic media support the Islamic concerned consumers to provide guidance in attiring etiquette and body management especially for modest dressing. Therefore, fashion items convert themselves into *phenomena* by matching with Islam and reaching to Islamic cultures globally. Islamic world is creating a new system of fashion based on religious concerns different from the West (Lewis, 2010; Akou, 2007).

The new prestigious symbols of modern lifestyles started to be seen in the self-definitions of Muslims. The new ideals for private and public lives for Muslims were circulated with the help of Western-imitated printed and visual materials, especially the lifestyle magazines. Islamic lifestyle publications came along to mix and serve fashion issues, female body concerns and concepts of modesty to this new Muslim consumer segment in the last decade, globally. The Muslim style, the questions of ‘What Muslims look like?’ or ‘What looks as a Muslim?’ are criticized in these publications. New contents including religious concerns and fashion hints were produced for veiled women. It is aimed to analyze the relationship between marketability, fashion and piety in the faith-based consumer cultures. Hence, the Muslim readers, especially the veiled women consumers, were targeted by this new field of Islamic lifestyle media (Göle, 2003; Lewis, 2010).

The Islamic lifestyle media is not so different from the other generic ones in terms of production, resources, distribution and reader expectations. However they try to differentiate themselves by emphasising the faith and religiously loaded contents. They target the Muslim segment without ignoring the gender and socio-economic classes. In the contents, they recommend some tips and give hints for the readers to handle and to be informed about changing lifestyle circumstances. They also try to define female modesty, depict female bodies, construct new forms of Muslim woman identity and image in the light of fashion and religious rules. This Islamic/Muslim lifestyle publications turn into the commercial versions of Muslim lifestyle culture which emerged in the last decade, all around the Muslim geographies (Lewis, 2010).

Today, the practice of veiling turned into a practice that is inseparable from consumption, commodity and pleasure patterns. Lots of Muslim actors call Islamic ethics, aesthetics and lifestyles into the public spheres. The leisure and consumption were Islamized in line with the market system. The media helped this Islamization process with an increasing number of Islamic newspapers and periodicals since 1980’s. ‘Fashion for veiling’ as a *phenomenon* is visible in the Islamic women’s magazines and in Islamic fashion catalogues (Kılıçbay and Binark, 2002).

In Turkey, after 1980’s, there was a rise in the number of magazines address religious women. The first example was Emine Şenlikoğlu’s *Mektup* magazine

published between the years of 1985 and 2007. The articles inside were about Muslim-women self-consciousness and the Muslim-political stance. The other magazine was İskenderpaşa Community's *Kadın ve Aile* (1985) and ideal Muslim women were defined in this magazine as '*You are our women, our haji mothers and aunts who pray with a pinked-white headscarf on, the rosary in hand, the blessing in mouth, the housewives loyal to their husbands, serious, merciful, devoted or the little big-sisters cute, pure and skillful*'. The other magazines *Bizim Aile* was The Nurcu's (after 1980's) and *Şebnem* (after 2002) was The Community of Erenköy (Şentürk, 2011: 624-30).

In the early examples of these Islamic women magazines, the common subjects like clothing, health issues, childcare were discussed from the Islamic point of view. Fashion as a practice of the consumption culture was criticized and Muslim women were idealized as 'the fighters for religion'. Fashion was regarded as an *israf* (waste) since the issue of *israf* is an essential concept setting constraints on consumption. However, the last examples of Islamic women, lifestyle and veiling fashion magazines introduce and promote the products of the firms that produce modest dresses and claim that the veiling and fashion can be melted in the same pot without leaving the religious concerns. Hence, the veiling started to be characterized by marketing strategies, brands and images (Kılıçbay and Binark, 2002).

The magazines generally dignify the women body, spread the women independency discourses and become the ensigns of hedonism. In these magazines there are such kind of recommends for women to love their body and women body rises as a tool to create consumption demands. Magazines generally create their contents based on the consumption of woman body. In these magazines, the modern woman identity is depicted as '*they love fashion and cloths, are independent, have personal income, reach birth control methods, feel powerful and free about their sexuality and they are single, successful at jobs, have healthy nutrition, do exercise, love themselves and take pleasure, focus on their goals by ignoring all the blocks on their way and the marriage is not a priority for them anymore*'. According to the women magazines, the way of being a modern woman passes by locating the self in the middle of the advertisements and fashionable images and imitating them. (Aktaş, 2007: 167-69).

However, as the consumers got used to use these magazines as information sources for their consumption practices, the need for media that informs consumers has also risen. Especially *Generation Y* places a great importance on the use of magazines as an information source and their consumption practices are affected from the information collected from the magazines. Also the media targets women more than men since the women spend a large portion of their discretionary income on apparel items. The veiling fashion magazines came along with a similar mission like their counterparts. With these magazines, a kind of Islamic lifestyle including consumption, style, fashion, modesty and religious concerns is being promoted to construct faith-based identities which is also getting in touch with consumer culture (Bailey and Seock, 2010; Gökarısel and McLarney, 2010).

In Islamic magazines, the faith is taken as a basis for the consumption and allocation of resources, defining the titles. The framing of Muslim identities in magazines materialized through new lifestyle practices which has malleable boundaries able to incorporate everything. They generally are read by far beyond the target readership. They propose inspirational Muslim role models with a mission of educating the target group in terms of right Islamic ways of life. The focus on consumption, fashion, luxury and spirituality, piety, modesty and ethics matches each other in the contents. They aim to be the magazines of Muslims who put Islam at the center of their life, consumption practices, etc by being a vehicle for social change and creating an Islamic *lexicon* about visual vocabulary (Lewis, 2010).

In the earlier examples of veiling fashion magazines, the advertisements for veiling garments consisted of blurred-face models, illustrations and isolated-freestanding objects to point out the piousness of veiled women and to hide their femininity. They had to be unidentifiable under a uniform and anonymous Islamic identity. But later, the companies learned to use sophisticated advertisements, announcements and lifestyle representations with the rising variety of veiling components. They started to use professional fashion photography, to replace visuals over texts and to support new lifestyles of religious consumers by giving lifestyle advices and hints. It was also the sign of moving from the *rational* to *emotional* advertising which the hidden messages were laid beneath and the shift of pious veiled women image turning into modern veiled consumer image. The shifting and

changing was coming from choosing and using those veiling garment components offered by the companies. The demands were satisfied by meeting the religious obligation of veiling and consumption desires at the same time (Sandıkçı ve Ger, 2007).

In the light of these developments, within the content of veiling fashion magazines, the producers started to give some messages to veiled consumers and make them see and desire the Islamic products in particular ways. They redefined the femininity, fashion, class markers and the images. The promotion of the outfits stepped out of the marketing efforts but turned into a set of aspirations about lifestyle, fashion, choices, styles and beauty. The power of fashion turned the unacceptable of the past into the acceptable of today with the help of veiling fashion industry's active role that shifted the frontiers to serve veiled women with the pleasures of consumption, beauty and style. The mediation between veiling and fashion is related with the women's sense of self and embodied performances of identity. The aesthetic considerations, personal desires, preferences and history, social environments and class and the age of veiled women generally affect their choices about modest dressing (Gökarısel and Secor, 2010b).

On one hand, Islamic lifestyle and women's magazines try to save Islamic norms and ethics but on the other hand they struggle to remain profitable and competitive in the market like the counterparts. Producing a marketable image for veiled women that is also attractive and desirable satisfied the veiled women's need for seeking self-representation through magazines and publishing. The new parameters of identification have been created by magazines, catalogs, advertisements and media including new meanings and styles of veiling and its components. The recent images for veiled women were loaded by spiritual meanings supplied and consumed in the market with the help of marketing tools. The fashion magazines created a fusion of religious practices, consumerism, trends, modesty and representation of Muslim female body by proposing a concept consists of both spiritual and physical beauty and it was associated with the veil (Gökarısel and McLarney, 2010).

On the contrary of the general perception that the fashion system is dominated by the West, the veiling fashion industry rises all around the world by

creating new perceptions, with the help of visual media. This newly-emerging industry has some advantages by offering clothes for religiously concerned consumers that are always modest and by including firms inside which operate in tune with Muslim values even if the styles and the name of garments are not similar from nation to nation. The veiling fashion industry started to get rid of the perception that the offered dresses are ethnical and for an isolated segment. The components of veiling started to be much more similar that can be easily used by veiled women who seek for both fashion and modesty all around the world since the fashion is global and is affected from global trends (Akou, 2007). It is obvious that, in the near future, the veiled women will demand much more from the producers, designers and publishers about modest dressing, veiling fashion and magazine contents to be informed while they construct their new images and identities.

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORY OF HERMENEUTICS AND THE PHILOSOPHICAL HERMENEUTICS OF HANS-GEORGE GADAMER

2.1. THE DEFINITION AND THE SHORT HISTORY OF HERMENEUTICS

The word of *hermeneutics* was derived from the *greek* verb of ‘hermeneuein’ which means ‘to interpret’ and the noun of ‘hermeneia’ which means ‘the interpretation’. These terms have been used for different purposes in a variety of texts. The word of *hermeneutics* also has a relationship with the mythological Greek God *Hermes* who is the God of the news. *Hermes* transfers the messages of the Gods to the humans while including his own interpretations into the transfer process to make it understandable by humans. The verb of ‘hermeneuein’ means ‘saying, translating, explaining’ and its meaning is almost equal to the verb of ‘interpretation’ in English. At this point, something which is foreign is transformed into something clear and understandable. Since *hermeneutics* is about ‘to explain’, it is also based on the objective analysis tools. In this process, the meaning has a close relationship with its context and the activity of *hermeneutics* is an activity that transfers the ‘meaning context’ of the other world into the contemporary world of the moment (Palmer, 2003: 11-41, Gadamer, 2003: 13).

Hermeneutic activity has always been a transfer/conversion activity which has transferred the context of meaning belonging to another world into the world being lived at that moment. *Hermeneutics* has been understood as the art or the science of interpretation dependent on the content of the root of the verb. The use of the word *hermeneutic* in Antique Greek world is quite different from its modern use today. Because for a long time, as an interpretation of texts, hermeneutics has converted into the interpretation of holy writings with an effort to bring out original/implicit/allegorical meaning so that it could conserve the inheritance left from Antique Greek world (Gadamer, 1995: 11; Özcan, 2000: 8; Hoy, 1982: 1; Nguyen, 2008).

Hermeneutics, which is between the Archaic and Modern Ages, is especially mentioned as ‘The Bible Hermeneutic’. That the authority of the church is efficient

in the interpretation and the translation of ancient texts and the Bible into Latin could be alleged and this efficiency has brought about developments in various approaches in rhetoric language use and translation theories. Hermeneutics has come out in three different ways; from one's conceptual world to another's, from gods' conceptual world to people's and from the transfer of a foreign language into a well-known language (Bleicher, 1990: 12; Copeland, 1991: 42; Palmer, 2007: 44).

Hermeneutics has started to mean a part of understanding and interpretation of holy writings in the middle Ages, more in theological thinking (Jeanrond, 2007: 67). During that time, arguments were about whether the holy writs will be interpreted as tradition-centered or text-centered. Protestantism, contrary to the Catholic Church's traditional, authority-dependent (dogmatic) understanding, has defended the holy scripture's simplicity and self-sufficiency instead of accepting its figurative and anagogic meanings, different from four theories of meaning (literal, metaphoric, ethical and dogmatic) of the old interpretation tradition, it has opposed to the idea with its principle that the scripture needs to be interpreted separately (Olgun, 2001: 81-155).

Hermeneutics has progressed in European Protestant theology as a dominant act. The effort of understanding hermeneutics is especially a matter of understanding the text and the works need more sensitive and extensive types of understanding in that they are works, they are not quiet natural objects. The field of hermeneutics has evolved as an effort to portray the 'historical' and 'humanist' types of understanding. Human existence consists of a non-stop process of interpretation and more comprehensive than the literal world that a person lives in. As human existence is always reduced to a language, any information about human interpretation has to deal with the phenomenon of language as well. Language forms the vision and thought of human. Seeing the truth is determined through language and through language, the individual finds a way to his/her aspects of life such as worship, love, social behavior, abstract thought. Language is an environment where existence is maintained, it is moving and owned. For this reason, while interpretation is a complex and extensive phenomenon, understanding is both an epistemological and ontological phenomenon in some aspect (Palmer, 2008: 29-37).

Hermeneutical activity gains momentum with reformation movement. Here the reformers had entered into an argument with the church about the interpretation of the sacred books and dealt with holy writings by using hermeneutics. But for the first time, *Schleiermacher* tried to make hermeneutics a universal doctrine of understanding and explanation and put it apart from its all dogmatic and conducive aspects. Basically, by clearing itself of the ideas concerning a person's religious belief and loyalty and the authority and life styles that are formed by these ideas, the idea of the Enlightenment corresponds to a period of promoting a lifestyle based on intelligence and science, organizing it and trying to live it. The result of the fact that the experience of sciences that work on understanding is not in the field of the scientific method doesn't mean that they are less scientific or not scientific (Becermen, 2004; Kızılcelik, 2000: 72; Coltman, 1998: 35).

While hermeneutics was a discipline of interpretation, it has transformed into a philosophical theory and the name of a school. Science is not just limited to portray the facts as the public opinion and the positivists believe it needs to organize, conceptualize them, and briefly interpret them. That's to say, in order to meet this need hermeneutics has evolved as something that all branches of science need and at the same time it was out of philology, law, religion and history (Grondin, 1994: 43).

Initially, Hermeneutics used to have a function of transferring and interpreting prophecies and pursued the goal of open and honest interpretation of the law and religious texts as much as possible. But today it is concerned with the dissection and interpretation of texts. Dissection is to reveal the meaning in a text (word), to determine the content of a linguistic expression. For this purpose, the problems of not understanding and misunderstanding try to be overcome. The concept of Hermeneutics was put forward for the first time in the 17th century by *Johann Conrad Dannhauer (1654)* and although it functioned as a sub-branch of theology at first, in time it turns into a field that produces rules for certain texts including philology and law. Hermeneutics regards language as a tool which has a tendency to transfer meaning and language is closely related to expression and interpretation. Instead of setting up mathematical rules and laws, it looks at the links between the meanings of the indicators and does this without ignoring the factors of time and place because understanding is formed by the environment that the subject

and phenomenon are in. Philosophical hermeneutics has developed models for a form of understanding and applied this to linguistic texts (Toprak, 2003: 10).

Philosophical hermeneutics has taken the 'text interpretation' that has a very old tradition as the model because from the very beginning understanding has leaned to tradition and history itself. Yet tradition and history has been transferred in the most healthily way only by written texts. However, time distance between the text and the reader, the changing language of the interpreter and the socio-cultural environment that affects perspective of the world creates problems and makes it difficult to understand. As these problems arise, the reader tends interpretation. The aim of the interpretation is to reveal that the text is understandable, but perhaps the text that emerges after interpretation turns into one which includes more than that (Toprak, 2003: 10-11).

Philosophical hermeneutics tends to the interpreter and asks the question of what comes true while a text changes the view of the interpreter, tries to describe the process of reading. Reading needs to change our view but this requires a hermeneutical expansion to the speech of the text and a pre-existing knowledge of the matter dealt with. By the way, *Schleiermeacher* defines hermeneutic but *Dilthey* interprets it. *Heidegger* transforms it into the ontology of existential approach. However *Gadamer* explains how he turned it into philosophical hermeneutic (Palmer, 2008: 17).

Understanding a work is not a scientific knowledge floating into the world of existential thoughts; it is a historic confrontation that highlights personal experience about existence in this world. For this reason, hermeneutic is a comprehension study that tends the problem of what comes into being in the event of understanding a text and the question of what understanding is in the most basic 'existential' context. As a German philosophy of thinking, it was greatly influenced by the German phenomenology and existential philosophy. Hermeneutic is a foundation for all disciplines interested in interpreting the works of human. In the modern era there are at least six different definitions available depending on the development of hermeneutics (Palmer, 2008: 37-63):

1. The theory of the interpretation of holy writs

2. General philological methodology
3. All comprehensive sciences of linguistics
4. *Geisteswissenschaften's* (all disciplines that tend to understand the art, movement and writings of humanity) methodological basis
5. Existence and existential comprehension phenomenology
6. Memorial and counter-cultural interpretation systems that people use to access the meanings behind the myths and symbols

Hermeneutical tradition has developed around these definitions since 1954 to the present day. On the one hand, there are Schleiermacher and Dilthey traditions looking at hermeneutics as the overall integrity of the principles of the methodology under the head of interpretation, on the other hand are Heidegger and his followers who philosophically try to explore the features and necessary conditions in understanding hermeneutic. And, in Heidegger's footsteps, as a proponent of the phenomenological approach, Gadamer transfers his own thinking into more philosophical direction, into the question of 'what comprehension exactly is' (Palmer, 2008: 79-80).

The main purpose of hermeneutic is to understand correctly and to eliminate historical distance. One way of this is to translate and transmit the text into current language. Foreign meaning cannot yet avoid being based on interpretation when translated into a comprehensible meaning. Hermeneutic makes a distinction between the two methods. The first method is the *grammatical method* that offers the transmission of meaning into the living language with logical analysis of language. This method tries to protect a linguistic transmission alienated from a historical perspective with the new signs specific to the period it is in by considering the period it emerged. And the second method is an *allegorical interpretation*, and argues that there are two meanings of the text. The first is the inference which can be made by full adherence to the text (*sensus literalis*) but also the text has allegorical meaning and in this method, the original words and language structure is exactly preserved, instead, a new meaning is assigned to the text in a context of a new idea and thought. It tries to eliminate this distance by assigning a meaning belonging to the alienated

sign and of the new period in which it lived. Since its foundation, hermeneutic witnessed the opposition between these two methods (Toprak, 2003: 24-36).

The starting point of a person who needs to interpret the text he/she is reading is usually an idea that the writer has imposed a meaning into the text which anyone who is reading it can understand or notice. The job of the interpreter is to find this 'secret' meaning and to share it with others after converting it into specific information. Some texts like literary ones are usually a transfer of meaning rather than fulfilling the function of conveying information to the reader and it is always possible that this meaning is understood correctly or misunderstood by the reader. Right here, hermeneutic steps in against the possibility of being misunderstood because it is the art of correct interpretation and explanation of texts (*hermeneutike techne, in Grek.*). Accordingly, texts that contain such 'secret' and 'deep' meanings can only be interpreted on the basis of its author's personality, the language used, and of their link with the period they were written in. Many philological schools have developed various approaches in this area and the important point is how the meaning of what a speaker or writer says is understood by another reader who is far away in terms of time and space (Toprak, 2003: 7-8).

Due to the polysemy of language there may be more than one interpretation of the text and this result from different perspectives and contexts and from the preliminary information about the text and the subject matter of the text. These different interpretations cannot be considered as incorrect because rather than correct or incorrect interpretation in terms of hermeneutics, 'incredible' or 'impossible' or 'forcing' interpretations may be mentioned. On the other hand, even though Schleiermacher and Dilthey regard interpretation as an original art of dissection, Enzensberger and Sontag argued against dissection act and the structure of hermeneutics that tends polysemy. The final phase of hermeneutic has been developed by Gadamer's reception aesthetics from the second half of the 20th century and has obtained a responsive qualification towards previous criticisms (Toprak, 2003: 11-21).

The main task of hermeneutics is not to understand the author but the text. Understanding of the text is not due to the activation of an interpersonal relationship but due to the involvement of the main issue that the text intends to describe.

Interpretation does not only include the explanation of what the text means in its own world, but it also includes the subject of what it means with our current statements. The problem of understanding indicates that we can read and understand the text in different ways and that there are different options for understanding in front of us because this converts understanding into an activity of interpretation by adding its subjectivity to the understanding act of the subject. For this, hermeneutics remains its importance for interpretation and understanding of text today, as in the past (Palmer, 2008: 242-46; Ulusoy, 2009).

2.2. BEFORE HANS-GEORGE GADAMER'S PHILOSOPHICAL HERMENEUTIC TRADITION: THE FOUR PHILOSOPHERS' CONTRIBUTION TO HERMENEUTICAL TRADITION

The four philosophers who made a great contribution to the hermeneutical tradition are *Friedrich Schleiermacher*, *William Dilthey*, *Edmund Husserl* and *Martin Heidegger*. To understand Hans-George Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutical tradition, it is important to consider the contributions of the former four philosophers at the very first hand.

2.2.1. Friedrich Schleiermacher and The General Hermeneutics

Hermeneutic, which was only used as an interpretation technique in theology and classical philology till the 19th century, universalized through Friedrich *Schleiermacher*. It is Schleiermacher who no longer treats hermeneutic as a sub-discipline and regards it as a universal philosophical problem, tries to develop a method that will guide to the understanding of all written texts. In his point of view, 'Hermeneutics is only concerned with the art of understanding; not with the introduction of what is understood. Logic that discusses the laws of thought gives way to hermeneutics, which investigates the rules of understanding. He is referred to as the initiator of modern hermeneutic, he argues monosemy, and his tradition not only includes written texts but also speeches. Thanks to him, conditions of

understanding began to be questioned in a systematic way for the first time (Toprak, 2003: 38-40; Schleiermacher, 1977: 73-96).

Since the hermeneutics is a part of the art of thinking, Schleiermacher pulled hermeneutics into the field of philosophy and claimed that it can be the interest of every single individual. He implied that hermeneutics appear in the practical world with its universal dimension. Until Schleiermacher, hermeneutics was used by theologians and philologists to understand and interpret the statements and sentences which are difficult to understand when it is necessary. However Schleiermacher claimed that understanding is a more general problem and defined hermeneutics also as the 'art of the avoidance of misunderstanding' since the understanding needs desire and research (Tatar, 1999: 37-38; Bilen, 2007: 73).

Schleiermacher who combined linguistic interpretation and philology by taking it forward from the interpretation of holy texts has founded scientific hermeneutic by using the German transcendental philosophy. He derived universal interpretation from this knowledge by turning towards the information itself that is intended by understanding. Understanding is a method that provides knowledge of the inner reality through signs with external senses. Understanding shows various degrees and primarily depends on 'interest', and conditioned by it. Yet interpretation is the understanding appearance of permanently stable aspects of life. The art of understanding finds its central point in the interpretation of its written marks (Dilthey, 2011: 93-107).

Schleiermacher's hermeneutical approach is referred to as the general hermeneutics. In his opinion, different special hermeneutics that are philological, theological and legal are not systematic and lack of the general laws of understanding. Therefore, there is a need for a general hermeneutics. He has turned hermeneutics into a general theory of understanding and explanation, and asserted that it is possible to understand a poem or a holy text with the same principles. Schleiermacher pioneered the foundation of hermeneutics in order to overcome the problems that oppose history and mind in understanding texts. His only work 'Hermeneutics and Criticism' was made from his lecture notes. He tried to develop hermeneutics as a science that determines the basic principles of the understanding

and interpretation of written and spoken statements and a science working on the methods of application of these principles (Taşdelen, 2008: 57; Bilen, 2002: 57-58).

Schleiermacher separates the area of language from thought. Grammarian interpretation progresses by specifying the assertion considering subjective and general rules and depends on the situation of the language. Yet the psychological side of interpretation focuses on what is subjective and personal, looks for specific superiority of the writer. Both sides of the interpretation need to be found and be related to each other. The writer feels the need to reflect his own personality to the language. Yet the interpreter understands the individuality of the writer in a general but positive, direct and intuitive way. The individuality and work of the writer should be observed in the large context of the facts in his life. All these assume that the goal of hermeneutics is the reconstruction of the experience of the writer of the text. The objective here is not to find the facts that lead to the feelings of the writer and direct him (psychoanalysis), it is to rebuild only the thoughts of another person by interpreting his/her words (Palmer, 2008: 126-27).

From his point of view, the psychological aspect that needs to be put forward in unholy texts is the writer of the text and each understanding is an interpretation at the same time, also interpretation is a sign of understanding and they cannot be distinguished. The purpose of hermeneutics is the reconstruction of a word historically, intuitively, subjectively and objectively. In order to understand a text at least as well as its writer it is necessary to know the language he/she used, his/her life, and the historical period in which he/she lived. Each section of the text should be analyzed both grammatically and psychologically (to reveal the intention of the writer of the text). Thus, the best understanding is gained by minimizing (Toprak, 2003: 41-43).

Schleiermacher objected to traditional hermeneutics as it regarded thoughts and meanings as a kind of an object. Grammatical understanding in the early works dealt more with psychological understanding after 1829. For Schleiermacher, the primary goal of hermeneutics is comprehension. A single linguistic expression is a part of an integral thought. Starting from this meronymy, he thinks that to understand the speaker's word which is a linguistic expression, it is necessary to understand its

nature, status and purpose (Görener, 2000; Dellaloğlu, 2002: 84; Schleiermacher, 1998: 229).

For Schleiermacher, understanding is partly comparative, partly intuitive and naturally divine. As communication is a dialogical relation, there is a set of meanings in which the speaker and the listener are together at the beginning and the person should have the knowledge about the topic discussed to some extent. Hermeneutical cycle is active not only in linguistic level but also in the objective dimension discussed. There lies the analysis of understanding on the basis of putting rules on interpretation. Understanding a work as a whole requires understanding of singular words and their links, yet understanding singulars requires understanding of the work as a whole. This cycle is repeated as long as only one work and its writer's way of thinking are correlated with its development. The intention that gave inspiration to the work by looking at the composition and by thinking over all reliable aspects is emphasized (Palmer, 2008: 125; Dilthey, 2011: 110-111).

For Schleiermacher, the differences between the understandings come out of the 'perspectives', not the rationality of the word. To reach a unity on the understanding, it is needed to have an idea about the history of the text and the thought about the text's object. This historical method helps hermeneutical understanding by re-constructing the text's own historical settings again. With this method, the understanding process starts from the finished and limited statement and it is aimed to turn back to the cognitive moment which the text came out. Since the understanding is an associative activity, the fact that was understood encircles itself. This circle is called *hermeneutical circle* including *the talker, the listener, the subject, the dialogue and the language* (Bilen, 2002: 60-67; Palmer, 2002: 124-125).

According to the hermeneutical cycle, the process of understanding starts with the grammar, reaches to the psychology and the psychological understanding makes grammatical understanding reach upper levels of understanding. This is a meronymy since the cycle defines the parts as a whole and the parts come together and create the cycle. The understanding becomes the fact that, the whole reveals the parts and the parts reveals the whole and this two-sided interaction demonstrates that the understanding is cyclical. Schleiermacher proposed the intent of the writer as the validity of the interpretation against the reductionist approach that includes only the

formal rules of the language. Two methods can be followed to understand the writer's intent; to understand the world of language of the individual that also includes the historical effects inside and to understand the state of mind of the individual (Palmer 2008: 124-128; Bilen, 2002: 58).

However, interpretation always completes its task only to some extent and understanding just remains relative, it is never complete. The grammatical/linguistic, historical, aesthetic and thematic/factual separation of the interpretation process was found and developed by Schleiermacher. When the interpretation process divides into two ways, grammatical / linguistic interpretation progresses from relation to relation and from there to the highest correlation. Yet psychological interpretation advances the external and internal form of the work and progresses from these to the conception of the unity of the work via its creator's way of thinking and development. The ultimate goal of hermeneutical method is to understand the writer better than the way he understands himself. Understanding only converts into an interpretation that turns into a general validity as long as there are linguistic works (Dilthey, 2011: 112-113).

Schleiermacher built the hermeneutics as a universal method but did not correlate it with the problem of methodology. However, the problem of methodology in semantics rised after him and Dilthey built that universal hermeneutics thesis as a more comprehensive method. Schleiermacher was affected by romantic movements but Dilthey rised against dominant positivist paradigms (Palmer, 2007: 361).

2.2.2. William Dilthey and 'Geisteswissenschaften'

The time when *egregius* sciences, namely hermeneutics and moral sciences gaining their independence starts at the end of the Middle Ages. These sciences that were under the guidance of metaphysics have taken over the guidance of this science with the increasing power of natural sciences. For the first time the *Historical School* (*German Historical School*) has helped history gain independence by freeing it from historical consciousness, the science of history, and metaphysics and natural sciences. This view of history has stated that it is wrong to approach reality in a prejudice way and has spread through *The Romantic School*. An absolute, empirical

observation style was dominant in the Historical School and the school used to progress to the specificity of historical processes. This view wanted to determine the value/meaning of individual historical events only in the context of their own development and it used to question how what happened in the past will be interpreted today. This view which adopted the idea that spiritual life has a historical character in its every aspect brought about a new trend of thought. However, no association was found between epistemology and psychology in the Historical School and a philosophical foundation was needed. *Comte*, *Mill* and *Buckle* tried to convey scientific principles and methods of nature in this area (Dilthey, 2011: 12-13).

The goal of moral sciences is to reach the depth and integrity of one's own awareness. Here is the freedom of will and responsibility of action and the person recognizes himself/herself as something entirely transformed and different from nature. Right here, there occurs an awareness of the phenomenon for the human, that's to say spirituality comes out. Thus, a value, a life purpose which is formed by the targets people set for their actions come out in this spiritual world acting independently with its own possibilities. The person puts his/her stamp on history by separating from nature but at the same time by being a part of it. Here there are actions based on the will despite the mechanical flow of natural changes. The individual has the meaning of integrity within the framework of his/her own experiences (Dilthey, 2011: 24-25).

In the 19th century, it was thought that knowledge that deserves the name was only natural scientific knowledge based on positivist paradigm. Although there was a distinction between the object differences in natural and social sciences, two kinds of science were designed based on the same type. Here, William Dilthey is the person who first noticed this distortion. He has shown that reality is not only one, it is two including natural and cultural world. Besides the reality of nature waiting for being clarified (*erklären*), there is an area of images, icons, ideas, designs, norms, rules waiting (*verstehen*) for being understood, a spiritual area, that's to say there is a world of meaning composed of purpose-action patterns which the human set up for him/herself and in which he/she lived (Özlem, 1998: 78-80; Dinger, 2006: 58).

Dilthey, borrowing from Hegel, used *Geist* as the term to define the moral, but used it by leaving its metaphysical/theological aspects and only pointing the historical/cultural/social world created by human in which they also live and tried to create bases for moral sciences from a philosophical way. Hence, hermeneutics plays a great role in moral sciences to understand the *Geist* (the whole) starting from the experience (the part) and to understand the experience starting from the *Geist*. The world of meanings is different from the world of nature and it is not true to set similar functioning between them and think them as the same. This is why Dilthey proposed the moral sciences as the ‘other sciences’ (Doğan, 2001: 26; Kızılcı, 2004: 42).

Dilthey wanted to lay a foundation to moral sciences, determine the context of principles underlying judgments and concepts. He questioned whether searching these is a return to the study of metaphysics, or not. In his opinion, Comte, positivists, Mill and empiricist distorted and falsified the reality in order to adapt historical reality into naturalistic concepts and methods. As a solution to this, Dilthey came up with ‘inner experience’ about the orientation of the fact based upon awareness. From his point of view, conditions of conscious is the base for moral sciences because each experiment finds its context and validity under the conditions of awareness, here, it arises in the integrity of creation. And the design of the nature emerges from this awareness and it is a faint shadow as to the world of the fact (to the spiritual world) based on awareness. Opposing such reality (the object itself - *Ding an sich*-world), it is possible to get information by experimenting conscious facts profoundly. The analysis of these facts lies at the heart of moral sciences (Dilthey, 2011: 14-15).

Dilthey used moral sciences to point out all sciences that deal with historical/social reality and the concept of moral sciences provides the opportunity of institution of these sciences as a whole. Therefore, science is a community of moral facts and these facts are historically developed facts in humanity. Human is not in the state of a reality (nature) that intended to dominate over moral world which is the topic of history and sociology; he/she is in the state of a reality begging for comprehension. These facts cannot be searched by empirical methods because the fact that created this process and its subject is humanity itself. For this reason,

historical/critical method is against positivist method. The term ‘moral sciences’ was also used in J. S. Mill’s *Logic* as well. Facts that belong to moral life cannot be separated from human’s psycho-physics integrity of life and theoretical struggle about facts cannot ignore this integrity (Dilthey, 2011: 19-24).

Dilthey has made ‘understanding’ the key concept of moral sciences and with this he created a contrast against the concept of ‘explanation’ of natural sciences. There is a matter of conversion of hermeneutics into science theory in Dilthey. Mill has made a distinction between ‘natural sciences’ and ‘moral sciences’ and the concept ‘moral’ was transferred as the concept ‘Geist’ (psyche) in his works that were translated into German and so the name ‘*Geisteswissenschaften*’ was thought to be suitable for this science. Dilthey created the framework of moral sciences by starting from this meaning and historically headed for this special and unique one rather than prescriptivism. Thus, the human acts aren’t considered in cause-effect context and the method for understanding of moral sciences is suitable for them (Toprak, 2003: 58).

For Dilthey, it isn’t appropriate to approach all fields focused on human with natural science methods because the actions and behavior peculiar to human get lost with this method and there is a need for a scientific foundation peculiar to these fields. Natural sciences are aimed at clarifying human behavior; however, moral sciences are aimed at understanding the inner world of that behavior. It is made an effort to understand the inner one reflected from outside, namely the inner world of the behavior. In Dilthey’s opinion, hermeneutics must be the main method of this field and moral sciences need a psychological foundation. The method which Dilthey based upon understanding, not describing makes sense when moral facts (phenomena) and inner life are defined in their own context. He criticizes Kant’s, Locke’s and Hume’s familiar subject because this isolates him/her from the facts that he/she is connected with by ignoring his thinking, wishing, feeling, acting side of human and he does not consider it as a whole. For him, concepts and definitions aren’t enough to consider life as a whole. He focuses on the link between ‘experiences’, ‘expression’ and ‘understanding’ and aims at understanding the world of human, not the world independent from human (Toprak, 2003: 59-62).

As human is not subject to natural causality, as a living creature that has the opportunity to determine his/her performance and actions, also the spiritual phenomena he/she created aren't completely dependent on natural causality. These phenomena that are the result of independent performance and tasks have totally distinctive characteristics each one of which is unlike one another. Because they are products of intentional performance, they have a specific aim and so they are phenomena to be understood, not to be explained. Since each moral phenomenon is both the result of an independent performance and a phenomenon that needs to be understood, it must be discussed personally/individually. Yet it is possible to reach personal/individual phenomena via art and written texts which are the most suitable tool to reach individualism; because art offers individual/personal one, and the written texts provides with a reach to the objective in individual/personal phenomena (Adugit, 2005a).

Here the main problem is the problem of what the faith that we have in the reality of external world is based on and the problem of its rightness. As something designed, the external world always and only exists as a phenomenon in this respect. However, our feeling and wishing character is a stronger data than the external world because this belongs to a living reality rather than the designed one. We cannot know the cause-effect (production) relation in the external world enough and the designs that belong to these are abstractions emerging from our lives. Our experiences tell about our independent and immanent state. The external world, on its own, may have a different integrity from our integrity. Dilthey has thought that the objective knowledge which Kant predicted for natural sciences is also a reachable ideal for humanities with an effort to reveal the goal of humane/historical sciences and their research area. He considers objectivizing the direct logical distinction between the intention of natural and social sciences in the extent of objectification, not in two different aspects of objectification (Dilthey, 2011: 18; Bernstein, 1983: 113; Habermas, 1997: 177).

It's *Aristotle* who first classified data according to their topics or facts. For him, the data divides into three categories as theoretic, practical and poetic. The naturalistic method was regarded as the ideal model of knowledge with the development of natural sciences from 17th and 18th centuries, but with this method,

the effort to institute historical, social and cultural areas made the result worse instead of understanding humanistic facts. Yet, for Dilthey we might know the moral facts that belong to a living reality depending upon our wishes, values and aims more obviously than the external reality, namely than phenomena, that is related to sense data. Therefore, he wanted to develop a reproduced understanding-dissection method concerning spiritual facts that belong to life in inner experience again, different from the explanatory method that is put forward by sensory data related to natural life under the absolute mental designs (Coşkun, 2009).

Dilthey's aim was to develop the methods to take on the objectively valid interpretations of inner life expressions. He found it necessary to avoid the reductionist and mechanical perspective of natural sciences and a methodology project suitable for sciences that work on understanding the human's social and artistic expressions. Moreover, it questions what the structure of understanding is. For him, the dynamics of the human's inner life is a complex fact that is made of knowing, feeling and wishing and these cannot be discussed in the consistency of numerical thinking. The individual comprehends, thinks over and understands the feelings in the past, present and future context, and moral obligations within the frame of charges. For Dilthey, life cannot be independent from human experience and it is a historical fact. It is possible to reach the humanistic world by analyzing the marks of people on the phenomenon (Palmer, 2008: 139-44).

For Dilthey, understanding is a 'repetitious production' and this 'inner experience' starts with setting out from experiences of personal conditions. The prerequisite of understanding is living and as people are connected to each other with their common aspects; it is possible to approach the complete and general one. In Dilthey's opinion, understanding consists of two types. The first one is 'basic understanding' which is daily, personal and individual, and the second one is 'high understanding' that is intended to unity and that has an objective side. And for Dilthey, moral life that was transferred into writing makes up the object of hermeneutics. For him, hermeneutics is the discipline of understanding life expressions that have been stable by being transferred into writing. Understanding is conditioned by 'interest' and it increases or decreases depending upon the level of

interest. Inductive way deals with each event as a part of the total from events that don't have a unity and it creates a 'structure', a 'method' (Toprak, 2003: 63-72).

For Dilthey, it must be started from inner experience, and experiences of personal conditions to enlighten the process of understanding. The experience of a personal situation and the experience of the other person and the situation's reproduction are homogenous at the core of the process. Experiences are dependent on personality and selfhood and this depends on the current living environment. The person, in his/her life, observes a similar external/physical expression of internality in another's life and turns from this expression into the internality of that another by means of analogy, namely by metaphor. The limits of intelligence/understanding are always in the place where reproduction and reconstitution will be made starting from its context and it is not possible to influence this spiritual world by absolute logical method. The connection of this phenomenon with reproductive/reconstructive/reinvented understanding reveals itself in many occasions and it might be dependent on sharing the happiness and sorrow of others with empathy (Dilthey, 2011: 38-40).

Understanding is based on sympathy to a certain degree. The intensity of humanistic and moral can be provided with empathy and understanding, not with reflexive/analytic way. Explanation and interpretation is a human understanding of something again with his/her all psychic and mental appointments. Psychic-historical situations (for once only) cannot be separated from people's independent values and the determination of the value of events and its norms. For Dilthey, humane studies should focus on 'expressions that belong to life'. For him, life and humanistic inner experience have different profiles as the expressions of thoughts, actions and life experiences. Expression is not completely a personal phenomenon. Experience is also used together with the person who understands and comprehension is made based on a similar experience. Yet understanding is the mind's comprehension of someone else's mind (Geist), that's to say it is a mental process of comprehending living human experience thanks to itself. The process of understanding develops within the framework of hermeneutical cycle rules (Dilthey, 2011: 40-44; Palmer, 2008: 153-60).

For Dilthey, to understand, there must be an expression of experience. Experience can only be presented by the externalization of that experience. And the externalization of expression is the expression of experience. Understanding is the outcome of this expression because the comprehension of exterior individuality depends on the understanding of expression as well as understanding ourselves. Dilthey, who realized the depth of human soul and the world of history, has realized that the moral world is constituted by the facts that emerge from the human's inner life and that can be lived internally. The moral institutions and developments that have come out in the course of history are the expressions of experiences that become objective in historic and social reality. Trials of life which are an expression of experience have become objective in the historic and social world. For this reason, the comprehension of this world is possible with a process of a method of understanding (Adugit, 2005a; Birand, 1998: 22-23).

Especially philosophers like Dilthey and Schleiermacher have focused on the relations of language-history-meaning that are mentioned in the interpretation of texts by putting forward various hermeneutic approaches. Dilthey approves the thesis that is defended in the epistemologies of Locke, Hume and Kant, in which the one presented emotionally turns into knowledge under the planning activity of intelligence/mind, and the thesis about the fact that the nature is an 'explanation' object. However, the knowing subject confronts with its object with the totality of its psyche such as desire, wish, demand, excitement, emotion, sympathy, antipathy, targeting, care, appraisal and this is not valid in natural sciences. Natural sciences are contented with no sense perception and planning and parenthesize the others. Nature is not something that we create but the moral world is a world in which the subject recognizes in its inner experience, it is an object area. Dilthey names this comprehensive/detecting performance as 'understanding'. Yet nature is explained but cannot be understood. Dilthey suggests that historicism is formed in an associated media emerging from human thought and effort and it undergoes a change in every period (Szondi, 1995: 17; Dilthey, 2011: 28-32).

Dilthey has connected philosophy and moral sciences to each other. For him, to explain is for sciences; however, the aim in humane studies is 'to understand'. To approach a phenomenon which connects the inner and exterior is understanding.

Science clarifies nature, considers the general, but humane studies understand the expressions of life, and comprehends the individual one. For him, there is a systematical relation between experience (*erlebnis*), expression (*ausdruck*) and understanding (*verstehen*). Experience is not a stable object; on the contrary, it both tends to unite the past and be hopeful for the future in cohesion and within the framework of its context and it tends to surround that. For Dilthey, historicism is basically the expression of the transitivity of human experience and that interpretation is out of date cannot be claimed because the present can only be understood along the lines of the past and the future. Therefore, it should be studied on 'historical' categories that are appropriate for the structure of past experiences (Gadamer, 1995: 39; Palmer, 2008: 147-52).

Dilthey has quite been affected by the Romantic tradition and the tradition after Kant and German philosophy of history. Historical awareness is the way of self-knowledge for Dilthey. Local, historical human always looks and understands from his/her status within the time and place. Because of always considering the world as the past, present and the future, the idea that understanding is absolutely based on time was named in the form of the historicity of understanding. 'Meaning' in the past is defined in the concept of questions that are asked today. Yet Husserl suggests an axis of intent in which a person lives and acts, that is not abandoned but has been shared by personal and other experienced living creatures contrary to the 'objectively valid' and abandoned philosophy as considered by the scientist and he names this axis as 'the world of life (*lifeworld*)'. The individual makes a judgment through this world of life and reaches a conclusion (Özlem, 1998: 89; Palmer, 2008: 233).

Dilthey doesn't understand history as something that stands in front of us. Historicism doesn't indicate the already objectively obvious topics such as human birth, living and death in time. Historicism has two meanings (Palmer, 2003: 235-43):

1. The individual understands himself/herself by objectivizing life, not by the way of introspection. Only history can tell the individual what he/she is. In other words, the individual's understanding himself/herself is not direct, it is indirect. This view should make a hermeneutical turn through the expressions

that were made up in the past. As being connected with history, the human is historical essentially and necessarily.

2. The human has the power of changing his/her inner person, for this reason it can be stated that human has also the freedom of changing his/her own life, he/she has the natural power to create. And another topic that historicism brought about is the fact that the human cannot escape from history. Because he/she is what he/she is in history and in the historical process human is always dependent on the interpretation of the past according to hermeneutic theory. Thus, it is possible to tell that humans has always been an understanding 'hermeneutical being' in their actions and decisions by means of interpreting a shared world from the past and an existing.

Although Dilthey reconciles himself with the epistemologist school which Locke, Hume and Kant are related to in many respects, he has criticized their study of the subject they intended with pure reason and has suggested dealing with human historically and psychologically. He has dealt with human as a being that senses, wants and plans something and he has given particular importance on human in the interpretation of the concepts of knowledge (external world, time, substance, first reason, etc.). He has connected modern abstract scientific thought and experience with the integrity of human existence (total identity of human). For him, the most important constituents of our plan and unity about reality are the unity of the personal life, external world, other individuals, and their life in time and the mutual effects of these lives. Real life process based on human's demand, feeling and targeting can only be realized in the diversity of this integrity. Here there is a history of development that emerges from the total of the current issues, not absolute *a priori* knowledge (Dilthey, 2011: 16-17).

2.2.3. Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger and The Phenomenology

Phenomenology means the examination of phenomena, namely the facts about conscience, of what was given. 'As conscience is generally the knowledge of a

subject that is either inside or outside', it is 'the science of conscience'. The definition of phenomenology has had its exact and own meaning from Hegel in 1807 with the publication of *Die Phänomenologie des Geistes* (Lyotard, 2007: 50). He is especially concerned with human sciences and while searching the indirect data that come before all kinds of scientific theming, he reveals the basic style of the conscience of this data or of its core. On the other hand, the meaning of this term has still been developing and hasn't been defined historically yet (Lyotard, 2007: 9-10).

Edmund Husserl is the founder of 'Phenomenology' which is one of the famous philosophical movements of the 20th century. With his work '*Logische Untersuchungen*' (Logic Research), Husserl has realized a breakup in the field of phenomenology. The name 'Phenomenology' was used by naturalists before Husserl when it came to oppose the description of 'the phenomena' to a theoretical explanation. Phenomenology has thought over and disagreed with psychologism, pragmatism, a certain stage of western thought. Primarily, there is an effort of thought over knowledge and the knowledge of knowing. Husserl has defined and criticized the famous 'getting into brackets' method as 'dogmatism' because of the fact that it says goodbye to a culture and history. Phenomenology is a 20th Century philosophy and it dreams about giving its scientific mission back to this century by means of founding science policies again by paying new prices. His starting point and the principle that he is searching for is what scientific knowledge relies on (Waldenfels, 2008: 7; Lyotard, 2007: 7-8).

The word phenomenon has two meanings due to the self-correlation between *the visible* (Erscheinen) and *the visible thing* (Erscheinendem). In fact, *Phainomenon* means the apparent one, but it is initially used for the one which is apparent itself, in other words for the subjective phenomenon. Phenomenology carries out its task by observing the connections between life and knowing, enlightening, determining meaning and semantic discrimination. Phenomenology compares, discriminates, connects, associates, divides into pieces yet does everything with pure sight. It doesn't institutionalize, mathematize, it never makes an explanation of the deductive theory meaning. Vision and then ideation are only the features of this method. To observe the main (original) vision, to deduce only from this and to stand by the fact that it has presented in its own borders have been regarded as the principle of all

phenomenological work because only vision (the essence of vision) provides evidence (Husserl, 2012: 29-30).

Phenomenology has come about in response to the 19th century philosophy that doesn't accept self-knowledge. In Husserl's opinion, phenomenology, which is a self-ontology, takes part on the basis of all sciences. For Husserl, phenomenology doesn't deal with something, for example any situation of a being, but it deals with it as a whole; deals with senses as senses, judgments as judgments, emotions as emotions. This is just similar to the discussion of numbers in mathematics, figures in geometry. Just as mathematics, geometry and mechanics are the basis of certain sciences; phenomenology is the basis of philosophy, logic and psychology. Phenomenology is descriptive. Theory and inference have no place in phenomenology (Ökten, 2005).

According to the traditional philosophical understanding, reality, namely spirit is objective and unchangeable. However, reality, namely phenomenon is subjective and changeable. If the phenomenon is the one 'indicating itself', the one 'presented', it is certainly necessary to take it apart from the spirit, to characterize it as something that doesn't reveal the spirit itself. Phenomenology, which is a science of the spirit, is only possible when the spirit is visible, in other words when there is no real impossibility of its appearance. There is the possibility of 'the spirit's' emergence, appearance, offering itself to us, in short its being a phenomenon. For Husserl, this is only possible with the phenomenological method (Ökten, 2005).

For Husserl 'The fact that Phenomenology is a basic science, *the first philosophy (philosophia prima)*, it sets ground for every possible philosophical critic, it needs to start its search without being based on any theory or hypothesis'. As well as being 'the method of healing the spirit', Phenomenology at the same time questions and analyzes what phenomenon is and how it can be comprehended with this method. Husserl, who has addressed the world phenomenon totally as an issue and proceeded to search and analyze it in a descriptive form, has affected Heidegger after himself as well (Ökten, 2005).

For Heidegger, phenomenology is the discovery of the opportunity of research in philosophy. Heidegger has stated that the being has intellectual equipment, and has found a method that can appeal to the process of human

existence in Husserl's phenomenology because phenomenology has explained the world of the phenomenon that is comprehended before thinking. This world is the most important environment of the human's being in the world historically and the being reveals him/her in the past experiences (Waldenfels, 2008: 8; Palmer, 2008: 169-70).

For Heidegger, with the collapse of idealistic philosophy, and the rise of naturalistic paradigms, philosophy had to choose a naturalistic point of view based on itself. Heidegger reinterprets understanding of the traditional ontology. For him, traditional ontology should be questioned and its mistakes should be corrected. Here the methods traditional philosophy uses are not enough. The method we can use for this is phenomenology. Phenomenology is 'the science of the presence of existing ones', that is to say 'ontology' (Ökten, 2004: 129; Heidegger, 2008: 38).

While redefining phenomenology, Heidegger goes to its Greek roots; *Phainomenon* or *phainesthai*, and *logos*. For him, *Phainomenon* means 'the one revealing itself, it means the one apparent, obvious [das Offenbare]. And *pha*, which is about the Greek word *phôs* means light or brightness 'in which something is apparent, something that can turn to be apparent'. In that case, phenomenon is 'a collection of things (ta onta, das Seiende) that are open in daylight or can be brought to light'. Here bringing out and indicating something in its own appearance should be understood. The prefix *-logy-(-ology)* in the word phenomenology dates back to the Greek word *logos*. For Heidegger, this is the fact that is stated in this speech and it means to reveal something in a deeper meaning. Furthermore, it has been discussed in terms of speech function which can make the mind and the ground possible. His presentation logic, pointing to the phenomenon (*apophantic*), is about appealing what something is or about creating (Palmer, 2008: 173).

Phenomenology is the work of the directing of a phenomenon through an access that it completely has. In this case the combination of *phainesthai* and *logos* as phenomenology means everything is as appears and to leave them in order to impose our own categories upon them. In other words, we are not the ones pointing to the objects but they show themselves to us. The spirit of a correct understanding is due to its being referenced by the revealing power of the object. During the rise of the facts encountered, interpretation finds a basis for the reality not in human

consciousness and human categories, on the contrary in the reality that wishes to meet us. Presence can never be an object for us in real terms because we participate in the act of building an object as the object (Palmer, 2008: 174).

Phenomenology which Heidegger has developed inspired by Husserl has been named as *hermeneutic phenomenology* but his phenomenology and method have taken quite a different function. Husserl has observed the temporariness of conscience and has made a phenomenological explanation about internal time consciousness. Yet, for Heidegger it is not necessary to explain phenomenology as an open state of consciousness; it may also mean the explanation of existence in its all objectivity and historicity. For him, it is important for the individual to put forth how he/she lives and exists rather than what he/she is. Human identifies the world by explaining the aims and relations of the being and he/she identifies what they are. Generally, he/she lives like the other people by getting lost in this constitution. Daily events, worries, anxieties are important factors in the formation of human activities (Palmer, 2008: 171-72; Karakaya, 2003).

Heidegger refuses epistemological theories based on subject-object analysis. Instead of the experience of the external world, he replaces the subject's experience of the inner world with 'understanding as an act' instead of 'understanding' as a mental attitude. By centering the being instead of the subject, he has developed a vision of existence. For him, science has replaced the doctrines of the church in the middle ages. Yet technology has reached a position that limits the opportunities of the being. The greatest error of the western metaphysics, which the tradition of the western philosophy depends on, has been raising the subject as the determinant of the whole truth and the being was forgotten in the philosophy shaped by this error. The being must be reclaimed and the voice of the being must be listened. Here, Heidegger's understanding of truth has gained importance as well. With an understanding that can be defined as 'the revelation or disclosure of the being', Heidegger criticizes the understanding of truth corresponding to the western metaphysics, to the knowledge of matter and the knowledge corresponding to precision and accuracy (Bilen, 2002: 103; Gündüz, 2005).

Hermeneutics, which Schleiermacher has restricted epistemologically and Dilthey has explained methodologically, turns into the problem of *being*. Different

from Dilthey, Heidegger has used the word 'hermeneutic' in the context of a more generally 'fundamentalist' ontology research. With an understanding tendency inspired by life itself, he has searched and transferred the method that can explain that method in his work named as *Being and Time* (1927). Heidegger replaces Dilthey's 'living' concept with 'existence'. For Heidegger, human understands himself/herself in his/her history, not the universe, in short, human does hermeneutics. Therefore; in Heidegger's theory, hermeneutics becomes a form of self-understanding of human existence. Heidegger defines hermeneutics as the ontology of understanding and interpretation (Palmer, 2008: 169-70; Arslan, 2002: 22).

By using the word *Dasein*, Heidegger has connected Cartesian tradition's human understanding that is isolated from society and history with society and history because the subject *Dasein* finds itself in a language in a society and exists in a certain time period; and its existence is a dialogical product. *Dasein*, which Heidegger treated as beings that-are-in-the-world, as a result of being thrown into-the-world, they take place 'as-something' in a certain sequence of possibilities existentially, in a historical context. For Heidegger, objects in the world are not independent of us and he deals with the *Dasein* analysis and the question of what the meanings of the beings are (Gündüz, 2005; Stanley, 1994: 23; Reyhani, 2009).

Thus, the starting point of Heidegger philosophy is identified. Philosophy is the universal phenomenological ontology that accepts *Dasein*'s hermeneutics as the starting point. When understanding itself turns into such a central phenomenon for philosophy, hermeneutics cannot only be regarded as a minor branch of philosophy any more. Instead, that becomes philosophy in itself. From now on, understanding is the primitive success that *Dasein* has realized as a being/in the world. That's the mode of its existence. In the context of the world in which *Dasein* lives, understanding is the power of comprehending the opportunities that itself has for being (Heidegger, 2008: 39; Geertz *et al.*, 1990: 95).

Dasein is human existence, namely it is presence. The question of what *Dasein* is in daily life always brings out its association with others and that it is one of them. The world is the place which it always shares with others. *Dasein*'s world is a collaborative world. Heidegger's ontology-centered *Dasein* (the-being-existing-in-

the-world) analysis is the most important factor that determines the intention of Gadamer's hermeneutics. For Heidegger, *Dasein* is not a Cartesian subject; it's something that exists in a world which is shaped/determined by meaning (Gündüz, 2005; Çüçen, 1997: 41; Dostal, 2002: 172).

Dasein always understands itself from its own existence, in other words with the distinctive opportunity of being or not being itself, *Dasein* has chosen these opportunities itself or penetrated into them or has grown in them. That a person finds himself/herself in such a series of conditions is the ontological quality of human beings. We find ourselves 'thrown/launched' in a world which we find in numerous styles and the one we always have to adopt if we like it or not. The initial-ontological structure of the being is the main factor of having the opportunities that determine understanding. These opportunities and conditions come before *Dasein*, specify the mode of his/her being (Heidegger, 2008: 54-57; Arslan, 2002: 226; Heidegger, 2008: 301).

For Heidegger, the world and understanding are integral parts that exist in *Dasein*'s existence's ontological formation. For him, the world is nearer to the fact we refer to when we say our world, and the referred environment does not mean the universe that objective approach and scientific observation perceive. The world cannot be mentioned separately from self in the predictive form of subject-object distinction because the world is before all of them. Comprehensive world is always transparent and refuses the effort of comprehending it as an object. The person sees through it. The meaning of objects is connected with structural integrity in which meanings and intentions interact with each other. The existence of something becomes clear in an environment where the world is fully active, when it suddenly appears after being hidden. The structure of understanding could be comprehended when it is disordered and perhaps when something necessary that it should have disappeared (Palmer, 2008: 178-80).

For Heidegger, understanding is fundamental for all interpretations and before all kinds of actions. But, interpretation is based upon ontological understanding. He has understood the spirit of hermeneutics as the ontological power of understanding and interpretation. Existence may be questioned by the analysis of how its appearance emerged. Ontology needs to be phenomenology and turn into the

process of understanding and interpretation via the facts that appear, explain the situation and orientation of human existence and make the structure of being visible in the invisible world. This means that ontology needs to be a 'hermeneutics' belonging to a being like the phenomenology of being (Arslan, 2002: 313; Palmer, 2008: 175-76).

Contrary to the concept of the age of Enlightenment, which regards understanding as an absolute mental event and regards language as a tool for expressing the mental one, hermeneutics puts language in the center of the world and life. For Heidegger, 'language is the home of the being and human shelters in its house'. Language is not created, it is learned. Words indicate something beyond them and are the translucent carriers of meaning. In Heidegger's opinion, understanding is always to understand the being in the world of life. In understanding the world in-being is always understood together and in general understanding existence is always the understanding of a world (Heidegger, 2002: 37; Christopher, 1991: 113; Heidegger, 1997: 14; Heidegger, 2004: 217).

For Heidegger, interpretation is never dealing with something given before without prediction. It can't be claimed that something in the external world 'is apparent itself' because it is something that lets the reflection of the person reflecting from 'the object'. There is integrity of prediction in every interpretation. In that case, it is important to remember that understanding is premeditated, namely it is not a factor of conscience against the existing world. Heidegger defines understanding and interpretation by putting it somewhere where it can be found before the dilemma of the subject-object. For him, hermeneutics is an ontological expansion theory as it is the ontological expansion process of human existence itself. His analysis connects hermeneutics with existentialist ontology and phenomenology and specifies the position of hermeneutics in the world's objectivity and historicity, not in subjectivity (Palmer, 2008: 182-84).

2.3. HANS-GEORGE GADAMER AND THE PHILOSOPHICAL HERMENEUTICS

In 1960, by publishing his work named as *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge Einer Philosophischen Hermeneutik* (Truth and Method) Hans-Georg Gadamer has contributed much to the development of modern hermeneutics theory. This work has been remembered with two other important works written about hermeneutical theory: Joachim Wach's *Das Verstehen* and Emilio Betti's *Teoria Generale Della Interpretazione*. In this work a new philosophical hermeneutical perspective from Heidegger's point of view and a perspective based on language ontology at the same time. For Gadamer, hermeneutics is a philosophical effort which is a form of the evaluation of understanding as an ontological process in human life because understanding is perceived as a way of the person's being himself/herself, not as the person's being concerning the object and as a subjective process against it (Palmer, 2008: 215-16).

For Hans-George Gadamer, human sciences should get through the objectivizing approaches of 19th century, that understanding requires an understanding phenomenon 'in its uniqueness and historical concreteness', not the discovery of general laws on the contrary needs to be rediscovered. Dilthey has asserted a claim of objectivity for social sciences but Gadamer has opposed it by Husserl's phenomenological approach. As the experience/life world concept of Husserl positioned experience world as the inevitable basis for knowing as a whole, it is the antithesis of every kind of objectivism. In order to complete the demonstrative move that Husserl's experience world came before objective science, Gadamer claims that Heidegger is the thinker to consult (Hekman, 2012: 131-35).

For Gadamer, the idea of certainty based on scientific method is the main reason of human's ignoring his/her own historicity. He opposes the restriction of knowing the truth in human sciences with the method on behalf of the verification and accuracy. His hermeneutics is ontological, not a methodological research like in Schleiermacher and Dilthey. For him, understanding and interpretation of texts are not only a science subject, but they also belong to the world experience of human and hermeneutics is not an issue of method. This comes before more than a hundred

question interpretive sciences and every understanding act that needs subjectivity. Gadamer refuses method and objectivity. Mind is always something more than expression and as mind cannot completely objectivize in expression (cannot appear) there will not be a matter of how much the mind appears in expression (Tatar, 1999: 29-32).

Gadamer's hermeneutical view doesn't mean an issue of method for human sciences. By dealing with the ontological aspects of historical conscience, he thinks that the quiddity of truth in understanding and interpretation of its aim to deal with hermeneutics is related to the historical existence of human. For Gadamer, Heidegger's big move is to reveal the ontological meaning of understanding, namely to discover that the concept of understanding is an ontological problem, not a methodological problem. For Heidegger, hermeneutics is the ontology of understanding and interpretation. And Gadamer turns to Heidegger's ontology on the purpose of solving epistemological problems that lead social sciences into a dead end. He transforms these by choosing the special aspects of his idea. His interest in Heidegger's idea stems from his success in going beyond transcendental philosophical idea claimed by Husserl (West, 2005: 176; Hekman, 2012: 135-36).

For Gadamer, hermeneutics uses many methods, but it is not a method itself. All kinds of interpretation methods are in hermeneutics and the duty of philosophical hermeneutics is to explain this. It approaches the object not from a strange (difference) point, but from a familiar (reality) point, not as a subject matter of construction, but as 'something that happen against our will and act'. When the interpreter becomes familiar with the reality of the object, it aims the investigation of the background. For him, 'understanding is a subjective relation with the object's effect date, not with the present object and it belongs to the existence of the fact understood'. Gadamer adopts Heidegger's idea that understanding is 'existential', namely it is the interpretation of *Dasein*'s existence type and its interpretation in terms of time and his project takes the shape of phenomenological hermeneutics (Tatar, 1999: 42-44).

For Gadamer, the subject of dialectics is completely phenomenological: the being or the object met explains itself. Method includes a kind of questioning that reveals only one part of something. Yet, dialectical hermeneutics opens itself to a

questioning by the being or something else, thus the fact met opens itself in its own existence. On the other hand, Gadamer regards the analysis of Heidegger about the primary structure of understanding and the essential historicity (*Geschichtlichkeit*) of human existence as the reference point of his own 'historical consciousness' analysis. The individual keeps a pre-existing intention in our understanding and presents it in that situation, namely understands the object or the situation by predictions. According to the movement of historicity, the past is not a pile of facts that can be made an object which only belongs to consciousness. Today's world is considered and understood by way of past intentions, perspectives and predictions. Past is a river in which people act and join in the process of understanding and it's something that is traditional and that's why we exist (Palmer, 2008: 219-32).

In general terms, Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics has a structure that refers and tries to find solutions to modern societies' problems related to language and interpretation. Accordingly, the text should be understood either appropriately, in every moment, for each exception, in a new and different way. Philosophical hermeneutics completely takes the revelation of hermeneutical dimension on as a task by suggesting its fundamental importance for all different forms in which it reveals itself in our all conception of the world and therefore in this conception; from interpersonal communication to the manipulation of the society, from the individual's personal experience to the way of the individual's confrontation with the society, from the tradition of liberating reflection that has raised religion, art and philosophy to revolutionary consciousness that has changed tradition much (Köker, 1990: 59; Arslan, 2002: 2).

The purpose of the philosophical hermeneutics is the creation of deeper or new understanding and the imposition of one's preconceptions on the text to a certain extent which also means a kind of disrupting. It is a kind of process which can not be controlled and it is not so possible to understand which conceptions or judgements will enable understanding. In the interpretative process, these influential forces are brought out and interpretation can not be reduced to a predetermined method but it occurs during the interpretive process itself interpretively. The understandings are lived by humans every day. The self-examination and transformative potential of experience are at the core of philosophical hermeneutics. (Freeman, 2008: 386-87).

The interpretation activity framed by philosophical hermeneutics aims to understand religious/theological changes that have been realized in the light of dogmatic interpretation and the interpretations that are the products of this as well as other humanistic/cultural/historical products. The fact Gadamer would like to suggest is neither to create a method similar to naturalistic method, nor to constitute an art discipline of understanding like in traditional hermeneutics. His aim is philosophical. What is questioned is not what we do or will do; it's what happens to us beyond our demands and acts. Philosophical hermeneutics will try to provide an opportunity of understanding, interpretation and practice on the basis of a historical consciousness that can reveal this (Özlem, 2001: 77; Coşkun, 2009).

Philosophical hermeneutics will be able to reconstruct the characteristics of hermeneutics' that is reduced into two, understanding and interpretation with romantic hermeneutics in a way including the triple structure of understanding, interpretation and practice. This construction will give us an opportunity of a praxis philosophy in which theory and practice work together. For Gadamer, *praxis* is the formulation of ways of life relationships in the widest sense. Praxis takes place between existing and acting in life. In the interpretation of a text, there is a theoretical approach opposite the interpretation's praxis; but at the same time, there is a world-orientation in the communicativeness of interpreted experience in itself. And historical consciousness is the practical historical knowledge and historical existence. Consequently, this conscience will be able to be paraphrased correctly only in philosophical hermeneutics (Coşkun, 2009).

During the interpretation of a text, as the 'intention of the writer' is not something ready in front of us, at this point the historicity and time problem of the text should be dealt without psychologism and objectivism. Gadamer has drawn attention to the ontological aspects of understanding in his work *Truth and Method* and focused that interpretation is basically experiencing the reality that the texts reveals. Gadamer has criticized the idea of scientific objectivity in human sciences, opposed to the restriction of the existence of the text by the writer's intention. For him, the primary function of understanding indicates to a reality about the subject (Sache) that appeared in the language, not to the intention of the writer. The unity of language and subject is the center of reality as revelation (uncoveredness). Language

is not a tool in human subjectivity, but a transcendental ground in which past and present have established a real dialogue or made speech (Tatar, 1999: 1-10).

Gadamer wants to know ‘what kind of prediction/foresight and reality’ could be found in human sciences. For him, the problem of reality is beyond the problem of the method. He deals with the question of what kind of understanding applies to human sciences and what universal understanding means itself and suggests hermeneutics as an answer. His hermeneutical analysis is an analysis of existence and language. Understanding is linguistics and it needs to be analyzed in a language environment in human sciences. The problem of language replaces the problem of ontology. According to Gadamer’s thesis, philosophy and social sciences are deeply connected to each other and this connection lies in the nature of linguistic understanding (Hekman, 2012: 128-30).

2.3.1. Gadamer: The Hermeneutical Cycle, Historical Consciousness and Tradition

Gadamer has searched for an answer to the question of ‘How is it possible to understand?’ from a philosophical point of view. For this reason, it is necessary to deepen on the fact of understanding, to go deeper from the surface and this is possible with hermeneutics. Gadamer criticizes Dilthey because of his effort to apply moral sciences to natural sciences and bases the equivalence between the two on philological method. With hermeneutics the historical distance between the work and interpreter removes, objectivity and reliability are provided. For Gadamer, moral sciences have relations with tone rather than method and there is a need for a basis that can be realized by philosophical hermeneutics. For this reason, based on Heidegger, moral sciences should be saved from methodological approaches, the idealism of objectivity and the method depending upon it should be employed (Toprak, 2003: 72-75).

Gadamer would like to bring the phenomenon of understanding to light by questioning how understanding is possible. Understanding is not something among human subject’s behavior; it is the way of existence itself, the *Dasein*’s. For him, hermeneutics emerges from the finiteness and historicity of human and includes the

individual's all experiences of the world because understanding is extensive and universal. He refuses the dependence on technological thought based on subjectivity, namely regarding human's subjective conscience and mental certainty as a source of final reference for human knowledge. For him, it is possible to reach reality by dialect, not by methodology. According to dialectical approach, intelligence is not something acquired as a property. Intelligence is something that people provide participants, governed by itself and moreover allowed to be acquired (Palmer, 2008: 217-18).

For Gadamer, understanding is dialogical as a result of its main character; it is the problem of reaching a consensus on a topic and participation. Understanding is a subjective relation to its date of effect, not to the present object, that's it belongs to the existence of the fact understood. However, consensus and participation do not mean agreeing with each other and accepting something said truth. For Gadamer, understanding is not to share the same opinion with someone else, but to share the same background, that's the same subject (Sache). In order to understand his point of view, first of all the background it is based on, that's the subject needs to be understood. Understanding the intention of the writer is in the second place when compared with understanding the subject. Like Hirsch, Gadamer accepts the impossibility of knowing the writer's intention due to the lack of knowledge about the writer and the conditions of the writer and it is possible for the writer to confuse his/her readers consciously or intentionally (Tatar, 1999: 18-23).

As Hirsch's understanding of interpretation accepts the intention of the writer as the basic criteria of understanding the text, it has been named as 'intentionalist'. Gadamer has chosen the problem of the argument of absolute reality's association with human's own mortality experience as a starting point of philosophical hermeneutics. For him, a text can only be understood by sharing a common language and cultural horizons. *Text* is a phase of the communication event that occurs in this horizon. Ontological aspects of the subject of the text are on the basis of the horizon. These aspects appear in the dialogic nature of language and form a basis for the possibility of the interpretation of the text correctly. For Gadamer, although the meaning of the text has a feature of expressing its content in diversity that can be

infinite, it can keep its identity and cannot be considered equal to the writer's intention (*mens auctoris*) and surpasses it (Tatar, 1999: 16-17).

For Gadamer, as the meaning of the text claims the reality that surpasses any individual's historical awareness, it turns into 'an experience that changes the person experiencing it'. It exists when it indicates to another point apart from the text itself and when it provides us with a vision of the fact that the writer speaks of. The text doesn't indicate back to the intention or conscience of the writer, it indicates the open environment (forward) opened by the interpretation field of the interpretation, and the meaning is aimed at explicit possibilities, namely at the future. That is the past that dates back to the future. The intention of the writer represents only the past. Interpretation of the text means a reader's wish to understand the writer behind the text; the interpretation of the interpreter's world (is the effort of the interpreter to understand his/her interpretative horizon), the interpretation of the interpreter's himself/herself is to appreciate whether the interpreter has acted on the basis of a certain ego or not (Tatar, 1999: 48; Jeanrond, 2007: 128).

Gadamer accepts that the intention of the writer plays a primary role while understanding the spoken text during the conversation and intention becomes a hermeneutical problem when written expressions or texts, not verbal speech, are discussed. He deals with the question of 'How is it possible to turn the meaning (reality) of physical signs behind (the text) into (verbal) speech living again?' Does this state of possibility come out by going back to the moment when understanding (or point of view) come out or by the fact that meaning is already given in our historical and linguistic tradition (horizon), namely by understanding ourselves? Objectivists argue that meaning is something that is discovered to be the same for everyone by supporting the thesis of the unity (monism) of meaning and ignore the fact that Gadamer named as 'the ontological structural perspective of understanding'. For Gadamer, understanding is not one of the simple actions of human existence, but it's a concept of the structure of life experience. Yet, interpretation is the paraphrasing of understanding which is already given (Tatar, 1999: 24-26; Gadamer, 1995: 98).

For Gadamer even if the identicalness of the text makes itself in the dialogue between the text and interpretation, namely it is immanent in interpretation, the text

at the same time surpasses interpretation. Due to this immanent and transcendental characteristic of the text, Gadamer's approach is similar to Husserl's 'unity in numerousness approach'. Identity needs numerousness to exist and appear and the text and interpretation can never intersect and be the same even though each interpretation enhances the existence of the text. For Gadamer, the only meaning which can be possessed about the text is interpreted by the historical subject subjectively. The process of interpretation is not only from the past to the present, but also from the present to the past. The text needs to turn to (future) and the fact expresses the difference of the interpreter as well (Tatar, 1999: 87-89).

On the other hand, Gadamer's hermeneutics focuses on three elements of Heidegger's approach. The first one avoids Husserl's ontological baselessness by using the discovery of Heidegger's idea that the horizon of existence is time. For Husserl, even if the subject is a viewer that has no place in the world, Heidegger analyzes the ways of human's being and their confrontation with objects in the world and this prediction becomes a basis for the fact that Gadamer has named as 'the hermeneutics of being thrown in the world (facticity)'. Then Gadamer connects this element with his own theory under the label of the historicity of meaning. And the second element is the fore-structure of meaning already, that's to say the prejudice concept which is the root of Gadamer's hermeneutics. According to this, the prejudice which its existence is accepted before the understanding is not arbitrary (Hekman, 2012: 136-137).

And the third element is the hermeneutical understanding cycle. Heidegger defines this as 'the ontological structure element in understanding'. This is not a 'formal/logical cycle' for Gadamer and it is described as the interplay of the movement of tradition. Depending on these three elements, Gadamer develops his specific theory about hermeneutical understanding. He identifies the concept of prejudice as a concept which provides the actual momentum for hermeneutical problem and which the tradition of Enlightenment has seriously misunderstood. Thus, the power of tradition has been devoid of and the fact needed is the rehabilitation of the concept of prejudice and the acceptance of the fact that there are true prejudices. There are true and untrue prejudices and the duty of a hermeneutics

philosopher is to review prejudices actively, to discriminate between true and untrue prejudices (Hekman, 2012: 137-39).

For Gadamer, understanding is also about present-day as a historical act. As there is no possibility of understanding act to come true from a place outside history, it is not possible to mention objectively effective interpretation. There are two stages related to each other in interpretation: 'grammar' and 'psychology'. Understanding is basically an associated activity. What is currently known is understood by comparing it with another thing. What is understood turns itself to systematic alliances or to cycles made of parts. A personal idea gets its meaning from the context in which it is in or from the horizon and this horizon is made up of elements that add meaning to it. In this two-way interaction between the whole and the parts, each part gives a meaning to another and understanding becomes circular. As meaning develops in this 'cycle', this is called 'hermeneutical cycle' (Palmer, 2008: 124).

Gadamer regards Heidegger's description of hermeneutical cycle and his ontological basis as a decisive turning point. Understanding cycle is related to a hermeneutical rule that stems from old rhetoric about the need to understand from the singular to the whole, from the whole to the singular. At the same time, understanding comes true with the interaction of tradition and interpreter and our relationship with tradition is constantly shaped by this interaction. Understanding is always linked to a context that is understood and considered in advance, it is not linear, it's circular. The circularity of understanding is related to another important concept of 'hermeneutical cycle' in hermeneutics. Hermeneutical cycle is a complex concept that has been transformed since Schleiermacher, set in an ontological basis by Heidegger, thought together with the concept 'prejudice' by Gadamer. There is a meronymy of the text. It is not possible to understand the text without understanding the parts one by one. On the other hand, parts cannot be meaningful without having a pre-understanding of the whole of the text (Dursun, 2004; Göka *et al*, 1996: 51).

Hermeneutical cycle includes pre-understanding and every kind of interpretation is circular. The aim here is not to get out of the cycle of interpretation; it's to stay in it in a correct way. As hermeneutical cycle is not external, understanding does not regard itself as a process apart from interpretation. Understanding always comes true by interpretation. Tradition is not the carrier of

different sounds; it is the place where the past and present function mutually. Gadamer names this function as 'application'. As a result of the inseparableness of understanding and importance (application), the text is always moving and essentially has a dynamical identity (Tatar, 1999: 93-94; Hoy, 1982: 268).

Interpretation never starts from zero point but moves from the truth of a concept that is influenced historically and the existence of the text can only be manifested by different interpretations. The continuity of the text develops when we regard the fact in the text as something appealing (*ansprechend*) and concerning (*angehend*) us. Every interpretation identifies the next interpretation by being solved in it but the repetition of the aspect of the text is not possible as truth comes out in different aspects. Naturally hermeneutics is firstly related to language because interpretation could only be made in language. Linguicity of human is a universal phenomenon and this phenomenon appears in much more different aspects from the aspects that look directly related to the hermeneutical problem. A systematic rehabilitation of expressions to ease the indication is called *language*. *Language* is a system of expressions related to tradition (Gadamer, 1993: 360; Tatar, 1999: 115-121; Saussure, 1989: 17).

For Gadamer, language is a form that is the basic mode of our existence in this world and that contains everything about the formation of the world. Gadamer tells that language mediates all the knowledge of human about the world. At the same time, the linguicity of our existence in the world is finally added to the entire aspects of experience. Language and thought cannot be separated; because it is a phenomenon surrounding us like understanding. It is wrong to comprehend it as a fact. Objectivizing language is much unlikely. Like understanding, language surrounds everything that can be an object for us as well. Having a world is having a language. The fact understood by the language is the world in which there is language. Therefore, human can only have a world by language and he/she lives in this world (Becermen, 2004).

For Gadamer, language opens the world of people, the world in which they live, reveals the possibility that they have their own world. In order to have a world, it is necessary to create an area for the person in which the world can open itself. Having a world means having a language. Language has been organized for the

world, not for our subjectivity, it is objective. The world surrounds the individual like a big balloon reflected by the mind and senses and it is the environment that is shared by people with the same ideas. However, language is a platform of correlation. Language and world go beyond the possibility of every being formed as a complete object. Each object of knowledge has been surrounded by the world horizon of language (Palmer, 2008: 268-70).

Language always comes out discursively in a context. Different from 'explanation' of scientific method that looks for certainty, literary explanation is an interpretive activity about what and how the word tells something. Truth-seeking is hung on a network of interpretations depending on the context and interpretations made based on the context; they are left hanging in a network. Linguistics becomes a basis for historical conscience. Individuals belong to a certain time, and place, a country, a group. The phenomenon of belonging is important for hermeneutical experience because it provides this person with the opportunity of meeting his/her heritage in the text (Palmer, 2008: 271-72; Ormitson and Schrifft, 2002: 5-6).

Gadamer thinks that historical conscience is similar to the *Me-You (Ich-Du)* relation between people. For this reason, the relation between the text and the interpreter is basically in the form of *Me* and *You* and it 'cannot be reduced to the epistemological relation between the subject and object'. Thus, language is a form of mediation in which the historical continuity of the text comes true. The matter is a truth that has come out as a result of a real dialogue requiring both a transcendental basis for a dialogue and being sincere with others. Therefore, we find ourselves in a circular movement during the dialogue. For this reason, every correct interpretation is to experience the progression from the past to future in the dialectic of question and answer (Kalaycı, 2003; Tatar, 1999: 132).

In *Me-You* relationship, *Me* is to open oneself to another. And the fact directing *Me* in opening oneself is the wish to hear, not to dominate over the other. The interpreter who would like to understand a historical event like this relation opens himself/herself to tradition. His/her aim is to hear the fact he/she would like to understand, not to suppress it. This opening-opening to tradition- lets him/her to talk to *Me* in order to provide a basis for the appearance of the correct meaning hidden in it. In Gadamer's hermeneutics, basis (matter) appears differently in every specific

context and it not restricted to any of them. The mutual dependency of the past and present reveals that the matter (mutual basis) is not something objectivized by conscience that is representative (representational), but it is something that makes mutual understanding possible. In this sense, *Sache* is a transcendental basis that makes its trueness appear in the dialogical process between the languages of the text (tradition) and the interpreter (Tatar, 1999: 133; Kalaycı, 2003).

The text only comes out in its relation with interpretation and by its perspective but it is not possible to penetrate into the meaning of the text completely. And compatibility in understanding never means that difference disappears in identity. As well as taking the dialectic between familiarity and otherness of the text as a starting point, Gadamer appeals to Heidegger's identity thesis (relation of belonging to each other). Belongingness takes the form of dialectic between familiarity and difference but the text neither appears as a whole nor looks as something strange. The person who would like to understand something is in relation with the tradition of speaking through the text itself and relates this. As a result of this connection (familiarity) it is possible to turn to the original appearances of the text. Tradition which is the basis for the familiarity with the text is the only way to listen to the fact it tells us. Tradition is the one reflecting the abundance of perspectives, not reflecting oneness (Tatar, 1999: 90-92).

2.3.2. Gadamer: Prejudice and The Fusion of Horizons

For Gadamer all meanings are positioned historically and have their own horizons. If the person who interprets or understands does not have a conscience of his/her position or historicity, he/she can not understand correctly. When understanding Gadamer's 'effect history conscience' comes out, he deals with the question of what happens compulsorily in each humanistic conscience. This conscience is the conscience of hermeneutics and is defined as a situation in which we need to oppose the tradition that we should understand. The concept of situation turns into a 'stop' that limits the possibilities of seeing the concept and the concept of horizon belongs to the concept of 'situation'. 'Horizon' is defined as a sight including everything seen from a point. Horizon is a moving fact in which we walk,

and it walks with us too. Our prejudices make up our current horizon and as it is always questioned; our current horizon is always in a continuous formation and can not come out without the past. History and tradition affect current horizon and 'current horizon' is linked to 'past horizon' in the process of understanding. Horizon has a very active structure that goes beyond drawing the limits of understanding and can always be changed as a result of formations (Toprak, 2003: 82-85).

Gadamer criticizes the objectivism of experience and indicates that the person should realize the prejudices directing historical conscience, namely the person's own understanding. Thus, when effective-historical conscience is formed as 'fusion of horizons', it determines a phenomenon occurring. It defines the concept of horizon as 'the vision/view field including everything that can be seen from a particular point of view'. For an understanding of another person's horizon, he/she must have a horizon already. The fusion of two horizons and their dissolution into one another indicate that the act of understanding has come true successfully. This view is the central element of the theory of hermeneutical understanding. Horizons could be determined, surround an area, and they are unique particular views. There is question answer dialectic in hermeneutical understanding and the interpreter needs to pose a question to a text that will be the object of the interpretation. This question is always related to an expected answer in the text. Understanding a text is an interpretation in any event. Understanding is the fusion of the horizon of the writer and the interpreter. Gadamer focuses on ontology more than epistemology and he argues that understanding is a being, not a mode of knowledge. This ontological approach has rooted in language and history (Hekman, 2012: 140-49).

Gadamer's concept of the *fusion of horizons* assumes that human conscience is affected by history and it understands the world under this effect. Gadamer names this world as hermeneutical environment. According to this concept, human conscience cannot leave this environment and reaches a completely objective knowledge about that. Therefore, the source of human's knowledge about himself/herself is a pre-historical fact that determines and restricts the possibilities of understanding any tradition in its variability. Horizon has an active structure and there is a process of mutual influencing between human and horizon. The meeting of our historical conscience and horizons does not put us into a strange world which is

not related to our own world. Both horizons together make up a bigger one. Getting into another tradition, transforming ourselves completely do not mean ignoring ourselves, they mean opening ourselves to other traditions (Bontekoe, 1987; Adugit, 2005b).

By questioning, it is possible to approach the horizon of meaning in a text from the person's own horizon. The individual does not leave his/her horizon behind while interpreting and extends it in a way that can fuse it with action. Question answer dialectics provides the connection of horizons. Meeting the horizon of the text enlightens the person's own horizon, encourages opening up and understanding his /her own horizon. The environment of experience that cannot leave the being is language. Here Gadamer indicates the living language and individual's participation in it. Thought uses words to indicate the goods and the process of learning a language comes out by penetrating into inheritance flow. Planning words for defining experience is not a random activity; it is suitable for the wishes of the experience. The formation of words is a result of experience. Language is an environment like being and understanding as well (Palmer, 2008: 263-66).

In the experience of sciences of understanding, concentrating on Gadamer's concept of horizon presents us an extensive explanation about how a tradition that is strange to us is understood, how our prejudices are questioned, and how understanding comes out. Gadamer puts forward the concept of horizon by the fact that human has finite/limited point of view. What make understanding possible are the horizons that make up pre-understanding and this indicates to a heritage transferred in the historical process that tells the tradition in which we have been 'launched'. Gadamer is thought to claim that understanding our own situation and the opportunity of questioning our prejudices are based on getting or realizing the knowledge of horizon (Gadamer, 2008: 230-31).

Gadamer has emphasised the dynamical structure of the horizons of language in which a meaning in the past claims the truth. Thus, past meaning can only be understood by reconstructing the original historical horizon or context where understanding has come out. The identity of the meaning of the text cannot be dependent upon the writer's subjective position and in order to understand the subjectivity of the text it needs to be with historical experience about the truth in the

text. (Subject-object) ontology about the writer's intention requires suspending the claim of the truth in the text and ignores the historicity of understanding. As the existence of the text is a transcendental basis, there is the historical continuity of means (mediations) that the texts indicate. The identity of the text is in the continuity of the unity of the past and present. Different interpretations are participants of continuous dialogues with the text and the dialogue comes true with question-answer dialectics. The dialogue indicates that the past and present cannot be understood independently of one another (Tatar, 1999: 10-15).

For Gadamer, meaning exists 'at the beginning and end of the search, while deciding the subject to study, getting new problems, and when there is a wish to search'. For him, alienation which the method assumes means going far from our historical conscience and looking into the text (in itself). As well as relying on the fact that we can go into the strange horizon of the text to leave our horizon, objectivists cannot understand that the reconstruction of the interpreter's own situation and current interests such as the interpreter's choice of subject matter, point of view objectively affect it. On the other hand, objectivism prevents the understanding of the nature and truth of the interpreter's object, creates a false distinction between the object and its truth (Tatar, 1999: 33).

When Gadamer approaches the concept of experience which is important for hermeneutics, he criticizes scientific pressure that tries to make everything objective and verifiable and that gets the object out of its historical period. In response to the conceptual verifiable concept of knowledge, Gadamer puts forward the concept of historical and dialectical 'experience'. While defining experience, by addressing to Hegel he says that experience is a dialectical movement that always has an act of reconstruction of conscience. Understanding needs to be deduced, and then induced again. The sign of the correctness of understanding is the unity of the parts with each other. When there is a complete integrity of understanding, there is pre-understanding and it constantly changes in the next understanding process and is corrected if mistaken because the text is always read with certain expectations and in accordance with a sense of meaning. Rough draft transforms until there is integrity of meaning and this is the only way to keep objectivity. Such a progress of understanding and interpretation contributes it to gain a new and different experience

about the past and the transformation of individual life horizon (Palmer, 2008: 255-56; Toprak, 2003: 77-79).

Being away from methodology is the source of the problem of alienation between the subject and object which hermeneutical interpretation tries to overcome but it is the condition of understanding the 'other one' in its own nature. For Gadamer's hermeneutics otherness means the emergence of the truth by the other. Otherness indicates to the fact that the other one indicates, not the other. It is a fact which makes it possible both to understand one's the limits of his/her conscience and to exceed these limits. Otherness is the way that conveys the interpreter to reflective knowledge, namely the knowledge about itself by means of the truth of the text. Being away is the ontological condition of reflective thought and indicates to the assimilative feature of conscience. For Gadamer, everything preceding the power of judgment is prejudice (Tatar, 1999: 34-41).

For Gadamer, the preceding one historically provides both our connection with the past and it also limits our view (our horizon). For these reasons, the horizon or hermeneutical environment (*world* in Heidegger) means limited disclosure. The fusion of horizons (*Horizontenverschmelzung*) is not to combine two different horizons in order to reach a third horizon but it indicates to the fact that comes about as a dialogue continues. Fusion is a unity and separation dialectics that constantly takes place between the past and present on the subject matter (*Sache*). It represents the transition process dating back from the past to future through the present moment. As the past is to turn towards truth, at the same time to future, fusion also indicates to the productive aspect of understanding. For Gadamer, the truth of interpretation cannot be an aim, and the absolutisms of any interpretation in his hermeneutics are not true. The main purpose is to reveal the meaning of the text (Tatar, 1999: 122-126).

In hermeneutical dialogue, the general subject in which both the interpreter and the text are included is tradition, the heritage. When a text that has reached us is an object of the interpretation, it asks the interpreter a question which he/she will try to answer through interpretation. Understanding the text means understanding this question. The first necessary thing to interpret a text is to understand the questioning and meaning horizon in which the meaning of the text has been determined within its

direction. The text is an answer of the question that has been created by its subject, consists of a claim. The person needs to go beyond the text through interpretation and ask the one not stated by going after the stated because the meaning of any sentence is related to a question of which it can be an answer itself. That's to say, meaning goes beyond the one expressed clearly in the text (Palmer, 2008: 262-63).

Gadamer focuses on the 'pre-structure necessary to explain something as something' which is defined by Heidegger and converts it into 'prejudice' and an obligation necessary for every kind of understanding. In Gadamer 'prejudice' is regarded as the horizon of understanding given before as well as it is the pre-structure of understanding. Understanding comes out through the prejudices that are completely had and their existence cannot be ignored. For Gadamer, the negative meanings laid on prejudices should be lost because due to them tradition loses power and if prejudice is disappeared, tradition (past) cannot be transferred to the next generation spiritually. He replaces the individual's own intelligence with the authority that is regarded as 'the source of truth' and opposes to the idea that consider intelligence as the source of all authority, aim to find other truths in the transferred from the past through intelligence. However, 'acceptable prejudices' are certainly necessary for people's relation with tradition (Toprak, 2003: 75-76).

Prejudice: At the very beginning of the subject this concept states the right or wrong judgment given without analyzing all elements about anything, about any situation or subject, determining the situation or subject, without searching the evidences in favor of or against it. In other words, prejudice can be absolutely defined as a previously acquired positive or negative judgment depending on certain conditions, events and phenomena about a fact, situation, and idea of someone or something. For Gadamer, we cannot decide what the correct and incorrect prejudices are by considering our prejudices or tradition as facts are independent of us, we cannot choose them. Our prejudices and pre-understandings which the belonging to a particular tradition has created are the basic elements that enable us to understand (Flew, 1984: 286; Veysal, 2004; Arslan, 2005: 73).

For Gadamer, there are some hermeneutical results of the historicity of understanding. For him, prejudices have their own importance about interpretation. The prejudices of the individual are not only his/her prejudices, but they are a reality

of their historicity as well. Prejudices are not facts necessary to be given up or has been given up. This is a misunderstanding inherited from Enlightenment. They are the basis of our existence that provides an opportunity to understand history. There is not an unprejudiced interpretation hermeneutically; a holy, literary or scientific text cannot be interpreted without pre-understandings. On the other hand, prejudices come from the current tradition and it is not an object of thought, it is a pattern of relations, the horizon where thought comes out. There is not an interpretation without pre-understanding, the only 'correct interpretation' and the idea of interpretation that has nothing to do with today is impossible (Palmer, 2008: 237-40).

For Gadamer, the fact that makes up the historical reality of human existence are prejudices more than judgments. The prejudice Gadamer mentions, is the interpreter's having a pre-understanding about the subject before he/she reads the text but only acceptable judgments lead to the correct meaning. 'Time distance' determines which ones are acceptable because the one transferred from the past to present takes place somewhere between the 'unknown' and 'known'. And hermeneutics defines these conditions under which understanding comes true. For Gadamer, a text of each period from the past is understood in a specific way of understanding because the text is affected by the historical position of the interpreter and objective historical process (Toprak, 2003: 78-79; Gadamer, 2009: 20).

To sum, as the meaning of the text is always going to surpass the meaning that the writer has given, understanding turns into 'a productive behavior' and it becomes 'understanding differently', not 'understanding better'. As the relation of the power of judgment with the current one is quite strong, 'time distance' creates reliable standards and there needs to be a 'time distance' for correct understanding. Each new time distance makes up new sources and unrecognized meaning connections. Incorrect prejudices disappear and correct ones appear and there is recognition. Prejudices that remind of every kind of negations in the minds and that are thought to remove the ones from objectivity by misguiding, for Gadamer, they are the pre-conditions and integral parts of understanding (Ertürk, 2003; Toprak, 2003: 80-81).

CHAPTER 3

A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS FOR INTERPRETING THE VEILED TURKISH WOMEN'S CHANGING CLOTHING PRACTICES

3.1. THE OBJECTIVE OF THE RESEARCH

The interest in understanding the relationship between Islam and consumption has been rising in the recent years. This attention rised due to the identification of Muslims as an untapped and viable market segment. The rising purchasing power of Muslims all around the world is linked with the increasing visibility and income of Muslims as consumers. Their power is also related with their ability to afford branded products and high quality services, the need to differentiate and highlight their identities and lifestyles with the help of daily consumption practices and to make producers understand their specific needs in the light of religious beliefs. This demand pressure prompted the producers and entrepreneurs to design, manufacture and market products and services that strengthen the modern Muslim identities as consumer subjects. At this point, it plays a crucial role to understand how Islam, marketing and consumption culture mutually inform each other and how Muslim consumers and producers negotiate Islamic values in the new developing Islamic consumptionspace.

The results of the previous studies in the literature and the discussions presented in this research indicate that a deeper understanding of Muslim consumers, their unique needs and wants, religious beliefs, daily consumption practices and changing lifestyles is needed. Since they are also linked by faith, it is also needed to pay attention to how such differences stemming from Islam play an important role in their consumption behavior. Furthermore, the religious, political, economical and socio-cultural tensions that Muslim consumers experience and negotiate in their lifes while constructing their identities as Muslims is needed to be traced with the help of deeper analysis. As different understandings and experiences of Islam enable different identity constructions and consumption practices, studying the Muslim consumers on an individual basis to reveal differences and commonalities between the members of this consumer segment becomes important.

Furthermore, veiled female consumers as Muslims have to be differentiated from the other female consumers due to the fact that their clothing practices, and thereby consumption behaviors, are highly related, managed and restricted with religious orders according to the Islamic belief. They create a sub-segment in Muslim consumers segment that is not homogeneous but heterogenous in its nature. This is the outcome of the different interpretations of religious orders that make each veiled woman a unique example which needs to be examined closely and deeply. For this reason, veiled female consumers should be examined in the light of the fusion of religious, sexual and consumer identity concerns under the changing and rising effects of globalization, materialism, fashion and new-born Islamic consumptionspace.

The major concern which precipitated this research was the fact that in the literature, it is not found a research examines the Turkish veiled female consumers' changing clothing practices and consumer behaviors in the light of rising veiling fashion phenomenon with the help of interpretive qualitative analysis based on Hans-George Gadamer's tradition. In the literature of consumer studies, there is only a limited amount of qualitative research uses hermeneutical methodology, especially based on Gadamerian philosophy and phenomenology. The research topics increase around apparel and textile industry (Ha-Brookshire and Dyer, 2008; Hodges and Karpova, 2008), consumer purchase intention (Bhaduri and Ha-Brookshire, 2011), consumer behavior (O'Shaughnessy, 1985; Thompson *et al*, 1990; Thompson *et al*, 1994; Thompson, 1996; Thompson and Haytko, 1997; Thompson, 1997; Ha-Brookshire and Hodges, 2009), fashion (Alapack, 2009), etc.

On the other hand, as the veiling fashion is an emergent phenomenon and the veiled female consumers have been barely discovered and started to be studies as a consumer segment, the literature is lacking in this kind of research examining the veiled women's consumption behavior. The research topics increase around materialism (Ger and Belk, 1999), veiling fashion and its industry (Sandıkçı and Ger, 2001; Kılıçbay and Binark, 2002; Akou, 2007; Gökarıksel and Secor, 2009; Al-Qasimi, 2010; Gökarıksel and Secor, 2010a; Gökarıksel and Secor, 2010b; Gökarıksel and Secor, 2011; Gökarıksel and Secor, 2012), modernity, Islamic dress and marketing (Göle, 2000; Secor, 2002; Gökarıksel and Secor, 2010; Sandıkçı,

2011), consumer capitalism, Islamic lifestyle/magazines/consumers (Sandıkçı and Ger, 2007; Gökarıksel and McLarney, 2010; Lewis, 2010), etc.

The objective of this research is to discover and understand the phenomenon of veiling fashion and the changing clothing practices of Turkish veiled women in the light of new identity constructions. In this research, it is tried to answer two main questions; *‘What characterizes veiled Turkish women’s clothing practices and understandings of the practice of veiling?’* and *‘How are the veiling components used in the process of new identity constructions of Turkish veiled women related with the rising effects of veiling fashion phenomenon?’*. To examine the research topic more closely and deeply, it is decided to use an interpretive qualitative analysis. Hence, it is also aimed to generate new knowledge and make a contribution to the literature that suffers from the lack of research which investigates Turkish veiled consumers and veiling fashion phenomenon with the help of qualitative analysis.

3.2. THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

During the last few decades, qualitative methods have gained a remarkable foothold in human sciences even though they rely on different forms of logic when compared with the quantitative methods. Philosophical theories, especially the humanistic theories, are the point of departure for qualitative research and they take a critical stance toward knowledge since it is constructed intersubjectively and the influence of history, and culture always considered deeply (Davidsen, 2013).

Qualitative research involves analyzing and interpreting texts and interviews in order to discover meaningful patterns descriptive of a particular phenomenon (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003: 3). Different disciplines approach qualitative research in different ways. Furthermore, in the human sciences, qualitative research represents a various set of techniques and philosophies that underpin research practice. Qualitative research as being founded on four levels of understanding can be described as (Maggs-Rapport, 2001):

Level 1: Ontology – What is reality?

Level 2: Epistemology – What counts as knowledge?

Level 3: Methodology – How can we understand reality?

Level 4: Methods – How can evidence be collected about reality?

Throughout this qualitative research, an interpretive phenomenological analysis based on the philosophical hermeneutics of Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900-2002) has been applied. The aim of interpretive phenomenological analysis is to explore the participants' personal and social world related with their personal perception and particular experiences of the research phenomenon in detail. As this kind of research process is dynamic in its nature, researcher has an active role since s/he tries to make sense of the participants trying to make sense of their world. It combines hermeneutics and phenomenology as a guide to understand the phenomenon from the point of view of participants (Smith and Osborn, 2008: 53)

Methodologically, philosophical hermeneutics as a basis for interpretive inquiry is bound to hermeneutic phenomenology. It is aimed to identify and provide an understanding of the constructions that exist about the research phenomenon and to bring them into consensus via the steps of the inquiry process. Theory construction is not an aim of hermeneutics and the interpretation is open to re-interpretation and it is dialectical in nature. The distinctive features of interpretative phenomenology/hermeneutics can be lined as below (Maggs-Rapport, 2001):

- Making sense of the world through our existence within it.
- Understanding and interpreting *phenomena*.
- 'Being-in-the-world', open to, and inseparable from all that is going on around us.
- Making sense of 'Being-in-the-world' through speech and language.
- Incorporating personal *prejudice* into the hermeneutic endeavour.
- *Fusing horizons* by acknowledging our historical understanding.
- Fusing horizons through the *hermeneutic circle*, where understanding is circular.

This interpretive approach holds an ontological view that it acknowledges a concrete and real world, full of tangible entities. The determinants of that world and

the meanings according to the epistemological standpoint consist of *language, culture, history, individual situatedness* and *symbols*. The philosophical tenets of the interpretive paradigm claim that the meanings inherent in being-in-the-world with others and the language is the product of socially taken-for-granted meanings. This *language* is emphasised by the interpretations described as human experience which is the main reason why qualitative studies focus on lived and contextually based experiences of individuals. As a result of this interpretive inquiry, understanding of the meanings, or the contextually based ‘truths’, are uncovered (Zimmer, 2004).

From the philosophical perspective, the reality is interpreted via our epistemological locations and this perspective portrays a reflexive relationship between ontology and epistemology. The ontological emphasis of Gadamer (see Chapter 2) is that of radical relativism, particularly as evidenced in his notions of *historicity* and understanding. The relativist view holds that ‘realities exist in the form of multiple mental constructions, socially and experimentally based, local and specific, dependent for their form and content on the persons who hold them’. Philosophical hermeneutics from a Gadamerian perspective is primarily subjectivist as the human existence is participatory and relational with the others’ (Hodges *et al.*, 2007; Guba, 1990: 17-27).

In keeping with the phenomenological interpretivist theoretical paradigm, this research takes the ontological and epistemological position of philosophical hermeneutics developed by Hans-Georg Gadamer, who argued that human experience and understanding is formed in and realized through the language. Although Gadamer offered valuable insights to develop a deeper understanding via the interpretation of text, there is no methodology or method proposed by him for doing so. However, he argued that a methodical direction through a systematic approach, *a guide to inquiry* is needed. Gadamer uses three concepts that address the interpretive process:

- *The hermeneutic circle*: The hermeneutic circle helps to investigate the research phenomenon through an understanding of its various aspects. It becomes a pathway back to the past and it is an understanding and renewal of tradition by making visible its fundamental prejudices. *Prejudices*, or pre-

understandings, are the structures of thinking, can be both destructive and constructive. The circle uncovers structures imbedded in *traditions* by understanding the whole in terms of the detail and the detail in terms of the whole and conduct the understanding of the present (Zimmer, 2004; Smith, 2007; Schuster, 2013).

- *The fusion of horizons*: The horizon is everything that the individuals are aware of in the perception of an object above and beyond what is given directly to the senses. It is a sense of the world, changes as perception changes and not the limit of meaning but provide perspective and mark the limits of what can be seen from a particular point of view. It ground the context of investigated phenomenon and uncover the beliefs which reflect individual differences (Vessey, 2009).
- *A dialogue with the text*: It is begun open to the opinion of the other through the dialogue and understanding could only emerge through deep immersion in the text. The notion of dialogue includes the conversation between two people but also it is possible to have a dialogue between reader and text. With the help of language and the conversation allowing immersion into the subject matter, understanding becomes possible (Fleming, *et all.*,2002).

This research, carried out in a Gadamerian tradition summerized above, is developed from a desire to achieve a deep understanding of the phenomenon ‘*theveiling fashion*’ from the Turkish veiled women’s lifeworlds. According to the Gadamer’s hermeneutic theory, the meaning and subjective comprehension improve with the help of a dialectic interplay between the researcher’s tradition(s) and the text. The researcher’s prejudices or pre-understandings that lead the research (*see Chapter 1*) foreground the content of interpretation in addition to the participants’ prejudices.

For Gadamer, all the human beings are part of the *history* and the historical awareness is highly important to gain a better understanding and knowledge as it is not possible to eliminate history while making interpretations. The text is embedded of objective strands and the interpretation begins when the reader starts to compare it with his/her subjective vantage point, his/her *horizon*. This confrontation creates the

fusion of horizons of the text and the reader. As an interpretive method, the *hermeneutic cycle* is used to disclose that comprehension and meaning. The reader gets a general idea by examining the text and after modifies it in the light of methodically uncovered meanings proposed by the researcher.

The final aim is to broaden the research horizon through *fusion of horizons*; the researcher's and the research subjects'. The task of the reader is to re-experience, recognize and re-think what the others (participants of the research) originally felt and thought since understanding is not the objective recognition of the researcher's intended meaning but it is a practical task in which the interpreter is changed by becoming aware of new possibilities of what is to be a human being.

3.2.1. The Sample and The Data Collection

In this research, a non-probability sampling strategy called *snowball sampling* is used to create the sample. It is usually the best way to locate subjects with certain attributes or characteristics necessary in a study. *Snowball sampling* resembles convenience sampling in an aspect that the category of sample relies on available subjects, those who are close at hand or easily accessible. Snowball samples are commonly preferred by researchers interested in sensitive topics like *religion*, drug usage, sexuality and health issues, etc. The technique involves identifying several people with relevant characteristics and interviewing them or having them answer a questionnaire firstly. These subjects are then, asked for the other prospects who possess the similar or same attributes as they do and the sample eventually 'snowballs' from the one to the others (Berg, 2001: 32-33).

Interpretive phenomenological analysis studies also are conducted on small sample sizes and it is described as an *idiographic mode of inquiry* instead of nomothetic models. It is tried to find a fairly *homogenous sample* through purposeful sampling. There is no right answer to the question of the sample size. Recently there has been a trend for some studies to be conducted with a very small number of participants like one, four, nine, fifteen and more (Smith and Osborn, 2008: 56). According to the literature, the number of participants for phenomenological studies range from 1 (Dukes, 1984), to 10 (Riemen, 1986) and up to 325 (Polkinghorne,

1989). While Dukes (1984) recommends studying 3 to 10 individuals, Creswell (2007: 120) finds it convenient to choose multiple individuals (without offering any number of participants) who have experienced the phenomenon to be interviewed.

In this research, three participants were selected with the help of *snowball sampling* by considering the concept of *voluntary participation*, which is an important ideal in social science research (Berg, 2001: 53). To assure this criteria, the researcher has conducted a pre-research and elimination to identify suitable prospects. Firstly, the researcher scanned her work environment to locate the prospects compliant for the research. The organization where the researcher works was selected purposefully to find suitable participants due to the fact that lots of Turkish veiled women are working at the same work place. Being the personnel of the same organization created a convenience to reach them easily. Also knowing each other by sight helped to sustain *trust* (which is an important factor for conducting research dealing with sensitive topics like religion) between the researcher and the participants.

Secondly, one prospect who is an administrative personnel working at the organization was selected and contacted. A pre-interview was conducted with this prospect to give information about the research and to ask for her permission and willingness for getting involved in the research. After taking her permission, to homogenize the sample, a similar compliant prospect for the research was asked and identified. By contacting the second one, it was assured that she has suitable qualities for the research and the same pre-interview procedure was applied, her permission was taken and it was asked for the last prospect. The sample choice was completed by reaching the last prospect with the same procedure, taking her permission and assuring her willingness to join the research. After these procedures, the interview dates were discussed and determined. All the participants are veiled and belong to the middle-income group.

In this research, *individual, in-depth, semi-structured interviews* were used to collect data from the participants about the research phenomenon. Interviews allow researchers to access the interpretations of informants in their real world. *Language* shared through interviews helps the researchers understand other human beings'

experience and emotions, which are often represented and communicated through and in the form of language (Bhaduri and Ha-Brookshire, 2011).

Also, the in-depth semi-structured interviews allow the researcher and participant to engage in a *dialogue* whereby initial questions are modified in the light of participants' responses. In a dialogic sense, understanding comes up by questioning the phenomenon and taking answers from the lived experiences (Zimmer, 2004). It also helps the researcher probe interesting and rising important points and also makes participants introduce an issue that had not been thought of before by the researcher and creates opportunity to tell their own stories (Smith and Osborn, 2008: 57-59). In addition, the rights and responsibilities of both researchers and participants were clearly explained before conducting the interviews to strengthen the trustworthiness (Berg, 2001: 54).

The interviews were conducted at the office of the researcher since the participants and the researcher work in the same organization. It was aimed to make participants comfortable to devote time for interviews during the office hours and sharing the relevant data throughout the research process. Each interview was conducted in different days; 11th, 13th, 23rd of September 2013, by the researcher herself, on an individual basis. Before starting the interviews, the participants were again introduced about the aim, methodology and process of research and it was assured to make participants feel comfortable to share their thoughts and lifeworlds openly.

The interviews were audio-recorded with the help of a computer program and each of them lasted an average of one to two hours. The conversations developed from semi-structured, mostly open-ended questions based on the literature review and the pursuit of the researcher that project the superordinate interpretation clusters. It was decided that all the interviews would be transcribed word by word so as to represent the original interview as far as possible. Since all the interviews were conducted in Turkish, they were firstly transcribed into Turkish and subsequently translated into English. The participants were let to talk as widely as possible about the research phenomenon to reflect and reveal their personal thoughts, beliefs, practices, lifeworld, etc. sincerely.

In addition, as an instrument, the veiling fashion magazines were introduced to the participants to make them talk about their beliefs, perceptions, experiences and thoughts about the research topic, *veiling fashion phenomenon*, more deeply. The two magazines, *ALA* and *AYSHA*, are the first *veiling fashion magazines* published in Turkey. They gained a great success in the market, continue to be published regularly and are being followed by a significant group of veiled women. The other main reason to use these fashion magazines is the fact that they test the pulse of fashion, trends and consumption and make it easy to introduce them as a publication in a pleasing way for women. Only four volumes of the magazines including a supplement (*Aysha Gelin*) were selected to use in the research due to the lack of time to scan a sizable magazine content in a limited interview schedule.

At the final stage of the interviews, the participants were introduced and allowed to examine the samples of veiling fashion magazines and they were asked to mark the pages considering the visuals and content that they want to discuss or highlight. After, they were again asked some questions about the research topic. Since no participants were aware of those magazines or bought them before, after examining the magazines, their former and latter interpretations about the research topic were reviewed and supported by this process. General information about the veiling magazines used in the research are like below:

General Information About ‘ALA Magazine’

The first volume of *Ala Magazine* was published in June 2011, in Turkey, by *AliyyulAla Yayıncılık*. The glossy – color printed magazine is being published monthly and is defined as ‘Women-Fashion Magazine’ including interviews and columns prepared by well-known writers who have different worldviews and who come from different environments. The target segment is called as ‘Hanımefendiler (ladies)’ who have never been targeted before by any media. The magazine claims that this target segment has a wider place in the market, contrary to popular belief, and they are firstly targeted by *Ala Magazine* in terms of woman products. Furthermore, *Ala Magazine* defines itself as ‘Unrivalled’ and the followers have been divided into five different age groups as (<http://reklam.aladergi.com/>, 2013):

- age 14-17 - %9

- age 18-25 - %43
- age 26-34 - %27
- age 34-50 - %14
- age 50+ - %7

The young women following the magazine stand out with the highest rank in the target segment. The magazine is also followed by untargeted women. When the magazine published, it created a lot of reaction in the media, discussed and was written about. The magazine also has an official web site (www.aladergi.com) and social media accounts on the net. The magazine is also the first Turkish magazine in Turkey who gave license to other countries and its first edition was published in Indonesia. Malesia and Dubai versions are in the evaluation phase (<http://reklam.aladergi.com/>, 2013).

In this research, two volumes of Ala Magazine (February and April) have been used.

Figure 1



Figure 2



General Information About 'Aysha Magazine'

The first volume of Aysha Magazinewas published in January2013, in Turkey, by Aysha Süreli Yayıncılık. The glossy – color printed magazine is being

published monthly. The magazine also has an official web site (www.ayshadergi.com/tr) and social media accounts on the net (<http://www.ayshadergi.com/tr/>, 2013).

In this research, two volumes of Aysha Magazine (January and May) and one supplement (Aysha Gelin) of one volume have been used.

The magazine defines itself with the arguments below:

- Aysha is opening a huge and bright window to the women's world.
- As the monthly woman life&style magazine which prettifies the life, Aysha receives fashion, wellness, nutrition, social life, culture and art with open arms.
- How much for a young woman to stand on her feet is important, reflecting that stance on her appearance and expressing herself not only by her speech but also by her attitudes and selections is so important as the same extent.
- The youth who put an effort to reveal and develop their own style on one hand and on the other follow the fashion, need reputable references.

Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



- Aysha brings them together with social life on a qualified media.
- Aysha advises them to get inspired by trends but to give up never from being themselves.
- Aysha leads them to show their self-confidence and to put their differentness forth bravely. Aysha defends the fact that to respect and accept the others' differentness as well as to love themselves.

Trustworthiness of The Qualitative Research Process

The criteria have been laid out by Lincoln and Guba (1985: 328), which are also applicable to a Gadamerian research process, have been used to deal with the *trustworthiness* of this qualitative research process. The steps of the research process are clearly identified to provide *auditability* which is a criterion of truth in qualitative research. Furthermore, it is provided the widest possible range of information for inclusion in the thick description for the establishment of *transferability*. The literature review, the method of sampling, the instruments used in research, the data and interpretations and the research ethics were mentioned explicitly to inform the prospective researchers about the research topic.

To provide *credibility* and *dependability*, there has been a prolonged engagement with the participants to build *trust* during the research process. The participants were selected studiously to create the needed sample by the related sampling technique (snowball sampling). To take part in the research, their personal willingness were taken in hand to gain a high incidence of credible data. Before beginning the interviews, they were once again introduced about the aim of the research and mutual responsibilities during the research process. After the interviews, it is gone back to participants to validate data analysis and represent the views of participants as faithfully as possible. They were notified by receiving ‘follow-up letters (see *Appendicies 1-4*)’ and the transcript of the data gained by interviews. They were asked about their opinions and if there was a mistake to correct about the interpretations. After the *member checks* and taking feedbacks, their full permission were taken by ‘confirmation forms (see *Appendicies 5-8*)’ to use the data for the research. Hence, it is made clear the fact that the interpretations are anchored in the experiences of participants’ texts of research interviews.

Furthermore, to provide *confidentiality* (Berg, 2001: 57), the personal information like name-surname, telephone number, address, etc. were kept confidential and were not shared in the research document. When reporting data, the three participants are coded as ‘P1, P2, P3’ according to their real names’ in an alphabetical array. The transcripts of data and voice records were not shared with anyone but the participants. The general information about the participants are given in **Table 1**:

Table 1. General Information About The Participants

<i>Participants</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Marital Status</i>	<i>Children</i>	<i>Education Level</i>	<i>Job Status</i>
P1	35	Married	No children	Graduate	Administrative Personnel
P2	25	Married	No children	Graduate	Administrative Personnel
P3	26	Married	No children	Graduate	Administrative Personnel

3.2.2. Data Analysis

With the help of interpretive phenomenological analysis, it is believed that the participants lifeworlds and personal stories represent a piece of their identity and their talks are the manifests of their form of beliefs. With the process of analysis and interpretation, it is aimed to understand the content and complexity of the meanings through engagement with the text. The text represents its own meanings and the researcher has to strive for openness to possible meanings of the text and be sensitive to him/herself at the same time (Smith and Osborn, 2008: 66; Schuster, 2013).

The analysis and interpretation process followed *Gadamer's hermeneutical method* which entailed reading, documenting and systematising the interview transcripts. For each interview the transcript was closely read and re-read and analysed one by one by the researcher to gain a sense of a whole. Every single sentence or section was investigated to expose its meaning for understanding of the subject matter. They were then related to the meaning of the whole text to cluster the interpretations to capture the essence of the participants' experiences and thoughts. Thereby, the sense of the text as a whole was expanded. The hermeneutic circle, which is essential for gaining understanding, is only fully experienced if the movement back to the whole is included.

In the final holistic interpretation cycle, understanding occurred over time, with each reading including a broader range of considerations. As a result, it was aimed to reveal the *fusion of horizons* between the researchers' frames of reference and the texts being interpreted and to give the reader insight into that aspect of the phenomenon, which was being discussed.

3.2.3. Limitations of The Research

Based on a qualitative analysis, this research has some limitations. First of all, the main research question and research method directed the researcher to review separate literature consists of theology, philosophy and marketing. This research is not a pure theology, philosophy or marketing thesis but a fusion of all. It is needed a highly devoted time to master and fuse them all. However, to make a significant and

a relevant fusion to answer the research question, it is needed to the limit the scope of each literature review. The first parts based on theological literature discuss only the first years of Islam in terms of veiling and women identity, the main reasons for veiling orders, the directives mentioned in Qur'an and applications related with the mostly discussed sunnah and hadiths. All the interpretations, practices, changes and discussion for veiling from the first years of Islam to today are not discussed in detail and are limited by the mentioned scope above.

Furthermore, the research considered only the veiled Turkish women and the veiling debates of post-1980 period in Turkey. The scope of the changes are limited by several factors related with the rise of Islamism and Islamic consumption. Also the research handles the fashion from the point of veiling and discuss the veiling fashion as a phenomenon related with the consumption and new identity constructions of Turkish veiled women. Not all but only two different veiling fashion magazines published in Turkey were used and the volumes introduced to participants are limited by five. Other concepts discussed in the literature are beyond the scope of this research.

The second chapter highlights the ontological point of departure of the research and the hermeneutic tradition used as the research method. Hermeneutics is discussed broadly in scope in the literature. However, in this research, Hans-George Gadamer's hermeneutic tradition is used. Beside the mentioned ones in research, the other traditions, philosophers or school of thoughts were not discussed in detail which do not have a direct influence on Gadamer. Also his tradition was reviewed as a method not as a pure philosophical postulate.

On the other hand, as a qualitative and descriptive study, the sampling is purposive in this research and the sample was limited by only three participants belong to only middle-income level group and similar demographic. In addition, conducting face-to-face semi-structured interviews and analysing the gathered data by the selected method needs a highly devoted time, effort and attention to interpret. Finding suitable participants, securing their willingness and building trust is challenging since the research topic is highly sensitive. Studying on a large number of participants based on demographic, geographic or ethnic diversity and expanding

the broad of research by mixing quantitative and qualitative analysis is beyond the aim of this research.

Finally, the exploratory and descriptive nature of this research does not claim generalizability beyond the convenience sample employed and the specific context. Neither any hypotheses were developed prior to the research nor they were tested since this research is about to explore the perceptions and understandings of the selected individuals rather than prematurely make more general claims. The researcher was primarily concerned with the individual's behaviour based on their own particular meanings, an empathetic identification.

3.3. INTERPRETATIONS AND FINDINGS

To understand the changes in veiled women's life in the past three decades, the veiling fashion phenomenon, the changes on their attiring practices and consumption behavior, the participants are asked questions and their discussions are interpreted under four headlines: *Interpretations 1* to *4*. For each group of interpretations, the questions that are asked participants summerized like below:

Question Group 1: The participants are asked about:

- The meaning and the aim of veiling in Islam
- The changes occur in Muslim's women life by virtue of veiling
- The mission of veiling in each period of the lifecycle of a Muslim woman

Question Group 2: The participants are asked about:

- The veiled woman image in Turkey from the past to today
- The effects of political and socio-cultural changes on veiling, veiled women's identity construction and image in Turkey after 1980's.
- The prejudices about veiling and veiled women
- The meaning of differentiation between 'başörtüsü' and 'türban'
- The role models for veiled women
- The effects of changing lifestyles and increasing wealth on veiled women's lifestyles and the interpretation of veiling

Question Group 3: The participants are asked about:

- Their personal veiling stories
- The prejudices before veiling decision
- The changes occur in their lives after being veiled
- Their changing consumption habits from past to today and their daily veiling/attiring routines
- Their thoughts about fashion, veiling fashion and veiling fashion magazines
- The effects of fashion on the interpretation and usage of veiling for veiled women

Question Group 4: The participants are asked about:

- Their general thoughts about veiling fashion magazines
- The veiling fashion magazine content and visuals proposed in
- The changes on veiled women's lifestyles and images, consumption habits and veiling/attiring practices via interpreting the material

3.3.1. Interpretations I: The Meaning and The Aim of Veiling in Islam For Veiled Women

P1: In the surah, it says 'Do not show your ziynets (ornaments)'.

P2: The veiling is mentioned in Qur'an, in the surahs.

P3: The veiling comes from the root of the word 'setara (covering)' in Arabic. God orders it, The Prophet Muhammad is a role model with his wives for Muslim women and we have to obey it. It is stated in Qur'an and the veiling comes from the times of Eve, the Mother.

As it is stated in the preceding dialogues, all the participants are aware and consciously accept the fact that, in Islam, the veiling is an unargued *farz* (religious duty) for Muslim women, mentioned in Qur'an (in the verses of *An-Nur* and *Al-Ahzab*) even they do not recall the exact names of the surahs, they also stress the fact that Muhammad's wives are the first role models who used the veiling and all Muslim women should imitate them. There are some definite rules setting the

grounds of veiling as a religious practice for women. The main arguments of participants the veiling are:

- the veiling becomes *farz* after the first menstruation of the woman,
- the veiling should not reveal the shape of women body and the organs like breasts and buttocks, should be floaty not stretch,
- the veiling is necessary when a Muslim women is at the same place with the *namahrem* (males with whom there is no ban for a woman to marry),
- sharing the same place with only muslim women and children, the veiling should be applied for the part of the body between the breasts and the knees,
- the veiling also includes some duties for males (covering the part of the body, between the belly and the knees, protecting the eye from the gaze), veiling is not only for women,
- it should close the *ziynets* (including the dewlap and perineum),
- the headscarf should be hung down from the head over the breasts, shoulders and dorsi,
- the cloths, socks and headscarves should not be transparent and reveal the color of the skin and the hair,
- the hands, feet and the face are excluded from the veiling, the hemlines should end just above the ankles.

The statements of the participants are consistent with the rules of veiling according to the Qur'an, sunnah, the commonly accepted hadiths and common fatwas of the *ulema*. Only two participants remarked the fact that, the headscarf should be start from the ending trace of whiskers on face and the arm's length of the clothes should not exceed four fingers above the wrists. It is stated that even the transparent is forbidden, women sometimes use thin headscarves, especially in hot climates like İzmir, and use short-sleeved shirts and short skirts and pants.

It is found that, participants read and even now reading Qur'an and following the sunnah to learn the rules of veiling and the necessities that a Muslim women should obey. As P3 says '*veiling starts with men*', it is highlighted that the veiling issue can not be discussed by excluding the men. She includes speaking, looking,

sitting and standing, eating, the places visited and lived into the veiling issue. It is accepted from all the participants that veiling is not just a 'covering the body' practice, it is also a philosophy, a *lifestyle* including the behaviors, emotions and thoughts for both men and women.

P1: Before Islam, in Arabia, the houses did not have any doors, only some curtains dividing the rooms. People used to enter homes and quit freely and it was not suitable. I guess it is a reason for women to protect themselves with veiling from the foreigners.

P2: I do not have any idea how women used to wear before Islam but I think veiling changed the lifes of Muslim women because the veiling is not an easy practice, like for men, it was hard to leave alcohol. Mekka and Medina have hot climates, like İzmir. It is hard to use veiling in hot weather but the order is coming from the highest authority, the God.

P3: Before Islam, in Arabia, the 'işmam (walking in a high-handed manner)' was common and people used to wear loose and long clothes. Also the prostitutes used to come to the attantion with different behaviors in the crowds (making noises with their heels while walking). Women were not valuable, the little girls were used to be buried alive. After the rules of veiling came, women gained a value because the only valuable things are hidden and men do not want to share their women with others. With the help of veiling, veiled Muslim women became much more precious in the public's and men's eye.

As the participants compare the women's status before and after the Islam and the veiling orders, they specify the fact that, even the veiling is not an easy bodily practice for women, it differentiates them from the other women as being modest and brings a high value since it is believed that it adds some sacredness to women's statue and personality. They are aware of the fact that, before Islam, women used to live in unsuitable conditions and with the help of veiling, a kind of comfort comes to women body and soul. P1 says *'If we love God, we should use veiling fondly. When we make it, we wrap ourselves up in a decent manner unavoidably'*.

Participants claim that when they use veiling, they consider themselves happier and more valuable due to obeying the rules of Islam as believers and they

feel like gaining a spiritual pleasure. It is believed that, the veiling says ‘stop’ to men as it signifies the frontiers between a Muslim woman and a foreign man. It is a total message which reflects the women’s religious belief and makes them believe that there will gain no harm by the men’s side if they use veil and act in sync with the core meaning of veiling. The veiling turns into a ‘divine shield’ for Muslim believers.

P1: The veiling is more important in youth. The thoughts about religion are shaped in youth and an old woman is not attractive in the eyes of the men.

P2: The practices of veiling change from youth to the elderliness. At older times, a veiled woman can switch from ‘türban’ to ‘başörtüsü’. On the other hand, in youth, the younger woman can not be so conscious and careful about her veiling but at older times she can be more conscious and make the best of veiling. Anyway, the ‘haram’ is the namahrem for us.

P3: There are differences between an old and a young veiled woman’s veiling practices and styles. It is more important in youth since we are more attractive at that times. Our body parts like breasts, buttocks, skin, etc. are fresh and attractive. They take attention of men but in older times they wither and lean out. Our self-desires are high in youth and veiling becomes more important to protect ourselves from men glare. However, we can see older women who start to use veiling at later times due to becoming closer to death.

As mentioned in the previous lines, the participants are aware of the necessity of veiling in terms of sexuality and sexual desires. Since the main purpose of veiling is protecting women from the men’s glares and *zina*, at younger times the necessity rises. However, in practice, in the youth the compensates are higher than the elderliness in that veiled women are more sensitive about their environments, thoughts of others and their self-desires are higher about beauty, sexuality and consumption. When they get older, they become much more conscious about religion and duties and lean towards giving up mundane or feminine desires. It is not so easy to manage all the factors and circumstances since veiled women’s roles increase while taking ages. They switch from young girls to young women, wives, mothers and grandmothers during a life time. Presenting and managing multiple roles which

have different needs and demands. It is found that expectancies of the different roles also have an effect on the styles of veiling and attiring.

3.3.2. Interpretations II: The Changes for Veiled Women after 1980's: Lifestyles, Images, Role Models, Wealth, Differentiation and Identity Construction

P1: When we turn back to the first years of Turkish republic, there is only Zübeyde Hanım (Atatürk's mother), I guess, only she stands out for representing the veiled women image. After years, you know, the appearance laws caused some troubles about religious issues among the public. If people can not learn what their religious duties are, ignorance rises, consciousness decreases. This is why veiled women generally do not know exactly what they should be veiled for.

P2: After the first years of Turkish republic, in the light of political movements, a lot of things have changed about Islam in Turkey. Before, chador was common among veiled women but now I do not see much. I know a lot of people, left their chador or their veiling styles due to the pressures, I mean the political. It still continues but better than the past now.

P3: There are some people among the public who do not like Islam or veiling. The appearance law, the hat act, etc. created some troubles. There is something called 'babaanne biçimi örtüş (a head covering style, tying the scarf very loose with a node not with a pin, the hair is revealed on the forehead and below the back part of the scarf)'. It is not appropriate in terms of the rules of veiling in Islam. But some people created this image and it was enforced. These people still exist and these acts are not true.

When the participants compare the past of Turkey with the present moment in the sense of political proceedings, the laws, bans and regulations they stress the fact the politics has a great effect on religious issues in Turkey, especially the veiling. It is stressed that Turkey is not heterogeneous about the lifestyles and religious perceptions even it is % 90, or most, Muslim populated. The political regulations are so effective on the religious people's religious routines and lifestyles and create some problems for veiling usage. The discrimination between the women according to

their apparel is not found right and it is commonly stressed the fact that being a woman, at the very first hand being a human, should be the focus, not the femininity.

According to the arguments, if people are not allowed to learn and practice their religion, there will be more troubles and problems among the citizens of the country. When veiled women are forced to leave any religious practice they believe in and obey like the veiling, it affects their perception about their identity and changes their routines unwillingly as P1 discusses *'When the headscarf was forbidden at the universities, lots of my friends suffered by using wigs to continue their classes. If you wrest something from a person's belief, it damages the identity. As a consequence she falters, even can be alienated about her belief. The nature of veiling changed due to these facts from past to today. Lifestyles also are formed around beliefs.'* It is obvious the fact that, veiling becomes an important part of a veiled woman's identity, beyond being a simple garment. As the participants discussed, the politics in Turkey influenced the veiling, the identity creation process of veiled women and attiring practices of them unfavorably.

P1: The religion does not adopt itself to you, you have to keep up with it. There is a high level of prejudice in the society for veiled women. I do not care much but once we were outside and my husband got angry and he said that he saw some people looking daggers at me and talking about my veiling. This is not nice...

P2: Just this morning, in the bus, I sat next to a woman who is not veiled and she pulled herself together with glares, like she never wanted to touch me, like I have an illness. I'm not affected by the way, if I had I would not be veiled... The seculars think that we do not love Atatürk or the Republic and they call us 'cemaatçi (member of a religious group)'. This is because of the politics and of course our lifestyles are different. They afraid of the fact that if we pace around and the number of veiled women increase, they will lose their lifestyles... They call us 'örümcek kafalı (old fugy)' and the ones who use black chador as 'öcü (ogre)'... These prejudices are not true...

P3: For once, I was in an elevator, an unveiled woman got on and she patted me on the back said mercifully 'Oh dear, do not you ever sweat like this? God pity on you! Did somebody force you to veil?'. They always think that if a woman is young and veiled she should be forced to it. This is a bad prejudice, we have our own mind... Some people from my husband's relatives ascribe the officialism on me since I'm

veiled. Unveiled ones think themselves superior. Why are we judged due to our apparel? Wrong prejudices continue...

It is found that the prejudices of 'the other' is a serious problem for veiled women in terms of identity construction. P3 says '*The others think that we are oldminded, insufficient and not modern*' and points the seculars in the society who have a high level of prejudice for veiled women, their lifestyle and commonly question their veiling choices if it is voluntarily or not. This discrimination between women like 'veiled' and 'unveiled' creates prejudices since the lifestyles of the two groups are not so similar. It is stressed that if a person does not know exactly how the other lives her daily life, how she makes her choices as a woman, the level of prejudice rises.

On the other hand, it is mentioned that if an unveiled woman has a moderate or high level of belief, she can be more sympathetic for the veiled ones and their lifestyles and does not create a high level of prejudice. Furthermore, even if the participants usually say that they are not affected by the prejudices, they do not hesitate to put it into words and if necessary they take an action to affect the other's thoughts as they believe that they always have a responsibility to promote the Islam properly. It is commonly highlighted that the wrong prejudices about veiled women is fed by the politics.

However participants stress that the veiled women are being tried to be promoted like women who have no identity, no personal choice, no capacity to control her own life or arrange her own lifestyle. Veiled women severely against to be dicriminated and called by humiliating adjectives like 'öcü, örümcek beyinli, cemaatçi' and it is believed that these acts affect the feminine identity, not only the veiled women identity and veiled woman image among the society. They struggle a lot to make an appearance in the society and prove themselves as modern, clever, working, self-confident and independent women even if they use a the veiling which is perceived as 'oldfashioned' and sembolize the 'backwardness' by the others, the seculars. It is believed that these perceptions and wrong prejudices should be changed.

P1: The other people who are non-Muslim think that there are no women's rights in Islam. These rumors are for making people distant from Islam and religion. They think that the men force women to be veiled but in Islam it is the men's duty to explain and warn the Muslim women to be veiled. There can be women who are using it due to men's pressure and it damages the religion, the image of Muslim women.

P2: The woman is so precious in Islam. She is veiled since she is precious. A veiled woman's value is positively related with the level of refraining herself. A man should be jealous for her wife and ask her to be veiled. For what can men look at a veiled woman? An unveiled one has more sexual attractiveness in the eye of men since she reveals her body, femininity. I guess men show more respect for veiled women. The wife of Muhammed, Hatice was working. These are not forbidden in Islam. If a man lives or knows Islam in full, he should hold women in high esteem since the woman is one step ahead in this religion.

P3: In recent years, the veiled women are in the sight more. I saw a veiled woman on TV, can not recall her name now but she was like rockers, her apparel, her accessories, etc.

In the light of rising discussions about feminism women's rights and veiled women visibility in the recent years, participants believe that it is not necessary to discuss women's status in Islam since it is stressed that in Islam, the woman has a high value and gained numerous rights with the help of Islam. It is believed that the prejudices of non-Muslims and political games affect the Muslim-veiled woman image globally. Furthermore, Muslim men are usually criticised as they are not so successful about living Islam properly and they decrease the Muslim women's status and damage Muslim woman image. Men are found to be responsible to teach women Islam and the duties.

It is mentioned that veiling brings much more value for women, protects and distinguishes her among the society, strengthens her identity, forces men to be respectful for the woman who carries it. For veiled women, it is believed that it is not a barrier keeping them back of working, socializing or developing themselves. On the other hand, it is also discussed that the visibility of veiled women sometimes affects the veiled woman image wrongly if the featured veiled woman is not a good representative of veiling and Islam. If their number rises, it is believed that they

become more dangerous for damaging the right veiled women image locally and globally.

P1: When they call it as 'veiling' it is perceived as mind-numbing. Veiling and headscarf are towards to the same aim but veiling is composed of everything. 'Türban' and 'başörtüsü' are perceived differently since 'başörtüsü' is simple, like our grandmothers tied but 'türban' is more sophisticated, tied with a pin, hung down from shoulders.

P2: 'Başörtüsü' is an element of the veiling. It can be any piece of cloth. I think, the people from the left wing created this discrimination between 'başörtüsü' and 'türban'. For me, there is no difference, you can tie it with a pin or not, hang it down or not. Also veiled women use 'başörtüsü' in different tying styles, colors, fabrics to garnish themselves, to be beautiful.

P3: 'Türban' is more suitable, far-reaching for the veiling, is not the same with 'başörtüsü'. I'm now covering my head, yes, but not in an appropriate way. If I had used a scarf that is hung down from my shoulders to my breast and covers my back, it could have been more appropriate about veiling rules, have been called 'türban' not 'başörtüsü'. The difference comes out of the usage.

When the veiling issue discussed, the difference or discrimination between 'türban' and 'başörtüsü' mentioned a lot by the participants. Since 'türban' gained a political meaning in Turkey with the help of political discussions and regimes, a different perception rised among different styles for covering the head. For veiled women, this is not a big problem if a woman covers her head by obeying the main rules of veiling. However, as there are different styles for covering the head, the elaborated tying style called 'türban' is related with the consciousness level about the veiled woman's piety.

It is perceived that, if a veiled woman's consciousness about her religion is high, she becomes more sensitive about the rules of veiling and tries to obey them and if she obeys carefully, she probably has a high political stance about veiling. If she uses loose and careless tying styles, it is perceived as 'başörtüsü' and the woman is perceived as the one who is not related with politics and not so conscious about her piety or religious duties. For participants, all the veiled women are trying to execute their religious duties one way or another and it is so possible to have different

interpretations and covering practices, different product choices and usages. To make discriminations between the veiled women is not found to be appropriate and criticised.

P2: I'm Hanefi. Anyway, there are four mezheps (religious sect) but you can not look at a veiled woman and say this is Hanefi and this is Shafii, at least I can not say there is a huge difference in terms of veiling style of them.

P1: I'm Hanefi and I did not hear any difference about the veiling of different mezheps.

P3: I'm Hanefi but I have Shafii friends. They tie their scarves differently since they obey different rules. It caused from different interpretations of the religion but the aim is the same for veiling. I can say, I can not differentiate the sects so much just by looking at the veiling style. It's personal, I think.

As mentioned in the previous dialogue, even if there are different practices and different fatwas about the tying or veiling style for the different sects, participants claim that it is not a problem or a differentiative factor among veiled women in terms of defining the veiling components as 'başörtüsü' or 'türben'. *Hanefi* sect is known to be the most permissive sect. All the participants are Hanefi and they do not question themselves or the styles of veiling so deeply even if they use it suitable in terms of the main veiling rules. They mention that if there is a differentiation between the styles of veiling or scarf tying, it can only be a personal interpretation and the religion should not be held responsible. The political differentiation between 'başörtüsü' and 'türban' is found to be unnecessary while discussing the daily veiling routines of participants.

P1: The veiling is a symbol, a message. When you look at a man, you can not understand easily if he is a Muslim or not but if you see a woman who is veiled you say that she is a Muslim. This is an image and veiled women should carry it carefully.

P2: A Muslim and veiled women should act in coherent with the rules of Islam. If a woman want to live Islam in full, she must be veiled and obey the rules.

P3: The Muslim is the one who makes you remember God when you look at him/her.

The participants discuss the fact that the veil is a total message about their belief and the scarf whether it is called as 'başörtüsü' or 'türban' is an indispensable part of this image. Also, it is claimed that a suitable veiling is not enough alone and should be synchronized with right Muslim behavior in the name of *kulluk bilinci* (consciousness of adoration to God) to represent the right Muslim woman image. It is stressed that veiled women should shape their identities and arrange their behaviors according to the responsibility of representing this image as P1 mentioned *'My husband do not hold my hand outside. When I say 'we are married' he says 'you are a Muslim woman and have to portray a right Muslim woman image. If I hold your hand, people can think that we are lovers and we should not act like that' and refuses to hold my hand to protect my image'*.

On the other hand, when an unsuitable piece of garment used or it is acted improperly, it makes the veiled women question themselves and make them feel uncomfortable about their piety. It is claimed that they can not totally give up using that piece of garment related with a proper veiling but increase and decrease the usage according to the circumstances and personal piety consideration from time to time and manage their behaviors in the light of proper veiled woman image.

P2: When I compare my image with the right Muslim woman image, I find some deficiencies. This is because of the life circumstances. We live in a 90% Muslim populated country but there are bans. I used wig at my previous job due to the bans and policies. You can not live completely what you want and can not portray the right image. Anyway, it is also about the individual and her conscience, even if there is no ban.

P3: I never fit into this right image 100%. I always question myself. My husband also warns me. The lifestyle has changed. The environment, family and media are so effective. We can not obey the rules totally since the environment is dirty and we are being affected. The magazine programmes on TV and filthy scenes in foreign movies rised and we watch them. We are directed to them and this is the main problem, I think.

Since the veiled women commonly check out their piety or warned by their close environment (family members, friends or husbands) it is found that they

commonly criticise themselves in terms of fitting and carrying the right Muslim woman image or not. They also question try to understand the reasons of their changing choices. They stress that a full commitment to the veiling rules or Islam is not possible at this age. They call this age as *ahir zaman* (doomsday) and a huge part of the changing circumstances are perceived as bad, dirty or unsuitable and against for living a total *kulluk bilinci*, creating a right Muslim identity or exhibiting a proper image. The changing lifestyle issue is commonly blamed and discussed as an effective pressure on people.

On the other hand, it is found that some practices like using a wig against a scarf due to bans damage the user's own identity perception and creates a query. As a result, it creates a tension for the veiled woman since it leads her to compare her actual self and ideal self under the embraced Muslim woman image pressure. It is found that when the veiled woman find a gap between this two selves, she questions her clothing style, behavior, etc. more and more. To find a solution or reveal themselves, they find pretext for the circumstances and try to fix or resist the negative circumstances in her own way. However they confess that they are usually affected by the the negative circumstances or the insistings of changing lifestyles and find themselves giving up some of the religious duties, especially the attiring style.

P1: When I see a veiled women using a nice garment, I say 'Oh it's beatiful! Where did she buy it from?'. While I'm traying something in a store, the salesladies say 'This suits on you better, really!' but I do not buy that since I know it is the tight one, reveals my bodyshape. If I listen them, I would become distant to the necessities of veiling. I choose the loose or double over sized.

P2: There are some people who live Islam properly. There is not such a role model for me but I like veiled women who use the scarf to cover their breasts and shoulders and I'm affected by nice behaviors, the way of addressing and voice tone that are adviced by Islam and applied by a veiled woman.

P3: At the job, there is an academician. I like her so much since she uses school uniform replacing long topcoat at job, her scarf is always loose, her behaviors against men are so courteous. She is so careful as a Muslim woman. In my family, my big sister is a role model for me as she is so careful about the duties too. As an artist, I like Zara. I do not like politics but the wives of Erdoğan and Gül, 'Emine

Hanım’ and ‘Hayrunnisa Hanım’ is the most effective role models now. Especially, Mrs. Erdoğan uses a different tying style on her ‘türban’, I like it and tried but it did not suit on me. Lots of veiled women follow and imitate them.

The role models are searched by participants since they claim that it is a duty for a veiled woman to exhibit the proper veiled woman image. As the first role models for veiled women are the wives of the Prophet Muhammad, it is found that veiled women always watch the other veiled ones to learn how to veil, how to use different styles of veiling or tying and how to behave properly. A role model is very important in a Muslim woman’s life since the veiling is a bodily practice and women learn how to veil not in a day but in a long time period. Synchronizing the proper veiling style with behaviors needs practicing and during this process veiled women need a role model who applies the rules with a little compensation.

Participants mentioned the fact that even if they are affected mostly by the proper role models who live Islam in full, on the other hand, with the help of politics, culture, fashion and consumption, they also follow and imitate a group of role model rising in the media as ‘modern veiled women’ who prefer to use much modern, secular type of apparel with sophisticated scarf tying styles, who does not act self-effacingly, such as always reveal herself next to her husband at cocktails, organizations, etc., using make up, high-heels and luxurious jewellerys. The participants confess the fact that these styles or behaviors are not matching with the ideal role model for Muslim women. However they again confess that there is a trend among veiled women, especially who are rich, to follow and imitate these kind of veiled women who have a high statue, wealth and a modern-luxurious lifestyle.

P1: I’ve heard that the religious group members use different tying styles and I have some places that I visit oftenly.

P2: I’m a member of a religious group. Some people use them to promote themselves in terms of political thoughts. I think, Nobody covers her head for Erbakan or Erdoğan in this hot weather. However, it has no effect on my veiling style. The veiled women who are members of a religious group, like Süleymancılar, prefer a different tying style and differentiate themselves.

P3: I feel some of them close to me. If you stand next to a rose, you can smell like a rose. Some members can be good role models in terms of exhibiting right veiling styles. Veiled women try to differentiate themselves by choosing different veiling garments or tying in a different style. In İstanbul, a group of young women rised and were called as 'Fatih girls' since they started the trend of faux bun style on scarf tying.

It is found that, even if the rules of veiling are stable, veiled women can try to differentiate themselves with scarf tying styles on behalf of a religious group membership. It is mentioned that, some religious groups' veiled members internalized a specific style of scarf tying and the other people differentiate them by looking on their tying styles. On the other hand, lots of veiled women reveal their personal dressing style by using different tying styles, combinations of veiling pieces and selections of sporty or classical type of garments.

Veiling style turns into a sign to reval the *women's personality* and *level of piety* since more modern styles like using a shawl to cover the head is related with the young and low religiously consciousness group but more classical styles like using large and loose *türbans* to cover the head is related with being a member of a religious group who have a higher consciousness level. When a veiled woman is found to be using modern pieces of veiling garments and styles, it is claimed that her consumer identity and self-awarenessness about her sexuality become prominent more than her religious identity and level of piety.

On the contrary, if she chooses old-fashioned, loose, long, pale colored garments and tying styles like *türban*, her religious identity rises in the eye of the others and mostly found old-fashioned and unaware of her femininity. Different styles on tying and dressing are found to be the signs of different levels of modernity and piety. However, the veiled woman's personal willpower on their veiling style, not any pressure coming from politics or group membership, is highlighted commonly by the participants. If the participant is a religious group member and if she sees a woman who use a proper veiling, she can internalize her as a role model and start to tie her scarf or attire the veiling like her of her own accord.

P1: When I look my close environment, I do not see any people who were poor and became richer after 1980's.

P2: There are some people who are rich or became rich, in sync with being a member of a religious group. I do not know any people who became richer and richer after 1980's in my close environment but I can say who works a lot becomes richer. It is not related with the religion. Of course, the lifestyle and the technology changed a lot from 1980's to the present. It affects the attiring styles too.

P3: When I was a child, lifestyle was not like this. People were living more elegantly, does not matter rich or poor. After especially 2000's, there are only brands and brands! People have brand obsession now. Fashion and fashion designers, so to say, made veiled women more self-confident. They try to show themselves too, now.

In the light of political, technological, socio-cultural and economical factors after 1980's, it is found that the lifestyles changed among the religious groups too even if they resisted or not. It is discussed the fact that, Islam is not a block against the personal dressing styles even if it is not out of the main rules. Veiled women can also demand, buy and use new products and garments produced fitting to the new technology. P2 says '*How can you dress oldfashioned cloths, like the peasants wear, in a big city like İstanbul or İzmir where lots of different people live in?*'. It is found that, living in a crowded city and living in an underpopulated village became so different for a veiled woman day by day since the lifestyles and daily demands are different from each other. It does not matter the fact that a woman is veiled or not, she would try to live consistently with her environment.

As P2 says '*This is in humans' nature, if you are richer you demand the better*' and P3 discusses '*We demanded and made the veiling fashion producers richer. Definitely we find a stereotype, a role model, like it and demand the liked thing. When we demand, produces suplies, when it is liked, people tried hard to afford it and it changed everything*', it can be said that, changing lifestyles and rised incomes changed the consumption patterns of religious groups and it is found appropriate to demand in sync with income. When the producers discovered this new phenomenon, they started to serve products appealing to this new consumer segment

and fast-changing-rising demands. It looks like a circle, fed by the previous and feed the next step, mutually.

On the other hand, since the veiled women are/were being perceived as back minded, unconscious and ignorant women, it caused a complex of inferiority among veiled women. They struggled/are struggling to prove the fact that they are not so different from an uncovered woman in terms of the needs, wants, demands of a woman, especially about attiring and the need of feeling beautiful or attractive is a feminine instinct. Hence, the producers and the new veiling fashion trend started to support them in this sense and veiled women started to take advantage of it.

P1: My difference from the other women reveals itself when I cover my head since it shows my religious belief. Also, people can understand your lifestyle while looking at your apparel.

P2: Understanding the lifestyle from the apparel can be tricky. One day I can dress sporty the other day classical. However, by looking at the garment, your income level and social status can be revealed due to the quality of your cloths.

P3: The apparel of veiled women should represent the Islamic lifestyle but we are not able to do it. We do not veil properly because of nefis, environment, level of consciousness, etc. By the way, the lifestyle can be represented with the help of dressing.

According to the discussions, it is believed that veiling style is a highly representative fact in the lives of Muslim women since the total veiling including headscarf is a kind of trademark of Muslim women. The headscarf is the ultimate symbol of Islam for Muslim women and has a function for differentiating the Muslim women from the other women, visibly. It has ancient symbolic meanings including the message of Islam and the piety level of the woman but in the consumption culture different tying and veiling styles became *the symbol of different income levels, lifestyles and age groups of veiled women* in the last years.

Furthermore, it is found that veiled women does not wish to be anonymous today and try to differentiate themselves by using the variety of veiling garments and style choices and desire to be recognized as an individual identity in the public. It is stressed that by obeying the rules, using different styles is appropriate and today it

became much more easy to understand the veiled women's statue, income level and age by looking on her veiling style since these facts became mutually related.

P1: A Muslim's consumption habits depend on his/her income. The richer buys whatever she likes but the poorer can not exceed her limits in terms of income. The poorer can not practice the appropriate veiling as she can not afford the right garments but the richer buys the fashion or creates her own fashion, can easily have someone sew her need. If I was rich, I had someone sew my cloths but now I have to buy what is produced on the cheap, depending on my income.

P2: The Muslim can luxuriate and buy the luxury if s/he practices charity and has halal earning. The richer buys 15 scarves from Aker or Pierre Cardin but the poorer can only afford one. Of course the poorer's and the richer's garments are as different as chalk and cheese. The choices become different in paralel with the income.

P3: Muslims can earn a lot and should spend without wasting. A woman, driving a luxurious jeep, tying the scarf like a faux bun, sunglasses are above the head, fancy accessories, tight clothes and high heels are on and portraying her wealth, is not consistent with the veiling or its meaning, it should not be. Being rich changes people and women become fashion addicted. There are women who start to use veiling just because it became eye-pleasing with the help of fashion!

While discussing the rise of wealth in religious groups, it is found that all the participants are agree with the fact that Muslim people can be rich and they call it 'a gift of God that should be protected and used appropriately' but they severely against of the fact that Muslim people showing their wealth with their luxurious lifestyle, consumption habits, cool or coquettish behaviors among other people and becoming distant from modestness. It is believed that being rich changes people, inevitably. Especially, related with the core aim of veiling, a veiled woman should be simple who do not take the attantion of any other person or man with her behaviors and apparel.

On the other hand, with the rise of veiling fashion and consumption culture, it is discussed that the veiled women also became distant from the core meaning of veiling after fashion and consumption addiction and they started to prefer garments which are not suitable for veiling. Furthermore, it is discussed the fact that lots of

veiled women do not behave in sync with the message they wear on since it is believed that every veiled woman is responsible to deliver the message of Islam to the others.

As the veiling is the most integrated and intense symbol of Islam that is carried by Muslim women, veiled women expect from the other veiled women to carry the veiling appropriately and deliver the message properly. However, in this decade, because of the changing consumption habits, luxury, fashion and brand addiction, the core message of veiling seem to be covert and adapted by them to form a new veiled woman image and started to normalize the unsuitable facts like behaviors, consumption habits, veiling styles, beliefs, etc. among Muslim people. P3 says *'Now, the only difference between a veiled and unveiled woman is the former puts a 'başörtüsü' not 'türban' on, that's it! Veiled women now wear whatever the unveiled wear so easily. Skinny jeans, short blouses, tight clothes, etc. They suppose that it is ok, using the same garments with a 'başörtüsü' and the task is completed '*. It is believed that the veiled women use consumption to reveal their wealth and reveal their identity among the other. They want to stand out with their veiling but in a modern way. Participants relate this unsuitable behaviors with unconsciousness and education and they believe that Muslim women should lean on religious education more to discipline themselves.

3.3.3. Interpretations III: The Veiling Fashion, Personal Veiling Stories, Veiling Practices and Consumption

P1: I started to use veiling in 2012 and I'm 35 years old now. We say we are Muslim but we are not conscious enough. My family is religious, they pray and my mother is veiled. I have a lot of veiled friend and relatives but it took a lot of time for me to be veiled, God forgives!

P2: I started to use veiling at the age of 18-19. I'm 25 now. My family is religious and commonly my female relatives are veiled, mom and sister too. I'm from Erzurum and its culture leans to Islam so much. Nobody thought that I will use veiling some day. You make it just in a moment, in a day, if you do not, you can not.

P3: I started to use veiling at the secondary school. I was a child but my big sister uses it nicely and I love her so much. She had a direct effect on my decision. I used

to like her veiling style so much, still do. When she said 'Do not you wish to do this like me?' I replied 'Yes!'. She is the role model for me and my mother is also veiled and my family is religious.

According to the dialogues, it is understood that, each woman has a different story of veiling but in their close environment, religious people and veiled woman appear and the participants are affected by them one way or another. They are familiar to the veiling and the rules of Islam since they have religious families, relatives and live in a religious environment. They all stress the fact that they were not exposed to any discipline by their families as P3 says *'When I decided to use veiling my mom said - "You are still a child so you do not have to. Please do not make people think that I forced you"'*. She also claims that her father used to buy her mini-skirts but also explained the rules of veiling at the same time. Her big sister is graduated from *İmam Hatip School* (Islamic divinity students school) and turns into a 'role model' for her by explaining the rules of Islam and veiling, taking her to *sohbets* (religious women meetings for sharing religious information) and making her conscious day by day.

It is found that, the family and close environment are seen to be responsible to teach the duties of Islam and rules of veiling. On the other hand, when P2 decided to use veiling, her close environment was shocked because she says *'I was playing basketball and handball, I had a social life'*. When women decide to use veiling, it makes a significant change on their 'lifestyles' and 'social practices'. They start to watch their behaviors more than the past and can even give up or convert some of their habits, especially the ones out of the house. P2 says she continues her sport activities only at the places in which just women are allowed to enter.

It is confessed that Muslim women think a while about their routines, lifestyles, social environments and the possible changes before the veiling. It is also mentioned that, it is not suitable to act disagreeably with the meaning of veiling in front of *namahrem* and women should be more conscious ever after. Furthermore, only one participant, P1 stressed the important role of praying since it became her reason to be veiled. She says *'I was not using headscarf but day by day I started to wear according to veiling since it was hard to carry long skirts or tunics and headscarves with me outside to pray several times a day'*. As the veiling is necessary

for Muslim women while praying, being veiled turned into a useful practice for P1 which eases her life as a believer. P2 and P3 became veiled in a one day but P1 made it step by step, starting to use long-sleeved t-shirts, loose cloths and tunics and using the headscarf at the very end. It is also stressed the fact that, after being veiled and conscious, they feel guilty for their previous times without veiling.

P1: Even I live in a Muslim country, before I started to use veiling it was not so familiar to me when I saw veiled women. I was feeling surprised of being surprised and talking to myself like ‘You are living in a Muslim country, what do you expect?’ Everybody has prejudices. They were asking me before using headscarf ‘Why do you use long-sleeved t-shirts in this hot weather?’ and I was replying ‘I’m cold’ even I do not because they did not understand my reasons and I was feeling so uncomfortable.

P2: I also had some prejudices since I was interested in sports. I thought if there would be any limitation or not. There is nothing like that each veiled woman likes the other veiled one, or an unveiled one, vice versa. If you use cigarette, wear skinny cloths, jeans or short skirts when you are veiled, people create unfriendly prejudices for the all veiled women, not just you.

Before and after using the veiling, participants seem to have prejudices for the veiling, its forthcoming outcomes and the people’s thought about their choices. As the veiling is a bodily practice, changing the appearance and the lifestyle of the woman combined with suitable behaviors and habits, participants were in two minds. On the other hand, since they decided to use veiling consciously, they mention that they felt good in terms of morality after the veiling.

They stress the fact that they had different choices after the veiling. For example P2 says ‘*I never used skirts before the veiling but now I never wear pants*’ and P1 says ‘*I do not choose to go to the cafes where men and women do not sit seperately and use alcohol but I never used pardesü (long topcoat) and bought skinny pants after the veiling*’. They claim that as veiled women have a responsibility to represent the right Muslim image, they have to be careful about their cloths and behavior to prevent wrong prejudices especially created by the unveiled counterparts. It creates a kind of ‘veiled women community’ in which one member affects the all

and it also puts a visible or unwritten but frequently felt responsibility on veiled women's shoulders.

P2: I did not make a significant change on my veiling style from the beginning of my choice but I sometimes change the tying style of my scarf according to the environment.

P3: At the beginning, I did not prefer to use pants and used to wear topcoats all the time. However, today I wear pants too, use long jackets (kap) and tunics, too. Before I used to tie my scarf like türban but when my colleagues made fun of me like I was a 'cemaatçı' I gave it up and changed my scarf tying style. Now, I do not tie it loose and do not use large scarves.

In the timeline of veiling usage, it is found that participants choose to manage or change their veiling or scarf tying styles based on some circumstances. As it is stressed commonly, the prejudices of others and the environment is highly affective on these changes. Even if they believe that it is the proper style, they can compensate of it due to the environmental pressures. It is mentioned that being in business life pushes veiled women to choose more modern-western styles not traditional ones and make veiling familiar to western type of dressing. It is also linked by gaining the acceptance of others and not being alienated since veiled women are found to be more sensitive for the others' opinions and negative prejudices or thoughts make them more reactive.

P3: I wish there would be a little bit allowance for the veiling in hot climates. I sweat a lot and I do not want to give up my topcoat even in summer but I suffer a lot. At the office, I do not use it but there is something, to be responsible of ten people and of a hundred! There is difference and I continue to use topcoat.

P1: I can not find suitable cloths for a right veiling! This is my most important problem!

P2: I watch my behavior more after the veiling. Sometimes we let it go but it is not true. I step into the balcony for a quick task and I find myself with a short-sleeved tshirt and half-tied scarf. I realize it and question myself.

It is found that, the queries of the veiled women do not stop after veiling since they feel much more responsibility of each move and each part of clothing than the past. Even they do not question the meaning of veiling, they find some hard points at the time of practice. These problems tense them up and they seek a kind of solution by not giving up any rule of the veiling. Problems are especially about the clothing as P1 says *'I can not obey every rule of veiling because I can not find suitable cloths! For example, the scarf that I wear right now is not suitable since it is a little bit transparant but the weather is hot and I can not find such a kind of scarf that is thin, keeps cool but also does not reveal my hair and does not block my hearing. I can not find and use this one unwillingly!'*

On the other hand, they suffer from the costs of the veiling garments and they find them very expensive. These problems affect their consumption habits and style of veiling. Also the job environment is an important factor on their veiling style decision. If a practice is forbidden, like no permission to use headscarf in a governmental institution, or a style create an undesired impression, like using a large scarf and hanging it down to the breasts or wearing loose topcoats, it causes to be judged as *cemaatçi* (member of a religious group, like the group of *Fethullah Gülen* or *Süleyman Hodja*). These fears make veiled women to give up some tying styles of headscarf and lead them to buy some veiling garments which are not suitable principally. When they suffer like this, they consult their close environment; husband, friends or family and if anyone says 'It's ok' they feel a little bit relieved.

P1: When I use veiling, I watch out some points carefully. For example, the apparel should not reveal my body shape and the bonnet should not slip from my hair. Two-piece dresses are more suitable since they do not reveal the shape of our buttocks. I always use back cloth under my skirts, or tights. If a pin is not used to tie the headscarf, it makes me feel e normal woman, not a veiled one. The scarf should be pinned, also for avoiding slipping. I did not know so much about tying as I've covered a year ago but I'm learning it by making practices. I like the shawls, easy to tie, but when I question my morale, I find myself desiring to use large and hanged down scarves, from my shoulders to my breasts.

P2: It does not make a sense to live Islam and to wear on the opposite. I commonly use skirt-blouse/sweetshirt combinations if I'm away home. I use bonnet but some

people use tülbent (muslin) under the scarf. If I wear pants or sportswear, such as while going to the market, I use long topcoats. The external apparel can be more suitable if it is monotype. Cats-dogs can rub you up outside or something can be spilled out on your cloth. The external apparel can protect you and it is important.

P3: I always use my perfume or deo before an hour of my veiling routine. The smell hardly fades as it is not suitable to make namahrem notice it. I use topcoats and prefer to buy boutique garments like skirts, blouses, combined cotton bodies, etc. If I use pants, I always wear a coat that covers my buttocks.

When the participants discuss their daily veiling routines and garment choices, it is found that each woman choice the elements that make them feel comfortable about their religious ‘watch out-points’. The external apparel, like topcoats or tunics are not preferred by each participant everytime. Being careful about covering the necessary parts of the body for veiling is so important and this sensitivity shows itself on the garment choices and combinations.

When a skirt is worn, the need to use an external apparel decreases since it is combined with a blouse covering buttocks due to being a two-part apparel. However if pants are worn, at least a medium-length coat like a tunic is combined with. Also, the shade of the underwear should not be revealed. The shoes should not make noise so the high-heeled ones are not suitable as P3 says ‘*A man understands that a woman passed or coming with the help of the shoe noise and the smell of a perfume and it is not suitable*’. This concerns are common among veiled women and they can be called ‘unwritten but learned veiling regime’ as they mention that each veiled woman knows them and tries to obey one way or another, consciously or traditionally.

P1: When I seek for products firstly I look at the coherence of the product with veiling rules. Actually, I usually look for my need. The price is not the guarantee of the quality. We can sometimes find products of good quality in small boutiques. Brand is not so important for me.

P2: The products should be appropriate for the veiling at first. I’m not a brand addict. Since I dress sporty, I choose that kind of garments. What you look at is about your style. Quality is important for me as I’m a working woman. It should make me feel comfortable when I wear it outside, at office, etc. If I find quality and like it, I can buy even if it is expensive. Also the climate is a factor on veiled

women's garment choices. Izmir is a hot city and in summer, being veiled properly is becoming more difficult.

P3: I look for the product quality at first, not the brand. Quality is not being expensive, I mean, it should not reveal your underwear or skin. If it is ok for my income, I can buy anything I like. If it is beyond of my income, I should waive some other thing I plan to buy and I buy it. I'm especially selective for topcoats and I look for the fabric and the style. If I like a product that is not suitable for veiling, I buy it too and use it at home or among only women groups.

It is found that, the coherence of the product with veiling rules and the quality stand out firstly while discussing what veiled women look at while making their product choices. The brand addiction is found to be low among participants and high prices are not related with quality. They are aware of the veiling brands and sometimes they buy branded ones but usually they seek for good fabric and proper designs. Being in business life is a rising factor affecting veiled women's product choices in terms of quality and convenience.

It is mentioned that, such kind of products which are appropriate for veiling but not comfortable, such as thick headscarves prevent hearing or very long and loose skirts make women stumble, are not preferred to wear in an active office place or outdoor. Obscuring the underwear marks and skin color is found to be a sign for a good product quality. Also, comfortable designs (not revealing body shape, not straitening the body, helping unconstrained body move) and fabrics (preventing sweltering, keeping cool, being thin but not revealing the hair, skin color or underwear mark) are highly sought to buy and wear in hot weathers.

However, as the participants stressed the fact that it is a serious problem for veiled women to find all these qualities in one product. They try to find their own solutions by combining the cloths, like wearing a long sleeved blouse that does not reveal the skin color in a sleeveless thin tunic that can not be worn alone in hot weathers. On the other hand they mention the fact that this kind of combinations are found styleless but they have no other choice if they do not want to compensate of the rules of veiling. Even if they like a product they do not hesitate to buy it and use it at the proper places, among *mahrems*, but it is stressed that finding foolproof veiling garments rises as a serious problem in veiled women's consumption process.

P1: I do not shop monthly. I go shopping when I need something. For once I spent 200 TL that includes one dress, one two-piece-suit, one headscarf and one skirt from two different stores.

P2: I reserve some money for shopping in each month but I do not shop monthly. When I need shopping I do not spend below 500 TL including topcoat, scarf and pieces of garments.

P3: I shop when I need. It changes between 150-250 TL per each shopping. It includes scarf, skirt, blouse. I do not include topcoat since it is more expensive than the other pieces. May be the handbag can be included. The prices change from store to store.

According to the shopping routines of the participants it is found that a monthly routine shopping does not exist and they usually shop when their needs rise. The discussed amounts of shopping are found not to be so high and they do not lean towards expensive stores and expensive veiling garments. As it is stressed that some pieces like topcoats are sought and decided separately since they are more expensive than the other pieces and there seems to be a high involvement while choosing this piece of product. It is highlighted that veiled women adjust their budgets related with their specific needs and the necessity of the need. Yet, among the participants there is no brand addiction and they belong to middle income group, satisfying the need with a middle-to-high quality & price becomes more important.

It is found that there is not a high store loyalty and they search for the needed garments touring from store to store. The type of the need leads the women and product involvement changes according to the price of the product. Topcoats are found to be analyzed more during the shopping process since it covers the inner clothes and inner clothes can be ordinary but topcoat is like a showcase covering the posterior and should be proper and nice in the eye of the others. Also supplementary products like handbags, shoes, etc. are mentioned and included in the basket of veiling garments shopping.

P1: There are some brands for veiling like Alvina, SetrMS, Aydınli, Tekbir, Pierre Cardin. Sometimes I trust the quality since it is a brand but for once a glass of water spilled over on a skirt of one of those brands, I could not sweep away the water mark

and and I've got disappointed about the brand and did not prefer it again. Also there are veiling stores in Kemeraltı which do not have well-known brands.

P2: The veiling brands I recall are Aker, Pierre Cardin for scraves, Cilbab, Alvina and LC Waikiki which is not for veiled ones but in its stores you can find proper pieces. I principally choose Aker for scarves since the others create a rustling sound in my ears and cause headache for me... If they produce only for veiled ones, it can be called veiling store or veiling brand...

P3: The brands are SetrMS, Söyler, Aker, Armine, Tekbir and the stores of Kemeraltı in İzmir are suitable for veiled women.

There are a limited number of veiling brands in Turkey which make production for veiled women only. As the participants discussed that it should be called a veiling brand if only it produces proper veiling garments for veiled women. The brands differentiate themselves, for example *Aker* only produce one piece of veiling garment; the headscarf, and the others can have a large product range; from skirts to topcoats, etc. Some brands are criticised, such as *Alvina*, as the products are commonly polyester not cotton and not comfortable to use in İzmir due to the hot weather.

On the other hand some brands like *LCW* and *Pierre Cardin* is also associated with veiling since they produce some proper pieces for veiled women. *Pierre Cardin* rises with its high-quality scarves and *LCW* rises with its casual garments like blouses and tunics with affordable prices. The veiled members of low & middle income group are not brand addicted or have a high brand or store loyalty but when they want to differentiate themselves, especially using branded scarves and tying the scarf by showing the brand behind becomes a practice.

As P3 says '*When I heard the owner of Pierre Cardin talking about veiled women and said 'I owe my fortune to the repressed emotions of veiled women that I revealed'', I have never preferred that brand again. For once, the owner of Merinos furnitures said 'I do not permit my workers to pray at the factory' and when I know it I gave up the brand's furniture that I liked so much before my wedding and shopped from any other brand''*, it is found that the sensitivity of brands about Muslims' values and Islam becomes so important for the Muslim consumers and veiled women

can easily switch brand and show reaction when they hear something confronting with or humiliating their values and Islam.

Furthermore, it is mentioned that veiled women commonly prefer to choose and buy their products from the real stores. P3 stressed that, since she is from Konya and Konya is a religious city, she goes Konya sometimes just for shopping as she complains from not finding proper veiling products in İzmir in where the population is not as religious as Konya. She mentioned the difference between two cities in terms of shopping routines of veiled women and the serving styles of veiling stores. In Konya, it is claimed that the veiling stores make monthly discounts to create circulation and to refresh the product range and P3 talks about the crowdedness, the varieties of veiling garments and high shopping amounts of veiled women. It is stressed that the religiousness level of the city also affects the stores' supplying and the veiled women's buying routines.

P1: Fashion is what a person feel her/himself happy with. Fashion is unspecific and everyone makes use of it whatever s/he wants. However it is connected with wealth and luxury and I can not say it is for a peasant too. What changes when fashion changes? The colors, types, models... It changes since the people are hungry for changes. We demand it and they produce. The veiling garments are not widespreaded in the market, I guess. There is not such a thing that a veiled woman can not follow fashion. However I do not follow the fashion. I look around for my need and if I like I buy it, that's it.

P2: I think fashion is a waste. The only fashion that can not change within years is the fabric and the color. These are the things changing on behalf of fashion. I do not follow the fashion. However while I'm shopping I see blouses or skirts called the period's fashion that I see and buy if I like.

P3: Fashion is the variation, differentness, the most favorite one, the last produced one, easy on the eye, the different style... The person is also important who introduces the fashion to call it fashion. I can draw something but if Cemil İpekçi draws, it becomes fashion. The fashion is generally for the unveiled ones, the westerners. Yes, there is a kind of fashion for the veiled ones but the life is expensive by the way, you can not afford them easily even if you follow fashion. Fashion for veiling has increased after 2008, I guess. It is due to the teenagers since they find

themselves unconfident, I mean I question why we are so limited? There should be exclusive introductions for veiled women, too.

According to the discussions about fashion, it is found that each participant defines fashion in her own terms. However there are some points that they agree with:

- (1) fashion is changing,
- (2) the changable specialities are the fabric, styles and the colors
- (3) each person has his/her own perception about fashion
- (4) each person is affected by fashion one way or another
- (5) fashion is highly perceived to be related with wealth, luxury and western-style garments.

It is found that for women, feeling happy by using a garment or a style is very important to choose, buy and use the products for a long time. Even if some of the participants find fashion wasteful or unnecessary, it is understood that they do not hang back from evaluating what is favorite or mostly preferred by the others while they are shopping. They make their shopping being aware of the changing colors, fabrics or styles.

On the other hand they commonly criticise the fact that fashion is generally not appealing to veiled women since the fashion system is highly related with western lifestyles and unveiled people. It is mentioned that there is a phenomenon called '*veiling fashion*' and rising day by day but it is also appealing to Muslim people who have a luxurious lifestyle or who have a high income. The garments are expensive and are not affordable by the group of middle & low income.

Furthermore it is stressed that it is a need to be dressed properly and nicely and being veiled is not a barrier against following fashion, demanding *the latest products, high quality, affordable prices, a variety of choices, sophisticated designs or styles*. It rises as a big problem for veiled women to find all these specialities at the same place and sometimes it becomes a struggle to make a satisfactory shopping for garments.

On the other hand, producers' and designers' ability or desire to create collections and garments specific for veiled women's needs becomes more important since they are the suppliers and the public is the demandant who searches, prefers and buys. It is discussed that producers seek for high revenues and focus on it, not the exact needs of veiled women. It is believed that the power of veiled women, who are the members of middle & low income group, is not grown enough to demand and force the producers to produce what exactly they need in terms of religious limitations on garments, quality, price, style, etc.

According to the participants, veiling fashion is not for every single veiled woman but for the ones who have a high income and have a power to manipulate the supplier about their specific needs. These kind of products are found expensive and unaffordable even if the veiled woman desires it or follow the veiling fashion. Also, it is revealed that the youngers are following the fashion steadily, demand and consume more. For example, 'styles of scarf tying' is a rising trend between veiled women and there are *scarfstylists* who give this service for women especially for special occasions like cocktails or wedding ceremonies. It is stressed that differentiating the self from the others with the help of proper veiling garments and styles and feeling happy by practicing and experiencing it became highly important for the veiled women in the recent years.

P1: Today, veiling fashion exists and it is a need. Fashion should be for everyone and now veiled women appear in business life. If you work as a veiled woman, you see a lots of choices and you should arrange yourself according to these circumstances but if you are a housewife, your life is limited. There is no need for variety since you do not move in a large environment.

P2: I think, there is not such a thing called veiling fashion and should not be. However, combining the different blouses and pants creates a variety of veiling styles. The changes rise due to the technology and age. People change in time and the apparels change, too... The producers lead us and they produce according to the moment's fahsion and supply... And yes, we buy it...

It is found that there is a confusion in participants mind about the *veiling fashion phenomenon*. According to the queries, they shuttle between the necessity

and unnecessary of fashion, the existence and nonexistence of veiling fashion. It is also found that when the participants interpret the veiling practice from the point of religion, they severely stress that fashion is a waste, there is no need for it, fashion and veiling should not be combined.

However, just shortly after, they arrange the excuses of the time in order by interpreting the *zeitgesit* in terms of age, technology, women's rising statue, changing roles like being business woman, the pressure of consumption culture, etc. At the end, it is revealed that even if the veiled women have a confusion in their mind and does not find the fusion of veiling and fashion appropriate when considering the religious duties, they do not stay away from following the fashion, being aware of it, viewing the changes, buying and using the supplied products in the name of veiling fashion since they are in the busines life now as working women, are not usually staying at home but circulating in a large environment, are on the others' field of vision and being criticised. As a consumer, it is found that they see and know the variety of different choices and feel a pressure to manage themselves, their consumption habits and attiring styes in the light of these parameters and religious duties at the same time.

P1: I do not know any veiling fashion magazine.

P2: Neither did I see a veiling fashion magazine nor did I buy it.

P3: Yes I know veiling fashion magazines but I do not follow them and recall their name.

Except only one participant, the other participants who have a higher negative attitude for the fusion of veiling and fashion are found to be more uninformed about the veiling fashion magazines. When they are asked about these magazines, they mentioned the classical catalogues of the brands or the web sites like *Safa&Merve*, *ModaNisa*, etc. The third participant who leans more towards the fusion of veiling and fashion stated that she follows the mentioned brands' social web sites and has lots of friends following them.

It is again discussed that these kind of magazines can be for the wealthiers, not for the ordinary veiled ones since the main purpose of these magazines is related with the gain of the producers. As P3 says '*These kind of magazines can be*

published only if the proper veiling is discussed in it. They should not provoke the people's nefis', it is found that if a magazine is the subject, the veiled women desire such a kind of magazine which is loaded up with religious content, not western type of visuals and exhibitions. The magazine content should give information about veiling, Islamic lifestyle or tips for dressing but should not be like a western style magazine loaded up with glossy photos, veiled women in chichy styles, any that kind of content which is not related with Islam or not appropriate for Islam. It is seeked for much more informative content in written and lower amount of visuals especially revealing the veiled women and luxury.

On the other hand, even if it is mentioned that these magazines, veiling fashion and luxury are found appropriate for the wealthiers, the participants also found such kind of magazine appropriate for middle & low income group by stressing the function of *informing*, not provoking the women for *consumption* and *luxury*. It is believed that, the veiled members of middle & low income group need to be enlighthed via these kind of publications since they do not have a high consciousness about Islam, veiling, women in Islam, balancing the femininity and the religious duties, attiring in modern times, etc.

P1: I do not know any veiling designer's name.

P2: I do not know anyone. I guess, they work for the wealthiers. Wealthiers use them to satisfy their emotions. Among the public, there is not such a thing called veiling fashion. I do not see anyone in my environment who uses a styler's veiling design.

P3: I know a woman, Fatma Sevildi. She works in Ankara. I talked her on the phone for my engagement ceremony. I saw her designs in the newspaper, called and wanted to take advise about my gown. There are such kind of people who have a goodwill and who serve among halal square. It is nice for veiled women to see nice garments and these kind of veiling stylers should increase in number. We also wish to use nice cloths. It should not be just for earning money but to serve for veiled women.

When the veiling fashion designers are discussed, they are also related with wealth and the people with high income. It is mentioned that, for now, they do not serve for the middle & low income group and their number is limited, they are

populer and well-known only among the wealthy Muslim group and can only be afforded by them. As P3 discussed, she found a veiling fashion designer's advices proper for her need but could not afford her service since it was so expensive for her.

It is found that, the wealthiers can afford the veiling fashion designers easily, not only for their special occasions but also for their daily dressing needs since their lifestyles require it. However, it is discussed that such kind of designers are needed by the veiled women of middle & low income group who can serve in affordable prices but with high quality for the group members' special days or ceremonies like wedding or engagement.

Since the mentioned group's veiled women do not have a high number of special days (like wedding) in their lifetimes, a middle-to-high level expenditure is found proper and it is needed to seek for services and products both in high quality and proper for veiling even if they do not seek them in their daily lifes. From this point of view, it is stressed that those kind of veiling designers should increase in number and if they increase the participants argue that they could be more affordable, could also reach to the lower income groups and those groups' veiled members could benefit from them and live a privilege in their special days or ceremonies.

P1: Veiled women should be veiling oriented. They should not be obtrusive and not be strucked by the evil eye as it affects your morality. I guess sporty styles does not take so much attention since it is irregular. Can glamorous styles be in special days like wedding ceremonies, or not? We should ask it to the theologists...

P2: The veiled woman should only be attractive for her husband, not for the others and if fashion makes veiling more attractive, it should not be. If it is preffered, it is about the one's inner conscience.

P3: There can not be such a religion adapts itself to fashion. However, fashion makes it and we adapt. In the halal square, everything is proper but veiled women should not be fashion addicted and change their etiquette on behalf of fashion.

As it is discussed in the dialogues, the participants are against the fashion's negatively effective role on Islam and religious duties. It is mentioned that fashion reconstitute the veiling one way or another and veiled women adopt it without

questioning consciously. Being attractive with the help of fashion is not found suitable for the veiled women in the eye of *namahrems*. Changing the consumption habits under the effects of consumption culture or trends and loosing the proper behaviors advised for Muslim women among *namahrems* are highly criticised. In the halal square, among the *mahrems*, it is believed that women can dress or act comfortably since the limits are large enough for their needs and desires. Also, at the end, the inner conscience is mentioned to be the final authority to question the self according to the changing circumstances.

3.3.4. Interpretations IV: The Veiling Fashion Magazines and The Crosscheck of The Changes on Veiling Decisions

The participants scanned the magazines and discussed the veiling fashion by criticising what they saw in each magazine with the help of exposed visuals and proposed content. They interpreted their considerations like below:

The Discussions of P1

General comments about the magazines: *I think this is a woman need. It is nice and these kind of magazines should increase in number. It is better for a woman to calm her nefis down by looking at them. However 9 TL is a high price and yes, these magazines appeal to wealthy women, business women, women who like to fancy up much. The editors can be male but it is more suitable if the photographers are not male. The models are colored-eyed, brown/blonde-haired, tall and slim, mostly. Very beautiful women are used in the advertisements and exposals.*

They do not represent the Muslim Turkish women. That kind of models are choosen since they are more attractive. They garnish the veiling components by this way and display. If they have used ordinary women instead of well-known models, they again would garnished them as it is a magazin and it should be favoured. It is totally commercial. However in the magazines, they propose articles about women who started to use veiling at later times in their life, especially famous ones. They can be a role model for the other women.

Figure 6: The red jacket called my attention. I do not prefer to wear red colored apparel since it is highly eye-catching. I also wanted to show its style. It fits on your body which is not appropriate. It can reveal your body shape, your waistline.

Figure7: This apparel is not appropriate for veiling. The pants are tight, the leg shape is revealed. The blouse is not long enough to cover the legs. The court shoe is suitable if it is not creating any noise by walking. The headscarf is tied loose but it should be nice if it is hung down more on breasts. The forthcoming photos are like this. The styles are so similar.

Figure8: Look at the three different styles of headcovering. The lady with the pale pink shawl ruled out not to reveal the hair. It is transparent and it looks like a symbol that makes her feel close to the spirituality. However this is not the veiling. The other two ladies seem to obey the rules of veiling more. The make-up is absolutely inappropriate. If you use an eye-pencil you become different. If you add a mascara, it is much more different. It is haram to try to change what God gave you. By the way, the cosmetics are unhealthy and Islam advises us to use products that does not harm the health. You can not fancy up in front of namahrem. However this is an inner instinct, a psychology for women, the need to feel beautiful, the need to be fancied. Even we, as veiled ones, say 'Should I put on this scarf or that?' all the time.

Figure9: The one should create her own fashion. She can feel herself beautiful and like it. This is a fashion magazine so they show the famous people and they are commonly unveiled. I'd like to see a woman who has a proper veiling in these magazines but the magazines can not give up to use celebrities. A woman without a make up can not be exposed here.

Figure10: It is not suitable to use human figures on garments since you can not stand for praying with these clothes. It also takes attention outside. It should not be.

Figure11: The neck is revealed which is not suitable for veiling. It looks like she wears any kind of cloth on her head. Oh, there is no proper veiling!!! When I practice the exact rules of veiling I feel so happy since I think that I do not take any man's attention.

Figure12: The statement called my attention. It means that women treat their husbands like their mothers. I think these kind of informative content should be more than the others, the photos or ads, etc., in this kind of magazines. If you say 'veiling fashion' it means you are talking about something belong to the religion, Islam.

Islam should manifest itself in the content... The lifestyle of a veiled women should consist of the issues of appearance, psychology, the real facts of the life, etc., not only the garments or fashion. The content should be wide. If you like fashion, yes you should also look at them. If I like something in this magazine,, I do not have so much time to shop but if it is in a close store and if I know it and need it, I can go, look and buy the product.

Figure13: *It is nice for the magazine to mention these kind of issues too.*

Figure14: *The skirt should be ankle lenght but it is short and not appropriate. The apparel is nice, the jacket is not revealing the body shape. However, she should tie her scarf not so tight but loose, hanging down.*

Figure15: *I liked the jacked so much. It is loose, covering the body, not revealing the shape of the body. There are two women in one advertisement. They are drinking coffee and they seem to enjoy their moment. The outlook seem to be unimportant for each other. By the way, it can represent the fashion of two women, the veiled and unveiled.*

Figure16: *The green dress is so nice, all appropraite for veiling except its tightness. She is not Muslim, I know her, Angelina Jolie, but this is a veiling magazine and when I look at it I evaluate the images from this point of view, the proper veiling.*

Figure17: *She is the wife of a minister. She has a representative role. However, the scarf should be hung down over the breasts, it is said in Qur'an. She has to dress more carefully since she is in the limelight as a politician's wife. I will not sit and talk to another country's president's wife, she will, also will be representative and will tell of Islam to them, not me. Others should like her apparel too, which is proper for veiling. However their dressing style take shape according to the other's reactions, due to their statue. If she wears a black chador, the fur flied! May be this is why they compensate of veiling.*

Figure18: *The topic called my attantion, 'tasavvuf (sufism)'.*

Figure19: *The dolman is nice but the pants reveal the leg shape, not suitable. Lots of young women prefer this style and compensate of veiling. I think they are affected by these images.*

Figure20: *The white tunic is nice but if aynone can give 465 TL for it? According to my budget, I can not. If I had an adequate budget I should give, I guess. However, it does not worth it, I think. These prices and products can be exhibitted in these magazines but women should be conscious. They can look at but also do not buy.*

The more these images are exhibitted the more it is normalized even if it is not

Figure9



Figure10

REPORTAJ aysha

bir elimde, biri eteğimde... Ben de pasta çırpyorum.

■ **Pelin Karahan'ın çantasında olmazsa olmaz üç şey nedir?**

El kremi, yaz / kış güneş gözlüğüm muhakkak olur. Bir de tatlandırımcı var.

■ **Yorucu bir iş temposuna sahipsiniz. Çökimlerden arsa kalan zamanlarda neler yapıyorsunuz?**

Yemek yapıyorum. Benim ilgi alanım 'yemek' diyebilirim. Arkadaşlarım, eşime, sevdiğime yemekler yapıyorum. Vakit buldukça spor yapmayı da ihmal etmiyorum.

■ **En iyi yaptığınız yemek nedir peki?**

Herkesin damak zevki farklı tabii. Ama tiramisu konusunda kendimi çok ileri lettim. Genel olarak tatlılar konusunda oldukça iyiyimdir.

■ **Güzellik ve bakım sırlarınız nelerdir?**

Cilde iyi geldiği için, vakit buldukça hamama gitmeye çalışırım. Ayda bir masaj iyi geliyor. Her gün cildimi temizleyici kremletem var. Alkol kullanmıyorum, sigara içmiyorum, uykusuz kalıyorum. Aslında böylelikle cildimi kendiliğinden korumuş oluyorum.

■ **Günlük stilinizde en çok neyi tercih edersiniz?**

Set zamanı olduğunda rahat giyiyorum. Bol kotlar ve spor ayakkabılar kurtarıcımdır. Bazen de topuklu ayakkabı ve etek de giymek istiyorum. Duruma göre değişebiliyor.

■ **Beğendiğiniz markalar, ürünler nelerdir?**

Günlük alışverişte Zara her arımda tercihimdir. Çok para harcamadan da alışveriş yapılabileceğini düşünüyorum. Tasarımcı olarak Elie Saab, Tuvana Büyükcınar, Dilek Hanlı, Özgür Masur var. Günlük hayatta MAC ve Clinique'in ürünlerini kullanıyorum. Parfümdeki tercihim de: Bvlgari'den Jasmine Noir.

■ **Son birkaç yıldır Türk sineması büyük atılımlar gerçekleştirdi. Sizin de 'keşke bu filmde oynasaydım' dedığınız bir proje oldu mu?**

Hiçbir şey için hırslandığımı söyleyemem. Çok fazla film seyreliyorum. Türk sinemasından değil ama yabancı filmlerden en çok ARGO'dan etkilendiğimi söyleyebilirim.

■ **10 yıl sonra kendinizi nerede görüyorsunuz?**

Küçük bir pastane açmışım, iki tane çocuğum var. Bir

Figure11

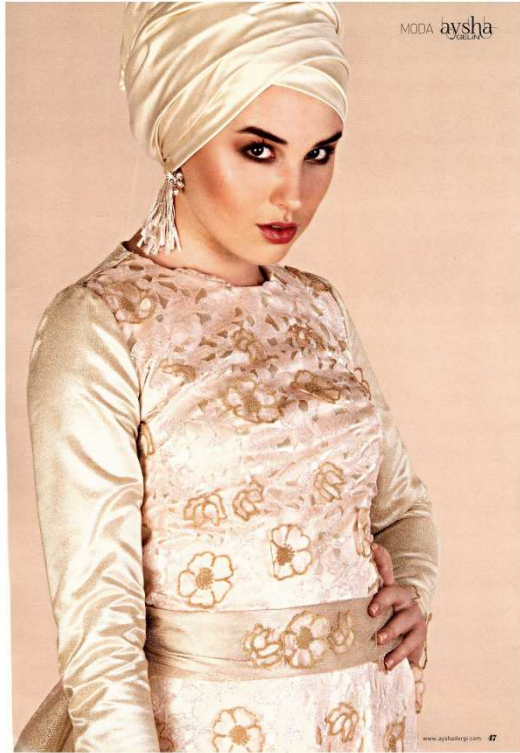


Figure12

REPORTAJ aysha

"Kadın, eşine annesiymiş gibi davranmamalı"

■ **Yardım almak dediniz. Böyle imkânları olmayanlar ne yapacaklar?**

Gecemeyenler için en önemli nokta şu: İki kişiden biri, diğer bir şeylerin yanlış gittiğini hissediyorsa, karışandığını değil kendisini değiştirmeli. Evlilik içinde yanlış gidenleri tespit edebilmeli. Hata varsa, örüt dilemeli. Özgür dilemekten çok kaçıyor. Halbuki özgür insan köşülmez, aksine yitilir.

■ **Buç FM'de radyo programınız var, kimler dinliyor size?**

Daha çok kadınlara ama erkekler de anıyor. Benden önce isteyen erkekler de var. Bu hoşuma gidiyor; çünkü erkeklerde bir farkındalık ve hareket var. Önceden onlar için böyle şeyler ayıp karşılanıyordu.

■ **Çocukları uğruna boşanmamayı seçen kadınlar doğru mu yapıyor?**

Çocukları uğruna boşanmayan çok kadın var. Var-yok babalar var. Baba yoksa, çocuk bunu kabullenir. Zaten anne, çocuğa ona göre eğitimi verir. Ama bir baba, evde yanlış model oluyor; şiddet uyguluyorsa, evli kalamaz çocuğuna iyi kalı yapamaz. Tam tersi zara verilebilir. Sürekli tartışma ve kavga hali. Sonrasında o çocuklar, yetişkinliklerinde psikolojik sorunlar yaşıyorlar. Evlilik hayatlarında ya aynısını yapıyorlar ya da çok pasif bir kişilik geliştiriyorlar. Bunu da sorgulamak lazım. Gerçekten çocuğu için mi kalıyoruz yoksa ikinci kazançları mı var?

■ **Nedir ikinci kazançlar?**

Eşine karşı bağımlılık geliştirmiştir. Alışkanlıklarından vazgeçemiyorlar. Eşinin maddi imkânlarından yoksun olma korkusu yaşıyorlar. Bunu gibi bir neden ikinci kazançtır. Bir kadının o kadar şiddet görmesine rağmen niçin evli kalır?

■ **Kadın anne olduğunda kadınlığın unutturur mu?**

Evet, var böyle bir şey. Rollerini bir kısıfati gibi düşünürler. Değerye ev kayıatellerine kıymırsınız. Bizim rollerimiz de aynen böyle. Kimlik bir bütündür. Ben Filiz olarak eşim,

annem, evladım, kardeşim, arkadaşım, damımsamım. Ben damımsanlık rolümü eve getirirken diğer rollerim zara girir. Kadınlara, eplerinin yanında anne rolünden sıyrılması gerekiyor. O zaman eşine de annesi gibi davranıyor kadın. Bundan şikayeti olan erkekler var. Ya da eşine bir baba gibi davranırsan, ona sürekli öğütler veren erkekler de var. Zaten bizim Türk toplumunda yetişkin balmak çok zor. Ya ebeveyn rol var ya da çocuk. Hepimizin içinde bu roller var. Aslında, ama yerine göre bu rolleri ortaya çıkarmak gerekiyor.

■ **Aldatmak çok yaygın, nedir bunun sebepleri?**

Mahalle dini yaşıyoruz. Bugün dindar kesimde niçin aldatmalar var? Çuvaldın biraz da kendimize batırılmıyor. Aldatmanın asla hiçbir gerekçesi olmaz. Erkek istiyorsa, 'Ben seni bakmış istiyorum, süslen' diyebilirim. Bunu dile getirmesine rağmen yapıyorsa da gıdıp aldatmayı seçmemeli. Evlilikte kimsenin aldatmak gibi bir lüksü yok. Eğer sen eşinde aradığını bulamıyorsan, yollarını ayırtmalısın. Kadınlara din adına evinde dahi baskılarıyla duruyorlar. Yok böyle bir şey! Hanımlar lütfen işi bu boyuta getirmesinler. Kadın zaten yaradılış itibarıyla zarifdir. Gündüz gormeye giderken süslenen hanımlar, akşam eve geldiklerinde epofman giyiyorlar. Neden? Evlilik saygı ve sevgiden ibarettir. İnsanın kendisine saygısı varsa karışandıkine de saygısı olmalıdır. Onun için erkekler ve kadınlar mutlak surette konuşmalıdır. Ama tek tarafı bakmamak lazım, erkekler de bakmalı olmalı.

■ **Kadınlar ve erkekler sürekli ilgisizlikten şikayetçi. Size de böyle şikayetler geliyor mu?**

İki tarafı da ilgisizlik oluyor zaman zaman. Ama bunlar bahaneler altında. Bütün gün evde çocuklarıyla ve ev işleriyle ilgilen kadın da şikayeti. Bütün gün işyerinde çalışan erkek de. Eşler arasında paylaşım olmalı, en azından yemek masasında konuşmalıdır.

■ **Eşler niçin birbirleriyle konuşmuyorlar?**

Çünkü konuşmaya üteniyorlar. Aslında ne söylediklerini değil, nasıl söylediklerini çok önemli. En başta dinlemeyi beceremiyor, konuşmayı da tabii.

www.ayshadergi.com 71

Figure13

Ala lezzetşinaz

ORTAKÖY / Waffle

Merhaba sevgili okuyucularımm.. Bu ay sizi İstanbul'un en sevilen yerlerinden biri olan Ortaköy'e götüreceğim. Ayrıca Zeynep Hanım hikayelerinizi nasıl kurabiyelere dönüştürüyor hep beraber göreceğiz...

Saliha Merve KARA
Gastronomi Editörü

KUMPIR

Ortaköy denince ilk akla kumpir geliyor daha sonra da rengarenk şekerlemelerle waffle... İzciler kumpirini alıp, sokakta ellerinde yiceltilirler, yada etrafı caddeler mevcut, fakat deniz kenarında bulunan banklarda oturarak yemek ayrı bir zevk. Kumpirden size birazcık bahsetmek istiyorum...

Kumpir, Anadolu'nun bazı kesimlerinde "patates" kelimesinin karşılığı olarak kullanılmakta beraber, sonunda fırınlanmış patatesin ezilmesi ile yapılır bir Türk yemektir.

Teredin olarak patates özel fırınlarla pişirildikten sonra kabuğu yanılır. Çoğu zaman içi miktarını arttırmak için bir başka patates daha kesilerek içine yarıya veya tamamı bula eklenir. İçine tuz ve toz biber veya mayonez eklenip karıştırılarak edilir. Klasik olarak kabu-

ğının içerisinde servis edilir. Genellikle sade bulutun üzerine çeşitli meze ve soslar konur.

En yaygın servis biçimi de patatese rendelenmiş kasar peyniri katıştırılır, bulamama sosu patatesin içine döğünür ve üzerine rus salatası koyularak yapılır. Bunların dışında mısır, ayıncı, beçel, mantar veya çeşitli mezelele veya ağır tadına göre çeşitli malzemelerle de yapılabilir. Çoğunlukla kumpir ve mayonez gibi soslarla lezzetlendirilerek sunulur.

Kumpirini yerken midenizde waffle için de muthaka yer ayırın. Bir bütün waffle yiyeceğinizde bile küçük bölmelemleri rica ederek arkadaşlarınızla paylaşabilirsiniz. Küçük küçük ve yan yana sıralanmış wafflelerden

Figure14



Figure15



suitable for proper veiling. If you compensate of one, the next one comes. The environment is so effective for example I accepted a gift, it was so pretty but not suitable for veiling. The more I wore it, the more it became prettier. After a while, I realized myself and gave up wearing it.

Figure21: The exposal and the stance of the woman is not suitable. However this is a magazine, we can not criticise. The two exposals belong to the same model. Maybe it is tried to say 'An unveiled woman can dress like this', or vice versa. When she covers her head, the attractiveness of the exposal decreases, I think. The make-up makes her more eye-catching. However they should not give such a message that a veiled woman can dress like an unveiled one. The former can not wear the latter's garments commonly. By the way, we have nefis and we like them. Environment is so important and people should warn the other. There is afterlife and if somebody says 'This looks so nice on you' I can enjoy to wear it even if it is not suitable.

Figure22: I see veiled women like them outside. Sunglasses are on top, peep toe shoes and tight models of garments are used. I do not like it. It is not appropriate for veiling. Our problem as veiled women should not be being modern but living a religious life.

The Discussions of P2

General comments about the magazines: If you look at from the point of Islam, these magazines and all the stuff inside are unnecessary. It is a total waste. However if it is necessary, the faces should be blurred or covered, only the garments should be put forward, etc. Such an example, in some pages, they only expose the products, without using a model. It is more suitable. Anyway, this is commercial. I do not know the editors of these magazines even if they are religious or properly veiled. The people should have a high income to live this represented lifestyles. I guess they address only the wealthiers and I do not think that they are veiled consciously.

These are for the wealthy women who are veiled due to the environment and the traditions. If you just ask people about these magazines stepping into the public, you can not see any veiled women uses these represented veiling components. I'm young and recently veiled but I even did not see these magazines. A skirt exposed here is 1347 TL and no Turkish woman goes and buys it for that price. For example the court shoes of Roman are 498 TL shown here. Let's go to Kemeraltı and buy it for 20 or 30 TL. It looks the same. It does not mean to be dressed expensively if you are veiled. All these are made to satisfy the unsatisfied emotions of that kind of women.

Figure16



Figure17



Figure18



Figure19



A scarf branded Methew Williams is 500 TL. If she is rich enough she could buy. Kayra branded dress is 174 TL and it is a more balanced price I think. At the market, tolerable quality skirts are priced out 50-60 TL approximately. However the producers load the costs on the products coming from promotion. I see such kind of articles talking about issues like ‘Sexuality in Islam’ in these magazines. These topics are discussed in catechisms too. However it is nice to see these issues discussed in these magazines, too. Also there are articles about ‘How to make jewellery?’ or ‘How to cook?’. All the magazines have this content. The only difference here is the subject, the veiled woman. I think, they can pose for these magazines to exhibit their talent, like cooking, etc.

Figure23: *This exposal reveals the fact that Islam or being veiled is not a barrier against having elegant wedding ceremonies and entertaining the guests. It means that it is not only for wealthiers.*

Figure24: *She is veiled but her glance and the shape of her mount is weird, I mean what does it mean? It is also valid for the next photos. These models never represents the veiled women of real life. She should not pose like that, ridiculous, like she is wearing bikini and posing. There are women who portray this image but it is not appropriate. They do not represent Islam. They should not expose the model juicily if it is about the garments. By the way, people know that these models are not veiled in their real life and I do not think that any consciously veiled woman pose for a magazine like this. They also publish fashion magazine so they do not prefer to use ordinary people. To take attantion, the body or the fame of the woman is important. On the other hand, the faces should be closed or blurred. If a man looks at this magazine, he can not be interested with a woman whose face is blurred but these poses, glances and stances make women more attractive even in the veil.*

Figure25: *It is a magazine for veiled women, that’s not the case, the hairdressing. A veiled woman does not make her hair like this. Is it just for ladies, or not? We do not know...*

Figure26: *Zeynep Babacan is a beautiful lady but it is so attractive to make her eye lashes like this. The mascara level is high. It is nice but is it appropriate if a man looks at this magazine? By the way she is in a meeting and people see her. She dresses loosely but the tunic should be longer. However there are different degrees of being veiled. She could feel herself responsible in front of others due to her husbands political statue and choose to be dressed like this, to take attantion. She can prefer these kind of garments of veiling fashion, not ordinary ones. Statue*

changes women's attiring styles. I know people in my close environment who gave up their veiling and headscarf since their husbands were accepted into military.

Figure27: It is a metal necklace but when you look you can not understand easily what it is written, Allah or Muhammed? It is obviously a religious symbol. I think it should be used, it is nice. The headscarf and veiling give the message but it is nicer to use this kind of accessories than using the ones look like the sign of the cross. Veiled women should prefer these types. She can use other types too but this is more compliant with the veiling. The accessories like shoes, etc. should be also compliant with veiling. A woman should prefer to wear court shoes but it makes noise and not suitable. The smell, stance, glance, all of them are attractive. She should wear a perfume but avoid its smell to be spreaded over. The veiling includes all of them, not only attiring. For example, when this metal necklace has a sunstroke on it, it would shine and take attention. A veiled woman should be so careful about every detail on her. Even she is practicing it properly, she does not show her accessories by the way.

Figure28: A young woman, age between 13-14, who has been veiled recently and makes an effort to get used to it should prefer to use this yellow coat, this factoid color. She can use that kind of garments at home or to fancy up for her husband.

Figure29: Veiled women can share their stories like this, for Islam. She has been veiled recently and she is in the limelight. Her veiling style is normal under these conditions, according to her environment. You can not expect a lot from the famous women. Islam orders to cover the hair, forbids to pluck eyebrows and the make-up. She covers her hair but will be held responsible for the latter ones. It is a matter of choice...

Figure30: The ARMANI jacket is 1450 TL, The ARMANI pants are 647 TL, The ARMANI black tunic is 1450 TL. They are so nice and suit on her. There is no problem if you can afford it. However, I do not give 150 TL for a scarf if it costs me 50 TL one way or another. Even if I had a high salary, I did not choose the former but these women do not have enough time to shop, their choices are limited, they have to choose quickly. This jacket is 1450 TL. What does it include, gold? By the way, some women buy them if she likes, if she has enough economical power or if she feels herself different when she wears it. However, if it is close to 'israf', she should avoid it. She can spend that Money for the poor people.

Figure23



Figure24



Figure25



Figure26



Figure30



The Discussions of P3

General comments about the magazines: These magazines do not represent a range of mahrem issues. When you look at them, everything is openly in sight. They do not appeal to mahrem Muslim lifestyle and they are based on fashion and consumption. By the way, I like lots of them and desire to buy. However, the prices are so high. If the prices are decreased, women of each income group can buy the exposed products. On the other hand, the wealthier says 'I do not like to buy a product which is bought by everyone'...

The wealthiers struggles to buy the exposed products and as long as it is favorite and it looks nice. When you look at the whole; the prices, images and garments, you understand that these are for a specific group of veiled women, the wealthiers. They are encouraged to spend and consume. Also they share the veiled women stories to make the others familiarised since there are people who can not internalize the idea of veiling. They are used to be unveiled and looking at and considering these role models exposed in the magazines can be a step for them to internalize.

Figure31: The image is really nice but one of my sensibilities is the style of scarf tying. She ties is loose without using a pin. Her ears can be revealed. Sometimes I tie like this but bond it from inside as I know that it will be loosened up. My second

sensibility is the hemline. I know that it is forbidden among namahrems if it exceeds four-fingers above the ankles. This image has nothing to do with the proper veiling but is liked by nefis. I do it, too. The court shoes are not suitable but we wear it since it is fashion even if our health does not hand.

Figure32: Here, only the lady in white called my attantion. Her apparel is stylish and proper for veiling. The harmony of the components is nice. She neither compensate of veiling nor of her elegancy. She is succeeded to be dressed loosely in an elegant environment. She could also have tied her scarf looser. These women can be role models for the other women who have weak religious belief, who are rich but desire to be veiled, who have such a kind of thought that they can not be chic in those environments if they become veiled. However, we should not compensate of veiling regardless of the environment.

Figure33: I can easily see her hair. She has not taken any caution for that. There is no difference between the lady next and her. You should act just to do it. Her eyebrows are plucked and she has a make-up. That is not suitable.

Figure34: I know that Fatma Şahin always dressed properly even if she is not veiled. I have never seen a kind of strapless apparel on her. She always chooses to wear two-piece suits. Her accessories are in harmony with her apparel. There is a say ‘A Muslim’s heart shines on her/his face’. When I look at her I see it.

Figure35: I know that Sami Yusuf said ‘I performed funeral prayer of all women when I met my wife’. I hope he is sincere in this ‘ahir zaman’. I think veilingmagazines should share this kind of topics, not magazine topics. If this is a lifestyle magazine for Muslim people, it should include informative articles and photos butthere is no need to full the all page with visuals. It changes the purpose. People desire to buy these magazines to learn ‘This month, which celebrity dressed what?’. The purpose should be to make people more conscious. However they do not do that but do the opposite with high colors, high print quality, etc.

Figure36: The models are usually blonde or brown-haired, colored eyed, Western type, tall, slim, etc. They do no represent the Turkish women. They are used since everybody desires to see herself well-groomed. It means having a beautiful and smooth face, the eyebrows are plucked, make-up is on, razor-sharped tied scarf,ironed and fitted apparel on, the flesh would not bulge out of the apparel, the yoke would not come to attantion, etc. In this way, everyone likes to see her dream infront of her in these exposals. This is why they choose these models. That apparel

Figure31



Figure32



Figure33



Figure34



Figure35



Figure36

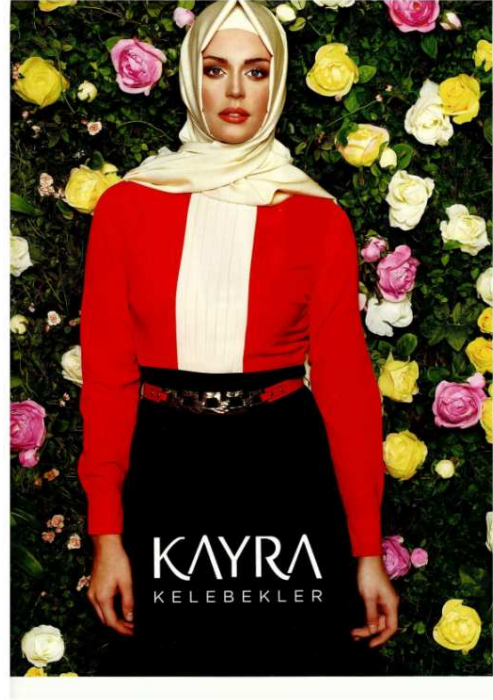


Figure37



Figure38



fits on her but when you like and buy it, it does not fit on you since you are not like her and

live a disappointment! It is a total inducing for consumption. They offer these Magazines make them dress those garments. However if they had used ordinary women who are not well-groomed, it would not have called attention. These magazines are for a specific group, obviously.

Figure37: *Why her glares are like this? To be attractive? It is not nice as it calls attention in an inappropriate way. However the image is nice. The garment says 'Look at me!'. According to our traditions, you can only wear such kind of garment only in a special ceremony like wedding. You can not walk in streets in this apparel. The veiled women dress like this casually make it to show their wealth. It does not matter how much I'm wealthy, I do not dress like this casually. It is a little bit about lifestyle too. It is about to overcome their inferiority complex or to prove their difference. The environment, culture and status are so important in terms of dressing style. We can only be chichi like this in special ceremonies but those women have a lot of women dressing like this in their close environment. They dress like this chichi to keep up with their counterparts.*

Figure38: *It is very obvious that she tries to be different. This skirt is like a skirt used at home, casually. When she harmonises it with other components including scarf, accessories and handbag, she makes a difference and it seems nice. The purpose is combination but it fits on her revealing her breast shape. It is not suitable. By the way, we all try to make harmonisation, combination. However it is not needed to follow the fashion to make it. You can do it with proper components of veiling if you feel comfortable inside of them.*

Figure39: *The tying style is loose and without a pin. The ears and hair can be revealed. The pants also reveals her leg shape. This type of tying style is so popular now, with the help of a shawl. The shawl became popular adventitiously since women who became veiled recently find something easy with it. It has no need to be ironed, no slipping, you can easily tie and go. Lots of women choose it due to its comfort but some of them choose it due to its quality since they are usually made of silk. They are commonly one colored and call more attention, I guess.*

Figure40: *The harmony calls attention. It is due to the beauty of the accessory, the necklace. By the way, I say 'What a pity!' when I see the prices. To give 300-400 TL for one piece of component... You can spend it for outer-garments like topcoats as*

Figure39



we usually wear them. It symbolizes a lot, covers the inner-garments, prevents to reveal the body shape. However it costs high, to spend 100-150 TL for one scarf. I do not buy Casharel since it does not worth to spend that amount of money for a scarf but I accepted a gift and using it, too... This kind of accessories including Arabic letters or 'Ayet-el Kürsi (a versicle of Qur'an)' etc. are popular just due to the image. It looks nice. The women who use them, I guess, try to reflect their religious belief. I like 'و (Arabic-waw letter)' and use a necklace of it. On the other hand, it is not so suitable to materialize the versicles, etc. However, if she wants to be protected she can wear it as an accessory; 'Allah' wording, 'nazar duası (pray for evileye)', etc. I like them. They give spiritual power to the one who puts them on. However a very chic lady should use it for different purposes, not for the ones I mentioned above.

Figure41: *So chichy components, loose scarf tyings and same styles of scarves everytime! We like it and we buy it, by the way! By consuming, we empower this fact and at every turn we want the limits to be enlarged. These unsuitable styles are normalized and the veiled women increase in number in terms of buying and consuming these. In parallel, the veiling fashion magazines increase in number, too. When the first magazine pops they say 'These women are hungry! Let's make something!' They change products related with the volume of consumers, like the same happening in the stores, too. These magazines function as a guide.*

Figure42: *The veiled women like this woman, I guess she is a cook, they are on Tv like Mehtap Tv or DOST Tv. They talk about Islam, veiling, etc. and try to make people more conscious. I like it. The women like us should represent the veiled woman image properly like this, in the magazine or TV.*

The participants discussed the rise of veiling fashion as a phenomenon, the reason of changing consumption behaviors of veiled women, the contemporary image and identity construction of veiled women via scanning the content and the material of the veiling magazines, combined and reviewed their previous arguments mentioned above. According to the participants, this veiling magazines can be a guide about fashion or women issues but they are not representing a proper Muslim lifestyle and a proper type of veiling garments. Magazines are found to be commercial and encouraging women to consume more which can be called *israf* from the point of Islam. They also connect veiling with other aspects of life by

pointing music (Yusuf İslam), culture and knowledge (sufism or morality), woman's different roles in lifetime (being mother, being wife) and handcrafts (cooking), etc while discussing the effects of fashion and changing lifestyles.

It is believed that the fashion and the consumption style exposed in the magazines are only related with the high income veiled women's lifestyle and the target group is the wealthiers. The prices of the magazines (9 TL) and the price of introduced products are found so high that they can not be affordable by the low & middle income group which the participants belong to. Some of the participants claim that rich women are not consciously veiled and their philosophy of lifestyle is based on proposing their wealth and statue by consuming more and more and by using the veiling as an image to prove that they are also religious. By the way, it is found natural for the target group that it is a need to follow this kind of publications and veiling stylists to keep up with the unveiled but wealthy counterparts and to be informed about the fashion, trends and brands.

On the other hand, the participants proposed having a high-status or representative role among the society like being a politician or a politician's wife, being famous or being a hard-working business woman as an excuse to compensate of veiling in some aspects. They claimed that these kind of women do not have much time to consider all the issues or duties about veiling due to the lack of time based on their fast lifestyles and intense work pressure. They stressed that this fact leads these women to choose and apply the veiling fast, in other words, entering the first branded store and buying what they liked and go by considering their statue and image. It is found convenient for these women to compensate of veiling by keeping up fashion under the environmental pressure of being modern, chic or elegant to do justice to their statue or even wealth.

Then again, it is claimed that wealthy veiled women try to differentiate themselves from the other veiled women by creating a modern and chic veiled women image including the message '*We are both rich, stylish and religious*' by using the adviced or exposed products with the help of magazines or any other promotion tools. It is found that converting this type of Western lifestyle into a Muslim one helps their identity construction process to be modern, elegant but Muslim at the same time. It is also related with overcoming the inferiority complex

coming from the past prejudices about veiled women. It is severely criticised attiring prominently, plucking the eye-brows, changing the nature via aesthetics or make-up, using overdone make-up and acting with striking stances, glares and smiles which is recognized on wealthy veiled women.

Also, it is found that, the participants commonly pointed the same products or veiled women while discussing the veiling fashion. Such an example, they pointed and discussed the same figures separately; a politician's wife or herself such as *Zeynep Babacan (wife of Economics Minister)* and *Fatma Şahin (Family and Social Policies Minister)*, well-known veiled women such as *Cemalnur Sargut (a women sufi thinker)* and *Ümit Meriç (the daughter of Cemil Meriç)*, the famous women like celebrities, *Angeline Jolie (actress of Hollywood)*, *Pelin Karahan (Turkish TV series actress)*, *Serra Karaçam (anchorwoman, veiled at a later time)*. It is stressed by the participants that they have more effect on women since they are well-known and followed as role models.

Furthermore, it is found that the veiling magazines turns into an instrument to follow the veiling fashion and this habit is related with the high consciousness about fashion, consumption and the self, to prove having impeccable taste and adequate income to consume what is desired. Even if the participants confess that they did not hear or follow these kind of magazines before, when they analyzed them closely, their negative prejudices mentioned before were softened and they stressed that not only high income veiled women but also the veiled women belong to other level of income groups need and desire to be dressed tastefully and to be beautiful as a woman. Hence, the magazines are found to be more proper if they decrease their price, introduce more affordable products, strenghten the content with informative articles about Islam and share less photos and advertisements.

As it is considered that these are commercial magazines, the reason of using Western type of models is explained due to the need of attraction. Even if the participants criticised the fact that the models do not represent the actual Turkish veiled women image and they are quite Western-type, on the other hand they criticise the existence of an ordinary veiled woman inside of this kind of commercial publishings. However, if it is about an informative subject like cooking or knitting, etc., it is found suitable to allow the ordinary veiled women to pose for magazines to

strengthen the veiled women image and to break down the negative prejudices (being illiterate and backward minded) about ordinary veiled women.

It is stressed that being veiled is not just about attiring but it is also about living a proper Muslim lifestyle and displaying the right veiled women image. It is commonly mentioned that changing attiring practices are highly related with the changing pressures coming from the close and broad environment including highlighted lifestyles and ceremonies practiced in elegant places, consumption culture imposed by especially the magazines and fashion and the exploitation of woman psychology or instinct consists of the need of feeling the self beautiful or attractive in the eye of the others and to be dressed via a variety of garments, accessories and beautification techniques.

On the other hand, by analyzing the images and visuals exposed in the magazines, the participants mostly found the exposed visuals of veiling garments inappropriate for a proper veiling. They criticised the fact that core meaning of veiling is being wiped away under the pressure of fashion and veiling fashion sustains this transformation. They commonly considered the visuals becoming an example of inappropriate veiling. When they discussed it in the light of Islam, the participants did not hesitate to confess that, at this *ahir zaman*, there can not be a proper veiling since the veiling garments that are served to the consumers are not commonly produced by concerning the veiling rules in Islam.

Furthermore, it is stressed that almost all the visuals in the magazines are an example of inappropriate veiling and veiled women are tried to be seduced by this consumption and fashion pressure and culture. As it is mentioned that it is not so easy to find proper veiling garments, also with high quality and adequate price, the veiled women as consumers commonly tend towards to the convenient stores and brands that do not actually serve for veiled women. Since they can not find what they actually desire and need, they do not consider their attiring proper and satisfactorily.

The magazines, as a promotion instrument of veiling fashion, are also blamed to sustain these undesirable circumstances, help veiling turn into the subject of fashion and materialism and to banalize this inappropriateness. The glares, stances and make-up of the models used for advertisements and images are criticised to be seductive and not to reflect the real veiled woman image and to have an affect on

changing behaviors of veiled women. It is believed that if a veiled woman wear more ornamented and glossy apparel, it will also affect her behaviors and make her act more attractive even in *namahrems*, which is forbidden in Islam. If her desires to be attractive rise once, she will probably tend towards and consume that kind of glossy apparel in each time and compensate of veiling rules on behalf of keeping up with veiling fashion. With the help of fashion and consumption, it is claimed that veiling deviate from its core aim, veiling garments loose their symbolical meanings and turn into a commodity of consumption and fashion.

The veiling components are commonly criticised in terms of size and color. For example, it is found that the participants does not prefer to choose some attractive colors, such as red, based upon religious warnings they believe in via hadiths or sunnah. As the core meaning of veiling is to make women unattractive among *namahrems*, glossy colors, tight sizes, scarf tying styes, noisy high heels are severely criticised. Even if they are found elegant, favorite, etc. the participants try to avoid themselves from buying and dressing those kind of components having these qualities. Based on the participants general arguments about veiling fashion via scanning the veiling fashion magazines, the commonly criticised aspects of veiling fashion and their effects on veiling garments and veiled women are summerized in **Table 2** below:

Table 2. The Commonly Criticised Aspects of Veiling Fashion and Their Effects on Veiling Garments and Veiled Women

<i>Commonly Criticised Aspects of Veiling Fashion</i>	Negative Aspects	Positive Aspects
The Veiling Fashion Magazines	-Waste and unnecessary from the point of Islam -Not representing the <i>mahrem</i> lifestyle of Muslims -Obscurity of religiousness level of the owners/editors of magazines -Prices are high,	-Functioning as a guide -Helps women to calm their <i>nefis</i> down via scanning the content -Content about Islamic issues is informative and necessary -Luxury or living

	-Being highly commercial -Promoting fashion and consumption -Rendering the products more attractive with high print colors and qualities -Visuals and ads are high in volume -Inappropriate images normalize the inappropriate veiling styles and damages the core aim of veiling and the proper veiled woman image -Helping normalization process by being affected via these promotions, increasing consumption and sustaining the system and producers -Making the veil attractive and shifting its aim -Informative content about Islamic issues are low in volume -Target segment is the wealthiers -Photographers can be male	elegantly can also be for the Muslims
The models and celebrities/famous women	-Models are Western-type, not representing real Turkish women -Not blurring or covering the faces -Using the veiling and the scarf unconsciously, without	-Well-known and properly veiled women can be encouraging role models for the others -Exposing the veiled and unveiled women in the same figures by giving

	obeying the general rules -Using make-up -Plucking eyebrows -Changing the nature via aesthetics or make-up and giving damage to health -To fancy up in front of <i>namahrem</i> -Striking stances, glares and smiles	the message of enjoying the moment without mutual prejudices -Strengthening veiled woman image by exhibiting veiled women who have talents or high-statues
The Veiling Garments and Supplementaries	-High prices of the brands -Eye-catching colors -Fitting styles that reveals the body shape -Tight pants -Unconsidered ankle-lengths -Short and tight blouses -Court shoes that makes noise by walking -Loosely tied scarfs that reveals the neck and hair -Fitting scarf tying styles that is not hung down on breasts -Transparent fabrics -Faux boun imitates <i>Pharaos</i> -Human figures on apparels -Perfumes used among <i>namahrem</i> s -Glossy accessories -Commonly not being suitable garments for casual attiring -Materializing the holy	-Using and combining accessories symbolizing the holy helps to feel spiritually protected -Helps to have an idea for creating individual styles

CONCLUSION

Covering the body, which becomes different according to nature, climate, seasons, culture, traditions, the religion and beliefs, ethical and moral values, sexes, duties, economy and aesthetical preferences is one of the ancient vital needs for humans throughout the history and this need turns into a religious order for Muslim men and women when it is discussed in the light of Islam (Erdoğan, 2008: 53; Duman, 2001). For Muslim women, clothing becomes a religious practice under Islamic orders which differentiates them from their counterparts. However, this bodily practice is not affected by only religious duties for Muslim women but started to be managed under a variety of pressures coming from the modern life circumstances in the last decades.

This research has analyzed the veiled Turkish women's changing clothing practices in the light of veiling fashion for the post 1980-period, in Turkey. Firstly, the meaning of veiling, which is defined as the first house of Muslims (Meriç, 1987: 30-33) in Islam, was researched and interpreted according to the three main resources; *Qur'an*, *hadiths* and *sunnah*. The meaning and reasons for veiling were analyzed and discussed with the help of different verses mentioned in the surahs of 'An-Nur' and 'Al-Ahzab' and the interpretations of *imams* like *Buhari*, *Tirmizi* and *Muslim* (Manaz, 2008: 53) and some *müfessirs*. It is found that Qur'an gives keywords or general statements and draws a general frame to make a standart arrangement for veiling which does not change from time to time. However, traditional practices and *şifahî* (oral) culture also become important to understand the veiling issue (Bardakoğlu, 2005: 12-16).

According to the research results, all the participants are in agreement of the Islamic orders for veiling (Erdoğan, 2008: 54-55), are aware of the rule of *setr-i avret*, covering their *furuc* (*private parts*) (Apaydın, 2001; Duman, 2001) and Qur'an, *hadiths* and *sunnah* since they are educated and highly conscious about Islamic belief and accept and practice the veiling voluntarily. As they are all *Hanefîs*, they accept and practice the general acceptance of the rule that the face, hands and feet are excluded from the veiling (*Mevdudî*, III: 471; *Sabunî*, II: 169-184; Beşer, 1987: 95-100; Dalgın, 2004: 299-319; Öztürk, 1995: 615-16) and the necessity to

save their *ziynets*. (Köksal, 2005/4: 393-409). The visibility of different practices and styles about veiling and headcovering is based on individual interpretations related with the affiliated religious sect's agreed norms. Becoming aware and conscious about veiling is related with education that leads women to internalize this practice voluntarily.

Also it is supported by the participants that Islamic orders about veiling strengthened the statue and identity of women among the society in the first years of Islam (Ateş, 1996: 331-346, Bardakoğlu, 2005: 12-13), which continues today, and the veiling used to be related with freedom, valuableness, piety and innocence by the veiled women. It also differentiates the veiled women from the others and signifies the frontiers over against *namahrem*s by adding sacredness to women's personality and by covering the sexual feminine stimuli (Bazergan, 1998: 226-35; Ay, 2001). Thus, veiling strengthens their perception about themselves with the help of inner moral meanings.

Since this research analyses the post 1980 period in Turkey, the rise of Islamism has an important effect on changing Islamic paradigms as it is regarded as a reservoir of thoughts and political movement native to modern times and became the subjective interpretation of Islam circled and defined by today's life's conditions (Türküne, 2012: 54-71). Muslims, adopting the identity of 'Islamist', started to criticise the tradition and tried to find solutions to the life problems by referencing the main Islamic resources via re-interpreting Islam according to the needs of modern time (Atalar, 2009: 210; Akdoğan, 2000: 311). For veiled women, it is found that, struggling between the old traditions and new interpretations causes a dilemma about the veiling issue. However, re-interpretations smooths the way of handling the modern pressures coming from the environment.

Considering the research results, to understand the changing paradigms of Muslims in the last decades, Islamism, Islamic revival, Muslim consumers, the rise of Islamic capital, lifestyle and consumption space should be evaluated under the changing economic, political and socio-cultural factors that come into view after 1980-period, in Turkey. It is found that, the political proceedings, the laws, bans and regulations in the history of Turkish Republic and developing a new woman identity via Westernization project created some problems for the practice of veiling. The veil

and *headscarf* became the issue of politics and the *türban* issue arose after the migrations of Muslims from rural to urban for education and employment (Vojdik, 2010; Aldıkaçtı Marshall, 2008; Turam, 2008; Çınar, 2008).

The visibility of *covered* women on the university campus and the public places was regarded as an Islamic threat' or *irtica*(Çınar, 2008; Kalaycıoğlu, 2005) and *Türbanbans* at the universities(Toprak and Uslu, 2009; Çarkoğlu, 2010) also ignited the wick of discussions about veiled women's attiring choices. However, it is found that there is no difference for a veiled woman to cover the head with a *başörtüsü* or *türban* if she applies the main Islamic orders for veiling. It is perceived and differentiated by the other groups in terms of high consciousness about religion and politics which creates radical thoughts and practices about veiling issue. The segregation between public and private places and excluding the veiled women from the former has a changing effect on the veiling practices of women since the veiling is needed in the public places, not the private ones.

The discrimination between women like 'veiled' and 'unveiled' or the *pious* and the *secularist*(Turam, 2008) creates prejudices in each group for the other due to the unlike lifestyle choices. It causes the rise of neighborhood pressure for the former by the latter, and *vice versa*, to feel secure about the sustainability of the preferred lifestyle. It is being suffered to break the wrong prejudices and perceptions produced for veiled women as being '*öcü, örümcek beyinli, cemaatçi*' and '*oldfashioned, backwardminded, illiterate*' which have a direct and negative effect on the perception of Muslim/veiled woman identity and image (Toprak and Uslu, 2009). Being excluded or humiliated causes the need to be accepted from the 'others' and it leads to the shifting paradigms, practices and compensations about veiling issue

On the other hand, rising movements and discussions about feminism and women's rights have also raised the awareness of veiled women about their identity, personality and image which lead them to act against the undesired circumstances or enforcements that affect their religious perception, lifestyle and daily practices. Furthermore, the other groups' perception and awareness about the Muslim groups and veiled women raised in sync and sustained the increasing visibility of veiled women, their voice and issues among society. Islamic women intellectuals showed up to discuss veiling issue and the status of women in Islam (Çınar, 2008; Aldıkaçtı

Marshall, 2008) and started to claim their rights aloud. It is found that veiled women severely agree with the fact that head-cover is a significant part of their religious identity and participating in community life by performing their religious duty is their incontestable right (Toprak and Uslu, 2009; Duran, 2010). They desire to be in the business life and public places with their veils without being exposed to any discrimination.

In accordance with the research results, after 1980's, it is found that the lifestyles changed among the religious groups, too, in a modern way. Veiled women's demands and perceptions changed due to the rising technological improvements, income levels, tastes and socio-cultural changes that rise in the broad and close environments. Adopting the self to the metropolitan-modern city life or migration from rural to urban (Oğuzoğlu and Kibaroglu, 2009; Yiğit, 2012) is a highly important factor on the changing choices of veiled women. Islamist groups started to incorporate into these changes with *social mobilization* and reproduced and reconfigured their Islamic identity (Kuran, 2010) to catch the *zeitgeist* (Mellon, 2006). Islamic parties' visibility and regulations (Duran, 2010), *tarikats*' rising power (Çınar, 2008; Alam, 2009; Criss, 2010) and their periodicals, newspapers, TVs, and radio channels (Balkan Ekşi, 2008) are effective in this process which make the Muslims more conscious about their rights and demands.

It is severely agreed on the fact that, the total veiling including headscarf is a kind of trademark of Muslim women but in the consumption culture, the veiling practiced under different styles, on behalf of fashion and consumption, became the symbol of different income levels, power and status (Göle, 1997), lifestyle and age groups for veiled women in the last years. The global Islamic fashion industry is growing day by day since Islam is the second largest religion in the world and the half of the world population consists of women including a huge number of Muslim women whose demands are rising with the help of increasing income (www.ttistextiledigest.com, 2012; muslimvillage.com, 2011). This is why the industry, producers, entrepreneurs, designers, etc. are drawing attention to this new consumer segment and its profitability. Veiled women, consciously or not, make use of this advantage to explain and sustain their identity.

When it comes to Turkey, which is a largely Muslim populated country including a high level of both young and female population, clothing and veiling turns into a subject that should be investigated closely by examining the women's religious, feminine and consumer identity concerns together. Also, the textile industry is powerful in Turkey to meet the demands of consumers who have different tastes. Rising income levels of Muslim consumers in Turkey feed the sector with new demands loaded by religious but also modern-life concerns. At this point, it is found that, the producers discovered the hungry Muslim consumer communities by identifying their new needs and demands, designing products for them and communicating with them. The industry created a veiling fashion system that sustains consumption by promoting the idea that the piety and fashion can be melt in the same pot for veiled women in modern styles (Gökarısel and Secor, 2010a; Sandıkçı ve Ger, 2007).

In reference to the research results, in the last decades, because of the changing consumption habits, luxury, fashion and brand addiction, the core message of veiling seem to be converted and adapted to form a new veiled woman image. Veiling components like angle-length overcoats and large scarves covering the whole head, chest and shoulders with muted, dark or neutral colors started to give way to the modern styles heavily based on Western style codes but re-interpreted under the religious clothing concerns for veiled women due to the rise of Islamic bourgeoisie's and young and educated urban women's demands to keep up the *zeitgeist*. The producers increased in number to supply for veiled women especially after 1990's in Turkey (Gökarısel and Secor, 2010b; Sandıkçı ve Ger, 2007; Gökarısel and Secor, 2010b).

Since the Islamic bourgeoisie developed a new taste (Sandıkçı and Ger, 2001) by being integrated with globalization, capitalism, conformism and modern lifestyles based on consumption culture, they also integrated into a new identity construction process including exhibiting new and modern but religious images, lifestyles and consumption patterns. The fashion industry changes body image and beauty ideals over time, consumers demand those products to reflect the preferred images and lifestyles (Al-Qasimi, 2010; Rocha *et al.*, 2005; Moody *et al.*, 2010; Apeagyei *et al.*, 2007) which veiled women are being affected, too. Also fashion turns into a

socializing agent and proposes social standards for the target segments. It is found that veiled women started to use veiling fashion components to identify and distinguish themselves, to negotiate their public images and to transfer religious meanings that they internalized (Law *et al.*, 2004; Piamphongsant and Mandhachitara, 2008) since they want to prove that they make their own decisions without being under males' pressure.

The new modern veiled woman image which is exposed, legitimized and privileged over the old ones by using fashion and media in this decade is both criticized and followed by veiled women to keep up with accepted and liked identity stereotypes and role models (Sandıkçı ve Ger, 2007). Veiled women started to redefine the frontiers between modernity and identity (Göle, 2000) to create new Muslim profiles under the veils (Göle, 2000). Self-expression, income and status claiming, seeking for pleasure and happiness through materials, engaging in social environments and business life started to occupy more place in veiled women's life (Ger and Belk, 1999; Mossinkoff and Corstanje, 2011; Plummer, 1974). Even if they continue to consult to males in their lives and apply their advices, it is found that they have much more right to speak about their life decisions as independent individuals.

This research examined and interpreted the reasons and effective factors lie behind the Turkish veiled women's changing clothing practices in the post 1980-period in Turkey, by entering the Turkish veiled women's *lifeworlds* via a qualitative deeper analysis. The women's consumer, religious and feminine identities were embraced together and examined in the light of rising veiling fashion phenomenon to uncover the women's *horizons* about the research questions. The research results and interpretations give a remarkable information about this new-born Muslim consumer segment's female members' changing consumption habits and introduces significant insights for all the actors in the market and industry including producers, entrepreneurs, suppliers, fashion stylists and designers, fashion magazine publishers, researchers, etc.

According to the results, it is revealed the fact that, as veiled female identities, these consumers are on the horns of a dilemma or ambivalence. They desire to live their religious duties freely without compensations but the modern life's circumstances and compulsory impositions have a direct effect on their consumption

choices. Firstly, the prejudices of others and the environment is highly effective on these changes. Even if they believe in and know what is the proper veiling style, they can compensate of it due to the environmental pressures. It is mentioned that being in business life and rising visibility in the public places pushes veiled women to choose more modern-western attiring styles and make veiling familiar to western type of dressing since the codes and norms in there are arranged in regard to secular paradigms. Hence, gaining the acceptance of others and not to be otherized, by compensating of religious norms, arise due to sustain the existence in those places.

However, leaving a part of religious practice related with veiling creates a hearth-searching for veiled women which make them uncomfortable about their choices. On the other hand, the *complex of inferiority* among veiled women lead them to prove the fact that they are not so different from an uncovered woman in terms of the needs, wants, demands of a woman, especially about attiring and the need of feeling beautiful or attractive due to carrying a feminine sexuality. Clothing seems to be the easiest way to keep up since it is visual and is loaded by messages. Veiled women's changing clothing choices help them to make their image closer to the modern uncovered counterparts', to break the effect of *alienation* and to prove that they are harmless (Aktaş, 2007: 36-37, 91). Hence, the producers and the new veiling fashion trend started to support them in this sense and veiled women started to take advantage of it.

Also, using different scarf tying and veiling styles and combinations of veiling related garments and pieces helps veiled women to differentiate and normalize themselves at the same time. Exhibiting the personal taste becomes the symbol of having an independent personality and it saves the veiled women from being anonymous. Furthermore, using modern pieces of veiling garments and styles, like silk shawls, colorful and tight models, is highly related with the youngers, low level of consciousness and high level of feminine sexual awareness. However, using traditional, simple, unstylish, loose and old-fashioned garments is related with the ones who have a high consciousness about religious orders, who are the members of a religious group and who have radical political thoughts. It is found that shifting from the latter to former style pushes women to make changes on the early chosen

lifestyle somehow and brings some religious compensations along (Sandıkçı ve Ger, 2007).

Furthermore, veiled women try to manage their image by imitating and stepping up the proper veiled woman image created by the Muslim female *role models* but the role models can be divided into two: the old traditional ones like the wives of The Prophet (Fidan, 2006: 137-41), and the new modern ones (Sandıkçı ve Ger, 2007) generated by the media. Coming closer to the latter and moving away from the former creates a tension on veiled women, in the shifting lifestyle process, if they are affected by the consumption culture since it is believed that they are responsible to carry the former image properly. However, it is found that, the modern pressures override the religious concerns if the veiled woman's visibility and participation to the modern life, public places and business life rises.

Secondly, from a consumer point of view, it is found that veiled women suffer from the costs and the lack of variety of the veiling garments. They find the veiling components, which are especially branded, highly expensive. These problems affect their consumption habits and style of veiling. Due to being not able to find proper garments, they try to combine unmatching components which make them look unstylish that they do not desire. On the other hand, among the veiled women, there is an unwritten but learned *veiling regime* (Lewis, 2006; Secor, 2002; Cooke et al, 2008) which highlights the watch-out points while practicing the veiling since it is a learned practice in time. It is found that, feeling comfortable in the garment is a very important factor to use it. Also, feeling happy by using a garment or a style, which means obeying the religious rules and appearing stylish at the same time, is very important to choose, buy and use the products for a long time. They commonly prefer to choose and buy their products from the real stores, not from the internet and they seek for a high product range.

Thirdly, the coherence of the product with veiling rules and the quality stands out firstly in the consumer decision process of veiled women. They have their own definition about the *quality* of the products. Obscuring the underwear marks and skin color is found to be a sign for a good product quality. Also, comfortable designs, which do not reveal body shape, not straiten the body, help unconstrained body move and fabrics, which prevent sweltering, keep cool, are thin but do not reveal the hair,

skin color or underwear marks, are highly sought for garments to buy and wear especially in different climates. Furthermore, they seek for healthy and halal products that do not harm especially the women's health of fertility since being mother is important and sacred for Muslim women. That is a serious problem for veiled women to find all these qualities in one product by combining a wide range of choices and low prices.

Fourthly, it is found that brand addiction is found to be low among the members of low & middle income level group and high prices are not related with quality. They are aware of the veiling brands and sometimes they buy branded ones especially to differentiate themselves from the lower income group members but usually they seek for good fabric and proper designs. Also, being in business life is a rising factor affecting veiled women's product choices in terms of quality and convenience. In addition, there is not a high store loyalty and they search for the needed garments touring from store to store due to the lack of variety and preferred quality standards. If they see or hear something against Islam when they consider the brands, they severely leave the brand.

Fifthly, monthly routine shopping does not exist in middle income level group and they usually shop when their needs rise. The discussed amounts of shopping are found not to be so high when it is compared with the Turkey Quality Market Research (Consumption Patterns) Report (www.itkib.org.tr, 2007) results and they do not usually lean towards expensive stores and expensive veiling garments. As it is found that some pieces, like topcoats, are sought and evaluated separately since they are more expensive than the other pieces and there seems to be a high involvement while choosing this piece of product. It is highlighted that veiled women adjust their budgets related with their specific needs and the necessity of the need.

Sixthly, there are a limited number of veiling brands in Turkey. To be called as a veiling brand, it is sought the necessity to produce proper veiling components only for veiled women. These brands are found to be trying to differentiate themselves by focusing on some components, like producing only scarf as AKER brand. However, they are severely criticized to seek for high revenues and not appealing to the all income levels. It is believed that lots of veiled women belong to middle & low income group in Turkey and their power is not improved enough to

demand and force the producers to produce what exactly they need. It is expected from the producers to lean to these groups' needs and wants more. Also the fashion designers, stylists and veiling fashion magazines are criticised due to the same reasons.

Due to the research results, it is found that even if the fashion is found to be wasteful or unnecessary (Kılıçbay and Binark, 2002) from the viewpoint of Islam, on the other hand, the veiled women do not hang back from evaluating what is favorite or mostly preferred by the others while they are shopping. They make their shopping being aware of the changing colors, fabrics or styles. It is stressed that it is a need to be dressed properly and nicely and being veiled is not a barrier against following fashion, demanding the latest products, high quality, affordable prices, a variety of choices and sophisticated designs or styles. Also, the youngers are following the fashion steadily, demand and consume more. The women's attiring changes due to their age, marital, social and economic status and it makes the veil also the issue of time and space (Huisman and Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2005; Stillman and Micklewright, 1992; Davary, 2009; Lewis, 2007; Lewis, 2006).

Furthermore, it is commonly criticised the fact that fashion is generally not appealing to veiled women since the fashion system is highly related with western lifestyles, secular codes and unveiled people and fashion is highly perceived to be related with wealth and luxury (Gökarısel and McLarney, 2010). Even if the fashion is found to be wasteful or unnecessary, when the *veiling fashion phenomenon* is introduced and let to be considered and discussed, it is found that the excuses of the are arranged in order by interpreting the *zeitgeist*, developing technology, women's rising statue and income, dictated images and identity stereotypes, being in business life, rising visibility in public spheres, circulating in a large environment, overcoming the alienation, the pressure of consumption culture and fashion, etc. The veiled women are aware of the veiling fashion and are affected by it somehow, consciously or unconsciously, even if they have a negative attitude for the fusion of veiling and fashion from the viewpoint of Islam.

In addition, the instruments like veiling fashion magazines which highlight and introduce the veiling fashion phenomenon to the segment are usually blamed for some reasons since they are not so different from the other generic ones in terms of

production, resources, distribution and reader expectations (Lewis, 2010). Firstly, it is believed that they provoke the veiled women for consumption, *israf* (waste, which is forbidden in Islam) and luxury. Their general aim is found to be not to inform readers about Islam or Islamic way of life but to make profits by seducing the veiled women as consumers in terms of consumption and expenditure. Secondly, target segment is found to be only the wealthiers. Lastly, the glossy photos, exposed Western-type models, chichy styles, commercial aims and modern veiled woman image exposed in them are found inappropriate from the viewpoint of Islam. On the other hand, they are found useful for making the veiled women informed about feminine issues if they increase the informative content and decrease their prices and visuals.

To sum, according to the research results, which can not be generalized for the whole due to the analysis technique of the research, the clothing practices of veiled women are changing under the rising effects summerized above. The main pressures or factors can be aligned as the adaptation of Western-type lifestyles into Islamic contexts, global consumption culture's, materialism's and fashion's pressures, visibility of Muslim women in public spheres and business life, rising modern veiled/Muslim woman image and rising income levels of Muslims. The religious identity of veiled women is dissolving due to the rising feminine and consumption identity concerns in the consumption culture, at modern times. Veiled women are being seduced by the fashion and consumption culture day by day and inappropriate religious practices in terms of veiling are banalized. With the help of discussed factors and effects above, the veiling deviate from its core aim, veiling garments loose their symbolical religious meanings and turn into a commodity of consumption and fashion that changes the veiled women's clothing practices in the light of veiling fashion phenomenon.

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APPENDICIES

Appendix 2. Thank You And Follow-Up Letter for Participant 1

TEŞEKKÜR VE TAKİP MEKTUBU

Değerli Katılımcı,

"Tesettür Modası, Tüketim Kültürü ve Kimlik: Tesettürlü Türk Kadınlarının Değişen Giyinme Pratiklerini Yorumlamaya Yönelik Kalitatif Bir Araştırma" isimli doktora teziminle ilgi olarak Eylül 2013 tarihinde İzmir Katip Çelebi Üniversitesi Balatçık Kampüsü Merkezi Ofisler'de yaptığımız yüz yüze görüşme için bana vakit ayırdığınız ve gösterdiğiniz özveri ile samimi paylaşımlarınız için en içten teşekkürlerimi sunarım.

Yaptığımız görüşme sonucu elde ettiğim veriler doktora tezimin çok değerli bir bölümünü oluşturmaktadır. Ekte görüşme kayıtlarının yazılı hale getirilmiş bir kopyası bulunmaktadır. Bu transkript tarafınızdan gözden geçirilip onaylandıktan sonra tezin veri analizi için bir baz oluşturacaktır. Sonuç olarak elde edilen veriler tez konusu ile ilişkilendirilip yorumlanacak ve yayınlanacaktır. Görüşme öncesinde bahsettiğim ve onayınızı aldığım gibi, araştırmada kişisel bilgilerinize (isim-soy isim, telefon numarası, adres vb.) asla yer verilmeyecek, ses kayıtları ve transkriptler üçüncü şahıslarla paylaşılmayacak ve saklı tutulacaktır. Sadece araştırma ile yayınlanacak olan bulgular gizlilik kapsamı dışındadır.

Lütfen ekteki transkripti gözden geçirmek üzere kısa bir zaman ayırınız. Yapacağınız herhangi bir değişiklik ya da düzeltme yoksa size verilen onay formunu ve bu mektubu imzalayarak tarafıma geri bildirim yapınız. Herhangi bir değişim yapmanız halinde sizinle 1 hafta içerisinde tekrar iletişime geçeceğim.

Tekrar samimi paylaşımlarınız için şükranlarımı sunarım.

En içten dileklerle.

Elif Deniz – Doktora Öğrencisi

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21.10.2013
Tarih/İmza

Appendix 2. Thank You And Follow-Up Letter for Participant 2

TEŞEKKÜR VE TAKİP MEKTUBU

Değerli Katılımcı,

"Tesettür Modası, Tüketim Kültürü ve Kimlik: Tesettürlü Türk Kadınlarının Değişen Giyim Pratiklerini Yorumlamaya Yönelik Kalitatif Bir Araştırma" isimli doktora tezimize ilgi olarak Eylül 2013 tarihinde İzmir Katip Çelebi Üniversitesi Balatçık Kampüsü Merkezi Ofisler'de yaptığımız yüz yüze görüşme için bana vakit ayırdığınız ve gösterdiğiniz özveri ile samimi paylaşımlarınız için en içten teşekkürlerimi sunarım.

Yaptığımız görüşme sonucu elde ettiğim veriler doktora tezimin çok değerli bir bölümünü oluşturmaktadır. Ekte görüşme kayıtlarının yazılı hale getirilmiş bir kopyası bulunmaktadır. Bu transkript tarafımızdan gözden geçirilip onaylandıktan sonra tezin veri analizi için bir baz oluşturacaktır. Sonuç olarak elde edilen veriler tez konusu ile ilişkilendirilip yorumlanacak ve yayınlanacaktır. Görüşme öncesinde bahsettiğim ve onayınızı aldığım gibi, araştırmada kişisel bilgilerinize (isim-soy isim, telefon numarası, adres vb.) asla yer verilmeyecek, ses kayıtları ve transkriptler üçüncü şahıslarla paylaşılmayacak ve saklı tutulacaktır. Sadece araştırma ile yayınlanacak olan bulgular gizlilik kapsamı dışındadır.

Lütfen ekteki transkripti gözden geçirmek üzere kısa bir zaman ayırınız. Yapacağınız herhangi bir değişiklik ya da düzeltme yoksa size verilen onay formunu ve bu mektubu imzalayarak tarafıma geri bildirim yapınız. Herhangi bir değişim yapmanız halinde sizinle 1 hafta içerisinde tekrar iletişime geçeceğim.

Tekrar samimi paylaşımlarınız için şükranlarımı sunarım.

En içten dileklerle.

Elif Deniz – Doktora Öğrencisi

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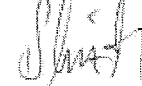
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26.10.2013

Tarih/İmza



Appendix 3. Thank You And Follow-Up Letter for Participant 3

TEŞEKKÜR VE TAKİP MEKTUBU

Değerli Katılımcı,

"Tesettür Modası, Tüketim Kültürü ve Kimlik: Tesettürlü Türk Kadınlarının Değişen Giyinme Pratiklerini Yorumlamaya Yönelik Kalitatif Bir Araştırma" isimli doktora tezimize ilgi olarak Eylül 2013 tarihinde İzmir Katip Çelebi Üniversitesi Balatçık Kampüsü Merkezi Ofisler'de yaptığımız yüz yüze görüşme için bana vakit ayırdığınız ve gösterdiğiniz özveri ile samimi paylaşımlarınız için en içten teşekkürlerimi sunarım.

Yaptığımız görüşme sonucu elde ettiğim veriler doktora tezimin çok değerli bir bölümünü oluşturmaktadır. Ekte görüşme kayıtlarının yazılı hale getirilmiş bir kopyası bulunmaktadır. Bu transkript tarafınızdan gözden geçirilip onaylandıktan sonra tezin veri analizi için bir baz oluşturacaktır. Sonuç olarak elde edilen veriler tez konusu ile ilişkilendirilip yorumlanacak ve yayınlanacaktır. Görüşme öncesinde bahsettiğim ve onayınızı aldığım gibi, araştırmada kişisel bilgilerinize (isim-soy isim, telefon numarası, adres vb.) asla yer verilmeyecek, ses kayıtları ve transkriptler üçüncü şahıslarla paylaşılmayacak ve saklı tutulacaktır. Sadece araştırma ile yayınlanacak olan bulgular gizlilik kapsamı dışındadır.

Lütfen ekteki transkripti gözden geçirmek üzere kısa bir zaman ayırınız. Yapacağınız herhangi bir değişiklik ya da düzeltme yoksa size verilen onay formunu ve bu mektubu imzalayarak tarafıma geri bildirim yapınız. Herhangi bir değişim yapmanız halinde sizinle 1 hafta içerisinde tekrar iletişime geçeceğim.

Tekrar samimi paylaşımlarınız için şükranlarımı sunarım.

En içten dileklerle.

Elif Deniz – Doktora Öğrencisi

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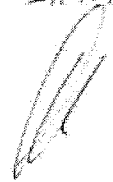
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Appendix 4. Thank You And Follow-Up Letter (in English)

THANK YOU AND FOLLOW UP LETTER

Dear Participant,

Thank you for taking time to meet with me on September 2013, at the Central Offices of İzmir Katip Çelebi University, Campus of Balatçık, about my doctoral thesis called "Veiling Fashion, Consumption Culture and Identity: A Qualitative Analysis for Interpreting The Veiled Turkish Women's Changing Clothing Practices", and I appreciate your devotion and sincere sharings.

The data that I've gained after our meeting will be a valuable part of my doctoral thesis. I've attached a copy of our transcribed conversation. This transcript, once reviewed and approved by you, will provide the basis for data analysis of the thesis. Eventually, the data will be incorporated with the research subject, interpreted and published. As I've declared and received your approval before our face to face meeting, your personal information (name-surname, telephone number, address, etc.) will not be disclosed in the research, the voice records and transcripts will be held confidential and not be shared with the third person. Only the data, which will be published as their search findings, are not confidential.

Please take some time to review the attached transcript and the confirmation form. If there is no need to make a change or correction, please sign this letter and the confirmation form and make a come-back. I will contact you in two weeks to discuss any changes if you've made.

Again, I thank you for your generous participation.

Best regards.

Elif DENİZ- PhD Candidate

Dokuz Eylül University

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Date/Signature

Appendix 5. Confirmation Form of Participant 1

ONAY FORMU

Tarafıma bildirilen teşekkür ve takip mektubu, transkript ve onay formunu incelediğimi ve görüşme kayıtlarının yazar Elif DENİZ'in yayını olan *"Tesettür Modası, Tüketim Kültürü ve Kimlik: Tesettürlü Türk Kadınlarının Değişen Giyinme Pratiklerini Yorumlamaya Yönelik Kalitatif Bir Araştırma"* isimli doktora tezinde ilgili şekilde kullanılması açısından hiçbir sakıncanın bulunmadığını ve yayınlanması açısından tam onay ve yetki verdiğimi beyan ederim.

21.10.2013

Tarih/İmza

Appendix 6. Confirmation Form of Participant 2

ONAY FORMU

Tarafıma bildirilen teşekkür ve takip mektubu, transkript ve onay formunu incelediğimi ve görüşme kayıtlarının yazar Elif DENİZ'in yayını olan *'Tesettür Modası, Tüketim Kültürü ve Kimlik: Tesettürlü Türk Kadınlarının Değişen Giyim Pratiklerini Yorumlamaya Yönelik Kalitatif Bir Araştırma'* isimli doktora tezinde ilgili şekilde kullanılması açısından hiçbir sakıncanın bulunmadığını ve yayınlanması açısından tam onay ve yetki verdiğimi beyan ederim.

Tarih/İmza



21.10.2013

Appendix 7. Confirmation Form of Participant 3

ONAY FORMU

Tarafıma bildirilen teşekkür ve takip mektubu, transkript ve onay formunu incelediğimi ve görüşme kayıtlarının yazar Elif DENİZ'in yayını olan *"Tesettür Modası, Tüketim Kültürü ve Kimlik: Tesettürlü Türk Kadınlarının Değişen Giyinme Pratiklerini Yorumlamaya Yönelik Kalitatif Bir Araştırma"* isimli doktora tezinde ilgili şekilde kullanılması açısından hiçbir sakıncanın bulunmadığını ve yayınlanması açısından tam onay ve yetki verdiğimi beyan ederim.

Tarih/İmza

21.10.13



Appendix 8. Confirmation Form (in English)

CONFIRMATION FORM

I here by declare that I've reviewed the transcript, thank you and follow-up letter and the confirmation form and there is no inconvenience to use the meeting records relatedly and I again declare that I give full permission and authorisation for the publication of the author, Elif DENİZ; the doctoral thesis called 'Veiling Fashion, Consumption culture and Identity: A Qualitative Analysis for Interpreting The Veiled Turkish Women's Changing Clothing Practices'.

Date/Signature