

THE CLOTHING DISCOURSE IN THE MEDIA DURING THE ÖZAL PERIOD

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THE CLOTHING DISCOURSE IN THE MEDIA DURING THE ÖZAL PERIOD

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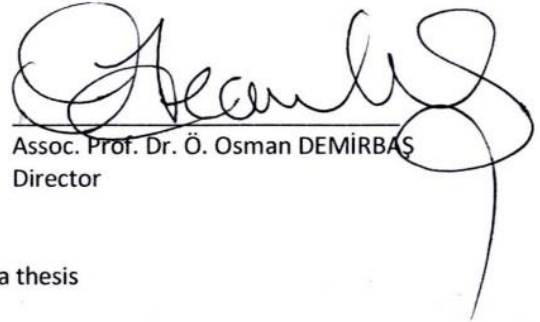
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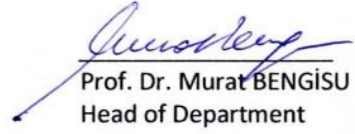
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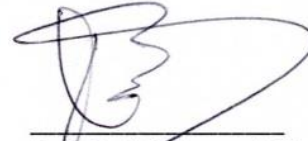


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## ABSTRACT

### THE CLOTHING DISCOURSE IN THE MEDIA DURING THE ÖZAL PERIOD

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1980s was maybe the first time which Turkey has been confronted with its pluralistic identity that seriously. The issue of modernization and Islamization which is grounded on a dichotomy of east and west started to be discussed in a more equal platform, although it was an old subject dated before The New Turkish Republic had been founded. It is possible to explain the conditions in which those oppositional but interdependent two cultural strategies stand side by side in a same period of time, in multiple ways. The changes in the definitions of public and private can be explained as one of the reasons of why politically and culturally repressed sub-identities (associated with east or defined as marginal in new national structure) gained voice in 1980s, although they could not have found a space of representation in early periods. After coup of 12 September 1980, the media which was more expected to interfere in the political space chose to focus much closer on the private space in the second half of 1980s. The sexuality which turned into a more disputable subject first resulted in the subversion of taboos related with pre-existed gender-roles and then helped to remodel it. In this period which advertising, film and music industries developed and the tabloid magazines gained different missions, different social identities have been visualized and found different representation areas in various media channels. The media, which was assumed to be more independent now, and the Islamic political powers which got stronger in those days brought the issue of veil to the agenda as a matter of "freedom" by removing it from the axis of Islam and modernity. As it happened before, body with its all aspects (its form, daily practices, clothing preferences etc.) gained importance as a political field where the new ideologies had been represented. This study is conducted to investigate the effects of political and cultural plurality on body and clothing representations in 1980s.

Keywords: The Özal Period, Fashion, Life Style Representations, Politics, Media Analysis

## ÖZET

### ÖZAL DÖNEMİ'NDEKİ GİYİM SÖYLEMİ ÜZERİNE MEDYA ANALİZİ

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1980'lerde Türkiye kendi çoksesli kimliği ile belki de ilk defa bu kadar ciddi bir şekilde yüz yüze geldi. Yeni Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşunun çok öncesine dayanan ve doğu-batı karşıtlığından beslenen modernleşme ve İslamlaşma konuları yeniden fakat bu sefer daha eşit bir platformda tartışılmaya başlandı. Birbirine bağımlı fakat bir o kadar da zıt bu iki kültür stratejisinin aynı dönem içerisinde yan yana durabilmesini çeşitli şekillerde açıklamak mümkün. Bu döneme kadar bir kısmı doğu ile özdeşleştirilmeleri, bir kısmı ise yeni milli yapılanma içerisinde marjinal bulunmaları nedeniyle temsil alanı bulamayan bu yüzden de hem siyasi hem de kültürel olarak bastırılmaya çalışılan alt kimliklerin 80'lerde söz hakkına sahip olabilmelerinin önemli nedenlerinden biri kamu ile özel alan tanımlarında görülen değişiklikler olarak açıklanabilir. 12 Eylül 1980 darbesi ardından siyasi alan içerisine daha fazla girmesi beklenen medya, özellikle 80'lerin ikinci yarısında objektifini özel alana biraz daha yaklaştırdı. Cinselliğin daha kolay tartışılabilir bir konu haline gelmesi toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri ile ilgili var olan tabuların önce sarsılmasına sonra ise yeniden inşasına neden oldu. Reklamcılığın, film ve müzik endüstrilerinin geliştiği, magazin dergilerinin farklı misyonlar yüklediği bu dönemde inşa edilen yeni toplumsal kimlikler çeşitli medya kanallarında farklı şekillerde görselleştirilip, farklı temsil alanları buldu. Daha fazla özgürleştiği düşünülen medya ve o dönemde güçlenmeye başlayan İslami siyasi güçler türban meselesini İslam ve modernlik ekseninden çıkararak bir özgürlük meselesi olarak gündeme taşıdı. Tüm bunlar olurken daha önce olduğu gibi beden farklı yönleriyle (bedenin kendi formu, gündelik pratikleri, giyim biçimleri vb.) yeni ideolojilerin temsil edildiği bir siyasi alan olarak önem kazandı. Bu çalışma ise 80'lerde görülen bu politik ve kültürel çoksesliliğin beden ve giyim temsilleri üzerine olan etkilerini araştırmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Özal Dönemi, Moda, Hayat Tarzı Temsilleri, Politika, Medya Analizi

,

To my mother...

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- ANAP:** Ana Vatan Partisi (Motherland Party)
- AP:** Adalet Partisi (Justice Party)
- CHP:** Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)
- DP:** Demokrat Parti (Democrat Party)
- KCI:** Kyoto Costume Institute

## **Introduction**

### **Problem Definition**

As Peter Corrigan stated in his book *The Dressed Society: Clothing, the Body and Some Meanings of the World*:

“Like any material object, clothing can be looked upon in terms of its brute concrete reality or as an element in some greater conceptual scheme transcending its mere materiality. For the social scientist, the relationship between the concrete and the conceptual is of central interest because it reveals in practice how we may make sense of the world in which we find ourselves – and even of the worlds that we have imagined” (Corrigan 2008, 1).

Among all material objects, clothes have the closest relationship with the body and reveal how the body responds to both the physical and social world that surrounds it. As a consequence of this proximate relation and its intermediary position between body and the society, this man-made structure goes beyond its material entity and evolves into a more complicated sociological phenomenon. Focusing on these relations, this study aims to contribute to Turkish clothing history by providing a broad understanding of socio-political and cultural parameters that affected the clothing discourse in the Özal Period (1983-1993). Both the selection of the topic and the selected time period are related with the problems defined as follows:

First, in the case of Turkey, clothing-style rather than being a personal choice has been the indicator of a collective identity, and most of the time the discourse about clothing was the extension of an existing political discourse. From the very early periods of the Turkish Republic, the state policy has been prescriptive for the clothing styles of its citizens, because governments were aware of the importance of clothing in the formation of national identity. Of course, the clothing and body practices were especially important for Turkey which claims to be secular despite the fact that it came from a deep-rooted Islamic tradition which firmly defined those practices. Hence, as Nilüfer Göle stated, in the case of Turkey the question of life-style was not a matter of fashion, trends and

individual choices, but of complex relations of intersubjectivity, stratification and power (Göle 1997, 52). Consecutively, the clothing-styles and body practices of the citizens emerged as the most visible marker of their life-styles.

Second, the academics who conduct studies about Turkish modernization mainly refer to two critical periods in the history of Turkish Republic; first is the early republic period including late 1920s and 1930s and the second is the Islamic revival that starts after the 1990s. These are the periods in which the debates about secularization and Islamisation became widespread throughout the nation. Alev Çınar explains the tension arisen from opposing body politics executed by secularists and Islamists during these periods as follows:

“The body has emerged as a site of intervention for both secularist and Islamist modernizing projects that have sought to institutionalize their political ideologies by defaming the current condition of the body and establishing themselves as its emancipator and protector. Seeing this power of the body as a political field, the state used it in the 1920s in order to institute the norms of the public sphere and to transform official national ideology into the norm. Islamism used the medium of the body in similar ways in the 1990s in order to contest and subvert established norms of the public and to promote their own national ideologies “ (Çınar 2005, 55).

These two periods have been identified with two political leaders: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was the pioneer of the Turkish modernization in the late 20s and the 30s, and Necmettin Erbakan who became Prime Minister in 1996 became the leader of an Islamic revival that gained momentum after the 1990s. However, this thesis aims to take attention to another period which I find personally interesting. This period is named after Turgut Özal, Prime Minister and 8<sup>th</sup> President of Turkey. The Özal Period was the representative of a hybrid ideology which borrowed from both left and right. Feroz Ahmad explains the ideological structure of his party:

“Apart from the fact that it was not the successor of any other parties that has fallen apart, ANAP (Motherland Party) was such a party that it gathered all the good components and ideas that they had. It was as conservative as AP (Adalet Partisi) the Justice Party, as Islamist as traditionalists, as nationalist as neo-fascists, as leftist as



CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi) the Republican People's Party because of its trust in social justice.” (Ahmad, *Bir Kimlik Peşinde Türkiye* 2007, 191)

Previous research into the relationship between ideology and clothing focused on more puritan and strictly defined ideologies and defined the clothing-discourse which they produced as a part of state policy. My research has been conducted to find out more about how this hybrid ideology affected the national discourse about clothing.

Third, Turgut Özal and his family have not been given the appropriate place they deserve in academic studies. Although there are plentiful sources related with Turgut Özal and his governmental policies, there are not many sources which investigate the family from the viewpoint of sociology or cultural studies. Unlike many other political figures and their families, Turgut Özal and his family maintained an unofficial stance. As a consequence of their high visibility, their less-serious and more intimate relation with media, their influence on the public has been trivialized. However, for this type of a study which aims to correlate the clothing discourse with a political period, the high-profile of political figures constitutes an important source. Thus, this research instead of ignoring their social impact, aims to approach this family as a special case to study.

### **Aim of the Study**

This study has been conducted to achieve the following purposes:

- 1) This study aims to contribute to Turkish clothing history by providing a broad understanding of socio-political and cultural parameters that affected the clothing discourse in the Özal Period (1983-1993).
- 2) In Turkey, the political discourse about clothing has developed as a sub-theme of Turkish modernization. Although the debate about Turkish modernization has always been put into a binary opposition with Islamisation (especially after 1980s the issue of Islamisation also became part of the modernization discourse as its counter-view) and this situation has been discussed in a considerable

part of the thesis, the study also aims to relate the issue of modernity with new concepts which are specific to the Özal period.

3) The study also intends to reconsider key figures of the period and reveal their impact on the clothing discourse. These figures include political figures, public figures which are included in their social networks and fashion designers. The analysis of this social network can give clues about the general clothing discourse and helps to understand the socio-political cultural background which allows specific designers to come to the fore.

4) Finally the thesis aims to find out how fashion/dress was used as a tool for national promotion as a part of state policy and how much it affected the national identity project.

### **Research Questions and Structure of the Thesis**

This research has been conducted to answer the following questions:

Main Research Question:

(MQ) What are the effects of socio-political and cultural dynamics on the clothing discourse in Turkey during the Özal Period?

Sub-questions:

(SQ 1) What are the reasons that make the Özal Period important for the history of clothing in Turkey?

(SQ 2) How did the state policy affect clothing changes?

(SQ 3) How did fashion-related issues take place in the national agenda?

(SQ 4) How did the sociopolitical and cultural atmosphere affect the featured designers of the period?

(SQ 5) Was the Özal Family inspirational in terms of clothing style? (If yes) How did the Özal family contribute to the pre-existing fashion discourse?

1<sup>st</sup> chapter aims to constitute a historical background for the study. This historical background, which has been used to comprehend the significance of the selected period, helps to find an answer for (SQ 1) i.e. “What are the reasons that make the Özal Period important for the history of clothing in Turkey?”. The chapter has been divided into three sub-headings by considering the ideological consistency that each period has and the reflections of those ideologies on clothing discourse. These sub-headings are:

1) Early Republic Period (1923-1939)

2) Transition Period (1939-1950)

3) The Period of Political Unrest (1950-1983)

The 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter aims to find an answer for (SQ 2), i.e. “How did the state policy affect clothing changes?” and focuses on two important conditions influencing the way people dressed in the Özal period. The first part “The Change in the Focus of the Media Culture”, explains how Turkish media was depoliticized after 1980 Turkish coup d’etat and how it simulated the culture of voyeurism and consumption. This part positions media as a gatekeeper which influences the conception of “body”, “clothing” and “politics” and discuss how it affected personal and national styles. Especially its sub-section entitled “the Changes in National Styles” reveals how fashion-related issues took place in the national agenda by answering (SQ 3) and investigates the sociopolitical and cultural atmosphere influencing the featured designers of the period by answering (SQ 4). On the other hand, the second part of the chapter entitled “The Change in the Labour Flow” focuses on the class shifts within the frame of privatization policies and internal immigration. Its sub-section entitled “The Change in the Direction of Unqualified Labour Force” explains the emergence of *arabesque* culture in the urban sphere and its influence on eclectic clothing styles. The following part entitled “The change in the Direction of Qualified Labour Force” mainly focuses on the professional environment giving rise to the emergence of “new elites” and “counter elites” and defines the relationship of those groups with clothing. The third and the final part of this chapter entitled “The new groups introduced by change”

gives place to politically and culturally repressed groups which started to be visible in the public spheres.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> intends to answer (SQ 5) which questions the influence of Özal Family on fashion and their contribution to pre-existing fashion discourse. Here, Semra Özal, the wife of Turgut Özal constitutes the main focus because of her high publicity in the printed media (as the occasion arises the other members of the family will also be included in terms of their similar and dissimilar approaches with Mrs. Özal). In this section, Semra Özal will be discussed as a public figure and fashion consumer and this part of a study aims to interpret the visual and textual findings to understand what her style represented and what kind of consumer she was by looking at her clothing style, brand choices, fashion-related statements that took place in selected national newspapers. Here, it will be questioned whether her fashion-related statements and practices are in accordance with the general political discourse.

Finally, the 4<sup>th</sup> chapter is the conclusion part where the all findings are related and evaluated.

## **Methodology**

### **Theoretical Framework**

For this study a variety of sources including books, academic papers (both printed and digital), magazines, biographies and interviews have been covered to obtain information about the Turkish clothing history. Besides a couple of those that gives directly clothing-related information, a great majority of the written material which is used to create the theoretical framework is derived from the studies of Turkish academics (including Alev Çınar, Nilüfer Göle etc.) who worked on Turkish modernization. Especially the book “The New Cultural Climate in Turkey: Living in a Show Window” written by Nurdan Gürbilek who relates the cultural climate (including living environments, popular music and clothing etc.) in the 1980s with the political agenda, helped to draw the main frame of the study. In order to interpret and relate those outcomes with the fashion discourse, publications written by theoreticians (including George B. Sproles, Leslie Davis Burns, Malcolm Barnard etc.) who worked on fashion and cultural studies have been used.

## Archival Research

The documents obtained from archival research<sup>1</sup> constitute a considerable part of the data collected. Milliyet, which is one of the most widely read national newspapers in Turkey, has been planned as main archival source for the study. The reason of this selection can be explained with the following reasons;

- If we compare with the other publications, a newspaper, with the variety of subjects that it includes, provides the most appropriate sources (both textual and visual) for this type of a research which associates various disciplines including fashion, politics, sociology and cultural studies. Also, since Milliyet is a daily magazine, the selected period can be examined in detail with minimal information loss.
- Although Milliyet has a leftist stance, right wing views also found a place in the newspaper because of its social-democratic line during the Özal Period.
- Different than other national magazines Milliyet has a digital archive which allows its subscribers to do extended archival research. So, the key words (including personal names, foundations, designers, brands, cultural and political terms give direction to clothing history etc.) that are provided with the literature research can easily be scanned. Similarly, the availability of digital archive helps to estimate the variety and the quality of the accessible data in a very early stage of the research. This also helps to make a pre-classification of the information, structure the outline and estimate the possible results.
- The digital archive does not only provide an advantage for finding selected keywords easily, but it provides advantage for understanding the importance level or publicity of a selected subject by looking at their repetition number. The system which allows the researcher to scan more than one key word also helps to relate the selected subjects.

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<sup>1</sup> The archive research starts with the date in which Turgut Özal became prime minister (13 December 1983) and ends with his death (17 April 1993).

The research also gives place to archival sources obtained from the other publications of the period to a certain extent.

Besides, in the “Historical Background” part, different than the sources mentioned above, Ankara University Newspaper Database has been used to reach the early publications of the national newspapers including Cumhuriyet, Ulus and Akşam etc. and some other publications which are not currently available including Zaman and Servet-i Fünun.

## **1 Historical Background**

### **1.1 Early Republic Period (1923-1939)**

During the Early Republic Period the Turkish public experienced a significant transformation process which defined both formal and informal practices of social life. This transformation was accomplished through constitutional regulations, social reforms and principles (known as Atatürk’s reforms and principles) which were introduced by the new government. The main purpose was to bring the new nation-state to the level of civilized nations since it was acknowledged as the only way of development. During the Early Republic Period, the term “civilization” was used as equal to “Western civilization” and “Western civilization” was considered the equivalent of “Western modernity”. This approach which equalizes different concepts was quite controversial; however the real controversy emerged around the meanings of “modernity”. Marshall Berman explains the paradox of modernity as follows:

“To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world-and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are. Modern environments and experiences cut across all boundaries of geography and ethnicity, of class and nationality, of religion and ideology: in this sense, modernity can be said to unite all mankind. But it is a paradoxical unity, a unity of disunity: It pours us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish. To be modern is to be part of a universe in which, as Marx said, "all that is solid melts into air"” (Berman 1988, 15).

This quotation of Berman matches up with the remarks of Ekrem İşin who describes the transformation experienced by Turkish society during the republic period. According to İşin Turkish republicans had been influenced by the image of Europe in two ways. First, dynamic and functional formation of the society allowed class shifts; second, the extroversive social energy stimulated the instinct of destruction and construction simultaneously and this energy had been observed all stages of daily life (İşin 1987, 13-20). Here, the conception which İşin referred to as "European" resembles what Berman introduced as "modern". In any case, the new republic experienced what they had illustrated. In order to establish a new unity within a society, the new Turkish government broke all historical bonds related with the Ottoman Empire and the old regime. The abolishment of the sultanate and caliphate were the very first political actions. With this critical decision, the republicans did not only suppress the expectation about the restitution of the sultanate, but also ended the international consociation based on religious values. Under these circumstances, the government put emphasis on new shared values to unite society and introduced a common mission to accomplish.

The principle of nationalism (among other five principles including populism, statism, republicanism, secularism and revolutionism) came to the fore because of the potential that it has to unite society. The principles of nationalism served the formation of "a national identity" instead of a religious identity as proposed by the Ottoman practice. Accordingly, all the members of society were expected to be united by the bond of citizenship. All citizens had equal distance to state and had equal right to participate in the national decisions (right to vote). The political reforms were followed by social reforms, and they were put into practice to actualize the Turkish modernization project. Some were especially critical since they were used to transform the tangible symbols used in everyday life during Ottoman Period. The reforms related with clothing, language and measurement systems played a crucial role in redesigning the visual, written and even spoken sign systems in the public space. This transformation promoted by the government was based on international (Western) standards. Although this transformation was easily recognized by the pro-Western elites

who had connections with Europe, it was totally alien for the rest of the public, especially for the ones who lived in rural areas.

The dress revolution included a series of legal regulations and one of them was the hat law (see appendix 1)<sup>2</sup> which banned all the traditional headgears such as the *fez* and *turban*<sup>3</sup> which had religious connotations. Seda Kuleli, by giving reference to Şaziye Karlıklı and Defne Tozan (Karlıklı and Tozan 1998, 38-39) gives information about the content of the act. The first article explains by whom and in which occasions the hat should be worn and forbids the old practices which were entitled as “the contrary habits”.

“It is obligatory to wear the hat, which has already been accepted by the Turkish nation, for the officers and employees of the public, private or local administration and the members of the national assembly. The headgear of the Turkish Public in common is the hat and government forbids continuation of any contrary habit” (Kuleli 2009, 37).

The hat revolution was followed by another act which regulated the use of religious clothing. All religious clothing items and symbols were outlawed for the ones who did not have religious authority with the act dated 02 September 1925 (see appendix 2)<sup>4</sup> and the act dated 03 December 1934 (see appendix 3)<sup>5</sup> prohibited the use of religious costumes out of prayer rooms and religious ceremonies. This act applied to all religious officials no matter which religion they represented<sup>6</sup>. The principle of “secularism” was not the only reason behind those clothing reforms. These regulations also intended to prevent the privilege which was gained through religious clothing (Kuleli 2009, 46)

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<sup>2</sup> The official newspaper dated 28 November 1925 which announced the act related with the use of hat (T. C. Resmi Gazete 1925).

<sup>3</sup> In terms of both meaning and physical structure, the turban mentioned here is different than the turban worn as fashion accessory between 1920s and 1940s. This one which is used for religious purposes also covers the neck different than the other one just covering the head and revealing some parts of the hair.

<sup>4</sup> The official newspaper dated 05 September 1925 which announced the act banning religious costumes for the ones who did not have religious authority (T. C. Resmi Gazete 1925).

<sup>5</sup> The official newspaper dated 13 December 1934 which announced the act banning the use of religious costumes out of prayer rooms and religious ceremonies (T.C. Resmi Gazete 1934).

<sup>6</sup> According to Turkish press, unlike Muslim society, the religious minorities were pleased with the legal regulations banning religious clothes. The newspaper Zaman in the article dated 6 December 1934 supported this claim by giving reference to the religious leaders of Patriarchate of Greek Orthodox, Armenian Patriarchate, Armenian Catholics and Jewish society. The moderate reactions of non-Muslim minorities can be explained either with their limited population which enables them to make an objection, or with their complacency arising from the diminishing power of Islam. Or simply it can be related with the fact that they had already adopted the views which make a distinction between clothing styles and religious belief.



and to annihilate the social system based on religious hierarchy. The same approach can be observed in the abolition of titles such as *pasha*, *bey*, *effendi* etc. which give superiority to its owner.

As a reaction to these laws fundamentalist groups held demonstrations in different parts of Anatolia including Malatya, Sivas, Kayseri and Erzurum. The demonstrations were banned by the government and people who participated in these protests were judged by Independence Tribunals. The leaders of the rebellion including İmamzade Mehmet Efendi and İskilipli Atıf Efendi were executed by the court (Kuleli 2009, 43-44). Before his execution, Atıf Efendi argued that the use of the hat is equal to the rejection of Islam by giving reference to hadith of Muhammad “the one who imitates the appearance of a nation becomes one of them” in his book “The Imitation of the European and the Hat” (Karlıklı and Tozan 1998, 38) cited in (Kuleli 2009, 44).

This very severe disagreement between reformists and fundamentalists resulted in the dichotomy related with both ideology and clothing. After this point, the European styles of clothing and accessories were represented as “tools of civilization,” in contrast to the Islamic/Ottoman traditional garments, which were seen as “signs of barbarity” (Çınar 2005, 61-62).

Atatürk, the pioneer of Turkish modernization, played a crucial role in the implementation of the Dress Revolution both as a role model and an opinion leader. In addition to legal acts and regulations, the modern thought and clothing was promoted through the public speeches. During one of his speeches, Atatürk described the clothing style which should be adopted by a Turkish man (see figure 1): “My friends, international dress is worthy of and appropriate for our nation, and we will wear it. Boots or shoes on our feet, trousers on our legs, shirts and tie, jacket and waist coat – and, of course, to complete these, a cover with a brim on our heads...” (Çınar 2005, 68).



**Figure 1:** The new modern look of the Turkish man (Servet-I Funun, 11 August 1927).

The regulations about clothing reflected the determination of the government in establishing modern Turkey. This determination also affected the appearance of women. In order to reconstruct the image of women in the public space, the political discourse focused on the issue of the veil which was assumed to be the key item of Muslim women's clothing. Old religious doctrines which pose an obstacle for the unveiling of women were opened to discussion and religious formalism was tried to be reduced by reconsidering the relationship between veiling and Islam. In one of his speeches, Atatürk argued that the veiling does not fit in the prescriptions of religion.

“The veiling recommended by our religion is suitable to life and virtue. If our women were clothing themselves as our religion prescribed; they would not be veiling or revealing that much. The modesty requirement of Islam is simple and it is nothing to cause a difficulty in contribution of our women in society, in economy, in life, and in science, as compared to men” (Öztoprak, et al. 2006, 540-554) cited in (Kuleli 2009, 20).

This garment was concealing women's bodies from the gaze of public, in other words it was functioning as a shelter which preserves the female privacy. Contradictorily, this shelter which eliminates all feminine attributes of the body was women's only ticket to public space. The new regime intended to emancipate women in a public space by annihilating the obligatory use of the veil.

This political discourse related with clothing was reinforced by secularist media. The turban was removed from the axis of Islam and was associated with fashion. The newspapers and periodicals were giving place to head accessories worn by European women. At this moment both *turban* and *cloché* hats were popular among them. They were either draping fabric around their heads or wearing hats which reveal a little part of their short-cut hairs to achieve a fashionable look (see figures 2 and 3).



**Figure 2 (Left):** Irene Delroy in 1920s (<https://www.pinterest.com/pin/52284045647038765/>).

**Figure 3 (Right):** The hat models published in a Turkish newspaper (Zaman, 7 May 1935).

In the Early Republic Period, the legal codes which imposed the secular and modern ways of dressing constituted the major amount of the clothing-related regulations. However, the codes which encouraged the use of local textiles were equally important for understanding the clothing-related governmental policies. The legal code which was enacted by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in 9 December 1925 (see appendix 4)<sup>7</sup> made the use of garments produced with local textiles obligatory. This obligation was related with both the formation of national identity and the development of a national industry. Although the Western way of dressing was promoted by the government because of its rational, functional and minimalistic features, and these features were used to specify the characteristics of an idealized international dress required by a modern citizen,

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<sup>7</sup> The official newspaper dated 20 December 1925 which announced the law about the use of garments made of local textiles (T. C. Resmi Gazete 1925).

there was still a need for a national touch on dress in order to signify the clothing as a marker of a national identity. In that period this national touch was provided with the use of local textiles and modernization of traditional Turkish motifs.

In order to understand the financial aspects of the legal code it is necessary to understand the consumption patterns of the time. Apparently, at that moment the state had a lack of production facilities; however the real problem was the lack of demand for national products. The tailored garments which were sewn by foreign couturiers with durable English fabrics (see figures 4 and 5) were reflecting the luxurious consumption behaviors of the era by signifying the high status of its wearer (Karakışla 2013, 11). In order to change this understanding, there was a need for local producers which could compete with foreign manufacturers producing high-quality textiles.<sup>8</sup>



**Figure 4 (Left):** The advertisement of Karakaş Elbise Mağazası (Karakaş Clothing Store) promoting garments made of English fabrics (Cumhuriyet, 29 November 1929).

**Figure 5 (Right):** The advertisement of Ekselsior Büyük Elbise Fabrikası (Ekselsior Grand Clothing Factory) promoting garments made of English fabrics (Cumhuriyet, 27 August 1929).

The government supported the legal decisions with the industrial actions. Similar to the legal code which proposed the use of local textile products, the foundation of Sümerbank served for both the formation of the national identity and the protection of national capital. The institution with its all

<sup>8</sup> Feshane Factory (Feshane Fabrikası) founded in 1835 was one of the very first enterprises having this purpose in the Ottoman Era. The factory, in a period when the Western countries developed their industry and came up with new techniques and technologies in the field of textile manufacturing, was founded to meet the demands of broadcloth (*çuha*) and fez. This demand was related with regulation in the military uniforms which proposed the use of fez. This factory also formed a basis of Sümerbank and its name changed as *Sümerbank Deftedar Fabrikası* later on.

facilities and products showed that the new government had an urge to transform all the possibilities and impossibilities of the local conditions into production by taking the advantage of rational organization and production methods. For instance, both the facilities and the production of Sümerbank were planned by considering regional socio-economic and material conditions. These conditions influenced various aspects of textile business including site selection standards of industrial facilities, production and transportation of textiles (Himam and Pasin 2011, 165). The concepts of “work efficiency” and “standardization” introduced by modern industries also gave form to its production.

However, Sümerbank culture did not only affect the action of production, but also influenced the designs of the fabric. “Homogeneity and austerity were formally conceived in the equalized distribution of simple, undecorated geometric volumes on fabrics and their applications as well as the lack of ornamentation and many other qualities valued by the nation-state-sponsored modernism” (Himam and Pasin 2011, 166). This new aesthetic introduced by Sümerbank was developed as a result of a very modest adaption of rich Turkish traditional motives into print design. However, the global art and design movements of the period including Art Nouveau, Art Deco, Constructivism, Minimalism and Bauhaus constituted the referential models for both the designs of Sümerbank and the general attire of Turkish citizens (Himam and Pasin 2011, 165).

Besides Sümerbank, the new educational institutions of the state, especially the ones focusing on women’s education, played a vital role in the development of fashion and the textile industry in Turkey. In the Girls Institutes (Kız Enstitüleri) which were founded and supported by the government, the students got education in various fields. Tailoring was an important part of this education and graduates of these schools served to the modernization of the Turkish women’s outlook. The observations of Servet Rifat, a Turkish journalist, during his visit in İsmet Paşa Girl’s Institute give clues about the views on tailoring education. In this 1934 visit, he claimed that among the graduates of the institute there were several young ladies who could participate in professional life as tailors and they had already gained success among couturiers of Ankara in two years because of their

occupational proficiency (Navaro-Yaşın 2002, 69). As in the case of Sümerbank, the production in the Girls Institute was based on work efficiency and standardization. The article of Yael Navaro-Yaşın who worked on rationalization of housework in the early republic period supports this claim: Girls Institutes were targeting to instill Taylorist efficiency and Kemalist nationalism simultaneously. From one side the students were trained to do sewing with “the very best method” and “standard applications”. On the other side, they were expected to create a national taste in women’s clothing by exploring “authentic” Turkish embroidery motifs (Navaro-Yaşın 2002, 69).

The education of women included a very comprehensive education on tailoring in general, however this education was not limited with the national borders. As in the case of other educational fields, the successful students who would like to improve their occupational skills in foreign countries were encouraged by the government. The students who gained success in the multi-staged exams were sent to European countries to learn modern tailoring and European fashion.

The effect of women’s education on the adoption of modern clothes was not only associated with their tailoring education which had a critical role in the implementation of clothing reform. Women’s education as a whole, starting from the very early school education, affected both the social structure and the clothing styles simultaneously. During the Early Republic Period, the Turkish modernization project which conferred significant responsibilities to Turkish women, created a strong relationship between women’s education and modernity. Both male and female intellectuals commented on this issue which constituted a serious concern among the intelligentsia. Şemseddin Sami argued that “with the education of women all humanity will *be* educated” (Abadan-Unat 1998, 324), because as mothers they were the ones who would inspire and educate the next generations. In order to promote this mission, the mothers were portrayed while they were reading book (see figure 6) next to their husbands reading a newspaper in the course books of 1930s. Beside the act of reading signifying her literacy level, her confident body posture and fashionable clothing style relate her with the modern world. In this way an implicit relation was drawn with education, modernization and clothing.



**Figure 6:** An illustration taken from a school book 1934-1935 (Gümüşoğlu 1998, 122).

The way of thinking position the women as the mother of nation was supported by the male reformers<sup>9</sup> of the time (Abadan-Unat 1998, 329) and they provided a considerable ease for the women's liberation movement. On the other hand, the mentality which justified women's social significance with their prescribed maternal roles was not reasonable for the female intellectuals who were highly ambitious about out-of-home duties which were directly related with the formation of the nation. Therefore first wave feminists<sup>10</sup> of Turkey struggled for the equality in education, family, professional and political life; and they affected the governmental decisions enhancing women's position in the society.

The transition to coeducation system was one of the improvements which aimed to provide equal education standards for both female and male students. In this gender-neutral social environment which encouraged the male and female students to work in collaboration (see figure 7), their clothing styles started to be similar parallel with the similar educational tasks they implemented. The short hair-cuts, the simple structures of clothes, shoes and even the proportions of the visible body parts which were similar in both contributed to this similarity. Consequently, the female body

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<sup>9</sup> The interest of male reformists in women's right is interpreted by Jale Parla as "mild-mannered rebellion of men against the Ottoman patriarchal system" (Abadan-Unat 1998, 324). Parla claimed that the reason why they supported women's rights was related with their own social expectations. According to her research, Turkish novels written after the Tanzimat Reform Era were revealing men's desire for love and their stance against arranged marriage. They were looking for a future in which they can share the same social environment with women without gossips and anxiety of being judged (Abadan-Unat 1998, 324). These circumstances became decisive on the progressive position of men about the issue of women's rights.

<sup>10</sup> The first wave feminists were mostly the daughters of Ottoman reformers. As an intellectual and the founder of *Teal-i Nisvan Cemiyeti* (Society for Women Progress) Halide Edip Adıvar is one of the well-known Turkish feminists. For other names and more detailed information please see (Tekeli 1998).

was neutralized by being masculine. This was also observed in real life photos of the same period (see figure 8).



**Figure 7 (Left):** A Female and male student are collaborating for a science experiment (Gümüšoğlu 1998, 125).  
**Figure 8 (Right):** 19 May Youth and Sports Day (Cumhuriyet, 19 May 1936).

In the Early Republic Period, the extra labour force required for the national development and industrialization provided a suitable setting for women who wanted to contribute to the national development by working out of their home. Although the Turkish women had participated in various protests to work in a telegraph office in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and some of them had a chance to work as tailors to produce military uniforms for the soldiers in the WW1 (Tekeli 1998, 33), this very limited and temporary work space was not satisfying for women who claimed that they could work in any job done by men.



**Figure 9 (Left):** Call for aviation training (Ulus, 6 May 1935).  
**Figure 10 (Right):** Sabiha Gökçen is ready for flying in her uniform (<http://www.wearethemighty.com/four-fearless-fighting-females-2015-03>).



The struggle of women to prove themselves in men's jobs also affected the way they dressed. Parallel with the national needs, the women were encouraged to become pilots with the advertisements published in the national newspaper (see figure 9) and women started to be seen in the occupational uniforms<sup>11</sup> (see figure 10) previously identified with men. Naturally, this powerful and prestigious look gained through uniforms was discovered by other women and outfits worn by naval officers (see figure 12) and scouts (see figure 11) also became popular among them. Consequently, some of these women used them as a part of their profession, and some of them adopted this masculine look in order to follow fashion.



**Figure 11 (Left):** The women wearing a scout and a sailor costume (Baydar and Özkan 1999, 48)

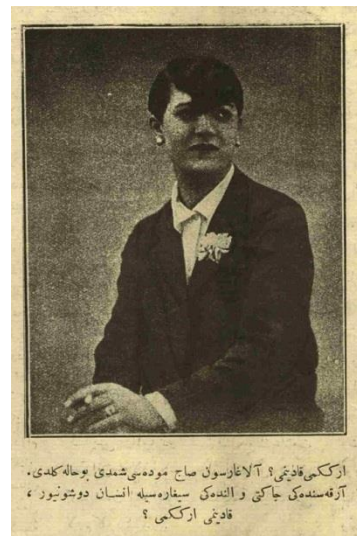
**Figure 12 (Right):** The girls trained in tailoring school were displayed in sailor's costume (Himam-Er and Tekcan 2014, 234)

At that moment the masculine look adopted by women was criticized in different circles. The early criticisms were made by humor magazines of the period. They developed a sarcastic visual and written language to portray the similarity between man and woman. One of those caricatures (see figure 13) compared the man's appearance from 1918 with the woman's look of 1938. In this visual a woman was wearing a *fez*, a jacket and a waistcoat which emphasized the chest of the body and there was a cigarette in her hand. This look was the pretty much the same as the man's image (not an average man but the one with a rowdy look) given on her right side. However, the humor

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<sup>11</sup> For more information about the uniforms and its relation with Turkish nation-state project please see (Himam and Pasin 2011).

magazines of the period were not only publications which found the new appearance of women strange. Servet-i Funun Magazine which was known to be one of the most innovative magazines of the time also published the photograph of a woman who adopted a masculine look. The written part below the image was briefly saying “A man or a woman? A woman with *a la garçonne*<sup>12</sup> hair style... One can think whether this is a woman or a man with the jacket and the cigarette at the hand” (see figure 14). The gender difference between men and women never had been reduced that much before and it was not easily acceptable for every part of society. Naturally this social condition aroused interest among different media organs.



**Figure 13 (Left):** The caricature which compares 1918 and 1938 in terms of men’s and women’s attire (Baydar and Özkan 1999, 44).

**Figure 14 (Right):** an image of a woman with *a la garçonne* hair style (Servet-i Fünun, 30 December 1926).

In Turkey, the changes observed in the daily practices bared a resemblance to the western model. As a result of the women’s liberation movement, western women gained new privileges in their daily lives. They started to smoke, drive a car, and swim more freely in public places. The new life style and the variety of the social activities in which the women were involved determined the new silhouettes and the beauty ideals of the period.

The 1920s, known as the “roaring twenties” were the years of physical, social and artistic activities peaked up. This dynamism, in both constructive and deconstructive manner, affected the social and

<sup>12</sup> *a la garçonne* means boyish in French.

cultural atmosphere. In a time period which is not more than 30 years the western ideals about beauty and clothing changed dramatically. According to Kennet Yellis who examined these two conflicting feminine ideals (see figure 15) states that the Gibson girl<sup>13</sup>, who was reflecting the ideal women of the late 1900s, “was the embodiment of stability”. On the other hand, the “flapper’s aesthetic ideal was motion (and) her characteristics were intensity, energy, volatility.... She refused to recognize the traditional moral code of American civilization, while the Gibson girl had been its guardian” (Kitch 2001, 128).



**Figure 15:** The illustration entitled “Thirty Years of Progress, 1896-1926” from Life Magazine of 1 926 (Kitch 2001, 129).

The “S” silhouette of *la belle époque* period which was adopted by women before World War I was totally far from the realities of the 20s. The women, who had to wear military and occupational uniforms during the war (see figure 16 and 17), had an experience of wearing simpler and less restrictive clothes. Their working experience with masculine clothing and in a masculine-gendered social environment provided them an opportunity to liberate their body from the corset. Since the women’s labor force was needed in post-war societies, the change in the women’s clothes which would not have been acceptable ten years before was treated with a much milder attitude.

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<sup>13</sup> Gibson girl which is a satirical illustration designed by Charles Dana Gibson was representing the feminine beauty ideals of the Victorian era.



**Figure 16 (Left):** A women worked in British Army Forces during World War I (Kindersley 2013, 238).

**Figure 17 (Right):** Military uniforms for Women's Motor Corps of USA designed by Abercrombie & Fitch (Kindersley 2013, 239).

In the 1920s, the length of skirts was shortened, loose fit dresses and less decorative hats started to be worn by women. The linear patterns in various forms (straight lines in different directions, zig-zag etc.) and geometric shapes seen on dresses reflected the dynamic mood of the period (Kindersley 2013).



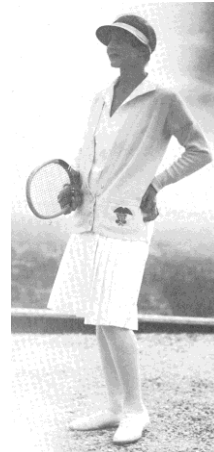
**Figure 18 (Left):** Knitted garments designed by Wilson's of London fashion house inspired from Coco Chanel and Jean Patou (Kindersley 2013, 251).

**Figure 19 (Right):** Knitted casual dresses by Jean Patou from 1927 (<http://cargocollective.com/processandskills/Jean-Patou>).

However, these repetitive lines changed forms in different occasions. In casual dresses the lines became visible on skirts in a form of plissé (see figure 19). They were also used as borders around

the neckline mostly seen in a V-shape or used horizontally on tops (see figure 18) to emphasize the flatness of the upper body.

The Increasing emphasis on clothing was a natural result of socialization; however the clothes gained forms according to their functions. In other words, the body gestures and movements performed during those activities affected the way people dressed. The use of knitted fabrics in both casualwear and sportswear was one of the very significant innovations of 20s within the fashion history (see figure 18 and 19). Knitted fabrics, previously used only for undergarments, were especially important for the development of sportswear industry since the knitted textiles were much more suitable for active sportswear because of their capacity to enhance movement. Especially Coco Chanel and Jean Patou (see figures 20 and 21), who became distinguished with innovative use of knitted textiles and creative sportswear designs, contributed to the new silhouette of women (Kindersley 2013). In this period among many other sport activities swimming came to fore both as a daily activity and a professional sport. Especially the success of female swimmers in aquatic sports, gave rise to the changes observed in swimsuit and beachwear designs (Westwick and Neushul 2013, 267).



**Figure 20 (Left):** Jean Patou swimsuit from 1929 (<https://pleasurephoto.wordpress.com/2012/10/16/george-hoyningen-huene-jean-patou-swimsuit-1929/>)

**Figure 21 (Right):** Jean Patou tennis ensemble (<http://www.ingredientsofstyle.com/2012/02/historical-makeover.html>)

The 30 years of change in clothing culture was equally astonishing for Turkey. Although a binary opposition has been constructed between West and East; and Turkey has been accepted as the holder of eastern tradition because of its Ottoman past, the moral and cultural codes changed similarly in both culture. Turkish women also started to wear western style swimwear during the 1920s and 1930s. National newspapers gave place to images of western beauty queens and women athletes in their swimsuits and facilitated the spread of this look.



**Figure 22 (Left):** Beauty queens in sea (Servet-i Fünun, 11 August 1927).

**Figure 23 (Right):** American swimmers in Berlin Olympics (Cumhuriyet, 24 August 1936).

In addition to Western societies, the White Russians who escaped from the revolution during the armistice<sup>14</sup> influenced the swimwear trends in Turkey (see figure 22 and 23). The difficult living conditions they had gave them an opportunity to create their own aesthetic values, and the creative solutions discovered by Russian women influenced the style of Turkish ladies. Beside the hair style known as “Russian Head”, the colorful fabrics and ripped dresses they wore started to be imitated by Istanbulite women (Baran 2006).

During the Early Republic Period, especially republican elite circles started to enjoy the new traditions of the republic such as going to balls, riding or golf playing. With the inclusion of the women in such events and activities their elegance was carried from home to the public space. Alev

<sup>14</sup> Armistice of Mudros, agreement signed between the Ottoman Empire and the Allies of World War I on the 30th October 1918.

Çınar describes the new ways of public visibility in terms of gender relations and the clothing styles as below:

“Married couples in secularist elite circles were demonstrating new forms of public visibility by showing up in public spaces as “man and wife” a previously uncommon practice, organizing flamboyant dance receptions wearing elegant European dresses and suits, arranging evening gatherings at coffee saloons, becoming members of prestigious golf and horseback riding clubs, and so on” (Çınar 2005, 64).

The evening gowns worn in those social gatherings had fringes decorated with glittery beads and stones. This type of dresses known as “flapper dresses” was especially suitable for dance parties where the fringes could enhance the appearance of its wearer by following the movement of the body during the performance (see figures 24, 25 and 26).



**Figure 24 (Left):** American actress Alice Joyce in flapper dress (<https://www.pinterest.com/pin/395472410999951201/>).

**Figure 25 (Center):** A dress from the movie “Our Dancing Daughters” (1928) (<https://www.pinterest.com/pin/49398927132807710/>).

**Figure 26 (Right):** American film actress Anita Page (<https://www.pinterest.com/pin/136233957454331366/>).

Both western dances and the dance dresses became influential on Turkish entertainment culture and clothing styles. The printed media did not only spread the news about these social gatherings, but also played a crucial role in promoting the new body practices required for the modern life. In some occasions, these publications became direct educational tools by giving explanations about how to

do certain things. Figure 28 taken from Servet-i Fünun Magazine of 1926 describe the Parisian dance figures step by step. Both this image and figure 27 which is the cover of the same magazine give clues about the Turkish evening dresses worn in the dance halls. Although these looks were the modest adaptations of western styles, the general structure of dresses and accessories were quite similar.



**Figure 27 (Left):** Magazine cover (Servet-i Fünun, 25 November 1926).

**Figure 28 (Right):** Parisian dance figures (Servet-i Fünun, 25 November 1926).

In addition to the pro-government publications which undertook the responsibility of public education, advertisements played a significant role in the new life styles during the period. These advertisements guided women about what to do, what to wear and what to use, directed them about which goods and services they need to purchase in order to accomplish a contemporary look. Nilüfer Göle explains how the social roles and behaviors of women were illustrated by advertisements as below:

Advertisements, cartoons and novels depicted women in their fashionable short cut hairstyles, Western style dresses, using new consumer products, and posing with their husbands in homes decorated with Western style furniture, and in public places such as theatres, restaurants, tea-rooms and streets (Göle 1997, 51).

Those advertisements offered hygiene, beauty, luxury, and freedom to women in order to convince them about purchasing certain goods and services. Home appliances, cosmetics and cars were some of the products that were promoted to women.





**Figure 29 (Left):** Advertisement for driving lessons for women (Servet-i Fünun, 27 August 1929)

**Figure 30 (Right):** Dodge advertisement published in Haftalık Mecmua in 1929

(<http://www.zamantika.com/1920ler/1929-yilinda-reklamlar/>)

In the advertisement shown in figure 29 women were invited to driving lessons. Here driving was promoted as a contemporary sport activity which was already appreciated by European and American women. In the figure next to it (see figure 30), the cars were illustrated in a luxurious environment surrounded by a magnificent building and elegant couples. The first advertisement provided a chance to its female target who would like to be equal with European and American women (also with men, since driving was accepted to be a masculine activity), and the second advertisement offers a high-status among public.



**Figure 31 (Left):** Face powder advertisement published in Akşam Postası in 1936

(<http://www.zamantika.com/1930lar/reklamlar-reklamlar-1936/2/>).

**Figure 32 (Right):** Vacuum cleaner advertisement published in İnkilap in 1930

(<http://www.zamantika.com/1930lar/1930-yilindan-reklamlar/>).

The advertisements which made use of the feelings of inferiority, superiority and equality very consciously used the theme of “modernity” very often. The cosmetics were promoted as products necessary to keep up with the contemporary daily activities. The face powder advertisement in the figure 31 offered a day-long beauty which is durable in all physical conditions (sunny and rainy weather, during indoor and outdoor activities including swimming and dancing). Different from the other three, the advertisement in figure 32 promotes a vacuum cleaner which is a domestic product. However the female figure depicted on the image seems to be posing in her contemporary cloths rather than doing actual cleaning work. This can be related with the fact that the home appliances mostly have been promoted to women as time and energy saving product which give them extra time to spend out of home and extra energy for self-care.

Briefly the international politics, cultural shifts and new media culture affected body practices and clothing of the Turkish women in the early republic period. Especially women’s rejection of patriarchal supremacy resulted in the elimination of restrictions related with clothing and the use of public space. In both corporeal and social sense, the woman’s body and its visibility was no longer a subject which only men could decide on. However, without their notice, women’s look and visibility in public space started to be formed by advertisement culture which sustains capitalist production.

## **1.2 Transition Period (1939-1950):**

During the early republic period, the years between 1939 and 1950 had a distinctive character because of the unexpected circumstances that affected Turkey’s political agenda. These circumstances starting after 1938 based on both domestic and foreign political affairs. Undoubtedly, the first and the most significant incident of the period was the sudden death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Although the revolution was not completed yet, this event left it without a leader. After his death the French newspaper Sanerwin wrote:

“Atatürk died. The eastern column of the dome of peace collapsed. As of today no one can guarantee the protection of peace in the world. Leaders of Europe failed to see his

warnings in the 1930s and dragged their countries into the devastating World War II in 1939” (Özer 2013, 11).

The second big event was related with what Sanerwin wrote about. It was World War II which has left deep scars on the collective memory of the European nations. Although İsmet İnönü was the representative of the reformist political attitude legated by Atatürk, he took over the governance in a very unfortunate period which did not allow him to implement his projects. International balance policy that he followed prevented Turkey for participating in war, but still Turkey’s military forces took the necessary precautions against all possible foreign threats which might come from cross-borders. The economic reflections of those precautions were especially heavy for the country since the national economy was still devolping and the necessary groundwork could not be implemented before the war broke out. Consequently, in the history of the Turkish republic the years of WWII passed into history as the only period which the government applied a war economy model. Beside the regular soldiers (men older than 20 who perform mandatory military duty), reserve forces were called up. Government focused on war industry and this had negative effects on the production of fundamental goods required for living. As a result defence expenditures constituted 44% of general budget between the years 1938-39. These undesirable conditions had negative influences on Turkish textile industry. A rationing system was applied; and Subsistence Boards (İaşe Müdürlükleri) controlled the food, clothing and fuel stocks and decided on their distribution (Arı 1997, 448-449,452).



**Figure 33:** Newspaper clipping announcing the end of rationing system about fabric distribution (Akşam, 25 June 1945)

According to Zafer Toprak:

“The domestic Products Markets undertook the rationing of cotton thread and clothes. The National Protection Law enacted in January 30, 1941 obliged all producers of cotton thread to deliver their products to the Domestic Products Market. Then came the confiscation of cotton goods following the decision of the Coordination Committee in August 25, 1941. From then on the Domestic Products Markets were the sole buyer and distributor of all cotton goods as well as the organizer of the market for woolen and silk goods” (Toprak 1988, 83).

Clothing Rationing ended in 1945 and this was announced to the public in newspapers. The newspaper announcement (see figure 33) is as follows:

To the Attention of the Honorable Public  
From the Wholesale Directorate of the Sümerbank Institution of  
Domestic Goods Markets:  
Distribution of printed cottons and canvas in return of (T)  
coupons will come to an end as of June.  
We kindly ask to the ones who are in need to come to our shops  
and dealers as soon as possible in order to prevent congestion.

During World War II, The necessity to comply with the deteriorating living conditions resulted in changes in daily lives. The ones who could survive tried to orient themselves to existing conditions during war by changing the way they lived and dressed. The roaring twenties and glamorous thirties were followed by the comparatively modest look of the forties with a very quick twist.



**Figure 34:** “Fashion is Indestructible”, a photograph by Cecile Beaton published in British Vogue in 1941 (KCI 2002, 151).

This modest look was still elegant, although the life was difficult and the sources required for living were scarce. In 1941, in the middle of World War II, a photograph (see figure 34) was published in British Vogue with a title of “fashion is indestructible”. This photograph of Cecile Beaton constitutes a very good example explaining the position of fashion in the times of disorder. Even just by looking the image itself, the title –which is a statement at the same time- might be seen as assertive and unreal. The level of “unreality” increases when we think of the destructive power of war on everything so called destructibles including unconquerable cities, powerful empires and undefeatable armies. However, still this statement carries a reality in itself. Fashion is indestructible and it is related with its instability, its power to confirm and its ingenuity to enhance the existing situations. Since the existing situation required the efficient use of material and labour force the first half of 40s were the years of “utility cloth”. In 1942, as James Laver noted:

“British Board of Trade introduced the Utility Clothing Scheme, a system of controls on the amount of fabric and the number of trimmings used in clothing. The Incorporated Society of London Fashion Designers ... took on the task of creating a prototype range of clothing which met these requirements, using minimal material and labour resources” (Laver 2002, 253).

British government also introduced a campaign with the slogan “Make-do and Mend” (see figure 35). The posters aimed to encourage women to make their own garments and repair the ones which were worn.



**Figure 35:** A Poster issued by British Board of Trade from 1942 ([http://www.1940.co.uk/acatalog/Reproduction\\_Posters.html](http://www.1940.co.uk/acatalog/Reproduction_Posters.html)).

As in the case of Europe, the Turkish women were also encouraged to be economical through printed media. Especially women's magazines aimed to train housewives about reuse of old clothes. A Turkish women's magazine, *Ev Kadın* (Home Woman), from 1941 had this title: "Today a house wife can also get dressed stylish and neat by making use of old clothes" and explained some practical ways to women by suggesting little alterations for old clothes such as adding accessories and removing the frayed parts if possible (see figure 36).



**Figure 36:** A magazine clipping from *E v Kadın* Magazine of 1941 (Baydar and Özkan 1999, 55).

The limitations of war also encouraged the designers to be more creative about the use of materials and designs. While the United Kingdom was looking for rational alternatives related with clothing, United States was discovering its own domestic talents. Beside Main Rousseau Bocher and Charles James, the American designers who came from Paris to New York, two new talents came to fore including Norman Norell and Claire McCardell. When the American War Production Board put limitation on the use of textile materials (especially wool and silk) required in the war industry, "Mc Cardell turned to cotton, using denim, seersucker, ticking and jersey to produce a range of attractive, easy-to-wear designs, many of which have become classics" (Laver 2002, 254-255) .

The ban over silk also encouraged women to find new aesthetic solutions. Since silk was required in parachute manufacturing, the usage of this material was forbidden for hosiery and clothing. Although nylon was already introduced by Du Pont in the USA, it was not widely available. When the women

could not obtain stockings of any kind, they used body make-up known as liquid silk stockings and tried to draw mock seam to the back side of their legs to pretend as if they had stockings (see figures 37 and 38) (Laver 2002, 254).



**Figure 37 (Left):** The application of liquid silk stockings (<http://477768.livejournal.com/2201414.html>).  
**Figure 38 (Right):** Mock seam stocking (<http://rarehistoricalphotos.com/nylon-stockings-scarce-women-paint-legs-looked-like-stockings-1942/>).

Silk stockings were also a luxury for the Turkish women. After World War II, the silk replaced with nylon stockings which became wide-spread again. This innovation was pleasing for both men and women because of the reduced prices. Turkish woman magazine Peri gave place to a magazine article entitled “the stocking issue” in 1951 (see figure 39). The article explained how the silk stockings gave damage to family budgets before they were replaced with nylon stockings and this imported innovation was embraced with a humorous narration.



**Figure 39:** The newspaper article entitled “the stocking issue” (Peri, 1951).

During the war years Paris couturiers, influencing the clothing choices of Turkish fashion customers, lost their superiority in the world of fashion. Since there were regulations about clothing manufacturing to prevent material wastage, they introduced some creative solutions related with head accessories in order to cope with the war conditions. In Paris,

“Even hairpins disappeared from the market, so women could not put up their hair. Large hats became popular because they could cover undressed hair and bring quick elegance top lain clothing; in addition, they were not regulated items. Elaborate hats such as high-rising turbans and straw hats with plenty of floral ornament were and effective contrast to the restricted dresses in Paris” (KCI 2002, 156).



**Figure 40:** Hats and turbans produced by Parisian couturiers during World War II (KCI 2002, 156-157).

Of course the *turbans* shown in figure 40 could only been used by high-status women, the women from lower classes used cheaper and simpler *turbans* for the same purpose (see figure 41).





**Figure 41 (Left):** Turbans worn by working class women during World War II (<https://www.pinterest.com/pin/274508539762179829/>).

**Figure 42 (Right):** Caricature of Ramiz from 1941, the archive of Gökhan Akçura (Baydar and Özkan 1999, 54).

The women trying to be elegant even in war times took the interest of Turkish humor magazines and the Turkish caricaturist Ramiz made the cartoon entitled “The forms which women’s hat fashion will take coming winter, if the war continues...” (see figure 42). The same period also witnessed the emergence of alternative clothing styles. *Bobstiller* (Turkish name given to a group adopting Bob-style look) appeared after World War II, became the target of Turkish satirists. Their styles have been illustrated by Cemal Nadir (see figure 43) and Ramiz and described in the *Dictionary of Turkish Clothes, Finery and Adornment*<sup>15</sup> written by Reşat Ekrem Koçu (see figure 44). The description of Koçu was parallel to what was illustrated in the humor magazines. According to the description the young girls and boys adopting this look were mostly the members of families with higher income. Since the rebellious looks were mostly associated with mobs and lower-groups previously, this was an extraordinary situation for that time. Koçu, who associated the style with rudeness, noise and heaviness, explained the look in details for both boys and girls. According to the description, Bob style girls wore men’s jackets which were redesigned according to female body. Their extremely short skirts revealed their knees. They either did not wear stockings or the stockings were so thin that they could hardly be noticed. Their weird hats resembled to cone or the caps of bagel sellers. Their wedges were high, their nails were painted in coral and their bodies were adorned with

<sup>15</sup> The original name: Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü.

artificial stones. On the other hand, boys wore loose jackets and heavy shoes with rubber foot beds.

Their hats made of fabric had narrow brims.



**Figure 43 (Left):** “Scary looks of the year” a caricature by Ramiz published in Karikatür with the title in 1944 (Baydar and Özkan 1999, 58).

**Figure 44 (Right):** Bobstiller illustrated in *Dictionary of Turkish Clothes, Finery and Adornment* (Koçu 1969, 40).

The post-war period brought new hope and creative spirit to fashion world. After the World War II the masculine look of utility dress had been softened and dresses emphasized the waist line (see figure 45). Although they were still two-piece ladies suits, the lower part of the jacket which gained volume around the hips created difference with the straight silhouette of early-1940s.



**Figure 45 (Left):** A newspaper clipping explaining the trends of 1948 (Akşam, 30 June 1949).



**Figure 46 (Right):** A newspaper clipping explaining the trends of 1948 (Akşam, 27 June 1948).

During the late-1940s the stylistic ambiguity seen in the Turkish newspapers (figure 46) was the result of Parisian haute couture world which was in search of innovation and they were mostly reflecting the Parisian occupation style<sup>16</sup>. This innovation came with the “The New Look” (see figure 47) of Christian Dior in 1948. According to Laver, since it was an interpretation of late-nineteenth century and 1930s, the New Look was not new at all. However it was creating a great contrast with the garments produced in UK and USA during the war. Although the looks created by British and American designers were the outcomes of rational and functional thinking required in war times “the New Look symbolized hopes for a more prosperous future” (Laver 2002, 256).



**Figure 47:** Dior’s the New Look ensemble from 1947 ([http://www.dior.com/couture/en\\_int/the-house-of-dior/the-story-of-dior/the-new-look-revolution](http://www.dior.com/couture/en_int/the-house-of-dior/the-story-of-dior/the-new-look-revolution)).

Under the effect of this look a woman’s body regained its feminine stance. The dresses which were fitted on the bodice completed either with large flared skirts or high-waist pencil skirts gained

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<sup>16</sup> During the occupation of Paris, “...design of Parisian haute couture clothing continued to evolve from the styles of the 1930s. Because rationing would be of benefit only to the occupiers, no attempt was made to conserve materials or labour and dresses were long and full-skirted. Many were corseted and some included late-nineteenth-century revival-style bustles” (Laver 2002, 252).

volume around the hips. The peplum jackets complied with both upper and lower body and enhanced the silhouette. Although  $\frac{3}{4}$  length skirts were highly preferred, full-length skirts which were reaching to the ankles were also in fashion. Designers, who had to reduce material waste in accordance with the regulations directed by the government during World War II, celebrated 1950s with the excessive use of fabric. The quantity of fabric used in one skirt reached to fifteen yards. Although it was a “reckless waste” for some parts of society, the look remained popular until the end of mid 1950s (Laver 2002, 256).

Parallel with the change in Europe, the effect of the New Look continued until the end of mid-1950s in Turkey. Both newspapers and the magazines started to display this style with various combinations. Striped and floral patterns were equally wide-spread (see figures 48 and 49). Different than war-time periodicals, in this decade fashion pages included the photographs of western, mostly Parisian collection pieces. Consecutively, the glamour of Parisian haute couture was felt again.



**Figure 48 (Left):** Newspaper clipping explaining the fashion of 1955 (Akşam, 26 July 1955).

**Figure 49 (Right):** Newspaper clipping explaining the fashion of 1955 (Akşam, 28 June 1955).

The glamour and plenitude of 1950s also revealed itself with the hat designs. Designers also used fabrics excessively while producing hats and feminine details made themselves visible with floral details, ribbons, bright colors and drapery. The exaggerated forms and volumes created around the

heads balanced the lower body. The hat models mostly worn by Hollywood stars of 1950s started to be seen in the Turkish woman magazines (see figure 50).



**Figure 50:** Hat designs for women which were published in Hayat Magazine on 27 February 1957 (Baydar and Özkan 1999, 63).

In Turkey, the accessories and clothes shown in the magazines were produced by tailors and milliners. In addition to Girls Institutes which was already mentioned, the Maturation Institutes<sup>17</sup> (Olgunlaşma Enstitüleri) founded in 1945 contributed to the production of contemporary clothes. In these institutions the clothing production was a collaborative work and the embellishments including embroidery and painting were made in the related ateliers by the people who were specialized in this field (Himam-Er and Tekcan 2014, 246).

### 1.3 The Period of Political Unrest (1950-1983):

Starting from 1950 Turkey took a new term with transition to the multi-party system. Adnan Menderes the leader of Demokrat Parti (Democrat Party) won the election of 1950 and DP governance which continued until his death in 1960 brought new national and international consequences for the country. One of those was Marshall Plan, a US sponsored financial aid provided to western and southern European countries to build an economic stability in which

<sup>17</sup> Maturation Institutions (Olgunlaşma Enstitüleri) gave education to the students who would like to enhance their occupational knowledge and hand skills about tailoring. Their aim was to contribute to Turkish traditional clothing and handcrafts by doing research and archival studies, by producing, developing and evaluating traditional arts.

For more information see: [http://mebk12.meb.gov.tr/meb\\_iys\\_dosyalar/06/01/972455/icerikler/okulumuzun-tarihcesi\\_180339.html?CHK=13eb50be9ee6456688dae245eba51d3e](http://mebk12.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/06/01/972455/icerikler/okulumuzun-tarihcesi_180339.html?CHK=13eb50be9ee6456688dae245eba51d3e).

democratic institutions could survive.<sup>18</sup> Although it seemed like a financial issue, Marshall Plan had social and cultural outcomes on the country. According to Sezgi Durgun:

“... post-war period marked the Americanization period in Turkey. Meanwhile during this period Turkish domestic politics was also transforming with the introduction of the ‘multi-party system’ and rule of Democrat Party, which followed a relatively liberal, trade-driven development policy with an emphasis on private entrepreneurship. In this context, Turkish economic policy was shaped through the Marshall Aid program” (Durgun 2013, 72).

Durgun Also claimed that Marshall Plan also resulted in the promotion of new consumerist values as well as anti-communism. However these consumer goods including “TV sets, canned foods, cosmetics, jazz music records, kitchen appliances and Coca-Cola” (Durgun 2013, 80) did not simply change the direction of money, but also introduced a new life style.

In 1950s, changing consumption patterns also affected the “ideals” defining body and gender roles; and the advertisement culture increasing its influence together with the developing capitalist economies became one of its indicators. The Early Republic Period which was trapped between two world wars was the years of solidarity in which men and women acted together for same national interests. War conditions encouraged people to produce and reuse. Also, the similarity of physical and intellectual tasks performed by both men and women resulted in the demand of gender equality in work space and political environments. Although those years were formed by feminist values and mending culture, the capitalist economies encouraged consumerism and reinforced the male supremacy by controlling the consumption patterns emphasizing gender difference. Although the female figures were represented while posing, smiling and doing housework, the male figures were associated with business activities such as reading and writing (see figure 51, 52 and 53). The women who were attracted by new domestic products were drawn back to their homes and enjoyed the ease and comfort that provide them extra time. The time remained from housework was spent for

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<sup>18</sup> Poverty and unemployment resulted from the financial instability of European countries was also threatening for The United States, because the failure of capitalist economies was reinforcing the appeal of communist parties in these countries. In order to annihilate this risk US gave financial support to 17 countries including Turkey (Encyclopedia Britannica 2014).

another consumerist activity associated with womanhood: self-care and fashion. These circumstances created a strong relation with fashion industry and consumption culture. On one hand, consumption turned out to be the prerequisite of being up to date, in other words being in fashion; and on the other hand, fashion industry had to respond to the demands of the market by producing faster and more in order to both create and fulfill the need for renewal or catching time.



**Figure 51 (Left):** Tursil, a detergent advertisement (Hayat, 19 August 1960).

**Figure 52 (Center):** Philishave, electric shaver advertisement (Hayat, 21 October 1960).

**Figure 53 (Right):** Nuh'un Ankara Makarnası, pasta advertisement and Parker Super Quick, ink advertisement (Hayat, 18 November 1960).

In addition to foreign policies stimulating the dissemination of American culture and the consumerism, the internal immigration affected the social structure during the years with Adnan Menderes. The immigration resulted in both physical and social mobility; and city -especially Istanbul- turned into a hybrid entity with the people coming from the villages. Some of those people were the ones who were attracted by the job opportunities of industrialized cities and the rest was the wealthy Anatolian villagers who got rich during the war. Accordingly, local clothing styles belong to Anatolian culture appeared in the cities and the immigrant women started to adapt their clothing

styles to the urban life by making some modifications about their clothes. Those women, who first tried to wear the pants under their skirts, later replaced them with loose pants in a form of pajamas or only wore dresses with long skirts. On the other hand men became the part of the metropolitans with their Jodhpur pants, flat caps and waistcoats (see figure 54).



**Figure 54:** The caricature series entitled *Hacı Ağalar (Haji Aghas)* by Ramiz (Baydar and Özkan 1999, 65).

Correspondingly, 1960s was also a period in which the political regime was questioned in terms of social equality and justice. In 1960 Democrat Party government encountered with a strong public opposition due to the social discomfort resulted from unemployment, poverty, limitations in freedom of thought and internal migration. The student protests which were followed by 27 May 1960 military coup resulted in constitutional change. The new constitution came into force in 1961 was comparatively more emancipatory. The new changes affected industry and social life gave acceleration to the developments in arts and culture. The American influences being effective in DP governance during 1950s were diminished with the new international relations focusing on Europe (Baydar and Özkan 1999, 67).

While Turkey was busy with its internal problems, the world focused on the space researches resulted in a rivalry between United States and Soviet Union. This process gave inspiration to fashion world led by the European designers such as Pierre Cardin (see figure 55 and 56), André Courrèges and Paco Rabanne etc. As a result of the world agenda stayed focused on these



discoveries, 1960s was pronounced as space age in the history of fashion and Turkey followed this trend.



**Figure 55 (Left):** Pierre Cardin (1966) (Mendes, Pierre Cardin: Past, Present, Future 1990).

**Figure 56 (Right):** The looks from the fall-winter collection of Lanvin Castillo, Jean Desses, Hermes, Jacques Esterel, Pierre Cardin. The notes given at the bottom of the pages give also details of Christian Dior and Pierre Balmain collections (Hayat, 2 September 1960).

Different than the silhouette of 1950s which put emphasis on waist corseted very tightly, the silhouette of 1960s was straight along the body. Especially the outer garments which enlarge at the hemline and the pencil skirts which become narrow under the knee resulted in the O-shape silhouettes which remind the form of rocket literally (see figures 55 and 56). The non-padded shoulders and tight long-sleeves or enlarging  $\frac{3}{4}$  length sleeves enhanced this silhouette. The proportions of head accessories also changed accordingly. The hats rose up on the top a little bit and surrounded the head tightly. They mostly had no brim, and the brims were too narrow if they had one. The decorations were minimized to not to compete with the structure. The hair was short or tied over the head in a form of topknot.

In Turkey, the Maturation Institutes produced similar garments by considering the trends in the fashion world and they exhibited their collections in both national and international platforms (see figure 57). The international events were supported by the Turkish government since the fashion

shows were seen as the tools of national promotion. The silhouettes, in other words the structure of the garments were reflecting the contemporary fashion trends. However, the use of local fabrics, embellishments and the traditional motifs was the result of an effort to give them a national aesthetic.



**Figure 57:** A newspaper clipping about the fashion show of the Ankara Maturation Institute which was held in Paris in 1968 ([http://mebk12.meb.gov.tr/meb\\_iys\\_dosyalar/06/01/972455/icerikler/gecmisten-goruntuler\\_632561.html](http://mebk12.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/06/01/972455/icerikler/gecmisten-goruntuler_632561.html)).

In these institutes, professional educators were not only teaching the specifics of tailoring to students, but also producing garments for elite customers including the wives of Turkish and foreign politicians. In the interview conducted by Dilek Himam-Er, Jale Gelgör, a tailor currently working in İzmir, states that they were producing garments for the wives of foreign politicians and diplomats (such as Farah Diba) and organizing fashion shows on the occasion of their visits (see figure 58). Another interview of Himam-Er which was made with Necmiye Berktaç confirms this claim and Berktaç adds that the dresses which were produced in the institutes were also popular among the wives of Turkish presidents and ministers (Himam-Er and Tekcan 2014, 242).



**Figure 58:** Farah Diba, the wife of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (Shah of Iran) visited Ankara Maturational Institute ([http://mebk12.meb.gov.tr/meb\\_iys\\_dosyalar/06/01/972455/icerikler/gecmisten-goruntuler\\_632561.html](http://mebk12.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/06/01/972455/icerikler/gecmisten-goruntuler_632561.html)).

Farah Diba, as a symbol of modern Iran, was an inspirational figure for the women of Turkey. All the life events related with her (including her marriage, pregnancies, birth of their children) were followed by Turkish media very closely and the garments worn by Diba in such important events became iconic (see figures 59 and 60). Especially her wedding dress designed by Yves Saint Laurent, who was the designer of Dior at that moment, aroused an attention in the world press.

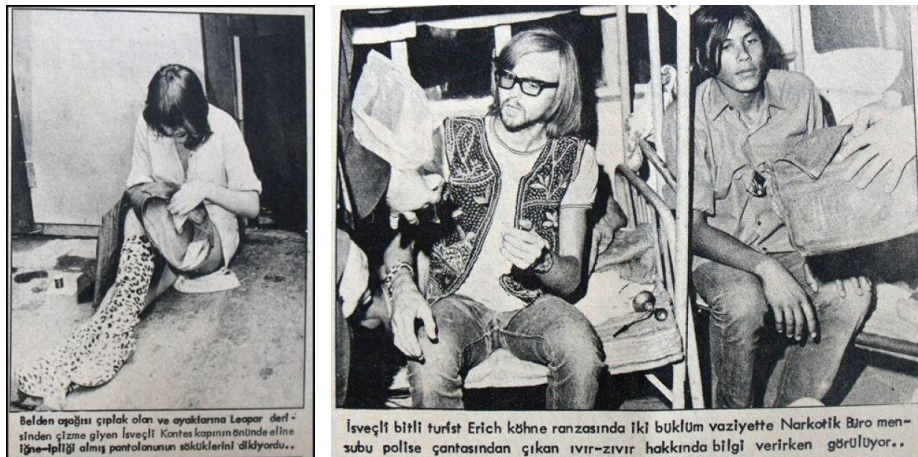


**Figure 59 (Left):** The marriage of Farah Diba with Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (Hayat, 11 November 1960).  
**Figure 60 (Right):** The coronation ceremony of the imperial family (Hayat, 2 November 1967)

In the late-1960s, alternative styles started to appear parallel with the activist movements and the international mobility. The student riots of 1968, which was the most critical social event of the decade, aimed to protest Vietnam War, and take attention to civil rights. It was a struggle for gender

equality, sexual freedom, eco consciousness and world peace. The movement was supported by music groups and pop-stars and the spirit expanded through their world tours. International mobility also gained importance especially among young people of Europe and USA who started to be interested in the mysticism and the authenticity of the East and the Far East. The activist spirit came together with bohemian life and the ethnic looks of Asia and even Africa could find a place in the fashion world with its all colors, patterns and even with its wild nature. According to Laver, this was a “rejection of Western consumerist society” and hippies became first to adopt “Afgan coats, fringed suede garments, kaftans, headbands and beads”. “European and American societies became increasingly multi-cultural, the clothes and hairstyles of Afro-Caribbean, Asian and African-American communities injected a lively new ingredient into all levels of Western dress (Laver 2002, 268-269).

Hippies both with their world views and clothing styles reflected this bohemian life world-wide. Different than other alternative cultures leaving moderate impressions on limited number of youths in Turkey in previous decades, the hippie culture made itself visible in the cities of Turkey with the visits of travelers mostly coming from the western countries. As a result of the interaction between European and Turkish groups, the sphere of influence became larger. Sultanahmet district was one of the most famous touristic destinations preferred by hippies because of its authenticity and reasonable accommodation options.



**Figure 61 (Left):** A newspaper clipping (Gün, July 1974).

**Figure 62 (Right):** A newspaper clipping (Gün, July 1974)

In Turkey, they were ignored or marginalized with humor and their styles were mostly underestimated as the ridiculous fashion trends affecting the youths. As oppose to the capitalist impositions encouraging fashion consumers to purchase the newest and the latest, they were wearing old, even second hand clothes and they were repairing them when needed (Figure 61). They were also different from the rest of the society in terms of body hygiene and privacy. They were accommodating on the streets or preferring low-budget hostels where they shared their private space with others as a part of communal life they suggested (Figure 62). These people suddenly appeared in the streets of İstanbul and other big cities took the attention of the national press; however the magazines preferred to reflect them as freaks having drug-addiction and unusual attitudes. However, the appearances adopted by hippie sub-culture were favored by young Turkish groups and magazines (see figure 63).



**Figure 63:** Magazine cover (Hayat, 11 June 1970).

Unisex clothes and hairstyles started to be preferred by both sexes and it helped to diminish the gender difference based on clothing. These looks attracting the young generations sometimes were found strange among public. Koçu in his dictionary explained the “beatle”<sup>19</sup> style hair-cut (see figure 64) as the look of handmaidens who have a shapeless hair getting longer after it was cut to get rid of

<sup>19</sup> Koçu gives reference to the hair style which became popular with the music group The Beatles.

the lice. The writer, who explicitly defines the look as “unaesthetic”, made positive comments on the men having long hair divided on the center of the forehead. According to the description, this hairstyle is completed with mustache and reminds the Jesus drawn in Renaissance paintings (Koçu, Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü 1969, 32-33). Although it was not mentioned in the dictionary, the second look is identified with the iconic style of Barış Manço (see figure 65), who is a very important rock musician in the Turkish music culture and the history.



**Figure 64 (Left):** The hair-styles of the group members of The Beatles in 1966 (<http://ghostsofcd.org/2013/02/13/beatles-dc-stadium-1966/>).

**Figure 65 (Right):** The Hairstyle of Barış Manço in 1970s ([http://konsertv.net/wpcontent/uploads/2014/03/90345\\_baris\\_manco\\_kimdir\\_resimleri\\_8.jpg](http://konsertv.net/wpcontent/uploads/2014/03/90345_baris_manco_kimdir_resimleri_8.jpg)).

During the period young Turkish intellectuals popularized clothes and accessories having Anatolian motifs (Baydar and Özkan 1999, 74). Parallel with the global trends inspired from eastern and far eastern cultures, Turkey rediscovered its own eastern side and the fashion trends of the time changed accordingly. As a reflection of this trend, orientalist details started to be seen on the Turkish garments (see figures 66 and 67).

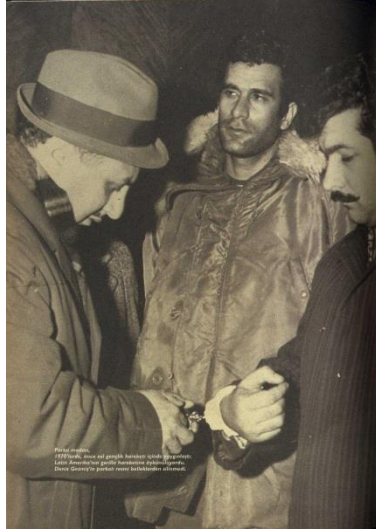
Anatolian culture also affected the designs of corporate brands and designers which were recently appeared in Turkish fashion industry. Zühal Yorgancıoğlu was one of the well-known designers of 1970s which came to fore with this style. Also Vakko, as a corporate brand dignifying the local values, created a collection entitled “The Sun of Anatolia” in 1981. This fashion show which was prepared for the honor of 100<sup>th</sup> birthday of Atatürk became one of the most important events in the

Turkish fashion history. The garments were designed by Nejla Seyhun who was the fashion designer and the editor at that moment.



**Figure 66 (Left):** The cover of Hayat magazine (Hayat, 2 November 1967).  
**Figure 67 (Right):** The cover of Hayat magazine (Hayat, 15 January 1970).

Different than the looks mentioned until now, some clothing styles created more serious discussions among the society because of the ideological background behind them. Starting from 1970s the ideological polarization between left and right-wing got deeper and clothes turned to be the marker of the difference. According to Baydar and Özkan, in a period starting after 12 March 1971 military memorandum, the groups sharing the same political views established their own cultural foundations and broadcasting organizations; and adopted a common clothing language. The revolutionist students with a leftist stance preferred to wear parkas and heavy-shoes associated with Deniz Gezmiş (see figure 68), a Turkish communist and political activist who was sentenced to death in 1972 for violating constitutional order. On the other hand idealists (Nationalist-Islamist groups supporting Nationalist Movement Party) had Middle Asian mustache and radical Islamists wore loose-fit black salwar and long beards (Baydar and Özkan 1999, 73).



**Figure 68:** Deniz Gezmiş with his parka which became the symbol of the resistance (Baydar and Özkan 1999, 72).

According to Göle after 1968 the seeds of the Islamic movement were planted on the same environment where the leftist counter-cultures were evolved. However the alternative culture introduced by Islamists was highly puritan in comparison to leftist movements which ignore social hierarchies (Göle, Mahremin Göçü 2011, 76). For conservatives the presence of social hierarchies was important to control gender relations and clothing was an important tool both as its indicator and control mechanism. Therefore it was positioned against the leftist groups which reflect their ideas to their appearance with their genderless styles. However different than Göle who positions the leftist and Islamist movements on the opposite sides in terms of their approach to the gender issues, Çınar draws a parallel between two approaches:

“Some leftist-feminists of the 1970s for example, would refuse to wear makeup, tight clothes, or anything that would “sexualize” the appearance of women. This is why tight ponytails, loose and shabby clothes, and no makeup were the leftist style of the 1970s (see figure 69). This style was not so different from the Islamic veiling in that they have both been products of the attempt to conceal the sexuality of the female body, so they have both served to reproduce and reaffirm the power and the authority of the male gaze, which, it has been assumed, has the natural capacity to define and constitute female bodies as sexual and desirable” (Çınar 2005, 77).





**Figure 69:** The photograph from 1970s demonstrating İlkay Alptekin Demir (front row, second from the left), one of Turkey's leftist-feminists, with her friends in the prison (<http://www.bianet.org/biamag/toplumsal-cinsiyet/136448-bu-kadinlar-beni-cesaretlendirdi>).

After the 1980s a new period started for both Turkey and the Middle East. The right-wing political parties gained power with the 1980 Military Coup in Turkey; on the other hand Islamic movements enlarged their scope of influence by increasing the number of their supporters. Iranian Revolution lead by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini resulted in the overthrow of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi and this event served as a model for radical Islamists in other Islamic countries. These circumstances also affected the clothing discourse of the Özal period by taking the issue of the veil to the national agenda.

## **2 The Özal Period as a Breaking Point: The Encounter of Different Poles (1983-1993)**

The Motherland Party (*Anavatan Partisi*) founded by Turgut Özal was one of the three political parties which were approved as politically eligible for the 1983 elections. However, among these three it was the only one which came to fore with a liberal, anti-statist and democratic attitude. After the coup, the military-led government counted upon Özal for the improvement of the national economy by considering his career in the World Bank and his contacts in business and finance circles (Ahmad 1993, 186-190).



**Figure 70:** Caricature of Özal (<http://www.haberturk.com/kultur-sanat/haber/602893-turkiyenin-karikaturle-imtihanı>).

Although this support put him in an advantageous position for the elections, Özal’s real success laid behind his indefinite<sup>20</sup> political identity. According to Ahmad, ANAP (Motherland Party) was as conservative as (Adalet Partisi) the Justice Party, as Islamist as the traditionalists, as nationalist as neo-fascists, as leftist as CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi) the Republican People's Party because of its trust in social justice (Ahmad, *Bir Kimlik Peşinde Türkiye* 2007, 191) (see figure 70). Although it might be seen as a political identity problem at first glance, the pluralistic identity of the party provided an opportunity for Özal to target larger groups by expanding his voter profile.

Although Özal was regarded as pragmatist in some circles, his political attitude was perfectly matching with the spirit of the time which was influenced by the things in motion. As in the case of the word “thing” which might be used for anything or everything, all the material and immaterial signs had new possible meanings in this period. According to Gürbilek, in the 1980s the signs were nomadic, which means any sign which was previously used by a specific group or ideology could easily be part of another discourse having the opposite or conflicting claim. For instance, the Punks, rejecting all social constructs including the fashion system became a visual material of the

<sup>20</sup> Nurdan Gürbilek who creates a relation between unidentifiability and hegemonic power gives reference to Roland Barthes who defines bourgeoisie as a “social class which does not want to be defined”. This invisible hegemony originated from being indefinite, allowed bourgeois class to steal all physical and abstract signs of other ideologies by alienating them from their original meanings and historical backgrounds. Consequently, the bourgeoisie had an opportunity to talk on behalf of other groups by neutralizing and universalizing their stolen words (Gürbilek 2011, 46). As in the case of the rise of the bourgeoisie, in the 1980s Motherland Party directed by Özal gained success by adopting all the accepted values of other ideologies.

advertisement world with all of their disobedient looks and accessories. Similar to sub-cultures which create their own sign system by stealing and modifying the symbols of sovereign powers, the consumption society returned the same symbols back to the market by isolating them from their historical and social contents (Gürbilek 2011, 37). Under these circumstances the immigrant signs served to benefit of different power groups attempting to break or strengthen their bonds with a specific community.

Here it is necessary to note that those immigrant signs were not the reasons but the results of the things in motion. In the 1980s, the individuals, institutions and objects started to change their places expeditiously. The movement, which might be comprehended as a physical phenomenon at first glance, resulted in a social change which was strong enough to transform Turkish society. In order to conceive the essence of this social transformation, the elements and the direction of the change need to be ascertained. This essence will reveal how the symbols conformed to the social change and affected the way people dressed.

## **2.1 The Change in the Focus of the Media Culture (From Public Sphere to Private Sphere)**

The media, allowing the rapid diffusion of styles serves to the fashion industry to a certain extent. However, it also gives direction to clothing choices by being a part of political discourse. The media, as a gatekeeper<sup>21</sup>, is a political agent that constructs and changes social reality (Barzilai-Nahon 2009). Therefore the observation of the media culture helps to comprehend how the political discourse of the 1980s stimulated the relationship between people and their (material / non-material) world. Although in the democratic systems the mass media is expected to fulfil its agenda-setting function independent from the sovereign political authority, the mainstream media usually act to legitimize its decisions.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> According to Shoemaker and Vos media gatekeeping is “process by which countless messages are reduced to the few we are offered in our daily newspapers and television news programs” (Shoemaker 1996, 79).

<sup>22</sup> “In contrast to the discussion in communication studies, which perceives gatekeepers as agents of change, political science inverts the gatekeeper role to that of maintaining order and equilibrium” (Barzilai-Nahon 2009).

In order to maintain the equilibrium, Turkish media gave direction to public opinion with the way it selected and transmitted knowledge. According to Nurdan Gürbilek the 1980s were the years guided by two conflicting political and cultural discourses (Gürbilek 2011, 8-9) and the choice made between the two determined the attitude of the Turkish media while selecting its source of information. On one hand, Turkey was politically silenced, but on the other hand this silence stimulated the emergence of new channels of communication for the ones who would like to express themselves. Similarly, on one hand the 1980s brought very significant political consequences affecting Turkey's recent past, but on the other hand it was the period of relaxation in which the people had a chance to get rid of their political responsibilities. Indeed they were two sides of the same coin, and they did not dispel but support each other (Gürbilek 2011, 13). Here, the role of media was to determine the visible side of the coin, since it was not possible to see both sides simultaneously.

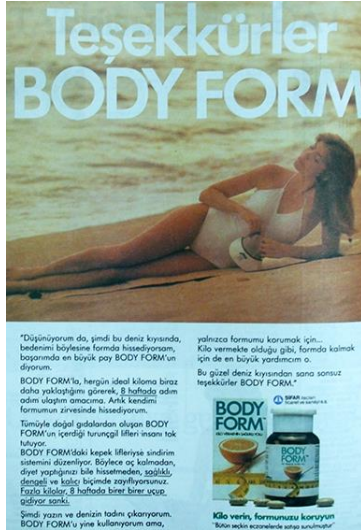
Consequently, the media chose to focus on the everyday life by abandoning its claims in the political field. After the 1980 Turkish coup d'état, "journalists, trying to avoid prison sentencing, were depoliticized and gradually became submissive to the rules of the media market that expanded rather quickly with the rise of the liberal economy" (Öztürkmen 1998, 277). As a gatekeeper, the media preferred to transmit the messages reflecting the promises of the emerging consumption culture instead of the prevailing social discomfort. This choice resulted in an illusion about the presence of social welfare (Gürbilek 2011, 15). In order to show it as real, the political pressure was masked with the glamour of window displays, the state repression hidden behind the emphasis on individualism and freedom, and the political silence was concealed by the dialogues about everyday life (Gürbilek 2011, 8-9).

According to Nurdan Gürbilek, those were the years in which everyday life imposed its own autonomous demands; but everyday life itself had changed by being dominated by the private life. Thereby the inner worlds, sexual preferences and confidential tastes were expressed in the public space (Gürbilek 2011, 10) more than ever. During the 1980s, private life especially sexuality was expressed in words independent from an institutional authority who wants to know. According to

Gürbilek, the desire of confession originated from the self-imposed narrators who found a possibility of freedom and individuality in speech and this desire was stimulated by media which was in search of alternative news sources (Gürbilek 2011, 23). The public which had an urge to confess also had an appetite to observe the private lives of the others. In the 1980s, television series, magazine programs and movies focusing on the idealized bodies and private life stories of real and fictional characters became popular since they satisfied this specific need of the audience. As a result, the spirit of the 1980s was based on the culture of voyeurism (Gürbilek 2011, 66).

### **2.1.1 The Change in Personal Styles (From introvert to extrovert)**

The dissemination of voyeurism affected the world of fashion from different aspects. To watch and to be watched changed the conception of the body to a great extent. Parallel with the increasing emphasis on individuality, self-care appeared as a sign of self-respect and the topics related with health, sport, eating habits and sexual life became current issues of everyday life. First of all, the body itself –as being and carrying what was desired– turned into an object to be looked at. In order to achieve a desirable look the people surged into the gyms and changed their eating habits; and in order to show what they achieved they started to wear tight-fitting sports wears revealing their body contours (see figures 71, 72 and 73). Of course this active life introduced new necessities in addition to sportswear and equipment. As subsidiary products, deodorants (see figure 73) were launched with a promise of removing the odor which occurs during sport activities and weight-loss pills came to the aid of the ones who were not able to reach their proper body measurements (see figure 71).



**Figure 71 (Left):** "Thank You Body Form" advertisement of a slimming product (Kadınca, August 1988).

**Figure 72 (Center):** Hülya Avşar in 1980s (<http://www.ozgurgaste.com/2014/08/29/dunden-bugune-hulya-avsar/14/>).

**Figure 73 (Right):** Vichy deodorant advertisement "to sweat is healthy, but the skin should smell good" (Kadınca, December 1991).

Also, underwear advertisements started to appear in magazines parallel with the increasing emphasis on sexual life and body. Kadınca<sup>23</sup> gave the early signs of the changing perception of Turkish women about lingerie in the August issue of 1984. The magazine which gave six pages to this issue claimed that the lingerie which was previously supposed to be "just a bra and a panty" had great variety in 1984 with the introduction of bras, panties, garters and night robes in all shapes, patterns and colors. The magazine, by giving reference to the lingerie fairs and fashion shows organized recently in Turkey, stated that this situation also motivated the local manufacturer (Kadınca, August 1984, 46). Similar to Kadınca magazine, in Milliyet, Erdoğan Gök stated that "although it was one of the topics having priority abroad, the issue of underwear started to be important recently in our country" and gave some details about the success story of a local brand Ersu which started to export its product to Germany and Middle East (Milliyet Renk, 20 April 1984, 5). Although the local brands made progress in those fields coming into prominence, the foreign

<sup>23</sup> Kadınca first published in 1978, became a milestone in Turkish (women's) magazine publishing under the editorship of Duygu Asena (1978-1992) "with its various methods of interview, cover design, and presentation (Öztürkmen 1998, 275) and emerged as an important medium through which the new consumption patterns of women can be observed.

brands dominated the market. This situation became visible especially in the advertisements of department stores (see figure 74 and 75).



**Figure 74 (Left):** İbrahim Ayral Holding A.Ş. “Underwear Expert is in this Store” (Kadınca, December 1991).  
**Figure 75 (Right):** Termin Lingerie Advertisement (Kadınca, September 1989)

Of course the domination of foreign brands was not only in the field of lingerie but also in other fields related with fashion and body care. Since Turkey did not have enough number of brands specialized in sportswear, underwear or body products at that moment, it allowed foreign brands to invade the local market with all their promises. This invasion became much visible in the early 1990s. The following table giving information about the advertisements published in Kadınca (December 1991) confirms this claim:

BRAND NAME	PRODUCT TYPE	ORIGIN OF BRAND	LANGUAGE OF THE ADVERTISEMENT
Mithat	Clothing (Menswear)	Domestic	Turkish
Bourjois - Soir de Paris	Fragrance	Foreign	French
Barbara Bort	Cosmetics	Foreign	Turkish
Romeo Gigli - Romeo	Fragrance	Foreign	English
Moschino	Fragrance	Foreign	English
Lagerfeld Photo	Fragrance	Foreign	English
Arden Elizabeth	Cosmetics	Foreign	English
Zeki Triko	Clothing (Womenswear)	Domestic	Turkish
L’Oréal Paris	Cosmetics	Foreign	Turkish
Ceylan	Clothing (Childrenswear)	Domestic	Turkish

Altın	Jewelry	Domestic	Turkish
Sothys Paris	Cosmetics	Foreign	French - Turkish
OSHKOSH	Clothing (Childrenswear)	Foreign	Turkish
Hayko	Shoes	Domestic	Turkish
Gizmo	Clothing (Womenswear)	Domestic	Turkish
Parizien	Hosiery	Foreign	Turkish
Bugatti's by DeWe	Underwear	Foreign	Only Logo
Penti	Hosiery	Domestic	Turkish
Yves Rocher	Cosmetics	Foreign	Turkish
Penti	Hosiery	Domestic	Turkish
Nectar Beauty Shop	Cosmetics	Foreign	Turkish - English
Philips - Philishave	Body-care (Men)	Foreign	Turkish
Pastel	Cosmetics	Foreign	Turkish
Hayashi	Hair	Foreign	Turkish – English
Özpanda	Clothing (Leather)	Domestic	Turkish
Reward	Cosmetics	Foreign	Turkish – English
Warner's	Underwear	Foreign	Only Logo
Gossard	Underwear	Foreign	Only Logo
One Touch - Roll-on Wax	Cosmetics	Foreign	Turkish - English
One Touch – Cream Depilatory	Cosmetics	Foreign	Turkish - English
Nina Ricci	Fragrance	Foreign	French

**Table 1:** The advertisements related with fashion and body-care published in Kadınca December 1991. <sup>24</sup>

When we summarize the information given above, we reach the following data:

ISSUE NO	NUMBER OF ADS. (TOTAL)	NUMBER OF ADS. (RELATED)	DOMESTIC ADS	FOREIGN ADS	LANGUAGE
December 1991	54	31	9	22	6 Foreign 6 Mixed 7 Turkish 3 Logo only (except supplier info)

**Table 2:** Analysis of Table 1.

The data shows that the number of foreign advertisements was more than twice the number of domestic advertisements, and more interestingly the considerable parts of those brands promoted their products in the original language of the advertisement which is either French or English. If we

<sup>24</sup> The table shows 31 related advertisements among 54 in total. Also, the table only considers full-page or double-page advertisements.



interpret these numbers, we can claim that they reflect the transformation of Turkey in the process of globalization.

Of course, the global world brought some other new consequences. Starting from 1980s, everyone and everything suddenly became visible in the public space, but in an opposite manner, it made it more difficult to be seen. In order not to get lost in the world of images, people started to adopt flamboyant styles parallel with the global tendencies. The 1980s was daring from top to bottom. In this decade women had bold make-ups. Unlike the make-up styles of the previous periods which put emphasis on a specific part of the face, in the 1980s eyes, eyebrows, lips and cheeks were equally highlighted (see figure 78). As a result, application of make up turned to be a ritual. “First, the facial surface is treated with base, concealer, highlighter, and blusher; next the eyes are highlighted with shadow, pencil, eyeliner, and mascara; and finally the mouth is emphasized with lip liner, lipstick and lip gloss” (Radner cited in (Craik 1998, 163)). Consequently, cosmetics turned to be a major international industry with four leading company including Unilever, L’Oréal, Shiseido and Proctor and Gamble (Lawson cited in (Craik 1998, 163) and especially the products of Unilever (including Fabergé (see figure 76), Elizabeth Arden etc.) and L’Oréal (Lancôme and Helena Rubinstein) were seen in Turkish magazines (see table 1).



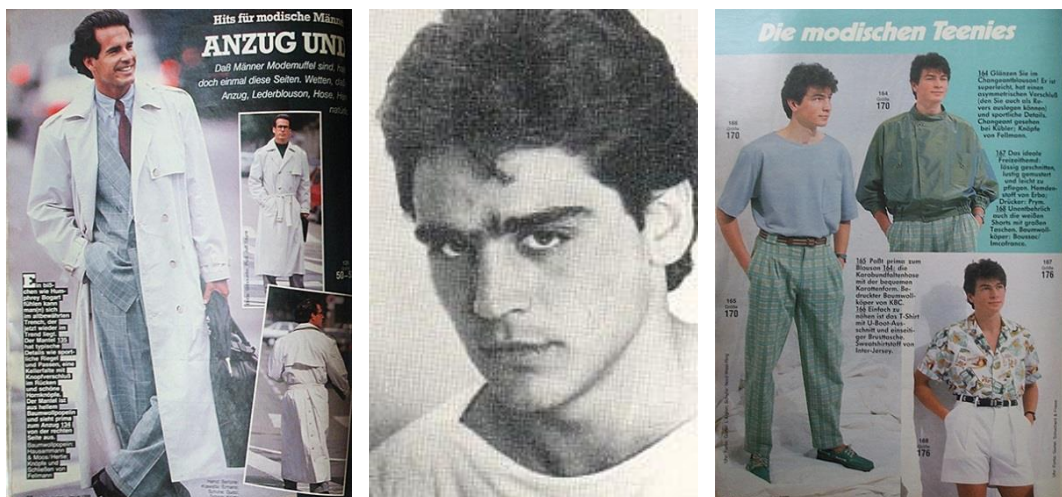
**Figure 76 (Left):** Shampoo advertisement featuring Farrah Fawcett by Fabergé (Kadınca, August 1984).

**Figure 77 (Center):** A look from 1986 (Burda Moden, June 1986).

**Figure 78 (Right):** Beauty page of Kadınca featuring the products of Yves Saint Laurent and Estee Lauder (Kadınca, September 1989).

In the 1980s, the face was not the only part which was emphasized on the body. The coats were oversized and the shoulders were padded to give Y silhouette to the body and the patterns were rich in terms of both shape and color (see figure 77). This richness also revealed itself in the selection of material; furs and leather products were excessively used in the over garments.

In a similar manner, the clothing styles of men were also exaggerated, it doesn't matter what the style is. If the look was classical, the upper body gained an imposing expression with the long coats worn over the jackets (see figure 79), since the shoulder pads were mostly placed in both. If the look was casual, the classical coats were replaced with denim or sport coats but there was still an emphasis on the upper body and shoulders (see figure 81). Similar to women, men were also daring in terms of color and pattern choices. Finally the hair, either short or long was treated to have volume (see figure 80).



**Figure 79 (Left):** A look from 1988 (Burda Moden, January 1988).

**Figure 80 (Center):** Tolga Savacı in 1980s(<http://www.fanpop.com/clubs/turkish-actors-and-actresses/images/30512890/title/tolga-savaci-photo>).

**Figure 81 (Right):** A look from 1986 (Burda Moden, June 1986).

### 2.1.2 The Change in the National Styles (From introvert to extrovert)

Similar to the individuals who were eager to be distinguished in society by having a strong personal image, Turkey was on a quest for a national image to distinguish itself in the global world. Since it

was possible only if Turkey became a strong name to pull its brands towards becoming global, the Özal government gave high importance to promote national culture by means of international events held abroad. Although economic growth targets affected the international trade policy as a whole, the fashion industry, which had a strong relationship with national identity and visual culture emerged as a tool of national promotion, in other words it became the counter-display of the globalized Turkey.

The image of globalized Turkey also contributed to the strong government image within the country. In the media, the fashion shows appeared as the most prominent social events where the wealth and the grandeur of the Özal period could be observed. Although those fashion shows which were organized in both national and international platforms served different purposes, they all displayed the splendor of fashion and the international prestige that Turkey obtained in recent years. In other words fashion industry assimilated by new media and advertisement culture consolidated the image -or the illusion- of “abundance society”<sup>25</sup> which was created by the media by providing unlimited material to it. In order to comprehend how the fashion industry contributed to the image of the “abundance society” in Turkey, it can be beneficial to examine fashion related events by categorizing them according to their purposes and the way they were represented in the media.

#### **2.1.2.1 International Fashion Organizations Held in Domestic Borders**

International fashion organizations held in domestic borders provide an important ground where we can measure how the Turkish people approached the concept of fashion in the 1980s and the early 1990s. Those events bringing Turkish and international brands together, also gave us an opportunity to observe how the international trends were interpreted and then reflected to the collections; and how the audience responded to those collections and the way they were presented. However, it can be useful to look into the very first international fashion events organized in Turkey in order to comprehend the process which took us to the 1980s. Starting from the 1970s, Turkish fashion and textile companies started to exhibit their collections in both national and international fashion

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<sup>25</sup> See (Gürbilek 2011, 15).

events. In 1973, Turkey for the first time attempted to organize a regular fashion event by introducing the International İstanbul Fashion Fest<sup>26</sup> and this event was held once a year until 1983. By looking at the list of participants obtained from Milliyet archive (see table 3), we can claim that İstanbul International Fashion Fest was more likely to be a fairground where the export-oriented textile manufacturers retailed their products. However, although limited in number, the presence of the world-famous international brands (such as Céline, André Courrèges, and Pierre Cardin etc.) and Turkish designers/companies which would be a brand very soon (such as Altınyıldız-Beymen, Vakko, Zühal Yorgancıoğlu etc.), indicated that the Turkish clothing industry was on the verge of transformation.

<b>GERMANY:</b> Kaufhos Kaufhalde, Gertrud Horn, Marshall Field, Bavaria Industriegüter, Metaslo, Neckermann, Bergen Moden, Lüttmer Modell, Fritschen.
<b>USA:</b> Macy, Co. Simon Abraham.
<b>FRANCE:</b> Louis Feraud Dorothe Bis, André Courrèges, Ets Vargon, Jean Amalric, Jacques Molko, Alain Michel Abecassis, Denet Barry, Carifalis Platon, Vicky Loria, Extension Textile, Lyne Caroll, Creatuons Miko, Société Caquart, Société Longuepee, Celine, Société Lemalet, Claire de Passy, Société Weil, Société Mestraund, Société Ganansia, Pierre Cardin.
<b>ENGLAND</b> Alp Dağoğlu.
<b>BELGIUM:</b> Hilton Fashions.
<b>CANADA:</b> Woodwards Bor Commerce.
<b>ITALY:</b> Alta Moda, Livio de Simone Rossi, Maria Rosaria Colonnese, Leo Stock a Figli, Ivo Tollini, Ates Maglieri, Refec, Bises Ruggero, Anna Maria Venditti, Armando Esposito.
<b>ISRAEL:</b> Israel Company for Fairs, Fashions Jaffa Hosiery Ltd. Tayar Brother.
<b>Switzerland:</b> Swiss Fashion House, Metzler AG, Modelia Moro.
<b>SPAIN:</b> Société Stoss.
<b>IRELAND:</b> Atlantic International.
<b>DENMARK:</b> Ingo Kühl. <b>GREECE:</b> M. Marras.
<b>TURKEY:</b> Altınyıldız-Beymen, Bozkurt Mensucat A.Ş. Güney Sanayi A.Ş. Kazlı Deri San. ve Tic. A.Ş. Mensucat Santral T.A.Ş. Narin Mensucat A.Ş. Neyir Örmecilik Sanayi ve Tic. A.Ş. Sümerbank, Vakko, Yeni Tekstil Herko, De-De, Eren Triko, Ete Mensucat Sanayi ve Tic. A.Ş. Nelson Hasbükün, Kaplanteks Örmecilik San. A.Ş. Maral Export, Men Koll. Şti. Mithat Giyim Müessesesi, Osman Kerman ve Ort. Adi Kom Şti. Rozet Konfeksiyon, Sıtkı Doğruoğlu ve Oğulları, Taç Sanayi ve Tic. A.Ş. Utexport Uluslararası, Tanatar Adi Kom. Şti. Şen Deri Konfeksiyon, Şanlı Konfeksiyon, Üçler Giyim Sanayii, Yeginler Koll. Şti. Şe La, Al Ca, Anka Koll. Şti. Arma Kravat, Ayla Eryüksel, Beyoğlu Olgunlaşma Enstitüsü, Butik Ece, Ergun Türkan Moda Salonu, Diplomat Gömlekleri, Ferah Kadın Çamaşırları, Galeri Edip, Hayatı Deri ve Süet Giyimevi, Kaftan Export, Klas Kundura, Portaş Dış Pazarlama, Uralrt Koll. Şti. Zühal Yorgancıoğlu, Tempı, İgemei Etüd Merkezi, Oriental Galeri, Devlet Tatbiki, Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi, Modajans, Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, Bos for Deri Süet

**Table 3:** 1<sup>st</sup> International İstanbul Fashion Fest: the list of participant companies (Milliyet, 20.02.1973).<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> The original name: Uluslararası İstanbul Moda Festivali.

<sup>27</sup> The spelling mistakes stem from the original text published in the newspaper.

The year in which International İstanbul Fashion Fest ended, another fashion event was initiated under the name of İstanbul Fashion Week. However, this event seemed to be short-lived too since any related activity could not be found in the newspapers since 20 April 1984 (see figure 82).



Figure 82: The newspaper clipping about the 3<sup>rd</sup> İstanbul Fashion Week (Milliyet, 20.08.1984).

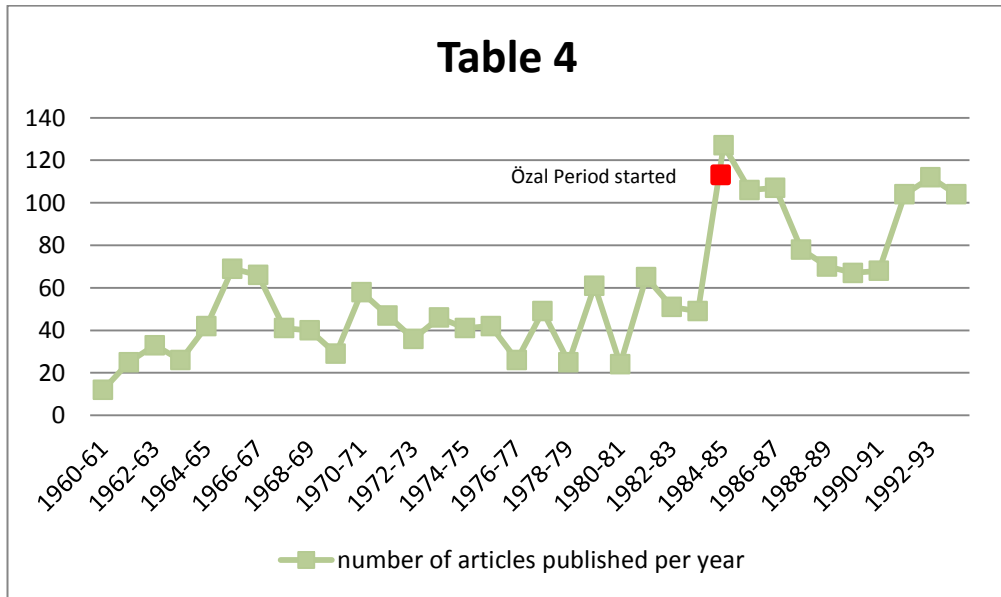


Table 4: The number of newspaper article (Milliyet) which included the words “moda + defile<sup>28</sup>” in its content between the years 1960-1993.

Although some very important steps were taken for the development of the fashion industry in the 1970s, the real transformation started after 1983 when Turgut Özal became the head of the

<sup>28</sup> fashion + show

government. The research conducted in Milliyet archive proves this claim by revealing that the number of fashion related news increased dramatically in the year 1984 (see table 4).

Although 1983 and 1984 were the years in which the industry witnessed important losses with the failure of İstanbul Fashion Fest and İstanbul Fashion Week, another fashion organization Vizon Show<sup>29</sup> founded in 1979 strengthened its position in the same years. Unlike the former organizations Vizon Show drew high media attention, but similarly this intensive attention was mostly seen in the earlier years of the event.

Vizon Show held at least twice a year was a very important fashion organization in terms of the designers and brands that it introduced to the sector. Although the number of participants was less than in the İstanbul Fashion Fest, nearly each one of them was the leading brands in the industry. For instance, the very first corporate brands of Turkey including Vakko, Mudo, Beymen, Derimod, Zeki, Hatemoğlu and Vepa, and the designers including Cemil İpekçi, Vural Gökçaylı, Neslihan Yargıcı and Zühal Yorgancıoğlu presented their collections on that platform. In addition Vizon Show, having the claim of being an international organization, hosted foreign brands including Hermes (1981), Givenchy (1983), Ferre (1991), Burberry (1991), Vivienne Westwood (1992), Kenzo (1992) and Jean Charles de Castelbajac (1993).

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<sup>29</sup> Kâmil Şükûn who initiated Vizon (fashion magazine) in 1977, also laid the foundation of Vizon Show first held in 1979. Although Vizon and Vizon Show worked in a collaboration in the early years of their foundations, in 1983 they legally separated. However until that moment, they contributed to Turkish ready to wear industry together by initiating other sectoral events(including Bayan Vizon (Miss Vizon) contests, symposiums and professional meetings in which various industry-specific issues were discussed) which continued in the following years (See the official web site of Vizon Show: <http://www.vizonshow.com.tr/vizon/gym1.htm>).

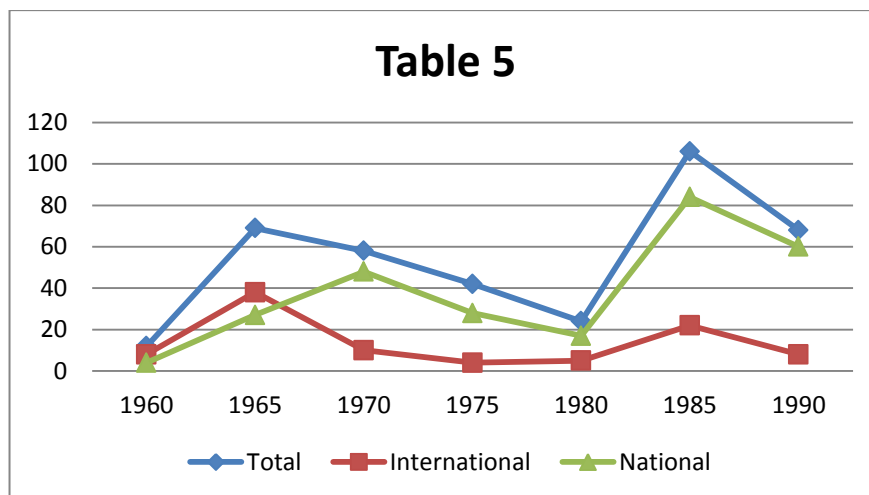


Table 5: The number of domestic and international news (Milliyet) which included the words “moda + defile<sup>30</sup>” in its content between the years 1960-1990.

Another change which started in the 1970s but accelerated in the 1980s was the direction of media attention which focused on national sources instead of external news. Parallel with the emergence of Turkish fashion designers and brands, the contents of fashion-related news changed. This can be observed in table 5 explaining the change in the number of domestic and international news that published in Milliyet. In 1970, although there is a decrease in the total number, the number of domestic news items increases dramatically, and different from 1960 and 1965 the number of national news exceeds the number of foreign news with a big difference.

However, this rise continues with a gradual fall between 1970 and 1980. Although it is not the only factor affecting the decline in the graphic, the same newspaper reports referring to the problems encountered in İstanbul Fashion Fest help us to identify the sectoral problems of the decade. For instance, the newspaper report dated 23 February 1975 explains the lack of attention in the festival with the absence of European countries. According to the report, -beside a few exceptions coming from Europe- the participant countries of the 3<sup>rd</sup> festival were Iraq, Egypt, Lebanon and Cyprus, and the reason of their participation was not to retail their products but to promote their culture and tourism. Especially, when the political announcements and folkloric shows were included in the

<sup>30</sup> fashion + show

event schedule, inevitably this sectoral event gained a political identity (Milliyet, 23 February 1975, 14) (see figure 84).



**Figure 83 (Left):** The newspaper announcement entitled “İstanbul Fashion Fest was opened” (Milliyet, 19 February 1973).

**Figure 84 (Right):** The newspaper article entitled “The Third Festival was weak” (Milliyet, 23 February 1975).

The lack of international interest seems to have influenced the prestige of the event within the national borders since any related newspaper report could not be found in the archive except one announcing the 4<sup>th</sup> International İstanbul Fashion Fest between the years 1976 and 1980. This can be interpreted as that the event was not held or could not catch the attention of the media between the years 1977 and 1980.

When we come to the 1980s, the fashion events gained a different identity. The extroverted spirit of the decade which was expressed with the flamboyant dresses and bold make-ups also affected how the collections were presented on the runway. Consecutively, the fashion shows became assertive as much as the garments and drew the attention of the tabloid press which was looking for sensational news. However this brought another problem and the fashion shows were characterized only as “shows” by being detached from the scope of “fashion” and more problematically “fashion” started to be detached from real life by being marginalized by the media which positioned it as “unusual” and “disobedient.”

Obviously, there were several reasons of this misconception. One of them was related with the belief that the designs of foreign brands could not properly address the Turkish audience (see figure 87).



Since the local brands were producing their collections on the basis of the international trends (see figure 85), they also could not meet their expectations.



Figure 85 (Left): The newspaper article entitled “Eroticism in Fashion: Transparent Dresses”

(<http://www.vizonshow.com.tr/tr/basin.html>).

Figure 86 (Center): The newspaper article entitled “A Fuss in the fashion show! Vizon Show is like a “Ritual”

(<http://www.vizonshow.com.tr/tr/basin.html>).

Figure 87 (Right): The newspaper article entitled “The English Storm in Vizon Show”

(<http://www.vizonshow.com.tr/tr/basin.html>).

In fact, it was not possible to satisfy the expectation of the Turkish audience, since it was a mixed group including people from different social backgrounds and the event was open to everyone who paid the entry fee. This situation resulted in different criticisms directed by different audience profiles. For instance some conservative groups protested against Vizon Show (1986) by claiming that it was promoting Christianity, since the dance show was accompanied by church music (see figure 86). Although it was not a claim supported by the considerable number of people, another view positioning it as a “sex show” (see figure 88) was quite common since some of the shows put extra emphasis on sexuality.

We can claim that the second criticism had valid grounds to a certain extent when we consider some extreme situations, but on the other hand, it cannot change the fact that this image was voluntarily provoked by the tabloid press. When we examine the visual and textual content published in the newspapers, we can easily see that the models always remained at the forefront with their names,

nationalities, physical qualities and braveness to wear the revealing dresses; and most of the time they had precedence over the designer's name. For similar reasons, the swimwear and underwear collections stole the spotlight, while the very successful ready-to wear collections could not find the place they deserved in the media. The wording was also revealing their effort of being catchy. The words such as "brave", "hot", "seductive" (see figure 90) and "breathtaking" (see figure 89) were used in abundance in the newspaper headings and the contents.



**Figure 88 (Left):** The newspaper article entitled "Is it Vizon Show or sex show?"

<http://www.vizonshow.com.tr/tr/basin.html>

**Figure 89 (Center):** The newspaper article entitled "Vizon Show took breath away"

<http://www.vizonshow.com.tr/tr/basin.html>

**Figure 90 (Right):** The newspaper article entitled "Attractive Models"

<http://www.vizonshow.com.tr/tr/basin.html>

### 2.1.1.2 The Fashion Organizations Held Abroad

The international influence that Turkish design and designers left over fashion world, was important as much as the approach of Turkish public to the concept of fashion and international fashion trends; because it provides insight about how Turkish clothing culture (as a representative of non-Western world) was positioned within a field shaped through western values and aesthetic, while the second one shows the preferences and expectations (and resistance) of Turkish fashion followers about current global trends.

In order to develop an insight about the international impacts of Turkish design and designers, it is required to comprehend the transformation of fashion industry after 1980s. First of all, this

transformation was related with the European fashion market which changed its ethnocentric character by going global. This change brought two important outcomes for fashion world especially in the following decade. First, non-Western cultures became an important source of inspiration for the Western designers, and the second, non-Western designers started to gain recognition in the global market by interpreting their own culture. According to Valerie Mendes and Amy De La Haye,

“Interpretations of non-Western clothing took many forms in the 1990s. Chinese and Japanese sources inspired the cut and decoration of designs by Valentino, Alexander McQueen and John Galliano. Versace adopted the sari; Romeo Gigli created oriental fantasies in the manner of the Ballets Russes, and Rifat Özbek produced romantic interpretations of his native Turkish dress” (Mendes and Haye 1999, 254-255)

The inclusion of non-Western cultures in the fashion system was also related with the conditions of postmodernity. In that period, fashion system had to enlarge its material palette to meet the demands of fast consumption<sup>31</sup>, or in a more elegant way, to answer the quest of change and novelty. However, unlike the earlier periods, it was not related with the consumption of the product but its symbolic connotations. Under these circumstances, historical looks, traditional garments and even the “modernist styles” became “postmodernist codes”(Jameson cited in (Barnard 2002, 177). As a result, each fashion item which was created became a source of inspiration for another item as soon as it entered the designer’s palette of material. The emergence of this background also provided an opportunity for Turkish designers who would like to be part of fashion world with their own cultural materials and consequently they gained an international visibility either with the support of Turkish government or with their personal effort and international training experiences.

Rifat Özbek became one of the Turkish designers who could enter the international fashion design literature during 1980s and 1990s. The designer who completed his education in Central Saint Martins, established his own brand in 1984 and became the British Designer of the Year (Vogue Türkiye, August 2010, 98) in 1988 (see figure 91) and 1992. Although he was Turkish, his ethnic origin did not prevent his success, on the contrary he was well treated as a representative of an

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<sup>31</sup> Unlike the modern times which regarded object “in terms of production”, “postmodernity conceives of it in terms of consumption” (Barnard 2002, 161).

exotic culture. According to Vogue Turkey, during the times which the phrase of “East - West Synthesis” was not a cliché, he was its expert (see figure 93, 94 and 95). Within the same article, Özbek defined his style as follows:

“I took inspiration from ethnic elements, but my outfits never became like a costume. You could go out to the streets after you stepped off the runway. I was inspired by Turkish culture and decorative lines, but I did not use those motifs over *kaftans* (caftans), *cepkens* (jupes) and *şalvars* (salwars)” (translated from (Vogue Türkiye, August 2010, 98)).



**Figure 91 (Left):** The newspaper article entitled “Özbek, was selected as the designer of the year in England: Thatcher gave his award” (Milliyet, 09 October 1988).



**Figure 92 (Right):** The newspaper article entitled “Eastern line to Western woman” (Milliyet, 17 December 1988).

His unique style was also appreciated by the style icons of the period and he expanded his customer portfolio including Lady Diana (see figure 92), Cher, Janet Jackson and Madonna (Vogue Türkiye, August 2010, 98) and more.



**Figure 93 (Left):** Bikini top and bolero designed by Rifat Özbek in Vogue UK, January 1989 with a title “Oriental Modern Mix” (<http://sighswhispers.blogspot.com.tr/2011/02/photo-of-day-ozbek-modern-oriental-1989.html>).

**Figure 94 (Center):** Designs of Rifat Özbek (<http://oiroy.blogspot.com.tr/2011/09/rifat-ozbek.html>).

**Figure 95 (Right):** Designs of Rifat Özbek (<http://oiroy.blogspot.com.tr/2011/09/rifat-ozbek.html>).

Although Rifat Özbek continued his career in London, he set an important example for new Turkish designers with his success story. In a meeting<sup>32</sup> organized by Mimar Sinan University and Turkish Clothing Manufacturers' Association in 1989, designers, by giving the example of Özbek, asked for an opportunity which would enable them to show their creativity in the sector. Designers, also criticized the association by claiming that the manufacturers were implementing the Western styles which were already out of date, instead of encouraging the Turkish designers. In the same meeting, Kerim Kerimol<sup>33</sup> who agreed with the criticisms, explained why Turkey was not able to create its own design language. According to Kerimol, it was an outcome of closed economy and the dominance of new manufacturers who have recently involved in the industry. Those manufacturers who were once traders were mostly domestic-market oriented (Milliyet, 05 May 1989, 5).

In order to solve the problems in the textile and apparel industry, the Özal government supported export manufacturers with providing them financial aid. Also, the first fashion design school of Turkey was opened within the structure of Mimar Sinan University in a collaboration with state-sponsored Sümerbank (Milliyet, 18 October 1988, 2) in the same period. Correspondingly, the

<sup>32</sup> Design in Textile Symposium. The original name: Tekstilde Tasarım Sempozyumu.

<sup>33</sup> Fashion coordinator of Altınyıldız-Beymen Group.

government intended to increase the international visibility of Turkish designs and designers to enhance an export power of Turkey. Since the clothing was seen as a tool for representing national identity, the national promotion events held abroad mostly included fashion shows in their schedules.

The information obtained from the newspaper reports reveals that the international events held under the titles of “Turkish Days” or “Turkish Week” constituted a remarkable portion of the promotional events in the Özal period. According to the same reports which inform us about the participant designers, models and the content of the fashion shows, the collections of Maturation Institutes and Zühal Yorgancıoğlu come to the fore as the most preferred collections. Since the Maturation Institutes were state-sponsored organizations having the purpose of researching, reproducing and promoting Turkish culture through arts and crafts, it was quite obvious why they were preferred in cultural events. When it comes to Zühal Yorgancıoğlu, from the studies of Şölen Kipöz, we know that she positioned herself as a volunteer ambassador (see figure 97) of culture undertaking the mission of promoting Ottoman and Anatolian culture within an international platforms. On account of her individual sensitivity and effort to promote authentic values, she was also supported by ministry of culture, foreign ministry and embassies of foreign countries (Kipöz 2012, 9).



Figure 96 (Left): The newspaper article entitled “Turkish Voice in Sarajevo” (Milliyet, 28 February 1990).  
 Figure 97 (Right): The newspaper article entitled “Ambassador of Culture” (Milliyet, 12 March 1990).

The international success of Zühal Yorgancıoğlu was also related with the costumes that she designed. For the eastern countries (see figure 98), the traditional lines of Yorgancıoğlu was the expression of common values and aesthetic tastes and for the western countries (see figure 99) they were reflecting the richness of Turkish culture (Kipöz 2012, 10).



**Figure 98 (Left):** The newspaper article entitled “Fashion show in Kuwait: they mesmerized Arabians” (Milliyet, 31 March 1986).

**Figure 99 (Right):** The newspaper article entitled “Beautiful clothes received applauses from French guests: Turkish motifs mesmerized” (Milliyet, 26 October 1989).

On the other hand, the example of Yorgancıoğlu was revealing a very fundamental problem which prevents us to define “Turkish identity”, and therefore “Turkish fashion”. Essentially, the thing that makes Turkish identity simultaneously unique and problematic is the fact that it is the reflection of a culture constructed upon a large geography within a long period of time. Accordingly the designer, who has a claim of being the representative of the Turkish fashion, should decide on which part of this culture will constitute his/her source of inspiration. However, this selection is more likely to be a political decision rather than being a personal choice, because this is mostly affected by the current political and cultural background which changes dramatically according to prevailing hegemony. For instance, in the Early Republic Period the design approach which gave direction to fashion and textile design was based on simplicity, functionality and practicality, since the national identity was constructed within a frame of Turkish modernization project. However unlike the Early Republic Period, the urge to define the national identity resulted in the re-exploration of the Ottoman past in the 1980s.

Actually, the increasing emphasis on Ottoman culture was not coincidental, and more interestingly it was not only related with traditionalism. One of its reasons was related with the fact that the Ottoman culture always -even today- has carried significant values for the entities who want to get a share from its glory. Therefore, those dresses representing Turkey in the international platforms took their power from the splendor of Ottoman culture. As a result, the bright colors, golden embroideries and exaggerated head accessories reflected an Ottoman style worthy of the 1980s.

Another thing that revitalized the Ottoman dream was Turkey’s political effort of being involved in the global world which embraced “internationality” and “multiculturalism”. More importantly, those global tendencies were giving direction to the fashion world and Turkey was witnessing the emergence of strong fashion brands such as United Colors of Benetton which put emphasis on those concepts through advertising campaigns (see figure 102). Unlike the history of the Turkish Republic which praised “mono-nationality”, the Ottoman culture was providing proper material to this demand, and most probably it was the reason of the Arabian breeze that was felt in some of the collections. The popularity of foreign national models (especially the ones who were apparently not-Turkish such as blacks and extremely blonds (see figure 100 and 102)) was also signifying this fact.



**Figure 100 (Left):** The newspaper article entitled “Model influx in Istanbul” (Milliyet, 26 February 1987).

**Figure 101 (Center):** The lingerie advertisement entitled “Our Lingerie” (Kadınca, August 1984).

**Figure 102 (Right):** The magazine article entitled “Politics in Fashion” (Hayat, 10 February 1986).



### 2.1.2.3 Fundraising Campaigns

In the Özal period, having been a part of fundraising events, fashion shows were also used to provide financial aid for the people who were in need of care or social support. On one hand it was revealing how fashion mediates social change, but on the other hand it was showing how those events maintain the status quo of the fashion system. As a matter of fact, there was not much that changed for the upper class beside the way that they converted symbols into status. In other words, as a part of fundraising campaigns, fashion shows emerged as the means of taking from the rich and giving to the poor. Consequently, the luxury clothing became the apparatus of social welfare instead of being the symbol of “conspicuous consumption”<sup>34</sup> and the upper class turned into a charitable community instead of being criticized for luxury spending. As a result, those campaigns did not break the link between fashion and conspicuous consumption, but they legitimized this relationship.<sup>35</sup>

In fact, the charity fashion shows were neither specific to the Özal period nor to Turkey, however the participation of the Özal family in those events ascribed them a particular character. As the public figures representing the government, the Özal family showed their sensitivity about the social problems such as poverty, natural disasters and illnesses by pioneering the fashion shows (see figure 103). In this manner, for the first time a conservative party prominently used the methods of the high culture associated with the left-wing in order to address the public; and this situation did not only superficialize their ideologies but also invalidated the methods of the left-wing. The newspaper article published on 15 November 1986 had the following title: “from prayer to fashion show: Özal first prayed and then watched the furs with swimsuits” (see figure 104). Although the fashion and

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<sup>34</sup> See (Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* 1899).

<sup>35</sup> This argument is neither directed to the social responsibility campaigns nor criticizes the charitable communities. It only points out the inconsistency resulted from the simultaneous increase in the number of fund-raising campaigns and the size of the excessive consumption in the 1980s and the early 1990s.

the luxury were frowned upon by the right-wing, these were the very first signs of the process which started after the 1990s and resulted in the formation of Islamic fashion<sup>36</sup>.



**Figure 103 (Left):** The newspaper article entitled “The celebrities took the runway for the earthquake victims” (Milliyet, 13 December 1983).

**Figure 104 (Right):** The newspaper article entitled “from prayer to fashion show: Özal first prayed and then watched the furs with swimsuits” (Milliyet, 15 November 1986).

Although these campaigns could not slow down the excessive consumption, they provided considerable financial support for the ones who were in need of better living condition, education or medical care. As a result, the charities including The Foundation for Children with Leukemia (*Lösemili Çocuklar Derneği*), The Anti-Tuberculosis Federation (*Verem Savaş Derneği*), Association of the Blind (*Körler Derneği*) and Turkish Anti-Cancer Foundation (*Türkiye Kanserle Savaş Derneği*) were supported with the funds raised from fashion shows. In addition to the political figures, the events were mostly initiated by the leading communities of the period such as the Lions Club (see figure 105) and the Rotary Club (see figure 106), and supported by the brands / designers including Vural Gökçaylı, Yıldırım Mayruk, Ertan Kayıtken (see figure 107), Faize Sevim Modaevi, Zeki Triko and Vakko. Besides, those events by going beyond the national borders were used to create a fund for the war victims or the starving people of undeveloped countries (Milliyet, 12 September 1986) (see figure 107).

<sup>36</sup> Starting from early 1990s, new consumption patterns were presented to the “newly formed Islamic middle class” and “leisure” and luxury was “Islamicized” in a “line with market system” (Kılıçbay and Binark 2002, 499).



**Figure 105 (Left):** The newspaper article entitled “Lionesses organized a charity fashion show” (Milliyet, 26 January 1985).

**Figure 106 (Center):** The newspaper article entitled “Fashion show for university students” (Milliyet, 06 November 1987).

**Figure 107 (Right):** The newspaper article entitled “African fashion for starving people” (Milliyet, 12 September 1986).

This social trend initiated by the members of the high society was followed by a broader social segment -similar to fashion trends trickled down from the upper class-. Accordingly, the local governments, local communities, parent-teacher associations and small-scale institutions organized fashion shows in order to find a solution for the problems of their own social environment.

## 2.2 The Change in the Labour Flow

The issue of class difference mentioned in the previous chapter, was also the result of social transformation observed in the Ozal period. Turgut Özal had the characteristics of the profit-driven economic expert more than a politician with social ideals. However his actions targeting economic growth resulted in a significant social transformation. In the 1980s, parallel with the promises targeting rapid economic growth and privatization, Turkey’s economic policies changed. However, “economic policies that stressed rapid economic growth, as opposed to balanced economic development, created a structure that has been characterized by social and regional inequalities and income disparities” (Arat 1998, 29). The new economic policies could meet the demands of one-tenth of the urban population; however for the groups with low income the cost of living became

higher in proportion to growing consumerism (Ahmad 1993, 198). Although this change could satisfy only a small segment in society, it created a considerable difference in the direction of the moneyed capital. Although poor remained poor, some members of the middle class having the cultural capital had a chance to climb the social ladder. The president Turgut Özal, as one of them became the symbol of this social change.

### **2.2.1 The Change in the Direction of Unqualified Labour Force (From East to West)**

This part of the story is mainly related with the poor who remained poor. Turgut Özal similar to Adnan Menderes<sup>37</sup>, enabled different social groups to participate in the system. Starting from the 1980s, the people who strove to benefit from the better working and living opportunities of the urban life immigrated to the major cities of Turkey. However many of them, mostly coming from the eastern part of the country, were unqualified workers. Even if they could find a job, those low-paying occupations failed to provide them better living conditions. Under these circumstances, the migration did not bring an end to their struggle of living but only changed its location. In order to get used to these new locations, “migrants did not only build illegal houses but also developed a culture of their own that combined rural traditions with the values of the city” (Sandıkçı and Ger 2005). The “village people, religious people, Kurdish people have invaded the life-space of the secular and westernized middle classes” ( (Robins 1996, 75) quoted in (Sandıkçı and Ger 2005, 205)). In this manner, “the Turks discovered their inner third world” (Gürbilek 2011, 97) in the 1980s.

This cultural exchange has led to the emergence of a hybrid culture known as *arabesque*<sup>38</sup>. Although the term “*arabesque*” is mostly associated with a music genre, the characteristic of the music provides important guidelines to understand the culture as a whole. According to Gürbilek, “since it

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<sup>37</sup> During the years with Adnan Menderes, the villagers had become the part of urban life by participating in the industrial production deployed in the major cities especially in İstanbul. Some of the political actions of Özal were quite similar to what Menderes took in the 1950s. When Özal was asked whether he was the successor of Süleyman Demirel or Adnan Menderes, he replied the question as “Adnan Menderes” and; after his death he was buried next to the mausoleum of Menderes (Göle, Mahremin Göçü 2011, 60).

<sup>38</sup> The origin of the arabesque music goes back to 1950s. Although it was also popular in the 1970s, Nurdan Gürbilek distinguishes between the arabesque culture of 1970s and 1980s by considering its changing characteristic.

was not the product of a tradition, a coherent culture or a synthesis, arabesque was an anachronic music which is open to the symbols of different cultures and times” (Gürbilek 2011, 34). For that reason, in the 1980s, arabesque abandoned its claim of being sentimental and real; and existed as the imitation of itself. All the languages, words and the accents lost their characters by being detached from their origins. The Turkish was pronounced like Arabic, the English words were expressed with Turkish intonation and the intonations of different regions were imitated by the vocalists. Consecutively, the language turned into an element of imitation, an image and an accessory (Gürbilek 2011, 34).

Also, *arabesque* was daring enough to dismantle and reinterpret the modern high culture to construct its own. In the 1980s the modernity promise of Kemalism and the modern identity that he favored for the public collapsed. Accordingly, the people who belonged “to the third world” learned to be open about their suppressed identities, to listen to the songs of İbrahim Tatlıses without being ashamed and to benefit from the world of opportunities without being a member of the upper-class (Gürbilek 2011, 15, 19).

The dissemination of arabesque culture affected the way people dressed. Although there was a cultural exchange between the local people and the villagers coming to the cities in the earlier decades, the boundaries and the characteristics of the exchange was quite different. In the 1960s and 1970s the cultural exchange resulted from city-dwellers growing interested in the Anatolian culture and the villagers trying to adapt themselves to city life. However the 1980s witnessed the emergence of the eclectic clothing styles which do not belong to any culture, any place or any time. The people, mostly living in the squatter settlements of the big cities, started to wear T-shirts with English slogans over their salwar with floral patterns (Baydar and Özkan 1999, 74). This situation was also related with the foreign capital entering the domestic market. The leading fashion brands of the world started to open their stores in Turkey and Turkish customers had access to the strong brand concepts simultaneously with countries giving direction to the fashion world. The clothes produced by those brands turned to be a status symbol. People with low budgets tried to find a place in the

fashion system by purchasing imitations of these brands from peddlers (Baydar and Özkan 1999, 83) or wearing export surplus garments.

### **2.2.2 The Change in Direction of Qualified Labour Force (From the Public Sector to the Private Sector)**

Unlike the slum dwellers, other segments in society took full advantage of the new social system. Parallel with the privatization policies, the working preferences of qualified employees changed. In comparison with governmental institutions, the private sector started to be more advantageous for employees with higher income and promotion opportunities. As a result, especially the young professionals preferred to work in the private sector instead of working in public institutions with low wages. However it was both difficult to get in and stay in this professional environment driven by strong competition. For that reason, having a good appearance became essential for being recognized among many others having similar professional skills and personal qualities.

Parallel with this competition, the young urban professionals known as yuppies did not only bring dynamism to the business world, but also introduced a new style for the fashion world. In the 1980s, double breasted jackets and striped shirts with white collars became popular among the male professionals and became the symbol of competition and social rise during the years led by Reagan, Thatcher and Özal (Baydar and Özkan 1999, 85). On the other hand padded-shouldered suits worn with either trousers or skirts became a must for the wardrobe of professional women (Laver 2002, 274). It was the time to “dress for success”<sup>39</sup> (see figure 108).

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<sup>39</sup> Dress for Success is a name of the book written by John T. Molloy in 1975.



**Figure 108:** Turgut Özal (with his double breasted jacket) and Margaret Thatcher (with her padded suit) in 1988. (Milliyet, 08 April 1988)

“In the British edition of his dress manual, *Women: Dress for success*, John T. Molloy proclaimed that most women ‘dress for failure’: either they let fashion dictate their choice of clothes, or they see themselves as sex objects, or they dress according to their socio-economic background” (Entwistle 2007, 208). According to Molloy, for the business women who desire to succeed in a man’s field of work, the only option was to take the benefit of science while choosing clothes. “Accordingly “he calls upon women to make their clothing decisions on the basis of ‘science’ and not aesthetics or emotion, which might have previously guided their decision” (Entwistle 2007, 217) and he describes it as “wardrobe engineering”.

During the 1980s, the concept of “social engineering” was as important as the term “wardrobe engineering”. Although the free market economy encouraged individuality and entrepreneurship, the real actors of change were not the entrepreneurs but the engineers. According to Göle the engineers, as the innovators who aim to lead the society with rational decisions, were the most important catalyzers of the modernization. Although they were not politically active in the earlier decades in Turkey, starting from the 1960s they became part of leftist movements. In the 1980s this situation changed and they got involved in the right-wing/Islamist movements. Together with the governance of Özal they started to leave their mark on Turkish politics. They were not the devoted idealists who struggle for social utopias, instead they were the technical professionals who came to the fore with their practical, work-oriented characteristics (Erdem 2001, 145).

Although they became the owners of new money parallel with their success, their personal backgrounds were very different from the ones still holding the old money. This situation brought a new dimension to the class difference. Starting from the 1980s, the monolithic structure of the upper class was disintegrated with the inclusion of the new elites. Although, the owners of the old money mostly preserved their values, life styles and the amount of money they had; the group holding the new money had an opportunity to invade this self-enclosed territory and created its own high-culture by corrupting its solid structure. The new elites coming from the middle class undertook the mission of carrying the values of the lower class to the upper class.

The Prime Minister Turgut Özal as one of the members of the new elites did not only create a suitable environment for the emergence of arabesque culture, but also gave rise to its acceptance among the high-society. During his governance, his social environment represented by his wife Semra Özal enjoyed every opportunity provided by the acquired wealth and status. Although they exceed the limits of the entertainment and joy, it was what arabesque was (see figure 109) (Göle 2011, 61-62).



**Figure 109:** Turgut Özal and İbrahim Tatlıses  
([http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/ayse\\_hur/cankayanin\\_butun\\_adamlari\\_2-1205898](http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/ayse_hur/cankayanin_butun_adamlari_2-1205898)).

Clothing as a status symbol emerged as the most-visible marker of difference between the old and the new elites. In the article “Dress as an Expression of the Pecuniary Culture” Thorstein Veblen claims that:



“...no line of consumption affords a more apt illustration than expenditure on dress. It is especially the rule of the conspicuous waste of goods that finds expression in dress...Other methods of one’s pecuniary standing in evidence serve their end effectually, and other methods are in vogue always and everywhere; but expenditure on dress has this advantage over most other methods, that our apparel is always in evidence and affords an indication of our pecuniary standing to all observers at the first glance” (Veblen, *Dress as an Expression of the Pecuniary Culture* 1899, 339) . ”...in order to serve its purpose effectually, should not only be expensive, but it should also make plain to all observers that the wearer is not engaged in any kind of productive labor “ (Veblen, *Dress as an Expression of the Pecuniary Culture* 1899, 240).

In the case of the new elites, clothing emerged as the symbol of achieved status instead of ascribed status. This difference did not result from the price of clothes they wore but from their relations with productive labour. Although they were able to afford expensive clothing, especially the ones in political circles were not allowed to break their bonds with productive labour. Since their new social position was related with public support, they had to justify their wealth. Also, since their consumption-based activities would not be well received, they had to prove that they were decent in their expenses in order to avoid the exposures of the public criticisms and allegations of corruption which might occur. Although they enjoyed the luxury, they tried to look modest and this dilemma revealed itself in the way they dressed.

In order to understand the relation between clothing and the social status, it is essential to know how different status groups establish a relation between their body and the clothes. For instance when we observe the clothing practices of people belonging to upper class, we see a bilateral relationship between their body and the clothes. If we make it clear, the clothing is not only the object but the active subject of this relation by having control over the shape and the movements of the body. According to Veblen, especially women’s garment restricting the movements of the body (here he gives an example related with the French heel) “makes any, even the simplest and most necessary manual work extremely difficult”. Therefore, this and similar conditions emerge as the way of “demonstrating the wearer’s abstinence from productive employment” (Veblen 1899, 241). Although the social dynamics and the clothing styles of 1980s were extremely different, the

inference of Veblen retains its validity when we consider the new designed products demonstrating that the wearer consumes without producing.

However, the physical relation between body and the clothing cannot be reduced to its relation with productive labour. Dress gives guidelines for the movement of the body and the physical harmony between the clothing and its wearer emerge as a sign of the “educated body”. Under these circumstances, body education emerges as an important parameter of social status by acting as a sign of cultural capital. In the case of new elites the physical relation between the body and the clothing is artificial and the garments used in real life start to act as pieces of costumes or accessories. In this manner, their relation with clothing resembles their relations with language.<sup>40</sup>

### **2.3 The New Groups Introduced by the Change (From Being Subculture to Part of Sovereign Culture)**

Parallel with the changes mentioned in the previous parts of this chapter, in the 1980s, politically and culturally repressed groups started to be more visible in public spheres. More interestingly, each counter group explored their inner conflicts and their fixed identities started to dissolve and expand their meaning. In that period, not only the radical Islamist group had an opportunity of being represented in the Turkish Grand National Assembly but also other marginalized groups have been identified and started to be represented by the civil organizations. Turkey was confronted with its Eastern identity and Kurds and other ethnic groups came to the fore in both political agenda and daily life. Feminism and women’s rights became another very popular concept which occupied the agenda of the nation, but this time Islamist women also increased their voices and made their own statements. The understanding that put Feminism and Islam in one pot, positioned the Islamist women opposite to both secular women and Islamist men. In both condition they brought new perspectives to current debates. These women also introduced the issue of veil as a matter of

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<sup>40</sup> Here, it is necessary to remember that the fashion by itself is a language: “Fowles (1974) noted that in a system of fashion language, fabrics and colors were the phonemes, dress items the words, wardrobes the vocabulary, outfits the sentences, and the pattern of putting an outfit together the grammar. Lurie (1981) outlined the “vocabulary of fashion,” which included archaic words (e.g., out-of-date fashions), foreign words (e.g., fashion from other cultures), slang (e.g., fads adopted by a small number of people), adjectives and adverbs (e.g., trimmings or accessories that serve as “modifiers” of the fashion object), and lies and disguises (e.g., costumes)” (Sproles and Burns 1994, 218-19).

“freedom” by removing it from the axis of Islam and modernity. The gender related discussions - which were mostly reduced to the equality of men and women- enlarged their scope and started to comprise previously marginalized sexual identities.

### **2.3.1 The Rise of Female Groups and the Second Wave Feminism**

During the 1980s, for the first time Turkey witnessed the emergence of feminist organizations (Kılıç 1998, 355). Although, the roots of the second wave feminism go back to the 1960s in the western societies, this concept was appeared in Turkey two decades later (Abadan-Unat 1998, 331). However, “The experience they gained in various organizations during the 1960s and 1970s prepared women to organize around their immediate concerns in the late 1980s. Arguably their earlier disappointments with these organizations also led them to seek new venues and formulations” (Arat 1998, 18). Since the political environment was not suitable for participating in any political party of labour union because of the restrictions directed to these organizations, in the 1980s women had a chance to “free themselves from the boundaries of previously subscribed ideologies” (Arat 1998, 18). Consequently, feminism was discussed from different perspectives and the origin/s of the protests changed (Abadan-Unat 1998, 331).

The diverse perspectives on feminism gave rise to the emergence of different feminist groups and those groups did not only suggested different political views and social orders, but also proposed different ideals about the women’s social and physical image. Although, those groups will be mentioned in this section in detail, Islamist feminists and secular feminists need to be discussed together since they were representing the two opposite poles. According to the notes of Şirin Tekeli the 1980s were the years witnessing the emergence of Islamist women (Tekeli 1998, 343)<sup>41</sup> and it was related with the emergence of contemporary Islamism dated back to the “post-1983 period when Islamist engineers rose to power within the ranks of the Motherland Party”, because in that

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<sup>41</sup> Starting from the second half of the 1980s the Islamist female students – mostly associated with the magazines including *Mektup* (Letter) and *Bizim Aile* (Our Family) – started to be the part of activist movements and *Nokta* (Dot) Magazine carried the veiled feminists to its cover (Tekeli 1998, 343) on the 20 December 1987.

period “veiled women became visible on modern university campuses in big cities” and Islamist publications “shifted the intellectual debate in Turkey away from the dominance of leftist intellectuals to that of the Islamists” (Göle 1997, 54). However, the veiling of women by indicating “the re-Islamization of personal relations, public spaces, and daily practices” (Göle 1997, 51) fueled the fear of Islamic fundamentalism strengthened after the 1979 Iranian Revolution and this situation resulted in the headscarf bans.



**Figure 110 (Left):** The newspaper article entitled “I won’t leave up my veil, even if they discharged me” (Milliyet, 26 July 1984).

**Figure 111 (Right):** The newspaper article entitled “Veiling Protest with Versicle” (Milliyet, 26 October 1989).

Accordingly, the Özal period witnessed large-scale protests (see figure 110 and 111) targeting the dress code of YÖK<sup>42</sup> (the Council of Higher Education), banning the headscarf in the universities. Although, the Özal government attempted to change Higher Education Act to allow the headscarf in the universities, the law amendments were rejected at every turn<sup>43</sup>. Consequently, “between 1987 and 1989, the number of demonstrations and protests grew. Refusing to take off their headscarves, students undertook petition campaigns, boycotts, and hunger strikes” (Çınar 2005, 82).

<sup>42</sup> Yüksek Öğretim Kurumu.

<sup>43</sup> In 1984 the ban was removed by YÖK. However it was banned again in the 1987 by being taken into the scope of disciplinary action. The Özal government changed the higher education act to allow headscarf, but it was vetoed in the 1987. Then the government proposed second law amendment, but it was canceled by constitutional court with the registration of the president, Kenan Evren in 1989. In 1990, the third law was enacted, but it was carried to the constitutional court again, but this time by SHP (*Sosyaldemokrat Halkçı Parti*) Social Democratic Populist Party. The law was vetoed again (Hürriyet 2008).

For secular circles, the veil was recalling “the traditional definition of Muslim womanhood based on values of modesty and virtue, the segregation of the sexes, and the interdiction on women to participate in public life”, in other words it was totally opposite of what they learned from Atatürk and his principles. Therefore, the veil was positioned as a symbol of confinement in the secular mind, was redefined by Islamist women as a symbol of freedom.

In fact, the difference between these two approaches was also related with the changing identity of the Muslim women and then veiling. According to Göle there was a difference between the “traditional veiling” and the “new veiling” and she claims that there was almost nothing common in between. Unlike the traditional image of Muslim women who were illustrated as “uneducated, docile, passive, and devoted to their family life”, “young, educated groups of Islamist girls” were “politically active and publically visible.” Parallel with the new roles that they assumed in the society, the Islamic outfit that they preferred also became different from the traditional Islamic look “in terms of fabric, color and style”. “The educated Islamist women, both in terms of their appearance- in stylish fabrics with widened shoulders -and in their energetic outlook- taking buses and going to the universities remind one more of the secular and self-assertive modern women than of the traditional Muslim ones” (Göle 1997, 57).



**Figure 112 (Left):** The newspaper article entitled “Turban done, fight continues” (Milliyet, 27 October 1990).  
**Figure 113 (Right):** Tough response of women: If Atatürk was alive, woman would be governor” (Milliyet, 27 December 1985).

The issue of headscarf was also on the focus of Kemalist women who came together under the Association for Supporting Contemporary Life (*Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği*). The association which was founded in 1989 was mostly represented by Prof. Dr. Türkan Saylan (see figure 112) who was the second chairman of the executive board. They yearned for the days with Atatürk and continued their commitments to his principles to create ideal better future (see figure 113). One of their aim was to enhance the women’s political and social rights by preventing gender gap. Therefore, they saw traditional Islamic thought as a threat against development of women rights. They were also the representative of modern Turkish woman in terms of the way they dresses. They adopted European styles but their elegance was quite modest. Some of them emphasized their intellectual appearance with the use of glasses and foulards.



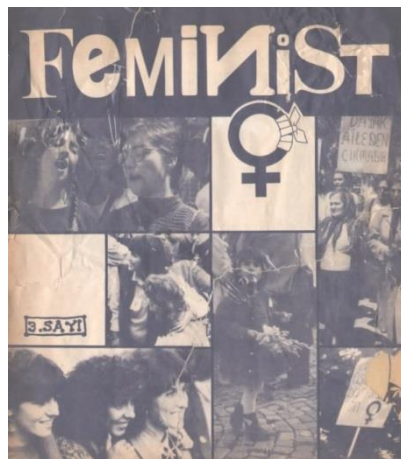
**Figure 114 (Left):** The newspaper article entitled “Successful organization and Daisies (from the personal archive of Yıldız Özgüner).

**Figure 115 (Right):** The newspaper article entitled “They have met in the ball of “Gypsy Baron” (from the personal archive of Yıldız Özgüner).

In addition to elites and counter-elites the Özal period witnessed the emergence of the new-elites and this community was mostly represented by Semra Özal. Another important women’s organization of the period was the Foundation for the Empowerment and *Promotion of Turkish Women* (*Türk Kadınına Güçlendirme ve Tanıtma Vakfı*) which was established by Özal with the funding of 100 wealthy women. However the foundation could not be active for a long time despite the support of the media (Tekeli 1998, 343), (Kılıç 1998, 356). The members of the foundation were known as Daisies (*Papatyalar*) and their aim was to emancipate Turkish women in social, political,

cultural and commercial fields by encouraging solidarity, and increase their visibility in international fields (Kılıç 1998, 356). The female image that they represented reflected European elegance as well, but the luxury was felt a little bit more in that look that was completed with accessories (such as brooches and furs), well-groomed hair and make-up (see figure 114 and 115).

Among the women's organizations, there were also some groups who directly defined themselves as feminists and they were quite active with the publications and activist movements. *Feminist* (Feminist) and *Sosyalist Feminist Kaktüs* (Socialist Feminist Cactus) were the magazines published in the late 1980s and the early 1990s and they informed their readers about women's rights by addressing a variety of topics including home labour, history of feminism, activist protest in and out of the country, political rights, workplace harassment, marriage etc. Since those publications were mostly including textual documents, by looking at the very few images they provided (they were mostly the photographs displaying the protests), we can claim that the members of those groups were quite mixed in terms style. Among all, there were some groups which came to the fore with their masculine appearances identified with their very short hair, baggy clothing -hiding their body contours- and turtleneck sweaters (see figure 116), and some of them were still carrying the bohemian style of the 1970s with their flare dresses with ethnic patterns (see figure 117).



**Figure 116 (Left):** A protest for women's right (Feminist, 3 October 1987).

**Figure 117 (Right):** A protest for women's right (Feminist, 3 October 1987).

Although, those women contributed a lot to the Turkish women studies with their publications and they had an active role in the emancipation of women in various fields, the concept of feminism was popularized by Duygu Asena and *Kadınca* (Womanly) magazine that she edited. Unlike many other women’s magazines *Kadınca* did not target the housewives. Actually it was a wise choice when the increasing number of working women was considered. Parallel with the increasing consumption, competition and economic growth targets, a second source of income was required in the families. For that reason, the women started to take place in the different stages of working life according to their skills and level of education. In other words, they moved to working environment by leaving their homes and *Kadınca* showed them “how to consume more in order to save time and energy”. Therefore, “*Kadınca*’s new reader needed message instruments, dryers, automatic cleaning equipment, and expensive kitchen appliances” and spent back what they earned. “In this respect, *Kadınca* invited its readers to break the traditional rules not only at the sexual or social level, but also in their consumption pattern. The cooking section, named “Kitchen of the Working Woman,” included recipes that could be quickly prepared and elegantly served.” (Öztürkmen 1998, 283)”



**Figure 118 (Left):** The cover of the *Kadınca* Magazine (*Kadınca*, January 1985).

**Figure 119 (Center):** The cover of the *Kadınca* Magazine (*Kadınca*, December 1988).

**Figure 120 (Right):** The cover of the *Kadınca* Magazine (*Kadınca*, April 1984).

According to Kılıç, in the 1980s Turkish feminists mostly emphasized the difference between men and women. This common view which was acknowledged by the second wave feminist movement was the main point that differentiated them from the first-wave. On the other hand, the Turkish



feminist did not define those differences clearly. Although the characteristics such as passiveness, compassion and docility were accepted to be positive by the feminists of the western countries, they were mostly seen as the sign of weakness in Turkey. Therefore, some of the women's magazines suggested "manly" attitudes (see figure 118) especially about sexuality. Also, the main character of Duygu Asena's novel *Kadının Adı Yok* (Woman Has No Name) represented an almost androgynous character, and it was mostly affirmed by feminist circled instead of being criticized (Kılıç 1998, 358).

When we brought all of those women's groups together, we can observe a great variety in the lives, opinions and styles they represented. However Deniz Kandiyoti and Nermin Abadan-Unat related two opposite poles by drawing a parallel between the women's masculinity and the understanding which prison them into veil because both of them suppress the woman's identity through clothing (Abadan-Unat 1998, 329).

### **2.3.2 The Rise of Alternative Groups**

There is no doubt that, arabesque was one of the most significant cultural movements appeared in the Özal period. However, since this issue was already mentioned in the previous parts in detail, it will not be included in this section. On the other hand, besides arabesque culture, the Özal period witnessed the emergence of the other groups suppressed by the coup d'état (12 September 1980) in public space. Since those alternative groups (sexual and cultural minorities) revealed their presence and difference with their clothing style in public, the negative/positive attitude displayed towards them is important in terms of understanding the relationship between politics and clothing discourse.

One of those groups was sexual minorities. After the coup, the transsexuals were not allowed to appear on the stage. The first ban was applied to Bülent Ersoy in 1981 on account of the fact that he was a role model for the young people who had homosexual tendencies (Milliyet, 12 June 1981). In 1988, Bülent Ersoy demanded the removal of the ban by writing a letter to Turgut Özal (Milliyet, 19 September 1987), and with the initiative of Özal the ban was removed in 1988 (Milliyet, 09 January 1988). This decision allowed her to wear women clothes on the stage (see figure 121). Although the

media continued to marginalize sexual minorities, it did not prevent, but provoke those groups. In addition, increasing emphasis on sexuality resulted in the popularity of the themes of homosexuality and lesbianism. Consequently, the runways witnessed the women wearing tuxedo and men wearing skirts (see figure 122).



**Figure 121 (Left):** The newspaper article entitled “A night that made Bülent Ersoy cry” Show (Milliyet, 14 February 1988).

**Figure 122 (Right):** A newspaper clipping displaying one of the fashion shows in Vizon Show (Milliyet, 08 November 1992).

The punks were another group which was marginalized by the media. However as in the case of sexual minorities, the increasing media emphasis on punks made them popular. Although punk was an entire culture suggesting its own living and clothing style, in Turkey it only existed as a fashion trend mostly followed by youths of high society or a group of celebrities (see figures 123 and 124). Since they already have an autonomous place in society, their association with punk culture marginalized this culture more. The media displaying some of the celebrities as pioneers of punk simultaneously defamed the culture by relating it with alcoholism, drug addictions and fierceness. In one of his visits to high schools, president Kenan Evren declared that he did not want punk youths and this statement was carried to the headline of Milliyet on 21 December 1984.

More interestingly, the coup mentality approached all of those marginalized groups in the same way no matter how they were different in terms of their ideological backgrounds. Punks, the girls in the headscarf protests, or the men wearing women clothes on the stages were all equally dangerous as the ones opposing the system.



Figure 123 (Left): "A Turkish Punk is explaining Punk" (Hayat, 03 October 1983).

Figure 124 (Right): "The newspaper article entitled "Zerrin's "punk" craziness..." (Milliyet, 11 January 1984).

### 3 Semra Özal as a Public Figure and a Fashion Consumer

Among all of the female images mentioned in the previous chapter, Semra Özal, as a representative of Turgut Özal's social environment, constituted a significant example through which we can observe the relationship between ideology, social change, fashion consumption and clothing. The questions which were directed to Semra Özal in an interview published in Milliyet dated 03 May 1987, give important clues about her fashion consumption behaviours and how she tried to justify her luxurious elegance.

#### Conversation 1:

“YS<sup>44</sup>: Do you follow fashion trends? You always dress very stylish.

SÖ<sup>45</sup>: Every woman follows fashion. So, do I, but I prefer the things that fit on me. Generally I draw my own (dress) models. I have a charlady, she is sewing them.

YS: Don't you buy the readymade dresses of the well-known domestic and foreign brands?

SÖ: I do not have any readymade dress. Recently, one was published in somewhere (she means in media) as; Yves Saint Laurent dress. My charlady sewed it at home too. She has been sewing my dresses for 23 years, she knows my habits.

<sup>44</sup> Yener Süsoy (journalist)

<sup>45</sup> Semra Özal

YS: What is your choice of clothing?

SÖ: I don't like too flamboyant things, and also I don't prefer the things which might go quickly out of fashion. (My style) is mainly classic, but carries the outlines of the fashion of the day.

YS: I remember your furry, feathery dresses madam.

SÖ: Their sleeves and collar can be fur. Fur is always in fashion.

YS: Don't you like luxury? Aren't you a sumptuous woman?

SÖ: No, not at all. For instance, 97% of my fabrics are locally produced. I am buying them from a clothier in Kızılay. If you heard how much my dresses cost, you probably wouldn't believe. They are that inexpensive.

YS: May I madam?

SÖ: For instance, let me start with the suit. It never exceeds 35 thousand lira. A dress is much cheaper.

YS: Semra *Hanim*<sup>46</sup>, How many furs do you have in your wardrobe?

SÖ: Two or three, but they are old... I bought mink in 1971 when I went to America. Now, it faded away, its color got wavy. I had astrakhan which I bought much earlier. I had it altered and it turned to be a suit. Also, I have one more, once I had it made here. My furrier in İstanbul, repairs those furs once in a few years. Yener *Bey*<sup>47</sup>, believe me, I even did not buy a fur collar from abroad until that day. I had only bought at once in 1971 when I lived in America, and that is all.

YS: Do you have interest in jewelry?

SÖ: As any woman, I like jewelry. I like antique jewelry more. I have some inherited from the family. There are some I bought later, and the gifts of my husband. However, nowadays I don't wear them much.

YS: Is it because you have fear of gossips?

SÖ: No, I don't mind it. It is not suitable for the places where I go for charity<sup>48</sup> works." (Milliyet, 03 May 1987)

Although Semra Özal seems quite sincere in her answers, the content and the form of the interview reveals that Semra Özal and the journalist had different viewpoints about the "real" answers to the questions. Therefore, the conversation looks more as an interrogation rather than an interview, because the questions were asked from the perspective of a person "who thinks he knows", instead

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<sup>46</sup> *Hanim* is a courtesy title which means lady.

<sup>47</sup> *Bey* is a courtesy title which means sir.

<sup>48</sup> She was the founder of the Foundation for the Empowerment and Promotion of Turkish Women ( The original name: Türk Kadını Güçlendirme ve Tanıtma Vakfı).

of a person “who wants to know”. First of all, grammar-wise the journalist uses “negative questions” starting with “don’t you” and “aren’t you”. When we consider the complete questions, (Don’t you buy the readymade dresses of the well-known domestic and foreign brands? / Don’t you like luxury? Aren’t you a sumptuous woman?), we have a feeling that the journalist was prejudiced about the way she consumed fashion products and those prejudices affect the perception of the reader at the very moment. Secondly, the journalist does not only ask biased-questions, but also comments on her answers when he is not convinced. Especially when she claimed that she did not favor flamboyant styles, he reminds her “furry, feathery garments”. Thirdly, when we categorize nine fashion-related questions<sup>49</sup> according to their themes, we get the following table. According to theme variations, 2 of them are general questions, 6 of them are related with luxury consumption and 1 of them is related with the social pressure which might occur against luxury consumption. This frame reveals that the journalist had a presumption about her consumption patterns and especially the final question indicates that he also thinks that the public had the same presumptions.

QUESTIONS	THEMES
1. Do you follow fashion trends? You always dress very stylish.	A general question about fashion consumption (starting with a compliment)
2. Don’t you buy the readymade dresses of the well-known domestic and foreign brands?	Brand choice
3. What is your choice of clothing?	A general question about style choice
4. I remember your furry, feathery dresses madam.	Fur (comment not a question)
5. Don’t you like luxury? Aren’t you a sumptuous woman?	Luxury / consumption
6. May I madam?	Consumption (a continuation of the 5 <sup>th</sup> question)
7. Semra Hanım, How many furs do you have in your wardrobe?	Fur
8. Do you have interest in jewelry?	Jewelry
9. Is it because you have fear of gossips?	Gossip / Social Pressure might occur against luxury consumption

**Table 6:** The themes of the questions which were asked in the interview (Milliyet, 03 May 1987)

On the other hand, the same biased situation reveals itself in the answers of Semra Özal. According to her responses, she was “wearing fur” but they were “few and old” (see figure 126). She was

<sup>49</sup> These nine questions are the part of a long interview in which Semra Özal answered several questions in various fields. Only the fashion related part was taken in the consideration in that research.

“using jewelry”, but they were either “inherited or gifts” (see figure 127). She had a “luxurious elegance”, but not because she consumed “brand new clothes”, but she “reused them with little alterations”. Although she claimed that she did not care about the gossips, the way she justified her luxurious look reveals her struggle to avoid the exposure to the public and media criticisms.



**Figure 125 (Left):** The newspaper article entitled “Lady Özal in Gucci Fashion House “(Milliyet, 25 January 1985).  
**Figure 126 (Center):** The newspaper article entitled “The eyes are on Semra Özal” (Milliyet, 25 December 1985).  
**Figure 127 (Right):** The newspaper article entitled “Semra Özal’s iftar jewelry“(Milliyet, 22 May 1987).

The interview also includes some parts questioning her style in terms of ideology and religion and this situation reflects that she was not only criticized for her consumption pattern, but also for her style which did not match with the conservative background of ANAP.

## Conversation: 2

YS: Semra Hanım, we have made various criticisms about your attitudes and behaviours, and we are still doing it. Even, there is a divergence between you and your husband about this issue. Especially, some groups in ANAP are opposing you.

SÖ: I don’t know. Nobody came and said anything to me. There can be some groups which feel uncomfortable. It is not possible to please everyone... I do what fits my logic. I cannot organize my life according to other people’s arguments, angeriness and unhappiness. I won’t give up fighting.

YS: Turgut Bey is coming from a conservative family. Did he ever want you to use a headscarf?

SÖ: No, he never said anything like this.

YS: If he wanted it, would you cover your head?

SÖ: No, I would not cover my head. If he wanted, I would struggle till the end. Turgut Bey knows that it is not possible” (Milliyet, 03 May 1987).

The conversation carries some very critical messages about the political attitude of Özal and the criticisms directed to him. These messages are given on the basis of the themes including “conservativeness”, “divergence”, “struggle”, and “tolerance”. The links that were created between the themes and the people are used to give the messages given below:

MESSAGES	REFERENCES	REASONING
<b>Message 1:</b> Turgut Özal is a conservative leader.	1. Turgut Özal comes from a conservative family. 2. Turgut Özal is a member of ANAP (which is a conservative party).	Turgut Özal is conservative because his family and party are conservative.
<b>Theme:</b> Conservativeness		
<b>Message 2:</b> Turgut Özal might be opposing Semra Özal because of her attitudes and behaviour.	1. Turgut Özal is a member of ANAP. 2. Some groups in ANAP are opposing her because of her attitudes and behaviour.	Turgut Özal as being the member of ANAP might be opposing Semra Özal because of her attitudes and behaviour.
<b>Theme:</b> Divergence		
<b>Message 3:</b> Turgut Özal might want his wife to wear headscarf.	1. Turgut Özal is conservative. 2. Conservative men might want their wives to wear headscarf.	Turgut Özal as a conservative might want her wife to wear headscarf.
<b>Theme:</b> Conservativeness		
<b>Message 4:</b> Semra Özal opposes Turgut Özal.	1. Turgut Özal might want her wife to wear headscarf. 2. Semra Özal refuses to wear headscarf.	Semra Özal opposes Turgut Özal by refusing to wear headscarf.
<b>Theme:</b> Conservativeness, divergence, struggle		
<b>Message 5:</b> Turgut Özal has tolerance for Semra Özal.	1. Turgut Özal is conservative. 2. Semra Özal is refusing to wear headscarf. 3. Turgut Özal doesn’t want her to wear headscarf.	Since she is not willing, Turgut Özal cannot convince her to wear a headscarf although he is a conservative.
<b>Theme:</b> Tolerance		

**Table 7:** The messages conveyed through the conversation.

In fact, by looking at the table 7 it is possible to claim that both the reference points and the reasoning that lay behind the messages are based on “generalizations”, “stereotypes” and “presumptions”. Within the conversation, the interviewer tries to acquit the conservative identity of Turgut Özal by constructing an artificial divergence between him and his wife. In this way, Turgut

Özal does not only preserve his political identity, but also shows his tolerance for the opposing views. Briefly, this conversation implicitly enhances his conservative and democratic political stance.

So, why did some groups in ANAP not approve of the attitudes of Semra Özal, and more importantly what were those attitudes? There is no doubt that one of its reasons was her consumption patterns which were already discussed in the scope of the first conversation, and the second reason was the fact that the dominant woman image that she was representing did not match with the conservative values. In that sense, the issue of headscarf that was mentioned in the second conversation was one of the subjects of dispute. However, the third conversation taken from the interview gives more information about the reasons of the disagreement:

### **Conversation 3:**

YS: In your opinion, was it appropriate for a prime minister's wife to model and exhibit clothes?

SÖ: Yener Bey, there is a misunderstanding here. Modeling is to exhibit clothing on the runway. I did not do something like this. I only had my photos taken with some of my leather dresses. Maybe, I should not do it as a prime minister's wife.

YS: So, why did you do it?

SÖ: There were certain things attributed to me. I gave this message to refute those claims.

YS: What were they madam?

SÖ: We as a whole are a Muslim community. (You know) what they inferred from the headscarf that I wore while visiting mosque in Kerbela. (They) accused me of backwardness. We, even make the Christian tourists wear headscarves in the mosques in our own country. It is normal. However, there are some things that are attributed to me. I had those photos taken to refute those claims.

YS: Have you had to do other things for this?

SÖ: No, everybody recognized me, the public recognized me.

YS: Semra Hanım, what is your understanding of secularism?

SÖ: Yener Bey, as you see, I am a modern person. Also I believe that people should pay homage to their traditions and beliefs. I read the Koran, since my childhood... My religious beliefs are complete. However it is necessary to comply with the current



world conditions. I believe that we should be the women of Atatürk's revolution by being devoted to his principles" (Milliyet, 03 May 1987).

The third conversation taken from the same interview, shows that Semra Özal tries to avoid the negative association of the headscarf with backwardness. In her last answer she says "as you see, I am a modern person" and actually, this very short sentence reduces "modernity" to an "image". At that moment, she attempts to illustrate a woman which is simultaneously modern and religious by giving reference to both "Atatürk" and "Koran". In that sense, her way of clothing resembles to her husband's political discourse which borrows widely-approved symbols of various ideologies.

The visual documents published in the Milliyet give clues about the different identities and values that she represented through clothing items. For instance her European style suits reflect her "republican woman image." On the other hand, in some interviews she gives reference to clothing-related practices of the early republic period by claiming that she used local fabrics, she had her clothes repaired, and her clothes were produced by her charlady at home. Since those practices are related with more abstract concepts such as being self-sufficient, economical and productive, she doesn't only adopt styles but also the values. On the other hand, by wearing caftans and embroidered dresses she strengthens her "traditional woman image" (see figure 131) which was associated with the ideological background of ANAP. Also, Özal contributes to this image not only by adopting traditional looks, but also promoting traditional costumes in the national promotion days held abroad. In this manner, she demonstrates her sensitivity about national arts and culture.

Actually the public was familiar with both modern and traditional looks. However they were not used to witness the private lives of the politicians. Unlike other politicians' families, the Özal family became visible in the media with their daily life practices. This situation reinforced Semra Özal's "everyday citizen image" (see figure 129) and this image was used to signify the modest and transparent life they claimed they had.. On the other hand, her "strong woman image" which attracted most media attention, simultaneously took the most public criticisms. Although Turgut Özal was not smoking, her love of cigar (see figure 130) frequently became the subject of daily news.

Besides, by wearing a tuxedo, she appeared in a male dress rather than just being masculine (see figure 128).

IMAGE DESCRIPTION	CLOTHING ITEMS	VALUES
Republican Woman Image	Suits, fashionable look based on European trends etc.	Emphasis on local fabrics, home production, self-sufficiency, mending culture
Traditional Woman Image	Caftans, Embroideries, Traditional motifs, amulets etc.	Emphasis on traditions, Turkish arts and crafts
Everyday Citizen Image	Holiday looks, shorts, sleeveless woven tops etc.	Emphasis on modest, transparent living style
Strong Woman Image	Cigar, tuxedo, masculine look, short haircut etc.	Emphasis on woman's empowerment

**Table 8:** The female images that Semra Özal represented

In fact, the style of Semra Özal was consistent. However unlike the members of elite circles who have more permanent styles, this consistency resulted from a constant state of change. The research reveals that for her, fashion was a playground in which she can adopt various appearances and identities. However, contrary to what is believed, her style was quite matching with the political attitude of her husband. Turgut Özal, who appeared to be risking the support of the Islamic groups, actually tried to eliminate the anxieties of secular side with her support. Most probably he was planning to preserve their support of Islamic groups with another clothing-discourse by removing the ban on turban. Also, other veiled family members of Turgut Özal (including his old sister and mother), by being visible in the media, balanced the negative influence of Semra Özal in the Islamic circles.



**Figure 128 (Left):** The newspaper article entitled “Semra Hanım, created fashion again” (Milliyet, 9 November 1984).

**Figure 129 (Center top):** The newspaper article entitled “Leaders should go with the different planes” (Milliyet, 20 August 1988).

**Figure 130 (Center bottom):** The newspaper article entitled “3 visits in 1 day” (Milliyet, 14 September 1985).

**Figure 131 (Right):** The newspaper article entitled “Paris fashion from Semra Özal” (Milliyet, 17 March 1986).

#### 4 Conclusion

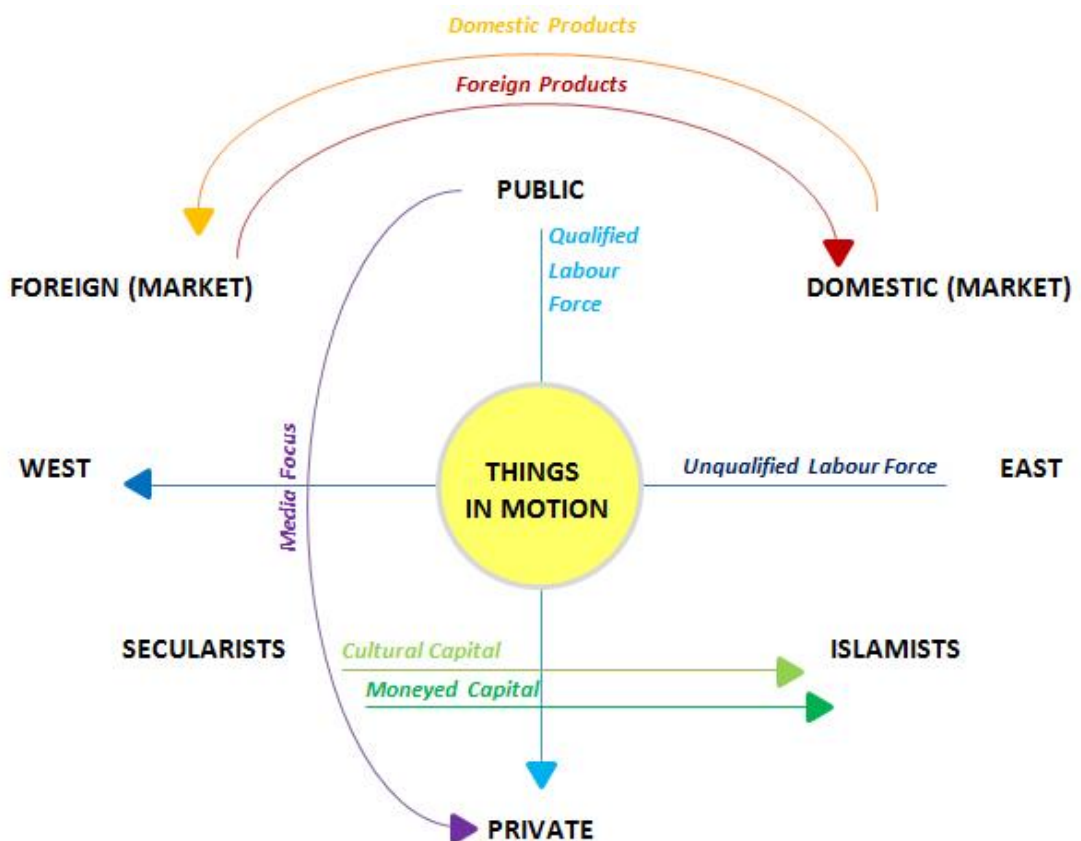
Within the history of Turkish Republic, the clothing has always come to fore with its symbolic associations, rather than its mere materiality. This situation is mostly resulted from the fact that Turkey, although it has a claim of being secular, was coming from a deep-rooted Islamic tradition which firmly define clothing practices according to gender, class and religion-based hierarchies. In this respect, clothing assuming an intermediary position between body and society has become the target of both secularist and Islamist modernization projects. Secularism and Islamism, which were mostly positioned in a binary opposition, have clearly defined their ideals on body and the clothing, but simultaneously those ideals were used to defame the “opposite-other” in the public domain. Under these circumstances, the body became the political field of the secular state which aimed to implement its national modernization project in the early republic period starting after 1920s. In a similar manner, Islamist ideology aimed to reverse this image by proposing its own ideals starting from 1990s (Çınar 2005, 55).

In this study, the Özal period is a name given to this “undefined” time interval that remained between two opposing modernization projects. However, unlike what comes before and after, this

period was characterized by influences of postmodernism. Of course, post-modernism on its own is a strong definition which encompasses various sub-themes enabling us to understand the period being studied. On the other hand, as in the case of Turkish modernity that differentiated from western model, Turkey experienced postmodernity in a way appropriate to its own dynamics. For that reason, the following part explains how the clothing discourse changed in the Özal period by considering those sub-themes.

**Fluidity instead of Stability:**

First of all, the state of being “undefined” was the outcome of the period influenced by the “things in motion”. In the Özal period the individuals, institutions and even abstract notions changed their locations, directions and significations. If we summarize the directions of change which were already mentioned within the study, we confront with the following scheme:



These conditions underlined with the scheme were the consequences of governmental decisions affecting workforce, capital flow and foreign trade. However those decisions stimulating social change, also gave form to the clothing discourse of the period.

First of all, Turgut Özal enabled different social groups to participate in the system. During his governance the unqualified workers looking for a better working and living conditions immigrated to the western parts of Turkey. When the cultural exchange between east and west combined with social exclusion of new comers, this resulted in a birth of a hybrid culture known as “*arabesque*”. Since the city life had already come under the influence of global trends together with the invasion of foreign products, it led to the emergence of eclectic styles (Baydar and Özkan 1999, 74). Since wearing foreign products was accepted as status symbol, the people who was not able to afford them preferred to use imitations (Baydar and Özkan 1999, 83) or export surplus garments.

Parallel with the privatization policies, qualified workforce changed its direction from public sector to the private sector. Since this professional environment driven by strong competition, being presentable gained high importance to stand out among rivals having similar professional and personal skills. Business look known as Yuppie (Young urban professionals) style became popular. It was time to dress for success.

Business life was appealing for women as well as men. As a consequence of increasing consumption, competition and economic growth targets, the second source of income was required in the families (Arat 1998, 29). For that reason, the women started to take place in the different stages of working life according to their skills and level of education. Especially “power-dress” associated with padded-shouldered suits became a must for the wardrobe of professional women (Laver 2002, 274). The periodicals targeting working women -especially *Kadınca-*, popularized this look in Turkey.

In the Özal period, the customer preferences also changed. The foreign products - appearing as a status symbol - became much preferred among Turkish customers with the entry of the international brands in the domestic market. Some of the new local brands enhanced their position in the market by implementing global marketing techniques. On the other hand, the small-scale ateliers and textile

manufacturers, being unable to compete with national and international brands, were either disappeared or became the contract manufacturers of international companies.

**Pluralism instead of Singularism:**

The fluid structure affecting politics and economics also changed the class system. The intersections of the opposites revealed that contrary to what is believed and what has been shown, the battle was not just between Islamists and secularists, but also between east and west (of Turkey), urban and rural, upper class and lower class and even men and women. This situation made the pluralistic identity of Turkey much more visible and enabled different counter groups to explore their inner conflicts. This exploration also resulted in the diffusion of the fixed identities and meanings.

In the post-1983 period the dominance of the leftist intellectuals ended with the emergence of Islamist groups having the cultural capital (Göle 1997, 54). Especially together with the rise of the Islamist engineers, the elite class was transformed and gained new definitions such as secular elites, new-elites and counter-elites. Social rise of Islamists also transformed the Islamic community and they were separated as modernists and traditionalists. Especially the female members of those groups became the indicators of social change and class differences with the looks they adopted. Since the women were extra active within the period parallel with the feminist movements, each group came together under different women organizations according to their political view or social environments.

The secular women who came together under the “Association for Supporting Contemporary Life” were still strictly tight to principles of Atatürk and they preserved their modest elegance conforming to the image of “republican women”. On the other hand the new-elites, which could be represented by the social environment of Semra Özal, mostly came to fore with their elegant and luxurious looks. On the other hand, the female members of the counter-elites, proposed a new woman image by separating themselves from both secularists and traditional Islamists. Those women, unlike the image of traditional Muslim women, came to fore with their energetic look that they achieved with

widened shouldered outfits. Their clothing preferences were also different than traditional women in terms of fabric and color choices (Göle 1997, 57).

### **Globalism instead of Nationalism:**

In the 1980s the modernity promise of Kemalism and the modern identity that he favored for the public collapsed (Gürbilek 2011, 15, 19) and Turkey's new pluralistic identity appeared in the same period was one of its outcomes. Turkey which could not complete its modernization process experienced postmodernity in a similar manner. From one side, the major part of its citizens retained its sensitivity about principles (based on the project of modern nation-state) inherited from Atatürk, but on the other side national and international mobility (of people, products and global brands) stimulated a multifaceted cultural interaction and introduced new possibilities of the global world. As a result, modernity and post modernity was experienced by Turkey simultaneously.<sup>50</sup>

Turkey was determined about being part of the global world, but was not sure about its limits. From one side, in the Özal period Turkey gave priority to development of textile and apparel sector by supporting export-oriented companies, encouraging fashion education and increasing the international visibility of Turkish designers through national promotion events held abroad, but on the other hand it could not prevent the supremacy of foreign products entering the domestic market since the Turkish brands were not strong enough to compete with them. From one side, Turkey would like to promote its fashion globally, but on the other hand the effort of creating national fashion resulted in the re-exploration of Ottoman past. Even this situation was enough to demonstrate Turkey's position in between globalism and nationalism, because Turkey by revitalizing

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<sup>50</sup> In this manner, the case of Turkey matches with the second (of third) postmodernist viewpoint explained by Henderson & De Long: "In a second viewpoint of postmodern, modernism is appreciated, but is too exclusive. The perceived good of modernity is integrated simultaneously with historically or culturally diverse elements to better communicate with the masses. This holistic style of modernism combines different cultures and tastes (Jencks, 1984, 1987). When characteristics of the modern are incorporated along with evolving postmodern elements, mixed-uses and mixed-ages, or a double-coding of style, occurs (Jencks, 1980). Postmodernism does not replace the modern but is viewed as a hybrid that co-exists with the modern. It is inclusive with modernism and recognizes the need to communicate with audience simultaneously" (Henderson and DeLong 2000, 238).

Ottoman dream chose to make use of multicultural and multinational structure of the empire (which was embraced by global world) without making concession from traditional values.

#### **Consumption instead of Production:**

Despite the positive expectations observed in the early years of the Özal period, Turkey could not become a design country but a loyal consumer of the western fashion. Media, being depolitized after (12 September 1980) coup d'état, "became submissive to the rules of media market" and focused on the needs of everyday life by abandoning its claims in the political field.

Everyday life was dominated by the private life with the emergence of the television series, magazine programs and movies focusing on idealized bodies and private life stories of real and fictional characters. This simulated the culture of consumption and voyeurism. The emphasis on private life, individuality and self-care increased the significance of topics related with health, sports, eating habits and sexual life. The change in the conception of body affected the way people dressed. Swimwear, sportswear and underwear brands became much more visible in the periodicals. Since Turkey did not have strong brands in those fields, it strengthened the supremacy of international brands in the domestic market.

#### **Ambiguity instead of Certainty:**

Semra Özal, the wife of president Özal, with her clothing choice and fashion consumption constituted an important case within a study, because her ambiguous style was perfectly matching with the undefined political stance of her husband. For her, fashion was a playground which enabled her to adopt various styles, and sometimes a mask to avoid criticisms directed by political circles, media and public. In that sense, she used fashion not only to represent who she was but also to represent who she hoped not to be<sup>51</sup>.

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<sup>51</sup> "Fashion is one of the key arenas that allow us - provisionally, of course - to represent ourselves and who we are becoming (and somewhat ambiguously, who we hope we are not becoming; see Freitas *et al.* 1997;)" (Kaiser and Ketchum 2005, 128).



APPENDIX 1:

The official newspaper dated 28 November 1925 which announced the act related with the use of hat. (T. C. Resmi Gazete 1925)

# تَشْرِیْهِ جُمْهُورِیَّةِ

آبونه شرايطى  
سنه لکى ۱۰۶ نسخه اعتباريله  
۳۹۰ غروش  
آلتى آيلى : ۷۸ نسخه  
اعتباريله ۱۹۵ غروش  
نشره ايون سنه لى پرسته اجرى  
داخل اولدى بئى خانه ۴۶۵ آلتى  
آيلى ۳۳۵ غروش

تأسيس تاريخى : ۷ تشرین اول ۱۳۳۶

جمعه ايرتسى  
۲۸ تشرین تاقى ۱۳۴۱  
۱۱ جازى الاول ۱۳۴۱  
ادارى و تهرى ماملات ايون  
مطبوعات مديريت عموميه سنه  
وسى جريده و نشرات مديريته  
مراجعت اولتور  
بهرتسخسى ۱۰۰ پارهدر

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سنه : ۳

تورکيه جمهوريتىنىک رسمى غز تسيدير

نومرو : ۲۳۰

قانونلر

ايکنبى ماده — اشبو قانون تشرى تاريخندن مترهدر .  
اوجنبي ماده — اشبو قانونك اجراسته زراعت و ماليه  
و کيلىرى مأموردور.  
۲۳ تشرین تاقى ۱۳۴۱ و ۶ جازى الاول ۱۳۴۴

شاهه اکنساسى مقننه قانونه

نومرو : ۶۷۱  
تورکيه بويوک ملت/اعضارى ايله اداره  
عموميه و خصوصيه و محليه و بالعموم مؤسسه مديريت مأمورن  
و مستخدمين ، تورک ملتک اکتسا ايتش اولديش شايقيه  
کيمک مجبوريتنه در . تورکيه خلقکده عمومى سرپوشى شايقه  
اولوب بوکامناق براعتبادک دوامنى حکومت منع ايدر .  
ايکنبى ماده — اشبو قانون تاريخ تشرندن اعتبار امرى  
الاجرادر .

اوجنبي ماده — اشبو قانون بويوک ملت مجلسى و اجرا  
و کيلىرى هيتنى طرفلرندن اجرا اولتور .  
۲۵ تشرین تاقى ۱۳۴۱ و ۸ جازى الاول ۱۳۴۴

۱۳۴۱ سنسى زراعت و قاننى بوردجىنىک مختلف فصل  
و ماده لرينه جمعا ( ۲۲۵۰۰۰۰ ) ليرانىک تخصیصات منفر  
اولرى عمومده راس قانونه

نومرو : ۶۷۰

برنجى ماده — ۱۳۴۱ زراعت و قاننى بوردجىنىک  
۳۳۳ نجى فصلک برنجى « مأمورن خرجرايى » ماده سنه  
( ۱۵۰۰۰ ) و عين فصلک اون اوجنبي « اورمان قانونه  
قوانين ساترک تطبيق و امراض و حشرات مسئوله حيوانيه  
و نباتيه تک تقيدن متوله خرجراء ماده سنه ( ۱۰۰۰۰۰ ) و  
۳۳۵ نجى فصلک برنجى امراض مسئوله حيوانيه ، تضمينات  
تحفظخانه ليدائى و موقت غارديانلر امورانى » ماده سنه ( ۸۰۰۰۰ )  
و ۳۴۱ نجى فصلک اوجنبي « سرور دارالالتحضارلى مخرج  
و مصارف تاسيسيه و تسميره سى و وسائط خليه مخرج » ماده سنه  
( ۳۰۰۰۰۰ ) ليراکه جمعا ( ۲۲۵۰۰۰۰ ) ليرانىک تخصیصات منضمه  
اولدى علاوه ايدلشدور .

تفسيرلر

۲۰ شباط ۱۳۴۰ تاريخ و ۴۹۰ نومردى ۱۳۴۰ سنسى  
( موازنه عموميه قانونى ) نىک اونوزنجى ماده نىک تفسيرى  
مأمورن خارجيه معاشاقى حقتده

نومرو : ۷۱

۱۳۴۰ سنسى موازنه عموميه قانونک اونوزنجى ماده سنه  
موضوع بحث مأمورن خارجيه معاشاقى حرمدن اولکى مقدارى  
قىدى معاشاقى متکوره نىک اصلنه اولما بوب اعطاء مقدارينه مملوفدر .  
۲۳ تشرین تاقى ۱۳۴۱ و ۶ جازى الاول ۱۳۴۴

۹ هزيرانه ۱۳۲۱ تاريخى ( اعشار نظام سى ) نىک  
آلتشمه آلتنجى ماده معدلنىک تفسيرى

صاحب اولرى تيميرى حقتده

نومرو : ۷۰

اعشار نظام سى نىک آلتنجى ماده معدله سنه نىک صاحب  
اولرى تيميرى و رتبه و اصحاب حق انتقالده شاملدر .  
۲۳ تشرین تاقى ۱۳۴۱ و ۶ جازى الاول ۱۳۴۴

اون ييتنى اجنامه عائد ضبط جريده سى مربوطدر

APPENDIX 2:

The official newspaper dated 05 September 1925 which announced the act banning religious costumes for the ones who did not have religious authority (T. C. Resmi Gazete 1925).

آبونه شرائطی  
برسته لی: ۱۵۶ نسخه اعتباری  
۲۹۰ غروش  
آلی آبی: ۷۸ نسخه اعتباری  
۱۹۵ غروش  
طهره اهرسته لی برسته اجرت  
داخل اولدی حاله ۱۹۶۵، آلی  
آبی ۲۴۵ غروش

# شهریه جریده

تاسیس تاریخی: ۷ نفرین اول ۱۳۳۶

جمه ابرقی  
۵ ایلول ۱۳۴۱  
۱۶ صفر ۱۳۴۴  
اداری و تحریری مساملاحتی چون  
مطهرات مدیریت جمعیته وسی  
جریده و نشریات مدبریته مراجعت  
اولتور  
جمه نسخه سی ۱۰۰ پاره در

نور و: ۱۶۸      تورکیه جمهوریتینک رسمی غزته سیدر      سنه: ۳

قرانامه لر

و مقصدلرینه کوره تعویض ایچون صلاحیت و وضیت طاقندلری کورولمعدر .

ثالثاً — وطنداشیرک قیافتی و طرز تلبی کی منحصرأ اجتهابی ومدنی اسبابه مربوط اولوب اعتقاد وجدائی ابله اساساً ارباطی بولونایان مسائل اوززنده افکارک تشوخی و تزده الفا ایدیلدیگی آکلاشمعدر .

مثالی مذکوره حقنده تورکیه جمهوریتی داخلنده آتیده کی فرادنامه له کوره مامله اولونماسی تقرر ایتمعدر .

تطابا وزوایا حقنده قرارنامدر

۱ — تورکیه جمهوریتی داخلنده کورک وقف مسورتیه انفا ایدلش و کورک شیخنک ملکی اوله رق باطابو تحت تملکنده بولونمش اولان بالموم تکایا وزوایا بلاستتاکاملأ سد ایدلشدر . آنحق و قتیله جامع و مسجد اوله رق انفا ایدلش ایکن بالآخره مشیخت احدائی مسورتیه هم جامع وهم تکیه اوله رق استعمال ایدیلنلر بالکنز جامع و مسجد اوله رق کشف ایدیله جکدر .

۲ — تورکیه جمهوریتی داخلنده هیج بر طریقت ء بولنه منسوب هیج ر شیخ و درویش و سرید بو قدر و بو صفتله جانده خصوصی کسولر و عنوانر ملغا و ممنوعدر .

۳ — سد ایدیلن تکایا وزوایانک و قیلر زنده شیخ اقامتنه مخصوص آریجه مفروضه خانه و ارایسه بولنده اوله شیخ اولانلر قید حیات شرطه اقامت ایده جکدر . شیخ اولاد واقفدن ایسه ایوم ذاته مخصوص وظیفه سی کذلک قید حیات شرطیه کننر ایسه و بریله جکی کی دقبیلر زنده مندرج شرائطه توفیقاً بن اولاد واقفدن سرزقیسی و ارایسه آنلر کده مخصوصاتی تسویه اوله قدر .

۴ — بو قبیل مسدود مابیندن مکتب اتخاذینه الوریهل

پاسه ولایت جدیدده :

تطابا وزوایانک سدیله و علمیه صنفی ابله کسولرله ربالعصوم دولت مأمورلرینک قیافتلرینه دائر اجمرا و کیلبری هبیتنک ۲ ایلول ۱۳۴۱ تاریخلی اجماعنده مندر قرار اوزرینه

تنظیم ایدلمه اولونه قرارنامه

نوروسی: ۲۸۱۳

هیئت و کبله ۲ / ایلول / ۱۳۴۱ تاریخنده رئیس جمهور حضرتلرینک تحت ریاستلر زنده اجتاح ایدی .

وطنه ملل و جانجه بریوق فداکارلرلر تحمیل انجش اولان بویوک ارجماع حادئسی اوزرینه شرق استقلال محکمه سنک دائره قضایی داخلنده کی تکایا وزوایانک سدیله قرار و بریدی مسولمدر . آقره استقلال محکمه سی دخی تکایا وزوایانک سدی لزومنه دائر حکومتک نظر دقتی جلب ایتمعدر . کورک بو قرار نامهل و حکومتجه دخی و فرغ بولان استعلامات معاهدوات آتیده کی قناظره منجر اولمعدر :

اولاً — موجوده تکیلر و طریقتلر و زاوهرل منسوب و سالکیرنده بک بیوق مصوم وطنداشیر بولندینه شیه اولما قله برابر ارباب قصدک جو مؤسات واسطه سیله مصوملری اضلاله فرصت بولندلری و ظاهراً صمیمی اجتهاد و اعتقادنامه مقاصد مضرة سیاسی تعقیب ایده بیله جکری و دائماً تعقیب ایده بیله جکری و بناء علیه تفکیلات اساسیه دن ماده مخصوصه تک قیدماننه تماس حالنده بولندلری آکلاشمعدر .

ثانیاً — مملکتک هر طرفنده علما کسولر کنندیلکنندن حامل اولایلین ذوات و اشخاصک افکار اهالی بی تعجبل توجیه

### APPENDIX 3:

The official newspaper dated 13 December 1934 which announced the act banning the use of religious costumes out of prayer rooms and religious ceremonies. (T.C. Resmi Gazete 1934)

# T.C. Resmî Gazete

İsis tarihi: 7 Teşrinievvel 1336

<i>İdare ve yazı işleri için Başvekkâlet Neşriyat Müdürlüğüne müracaat olunur</i>	13 KÂNUNUEVVEL 1934 <b>PERŞEMBE</b>	SAYI: 2879
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## KANUNLAR

### Bazı kisvelerin giyilemeyeceğine dair kanun

*Kanun №: 2596*

*Kabul tarihi: 3/12/1934*

Madde 1 — Herhangi din ve mezhebe mensub olurlarsa olsunlar ruhanilerin mabet ve ayinler haricinde ruhanî kiske taşımaları yasaktır.

Hükümet her din ve mezhepten münasip göreceği yalnız bir ruhaniye mabet ve ayin haricinde dahi ruhanî kıyafetini taşıyabilmek için muvakkat müsaadeler verebilir. Bir müsaade müddetinin hitamında onun aynı ruhanî hakkında yenilenmesi veya bir başka ruhaniye verilmesi caizdir.

Madde 2 — Türkiyede kanuna tevfikân teşekkül etmiş ve edecek olan izcilik ve sporculuk gibi topluluklar ve cemiyet ve kulüb gibi heyetler ve mektepler mahsus kıyafet, alâmet ve levazım taşımak istedikleri zaman yalnız nizamname veya talimatname ile muayyen tiplere uygun kıyafet, alâmet ve levazım taşıyabilirler.

Madde 3 — Türkiyede bulunan Türklerin ve yabancıların, yabancı memleketlerin siyaset, askerlik ve milis teşekkülleri ile münasebetli kıyafet ve alâmetlerini ve levazımını taşımaları yasaktır.

Madde 4 — Ecnebi teşekkül mensublarının kendi kıyafet, alâmet ve levazımları ile Türkiyeyi ziyaret etmeleri, İcra Vekilleri Heyetince tayin olunacak mercilerin müsaadesine tâbidir.

Madde 5 — Türkiye Devleti nezdine memur bulunanların kıyafetleri beynelmîlel mer'î âdetlere tâbidir.

Müsaadei mahsus ile gelen yabancı memleketler kara, deniz, hava kuvvetlerine mensub kimselerin resmî üniformalarını nerelerde ve ne zaman taşıyabilecekleri İcra Vekilleri Heyeti kararile tayin olunur.

Madde 6 — Bu kanunun tatbik suretini gösterir bir nizamname yapılır.

Madde 7 — Birinci maddenin hükümleri bu kanunun neşri tarihinden itibaren altı ay sonra ve diğer maddelerin hükümleri kanunun neşri tarihinden itibaren mer'îdir.

Madde 8 — Bu kanunun icrasına İcra Vekilleri Heyeti memurdur.  
5/12/1934

### Atilla Rasimin tahsil ücretinin Maarif Vekâleti bütçesinin "lise ve orta mekteplerle ikmal mektepleri", faslından verilmesine dair kanun

*Kanun №: 2602*

*Kabul tarihi: 8/12/1934*

Madde 1 — Kütahya Mebusu merhum Rasimin Galatasaray Lisesinde okumakta olan Oğlu Atilla Rasimin tahsil ücreti, bu lise tahsilini bitirinceye kadar Maarif Vekâleti bütçesinin "lise ve orta mekteplerle ikmal mektepleri", faslından verilir. Sınıf geçmek noktasından diğer leyli meccanî talebe hakkında cari olacak usul Atilla Rasim hakkında da cereyan edecektir.

Madde 2 — Bu kanun neşri tarihinden muteberdir.

Madde 3 — Bu kanunun icrasına Maarif Vekili memurdur.  
9/12/1934

### 9/12/1934 tarih ve 2875 sayılı Resmi Gazetede neşredilen 2593 numaralı kanunla iştirakimiz kabul edilen (Havai seyrüsefere mahsus beynelmîlel sıhhi mukavelename)

Hükümetlerince kendilerine verilerek usulüne muvafık olduğu anlaşılan salâhiyetnameleri hâmil bulunan, zirde vazîülümza murahhaslar, havai seyrüseferin sıhhi kontrolünü müteakabil itilâfla tanzim etmek ünmiyesile, aşağıdaki ahkâmı kararlaştırmışlardır:

#### BİRİNCİ KISIM

##### Umumi ahkâm

Madde 1 — Yüksek Âkit Taraflar, işbu mukavelenamenin tatbikati hususunda, aşağıdaki tarifati kabul eyerler:

I - Hava gemisi kelimesi, havadaki aksülâmelerin yardımcı cevvi havada tutunabilen ve havai seyrüsefere tahsis edilmiş olan her aleti ifade eder

APPENDIX 4:

The official newspaper dated 20 December 1925 which announced the law about the use of garments made of local textiles (T. C. Resmi Gazete 1925)

آبونه شرايطي  
سنه لکي ۱۰۶ نسخه اعتباريله  
۳۹۰ غروش  
آني آياهي : ۷۸ نسخه  
اعتباريله ۱۹۰ غروش  
طغره اچون سنه لکي بوسته اجري  
داخل اولديني حالده ۴۶۵، آلتی  
ایلی ۲۳۵ غروشدر

# شهری جريدك

تأسيس تاريخي : ۷ تشرین اول ۱۳۳۶

بازار  
۲۰ كانون اول ۱۳۴۱  
۳ جازي آخري ۱۳۴۴  
اداري و تحريري معاملات اچون  
مطبوعات مديریت قوميه سنده  
وسى جريده و نظريات مديریتته  
مراجعت اولتور  
هر نسخه سی ۱۰۰ پاره در

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سنه : ۳

تورکيه جمهوريتنک رسمي غزته سیدر

نومرو : ۲۴۹

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قانونلر

برلی قاشمده البسه کیلمه سنه دار قانونه

نومرو : ۶۸۸

برنجی ماده — موازنه عمومی و خصوصیه و بلده لردن بدلی نسوبه ایبدان البسه و آياق قاپی ، قاش ، سروش و یتاق لوازی ايله مأمورین و مستخدمینه یکسنتق آلبسه وقوندره کیدبره ن بالچله مؤسسه و شرکتلرک اشترا ایده حکمی و یا ایتمه بره حکمی بونوع لوازم ، برلی ممولانندن تدارک ایديلیر .  
ایکینجی ماده — اشبو قانون تاریخ نفرندن معتبردر .  
اوچینجی ماده — اشبو قانونک اجراسنه اجرا و کیلاری هیئت مأموردر .

۹ كانون اول ۱۳۴۱ و ۲۲ جازي الاول ۱۳۴۴

طبابت و صنایعه مستعمل بعضه اجزا و موادک ادمه لدرینک

سربست بولندریغده دار قانونه

نومرو : ۶۹۰

برنجی ماده — طبابت و صنایعه استعمال اولنان صاف قلووات دوپوناس و قلووات دوسود و نیترات دوپوناس و نیترات دوسودک و نیتروغایسیرینک بوزده برمحلول کثوايسنک و قانتادیس اندیقا خلاصه سنک و هر نوع توبرکوانک ادخال سربستدر .  
ایکینجی ماده — اشبو قانون نثری تاریخندن معتبردر .  
اوچینجی ماده — اشبو قانونک اجراسنه مایه و صحیه و کیلاری مأموردر .

۱۲ كانون اول ۱۳۳۹ و ۲۵ جازي الاول ۱۳۴۴

بجارت معاقره سی عقد ایبدان مملکتلر مواردننده آنجه

رسم ایلمه اچاننده مقابل باطل اجراسنه دار قانونه

نومرو : ۶۹۱

برنجی ماده — ۲۸ تموز ۱۳۳۶ تاریخی قانون موجبجه

بش مثل اولارق اسقیفا ایبدان کوسروک رسمی سکنز مغلنه ابلاغ ایلدشدر . آنجی تجارت معاقره لری منعقد بولان مملکتلرک مواردی مقاوله لری احکامنه تابمدر . موقت اثتلافنامه لرک احکامی اعظمی آنی آبی تجاور اتمه مک و ایکی دفعه دن زیاده تجدید اولنماقی شرطله اجرا و کیلاری هیئت قراريله معتبر اوله ییلیر .  
دوقوز و اون ایکی مثل اوزرندن اخذ ایلدکده اولان کوسروک رسمی کاکان قانون مخصوص و مقاوله لری احکامنه تابمدر .  
ایکینجی ماده — تورکی دن واقع اولان اخراجات تامنه و یا بر قسمنه قارشى ممنوعیت وضع ایدن و یا دخوله فعلاً مانع اولاحق درجه ده آغیر کوسروک و اسنه لاک رسمی آلان مملکتلرک مواردننه قارشى ده ممنوعیت وضعه و یا عینی درجه ده رسم تحمیلنه اجرا و کیلاری هیئت مأموردر .

اوچینجی ماده — اشبو قانون نثری تاریخندن معتبردر .  
دردنجه ماده — اشبو قانونک اجرای احکامنه اجرا و کیلاری هیئت مأموردر .

۱۲ كانون اول ۱۳۴۱ و ۲۵ جازي الاول ۱۳۴۴

ارکلی - قره دره شمندر و فرظنک انشا و ایشدر لسی حقنده ک

۲۶ قانونه تانی ۱۳۴۱ تاریخ ۵۴۸۸ نومرولو قانونک

الفاسیل اشبو خطک کنیسه خطه تحویلی صورتیلر آنقره

ایله ارکلی آره سنره انشا و ایشدر لسنده دار قانونه

نومرو : ۶۹۲

برنجی ماده — ارکلی - قره دره شمندر و فرظنک انشا آن و ایشله دله سی حقنده کی ۲۶ كانون تانی ۱۳۴۱ تاریخ ۵۴۸۸ نومرولو قانون النا و قانون مذکورک برنجی و ایکینجی ماده لریله بول اولنان تخصیص ایدن اشبو قانونک تاریخ تقریبه قدر مذکور شمندر و فرظنک ایچون ایفا ایبدان خدمایدن متولد حقوقک تصفیه سندن سوکره عین از صرف بقیه فالان قسم انجا ایلدشدر .

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