

SIMPLE AND CIVILIZED  
DISCOURSE ON CLOTHES AND MODERNITY IN THE EARLY TURKISH  
REPUBLIC

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF  
IZMIR UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS

BY

SEDA KULELİ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE  
OF  
MASTER OF DESIGN  
IN  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

MAY 2009

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

---

Asst. Prof. Dr. Alp Limoncuođlu  
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Design.

---

Prof. Dr. Tefik Balcioglu  
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Design.

---

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Xander van Eck  
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Gulsüm Baydar

---

Asst. Prof. Dr. Neslihan Demirtaş

---

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Xander van Eck

---

ABSTRACT

SIMPLE AND CIVILIZED  
DISCOURSE ON CLOTHES AND MODERNITY IN THE EARLY TURKISH  
REPUBLIC

Kuleli, Seda

MDes, Department of Design Studies

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Xander van Eck

May 2009, 86 pages

This thesis analyzes the rhetoric of the modernization of clothing in the light of the Hat and Attire revolution in Turkey. Representing modernity with clothes became a government concern with the beginning of the modernization movement in the late Ottoman period. The transformation to a modern look was completed after the establishment of the Republic. In the construction of the new image of the Turkish nation the Hat Revolution and related laws and regulations have played a major role. Though Turkey was not the first country to forge a national identity with clothes, it had its own way of implementing this transformation through a set of legal regulations and governmental propaganda.

Keywords: Modernization, gender, nationalism, dress (fashion)

ÖZET  
SADE VE MEDENİ  
ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİNDE KIYAFET VE MODERNİTE ÜZERİNE  
SÖYLEMLER

Kuleli, Seda

Sosyal Bilimler Yüksek Lisans, Tasarım Çalışmaları Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Xander van Eck

Mayıs 2009, 86 sayfa

Bu çalışma, Şapka Devrimi ışığında Türkiye'deki kıyafette modernleşme söylemlerini incelemektedir. Modernleşmenin kıyafetlerle temsiliyeti Osmanlı'nın son dönemlerinde başlayan Türk Modernleşmesiyle bir devlet meselesi haline gelir. Modern görünüme dönüşüm cumhuriyetin kurulmasından sonra tamamlanmıştır. Türk ulusunun yeni imajının oluşturulmasında Şapka Devrimi ve takibeden bir dizi kanun ve düzenlemelerin önemli rolü olmuştur. Kıyafetlerle ulusal kimlik oluşturma konusunda Türkiye bir ilk olmasa da bu dönüşümü yasal düzenlemeler ve devlet propagandası yolu ile gerçekleştirmesi açısından özel bir yeri vardır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Modernleşme, cinsiyet, milliyetçilik, kıyafet

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I express sincere appreciation to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Xander van Eck for his guidance and insight throughout the research. Thanks go to the other faculty members, Prof. Dr. Tevfik Balcıođlu, Prof. Dr. Glsm Baydar, Asst. Prof. Dr. Őlen Kipz, Asst. Prof. Dr. Neslihan DemirtaŐ, Asst. Prof. Dr. Christopher Wilson, and Dilek Himam for their suggestions. The technical assistance of my husband Aykut Kuleli is gratefully acknowledged.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .....	iii
ÖZET.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
CHAPTERS	
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1. CLOTHING REGULATIONS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.....	7
1.1. Polarizing Influences of Westernization.....	11
1.2. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Constitutional Era and Women’s Reactions.....	12
1.3. Ideals of Westernizers in the Late Constitutional Era.....	14
2. ATATÜRK ON CLOTHES.....	17
2.1. Questioning the Veil .....	18
2.2. The Hat Revolution .....	24
2.3. The Example of the French Revolution.....	28
3. THE HAT CODE AND OTHER CLOTHING REGULATIONS .....	31
3.1. Discussions in the Parliament.....	32
3.2. The Influence of the Law on Women’s Clothes.....	38
3.3. The Law Banning Religious Costume in 1934.....	40
4. POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE REACTIONS.....	43
4.1. The Reactions in Society.....	43
4.2. The Reactions of Minorities.....	44
4.3. The Discussions in the Media.....	45

5. THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY AND THE GOVERNMENTAL PROPAGANDA.....	50
5.1. The Establishment of Sumerbank.....	54
5.2. Sumerbank Ads.....	58
6. THE RHETORIC ON DRESS AND MODERNITY IN POPULAR MAGAZINES.....	62
6.1. Popular Magazines.....	64
6.2. Magazines for Housewives.....	69
6.3. “Old versus New” in a Caricature.....	71
CONCLUSION.....	74
REFERENCES.....	79

## LIST OF FIGURES

### FIGURE

1. Sultan Mahmut II	08
2. A Constitution Poster (1908) 30	29
3. İnkılap Yolunda, Zeki Faik İzer, 1933	29
4. Atatürk introducing the Hat in Kastamonu	31
5. Poster of Domestic Products	52
6. Sümerbank Summer Clothes	59
7. Sümerbank Peasant Family	59
8. Sümerbank Urban and Peasant	60
9. The civil code and the change in marriage and dress	63
10. Modern Turkish Youth	65
11. Sporty young girl with bicycle	65
12. Dance Academy	66
13. Agile Generation	66
14. Cover “Need for Camping”	67
15. Article “Need for Camping”	67
16. An interview on the beach: “Haremde Selamlık”	68
17. An interview on the beach: “Haremde Selamlık”	68
18. Recycling the old dress and making a new one for a 4 years old girl	70
19. The fashion of 1942	71
20. The Fez becoming a feminine accessory	72



## INTRODUCTION

During the building of the “Modern Turkish Nation” several social regulations were introduced. One of them was the “hat and attire revolution”. It consisted mainly of the introduction of modern Western clothes. This thesis is concerned with the discourse on clothes and modernity in that period. There are two reasons why it is an interesting field. First, it can throw more light on attitudes towards modernity in the early Turkish Republic. Second, it can add to the discussion on the modernity of clothes in fashion theory. Thus the central question that this thesis will try to answer is:

“How was modernity defined in relation to clothes in the early years of the Turkish Republic?”

In order to find answers to this question I will look at the rhetoric that was used by Atatürk in his speeches, in the law making process related to the hat and attire revolution, the rhetoric of reports and opinions in the press, and the written and visual rhetoric of magazines and advertisements used to promote and sustain the promotion. Two theoretical contexts can help us to interpret these sources: First, the historical debate about the modernization before and during the revolution; second the discussion of modernity in the discourse of fashion theory.

The roots of the concept of “modern appearance” started in the late Ottoman Empire Period. The first Ottoman Westernization attempts were made under Mahmut II. He replaced the traditional martial clothes with uniforms in order to obtain a disciplined,

European style army. (Özer, 2006: 16) The European Military was already familiar with the connection between the notions of the uniformity and discipline. But despite the initiations in Ottoman period the Kemalist project had a different prospect. The establishment of the secular nation state in 1923 marked a crucial turning point in Turkish history.

Under Atatürk it was attempted to bring Turkey into the European economic, cultural, and political milieu as an equal partner. To achieve this target many cultural bonds with the Ottoman past were cut through a series of westernizing reforms such as changing the alphabet from Arabic script to Latin, adopting the Swiss Civil Code, and replacing the Ottoman fez with the European-style brimmed cap.

One of the main differences between the modernization movements before and after the revolution was the way the respective governments approached the subject. Ottoman governors were seeking to revive the old glorious days so all changes were happening in the context of “renovating the old”. The government of Turkish Republic, on the other hand talked about a total reformation. It was lead as a national project of broad reform even in the extent of revolution in many fields all around the country. (Belge: 2007) Nevertheless the way it was organized as a governmental project shows different features than the birth of modernization in Western European societies where it evolved gradually.

İlhan Tekeli examines the modernization movement looking from today’s perspective and makes systematical statements about the phases it has been through.

“In Turkey the political ideals embedded in modernity project that is claimed to be universal, increases at the same time a strong resistance to it. It was

taken as East-West dichotomy which is the denial of the universality of the project from the beginning. Today it is easier to observe the universal aspect of the modernization project but at the initial stages of modernization it was no surprise that it is considered to be “westernization”. And it was not only the Ottomans or Turks taking East versus West as a dichotomy which makes them non-transformable to each other, but the Orientalism emerged in Europe had been supporting this dichotomy. Replacing the universal notion of “human” with two categories as Eastern and Western and to assume them to have completely different essences constructed a notional boundary to the transformation. For a man to consider himself becoming Western instead of Eastern is not the equivalent to a transition from pre-modern to modern. The first understanding leads to change of identity and loss of essence. Becoming modern indeed may happen without losing identity. (2007: 32-33)”

Tekeli’s theory gives a better clue about realizing the difference between the ideologies of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic approaching modernization. The beginning of modernization in the Ottoman Empire was built on the understanding of “Westernization”. And this understanding gave way to endless discussions on the benefits or disadvantages of becoming “Western” in Tanzimat (reorganization) literature. (Mardin, 2007) The republican ideology perhaps was aware of the difference the approach could make. In the early Republican rhetoric, emphasis on the notions of “modern” and “contemporary” is considerably dominant. (Çiçekoğlu, 1998: 147)

This change from traditionalism to modernity is also what makes the introduction of modern clothing in Turkey such an interesting test case for fashion theory. According

to many fashion theoreticians and historians, the “men’s suit” is one of the most remarkable items in fashion history, for it is a product of modernization. It is the “modern” dress that entered in the Western European scene in the late eighteenth century and endured until today. The invention and rise of men’s suits together with modernism caught the attention of fashion historians Richard Martin, the curator of the Costume Institute in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, who describes the relation of men’s clothing to modernity as follows, “If women’s fashion may be said to be so significant, men’s fashion is similarly a sign and register of the modern.”<sup>1</sup>

Another theoretician, Anne Hollander emphasizes this relation between modernization and men’s clothes in more detail in her book “Sex and Suits”. Her statements and theories about the suit will be my frame of reference when talking about modernity in the fashion theoretical context, just as Tekeli provides the frame of reference for the discussion of modernity in Turkish history. Hollander defines modernity in the suit as follows:

According to Hollander modernity in fashion begins with the introduction of three piece suits around eighteenth century. She states that the tailored suits “put a final seal of disapproval on gaudy clothes for serious men, whatever their class” (1995:9). She goes on to specify what is modern about the suit:

“... a complete envelope for the body that is nevertheless made in separate, layered, detached pieces. (...) the separate elements of the costume overlap, rather than attaching to each other so that great physical mobility is possible without creating awkward gaps in the composition. The whole costume may

---

<sup>1</sup> in the preface of “The History of Men’s Fashion”

thus settle itself naturally when the body stops moving so that its own poise is effortlessly resumed after a swift dash or sudden struggle.” (1995:8)

Apart from being a kind of abstract composition that makes it possible to move easily, the suit has little ornamentation and is universally flattering because it does not insist on specific bodily detail. (1995: 9) As far as women are concerned, Hollander states that female fashion lagged behind in modernity (just consider the elaborate and uncomfortable dresses of the nineteenth century) and it was only slowly starting to adapt elements of male fashion. A very important step was the introduction of the *deux – pieces* in the beginning of the twentieth century. Hollander:

“There was nothing modern about the modern women’s clothes until the female imitation of the modern male scheme was gradually accomplished during the course of this century. Emancipated women seeking to modernize their clothes found no better way than imitate what men had done a century earlier, copying the idea of a loosely fitting envelope that would reveal its own clear tailored shape while suggesting that of the body under it and allow concerted movement of invented dress and living body together.” (1995: 9)

The challenge of this thesis is confronting the Hat and Attire Revolution of Turkish Republic under Hollander’s theories. We will see that all the arguments that were mentioned by Hollander, in favor of the suit like the simple beauty, practicality and democratic associations attached to it were mentioned formerly in Atatürk’s rhetorics. However the resistance of society to new dress code led to the emergence of a rhetoric on part of the pro-government media emphasizing less the practical and modern qualities of the new dress code but rather producing counter arguments

against fundamentalist critics and instead to produce answers to the rhetorics of fundamentalist critics. As this thesis will show the focus of the broader debate in society soon shifted to the question whether the hat code was an infringement of religious liberties.

## CHAPTER I

### CLOTHING REGULATIONS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Atatürk was not the first one to introduce clothing regulations. Indeed Mahmut II was the first to become known as a modernizer leader in this respect when he introduced the notion of *Alafranga* (European) to Turkey with an emphasis on clothes. (Özer, 2006) He began a series of serious changes of the organization of the Ottoman Government by replacing the Janissary corps in 1826, with a modern, European style disciplined and trained Ottoman Army, named the *Nizam-ı Cedid* (meaning New Order in Ottoman Turkish).

According to Barbarosoğlu, during the period starting with Mahmut II's era until the announcement of the Constitution (1876), the traditional clothing of Ottoman Empire was partly given up and fashionable western clothes were introduced to the society. Time by time clothes evolved more and more into a western tendency. Male clothes evolved into western clothes due to a compulsory cultural change during Tanzimat and female clothes adapted western style by the Constitutional Era (1908). (Barbarosoğlu, 2004: 110-111)

During the growth period of the Empire (1453-1683), the Ottomans considered their civilization superior to the West and there was no need therefore as part of them to imitate West. With the beginning of the stagnation (1699-1827) an explanation was sought and the first reasons were explained simply as “government's decay” or “the

West developed a superior army”. (Mardin, 2007: 9-10) The reign of Mahmut II is the first time that the Ottoman elite accepted that the West was superior in terms of military and laws. (Özer, 2006) <sup>2</sup>



Fig. 1 Sultan Mahmut II (From [www.ansiklopedim.info](http://www.ansiklopedim.info))

New uniforms were introduced after 1826, based on western examples. The clothes of military officers and the high bureaucracy were to be the European style frock coat (*setre*) and the redingote (European cut long jackets buttoned up from front) or cloak, instead of the traditional robe (*cüppe*), caftan or short jackets (*cepken*). Trousers replaced the shulwar, baggy trousers (*çakşır*) or jodhpurs (*potur*). Even the beard that was the symbol of masculinity in Ottoman culture was shortened during the reign of Mahmut II. Robe and Turban were only permitted to imams and

---

<sup>2</sup> The period of Mahmut II is a milestone for Ottomans to accept the superiority of West and attempt to westernize the society. The reason for the change in the Ottoman Paradigm is that the first breakaway from the Ottoman Empire, with Greece gaining its independence in 1821 had happened in the reign of Mahmut II. Non-Turkish ethnic groups living in the empire's territories, especially in Europe, started their own independence movements. The increasing nationalism tendencies of ethnic groups have ended the Ottoman being the “cihan devleti” (world’s state) and became the ground of the reactive Turkish nationalism. (Özer, Küçükaliolu.)



ministers of religion. Mahmut II also championed this change personally and appeared in semi-Western clothes. (fig.1) He banned the turban and replaced it with the fez. He received some reactions from the public but it did not result in a social resistance movement. (Özer, 2006: 16-18)

The newly adopted Tunisian fez became the standard headgear to all ranks of the army together with the European style uniforms. As a beginning fifty thousand fez were ordered from Tunisia. The use of uniforms by the army brought out a need of organized production. These clothes were the first in the Ottoman Empire to be mass produced and it was natural that the manually produced handcrafted fabrics could not satisfy the requirements of mass production.<sup>3</sup> In an effort to take production of uniforms and headgear in local hands, starting from 1827, fabric factories were established in Istanbul and in Izmir. (Arığ, 2007: 21)

Abdülmeçid I succeeded Mahmut II and in his reign (1839-1861) the reforms continued in the governmental area rather than in the military. A notable reform in clothing was that the turban was officially banned for the first time during Abdülmeçid's reign. The Tanzimat period (1839-1876) is the most well known period of renewal in the nineteenth century. The Tanzimat reforms in 1839 had immediate effects on social and legal aspects of life in the Empire, such as European style clothing, architecture, legislation, institutional organization and land reform. It consisted of more systematic legislation and promise of social change. With another package of rules called the Reformation Decree (Islahat Fermanı), the government announced constitutional reassurance on religion and individual freedom. The

---

<sup>3</sup> Formerly the different shapes and colors of the headgear of janissaries were identifying the military ranks. Hand craft productions allowed unique designs and productions. With the adaptation of the fez as a part of uniform the requirement of mass production came along. It was meant to be the beginning of mass production of clothes in Ottoman Empire.

judicial inequality between the Muslim majority and minorities officially ended. (Özer, 2006: 44)

Tanzimat had different outcomes in four different domains. In the political domain the goal was to create a state with a central authority. In the military domain a modern and constant army was developed. In the individual domain, private property was recognized and larger freedoms were promised. Finally in the socio-cultural domain, elements of western daily lifestyle were adopted. First the Court began with adopting European fashions. With the change in lifestyle came the adoption of European kinds of entertainment such as theatres, plays, music, and dance; European style clothing and hairstyles had become fashionable in public, too. For the army the frock coat (*setre*) and trousers were already prescribed. In the Tanzimat period shirts with stiffened collars and cuffs and neckties started to be used with this suit. And this kind of clothing was also considered fashionable among the young generation. (Özer, 2006)

The Tanzimat, causing unsuccessful results in the diplomatic and politic arena did not satisfy the expectations of the Ottoman Citizens with its revolutions, which were often criticized for being superficial. So the wish for a better stronger Ottoman Empire shaped during the Tanzimat period, developing into a demand of a constitutional government. (Özer 2006: 37-38) The intellectuals longing for a stronger Ottoman Empire and sharing the same ideals were gathering in illegal organizations, calling themselves “The Young Ottomans”. They supported the ideal of a Constitutional Monarchy. So they promoted Abdülhamid II, who promised to establish the constitution and parliament, against his uncle Abdülaziz I. Abdülhamid II became emperor and he kept his promise to establish the constitutional monarchy.

In 1876, imperial abdication (Hatt-ı Hümayun) and the constitution (Kanun-i esas-i) were announced, and parliament members were elected. The short constitutional experience was ended by Abdülhamid II in 1878 with the pretext of the Russian War and social unrest. The parliament was suspended until 1908, the beginning of the second constitutional era. (Özer, 2006)

Abdülhamid II's reign is not easy to oversee in its consequences. There are different regulations for Palace and Public. The veil was outlawed by Abdülhamid II in 1892 in the palace for he was concerned with the criminal aspects. On the other hand for the public outside of the palace, decrees were announced to force women to cover themselves more and more. Şahin explains that the veil was not popular among the women of the palace and even the women coming to the palace were obliged to put on long coats instead of a veil. The reason for this regulation was that the veil made people unrecognizable and Abdülhamid II was suspecting that some men would disguise in veils and enter the palace to attack.<sup>4</sup> (Şahin, 2006: 72) Arıĝ also notes that the reason for this kind of regulations was said to be that Muslim women covered with a black veil could be confused with mourning Christian women. (Arıĝ, 2007: 23-24)

### **1.1. Polarizing influences of Westernization:**

Şahin gives more information about the era looking at it from different angles. She points to the social system behind the growing emphasis on veiling. The increasing interaction with Christian women, especially the Russians influenced the clothing choices of the urban women of the Ottoman Empire, mainly in Istanbul. The Westernization of women's clothes was criticized for being too extreme, as more

---

<sup>4</sup> During his reign, Abdülhamid was plotted to two assassination attempts. This risk was his motive to outlaw the veil inside the palace. (Özer, 2006)

revealing clothes became fashionable among Muslim women. These changes were the main reason for women's clothes to be in discussion according to Sahin. As women began to participate in the occupational fields, they became more visible in society. The functional requirements were pushing the evolution of clothes. Hence the influence of European fashions became more dominant. On the other hand the westernization of women's clothes incited reactions from within society and these reactions gave way to a veiled, more covered look of women. Even the long full coat (*ferace*) began to disappear, being replaced with the veil. (Şahin, 2006: 40) The modernization movements of the Ottoman Empire had resulted in a reaction that led to more oppression of women in their daily life, especially where clothing was concerned. (Şahin, 2006)

Another statement of Şahin is indicating the distinction between rural and urban clothes. She claims that the traditional rural women were less troubled with covering or revealing. Şahin quotes from notes of various travelers mentioning that in cities it was not possible to see women in public, but in villages such as Doğanhisar near Konya in 1895 Sarre observed Turkmen girls who were not accustomed to put on veils. Neither the legal regulations nor the European fashions were followed in rural Ottoman lands. (Şahin, 2006: 41- 44) Şahin continues to quote from Letters from Istanbul, that Sultan Abdülhamid II had fixed ideas about the veiling of women. He often announced decrees about thick veils, longer coats (*ferace*). The women in cities especially in Istanbul were subject to this kind of pressure. (Şahin, 2006: 43)

## **1.2. 2<sup>nd</sup> constitutional era and women's reactions**

The Ottomans had to wait another 30 years to get a constitution established once again in 1908. The decree of the Second Constitutional Era was celebrated in centers

such as Istanbul, Izmir and Thessalonica as the announcement of liberty. Nevertheless, after a short period of two months, literate women started to write that the liberation only served men's purposes, women were still imprisoned at home, and the ones who dare to demand their liberty were corrected violently. Feminist authors such as Emine Semiye, İsmet Hakkı, Naciye Aziz Haydar began questioning "male civilization" asking "do only women need amendment?" They invited the women to fight for their rights asking "Who shall we expect to develop womanhood". (Sirman, 1999: 57–59)

The veil was a subject in the protests of women in 1908. Women and teenage girls clad in European style clothes demonstrated in the streets completely enveloping their necks with veils (*çarşaf*). After World War I, women started to give up wearing veils completely replacing them with a headscarf tied under the chin which was more practical in a working environment.

According to Şahin, another result of the interaction between European fashions and veiling obligations of Muslim women was an evolving fashion in veils among the chic women of Istanbul. Women getting used to the influences of European clothes continued to borrow the fashions of Europe and adapted their veils and coats into the fashion. An evolution in *çarşaf* and *ferace* is observable in the fashion magazines of the period. The *çarşaf* was a single piece of cloth only emphasizing the waistline with a gathering. Following European fashion influences, women started to use fitted veils, transparent headscarves that reveal hair, and sleeveless coats. It was an extreme change to observe that some women started to choose some styles which looked like men's uniforms. World War I influenced the attitude towards clothes. Women had to be clad more functional, for fabric shortage occurred when much was reserved for

the military. (2006: 73) Still the fashion interest of women incited reactions once again and in 1917 a government announcement declared that the skirts should be longer, corsets should be avoided, and women should wear a thick “*çarşaf*”. (2006: 72)

### **1.3. Ideals of Westernizers in the late Constitutional Era**

The conflicting clothing regulations, some “pro-Western” and some conservative find their parallel in the intellectual debate of the period. In the magazines they published in 1912, proponents of Westernization introduced some ideas, which are seen to foreshadow the republican revolution. They consisted of the following:

1. Education of the court, especially sultan’s sons.
2. Replacement of traditional headwear and fez with a more contemporary version.
3. Participation of women in the social arena.
4. Abolition of “dervish lodges”.
5. Changing of madrasahs into modern education foundations that educate regarding Western methodologies. (Özer, 2006: 42)

The will to westernize was growing stronger among Ottoman intellectuals. According to some of them it was the only way the Empire could progress. However the difficulties in implementing a western bureaucratic system in traditional Ottoman society and the ongoing negative results in politics and the military were a foundation for the development of contrary ideals. A fundamentalist discourse was building against the wish for Westernization, blaming the imitative behavior of

Westernizers for the loss of sacred values. This polarization was reflected in conflicting clothing regulations. (Özer, 2006)

Taking modernity as a concept that belongs to the West proved to be a major problem of Turkish modernization movement. It appears from the clothing discussions that the movement towards the West triggered a renewed traditionalist discourse. As the will to “westernize” grew, and as the unsuccessful results were received, the reactive discourse developed further, too. Especially modernization of women’s dress became a centre of these discussions.

The clothing traditions were changing in the Ottoman Empire as it was changing in Europe. The penetration of new clothes into Ottoman society was slow due to legal regulations. However the change of daily life giving way to differentiating functional needs was challenging government policies. The regulations could not stop some women from dressing “fashionable”. Ironically 1918 is the year that fashionable women of Istanbul gave up wearing the veil. Turkish women could dress freely in the way they wanted to, without fear of punishment for the first time in 1918, when the Ottoman Empire was occupied by European forces. (Şahin, 2006: 91)

The need to change the attire traditions in the Ottoman society appeared because of two main reasons. The first one was functional relating to the discipline requirement of the regular army. It was a modernization in the sense that more visual evenness was reached and manufacture was industrialized.

The other attempts at modernization like the introduction of the men’s suits in Mahmut II’s era were done in the context of trying to become an equal partner of the modern European society.

The Westernization of women's clothes was never prescribed with official regulations. The regulations concerning women were usually repressive. Still many women started to follow European fashions based on individual preferences and the pro-Western atmosphere in certain circles. The negative reactions to the change in women's clothes indeed proved that wearing European clothes became an ideological choice.



## CHAPTER II

### ATATÜRK ON CLOTHES

As Atatürk tried to forge a new identity for the Turkish people, his interest in clothes is no surprise. This chapter will deal with what Atatürk has said, mostly in his public speeches, about clothing reform. First we will look at how he addressed women's clothing. It will appear that he focused mainly on the veil and its disadvantages. After that the "Hat Revolution" will be discussed. When he talked about men's clothing, Atatürk's proposals were much more positively formulated. The "Hat revolution" consisted of a fierce attempt to introduce the European-style suit, and to replace all current men's headwear by the *Şapka*, the European-style hat with a brim.

As explained earlier, before the Hat and Attire Revolution, the public was already introduced to the modern clothes of the West. Some people were wearing hats; some were wearing the fez, others the quilted turban or other religion-indicating headwear. In the Ottoman Empire, clothes were intensely used by the majority and minorities as signs of their identity. The influence of democratizing Europe was felt and the public demand for equality, liberty, fraternity and justice put the wish for changes in the clothing regulations on the agenda of Ottoman intellectuals. As the new parliament emerged in Ankara claiming to replace the Empire, the influence of these ideals shifted to Ankara.

## 2.1. Questioning the veil

Even before the new Republic was formally established, Atatürk began to declare his intention to change the vesture of the nation. The first signs of his determination appear in his early speeches. He started to deal with the veil delicately in the context of modernization, comfort and logic. During one of his visits to İzmir in 31 January 1923, he spoke to the public and discussed his concerns about the role of women in society. He talked about the need of educating the women and he mentioned his concerns about the way they were dressed:

In towns and cities, the veil of women attracts the attention of foreigners the most. The people who are looking at this are thinking that our women see nothing. Nevertheless the veiling that is because of the religion must be simple enough not to disable them from their activities or challenge their modesty. The shape of the veil or dress should not isolate women from their life or her existence. As a last word about this, I would say that our mothers should have educated us differently. They did as well as they could have. However our level today is inadequate in terms of today's needs. There is a need of different people with a different understanding and a different maturity. The ones who will educate these are the mothers of the next generation.” (Sevim, Öztoprak, Tural, 2006: 453-454)

As we see, his discourse was focused on the veiling of women in cities and towns and he often emphasized that the exaggerated enveloping of dress was limiting the activities of women. He announced the important role of Turkish women as the “mothers of the nation” so that they would be educated and participate in social life. He gave examples of his own experiences with the women in Anatolian villages. He

mentioned that women were not less intellectual or productive than men especially in the rural areas. For Atatürk they were both capable of taking care of the household and making money. On top of that, women were also aware of the national problems.

In his following speech in Konya on March 21<sup>st</sup> 1923, he discussed the importance of female dress in terms of representing national identity, criticizing excessive veiling and excessive revealing. He focused on the dignity of the women displaying a careful tone about the veil, criticizing the “over-Westernized” dress codes of women, too. He praised the altruistic, brave women fighting together with their men side by side, stressing the equivalence of women to men and carefully avoiding to challenge the belief of the public in Islam and Sheri’a. Atatürk began his speech with an emphasis on the importance of appearance for the “image of the nation”. He argued that women must develop in society to help achieve a national leap forward. I am giving a long citation of his argument to show the subtle nuance of Atatürk’s speech:

... There are accusations by our enemies and those who look superficially. They do not know our women who are never behind the men in terms of skill, service and altruism. There are those who claim that our women are living lazily, having no relation with knowledge and development, and no interest in civilized and social life, that they are deprived from everything, and they are prevented by Turkish men from life, the world, humanity, work. (...) Those who see and introduce Turkish women falsely are deceived especially by looking at the appearance of women dwelling in big cities, which are considered to be developed and civilized. They use the appearance of those women as a ground for their negative views about us. They extrapolate the meaning that they see in the appearance of that minority of women who are

relatively limited in number in the whole nation. This is the first mistake to be corrected, the first truth to be announced. (...) Our enemies are judging based on the appearance of those women and say: Turkey cannot be a civilized nation, because the Turkish public is made up of two segments. It is separated into two as men and women, nevertheless when a society does not walk towards their vision together with all women and men; it is scientifically impossible that it develops and civilizes. This image that misguides our enemies emerges from the way that our women are dressed up and veiled. Another reason is that the behavior and manners of our women who are in relation with foreigners are not the symbols of our national manners, but imitations of European manners. It is true that in some parts of our country especially in big cities, the attire is no longer our style. The clothing style of our women in cities is appearing in two different ways: Either (extremely) veiled or (extremely) revealing. (...) The veiling recommended by our religion is suitable to life and virtue. If our women were clothing themselves as our religion prescribed; they would not be veiling or revealing that much. The modesty requirement of Islam is simple and it is nothing to cause a difficulty in contribution of our women in society, in economy, in life, and in science, as compared to men. (Sevim, Öztoprak, Tural, 2006: 540-541)

He separated the urban and rural women and focused his criticism on urban women, especially those dwelling in Istanbul. He was also critical about the way that the women were passive in social life, and he named the clothes as a reason and mentioned that religion should not force women to be isolated from life. Like this, he apparently tried to avoid offending people's religious convictions.

Atatürk continued this speech with an example of a British journalist appreciating the delicate Istanbul women dressed up in fashionable European clothes. He warned the women who only focused on “being chic as well as European Women” would be missing the focus of the real challenge, which is to start the revolution in the lives of our women, and carry it on to the happy revolution of our nation. He underlined his approach to the matter of womanhood and claimed that form and appearance of clothing was a secondary problem for Turkish women. (Sevim, Öztoprak, Tural, 2006: 543)

We notice that the way he was addressing the public was changing, and his discourse about clothes was getting sharper. In his earlier speeches in Izmir or Konya, he was much more careful in mentioning any change in the way of clothing or addressing any statement about religion based veiling and clothing. Perhaps the achievements in social regulations, following the war, had strengthened him. He was even more outspoken in Inebolu on 28 August 1925.

“During my trip I have witnessed that our female friends, not in villages, but especially in cities and towns, are covering their faces and eyes intensely and carefully. Especially in this warm season I guess that this style is bringing torture and discomfort. Male friends, this is the creation of our selfishness. This is the result of our virtue and carefulness.

But my respectable friends, our women are also human beings who are understanding and receptive. (...) They should show their faces to the world and see the world with their eyes. There is nothing to be scared about that.”  
(Sevim, Öztoprak, Tural, 2006: 655-656)

I see women in some places, they hide their faces putting a piece of fabric on their head or turn back to the men walking by or kneeling down on the floor. What is the meaning of this behavior? Dear gentlemen, the mother or the daughter of a civilized nation is not supposed to be in this weird position. This is a situation that humiliates our nation and should be reversed immediately. (Sevim, Öztoprak, Tural, 2006: 661)

Atatürk insisted on women getting rid of veils and revealing their hair in each meeting he attended. However he did not make any legal regulation about it even during the hat and attire revolution (see Chapter III). But all of Turkey knew he was defending the idea of revealing the hair. (Karlıklı, Tozan, 1998: 72)

In 1927 Mevhibe Inonu attended the first Republic ball with a V neck dress and she revealed her hair. That night Atatürk thanked her gently for turning up in front of the crowd without a veil or scarf. Celal Bayar's wife Reşide had difficulties in giving up the veil. Her daughter told the story as follows:

“She attended a party with a special Turban (Russian Style) covering her head. Atatürk approached her and asked why she did not reveal her hair. She was surprised and excited to answer. My father just came and said that she would never cover her head again, and after that she did not” (Karlıklı, Tozan, 1998: 72)

On the surface, Atatürk's remarks could be characterized as a repetitious complaint about the veil. But in the meantime, they clarify a lot about the reasons why he devoted so much attention to how Turks were dressed.

By far the largest percentage of the passages quoted above is concerned with the

image of Turkey in other countries. We can be sure that this was a genuine concern for Atatürk himself, since it was important for him that the Turkish nation was taken seriously by other (modern) people and their governments. On the other hand, he used the argument that the veil gave a wrong impression rhetorically, to allow his public to view itself with foreign eyes and convince them that a change was indeed necessary.

Secondly, he went to great lengths to show that it was not religion that he wanted to abolish; repeatedly stressing the fact that none of the changes he proposed would be contrary to religious demands. At the same time he balanced his complaints about heavy veiling with complaints about clothing that is too frivolous and “westernized”. Finally, he stressed that the clothing traditions which covered women excessively were developed in some cities, differentiating the urban women from the ones who lived in rural areas. According to Atatürk these severe traditions did not reflect the real character of the nation.

Thirdly, several remarks show that the clothing revolution Atatürk pursued had the equality between men and women as one of its main goals. Repeatedly, he stressed how men and women should both be productive and educated, and even in war fight side by side. To realize the goals of the revolution, women were needed, for their own contribution and because they educated the younger generation. In his speech in İnebolu, he explicitly turned to the men and warned them that they did not have the right to force certain items of dress on women out of “selfishness” (he probably means jealousy here). Apart from practical arguments, he used the principal humanistic argument that women are not less than men.

Connected with several of the statements above, are his remarks about the practicality of clothes. Excessive veiling is constraining for women, it makes it impossible for

them to work or to participate in most social activities. It also shows a poor understanding of the needs of religion. These things are what makes foreigners think that Turkey is old-fashioned, that women can't play a role in society, and are not equal to men.

A modern nation needs modern clothes. It is not clearly defined how those clothes look, but it is clear that they don't include the veil.

## **2.2. The Hat Revolution**

Where Atatürk talked mainly about what to abolish when he addressed the subject of women's clothing, he was much more specific about what men were supposed to wear. His prescriptions centered on the *Şapka* (European-style Hat), the symbol of the new modern clothing, which also included the accompanying suit and shoes.

Before his introduction of the Hat in Kastamonu in August 1925, Atatürk met some people at the municipality and had some conversations with the public and asked for a tailor to come. When the tailor came, he pointed at the tradesmen and artisans in the hall who were wearing cassocks and shulwars and asked the tailor: "Which one is cheaper; the outfit with the shulwar or the recent international suit?" and as the tailor answers "the international one is cheaper" Atatürk turned to the public and claimed, "there you see. These suits are cheaper and they are simpler. Our local clothes are more expensive and you can produce one more outfit using the same amount of fabric." Turning to a tradesman: "show me your fez" and he continued "there it is the skullcap, the silk turban, and fez... the money we spend for each of them is going to foreigners." (Baytimur, Demircioğlu, Çelikoğlu, 1981: 43-44)



He continued with a short speech about the necessity of civilization. He emphasized his belief that the mentality and ideology of society must change. He voiced his criticism on the whole Turkish and Islamic world. He thought their mentality was not adapted to the scope and rise of civilization. It was the reason for regression although the change already achieved within the last 5-6 years improved the conditions of the country. The modernization of Turkey had started and according to Atatürk, it was an irreversible process. He perceived civilization as such a strong fire that “burns and destroys the ones who are disinterested in it”. As a modernizing leader he believed in the necessity of “development” to avoid destruction and share the welfare and felicity of mankind. (Baytimur, Demircioğlu, Çelikoğlu, 1981: 44)

Here Atatürk’s vision about civilization and how he places clothes in the context of civilization is visible. He names the new international clothing in the context of reason and in terms of material consumption and thriftiness.

Atatürk declared the new regulations about wearing the hat first in Kastamonu at the 27<sup>th</sup> of August in 1925. He introduced the hat with his speech to the public, while wearing a hat himself:

Gentlemen, the Turkish public that established the Turkish Republic is civilized. It is civilized in history and reality. But I, as your brother, friend, father say you that the Turkish public if it claims to be civilized, will have to prove its civilization with its ideas and ways of thinking. The Turkish public that claims to be civilized must show its civilization by its family structure and life style. Finally, the civilized public of Turkey that is claiming to be civilized must show it in actual fact with their appearance from head to toe. I must clearly explain my last words so that the whole country and the world

understand what I mean. I ask you: Is our clothing national? Is our clothing civilized and international? (Cheers) I agree with you! Forgive me for my metaphor but the clothing which is “irrelevant” is neither national nor international. So, is there any nation without clothes? Are you ready to be described that way? Is it meaningful to show a very precious ore coated with mud to the world? Is it right to say, “the ore is hidden in the mud, you do not understand”? It is necessary and natural to throw away the mud to show the ore. If it is necessary to protect this ore, the protection should be made out of gold or platinum. Shouldn't it? Is it right to hesitate against such clear truth? If there are still some of those who are leading us to hesitation are we going to hesitate to decide about their foolishness and obtuseness?

My friends, there is no need to search about Turan clothing [Turan is the ancient Iranian name for Central Asia, SK] and revive it. The international clothing of civilized societies is fitting to us, to our very precious national ore. Feet with either low cut shoe or ankle boot, legs with trousers, vest, shirt, tie, (collar) and as a complementary to all a type of headwear with a brim. I would like to say it clearly: the name of this headwear is HAT. Like the redingote, like the bonjour, like the smoking or the frock, here is our hat. Some may say that it is not appropriate. Let me tell them: you are absent-minded or heedless. And I would like to ask them why the hat is not acceptable while the fez; the Greek headwear is acceptable? (Baytimur, Demircioğlu, Çelikoğlu, 1981: 70)

The range of reasons Atatürk gave in order to convince the Turkish people of the necessity of switching to suits, hats and ties, was even greater than that of his arguments against the veil.

The key-word Atatürk used here was civilization. Again, the comparison to other countries was sought, not from the perspective of shame this time, but from the perspective of equality. The core of the argument is something like this: Civilized, modern people outside Turkey wear modern clothes; the Turkish nation is, in fact, a modern nation, but this is not yet visible on the outside; to make inside and outside one, the Turks should start to wear modern clothes, too.

Very smartly, the possible objection that Turkey would betray its Turkishness by adopting “Western” or European clothes was countered, first by avoiding the word European or Western and using the more neutral word “civilized” instead, then by saying “international” and “national” were actually the same thing (the rationale behind this again being that there was already a shared core of “civilization”, and as this was shared by the majority of the population, it was by definition “national”).

Furthermore, turning everyday logic around one more time, several of the “traditional” clothing fashions were stigmatized as “foreign”, by calling the Fez “the Greek headwear”, for instance.

Just as in the case of women’s clothing, practicality and economy were important according to Atatürk. When he spoke to the small pre-speech public in Kastamonu where the tailor was present he didn’t say that the new suit permitted more freedom of movement, but he stressed that it was easier and cheaper to make, and would take less fabric. On other occasions though, for instance when he talked about the proposal to re-arrange the clothing of the government officers, he did use the argument of usability, calling the suit “practical and tested in terms of every aspect as science or health.” (Baytimur, Demircioğlu, Çelikoğlu, 1981: 43-44)

The final rhetorical trick Atatürk used was one that didn't need words: At the moment he announced the change he had in mind, he wore a hat himself for the first time in public, reportedly to the great enthusiasm of the Kastamonu public. His example alone was reason enough for many of his admirers.

For three months after the Kastamonu visit Atatürk made several trips to other cities to promote the hat. After that, parliament would join his effort by proposing the Hat Law that will be discussed in Chapter III.

### **2.3. The example of the French Revolution**

“The way of veiling must be simple in appearance, safe for walking, accepting the natural and simple form that religion, old national traditions, logic, morality and virtue commends (...). The primary challenge for our women (...) is to get equipped and adorned with light, wisdom and virtue of truth.” (Sevim, Öztoprak, Tural, 2006: 543)

When we read citations like this, we realize that the notions Atatürk used about women's liberty, virtues and enlightenment, just as the paragraphs about “civilization” considering the men's suit, resemble the rhetorics used during the French Revolution. It is no surprise, considering the influence that the French Revolution Rhetoric already had on Tanzimat Intellectuals, an influence that grew even stronger when the Republic was founded. (Kadioğlu, 1999:89)

Representations of the female body in the popular arts of the French revolution functioning as a symbol of liberty, equality and justice (Landes, 2003) similarly began to be transferred to the rhetorics of the Ottoman intellectuals.



Fig.2 A Constitution Poster (1908) (Kadioğlu, 1998: 89)

In the poster of the Second Constitution above, the notions of “liberty, equality, justice and fraternity” were mentioned (in French) together with a female figure. It was a typical representation of the politics and discourse of liberty that was developed through the most repressed ones: “the women”. (Kadioğlu, 1998)



Fig. 3 İnkılap Yolunda, Zeki Faik İzer, 1933 (Bozdoğan, 2002: Cover)

The Kemalist revolution showed its revolutionist self-consciousness most clearly when it represented itself with French Revolution imagery. With the establishment of the secular republic in 1923, the inspiration from the French Revolution became even

more explicit than in the late Ottoman period. The painting *İnkılap Yolunda* (On the Path of the Revolution, 1933) by Zeki Faik İzer (Fig. 3) is one of the remarkable artistic expressions of this inspiration. It is an adaptation of “Freedom at the Barricades” by Delacroix dated 1830. The Turkish public is rebelling against the darkness of the old regime and the public is enlightened with the science (Bozdoğan, 2002: 72).

Wendy Parkins notes that clothing became invested with political significance during the (French) revolutionary period, from the wearing of the national cockade to proposing a national civil uniform. Debates around dress at this time were focused on three main concerns: eliminating class distinctions, distinguishing public officials, and shaping a national identity (2002: 4-5).

## CHAPTER III

### THE HAT CODE AND OTHER CLOTHING REGULATIONS

(1925-1934)

In 1925, Atatürk stopped in Çankırı on his way back from Kastamonu to Ankara on the 31<sup>st</sup> of August, and he claimed that there was no need for a law to civilize the attire. The public would decide and act. “We adapted all details of civilized clothes.” Officers and parliament members must be the guide of the public by adapting this properly. (Baytimur, Demircioğlu, Çelikoğlu, 1981: 116)

After the nine days long Kastamonu visit, people around Atatürk started to appear with the hat. Some were able to find a fitting hat and some were not. They have been photographed together with Atatürk as the first Turkish men with hats. (Karlıklı, Tozan, 1998: 31)



Fig. 4 Atatürk introducing the Hat in Kastamonu (Karlıklı, Tozan, 1998: 32-33)

But as this chapter will show, these spontaneous beginnings were soon to be followed by laws and regulations anyway. Atatürk returned to Ankara on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September the council of ministers decided that government officers (except for military officers, judges and religious functionaries) should wear the European suit which was “the costume of the civilized world” and the hat. (Ariğ, 2007: 57)

Around the same time another governmental decision was published about religious costume. Imams (religious officials) were obliged to wear a white Turban and a black robe. They were supposed to wear them when they were on duty. Off duty they could wear the “civil costume”. People who were not officially religious representatives were not allowed to wear costumes signifying religion. The ones who attempted to do that anyway could be imprisoned for one year. (Ariğ, 2007: 57)

On October 16<sup>th</sup> Refik Koraltan, the parliament member of Konya, proposed a law to legislate the Hat. The discussion about it started on the 25<sup>th</sup> of October. The motive of Refik Koraltan was that “the hat has no real significance, but for Turkey that wishes to be one of the civilized modern countries, it has its special significance. (Goloğlu, 2007: 167) For him the hat was a symbol of modernization while the fez was an exclusionary dress code separating Turks from the other nations.

### **3.1. Discussions in the Parliament**

There was only one voice of opposition from the parliament. Bursa representative Nureddin Pasha objected the proposal, issuing an opposing statement that mentioned his concerns about the challenges of the proposal to the constitution.



1. Some of the deputies proposed legislation for wearing the hat, as if no procedure of regulation had started yet. The truth is that on September 2<sup>nd</sup> the board of ministers decided to make officers wear the hat by a governmental decree number 2413. The board also attempted to introduce legislation for the general public. If this legislative request aims to make the hat problem a matter of law, this shows that the council of ministers was going beyond their authority.
2. The new proposal concerns the parliament members. It is well known that parliament members are not officers; they are equal to the public. In addition to general natural rights, under legislative immunity they have absolute freedom. Therefore this kind of law does not suit the parliament membership and naturally is not acceptable.
3. Article 103 of the constitution states “No law can be laid discordant to the constitution.” However this proposal is discordant because of the following statements of the constitution: Article 3, “The sovereignty unconditionally belongs to the nation”; article 68, “Each Turk is born free, lives free”; article 70 “Every Turk has a natural right of personal immunity, conscience, thought, expression, work, owning and using property”; article 71 “ Vitality, property and others are protected from attacks”; article 73 “torment, torture, violence are forbidden”; and article 74 “Nobody can be forced to sacrifice anything”. Therefore any law that would contradict these articles could not be recorded. This kind of law limits freedom and work rights so it challenges the spirit of the constitution and it causes contradiction with the notion of the Republic.
4. For these reasons I do recommend:

- a) The rejection of this law draft for it is against the constitution.
  - b) The cancellation of the decree which is exceeding the authority of the Council of Ministers, (contradicting the Constitution, and it is also incompatible with the “Peace Law” (takrir-i sükun).)
  - c) To avoid the practice of the process, this is against the constitutional rights and national sovereignty and personal immunity of the public.
- (Goloğlu, 2007: 168-169)

Nureddin Pasha’s arguments confused the other parliament members, especially those who developed the idea of the “Hat Code”. Their reactions give us more insight in their motives and their fears. The responses to Nureddin Pasha reacted to more than just his proposal. With his objection, he embodied all fundamental reactions which were expected to return, in the eyes of pro-revolutionists. They were probably already expecting reactions from the fundamentalist wing. Religious groups opposing the government had already spread some banners on the walls in Sivas on the 14<sup>th</sup> of November, and other rebellion movements based on religious attitude followed that. On the 24<sup>th</sup> of November, when the hat code proposal was about to be discussed, there was a rebellion in Erzurum. (Gologlu, 2007: 174) These rebellious events triggered reactions towards conservatism. Though it was formerly announced by Atatürk that there was no need to make a law about wearing the Hat, soon the parliament offered the law, as the hat received some reactions from society and became an indicator/symbol of fundamentalism or revolutionism. Any different idea that stands against the “modernization project” was considered an enemy to be eliminated

With his ideas against the proposal of the hat code, Nureddin Pasha had become an easy target in the eyes of the pro-revolutionary forces. He became an example of obscurantism. His statements, about the challenge of constitution which might have been taken more seriously in less turbulent times, were not even considered and evaluated and they were lost in the context of the political agenda. The literature about the discussions in parliament generally does not include any comments, they briefly present records giving the impression that Nureddin Pasha got the answer he deserved from the “majority”, as he was a single person standing against numerous members.

It seems like the revolutionists developed the idea of preserving the hat with a law in an attempt to counter the violent reactions of the fundamentalists. Rising temper caused loss of equanimity on their side too and the discussions in the parliament shifted into another context, in which the revolutionists perceived more reasons behind the will of keeping the old clothes. The reasonable points in the contrary proposal of Nureddin Pasha were ignored. Instead of answering the arguments of Nureddin Pasha, Refik Bey, the owner of the proposal, blamed Nureddin Pasha for being unable to represent his city in which the public already had started to wear the hat. Two other members denied its relation to the constitution; one of them said that he felt shame hearing the hat, the shirt, the redingote, and the handkerchief being related to the constitution. “Who can challenge the constitution by wearing the hat? The constitution is not relevant to such unimportant stuff like the hat, fez, and kalpak. It organizes the principles that the public depends upon.” (Gologlu, 2007: 171)

The Antalya member, Rasih Bey trying to prove that clothes have nothing to do with religion and belief, gave examples from religious stories to justify the law: “The prophet Muhammad wore the dress, which was given him as a present by Damascus governor of Rome Empire, without making any change. For it was tightly fitting and he had to take it off before he started the ritual of ablution (abdest) but he never mentioned that it was inappropriate to wear because it was too tight or because it was the gift of a Christian.” For him even the Prophet was not troubled by wearing Christian clothes so it would not be a problem for modern people who believed in his religion. And he stated that it would not be a matter of accepting Christian clothes, for other Christian items such as pant, tie, and shirt were already accepted. “If it was an issue for you to wear Christian clothes, you did accept to wear the pant, the tie, the shirt and others like them earlier and when it came to the hat it was suddenly considered as a problem! If we are concerned with the things which are not banned by religion, if they have any harm or effects we may have damage the public. We will not become Christians because we wear the hat. Did the Jews become Christian for they wore the hat? Did Indian Zoroastrians become Muslims for they are wearing the turban? So religion has nothing to do with these.” (Goloğlu, 2007:172)

Another member from Izmir claimed that the proposal of Nureddin Pasha was a rebellion against the Turkish public’s decision. The Turkish public wore the hat with the will of their heart. To be critical about it is not to be concerned with the public’s conscience. However the duty of the governors is to be aware of the public conscience. If the public accepted a form, the government has to legislate it. If five or ten people rise in rebellion against the public’s will, the government has to punish them and save the conscience of the public. According to him the people should obey the laws which are suitable to the conscience of the public. The punishment of the

ones who do not obey these laws is a responsibility towards the whole nation. He also directs his criticism towards Nureddin Pasha and says that he is just listing constitution articles but does not indicate the contradiction between the law and these articles. So there is no relation between those articles and the law proposal. (Goloğlu, 2007: 172-173)

The parliament members debating Nureddin Pasha, denied any relation to the constitution in their responses. They were saying it was the least important thing in the agenda of the modernizing Turkish Republic. This contradicted their eagerness to make a law about wearing the hat. The parliament members supporting the proposal were aware that it affected the religious attitude of the public. On the other hand with their reactions they denied that it forced the conservatives to contradict their belief. If it was not a denial, it was ignoring the importance of challenging their religious concerns.

The law contained three articles and after long discussions that took three days it was accepted with the vote of the majority:

1. It is obligatory to wear the hat, which has already been accepted by the Turkish nation, for the officers and employees of the public, private or local administration and the members of the national assembly. The headgear of the Turkish Public in common is the hat and government forbids continuation of any contrary habit.
2. This law is valid starting from its publication.
3. The National assembly commission of executives is executing this.

(Karlıklı, Tozan, 1998: 38- 39)

The law does not specifically define which kind of hat it is. The word *şapka* (hat) is used which specifically referred to European style hats, which typically had a brim.

Historians note that contrary to the claim in article 1, adaptation to the hat took big effort. A change in the head gear had already started. The kalpak was the symbol of national war and it was respected. Furthermore Greeks were wearing the hat and it was already at the center of the public attention. (Ariğ, 2007: 49) These public oppositions and reactions will be discussed more in the Chapter IV.

### **3.2. The Influence of the Law on Women's clothes**

The first legal regulation in clothes was made in men's clothes and it started with the headgear. The central government did not issue any legal regulation concerning women's clothes. But the civil code that was translated and adapted from the Swiss Civil Code of the time and accepted on 17 February 1926 did have important indirect consequences.

Women's clothes were treated more carefully than men's clothes, for they could be a focus of discussions on morality. The civil code played an important role in the modernization of women's clothes as it changed their social status.

The code was not only about the rights of women. It organized the inter-familial affairs which were known as the private domain. This law regulated private relations. It defined the "new man" who can control his life and private properties, just like the Pashas of the former period. In Ottoman society only the owners of big houses, pashas and governors were respected as "autonomous individuals". Their sons, daughters, poor relatives, housekeepers, some neighbors, and their sons or daughters in law were identified by their family name. (Sirman, 1998: 37) The Republic

promised an equal society. The patriotic spirit of the early revolution advanced women's rights to a certain extent but there was still a lot of ground to cover. In the civil code finally rights of the women were recognized – they became persons in the eyes of the law, they got the right to vote, they got rights to freedom in their choice of marriage and within the marriage they became equal to men. Although to adapt it in daily life took big effort and a long time, the consequences of the civil code on women's clothing were huge in the end as it gave women the right to decide for themselves what they wore.

After the civil code there were local regulations banning the veil and the face shield. The local governments of some cities and towns such as Tirebolu, Trabzon (1926) Giresun (1927), Sivas (1928), Muğla, Kemaliye (1934), Rize, Siirt, Adana, Ordu, Bodrum, Fethiye, Konya, Zile, Aksaray, Çorum, Ilgaz and Afyon (1935) had banned the veil and face shield. (Arıç, 2007: 140, 152, 153) The reasoning behind these regulations was once again based on security concerns. People wearing the veil and face shield were able to disguise themselves. After voting rights for women were recognized by the government, the identification difficulties that the veil caused provided the municipal authorities with a reason to ban the veil.

Even though there were never clear laws stating positively what women were supposed to wear, in some areas a kind of modern “national dress” for women developed. Many women, especially those active in the republican movement, started to wear jackets and ties. For women working for the government, teachers included, at a certain moment clothing regulations became effective, apparently prescribing a (long) skirt, a jacket and a tie (Toska 1998: 86).

### **3.3. The law banning religious costume in 1934**

Whereas women's clothes were never explicitly discussed in a law, religious costume was. After the hat code in 1925, the second law concerning clothes issued by the government was published in an official bulletin on December 13 in 1934. It was entitled on the banning of certain vestments. The complete text is given here in order to be able to discuss its rhetorics below:

Law number: 2596

1. It is prohibited for religious officers to be wearing the clerical vestment outside of their temples and except for rituals whatever religion they may belong to.

The government may permit only one official of each religion or denomination to wear the clerical vestment outside of temples and ritual durations, if they find it appropriate. At the expiration of this permission period, it is possible to renew the permission of the same religious officer or to pass the permission to another one.

2. In Turkey, organizations such as scouting or sporting clubs and communities, clubs and schools that are established or will be established in accordance with the law are permitted to carry the appropriate vestment, symbols or equipment when they want to, only if they are suitable to definite types with the regulations or by-laws.
3. Turks and foreigners resident in Turkey are prohibited to carry the clothes and equipments related with foreign countries political, military and territorial reserve organizations.



4. Foreign organizations visiting Turkey with their own clothes and equipments are due to the permission of authorities which will be constituted by Execution Assignees Commission.
5. Officers of the Turkish State must obey the international customs.  
The limitations of place and time to wear their official uniforms by members of army, navy, and air force of foreign countries coming with private permission are decided by Execution Assignees Commission.
6. A regulation is arranged that shows the application counterpart of this law.
7. The clauses of the first article are valid following six months after the publication, and clauses of other articles are valid starting with its announcement date.
8. The executing officers of this law are the Execution Assignees Commission.

(Karlıklı; Tozan, 1998: 41)

According to Arıĝ, the main goal of this law was to forbid the wearing of religious costumes in public in order to reduce the control of the clergy over people's lives. Seen in this light, it might be argued that the rest of the law text was written as a kind of smoke screen to cover up the real reason behind it. For instance, the law is entitled "About the banning of certain vestments". Apart from religious costume, indeed other costumes were addressed as well, like the uniform of the scouts. This might be explained as a way to avoid naming religion in the title of the law. On the other hand, if one looks at all articles separately, every one of them can be seen to address a genuine concern about possible counter-revolutionary forces, whether they were religious, political or military.

In fact, the laws and regulations concerning all three groups mentioned in this chapter, the men, the women and the clergy, can be seen to reflect this same concern, always with an emphasis on promoting secular clothing (the hat code) and discouraging religious attire (the local regulations on veils and the law on the banning of certain vestments). Although the government in its rhetorics always emphasized the positive side of the changes (civilization, democracy, the will of the people), those representing the old order certainly interpreted these laws as attempts to counter the force of religion.

The parliamentary discussions about the hat code show that this process posed a problem for the revolutionary members – the western clothing that was supposed to represent values like democracy and civilization, had to be forced on a whole people, against possible legal objections.

## CHAPTER IV

### POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE REACTIONS

#### 4.1. The reactions in society:

The hat code was accepted in a period when the “state of emergency” was current. Nevertheless the public showed some reactions against the law in different parts of Anatolia such as Malatya, Sivas, Kayseri, and Erzurum. (Arıĝ, 2007: 72) the reactions of opponents give us more insight in the way the clothing revolution was perceived in society.

The rebellion in Erzurum resulted in the conviction of 33 people. It was organized by two Muslim preachers Gavur İmam and Hacı Osman. Their motive was that “the government was giving up religion”; “women’s morality was damaged”. (Goloĝlu, 2006: 174,175)

Another event happened in Kayseri one day before the law was passed. 300 turbaned men demonstrated against the law. The four leaders of this demonstration were executed by the Ankara Independence Court. (Karlıklı, Tozan, 1998: 38)

The day when the law was passed there was chaos in Sivas. Imamzade Mehmet Efendi was executed by Independence Court on 28<sup>th</sup> of November in 1925. In Maraş and Rize similar events followed. Hundreds of people were convicted to prison and leaders were executed. According to Goloĝlu other events that had happened in other cities were showing similar characteristics. The reactions came from Islamic

Fundamentalists who wanted to provoke the society but could not get sufficient support. Nevertheless the punishment towards these events was tough but Goloğlu also notes that only those who organized or participated in rebellions were punished, not the people who rejected to wear the hat. (Goloğlu, 2006:17.)

One of the executed leaders was Iskilipli Atif Efendi. He was well known among the religious fundamentalists. He published a book “the Imitation of the European and the Hat” in which he claimed that wearing the hat was equal to the denial of Muslim religion. He quotes from the prophet Mohammad “The one who imitates the appearance of a nation becomes one of them.” (Karlıklı, Tozan, 1998: 38) What he said probably reflects the general opinion of the protesters from all over the country.

Suleyman Nazif, a writer from the newspaper Son Telgraf, as a response to Iskilipli Atif Efendi stated that no other mattock can dig the grave of Islam deeper than this author. Religion is holy. We do not carry it on our head, back or foot but we do keep it in our mind, heart, conscience and belief. (...) The narrow-minded author of this booklet has no right to portray me and 20 million Mohammedans as people having no belief. (Karlıklı Tozan, 1998: 38-39)

#### **4.2. Reactions of Minorities**

Compared to these violent events, the reactions of the religious minorities in Turkey were much milder. Arıĝ notes the records of the security department archives about the reactions from multiple religious communities after the law that banned the religious costume (1934). The limitations of the law caused some difficulties in the daily lives of those minorities and their official applications for some further regulations about their social requirements were archived by the security department:

Neofit, the leader of Bulgarian Orthodox Congregation of Edirne, asked for permission for the special ceremonial costume for the reason that according to Orthodox belief a funeral must be taken from home to church then to graveyard together with a priest and this priest must be clad with the special costume. On 04.06.1935 the Turkish Greek Catholic Metropolitan Bishop also applied to the Istanbul province for permission to wear the religious costume beside the sick, in residences during the wedding ceremonies or baptismal ceremonies. In July 1935 the province answered that they were allowed to wear them in residences, churches, church yards, funerals, births or wedding ceremonies. These ceremonies should take place at the church and it is not allowed to occupy other places like hotels. (Ariğ, 2007:94)

In the pro-government press, examples of the other religions were used to make it easier to bring forward the main arguments against the defenders of the old ways. The writers discussed the position of minorities to help Muslim communities to look from a different angle to similar arguments and to develop a common critical discourse on matters that might possibly reverse the revolutions. As those arguments about the clothing of the “other” communities were easily accepted by Muslim majorities, it would be a safe and indirect way of criticizing Islamic fundamentalists.

### **4.3. The Discussions in the Media**

Ariğ quotes from several newspapers and magazines of the period. Some communities accepted the principle even before the law was made. Pope Eftim, the representative of the Turkish Orthodox community, announced that he already banned wearing the religious costume outside the church before the law was made (from Cumhuriyet on 30 November 1934). He claimed that there was no religious

order bidding the popes to wear cloak and cassock, and there were no religious officers wearing cassock and cloak in the streets of civilized societies. (Arıġ, 2007: 1996)

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of December in 1934, Naci Akverdi claims in an article in *Ayn Tarihi*, (no: 13) that this ban of religious costume was necessary because the titles of pashas, beys, etc gave them extra social status and privilege among the citizens which might cause an abuse of authority. These titles have been abolished, but people having the still existing titles of Hodja, priest and rabbi should not appear in costumes that enable them to receive privileges from people or cause them to look as if they are demanding respect. (Arıġ, 2007:98)

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of December there is a statement in an article in the newspaper Cumhuriyet, saying it is a necessary law because of the priests who are teaching at the Frer (Franciscan) school in Istanbul were traveling in France with bowler hats but when they were back in Istanbul they were clad in their cassocks and gowns. Now they can feel more comfortable. (Arıġ, 2007: 99)

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of December Ebuzziyade reports in the newspaper Zaman that some Greek newspapers are risking Turkish-Greek relations with some publications. They are giving so much importance to their clothes outside the church and this is humiliating Orthodoxy, meaning that it is depending upon 4m of fabric. It would not remove Orthodoxy if only 40-50 priests were prevented to wear black satin dress and nobody will take the religion away from the Orthodox public of Turkey. Finally there is no relation between belief and dress. (Arıġ, 2007: 98)

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of December (1934) Cumhuriyet criticized the news in the Greek media. “It appears to be that our Greek friends were very much in love with the Priest’s Cloak. In Turkey we have made a law that clergymen will wear their costumes in their temples. This caused apocalypse in Athens. Greek newspapers started to whine about “loosing religion” just like our own fanatic adherents<sup>5</sup>. If Christianity or orthodoxy is 5-6 meters of fabric, doesn’t it force all Christians to wear that costume? ... (Ariğ, 2007: 99-100)

In Cumhuriyet on the 11<sup>th</sup> of December: the Greeks living in Istanbul claimed that they disagreed with the news about the law in Greece. A Greek in Istanbul said that the majority of the Greek community in Istanbul, even many of the priests were happy about this decision. The reason that Athens was reacting was the never ending political competition of the parties. (Ariğ, 2007: 104)

While the local media was busy with the promotion of the new dress, the changes in Turkish society had some reflections abroad. Islamic societies and western societies focused on different characteristics of the revolution:

By 1919 all Islamic populations were colonial possessions. The Islamic Communities used to be against the “Tanzimat” of the Ottoman Empire for they considered it a compromise to Europe, but they were inspired by the Turkish Independence War and Revolutions. Nevertheless they still hesitated on the matters of women’s rights, unveiling women and giving up the fez. As the fez was the symbol of Islam the ban of the fez and accepting the hat code was considered to lead away from religion. (159-151-152) Only Amanullah the king of Afghanistan and Shah of Iran (Rıza Shah Pehlevi) tried some clothing revolutions and they received hard reactions. (Koloğlu,

---

<sup>5</sup> [of Islamic belief, SK]

2007: 153-154) The Turkish public answered to these reactions by making songs about the fez being the symbol of captivity. (Koloğlu, 2007: 155)

Some European countries, which were in relation with some minorities in Turkey such as Greek and Bulgaria supported the idea that it is unacceptable to see the priests in a different costume than the spiritual one, in general. They had discussions in their media how the priests should be dressed and it was rather acceptable to move the patriarchate to Thessalonica than giving up the spiritual costume. (Arığ, 2007: 115) Some other Western countries especially mention their appreciation of the liberty of women in Turkey. But the London Times of 9.2.1935 changes the direction of the discussion and states that it is nothing new in Turkey that the women are free from the veil. It was already known by travelers that Turkish women were freer than their Persian or Arabic Muslim sisters. This revolution was rather going back to the origins. (Koloğlu, 2007:126)

The protests against the law came from the religious side, in Turkey as well as abroad. The communities of different religion groups had different attitude towards the law. In Turkey, the protests of certain groups of Muslims were by far the most vehement, and they were punished heavily by the government. The minority religions were much more modest in their reactions, probably because they needed the support of the government to survive. Representatives of these religions abroad, who had less to fear, were more outspoken in their criticism.

It is interesting to see that even in the press there is hardly any mention of the effects of the modernization of clothing, and the debate focuses completely on the religious issue. All the arguments in favor of the suit that were mentioned by Hollander like the simple beauty, practicality and democratic associations attached to it were



ignored by the pro-government media. Atatürk on the other hand very parallel to Hollander's arguments emphasized the functional and practical aspects of new dress code. This may have had to do with the fact that these notions of practicality and simple beauty had as yet little relevance in the daily conversation of the pre-industrial, pre-modern society that Turkey still was at the time. The symbolic values embodied in clothes were much easier debated. As a result, the journalists who supported the revolution were forced into a defensive position by the existing or imagined religious powers, and it apparently became their priority to convince the people that the arguments of those groups were not valid. The velvet gloves with which they handled this subject, for instance by writing about other religions when they actually directed a Muslim audience, only show how much they were in awe of those religious forces.

**CHAPTER V**

**THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY AND THE GOVERNMENTAL  
PROPAGANDA**

The government held a leading role in the industrialization movement, and made major investments to guide private entrepreneurships and influence the construction of a national identity. Establishment of “Sumerbank” was an important step towards that target. The factories, their social facilities, and products were designed to achieve the dream of a “Modern Turkey” and they represented the ideology of their period. (Asiliskender, 2004) In the 1930s Turkey was reshaping as the rest of the world changed. Sumerbank influenced the daily life and the clothing fashions of the period. (Himam, 2007) After examining Sumerbank to get a better understanding of its social and economical context I will focus on the visual rhetoric of its promotional material.

Nationalism can be described as a product of the modernization process. There is a tendency to link the spread of national sentiments and movements to modern factors or processes like industrialization, capitalism or secularization. Intellectuals and political elites who attempted to provide cultural homogeneity within a growing and urbanized population, protecting the instrumental needs of a modernizing industrial society, stimulated nationalism. (Küçükalioglu) Hans Kohn shows how almost all the important innovations of the early modern era favored the rise and the development of nationalism. Among them were such factors as the disruption of the

medieval Church and the establishment of national churches, the appearance of national literatures, the rise of national armies, the emergence of the middle class, the development of mercantilism and the rise of capitalism. According to Kohn, nationalism began to assume much of its character when the middle class embraced the idea that the nation belonged not merely to the king but to the property owners. (Küçükalioglu, 2005: 34)

Eight months before the republic was established, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of February in 1923, the first national Congress of Economy was held in Izmir. Mustafa Kemal gave an opening speech at the Congress emphasizing that developing a strong economy was even more important than winning the war. Private entrepreneurship was encouraged in this congress and rather liberal economic politics were applied between 1923 and 1929. But the world wide economic crisis in 1929 also struck the Turkish Economy. The problem of poverty affected the majority of the population. (Karlıklı, Tozan, 1998: 126)

The craft of weaving which had been in regression during late Ottoman period, in comparison to the industrialized Europe, was also influenced by the crisis and it was not possible to speak about a ready made garment production in Turkey yet. The mechanization of the Ottoman factories started in the Tanzimat Period but the majority of these factories were serving the needs of the Military. There were private entrepreneurs in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century but most of their companies did not survive into the Republican era. Only eight cotton yarn production factories were remained in the Republican era according to the information received from Industry and Commerce Ministry. (Karlıklı, Tozan, 1998: 128)

In the late Ottoman Era, the country was only able to produce 1.3% of the woven wool fabric, 9.5% of the cotton fabric and 4% of the silk fabric it needed. The “Hat Revolution” crystallized the fabric shortage as the “Western Style” became widely adapted. Especially the government officers had to work with their jackets, shirts, trousers and hats on. The government considered making a “financial support” for the dress code but it would be extremely expensive to import the goods. Starting in 1925 the officers and employees were given domestic products such as shoes, suit, and underwear. After the Congress of Economy held in İzmir in 1923 it became government policy to use domestic goods. To make it possible private entrepreneurship was supported. (Karlıklı, Tozan, 1998: 128)

In the economical context of the period the campaigns to support the use of domestic products was very important.



Fig. 5 Poster of Domestic Products  
(Baydar, 1999: cover page)

The poster above, published around 1938 by the “national committee for the enhancement of the economy” is portraying a woman and a man dressed in modern suits and wearing hats. They look like they have just been shopping considering the packages in their hands. They both are smiling. Behind them there are factory chimneys which symbolize the “national industry” producing and supplying the needs of the domestic market. The text above and under the picture says “there is a domestic version of every product”. The chimneys are standing behind to underline that local industry is existent and strong enough to satisfy the customer. The customers are smiling, showing their satisfaction.

Indeed, since the beginning of the revolution, the industrialization process had come a long way. In the early Republican era (1922-26), some of the closed factories of the Ottoman era were re-started and some new investments were added to the existent ones. The most recognized of the renewed old factories were the Yildiz factory of Cumali Yusuf Ziya Bey (1924), and the Paskal factory which was owned by a Jewish Turk Moiz Markoz Efendi (1926). Mensucat-ı Osmaniye A.Ş. has begun to re-operate in 1926 changing its name into Bursa Dokumacılık A.Ş. (later named as İpekiş) with an additional investment of 200000 TL. The factory had the biggest capacity in Bursa with its 15 wool and 50 silk weaving looms.<sup>6</sup> Hacı Sabri’s weaving factory that had been active since 1910 was expanded with the addition of a filature (spinning) factory (1926). (Karlıklı, Tozan, 1998: 130)

The most important of the new investments between 1922 and 1925 were the Çağlayan and Lale factories established in 1927. They produced a wider range of

---

<sup>6</sup> In 1930 this factory needed to get financial support from the government. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of June 1930, Türkiye İş Bankası participated in the company with 150000 TL of investment. Later the bank bought rest of the shares and its name changed once again to Bursa Dokumacılık ve Trikotaj A.Ş. [http://www.mulkiyederigi.org/index.php?option=com\\_docman&task=cat\\_view&gid=64&Itemid=2](http://www.mulkiyederigi.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=cat_view&gid=64&Itemid=2)  
12.03.2008

products from raw silk to dyed fabrics and belonged to Sipahizadeler and the Turkish-Japanese Silk Factory established in 1928 and became Turkish as the Japanese partner quit in 1930. In 1927 Şark ve Resulzade Mehmed factories and in 1928 Hacı Recep ve Cumali Yusuf factories were established to produce silk and they held an important position among the newly established factories. (Karlıklı, Tozan, 1998: 130)

The economic policies of the first industrialization period between 1930 and 1939 show two main characteristics: “protectivism” and “statism”. While the world economy was going through a big crisis, Turkish economy was closed to the world and tried “the national industrialization model”. (Boratav, 1999: 71)

### **5.1. The Establishment of Sumerbank**

In 1933, on 11<sup>th</sup> of July Sumerbank was established supported by the code 2262. The rationale of this law was that the industrialization requirements of the nation were not satisfied in the Early Republican period. There was a need of a more powerful entity to achieve industrialization with better efficiency that would benefit more from all national resources and economic elements.

After the Republic was established, the Industry and Mine Bank was established in 1925 and Feshane (which was established in Abdulmecid II’s reign, first in order to produce fez, then coarse wool cloth and carpet), was taken over by this bank in 1939. In 1932 the bank had been divided into two facilities, the Industry and Credit Bank and the State Industry Office. Feshane was transferred to the State Industry Office. As Sumerbank was established uniting these two facilities again in 1933, Feshane was transferred to Sumerbank.

Sümerbank started first with the transfer and take over of existing Ottoman factories. There were also new investments. The Kayseri weaving factory was the first one, which started production in 1936. In 1937 the Ereğli weaving factory and the Nazilli Printed Cotton Fabric Factory followed. In 1938 Bursa Merinos was established to produce yarn and woven fabrics. All those production plants were established regarding the five years development (reconstruction) plan. (Karlıklı, Tozan, 1998: 128)

Sümerbank was supposed to remove all negative influences on the production activities of factories, developing within commercial freedom and using similar rationalized working methods as private establishments. It was established as a company that worked in coordination with national and private corporations, which needed to be established in accordance to the industrialization program.

Some of the purposes in the establishment of Sümerbank were defined by the law. It had to work the factories taken over from the State Industry Office, and manage private-state partnerships, in accordance to the Commerce Law, it had to prepare, establish and manage the feasibility projects of all industrial facilities founded by the State. Furthermore, it was required to train the required staff either for its own facilities or for other factories of the country, establish schools for this purpose and give scholarships to students to be educated in and out of Turkey. Finally Sümerbank had to undertake banking activities and pay credits to industrial entities to define development areas for national industry and declare an opinion about the subjects put forward by the ministry. (Toprak, 1988: 31) But Sümerbank did much more. In the period's social and ideological context Sümerbank served many different purposes such as:

1. Supplying inexpensive materials for the public to adapt to “modern fashions.”
2. Encouraging the public to consume local products and developing a national conscience.
3. Designing and producing materials that attract the local/national taste.
4. Promoting a modern life style by creating environments/shelters/residences.
5. Setting an example for modern industrial entrepreneurship.
6. Sumerbank ads and their discourse promoting the modern look. (Toprak, 1988: 51)

In 1933 a commercial unit to sell Sumerbank products was established under the name of “*Yerli Mallar Pazarları*”. This facility was selling the products from the factories of Defterdar, Hereke, Bakırköy and Beykoz. The merchants in the private sector protested that it was an uneven competition when the government operated a commercial company. Because of their reactions this facility was terminated in 1946. (Toprak, 1988: 51)

Sumerbank products targeted wide scale consumer profiles from urban to rural population. Consuming local (national) products was promoted even at schools to develop a saving habit in the society. Teachers were guided to teach about saving and using local product no matter what their specialization was. (Duman, 1999: 107) Another ideal of the early republican period was to build a society without privileges and class distinctions. The motto of the government was “towards the public, towards the village”. (Baydar, 1999: 13)

As the Sumerbank products became affordable by the public we may say that the industrialization movements of the Republican period influenced the clothing fashions. (Himam, 2007: 88-89) Within the social context of its period, Sumerbank



served multiple purposes in the building of a modern nation. It championed the industrialization movement, promoting productivity and uniting the rural and urban public in terms of consumption.

Kohn's theory about the correlation of nationalism, industrialization and modernization helps us to understand Sümerbank's position in the modernization movement. According to him the transition to industrialization paves the way to the emergence of high culture in society by the diffusion of universal literacy, the requirements of bureaucratic and technological communication. It also stimulates the establishment of an anonymous impersonal society composed of atomized individuals. He claims that the industrial society necessitated a homogenous society and the division of labor for the realization of economic growth. Nationalism is not "the awakening of an old, latent, dormant force" but it is the consequence of a new form of social organization based on deeply internalized and education-dependent high cultures. (Küçükalioglu quotes Kohn, 2005: 31)

The role of Sumerbank in this process can be illustrated by the way that the Sumerbank Kayseri weaving factory and its residences were built. Asiliskender explains that Sumerbank provided an example for every aspect of the "daily modern life". The factories and facilities of Sumerbank were built in several Anatolian cities such as Kayseri, Ereğli, Nazilli, Bursa, Malatya, Bünyan etc. These factories produced inexpensive textiles for the public's benefit. Asiliskender examines the Kayseri Weaving Factory in his article and states that this factory was built to achieve modernization besides industrialization. (2004)

He starts by emphasizing that the Republican government started the modernization movements in Anatolian cities, which were more open to the revolutions with their

wider spaces and their relative lack of Ottoman characteristics. Therefore the capital city of the country was preferred to be Ankara instead of Istanbul. Ankara was created from nothing to build “Modern Turkey”. Kayseri was another Anatolian city, which was chosen for modernization ideals. Industrialization of Kayseri began with the plane factory and the power plant and the city was connected to the rail network. The weaving factory was a major actor in the modernization movement. For example residences were built to establish a civilized modern environment for employees. The factory’s most important role was to exemplify the ideal of civilized modern life to the citizens of the environment. (Asiliskender, 2004)

## **5.2. Sümerbank Ads**

The rhetorics of the modern industrial clothing complex are most explicit in the promotional material issued by Sümerbank. Here I will analyze three of the most visually powerful publicity posters to deconstruct this rhetoric. The first poster I chose as Sümerbank ad is from İhâp Hulusî. We can see a text written at the top of that poster “*Sümerbank Yerli Mallar Pazarı*”. It was designed to promote the Sümerbank market of local products. A fashionable man wearing a white suit, a white shirt, a black tie and a hat stands under the bright summer sunlight, looking to distant horizons. He is bent backwards leaning on his walking cane slightly and in a stylish way. At the bottom of the graphic the text says “Supply your summer clothes from our markets.” This man is a representation of the new modern Turkish citizen, who is confident (he is self-confident and he trusts in the future of his country: he looks, slightly smiling, far beyond the horizons). This poster is made to promote the summer clothes but the representations of summer have also connotations of an

enlightened, modern Turkey. The light colors, the sun rays, and the light effects in the man's face refer to those notions.

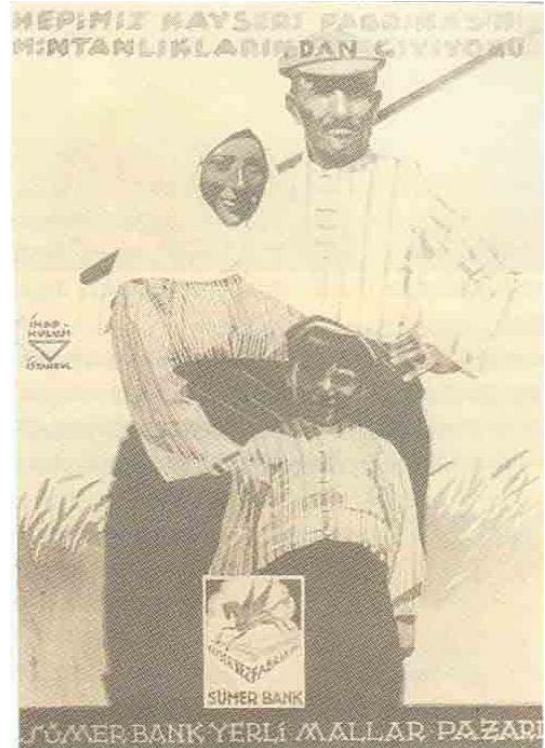


Fig. 6 Sümerbank Summer Clothes

Fig. 7 Sümerbank Peasant Family

İhap Hulusi (<http://www.geldik.com/edebiyat-kimdir/9888-ihap-hulusi-gorey-ihap-hulusi-gorey-kimdir-ihap-hulusi-gorey-hakkinda.html>, 2009)

The second poster is a representation of a peasant family. A man, a woman and a boy stand together in the picture. Behind them a section of wheat field can be seen. Above the graphic, the text says “we all dress ourselves with Kayseri Factory’s fabrics”. This family is an ideal rural family working in agricultural production, and they are dressed in traditional clothes. The look on their faces is also proud and happy, as if seeing their happy future. At the bottom the logo of Sümerbank and the text *Sümerbank Yerli Malları Pazarı* are visible. As formerly stated by Baydar, the aim was to build a society with no privilege and class distinction (1999: 20) So Sumerbank ads were displaying the images of the traditional rural families as well as the urban population.



Fig. 8 Sümerbank Urban and Peasant  
İhap Hulusi in Toprak, 1988

Sometimes they are even portrayed side by side. Fig. 8 shows two different women of Turkish Republic. On the right side and in the front a woman stands wearing a modern dark suit, a hat and gloves. She is smiling. On the left and a bit more in the background there is a peasant woman dressed in traditional clothes, and carrying a mattock, which shows that she is a productive working woman. According to Zehra Toska, an important role model for Turkish women was the Anatolian peasant woman, who fought in the war side by side with the men. The educated working women were also respected for doing their national duty. Those women were “the real women”. (Toska, 1998: 71-80) The women in this poster represent these stereotypes, and together they visualize the Republican ideal.

In front of both women, about their knee level, there is a smaller drawing of a display window. There are two couples looking at the display. One of them is a traditionally dressed peasant couple; the other is an urban couple dressed in modern clothes and hats. Above the graphic, the sentence/text starts and ends in the bottom. "Rural and Urban citizens, you can find every kind of fabric in Sumerbank Shops." The emphasis of this poster is Sumerbank's wide consumer profile with no class distinction or privileges. It is also interesting to see that in the smaller graphic, the women are standing side by side with their men, represented as equal partners.

Sumerbank ads focused on the ideals which motivated its establishment. Modern male and female citizens are carefully represented. They are mostly pictured side by side, while both of the modern urban sexes were usually represented with hats and suits. Equality of genders was not the only social question. Another notion emphasized in Sumerbank ads was that the rural and urban people were equal, too and they all could satisfy their needs from Sumerbank. Another aspect that can be underlined is that modern life was not above the rural tradition. The peasants were not considered less than urban citizens, and it is interesting to see that they apparently were allowed a higher degree of traditionalism.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE RHETORIC ON DRESS AND MODERNITY IN POPULAR MAGAZINES

Like Nalbantoğlu, Gülname Turan emphasizes that the ideology of the early Republican era was a break from the traditional Ottoman past (2007: 36). The “new” versus “old” rhetoric was a device used for distinguishing the achievements of the Republic from the underdevelopment of the late periods of the Ottoman Empire. The comparison between the old and the new (Bozdoğan, 2002: 76) began after Tanzimat, but republican ideology constructed this discourse more deliberately and developed a schemed propaganda with it. (Turan, 2007: 38)

The changes in the daily life of the Ottoman elite began by Tanzimat taking the West as a role model. The superficiality of the Westernization of the late Ottoman period has been criticized in literature. According to Mardin there was a lack of direction in the cultural change which is why these attempts finally failed. (Mardin, 2007) In the early Republican period however the direction of westernization was clarified and began to be described with the notions of “modernization” “renewal” and “productivity”. (Turan, 2007: 38, 39)

One of the ways we can witness this change is by scrutinizing the visual/verbal publications of the era which were also used as devices to develop a discourse on lifestyle. These magazines give us many clues about the change of daily life. La

*Turquie Kemaliste*, the official propaganda publication of the Republic, which was published in French, English and German in order to reach an international public, had a strategy to show how the new nation state is successful in the project of shaking off the “oriental malaise”. Pictures of modern school buildings full of healthy children wearing school uniforms were published beside the old outlawed madrasahs which were demonstrated as ruins. The new textile mills, power plants, dams and agricultural machinery of the republic were proudly featured against the old Empire’s toiling peasants and craftsmen. (Bozdoğan, 2002: 77)



Fig.9 The civil code and the change in marriage and dress (Bozdoğan, 2002: 77).

The figure above shows typical examples of this new versus old propaganda of the government. After the introduction of the civil code in 1926, the comparison of the new versus old through the new position of the Turkish women is one of the most important differences of the Republic from the former changes and ideologies. The

new woman could get out into the street, and she was a working individual. Differing from the Tanzimat era, the woman who could do that should not necessarily belong to the elites. (Turan, 2007: 40)

Society was being informed about lifestyle changes in the guidance of the predecessors of lifestyle magazines. In popular publications and governmental press the working woman who is doing (the national) duty became an icon. (Turan, 2007: 40)

The word *asri* (modern) became a catchword in the media and was considered to be synonymous with the best benefit of the public. It was used to describe the new lifestyle and became identical with the modernity dream. (Çiçekoğlu, 1998: 147)

### **6.1. Popular Magazines**

The magazines of popular culture of the era published several articles about several contexts of modern life: Modern dress, modern architecture, sea bath and beach culture, music, literature, art and sports and health. The weekly issues of the magazine *7 Gün* were published including sections of popular novels of the period. There were news items and articles about art. The most important values of the period were positivism and enlightenment and the magazines played an informative role in introducing them to the society. The information given was supported by scientific data to convince people. Notions of having a healthy body and being productive all along the year were connected to practicing sports and going to the beach. Sun bathing was recommended. Advice concerning occasions such as sports, going to the beach and going to dance parties were given to show the appropriate



dress for different occasions. Photographs showed that it was acceptable to wear sports- and swimming gear that left parts of the body uncovered.

The pictures below are from two different magazines of the early Republican era. The first one is the cover of the *Modern Türkiye Mecmuası* (issue 27, 1938). The photograph shows two young athletic people wearing swimming suits. Both are sun tanned and they have a healthy and sporty look. They are the role models of the new Turkish generation with their strong and healthy appearances, and they do not hesitate to reveal their bodies. The second picture is the cover of the magazine *7 Gün*. A young girl is sitting in front of a bicycle, probably taking a break from her ride, and eating something that looks like ice cream with a pleasant look on her face. She is wearing mini shorts revealing her legs. She looks pretty and modern with her clothes and high heeled shoes (which do not seem to fit the riding occasion by the way). She is again representing the unveiled, free, sporty and healthy young woman of the new Turkish Republic.

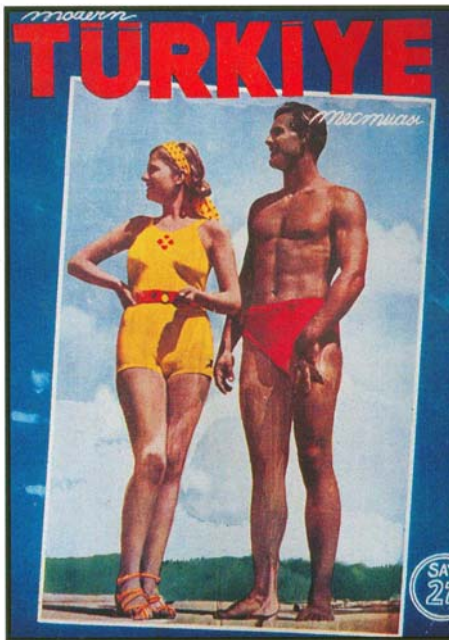


Fig. 10 Modern Turkish Youth  
(Çiçekoğlu, 1998: 146)



Fig. 11 Sporty young girl with bicycle  
(Cover of *7 Gün* issue 274, 7 June 1938)

Another popular notion of the early republican discourse to build up the modern image of the country was the creation of a modern new generation. The notion of “the next generation” was so important that celebrating important national events as national holidays for children (April 23) and youth (May 19) became government policy.



Fig. 12 Dance Academy  
(Cover of *7 Gün*, issue 272, 24 May 1938)

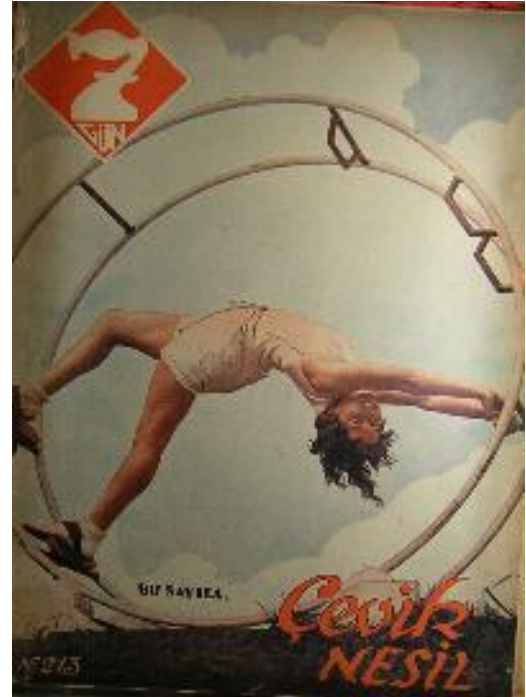


Fig. 13 Agile Generation  
(Cover of *7 Gün* issue 213, 7 April 1937)

The two pictures above show the enthusiasm of the young, agile and sporty:

Figure 12 is a cover of the magazine *7 Gün*. The young girls are participating in a show that is a combination of dance and sports actions. They are wearing super mini shorts revealing the legs, which is not a common sight even in today’s Turkey. Figure 13 is another cover of *7 Gün* magazine (issue 213, 1937). The cover girl is tumbling down with a hoop. She wears mini shorts, far remote from the veil and the

“shadows of old times”. She is agile and athletic and free. The caption is “agile generation”.

Another issue of the *7 Gün* magazine has a cover saying “need for camping”. It shows a girl wearing a swimming suit. But the picture does not seem to have been taken at the seaside. She seems to be engaged in water skiing. Inside the magazine (no 277, 1938) there is a short article about the need to camp. Pictures of people with athletic, healthy and strong appearances at the beach support the text.



Fig. 14 Cover “Need for Camping” (Cover of *7 Gün* issue 277)



Fig. 15 Article “Need for Camping” (Page 6 from *7 Gün* issue 277)

Another *7 Gün* magazine (no:332, July 1939) is focusing on the new beach culture of the new country but complaining about there are no women going to the beach and it is all a masculine entertainment. The entire beach is occupied by men. And there is a joke regarding the name and population of the beach. It is called “Harem” and it is full of men. The author notes that “Harem” is a “historical/nostalgic concept” for

their generation which was a torture for both women and men. He claims that he remembers the days when veiled harem ladies were taken to the pier in a rush and their bodyguards (*harem ağaları*) were hiding them from the eyes of the strangers. Men who were met accidentally were obliged to turn their eyes down to avoid seeing them; otherwise the punishment could be death. (Güngör, 1938: 6-7)

The author interviews one of the young men on the beach. The young man says that it is better that the women do not come to the beach because there is hardly space for men, an unreasonable answer according to the author, showing the boy's need for education.



Fig. 16 and 17 An interview on the beach: “Haremde Selamlık” (From the 7 Gün Magazine issue 332 pages: 6-7)

A random look through the lifestyle magazines between 1933 and 1948 gives us the idea that they have mainly focused on the notions of unveiling and revealing the

body parts of men and women. They promoted intellectual, free, healthy and active citizens.

## **6.2. Magazines for housewives**

In the 1930s the developments in the modern world were in many respects not much different than in Turkey. Class distinctions in fashion were disappearing and ready made clothing was replacing custom made. War and economical pressures caused material shortage in apparel production. Especially in Europe nationalistic streams influenced the fashions. (Himam quotes from Lehnert, 2007: 87) The fashions for women started to show masculine features for the wars changed the balance of the populations.

“Well before the first world war, however, high fashion produced elegant tailored suits for women that skimmed the unified figure from neck to instep, cleared the ground to expose the feet at work, reduced surface ornament to a minimum, and were made in formerly “masculine” fabrics, woolens in dim shades (...) During the war, clothes with military references and a certain severity seemed appropriate, and many women were actually wearing simple civil uniforms of some kind to do the work of absent men.” (Hollander, 1994: 127)

Apart from the general lifestyle magazines, there were others especially targeting the lifestyle of housewives. I traced through random issues of *Ev-iş* and *Ev-Kadın* magazines published between 1937 and 1947. The ideology of the Republic saw the women as “patriot citizens who would educate the nation” (Kadıoğlu, 1998: 94) and these magazines educated women about motherhood, baby care, good manners, good

housekeeping, producing clothes or household goods. The readymade clothing production was still not so wide spread and domestic production (sewing or knitting) at home was still the most important skill for women. Especially coming to the 1940s the economical crisis required re-use of the old goods and these magazines also taught tricks to produce inexpensive modern dresses. For example the old dress of a mother could be adapted to the four year old daughter (Figure 18).



Fig. 18 Recycling the old dress and making a new one for a 4 year old girl (Ev-Kadın issue: 35 page: 20)



Fig. 19 The fashion of 1942  
(*Ev-İş* Magazine issue: 60 pages: 10-11)

The text explaining the fashion of 1942 (figure 19) says that these are examples of the new fashion which is not very different from the previous year. The economical crisis which affects the whole world plays a role in fashion, too. It is necessary for our women to protect the old, dress themselves simply and consume domestic fabrics.

Nevertheless there is not much for to worry about for there is not a big change in fashion. The skirts are still short; an appropriate belt is required just like the fashion of the year before.

### 6.3. “Old” versus “new” in a caricature

Finally, in caricature magazines the subject of clothes was not often touched, but in 1938 the magazine *Karikatür* published a joke that is too important to be overlooked. It reveals a lot about the enormous changes that had taken place, at the same time apparently parodying the widespread “old-new” rhetorics (fig. 20).



Fig: 20 The fez becoming a feminine accessory  
(Baydar, 1999: 44)

There are representations of a man from 1918 and a woman from 1938. The way the man is dressed shows that he is a traditional masculine Turkish man, wearing a fez, a jacket and a mustache. He is a caricature of a macho man with all the corresponding features. He is framed in a relatively smaller scale background picture symbolizing he is a figure from the past, with the relatively bigger scaled female figure in front of him. The fashionable, feminine woman of the Turkish republic adapted the fez, which had been an Islamic masculine headgear for a century, as a fashionable accessory.

This picture not only illustrates Hollander's claim that the modernization in women's clothing consisted mostly of borrowing and adapting masculine items, it also fits into



her wider theory about the phenomenon of fashion, which she sees as a modern art that is tightly interwoven with modern societies, and clearly distinguishes itself from the slow changes in clothing that happen in traditional societies. Hollander: “Fashion instantly mocks the sensible inventions in clothing, subjecting them to unfunctional usage as soon as they appear, so they can seem authentically desirable and never merely convenient.” (1994: 15)

What our caricature shows, in short, is the enormous transition from a traditional society to a modern society where fashion has become a real possibility, and all women are allowed to take part in it if they choose to do so. That is why the simple statement below, saying that 1918 is equal to 1938, is so profoundly funny.

## CONCLUSION

Modernization in Turkey didn't start with Atatürk, as the first chapter of my thesis shows. In the late Ottoman Empire of the nineteenth century there were several waves of westernization that also included the introduction of European fashions and some official regulations determining what people should wear.

But these changes and regulations mostly had an incidental character. It was Atatürk who developed a much more integrated view of the politics of clothing. His decision to create a clear break with the past made it easier for him to develop a logical set of thoughts. From his speeches it appears that he saw clothing as a possible tool to create a new collective national identity, and as a way to reinforce the secularization of the Republic.

In his speeches he used a wide range of arguments to convince the nation of the validity of his ideas. Not only did he use arguments that fit in the general discourse about the modernization of Turkey as a whole – Turkey has to gain the respect of foreign nations, women are equal to men and that has to show in their clothes, and we have to get rid of some old misunderstandings about the necessity of certain religious elements in female dress. The way he paints some old Ottoman traditions as backward and compares them unfavourably to the choice for renewal, is typical of the general discourse on modernization of the Kemalist project. Wisely, Atatürk avoids the trap of calling his clothing revolution Westernization a term that

as Tekeli says, would cause feelings of alienation – therefore he uses the word “civilization” instead, arguing that the Turkish people are already civilized, they just have to start showing it in their appearance. In this way, he frames the modernization project as a nationalist project.

At the same time, Atatürk used arguments of practicality and economy that were later defined by Hollander as typical of modern clothing, especially the male suit. Atatürk’s remarks in this context seem to give an extra historical foundation to Hollander’s statements, when he praised the advantages of the suit for its use in daily life and the health of its user, and the way it can be easily produced in great quantities. As far as I can see though, he never speaks about the esthetic qualities of “simple and clear composition” that Hollander also ascribes to the suit – to be able to qualify these elements as “modern” probably requires a late-twentieth century sensitivity about what modernity is.

In the third chapter, where the development of the Hat Law and the discussions around its introduction are discussed, the debate seems to narrow down to one specific area: that of religion. Although many people apparently embraced the idea of clothing reform, opposition came mainly from people with strong religious beliefs and their leaders. Understandably, they attached great value to the symbolism of their dress and they forced the defenders of the Hat Code into a position of defense. In parliamentary discussions, the matter was not completely resolved, as arguments that forcing somebody to wear something or to forbid him/her to wear something is undemocratic, could not be convincingly countered by the defenders of the Hat Code. Still, it was clear that the opponents had no chance against the overwhelming majority in favour of the law.

The reactions in the press show a similar kind of dilemma in the discussion: pro-government newspapers defend the Law, usually with variations to the argument that religion is an internal belief and does not need outward signs, an opinion that failed to convince the opposition. It is interesting to see that the topic of the symbols of Islam was so sensitive that journalists usually took examples from minority religions to make their point.

After the law was passed, production had to start. In line with the economic philosophy of the government, the country should become more self-reliant and the establishment of factories was crucial in this matter. Sümerbank was founded by the government in 1933, not only to produce clothes, but also to educate workers and the public. In this aspect the communication strategies of Sümerbank are important as the main channel of governmental propaganda concerning the modernization of clothing.

Of course, the question of religion is completely absent there, and the discourse here focuses on the positive aspects of modernization. The advertisements Sümerbank issued were not just directed at selling clothes, but also at giving examples of desired behaviour in which these clothes play a part. Men and women are shown side by side, wearing their modern clothes with a smile, confident about their future. They even make a genuine contribution to securing their future by buying at Sümerbank, as it will strengthen the economy of their country.

Finally, it is interesting to see that on several posters a clear distinction is made between townspeople and rural people – the government apparently recognized that it would be unreasonable to ask farmers and their wives to wear suits and deux-pieces all the time. And we must remember that Atatürk in his speeches often praised

the practical clothing of the rural population above the constraining or over-fashionable dress of the people in Istanbul.

In the last chapter the media follows an indirect rhetoric in the promotion of the modern look. The lifestyle magazines published pictures of well dressed modern people and sporty young people to display a modern lifestyle. Much more than in official government propaganda from the side of Sümerbank, the practical possibilities of modern clothing are stressed. Of course, there is again a nation-building philosophy behind this – the sports clothing that reveals the skin suggests a kind of new freedom of a healthy new generation, a combination that implicitly refers to the “old versus new” rhetoric that lies at the heart of the Kemalist discourse.

The satirical picture that ends the chapter, showing a man of 1918 and a woman of 1938 wearing almost the same clothes can be seen as a satirical comment on that “old versus new” rhetoric, joking that in fact nothing has changed. But if we think further about the developments that made it possible even to draw a caricature of a woman in 1938 to have the same “self-confident attitude” as an Ottoman macho, we realize that indeed, in the field of clothes, a revolution had occurred.

## References

Anderson, Benedict (2006) **Imagined Communities**. New York, Verso

Arıĝ, Ayten Sezer (2007) **Atatürk Türkiyesinde Kılık Kıyafette Çaĝdaşlaşma**,  
Istanbul, Siyasal Kitabevi

Atatürk, Gazi Mustafa Kemal (2002) **Nutuk I, II** Istanbul, Gendaş

Barbarosoglu, Fatma Karabıyık (2004) **Moda ve Zihniyet**, Istanbul, İz Yayıncılık

Baydar, Oya (ed.) (1998) **75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler**, Istanbul, Tarih Vakfı  
Yayınları

Baydar, Oya (ed.) (1999) **75 Yılda Deĝişen Yaşam Deĝişen İnsan: Cumhuriyet  
Modaları**, İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları

Baytimur, Mehmet, Aziz Demircioĝlu and Hasan Çelikoĝlu (1981) **Atatürk'ün  
Kastamonu Gezisi ve Şapka Devrimi**, Kastamonu, İl Kutlama Komitesi.

Beward, Christopher (2001) **Manliness, Modernity and the Shaping of Male  
Clothing**. In Entwistle, Joanne & Wilson, Elizabeth (2001) **Body Dressing**. New  
York, Berg Publishers.

Bozdoğan, Sibel and Reşat Kasaba (ed.) (1998) **Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve  
Ulusal Kimlik**. Istanbul, Tarih Vakfı.

Bozdoğan, Sibel (2002) **Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası**. İstanbul, Metis

Chenoune, Farid (1993) **A History of Men's Fashion**. Paris, New York, Flammarion

Constantino, Maria (1997) **Men's Fashion in the Twentieth Century**. London, Batsford Ltd.

Craik, Jennifer (2003) **The Face of Fashion**. New York, Routledge.

Crane, Dianne (2000) **Fashion and Its Social Agendas**. Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press

Damhorst, Mary Lynn, Kimberly A. Miller & Susan O. Michelman (2001) **The Meanings of Dress**. New York, Fairchild Publications

Davis, Fred (1992) **Fashion, Culture and Identity**. Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press.

Dumont, Paul (1993) **Mustafa Kemal, Çağdaş Türkiye'nin Doğuşu**. İstanbul, Remzi Kitabevi.

Eski, Mustafa (2002) **Atatürk'ün Kastamonu Gezisi**. Ankara, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi

Flügel, John Carl (1930) **The Great Masculine Renunciation and Its Causes** in Purdy, Danel Leonard (2004) **The Rise of Fashion**. Minneapolis, London, The University of Minnesota Press.

Goloğlu, Mahmut (2007) **Devrimler Ve Tepkileri: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi I 1924-1930**. İstanbul, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları

Göle, Nilüfer (2004) **Modern Mahrem**. İstanbul, Metis Yayınları

- Göle Nilüfer (2000) **İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri**. İstanbul, Metis Yayınları
- Göle, Nilüfer and Ludwig Ammann (2006) **Islam in Public, Turkey Iran and Europe**. İstanbul, İstanbul Bilgi University Press
- Hollander, Anne (1994) **Sex and Suits**. New York, Kodansha International
- Kahraman, Hasan Bülent (2007) **Postmodernite ile Modernite Arasında Türkiye**. İstanbul, Agora Kitaplığı
- Kaiser, Susan B. (1997) **The Social Psychology of Clothing**, New York, Fairchild Publications.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz (1997) **Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar**, İstanbul, Metis Yayınları
- Karlıklı, Şaziye and Defne Tozan (1998) **Cumhuriyet Kıyafetleri**, İstanbul, Camev Yayıncılık.
- Kocatürk, Utkan (2007) **Atatürk'ün Fikir ve Düşünceleri**. Ankara, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi
- Koloğlu, Orhan (2002) **Cumhuriyet'in İlk Onbeş Yılı**. İstanbul, Boyut Yayın Grubu
- Koloğlu, Orhan (2004) **Mazlum Milletler Devrimleri ve Türk Devrimi**. İstanbul, Kaynak Yayınları
- Koloğlu, Orhan (2007) **Cilbattan Türban'a: Türkiye'de Örtünmenin Serüveni**. İstanbul, Pozitif
- Landes, Joan (2003) **Visualizing the Nation**. New York, Cornell University Press



Mardin, Şerif (2007) **Türk Modernleşmesi**. İstanbul, İletişim

Mardin, Şerif (2006) **Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri 1895-1908**. İstanbul, İletişim

Mirzoeff, Nicholas (2002) **Body Scape: Art, Modernity and The Ideal Figure**.

London, Routledge

Özer, İlbeyi (2006) **Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda**. İstanbul, Truva

Yayınları

Purdy, Daniel Leonard (ed.) (2004) **The Rise of Fashion**. Minneapolis, London, The

University of Minnesota Press

Said, Edward; (1979) **Orientalism**. London, Vintage Publications

Sevim, Ali, İzzet Öztoprak and M. Akif Tural (2006) **Atatürk'ün Söylev ve**

**Demeçleri (Bugünkü Dille)**. Ankara, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi

Stone, Elaine; (2001) **The Dynamics of Fashion**. New York, Fairchild Publications

Şahin, Yüksel (2006) **1920-1930 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'de Kadın Silüetinde**

**Moda Anlayışı ve Değişimler**. İzmir, DEÜ Rektörlük Matbaası

Toprak, Zafer (1988) **Sümerbank**, İstanbul, Creative Yayıncılık

Zakim, Michael (1997) **Ready-Made Democracy: A History of Men's Dress in the**

**American Republic 1760-1860**. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

**Articles:**

Asiliskender, Burak (2004) **Erken Cumhuriyet'in Modern Mirası: Sümerbank**

**Kayseri Bez Fabrikası ve Lojmanları** in:

<http://old.mo.org.tr/mimarlikdergisi/index.cfm?sayfa=Mimarlik&DergiSayi=28&RecID=375>

Baydar, Gülsüm (2007) **Room for a Newlywed Woman Making Sense of Gender in the Architectural Discourse of Early Republican Turkey**, in Journal of Architectural Education, pp. 3–11 <sup>a</sup> 2007 ACSA

Belge, Murat (2007) **Batılılaşma: Türkiye ve Rusya**, in Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce- Modernleşme ve Batıcılık. İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları.

Boratav, Korkut (1999) **Korumacı-Devletçi Sanayileşme: 1930-1939** in 75 Yılda Çarklardan Chip'lere. İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları

Çiçekoğlu, Feride (1998) **Asri, Modern, Çağdaş** in Üç Kuşak Cumhuriyet. İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları

Duman, Doğan (1999) **“1930’larda Ekonomideki Korumacılık Politikasının Okullardaki Yansımaları: Yaşasın Yerli Malı, Yaşasın Kumbara!”** in 75 Yılda Çarklardan Chip'lere. İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları

Himam, Dilek (2007) **Gündelik Yaşam Nesnesi Olarak Giysiler: Sümerbank Örneği** in 4T Türkiye Tasarım Tarihi Topluluğu Bildiri Kitabı. İzmir, İzmir Ekonomi Üniversitesi

Honeyman, Katrina (2002) **Following Suit: Men, Masculinity and Gendered Practices in the clothing Trade in Leeds, England, 1890-1940** in Gender and History, Vol. 14 No. 3 pp. 426-446

Kadıođlu, Ayşe (1998) **Cinselliđin İnkarı: Büyük Toplumsal Projelerin Nesnesi Olarak Türk Kadınları** in 75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler. İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları

Nalbantođlu, Gülsüm Baydar (1993) **Between Civilization and Culture: Appropriation of Traditional Dwelling Forms in Early Republican Turkey**, in Journal of Architectural Education (1984-), Vol. 47, No. 2. (Nov., 1993), pp. 66-74.

Negrin, Llewellyn (2006) **Ornament and the Feminine**. In Feminist Theory, SAGE Publications (London) <http://fty.sagepub.com>

Parkins, Wendy (2002) **Introduction: (Ad)dressing Citizens** in Fashioning the Body Politic. New York, Berg Publishers

Sirman, Nükhet (1998) **Adam Olmak** in Üç Kuşak Cumhuriyet. İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları

Sirman, Nükhet (1998) **Müsavvattan Eşitliğe** in Üç Kuşak Cumhuriyet. İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları

Tekeli, İlhan (2007) **Türkiye’de Siyasal Düşüncenin Gelişimi Konusunda Bir Üst Anlatı**, in Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce- Modernleşme ve Batıcılık. İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları.

Toska, Zehra (1998) **Cumhuriyet'in Kadın İdeali: Eşiği Aşanlar ve Aşamayanlar in 75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler.** İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları

Turan, Gülname (2007) **Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Değişen Gündelik Yaşam ve Tasarım** in 4T Türkiye Tasarım Tarihi Topluluğu Bildiri Kitabı. İzmir, İzmir Ekonomi Üniversitesi

Wrigley, Richard (2002) **The Formation and Currency of a Vestimentary Stereotype: The Sans-culotte in Revolutionary France** in Fashioning the Body Politic. New York, Berg Publishers

Yılmaz, Mehmet Serhat (2005) **Atatürk'ün Kastamonu Gezisi ve Şapka İnkılâbı** Mart 2005 Cilt:13 No:1 Kastamonu Eğitim Dergisi 223–232

### **Dissertations**

Bilgin, Elif (2004) **An Analysis of Turkish Modernity Through Discourses Of Masculinities, Ankara** The Graduate School Of Social Sciences Of Middle East Technical University

Kutluata, Zeynep, (2006) **Gender and War during the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Periods: The Case of Black Fatma(s)** İstanbul, Master of Arts in History Sabancı University

Küçükalioglu, Elif Gözdaş (2005) **Imagi-Nation of Gendered Nationalism: The Representation of Women as Gendered National Subjects in Ottoman-**

**Turkish Novels (1908-1938)** Ankara, the Department of Political Science and  
Public Administration Bilkent University

**Magazines:**

Demiray, Tahsin (1942) *1942'nin Moda Çizgileri* in *Ev-İş* (volume 60). İstanbul,  
Türkiye Basımevi

Güngör, Selahaddin (1939) *Haremde Selamlık* in *7 Gün* (volume 332, July 18 )  
Yedigün, İstanbul

Gürtunca, M.Faruk (1947) *Kullanılmış Elbiselerden Bir Robla Bir Bluz* in *Ev –Kadın*  
(volume 35). İstanbul, Ülkü Kitapyurdu

Simavi, Sedat (1937) Cover Page *7 Gün* (volume 213, April 7) İstanbul, Yedigün

Simavi, Sedat (1938) Cover Page in *7 Gün* (volume 272, May 24) İstanbul, Yedigün

Simavi, Sedat (1938) Cover Page in *7 Gün* (volume 274, June 7) İstanbul, Yedigün

Simavi, Sedat (1938) *Kamp İhtiyacı* in *7 Gün* (volume 277, June 28) İstanbul,  
Yedigün

**Web Addresses**

Hulusi, İhap (<http://www.geldik.com/edebiyat-kimdir/9888-ihap-hulusi-gorey-ihap-hulusi-gorey-kimdir-ihap-hulusi-gorey-hakkinda.html>, 2009

Sönmez, Sinan (2008) **Türkiye İş Bankası'nın ``Misyonu`` ve İştirakçilik Politikası (1924-1945)**

[http://www.mulkiyederigi.org/index.php?option=com\\_docman&task=cat\\_view&gid=64&Itemid=2](http://www.mulkiyederigi.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=cat_view&gid=64&Itemid=2)