



**MASTER OF ARTS THESIS
EURO CULTURE**

**JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY IN KRAKÓW (HOME)
PALACKÝ UNIVERSITY OF OLOMOUC (HOST)**

AUGUST 2014

*Between Traditional and Modern:
Men Dress Code in the Light of Turkish Modernization*

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ABSTRACT

This objective of this study is to investigate the implications of Turkish modernization project on men dress code in Turkey. Understanding men dress code in contemporary Istanbul is the indicative of model for the rest of Turkey. Turkish modernization project is a *top-to-down* process. As a result, the implications of it are examined in terms of responsiveness and adaptation in the society.

The framework of this study is formed in terms of political, economic and socio-cultural dimensions of Turkish modernization as well as mainstream predilection for clothing in contemporary Istanbul. Making sense of the current perception of men dress code in Turkey entails descrying relevant grounds through a historical process as well. For this reason, while analyzing men dress mode in contemporary Istanbul, specific regulations and changes in the mainstream society throughout Turkish modernization process are particularly taken into consideration.

Key words: Clothing, Turkish modernization, tradition, modern, Islamic tenets, Europeanization

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to all those who provided me the possibility to complete this master thesis.

I would like to express my special appreciation and thanks to my supervisors Dr Krzysztof Kowalski and Dr Martin Fafejta, and Euroculture Kraków acting program coordinator Dr Luc Ampleman, and director of the MA in Euroculture Program Professor Zdzisław Mach, you have been tremendous mentors for me. I would like to thank you all for encouraging my research and for allowing me to grow as a research scientist. Your advice on both research as well as on my career have been priceless.

A special gratitude I give to the Euroculture teams both in Kraków and Olomouc, whose contribution in stimulating suggestions and encouragement helped me to coordinate my research on time without any obstacles.

Furthermore, I would also like to acknowledge with much appreciation the crucial role of my classmates both at Jagiellonian University and Palacký University for the useful comments, remarks and engagement through the writing process of this master thesis.

In addition, I would like to thank all of my friends who supported me in writing, and incited me to strive towards my goal. Also, I like to thank the participants in my survey, who have willingly shared their precious time during the process of interviewing. I would like to thank my loved ones, who have supported me throughout entire process, both by keeping me harmonious and helping me putting pieces together. I will be grateful forever for your love.

Last but not least, a special thanks to my family. Words cannot express how grateful I am to my mother, brothers and sisters for all of the sacrifices that you have made on my behalf. Your prayer for me was what sustained me thus far.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	3
1. INTRODUCTION	5
1.1. Background and Rationale	6
1.2. State of Art	8
1.3. Methodology	9
2. STRUCTURING DISCOURSE AND CONTENT	12
2.1. Modernization: Establishing a Correlation Between Variables	12
2.2. Religious Aspect: Islamic Tenets	17
2.3. General Framework of Turkish Modernization	22
3. TRANSFORMATION OF MEN DRESS CODE THROUGH TURKISH MODERNIZATION	27
3.1. The Late Ottoman Times: First Changes	27
3.2. First Decades of the Republic of Turkey: A Complete Paradigm Shift	34
3.3. Men Clothing After 1950s: Political Symbols	38
3.3. Men Clothing After 1980s: Globalization	41
4. ISTANBUL: A MODEL CITY FOR TURKISH MEN OUTFIT	43
4.1. Regional and Environmental Factors	44
4.2. Demographics	45
4.3. Gentrification and Economic Perspective.....	46
4.4. Major Dichotomies	48
4.4.1. Religious Groups	48
4.5. Main Stream Society	50
4.6. Localization of the Global	53
4.6.1. Are Tight-Fitting Clothes Pushing the Boundaries?.....	54
4.6.2. Modesty Matters.....	55
4.6.3. Trend in the Street	56
4.7. Production of Meaning	57
CONCLUSION	60
LIST OF FIGURES	64
BIBLIOGRAPHY	67
ANNEX: INFORMED CONSENT INFORMATION AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS' FORM	73

1. INTRODUCTION

Being modern and traditional or the discussions regarding to the east-west dichotomy and their relation with clothing has always been contentious ever since the early years of Turkish modernization process. Modernization, as being of western origin, represents a problematic phenomenon for the non-western or/and traditional societies, simply because they had a different socio-cultural, intellectual and economic background. In the case of Turkey as being between east and west, the subject matter gains even a more complex dimension. It also requires a different approach in interpreting the meaning of modernization. This research intends to clarify this complexity from a different side.

In this research it is aimed to make a sense of Turkish modernization process through its implications on Turkish men dress code and to sort out the state of adaptation and responsiveness of Istanbulites in contemporary Turkey.

The framework of this study is formed in terms of political, economic and socio-cultural dimensions of Turkish modernization as well as mainstream predilection for clothing in contemporary Istanbul. Making sense of the current perception of men dress code in Turkey entails describing relevant grounds through a historical process as well. For this reason, while analyzing men dress mode in contemporary Istanbul, specific regulations and changes in the mainstream society throughout Turkish modernization process will be particularly taken into consideration.

Hence, in the scope of this study two main research questions are raised to be examined: How has Turkish men's dress code responded and adapted to the process of Turkish modernization in Istanbul? To what extent does Turkish modernization have implications for the Turkish men dress?

There are two main statements for the problematization: "Turkish modernization project has implications for the Turkish men dress" and "there is an adaptation and response of Turkish men's dress to the process of modernization".

Usually, discussions related to the topics of identity, dress and politics in Turkey or in any other Islamic country mostly concern women's attire and garments. Although women's clothing seems to be more obviously part of such discussions, men's dress is not

less important. In most cases, men have been the main target group for adaptation in the process of modernization.

In a statement to the press, the 2014 presidential candidate and the current Turkish Prime Minister in office since 2003 Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was asked whether he would wear frock if he becomes an elected president.¹ As a response to this question he said:

We do not have that in our tradition; it is in the tradition of others. There is nothing it can rebound on us. Have you ever seen me like that during the 11.5 years of my leadership? Of course I am not a person obsessed with the image, it is another issue. I carry out the things should be in the time when they shall be done. My character is like that.²

His answer brought up the subject of the dress code and laid the groundwork for new discussions. What are the real traditional Turkish garments? Is a suit a part of the tradition? Having said that, one cannot speak in terms of a specific type of Turkish costumes since people in Turkey possess a wide range of clothing styles. In other words, there is a variety of dress codes in Turkey. Nevertheless, the main inherent factors behind these codes split into half: modern and traditional. This variation explicitly came into focus ever since the first changes and regulations by the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II (1789-1939) in the first decades of the 19th century, and reforms instituted by the Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938), the founder of the Republic of Turkey.³

1.1. Background and Rationale

Being a contiguous transcontinental and highly diverse country mainly in terms of culture, ethnicity and religion, Turkey has not only been a meeting point of cultures, but a clash of identities. Also, being a bridge between the Orient and the Occident (or between the East and the West) has put Turkey into a significant position where one can find its diversity and dividedness even simply by observing attire.

¹ See Figure 3.

² Sevilay Yükselir, “Kafamda Birkaç Kişi Var,” *Sabah*, 25 July 2014, accessed 26 July 2014, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/Yazarlar/yukselir/2014/07/25/kafamda-birkac-kisi-var>.

³ See Figure 1 and Figure 2.



Figure 1 Sultan Mahmud II (known as revolutionary)



Figure 2 Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the first president and founder of the Republic of Turkey.



Figure 3 Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (July, 2014)

Being an open-ended project, modernization in Turkey has been experienced as a process of adaptation and response rather than discovery and invention, thus setting it apart from Europe with its history of Reformation and Renaissance. Modernization is a process which does not only involve the economy, belief systems, cultures and the politics of the whole society but also comprises industrialization, rationalization, secularization and bureaucratization.⁴ In the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the modernization project has become the fundamental principle in opening a space for many debates related to politics, religion, economics and socio-cultural life.

Turkey is very dynamic and has been going through various phases ever since its foundation in 1923. After the succession to the Ottoman Empire, there was only one way for Turkey to go. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Republic of Turkey, declared that he would not repeat the mistake of the Ottoman Empire, and presented the Western values as a new target requiring many radical reforms. His legacy, the ideology called Kemalism,

⁴ Ali Arslan, "The Evaluation of Parliamentary Democracy in Turkey and Turkish Political Elites," *Historia Actual On-Line*, 3, no. 6 (2005), <http://www.hapress.com/abst.php?a=n06a10> (accessed November 20, 2013).

envisions modernization as westernization, and harmonization with European values has been a part of this process ever since.⁵

The Ottoman Empire tended to ground itself in its Islamic heritage, its Eastern aspect. Yet Atatürk imposed new reforms on a society in which the overwhelming majority of people were Muslim. For him, there was no other way to make a revolution in such short time. Hence, modernizing Turkey has been a *top-to-bottom* process rather than *bottom-to-top*.⁶

Applying western-inspired modernization to all areas of government sparked many disagreements. These remain alive in contemporary Turkey, being even more explosive in the last decade since a centre-right, social conservative political party came to power in 2002. This party is the Justice and Development Party (Turkish: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi), which developed from the tradition of Islamism.

Among these reforms there were even some regulations to control the dress of society such as the law relating to the wearing of ‘prohibited garments’. Actively promoting western-style attire has been a part of this process as well. Today’s Turkey is a huge laboratory for the social scientists in order to examine the implications of modernization project in each part of daily life of Turkish people.

1.2. State of Art

As a result of the reviewed literature for this research, it is right to claim that the subject has not been highlighted in detail as much as in this this research before. This research has three significant features that distinguish it from other studies. First of all, it only focuses on men dress code rather than women apparel. Many studies either take only women dress or both men and women clothing together into account. In such studies, the main issue continues through women’s clothing and there is usually less space left for the men’s clothing. Therefore, this study on Turkish men's clothing has a complementary side as well as it paves the way for similar studies in the nature of its aim.

⁵ Ziya Öniş, "Turkish Modernisation and Challenges For The New Europe," *Perceptions*, 9 (2004): 8, accessed 12 July 2014. <http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/ZiyaOnis.pdf>.

⁶ John Dunn, *Modern Revolutions: An Introduction to the Analysis of a Political Phenomenon*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 198.

Secondly, this study gives an up-to-date information regarding men dress code in contemporary Turkey. The interviews made with Istanbulites, data from current publications and observational research add a different depth to the content of this work.

Lastly, rather than being a pure fashion topic, the research combines historical background of transformation in men clothing with today's perception and daily life practices principally in terms of a sociological aspect which argues it in the framework of Turkish modernization project.

The issue of men dress code in the light of Turkish modernization is a captivating subject, however the academically available sources are not satisfactory. Mostly popular works such as costume albums with brief descriptions are the most common ones which remark this subject.

1.3. Methodology

The methodology of this research serving sample of a specific case is qualitative in nature and it has its own proceeding to tackle with the issue of men dress code in Turkey. The first two sections of the research are mainly supported by primary and secondary sources. Data collected from interviews and observations constitute much of the empirical basis in the last chapter. The procedures and techniques used are both visual and interpretive. The content analysis of Turkish modernization project and official regulations regarding clothing form a basis to understand modern apparel of Istanbulites today.

This study as having unique characteristics do not follow a single of theory, instead of this, makes its own way as piecing together diverse and similar approaches and theories principally on clothing and modernization. Relevant aspects to the main frame are also highlighted in accordance with the main flow of the text.

For the data analysis, after each interview and observation, all the notes are reviewed many times. Then the insights are tried to be verified by means of the findings, facts and remarks from the primary and secondary sources after an in-depth comparison. As a result of this process, similar ideas and themes are labeled conceptually and their association with modernization and transformation in clothing is tried to be crystalized.

The question why Istanbul is a focal point of this research has a very reasonable explanation. First of all, Istanbul is a model of whole Turkey. Many people from all parts of Turkey come to this metropolis in search for a decent life. What is important, their population is in fact greater in number from the population of the original Istanbulites. It is thus possible to see all cultures, religions, regional dialects, and many other elements of Turkey together. Constituting the country's economic, cultural and historical heart, Istanbul has been representing the image of Turkish society. Modernization started in big cities, and Istanbul has been the leading one which also became the example to follow for the whole country.

From the perspective of the interviews and observations made in regard to this research, taking into account the economic, cultural and social status related factors was a reason for dividing Istanbul into three parts: modern-secular, traditional-conservative and intermediate locations. Yet, the number of people from intermediate locations consist of the majority as it is difficult to decide which one is really representing modern or traditional side. Very prominent features of some districts such as Fatih and Nişantaşı, as being very noticeable when it comes to modern-tradition arguments, are exception in this case.

A total of twenty people, including six women and fourteen men were interviewed. The target group for interviews and observations have been young adults (provisional adulthood: between the age 18-30), mainly because they are freer to choose in comparison to others. In Turkey, both in primary and high schools, students (approximately until the age of 18) are obliged to wear uniforms. Such a condition results in lack of options to choose freely what they shall wear. They must even have a certain type of haircut and shoes. So, a person in this age group is not a good choice for the sampling.

However, people after the age of 18, or maybe age of 20 (after the military service), are freer to choose their material possessions. It is assumed that people in this group (either studying at the university or looking for a job or getting married) can illustrate the transformation in today's Istanbul more explicitly. Yet, alongside with this rough sampling, there are social norms, individual preferences, cultural pressure and also economic capabilities play an important role.

As a result of the historical process that presented in the first and second chapters, implications of such a transformation are tried to be examined in the last chapter and in the

conclusion part. In our globalizing world continually emerging developments lead us to seek answers through constituting new paths or being aware of different dimensions of particular subjects and entities. Doing a research on men dress modes of Istanbulites in the light of Turkish modernization happens to be an accurate sample of such a framework.

When it comes to the limits of this study, three main points have to be highlighted here. First of all, this research does not focus on the whole vestimentary system of all Turkish men in a very detailed way. It highlights the elements and the process of modernization that make sense to understand today's men clothing in Istanbul. In that sense, the scope is not very broad, but it serves as a model. Secondly, it primarily pays attention to the apparel of young people and adults. It neither includes children nor elderly people. Lastly, as Istanbul being a very big city, the data collected from observation and interviews are just illustrating the general framework. The study does not go through the very detailed analysis of very diverse elements of the society and life in the countryside. The life in the urban area constitutes the focal point.

To give a brief outline of the content, this study is composed of three main parts. In the first chapter, the discourse is tried to be structured and conceptualized. As problematization of the topic is introduced in this introduction part, chapter one goes into the details of a template that shows how we can understand the essentials in the scope of the research. Second chapter goes through a historical transformation in men clothing from the late Ottoman times till today's modern Turkey. As giving examples of major changes, the way how process is shaped is introduced in terms of the regulations regarding men's dress. In the last chapter, mainly today's vestimentary system is analyzed in accordance with the given historical and theoretical background. Although, through all chapters the significance of Istanbul is accentuated, in the last chapter the situation in the city is more detailed.

2. STRUCTURING DISCOURSE AND CONTENT

Making account of transformation in Turkish men's dress code in the light of modernization requires developing a new discourse where particular concepts help out to encapsulate the whole big picture. In this chapter, the highlighted concepts underlie fundamental elements of the point of research at issue.

The main themes of this chapter are 1) modernization in general and its connection with other concepts and approaches, 2) Turkish modernization and how we should understand it in this research, and 3) Islamic tenets regarding to men clothing.

In the first part of this chapter, while talking about modernization the main goal is to present a general framework in terms of multiple modernities theory in order to understand how Turkish modernization is comprehended and structured in this research. Hence, making sense of the East-West dichotomy, identity issues, and westernization or europeanization process as well as their reflection on men clothing is tried to be briefly outlined. In the second part, the question of men clothing versus Islamic tenets is tackled. In the last part, a general picture of Turkish modernization is provided. The relation of this part with the previous ones reaches significance when the long Islamic tradition of Turkish society is considered.

2.1. Modernization: Establishing a Correlation Between Variables

The term modernization, first of all, refers to a *process* which by its very nature cannot be provided with an absolute and a clear-cut definition. We can understand this process without associating it with other concepts and discourses which are required to be defined pellucidly and cognizably. All these concepts might be embodied in significantly different ways through various platforms as it is a different case for this study. Although modernization could be understood in the context of relation with other concepts such as civilization, westernization, secularization, rationalization, urbanization, industrialization, globalization, progress, development and tradition, the distinctive forms of it are the points to be emphasized in this study.

If we consider modernization from an angle where it is presented as a break from tradition and transformation of all political, economic, social and cultural forms into another phase, then mainly Europe (or West) sets the pace for other countries in general. Europe's adventure as going through such a process can be regarded as a *bottom-to-top* process. By virtue of this transformation achieved values have been a model for the rest and it serves as a structure of European identity.

When Delanty argues theoretical perspectives about Europe in the age of modernity, he highlights the significance of the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Enlightenment, and states that: "the idea of Europe is a creation of fifteenth and sixteenth centuries."⁷ It is also an era when religion starts to become a subset of secularism and when the relation of religion with modernization and tradition was reformulated.

Accordingly, as French revolution was against the Old Order, new ideas gave birth to nation state. Many of these developments and ideas such as nation state, secularization, rule of law, democracy and humanism not only constructed European identity but also had great implications on other societies and particularly very diverse empires. The Ottoman Empire was one of those who succumbed to these developments in Europe. Although in the late years of the Ottoman Empire there were attempts to modernize, it did not help a lot to regain the empire's own strength. Yet, many efforts and attempts were charmed by the developments in Europe. That is mainly why Turkish modernization project has been described as a process of europeanization or westernization in some academic discourses.

In the classical modernization theory the phases which Europe went through are given as a point of reference. Hence, all other societies or every single country is assumed to experience all the same transformation in order to modernize themselves. The common understanding is, as it is emphasized in "the Stages of Economic Growth" by WW Rostow, that there is possibility "(...) to identify all societies, in their economic dimensions, as lying within one of five categories: the traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass-consumption."⁸ This model is criticized since it is mainly based on historical development of European and/or western

⁷ Gerard Delanty, *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality* (London: Macmillan, 1995), 5.

⁸ W.W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), Chapter 2, "The Five Stages of Growth - A Summary," 4-16.

countries. As presenting a one-way pattern, it favors a western type of modernization and expects other societies follow the same path, too.

However, we cannot talk about a generic model of modernization. One might think of a single kind of modernization which is most of the time used as a byword for westernization or for some there is one direction of modernization which necessarily has the same path with westernization. Yet, according to the theory of multiple modernities one can think of western and non-western modernization types.⁹ Although both terms, modernization and westernization, are interconnected with each other, they do not bear the same meaning. For instance, French modernization has significant differences than Japanese or Indian modernizations.¹⁰ All have different dynamics and meaning of modernity is different for all other societies.

Speaking of the very content of the theory of multiple modernities, it is assumed that the existence of culturally specific forms of modernity is shaped by distinct cultural heritages and sociopolitical conditions; and these forms differ in their value systems, institutions and other factors.¹¹ For that reason, we cannot put all progressive transitions of different societies into one single category. In other words, modernization does not have a single path to go. Each distinct society or culture would indeed require more investigation and broader understanding of social variables and internal dynamics.

Europe might have gone through their own path of modernization and influenced other nations in many cases; however it is difficult to claim that all other societies went through the same process. Different social dynamics and different components of national identities might not allow experiencing all the things on the way. In that sense, the multiple modernities theory in fact makes us to reconsider classical theories of modernity in a new context. Such a contextualization smooth the way for understanding Turkish modernization project and its implications in contemporary Turkey in a more clear way.

In the Turkish modernization case, as it is the main theme of this research, the big question is concentrated on belongingness and/or identity problem. Whereas the details of it are presented in the next pages, it is essential to mention here as well that the significance of this problem is not only based on historical background and geographical position of

⁹ In some academic studies it is still debatable whether it should be named as a *paradigm* or a *theory* of multiple modernities. The term *theory of multiple modernities* will remain as it is in this study.

¹⁰ *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*, 5th ed., s.v. "modernization."

¹¹ S. N. Eisenstadt et al., *Comparative Civilizations and Multiple Modernities* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 1-23.

Turkey but also political, social, cultural as well as economic factors oriented in relation with external powers. On the issue of identity Mach remarks that:

Identity is a symbolic construction, an image of ourselves, which we build in a process of interaction with others. It is therefore a contextual and dynamic, developing through the different ways in which people negotiate the meaning of variety of the symbols that constitute their cultural environment and their social relations.¹²

Based on this explanation, a garment or any type of clothing, as a material culture, can be a part of the process of identity construction as well. It also gives a hint to understand the very content of the issue of belongingness.

Constructing identity in relation with others is the key point in regard to the issue of belongingness of Turkish society and it is not free from power relations. "Changes in the balance of power result in changes in symbolic identification and models of identity."¹³ At this point we can mention the aspect of imposition and acceptance of the model of identity served by those who are in the position of power. "An imposed identity can be indeed thus be accepted and then belong to the self-image of an individual or group."¹⁴

The issue of identity gains meaning when Turkey is being put into a framework of clash of different world views or/and values of different civilizations. At this point the relation between identity, belongingness and civilization might sound blurry. However, the transformation of society, particularly from an Empire to a republican nation state system, and its implications in contemporary Turkey makes the link more meaningful. Perhaps the meaning of the term civilization can be more clarified here. Especially on the issue of definition of the term civilization Braudel points that:

It would be pleasant to be able to define the word 'civilization' simply and precisely, as one defines a straight line, a triangle or a chemical element. The vocabulary of the social sciences, unfortunately, scarcely permits decisive definitions.¹⁵

¹² Zdzisław Mach, "Constructing Identities in a Post-Communist Society: Ethnic, National, and European," in *Identity and Networks: Fashioning Gender and Ethnicity Across Cultures*, ed. D. Bryceson, J. Okely and J. Webber (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007), 54.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹⁵ Fernand Braudel, *A History of Civilizations*, transl. Richard Mayne (New York: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1994), 3.

In addition, according to Aktürk, based on the different conceptualization of this term, especially from Braudel to Elias, Foucault and Huntington, one cannot easily give a clear-cut definition of it. Even the already given definitions by those are very open to discussion. Nevertheless, Aktürk points out the significance of religion, empire and city when it comes to make a relation between civilization and its constitutive elements¹⁶.

For the vestimentary system in Turkey, drawing a framework between modern and tradition in fact indicates more than one meaning. It is not only making a choice between old and new. Preference of dress is also making a choice between two different worlds or civilizations, namely it is a choice between East and West. A traditional garment can be fashionable enough to be modern as well as a modern cloth might be seen as a very traditional. For example, wearing slacks and shirts in general, if not for specific occasions such as a meeting or a job interview, gives the impression of being traditional in Turkey. The underlying reason of this example requires more historical background which will be discussed in the following parts where transformation in men's clothes is detailed.

According to Yavuz, westernization can be seen as a matter of cities or/and elites of that society. When it is examined within the context of traditional-modern sense, majority of the society live their life in a traditional sense and modernization becomes a problem of elites not only in Ottoman Empire but it becomes more radical in Republican Era in Turkey.¹⁷ Istanbul as the biggest city in Turkey has always broken grounds and witnessed the radical changes first in the process of modernization.

Examining the roots of a modern state or a modern society can be associated with important historical processes, institutions and ideas that shape the developments through modernization process.

In the case of Turkey, constituting a framework of these developments is not exempt from analysis of Islam and modernity. Turkish society has a long history with Islam as well as other religions which was an indication of minorities especially during the Ottoman Empire. The influence of religion is still very alive in today's vestimentary system in Turkey. By virtue of the fact that Ottoman Empire, which was at the center of

¹⁶ Şener Aktürk, "Braudel'den Elias'a ve Huntington'a 'Medeniyet' Kavramının Kullanımları," *Doğu Batı – Medeniyetler Çatışması* 41 (2007): 147-175.

¹⁷ Hilmi Yavuz, *Avrupa'nın Zihin Tarihi* (Istanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2012), 186.

interactions between the eastern and western worlds for over six centuries, was ruled according Islamic Law, it is significant to highlight the implications of religious aspect.

2.2. Religious Aspect: Islamic Tenets

It is commonly assumed that 99% of the population in today's Turkey is Muslim and according to a research done on values of people from Turkey in 2012, Turkish society is one of the world's most religious societies. The place of religion in public life is at the highest level and among European countries the place of God in people's life is the highest in Turkey.¹⁸ When this fact is taken into account, the reflection of Islam on everyday life, and particularly clothing styles, is of a vital importance.

Islam does not only have the power of shaping the way of life of its followers but also has the main indicators for differentiation between East and West. Throughout the history, societies from the Orient were mainly associated with the Islamic values and have been the significant others for the western civilization. For instance, as Said remarks, in the identity formation of Europe, inventing the other, even if the other did not exist, was crucial.¹⁹ And within the discourse of this dichotomy of Self and Other which were formulated by Europe, Orient was representing the opposite pole in system of civilizational values.²⁰ Considering the fact that Europe constructed its identity around such a dialectic discourse in terms of the formation of a set of global contrasts, Islamic values and Islamic life style became one of the basic components of the other societies in the Orient.

Today, Islam is one of the significant questions of debate for Turkey's accession to the European Union (EU). Turkish society is mainly associated with Islam and Islam seen as the representative of the Other. Historical facts are constructing today's politics, social and cultural life, and Islam has a big role in this process.

Ever since Turks accepted Islam, they were started to be associated with it. Beyond ethnicity, religion became representative for social and cultural values. It was seen as an upper identity and a bigger umbrella which is more overarching. In the 7th century, Islam as being one of the Abrahamic religions began to spread through the agency of Prophet

¹⁸ Yılmaz Esmer, "Türkiye Değerler Atlası 2012," accessed 12 May 2014, [http://content.bahcesehir.edu.tr/public/files/files/ATLAS%20SUNUM%202_10_2012%20\(2\).pdf](http://content.bahcesehir.edu.tr/public/files/files/ATLAS%20SUNUM%202_10_2012%20(2).pdf)

¹⁹ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1977), 204.

²⁰ Gerard Delanty, *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality* (London: Macmillan, 1995), 85.

Muhammad. This monotheistic religion introduced new practices and regulations into the life of its followers called Muslims. The new principles were not only limited to faith itself, but they cover all the bases of human life. The moral code and religious law which is called *shariah*²¹ has an inclusive nature in this sense. So clothing as a part of basic elements of Islamic socio-cultural tenets gained significance as well.

In general, Muslims regulate their life according to *fiqh*²² which is an expansion of *shariah* and interpretations of *ulama*.²³ Hence, a believer is supposed to choose and wear the clothes according to some certain principles of Islamic rules. These criteria are mostly discussed for women attire, especially headscarf controversy is one of the most leading question of debate. However, what may be surprising for a European, men clothing is not free from these criteria. Both men and women have the particular expectations when it comes to dressing according to Islam.

In regard to *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), there are few main criteria for apparel and garments that concerns men. The first one is about covering one's *awrah*.²⁴ Both men and women are required to cover the intimate parts of their bodies from the sight of others and according to Islam *awrah* of a male's body is between the navel (not inclusive) and the knees. However, there is a debate among Islamic scholars whether knees are included or not. Nonetheless, in compliance with the principle, showing *awrah* of men is *haram*²⁵ and forbidden by religion.²⁶

The second measure according to *fiqh* is related to length, tightness and thickness of garments. In the first years of Islam there was not much variety of clothes or fabric. At that time, men used to wear *izar* (a seamless garment that covers from the waist to the down of

²¹ *shariah* (شريعة): Islamic Law concerning the community. [Islamic-Dictionary.com, online, s.v. "shariah," accessed 12 May 2014, <http://www.islamic-dictionary.com/index.php?word=shariah>].

²² *fiqh* (فقه): Islamic Jurisprudence. [Islamic-Dictionary.com, online, s.v. "fiqh," accessed 12 May 2014, <http://www.islamic-dictionary.com/index.php?word=fiqh>].

²³ *ulama* (علماء): Many Alims (Muslim scholars). [Islamic-Dictionary.com, online, s.v. "ulama," accessed 12 May 2014, <http://www.islamic-dictionary.com/index.php?word=ulama>].

²⁴ *awrah* (عوره): (Also known as *setr-i avret* principle in Turkish), (1) Parts of the body that are not supposed to be exposed to others, but this is not to be confused with the English meaning "private parts", because a woman's legs, for example, is an *awrah*. (2) A misdeed - something that is shameful about oneself that they wish to hide. [Islamic-Dictionary.com, online, s.v. "awrah," accessed 12 May 2014, <http://www.islamic-dictionary.com/index.php?word=awrah>].

²⁵ *haram* (حرام): Prohibited, illegal. Mostly used in reference to actions as well as foods. [Islamic Dictionary.com, online, s.v. "haram," accessed 12 May 2014, <http://www.islamic-dictionary.com/index.php?word=haram>].

²⁶ Harun Doğan, "İslam Fıkıhına Göre Moda" (MA Thesis, Firat University, 2010), 28-42).

the body) where Muslim pilgrims also wear it in the state of *ihram* (temporary consecration). Those who had longer *izar* till the ground and boasting because of that were warned by the Prophet who set bounds to the length of it. According to *hadith* (the Prophet Muhammad's sayings/deeds) the length of *izar* cannot be longer than anklebone of one's leg. At most it has to be long till that part of the body. Hence, based on that Muslim dress should not be longer and larger than needed as well as the fabric must be thick enough that it does not make a show-through or a transparent garment. It should be long and large enough in which body lines are not visible, especially during praying. Although this criterion is supposed to be for presenting modesty it also shows the functionality of clothes for Islamic way of life.²⁷ For instance, a believer who is praying five times in a day, where it is required to prostrate himself many times, might need proper clothes in size. So, he can focus on praying without any concern and distraction.

Thirdly, men clothes must not bear a resemblance to the clothes of the opposite sex and vice versa. According to a *hadith*, those men and women who try to be or look alike opposite sex are cursed by the Prophet.²⁸ So, it is reckoned as men and women have different physical features and capabilities, hence both sides should wear different types of garments which suit them most in terms of functionality. Furthermore, it is also assumed that clothes play a significant role on one's manners, behavior and morals. For instance, the structure of emotional intimacy among sexes is influenced by appearance of men and women in terms of qualification of the garments. Basically for such reasons, it is regarded as resemblance in appearance is unacceptable in *fiqh*.²⁹

The fourth criterion is that Muslims must not resemble other people and nations in looks.³⁰ According to another *hadith* Muslims are not supposed to imitate other nations or followers of other beliefs such as Jews, Christians, polytheists and people of *jahiliyah*.³¹ "Narrated Abdullah ibn Umar: The Prophet (p.b.u.h.) said: He who copies any people is

²⁷ Ibid., 34-35

²⁸ Ibid., 41.

²⁹ Ibid., 40-42.

³⁰ Ibid., 189.

³¹ jahiliyah (جاهلية): Extreme ignorance (jahl) and disbelief in God. Often used to describe the era that preceded the revelation of the Qur'an, and ignorance in general. [Islamic-Dictionary.com, online, s.v. "jahiliyah," accessed 13 May 2014, <http://www.islamic-dictionary.com/index.php?word=jahiliyah>].

one of them.”³² In some other *hadith* the Prophet tells his followers to have their beard dyed into red color (carbuncle), wear *shalwar*³³ and waistcloth together, put on both their shoes and slippers or sandals, grow their beard and shave their moustaches in order not to resemble Jews and Christians in looks.³⁴

In addition to that there are criteria for wearing rings, putting on earring, growing long hair and tattoo. For rings, it is seen inappropriate (*caiz olmamak*) that men wear golden rings, but it is allowed to wear silver rings unless that weighs more than 4.8 gram. Silver rings may have any kind of rocks on it and preferably should be worn to the right hand little or ring finger(s).³⁵ Golden is commonly associated with women ornaments. So, in order not to look like women, wearing golden rings is forbidden for men. Moreover, in a different *hadith* it is stated as gold is the ornament of polytheists, silver is the one for Muslims.³⁶ So here, it is related to the other criterion which about not to resemble other people and nations in looks.

For putting on earring, putting on earring is seen as *makruh* which in Islamic terminology roughly means disliked or offensive act. In this respect, to pierce ears in order to wear earrings in general customs of Muslims is seen as a style of women ornamentation. Hence, according to interpretations, Muslim men should refrain using such ornaments which are unique to women.³⁷

In Islam there is no objection for men to grow their hair. Provided that Muslim men take care of their hair and keep it clean, it is optional to have long or short hair. However, having the hair dyed is a question of debate. Changing the nature of men and tricking the third party are the core statements of this debate. Nevertheless, based on some *hadith* there are criteria for this occasion too. For instance, those who go to war can have their hair dyed

³² Abu Dawud Sulayman ibn al-Ash‘ath al-Azdi al-Sijistani, *Clothing (Kitab Al-Libas)*, hadith no: 4020, accessed 14 May 2014, http://www.searchtruth.com/book_display.php?book=32&translator=3.

³³ *Caiz* means permissible. *Caiz olmamak* means not permissible in Turkish.

³⁴ Doğan, *İslam Fikhına Göre Moda*, 43.

³⁵ “Yüzük Takmak,” Dinimiz İslam, accessed 26 July 2014, <http://www.dinimizislam.com/detay.asp?Aid=1543>.

³⁶ “Yüzük Takmak.”

³⁷ “Erkeklerin küpe takması caiz midir?” Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, accessed 26 July 2014, https://kurul.diyaret.gov.tr/SoruSor/Cevap.aspx?ID=38704&q=erkeklerin-kupe-takmasi-caiz-midir-#.U9UoOvl_uSo

in order to have an imposing-look against the enemy.³⁸ Moreover, wearing a wig which is made of real hair of another person and having a hair transplant is forbidden in Islam.³⁹

In order to look better and draw attention changing the natural features of human body is considered disturbing and prohibited since it is supposed that it changes the disposition of human beings. Tattoos are included in the scope of adornment which disrupts the human nature and dispositions, and wearing them is unacceptable in Islam.⁴⁰

For the fabric of the apparel, clothes made of cotton, wool and linen are recommended whereas dress made of silk is forbidden for men.⁴¹ Islam also allows Muslims to wear one or a variety of garments as occasions requires such as weather conditions and economic means. For instance, clothes of a Muslim man from a country where the weather is cold most of the time during a year can be different from those who are living in a warmer country. Thus, there will be differences between clothes in Siberia and Africa. In addition to that, cultural differences are acceptable unless they are against the requirements in Islam such as *shalwar kameez* which is a traditional dress of South and Central Asia can be worn by a Pakistani Muslim man whereas another Muslim from Gulf countries might wear *thawb* which is a traditional dress of Arabian Peninsula. Thus, clothing styles may change from region to region and from culture to culture. However, wearing garments more than adequate is seen as a sign prodigality and wastage which cannot be accepted in Islam.

Hence, dress of earliest Muslim community was tempered by functionalism and ideology. Although the fashion of dress was like an extension of the preceding period, the new attitude might be seen as a process of constructing personal and social identity as well. Thus, identity issue and belongingness would be no longer a problem. Garments worn by the Prophet and his companions continued through the centuries as the basic clothing of Muslims in wider Islamic lands. The main concern is being simple, functional and suitable

³⁸ Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi, volume 35, s.v. “saç,” accessed 26 July 2014, <http://www.fizan.net/sac.html>.

³⁹ “Peruk takmak caiz mi ve abdeste mani mi?” Sorularla İslamiyet, accessed 26 July 2014, <http://www.sorularlaislamiyet.com/article/16508/peruk-takmak-caiz-mi-ve-abdeste-mani-mi.html>.

⁴⁰ “Dövme Yaptırmak,” Dinimiz İslam, accessed 26 July 2014, <http://www.dinimizislam.com/detay.asp?Aid=1538>.

⁴¹ “İpekli giyinmek neden erkeklere haram?” Sorularla İslamiyet, accessed 26 July 2014, <http://www.sorularlaislamiyet.com/qna/3278/ipekli-giyinmek-neden-erkeklere-haram.html>.

to the ecology.⁴² The basic features of Islamic vestimentary system did not change much and remained stable for a long time.⁴³



Figure 4 Islamic clothing: *cübbe*



Figure 5 Islamic clothing: *sarı*



Figure 6 Islamic clothing: *takke*

2.3. General Framework of Turkish Modernization

Modernization in Turkish society is different from the modernization in western sense. According to Yavuz the point at issue is that Turkish modernization has an eclectic attitude. He adds that the reason why problems occur under the name of modernization is related with the fact that Turkish modernization has not gone through any specific historical and social and capitalization processes.⁴⁴ Hence, in a sense, we can call Turkish modernization as an imitation of some systems or role models having origin particularly in western countries. As modeling western countries on themselves in many different cases, the main aim was to catch up with those developed modern countries and be at the same level with them in a short time. It was seen urgent to go through a *top-to-bottom* process since it was late to bake everything from scratch.

⁴² Yedida Kalfon Stillman and Norman A. Stillman, *Arab Dress A Short History: From the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times*. Rev. 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 10.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Yavuz, *Avrupa'nın Zihin Tarihi*, 183.

Ortaylı claims that Turkish modernization appeared as an historical necessity because transforming society or change was inevitable, though the methods of change have been a subject of conflict.⁴⁵ Thus, Turkish modernization project in a sense ends up as a kind of orientalist interpretation where Orientalism claims that there is a difference between East and West.⁴⁶ The distinction between East and West which is based on the history of civilizations has shaped both minds and life of people.⁴⁷ In relation with that Turkish society started to be familiar not only with concepts such as Orientalism and Occidentalism, but also nationalism, pan-Islamism, liberalism and interventionism by a forced modernization.⁴⁸ In contemporary Turkish politics, these concepts are still primary factors of debates on the modernization project and identity issues.

By making a distinction between East and West, we can claim the modernization experience of both sides has been different as well. “Europeans experienced modernization as a process of discovery and invention”, on the other hand Turkish modernization has been a process of “response and adaptation”.⁴⁹ As western type of modernization served as a model, Turkish modernization process has been perceived as a process of westernization, too. From a comparative standpoint the common understanding of Turkish modernization is as Öniş claims as follows:

Turkey provides an interesting case for studying alternative paths to modernity. The irony of the Turkish experience is that Turkish elites have unambiguously adopted the west as their reference point, and modernization has typically been interpreted as being identical to westernization. Developing close, organic relations with Europe was a natural corollary of this style of modernization. Westernization, in the Turkish context, meant a commitment to reach not only the standards of economic, scientific and technological development of the west but to establish a secular and democratic political order. Yet, the process of top-down modernization that Turkey experienced has created tensions not only domestically within a predominantly Muslim society, but also in her encounters with Europe.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ İlber Ortaylı, *Gelenekten Geleceğe*, (Istanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2008), 30.

⁴⁶ Yavuz, *Avrupa'nın Zihin Tarihi*, 183.

⁴⁷ İlber Ortaylı, *Tarihimiz ve Biz*, (Istanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2009), 153.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁴⁹ D. Ali Arslan, “The Evaluation of Parliamentary Democracy in Turkey and Turkish Political Elites,” *Historia Actual Online*, no. 6 (2005), 131, accessed 12 April 2014, ISSN: 1696-2060.

⁵⁰ Ziya Öniş, “Turkish Modernisation and Challenges For The New Europe,” *Perceptions*, 9 (Autumn 2004), 5, accessed 14 December 2013, <http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/ZiyaOnis.pdf>.

The exact time when Turkish modernization began is very controversial, yet it is important to note that there are two main early stages to be emphasized. The first one is *Tanzimat* (reorganization)⁵¹ which is the driving force behind the second one, the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. From *Tanzimat* till today, there have been a lot of structural changes, nonetheless the sphere of influence have been different from time to time.⁵²

The beginning of *Tanzimat* or preparation period of it might be assumed to be earlier, but the official edict was declared in 1839, during the rule of the 31st Ottoman Sultan Abdülmecid I. The general emphasis in the Edict of Gülhane was that Ottoman Empire is in a period of stagnation and regression, therefore there is new for new reforms. Thus, it was assumed that Ottoman Empire will regain its strength. So in a sense it was a period to transform Ottoman Empire from a traditional Islamic framework to a westernized type of form.

It is not wrong to say that *Tanzimat* still continues to influence today's politics, social and cultural life of modern Turkey, a country which is an official candidate of the European Union. Although the edict was never fully implemented, the implications of it accelerated the transformation in Turkish society.

The second stage of radical changes in Turkish modernization history is the first decades of republican era. "Atatürk set Turkey firmly on the road to secularization and westernization"⁵³ which can be called as a paradigm shift in Turkish history. For him, the reforms were considered of vital importance for the salvation and survival of his people. In a very short time, many things had to be changed by radical reforms. These can be put under five main topics with some examples.⁵⁴

⁵¹ "Tanzimat, (Turkish: "Reorganization"), series of reforms promulgated in the Ottoman Empire between 1839 and 1876 under the reigns of the sultans Abdülmecid I and Abdulaziz. These reforms, heavily influenced by European ideas, were intended to effectuate a fundamental change of the empire from the old system based on theocratic principles to that of a modern state." Source: Wajih Kawtharani, "The Ottoman Tanzimats and the Constitution," Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 2013, accessed 8 June 2014, <http://english.dohainstitute.org/release/6e7d6732-8e4e-4d19-88c3-7f7645b1bbe1>.

⁵² Yavuz, *Avrupa'nın Zihin Tarihi*, 181.

⁵³ Kevin Goodwin, "The Tanzimat and the Problem of Political Authority in the Ottoman Empire: 1839-1876," *Honors Projects Overview*, Paper 5, 2006, accessed 20 May 2014, http://digitalcommons.ric.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1005&context=honors_projects.

⁵⁴ Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, "Biography of Atatürk," 2005, accessed 23 June 2014, <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,31350/biography-of-ataturk.html>.

1. Political Reforms

- Abolishment of the Sultanate (1 November 1922)
- Declaration of the Republic (29 October 1923)
- Abolishment of Caliphate (3 March 1924)

2. Social Reforms

- Women were given equal rights with men (1926-1934)
- The Revolution of Headgear and Outfit (25 November 1925)
- Closing of dervish lodges and shrines (30 November 1925)
- The surname law (21 June 1934)
- Abolishment of nicknames, pious and royal titles (26 November 1934)
- Adoption of the International calendar, time and measurements (1925-1931)

3. Juridical Reforms

- Abolishment of the Canon Law (1924-1937)
- Instating the new Turkish Civil Code and other legislation to suit secular order (1924 - 1937)

4. Educational and Cultural Reforms

- Integration of education (3 March 1924)
- Adoption of the new Turkish alphabet (1 November 1928)
- Establishment of the Turkish Language and Historical Societies (1931-1932)
- Organization of the university education (31 May 1933).
- Innovations in fine arts

5. Economical Reforms

- Abolishment of old taxation laws.
- Encouragement of the farmers.
- Establishment of model farms.
- Legislation of the Encouragement of the Industry Law and establishment of Industrial Corporations.
- Implementing First and Second Development Plans (1933-1937), construction of new highways to reach every corner of the country.

According to Turkish historian Halil İnalcık the Ottoman Empire was a combination or composition of eastern civilizations; and in order to understand Ottoman History one has to know at least five or six languages, including Persian, Arabic, and Ottoman Turkish as well as few European languages. Traditionally, social, cultural and political life was rooted eastern civilizations.⁵⁵ In this respect, these reforms show that it was a definite break and disengagement from the traditional system in Turkish history. Yet, central issues of *Tanzimat* and Atatürk’s reforms remain alive till today. In many cases, there has been resistance from *below* against some specific reforms from *above*.



Figure 7 A propaganda poster published in the Republic of Turkey during the Atatürk era. Illustrating Atatürk’s reforms in comparison with the old system.

⁵⁵ “İlber Ortaylı ile Tarih Dersleri-Halil İnalcık ile Tarih Sohbeti,” YouTube video, posted by “Tarih TV,” 7 November 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MtIu3ReSBgY>.

3. TRANSFORMATION OF MEN DRESS CODE THROUGH TURKISH MODERNIZATION

3.1. The Late Ottoman Times: First Changes

Ottoman Empire (1299-1923) for many centuries ruled territories from Europe to Asia and Africa where people belong to different religions and cultures. Whereas the Empire was ruled by the Islamic Law, there was a religious pluralism. It was in fact based on the *Millet System* which allowed different communities such as Muslims by *sharia*, Christians by Canon Law, and Jews by Halakha Law to rule themselves under their own system. Millet system was not based on language, but religion.⁵⁶ So, we can say that before nationalistic movements in the Ottoman Empire, religion was seen as a supra-identity and a key factor in order to order social life.

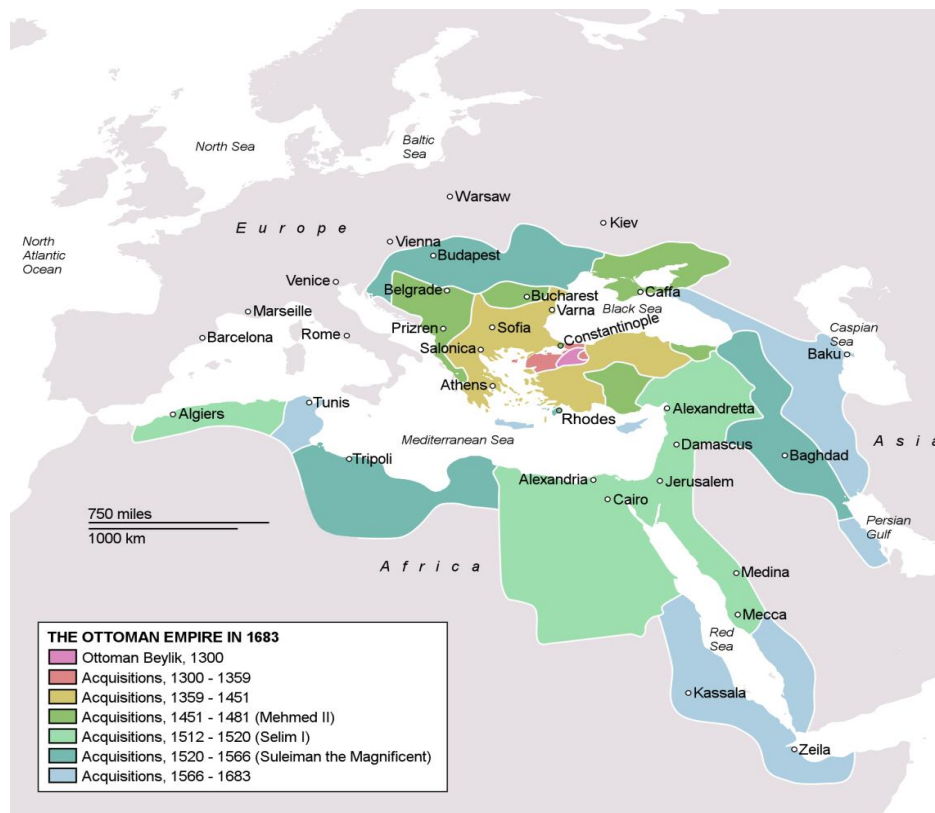


Figure 8 The map of the Ottoman Empire in 1683. Illustrating the diversity.

⁵⁶ İlber Ortaylı, *Avrupa ve Biz* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2007), 75.

The way how these different communities should dress was also regulated. Non-Muslims were not allowed to dress like Muslim communities and vice versa. Diversity in clothing styles was based on religious tenets, thus each community would have their own fashion based on their religious basic requirements. Appearance of people was a symbol of their own communities. The basic difference among them could be recognized from the head-gears which were also indicating a status of that person.⁵⁷ Basically shape and the color those headgears of non-Muslims were different than the Muslims' ones. The laws enacted in different times of the Ottoman Empire stipulated the way how non-Muslim people should dress. For example, in the time of the Sultan Selim III (1761-1808), it was decided that Muslims should wear yellow shoes and yellow quilted turban (*kavuk* in Turkish), Armenians red ones, Rums (Greeks of Turkish nationality) black, and Jews blue; and the shape of their headgears should had been different.⁵⁸

Shalwar, hirka, entari, kaftan and shirt, were the major components of Ottoman men clothing.⁵⁹ Ottoman Sultans gave importance to clothes and they wore different types of a high quality and resplendent kaftans.⁶⁰ *Kaftan* has its own special place, particularly representing a traditional side of Ottoman clothes. The history of *kaftan* goes back to when Turkish people were living in Central Asia, and they were commonly worn until the first decades of 19th century when European way of clothing start to become more famous.⁶¹

There was diversity of vestimentary system within Ottoman Empire as well as among other empires and nations. The general image of Ottomans was associated with Islamic tradition. In many aspects, Ottoman vestimentary system was regulated according to Islamic rules and the main purpose was to be different than the non-Muslims in appearance. Before the Turkish modernization process, vestimentary system in the Ottoman Empire was clearly different than the European people. Old paintings both from Ottomans and Europeans, no matter if representing reality or not, give us the hint to realize the main differences. For example, an Austrian folk painting titled *Kurze Beschreibung der in Europa Befintlichen Völckern und Ihren Aigenschafften* by an unknown artist from early 18th century depicts various European nationalities which are particularly Spanish, French,

⁵⁷ Burcu Özcan, "Basına Göre Şapka ve Kılık kıyafet İnkılabı," (MA Thesis Marmara University, 2008), 8.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

clothes of each other as strange.⁶³ Nevertheless, the drawing of Ottoman clothes by Europeans at that time was not far from the reality itself.



Figure 10 The portrait of Selim III (1789-1807). An example of clothing style of Ottomans before the Turkish modernization process.

In Ottoman Empire, one of the first attempts to modernize society started in military and bureaucracy. Besides technical innovations, there were new regulations in dress code as well. These new developments were the sign of a huge transformation in following years.

⁶³ Ortaylı, *Avrupa ve Biz*, 16.

This change actually started in the palace by the Ottoman Sultan himself. Unlike the previous rulers, Sultan Mahmud II considered no harm to adopt western clothes.

The changes in men's clothing are parallel to the changes in political and economic arena in Turkish history. Ever since Ottoman Empire started to lose power, europeanization or westernization in political, social and cultural areas gained momentum. Significant alterations came into sight in 19th century. In 1826, after the disbandment of the Janissaries, which was a military class in the Ottoman Empire, the Mansure Army was established by the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II who had himself adopted western clothing.

No longer than one year, the new military uniforms were prepared for this new army. According to Sevin, in 1827 just as European armies in the 19th century, particularly, French and English uniforms which have its own specific parts such as trousers and double breasted frock coats with epaulette sleeves on the shoulder were accepted. Afterwards, state officials, civil servants and people in the cities begun to dress like civil people in the European cities. Until the republican era, the significant difference in respect to European way of clothing was the garments for the head.⁶⁴ "With exception of the headgears and some types of loose trousers it could be difficult to distinguish Turkish soldiers from the regulars of any European country."⁶⁵

After a while, wearing European tighter jackets, trousers and *potin shoes* (*bottine* in French) became compulsory for the state officials. The new changes in dress code created a style called *apparel of Tanzimat*.⁶⁶ *İstanbulin* and *fez* have been a symbol of that time.



Figure 11 An example of *fez*

⁶⁴ Nureddin Sevin, *On Üç Asırlık Türk Kıyafet Tarihine Bir Bakış* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990), 115.

⁶⁵ James E. DeKay, *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832* (J. & J. Harper: New York, 1833), p. 225, quoted in Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (McGill University Press: Montreal, 1964), p. 123.

⁶⁶ Özcan, "Basına Göre Şapka ve Kılık kıyafet İnkılâbı," 26.

In order to be used in the new army class, Sultan Mahmud II ordered samples of different European headgears; however their usage due to two main reasons was refused. First European hats have brims and it was not easy for Muslims to pray with them, particularly while prostrating themselves on the ground. Second reason was based on the fact that these headgears are European origin which might not be easy to procure acceptance of them. Therefore, in terms of being long-lasting, cheap, and more practical *fez* which was worn by naval soldiers in Tunisia was accepted to be the new headgear for the new army class.⁶⁷ At first 50.000 *fezes* were brought to Istanbul, then it was discussed how to produce it cheaper there and later a minister of *fez* (*fes nazırı* in Turkish) was appointed.⁶⁸ *Fez* became a symbol of change and modernization in the late years of Ottoman Empire. However, it was seen as a symbol of Ottomans by other nations. In contemporary Turkey we can say that it is symbolizing the tradition which can be worn as a folklore custom in special occasions. Most of the time, it is sold as a souvenir in touristic places of Istanbul today apart being a garment in daily life.

Soon after the changes in the army dress code, except *ulama* (Muslim scholars) and clergymen, both Muslims and non-Muslims were commanded to wear *fez*, *setre* (a type of jacket) and trousers instead of old head-gears and garments.⁶⁹

Regulations regarding dress code continued in the time of other succeeding sultans as well. For instance, in the time of Abdülhamid II (1842-1948), when it became compulsory to wear European clothes, some clothes were Turkicized or localized. For instance, a reshaped European redingote by tailors in Istanbul was called *Istanbulin*. Compared to a redingote, *Istanbulin* was a more modest and practical type of jacket.⁷⁰

Although many things had started to change years before, the first concrete steps towards modernization in Turkey dates back to 1839 when Tanzimât Fermânı which literally means imperial edict of reorganization was enacted by Ottoman Sultan Abdülmecid I. It was a milestone in the Ottoman history and also set the ball rolling to promote the idea of republic and other western values. It is also known that Sultan

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 27.

Abdülmeceid I himself, who was brought up with western culture, wore a tie for the first time in Turkish history.

According to Stillman, the impact of the West on the traditional Islamic vestimentary system in the first decades of 19th century was in fact “imperceptible at first, yet gradual and limited to very small, specific circles of the Muslim elites and some non-Muslim communities”. Thus it seems that the evolutionary process among Muslims have begun especially in Istanbul and influenced the rest of the Islamic World in a wider sense in ensuing years. For instance, in the second half of 19th century ruling elites in Egypt began to wear European garments as they were in fact following the lead of the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II.⁷¹ She adds:

(...) and the Ottoman Sultan sent a large number of students to study in various European countries in 1827. They were followed by hundreds of other students in the following years. Upon their return to their native countries, these students not only often adopted Western or modified Western attire, but also became agents for the further westernizing of dress among members of their class.⁷²



Figure 12 First Ottoman students sent to Europe for studying, 1829.

⁷¹ Stillman, *Arab Dress: From the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times*, 161-163.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 165.

During Tanzimat era, many modern schools were established and many graduates from these institutions spread their pro-western ideas to all domains of the government.⁷³ Including Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who is the founder of the Republic of Turkey, the elites who graduated mainly from these schools paved the way for a new system against the Ottoman Empire which transformed itself from an absolute monarchy to the constitutional Monarchy in the late years before the abolition of the Sultanate.



Figure 13 Darülfünun graduate students, 1911.

In general, when changes in apparel and garments are analyzed in the late years of Ottoman Empire, particularly between 1826-1923, decisions taken by authorities were not directly binding the mainstream society, but limited to army and officials.⁷⁴ Accordingly, men were the direct target group for the change. Next part will go through the radical reforms concerning the specific type of garments.

3.2. First Decades of the Republic of Turkey: A Complete Paradigm Shift

As a result of succession to the Ottoman Empire the Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923. Compared to the Ottoman Empire, the new system was completely western in terms of being a democratic, secular, unitary and constitutional republic. Ruling

⁷³ Regine Erichsen, "Scientific Research and Science Policy in Turkey," *Cahiers d'Etudes sur la Méditerranée Orientale et le monde Turco-Iranien* 25 (1998), 2-7, accessed 14 July 2014, <http://cemoti.revues.org/61>.

⁷⁴ Özcan, "Basına Göre Şapka ve Kılık kıyafet İnkılâbı," 27.

elites introduced a complete social, cultural, economic and political transformation by means of radical reforms. New capital city was decided to be Ankara. However, Istanbul still continued its influence in each and every sense regarding to any developments in the new era.

Following the foundation of the republic, in order to bring Turkish dress mode in compliance with western norms both in 1925 and 1934 some arrangements were made by law. Only men were subject to these specific new regulations, yet women were encouraged to wear modern western attire.⁷⁵ The first law is called *Şapka İktizası Hakkında Kanun* and the second one is called *Bazı Kisvelerin Giyilemeyeceğine Dair Kanun*. Now let us go through some details of these legislations.

In the previous parts, the importance of headgears for Muslims were mentioned. By looking at the headgear, one could understand whether that person is Muslim, Christian, or Jews and his social status. Along with wearing *fez* in the late years of the Ottoman Empire, these differences started to vanish away. Nonetheless, it was easily adopted by the society; basically *fez* was not European origin, different than the western headgears as well as more practical to use. After the Hat Law wearing the *fez* was interpreted as disobedience towards the government, and those who do not obey the new regulations were penalized. Yet, prohibiting *fez* and other headgears as well as obligating people to wear a western hat conveyed the discussion into another dimension. The principal objective was now to annihilate religious differences and symbols of the past. Until 1923 Turkish intellectuals in general, in spite of efforts to modernize, could not go beyond the ordinary cultural and political legacy of the Ottoman Empire. However, the new Turkey went through a revolutionary change in the hand of new ruling elites.⁷⁶

On August 1925, during his visit to the city of Kastamonu, Atatürk wears a hat and starts to accustom people to the new headgear. He also gave a speech regarding the issue of a national outfit and garments. Thus he proposed the hat issue for the agenda before the official regulations. For him, hat was a symbol of civilization. In his speech he also emphasized that Turkish outfit is not international and there is need to change. In 25 November 1925, the Hat Act went through. Officially western clothes started to be national outfits of Turkish people.

⁷⁵ Bülent, Özukan, *Genç Cumhuriyet'in Türkiyesi Kronoloji* (Istanbul: Boyut Yayıncılık, 2012), 20-21.

⁷⁶ Özcan, "Basına Göre Şapka ve Kılık kıyafet İnkılâbı," 28.



Figure 14 Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's trip to Kastamonu. Introducing hat to people.

The law was protested in various Turkish cities before and after. The day when it went in effect, it was declared a state of siege for a month in the city of Erzurum due to the protests, and 13 arrested protesters were condemned to death.⁷⁷ On November 24-25, many people marched in the city of Kayseri and 300 people were arrested. Five people among those who were stand trial in the independence tribunal were condemned to death. On November 25, all *muhtars* (headman of a neighborhood in Turkish) in the city were arrested due to posted banners against the Hat Law on the walls. Those who were absolved from accusing were released. Yet, two people from the *ulama* were sentenced to death. As a result of the 10-day trouble in the city of Rize, 143 people were arrested and among them 8 people were sentenced to death. In the city of Maraş, 5 people among those who screamed as “we do not want hats!” were sentenced to death. In Istanbul, particularly in Fatih district, many people were arrested due to their speech which was seen as sedition, and they were tried in court in Ankara.⁷⁸

This law was one of the most protested regulations, because it was directly affecting the life of citizens. Despite overwhelming reactions against it, the Hat Act entered into

⁷⁷ Özükan, *Genç Cumhuriyet'in Türkiyesi Kronoloji*, 20.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 20-21.

force, promoted by press and other procedures. Those who were against it were put on trial and imposed various penalties. Although the law was only applying to civil service and officials, it was concerning public in a roundabout way.

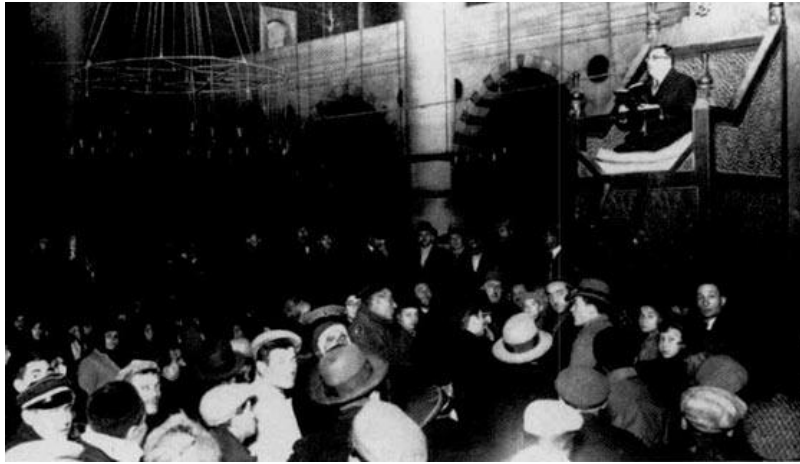


Figure 15 Praying time in the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul.

Not long after, the second significant act of apparel was added to agenda in 1934. Religious attires, except their usage the in places of worship, were banned in public places. According to the new law, clergymen were allowed to wear their religious clothes only in the place of worship⁷⁹. There were exceptions for the supreme leaders of each religion.

All the interventions made for changing apparel and garments were seen necessary in the framework of a secular system. Changing outfit of the society was seen crucial in order to become modern. On the other side, these radical reforms were a matter of progressiveness and reactionism as well as main reason of discussions related to tradition and modernization.

These reforms were only bidding men. Both the law in 1925 and in 1934 does not have any provisions for women. It is assumed that the reason why men were the main target lies behind one main factor. First of all, the majority working in the government agencies and public institutions were men. For the ruling elites, it was easy to start transformation

⁷⁹ Resmi Gazete, *Bazı Kisvelerin Giyilmeyeceğine Dair Kanununun Tatbik Suretini Gösterir Nizamname* (TBMM, 1935), accessed 22 December 2013, <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/2.3.21958.pdf>.

from them. Starting from men would indirectly influence the way how women should dress as well.

3.3. Men Clothing After 1950s: Political Symbols

Whereas there was not any direct act of Turkish parliament concerning men clothes in the following years, there were other consideration and factors. Until 1950, Turkey was ruled only by the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* in Turkish). Since it was a single-party period, democratization process of Turkey starts after the new established parties become the candidates in the national elections. The Democratic Party which was established in 1946 won the national elections in 1950.

The new Prime Minister Adnan Menderes relaxed the restrictions on Islamic way of life. For instance, during the ruling period of previous Prime Minister İsmet İnönü, calling for prayer (*ezan* in Turkish) in Arabic was banned and it was recited in Turkish in order to avoid Islamic and Arabic influences. Adnan Menderes legalized *ezan* in Arabic language again. Furthermore, under the Democrat Party government religious vocational high schools called *İmam Hatip Lisesi* were established in 1951. Although their position has been controversial in the following years, the main objective was to train government employed imams at first. Ever since the abolition of madrasas (or Muslim theological schools) in 1924 by the *Tevhid-Tedrisat Kanunu* (Law of Unification of Educational Instruction), the education system was based on secularist, centralist and nationalist ideology. There was no place for religion during the strict secularist period.

Debates related to these schools continued till today. Various official adjustments regarding their curriculum and position have been resettled in different times, especially after several military coups in Turkey. *İmam Hatip schools* are highly significant in Turkish history. Many graduates from these schools, including the current Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, played an active role in Turkish political scene.

Multiple-party period was a new beginning in the history of Turkish politics and social life. However, this new process has been interrupted by the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) through interventions in civil administration from time to time. In 1960, the army made the first military coup by stating that their duty is to protect the secular republic and Atatürk's principles. During the junta government, the ousted Prime Minister Adnan

Menderes was executed by hanging. This was a beginning of other direct and indirect military interventions in the following years, such as in 1971, 1980, 1997, and 2007.

Furthermore, particularly after 1950s, apart from state's political attitude, there has been emergence of other political views as well. In an imagined equal Turkey, people who had different worldview formed their own groups. In the process of modernization, Turkey has been not disconnected with the developments in the world. Especially during the Cold War period, Turkey witnessed many severe left and right movements and clashes among them.

The May 1968 events in France influenced many other countries in the world. In Turkey, the reflection of it was hold by Marxist-Leninist groups led by Deniz Gezmiş, İbrahim Kaypakkaya, Mahir Çayan, Yusuf Aslan, Taylan Özgür and so on. On the other side, particularly in the late 60s, *Ülkücü Hareket*, an ultra-nationalist movement that rejected capitalism, communism and imperialism, came into focus. Their aim has been to make a synthesis between Islam and Turkism, hence present a third option during the Cold War.

After 1950s people have been more politicized in Turkey. There were two main groups, leftists who largely adopted socialist ideology and rightist who were more conservative and nationalistic. More interestingly, they even have their own symbols in order to be recognized in the public sphere. People in accordance with the groups they were belonging were representing themselves through the dress or some symbols on their garments they wear.⁸⁰ For men, moustache styles were the main indicators of different ideologies. These styles are named *ülkücü bıyığı* (nationalist moustache) and *solcu bıyığı*. (leftist moustache).

The first one was symbolizing rightists, particularly *ülkücü*. *Ülkücü bıyığı* literally looks like a shape of crescent. Accordingly, with brows it looks like a form of three crescents which is the symbol of Nationalist Movement Party's flag in Turkey. The history of this flag goes back to the first Turkish people in the Central Asia and it also connotes that Ottoman Empire ruled three continents. The party's flag was also used by the Ottomans centuries before.

⁸⁰ Oya Baydar and Derya Özkan, 75. *Yılda Değişen Yaşam Değişen İnsan - Cumhuriyet Modaları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999), 76-77.

The latter symbolizes leftists, particularly Marxists and socialists. It is also called *devrimci bıyığı*, moustache of revolutionists. However, there is not tangible information about where it comes from. Nevertheless, for some it is inspired by Stalin, Marx and Engels and even Alawaite faith.



Figure 16 *Ülkücü bıyığı*



Figure 4 *Devrimci bıyığı*. A poster from the May Day celebrations.

Moustache was not the only symbol in order to differ themselves from the other groups. A parka in green color, dark color heavy shoes (postal), and weft in red color were the other symbols of the socialist groups. The popularity of green parka comes from Deniz Gezmiş who was one of the prominent presiders of leftists groups. Green parka is commonly associated with him.⁸¹ Red color is traditionally associated with socialism and communism. And heavy shoes were taking its meaning from guerilla movements.

One of the other main factors which influenced men clothes was a rural-urban migration. After 1950s, there has been a huge influx of migrants to the urban areas from countryside. Istanbul has always been one of the main target cities for such big movements since it has a lot of opportunities to offer for the new comers. However, it was not easy to adopt a city life for the new comers who mainly experienced a traditional way of life in rural areas. As a result of this flow, social relations in the cities have been reshaped as well.

Arabesque culture, which is basically symbolizing the clash between city culture and traditional culture, began to be more effective in this period. Especially in 70s and 80s

⁸¹ Ibid., 72.

this clash has become the subject of many songs, movies and so on. Apparel has always been an indicative of this segregation.

In the matter of transformation of clothing styles within these years, another impact was changes in the western fashion. In 1970s, the hippie movement became more visible in Turkey as well. Their garments, a part of their lifestyle, such as ruffled shirts, velvet jackets and pants, gowns or robes, and embroidered vests were representing emergence of another subculture in the cities. Moreover, bell-bottoms (or flares) became popular among men in the mainstream fashion.

In general terms, the new styles and clothes from 1950s to 1980s, more in particular, carried political meanings. Transition to a multiple party period, influence of cold war, easing severe restrictions on religion reflected itself in apparel. People, particularly in the urban areas, as well as their apparel were more politicized.⁸²

Accordingly, men dress code has been shaped within such a framework of power relations. Media, press, government institutions have always been under the control of ruling elites. Their worldview molded the social, cultural, political and economic life in Turkey. Any kind of disobedience and opposition against them would be punished or banned. As a result of that, Turkish men dress mode has been influenced by the western dress in the given circumstances.

3.4. Men Clothing After 1980s: Globalization

On 12 September 1980, Turkey witnessed the third *coup d'état* in its history. Once again Turkish Armed forces took the control for three years showing the recent conflicts, particularly the unrest and protests between right-wings and left-wings. This coup opened deep wounds in minds of Turkish society. It was again a sign that Kemalist Ideology was the dominant power among the ruling elites and it was again time to reshape the future of Turkey according to Atatürk's reforms and his principals.

In 1983 Turkey went to the civil elections and on the 6th of September a center-right part, *Anavatan Partisi* (Motherland Party), came to the power and Turgut Özal became the prime minister. By introducing neo-liberal policies, Özal transformed Turkey into a new

⁸² Füsün Curaoğlu, ed. *Moda Tasarım* (Eskişehir: Anadolu University, 2013), 20-25.

phase. 80s can be considered as a take-off stage and globalization process for Turkey. Economic growth and technological developments in the textile industry influenced social life in the big cities. In 80s and early 90s, increased effective electronic communication tools such as TV has spread the dominant trends in the world more rapidly in Turkey.

Particularly, after 90s the fashion in Turkey was directly influenced by the trends in the world. Disco culture and pop culture have become more visible in the mainstream society. Liberalization policies on the economy, foreign capital in the Turkish market has affected the Turkish men clothing. Especially, developments in the fabric and textile industry in general offered variety of garments.

In 1997, Turkey faced another military intervention, which is known as 1997 military memorandum or postmodern coup. On a National Security Council meeting on 28 February, some particular decisions were forced to be issued by the Turkish Armed Forces. According to these decisions, new regulations concerning clothing, particularly for women had to be made.

After 2000s, Turkey has been more open to the world trends and fashion. The diversity in the world fashion has been revealing itself in Istanbul in a more effective way. Istanbul. As the world-wide popular brands started to open new stores, Istanbul has been a center of fashion for men as well. Although western clothing has been dominant, availability and freedom of wearing different clothes, particularly by young generations shaped the diversity today.

4. ISTANBUL: A MODEL CITY FOR TURKISH MEN OUTFIT

Cities are known as a cradle of civilization, a space of change and coexistence. They can be influenced by external factors but also have the potential to influence other cities, societies or the rest of their country. A city can offer an insight into history as well as provide us with an opportunity to understand social, economic, cultural and political life of people living there. For instance, the amount of mosques, churches, synagogues open to worship or any kind of architecture in a city indicates the symbols of a civilization, worldview and way of life. Infrastructure, transportation or business centers might be an indication of economic condition of that city. Night clubs or bars might give information about the night life there. A city even might be labeled as a male-dominated or matriarchal city based on the amount of a social, cultural, political and economic space given to men, women or any kind of gender living within that city.

Istanbul is one of the most significant cities in the world history as it was the capital to the big world empires: the Roman Empire (330-395), the Byzantine Empire (395-1204/1261-1453), the Latin Empire (1204-1261), and the Ottoman Empire (1453-1922).⁸³ Remains from the history notably contributed the identity of the city very much. As being between East and West, it contains two different lifestyles in itself. As such, it serves a sample of combination of these two poles in each and every sense.

According to Ortaylı, despite everything Istanbul is an Orient city which is trying to be a European.⁸⁴ In retrospect, Islamic tradition has been dominant in the city more than five hundred years. Nevertheless, it did not break its connection with the West. Since the beginning of Turkish modernization, it has been in close contact with European cities.

Each country has its own one or two well-known cities which represent them to the rest of the world. When it comes to Turkey, Istanbul is the most representative one. Considered as a metropolis and a world city Istanbul is cultural and economic heart of the

⁸³ İstanbul.net.tr, “İstanbul Tarihi,” 2014, accessed 20 June 2014, <http://www.istanbul.net.tr/istanbul-Rehberi/Dosyalar/istanbul-tarihi/3>.

⁸⁴ “İlber Ortaylı ile Tarih Dersleri – Şehirler,” YouTube video, 31:58, posted by “Tarih TV,” 7 November 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=II3Es54W0Ro>.

whole country.⁸⁵⁸⁶ It is also where modernization has started and expanded to the rest of the country.

In Turkish speech, Istanbul stands for what is best in the country. Istanbul manners, Istanbul ladies and gentlemen, Istanbul accent, Istanbul fashions – used as an adjective, the name of the city denotes the excellence.⁸⁷

All the information above reinforces the idea of presenting men dress code in Istanbul in the light of Turkish modernization project as a model for the whole country. To examine vestimentary system in this context diverse factors, such as climate, demographics, socio-cultural structure, economic and political aspects have to be taken into consideration as well.

4.1. Regional and Environmental Factors

Regional and environmental factors are significant in order to ascertain the types of clothes in a society. Clothing of people living in different climate zones may differ from each other. An Eskimo from snowy Greenland dress different than a Venezuelan who has never seen snow before in his country. Likewise, a person living in a mountainous terrain or very rural area might be required to dress different than a person who is living in a city or an urban area. Also, there can be differences between places by side of sea and more interior zones. All these factors play a crucial role on human clothing.

In some societies living in a similar climate zones culture, social life and religious tenets might be more dominant and their attire might not look alike such as the differences between dress code in Iran and in Spain. Nevertheless, considering the fact that the mean body temperature for human beings is around 37 Celsius, the human body tries to maintain the same level of temperature.⁸⁸ For that reason, people living in similar climate zones but

⁸⁵ Globalization and World Cities Research Network, *Global Cities in Harmonious Development* (GaWC, 2010), accessed 12 June 2014, <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/visual/globalcities2010.pdf>.

⁸⁶ İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Büyükşehir ve Metropol (İBB, June 2014), accessed 15 June 2014, <http://www.ibb.gov.tr/tr-TR/kurumsal/YetkiAlani/Pages/Metropol.aspx>.

⁸⁷ Andrew Mango, "Istanbul Lives," in *The Turks Today*, edited by Andrew Mango, 189-206, London: John Murray, 2004.

⁸⁸ Pamir Gülez, "Ateş Nedir?," İzmir Dr. Behçet Uz Çocuk Hastanesi, 2013, accessed 12 June 2014, http://www.buch.gov.tr/makale_detay/10.

experiencing different culture still find a way to adapt to environmental conditions. In such cases other factors such as type of fabrics and color of the dress which are mostly sensitive to the heat insulation might determine the preferences.

When we try to examine the type of men clothes of Istanbulites in the light of this information, one cannot deny the significance of regional and environmental factors. Istanbul is a city that experiences four seasons of a year. In the north of Istanbul there is Black sea, in the south there is Marmara Sea, and Bosphorus Strait splits the city into half. Particularly, during the summer season the weather might be very hot and humid. Istanbul is not mountainous city, yet there are a few hills. It is also known as seven hill Istanbul (Yedi Tepe İstanbul), which particularly refers to seven main hills in the historical part within the city walls.⁸⁹

In general, Istanbul has moderate climatic conditions. In summer it is warm and humid and during winter it may snow and it might really get cold. However, it does not last for a long time in general. In the main, the climate in Istanbul is in transition between Mediterranean climate and Black Sea climate.

Based on this information, the type of clothes of Istanbulites changes according to weather conditions from season to season. During winter various type of scarfs, beanies, gloves, boots and garments with thick fabrics are preferred. The color of garment is mostly darker such as black, grey, navy-blue and brown. During summer, compared to winter season light colors are mostly preferred.

4.2. Demographics

According to data of the address-based population registration system 2013, the amount of people who resides in Istanbul is more than 14 million which refers to around 19% of the whole population in Turkey.⁹⁰ This number is gradually growing. In the year of proclamation of the republic population in Istanbul was around 600 thousand people living

⁸⁹ Turizm Haber, “İstanbul'un 7 tepesi neresi?,” *Sabah*, 13 April 2012, sec. Turizm, accessed 7 June 2014, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/Turizm/2012/04/13/istanbulun-7-tepesi-neresi>.

⁹⁰ Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, “Adrese Dayalı Nüfus Kayıt Sistemi Sonuçları,” TÜİK Haber Bülteni, 2013, accessed 12 May 2014, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=15974>.

in Istanbul.⁹¹ One of the main reasons why it became so crowded is particularly after 1950s Istanbul has become the main target city of migration flow from other cities and rural areas.

Year	1950	1975	2000	2013
Population of Istanbul	1.166.477	3.904.588	10.018.836	14.160.467

If there was not migration flow the number of Istanbulites would not exceed 2.5 million people.⁹² It means that Istanbul is in fact a mix of many people from other parts of Turkey which has their own distinctive characteristics in terms of culture and lifestyle. This is indeed one of the main reasons why Istanbul is a model city of the whole country. Those who are not originally from urban areas principally represented the traditional side of Turkey. Especially after 1950s Istanbul has started to witness severe culture shock between new comers and people who are already living in the city. This segregation is still visible in today's Istanbul.

In Turkey, although majority of people are Turkish, there are different ethnic groups as well, such as Kurds, Arabs, Armenians, Jews, Greeks, Bosniaks, Laz, Pomaks, Roma, Abkhazians, Albanians, Circassians, Georgians, Hamshenis, Laz, and Crimean Tatars.⁹³ Among them only Armenians, Jews and Greeks are officially recognized as ethnic minorities. Whereas there are non-Muslims, the dominant religion of Turkey is Islam. The similar picture of ethnic and religious structure of the whole country is very visible in Istanbul. The significance of this ethnic and religious diversity is showing itself through different dress mode within the society.

4.3. Gentrification and Economic Perspective

The transition to the planned urbanization in Istanbul first began in the 1830s and the projects of European city planners, particularly from Germany, Italy and France, were

⁹¹ Ali Satan, *İstanbul'un 100 Yılı* (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, 2012), 39.

⁹² Yaşam - İstanbul "Gerçek İstanbullu kaç milyon?," Haber Türk, 31 August 2012, accessed 10 July 2014, <http://www.haberturk.com/yasam/haber/772485-gercek-istanbullu-kac-milyon>.

⁹³ KONDA Araştırma, *Toplumsal Yapı Araştırması* (KONDA, Milliyet, 2006), accessed 11 June 2014, http://www.konda.com.tr/tr/raporlar/2006_09_KONDA_Toplumsal_Yapi.pdf.

turned into city reports to be implemented in 1933.⁹⁴ Planned urbanization continued till 1950s when the intensive immigration to the urban areas began to emerge. This situation generated a structural change in the following years. As Istanbul became an industrial city and business center, it experienced a rapid population growth in a very short time. Firstly, number of apartment buildings increased.⁹⁵ Secondly, illegal housing zones, *gecekondu evleri* (one-night-built houses) or slums accumulated. These developments and diverse structuring highlighted the stratification within the society as well. Besime Şen emphasizes this situation as:

Gentrification, which became a current issue in urban centers since 1990, created a new economic search in urban spaces that were emptied and regressed after deindustrialization. The current increase in economic value in city centers gave way to a class based evacuation and created an “exclusive” perspective, which is directed against the working class history in the cities and in general to the states of poverty.⁹⁶

Changes in the demographics and city life also rendered consumption units and lifestyle habits more distinguishable within the society.

Other general properties of Istanbul which can be mentioned here are architecture, places to socialize, and economic structure. As being the largest city in Turkey, Istanbul offers various opportunities for everyone. Yet the majority of the social space is more available for men and Muslims. If one has to label Istanbul in terms of gender and religion, Islam as the major religion and male (or man) as the dominant gender would be emphasized more often.

One of the main reasons why men are more dominant in the city life, in addition to the fact that Turkish society is a patriarchal society, is based on the economic activities as well. According to a data by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) the place of women in working life is 27% where the average of the OECD countries is 44%.⁹⁷ Compare to women, men are more and flexible in the social life.

⁹⁴ Satan, *İstanbul'un 100 Yılı*, 55.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁹⁶ Besime Şen, “Kentsel Mekânda Üçlü İttifak: Sanayisizleşme, Soylulaştırma, Yeni Orta Sınıf,” *İ.Ü. Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 44 (March, 2011): 1.

⁹⁷ Mine Yavuz, “Kadının Çalışma Hayatındaki Yeri,” Ankara Strateji Enstitüsü, 2013, accessed 27 May 2014, <http://www.ankarastrateji.org/haber/kadinin-calisma-hayatindaki-yeri-876/>.

Many women compared to men are either less paid or spending time as housewife. The distinctions between the practices of men and women in daily life have a root from Islamic tradition.

4.4. Major Dichotomies

Before Tanzimat era, there was distinguishable dress code between Muslims and non-Muslims. However, when we look at today's Istanbul after 180 years, we see these differences are not visible any more. Except in some Islamic groups, the predominant garments and men clothes are western in the mainstream society. However, the distinction between modern and tradition is based on some small details. The diversity and the dichotomy between modern and tradition appear in the form of different style of western garments. Before going through these qualifications of the mainstream society, let us first mention dress code of two Islamic groups at first, which are *İsmailağa Cemaati* and *Gülen Cemaati* as the essential samples.

4.4.1. Religious Groups

The name of *İsmailağa Cemaati*, which is an Islamic group, comes from the İsmailağa Mosque in Fatih, Istanbul. They have association with the Naqshbandi spiritual order of Sunni Islam Sufism. Although there are communities of them in other cities, the main district is Fatih's Çarşamba neighborhood. They have their own strict dress code. Men have to wear kaftans, shalwar trousers, loose and long shirts, and turbans of white muslin while praying. Since it is not allowed to wear turbans in public places, they usually wear *takke* which looks like a *fez* in shape. They grow their beards and keep their moustache shorter. Their purpose is to dress like Muslims in *Asr-ı Saadet*, during the Prophet's time.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Ahmet Hakan, "Bir cemaatin anatomisi," *Hürriyet*, 4 September 2006, sec. Yazarlar, accessed 9 May 2014, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/5026124.asp>.



Figure 18 Adherents of *Ismailağa Cemaati*

The second Islamic group, *Gülen Cemaati* or *Hizmet*, in comparison to many members of the *İsmailağa Cemaati* prefers to wear modern western clothes in general terms. It is not easy to distinguish them from the mainstream society. Their clothing style may vary a lot. Although in the past there was a specific clothing preference of the adherents, “such a custom no longer holds true today”⁹⁹. Nevertheless, the general pattern of their dress code is implicit in some details which also remained today. Although it might be a miniscule sample, some garments and styles such as button-down shirts, slacks and rings represent their convention as a general image¹⁰⁰. Furthermore, wearing almond-shaped moustache, shaven beard and short hair are the other main details which distinguish them from others.¹⁰¹

One of the main reasons why *Gülen Cemaati* adherents prefer to look alike the mainstream society is that many adherent of this movement are students or workers in higher positions. As a result of that, they are directly or indirectly are forced to adopt some and inconspicuous dress mode and thus they are not exposed to the preconceptions (*önyargı*) held by others.

⁹⁹ Aimee M. Wuthrich, “Identity and The Nur Movement in Turkey: Trying to See the Gray” (MA Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2007), 62.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 62-65.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.



Figure 19 Fethullah Gülen. Leader of *Gülen Cemaati*.

4.5. Main Stream Society

When we evaluate the mainstream society outfit in Istanbul, the general picture shows the dichotomy between tradition and modern patterns. This dichotomy is varied with purchasing power and the gap between new and old generations as well. The overall impression of the interviewees was that there is not certain type of Turkish men dress code. In addition to that, men dress code is gradually being Europeanized or more westernized in more general terms. The general distinction between the dress worn in daily life falls into two categories, *klasik giyim* (classic wear) and *spor giyim* (sportswear).¹⁰²

Klasik giyim, which can be also called as formal dress, is mostly associated with slacks, shirts, shoe, waistcoat, woolly, jacket and coat. On the other hand, *spor giyim* refers to t-shirts, sneakers, canvas trainers, jeans, blazer jackets, and so on. *klasik giyim* in everyday life unless not for some particular meetings generally indicates the image of

¹⁰² *klasik giyim*: Semi-formal, informal, business, smart casual. Usually refers to garments such as suits, waistcoat, slacks, ties, formal shirts and jackets and shoes such as wingtips, oxfords, monks, leathers, boots and loafers.

spor giyim: Casual, sportswear. Usually refers to garments such as jeans, t-shirts, shorts, cobra trousers, blazers, sneakers, trainer, sandals, walking shoes.

traditional dress code in Turkish society. Although both types of clothes are originally western and both of them can be modern or traditional, *spor giyim* is highly associated with modern or European style.

One of the main reasons why *klasik giyim* is being more general and traditionalized can be based on the fact that since the foundation of the republic the men dress code, for those have been working in the public institutions, was composed of slacks, shirts, shoes, jackets, ties and waistcoats, particularly in dark colors. It has been an ideal image of modern Turkish men for many years. Furthermore, similar mandatory dress code for the school uniforms consolidated the general ideal image of men dress in daily life as well.

The change in clothing has been seen also in professional attire such as military, police, athletes, sailors, student uniforms. It should be taken into consideration that it has been performed as a state policy. It is the one of the most obvious indicators which shows how the modernization project worked from above to bottom and how it penetrated itself in daily life of Turkish society through dress code.

Professional clothes and uniforms are more than just standardized clothing; they are full of encoded messages.¹⁰³ They are one of the main elements of symbolic violence implemented by those who are in the position of power. Given the fact that Turkish modernization was a state centered project it is important to analyze and understand how members of the Turkish society responded and adapted themselves in this process of transformation and how the situation in today's Turkey is.

However, imposing some certain types of outfits can be employed for other purposes as well. The main aim could be interpreted as the requirement of removing the inequalities and differences among the members of the society in the process of accelerated modernization. Consequently, uniforms and professional dresses serve as the hub in a great wheel of multiple encoded messages. Certain type of clothes as the enforced dress code in working places, public institutions and schools pervaded to the daily life of the society as a common dress mode. Since similar type of garments have been worn and more common in the society for decades, the general perceptions about *klasik giyim* indicated the fact that such type of garments are mostly representing the traditional attire.

¹⁰³ Brian J. McVeigh, *Wearing Ideology* (New York: Berg, 2000), 1-15.

Patterns that show the dichotomy between modern and tradition have been represented and introduced in movies and TV series as well. For instance, in one of the contemporary Turkish TV series called *Yalan Dünya* serve as a convenient model of these patterns. In this situation comedy, the story is about two families who came from different parts of Turkey and have opposite life styles. One is representing very modern and European, the other family is representing traditional and conservative side. While male members of the traditional family are more represented with *klasik giyim*, their modern neighbors are more into *spor giyim* and/or casual type of dress.

The main factors in this distinction can be associated with Turkish modernization process. Ever since the first official attempts to modernize Turkish society, principally structural changes were made. As a result of that Turkish society has been modernized in the public sphere, yet this was not reflected in private life that much.¹⁰⁴



Figure 20 *Klasik Giyim 1*



Figure 21 *Klasik Giyim 2*

¹⁰⁴ Yavuz, *Avrupa'nın Zihin Tarihi*, 175-188.



Figure 22 *Spor Giyim 1*



Figure 23 *Spor Giyim 2*

4.6. Localization of the Global

“Fashion is a *top-down* and *bottom-up* industry.”¹⁰⁵ It is inspired by the people in the street yet it also imposes its own trend to the society. Both sides are not independent from each other. Moreover, fashion replicates clothes or garments from different times and places. Although establishment of the world trends have gained popularity by the process of globalization, there is localization of different type of global dress mode such as because of socio-cultural reasons, shape of the human body, ethical issues and taste.

¹⁰⁵ Johanna Blakley, “Lessons from Fashion's Free Culture,” TEDxUSC Video, 4:35, April 2010, http://www.ted.com/talks/johanna_blakley_lessons_from_fashion_s_free_culture#t-268426.

4.6.1. Are Tight-Fitting Clothes Pushing the Boundaries?

Many of the interviewees, general complaints were about the size and shape of the clothes. Tight and close-fit jackets, shirts, pants and slim lag have been popular in the recent years. However, this trend has not been very welcomed. There are three main factors why this is the case in the mainstream society.

The first factor is about climate. As was indicated in the previous parts of this chapter, Istanbul has moderate climate conditions. During many months of the year it is very warm, and since there is a high influence of the Marmara Sea and Black Sea, the weather becomes very humid and sticky during these times. As a result of that, close-fit clothes make the human body very sweaty and those who wear such clothes more often experiences skin irritation.

The second factor is about practice of the religion. Those who practice Islam and pray five times in a day do not prefer tight garments because of two reasons: first, according to Islamic tenets, Muslims are not recommended to wear garments which throw body lines into sharp relief. Covering body is not the case only for women, but also for men. Second, tight clothes are not practical for praying. One of the practices of formal worship in Islam is called *salat*, or *namaz* in Turkish which is consisted of prescribed actions and words. Standing, bowing, prostrating, sitting on the ground are some parts of it. As the interviewee no. 14 emphasized, for those who conduct salat “...clothes have to be loose and comfortable. I pray all the time and since I conduct salat 5 times in a day, my clothes have to be loose.”¹⁰⁶ He also said that since he has to obey some certain dress code in the workplace, he experiences many difficulties to practice his religion.

The third factor is about socially constructed gender relations. As it was stressed before, Turkish society is highly patriarchal, but at the same time modern as well as traditional. Hence, within such a framework, men and women relations have their own unique pattern and world of meanings. Clothing, as a big part of it, is an indication of certain distinctions between men and women. The new trend in western fashion raised discussions among Turkish men, even who wear such garments. “I cannot wear tight and slim leg pants. I find them feminine. Not good enough for my manhood.” says one of the

¹⁰⁶ Interview by the author.

interviewees.¹⁰⁷ Another one also adds that “...*slim leg pants, tights for men, it is exaggeration anymore... I sometimes also wear such clothes; however they do not look nice.*”¹⁰⁸ He points out that such a transformation or westernization in menswear is changing culture as well. Interestingly tight clothes are not disliked by women either. Almost all women interviewed especially indicated that they do not like skinny pants or any kind of feminine garments on men.¹⁰⁹

The fourth factor is related to some customs and practices in daily life. For example, squat toilets, which are also known as Turkish toilets, are very common in Turkey. Since tight clothes are not very proper for squatting, both toilet and clothing types come into question. Another difficulty is sitting and eating on the floor. Traditionally, many people prefer to eat food on the floor. It is very common among those who came from different parts of Anatolia. In Istanbul there are many families who continue this tradition.

The last factor is associated with the type of the body. “*Turkish women and men do not have standard body size and nothing can stand as beautiful and fit as on the models, unless it is being designed for the body...*” says one of the women interviewed who is also a sociologist.¹¹⁰ She also adds that we have considered the fact that Turkish men are generally a bit bellied. So, slim and fit size garments might not suit perfectly. Although this is the case, among younger generation this situation is changing. Fitness centers and sport halls are full of young men. Being bellied is more common among those who are married and after 30s and 40s.

4.6.2. Modesty Matters

Representing either modern or traditional lifestyles, majority of the interviewees remarked the significance of modesty in their daily life, which means they take notice of their surroundings more often. “*I do not wear things that get negative attention from my surrounding.*” says interview no.4¹¹¹ while another says “*My clothes by default are*

¹⁰⁷ Interview by the author.

¹⁰⁸ Interview by the author.

¹⁰⁹ Interview by the author.

¹¹⁰ Interview by the author.

¹¹¹ Interview by the author.

*standard and commonly acceptable to any cultural environment...*¹¹² The common idea is that they do not care what others wear, yet they care what others say about their outfit. This is a kind of paradoxical situation, yet it can be connected Islamic tenets as well as morals, customs and tradition of a communal society.

4.6.3. Trend in the Street

There are also some outfits and garments which are very open to discussion along with acceptable outfits by the mainstream society. Comments of men and women give a hint in order to rough out the wardrobe of Turkish men living in Istanbul. Instead of asking what they prefer to wear, here the question is more like what actually they do not wear or they cannot even though they would like to try.

The most noticeable reviews are about dissonantly worn garments according to the socio-cultural and localized fashion norms. Those who are not aware of them might get exposed to pejorative attitudes. For example, one of the streetwise interviewee used a word, *kıro* (clodhopper) for those who do not know about these general impressions.¹¹³ While saying that, she adds that white socks with slacks and pointy-toed shoes is a discordant combination. In fact, she is not the only one who said such a thing.¹¹⁴ This issue is more often discussed among the younger generation and women in particular. For them, white socks with black pointy-toed shoes and slacks is a sign of a bad taste.

Secondly, color of the outfits have also significant meaning. For example, some of the colors, such as pink, which are socially and culturally classified, can be a matter of question as well. *“Except pink, I would prefer any kind of color...”* says one of the male interviewees. As was indicated previously, Turkish men mostly prefer plain and dark colors such as black, grey, navy blue and brown. Wearing bright and harsh colors is not only criticized for localized fashion purposes, but also for Islamic principles. As it was discussed before, looking like each other and not being different is appreciated in Islamic way of life. However, this is mainly the case for older and/or conservative people. Young generation prefer to mix almost any kind of color they wish.

¹¹² Interview by the author.

¹¹³ Interview by the author.

¹¹⁴ Interview by the author.

However, as one of the interviewees points out “... *the trend in Turkey is overrated and too stylish. Turkish young men wear too classy clothes.*”¹¹⁵ They create their own fashion. Both old and young generations are mostly aware of the developments, more precisely rise of individualism in the society. People feel more free today compared to previous decades when there was much peer pressure.

4.7. Production of Meaning

From a semiological perspective, vestimentary system or any kind of object is a part of the system of signs. Everything from daily life to a work of high art can be analyzed as an indication too.¹¹⁶ The complementary process of decoding the messages and making sense of linking grids is a whole system in itself. Without going into the details, the significant part of making sense of the entire process is highly related with how we understand the production of meaning. At this point, Barthes remarks that:

The production of meaning is subject to certain constraints; this does not mean that constraints limit meaning, but, on the contrary, constitute it; meaning cannot appear where freedom is absolute and nonexistent: the system of meaning is that of a supervised freedom.¹¹⁷

Clothing is both a material production and symbolic production. The way how we use clothing or/and consume is a meaning-making process.¹¹⁸ As time passes, the things we possess or practice may either lose their current meaning or they gain new a sense of interpretation. As a result, meaning reveals itself in a context in which one might find diverse components.

When we examine the remarkable elements that pertain to Turkish men dress code or style, a few things come to the forefront to be underscored. Although all the pieces require an in-depth research, for the future studies the points highlighted below might be inspirational.

¹¹⁵ Interview by the author.

¹¹⁶ Roland Barthes, *Elements of Semiology*, translated by Annette Lavers and Colin Smith. (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1964), 9-12.

¹¹⁷ Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, translated by Matthew Ward and Richard Howard, (California: University of California Press, 1990), 161.

¹¹⁸ Yuniya Kawamura, *Fashion-ology: An Introduction to Fashion Studies*, Oxford: Berg, 2005, 98-103.

Tespîh (Rosary)

A series of joined beads made from any material; it is usually composed of one set of thirty-three or ninety-nine beads. It is used to mark the repetitions of prayers and devotions or linger while playing with it in hand. For some people, it is considered to be a stress ball that one can use to blow off steam while playing with it. Especially, in the prison scenes of many Turkish movies it is used as an object that indicates time killing and dallying.

Furthermore, it is used as a supplementary object when the image of a *kabadayı* or *külhanbeyi* is constructed. *Kabadayı* and *külhanbeyi* have the meaning of rowdy and bully man in Turkish. *Kabadayı* is a man who is out of step with the rules of society and who has his unique code of honor and rules. A *tespîh* is an inseparable gadget of certain type of *kabadayı*'s dress code as well.

Tespîh is also a part of Turkish art mainly remained from the Ottoman times. The materials used to produce *tespîh* are divided into three main groups: metallic, organic and arboreous.¹¹⁹

Ring

Ring, a circlet worn on the finger is known as *yüzük* in Turkish. It is a finger jewelry indicating affiliation, richness, beauty and marital status. Until relatively recent times, rings have been extremely important to reflect the character of a community and typification or representation of person who wears it.¹²⁰ Apart from certain type of engagement rings, it is still very common among Turkish men, especially among adults and elderly people, to wear different kinds of it. In old times, it was used as a seal by the Ottoman Sultans and officials.

Due to the religious concerns, in Turkish Islamic societies silver rings are preferred by men and golden rings by women.¹²¹ As it was indicated in the first chapter, wearing golden ring is forbidden for men in Islam. The most common ones are known as *hacı yüzüğü* ('hajji's ring') in Turkish (the term *hacı* is used for those who have successfully

¹¹⁹ Mehmet Zeki Kuşoğlu, *Osmanlı Medeniyetinde 33 Kadim Sanat* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2010), 186-191.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 120-122.

¹²¹ Ibid.

completed the pilgrimage to Mecca).¹²² After their journey to the Islamic holy lands, pilgrims used to bring rings as gifts to other people. The reason why this type of ring is called like that is simply because they are more common among religious people. Thus, it is more a symbol of Islamic tradition and local culture.

Earring

Wearing earring is not as common among Turkish men as wearing rings, yet it is significant to highlight since it is contentious between modern and traditional people. Those who prefer to wear earrings are usually young people. Wearing earring is also seen as an indication of being modern. It is not common among traditional families. Apart from being modern, it is also a sign of personal independence.

It is commonly believed that Ottoman Sultan Yavuz Sultan Selim (1470-1520) also had worn earring. This assumption is principally based on an old painting. However, according to many historians the person who was depicted on the painting is the founder of the Safavid dynasty, Ismail I (1487-1524). Although it is not clear who in fact wore earrings, the assumption itself motivates people to justify the use of such a garment by its presence in the history within the dress codes of the ruling powers. Thus, it gives a reason for social acceptance nowadays.¹²³

Although they differ in shape and size, there are mainly two types: the ones requiring ear-piercing and clip-on earrings. Those who have religious concerns mostly prefer to have clip-on earrings without piercing their ears. What is more, it is also important which ear should be used, as those who wear earrings only on their right ear are considered as homosexual by the majority of society.

¹²² Darbeli Matkap, "Hacı Yüzüğü," Ekşi Sözlük, Online Community, 13 October 2004, accessed 28 July 2014, <https://eksisozluk.com/haci-yuzugu--946861>.

¹²³ Uzum, "Küpe Takan Erkek," Ekşi Sözlük, Online Community, 16 December 2002, accessed 26 July 2014, <https://eksisozluk.com/kupe-takan-erkek--2368258?p=1>.

5. CONCLUSION

The main objective of this research has been to prove that Turkish modernization in relation with europeanization or westernization in general terms had severe implications on Turkish men dress code. Today's Turkey is more westernized than any other Islamic country. It has strong traditional roots as well as responsive to any kind developments in the modern world. Being a country between East and West not only geographically but also mentally puts Turkey in a place where one can either embrace or turn his back on any of these civilizations. Based on this consideration, the city of Istanbul has been a space for those who adopt and reject western influence can co-exist. Presenting men dress code of Istanbulites as a sample was to illustrate the governing idea and impression more explicitly.

Turkish modernization, unlike European experience, has given much importance to the formality and appearance rather than its essence and content. On the surface, technically it can be considered as a long process through which many innovations and developments were achieved. However, its content remained very problematic. Adoption and internalization of this state centered project had diverse social, cultural, economic, and political implications. Clothing and apparel as being a part of these dimensions have been very contentious ever since the first changes in the vestimentary system of Turkish people. This process started notably in the first decades 19th century and it still has implications on today's life.

The relation between the governing power and society exposes itself through dress code since the laws enacted to prohibit and/or necessitate wearing some certain garments. The first changes took place in army uniforms during the reign of Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839). The new the dress code was almost the same as any other European army uniforms except the new type of headgear which is called *fez* and amplitude of the dress. The changes started in the army and administration by the ruling powers, who also adopted the western clothes, has spread to the rest of the society. This transformation was more common among the non-Muslim communities. Yet, the mainstream Muslim society was also adapting themselves to the flow. In the 19th century, vestimentary system in the Ottoman Empire started to be influenced by European fashion and Istanbul has been the

center of this transformation. *Fez* and *İstanbulin* (similar to redingote) can be given as an example of the garments used till the republican period.

Right after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, everything was re-organized from the beginning. Drastic changes were made in all areas. Changes made in the field of clothing were one of the most controversial issues and being a current trend of academic and political consumption, they remained alive until today. In order to make a complete change and adopt the whole western type of clothing two official regulations were made. In 1925, Hat Act was enacted and men were obliged to wear only western hat, instead of *fez* or any other headgear. In 1934, certain type of clothes, mostly regarding to the religious types, were prohibited. This situation became widespread as new dress codes and regulations were required in the working places, public offices, schools and so on. Moreover, the complete shift from East to the West in the all areas of the country pushed and/or motivated people to change their lifestyle as well. The new way of life required a new way of dressing as well.

After a few generations, when we estimate the perception of clothing style of Turkish men today, it is easy to claim that the changes imposed from above has been successful. Although there are many differences and diverse clothing styles, the main orientation is continually towards to West. It is not only related to those who only consume, but also those who produce clothes in Turkey. Textile sector in Turkey is mainly producing western type of clothes and export them to both European and non-European countries. Based on this, Turkey has been a place where Europeaness has been reproduced in different ways, at least in clothing style as being emphasized in the framework of this research.

The data collected by means of interviews and observation, show that the East-West dichotomy is revealing itself through the apparel of Istanbulites as well. The most delicate and interesting part of this matter is that the dichotomy is not between very traditional or modern clothes but it is within the western dress code. Ever since the impositions from the above and the first changes in the society, western men dress style has been internalized by Turkish men. One of them main factors behind this internalization process is that Turkish men in many cases are obliged to wear western type of clothes and uniforms such as during their studies, military service or at the workplaces.

As the time passed by, some daily garments such as jackets, slacks, sweater/ vests, shirts and shoes have been considered as a part of the traditional Turkish clothes by the new generations. Whereas the same garments can be seen very modern, certain colors which are mainly black, grey, navy blue and brown tones, and the certain patterns designs mainly related to the amplitude of the clothes indicates the reason behind the common perception. Hence, we can plainly claim that the process of westernizing Turkey has been a process of traditionalization of western dress code as well. The Turkish term *klasik giyim* (classic wear) commonly refers to such a type of clothing.

When it comes to the garments that are perceived as the most indicative of western style, casual and sportswear come into prominence such as jeans, t-shirts, shorts, cobra trousers, blazers, and sneakers. The Turkish term *spor giyim* (sportswear) stands for this type of clothing. Although the garments themselves might not be categorized separately, some particular type of combinations may be a sign for either *klasik giyim* or *spor giyim*.¹²⁴

The distinction between tradition and modern is also very visible between old and young generations in the mainstream society. Those who are above the age of thirty or thirty five are mostly into *klasik giyim* whereas young people are largely into *spor giyim* and new trends in men fashion.

Apart from the mainstream society there are also some religious groups that can be divided into two: those who adopt the western type of clothing and the ones who reject the whole type of garments (except the ones which are acceptable according to Islamic tenets). Those who prefer to Islamic garments are very visible in the main stream society. They primarily prefer to live in some certain neighborhoods where they can meet with adherents of their groups such as *İsmailağa Cemaati* in Fatih district of Istanbul. *Takke, cübbe, sarık, shalwar*, long beards and short moustache might be a sign to recognize them.¹²⁵

However, those who prefer to wear western clothes are not so distinguishable from the mainstream society such as *Gülen Cemaati* adherents.¹²⁶ Yet, sometimes certain type of hair styles, moustaches, ornaments or behavior might give a hint to recognize them. Short hair, almond-shaped moustache, shaved beard and preference of *klasik giyim* might be considered a sign for them. Nonetheless, their apparel is very modern and western.

¹²⁴ See the figures in the previous chapter that illustrate both *klasik giyim* and *spor giyim*.

¹²⁵ See the figures in the previous chapters.

¹²⁶ See the figures in the previous chapters.

The process of Turkish modernization also shows that Turkish fashion has been shaped in relation with the regulations and changes from *above*. Prohibiting some certain types of clothing style and determining the way how people must dress has demarked the edge of Turkish men fashion. This situation also allowed western fashion to influence the vestimentary system in Turkey instantly. Whatever happens in Paris or Milano regarding new type of garments, has been available in a very short time in Istanbul as well. Today, people do not even have to go for shopping or to buy the clothes they desire. Everything is a click away. Together with the development of technology interactions are much faster and money saving.

However, after such a long modernization process, men fashion in the mainstream society has been determined in terms of some certain types of colors, designs and amplitude of the clothes. Except from the seasonal differences, the more common colors are darker tones; they are *klasik giyim* and commonly loose-fitting clothes. Modesty principle in Islam regarding religious tenets and functionality of the clothes while praying or moving can be considered as one of the basic factors why they are shaped like that.

Tides between East and West is very available and explicit in many areas in Turkey. It is available in Turkish cinema, art, music, literature and so forth. Discussions related to this dichotomy is in parallel with the arguments related to modern and tradition aspirations. This situation has created diverse and multifarious discourses about identity, belongingness and world views. The coexistence of adverseness as well as sameness paved a way for multidimensional implications and outcomes. Therefore, this study wished to show that Turkish men dress code can be problematized and discussed in terms of many aspects. This problematization could be summarized and shaped constitutively in the light of Turkish modernization project.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1:

Athanasios Karantz(ou)las, Sultan Mahmud II. Second Half of the 19th Century. Painting. Pera Museum, Istanbul. From: Google Art Project, <http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/entity/%2Fm%2F0t5flp4?projectId=art-project> (Accessed 22 May 2014).

Figure 2:

Doremifasollasi, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. First Decades of the Republic of Turkey. Photo. Available from: <http://dolusozluk.com/?b=Frak&t=1392501600> (Accessed 20 July 2014)

Figure 3:

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. July 2014. Photo. Available From: <http://www.rte.com.tr/tr/foto/ankara-istanbul-yht-hatti-acilisi/654>. (Accessed 28 July 2014).

Figure 4:

Cübbe. Image, Buhara Yaka Hardal Cübbe, 2014. Available from: <http://www.camimalzemesi.com/cubbe-sarik-gomlek/sade-cubbe-5550.html>, (Accessed 25 July 2014).

Figure 5:

Sarık. Image, El Sarması Sarık, 2014. Available from: <http://www.camimalzemesi.com/cubbe-sarik-gomlek/sarik-cesitleri-5756/ozel-sarma-sarik-12.html>. (Accessed 25 July 2014).

Figure 6:

Takke. Image, İslami Moda Namaz Takkeler, 2010. Available from: <http://www.forumacili.org/erkek-modasi/228325-islami-moda-namaz-takkeler.html> (Accessed 25 July 2014).

Figure 7:

A Propaganda Poster Published in the Republic of Turkey during the Atatürk era. Illustration. From: Touraj Atabaki, *The State and the Subaltern*. New York: I.B.Tauris Publishers, 2007. Page ii.

Figure 8:

The Ottoman Empire in 1638. Atilim Gunes Baydin - Self drawn, mainly based on Robert Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris: Fayard (1989). Public Domain. Available from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Ottoman_Empire#mediaviewer/File:OttomanEmpireIn1683.png (Accessed 20 April 2014).

Figure 9:

Die Völkertafel (or Kurze Beschreibung der In Europa Befintlichen Völckern Und Ihren Aigenschaffte). Painting, Anonymous. 18th Century. Available from: Bock (Gießen), Stefanie. "Gender and National Stereotypes in the English Media from 1890 to 1914." *ESE* 2, 2009. http://webdoc.sub.gwdg.de/edoc/ia/eese/artic29/sbock/2_2009.html. (Accessed 23 April 2014).

Figure 10:

The Portrait of Selim III (1789-1807). Painting, 1803. Scanned from: Mehmet Zeki Kuşoğlu, *Osmanlı Medeniyetinde 33 Kadim Sanat*. P. 191. Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2010.

Figure 11:

Fez. Image, 2014. Püsküllü Fes. Available from: <http://www.dunyatuzurizm.com.tr/tr/toptan-puskullu-fes-1191.html>. (Accessed 25 June 2014).

Figure 12:

First Ottoman Students Sent to Europe. Image, 1829. Scanned from: Halil İnalçık and Günsel Renda. *Osmanlı Uygarlığı 1*. Page 371. Ankara: T.C.Kültür Ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2009.

Figure 13:

Darülfünun Graduate Students. Photo, 1911. Scanned from: Halil İnalçık and Günsel Renda. *Osmanlı Uygarlığı 1*. Page 381. Ankara: T.C.Kültür Ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2009.

Figure 14:

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk Kastamonu Gezisi. Photo, 1 September 1925. Available from: <http://www.ataturktoday.com/AtaturkGunlugu/EylulSeptember/1.htm> (Accessed 13 May 2014).

Figure 15:

Süleymaniye Camii'nde Kasketli Cemaate Vaaz. Photo, 1932. Taken from: Ali Satan, *İstanbul'un 100 Yılı*. Page 54. Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, 2012.

Figure 16:

Ülkücü Bıyığı. Image, Uludağ Sözlük Galeri, 2010. Available from: <http://galeri.uludagsozluk.com/tr/%C3%BClk%C3%BCc%C3%BC-b%C4%B1y%C4%B1%C4%9F%C4%B1-32402/> (Accessed 20 July 2014).

Figure 17:

A Poser from May Day. Image, 1 Mayıs Halktır!, 2014. Available from: <http://blog.radikal.com.tr/politika/1-mayis-halktir-58366#>. (Accessed 18 June 2014)

Figure 18:

Adherents of the *İsmailağa Cemaati*. Photo from Online Newspaper. *Takvim*, 19 May 2014. Available from: <http://www.takvim.com.tr/Guncel/2014/05/19/somaya-akin-eden-sakallilar-kimdi> (Accessed 28 May 2014).

Figure 19:

Fetullah Gülen. Photo from Online newspaper. *İnternet Haber*, 17 March 2014. Available from: <http://www.internethaber.com/fethullah-gulenin-ustundeki-ceketin-esrari-650844h.htm> (Accessed 2 July 2014).

Figure 20:

Olgun Şimşek, actor. Photo from website of the Turkish TV Series called *Yalan Dünya*, 2013. Available from: <http://www.kanald.com.tr/YalanDunya> (Accessed 15 March 2014).

Figure 21:

Altan Erkekli, actor. Photo from website of the Turkish TV series called *Yalan Dünya*. Available from: <http://www.kanald.com.tr/YalanDunya> (Accessed 15 March 2014).

Figure 22:

Sarp Apak, actor. Photo from website of the Turkish TV series called *Yalan Dünya*. Available from: <http://www.kanald.com.tr/YalanDunya> (Accessed 15 March 2014).

Figure 23:

Öner Erkan, actor. Photo from website of the Turkish TV series called *Yalan Dünya*. Available from: <http://www.kanald.com.tr/YalanDunya> (Accessed 15 March 2014).

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ANNEX: INFORMED CONSENT INFORMATION AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS' FORM

This form is for people living in different parts of Istanbul and who are invited to participate in research titled “Men dress modes in the light of Turkish Modernization Project”.

Information:

I am Murat Tutar, doing my master’s degree in Euroculture. Currently, I am doing a research on men dress modes in Istanbul.

The Erasmus Mundus Master Program "Euroculture – Europe in the wider world" is a unique, interdisciplinary and interuniversity Master of Arts program of 120 ECTS (four semesters). It is recognized by the European Commission as an "Erasmus Mundus Master of Excellence".¹²⁷

- Home University: Jagiellonian University in Kraków
(Web: <http://euroculturekrakow.com/>)
- Host University: Palacký University of Olomouc
(Web: <http://www.euroculture.upol.cz/>)

You do not have to decide today if you will participate in the research. Before you decide, you can talk to anyone you feel comfortable with about the research. If you do not understand any given information please ask me to stop as we go through the information and I will take time to explain.

Turkish Modernization Project has many implications not only on political and economic issues but also social and cultural life. Accordingly, it is also assumed that Turkish men’s clothing style and dress modes went through a period of change.

¹²⁷ MA Euroculture. *About Us*: <http://www.euroculturemaster.eu/Aboutus/Default.aspx>

The purpose of these questions is to understand today's perception, disposition and tendency of Istanbulites in terms of choice of men clothes and to find connection with the implications of Turkish modernization if there is any.

You are being invited to take part in this research, because your experience as a citizen of Turkey living in Istanbul can contribute much to our understanding and knowledge of perception, disposition and tendency of men dress modes in today's Istanbul.

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. It is your choice whether to participate or not. Your personal information will remain anonymous.

It will take around 15-30 minutes. You do not have to answer all questions. If you have any questions, you can ask them now or later. If you wish to ask questions later, you may contact me via e-mail or by phone:

- E-mail: murat.tutar@uj.edu.pl & tutarmurat34@gmail.com
- Phone: +90 505 810 7444

Thank you very much for your time and contribution in advance.

QUESTIONS FOR MEN

1. What considers you or what do you pay attention while choosing and buying clothes? What kind of fashion do you follow?
2. Generally speaking, how do you find menswear/men dress in Turkey? What are the garments unique to Turkish people? Do you wear any of them?
3. What are the factors concerning social and cultural environment that you take into account while choosing clothes? (Do you care about the opinion of others?)
4. What kind of clothes or garments you cannot wear even though you want? (Do you feel any pressure from your family, neighborhood and environment?)
5. What are the garments and men clothing styles that you do not like in Turkey? How do you think people in Turkey dress like (Western, modern, eastern, traditional, Islamic, etc.)?
6. Are you interested in the advertised products in media (in fashion, etc.)? Have you ever bought any of these products? Why and why not?

7. Having a long hair, wearing earrings, having tattoos, having piercings, plucking eyebrows, depilation, having beard or moustache, applying henna to hands, wearing bracelets and/or necklaces: Have you ever done any of these (or other things not here). If not would you like to do? Why and why not?
8. Do you prefer to dress different or like others? Why?
9. Is there any difference between the clothes that you wear in your workplace and in your daily life? If yes, do you have any difficulties in this regard? What are the norms that you do not like about the dress code in your workplace?
10. Lastly, is there anything more that you would like to add and comment?

QUESTIONS FOR WOMEN

1. Do you ever buy clothes for any male you know (such as husband, brother, father, lover etc.)? What considers you or what do you pay attention while choosing and buying clothes?
2. Are you interested in the advertised products in media (in fashion, etc.)? Have you ever bought any of these products? Why and why not?
3. Generally speaking, how do you find menswear/men dress in Turkey? What are the garments unique to Turkish people?
4. What are the garments and men clothing styles that you do not like in Turkey? What kind of clothes and garments that Turkish men should not wear?
5. How do you think people in Turkey dress like (Western, modern, eastern, traditional, Islamic, etc.)?
6. Having a long hair, wearing earrings, having tattoos, having piercings, plucking eyebrows, depilation, having beard or moustache, applying henna to hands, wearing bracelets and/or necklaces: Do you ever recognize any of them for men or are there any that you cannot tolerate? Why?
7. Lastly, is there anything more that you would like to add and comment?