

WOMEN'S IMAGES AND FASHION AS REPRESENTED IN THE EARLY
REPUBLICAN TURKISH PRESS: 1923-1940

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

DUYGU KOÇ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

MAY 2024

Approval of the thesis:

**WOMEN'S IMAGES AND FASHION AS REPRESENTED IN THE EARLY
REPUBLICAN TURKISH PRESS: 1923-1940**

submitted by **DUYGU KOÇ** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of **Doctor of Philosophy in History, the Graduate School of Social Sciences of
Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Sadettin KİRAZCI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Ömer Turan
Head of Department
Department of History

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Birten Çelik
Supervisor
Department of History

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber (Head of the Examining Committee)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Sociology

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Birten Çelik (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of History

Prof. Dr. Recep Boztemur
Middle East Technical University
Department of History

Prof. Dr. Nalan Turna
Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi
Department of Sociology

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tülay Ercoşkun
Ankara Üniversitesi
Department of History

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Duygu KOÇ

Signature:

ABSTRACT

WOMEN'S IMAGES AND FASHION AS REPRESENTED IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKISH PRESS: 1923-1940

KOÇ, Duygu

Ph.D., The Department of Gender and Women's Studies

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Birten ÇELİK

May 2024, 253 pages

This thesis examines the changes in clothing and fashion forms of Turkish women parallel to world fashion to adopt a Western outlook in the early republican period as represented in the Turkish press through the magazines and newspapers published between 1923 and 1940. The thesis also challenges the claims that Turkish women of that period wore masculine clothing styles in order to participate in the public sphere. The construction of fashions that constitute the visual image of Turkish modernization was shaped in accordance with the Western-centered perception of modernity on the axis of Parisian fashion, which dominated that period. Both the Turkish press and Westerner and Turkish elite women who were seen as role models in the public sphere were an important intermediary in the adoption of the latest women's fashion in the period covered in this thesis. A parallel reading of the world fashion of the 1920s and 1930s and Turkish women's fashion in that period reveal that Turkish women's fashion was progressed in parallel with the world fashion through the intermediary of the Turkish Press. Therefore, the feminine and masculine silhouettes in the design of

women's clothing of the period in Turkey are also in parallel with the world fashion. In this sense, the claim that women sacrificed their femininity and adopted a masculine style in order to exist in the public sphere does not reflect the truth when we look at the images in the press and photographs of the period. In this study, the development of women's fashion in parallel with world fashion between 1923 and 1940, a period of significant institutional and social changes in the history of Turkey, is analyzed through the Turkish print media of the period, newspapers, magazines and archives.

Keywords: Turkish Women, Fashion, Parisian Fashion, 1923-1940, Turkish Press

ÖZ

ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİ TÜRK BASININDA TEMSİL EDİLEN KADIN İMAJLARI VE MODA: 1923-1940

KOÇ, Duygu

Doktora, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Birten ÇELİK

Mayıs 2024, 253 sayfa

Bu tez, 1923-1940 yılları arasında Türk kadınının Batı merkezli modern yaşama uyumunda giyim ve moda formlarının geçirdiği değişimleri dönemin yazılı basınına oluşturan dergi ve gazeteler ile o dönem çekilen fotoğraflar üzerinden inceleyerek o dönem Türk kadınının giyim tarzının kamusal alanda var olabilmek için erkeksi görünümde olduğunu iddia eden yaklaşımları sorgulamaktadır. Türk modernleşmesinin görsel imajını oluşturan modaların inşası, Batı merkezli modernlik algısına uygun olarak o dönemi domine eden Paris modası ekseninde şekillenmiş ve kamusal alanda giyim tarzlarıyla Batılı kadınlar ve rol model olarak görülen elit Türk kadınları yanında, Türk basını da bu modanın aktarılmasında önemli bir aracı olmuştur. Dönemin dünya modası ile Türk kadın modası üzerine paralel bir okuma yapıldığında, Türk kadın modasının dönemin dünya modasıyla aynı olduğu ve dünya modasındaki değişimlere paralel olarak ilerlediği görülmektedir. Dolayısıyla Türkiye’de dönemin kadın kıyafetlerinin tasarımındaki feminen ve maskülen silüetler de dünya modası ile paraleldir ve bu anlamda kadınların kamusal alanda var olabilmek

için diřiliklerini feda edip erkeksi bir tarz benimsedikleri iddiasının da dönemin basın ve fotoğraflarında yer alan imajlara bakıldığında gerçeęi yansıtmadığı görölmektedir. Bu çalışmada Türkiye tarihinde önemli kurumsal ve toplumsal deęişimlerin yaşandığı 1923-1940 yılları arasında kadın modasının dünya modasına paralel olarak geliştięi dönemin yazılı Türkçe basınından gazete ve dergiler ile arşivlerden edinilen fotoğraflar kullanılarak ortaya konulacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk Kadını, Moda, Paris Modası, 1923-1940, Basın

To my dear teacher Birten elik...

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Firstly, I would like to give special thanks to my supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Birten Çelik, for her invaluable guidance, encouragement, and support during my thesis study. I feel lucky to have the chance to work with him.

Moreover, I would like to thank and express my sincere gratitude to my doctoral steering committee members Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber, and Prof. Dr. Recep Boztemur, for their valuable guidance, suggestions, and support throughout my study. I also would like to thank my thesis committee members Prof. Dr. Nalan Turna and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tülay Ercoşkun for their valuable contributions.

I also would like to thank to my dear friend Mesut Sayan, who helped me with difficulties reading the Ottoman documents in my primary sources. I want to thank my friends Ayça Alan and Sibel Doğan, who have always supported me with their moral and material support to keep me strong.

Also, I would like to thank TUBITAK BİDEB, of which I have been a scholar since my undergraduate education, for their support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	vi
DEDICATION.....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xv
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 The Scope of This Study	8
1.2 Methodology and Sources	9
1.3 Outline of the study	13
1.4 Literature Review	14
2. FASHION AND WOMEN’S FASHION IN THE WORLD	23
2.1 What Is Fashion?	23
2.2 Fashion and Paris Details in Influencing World Fashion	27
2.3 Global Fashion of the 1920s.....	31
2.3.1 Hair Fashion.....	34
2.4 Global Fashion between 1930 and 1940	38
3. MODERN TÜRKİYE AND TURKISH WOMEN IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: 1923-1940.....	45
3.1 Women in the Republican Era.....	49
3.2 The Republican Period Reforms and Progress in the Status of Turkish Women.....	53
3.2.1 Femininity That Cannot Escape Motherhood.....	57

3.2.2	Creating an Ideal or Woman of the Republic	62
3.2.3	The Suffrage for Women in Türkiye and Politics in Türkiye	64
3.3	Those Who Go Beyond the Ideal: The Snob/Coquette Woman as a Disapproved Female Type.....	67
4.	THE PRESS IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD	74
4.1	A Brief History of the Turkish Press in The Ottoman Period and a Short Looking to Women’s Debate.....	75
4.2	The Turkish Press in the Early Republican Period.....	82
4.2.1	Woman’s Magazines Published in the Early Republican Period	87
5.	WOMEN AND FASHION IN TURKISH PRESS BETWEEN 1923-1940	93
5.1	From the Ottoman Empire to the Young Republic: The Place of Clothing and Fashion in the Westernization or Modernization Process.....	93
5.2	Approaches to Women, Clothing, and Fashion in the Modernization Perception of the Republican Regime	104
5.3	Fashion Phenomenon and Approaches to Fashion in The Press	108
5.4	Turkish Women’s Fashion in the 1920s as Presented in the Turkish Press..	119
5.4.1	Burqa/Chador Fashion.....	122
5.4.2	Mantle, Overcoat, Cap,.....	126
5.4.3	Dresses	130
5.4.4	Tailleur/Ladies Suit, Two-Piecer and Skirt.....	133
5.4.5	Fur Fashion	137
5.4.6	Shoe Fashion	139
5.4.7	Hat and Cap	140
5.4.8	Hair Fashion in the 1920s.....	142
5.5	Turkish Women’s Fashion of the 1930s	144
5.5.1	Mantle, Coat, and Bolero and Fur Use	147
5.5.2	Tailleur/Ladies Suit/Tight, Skirt and Blouses in the 1930s	151
5.5.3	Dresses.....	153
5.5.4	Hair Trends and Hats	160
5.5.5	Shoe Fashion and Other Accessories.....	163

5.6 Tailoring Culture as The Production Element of Fashion and Sewing Dormitories, Evening Art Schools, and Girl Institutes as Dissemination Centers	164
5.7 Was the Image of Turkish Women in the Early Republican Era Masculine?.....	170
6. CONCLUSION	176
REFERENCES.....	185
7.1 Primary Sources.....	185
7.1.1 Journals & Newspapers	185
7.1.2 Archival Documents	186
7.2 Secondary Sources.....	186
7.3 Other Online Sources	196
APPENDICES.....	198
A. FIGURES	198
B. CURRICULUM VITAE	235
C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET	236
D. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU	253

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The flapper movie poster	198
Figure 2: The leading actress Olive Thomas.....	198
Figure 3: American flappers (ca. 1920s) Source: Smithsonian.com.....	199
Figure 4. The picture shows that the star actresses followed the short hair trend...	199
Figure 5. Different bob hairstyles.....	200
Figure 6. Latife Hanım, Mustafa Kemal, Rauf Orbay, and Galibe Hanım, 1923. ..	201
Figure 7. Mustafa Kemal and Latife Hanım, on 23 Mat 1923.	201
Figure 8. 3 April 1930. After Afet İnan's conference on women's rights.	202
Figure 9. Afet İnan with Ülkü and Salih Bozok in Florya, 1935.	202
Figure 10. Women strolling around the Parliament Garden in 1928.....	203
Figure 11. Resimli Ay, Number 8, September 1924	203
Figure 12. Süs, “En Son Moda”, Number 36, 16 February 1923.....	204
Figure 13. Muhit Magazine 1928	204
Figure 14. On the Black Sea Ferry, 13 June 1926.	205
Figure 15. “Elbise Modelleri” Resimli Ay Nisan 1924	206
Figure 16. A young girl from Ankara can be seen with flapper-style clothes,	206
Figure 17. Flapper Girls of İstanbul	207
Figure 18. Mustafa Kemal and a female student, 10 April 1926.	207
Figure 19. Süs, 8 December 1923, Number 26	208
Figure 20. Women gathered in front of the parliament in 1925.	209
Figure 21. Students at the Ankara Biçki Dikiş Yurdu	209
Figure 22. Süs, 17 November 1923, Number 23.....	210
Figure 23. Süs, 1923 November.....	211
Figure 24. Süs, 5 October 1923, Number 17.....	211
Figure 25. Süs, 3 May 1924, Number 47	212
Figure 26. Süs, 5 January 1924	212

Figure 27. Asri Türkiye Mecmuası, 1 April 1926	213
Figure 28. Asri Türkiye Mecmuası, 1 March 1926	214
Figure 29. 1929, M. Kemal's daughter Rukiye, F.Okyar, S.Bozok, K Ali.....	215
Figure 30. The marriage ball of Atatürk's adopted daughter, Nebil. 1929.	215
Figure 31. 23 November 1930, Cumhuriyet.....	216
Figure 32. A woman posing leaning against a tree in the Moda in the 1930s.....	216
Figure 33. 4 December 1932 Cumhuriyet	217
Figure 34. Three women standing the Galata Bridge in Istanbul winter in 1936 ...	218
Figure 35. Akşam 23 October 1934.....	219
Figure 36. Akşam 11 October 1932.....	220
Figure 37. Ali Şükrü Çoruk Archive	221
Figure 38. Uyanış (Servet-I Fünun) 23 June 193223 June 1932.....	221
Figure 39. İstanbul Şehir Araştırmaları Archive.....	222
Figure 40. Mevhibe İnönü's 1930s evening dresses	222
Figure 41. Republic Ball 1933.....	223
Figure 42. The circumcision ceremony of Kazım Özalp's son, 1931.....	223
Figure 43. Servet-I Fünun (Uyanış) 11 August 1932	224
Figure 44. Tuna Pektaş Archive.....	225
Figure 45. 1935 Taksim	226
Figure 46. Women in Ankara.....	227
Figure 47. An Ankara Woman	228
Figure 48. 1936-1937 Academic Year Ankara Girls' High School Teachers	228
Figure 49. Ankara Law School students in 1933.....	229
Figure 50. Fashionably dressed women in an open-roof taxi, 1932.....	229
Figure 51. Keriman Halis and her friends, 11 August 1932.....	230
Figure 52. Women taking the court typewriting examination in İstanbul, 1931.	231
Figure 53. A restaurant in İstanbul, 1930s.....	231
Figure 54. Students at Ankara High School for Girls dressed in hats by the law....	232
Figure 55. Tilkilik Biçki Yurdu students with their a la garçon appearance.....	233
Figure 56. İzmir Tilkilik Biçki Dikiş Yurdu 1928.	233
Figure 57. Ayşe Sultan and her husband.....	234

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Committee of Union and Progress: **CUP**

Turkish Grand National Assembly: **TGNA**

Republican People's Party: **RPP**

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the changes in dress and women's fashion forms in Türkiye between 1923 and 1940, which were visual tools of Turkish women's adaptation to modern life. While doing this analysis, it chooses the magazines and newspapers of the period, i.e., print media, as the primary data sources. Essentially, clothing fashion, which can be simplified as the totality of clothing styles and changes in clothing style worn in a certain period, emerged as a phenomenon specific to Western civilization and is still considered a phenomenon specific to Western civilization. Fashion is regarded as an essential factor in socio-cultural life and has become the subject of study in many fields of social sciences.¹ In these fields, studies on fashion include references to clothing and the frequency of changing clothes. Treatment of women's clothing has varied from a superficial rejection that it is only a matter of feminine whims to an analysis that views fashion as a deeply ingrained societal phenomenon.² Fashion accepted as an effective social force, has adopted itself and strengthened its place as an undeniable part of modern culture. Social scientists' approaches to fashion have aligned with their fields. For example, psychologists examine fashion through the person's lens in a social context. By examining the attitudes and behaviors of individuals who conform to the group, psychologists have attempted to obtain the nature of the more general issue of fashion change.³ Economists link the dynamics of economic forces to shifts in fashion. For example, Thorstein Veblen explains that the

¹ Elinor Roth Nugent, *The Relationship of Fashion in Women's Dress to Selected Aspects of Social Change From 1850 to 1950*, LSU Historical Dissertations and Theses, 1962, p.1.

² Ibid Nugent, p.1.

³ Estelle DeYoung Barr, "A Psychological Analysis of Fashion Motivation," *Archives of Psychology*, Vol.XXVI, June 1934, p.7.

change in fashion is caused by changes in production methods and increasing markets with the emergence of industrial society.⁴ Historians have endorsed the idea that major significant occurrences like wars, revolutions, power shifts, and governmental changes have influenced changes in fashion. For some academics, fashion is a phenomenon that reflects the development of events in its period and expresses the "climate" of a period.⁵ Richard T. LaPierre claims that sociologists frequently lump fads and crazes along with fashion as a component of group behavior.⁶

The first hypothesis in this study is that the change factor in Turkish women's clothing fashion is related to changing political conditions and the social structure created by political conditions and the change in the functioning of this structure. To prove this hypothesis, the historians' approach to fashion mentioned by Nugent will be taken as the center. The claim that significant changes in the political atmosphere also affect fashion will be followed through fashion news and fashion pages in the Turkish press. The desire to wear the most modern and up-to-date clothing also emerged as the political atmosphere evolved into a desire to integrate into the modern world regarding all kinds of institutions, rights, concepts, symbols, and appearances. This desire gives rise to the following fashion. Within the scope of this hypothesis, the representation of Turkish women's fashion in the press and the parallelism of this representation with the world will be examined, and the extent to which the fashions conveyed to the readers in the Turkish press were adopted by Turkish women will be examined by reviewing the photographs of the period.

It is essential to mention why fashion and Turkish women were chosen as the subjects of the study. As Reischer and Koo note, "*Given the idea that the social situation is reproduced or "copied" through bodily symbols, the body is seen as a text that can be metaphorically "read" as a symbol or signifier of the social world it contains.*"⁷ Clothes that cover the body are one of the only elements that can be used to read the body symbolically. Because clothing and dress are generally symbolic means of

⁴ Thorstein B. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, (New York: The Modern Library Inc., 1934), p. 167.

⁵ Ibid Nugent, p.1.

⁶ Richard T. LaPiere, *Sociology*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1946), p. 527.

⁷ Erica Reischer and Kathryn s. Koo, "The Body Beautiful: Symbolism and Agency in the Social World", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 33 (2004), p.300.

reading and defining people regarding their social identities, socioeconomic classes, cultures, religious tendencies, tastes, political tendencies, gender, citizenship, and profession.⁸ At the same time, when clothes are considered psychological manifestations of identities, their symbolic meaning increases even more. The dress issue is very political, symbolic, and psychological for the Republic of Türkiye, which wants to break away from the Ottoman past and complete the Turkish modernization that started during the Ottoman period with holistic reforms. In the early republic period, when radical reforms were made, and the modernization process was accelerated, clothing and fashion were perceived as the visual and symbolic state of the country's modernization process. The visual aspect of adapting to Western civilization with the reforms was perceived as equivalent to wearing the latest fashion. Thus, following and applying fashion was psychologically perceived as gaining a modern identity. While the new regime's changing political conditions and reforms gradually modernized the country, modernizing the clothes per this perception of modernity became an important issue. For Turkish women, who lived within specific religious and social rules since the Ottoman period, clothing and fashion were very important as both a means and a reflection of their adaptation to a new type of life. In a country trying to adapt to the modern world, women could not stay in old clothes. While their country desired to reach the most modern in every field, Turkish women had to complete their adaptation to the contemporary and civilized world by wearing the most modern and the latest fashion. Contrary to Türkiye's desire for modernization in every field and the reforms made, there was no direct political intervention regarding clothing either during the early Republic period or afterward. However, the *Hat Law of 1925* is understood as a law that concerns all genders and establishes rules by drawing specific frameworks regarding clothing.

Although regulations are made regarding men's clothing and the boundaries and ideals of the civil servant uniform are determined, women's clothing is not interfered with.⁹ While the women's problem began to be solved with revolutions in every field, the

⁸ Gülşen Kaya Osmanbaşoğlu, "The Politics of What You Wear on Your Head", *Middle East Critique*, Vol. 24:4, 2015, p.390.

⁹ Ayten Sezer Arıg, "Şapka İnkılabı", <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/sapka-inkilabi/> Access: 12.10.2023.

modernization of women's clothing was left to a natural course. It can be claimed that the press filled the gap created in this natural flow. It mediates the transfer of the latest fashions to Turkish women by introducing fashion clothes to women readers in the press, newspapers, and magazines. Turkish women's clothing and fashion concepts were chosen as the study's main elements because although there is no reform in this field, women's clothing is changing in parallel with world fashion. Considering that the instrumentality of the press creates this change and conveys fashion to the masses, the study's data sources were chosen as the press. Considering the meaning and symbolism of the clothes, the visual change that Turkish women undergo reflects the new regime's desire to modernize their bodies. For women, it can be read as the psychological reflection of being civilized and the new freedoms and rights gained in clothing because women want to modernize their clothes during the country's modernization process. This attitude resembles a desire to appear worthy of the new regime. Of course, there is also a class aspect to this desire. Considering the instrumentality of the press in carrying fashion, it should not be ignored that the women who have this desire may be upper and middle-class, urban, educated business owners, or women who want to have a business. Upper- and middle-class women in a suitable economic situation could wear the new fashion clothes the press conveyed to their readers by having them sewn by tailors or purchasing them from stores. Lower-class women could sew clothes at home, thanks to the clothing patterns from newspapers and magazines. The state opened many schools and courses to teach them this sewing skill. The historical framework was determined between 1923 and 1940 because this was the period when the Turkish modernization process witnessed the most intense and comprehensive reforms. Since the Second World War occupied the agenda of the country and the world in 1940 and afterward, it was deemed appropriate to leave the historical framework in 1940.

After analyzing the period's fashions, this study will also question some researchers' views that Turkish women in the early Republican period had a masculine image. These researchers, such as Ayşe Durakbaşa, Deniz Kandiyoti, Ömer Çaha, Çağla Ormanlar, and Nilüfer, address the relationship between women's inclusion in the public sphere and their clothing choices. They agree that women's inclusion in the

public sphere creates a conscious masculinity in women's clothing choices. Women who take on a masculine image will thus cease to be a threat to their sexuality, will not have problems with moral codes, and will become invisible, showing a silent presence in this space that until then was thought to belong to men.¹⁰ These researchers have evaluated the Turkish women's fashion of the period regarding women's participation in the public sphere. In making these evaluations, they focused on women's appearance and made interpretations based on clothing. In making their interpretations, they have not focused on the period's world fashion. For example, According to Kandiyoti, women's clothing choices “served as a symbolic and powerful armor.”¹¹ She states that women's participation in public life is only made feasible by the strong signals they send to preserve their dignity and refrain from presenting themselves to men as sexual objects in a culture where gender is firmly divided, and male honor is strongly correlated with female behavior.¹² Therefore, Kandiyoti asserted that women appeared in the public sphere with Dark-colored tights, short or cropped hair, and a face without makeup, which was an imposed dress, and the tights were like the official uniform of women.¹³

Meanwhile, Durakbaşa asserts that although the woman created by the Republican regime discarded the body-covering clothes of the previous period, this time, she wore an invisible outfit that covered her sexuality, armoring herself with this invisible outfit in the public sphere, making her untouchable and inaccessible to some extent.¹⁴ Nilüfer Göle also asserts that the price of women's participation in the public sphere, urban space, and their freedom in these areas is “*the suppression of their femininity, which is perceived as a threat to the social order.*”¹⁵ Çağla Ormanlar repeats the same ideas and asserts that the most basic and visual way of suppressing femininity is through clothing. According to Ormanlar, “*the most striking feature of the exponential*

¹⁰ Ayşe Durakbaşa, Halide Edip Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012), p.120.

¹¹ Deniz Kandiyoti, “Ataerkil Örgütler: Türk Toplumunda Erkek Egemenliğinin Çözümlemesine Yönelik Notlar”, *Kadın Bakış Açısından 1980’ler Türkiye’sinde Kadın*, ed. Şirin Tekeli, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990), p.196.

¹² Ibid Kandiyoti in Tekeli, p.351.

¹³ Ibid Kandiyoti in Tekeli, p.351.

¹⁴ Ayşe Durakbaşa, *The Formation of “Kemalist Female Identity”: A Historical Cultural Perspective*, Boğaziçi University, Sociology Department, Master Study, 1987, p.4-93.

¹⁵ Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem: Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1992), p.109-110.

*change those Turkish women went through was their effort to exist in the men's world by looking like a man." Women of the period were trying to "look as much like a boy as possible."*¹⁶ Ömer Çaha is another name that supports this view. According to him, *"women who appeared in the public sphere during the republican era made themselves visible not with their own personality and femininity, but with a masculine appearance."*¹⁷ Çaha states that *"the Kemalist woman type has a mentality that defeminizes women, in other words, masculinizes them. ... The Kemalist understanding of modernization tries to transform women into a masculine character."*¹⁸

For these researchers mentioned above who think that women hide their sexuality behind masculine clothes to exist in the public space, the most significant evidence of this is the long hair that was sacrificed by cutting, the hair worn short in the "a la garçonne" model, the *"straight-cut dresses that destroyed the chest and waistlines, and the flat-chested and hipless women in that period."* It is thought that women of the period tried to *"look like teenage school children who looked both male and female."*¹⁹ According to these approaches, which read women's presence in the public sphere as a policy of desexualization, Turkish women sacrificed their femininity to exist in the public sphere. They chose to look like men and share the same space with men. Thus, Turkish women, who wanted to exist in a man's world, decided to look like men and assumed an androgynous silhouette.²⁰ The educated, professional woman of the new regime is seen as privileged and glorified by the reforms. Yet, at the same time, she is seen as 'genderless' and even, to some extent, assuming a male identity.²¹ According to the researchers cited above, the new image of women in Türkiye also includes rules of behavior that set new boundaries for women's identity. These researchers even asserted that this masculine image emerged due to a tacit agreement with the political power. Women's sexuality, which is seen as something to be kept under control, is

¹⁶ Çağla Ormanlar, *Giyim Kuşam Modaları-Püsküllü Bela'dan Şapkaya 1923-1940, 75 Yılda Değişen Yaşam Değişen İnsan-Cumhuriyet Modaları*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999), p.48-49.

¹⁷ Ömer Çaha, *Sivil Kadın*, (Ankara: Savaş Yayınevi, 2010), p.151.

¹⁸ Ibid Çaha, p.152.

¹⁹ Ibid Ormanlar, p.49.

²⁰ Ibid Ormanlar, p.49.

²¹ Deniz Kandiyoti, "Ataerkil Örüntüler: Türk Toplumunda Erkek Egemenliğinin Çözümlemesine Yönelik Notlar", *Kadın Bakış Açısından 1980'ler Türkiye'sinde Kadın*, ed. Şirin Tekeli, (İstanbul: İteşimYayınları, 1990), p.351.

thought to have been symbolically covered in the early years of the republic. According to Ayşe Durakbaşa;

“To participate in the power game, women had to have a 'respectable' status, both in bureaucratic terms and in terms of patriarchal morality. In a sense, when they occupied a bureaucratic position, they had to manage to push their sexual identity to the background and portray a chaste, modest woman by patriarchal rules.”²²

However, it can be said that an element has been overlooked in the evaluation of these researchers and this element is the parallelism of the clothes with the world fashion of the day. Turkish women in the public sphere only wore the latest fashionable clothes their Western fellows wore. Therefore, unlike the assertions of these researchers cited above, there was no direct political intervention and dictation regarding masculine clothing either in the early Republican period or later.

Thanks to the role played by the press, fashion is conveyed to women, who were the target audience, through the press. Women also follow the period's fashion and then apply it, with the desire to imitate it, which is one of the reasons why fashion is practiced. This is precisely the experience of Turkish women when it comes to fashion. Turkish women made a clothing revolution by adapting it through purchasing, sewing, and tailoring it. The intermediary role of the press here is to carry the fashion and encourage its adoption. For this reason, a new interpretation can be made to the claims of Durakbaşa, Çaha, Kandiyoti, and others regarding the masculine image of Turkish women. Because Turkish women wore whatever was fashionable in the world at that time. When the press of the period is examined, it is seen that it progressed in parallel with popular fashion and quickly informed Turkish women about everything happening in the fashion world. Since the world fashion of the period was under French influence, it is understood from the press that Turkish women followed French fashion closely. Because all the fashion news in the press, new fashion clothes, accessories, and, in short, everything about fashion is based in Paris. However, fashion is not just a phenomenon that can be traced in a few pages in the press. If a comparison

²² Ibid Durakbaşa, 2012, p.92.

is made with photographs of the period, it can be easily understood from the clothes that women in Türkiye followed the latest fashions published in the press.

1.1 The Scope of This Study

The scope of this study is the representation of clothing styles and women's fashion, the most crucial visual tools for Turkish women to adapt to modern life, in the press in the 1920s and 1930s, which are determined as the historical framework. In this study, Turkish women's clothing styles of the 1920s and 1930s will be examined together with the effects of French fashion on Turkish women's styles. Since France maintained its leading position in world fashion for many years, French fashion meant the latest, most up-to-date fashion. Paris tailors, who shaped world fashion, were the primary determinants of women's image. Although new fashions were born in Paris, France, the press was the most effective tool in spreading them worldwide. Newspapers and magazines were the most effective communication tools for world fashion developments and the latest fashion news to their readers. For this reason, the primary sources of this study are magazines and newspapers from that period. The penetration of French fashion, the most current fashion, into the country was mainly through the press. What remained was the implementation of fashions followed by the press.

Analyzed and referred to as the "Turkish woman" in this thesis, she corresponds to urban, active in the public sphere, participating or wishing to participate in business life, educated, following the press, and aware of the rights granted to her by the new regime, in fact, middle and upper-class women. In this thesis, where Turkish women's fashion is chosen as the focus, men's fashion is excluded. This is because the new regime did not make a clothing regulation directly targeting women, and the issue of women's clothing seemed to have been left to its natural course. This thesis tries to follow the course of Turkish women's fashion through the intermediary role of the press, considering that the press filled the gap that emerged due to the lack of direct regulation and guidance on women's clothing by political power. While doing this, she claims that Turkish women's fashion progresses in parallel with world women's fashion and that Turkish women follow and apply the most current fashion. First, the

general outlines of the period's world fashion of the period are emphasized to prove this claim. The parallels in the fashion news in the press are pointed out, and finally, the photographs of the period are examined as the implementation of these fashions.

1.2 Methodology and Sources

This study examines women's fashion in Türkiye in the 1920s and 1930s and visual tools of Turkish women's adaptation to modern life. While doing this, I chose the period's magazines, periodicals, and newspapers as the primary data sources. The study also examines the representation of Turkish women's fashion in the press and the parallelism of this representation with the world and tries to find the answer to the question of to what extent the fashion concept conveyed to the readers in the Turkish press was adopted by Turkish women through photographs from the period. Within the central theme of the study, all accessible newspapers, periodicals, and magazines published in Türkiye between 1923 and 1940 were examined.

Firstly, all national and local newspapers and magazines published in the 1920s and 1930s in the "periodicals archive" of the *Milli Kütüphane* (National Library) were examined. While conducting this research, magazines were examined individually, and news and related pages on themes such as women, fashion, clothes, and dresses were searched. Articles and news with relevant topics were selected and requested from the library to be categorized according to year and date. Then, online newspaper archives were scanned, newspapers and magazines that were not or were missing in the National Library were examined, and data on the subject was tried to be found. Open access newspaper archives of *Ankara University* and *İstanbul University*, independent archives such as *gastearşivi.com*, and various institutional libraries and archives were meticulously scanned. After three years of archive research, all the news on "women and fashion in Türkiye " was categorized according to years and months. An important issue when making this categorization was the alphabet change before and after 1928. As is known, on November 1, 1928, with the adoption of the "*Türk Harflerinin Kabul ve Tatbiki Hakkında Kanun*" (Law on the Adoption and Application

of Turkish Letters) numbered 1353, an Alphabet Revolution took place in Türkiye.²³ In the archival research, it was necessary to transcribe some of the articles and news items selected for the study since the sources corresponding to the period before this date were in Ottoman Turkish. The relevant pages of these journals, which will be detailed in the press section, were first transcribed into Turkish and then simplified. Even though all accessible newspapers and magazines were examined, without distinguishing between the national and local press, finding a specific topic, such as fashion, in the local press was challenging. For this reason, the magazines and newspapers used within the scope of the study are those published in metropolitan cities and constitute the national press that appeals to larger audiences. After the archive research was carried out, the findings were classified. Fashion pages in newspapers and magazines are divided according to their content and period. The contents were separated according to the type of clothing mentioned and the subject mentioned. An attempt has been made to draw a general portrait of the period's fashion by dividing each year's fashion into categories such as dresses, shoes, coats, skirts, hairstyles, suits, etc.

Using the content analysis method, the study traces the transformation of Turkish women's image and fashion with the Republican regime into a modern one. Although information and recipes about women's fashion of the period were available in newspapers and magazines, photographs of the period are needed to see whether women adopted these fashions. For this reason, Tuna Pektaş's personal archive and official institutions archives, such as *Vekam* (Vehbi Koç Research Center) Archive, *Türk Tarih Kurumu Arşivi* (Turkish Historical Society Archive), *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Arşivi* (The Presidency of Atatürk Research Center), *Devlet Arşivleri* (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye State Archives) in Ankara, *İstanbul Belediyesi Atatürk Kütüphanesi Kitaplığı* (İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk Library), and *Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Vakfı Arşivi* (The Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation) in İstanbul, *Library of Congress*, *Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi* (Ahmet Piriştina City Archive), were utilized to have data. As in the

²³ Türk Harflerinin Kabul ve Tatbiki Hakkında Kanun, <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuatmetin/1.3.1353.pdf> Access: 09.11.2023.

newspaper and magazine research, an archive search was conducted using keywords such, "fashion," "dress," "outfit," "hat," "ornament," "ball," "wedding," "beauty," and various photographs were found. Since these photographs must have clear imprint information to be used in the thesis study, the photographs found were classified according to the dates in the imprint information. Then, the women's clothes in the photographs were classified according to the period's fashion. The main factors considered in this categorization were the appropriateness of the clothing pieces, colors, accessories, and hairstyles of the women in the photographs to the period's fashion. Although various photographs were accessed through archives and social media channels such as Instagram, the number of photographs that could be used in the study was unfortunately very limited due to the missing imprint information of the materials found. This problem also stands out as one of the limitations of the study. However, since the study of ephemera and photography is a developing field in recent years, the limitations of this study can also be seen as points that other researchers can complete in the future.

After the necessary archival research for the thesis study was carried out, the research of secondary sources supporting and explaining the subject was started. Through research in libraries and internet resources, secondary sources such as books, articles, encyclopedias, theses, etc., that are appropriate to the research topic were collected and started to be read.

To determine its scope, it is essential to underline which women are the study's topics. The group said Turkish women throughout the study are urban, middle-class, literate, and intellectually active in the public sphere. The study also has limitations since finding data on women in the countryside is challenging. Additionally, the focus on women's fashion throughout the study is on the outerwear women wear when they leave the home. For this reason, clothes belonging to more private areas, such as underwear or swimsuits, are excluded from the study.

After collecting all the primary and secondary sources necessary for the study, a fundamental methodological problem was encountered while evaluating these sources: the interdisciplinary difficulty of studying fashion history. As Giorgio Riello

mentioned in his work, "*studying fashion or fashion history involves both abstract concepts and material objects*,"²⁴ therefore, it is necessary to borrow methodological approaches from many different disciplines. Although fashion is an abstract concept, it becomes a situation that can be examined through objects when reduced to clothes, accessories, or clothing. Studying fashion history can be challenging due to its intersectionality, multi-layered structure, the ability to be evaluated through objects or concepts, and the need for different disciplines. Components such as symbolism or social meanings that the individual pieces of fashion create or contain when they come together also make fashion studies difficult. In this study, to overcome the difficulties of fashion history studies, fashion is evaluated through clothes and reduced to an object. Change lies at the basis of fashion, which is an abstract concept. In this thesis, the idea of fashion is evaluated through objectified pieces of clothing as periodic changes and innovations in clothing.

On the other hand, studying the fashion history of Turkish women of the republic presents several methodological challenges due to the intersection of cultural, social, and political factors. While preparing this thesis study, I encountered four fundamental methodological problems. I want to summarize these. First, we have limited resources regarding Turkish women's fashion. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the first President of the Turkish Republic brought profound social and political changes in Türkiye. However, as historical records frequently focused on political and nationalist movements rather than everyday living, there may not have been as much material attire during this time. Second, it is challenging to be a woman in a gendered narrative. Since traditional historical narratives generally ignore women's experiences, being able to be the voice of women and interpret the past through the sources of the study requires objectivity and competence. Examining fashion history requires challenging accepted gender-based prejudices in historical records, as well as different accepted views in the field of social sciences. It also requires courage to criticize their work—third, intersectionality. Class, ethnicity, religion, and regional variances were among the intersecting elements influencing women's fashion experiences. It takes an

²⁴ Giorgio Riello, "The Object of Fashion: Methodological Approaches to the History of Fashion", *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture*, Vol.3, 2011, p.1.

intersectional approach to comprehend the varied lives of Turkish women of the early republican period, considering the plurality of identities and experiences. Although this intersectionality stands before us as a conceptual problem, the fact that we cannot reach women in other classes and do not have sufficient information is among the limitations of the study since the media that provide the data in this thesis study addresses or corresponds to middle- and upper-class women. Although class-based studies are essential in treating more comprehensive and accurate interpretations of fashion history studies, it isn't easy to find sources to provide data for these studies. For this reason, while it can be the voice of middle-class and urban women, it isn't easy to be the voice of rural, rural, or lower-class women and write their stories. Finally, reaching and interpreting the material object forms of clothing is also challenging, a part of material culture. Because, unlike historical documents, it is difficult for daily objects to be preserved and passed on to future generations in their original form. Even if some have survived to the present day, it is challenging to examine and classify them by obtaining permission from personal archives, collections, or museums. For reasons like these, in this thesis, the traces of Turkish women's fashion are followed through the press.

1.3 Outline of the study

The topic of the study will be analyzed in six chapters in general terms, including the introduction and conclusion. In the introduction, the purpose, objectives, and problematics of the study are stated, and a foundation is laid for the subject.

The second chapter will focus on the concept of fashion in general terms and the fashion understanding of the period covered in the study. After the conceptual discussion of fashion is made, the impact of French fashion on the world of fashion will be explained. The characteristics of world fashion in the 1920s and 1930s, which constitute the historical framework of the study, will be detailed, and a framework will be drawn about the period's fashion.

In the third chapter, general information about the situation of Turkish women in the early Republican period will be provided. The founder of the new regime, Mustafa

Kemal's views on women, the reforms that changed the position of women in the early republican period, the perception of women in this period, and the perceptions that were considered ideal will constitute the main elements of the third chapter.

In the fourth chapter, the birth of the Turkish press and its progress over time will take place briefly. Then, periodicals published between 1923 and 1940 in Türkiye will be introduced in this chapter with information on their owner, publisher, cadre, genres, and the publishing periods before moving on to the details of Turkish women's fashion.

In the fifth chapter, Turkish women's image and women's fashion, which constitute the main subject of the study, will be examined. In this chapter, it will be underlined that fashion was seen as one of the goals and tools in the modernization project, and then Turkish women's fashion will be discussed. The characteristics of current fashion in the 1920s and 1930s and the types of clothes and models conveyed to Turkish women in the press will be examined in detail in this chapter. Turkish women's adoption of the latest fashion of the day will be validated through photographs from that period.

The study aims to add a new perspective to the field by examining how accurate the interpretations of Turkish women's clothing, fashion, or images claimed by many researchers for many years are. Therefore, in the Conclusion, the findings regarding Turkish women's fashion and image will be shared, and the parallelism with the world fashion of the period will be explained. Additionally, a critique of the masculine image of Turkish women asserted by the researchers for years will be made in conclusion by giving examples from the data used in Chapter 5.

1.4 Literature Review

The interaction between politics and women's fashion in Türkiye is a brand-new topic. Previous fashion studies were mainly in textiles and sociology, and the studies with a historical framework primarily focused on the period of the Ottoman Empire.

Among the existing studies on women and fashion in Türkiye, Yüksel Şahin's book titled *1920-1930 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'de Kadın Silüetinde Moda Anlayışı ve*

Değişimler analyzed understanding of fashion and its alteration on the silhouette of Turkish woman between 1920-1930 in Türkiye.²⁵ Şahin is a textile expert whose study does not include historical analysis. Thus, she offers that historians in Türkiye should also study fashion by adding a historical perspective to fashion studies with a historical background. Yüksel Şahin's offer is also my inspiration to further expand the period to 1940 to examine fashion in Türkiye in a more extended period than her study.

Another source is the book titled *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda*, written by İlbeyi Özer.²⁶ This book examines the life and fashion of the Ottoman period in the Turkish Republic along the lines of the Westernization process in Türkiye from the 19th century to the 1930s. But his book is based on only İstanbul, so it is not an inclusive study. Elif Mahir Metinsoy also studied fashion and women during the Armistice Period 1918-1923 in Türkiye in her book titled *Mütareke Dönemi İstanbul'unda Moda ve Kadın, 1918-1923*.²⁷ Yet her study's keyframe is İstanbul too and only covers a limited period and thus does not give an idea about the Republican period.

Cihan Aktaş's book titled *Tanzimat'tan 12 Mart'a Kılık-Kıyafet ve İktidar*,²⁸ Ayten Sezer Arıç's *Atatürk Tükiyesi'nde Kılık Kıyafette Çağdaşlaşma*,²⁹ Nurullah Abalı's *Geleneksellik ve Modernizm Açısından Kılık Kıyafet*,³⁰ and Fatma Karabıyık Barbarosoğlu's Ph.D. thesis titled "Modernleşme Sürecinde Moda-Zihniyet İlişkisi"³¹ are among the other studies which provide information on fashion in Türkiye but from a different perspective. Among these sources, Nurullah Abalı's study is quite a scattered, anti-modern, and utterly biased book. Although Cihan Aktaş's book examines the relationship of disguise with political power, it also discusses the *hijab*.

²⁵ Yüksel Şahin, *1920-1930 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'de Kadın Silüetinde Moda Anlayışı ve Değişimler*. (İzmir: DEÜ Rektörlük Matbaası, 2006).

²⁶ İlbeyi Özer, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda*, (İstanbul: Truva Yayınları, 2006).

²⁷ Elif Mahir Metinsoy, *Mütareke Dönemi İstanbul'unda Moda ve Kadın, 1918-1923*, (İstanbul: Libra, 2014).

²⁸ Cihan Aktaş, *Tanzimattan Günümüze Kılık Kıyafet ve İktidar*, (İstanbul: Nehir Yayınları, 1989).

²⁹ Ayten Sezer Arıç, *Atatürk Tükiyesi'nde Kılık Kıyafette Çağdaşlaşma*, (Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 2007).

³⁰ Nurullah Abalı, *Geleneksellik ve Modernizm Açısından Kılık Kıyafet*, (İstanbul: İlke Yayıncılık, 2009).

³¹ Fatma Karabıyık Barbarosoğlu, "Modernleşme Sürecinde Moda-Zihniyet İlişkisi", (Doktora Tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1995).

Aktaş cannot go beyond the long-standing hijab debate between Islamists and modernists. Although both Abalı and Aktaş claim to work in fashion, they studied the perception of hijab in society rather than fashion as content. With their contents, these two studies will have little contribution to my thesis since they claim to study clothes and fashion but focus on hijab. They studied the relationship between dress and hijab.

Fatma Karabıyık Barbarosoğlu's study is more objective than Abalı and Aktaş's, and it is a first in the field since she makes a comprehensive introduction and analyses problematics about fashion studies in the light of historical and sociological data. She analyses the relationship between fashion and mentality within the process of modernization. However, in her research, the republican period takes a small space and is not examined in detail. I think her study provides a general framework and a tidy introduction to further studies in the field.

Ayten Sezer Arıĝ's book titled *Atatürk Tükiyesi'nde Kılık Kıyafette Çağdaşlaşma* is another study concerning fashion in Türkiye. The sources used in this book are mainly taken from the archives of the *Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü* (General Directorate of Security of Türkiye).³²

Additionally, the book titled *13 Asırlık Türk Kıyafet Tarihine Bir Bakış* written by Nurettin Sevin provides a concise synopsis of the thirteen-century history of Turkish clothing.³³ Sevin offers insight into the various styles, materials, and cultural influences that have influenced Turkish dress across time through a thorough analysis of primary sources, archaeological discoveries, and visual depictions. The study explores how changes in political dynamics, economic structures, and religious beliefs influenced fashion trends and sartorial norms in various times of Turkish history, delving into the socio-cultural environment surrounding clothing practices. Sevin also explores the symbolic connotations ingrained in clothing, illuminating how clothes functioned as indicators of identity, social standing, and cultural affinities. Through tracing the history of Turkish costume from its ancient roots to modern iterations,

³² Ayten Sezer Arıĝ, *Atatürk Türkiye'sinde Kılık Kıyafette Çağdaşlaşma*, (Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 2007).

³³ Nurettin Sevin, *13 Asırlık Türk Kıyafet Tarihine Bir Bakış*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1991).

Sevin's work advances our knowledge of the rich and diverse legacy of Turkish clothing. This historical perspective allows Readers to comprehend Turkish clothing customs' evolution, persistence, and relevance in larger cultural narratives.

Moreover, there are sources such as Fatma Keser's master's thesis titled *Women's Clothes in The Republican Era Between 1923-1950* (1923-1950 Yılları Arası Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kadın Kıyafetleri)³⁴ is the closest research to this thesis study. In her study, Fatma Keser examines the fashions of Turkish women of the period within the determined historical framework. While doing this, she does not shy away from giving the historical background of the period. However, the difference between this thesis and our work is that it is far from making claims or arguments.

In Özlem Dilber's Ph.D. dissertation titled, "*Fashion, Handicraft, and Women Between the Wars in Turkey: Modernization, Nationalism and Women's Movement*,"³⁵ examines the connection of fashion, crafts, and women's roles in interwar Türkiye. She examines how nationalism, modernization, and the women's movement of that era impacted these components. The thesis deftly explores how fashion and handicrafts serve as vehicles for social change, women's empowerment in Türkiye, and symbols of cultural identity. She talks about how women engaged in these industries as producers or consumers and how that engagement connected to more significant sociopolitical movements of the day. The thesis generally uses fashion and crafts as a prism to view the complicated dynamics of gender, identity, and modernity in interwar Türkiye. Her study focuses on women's fashion-related agenda, tailoring, and handicraft works in interwar Türkiye.

Another thesis that draws attention to the importance of shaping and sewing is Mine Demir's. Ph.D. dissertation titled "*The Place of Needlework in Women's Education from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic (1908-1952)*" (Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Kadın Eğitiminde Biçki Dikişin Yeri (1908-1952))³⁶, at which she investigates the political,

³⁴ Fatma Keser, "1923-1950 Yılları Arası Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kadın Kıyafetleri", (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Arel Üniversitesi,2017).

³⁵ Özlem Dilber, "*Fashion, Handicraft, and Women Between the Wars in Turkey: Modernization, Nationalism and Women's Movement*," (Doktora Tezi, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi,2021).

³⁶ Mine Demir, "*Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Kadın Eğitiminde Biçki Dikişin Yeri (1908-1952)*", (Doktora Tezi, Sakarya Üniversitesi,2017).

economic, and social reasons behind the orientation of women towards needlework within the determined historical framework. While conducting this research, the place of needlework/tailoring in educational institutions is analyzed. Overall, this dissertation likely offers insights into the evolving significance of needlework as a tool for women's education and empowerment in the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Türkiye.

On the other hand, fashion studies have a more deeply rooted history than Türkiye. In her dissertation “The Relationship of Fashion in Women's Dress to Selected Aspects of Social Change From 1850 to 1950”, Elinor Roth Nugent explores the intricate connection between women's fashion and social change from 1850 to 1950. Through meticulous research, Nugent delves into how shifts in clothing styles reflected broader societal transformations during this period. Her work sheds light on the multifaceted ways fashion served as both a reflection of and a catalyst for change in women's roles, attitudes, and societal norms over a century of significant historical developments.³⁷

Malcom Barnard’s “Fashion Theory” is a seminal work in fashion studies, offering a comprehensive exploration of the multifaceted nature of fashion and its significance in society.³⁸ Published in 2007, the book delves into various theoretical frameworks and perspectives to analyze the complex dynamics of fashion as a cultural phenomenon. Barnard begins by elucidating the concept of fashion, tracing its historical evolution, and highlighting its role as a form of cultural expression and communication. He examines how fashion intersects with identity, gender, class, and power dynamics, illustrating how clothing choices are imbued with symbolic meanings and social significance. Central to Barnard's analysis is the idea that fashion is not merely about aesthetics or individual style but serves as a site of social distinction and differentiation. He draws on theories from sociology, anthropology, and cultural studies to unpack the mechanisms through which fashion operates as a mechanism of social stratification and cultural capital. Moreover, Barnard explores the role of fashion in the construction and performance of identity, emphasizing how

³⁷ Ibid Nugent.

³⁸ Malcom Barnard, *Fashion Theory*, (New York: Routledge, 2020).

clothing functions as a form of self-presentation and identity negotiation. He interrogates how fashion reflects and shapes cultural norms and values, illustrating how it can be a site of resistance, subversion, or conformity. Barnard engages with diverse case studies, historical examples, and theoretical perspectives throughout the book to offer a nuanced understanding of fashion as a dynamic and contested terrain. He interrogates the dichotomy between 'high' and 'low' fashion, unpacks the global flows of fashion capital, and examines the implications of consumerism and mass production on the fashion industry.

Sara Pendergast and Tom Pendergast in their book titled *Fashion, Costume, and Culture: Clothing, Headwear, Body Decorations, and Footwear through the Ages, Vol 4*³⁹ provide an in-depth exploration of the historical evolution and cultural significance of fashion and attire across different periods and societies. Volume 4 delves into the intricate relationship between fashion and culture, examining how clothing, headwear, body decorations, and footwear have reflected and influenced social, political, economic, and religious dynamics throughout history. The authors meticulously analyze various aspects of dress, from materials and construction techniques to styles and symbolism, offering insights into how individuals and communities have expressed identity, status, and values through their attire. The Pendergasts illuminate how globalization, technological advancements, shifting societal norms, and artistic movements have shaped the fashion landscape, fostering continuity and innovation in sartorial expression. The Pendergasts also employ a multidisciplinary approach throughout both volumes, drawing on historical, anthropological, sociological, and artistic perspectives to contextualize and analyze fashion phenomena. They explore the intersections of fashion with gender, race, class, and power dynamics, highlighting how clothing choices have served as vehicles for social commentary, resistance, and cultural exchange. By synthesizing a vast array of scholarly research, visual imagery, and primary source materials, the Pendergasts offer readers a rich and nuanced understanding of the complex interplay between fashion and society. Their work is a valuable resource for scholars, students, and enthusiasts

³⁹ Sara Pendergast&Tom Pendergast, *Fashion, Costume, and Culture, Vol.4: Modern World Part 1:1900-1945* (USA: Thomson Gale,2004), p.664.

seeking to explore the multifaceted dimensions of dress and adornment across time and cultures.

Diana Crane's book titled "Moda ve Gündemleri" (*Fashion and Its Agendas* English in original)⁴⁰ comprehensively analyzes the multifaceted nature of fashion and its societal implications. Crane explores how fashion is a powerful social institution encompassing various aesthetic, economic, cultural, and political agendas. Crane examines how fashion functions as a form of visual communication, conveying messages about identity, status, and belonging. She discusses how individuals use clothing and personal style to express their identities, affiliations, and aspirations while navigating social norms and expectations. Furthermore, Crane delves into the economic dynamics of the fashion industry, tracing the production, distribution, and consumption processes that shape trends and tastes. She highlights the role of fashion designers, retailers, advertisers, and consumers in driving the fashion cycle and influencing cultural perceptions of style and beauty. Crane also interrogates fashion's cultural and symbolic significance, exploring how it reflects and shapes broader social values, beliefs, and ideologies. She examines how fashion intersects with issues of gender, race, class, and sexuality, illuminating how clothing choices can both reinforce and subvert dominant power structures and cultural norms. Moreover, Crane investigates the political dimensions of fashion, analyzing how it has been used as a tool for social change, protest, and resistance. She discusses the role of fashion in movements for liberation, equality, and justice, highlighting how clothing and adornment can challenge dominant narratives and advocate for marginalized communities. Throughout the book, Crane employs a rigorous interdisciplinary approach, drawing on insights from sociology, anthropology, economics, cultural studies, and fashion theory to comprehensively understand fashion as a complex social phenomenon. Her work contributes to broader discussions about the intersection of culture, identity, and power, shedding light on how fashion shapes and reflects the agendas of individuals, communities, and societies.

⁴⁰ Diana, Crane, *Moda ve Gündemleri*, (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2003).

Marnie Fogg's book titled "*The Story of Fashion*" and translated into Turkish as (Modanın Tüm Öyküsü)⁴¹ offers a comprehensive exploration of the evolution of fashion throughout history. Fogg delves into the origins of fashion, tracing its development from ancient civilizations to contemporary global trends. The book covers various topics, including the influence of social, cultural, economic, and technological factors on fashion. Fogg examines critical moments and movements in fashion history, highlighting the contributions of designers, artists, and cultural icons in shaping sartorial trends. Moreover, Fogg discusses the significance of fashion as a form of self-expression and identity, exploring how clothing choices reflect individual tastes, values, and aspirations. She also analyzes the role of fashion in society, addressing issues such as gender, class, and power dynamics. Throughout the book, Fogg employs a visually engaging format featuring photographs, illustrations, and examples of historical garments to complement her narrative. This approach allows readers to gain a deeper understanding of the aesthetic and cultural dimensions of fashion. Overall, Fogg's book *Modanın Tüm Öyküsü* provides readers with a comprehensive and accessible overview of the rich and diverse history of fashion, offering insights into its social, cultural, and artistic significance across time and cultures.

Additionally, the book titled "*A History of Fashion and Costume: Volume 8, The Twentieth Century*," written by Hilbert, Clare, and Adam, thoroughly analyzes the advancements and trends in fashion during the 20th century.⁴² This volume thoroughly explains how fashions, accessories, and apparel changed over this time in reaction to social, cultural, political, and technological developments. The writers examine significant periods and trends in 20th-century fashion using a mix of historical research, visual evidence, and academic insights, emphasizing the roles played by designers, couturiers, and fashion companies in influencing the field of aesthetics. The impact of global events like wars, economic downturns, and social movements on fashion trends is only one of the many subjects covered in this volume. It also looks at the introduction of novel materials, production processes, and consumer actions that

⁴¹ Marnie Fogg, *Modanın Tüm Öyküsü*, (İstanbul: Hayalperest Yayınevi, 2014).

⁴² Clare and Adam Hilbert, *The Twentieth Century*, "A History of Fashion and Costume," Vol 8, (New York, Bailey Publishing, 2005).

impacted garment manufacture and consumption. Furthermore, the writers examine how clothing choices reflected and influenced altering cultural norms and values as they dive into the convergence of fashion with themes of gender, identity, and globalization. The book illuminates the relevance of 20th-century fashion as a mirror of more significant societal trends and transitions by giving readers a thorough knowledge of the dynamic and complex character of the genre.

The book titled "*A History of Fashion*" written by Gertrud Lehnert provides a concise yet thorough summary of the development of fashion from antiquity to the present.⁴³ The book explores many facets of fashion history, such as textiles, accessories, apparel styles, and the social, cultural, and economic environments in which they evolved. Lehnert charts the evolution of fashion over time and across cultures, investigating the impact of variables on fashion trends, including trade, politics, religion, and technical development. She looks at the historical applications of fashion as a means of cultural identification, social distinction, and self-expression. Lehnert also examines how gender roles, socioeconomic divides, and power structures are shaped by fashion in various countries. She also discusses how mass production, colonialism, and globalization have impacted the fashion industry and customer behavior. Lehnert gives readers a sophisticated grasp of fashion's intricate and dynamic nature as a cultural phenomenon by fusing textual analysis, photographic documentation, and historical study. With its insights into how fashion reflects and impacts historical and cultural contexts, her work adds to broader conversations about the relationship between clothes, identity, and society.

⁴³ Gertrud Lehnert, *A History of Fashion*, (Cologne: Könemann, 2000).

CHAPTER 2

FASHION AND WOMEN'S FASHION IN THE WORLD

2.1 What Is Fashion?

Fashion is a phenomenon that has affected people's lives for many centuries. Yet, it is tricky to answer the question of 'what fashion is' because the images and thoughts that this concept creates in people are quite different since it has had different associations throughout history. Thus, while looking for an answer to this question, perhaps the first thing to do is investigate the word's origin. The sense and amount of fashion have altered to suit people's social traditions and clothing habits in other social structures. For example, let's look at the history of fashion, according to *The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology*. Fashion is a sense of style or manner of dress and was recorded for the first time in about 1300.⁴⁴

The Dictionnaire de la mode au XXe siècle describes fashion etymologically and states that the French word for fashion is "la mode." It originally comes from the Latin word "modus," which means "the manner" in English or "manière" in French⁴⁵, and it first appeared in 1482.⁴⁶ The English word "fashion," however, originally comes from the Latin word "facio" or "factio," which means making or doing, and it is used in French as well. For example, the word "fazon" in Old French became "facon" and then "façon" and "façonner" in Middle French in time, and contributed to the creation of the word "fashion" in Middle English, meaning 'to make or a particular make or

⁴⁴ Malcom Barnard, *Fashion as Communication* (London: Routledge, 1988.)

⁴⁵ Yuniya Kawamura, *Modaloji*, (Trans. Şakir Özüdoğru) (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2016), p. 19.

⁴⁶ Bruno Remaury, *Dictionnaire de la mode au XXe siècle* (Paris: Editions du Regard, 1996).

shape.⁴⁷ The word fashion began to be used as 'a particular manner of making clothes' by the 16th century.⁴⁸ *The New Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles* defines the word "'fashion' primarily as the action/process of making, manner, a prevailing custom, current usage, and conventional usage in dress and mode of life. As 'the fashion,' it is defined as the mode of dress, etiquette, furniture, and style of speech adopted in society for the time being."⁴⁹ "*Fashion is defined as "the cultural construction of the embodied identity"* in *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture*.⁵⁰

However, "fashion" is primarily used to refer to changes and distinctive styles of dress, clothing, and adornment at particular times. For the *Britannica Dictionary*, fashion in clothing and adornment is defined and accepted as any way of dressing prevalent in a specific time or place.⁵¹ The content of clothing and adornment includes clothes, shoes, make-up, hairstyles, jewelry, and other accessories. If fashion is reduced to clothing and its changes, it is possible to say that fashion is as old as human history. However, throughout history, clothing has been used in functional ways and meanings to facilitate human life and protect against environmental conditions. In traditional societies where clothing has a functional nature and has been around for a long time, clothing has not been able to avoid being a tool that reflects people's social status and social class characteristics. Yet it cannot be said that 'fashion' existed only in the past because clothing shows differences between specific groups, and its form is not wearable and accessible to everyone. Cem Hakko explains this situation in his study as follows:

"There is no fashion in traditional societies. Clothes indicate certain roles; everyone wears what suits their age, gender, social status, and job. Any

⁴⁷ Ingrid Breninkmeyer, *The Sociology of Fashion* (Koln-Opladen: Westdeutcher Verlag, 1963), p.2.

⁴⁸ Ibid Breninkmeyer, p.2.

⁴⁹ *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* edited by James A. H. Murray, Henry Bradley, William A. Craigie and C. T. Onions, Volume 4, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901)

⁵⁰ *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture, Quarterly*, Oxford: Berg, 1997—. Available from <www.fashiontheory.com>. From Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History*, Revised ed. (Oxford: Berg, 1999).

⁵¹ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/fashion-society> (Access: 09.10.2023)

changes that may occur are extremely insignificant, and personal comments do not disrupt the continuity of the whole."⁵²

For this reason, it would be a wrong approach to say that fashion is as old as human history, with an understanding of fashion degraded to clothes. The idea that fashion may have a history equivalent to humanity stems from trying to explain 'fashion' with a more general meaning than the meaning we use today. What is fashion in today's sense?

Considering current knowledge, fashion describes a dominant way of expressing oneself through speech, attire, or customs. The assumption that the mode will change faster than culture overall is inherent in the phrase. More precisely, fashion refers to a dominant clothing style.⁵³ According to Kawamura, fashion is a "*socially constructed*" idea, a "*collective activity*," for an object to be fashionable, it must be known as fashion and spread widely.⁵⁴ The basis of fashion is change and mobility.⁵⁵ The new kind of life and society that arose following the Industrial Revolution most strongly characterizes this alteration, which occurs more quickly than cultural change.

The Industrial Revolution is considered the beginning of modern fashion in many ways. With the Industrial Revolution, a new type of social structure called "industrial society" emerged. The main factors that form the character of this new type of society are the emergence of the national market, the spread of communication, increasing urbanization, and the literacy rate.⁵⁶ Social stratification brought forth by industrialization's economic growth allowed for social mobility. The emergence of the middle class and economic progress have played a pivotal role in the dissemination and democratization of fashion.⁵⁷ A significant shift is brought about by class distinctions based on finances rather than politics or the law. Class consciousness, prestige, and way of life all influence how people understand class in modern society. Excessive attention is given to clothing as a sign of this. With increasing

⁵² Cem Hakko, *Moda Olgusu*, İstanbul: Vakko Yayınları, 1983, pp.18-20.

⁵³ Fashion, <https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Fashion> (Access: 12.09.2023)

⁵⁴ Ibid Kawamura, pp.16-17.

⁵⁵ Ibid Barbarosoğlu

⁵⁶ Ibid Barbarosoğlu, p.64.

⁵⁷ Ibid Barbarosoğlu, pp.64-65.

industrialization, the ability to rapidly produce all kinds of products also led to their rapid consumption. The easier production of products by machines reduced costs and enabled all social classes to access many products more efficiently. Isaac Singer's introduction of the first sewing machine in 1846 was the beginning of a true revolution in clothing.⁵⁸ Thanks to this machine, clothes were prepared faster in a shorter time, and thanks to this speed, clothes prices were at reasonable levels. Before the invention of the sewing machine, clothes had to be specially hand-sewn. The person who wanted to make clothes had to wait until all the sewing stages were completed at the tailor; she/he went to have the outfit explicitly prepared for them according to their measurements. This process both took time and could strain people financially. However, with the invention of the sewing machine, clothes suitable for all sizes, which could be produced more easily and quickly, gave rise to a new consumption culture called 'ready-to-wear.' In this way, people could immediately buy and wear the clothes they wanted instead of waiting months for their measurements and an outfit to be prepared.

The acceleration of clothing production created the need to open shops where these products would be sold. As a new activity, shopping became a desirable pastime for people in the mid-1800s. The first department stores soon followed. These enabled customers to peruse various completed clothes under one roof. The rapid production by mechanization transformed the social structure that demanded these products and created a new society that wanted to consume more than in the old period. The emergence of a consumer society leads people to spend more money on vanity. All these economic and social changes have changed people's perception of clothing. With changing social relationships, rich people have found new ways to differentiate themselves from others. With the Industrial Revolution, clothing and fashion became a consumption phenomenon, especially among people who earned money as entrepreneurs during the industrial revolution. This wealthy group was titled the

⁵⁸ Rebecca Rissman, *A History of Fashion*, Minnesota: Abdo Publishing, 2015, p.56.

nouveau riche (newly rich), and many spent their prosperity on the tremendous new material products produced by the factories of this new industrial economy.⁵⁹

With the changes happening in the design and fashion movement, goods and foods began to invade social life, and, in this way, social life started to change in the early 20th century. Because of mechanized life, people began to devote their time to themselves and think more about their appearance. Textile mechanization brought fashion to everyone while increasing mechanization in everyday life has left people time to look after their appearance. Contemporaneous changes in technical developments in printing also stand for the growth of the fashion press for an ever-growing audience. In addition, innovations and growing electricity usage modernized daily life. They affected fashion since “*electricity-powered clothing and textile factories, trains sped the goods to the marketplace, the telegraph facilitated communication between buyers and sellers, and photography disseminated new fashion trends.*”⁶⁰

Moreover, technological innovations helped transfer products from one continent to another, as did fashion. With the migrations and new means of transport like automobiles, trains, and later zeppelins and planes, the style began to be transferred, which lifted the effectiveness of the consumer society/consumer revolution.

2.2 Fashion and Paris Details in Influencing World Fashion

It is a fact that technological developments had a role in the spread of fashion while distinctions between classes in dress design and quality began to perish. Wealthy people wore dresses designed by exclusive designers, which cost high prices, and Charles Frederick Worth is an example of this. He is often considered the first fashion designer, and many fashion historians consider him the father of “Haute Couture.” Worth moved to Paris in 1846 and founded his private saloon, “the House of Worth,”

⁵⁹ Ann T. Kellogg et al. 1, *In an Influential Fashion: An Encyclopedia of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Fashion Designers and Retailers Who Transformed Dress* (London: Greenwood Press, 2002), p.8.

⁶⁰ Ibid Kellogg, p. 9.

in Paris in 1858. He served wealthy Americans and Europeans and influenced fashion alterations.⁶¹ He, with his designs, shaped the fashion world until he died in 1895 by leaving the Art Nouveau movement, the tradition of using live models, a legacy to future generations.⁶² Art Nouveau movement emerged as a new fashion trend in the last years of his life in the 1890s and dominated the fashion world until the First World War.

Paris fashion designers followed the path of Worth, and their designs started to be imitated by tailors outside Paris with the seasonal fashion shows they started to organize. Thus, these fashions began to spread worldwide with the help of developing transportation and communication tools. Especially after the invention of the sewing machine, magazines and publishers began to publish the pattern of these clothing models. With the help of these dress patterns, those with a sewing machine who knew how to sew could now sew her/his clothes at home. The sewing machine made it easier to sew clothes at home. It also enabled the clothes produced in Paris to be easily imitated and sewn quickly. Thus, the ready-to-wear clothing industry was born, and the first boutiques emerged.⁶³ That also led people to have more access to clothing and its varieties. However, despite the comfort of men's clothing, women's clothing still bore traces of the 19th century. The female silhouette, s-shape, rigid corsets, tightness in the waist of clothes, and anti-movement fashions were quite challenging for women.⁶⁴

However, these clothes did not fit the changing worldview of women. Women began to rebel against the system in which men were at the forefront and to demand their rights; the women's movement, which started in America and Europe at some point, began to see their clothes as a reflection of the strict rules they were in. The thin waist fashion that tightened their waists, the corsets that tightened their bodies, and the long skirts that prevented fast movement were almost like the social shackles they were wearing on their bodies. Restrictive corsets and long gowns were abandoned mainly

⁶¹ Ibid Kellogg, p.8.

⁶² "The Age of Worth", *The Times*, 30 June 1958.

⁶³ Sara Pendergast&Tom Pendergast, *Fashion, Costume, and Culture*, Vol.4: Modern World Part 1:1900-1945 (USA: Thomson Gale,2004), p.664.

⁶⁴ Clare and Adam Hilbert, *The Twentieth Century*, "A History of Fashion and Costume," Vol 8, (New York, Bailey Publishing, 2005), p.6.

after 1908, and women began to look for straight, simple skirts, blouses, and tube-shaped clothing silhouettes with more natural shapes.⁶⁵

Later, the First World War was the most significant event that changed women's clothing and fashion because the war was not just a struggle with the soldiers at the front. Still, there was also a great production and organization struggle in the background of the war. All the countries' resources that participated in the war were transferred to the war, including fabrics and materials used for clothing. The transfer of fabric and every material needed for clothing production to the needs of the army required the civilians behind the front to use these materials as little as possible. As a result, women's clothing began to be produced using less fabric than ever before, in a slim profile, away from ornaments and extra materials.⁶⁶ In addition, women who entered the working life to make up for the labor shortage left by the men who went to war began to wear new clothes suitable for this new environment. The most prominent example was that women began to wear trousers, previously only seen as men's clothing, and were almost forbidden to women.⁶⁷ The fashion sense changed because of the war conditions, and the new lifestyle that emerged after the war would dominate the 1900s. Because with the end of the war, which had been going on for four years, in 1918, life that had been going on uncertainly would return to normal. When the soldiers returned home, the war-working economy resumed working and producing for the everyday needs of ordinary people.⁶⁸ In the post-war period of the First World War, the newspaper press, which found the power to influence the masses, also affected the changes and the speed of change of societies in every field. The emergence of advertisements as a new marketing strategy and the ability to reach more people by printing these advertisements in newspapers completely changed the consumption culture. Fashion houses, tailors, new clothes, etc., were promoted in newspapers. With the increasing economic prosperity, people began spending more comfortably on luxuries.⁶⁹ The growing demand for transportation and communication tools such as automobiles and radios, the investments made in areas such as the film and music

⁶⁵ Ibid Clare and Adam Hilbert, p-6-7.

⁶⁶ Ibid Pendergasts, p.666.

⁶⁷ Ibid Clare and Adam Hilbert, p.12.

⁶⁸ Ibid Pendergasts, p.721.

⁶⁹ Mairi Mackenzie,İzmler Modayı Anlamak, İstanbul: Hayalperest, 2017), p.62.

industry, and the increasing interest in these areas symbolized the beginning of a very different era from the previous eras.⁷⁰ There were significant changes in women's lives as well. Women who entered business life to fill their workforce gap while men were at war got used to this life and did not want to leave it. Returning to their homes after four years in business and living according to the rules of the past was no longer acceptable for some women. A new war for women had begun. It was a battle between continuing the new type of life caused by the war, wanting more of this life, and returning to the old habits.⁷¹ The struggle, ranging from women's fundamental rights to voting rights, spread worldwide, enabling women to gain the right to vote in 1920 in America. As a result, a woman with economic freedom could exist more in the public sphere and adapt to a new life; the "modern woman" that emerged of women would also affect and change fashion. Changing consumer culture made the fashion and clothing industries commoditized and popularized. During this alteration process, the target audience was primarily women. While fashion is presented to the masses with the idea of modernization, two perceptions of women emerged, 'traditional woman and modern woman,' and those perceptions are directly related to consumption. The press began to emphasize that fashion clothing is for modern women rather than traditional women. All garments were presented as fashionable and targeted modern, hardworking, and dynamic women. Unlike conventional women, modern women have economic freedom, making them potential fashion consumers.⁷² Besides, for some thinkers, a traditional woman is passive in the face of social and political events, and this feature does not conform to the protestant attitude of fashion. Modern women are a reference group because they demand wages for their production and are actively involved in social and political events. Presenting the contemporary woman as a reference through mass media provides the idealization of the modern woman's identity through consumption materials.⁷³

⁷⁰ Ibid Pendergasts, p.721.

⁷¹ Yüksel Şahin, *1920-1930 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'de Kadın Silüetinde Moda Anlayışı ve Değişimler*, (İzmir: DEÜ Güzel Sanatlar Enstitüsü Yayınları,2006), p.165-1166.

⁷² Nurullah Abalı, *Geleneksellik ve Modernizm Açısından Kılık Kıyafet*, (İstanbul: İlke Yayıncılık, 2009), pp.151-152.

⁷³ Ibid Abalı, p.152.

2.3 Global Fashion of the 1920s

The 1920s, the post-First World War period, was a period of change in every way, quite different from previous centuries. These years, called the 'Roaring Twenties' or 'Jazz Age,' included a rapid change in every aspect of life, including art, architecture, daily life, music, and dance. Pendergasts indicates, "*The decade (the 1920s) came to be referred to as the Roaring Twenties to describe the newfound freedoms and sense of rebellion that people, who often dressed in flashy and extravagant fashions, were experiencing.*"⁷⁴ The general characteristic of the period was to rebel against all kinds of norms of the past period and to ensure modernization in every field with the developing technology. All types of electrical equipment, means of transportation such as automobiles, and new technologies that would affect the masses, such as radio or cinema, constituted and determined the dynamics of this period.⁷⁵ The American economy, which had grown and strengthened in the aftermath of the war, stimulated other Western economies and ushered in a period of economic prosperity in the Western world. With increasing economic prosperity, mass production was growing, and the time allocated to work was decreasing for people who could meet their needs more easily, quickly, and cheaply. The garments of the 1920s showcased an animated interplay of diverse fabrics, accompanied by an array of embellishments, including pleats, ruffles, fur, tassels, embroidery, lace, and flowers.

This new type of life, rebuilt almost from scratch, also needed clothes that suited its dynamics. The youth who did not accept the rules of the past had more educational opportunities, had seen the devastation of the war, dressed the way they wanted, had fun the way they wanted, and looked the way they wanted. This period is considered the period when women's clothing began to modernize. Women got rid of the puffy clothes of the old times and got a flatter and simpler silhouette. Women's clothing moved to a more tubular line than the flaring skirts of the old period. As Pendergasts indicates, "*Women's clothes went from flaring skirts to a tubular line, featuring flat chests and low waists.*"⁷⁶ This change was due to changes in women's work and

⁷⁴ Ibid Pendergasts, p.722.

⁷⁵ Jacqueline Herald, *The 1920s*, (New York: Chelsea House, 2007), 6-22.

⁷⁶ Ibid Pendergasts, p.725.

lifestyle. When women started to live more actively in all areas of life, they began to wear stylized clothes suitable for this life. The movement-restricting garments of the past era were abandoned for work or daily life; women wore more tailored clothing. They wore more elegant, luxurious, and comfortable clothes for events and occasions where they needed to be more attentive than in the previous period. After the material restrictions of the war period, the use of materials in clothes also relaxed and increased. In the 1920s, “*the most expensive were made of satin, silk, and brocade, a fabric with raised designs and adorned with ruffles, fringe, gathers, bows, jewels, and fur. Women added fringed or transparent shawls to these outfits for even more decorations.*”⁷⁷ The fashion of this period was under the hegemony of Paris designers, and the clothing fashions created were completely different from the old styles. The most significant difference in this period was that women started to wear skirts and dresses modeled to show their legs for the first time. This remarkable change in skirt lengths was a way to adapt to the famous dance of the Charleston era because, in this lively dance, movements with more curved skirts were made.⁷⁸ The dress fashion shaped by jazz, the indispensable music of night entertainments, and its complementary Charleston dance is long up to the knee level, straight, leaving the sleeves open, but enlivened with feather or pearl necklaces. By the artistic spirit of the period, thick geometric patterns, shapes, figures reflecting Eastern cultures, beads, ribbons, and turbans were used. Coco Chanel, Madeline Vionnet, Paul Poiret, and Jean Patou were the names that determined the period’s fashion.⁷⁹ Fluffy feathers and long pearl necklaces are just a few of the signatures of the French fashion designer Coco Chanel, who dominated the period.⁸⁰ Fur, pearls, buckles, necklaces, shawls, shoe buckles, headbands, hats, and feathers were the most commonly used accessories to complete the clothes in this period. A pale foundation, cherry red lips, and eyes framed in dark colors were also characteristic of the makeup fashion of the period.⁸¹

The ideal woman image or young woman image created by fashionistas of the 1920s was tall, thin, and boyish. “*The silhouette was called ‘tubular’* because dresses were

⁷⁷ Ibid Pendergasts, p.726.

⁷⁸ Rebecca Rissman, *A History of Fashion*, (Minnesota: Abdo Publishing, 2015), p.73-74.

⁷⁹ Ibid Rissman, p.74.

⁸⁰ Lehnert p.26.

⁸¹ Gertrud Lehnert, *A History of Fashion*, (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), p.26.

meant to be one straight tube hanging loose from shoulders to knees,” and small breasts and hips were fashionable.⁸² This new type of women of the 1920s, who experienced a significant change in their clothing silhouettes, were also very active in social life and liked to be famous or tried to be popular. These women, popular girls of their time, were nicknamed 'flappers.' The word flapper originated in Great Britain. The term "flapper" first appeared in Great Britain during a brief fashion trend in which young ladies wore rubber galoshes, overshoes used in rain or snow, and kept open to flap while walking.⁸³ The colloquial name "flapper" may have originated from an earlier phrase meaning "prostitute" or from an earlier usage in northern England to refer to "teenage girl," meaning someone whose plaited pigtail "flapped" on her back and hair was not yet put up.⁸⁴ Thanks to the comedy film 'The Flapper', released by Selznick Pictures in May 1920, the name for the modern woman of the 1920s was born. The film depicted the lives of a new type of woman and became the namesake of a generation. Olive Thomas, the lead in the movie, was one of the first pioneers of this fashion. (See **Figures 1 &2**)

Through their works, American writers like F. Scott Fitzgerald and Anita Loos and artists like Russell Patterson, John Held, Jr., Ethel Hays, and Faith Burrows popularized the flapper lifestyle and look, making flappers synonymous with beauty, irresponsibility, and independence. This new type of woman was sexy, cool, confident, and brave, with an emancipatory stance. These women did not fit the molds of the past and refused to conform to the dress codes of the past. Flapper became equivalent to the new type of independent woman.

Tired of the past's oppressive clothes and long hair, these women preferred to wear as little and as thin as possible, supporting this look with their short haircuts. The flapper styles were relatively straight, knee-length, flowing models that did not reveal the breasts, buttocks, or waist. The most frequently shown parts of the dress models were the exposed arms and legs visible below the knee.⁸⁵ But for the older generation, it

⁸² Ibid Mackenzie p.75.

⁸³ Ibid Pendergasts, p.732.

⁸⁴ Ivan H. Evans, *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1981)

⁸⁵ Valerie Steele, "Flapper", *Encyclopedia of Clothing and Fashion*, Volume 1: Academic Dress to Eyeglasses, (USA: Thomson&Gale, 2005), p.88-89.

was a major moral transformation to show women's legs, which had been hidden under long, wide dresses for centuries, for the first time. Nevertheless, this change in women's clothing gave them great convenience in their daily lives. Simply put, women could move more efficiently, and their clothes did not restrict their movements. Women, who can socialize more and more efficiently with the comfort provided by the change in clothes, have also turned to sports such as swimming, tennis, gymnastics, golf, and skiing. The 1920s were when a free life was lived or wanted to be lived in every way, and pleasure and entertainment were prioritized. It can be said that the clothes were now divided into day and night, and the difference between these two was the type of fabrics, the color to be chosen according to the environment, and the amount of *decollete* desired to be given.

2.3.1 Hair Fashion

In ancient times, it was not only their clothes but also their hair that restricted women's movements. Long hair, considered the most fundamental indicator of femininity, was like an accessory for women who needed to be cared for for a long time. However, the perception of long hair has also changed over time. It encountered radical changes, especially in the early 1900s. Women's hair, believed to be extended for centuries, began to shorten thanks to a fashion started by a few French women and their hairdressers at the beginning of the century. It is thought that the first step of this new fashion was when the French actress and singer Émilie Marie Bouchaud, or her stage name Polaire, cut her hair short in the 1890s.⁸⁶

However, the creator of this hairstyle, Bob, was a French actress and ballroom dancer, Irene Castle. This hairstyle is even called '*Castle Bob*'.⁸⁷ According to a rumor, Irene Castle, who was preparing to have appendicitis surgery, had her hair cut before the surgery to be more comfortable during the recovery process. She then uses her growing hair by hiding it under a turban. Thanks to a friend who told her how nice her hair

⁸⁶ Josie Jackson, "Where Do Hairstyle Names Come From?", <https://hji.co.uk/where-do-hairstyle-names-come-from> Access: 16.06.2023

⁸⁵ Victoria Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of Hair, A Cultural History*, (USA: Greenwood Press, 2006), p.65.

looked and that she shouldn't hide it, she began to appear in public with this new style by removing her hair. This story is considered the birth story of the 'Castle Bob' model.⁸⁸ After this decision of Irene Castle, nothing will be the same for women's hair fashion. This model, called Bob, is very close to the model called Bob today. Red Cross volunteer nurses also preferred hair at ear level or slightly below this level due to the hygiene conditions of wartime. French fashion designer Coco Chanel's haircut in 1916 also affected the spread of short-hair fashion. Just as the famous fashion designer says, "*A woman who cuts her hair is about to change her life,*" cutting her hair will also change fashion. This innovation, which gradually became a social phenomenon, spread worldwide after the war when it was adopted by fashion designers such as Coco Chanel, Jeanne Lanvin, Madeline, and Vionnet. This new fashion symbolizes a new type of femininity, women's desire for liberation and their new life. An essential feature of this period is that female fashion designers such as Jeanne Lanvin, Madeline Vionnet, and Coco Chanel emerged and reconsidered fashion and beauty perceptions of women. According to feminist writer Henriette Sauret, "*Instead of being created by men to satisfy men's desire for an ideal woman, new fashions are created by women themselves as a response to women's aesthetic perceptions and suitability to their needs.*"⁸⁹ The new type of active women wear their hair as long as before. They prefer short hair because they do not want to spend hours. The bob hairstyle reached its most popular state in the 1920s, experiencing its golden age. Bob's cuts complement the image of the period. However, unlike the Castle Bob model, the hairdos of this period are slightly shorter. Women and young girls create the 'Shingle Bob' model by cutting their hair at chin length or shorter and cutting the nape of their neck in a V shape.⁹⁰ Wearing bob-cut wavy hair, hair bandages, tiny hijab-like hats, hair combs, pearls, feathers, or bands become complementary elements of the new fashion. The masses adopted this new style as the visual that most clearly expressed the daring and free woman of the period. During this period, clothes and hair were shortened to knee level, socks were made of different shapes, fabrics, and patterns for the legs, which were visible, and the importance given to shoes increased as shoes were invisible under long

⁸⁸ Ibid Sherrow p.65.

⁸⁹ Mary Louise Roberts, "Samson and Delilah Revisited: The Politics of Women's Fashion in 1920s France", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 98, No. 3, 1993, p. 662.

⁹⁰ Ibid Sherrow p.132.

skirts became visible.⁹¹ In figure number 3, it is possible to see a group of flapper girls as an example, with all their examples, from clothes to hair, from accessories to shoes. The photo is also valuable as it exemplifies the period's fashion for skirts and dresses that were long enough to show off the legs.

While there were holistic and radical changes in the image of women, for some, this meant that traditional gender stereotypes and roles were under threat. It is especially feared that women will cut their hair short, look like men, and even become homosexual. The book that feeds this fear was published in France in 1922. The book "La Garçonne" (The Boy Girl), written by Victor Marguerite, tells the story of a young woman who, after being cheated on by her fiancée, cut her hair short, wore men's clothes, had sexual relations with multiple partners of both genders and began to shape her life within the framework of her understanding of freedom.⁹² Because of the book, which created a social outrage in France during that period, short-hair fashion became fearful for some segments of society. Fathers and husbands raid hairdressers who cut their wives' or daughters' hair short without the permission of the head of the house are beaten, and a father even kills his daughter for cutting her hair.⁹³ Although the bob hair fashion causes social events in some parts of France, no force can stand against the change. Women who want to keep up with this change somehow find alternative ways. Although they followed and adapted to the changing fashion and lifestyle, many women still could not dare to be in short-hair fashion and were hesitant to apply this new fashion. For these women, deceptive models that made it look like they had cut their hair short without cutting it were invented, and in a short time, these models became a trend among women. With the development of technology, products that will change hair or make it easier to style it in different ways have also emerged. With the help of machines that heated and shaped the hair, short hair began to be wavy or curly in the second half of the 1920s. The invention of hair clips allowed women to curl their hair at home. French hairdresser Marcel Grateau's use of a hot iron-like tool to create

⁹¹ Zeynep Özar Berksü, "Modanın Tarihsel Evrimi: 20. Yüzyıla Giriş", <https://www.ogusto.com/moda/moda-tarihi-ve-20-yuzyilin-ilk-20-yili> Access: 12.03.2023.

⁹² Ibid Roberts p.659.

⁹³ Ibid Roberts p.958.

waves in the hair quickly became fashionable among women, and this short hairstyle began to be called the Marcel waves.⁹⁴ (Figures 4 and 5)

As can be seen, it has separated itself from all the outdated dress codes of the period and has chosen to adapt to the new life. The socio-economic process influenced the emergence of these fashions, and change and accelerating life formally showed its effect on clothes. This period was when a common fashion concept was adopted and spread globally. Differences in dress between countries and cultures have begun to disappear, at least for Western societies. These new types of clothes adopted by the West have been perceived and accepted as indicators of belonging to modern times and have become an example for other cultures and nations. Print media and cinema were the most significant factors in the spread of these fashions. Those who wanted to look like the people they saw on the screen started by wearing the same clothes. Imitation, one of the main elements of the spread of fashion, comes into play at this point and mobilizes the masses. The center of fashion that mobilized the masses was Paris. Clothing samples, accessories, hairstyles, shoes, make-up samples, etc., spread from France to the world. It determined how people wanted to look and created silhouettes for people. French couturiers, led by Chanel, transformed sportswear into casual wear and offered elegant trousers to a new type of woman. The fashion of the 1920s was also seen and accepted as masculine due to factors such as straight cuts, figure-hugging dresses, and increased use of trousers. This 'boyish' image was reinforced by the complementary hairstyles, short rather than extended. Short hair was seen as a complement to the fashion of the period. Lehnert states that looking like a boy was popular in 1920s fashion, which was evaluated on the axis of androgyny, and that the concept of masculinity referred to everything other than women's fashion or behavior in the previous decades.⁹⁵ The body image created by fashion, which offers its consumers plain clothes, is thin, tall, and slender. In the newspapers and magazines of the period, examples of exercises, diets, and sports they should do are recommended for women who want to achieve this body. In other words, women's perceptions of body and beauty were also recreated during that period. However, these perceptions

⁹⁴ Valerie Steele, "Hairstyles", *Encyclopedia of Clothing and Fashion, Volume 1: Academic Dress to Eyeglasses*, (USA: Thomson&Gale, 2005), p.163.

⁹⁵ Gertrud Lehnert, *Fashion a Coincise History*, (London: Calmann & King, 1998), p.129.

and understanding of fashion changed with the Great Depression in 1929, and the fashion of the 1930s became much more straightforward and changed compared to those years.

2.4 Global Fashion between 1930 and 1940

The Great Depression of 1929 and the Second World War, which started in 1939 and ended in 1945, are the two most significant developments that affected and shaped world history. Although the crash of the New York Stock Exchange in October 1929 seemed at first to be an event that would affect America or the Western world, it caused a significant economic crisis worldwide. The effects of a stock market crash are frightening. The loss caused by the crisis is approximately 400 billion dollars in today's money. One-quarter of the companies on the stock market go bankrupt. As a result of these bankruptcies, prices also fall. In the contraction phase of the economic depression, which is the most severe form of deflation, there is a decrease of up to 30 percent in the price level and amount of money in the USA. When cash and production decrease to 30 percent, every fourth One person became unemployed.”⁹⁶

The glamorous life of the 1920s turns upside down one October day. To get out of the economic depression, America, under the leadership of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, implemented several new programs known as the *New Deal*. The "3 R's"—Relief, Recovery, and Reform—summarize the program. That is, assistance for the poor and jobless, a return to normalcy for the economy, and financial sector reform to avert future collapse.⁹⁷ Thanks to these programs, many people were less affected by the strong effects of the economic crisis, and millions of people were saved. This economic stalemate was even more challenging for Europe, which had emerged from the war and was trying to regain its former glory with American aid.

⁹⁶ Özlem Kırılı Baydur and Cem Mehmet Baydur, “1929 Ekonomik Buhrani”, <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/1929-ekonomik-buhrani/> Access: 23.09.2023.

⁹⁷ Carol Berkin, Christopher Miller, Robert Cherny, James Gormly, *Making America: A History of the United States*, Vol. 2: From 1865, (USA: Cengage Learning, 2011), pp.629-632.

It was inevitable that this economic downturn would affect fashion and clothing. It was as if the glitz and glamor of the 1920s had suddenly lost all its luster. Although economic conditions led to a simplification in dressing styles and models, elegance was never compromised. The 1930s was when the feminine silhouette was back in fashion, and Parisian designers still led fashion during this period.

In this period, the fashion perception of the 1920s was moved away, and a simple, elegant, stylish, and sporty perception of clothing became popular, which brought the feminine appearance back into focus. A masculine silhouette was out of fashion, and clothes that showed curves and feminine lines dominated the period. Body curves, previously hidden, were brought to the forefront to achieve a soft and feminine look. A slim, extended body with widened shoulders and a face raised by somewhat wavy hair characterized the trendy silhouette of the early 1930s. The body was further accentuated with bodices, ties resembling bows, and ruffled and hooded collars. The overall style was defined by voluptuous femininity formed by skirts that flowed from the waistline to the ankles, despite the lines being as simple as possible.⁹⁸ Although the fashion of the 1930s seems to be dull compared to the previous period due to the current conditions, it created many innovations. New fabrics emerged during this period. More synthetic textiles, such as nylon, began to appear in the 1930s, and by the end of the decade, rayon and artificial crepe had improved.⁹⁹ The innovations of this period did not only include an increasing variety of fabric types. In particular, brand-new forms emerged, from bevel-cut designs to sculptural forms, from feminine silhouettes to surrealist designs. This innovation, the bevel cut, served to make women look taller. As Berksü indicates, *the bevel-cutting method, achieved by cutting the fabric at a 45-degree angle from the horizontal fold of the fabric, has enabled the design of more fluid clothes that follow the body's contours.*¹⁰⁰ Although designer Madeleine Vionnet first used this cut in the 1920s¹⁰¹, it experienced its popularity in the 1930s and almost marked the women's clothing of this period. In the 1930s, the

⁹⁸ Zeynep Özar Berksü, *Modanın Tarihsel Evrimi: İhtişamın Altın Çağı 1930'lar*, <https://www.oggusto.com/moda/moda-tarihi-ve-1930lar-modasi> Access: 05.10.2023.

⁹⁹ Clare & Adam Hilbert, "A History of Fashion and Costume", Vol. 8, *The Twentieth Century*, (New York: Bailey Publishing, 2005), p.18.

¹⁰⁰ İbid Berksü,

¹⁰¹ İbid Berksü.

beveled cut led to the de-masculinization of the female silhouette. Thanks to this beveled cut, the waistlines of the clothes were raised, emphasizing the curved body lines and transforming the masculine forms of the 1920s into a feminine silhouette in a simple but effective way. In the 1920s, the fashion for a more flat-chested, lean, and androgynous body silhouette that did not reveal body lines due to straight cuts was replaced by a simple femininity that could show itself in long, slender, solid shoulders and thin waists thanks to the bevel cut. Along with the rising waistline, skirt lengths were also lengthened to provide and support the long appearance of the body. Skirt lengths were shortened in the 1920s and extended again in the 1930s, and they did not shorten much until the mini-skirt fashion of the 1960s. The ideal skirt length for daytime wear was ankle-length; the length went down to the floor for evening dresses.¹⁰² The longer skirt lengths also created a kind of conservatism. With the lengthening of hemlines, slimmer and longer silhouettes and sharp lines came to the forefront, and flared forms with fitted waistlines in dresses, skirts, and outerwear formed the prominent silhouette of 1930s women's fashion. Stand-up or draped collars became popular and part of this silhouette. Thanks to all these changes in taste, the deeply décolleté and embroidered dresses of the 1920s gave way to more straightforward and romantic dresses. The daytime dresses of the period emphasized simplicity and practicality. Thanks to the patterns or recipes provided by newspapers and women's magazines, which were the fashion transmitters of the period, these dresses could be easily sewn by women at home. Dresses were now as patterned as possible, with abstract patterns inspired by animals, flowers, plaids, and polka dots. The simplicity and practicality of daytime dresses gave way to a simple but romantic elegance in evening dresses. The most distinctive feature of these dresses was a V-shaped back décolleté and thinner straps that made this décolleté look more elegant.¹⁰³ This back décolleté could sometimes go down to the hips. Thus, while the dress worn had a very conservative appearance from the front, it drew all the attention to the back of the wearer from the back, presenting a new understanding of décolleté. Padded, layered fabrics or puffed sleeves were also complementary to the dress styles

¹⁰² Ibid, Clare & Adam Hilbert pp.119.

¹⁰³ Maria Costantino, *Fashions of a Decade The 1930s*, (New York: Chelsea House Publishing, 2007), p.44.

of the period. The elongated silhouette was complemented with a belt worn at the waist, or the dress itself could be made to look like a belt. One of the characteristic clothes of the period was the tights. This combination, completed with a blouse worn under the skirt and jacket duo, could be called a women's suit. Tights, which working women mostly preferred, were also suitable for daily wear and activities because of their elegance and comfort. Any fabric could be used in tights; the type of fabric was determined according to the preference of the person and the seasonal conditions. Pendergasts summarize the style of skirts and tights of the period as follows:

Following the general trends in women's dress during this period, the skirts with women's suits were simple, without pleats or elaborate tailoring. They hung straight from the waist to a varying length from just below the knee to mid-calf. The matching jacket, however, was a much more versatile garment. Generally, jackets fit the body closely; most had cinched waists.104

As with the dresses, the accessories that complemented this style and emphasized the thinness of the waist were the belt, coats, jackets, and shoes, the essential complements of outerwear, which were also shaped per the spirit of the period. Due to the diversification of clothes and the marked differences between day and night clothes, shoes naturally diversified. Shoes of the period came in various styles, heel heights, and materials. Heels were popular for both day and night. Daytime shoes made of crocodile, lizard, and snakeskin were fashionable, and satin, evening dresses, and brocades painted to match silver or gold were in fashion for the night.¹⁰⁵ Compared to the previous period, the heels of the shoes also became broader and lower. Comfort was also emphasized in shoes, while decorative elements were added to ensure elegance. Peep-toed shoes were introduced as an innovation of the period.¹⁰⁶ Sandal and platform heel designs were the two types that made an essential entry into shoe culture during this period. Sandals, which responded to the need for shoes to be worn on the beach with increased activities related to the sea, became almost a savior for sportswear. Over time, these two types diversified and offered more alternatives to

¹⁰⁴ Ibid Pendergasts p.812.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid Costantino, p.14.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid Pendergasts p.832.

their users. All kinds of jewelry, including bags and hats, were trendy accessories to complement the dress.

Tiny clutch bags were an essential complement for women of the period. They were popular because they were available for various women's daily activities. It was also viral to wear gloves that varied in length for day and night to match the shoes and bag—the hat as an accessory continued to be popular during this period. Tiny plate-shaped hats covering the forehead were popular. Constantino summarizes the hat fashion of the period as follows:

“Autumn and winter styles for hats were based on rather masculine shapes, with high crowns trimmed with a matching or contrasting band of ribbon. Tyrolean-style hats with feather trims or veils were also popular. Hats with curled or shovel-fronted brims were tilted on the forehead and turned at the back to reveal neatly waved or roll-curled hairstyles. In the summer, shiny straw hats were the most popular. These were usually large saucer shapes trimmed with artificial fruit or flowers and worn at an angle. Often, an elastic band was attached to the inside of the crown and pulled over the back of the head to hold the hat in position, the band concealed under the waves of the hair.”¹⁰⁷

The hair under these hats was neither as short as in the previous period nor long enough. Especially until the first half of the 1930s, the short-hair fashion continued, but it could not be said that the hairstyles were as severe as in the previous period. The hair fashion of the period was based entirely on curled hair.¹⁰⁸ The Marcel wave fashion from the 1920s became popular in the 1930s. While those with curly hair did not make extra effort to adapt to this fashion, those with straight hair either preferred hair salons or tried to create fake curls at home with their means. Hollywood actors and actresses became the bearers of these fashions. People wanted to look like the movie actors they watched on screen and dress like them. Popular culture or popular entertainment had its actual birth during this depressive period. Because in this period, people, perhaps more than ever before, needed distraction and activities that would allow them to forget the difficulties of everyday life for a few hours. This is precisely

¹⁰⁷ Ibid Costantino p.19.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid Pendergasts pp.817-822.

what cinema provided them. It both distracted them from the realities of everyday life and opened the doors of a magical, fairytale-like, and magnificent world they would never have. The stars of this world were the new bearers of trends. The 1930s were a ten-year period that combined a simple and sporty aesthetic with Hollywood glamor to create a stunning and romantic look for women's clothing. The impact of movie stars on the masses during this period was that women, who could escape the depression caused by the economic collapse thanks to cinema, looked for the magnificence they missed on the cinema screen. The 1930s was a period of turmoil in many ways. On the one hand, millions of people in the Western world were suffering greatly due to economic conditions. On the other hand, a sense of chic and elegant fashion was shaped and spread according to the tastes of the very rich, such as movie stars and celebrities.¹⁰⁹ Bizarrely, these two influences combined to produce modest yet sophisticated fashions.

In September 1939, however, a development would erase the significance of all this. Twenty-one years after the first one, another world war broke out after Germany occupied Poland. The Second War changed the balance of people's lives. When the war rears its head, men return to the front, and women return to the workforce, this time more intensively. The beginning of the war affected Europe politically and the whole world; it also brought significant changes and shifts in fashion. The fashion designers of France and Paris, who controlled world fashion until then, had to close their fashion houses, flee the country, or work for the Germans after the German occupation of their countries. This led to an almost five-year hiatus in fashion creation and production. American designers soon filled the void left by the French, who shaped fashion, leading to a new era in fashion history. It was not only fashion itself and its producers that were affected, but also those who consumed it. Most countries restricted fabric to fulfill basic military needs such as parachutes, uniforms, and tents, and the amount of fabric to be allocated for clothing production decreased considerably. For this reason, the understanding of fashion in the first half of the 1940s can be summarized as wearing the products available and continuing the fashions of the past period. In newly produced garments, it is essential to use as little fabric as possible and

¹⁰⁹ Ibid Pendergasts p.787.

to make models that adhere to the body but do not restrict movement. Women, integrated into the workforce in place of men, abandoned the elegance of the past and adapted to the comfort of work clothes. Women who spent most of their days in overalls or trousers became the working force behind the war. In the newspapers and magazines of the period, there were more important things to talk about than clothing and fashion. It can be said that the hegemony of Parisian fashion in the world ended with the German occupation of France on June 14, 1940.

For this reason, it isn't easy to trace the traces of Paris fashion in the period's press or speak about the existence of new fashions. The most significant impact of this period on the fashion world was the axis shift it created. Due to the war, fashion left France, the land of its birth and development, and after this period, it primarily settled in America. After the war, the fashion world never felt the influence of France as in the previous periods, and Paris couturiers lost their ability to set trends and shape the fashion world.

CHAPTER 3

MODERN TÜRKİYE AND TURKISH WOMEN IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: 1923-1940

The Republic of Türkiye, generally called Modern Türkiye, was established on 29 October 1923 following the Turkish National War of Independence between 1919 and 1922. The country was established based on Anatolia, the former land of the Ottoman Empire, between the 13th century and 1 November 1922. The desire for Westernization/modernization that started during the imperial period and the steps taken in this direction constitute the basis of Turkish modernization. These early modernization efforts in the Ottoman Empire were based on returning the empire to its former days by accepting its weakness in military when compared to the West namely Europe and reforming it in various fields. The modernization attempts started in the empire in the 19th century, which had the intention of solving the backwardness of the country and adapting to the time, ceased to be bureaucratic-military and transformed into social criticism and the desire to progress by reorganizing society thanks to the Ottoman intellectuals who were introduced to the intellectual movements of Europe. The issue that Ottoman intellectuals wanted social change and transformation and criticized the most was the family and the social position of women, which they saw as the problem of women. Women's backwardness was the basis of many social issues and the cause of the country's backwardness.¹¹⁰ For this reason, women's education and visibility in the public sphere were considered indicators of Westernization. They were thought of as solutions to solve the social and cultural problems of the empire. Considering women as the central actors of the return to civilization was not an Ottoman practice. Women's role in modernization has been

¹¹⁰ Ibid Çaha, p.107.

the common denominator for the Middle East, underdeveloped countries, and third-world countries. Leila Ahmed explains this situation in the following words: "*In the Middle Eastern societies, the determining criterion of women's status has been measured by Western civilization. In these societies, the status of women has been regulated either in the sense of rejecting Western civilization or in the sense of acceptance.*"¹¹¹ As Leila Ahmed emphasizes, it can be said that in underdeveloped societies such as the Ottoman society, Western civilization was equated with women's rights and the increasing status of women in society. Accordingly, raising and improving the position of women means getting closer to Western civilization, and the opposite means moving away. The same perspective was valid for Turkish modernization, which continued during the Ottoman and later republican periods in Türkiye.

Meanwhile, the issue of women, which became increasingly popular among Ottoman intellectuals, sharpened the differences in the Ottoman world of thought and emotion and led to the emergence of two different worldviews, the traditionalists and the Westernists. Both groups generated ideas on the women's question from their perspectives and did not hesitate to express their opinions. Of course, there were significant differences in how the two sides viewed and approached this problem. According to Nilüfer Göle, the women's question, a subject of debate between Westerners and traditionalists, is knotted between these two groups at the point of the distinction between public and private spheres.¹¹² The Westernists, or modernization supporters, attributed the backwardness of Ottoman society to women's lack of education and argued that women should be educated and integrated into the public sphere.¹¹³ The traditionalists, on the other hand, argued that women's presence in the public sphere would undermine the privacy of the family, which in turn would further degenerate society. Traditionalists did not want to lose moral and religious values in the name of modernization.¹¹⁴ In contrast, innovative intellectuals wished to adapt to

¹¹¹ Leila Ahmed, "Feminism and Feminist Movements in the Middle East, a Preliminary Explanation: Turkey, Egypt, Algeria, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen", *Woman and Islam*, (Oxford: Pengamon Press, 1982), p.153.

¹¹² Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem: Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1992), p.24.

¹¹³ Ibid Abalı, pp. 90-97.

¹¹⁴ Ibid Abalı, pp. 91-97.

the conditions of the time and to adapt women to the changing world. The position of women in society and the women's question, which men discussed in the press to improve this position, gained different dimensions over time.

While the discussions continued between the Traditionalists and Westernists during the Tanzimat Period, educational reforms were initiated alongside military, legal, and administrative reforms. The inclusion of women in the education system and girls' education in the schools that were opened constitute the cultural pillar of modernization efforts. In 1842, women were first offered nursing education within the Faculty of Medicine, followed by *Girls' Secondary Schools* (Kız Rüştüeleri) in 1858.¹¹⁵ Since 1869, women have also begun to study at industrial schools. In 1870, *Girls' Teacher Training Schools* (Dar'ül Muallimat) were opened, enabling women to receive education and integrate into the education system as teachers.¹¹⁶ Thanks to reforms in education and the opening of new schools, the number of primary schools for girls increased to 304 in 1905, and *Girls' Secondary Schools* increased to 84, of which 69 were in the provinces and 15 in İstanbul.¹¹⁷

Women's access to education, including literate women, and the subsequent increase in newspapers and magazines published directly targeting women brought a new dynamism to the Ottoman press and intellectual life. The typical demands of these publications addressing women's issues can be summarized as women's access to all kinds of education, the modernization of women's clothing, the abolition of polygamy, and women's achievement of equality with men in the public sphere. The intellectual women and men of the period expressed the rightness of these demands in all their works. These demands were conceptualized and emphasized as "women's rights" discourse.¹¹⁸ In the increasing number of magazines and newspapers published by women, especially in the atmosphere of freedom created by the proclamation of the *Second Constitution*, and in the women's associations that began to be established, the

¹¹⁵ Ibid Çaha, p.109.

¹¹⁶ Ibid Çaha, p.133.

¹¹⁷ Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*, (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları, 1980), p.146-147.

¹¹⁸ Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını: (1839-1923)*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Yayınları, 1991), p.39-44.

gender roles traditionally attributed to women were criticized, and priorities that needed to be changed in society were identified. Women's struggle to exist in the public sphere increased with women's efforts to fill the labor gap created by men who went to war during the First World War, which the Ottoman Empire entered on 1 November 1914. The Ottoman Empire was defeated in the First World War and left the war with the *Armistice of Mudros* in 1918.¹¹⁹ The Allied Powers occupied Anatolia following the Armistice, which continued until 1922. Turkish women who actively participated in the labor force during the First World War also undertook essential missions during the Allied occupation and joined the Turkish *National War of Independence*, first initiated by the National Forces called Kuvva-i Milliye and later by the *Turkish Grand National Assembly* (hereafter TGNA) by 23 April 1920 both by participating in anti-occupation demonstrations, helping the army behind the front lines, and offering their support to the intellectual and operational field of the battle through the women's associations women established.¹²⁰ When victory was won against the Allied Powers, and the *Armistice of Mudanya* was signed in 1922, peace talks started in Lausanne, and the *Lausanne Peace Treaty* was signed on 24 July 1923.¹²¹ Before the representatives went to Lausanne, the TGNA abolished the Ottoman sultanate on 1 November 1922¹²², and the TGNA became the sole representative of Türkiye. Following the *Lausanne Peace Treaty*, the Republican Regime was adopted in Türkiye on 29 October 1923, and the cabinet system was adopted. This cabinet replaced the TGNA government, and the Turkish Republic was established.¹²³

Ottoman modernization or Westernization was limited to the upper and middle classes in certain cities since it could not reach the masses and, therefore, was unsuccessful. Therefore, the new regime in Türkiye aimed to spread this modernization to all layers of the population, to create an ideal state and citizenry from top to bottom, doing the best for the people, despite the people, if necessary. Shaped around the mighty

¹¹⁹ Mehmet Okur, "Mondros Mütarekesi", <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/mondros-mutarekesi/> Access: 09.08.2023.

¹²⁰ Şefika Kurnaz, *Yenileşme Sürecinde Türk Kadını 1839-1923*, (Ankara: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2011), p.212-240.

¹²¹ Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1996), p.254.

¹²² Dursun Ali Akbulut, "Saltanatın Kaldırılması", <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/saltanatin-kaldirilmesi/> Access: 09.12.2023.

¹²³ Ibid Lewis, p.261.

founding figure of Mustafa Kemal, these modernization efforts envisaged radical changes in every field. In these changes, the old was replaced entirely with new institutions, a new way of life, a new way of looking, and a new Turkishness, and the intention was to rapidly catch up with Western civilization by taking sharp steps towards this goal. The declaration of the new regime as a republic and the transition to full democracy were the most fundamental departures from the past. This was a complete break from the imperial past, and a new nation-state was constructed with the people who fought together for liberation. From the proclamation of the new regime until the 1930s, radical reforms were undertaken, and with these reforms, a sharp break from the imperial past was achieved. While a new country was being created, contemporary society was also being made, and although everyone was affected by these changes, women were the most affected.

3.1 Women in the Republican Era

History consists of continuities and breaks. Although there was a break between the Ottoman Empire and the newly established republican regime in terms of the change of the political system, many continuities were inherited by the new regime. The new regime inherited many cultural, political, economic, and social problems from the past. The issue of women was at the forefront of social problems, which was also the focal point of the late Ottoman intellectual and political debates.

One of the most prominent indicators of the break with the imperial past was the attempt to open the public sphere to both sexes with equal opportunities. In Turkish modernization, the distinction between public and private spheres has always been based on the existence of Turkish women between these two spheres. Women were trapped between the contexts of motherhood, wifehood, and womanhood in these two spheres. The fact that Turkish women were stuck between these areas was also a problem for the new Turkish republic. Women, who constituted half of the society, lagged behind men and civilization in many areas. The founding cadre's perspective on women differed significantly from that of the enlightened and Westernizing Ottoman intellectuals. Improving the position of women on the road to civilization and

granting women various rights were seen as essential for the liberation of the country in the past. Still, with the new regime, they were seen as necessary for the country's foundation. It was thought that Turkish women, who contributed to the War of Independence as much as men, should be freed from the shackles of the past and raised to the level of civilization they deserved. In addition, the large number of women compared to the male population lost in the wars, and the fact that they constituted more than half of the society was vital for a newly established regime regarding the labor force and economic activities. Tarık Zafer Tunaya underlines that the new regime's perspective on women was a matter of "*national culture and economy*."¹²⁴ According to the ruling elites, women's participation in the production as a labor force would also indicate the new regime's reforms in the field of culture.¹²⁵ The civilization of women would be the key to reaching the level of advanced civilization, the clearest indicator that society was leaving its traditional roots and becoming civilized, and the visible face of the change the country was experiencing. Moreover, the solution to the 'woman's question,' which had persisted since the imperial past, was one of the most important factors that could completely detach the new regime from its history. The Turkish woman, who would be liberated from the religious and social domination of the past and integrated into Western civilization, would also become the embodiment of the new regime's cultural reforms. The situation in the Ottoman Empire continued during the new period. According to Ömer Çaha, the republican regime perceived women as a gateway to modern civilization and, from this point of view, turned the issue of women into crucial political material. Based on this idea, the Republican regime is presented as a women's revolution by developing a meta-narrative discourse on women.¹²⁶

The founding cadre of the new regime continued the intellectual legacy of the enlightened, educated men who had nurtured the educational and cultural environment in which they had grown up in the imperial past. According to the founding ideology, improving the status and conditions of women, who were half of society, would

¹²⁴ Tarık Zafer Tunaya, "İstanbul Üniversitesi Komisyonu'nun 28 Mayıs Bildirisi: Bir Belgenin Öyküsü", *Tarih ve Toplum*, 6 Haziran 1984, c.1, s.6, p.25.29.

¹²⁵ Ibid Tunaya, p.25-29.

¹²⁶ Ibid. Çaha, p.133.

contribute to the progress of society. For this reason, as the woman's question was resolved, social progress would be achieved, and the children raised by these women would be more beneficial to society. Because men who formed the founding cadre of the new regime also took over the "*progressive men's mission*" of the imperial period.¹²⁷ According to these progressive men, the task of saving the state and modernizing it constantly included women, and they desired women's modernization. The official ideology of the republic wanted women to receive the necessary and adequate education, have a profession, work outside the home, enter the public sphere, and be mothers who would raise future generations. This view was essentially a combination of the opinions of the Turkist and Westernist intellectuals of the Second Constitutional Era.¹²⁸ Mustafa Kemal had also expressed his views on this ideal woman, based on the partnership of men and women in every field, since the republic's early days.

*"More fearlessly, more fearlessly, more honestly. It is the way to make the great Turkish woman a partner in our lives, to conduct our lives together with her, to make the Turkish woman a partner, friend, helper, and protector of the man in scientific, moral, social, and economic life."*¹²⁹

Mustafa Kemal's speech reflects Ziya Gökalp's thoughts on women and society. According to Gökalp, there are three essential elements of society: family, state, and nation. The foundation of the family is the woman, the foundation of the state is the man, and the country will be shaped by the partnerships formed by women and men.¹³⁰ Mustafa Kemal also thinks that the cooperation of the two sexes is a union that will develop society. The importance of cooperation and equality between the sexes in social development and progress was emphasized in the following speech:

¹²⁷ Ibid Durakbaşı, 2012, p.119.

¹²⁸ Abdulazim Şimşek, "II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Fikir Hareketleri Ekseninde Kadın Tartışmaları", *Anasay*, Issue 12, May 2020, pp.29-34.

¹²⁹ Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri: II, "Konya Kadınları ile Bir Konuşma", (Ankara: Türk İnkılap Enstitüsü Tarihi, 1989), pp.154-155. Daha endişesiz ve korkusuzca, daha dürüst olarak yürüyeceğimiz yol vardır. Büyük Türk kadınına hayatımıza ortak etmek, hayatımızı onunla birlikte yürütmek, Türk kadınına ilmi, ahlaki, içtimai, iktisadi hayatta erkeğin ortağı, arkadaşı, yardımcısı ve koruyucusu yapmak yoludur.

¹³⁰ Fevziye Tansel, *Ziya Gökalp Külliyyatı: Şiirler ve Halk Masalları*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1952), p.121.

“A social community, a nation, comprises two types of people, men and women. Is it possible to advance one part of a mass and neglect the other so the whole group can advance? Is one-half of a community able to remain chained to the earth while the other half rises to the skies? There is no doubt that the steps of progress must be taken, as I have said, by both sexes, together, in friendship, and that progress and innovation must go through stages.”¹³¹

Mustafa Kemal was aware of the potential contribution of women to economic development and their cultural contribution. He underlined that women would play a significant role in the cultural transformation of a new country. On December 1, 1923, he expressed this in his speech in İzmir in the following words.

“...Only when one of the members of society acquires the necessities of the age, if it is content, does society remain more than half powerless. A nation must move forward and want to be civilized; it is essential to accept this point as a basis. It must. The reason for the failure of our society and the laxity and imperfection we have shown towards it... A community to work and succeed in life, to work and succeed. It must accept all the causes and conditions it depends on to be what it is. Therefore, if science and science are necessary for our society, both men and women should be able to achieve them in equal measure.”¹³²

According to the civilization understanding of the founding cadre and Mustafa Kemal, women were about to be freed from their yoke at the beginning of the most critical indicators of participation in the civilized world. The new regime would initiate a large-scale reform movement that affected every field to eliminate this traditional world.

¹³¹ Ibid. Atatürk, “Kastamonu’da İkinci Bir Konuşma”, pp.226-227. Bir sosyal toplum, bir millet, erkek ve kadın denilen iki cins insandan meydana gelmiştir. Kabil midir ki, bir kitlenin bir parçasını ilerletelim, diğerini ihmal edelim de, kitlenin bütünü ilerleyebilsin? Mümkün müdür ki, bir topluluğun yarısı topraklara zincirlerle bağlı kaldıkça, diğer kısmı göklere yükselebilsin? Şüphe yok ki, ilerleme adımlarını, dediğim gibi, iki cins tarafından, birlikte, arkadaşça atmak ve ilerleme ve yenilikte aşamalar aşmak lazımdır.

¹³² Rauf İnan, “Atatürk ve Türk Kadını”, *Tarihte Türk Kadını*, (İstanbul: Arkın Yayınevi, 1991), pp. 41-42. “...Bir toplum cinsinden yalnız birinin, çağın gereklerini edinmesiyle yetinirse, o toplum yarıdan çok güçsüzlük içinde kalır. Bir ulus ilerlemek ve uygarlaşmak isterse, özellikle bu noktayı temel alarak kabul etmek zorundadır. Bizim toplumumuzun başarısızlığının nedeni kadınlarımıza karşı gösterdiğimiz gevşeklik ve kusurdan doğmaktadır... Bir toplumun yaşamda çalışması ve başarılı olması için, çalışmanın ve başarılı olabilmenin bağlı olduğu bütün nedenleri ve koşulları kabul etmesi gerekir. Bundan dolayı bizim toplumumuz için ilim ve fen gerekliyse bunları eşit ölçüde hem erkek hem de kadınlarımızın elde etmesi gerektir”.

3.2 The Republican Period Reforms and Progress in the Status of Turkish Women

The reforms implemented from the foundation of the republican regime until the early 1930s brought radical changes, taking lessons from the past. The main characteristic of these reforms is that they aimed at a complete break with or distance from the imperial past and traditional structures. These radical changes resembled a nation changing its shell, and this change was aimed at moving from Eastern civilization to Western civilization. A society that was backward in every way was being rapidly brought up to the level of modern society. The most visible result of these radical changes was in women's lives. The reforms affected women in two ways: socially and politically.

For example, with the new regime, women could enter the public sphere without distinction between urban and rural areas. Women were expected to participate in all areas of life and achieve equal citizenship with men, one of the most important indicators of the transition in order. According to Levent Köker, this process should be considered as a transition from a religious value-oriented society to a secular-enlightenment-oriented value system society in this new society, educating women as labor force and as mother figures are essential to raising future generations, integrating them into modern life, and breaking the domination of religion and cultural teachings over women.¹³³

Education was seen as the fundamental step for women's integration into social life and their adaptation to modern life. The education issue, as a supra-gender issue, was the most crucial element that concerned the whole nation, which would ensure development in the civilizational project and take the steps of cultural change. Education was considered the most effective weapon to "fight ignorance" because an educated society would more easily adapt to reforms and be the key to reaching the desired level of civilization. In a speech in Bursa on January 23, 1923, Mustafa Kemal drew attention to the importance of education.¹³⁴ For him, society comprises two

¹³³ Levent Köker, *Modernleşme Kemalizm ve Demokrasi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), p.176.

¹³⁴ Gentlemen, these armies of knowledge and wisdom would undoubtedly be incomplete if they were formed by only one of the organs of the nation. Society is made up of two elements that are necessary

genders, male and female, which are necessary for each other. Unless these two elements are equal in all respects, a society can't progress. For this progress to be realized, the two sexes must receive equal opportunities and education. It was important for both genders to receive education, but women were far behind men in education, and this situation had to be corrected. In his speech in İzmir, Mustafa Kemal said, "*Our women will also be scholars, have technical knowledge, and pass all the levels of education that men go through.*"¹³⁵ Women and girls must participate in the education system at all levels. Education reforms are planned to include both genders.

for each other. Unless these two elements are the helpers and protectors of each other in every respect, society is incomplete, and the liberation armies that have been and will be formed from it are insufficient and weak. Ladies and gentlemen! One of the two elements I want to talk about is you (addressing the ladies), and one is you (addressing the gentlemen) ... These two parts must be equal in every respect. This is what reason, logic, and nature dictate. This equality, essentially between two entities, is also the case for society. For this reason, our women will be equal to our men in knowledge and science; in other words, they will reach the same level of maturity... Men and women should receive education and training in the same way. For this reason, the new Turkish State and the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye will consider this point with great importance in the educational programs it will follow in the future. Our women will, of course, go through the same educational levels as men, and they will be able to perform the duties that society demands of them for themselves and their womanhood. I think of the level our women can reach with such programs and the devoted sons they will raise. I already feel great happiness in my heart to see how prosperous, advanced, and happy our country and society will be.

("Beyler! Bu ilim ve irfan orduları şüphe yok ki milletin organlarından yalnız bir kısmıyla teşekkül ederse elbette eksiktir. Toplum, birbiri için gerekli iki unsurdan meydana gelmiştir. Bu iki unsur her bakımdan birbirinin yardımcısı, koruyucusu olmadıkça toplum eksiktir ve ondan teşekkül eden ve edecek olan kurtuluş orduları da yarım, zayıftır.

Hanımlar, Beyler! Söz konusu etmek istediğim iki unsurdan birisi (Hanımlara hitaben) sizsiniz ve birisi de (Beylere hitaben) sizsiniz... Bu iki parça her bakımdan birbiriyle eşit olmak mecburiyetindedir. Aklın, mantığın, tabiatın emrettiği şey de budur. Esas itibarıyla iki mevcudiyet arasında söz konusu olan bu eşitlik; toplumun bütünü için de söz konusudur. Bu sebeple kadınlarımız; erkeklerimizle ilimde, fende faaliyette eşit olacaktır; yani aynı olgunluk derecesine ulaşacaklardır... Kadın ve erkeğin aynı suretle eğitim ve öğretim görmesi açıktır. Bu sebeple yeni Türkiye Devleti ve Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Hükümeti, bundan sonra takip edeceği maarif programlarında bilhassa bu noktayı çok büyük ehemmiyetle dikkate alacaktır. Kadınlarımız da tabii ki erkekler gibi aynı tahsil derecelerinden geçecek, kendisi için ve kadınlığı için, toplumun kendisinden isteyeceği vazifeleri yapmaya güçleri yetecektir. Bu tarzdaki programlarla, kadınlarımızın ulaşabileceği mertebeyi ve o kadınların yetiştireceği fedakâr evlâtları düşündükçe memleketimizin ve toplumumuzun ne kadar bayındır ne kadar gelişmiş ve mesud olacağını şimdiden görmekte kalbimde büyük bir mutluluk hissediyorum.") T.T.K. Arşivi No. 1091.

¹³⁵ *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri*, c. 2, p. 85, 86. "Günümüzün gereklerinden biri de kadınların her açıdan ilerlemesini sağlamaktır. Bu nedenle kadınlarımız da alim olacak, teknik bilgi sahibi olacak, erkeklerin geçtiği bütün eğitim kademelerinden geçecek. O zaman kadınlar sosyal hayatta erkeklerle birlikte yürüyecek, birbirlerinin yardımcısı ve koruyucusu olacaklar."

¹³⁵ *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri*, c. 2, p. 85, 86. "Günümüzün gereklerinden biri de kadınların her açıdan ilerlemesini sağlamaktır. Bu nedenle kadınlarımız da alim olacak, teknik bilgi sahibi olacak, erkeklerin geçtiği bütün eğitim kademelerinden geçecek. O zaman kadınlar sosyal hayatta erkeklerle birlikte yürüyecek, birbirlerinin yardımcısı ve koruyucusu olacaklar."

The first significant reform in education, as emphasized often by Mustafa Kemal, was *Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu* (the Law on Unification of Education), accepted on March 3, 1924. This law abolished the medreses and traditional religious education institutions, and a scientific curriculum was designed for schools. New primary, secondary, and high schools were opened. The law provides equal education opportunities to all genders. Primary education was made compulsory for boys and girls and was completely free of charge. In 1924, secondary and high school education was extended to three years.¹³⁶ Girls were encouraged to participate in life through vocational schools, and Girl's Institutes were opened to train women in all areas to prepare them for the new type of social life. The abolition of medreses, the traditional religious education institutions, and the designing of a scientific curriculum for schools also accelerated the socialization process of women. It helped to reduce religious pressure on women. The increasing rate of female literacy and the opening of new schools for women at all levels paved the way for women to acquire professions and work in all fields. Women and girls who learned to read and write and thus participated more actively and rapidly in all aspects of civilized life constituted the first step in cultural change. They, at all levels, became role models as pioneering women in various professions and, in this way, contributed to social transformation in Türkiye. Therefore, Mustafa Kemal mostly appeared in public with his adopted daughters to present them as role models for the women of the new regime. The fact that his adopted daughters took up professions previously seen as male occupations and represented the image of an ideal Republican woman. Thanks to these girls, Turkish womanhood was encouraged, and the role models presented provided vivid examples of how women could pursue any profession they wanted.

Moreover, Mustafa Kemal highlighted that republican women should not be deprived of the rights of the civilized world they were striving to enter. Therefore, the new regime's need for a new constitution to ensure equal citizenship and women's rights and freedoms was not delayed. The acceptance of the Civil Code in 1926, which was considered the most modern civil code of the period, was regarded as “*a symbol*

¹³⁶ Ali Rıza Erdem, “Atatürk’ün Kadına ve Kadın Eğitimine Verdiği Önem”, *Belgi*, Number 9 (Winter 2015/ I), p.1273.

showing that Türkiye was ready to enter the group of modern civilizations.”¹³⁷ Women gained rights that they did not have before. The civil code, which included various issues such as inheritance equality, the right to divorce, prohibition of polygamy, limiting the age of marriage, formalization of marriage via the laws, ensuring the equality of men and women before the law as well as amendments on family law, provided Turkish women with the freedom and security they had dreamed of for years. The Civil Code contributed to the realization of the ideal family and ideal woman that was intended to be achieved in 1917 with the *Hukuk-u Aile Kararnamesi* (Family Code), which, according to Zafer Toprak, was the institutionalization of the Unionist ideal of the "national family.”¹³⁸ The Civil Code aimed to create the nuclear family type; moreover, despite all its egalitarian rhetoric, the acceptance of the head of the family as the man of the house and the expectation that the role of women should be shaped around the ideals of motherhood and wifeness was in contradiction with the discourse of equality attributed to civil law.¹³⁹ According to Pınar Melis Yelsalı Parmaksız, "this situation showed a state of relationality in which relations within the family were derived from the social model and relations within the family provided legitimacy to the social model.”¹⁴⁰

It is contradictory to have clearly defined gender roles in the civil code while women were encouraged to enter the public sphere, to be involved in all areas of life, and to lift the veil between the sexes. According to Serpil Sancar, although women and men fought together during the establishment of the nation-state, women were not included in the management process of the state after the state was established, and "at the end

¹³⁷ Nermin Abadan Unat, "Social Change and Turkish Women," *Women in Turkish Society*, (Leiden: E.J Brill, 1981), p.76.

¹³⁸ Zafer Toprak, "2. Meşruiyet Döneminde Devlet, Aile ve Feminizm", *Sosyo Kültürel Değişme Sürecinde Türk Ailesi*, Vol.1, Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Yayını, 1992, p.27.

¹³⁹ The unequal provisions of the law, which were to the detriment of women and remained in force for many years until the 2001 amendment, were as follows:

"The man represents the family unit as the head of the household (154), women's employment is subject to the permission of their husbands (155), the man, as the head of the family, determines where the family will live (152), the father retains custody of the children (160/2), the father is responsible for the care of the family and children (153/2), and women can only enter the workforce to contribute to the family income (190). In addition, women's rights and duties under this law included managing the household (153/2), demanding that her husband take care of her, and taking care of the children and the home (161). Ibid Çaha, p.p. 266-267.

¹⁴⁰ Pınar Melis Yelsalı Parmaksız, *Türkiye'nin Modernleşmesinde Kadınlar 1839'dan Günümüze*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2017), p.53.

of all processes, they were accepted as having a citizenship status and position that was not equal to men."¹⁴¹ Civil law determined women's priorities, such as family life, motherhood, and wifeness. In the image of women created by the regime were women who adhered to their families and social and moral norms, attached to their traditions, fulfilled their wifely duties, and participated in all aspects of civilized life.

3.2.1 Femininity That Cannot Escape Motherhood

While modernization offered a new vision of life, the new regime's founding cadre also wished to preserve the traditional mentality somewhat. What was desired was civilization and modernization. Still, there was also a fear of excesses, such as going beyond moral and social boundaries and breaking away from traditional roles of womanhood, which the ruling elite was careful about, thinking that it may damage the Turkish family structure. Therefore, even though there were revolutions to build a modern nation, the Easternness in their emotional world and moral norms did not change. The nationalism contained in Turkish modernization combined westernism and civilization in the blend of Turkish nationalism. Although a new type of woman emerged due to this blend, with her education, appearance, presence in the public sphere, and employment, the Anatolian woman's perception was articulated to this image. What was expected from Turkish women was a mixture of sacrificing, devoted, loyal to their national values, customs, and traditions, not neglecting their maternal duties, maintaining their domestic responsibilities, but turning their faces to the West, taking their rights, dress, education, culture, and art, and appearance of the West. In other words, in the modernization project in which men draw the boundaries, women cannot eliminate their traditional roles of motherhood and wifeness. Still, they can add new characteristics to these roles, such as participating in public life, being more active in the new style of life, being educated, and having the image of working women. Because in the types of modernization that go hand in hand with nationalism, women are invited to participate more in the public sphere as "rational actors," as

¹⁴¹ Serpil Sancar, *Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), p.112.

mothers, teachers, workers, and sometimes as warriors. But this invitation is often no more than a demarcated and defined space where patriarchal thinking situates womanhood.¹⁴² Yuval-Davis and Anthias argue that the control of women and female sexuality is central to national and ethnic processes. Accordingly, women are privileged determinants of differences between ethnic/national groups and bearers of the role of "mothers of the nation." This role is not imposed on them individually by the men around them with whom they have group ties but by the state or the state's legal governance apparatus.¹⁴³ This is where women's participation in the process and their acceptance as citizens differ from men's in building the nation-state on nationalist foundations. Despite all the rights they have acquired or been granted, women can hardly go beyond the boundaries of motherhood. For Carole Pateman, modern civil society is "*constituted through the 'original' separation and opposition between the modern, public-civil world and the modern, private or marital sphere in the context of the family.*"¹⁴⁴ As a result, civil society is characterized by patriarchy. The fact that men take the lead in government and civil society means that women do not leave the boundaries of patriarchy and cannot get rid of their biological characteristics even in the process of becoming citizens. This is also why, in the nation-state-building process in Türkiye, similar experiences have taken place, and the role of motherhood has remained a sacred duty for women. The best example of glorifying motherhood would be the inscription of Atatürk's words, "The basic duty of the woman is motherhood," on the walls of many of the maternity homes in different cities of the country. Moreover, the idea that the children born to women would be the future soldiers and citizens of the new regime led to an exaggeration of the importance attached to motherhood. The viewpoint in this period was that the Turks, who had established their nation-state after the *Turkish National War of Independence*, would protect and advance this state with the new generations that would be born. It is only natural that a new nation-state emerging from a disintegrated empire would be shaped around nationalist sentiments out of concern for the future and that it would attach excessive

¹⁴² Deniz Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011), p.169.

¹⁴³ Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, *Women-Nation-State*, (Londra: Macmillan, 1989), p.1-15.

¹⁴⁴ Carole Pateman, "The Fraternal Social Contract" in *Civil Society and the State*, ed. John Keane (London: Verso, 1988), p.102.

importance to the relationship between the mother-child and family triangle. It can be said that the desire to secure the future generations that will continue the state's existence is reflected in a few responsibilities and expectations for women, who are seen as the natural mothers of these generations. This maternal role was becoming increasingly widespread, especially from the early 1930s onwards, because in the time that had passed since the proclamation of the new regime, women had received the necessary education, had become part of the labor force, and had almost completed their social integration.

The relationship between women and motherhood was frequently emphasized in the press of the period. Definition of a perfect Turkish woman: she gives importance to her education and comes before us as a woman of her home, a good wife and mother. A woman was primarily the woman of the house, not of the society. A housewife or mother should come to mind when a woman is mentioned. In *Yıldız* magazine, the ideal Turkish woman is described in the following words: "*The modern Turkish woman is an elegant, knowledgeable, highly sensitive pearl who realizes the necessities of life. She is also a mother equipped with all virtues.*"¹⁴⁵ It is possible to see examples of the sanctification of the duty of motherhood in *Türk Kadın Yolu / the Turkish Women's Way*, one of the most influential women's magazines of the early republican period. Nezihe Muhittin, the founder of the magazine, in her article titled "Analık Vazifeleri/Maternal Duties," states that "*There is an important and essential duty that the country demands from us, and that is to raise children of material and spiritual value for this country.*"¹⁴⁶ According to her, maternal feelings are one of the most substantial feelings; having a healthy and robust child is a woman's most significant source of happiness. This feeling is present even in the most masculinized and emotionless people.¹⁴⁷ The magazine also frequently advises Turkish women about motherhood in the article "Analık Vazifeleri/Motherhood Duties," published in a series in *Türk Kadın Yolu* magazine. The most important of these recommendations the necessity of abundant and regular breastfeeding is emphasized. With the new regime,

¹⁴⁵ *Yıldız*, Yıl 1, Numara 4, 1 Aralık 1924.

¹⁴⁶ Nezihe Muhiddin, "Analık Vazifeleri-Çocuklarımızı Nasıl Büyütmeliyiz?", *Türk Kadın Yolu*, Numara 1, 16 Temmuz 1925, p.7.

¹⁴⁷ Nezihe Muhiddin, "Analık Vazifeleri-Çocuklarımızı Nasıl Büyütmeliyiz?", *Türk Kadın Yolu*, Numara 1, 16 Temmuz 1925, p.7.

the country was reborn, and the care of the new republic's babies is essential within the limited resources of a nation born amidst difficulties because they are the country's future. Women should breastfeed these children in the best way possible and take care of their family table when they grow up. The importance of motherhood and wifeness for the family and the home is frequently emphasized in the magazine. Hatice Refik, one of the magazine's writers, reiterates this stance of the magazine in one of her articles with the following words: "*The soul of the family heart is the woman, the family is the soul of humanity. She is a small epitome; health, happiness, and joy in the family are almost all women's work.*"¹⁴⁸ In this understanding, which glorifies womanhood through her fertility and places it at the foundation of the family institution, the mother is constantly learning and teaching. This duty of learning and teaching that women have assumed is not only directed toward the household. Women should not only be the mothers of their children but also the mothers of the nation, educating the country as they educate their children. This idea underlies the idealization of the teaching profession by women, who are seen as the main actors of national development, and their transformation into education soldiers.

By the 1930s, social life had also been reconstructed. The country was changing its political shell and transitioning to a new way of life in every aspect. This new kind of life included dancing parties called the Republican Balls, restaurants with alcohol, an ever-increasing number of cinemas, the radio entering more and more homes, the outside world introduced by an increasing number of newspapers and magazines, an increasing number of all kinds of vehicles, changing clothing, and new types of music. It may be feared that women who participate in this new lifestyle will be attracted by this life and forget their other responsibilities. The family will be harmed because of this situation. It can be thought that due to these concerns, motherhood began to be emphasized more from this period onwards. Women's opening to the public sphere and their participation in a new type of life could make female sexuality a subject of concern. According to Ayşe Durakbaşı, in the early republican period, women were subjected to a project of desexualization. With the breakdown of the influence of religion in the social sphere and the secularization of the public sphere, the need arose

¹⁴⁸ Hatice Refik, "Kadın-Zevce", *Türk Kadın Yolu*, Numara 5, 13 Ağustos 1925, p. 6-8

to draw new boundaries for women participating in the public space, and these boundaries were drawn within the framework of morality. This new understanding of morality reveals that the free life offered to women by secularism does not mean absolute freedom.¹⁴⁹ Durakbaşa states that the Kemalist morality that determines social boundaries has specific characteristics. Women of the Republic who live by this morality should have female modesty, pre-marital virginity, absolute fidelity to one's spouse, and a sure way to follow the way they dress and behave.¹⁵⁰ In a society where sexuality is considered within moral values and where some husbands or fathers think that they have the right to control women's sexuality within moral limits, it is natural that family and motherhood are glorified. Family has always been a sacred focus for Turkish society because of the idea that it eliminates moral concerns, prevents social tensions that sexuality can create, and is a means of creating future generations. Thus, entertainment and socialization to be experienced by avoiding all kinds of extremism, male-female relations that might continue to exist within the framework of moral norms, and the Turkish family to be established because of these relations and crowned with children were the best ideals on the path of civilization. In his speech at the Great Congress of the *Republican People's Party* in 1927, Mustafa Kemal again emphasized the importance of family life by saying, "*The protection and strengthening of the family is significant in our social life.*"¹⁵¹ His speech reiterates a similar thought: "*The greatest duty of women is motherhood. Considering that the first place they are assigned is the mother's lap, the importance of this duty can be well understood.*"¹⁵² Considering the founding leader's glorification of motherhood, it should not be wrong to say that women are forced to be stuck in the concept of motherhood.

However, Zafer Toprak argues that this ideal of motherhood attributed to women was entirely economy-based within the scope of the republic's new social project. According to him, pronatalist policies emphasize the biological function of women. "*Wars had devastated the country, leaving no stone unturned. The country was poor. The Treasury was empty. The project of a new society could have only one fulcrum:*

¹⁴⁹ Ibid Durakbaşa, 2012, p.25.27.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid Durakbaşa, 2012, p.27.

¹⁵¹ Ibid Sancar, p.115.

¹⁵² *Nutuk*, Vol.2. (Ankara: TTK Yayınları,1984), p.85-86.

human capital."¹⁵³ The young population lost in wars could be regained by sanctifying, reminding, and perhaps glorifying women's motherhood.

3.2.2 Creating an Ideal or Woman of the Republic

Leila Ahmed stated in her work that the woman's body was perceived as a symbol of modernization in developing, underdeveloped, non-Western societies,¹⁵⁴ and the ideal image to be created in the foundation period of the Turkish Republic was the "national family" and "national woman," assigned a role to women in Türkiye while designing the new Turkish society; it also included a political approach to create ideal Turkish women, which the researchers interpret as Republican women.¹⁵⁵ As Nira Yuval-Davis points out, the nation-building process involves its concepts of "femininity" and "masculinity."¹⁵⁶ This situation was repeated in Turkish modernization, the nation-state's construction, and a new type of womanhood and its concepts emerged with the new era. In the period following the proclamation of the new regime, the expression "self-sacrificing Turkish woman" forms the basis of the discourse on womanhood and the image of women. Fatmagül Berktaş states, "*The 'new woman' in the dreams of Kemalist men was a being who adopted their family, social and national duties and lived for others. The most obvious virtue of women was self-sacrifice and renunciation.*"¹⁵⁷ It is stated that the foundations and one of the most significant indicators of this sacrifice is what was done at the front and behind the front during the War of Independence. Therefore, the proclamation of the new regime became a kind of reward for Turkish women, who had fought as hard as men during the war, and a way to repay their debts.

¹⁵³ Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Kadın Özgürlüğü ve Feminizm (1908-195)*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2014), p.372. Pronatalism: Population policies towards increasing the population increase rate are pro-natalist policies. It is the view that women must be mothers and men must be fathers to increase the population.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid Ahmed, p.153.

¹⁵⁵ Mehtap Kaya, "İdeal, Asri, Züppe Kadın": Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kadın Dergilerinde Kadın Algısı", *History Studies*, Vol. 11, Issues 3, 2019, pp.985-989.

¹⁵⁶ Nira Yuval-Davis, *Cinsiyet ve Millet*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997), p.17-19

¹⁵⁷ Fatmagül Berktaş, *Tarihin Cinsiyeti*, (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2010), p.108.

Falih Rıfıkı Atay, one of the most important figures of the period, was among those who depicted his ideal of a national family in which the national woman would be the main element. He describes the "Turkish House" he imagines in the new society to be built and that he expects the architect of this house from the new "Turkish Woman":

*"A woman's main work is at home. It is the woman who has a surplus from home and can look for work outside. A family consisting of a man who earns for the family and a woman who adapts the household mechanism to the household income is our first wish... Like every institution, the family hearth has two main elements: morality and technique. Morality is the property of the whole family; technique is the woman's property."*¹⁵⁸

The essence of this nationality was fed from Anatolia. Because while Anatolia was resisting the foreigners who invaded it, İstanbul was on its own in the realms of pleasure and pleasure. For this reason, İstanbul represented some negativities because, in social memory, it reminded the imperial past and the moral collapse it had experienced. On the other hand, Ankara was like the devoted Anatolian mother who gave birth to the new regime, supported it, and stood by it in the most challenging moment. This is precisely the understanding of femininity the new regime wanted to idealize as a "Turkish mother" and "Turkish woman." As Ayşe Saktanber has noted, this Turkish woman was *"a motherly figure, a modern woman who is protective, relatively desexualized, in harmony with the patriarchal male type."*¹⁵⁹ Ayşe Durakbaşa, on the other hand, describes the ideal modern Turkish woman, that is, the woman of the republic, as follows: the mother of the homeland, the friend of her man, dignified, simple in her appearance, unattractive, not emphasize her femininity, has ideals and virtues."¹⁶⁰

In the nationalist atmosphere of the 1930s, the concept of femininity was conceptualized and idealized as the Anatolian woman. The representation of the "Anatolian woman," seen as the authentic/genuine woman against the "degenerate" urban woman, *was a figure that continued the historical mission of the "nation" and*

¹⁵⁸ Bir kadının asıl işi evidir. Evden artısı olan kadın dışarıda iş arayabilir. Aile için kazanan bir erkek ve hane mekanizmasını hane gelirine uyarlayan bir kadından oluşan bir aile: bu bizim ilk dileğimiz....

¹⁵⁹ Ayşe Saktanber, "Kemalist Kadın Hakları Söylemi", *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce-* Cilt II Kemalizm, (İstanbul:İletişim Yayınları, 2009), p.328.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, Durakbaşa 2012, p.41.

ensured the continuity of tradition, ceremony, and tradition.” Anatolian women are also considered the symbol of giving birth, feeding, raising, and enduring all kinds of suffering, deprivation, and victimization as faithful women of the country.¹⁶¹ The woman of the republic is a superior version of the Anatolian woman. Although her roots and traditions are rooted in the Anatolian woman, she turned her face to the West with the enlightenment brought about by the new regime. She became equipped with the values of Western civilization. The woman of the republic, who does not blend the chastity of Anatolian women and their commitment to family and national values with modernism, is a woman with a Western appearance, who believes in modern values but has not lost her Eastern morals, who is chaste, who will be the mother and teacher of her nation. This ideal type of woman, expected to embody great sacrifices, should not refrain from making all kinds of sacrifices for her family, husband, children, and homeland. According to Tanıl Bora, the woman of the republic *"is a superwoman who is more resilient, more determined, more self-sacrificing, and more successful under more difficult conditions than men."*¹⁶² According to Serpil Sancar, *"women who took part in the political reform processes of the early modernization period experienced a different kind of publicization as mothers of the nation, carriers of tradition and national culture"*¹⁶³ instead of being citizens who governed the state and benefited from social opportunities in equal position and status with the founding men. Even though the rights that women gained put them far ahead of their predecessors, they were still not fully equal to men. The biggest constraint was that they were unable to shake off their roles as mothers and wives, and the next was that they were deprived of the right to vote and be elected, the most fundamental indicator of being a citizen.

3.2.3 The Suffrage for Women in Türkiye and Politics in Türkiye

One would not be mistaken if it is said that the most essential right won by women in the Republican era was the right to vote and be elected. The right to vote and be elected at the level of local (municipal) elections on 3 April 1930 and general elections on 5

¹⁶¹ Hicret Toprak, ““Asri” ve “Hür” Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye’de Kadın Kimliğinin Dönüşümü”, *İnsan Ve Toplum*, 9(3),2019, p.14.

¹⁶² Tanıl Bora, *Cereyanlar: Türkiye’de Siyasi İdeolojiler*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016), p.761.

¹⁶³ Ibid Sancar, p.112.

December 1934 was the most crucial factor that led the Turkish revolution to be presented as a women's revolution, as Turkish women obtained this right before their counterparts in other nations.¹⁶⁴ As Esra Işık states in her study, "*With the proclamation of the Republic, fundamental rights and equality in many areas were achieved. For the Turkish woman who has attained these rights, all that is left is to behave under these rights.*"¹⁶⁵ Women in this new period were not concerned with the struggle for rights and identity as they were in the last period of the empire because of the various rights they gained with the new regime and the changes in economic dynamics.¹⁶⁶ These dynamics constitute the foundation on which the image of women in the Republican era was built.

For example, İsmet İnönü, during the discussions on the election rights of women in the TGNA, stated, "*When the Turkish revolution is mentioned, it will be said together that it is the revolution for the emancipation of women.*"¹⁶⁷ The issue of women's participation in political life was raised for the first time in parliamentary debates in 1923. In the discussions on the country's population and the number of people required for each session in the TGNA, the issue of whether women should be included in this number created differences of opinion. In the debates, Hüseyin Avni Bey argued that women had not yet reached voting awareness, while Tunalı Hilmi Bey argued the opposite. These debates led to the first discussion of women's political rights in the parliament.¹⁶⁸ Afet İnan, who later asked why Mustafa Kemal did not intervene in these debates, was told that "*nowadays it is not a favorable time to discuss this matter*

¹⁶⁴ The narrative of women's attainment of the right to vote, which they had dreamed of since the Ottoman period and which they thought would make them fully equal to men, and the fact that this right was granted to them by those in power, without them having to go through the hardships of their counterparts in the West, feeds the view that the Turkish revolution was a pro-woman revolution. With the right to vote and be elected, Turkish women were practically equal to men in every way. Women's achievement of this right was seen as the highest point that social and political reforms could reach because women were still deprived of this right in many world countries. Ibid Çaha, p.144.

¹⁶⁵ Esra Işık, "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kadın Dergilerinde Kadın İmajı: Ev Kadın Dergisi Örneği," *Folklor / Edebiyat*, 2021, Yıl (year) 27, Sayı (No) 106-ek, p.218.

¹⁶⁶ Nermin Mutlu, *Popüler Kadın Dergilerinde Kadın Temsili (örnek olay: Cosmopolitan dergisi)*, (Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2009), p.60.

¹⁶⁷ TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 5 Aralık 1934.

¹⁶⁸ Cemile Burcu Kartal, "Türkiye'de Kadınların Siyasal Haklarını Kazanma Süreci", *İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü*, Yayınlanmamış Master Thesis, İstanbul, 2005, p.91. Saime Yüceer, "Demokrasi Yolunda Önemli Bir Aşama: Türk Kadınına Siyasal Haklarının Tanınması", *Uludağ Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2008, Sayı: 14, p. 137.

in the parliament.”¹⁶⁹ Despite the unfavorable atmosphere in the parliament, women who inherited the legacy of the Ottoman women's movement took the initiative to establish a party with the self-confidence that the new era gave them. For example, a political party was founded by women on 15 June 1923 under the name "*Women's People's Party/Kadınlar Halk Fırkası*," and Nezihe Muhiddin was appointed as chairperson. Among the party founders were Zeliha Ziya, Şükufe Nihal, Muhsine Salih, Seniye İzzeddin, Nimet Rumaydah, and Matlube Ömer.¹⁷⁰ The party applied for permission to the governor's office during the establishment process but was rejected in February 1924.¹⁷¹ At a time when the ruling elite had not yet formed a party, a women's party was not accepted because it was perhaps unwelcome for women to want to do so. Nezihe Muhittin and her friends took to demanding political rights was blocked by the founding men of the regime. For women to be able to exist in the political sphere as voters and candidates in the elections, the conditions in which they live must first be improved. In the past decade, the women of the republic have progressed in every aspect and have been able to participate in the public sphere on an equal footing with men. By obtaining this right, they have attained the status of fully equal citizenship with men. Falih Rıfki Atay, writing the day after the right to vote and be elected, defends the following views: "*In all the eastern countries, they alone are saved. In Western countries, those who have been liberated as much as they can be counted on the fingers of one hand. The women of Türkiye were in high spirits yesterday. We are in a great revolution...*"¹⁷² Although women had gained all their fundamental rights and were freed mainly from the problems of the previous period as reformist men opened space for them, women still were seen as the ones who would carry forward the gains brought about by these rights. The magazine titled *Hayat* explains this situation in the following words:

“Until now, it has been intellectual men who have worked for the women's revolution and women's freedom. The Turkish Revolution gave our women a

¹⁶⁹ Bernard Caporal, *Kemalizm Sonrasında Türk Kadını III*, İstanbul: Çağdaş Yayıncılık, 2000, p.57.

¹⁷⁰ Ayten Sezer Arıç, *Türk Kadınlar Birliği*, <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/turk-kadınlar-birliği/> Access: 07.05.2023.

¹⁷¹ Yaprak Zihniolu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınevi, p.150.

¹⁷² “Bütün doğu memleketlerinde yalnız onlar kurtulmuştur. Batı ülkelerinde onlar kadar kurtulmuş olanlar parmakla sayılabilir. Türkiye kadınlarının dünkü sevinci yerindeydi. Biz büyük bir devrim içindeyiz... “Falih Rıfki Atay, “Kadınlar Günü”, *Ulus*, 7 December 1934.

favorable ground for their activities. From now on, our intellectual women are obliged to struggle for the development of their sex and even for the erasure of the false ideas and dreams of femininity that remain in the male psyche. The individual struggle is the most important achievement. If our intellectual women become the best examples of the qualities required for Turkish womanhood, Turkish women in every stratum will rise quickly. The rise of women is the means that will lead us to our goal.”¹⁷³

Although women have gained equal citizenship and human rights within the framework of the law, men have never achieved equality in the political arena. Women's representation in parliament remains symbolic compared to men. Serpil Sancar explains this situation in the title of her book as follows: "Men build states, women build families."¹⁷⁴ Really, after the proclamation of the new regime, the two genders, who had fought together for the liberation of the country, were left with the task of being the rulers, and the other ruled after the proclamation of the regime. Men never share the political space equally with women, even though they show that they share with them the political atmosphere of the country they liberated with their sisters as a fundamental right.

3.3 Those Who Go Beyond the Ideal: The Snob/Coquette Woman as a Disapproved Female Type

Discussions such as the situation of women, the problem of women, and the thoughts that women should be modernized since the imperial period continued during the republican period. Despite the gains brought by the Republican era, the issue of femininity was still stuck in the ideas of men's ideal of women. With the changing country, women were expected to change as well, but in this change, the feeling of

¹⁷³ "şimdiye kadar kadın inkılabı, kadın hürriyeti için münevver erkekler çalıştılar. Türk inkılabı hanımlarımıza faaliyetleri için müsait bir zemin vücuda getirdi. Münevver hanımlarımız bundan sonra kendi cinslerinin tekamülü hatta erkek ruhunda kadınlığa ait kalan yanlış kanaat ve hayallerin silinmesi için mücadele etmeye mecburdur. Bireysel olarak mücadele etmek en mühim muvaffakiyettir. Münevver hanımlarımız Türk kadınlığı için lazım gelen vasıflar itibarıyla en iyi örnekler olurlarsa, her tabakada Türk kadını kısa bir zamanda yükselir. Kadının yükselmesi ise bizi hedefimize götürecektir." *Hayat*, "İstikbalde Kadın" Vol.4., Number 92, 30 August 1928.

¹⁷⁴ Serpil Sancar, *Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti Erkekler Devlet, Kadınlar Aile Kurar*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları,2013).

being stuck between the old and the new continued. In the imperial period, getting stuck between the old and the new was telling about the duality that emerged with adding the new one without removing the old system. At the same time, this debate was new in the republican period. It was now the old, imperial past, which meant that time. The new suggested that it suited the new regime, the modern, the Western. For the republican regime to provide legitimacy and succeed in the cultural transformation that it entered, it had to be stripped of the imperial past, the Ottoman inheritance. Women, who could be the most significant indicator of cultural transformation, were the focus of this discussion in the press. The women who modernized and adapted to the day's conditions in every way were seen as ideal and acceptable women by the intellectuals, administrative staff, and politicians of the period. Two types of women did not fit the ideal woman of the republic: the old type of woman, the Ottoman woman, and the snobbish woman. The women who continued the old period's customs, appearance, and traditions were called outdated, and those of the old period were outdated. The basis of the women's ideal of the republic was the concept of the "contemporary/ideal Turkish woman." There were various discussions on this ideal Turkish woman in the magazines and newspapers of the period. The modern and ideal Turkish woman, idealized as the woman of the republic and presented as the creation of the nation-state, was seen as the opposite of yesterday's woman/Ottoman woman. The opposite and undesirable version of the woman's identity who was expected to have all these good qualities was the "snob woman." It would not be wrong to say that women of the Ottoman type, or those of yesterday's women, did not seem to be much of a problem because they lived their lives in their way, according to the old customs that they saw as tradition. Dandy women, on the other hand, because of their public visibility and the various boundaries they crossed, could seduce the ideal woman, jeopardize concepts such as family life and motherhood, and even worsen the economy. This type of woman, described with various adjectives such as dandy, rascal, woman of ornament, woman of society, and coquette, was seen as the opposite of the ideal/contemporary republican woman in every aspect. The magazines and newspapers of the early Republican period presented the modern Republican woman, whom they saw as an ideal, as an example to their readers. Still, they did not hesitate to give the antithesis of them, snobbish women, as a bad example. The dandy woman

type can be said to be the female version in the new regime of those seen and frequently criticized in the modernization of the Tanzimat period, who were wrongly westernized, forgot their essence, and became wannabes of Western life in every aspect. Superficial, degenerate, not behaving according to Turkish moral norms, free to exhibit and live their sexuality, also referred to as consumption crazies, these types of women are like past examples of today's material girls.

Since the Tanzimat period, the beginning of Turkish modernization, the efforts for renewal have been stuck in the dilemma of alafranga/European and alaturka/Turkish style, which was repeated in the republican era. Despite the alafranga life brought by the new regime, moral norms were expected to continue as old-fashioned alaturka. Women who tried to live an alafranga life in every way became the target of criticism. Although such women had always existed, they became more numerous and visible in the aftermath of the moral collapse and depression caused by the Armistice Period and the social crisis created by the radical innovations brought about by the new regime. In the period's newspapers, magazines, and literary works, dividing women into various classes was quite fashionable, reflecting the reality of social life in a critical language. In his article titled "*Women in Our Country/Bizde Kadın*," published in *Hayat Magazine*, Ağaoğlu Nezih describes the crisis of the transition period that emerged because of the revolutions by putting women at the center and examining the whole society. According to him, although Turkish women faltered a bit in adapting to the new order due to the reforms and experienced moral shocks, they were not far from being able to adjust to the new situation. He states that he wrote this article in response to those who think that they are far from this ability and expresses the following words:

Yes, the equilibrium of some young women has been more or less shaken. However, this phenomenon is not exclusive to women. It is not. This is also the case with some men who have a weak balance. In social life, bonds are natural and necessary to cause such a crisis. A completely new life is being entered from Eastern civilization to Western civilization. Old customs, ideas, and traditions, and new ones are colliding. During this collision, some people - regardless of gender - who are weak in balance tremors occur. Those who

*understand the revolution's nature are so depressed and disheartened that they shouldn't be because this is a temporary state.*¹⁷⁵

After explaining the reasons for the moral crisis in his way, Ağaoğlu presents the solution in the following sentences: "*When we catch the external and internal form of Europe, that is, its spirit, thoughts, family, social, economic and moral principles, and when we follow a certain path with a certain goal, we will naturally get rid of this crisis.*"¹⁷⁶ Although Ağaoğlu Nezih identified the problem and offered solutions, the magazines and newspapers of the period frequently criticized women who had become overly Westernized and forgotten or neglected their homes, family, and primary responsibilities. Some publications criticized these women for being too involved in social life and ignoring their family life due to their fondness for luxury and fashion. *Türk Kadın Yolu Journal* presents two contrasting types of women in society by identifying and criticizing "*two types of women in our social life today. One is devoted to her husband and children, and the other is busy with frivolous things such as fashion and dance.*"¹⁷⁷ While one of these women was the ideal Republican woman and was considered acceptable, the other was the material woman of that day, who was criticized and referred to with other adjectives according to their lifestyle.

Using the image of the contemporary woman identified with the woman of the Republic as equivalent to the image of the critical woman, *Aylık Mecmua Magazine* criticizes the new women in some points in the article titled "*24 Hours of a Modern/Asri Woman*" published in its 5th issue. According to the magazine, which claims to have witnessed a day of modern women in the light of the questions "*Who is*

¹⁷⁵ Ağaoğlu Nezih, "Bizde Kadın," *Hayat*, S.2, (9 December 1926), s.27. "Evet, bazı genç kadınların muvazenesi az çok sarsılmıştır. Fakat bu hadise yalnız kadınlara mahsus değildir. Muvazenesi zayıf olan bazı erkeklerde de aynı durum müşahede edilmektedir. İçtimai hayattaki tahvillerin böyle bir buhrana sebep olması tabii ve zaruridir. Şark medeniyetinden garp medeniyetine geçilmekte, büsbütün yeni bir hayata girilmektedir. Eski telakkiler, fikirler ve adetlerle yeni gelenler çarpışmaktadır. Bu çarpışma esnasında da -cins farkı olmaksızın- muvazenesi zayıf bazı kimselerde sarsıntılar meydana gelmektedir. İnkılâbın mahiyetini idrak edenler bu halden fazla müteessir ve bedbin olmamak gerektiğini bilirler. Çünkü bu geçici bir haldir."

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.Nezih, "s.27. Avrupa'nın harici şekli ile dâhili şeklini yani, ruhunu, düşüncelerini, ailevi, içtimai, iktisadi ve ahlaki düsturlarını yakaladığımız muayyen bir gaye ile muayyen bir yol tuttuğumuz zaman tabiatı ile bu buhrandan kurtulmuş olacağız."

¹⁷⁷ Enver Behnan, "Aile Kadını, Süs Kadını," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, Numara 19, (15 September 1926), p.5-7.

a modern woman? How does she live? Whom do they call her?", these women live as follows:

-What does a modern woman do from morning till noon?

The first hour, it's morning. The modern/Asri woman wakes up. We say morning, but it's not because it's 10.30 a.m. The current/Asri woman wakes up late. Especially if she returned from a ball or a performance the night before, she never managed to wake up. The first thing she does when she gets out of bed is wear makeup because the modern woman does not like to be untidy and shabby, even alone in the house. She tries to be clean, beautiful, and elegant, even with herself. After she has done all her grooming, she appears to the household.¹⁷⁸

As can be seen, the modern woman was portrayed as being involved in all kinds of activities in public life, coming home late and waking up late in pursuit of activities, and neglecting her family life by giving importance to her adornment to the extent that she thought about her make-up instead of preparing breakfast for her family or having breakfast with them because she wakes up late.

-After waking up, the modern woman either visits her neighbors or accepts their visits. If alone, she lies down in her armchair on the balcony, reads newspapers, magazines, or novels, or thinks about the ball the night before. If there are children at home, she keeps busy with them and gives warnings to the wet nurse or governess. She probably doesn't have much contact with her children to avoid being face-to-face with them.¹⁷⁹

Motherhood and wifeness, seen as the essential duty of the praised and idealized Turkish woman, were presented in the magazine as duties neglected by this woman. A portrait is drawn of a woman who rests as an activity during the day, constantly applies

¹⁷⁸ "Asri Bir Kadının 24 Saati", *Aylık Mecmua*, Number 5, (August 1926), p.25.
-sabahtan öğlene kadar asri kadın ne yapar?

İlk saat, vakit sabah. Asri kadın uyanıyor. Sabah dediysek de sabah değil çünkü saat 10.30. Asri kadın geç kalkar. Hele bir gece evvel bir balodan, bir müsamereden geldiyse uyanmayı hiç başaramaz. Yataktan kalkınca ilk işi makyajdır çünkü asri kadın evin içinde yalnız bile olsa derbederliği, perişanlığı sevmez. Kendi kendine karşı bile temiz, güzel, zarif olmaya çalışır. Tüm kişisel bakımını yaptıktan sonra ev halkına görünür.

¹⁷⁹ "Asri Bir Kadının 24 Saati", *Aylık Mecmua*, Number 5, (August 1926,) p.25.

-asri kadın uyandıktan sonra ya komşularını ziyaret eder ya da onların ziyaretini kabul eder. Tek başınaysa balkondaki koltuğuna uzanır, gazete, dergi veya roman okur ya da bir gece önceki baloyu düşünür. Evde çocuk varsa onlarla meşgul olur, süt nine veya mürebbiyeye uyarılarda bulunur. Herhalde çocuklarıyla yüz göz olmamak için fazla temas etmez.

make-up, performs siesta, plays the piano, socializes with her husband when he comes home from work, and takes full advantage of the social events she attends. Although the modern woman mentioned here was depicted as fond of luxury and social life, she was not precisely the degenerate woman who is the focus of criticism. The woman depicted in the magazine was a woman who lived an economically middle- or upper-class life, who entrusted the care of her children to other women and spent more time for herself. Although criticized in small nuances, she is not exactly in the category of the modern woman. Women who would fall into this category were described as follows: "*A truly modern woman does not run after her ugly and animalistic desires in salons. Only some 'so-called modern/asri women' who misunderstand European life stoop to this.*"¹⁸⁰

As the opposite of this woman, criticized with small nuances, the example of the '*traditional woman*,' referred to as '*yesterday's woman*,' was given. This type of woman is the traditional housewife, the one who takes care of everything herself, the one for whom innovations do not change much in their lives. The differences between these two types of women are purely class-based. Their economic status determines how they spend a day. Due to the influence of the memories of the moral crisis in İstanbul during the Armistice years, some women who were immoral or incorrectly Westernized and who forgot Turkish customs and traditions were often identified with this city. Opposite these women were the virtuous and sacrificing Anatolian women who, together with men, fought to save their country during the war. After the Republic's proclamation, the Anatolian woman's image was identified with the capital city of Ankara, which met the ideal of the Ankara woman. Ankara women, who also drew the portrait of the ideal woman of the Republic, represented acceptable womanhood. The snobbish, wrongly modernized, or coquettish woman is like Istanbul during the Armistice period. It is unreliable. The dandy/coquette, the European woman, is also considered morally decadent because she is too Westernized or wrongly Westernized. This depiction of women is frequently used as a cautionary tale in the period's novels. Peyami Safa and Yakup Kadri often use cautionary tales and

¹⁸⁰ "Asri Bir Kadının 24 Saati", *Aylık Mecmua*, Number 5, August 1926, p.25. "hakiki bir asri kadın salonlarda çirkin ve hayvani arzularının peşinde koşmaz. Ancak Avrupa hayatını yanlış anlayan bazı 'sözde asri kadınlar' buna tenezzül eder."

images of degenerating women in their novels. Comparisons of ideal women and coquettes were common in magazines of the period. In the article titled "Age 20" (20 Yaş) by Nudiye Hüseyin in *Yedigün* magazine, two types of women of this age were depicted, and two photographs were presented to the readers. In one, a young girl and a young man held her hand. On the other hand, a girl and a young man sat relaxed in the park with their legs crossed.¹⁸¹ According to the perception in the article, there is no problem with the first photo because their love and affection are pure, sincere, and clean, and they are within the moral standards of society. However, the girl in the second photo was heavily criticized for her "wanton" attitude and sensuality. The relaxed attitude and sexually suggestive behavior of the woman in the second photo violated the boundaries that society has drawn for women. *Haftalık Mecmua* magazine also makes these binary comparisons. On the cover of the issue dated October 4, 1926, pictures of two women were printed, one playing tennis with a cigarette in her mouth and the other cutely playing the piano, and readers were asked, "Which one do you like?" However, describing the woman playing tennis as having a "terrible attitude" guides the reader.¹⁸² There was also criticism of the snobby girl in *Resimli Hafta* magazine. In an article in the magazine, while giving clues about the social life of the period, the type of frivolous and snobbish Turkish girl who had just begun to emerge in İstanbul, who took honey from every flower, was described. It had been mentioned that the fashion for this type of young girl had begun, and the new generation would be full of such young girls.¹⁸³ Snobism was sometimes seen as wearing too much make-up, being a slave to fashion, and wandering around without doing anything. Women who did this were also accused of going beyond the ideal. The behavior expected by the patriarchal society from women is a measured public presence. Women who go beyond the boundaries set by men between sexuality and moral norms or who push these boundaries a little immediately become the target of criticism. Women's share: It is a non-pretentious appearance that does not attract much attention and is measured in attitude and demeanor.

¹⁸¹ Nudiye Hüseyin, "20 Yaş", *Yedigün*, Number 14, 14 June 1933, p.8

¹⁸² *Haftalık Mecmua*, Number 64, 4 October 1926, p.cover.

¹⁸³ "İstanbul'da Türeyen Yeni Bir Tip Türk Kızı", *Resimli Hafta*, Number 16, 18 December 1924, p.4-5.

CHAPTER 4

THE PRESS IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD

The press served as an essential source of information and a tool to form public opinion from the mid-17th century onward. At the same time, the press is the transmitter of knowledge of every kind, politics, ideologies, etc. For this reason, the press is called the fourth power in the countries since it has the power to design and lead politics and societies. The media in the world also played a role in the spread of fashion via the news and advertisements of shops, tailors, clothing, apparel, shoes, and accessories. It was published, as did the press in Türkiye, by the 19th century. Therefore, in this study, the Turkish newspapers, journals, and women's magazines published between 1923 and 1940 are used as a source of information on women's fashion in Türkiye and the impact of world fashion on it during the early Republican period, when the country was in nation-state building process to become a westernized and civilized nation under the politics of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and ruling cadre. The Turkish Press in this period, with opinion newspapers, journals, and magazines of various kinds, served as a tool for both forming public opinion in favor of the revolutions made in Türkiye or criticizing them due to the political stance of the newspaper owners or the society, who not long ago were the citizens of the Ottoman Empire and bore the memories and experiences of the past.

4.1 A Brief History of the Turkish Press in The Ottoman Period and a Short Looking to Women's Debate

The Press in Türkiye emerged with the French Embassy-published bulletins published in the mid-18th, and a Turkish press was born in the 19th century with official Turkish newspapers first, *Vekayi-i Mısriyye* published in 1828 in Egypt by Mehmet Ali Pasha, the governor-general of Egypt, and later *Takvim-i Vekâyi* published on 1 November 1831 in Istanbul by Sultan Mahmud II also served.¹⁸⁴ *Takvim-i Vekayi* emerged with the desire to announce the government's actions to the public; it gained the feature of enlightening and influencing the public over time.¹⁸⁵ *Tercüman-ı Ahval* (The Interpreter of Conditions), published by Agah Efendi on October 21, 1860, was the first private opinion newspaper and served as a model for the other Turkish opinion newspapers published from the 1860s onward by the intellectuals during the Tanzimat Period (1839-1876) when significant modernization reforms were held in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁸⁶ In addition to newspapers, literary, scientific, child, and women's magazines were published in the empire by the 1860s. The opinion newspapers served as a platform to discuss current economic, political, and social problems. At the same time, journals and magazines contributed to the development of literature, arts, education, and the modernization of society in the Ottoman Empire from the Tanzimat period onward.¹⁸⁷ The intellectuals, namely the Young Ottomans, believed cultural solutions should exist to change the country's political course. Most of their political criticism concentrated on the conditions of women and the problems in family life since they deemed it the main reason for the country's backwardness.

¹⁸⁴ The Turkish newspapers started with the official newspapers *Vekayi Mısriyye* in 1828 and *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 1 November 1831. *Takvim-i Vekayi* (Calendar of Events) was published at the request and order of Sultan Mahmud II, see Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlı Dönemi Basının İçeriği*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2010), pp.6-13.

¹⁸⁵ The newspaper contained domestic news, foreign news, military affairs, sciences, the appointment of clergy, trade, and prices. See, Hıfzı Topuz, *II. Mahmut'tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2003), p.15-16.

¹⁸⁶ Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlı Dönemi Basının İçeriği*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2010), p.60-64.

¹⁸⁷ <https://sozluk.gov.tr/> Access: 12.10.2022.; According to Aslı Yapar Gönenç, for a publication to be a journal, it must have basic features such as a regular publication range, the texts to be read, demanded or purchased by the readers, distributed independently from other publications, and bound., see, Aslı Yapar Gönenç, *Türkiye'de ve Fransa'da Dergicilik ve Kadın Dergileri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Yayınları, 2006), p.8.

The newspaper owners, to improve women's status and underline the critical role of women in the family and society, published women's magazines first as a supplement to the newspapers. *Terakki-i Muhadderat*, a supplement of the *Terâkki* newspaper, published in 1869 by Filip and Raşit Efendi, was the first Turkish women's magazine in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁸⁸ The magazine featured many anonymous women's letters criticizing the situation of women. These letters were the first women's voices in the Turkish press.

The Young Ottomans, via their articles in the newspapers and women's magazines as well as in their literary works such as novels and theatre plays, criticized marriage without consent and marrying at an early age, concubine and polygamy, and tried to design the Ottoman society through women by describing an ideal woman type who should have been good Muslim, a good wife, and good mother.¹⁸⁹ As women's questions became an important topic discussed by the intellectuals, the number of supplements and pages published by the newspapers for women increased. After women's magazines were published in Turkish or other languages used in the Ottoman Empire, news on fashion and advertisements for clothing shops and tailors were published to serve the readers' tastes and attract them. At the same time, women's problems were discussed on the pages, too. After *Terakki-i Muhadderat*, women's magazines became an essential tool for educating and affecting Ottoman women, and they became their voice and independent women's magazines. Their numbers increased during the Second Constitution Period, preserving the missions to improve women's status and conditions, even with a feminist perspective of establishing women's aid and solidarity societies. These societies used the press to propagate their missions. For example, *Kadınlar Dünyası* newspaper was published by *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuku Nisvan Cemiyeti* in 1913. *Kadınlar Dünyası* was the representative of feminist ideology in the Ottoman Empire. The cadre of this newspaper was made up of all women, and the newspaper offered a diverse and comprehensive social reform called the "women's revolution" to solve women's problems in the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁸⁸ *Muhadderat* means "closed, veiled, chaste Muslim woman". See, Gülden A. Pınarcı, "Kadın Dergileri", *Atılım üniversitesi e-bülten*, Sayı:29, (Mart 2013), s.1.

¹⁸⁹ İsmail Güven, "Tanzimattan Cumhuriyeti Kadın Eğitimi Düşüncesinin Gelişimi", *Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Dergisi*, Cilt: 34 Sayı: 1, 2001, pp.62-64.

According to the newspaper, all reforms should be made in politics, health, family and working life, education, social life, and fashion in light of feminism.¹⁹⁰

The Tanzimat Period Turkish Press contributed to the development of the press in Türkiye. New and extended surviving newspapers were published in the following periods, such as the First Constitution Period (1876-1908). At least 16 daily or bi-weekly newspapers were published during this period. Among these newspapers, *Sabah*, *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, *Servet*, *Mâlûmât*, and *İkdam* reached a circulation of more than 10.000. Although the press was under the government's strict control due to the authoritarian regime of Sultan Abdülhamid (r. 1876-1909), the newspapers published during this period attracted readers with their content, cadres, design, and techniques with the pictures they published.¹⁹¹ Meanwhile, the increase in the number of primary, secondary, and high schools in Istanbul and the provinces contributed to developing a public reading system in the Ottoman Empire, and child magazines were published to help educate children. Women's magazines were also published, and *Şükufezer*, published between 1883 and 1884, has a special place in the Turkish press as the first women's magazine published by women for women. The owner and the writer staff of this magazine were all women. The magazine aimed to show the importance of women in society and their contribution to the state, stating its foreword as;

*“We are a group of people who were made fun of and mocked by men just by saying that we ‘have long hair and are absent-minded. We are going to prove the opposite of this statement. By not preferring either manhood to womanhood or womanhood to manhood, we will progress in the working life with endurance. It is said that, justly or not, they [men] will protest and raise an objection to our writing [articles]. It is none of our business. Responding to fair or unfair criticisms is within the limits of our knowledge.”*¹⁹²

These sentences are essential signs that Ottoman women were tired of social oppression, wanted to prove their existence, and made their voices be heard. The 1908

¹⁹⁰ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, (İstanbul: Metin Yayınları, 2011), p.180-189.

¹⁹¹ Necdet Ekinci, “Türk Basın Tarihinden Kesitler”, *Türkler*, Vol.14 (Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara, 2002):675-680, p.676.

¹⁹² “Biz ki -saçı uzun aklı kısa- diye erkeklerin hande-i istihzasına hedef olmuş bir taifeyiz. Bunun aksini ispat etmeye çalışacağız. Erkekliği kadınlığa, kadınlığı erkekliğe tercih etmeyerek şah-rah-i sa’y ve amelde mümkün olduğu kadar paye endaz-ı sebat olacağız.” Arife, “Mukaddime”, *Şükufezer*, (1301), no.1, p.6.

coup made by the Young Turks on 23 July not only restored the constitutional regime in the Ottoman Empire but also introduced the firsts, such as the political parties and the *Committee of Union and Progress* (hereafter CUP), which was a secret political society until 1909 began to dominate the politics in the country. The press gained absolute freedom in the Ottoman Empire for the first time, and the number of newspapers, journals, and magazines and their kinds increased. In addition to popular, professional, sports, women, and child magazines, ideological newspapers and periodicals were published in Istanbul and the provinces. Some newspapers published during the First Constitution period survived long and were published during the Second Constitution Period (1908-1918), *Sabah*, *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, and *İkdam*. *İkdam* newspaper also survived well during the Republican Period in Türkiye until 1926. In addition to these newspapers, *Tanin*, *Servet-i Fünûn*, *Serbesti*, *Peyam* and later *Peyam-ı Sabah*, *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, *Sebil-ür Reşad*, *Şûrâ-yı Ümmet*, *İleri*, *Akşam*, *Vakit* and *Alemdar* were among the popular newspapers published during the Second Constitutional Period.¹⁹³

The ideological discussions in this period dominated the press, and the ideological discussions among the intellectuals created divisions into three main groups: Islamists, Westernists, and Turkists. These three main groups had their solutions based on their political stance to save the country and preserve the integrity of the country and used the press as a platform to propagate their politics. Although their views differed, the only concern of these three groups was finding solutions to the country's problems, and the newspapers and magazines they used as tools for this search enriched the press life. Islamists published their ideas on the liberation of the country, innovation movements, and women's issues such as '*Sırat-ı Müstakim*,' '*Sebil-ür Reşad*,' '*Beyanül Hak*,' '*Volkan*,' '*Ceride-i Sufiye*,' '*İslam Mecmuası*,' and they presented their opinions on these.¹⁹⁴ The Turkist group published newspapers and magazines such as '*Türk Yurdu*,' '*Yeni Mecmua*,' '*Tanin*,' '*Genç Kalemler*,' '*Şûrâ-yı Ümmet*.'"¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Ibid Ekinci, p.677-678

¹⁹⁴ Nuri İnuğur, *Basın ve Yayın Tarihi*, (İstanbul:Der Yaayınları,2002), p.315.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid İnuğur, pp.315-316.

These ideological groups also discussed ‘women’s question’ according to their ideological trends. While the Westernists argued that women should be liberated in all areas, Islamists favored only the technological innovations of the modern world. According to the Islamists, cultural values should be preserved when the women and family are concerned. The Turkists’ view was like an intermediate form of the other two. According to the Turkists, instead of imitating Western culture, the original Turkish culture should be preserved, and all the Arab traditions that downgraded the status and position of women should be abandoned. Interestingly, all three trends evaluated the woman's position on the axis of mother and spouse roles in the family, considering the effect of the modernization process on these identities. For Turkists and Westernists, the issue of women's education was an essential step in the progress of society.¹⁹⁶

Moreover, ideological divisions among the intellectuals reflected in the press took a different form during and after the First World War. During the War, the Turkish Press united the nation for the national cause, forgetting the ideological differences and criticism of the CUP government’s policies. When the Ottoman Empire was defeated in the end, the country was occupied following the Armistice of Mudros; the Turkish Press took a stance by the Sultan’s politics and of the national resistance started in Anatolia against the Allied occupation, and the politics of that period later dominated the Republican press in terms of political discussions. The Allied occupation began in November 1918 and continued until 1922. The opening of the *Turkish National Grand Assembly* in Ankara on April 23, 1920, also created division in the press since the Sultan and his government in İstanbul cooperated with the Allied forces, the enemy, the TGNA with its government, fought against them to ensure the independence of the country. For this reason, this double-headedness and division in the country, the Ankara-İstanbul dilemma, was also reflected in the press.

Although the press in the country was divided into two as supporters of Anatolia and İstanbul, the capital's media, İstanbul, was also divided into various groupings. These groups supported the national struggle, those opposed it, and those who did not belong

¹⁹⁶ Abdulazim Şimşek, “II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Fikir Hareketleri Ekseninde Kadın Tartışmaları”, *Anasay*, Issue 12, May 2020, pp.29-34.

to either group continued their publication, staying neutral. Mainstream newspapers were among this neutral group.¹⁹⁷ For example, newspapers such as *Tanin*, *Sebil-ür Reşad*, and *Aydınlık* were neither pro-Anatolia nor pro-Istanbul, despite their sympathy for the resistance movement. There were also Ahmed Cevdet's *İkdam* newspaper and *Tercüman-ı Ahval*, the famous newspaper of Ahmed Midhat Efendi, under the management of Şükrü Baban was closed in 1922. *İkdam*, on the other hand, later began to support the national resistance in Anatolia after Yakup Kadri joined the cadre of this newspaper.¹⁹⁸

Opponents of the national resistance launched by *Kuvvâ-yı Milliye* first and later by the TGNA expressed their views in Ali Kemal's *Peyâm* newspaper and *Peyâm-ı Sabah*, in *Alemdar* published by Pehlivan Kadri and Refi Cevat, in Sait Molla's *İstanbul* and Refik Halit's *Aydede*.¹⁹⁹ The Istanbul government and the occupying forces supported these newspapers materially and morally. The common point of these newspapers was that the territorial integrity of the Ottoman state could be protected by agreeing with the occupying forces, that the resistance that started in Anatolia would be a continuation of the Unionist movement and would drag the country into more extraordinary disasters, and that nothing could be achieved by opposing England.²⁰⁰

The newspapers supporting the national resistance in Anatolia were *İleri*, published by Celal Nuri, who was also the representative of the national movement in İstanbul, *Akşam* published by Necmettin Sadak, Kazım Şinasi Dersan, Ali Naci Karacan, and Falih Rıfki Atay, *Vakit* newspaper published by Ahmet Emin Yalman, and Mehmet Asım Us, *Yeni Gün* published by Yunus Nadi, *Tasvîr-i Efkar* published by Velid Ebüzziya, and *Tevhîd-i Efkar* published after this newspaper was closed by the occupation forces.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ Ibid İnuğur, p.336-350.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid İnuğur, p.341-347.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid İnuğur, p.341.

²⁰⁰ Ibid İnuğur p.341-344.

²⁰¹ The newspaper's first issue consisted of Mustafa Kemal's speech at the Sivas Congress, the telegram sent to the Sultan, the published statement, the telegram Mustafa Kemal sent from Havza to the Sultan, and İsmail Hami's article titled "*The Reasons for the National Movement.*", see, Koloğlu, ibid. p116.

During this period, many local newspapers started publishing in Anatolia, which became the center of resistance, and they supported the national forces and resistance led by Mustafa with their attitudes. For example, *Açık Söz* newspaper, which started its publication life in Kastamonu a month after Mustafa Kemal landed in Samsun, was a newspaper that opposed the invasions that began in Anatolia. It would be one of Mustafa Kemal's most prominent supporters in the future. The first organized reflection of this struggle in the press was thanks to the newspaper *İrade-i Milliye*, founded by Mustafa Kemal. Mustafa Kemal was aware of the media and its power. For this reason, he published the *İrade-i Milliye* on September 14, 1919, as soon as the Sivas Congress ended.²⁰² Although this newspaper continued to be published in Sivas until the end of the national struggle, Mustafa Kemal decided to publish a new newspaper when he moved to Ankara. He published the *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* newspaper on 10 January 1920; this newspaper served as the press organ of the "representative committee," which was elected at the Sivas Congress and functioned as a government until the opening of the *Turkish Grand National Assembly*. This newspaper aimed to disseminate the will of the nation. Recep Zühtü served as the Manager, and Nizamettin Nazif was the editor-in-chief of this paper.²⁰³ Meanwhile, *Anadolu Ajansı* (Anatolian News Agency) was established in Ankara on April 6, 1920, to propagate the National War in the country and abroad and counterattack disinformation and anti-National War propaganda.²⁰⁴

After the Turkish National War of Independence ended with a victory against the Allied armies, the sultanate was abolished on 1 November 1922 to eliminate the ongoing Istanbul-Ankara political duality before going for the peace talks in Lausanne. The TGNA elected Abdülmecid Efendi as the caliph on November 18, 1922. The Turkish army entered Istanbul on October 6, 1923. One day later, as a significant development regarding the press, the decree of the Executive Board of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye, which envisaged the abolition of martial law and censorship, was put into effect. With this decree, the dissenting voices in the Istanbul press began to be cleared, so the anti-movement newspapers began to close one by

²⁰² Topuz, *ibid.* p.127.

²⁰³ The newspaper was published twice a week and sold for 3 Kuruş. Topuz, *ibid.* p118, 138.

²⁰⁴ Topuz, *ibid.* p.138.

one, and the owners of these newspapers chose to either flee abroad or find their names in the list of 150s announced later.²⁰⁵

Anatolia and Rumelia Defense of Rights Association became a party under the *Republican People's Party* (hereafter RPP) on September 9, 1923, and this party ruled Türkiye until 1950.²⁰⁶ Ankara was declared the capital city on October 13, 1923, the Republican regime was proclaimed on October 29, 1923, and Mustafa Kemal was elected president on the same day.²⁰⁷

4.2 The Turkish Press in the Early Republican Period

The liberation of Anatolia from the Allied occupation and the declaration of the new regime did not mean that the problems were solved instantly. On the one hand, some still supported the sultanate and caliphate and did not accept the new regime. The newspapers that remained from the previous period and continued to be published in 1923 were *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, *Açıksöz*, *İleri*, *Akşam*, *Tevhid-i Efkar*, *Tanin*, *Sebilürreşad*, *Vatan*, *Vakit* and *Akbaba* newspapers.²⁰⁸

When the Republican regime was not yet institutionalized, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the President of the Turkish Republic, and the ruling cadre were careful against all threats. The supporters of the caliphate and sultanate were at the forefront of those considered a threat. After the election of Abdülmecid Efendi as caliph, publishing articles supporting the caliph and caliphate and articles supporting them from abroad in İstanbul newspapers became a crucial confrontation between the new regime and the press.²⁰⁹ Interestingly, when the Caliphate was abolished on March 3, 1924, some

²⁰⁵ Ibid topuz, pp. 146-155.

²⁰⁶ “Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası (1923-1938)”, <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/cumhuriyet-halk-firkasi-1923-1938/> Access: 23.09.2023.

²⁰⁷ Zafer Koylu, “Ankara’nın Başkent Oluşu”, <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/ankaranin-baskent-olusu/> Access: 05.10.2023. İhsan Güneş, “Cumhuriyet’in İlanı”, <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/cumhuriyetin-ilani/> Access: 05.10.2023.

²⁰⁸ Sezen Kılıç, “Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarındaki Gelişmeleri Basının Yorumlayışı (1923-1926)”, <https://atamdergi.gov.tr/tam-metin/149/tur>, Access: 15.10.2023.

²⁰⁹ It should not be forgotten that the press in this period consisted of old newspapers and magazines from the Ottoman period that continued to be published.

deputies in the TGNA criticized it. Still, there was no criticism in the press as previous discussions in the press resulted in court proceedings.

Meanwhile, *Ahali*, *Son Telegraf*, *Türk Sözü*, and *Cumhuriyet* newspapers were published in 1924. *Son Telgraf* was a daily political newspaper published in İstanbul on 14 June 1924 by Fevzi Lütfü Karaosmanoğlu, Hüseyin Avni, Sadri Ertem, and Suphi Nuri İleri, and Sadri Ertem was the editor. *As printed in its first issue, Son Telegraph aimed to defend the values and efforts of Turkishness, the Republic, and innovation.*²¹⁰ In addition, this newspaper was in opposition to the single-party rule.

Cumhuriyet newspaper was published on 7 May 1924 by Yunus Nadi, and it was the continuation of *Yeni Gün* newspaper. Yunus Nadi's interview with Mustafa Kemal was published in the first issue of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper.²¹¹ Yunus Nadi openly wrote that *Cumhuriyet* aimed to defend the principle of "devotion to the Republican revolutions" and that it would be the defender of Kemalism.²¹²

Meanwhile, in the five years until the 1928 Alphabet Reform, the focal points of the press were the reforms and increasing power of Mustafa Kemal in decision-making. However, events such as the *Sheikh Said Rebellion* and the *İzmir Assassination* considerably reduced the dissenting voices in the press, and the İstanbul press was almost completely suppressed. Mainly because of the Sheikh Said Revolt, the government chose to take extraordinary measures, and the "law to ensure peace and tranquility" (*Takrir-i Sükûn*) was accepted on 4 March 1925.²¹³ The one-point law prohibited all kinds of institutions, organizations, publications, initiatives, and provocations that disturbed the peace and security of the country by encouraging reaction and rebellion with the president's approval. Those who opposed this law would be tried in the Independence Court (İstiklal Mahkemesi).²¹⁴ The government

²¹⁰ Hasan Türker, *Türk Devrimi ve Basını 1922-1925*, İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, 2000, p.12.

²¹¹ *Cumhuriyet*, 7 Mayıs 1924.

²¹² *Cumhuriyet*, 7 Mayıs 1924.

²¹³ https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc003/kanuntbmmc003/kanuntbmmc00300578.pdf Access: 19.09.2022

²¹⁴ https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc003/kanuntbmmc003/kanuntbmmc00300578.pdf Access: 19.09.2022

İrticaa ve isyana ve memleketin nizamı içtimaisini ve huzur ve sükûnunu ve emniyet ve asayişini ihlâlâe bâis bilûmum teşkilât ve tahrika ve teşvikat ve teşebbûsat ve neşriyatı Hükümet, Reiscumhurun

decided to close *Tevhid-i Efkar*, *Son Telgraf*, *İstiklal*, *Sebilürreşat*, *Aydınlık*, and *Orak Çekiç* newspapers on March 6, 1925.²¹⁵ The next day, *Toksöz*, a newspaper published in Adana, was closed. Five other local newspapers²¹⁶ were closed on March 9, 1925, *Tanin* and *Resimli Ay* were closed on April 15, and *Vatan* was closed on August 12, 1925.²¹⁷ The *Law of Takrir-i Sükun*, planned to be in practice for two years, was extended for a few more years and was abolished in March 1929. Meanwhile, the İzmir Assassination in 1926 caused the İstanbul press to pay even more allegiance to the government since the opposition voices were silenced, and the press in Türkiye continued to exist under the control of the government.

Meanwhile, new newspapers joined the Turkish Press. One of them was *Son Saat*, published by Nazım Özbay in 1925, and this paper was published in the evenings. *Milliyet* was the other, published on February 11, 1926. The responsible director of the newspaper was Burhan Cahit Morkaya, and Mahmud Soydan, a deputy and the chair of the board of directors of İş Bank, was the editor-in-chief of this paper.²¹⁸ *Milliyet* supported the government's politics, was published under this name until 1935, and was under the name *Tan* between 1925 and 1945.

The most significant change that affected the press in Türkiye was the alphabet reform, accepted with the adoption of Law No. 1353 '*Türk Harflerinin Kabul, ve Tatbiki Hakkında Kanun*,' issued on 1 November 1928 and put into practice after it was published in the *Official Gazette* on 3 November 1928.²¹⁹ According to Erol Üyepazarcı, two types of problems faced by the press with the Alphabet reform; the first problem was the need for staff working in the printing and publishing business to learn the new alphabet quickly. The Second was that printing houses had to buy Latin alphabet press tools, an extra expenditure.²²⁰ Somehow, the press had adapted to this

tasdikıyla, re'sen ve idareten men'e mezundur. işbu efal erbabını Hükümet İstiklâl mahkemesine tevdi edebilir.

²¹⁵ Topuz, a.g.e. p148.

²¹⁶ Sadayı Hak(İzmir), İstikbal (Trabzon), Kahkaha (Trabzon), Savha (Adana) and Presse du Soir (İstanbul)

²¹⁷ Topuz, ibid. p148

²¹⁸ Bülent Tellan, "Ali Naci Karacan ve Milliyet", *Türkiye'de Kitle İletişimi Dün-Bugün-Yarın*, (Ankara: Ankara Gazeteciler Cemiyeti, 2015), p.117.

²¹⁹ <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.3.1353.pdf> Access: 23.09.2022.

²²⁰ Erol Üyepazarcı, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi İstanbul Basını", *Antik Çağdan 21. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, Cilt 7, Access: 25.09.2022, <https://istanbultarihi.ist/255-cumhuriyet-donemi-istanbul-basini>

new process, but this time, the circulation of the newspapers began to decline as the public had not yet learned to read the new alphabet. According to Üyepazarcı, after the Alphabet Revolution, the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, which had a circulation of 11,500, could only sell 5,700, *Milliyet*'s circulation decreased from 10,000 to 5,250, *Zaman* decreased from 7,000 to 2.700, *Son Saat* decreased from 6,000 to 1,500, and *Akşam*'s circulation decreased from 4,000 to 1,300. *İkdam* Newspaper, published since 1894, had to be sold in December 1928 to Ali Naci Karacan. Its circulation decreased from 8,000 to 3,100 since the reading public needed time to adapt to the Latin Alphabet. Karacan could not increase the circulation and had to close the paper a year later. Although Karacan republished *İkdam* in 1939, it could not be successful.²²¹

In addition to the falling newspaper circulations, when the effects of the great depression began to be seen in Türkiye in 1929, the government decided to help the press, and this aid would last for almost two years. The good news for the press in 1929 was the *Takrir-i Sükun Law* repeal in March. Along with this joy in the press, an atmosphere of freedom began. As mentioned, a dynamism started in the İstanbul press, which was silent. *Son Posta* was republished, and an opposition newspaper called *Son Posta* was founded in 1929. Zekeriya Sertel, Selim Ragıp (Emeç), Ekrem Uşaklıgil, and Halil Lütfi published this newspaper, and Zekeriya Sertel was responsible for managing the newspaper's policy.²²² *Son Posta* newspaper frequently mentioned the problems faced by the press and the public, the financial issues, and the problems created by the single-party rule. *Son Posta* also supported the *Free Republican Party*, established in August 1930. However, the short life of the *Free Republican Party* also shortened the life of opposition newspapers. The rise of dissident and critical voices in the press created the need for a new press law, which was accepted on 25 July 1931. This law banned publications that supported the sultanate, the caliphate, communism, and anarchism with an amendment. The government could shut down any publication contrary to the country's interests.²²³

²²¹ Ibid. Üyepazarcı.

²²² Topuz, ibid. p.155.

²²³ https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc010/kanuntbmmc010/kanuntbmmc01001881.pdf Access: 01.10.2022

The voices of the opposition rose in every period, especially in the İstanbul press, and were again silenced by that new press law in the 1930s. With the adoption of this law, the guided press period began. Although the writers of these newspapers quarreled among themselves, they did not attract the attention or reaction of the government unless they targeted the government. The most essential Turkish newspapers in the 1930s were *Akşam*, *Son Posta*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Haber*, *Kurun*, *Zaman*, *Son Telgraf*, *Vakit*, *Tan*, *Açıksöz*, and *Ulus*. The *Haber* newspaper was another newspaper of the 1930s published in 1931 by the Hakkı and Rasim Us brothers. Though published in the 1920s, some newspapers appeared with a new name. For example, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* newspaper, the press organ of the RPP, was renamed *Ulus* on 28 November 1934. The name of *Vakit* newspaper was changed to *Kurun* on November 22, 1934,²²⁴ and Mehmet Asım Us, the owner of *Kurun*, explained the name change with reference to Atatürk, who said, "The word 'time' is Arabic, its Turkish is *Kurun*."²²⁵ This is one of the most prominent efforts to simplify and use more Turkish words in the press. *Milliyet* newspaper also reappeared with the name *Tan* on April 23, 1935, and was later transferred to Ahmet Emin Yalman, Zekeriya Sertel, and Halil Lütü Dördüncü. Velid Ebüzziya published *Zaman* newspaper, but it was not successful. *Açıksöz* newspaper, published by Etem İzzet Benice in 1936, replaced *Zaman*, and this newspaper became the *Son Telegraf* in 1937.²²⁶

The newspapers published in the 1920s and 1930s were occupied mainly by political debates and the period's politics. Since the women's issue seems to be resolved with the reforms made by the government in this period, this issue could not find much space in the press. Nevertheless, things started to change in 1925 and 1929; due to the increasing pressure on the press after the press law in 1929, newspapers began to deal with social issues and added new topics such as women, cinema, children, and sports, which one can call daily life pages. Another reason may be to increase the decreasing circulation by gaining female readers whose literacy rate has grown with the alphabet revolution. And did the same apply to magazines?

²²⁴ Oral, *ibid.* p.122.

²²⁵ <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/vakit-kurun-gazetesi/>Access: 02.10.2022

²²⁶ Topuz, *İbid.* p.164.

Meanwhile, popular, scientific, child and women's magazines were published during the early Republican Period, and they met the tastes and needs of the readers. As mentioned before, the first examples of magazines were encountered in the history of the Turkish press in the first half of the 19th century. Journals showed significant development in the last half-century of the Ottoman Empire, and this situation continued with the proclamation of the republic. So, it could not be wrong to say that Turkish journalism has never surpassed journalism. According to Aslı Yapar Göneç, the main reasons for this problem are that magazines always imitate foreign counterparts rather than finding their own identities, thus failing to meet people's expectations and distribution problems.²²⁷ Another issue that causes the distribution problem is that the subscription system has not become widespread and has not been applied successfully.²²⁸ Newspapers during the Mustafa Kemal period were mentioned in the previous section, but what was the status of the magazines in this period, and which magazines were published?

4.2.1 Woman's Magazines Published in the Early Republican Period

The magazines published in the early republican period can be divided according to their subjects: literature, art, ideas, children's, cinema-theatre, science, and women's magazines. According to Mehtap Kaya, the journals of this period largely continued the understanding of journalism in the Second Constitutional Monarchy. *"In other words, they conveyed the period's literary, intellectual, scientific, and artistic thoughts to the public as an important mass media."*²²⁹

The magazines published in this period discussed everything because they contained articles on various subjects, from literature to art, cinema to fashion, family and home life, and childcare. However, in this section, only women's and lifestyle magazines whose contents were used within the scope of the study will be mentioned.

²²⁷ Göneç, ibid. p.9.

²²⁸ Göneç, ibid. p.9.

²²⁹ Mehtap Kaya, *Atatürk Dönemi Magazin Dergiciliği ve Sosyo Kültürel Dönüşümdeki Yeri*, (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, 2017), p.65.

One of the popular women's and lifestyles magazines was *Süs* magazine published by Mehmet Rauf in 1923. Hüseyin Remzi was the magazine's director until the thirteenth issue. The price of the magazine, which was published under the title "*Weekly Literary Magazine*," was 10 Kuruş and was regularly published weekly, except for the last two issues.²³⁰ The magazine covered various topics, from etiquette to conferences, ornaments to fashion, literature to health, and household chores. There were over a hundred authors in the magazine. The articles of famous names such as Mehmet Rauf, Suat Derviş, Celal Sahir, Cenap Şahabettin, Halide Nusret, and Abdullah Cevdet were frequently encountered. Topics such as women's education, their stance in politics, how Turkish women are and should be, and how they can become civilized are frequently mentioned in the magazine.²³¹ This magazine is considered relatively long-running and was published for the last time on August 8, 1924.

Yıldız magazine, of which Sedat Simavi and Talat Mithat were responsible directors, began to be published on September 1, 1924, with the statement that "*it is published on the first day of every month, it talks about everything. It is a monthly illustrated family and salon magazine.*"²³² It is stated in the first issue that the magazine is prepared by a staff who knows the wishes and needs of the reader very well and that a whole magazine, like an encyclopedia, will be published without making any promises about the content.²³³ Names such as Ercüment Ekrem, Hasan Said, Faruk Nafiz, Süleyman Nazif, Abidin Daver, Enes Behiç, Osman Celal, and Cemal Zeki were among the writers of the magazine.²³⁴ Published in seventeen issues, the magazine contains articles on women, family, sports, children, literature, and developments in the world, cinema, and daily life.

Resimli Ay was a monthly literary and magazine journal published by Sabiha Sertel and Zekeriya Sertel in 1924. *Resimli Ay*, which used the cliché "*it is the first magazine in Türkiye as a magazine*," was sold for 25 Kuruş and published in İstanbul.²³⁵

²³⁰ Kaya, *ibid.* p.96.

²³¹ Kaya, *ibid.* p.100.

²³² *Yıldız*, 1 September 1924.

²³³ *Yıldız*, *ibid.*

²³⁴ Kaya, *ibid.* p.141.

²³⁵ Kaya, *ibid.* p.126.

Magazine, literature, and social issues were the central axis of this magazine. It was published between 1924 and 1931. The prominent authors who took part in the journal were Peyami Safa, Nâzım Hikmet, Sadri Ertem, Suat Derviş, Sabahattin Ali, Emin Türk, and Vâlâ Nureddin.²³⁶ Zekeriya Sertel explained the founding purpose of *Resimli Ay* magazine in the first issue: to bring a real public magazine to the people and meet their reading and intellectual needs. *Resimli Ay* magazine was a progressive and contemporary magazine that supported the republican regime in its first years of publication. However, there were points of divergence with the government in the following period, and the magazine was closed and reopened a few years later. The reason for the closure of the *Resimli Ay* is the article by Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı, one of its authors, titled "*How to Hang Deserters*" in 1925, which was found "*insulting the military service and incitement to military rebellion*". As a result of the lawsuit, Kabaağaçlı was exiled to Bodrum for three years, and the magazine manager, Zekeriya Sertel was exiled to Sinop.²³⁷

Resimli Hafta magazine, which can be considered the continuation of *Resimli Ay*, was also published between 1924 and 1925. The content of this magazine consists of news articles, articles, puzzles, contests, etc., that will appeal to the uneducated public.

Haftalık Mecmua magazine, published on July 20, 1925, under the management of Kemal Salih Bey, was also one of the popular magazines published every Monday.²³⁸ It is possible to see topics such as home and women's lives, hobbies, news, entertainment venues, marriage, etiquette, male-female relations, movies, fashion, health, dance, the issue of thinness-obesity, and exciting information from the world in this magazine. The magazine ended its publication on July 11, 1927, after publishing one hundred and four issues.

Asri Türkiye magazine, which was published in 1926 and survived only a few issues with the cliché "*is published once a month for now. Social, economic, literary family and salon magazine*", by Abdülhak Hamid, one of the famous authors in Türkiye. The

²³⁶ Uğur Değirmenci, "*Resimli Ay Mecmuası*" (Yüksel Lisans Tezi, Erzurum Atatürk Üniversitesi, 1996), p.2

²³⁷ Değirmenci, *ibid.* p. 4.

²³⁸ Kaya, *ibid.* p.146.

magazine draws attention to the fact that Turkish women and people attained a civilized life with the new regime and that people who were slaves and servants of the old should be grateful to those who brought them to these recent days.²³⁹ It had subject content like that of other magazines of the period. The editorial staff of this magazine, in addition to Abdülhak Hamid, was composed of the famous names of the period, such as Yahya Kemal, Süleyman Nazif, Enver Behnan, Sabık Osman, and Mustafa Reşit.

Another magazine published in 1926 was *Aylık Mecmua*, “published on the first day of every month” under the management of Kemal Salih. Although this magazine sold the first 25 Kuruş, it dropped to 10 Kuruş after the tenth issue.²⁴⁰ This magazine said to be the sister of the *Haftalık Mecmua* magazine, ended its publication on March 1, 1927, after publishing twelve issues.

Âsâr-ı Nisvân or, later, *Kadın Yazıları* is a journal published between 1925 and 1926. The magazine, which had 28 issues, was published once every fortnight, but after the name change, it was published monthly. Fevziye Abdürreşid was the license owner and responsible director of the magazine.

Hayat magazine, which used Nietzsche's “to life, always to life... let's add more life to the world!” words as its cliché, was published on December 2, 1926, as a weekly. Later, it was published as fortnightly with its 136th issue. The writers of the magazine include names such as Mustafa Şekip, Nahit Sırrı, Sabri Esat, Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, Mehmet Emin, Kazım Sevinç and Hasan Ali. Mehtap Kaya, in her work on *Hayat* magazine, stated that this journal was published to form the intellectual and cultural foundations on which the republican reforms and the regime are based and introduce them to the readers.²⁴¹ A new state and a new understanding of the way of life formed the main lines of the journal's publication policy. In this direction, the past was constantly vilified, and the new eras, innovations, and innovations were praised in the magazine.

²³⁹ *Asri Türkiye*, 1 March 1926.

²⁴⁰ Kaya, *ibid.* p.153.

²⁴¹ Kaya, *ibid.* p.157.

Yeni Kitap began to be published on May 1, 1927, by Sedat Simavi, one of the newspaper owners and journalists who survived the Ottoman Period. The cliché of *Yeni Kitap* was “a scientific, literary, family and salon magazine, comes out on the first day of every month.”²⁴² Names such as Necdet Rüştü, Hikmet Şevki, Yaşar Nabi, Sami Paşazade, Ercüment Ekrem, and Mahmut Yesari are included in the editorial staff of the magazine, in which the subjects of culture and art came to the fore. *Yeni Kitap* was published in 1928 and ended its publication life with its sixteenth issue.²⁴³

Sedat Simavi also published another magazine titled *Arkadaş* on 27 June 1928. The magazine, which carries the cliché “it is published every Wednesday, it talks about everything, it is an illustrated magazine,” was sold for 5 Kuruş.²⁴⁴ The magazine covered exciting news from the world, fashion, health, sports, housework, handicrafts, cartoons, reader's columns, love, the issue of obesity-weakness, movie stars, marriage, male-female relationships, and Hollywood gossip. Despite its popular content, *Arkadaş* magazine was closed after its 48th issue.²⁴⁵

Another magazine was Ahmet Cevdet's illustrated monthly magazine *Yeni Muhit*, published between 1928 and May 1933, and it was sold for 50 Kuruş. Although *Muhit* magazine became a literary magazine over time, it had content that was popular with other magazines. The magazine's pages included content for women, sharing helpful information for housewives, examples of fashionable clothes, etiquette, frugality, childcare, motherhood, and working women's problems.²⁴⁶ The magazine advises women to make savings in line with the economic policy of the period. Although the articles in the journal were usually unsigned and had news from the foreign press via translation, Selim Sırrı, Efzaiş Suat, Muhittin Doğan, Refik Ahmet, Fahrettin Kerim, Sait Tevfik, and Celaleddin Ekrem's news and reports appeared with their names.²⁴⁷

Resimli Uyanış was the new name of *Servet-i Fünun* magazine, published in Latin letters on December 6, 1928, and survived until May 26, 1944.²⁴⁸ The cadre of the

²⁴² *Yeni Kitap*, 1 May 1927.

²⁴³ Seval Şahin, ““Yeni Kitap” Dergisi Üzerine”, *Türklük Bilimi Araştırmaları*, Issue 28, 2010, p.1.

²⁴⁴ *Arkadaş*, 27 June 1928.

²⁴⁵ Kaya, *ibid.* p.170.

²⁴⁶ Kaya, *ibid.* p.174.

²⁴⁷ Kaya, *ibid.* p.177.

²⁴⁸ *Resimli Uyanış*, 6 December 1928.

magazine included famous writers and literary figures of the period, such as Ahmet İhsan, Mahmut Sadık, Sabahattin Ali, Nazım Hikmet, Besim Ömer, Kazım Sevinç, Ahmet Muhip, Cevat Şakir, Nahit Sırrı.²⁴⁹ The magazine covered every subject to attract readers. Another feature of *Resimli Uyanış*, which can be seen as different from other magazines, is that foreign film artists were not mentioned on its pages; instead, they transformed from a school into a theater group later.

Moda Albümü magazine, owned by Hakkı Kutbay, started to be published in 1936. The magazine with the phrase "It is published on the first day of every month" was sold for 15 Kuruş. Hulki Ekler is the fashion director of the magazine.²⁵⁰ As its name suggests, the magazine offers new fashions to women and was the most enormous transmitter of French fashion in Türkiye in the 1930s.

While the period newspapers were preoccupied with political issues, the magazines focused mainly on social and cultural issues. All these magazines featured popular topics such as cinema, child health, motherhood, science, health, sports, fashion, women, cinema, literature, cartoons, and stories. The phrase "*talks about everything*" in the cliché section of most of these magazines indicates the richness of their content. It would not be wrong to say that the magazines, with their comprehensive content, serve as an aid mechanism and ideological tool in realizing the socio-cultural change the government wants to create with its policies. The views of these magazines, whose short tags are given on women's fashion, which is the main subject of our thesis, will be stated in detail in the following parts of the study.

²⁴⁹ Kaya, *ibid.* p.180.

²⁵⁰ Aslı Davaz Mardin, *Kadın Süreli Yayınları Hanımlar Aleminden Roza'ya*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), p.27.

CHAPTER 5

WOMEN AND FASHION IN TURKISH PRESS BETWEEN 1923-1940

5.1 From the Ottoman Empire to the Young Republic: The Place of Clothing and Fashion in the Westernization or Modernization Process

The modernization theory derives from the evolutionist-progressive understanding of sociology of the 19th century. It was put forward by Western social scientists in response to the needs created by new political and economic developments in the West after World War II.²⁵¹ Although modernization, which can be summarized as making non-Western social structures resemble Western ones, was conceptualized after the Second World War, its roots go back further. According to this theory, which was developed to explain the change processes in non-Western societies, non-Western societies will reach the Western social and political organization through a single line of evolution.²⁵² Although modernization has received different names, such as civilization, Westernization, and modernization in the historical process, it converges on a single point: the West, following the West and adapting to the developments there. Modernization is the sum of various and versatile changes experienced or made in many areas, such as political, economic, sociological, cultural, etc., in line with Western social structures. If this change occurs in a non-Western society, it usually occurs not spontaneously but with the intense driving force and intervention of external factors.²⁵³ Turkish modernization, which started under Westernization during the Ottoman period, began not in its dynamics but as an external factor, with the reforms that politicians tried to implement from top to bottom.

²⁵¹ İsmail Coşkun, "Modernleşme Kuramı Üzerine", *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, Cilt: 3, Sayı.1, 1989, p.289.

²⁵² Ibid Köker, p.52.

²⁵³ Ibid Köker, p. 53.

One of the most powerful empires in history, the Ottoman Empire saw significant change in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Westernization, an ambitious project to modernize the empire's institutions, infrastructure, and society, was central to this shift. The Ottoman Westernization movement, which started in the late 18th century and lasted far into the 20th, was characterized by several efforts and reforms that aimed to imitate Western Europe's political, economic, and cultural models. In the beginning, the Ottoman Empire's encounter with financial, administrative, and military difficulties prompted the administrators of the state to take reform measures. The starting point of Ottoman Westernization was to save the empire from its lousy situation.

Although it was first focused on the military field, because of the thought and understanding that it was lagging behind the West in the military field after the defeats in the wars, reform requests and efforts later spread to different areas. The reign of Mahmud II can be considered as the period in which Türkiye was introduced to the Western atmosphere for the first time.²⁵⁴ During this period, a reform process not limited to military regulations began, and the cultural pillar of Ottoman modernization/Westernization emerged. Within the framework of commercial relations established with the Western world, cultures have become closer, and cultural Westernization has accelerated, mainly thanks to foreigners who came to Istanbul for trade or settlement. Bernard Lewis points out Pera as where this cultural westernization was first seen and showed its most significant effects.²⁵⁵ The first reflection of cultural westernization on clothing occurred during the reign of Mahmud II. In that period, a dress code was made for the first time. When Selim III made significant changes in military attire for the new army he founded, this can be considered the first time the process of Westernization was reduced to clothing. On the other hand, to talk about real modernization and reform of dress, we need to look at the reforms carried out by Mahmut II. In 1826, the army named "Asâkir-i Mansûre-i Muhammediye" was established in European style to replace the Janissary Corps, which had been abolished, and its uniform was organized in Western style as jacket, trousers, fez, and

²⁵⁴ Tuncer neave, "Osmanlı Reformunun İlk Zamanları, Yeniçeri Ocağının Kaldırılması ve İlk Tatbikatı", *Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 1995, p.1-11.

²⁵⁵ Ibid Lewis, p.99-102.

boots.²⁵⁶ In addition, during this period, small-scale dress reform was carried out for civil servants; frock coats, capes, trousers, jackets, fez, and boots were worn.²⁵⁷ These changes aimed to gradually spread to the entire bureaucracy, starting from the palace. A British journalist who lived in İstanbul at the time evaluates Mahmut II's efforts regarding clothing as follows:

*It took a lot of energy to bring about reform in dress. Because dress was a significant barrier that separated the people from Europeans. Mahmut II was a sultan who first adopted Western dress himself, who willed that those who wanted could shave their beards and wanted to see his newly founded army as an entirely European army. He tried to replace the turban with a fez and ensure that the shalwar, spoken, setre, and trousers were worn. Conservative circles called him the giaour sultan because he went too far in his reform movements.*²⁵⁸

The dress reform that the sultan wants to implement aims to start from the sultan himself and go down to the most minor official. This clothing reform, expected to go from top to bottom, also progresses differently, as a clothing change that affects certain groups, starting from the people around the sultan. According to Niyazi Berkes, Turkish people began to resemble European people in the 1830s with the reforms of Mahmut II. Moreover, according to Berkes, Mahmut II's dress reform should be considered important as a period of beginnings rather than successes.²⁵⁹

In this period, Muslim women from the palace and the upper class were the first to follow European fashion. The change in clothing first started in the palace and then spread to families with good financial status and the public. The first alteration in accessories (gloves, socks, etc.) also gradually affected outerwear.²⁶⁰ The clothes that enabled this change were provided by a particular segment of the population with a

²⁵⁶ Necdet Aysal, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Giyim Ve Kuşamda Çağdaşlaşma Hareketleri", *ÇTTAD*, X/22, (2011/Bahar), p.7.

²⁵⁷ Ibid Özer, p.16-17.

²⁵⁸ Haluk Y. Şehsuvaroğlu, "II. Mahmut ve Kıyafet İnkılâbı", *Akşam*, 14 Eylül 1952.

"Kıyafette ıslahı meydana getirebilmek için fazla enerji sarf edildi. Çünkü kıyafet halkı Avrupalılardan ayıran büyük bir mâniyaydı. II. Mahmut Batı kıyafetini önce kendisi benimseyen ve isteyenlerin de sakallarını kesebileceklerini irade eden ve yeni kurduğu ordusunu tam bir Avrupa ordusu olarak görmek isteyen bir padişahı. Başa kavuk yerine fesin geçirilmesi, şalvar, cepken setre, pantolon giyilmesini sağlamak istemişti. Yenileşme hareketlerinde çok ileri gittiği için muhafazakâr çevreler tarafından gâvur padişah olarak anılmıştır"

²⁵⁹ Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002), p.207.

²⁶⁰ Nurettin Sevin, *13 Asırlık Türk Kıyafet Tarihine Bir Bakış*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları,1991), p.139.

good economic status, either by bringing them with them when they traveled to Europe or getting them to their relatives living there.²⁶¹ The press, one of the most critical factors of the Westernization process, also emerged in this period and became a significant cultural change tool. While relations with the Western world were established thanks to the embassies opened in the West in previous periods, and cultural interaction was provided through trips organized to these places, the press enlarged and accelerated this interaction. With the recognition that the Ottoman state's structure and its institutions' functionality fell behind the West in every aspect, the "West" was adopted as a model for the Ottomans and the Turks, and this modeling increased even more during the Tanzimat period. The Tanzimat period is regarded as a period of transformation that included significant reforms in every field. The institutional transformations that the state undergoes are also reflected in the people in civil life as socio-cultural transformations. People from the middle and upper classes in the capital and big cities, especially, accept looking like a Western type and following European fashions as part of this transformation process. Although French and European fashions began to enter the daily life of the Ottoman aristocracy in the pre-Tanzimat period, this process accelerated during the Tanzimat period. It started to reflect on women in other classes.²⁶²

With the trade agreements concluded during the Tanzimat period, foreign goods entered the Ottoman market more frequently, which increased the culture of consumption and led to the emergence of consumerism, especially among senior executives.²⁶³ The envy and consumption of the new type of Western life that began in the upper class was instrumental in the rapid spread of all kinds of Western fashions. This fashion change, from home furnishings to accessories and clothing, also changed people's tastes and consumption habits. Since shopping in places selling foreign goods became a matter of prestige, especially for women of elite circles, there was an increase in the number of stores selling European products in big cities such as İstanbul, İzmir, and Thessaloniki. The demand and admiration for European goods also led to admiration for the European appearance, so members of the upper class attached

²⁶¹ Ibid Sevin, p.139.

²⁶² Ibid Özer, p.23.

²⁶³ Ibid Şahin, 2006, p.34.

particular importance to gaining a European appearance.²⁶⁴ Achieving this look had become very important, especially for upper-class women. Elite women, who tried to imitate Western fashions to a certain extent in their outerwear, dressed similarly to their Western counterparts in their domestic attire. On this subject, Dorins L. Neave, who was in Istanbul between 1881 and 1907 due to his father's job, reports the following:

*After ensuring that no male household members would enter the room, the women would open their veils, revealing Parisian dresses sent by relatives at the embassies in Paris or Vienna. Turkish women who speak a foreign language carefully follow fashion magazines and dress according to the latest fashions. Although the Qur'an forbids them from showing their hair in public, they show their wavy or braided long hair, like European women, at home.*²⁶⁵

Another European who observed the change in women's dress and westernization during the Tanzimat period was Louis Rambert. In his notes, he notes, with astonishment, the change that women undergo with the following words:

*The shape of the abaya and chador, which Muslim women have always worn, has consequently changed to such an extent that it is difficult to reconcile them with the traditions of the harem. Chadors resembling an abaya, abayas sewn without sleeves... The headscarves and yemenis are thin enough to show the hair. Some women even started to wear jackets and coats like soldiers.*²⁶⁶

With the rights granted by the Tanzimat Law, minorities gain equal citizenship status and become more visible in social life. As a result of the change in the old strict dress codes imposed on non-Muslims, non-Muslim Ottoman subjects became the carriers of Western fashion, especially French fashion, to the Ottoman country. The palace women almost completely abandoned their old clothes and began to dress like

²⁶⁴ Ibid Aktaş, p.57.

²⁶⁵ Dorina L. Neave, *Eski İstanbul'da Hayat*, (İstanbul: Tercüman 1001 Temel Eserler, 1978), p.59-60. Kadınlar, ev halkından hiçbir erkeğin odaya girmeyeceğine emin olduktan sonra örtülerini açarlar, Paris ya da Viyana elçiliklerindeki akrabaları tarafından yollanan Paris kıyafetlerini ortaya çıkarırlar. Yabancı dil bilen Türk hanımları moda mecmualarını dikkatle takip eder, en son modaya göre giyinirler. Kuran hükümlerine göre saçlarını toplum içinde göstermeleri yasaklansa da Avrupa kadınlarındaki gibi dalgalı veya örülmüş uzun saçlarını evde gösterirler.

²⁶⁶ Bernard Caporal, *Kemalizm ve Kemalizm Sonrasında Türk Kadını*, (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1982), p.144-145.

Müslüman kadınların oldum olası giydikleri ferace ve çarşafın biçimi sonuç olarak öylesine değişmiş bulunuyor ki, bunların harem gelenekleriyle bağdaşması zordur. Entariye benzeyen çarşaf, kolsuz olarak dikilen feraceler... Başörtüleri ve yemeniler, saçları gösterecek kadar incedir. Bazı kadınlar askerler gibi ceket ve manto bile giymeye başlamışlardır.

European queens, eating European-style meals in salons filled with European furniture and following French literature and magazines. This lifestyle began to be reflected in the public, and women, eager to follow European fashion, tried to change their old clothes and give them the appearance of Western fashion.²⁶⁷ Another factor influencing the fashion sense of the palace women was the Khedive family from Egypt. This situation, which Ahmet Cevdet Pasha describes with the phrase "*they broke new ground in the valleys of debauchery*," was also a criticism of the break with tradition regarding material culture in women's dress.²⁶⁸ The changing lifestyle and the existence of the press during the Tanzimat period also brought out questions about the position of women. The opening of women's social position to discussion has caused women's visibility in social life, that is, in the public sphere, to be questioned within the framework of religious rules. Since we mentioned the debate between traditionalists and Westerners on the issue of women in Chapter 3, it would be appropriate to continue with the issue of clothing and fashion, another confrontation between these two views. Discussions about women's fashion and hijab frequently brought these two groups face to face in the press after the Tanzimat period. For traditionalists, new fashions were evaluated regarding the challenge of traditional veiling patterns and the beginning of abandoning religious orders. This could be seen as a "*loss of identity*" or "*crossing the line of privacy*."²⁶⁹ As Nilüfer Göle points out, since religious laws in an Ottoman society regulated private life and gender relations, the visibility of women in the public sphere was perceived as the dissolution of privacy for conservatives who thought this way liberating clothing and adopting Western fashions meant moving away from Islam. The most established cultural features that resisted the Western cultural model were this perception of privacy and gender relations.²⁷⁰ According to Zafer Toprak, "*Urbanization dragged women into "fashion." City meant public space. Visibility had come to the fore in the city. Urban life fueled women's longing for fashion. Over time, in the Ottoman Empire, the means of covering*

²⁶⁷ Ibid aktaş, p.87.

²⁶⁸ Namık Sinan Turan, "Modernleşmeyi Semboller Üzerinden Okumak: Son Dönem Osmanlı Kadın Kıyafetinde Değişim ve Toplumsal Tartışmalar", *Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Sayı: 12, 2013, p.107.

²⁶⁹ Ibid Turan, p. 113.

²⁷⁰ Ibid Göle, pp.57-58.

up on the street turned into an ornament element.”²⁷¹ Despite all the debates, women's clothing changed from the upper classes to the palace gentry, and the change and transformation in clothing evolved into following fashion. Paris fashions followed because Levantine tailors, or “modistras”, in Beyoğlu followed Paris fashion closely.²⁷² In addition, Ottoman Westernization, with its French influences from the very beginning, also affected the clothing aspect of modernization. The most important tool for following fashion was the press. Women's magazines conveyed the latest European or Parisian fashions to their readers and did not deprive them of current fashion news.

In the introduction and spread of fashion in Türkiye, the press was an essential tool elsewhere in the world from the 19th century onward. The Ottoman women's magazines were the platform through which fashion was introduced to Ottoman women. The diversification in women's clothing started with the Tanzimat Period, and discussions about the perception of clothing and changes in clothing design took place during Türkiye 's Second Constitution Period. However, their common point was the concepts of motherhood and wife reinforced by nationalist and religious discourses. Because of this, a woman's identity was trapped between motherhood and a spouse. Again, as Fatma Barbarosoğlu underlines, the desire for Westernization has made Turkish women and their bodies problematic from two points. The first point is that unless women had a presence in society, the deterioration of the empire could not be stopped, and the development of the state would not be possible. The second point is that women can't take their place in social life with clothes such as abayas and chadors.²⁷³ Moreover, as Barbarosoğlu stated, clothing issues in this period were discussed in two dimensions: whether the design of women's clothes according to European fashion was by religion or not, and whether it was fair to lose money to foreign capital, primarily through the stores in Beyoğlu, in an empire whose economy was bankrupt.²⁷⁴ Everyone except the Islamists accepted these two problematic issues, and discussions offering solutions took place in the press. Women also examined these

²⁷¹ Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Yeni Hayat İnkılap ve Travma (1908-1928)*, (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2017), pp.233-234.

²⁷² Ibid Toprak, 2017, p.234.

²⁷³ Ibid Barbarosoğlu p.141.

²⁷⁴ Fatma Karabıyık Barbarosoğlu, *Moda ve Zihniyet*, (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık,2012), p.141.

discussions, in which men were the central axis, as they entered the press life rapidly after the 1908 revolution. One of the main issues of women's magazines of the period was women's problems and the steps that must be taken for the advancement of women in society, and the other was the issue of clothing and fashion. *Demet*, *Mehasin*, and *Kadın* magazines, published in 1908,²⁷⁵ were part of this discussion. It can be said that the general perspective of women and women's magazines on this issue is that traditional Ottoman clothes restrict movements and that Western clothes should be preferred due to the freedom of movement they provide. However, a type of clothing that should be chosen and applied has not been decided, though Mehasin introduced Western fashion to Ottoman women with published illustrations.

Kadınlar Dünyası, published in 1913, also touched on the women's question, clothing, and fashion. In this woman's newspaper, it is stated that one of the main dimensions of the women's revolution is the issue of women's clothing and that it should be given great importance. It is criticized that religious beliefs are reflected in the clothes, and that is why Muslim women are isolated from society and imprisoned in their homes. What *Kadınlar Dünyası* offers as a solution is to reform the clothes. It is stated that the chador and veil should be modernized, and even the veil, which is an outfit that humiliates women, should be removed entirely from use. On the other hand, Western fashion is introduced to the readers on the pages of *Kadınlar Dünyası*, and examples are given with pictures. This newspaper featured pictures of women dressed in European style on its pages and published photographs of Muslim women for the first time. However, it is emphasized that it is more appropriate to use this Western fashion by making it local and national. It is desired that women's clothes should be reformed and suitable for the current, but it is often emphasized that it should not be overdone while doing this. Being fond of fashion is a habit that will force the family economically.

The issue of fashion in the Ottoman period carries a political purpose: to solve the women's problem rather than women's catching up with current clothes. For both genders who produce thoughts on the subject, clothing is seen not only as an element

²⁷⁵ Songül Keçeci Kurt, “: II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Osmanlı Kadın Dergilerinde Aile ve Evlilik Algısı”, *Bellekten*, Cilt : LXXIX, Sayı. 286, Aralık 2015, pp.1075-1076.

of clothing but also as one of the keys to solving the country's and women's problems. The issue of whether to follow French or British fashion regarding the implementation and follow-up of fashion is frequently discussed in the magazines of the period. Even though criteria such as not being funny when making one of these choices, not being tacky while trying to be stylish, and not going overboard with fancy clothes are wanted to be determined, we cannot reach a consensus of words and clothes. Although the *Kadınlar Dünyası* solves and defends the women's problem in its pages, the start of the First World War affects politics and everything. Women, who started to participate more actively in business life instead of men who went to the front in the war, served in the army at and behind the front. Gender boundaries in all the countries involved in this war appear to be blurred because when men go to the front, the labor shortage they leave behind is substantial. As men went to war, jobs that were considered male until then began opening to women. In the absence of their men, the war causes women in financial trouble to look for work. These conditions turn women's position and family structure into a social problem in most of the countries participating in the war. The fact that women started to participate more in the social sphere caused the start of business friendships between both genders. This situation also caused the boundaries between the sexes to change and affected the apparel worn in the public sphere.

The First World War enabled women to participate in the public sphere and caused their outdoor apparel to be questioned and changed. Filling the job vacancies left by men who went to war, women began considering wearing comfortable clothes suitable for this new life. The chador changed significantly, and coats entered women's lives and wardrobes. Following London and Paris fashions, women dressed more in Western style. The White Russians, who immigrated to the Ottoman lands after the Russian Revolution (1917), especially greatly influenced the change in Ottoman women's clothing. After the Bolshevik Revolution, the women of the Romanov Dynasty or the Russian elite saved their lives by fleeing to Istanbul. These women, who had to leave their assets in their countries, were in a very miserable situation when they came to İstanbul. Women who do not have fur or hats to wear on their heads due to poverty begin to wrap their heads in cheesecloth. Thus, fashion was born out of nothing, and Ottoman women started to cover their heads similarly. This "Russian head," which

became a new type of hijab, influenced the headscarf style of Turkish women and became one of the intermediary models in the transition from headscarf to open hair.²⁷⁶ Although Russian immigrants introduced this new style in which they half-covered their heads for reasons such as poverty or health reasons, for Ottoman women, this meant a new fashion that was accepted as an element of taste and was a stretching of the hijab rules.

The period's women's newspapers and magazines emphasized and discussed the need for regulations and innovations in the clothing field, albeit with different opinions. The discussions on women's dress, veiling styles, and the limits of this style also continued to the Republican period. The magazines of the 1920s conveyed the latest fashion, Paris fashion, to Turkish women and facilitated the modernization of women's clothing. Turkish women of the young Turkish Republic also adopted the image of women created by French couturiers in the 1920s. This interaction would be one of the most significant indicators of Turkish women's adaptation to the world. French fashion has been followed since the Tanzimat Period onward, and the mediating role of the press continued in the republican period. Women's magazines published in the Republican period also pioneered and guided women in many areas, such as clothing, attire, accessories, make-up, health, beauty, balanced and healthy nutrition, motherhood, companionship, childcare, manners, home decoration products, and entertainment. The modernization of clothing was the most fundamental move for the young Republican regime, which was undergoing a significant change and transformation in every aspect, to show the face of the new country it had created. To keep up with contemporary civilization, as emphasized by Mustafa Kemal, it was essential for the new regime to improve the social position of women and modernize them in every way. Because, in a sense, Turkish women would be in the public eye as living examples of the regime's success in every field and would be the reflectors of the visual image of modern Türkiye. For this reason, fashion was used as a tool of modernization. Or it can be said that the old state policy regarding the issue of dress, which was a great indicator of modernization, had been abandoned and replaced by an approach that allows fashion to reach the public through the press and thus wants to

²⁷⁶ Ibid Toprak, 2017, p.238-241.

experience the transformative effect of fashion in its flow. The debates on women's role in society continued during the early years of the Turkish Republic, when women were given an essential role in the nation-building process. The reforms and transition from the empire to the nation-state and the Kemalist thought ended the Eastern and Western dilemma on the women's question. With the reforms carried out on the axis of secularism, the religious and modern complexity disappeared, and many reforms were made that changed the social position of women.

The hat reform in 1925 was a significant turning point for women's fashion since a significant change began in women's clothing after this date. Before the hat reforms, the Committee of the Deputies accepted a regulation regarding the clothes of judges and all law officers on April 3, 1924. This decision avoided the confusion created by various types of clothing such as shalwar, setre, turban, gown, fez, and trousers. On September 2, 1925, people other than men of religion were prohibited from wearing religious clothes and carrying religious signs. Although the TGNA accepted the decision regarding civil servants wearing hats on the same day, the decision was taken back due to objections made in parliament that this authority did not belong to the Deputies Committee. The implementation of this decision took place because of the adoption of the hat reform.²⁷⁷ With the Hat Law adopted on November 25, 1925, the fez was banned, and wearing a hat was made compulsory. Although this seems like a revolution that mainly concerned men, women who did not cover their heads also started to wear hats, and it is also seen that there were women who wore traditional hijabs with hats. The new regime did not directly target the issue of women's clothing, as it was seen mainly as related to honor and adopted by society in this way.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷ Yücel Özkaya, "Atatürk Dönemi ve Atatürk İnkılapları", *Türkler ve Cumhuriyet Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 16, (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002), p. 369.

²⁷⁸ "Bazı yerlerde kadınlar görüyorum ki başına bir bez veya peştamal veya buna mümasil bir şeyler atarak yüzünü, gözünü gizler ve yanından geçen erkeklere karşı ya arkasını çevirir veya yere oturarak yumulur. Bunu tavrın mana ve medlülü nedir? Efendiler, medeni bir millet anası, millet kızı bu garip şekile, bu vahşi vaziyete girer mi? Bu hal milleti çok gülünç gösteren bir manzaradır. Derhal tashihi lazımdır." (*In some places, I see women hiding their faces and eyes by throwing a cloth, loincloth, or something similar on their heads, turning their backs, or sitting on the ground against men who pass by. What is the meaning of this attitude? Gentlemen, would a civilized nation's mother, a nation's daughter, enter this strange, brutal state? This is a scene that makes the nation look ridiculous. Immediate correction is required.*) See, Kamuran Ardiç, Atatürkle Çağdaşlaşmak, Access: 20.02.2022 <https://www.atam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/K%3%a2muran-ARDI%3%87-Atat%3%bcrk-ile-%3%87a%4%9fda%5%9fla%5%9fmak.pdf>

5.2 Approaches to Women, Clothing, and Fashion in the Modernization Perception of the Republican Regime

Although Turkish modernization began in the Ottoman period to save the state from bad conditions and prevent military decline, it found its social aspect and initiated a cultural modernization over time. Modernization, which emerged as the integration of Western institutions by accepting the superiority of the West in every aspect, evolved intending to stop the stormy course of the empire until the declaration of the new Turkish state as a republican regime. Ottoman modernization reveals the coexistence of old and new, Western and traditional institutions and lifestyles, because it was not revolutionary enough to carry out old institutions and structural reforms. With the Republic's proclamation, the state's form, the bureaucratic structure, and the legal system were changed entirely. A set of practices that will eliminate traditional norms are put forward to change social institutions. A revolutionary and radical modernization process begins. The main goal in the modernization perception of the new regime, influenced by positivism, was to reach the "contemporary civilization" level.²⁷⁹ For the new regime, modernization means joining Western civilization and being civilized. For this purpose, all old dualisms are eliminated, and a comprehensive reform process involving radical changes is initiated.

The economic, social, cultural, and political reforms made during the early Republican Period in Türkiye impacted Turkish society, and the Turkish press served as a tool to introduce and disseminate the reforms to society and influence the society about the news and developments from the world. According to Yelsalı, these reforms were made on the axis of paternalism and political power. This paternalist modernization was shaped around the idea that Mustafa Kemal was the father of the nation, and it was believed that he was trying to do the right thing for them and the greater good of the Turkish people.²⁸⁰ According to the Kemalist modernization approach to women's perception or women's question, the female gender, which constitutes half of society, should be modernized for the modernization of society. Therefore, as part of reforms,

²⁷⁹ Ibid Köker, pp.232-233.

²⁸⁰ Ibid Parmaksız, p.21.

Turkish women were also given the role of representing the country's modern image by adopting modern apparel, having higher education, and becoming more visible in the public sphere. This was the idealization of Turkish women, which the researchers such as Ayşe Durakbaşa called “*woman of the republic*.” It has been thought for many years that this ideal republican woman perception was created by making a kind of tacit agreement with the political power-father figure in line with paternalism. As Ayşe Durakbaşa stated in her work, this tacit agreement is between the enlightened father figure and his daughters, who feel responsible for modernizing his daughters.²⁸¹

The modern outlook of society by modernization became an essential matter in Modern Türkiye, to which fashion could help. From the 19th century onward, fashion in Türkiye was shaped not only by traditional features but also by European fashion, and the latter became more dominant during the Republican Period since it suited the modernization, secularization, and civilization project of Mustafa Kemal and the RPP governments in the nation-building process. The clothing issue was also a matter of civilization. During the modernization of the young republic, fashion was a tool that served as the visual representation of the new regime's desire to “*reach the level of contemporary civilizations*.” Fashion was the thing that could show people inside and outside the transformation that the country was going through and the progress it had made. While everything was changing, staying in old clothes would not be appropriate. If the goal were to reach the position of Western civilization, the most current fashion would be worn, and Turkish people would look the same as modern people. In other words, fashion was one of the visual tools and indicators of modernization. Turkish Westernization, or modernization, which started during the Ottoman period, somehow reduced the change it underwent to clothing. The attempt by the political power to shape the clothes in a Western sense dates back to sultans such as Selim III and Mahmud II. Clothing in Turkish modernization is positioned as the formal and visual manifestation of modernization due to the clothing regulations the government tries to implement from top to bottom, even through the military or civil servants. Clothing is given different meanings as an indicator to reflect and represent the reform process.

²⁸¹ Ibid Durakbaşa, 2012, pp.234-235.

On the other hand, despite all the reforms made during the Ottoman westernization phase, women were expected to preserve their Islamic identity in clothing. In contrast, state policy during the Republican period was the opposite. According to Mardin, *clothing has a symbolic meaning here. The issue is the struggle between religion and modernity.*²⁸² To break the hegemony of religion in the social sphere and the restrictions it creates in public space and inter-gender relations, clothing must be suitable for the modern world. Modernization in clothing indicates both a holistic modernization and changes in material culture through objectification. The shift in material culture, clothing, or cultural structure was not specific to Turkish modernization. Japan, a distant end of Eastern civilization, was also experiencing similar experiences to Turkish modernization. Japan had also turned its face to the West since the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and entered a modernization process modeled on the West. Japan, which experienced formal Westernization until the end of the First World War, abandoned its traditional life after the war and thoroughly adapted to Western civilization.²⁸³ The change in consumer culture also led to a change in cultural life, causing the traditions, especially those maintained over women, to collapse one by one. American films influenced Japanese women, affecting their clothing and behavioral preferences and disintegrating traditional Japanese culture. Japanese women abandoned their traditional kimonos, wore the clothes worn by European women, and quickly abandoned their conservatism.²⁸⁴ Like Japanese women, who were included in the public sphere with Western clothes, Turkish women had undergone a tremendous revolution thanks to the republic, and their rate of inclusion in the public sphere was increasing daily. Turkish women were going to dances and balls in ways they could not have even dreamed of before the declaration of the new regime. Women could freely wear whatever clothes they wanted and be wherever they wanted without facing restrictions in public spaces. Turkish women and Turkish society had gone through a great revolution. Zafer Toprak said, "It was impossible to make this revolution ten years ago. But cinema, automobile, jazz, and

²⁸² Şerif Mardin, "Türkiye'de Din ve Laiklik", *Türkiye'de Din ve Siyaset*, Cilt 3. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), pp. 75-76.

²⁸³ Toprak, p.112.

²⁸⁴ Toprak, p.112.

dance made the job of Turkish revolutionaries easier."²⁸⁵ These changes in material culture contributed to the modernization process by causing significant transformations in the moral and mental world of society and individuals.

Although some dynamics facilitated modernization, such as the change in material culture, the leadership of the founding elite was also needed to change Turkish women's clothing. Especially in the first years of the republic, Turkish women's transition to modern clothes was tried to be achieved through education and by presenting Mustafa Kemal and the women around him as role models introducing new types of clothing or modern clothing to the Turkish society, which had minimal knowledge about fashion. The first of this type of woman was Mustafa Kemal's wife, Latife Hanım, who accompanied Mustafa Kemal on his country tours throughout their marriage. She wore a traditional headscarf but blended it with many modern clothes such as trousers, jackets, and boots, reflecting the transition period of the republic to the image of the contemporary woman. (See **Figures 6 and 7**)

After Latife Hanım and Mustafa Kemal got divorced, Mevhibe İnönü, the wife of İsmet İnönü, the prime minister, became a role model for Turkish women. Mevhibe Hanım, who grew up and lived with traditional values and was veiled and dressed traditionally, was a vivid portrait of Turkish women and womanhood before modernization. The first significant break in her image came when she participated in the second round of the Lausanne Peace Talks in 1923 with her husband İsmet İnönü, who was the head of the Turkish delegation in Lausanne. Before going to Lausanne in April 1923, İsmet Pasha informed Mevhibe Hanım to buy modern clothes since she should serve as an example for the reforms the RPP government would undertake soon.²⁸⁶ Mevhibe İnönü became a more and more prominent role model, especially after the divorce of Mustafa Kemal and Latife Hanım. She uncovered her headscarf, set an example for Turkish women by wearing whatever was fashionable at the time, and as the prime minister's wife, hoping that Turkish women would imitate her and thus contribute to Turkish modernization. However, although Mevhibe Hanım marked

²⁸⁵ Toprak, p.112.

²⁸⁶ Gülsün Bilgehan, *Mevhibe*, (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1995), pp.115-117.

the 1920s as a role model for Turkish women, it was Afet İnan and Sabiha Gökçen, the adopted daughters of Mustafa Kemal, who came to the fore as role models. The education they received and the modern dresses they wore, accompanied by their father on domestic trips, represented modern Turkish women. The women's fashion of the 1920s, as worn by Latife and Mevhibe Hanım, and the 1930s, presented by Afet İnan and Sabiha Gökçen were at the same time the blend of Turkish women's fashion and European fashion or directly designed according to the European fashion. (See **Figures 8 and 9**) The primary purpose of this approach, which is a continuation of the Turkish modernization initiated by Mahmut from top to bottom, is imitation. As Crane stated in her study, clothing, the most essential and integral part of an individual's appearance, is a government tool. The power we encounter daily can achieve the aim of imposing social identities through clothing. Fashion causes social identities to be redefined by constantly attributing new meanings to products.²⁸⁷ This is an example that the founding elites should be role models for society and want the Western fashions they wear to be imitated and adopted by the public. The goal is to create a visual representation of the country that has taken significant steps towards Westernization.

5.3 Fashion Phenomenon and Approaches to Fashion in The Press

In the new period, issues such as the compatibility or non-conformity of women's clothing and the suitability of clothing in terms of religious orders or traditions discussed in the Second Constitutional Period were not encountered in the Republican period. Factors such as the revolutions made by the regime in many areas, opening the public space equally to both genders, including women in life, and the clothing revolution are influential in the emergence of this attitude. The problem of dress and clothing of the Republican period was the elimination of the clothes of the past period. One of the essential symbols of the break with the imperial past was the abandonment of the clothes of the past period, which could be called the Ottoman style. For this reason, the visual symbol of modernization and the most crucial mirror of adapting to

²⁸⁷ Ibid Crane, p.27.

the modern world was that clothes keep up with current trends. Great importance was given to European fashions, as the most modern clothing of the period was Western-style clothing and fashion promoted by Paris Fashion. One of the first traces of the concept of fashion in the Republican period's press was whether fashion has changed. The article published in *Süs* magazine examines the question posed and gives its answer in the following words:

*"That fashion doesn't change. There can't be a wrong idea because fashion changes daily. Not only in big lines and not violently, but in a way that cannot be felt. It must be known that the elegance and novelty of a dress are only apparent to a very experienced eye. The rest are irrelevant, unspecific details."*²⁸⁸

Again, according to *Süs*, if nature becomes more beautiful every day by being decorated with new ornaments, fashion follows the secret of its development and develops every season, becoming more attractive by decorating new ornaments.²⁸⁹ According to the magazine, fashion is a phenomenon with unknown dynamics that evolves and changes with these dynamics every day and becomes more beautiful as it grows and changes. It can be said that this perspective on fashion makes it almost like a living form. According to *Son Saat* newspaper, "*Fashion is an invisible queen,*" its glittering palaces are in the street where Paris's most famous tailor shops are. When this queen [Paris] commands, fashion changes and renews. She has a temperament that is "*invisible to the eye, unapproachable to the heart, vain and changeable.*"²⁹⁰ In the article, it is also reminded that fashion cannot be ignored and some details from the past should also be preserved as in the following:

"a fashion is always born from excess and dies from excess. A woman often goes beyond fashion and leaves it behind without realizing it because she cannot keep up with fashion. With this move, she disrupts the shape and scheme of fashion. So much so that it can even become ridiculous and ugly, but it is not

²⁸⁸ Bir iddaya göre moda değişmezmiş. Dünyada bunun kadar yanlış bir fikir olamaz çünkü moda her gün değişmektedir. Yalnız büyük çizgilerde ve şiddetle değil, hissedilemeyecek şekilde bir surette değişmektedir. Şurası malum olmalıdır ki elbisenin şıklığı ve yeniliği yalnız pek tecrübeli bir göze ayandır. Kalan gayri kabl rivayet gayri mahsus teferruatıdır. Süs, "*Moda Değişiyor Mu? Değişmiyor Mu?*", Number 29, 29 December 1923, p.8.

²⁸⁹ Süs, "*Haftanın Modası*", Number 1, 16 June 1923, p.9.

²⁹⁰ Son Saat, "*Moda Emrediyor: Etekler Dizden Aşağı!*", 20 November 1929, p.6.

possible to completely kill fashion. Is it possible to deny the past? We preserve the details we like."²⁹¹

Although it is normal for people to preserve some of the things they like, the press agrees that the basis of fashion is change and development. The best example of an article on the change and development of fashion is one published in *Hayat Magazine*. In the article titled "*Women's Outfits of Yesterday and Today*" (Dünki ve Bugünkü Kadın Tuvaletleri), it is mentioned how strange the clothes of the past period exhibited in an exhibition in Paris look to the people who go to the exhibition.

"Parisian newspapers write about an 18th-century women's clothing exhibition at the Carnavalet Museum. This exhibition, which brings back memories of a hundred and fifty years ago, is trendy. Dresses inflated with baskets, small scallops thrown over the shoulders, strange and long ribbons on the head, decorated hats, and iron corsets amused the public. Today's elegant and refined women are laughing and offended by these models: "How strange! What shapeless clothes, what obedient things!" they marveled. They wondered how our grandmothers wore these strange things, how they went out on the street in these extravagant outfits."²⁹²

In the article, it is pointed out that although women's astonishment is normal, even ten or fifteen years ago, fashion was no different from the clothes in an exhibition.

"But if today's womanhood, who is so astonished, remembers not so long ago, but 10-15 years ago, if she unearths her old clothes, now crumpled and thrown away in the corner of her trunk, or if she looks at the photographs taken then, she will realize that the transformation in these 15 years has been quite astonishing. Floor-length skirts, the wide folds, the pleats, the rustling ruffles that were so pleasing at the time... how quickly forgotten. Sleeves that came up

²⁹¹ "Bir moda daima ifrattan doğar ve ifrattan ölür. Bir kadın modaya yetişemedim diye farkında olmadan çoğu defa modayı geçer ve geride bırakır. bu hareketi ile de modanın şeklini ve şemalini bozar. o kadar ki, gülünç ve çirkin bir hale bile getirebilir. Fakat bir modayı tamamen öldürmek mümkün değildir. Maziyi inkar etmek mümkün müdür? Hoşumuza giden teferruatı muhafaza ederiz" Son Saat, "*Moda Emrediyor: Etekler Dizden Aşağı!*", 20 November 1929, p.6.

²⁹² "Paris gazeteleri Carnavalet Müzesi'nde açılan 18. Yüzyıl kadın kıyafetlerini teşhir eden bir sergiden uzun uzadıya bahsediyorlar. Yüz elli sene evvele ait hatıraları canlandıran bu sergi büyük rağbet görmekte. İçine sepetlerle şişirilmiş elbiseler, omuza atılan küçük fistolar, başa konulan tuhaf ve uzun kurdaleler ile süslü şapkalar ve demir korseler halkı pek eğlendiriyormuş. Bugünün zarif ve kibar kadınları bu modeller karşısında gülüp kırılıyorlar: "Aman ne garip! Ne biçimsiz kıyafetler ne itaatkâr şeyler!" diyerek hayrete düşüyorlarmış. Büyükannelerimiz bu tuhaf şeyleri nasıl giymişler, bu abartılı kıyafetlerle nasıl sokağa çıkmışlar diye şaşırıyorlarmış." Hayat, "*Dünki ve Bugünkü Kadın Tuvaletleri*", Number 94, 13 September 1928, pp.9-12.

to the wrists and bulged suddenly around the elbows, waists that were narrowed and tightened to fit between the ten fingers of both hands, hats like plates decorated with all kinds of imitation flowers and fruits, fabrics, and lace, were much admired at that time."²⁹³

This draws attention to the fact that similar outfits that surprised women were in use even in the recent past. However, the clothes and ornaments that were popular ten to fifteen years ago have been discarded due to the changing perception of fashion. The article claims that the simplicity captured in women's clothes with changing and developing fashion reveals women's natural beauty and adds elegance to women. According to the magazine, this change in fashion is standard because everything is changing rapidly. *"Everything is changing very rapidly now. The era of airplanes, submarines, and wireless telephones is now completing the transformations and revolutions that were made in previous centuries within 5-10 years."*²⁹⁴ By saying, it is mentioned that technological developments affect and accelerate everything else. Two photographs printed to complement the article, depicting *"today's men's and women's clothing,"* were used as vivid examples of the contrast of the past clothing described. One example of clothes from the recent past that seem strange to people and arouse curiosity could also be found in Vienna. According to *Uyanış/Servet-i Fünun* magazine's news, costumes from twenty-five years ago were exhibited at a revue organized in Vienna. The language used in the magazine describing women's clothing and accessories from twenty-five years ago is astonished at these garments.²⁹⁵ *Akşam* newspaper also mentions another old clothes exhibition opened in Paris. In this exhibition, which consisted of the clothes worn by women from 1810 to 1910, although the clothes were different, similar common points attracted attention. These

²⁹³ "Fakat bu kadar hayrete düşen bugünün kadınlığı, çok uzağı değil 10-15 sene öncesini hatırlar, şimdi buruşturulmuş, sandıklarının bir köşesine atılmış olan eski elbiselerini meydana çıkarır yahut o zaman çekilen fotoğraflara bakarsa bu 15 sene içindeki dönüşümün de pek şaşılacak derecede olduğunu fark eder. Yerlere kadar sürünen eteklikler, geniş kıvrımları, kat kat pilileri, o zaman pek hoş giden hışırtılı firfırlarıyla ne çabuk unutuldu. Bileklere kadar gelen ve dirsek etrafında birden şişen kollar, iki elin on parmağı arasına sığacak kadar daraltılan ve sıkılan beller, üzerleri bin bir türlü taklit çiçekler ve meyveler, kumaşlar ve dantellerle süslenen tabak gibi şapkalar o zaman ne çok beğeniliyordu." Hayat, *"Dünki ve Bugünki Kadın Tuvaletleri"*, Number 94, 13 September 1928, pp.9-12.

²⁹⁴ "Şimdi her şey büyük bir süratle değişiyor. Tayyareler, tahtelbahirler, telsiz telefonlar devri, evvelce asırların yaptığı tahavvülleri, inkılapları şimdi 5-10 sene içinde yapıp bitiveriyor." Hayat, *"Dünki ve Bugünki Kadın Tuvaletleri"*, Number 94, 13 September 1928, pp.9-12.

²⁹⁵ Uyanış, *"Viyana'da Eski Moda Revüsü"*, 14 November 1929, p.819.

common points were thin waists, long and loose skirts, and exaggerated ornaments. This newspaper specifically stated how different the new fashions were from these clothes.²⁹⁶ In the perception of the period, fashion was compared with the past; the past was an element of surprise, and the new fashion was praised for its simplicity.

So, should women follow fashion or adapt fashion to themselves? *Milliyet* newspaper sought an answer to this question, which it thought was necessary for the public. It asked many intellectuals of the period what they thought about this issue and received their opinions. First, the famous economist Celal Muhtar was asked for his views. He found this issue quite dangerous and said, " *Darling, don't you have anything else to do? Can you interfere with women's fashion? Are you going to get me in trouble?*"²⁹⁷ Even though he did not want to intervene in the matter jokingly, he later expressed his opinions.

*"It is not right to start with women. First, let us men reduce our unnecessary expenses. Essentially, what we call fashion is exclusive to Istanbul and our other two major cities. The Anatolian woman doesn't even know what fashion is, in my opinion. Women are secondary in this matter. Especially once men come to their senses, let us mind our business. Finally, I will say this: We don't have to buy glasses other than the ones we have on our eyes. Let's discuss this issue after putting on a coat of local fabric and local shoes on our feet. However, it is not easy to get ahead of fashion. Many countries are more slaves to fashion than we are."*²⁹⁸

Celal Muhtar's thoughts were mainly based on economic concerns. He did not directly blame women for following and practicing fashion. While he did not categorize following fashion as complete wastefulness, he stated that it would be considered

²⁹⁶ Akşam, "Modanın Bir Asırda Geçirdiği Tahavvüller", 29 May 1929, p.5.

²⁹⁷ "Canım sizin başka işiniz mi yok? Kadınların modasına karışılır mı? Benim başımı derde mi sokacaksınız." *Milliyet*, "Kadınlar mı Modaya Uymalı? Onu mu Kendilerine Uydurmalı?", 1 December 1929, p.5.

²⁹⁸ "İşe kadınlardan başlamak doğru değil. Biz erkekler evvela kendi fuzuli masraflarımızı azaltalım. Esasen moda dediğimiz şey İstanbul ve diğer iki büyük şehrimize münhasırdır. Anadolu kadını modanın ne olduğunu bilmez bile. Benim fikrimce kadın bu işte ikinci planda kalır. Hele bir kere erkekler aklını başına toplasın. Biz ayağımızı yorganımıza göre uzatırsak, kadınlar dans salonlarında erkek bulamazlar. Son söz olarak söyleyeceğim şu: ikimizin de gözündeki gözlüklerden başkası fazladır. Sırtımıza yerli kumaştan palto, ayağımıza yerli bir mes geçirdikten sonra, bu konuyu o zaman konuşalım. Mamafih, modanın önüne geçmek pek kolay değildir. Birçok ülkeler vardır ki bizden daha çok modanın esiri olmuşlardır." *Milliyet*, "Kadınlar mı modaya uymalı, onu mu kendilerine uydurmalı?", 1 December 1929, p.5.

wastefulness for individuals to acquire more than they need. When asked about her thoughts on the matter, the response of Nakiye Hanım, the principal of *İstanbul Girls' High School* at the time, is as follows.

“In my opinion, an excessive obsession with fashion makes women ridiculous. Let's not feel bad about the money we spend just to conform to fashion trends. This issue was also brought up with the people I encountered recently. Some individuals even considered accepting a national dress for our ladies. I can't comprehend such a thing happening. People have different tastes and temperaments. What one person likes and accepts may not suit another. Why should one be compelled to accept it by force?... I think women should create a fashion within the framework of national principles and gradually adhere to it over time.”²⁹⁹

Nakiye Hanım was highly bothered by the fur fashion that had taken over the era and the thousands of Liras spent on these furs to keep up with fashion. According to her, those who wear these furs do so not to keep warm or avoid getting cold but simply because it is fashionable. She described these individuals as being afflicted by a fashion epidemic. In her opinion, propaganda tools should be employed against this fashion epidemic. By guiding the public through the media, it would be possible to gradually prevent economic waste or ensure that people act in line with the financial situation. Another economist whose ideas were asked also argued that the concept of fashion would disappear with the leadership of upper-class women, who serve as an example for the middle class. He said a national fashion could be created after this movement, and Turkish women would adapt fashion to themselves. Besim Ömer Pasha, one of the famous figures of the period, approached the subject from an economic perspective and advocated the need to create a local fashion. For this idea, he pointed to *Türk Kadın Birliği* (Turkish Woman's Union), the pioneering institution

²⁹⁹ “Bence, modaya aşırı derecede düşkünlük kadını gülünç yapar. Modaya uyacağız diye dışarıya vereceğimiz paraya acıyalım. Bu mesele geçenlerle de gündeme gelmişti. Hatta bazı kişiler hanımlarımız için milli bir kıyafet kabul etmeyi düşünmüşlerdi. Böyle bir şeyin olacağına aklım ermez. İnsanlar muhtelif zevk ve mizaçtadır. Birinin beğenip kabul ettiği şekli öteki kendine yakıştırmayabilir. Aslında niçin zorla onu kabule mecbur olsun?... Bence kadın milli prensipler dahilinde bir moda icat edip zamanla ona uysun.” Milliyet, “*Kadınlar mı modaya uymalı, onu mu kendilerine uydurmalı?*”, 1 December 1929, p.5.

in the women's movement of the period, to come up with a solution. The idea was not limited to consulting experts and getting answers.³⁰⁰

In addition to these individuals agreeing on creating a domestic fashion and making economy-based discussions, the opinions of the tailor, Calibe Hanım, were also sought. She was the former wife of the famous writer Ömer Seyfettin and one of the most renowned tailors of that period. When the same question was asked to her, she got angry. According to her, it was meaningless for women with no authority to speak about fashion and talk about adapting fashion to themselves. She says, "*Only about 20% of ladies understand fashion and dressing style in our country. However, it is bizarre that everyone still talks about fashion.*"³⁰¹ It requires competence to discuss fashion for Calibe Hanım. Another skilled tailor whose opinion was considered was Güzide Hanım, who defines fashion as dressing well to reflect its essence. For her, Turkish women dress pretty well. She mentions that whenever she travels to Western European countries and Paris, she sees once again that Turkish women dress as elegantly, cleanly, stylishly, and fashionably as their European counterparts. She said, "*No nation's women can escape the compelling charm of fashion.*"³⁰² According to Güzide Hanım, fashion is not an economic issue because Turkish women do not go overboard and value what they have. When research was done on Güzide Hanım, it became clear that she is Güzide Orbay, whom we believe to be one of the famous tailors of the period and introduced in *Milliyet* newspaper only as Güzide Hanım. Still, we can learn about the competence of her profession, as mentioned in another newspaper of the period. According to the news in *Vakit* newspaper dated 1 Nisan 1929, Güzide Hanım began her profession by sewing her first dress at seven. She was highly skilled in her profession and had expanded her business over time. Although she was pleased with Turkish women's follow of fashion, she complained about some individuals who only followed European fashion. According to her, these people did not appreciate local fabrics or local tailors; they wanted their clothes, from fabric to

³⁰⁰ "Milliyet, "*Kadınlar mı modaya uymalı, onu mu kendilerine uydurmalı?*", 1 December 1929, p.5.

³⁰¹ "Memlekette modadan, giyiniş tarzından anlayan hanımlar yüzde 20'yi geçmez. Fakat çok gariptir ki yine herkes modadan bahseder." Milliyet, "*Kadınlar mı modaya uymalı, onu mu kendilerine uydurmalı ?*", 1 December 1929, p.5.

³⁰² "Modanın sürükleyici cazibesinden hiçbir milletin kadınları kurtulamamıştır." Milliyet, "*Kadınlar mı modaya uymalı, onu mu kendilerine uydurmalı ?*", 1 December 1929, p.5.

thread sewing, to come from European hands. This situation bothered her a bit.³⁰³ However, she did not mention these discomforts in her interview published in *Milliyet* newspaper and instead highlighted the success of Turkish women in fashion. *Milliyet*'s interview with the individuals the newspaper considered necessary was concluded by taking the opinions of another anonymous tailor. This anonymous tailor expressed her views on fashion with the following sentences:

*"Fashion does not enter the country like an enemy. It spreads everywhere, captivating with dazzling colors, like a seductive woman, taking away people's willpower. Can I prevent the influence of the air? Fashion is like the air; in our opinion, it is just as necessary. If fashion were something that changed or remained unchanged according to everyone's desire, there would be many men to stop it."*³⁰⁴

One of the most beautiful examples of fashion that an anonymous tailor mentioned, claiming that fashion spreads everywhere like the air and influences everyone, is a news article in *Son Saat* newspaper. It was claimed that *"today, a single fashion dominates the world of femininity, as mothers and grandmothers wear dresses like those of their young daughters and grandchildren."*³⁰⁵ Thus, fashion was thought to bridge the gap between generations. According to the newspaper, finding coat and robe models for young girls within a specific age range was difficult. However, thanks to the new fashion, women of all ages have started wearing the same things because everyone dresses like young girls. Especially in terms of coats and robes, it was claimed that the distinction between mother, grandmother, and daughter disappeared. The article emphasizes that tailors used to divide their cutting and sewing tasks into three categories: *"an old woman's job,' a middle-aged person's job,' and a young person's job,"* *"but now their significance has diminished."*³⁰⁶ This is an excellent example of how everyone of all ages follows a famous outfit.

³⁰³ Vakit, "*İş Hayatında Kadın*", 1 April 1929, p.4.

³⁰⁴ "Moda bir düşman gibi memlekete girmez. Göz kamaştırıcı renklere bürünerek, şuh bir kadın gibi insanın iradesini elinden alarak her tarafa yayılır. Havanın nüfuzuna mani olmam mümkün mü? Moda da hava gibidir ve bize kalırsa onun kadar da lazımdır. Eğer moda herkesin arzusuyla değişen ya da değişmeyen bir şey olsaydı bu selin önüne duracak pek çok erkek bulunabilirdi."

³⁰⁵ Son Saat, "*Moda*", 3 June 1929, p6.

³⁰⁶ Son Saat, "*Moda*", 3 June 1929, p6.

With the slow onset of the effects of the 1929 economic crisis, positive attitudes towards fashion also change. A month after the news was given above, Son Saat newspaper expressed different thoughts about fashion. This news is not the newspaper's opinion but rather a news report from the foreign press. According to this news, psychologists decided that establishing an international fashion academy was healthy in influencing the masses through fashion. It had been agreed that this academy would consist of doctors, economists, and artists. The purpose of this academy can be summarized as producing clothing according to four seasons every year and protecting family budgets during economic downturns by distancing people from consumer psychology. According to the newspaper report, "*There cannot be anything as boring as the necessity to always conform to the whims of fashion...*" If the planned fashion academy is implemented and succeeds,

*"instead of changing fashion every month, four styles will be selected each year using existing colors and fabrics for each season. These four styles will be designed within the same framework, and efforts will be made to make them easily applicable to everyone and affordable. If this fashion academy succeeds, it will have achieved a very beneficial endeavor."*³⁰⁷

It can be understood from this statement that they had a favorable view of this idea. It can be said that the transition of the recent newspaper's praise of fashion to a critical approach towards fashion and an economic basis has taken place as of July 1929. An article from July mentioned that women fall into the trap of fashion as soon as the summer months arrive to look stylish. This article indicates that with the simplification of fashion, women have started to consider their health and family economy.³⁰⁸ Paris' dominance over the fashion world and whether it would succumb to English and American fashion also formed another end of the era's fashion articles. However, the period press was confident that Paris would stand tall against these new two powers. The *Son Saat* newspaper, stating, "*London and New York want to take Paris' fashion*

³⁰⁷ "Modanın ahengine her vakit için uymak zarureti kadar can sıkıcı bir şey olamaz... kurulması planlanan moda akademisi hayata geçirilebilir ve başarılı olursa her ay modayı değiştireceğine mevcut renk ve kumaşlardan her sene ve senenin dört mevsimi için dört moda seçecek. Ve bu dört modanın da aynı çerçeve dahilinde ve herkese, her keseye kolay uygulanabilir olmasına çalışılacakmış." *Son Saat*, "*Moda Akademisi*", 7 July 1929, p.7.

³⁰⁸ *Son Saat*, "*Moda*", 20 July 1929, p.6.

dominance away from it. But wanting alone is not enough..." expressed with these words the certainty that Paris, which has shaped fashion for centuries, will not relinquish its throne.³⁰⁹

Where do all these discussions take place? There was a women's and fashion page in every newspaper and magazine of the period. These pages informed Turkish women about fashion developments, examples, and world fashion. In fact, until almost 1927, only women's magazines paid attention to this issue. On the other hand, newspapers only mentioned topics such as current politics, domestic and foreign news, and sports. However, due to factors such as the changing political atmosphere of the period and the increasing rate of female readers after the *Alphabet Revolution* in 1928, newspapers began to allocate special sections for women in their pages. These pages talked about many topics for women, from daily life to the world, to participating in life, to being a mother, to being beautiful, to being a wife, to taking care of children, to health, to losing weight, to doing sports, to fashion. As can be seen from the examples, the fashion debates of the 1920s were mainly about the current fashion under the influence of Paris. More thematic issues were discussed, such as what fashion is or is not, whether it changes, and whether one should follow or adapt it to oneself. By 1929, however, things had begun to change, and the issue of fashion and economics, which would occupy the agenda throughout the 1930s, had emerged. The leading fashion agenda of the 1930s was the economy. Topics such as dressing economically, not wasting, not being a fashionista, and encouraging the use of domestic goods formed the basis of this economic approach. There were news reports on which gender was more concerned with national savings, and it was questioned whether women or men preferred local fabrics in tailor-made suits.³¹⁰ In 1929, articles about the savings weeks were frequently published in the press. Some magazines emphasized that women had a significant role to play in saving. The magazine *Servet-i Fünun* (Uyanış), in an article that began with the words "Dear Turkish woman," addressed women about saving as follows:

³⁰⁹ Londra ile New York, Paris'in moda hakimiyetini elinden almak istiyorlar. Fakat istemekle iş bitse.." Son Saat, "Nede Olsa... Yene Paris", 17 February 1929, p.5.

³¹⁰ Milliyet, "Milli Tasarrufun Başında Kadın Mı? Erkek Mi?", 24 April 1930, p.4.

"Among the citizens who make up the Turkish nation, more than half of our population falls to you. Therefore, you have the biggest place and duty in our national economy and savings... A coat to separate summer and winter and a few simple, sturdy local dresses are enough to make you look beautiful and elevate you everywhere. A woman who buys a dress for every entertainment, who does not think about the budget of her home, the upbringing of her children, or the needs of the homeland, is not a woman of the revolution! Do not forget that the greatest meaning of beauty is simplicity. The greatest duty of womanhood is thrift. Decorate with your local goods..."³¹¹

This article, written by Mediha Muzaffer, a member of *Türk Tasarruf Cemiyeti* (the Turkish Savings Society)³¹² and *Türk Kadın Birliği*, directly targeted women as a reflection of the economic atmosphere and austerity measures that the political power wanted to create. The press of the period continued to convey current fashions to its readers via Paris. On the other hand, slowly but visibly, sewing descriptions began to be added to the pages of magazines and newspapers. First published in small columns, these sections gradually grow over time. The language used, especially in newspapers, also began to change; some of the pages with the titles "women and fashion" or simply "fashion" were renamed as "housewife," "women and children," "house, woman, and fashion" or "hanımteyze" newspapers where this change takes place, women were reminded their duties of motherhood and companionship instead of being an independent individual. Especially in the 1930s, children entered the women's pages as an important factor, and women's motherhood started to be prioritized. The reforms made to improve the position of women during the 1920s were completed, and women

³¹¹ "Türk milletini oluşturan vatandaş kitleleri içinde nüfusumuzun yarısından fazlası sizlere düşüyor. bu nedenle milli ekonomimizde ve tasarruflarımızda en büyük yer ve en büyük görev sizlere düşüyor... Yaz ve kışı ayıracak bir palto, sade, sağlam birkaç yerli elbise sizi her yerde güzel göstermeye ve yükseltmeye yeter. Her eğlenceye bir elbise alan, evinin bütçesini, çocuklarının terbiyesini, vatanın ihtiyaçlarını düşünmeyen bir kadın devrim kadını değildir! Unutmayın ki güzelliğin en büyük anlamı sadelik, kadınlığın en büyük görevi ise tutumluluktur. Yerli mallarımızla süsleyin..." Servet-i Fünun (Uyanış), "Tasarruf", 24 December 1931, p.54.

³¹² After the 1929 economic depression, a statist approach was adopted due to changing economic policies. To reduce the effects of the crisis, the economy was closed to foreigners, and a state-led industrialization drive began. The public was encouraged to save money and use domestic products. Under these conditions, the "National Economy and Savings Society" was founded in Ankara on December 14, 1929, to create awareness of the "national economy" and encourage the use of domestic goods. Sema Yılmaz Genç, "Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti", <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/milli-iktisat-ve-tasarruf-cemiyeti/#:~:text=%C4%B0ktisat%20politikas%C4%B1nda%20de%C4%9Fi%C5%9Fimin%20s%C3%B6z%20konusu,%C4%B0ktisat%20ve%20Tasarruf%20Cemiyeti%E2%80%9D%20kurulur.> Access: 13.10.2023.

took their place in the public sphere. Still, they did not want to make women forget that their priority was their family and children, so women's pages were no longer only for women. The press also started to teach women handicrafts and suggested that they could use their skills to produce things for their homes or themselves. News of the exhibitions displaying the products made at the *Girls' Institutes* were frequently published in the press, and samples of the clothes sewn there were presented. Recipes for hand-knitted blouses and dresses were given, and it was intended to encourage women to sew their clothes by specifying the measurements of the patterns or by providing the patterns directly. Again, it can be said that few newspapers publish fashion publications around austerity measures in line with the domestic economic model. Most newspapers still only reported current fashion and did not guide their readers in the direction of monetary policies.

5.4 Turkish Women's Fashion in the 1920s as Presented in the Turkish Press

Primarily until 1927, women's magazines conveyed fashion and informed Turkish women about various popular clothes and accessories worldwide. After this date, newspapers also began to cover women's fashion with pages or columns devoted to women. It can be said that the newspapers opened their pages to women because women were chosen as the new target audience with the increasing literacy rate after the *Alphabet Revolution*. In these years, when fashion was not produced but rather consumed, the press of the period conveyed current models to its readers in its pages, and readers either bought these products from places selling imported products or had similar ones sewn.

It can be said that Turkish women experienced a transition period between Western fashion and traditionalism until 1925. During this period, women existed in the public sphere with suits or coats worn over dresses. In the second half of the 1920s, Western fashions began to be adopted more rapidly. At that time, in a country that did not yet have its fashion and couturier and lagged behind its contemporaries in terms of clothing, following the examples of clothing and attire of contemporary countries and applying them was the most logical and significant step that be taken in terms of

modernizing traditional clothing. In a society where most fabrics were imported, the concept of fashion had not yet been established, and where tailoring was not sufficiently developed, fashion was an entirely imported concept. For this reason, it was tried to be imitated and practiced. Training tailors who could provide this imitation and the subsequent clothing production was essential. For this reason, tailoring was necessary for girls' art schools, educational institutes, and tailoring courses. The administrators and some teachers at the head of these academic institutions were sent to the fashion centers of the period, such as Paris and London. When they returned home after the training they received here, they would bring back the latest fashion models and pass these innovations on to their students.³¹³

In the fashion adventure of Turkish women, chador and, later, coats, jackets, toppers, suits, blouses, skirts, and dresses formed the basis of clothing. There were styles of dresses that were worn at different times and for various purposes, such as morning gowns, afternoon, evening, and event dresses, and their ornaments, fabrics, and models were different accordingly. The first half of the 1920s can be defined as the years in which Turkish women tried to transform traditional dress into modern dress. During these years, the headscarf first began to modernize and transform and then was replaced by the hat, and women began to uncover their hair. It was easy for Turkish women, who followed and practiced the fashion sense of the West, to adopt the masculine style of the 1920s, and the new fashionable clothes of the 1920s, which concealed their curves, did not reveal their breasts or contain femininity.³¹⁴

The importance of clothing in the 1920s is directly related to women's changing social positions, which led them to become more active in every field. Women started leaving their homes and getting involved in social life, resulting in a need for changes in their clothing due to their participation in active activities such as sports, dancing, horse riding, going to entertainment events, and swimming. The new type of active lifestyle made new clothing essential. The republican balls, especially, were important social events of the period where both genders came together. Participating in these balls

³¹³ Oya Baydar & Derya Özkan (Ed.), *75 Yılda Değişen İnsan Cumhuriyet Modaları*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999), pp.47-48.

³¹⁴ Ibid Şahin, p.28.

contributed to creating the entertainment culture and proved beneficial for developing and establishing fashion understanding. The male and female social gathering attendees adorned themselves in fashionable attire and accessories during that era. These balls have played a pivotal role in facilitating the adoption of Western clothing, musical compositions, leisure pursuits, and dining etiquette among the Turkish population. As a result, they have established the foundation for the cultural realm of modernization in Türkiye. New Year's Eve celebrations, which emerged in the late 1920s following the Republican Balls, imbued cultural life with vibrancy and swiftly evolved into a fundamental pillar of entertainment culture.

The garments of the 1920s showcased an animated interplay of diverse fabrics, accompanied by an array of embellishments, including pleats, ruffles, fur, tassels, embroidery, lace, and flowers. The essence of 1920s fashion was categorization, owing to its distinct characteristics, such as the utilization of different fabric types, variations in color schemes, and shifts in decorative elements contingent upon seasonal influences. Collars were generally open, and tie collars were fashionable. Period magazines include boat collars, collars with ties, chiseled collars, square collars, and men's collars. It was seen that a wide variety of collar shapes were used.³¹⁵ In Charleston clothes, which were fashionable between 1925-28, the body was loose and long, with a hip-fitting top, like a blouse, and a loose skirt that fell. There was a belt band or a bow at the hips.³¹⁶

Hair fashion in the 1920s was as important as that of dresses. In the early 1920s, hair was not yet cut. Hair decorated with ribbons and combs was worn in a bun with a high top and a tight headscarf matching the dress's color. After 1923, the fashion of short hair became widespread. With the 1925 Hat Revolution, floppy hats and bell hats began to be used, and hair was cut in a *la garçon* style by these bell hats. (See **Figure 10**) Various ornaments, flowers, ribbons, bows, pearls, and embroidery were added to the hats, adding movement to the models.³¹⁷ After 1925, wavy short hair became

³¹⁵ Ibid Şahin pp.204-205.

³¹⁶ Yüksel Şahin, *Cumhuriyet'i Aydınlatan Kadınlar*, (İstanbul: İyi Matbaa, 1990), pp.73-74.

³¹⁷ Ibid Şahin, 1990, pp.69,70,71.

fashionable among Turkish women, and examples of this fashion were frequently presented to women in the press.

5.4.1 Burqa/Chador Fashion

Although women adopted it very late, the chador, which conformed with the traditional outlook, became widespread apparel among Ottoman women from the late 19th century onward. It is possible to find different interpretations of the clothing history of the chador and its wearing preferences. According to Nermin Abadan Unat, chador began to be used: “*After the Turkish-Russian war, which ended in defeat in 1889, Abdulhamid II banned women from wearing yashmak and abaya. As a result of this decision, only at the end of the 20th century, Ottoman women adopted the black chador as streetwear.*”³¹⁸ According to Muhaddere Taşçıoğlu and Nurettin Sevin, who expressed a common opinion on the chador issue, Turkish women who followed and applied European fashions in underwear adopted the chador, which is a famous outfit among Arab women since when puffy-sleeved dresses became fashionable, abayas could not be worn over these dresses.³¹⁹ In other words, it is stated that it is a desire for practical clothing rather than a directive from Abdulhamid II. Whatever the reason, the chador and veil somehow became the way of dressing for Turkish women and reached general acceptance, almost becoming traditional. However, Ottoman women, who gained a freer and more individual identity over time, began to use pieces of clothing such as veils and yasmaks as ornaments, which were a part of the veiling in the past. In fact, since the second constitutional period, women's understanding of hijab has begun to be stretched according to fashion. During this period, the hijab rules were relaxed but not excessive, and European fashions were applied to women's clothing, modernizing the chador and veil. As we mentioned, the new headscarf fashion initiated by the White Russians also changed the understanding of the headscarf and led to modernization. During the Ottoman period, the dimensions of women's clothing and hijab were discussed by men of all views, and opposing views, which evaluated the changes in

³¹⁸ Nermin Abadan Unat, *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*, (İstanbul: Ekin Yayınları, 1982), p.9.

³¹⁹ Nurettin Sevin, *13 Asırlık Türk Kıyafet Tarihine Bir Bakış*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1991), p.131.

Muhaddere Taşçıoğlu, *Türk Osmanlı Cemiyetinde Kadının Sosyal Durumu ve Kadın Kıyafetleri*, (Ankara: Akın Matbaası, 1958), pp-33-53.

women's clothing based on religion, sometimes approached the issue with harsh attitudes. On the other hand, although women were involved in this issue that concerned them with the press tools during the Second Constitutional Monarchy period, they were experiencing a change in dress that had been taking place slowly for a long time. Although Muslim Turkish women's fashion subtly evolves into Western styles, its formal features are changing, bending the strict views of religious rules. Especially after the Second Constitutional Era, women started to use tulle veils. The traditional chador was divided into two parts: skirt and cape during the Constitutional period.³²⁰ These two pieces changed considerably over time by merging with suits and becoming more Western. In this change, the cloaks became shorter, bare arms were covered with gloves, and the skirt lengths shortened. These Turkish sheets are called "tango chador."³²¹ During the process that started with the occupation of İstanbul, European women who accompanied the soldiers coming to the city accelerated the Europeanization process of Turkish women's clothing and influenced the changes in the understanding of hijab. Especially during the Armistice years, western fashion was primarily established in society. During this period, the chador became not a means of covering up but an accessory that can be shaped according to fashion. The roots of the clothing transformation on the way to the Republican regime lie in the transformation of society after the First World War. And all these transformations will facilitate the social transformation that the new regime will create at specific points. Meanwhile, in the 1920s, chador models began changing to the day's fashion. Chador and veil were also modernized, and the newspapers and magazines in the Republic's first years pioneered this modernization with images on their pages. (See **Figure 11**)

Examples of burqas and new model chadors until the mid-1920s are found in the press. Women continue to wear the chadors they used to wear in the latest period for a while. We can easily observe the transition from the traditional chador to the modern chador, especially in the pages of the magazine *Resimli Ay*, and the gradual loss of the chador's characteristics and its gradual replacement by outerwear such as coats and overcoats. In fact, in the first issue of *Resimli Ay*, the changes made by Turkish women in their

³²⁰ Ibid, Taşcıoğlu p.33.

³²¹ Ibid, Taşcıoğlu pp.52-54.

chadors are mentioned with some reproach. The article "*Başlık Modelleri*" (Headgear Models) mentions this issue with the following words:

*"Today, we rarely come across beautiful chadors in Istanbul. The chador, a very attractive way for Turkish women to show their unique beauty, has gradually disappeared. Finding examples of beautiful chadors in Beyoğlu, Kadıköy, or the sophisticated neighborhood of Istanbul is impossible. The oriental attire that made Turkish women even more beautiful in the eyes of others has disappeared. In the past, even European women used to imitate the dress of Turkish women. But our women, who loved to buy everything from Europe, compared our chador to European clothes and finally forgot their old clothes. They started to appear in completely European clothes."*³²²

In its first issue, the magazine presented such a criticism, and in its later issues, it included current chador and veil models as examples. In fact, in its later issues, it frequently presented the change in chador fashion to its readers with titles such as "new chador models," "new chador fashions," and "summer chador models." It encouraged its readers to try new fashions and models with these examples. For example, in its 8th issue, *Resimli Ay*, in an article titled "*Çarşaf Sevdalıları*" (Lovers of the Chador), modern chadors in the style of a cape worn with tight long skirts and dresses were published.³²³ The same article shows low-waisted, belted, cape-style long tops, transparent face coverings, and head toilets decorated with bows.³²⁴ Chador models are frequently featured on the pages of the magazine *Resimli Ay*. The fabrics used and recommended in these models were presented as crepsaten, crepe, tulle crepejorjet, silk, tipet suve, grapin, crep de chine, crepe maroken.³²⁵ The chadors were also shaped according to the seasons. For summer, chadors, tulle, and satin fabrics were used. Chadors were also made from crepe jorjet fabrics and lace and decorated with gold-colored embroidery. When we examine the model features of the chadors, models that

³²² *Resimli Ay*, Number 1 February 1924, p.22. "Bugün İstanbul'da eşkali güzel çarşafılara nadir tesadüf ediyoruz. Türk kadınlarının kendilerine has güzelliği göstermek için çok cazip bir şekil olan çarşaf yavaş yavaş ortadan kayboldu. Beyoğlu'nda, Kadıköy'de, İstanbul'un kibar mahallelerinde güzel çarşaf örneklerine rastlamak mümkün değildir. Türk kadını nazarlarda bir kat daha güzelleştiren Şark'a has kıyafetler görünmez oldu. Vaktiyle Avrupa kadınları bile Türk kadınının kıyafetini taklit ediyordu. Fakat her şeyimizi Avrupa'dan almak sevdasına düşen kadınlarımız çarşafımızı Avrupa kıyafetlerini benzete benzete nihayet eski kıyafetlerini unuttular. Ortaya tamamen Avrupalı kıyafetlerle çıkmaya başladılar."

³²³ *Resimli Ay*, Number 8, September 1924

³²⁴ *Resimli Ay*, Number 8, September 1924.

³²⁵ *Resimli Ay*, Number 1 February 1924, Number 3 April 1924, Number 4 May 1924, Number 8, September 1924.

look like they consist of two pieces, with bat sleeves or an upper part that looks like a cape when worn over a dress, are presented as the chador fashion of the period. These models do not resemble traditional chadors, designed as single pieces that do not reveal the body lines. They have a design that can easily be seen as stylish jackets or capes without thinking they are burqas. In the chador models sewn with these fabrics and presented to the readers as examples, the veils are made almost invisible, and the veils made of tulle are used almost like accessories. This type of clothing can also be called transitional period clothing. These models, which bear traces of both European fashion and traditional clothing, can also be seen as an expression of women stuck in between. However, it did not take long for Turkish women to renew and modernize the chador, which they had been wearing for many years following European fashion, and then to replace it with outerwear such as coats and overcoats. Especially after 1925, it is possible to say that there was almost no news and examples about chador in the Turkish press. What happened to pious women who wear chador? The disappearance of this type of woman over time in the media, where Western clothing is encouraged and conveyed to the readers, is in line with the modernization process. Maybe these women stayed in the middle of nowhere and lived quietly in their world; perhaps they continued to exist in the countryside. However, over time, it was impossible to find examples of "old" clothing such as chadors, veils, and headscarves in newspapers and magazines where the clothes were based entirely on Western examples. Although the chador has never been wholly banned through official channels, some municipalities have tried to impose some bans by being officious. As a result of such practices, the idea that the chador was completely banned was accepted by the public, and this may have caused women to throw away the chador. Melahat Derefındığı, one of the witnesses of this idea, explains the following:

*My mother took off the chador because Atatürk said, "The chador should be taken off." It was said everywhere that men could not wear turbans or skullcaps, and women could not wear chadors. It was noted that there was punishment and imprisonment. Since all this was talked about everywhere, everyone stopped wearing chadors.*³²⁶

³²⁶ Meral Akkent and Gaby Franger, *Başörtü*, (Frankfurt: Dağyeli, 1987), p.189. Annem çarşafı çıkardı, çünkü Atatürk "çarşaf çıkarılsın" demişti. Her yerde erkeklerin sarık, takke, kadınların çarşaf

Another woman who went through the same process was Ümmü Dikbaş from Adana, an immigrant from Thessaloniki. She describes her experience by saying, "*When Atatürk said, 'Let them throw away the veil,' we threw away the veil. We were left with our robes and shalwar. We covered our heads with a white veil.*"³²⁷ Although reflections on daily life and personal experiences cannot find a place in the press, we can trace what we cannot find in magazines and newspapers with this type of narrative that has survived to the present day. According to the early Turkish press, the chador, which still exists as a clothing practice today, seems to have suddenly disappeared. In the magazines and newspapers examined within the scope of the thesis, chadors were not discussed after a certain period, and they were even treated as if they never existed. This may lead to the idea that the press was progressing in parallel with the modernization ideals of the period.

5.4.2 Mantle, Overcoat, Cap,

With the disappearance of the chador as an upper garment, outerwear such as mantle, overcoat, cloak, cap, and topcoat were preferred. Coats, preferred when going out in weather that is not hot but not cold enough to wear fur, have been the clothing accessories women prefer every period. They became a timeless outerwear item because Turkish women abandoned the chador, a part of their hijab and traditional clothing. As the *Süs* magazine stated, even though coats are a bit out of the way when the seasons change, they are needed clothes that remain popular every period. The upper garment of the period was almost like a coat.³²⁸ When the mantle starts to be worn instead of the chador, *Süs* magazine features various mantle models on its pages. In the section titled "*En Son Moda/The latest fashion*," in which the magazine frequently reports new fashion news and examples, the following descriptions are made about the mantle fashion of the period:

giyemeyecekleri söyleniyordu. Cezası, hapsi var deniliyordu. Bütün bunlar her yerde konuşulduğu için herkes çarşaf giymeyi bırakıyordu.

³²⁷ Ibid Akkent and Franger, p.194.

³²⁸ Şükran Komşuoğlu, Arsal İmer, Mine Seçkinöz, Alpaslan Aker, ve Serap Etike, *Resim 2 Moda Resmi ve Giyim Tarihi*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1968), p.226.

*“The fashion was figure hugging. Coats, tights, and dresses had a low waist, slim hips, straight back, and narrow sleeves, and the garments were always made on that side. The ruffles are slightly undulating, unsuitable for all shapes, and look good on tall, slender figures. But in any case, the simple and straight shape is most acceptable.”*³²⁹

It is recommended to wear mantles with plain, long, and simple dresses, noting that they are more appropriate with such dresses. This ideal model of the ornamental magazine presents a coat model that can be worn with any style of dress (**Figure 12**), with padding on the sleeves. *“Body fabric is tapestry; the sleeve hem and collar are garnished with different fabrics.”*³³⁰

Since 1925, Charleston fashion has started to be effective in the country, and the coats have been shaped following this fashion. When jazz, which can be considered the music of rebellion of the 1920s, emerged, Charleston, a new dance suitable for the fast rhythms of this new music, also appeared. It did not take long for the latest dance to need appropriate clothes, and short, tasseled dresses that did not restrict movement to show the movements in dance figures took over women's fashion, especially dresses. *Muhit* magazine mentions that diagonal lines and ribs are back in fashion in the fall and winter months and presents examples of the Charleston models to its readers.³³¹ These coats with slim and straight lines are masculine in style, and their hemlines are knee-length. One has a stand-up collar, and the collar and sleeve ends are sewn from different patterned fabrics. The collar and sleeve end of the other coat are made of fur. In this period of colorless printing, while some magazines provided color and fabric descriptions of the clothes they illustrated, *Muhit* magazine did not find it necessary to do so in this example.

Meanwhile, women were advised to wear coats that were thin, thick, or decorated with fur pieces for cold winter days. It is possible to see both the thin ones and those decorated with fur in the coat samples *Muhit* magazine offers readers. (**Figure 13**) Stamps, wool, silk, and soft fabric could be used in these coats. It was possible to see

³²⁹ Süs, “En Son Moda”, Number 36, 16 February 1923, p.8-9.

³³⁰ Fatma Keser, 1923-1950 Yılları Arası Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kadın Kıyafetleri, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul Arel Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, p.67.

³³¹ Muhit, “Mantolar ve Kış Elbiseleri”, Number 1, 1 November 1928, p.70.

coats of different thicknesses and different colors worn on a thin dress depending on the season, but the preferred colors for coats were darker colors such as black, dark blue, brown, and dark green. In the October first issue of *Son Saat* newspaper, an example of a green winter coat made of wool with fur on the collar and sleeve edges was presented to its readers.³³²

However, coats have become such an indispensable element of outerwear that they are no longer worn only in winter and cold weather but are also sewn from thin fabrics for warmer seasons. An example of a summer coat is presented in the *Akşam* newspaper on 19 August 1929.³³³ This sample was sewn from a colorful and summery thin fabric with geometric shapes and printed floral patterns following the fabric fashion of the period. According to the newspaper's claim, it simultaneously provides coolness and elegance to the wearer. Towards the end of the 1920s, there was a noticeable increase in the use of velvet in coat fashion. It is fashionable to complete the dresses, which are worn primarily for elegant balls and tea parties, with velvet coats in autumn and winter. Regardless of the type, the linings of the coats are made of the color and fabric of the inner robe. This way, when the coat is opened, it shows a beautiful and harmonious ensemble view of the same color and type.³³⁴

Another outerwear element, although not as characteristic of the period as coats, is the overcoat. Topcoats have more masculine lines and cuts than coats and usually go below the knee. Contrary to the thin, straight, and elegant cuts of coats, overcoat models that are more loosely tailored and have a belt underneath the belly are the first examples of the models we are familiar with today as inspectors' overcoats. 1929 was the period when overcoats began to be seen more frequently, and the information in magazine articles recommended that period coats be made of striped English fabrics.³³⁵

It is possible to say that after coats, the cap was the period's second most popular outerwear item. A "cap" is an upper garment made chiefly of thin fabrics, resembling a cloak, usually sleeveless, worn over the shoulder, half, short or long. Capes, mostly

³³² Son Saat, "Sonbahar Mantoları, Sonbahar Şapkaları", 3 October 1929, p.4

³³³ Akşam, "Zarif Bir Manto", *Ev Kadın Moda*, 19 Ağustos 1929, p.5.

³³⁴ Son Saat, "Moda ve Evhanımının Sahifesi", 8 September 1929, p.5.

³³⁵ İlbeyi Özer, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda*, (İstanbul: Truva Yayınları, 2006), pp.354-355.

a part of hijab clothing today and have become increasingly popular in recent years, were one of the essential outerwear products of the 1920s. According to Özer and Şahin, the Caps fashion has been long-lasting, mainly since they are used instead of coats and have various models.³³⁶ In the issue of *Süs* magazine, dated June 30, 1923, there are photographs of two women wearing a cap and a robe, which are examples of Parisian attire.³³⁷ For the woman wearing a draped costume inside the cap, which is stated to be made of woven fabric, the cap she wears is more of an accessory or a complement to her outfit. It can be said that the tights under the cap add movement to the skirt and jacket set with the cap thrown over the jacket and her shoulders.

These capes may have even become a savior for women coming out of the burqa, as they cover a large part of the body without revealing its contours and have even become a preferred element of outerwear. For women who have not yet mentally left the hijab of the past but who want to adapt to the new style of clothing, capes seem pretty suitable for providing elegance and hijab simultaneously. For this reason, most products, such as coats, coats, cloaks, and capes that protect from seasonal conditions or complement the clothes worn as outerwear elements, can be called transitional clothing for many women until the last quarter of the 1920s. Because in this period, women wore European-type clothes and carried traditional traces in their clothing. Women who wanted to dress fashionably wore a cape, cap, or mantle made of the same fabrics over tights made of woolen fabric in winter and silk fabric in summer. They wore flapper-style headpieces, the period's fashion, on their heads. **(Figure 14)** This holistic 1920s fashion look can be perceived as a modernized version of the hijab and can be said to facilitate the transition to Western fashions. For this reason, it can be argued that the 1920s fashion facilitated the modernization of clothing within its dynamics, as it was in line with Turkish customs and traditions.

³³⁶ Ibid Özer, p.353, Şahin, 2006, p.246.

³³⁷ Süs, "Son Moda", Number 3, 30 June 1923, p.9.

5.4.3 Dresses

The straight lines characteristic of the 1920s are most evident in dresses. For Turkish women, the dress was primarily an undergarment or domestic garment. In the past, it was more like clothing worn under the chador or at home among the family. However, during the Republican period, the dress became an outerwear element. In addition, with the adaptation of women to social life, it becomes divided into two daily and evening dresses. Although the latest models of day and evening dresses were presented to women readers in the period's newspapers, both models were more suitable for wearing in public spaces. Women could wear comfortable dresses at home alone or with their families but were rarely seen in the press. Yüksel Şahin summarizes features of the period's dresses in her study as follows,

“In 1923, the waistline in clothing was between the hips and waist. This year's silhouette is defined as heavy-headed, narrow-shouldered, decorated with tassels and a low hip line. The following year, the waistline descended to the hips, and geometric shapes began to be used. Skirt lengths were extended up to the ankle. In 1924, georgette fabric became fashionable.”³³⁸

In the period's clothes, waistlines are hidden, and all kinds of feminine lines are far from obvious. Simple seams are at the forefront of dresses. The only reason for this situation, which can be called sloppy compared to the previous period, is comfort. Wearing comfortable clothes for the new life to move, dance, and work comfortably was the motto of the time, and this comfort symbolized the liberated woman. Because women adopted looser and more freedom of movement, freed from the restrictive dresses, corsets, and floor-length gowns of previous eras. Women, who for centuries in the past had been crushed under the weight of long, heavy, layered skirts and the corsets they wore underneath them, which could weigh as much as kilos, were relieved with the new era. Corsets were mainly out of use, and women preferred loose-fitting dresses, not wanting to confine their bodies even to the tightness of the dress.

In the article titled "*Fall Fashions*" (Sonbahar Modaları) in the magazine *Resimli Ay*, dresses suitable for this fashion are introduced to the reader as a dress sewn from crepe,

³³⁸ Ibid, Şahin, 2006, pp.184-185.

in line with the waistline fashion of the period or another dress decorated with lace sewn from georgette, the favorite fabric of the year, are presented to the readers as examples. İlbeyi Özer describes the dress and model features and fabrics used in the 1924s as dresses sewn with molton fabrics; collars were made in one piece. The collars and neck ornaments of seasonal dresses were embroidered with silk and light-colored fabrics, with narrow belts and widened around the neck. Cashmere and velvet fabrics were also used depending on the season.³³⁹ Examples of dresses by the model described by Özer are depicted in the April 1924 magazine *Resimli Ay* as examples of home dresses. The two dress examples, presented in a linear depiction under the title "*Dress Models*" (Elbise Modelleri), have straight lines following the spirit of the period and long skirts up to the ankles by that year's fashion.³⁴⁰ (Figure 15)

Although described linearly, simplicity and comfort are at the forefront of this dress, exemplified as a home dress. The dresses women wear at home, such as daily, teatime, and reading a book, are also decorated with ruffles and bows. (The use of ruffles is a characteristic feature of dresses of the period every year, but they became trendy towards the end of the 1920s.) Wearing collars and sleeves in a color that would contrast with the dress's color in daily dresses was also very popular in the early years of the period. It is expected to wear white collars and sleeves on dark-colored dresses such as black. In the dresses of the period, it was common to use all kinds of crepe, silk, satin, and velvet fabrics. Sometimes, the dress model is shown as an example in magazines, but the type of fabric used can be left to the season and the person's taste. In the article published in *Süs Magazine* under the title "*Fashion of the Week*" (Haftanın Modası), dress models and fabrics changing according to the changing season were mentioned in the following words.

“Just as nature is adorned with new ornaments every day and becomes more and more beautiful, fashion follows suit, gradually encouraging us to discard the old seasonal dresses and wear summer dresses on our shoulders warmed by the sun's caress... To be worn in the summer heat, it is wise to source a dress in a durable fabric, such as crepe de chine. The dress below is made of crepe de chine in a rosy pink color, with a narrow trim on the sleeves, skirt, and waist.

³³⁹ İlbeyi Özer, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda*, (İstanbul: Truva, 2006), p. 359,363.

³⁴⁰ *Resimli Ay, Elbise Modelleri*, Nisan 1924, p.38.

This dress can be chosen from any soft fabric, and the trim colors vary according to taste. Fashion is changing every day with new moods. This year, pleats and ruffles will be viral and can have a very nice effect in moderation."³⁴¹

In the early republican period, pleating in dresses is also important and quite common. Although it is thought that people get tired of pleats every year and they will never be fashionable again, it is mentioned in *Süs* magazine that pleats have dominated fashion in every era.³⁴² One of the characteristics of this period is that dress belts have bows on the side. Soutache embroidery was used on the dresses. These embroideries are mainly on the sleeves and hem. Boat necks and men's collars were used, and the models were sewn in loose cuts that would flow without sitting too well on the body.

The two most significant characteristics of the 1920s dresses were shorter skirt lengths, so the legs became visible, and the arms began to be left completely exposed. *Süs* magazine describes the sleeveless dress as saying, "*Young ladies, covering our arms is old fashion.*"³⁴³ In the article titled "Arms Are Always Bare Now" (Artık Kollar Hep Çıplaktır), it is mentioned that the new fashion left the arms completely exposed, dresses began to be sewn without sleeves, but the arms that remained exposed had to be decorated. Sleeveless dresses and skirts or dresses with lengths that show off the legs were mainly seen in this period. Until this period, the clothing samples in newspapers and magazines were hand-drawn depictions in portfolio drawings rather than photographs. Towards the end of the 1920s, fashion photographs showing real women and dresses began to be published in newspapers. The flapper trend, which left its mark on the period, affects Turkish women. In a photo of a holiday ceremony in 1927, a young girl from Ankara can be seen wearing flapper-style clothes, hair, make-

³⁴¹ Tabiat her gün nasıl yeni süslerle süslenerek daha da güzelleşiyorsa moda da bunu takip eder gibi yavaş yavaş eski mevsim elbiselerini atıp güneşin okşamayı altında ısınan omuzlarımızı yazlık elbiseleri giymeye teşvik ediyor... Yaz sıcaklarında giyilmek için dayanıklı bir kumaştan, mesela krep döşinden bir elbise tedarik etmek akıllıcadır. Aşağı örnekteki elbise gülpembesi renkte bir krep döşinden üretilmiştir, kollarına, eteğine ve beline dar bir süsleme konulmuştur. Bu elbise herhangi bir yumuşak kumaştan seçilebileceği gibi süslemenin renkleri de zevke göre değişebilir... Moda her gün yeni havalarla değişmekten geri kalmıyor, bu sene pileler, volanlar pek popüler olacağı benziyor, aşırıya kaçmamak şartıyla bunlarla pek hoş etkiler ortaya çıkıyor. *Süs*, "Haftanın Modası", Number 1, 16 June 1923, p.9.

³⁴² *Süs*, "Pilise Yine Modadır", Number 47, 3 May 1924, p.12.

³⁴³ *Süs*, "Artık Kollar Hep Çıplaktır", Number 43, 5 April 1924, p.8.

up, and a hat. **(Figure 16)** The girl's clothes, from head to toe, are the same as the western fashion of the period. In another photograph from the Tuna Pektaş archive, three young girls dressed in flapper style are seen. The period's fashion was adapted exactly with the pleated skirt, straight-cut dress, short a la garçonne hair, thinly plucked eyebrows, and a bandana-shaped hat. **(Figures 17 and 18)** These ill-fitting, loose-fitting dresses and clothes are characteristic of the 1920s. In 1929, the length of dresses began to grow, heralding the new fashion in the 1930s.

5.4.4 Tailleur/Ladies Suit, Two-Piecer and Skirt

The tailleur is the women's equivalent of a men's suit, consisting of a skirt, jacket, and blouse trio. It is called a two-piece suit when worn only as a skirt and jacket, without a blouse.³⁴⁴ Although the history of these clothes dates to the 19th century, their widespread use by women came with their changing social roles after World War I. The origin of suits is based on the clothes women wore for horse riding in the 1800s. This type of outfit was known as a "riding habit," it included a long skirt that provided greater comfort and movement than their regular attire, along with a jacket on top. During the 19th century, European women dressed in costumes which included fitted jackets and long skirts for walking, riding, and archery. By 1905, trend-setters had made them an everyday staple for women's clothes.³⁴⁵ Although women were interested in various sports during this period, they continued to wear the heavy, layered, and movement-restricting garments of the period. They added more comfortable sports clothes to their wardrobes. It can be said that the suit's entry into women's wardrobes was thanks to the women in the suffragette movement in America. The image of independent, intense, and free women created by these women wearing long skirts and jackets while expressing their demands for voting rights was integrated with these clothes. Also, Coco Chanel's design of her first suit in 1914 was a step that would change the fate of suits.³⁴⁶ She skillfully combined the masculine and feminine,

³⁴⁴ <https://sozluk.gov.tr/> Access: 12.09.2023.

³⁴⁵ Miriam Palmer Binns, "The Importance of Fashion: Women, Fashion, & Society," <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/women-fashion-society-timeline-womens-suit-history-palmer-binns/> Access: 19.09.2023.

³⁴⁶ Ibid Binns. Access: 19.09.2023.

giving women the freedom and comfort to feel excellent, powerful, and at ease. While the idea behind the suit is the same for men and women, technical differences determine how comfortable it is depending on physiological design. Chanel knew this and created her designs with women's bodies in mind. This touch of Chanel was like opening the door to the androgynous female appearance of the 1920s. The 1920s Chanel outfits came with either soft pleated or short straight skirts. The Chanel jacket was boxy or square-shaped and ended at the hips. The jacket had no collar, and the material surrounding it and the front was subtly trimmed with a thin ribbon or braid. The coat was worn open with sporadic buttons and buckles. A belt made of leather or fabric fastened at the hips was frequently worn with fitted blouses.³⁴⁷

Although women's suits were worn formally and informally, they were more likely to be seen as the clothing of the new type of self-confident and independent women who began to participate in business life and exist more in the public sphere. The jacket and skirt that make up the suit were generally made of the same fabric. These jackets were usually single-buttoned or two-buttoned, and dresses were typically knee-length or below-knee. This suit provided women with a stylish look but also seriousness and formality. It would continue to exist every subsequent year, becoming a favorite outfit for women with its comfort compared to the cumbersome dresses and skirts of the past.

Turkish women have not been left behind by the suit fashion that has influenced world femininity. Suits have become perfect for adapting from traditional dressing styles to modern fashion. It can be said that Turkish women created the beginning of the women's suit fashion with the long skirts and jackets they wore under the chador in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire. The adaptation to European fashion among women during the empire period started with domestic clothes and the clothes preferred under the chador, and this situation accelerated with the Republican period and turned into a state of following and imitating Western fashions. This was perceived as a goal because the changing regime, changing conditions, and changing perception of dress also created a need, and women who went out into the public sphere like men were eager to enter this new sphere by looking like their Western counterparts. In this

³⁴⁷ Ibid Pendergasts, p.748.

period, tailleurs became the official clothes, almost uniforms, of this new field for Turkish women. It can be said that suits have become widespread among Turkish women quickly and enthusiastically, perhaps because they do not reveal too much body lines, do not contain cleavage, and are in a form that is almost suitable for hijab. Model descriptions of tailleurs, which provide comfort and elegance ideal for all kinds of occasions, and the latest fashions imported from Paris are frequently featured in the press of the period. According to the definition of the *Süs* magazine, “*tailleurs are the most suitable clothing for walking*”³⁴⁸ because tights have a skirt length that does not interfere with walking. The magazine provides a physical explanation for this walking impediment: “*The tight skirt should naturally be short. Because if it is too long, it interrupts the movement of the feet and prevents comfortable walking.*”³⁴⁹ For this reason, and because the period's fashion was based on making women comfortable in the new life in which they were active, the skirt lengths of dresses and tights did not restrict movement. Plain and straightforward lines dominated the tights of the period. The description of the fashionable tailleurs in 1923 in *Süs* magazine is as follows:

*"for new tights, more or less fine fancy, soft fabrics such as 'repis, otuman, fay' are preferred. These fabrics are used to renew previously worn costumes. As for the preferred colors, dark camel hair and dark colors are chosen. Sweet colors such as gum, hazelnut, almond sugar, and castor are preferred because they look good and show skin color. Different ornaments are obtained from the lines of the fabrics. For example, exquisite and effective holistic looks are created by placing the lines longitudinally, transversely, vertically, and against each other.”*³⁵⁰

When women were not in an official meeting, the simplicity of the tailleur was preferred for daily wear, especially on the street. The simpler the tailleur is preferred for this use, the more pleasant an appearance is thought to be achieved. The models

³⁴⁸ *Süs*, “Son Moda”, Number 44, 12 April 1923, p.9.

³⁴⁹ *Süs*, “En Son Moda,” Number 36, 16 February 1923, p.8.

³⁵⁰ “Yeni tayyörler için az çok ince fantezi, mesela 'repis, otuman, fay' gibi yumuşak kumaşlar tercih edilir. Bu kumaşlar daha önce giyilmiş kostümlerin yenilenmesinde kullanılıyor. Tercih edilen renklere gelince koyu deve tüyü ve koyu renkler seçilmektedir. Sakız rengi, fındık, badem şekeri, kastor gibi tatlı renkler pek yakıştığından ayrıca cildin renkliliğini gösterdiği için de tercih edilmektedir. Kumaşların çizgilerinden değişik süslemeler elde edilmektedir. Örneğin çizgileri boyuna, enine, vevine koyarak birbirine karşı getirilerek pek zarif ve etkili bütüncül görünümler ortaya çıkar.” *Süs*, “En Son Moda”, Number 36, 16 February 1923, p.8.

exemplified by this idea are presented to the readers on the pages of *Süs* magazine. (Figure 19)³⁵¹ It is reiterated in an issue of *Süs* magazine from 1924 when *tailleurs* became fashionable yearly. In the article titled "*Paris Fashion*," it is stated that;

*"Tailleurs have reappeared. Along with tailleurs, the textiles that manufacture them have also appeared. Silk, woolen ropes, poplin woolen Turkish fabrics, woolen moires, gabardine, and cadew will be seen often this spring. There is a tendency towards simplicity in the shapes of the new tights. There are fewer embroideries and rich ornaments... The skirt is usually short, straight, narrow, and crossed on the left side. One width is enough to make the skirt. The jacket is usually closed at the side. It is decorated with a necktie and a piece to raise the collar. Underneath this very dignified tight suit, you are free to add a bit of sensuality by fitting a blouse in a very light-colored silk blouse with careful attention to its shape. The blouse should be white because white seems to dominate this year's colors."*³⁵²

"*But in any case, the simple and straight shape is the most acceptable and the most preferred,*" is repeated in the magazine's pages on different dates that the simple and straight shape of the *tailleurs* is acceptable.³⁵³ And again, the emphasis on tights as the most ideal and successful garment cannot go unmentioned. According to the magazine, *tailleurs* could be made from all fabrics according to the season. Although simplicity was preferred, people could decorate the parts of their *tailleurs* with embroidery and various ornaments according to their tastes.³⁵⁴ A photograph of women taken in 1925 showing women gathered in front of the parliament, probably to watch a parade or a festival, presents the simple but elegant tights of the women. In this photograph, the one sitting first, posing facing the camera, is wearing dark-colored, drapery-style tights. (Figure 20) The other women around her are wearing the fashionable clothes

³⁵¹ *Süs*, 8 December 1923, Number 26, p. 9.

³⁵² "tayyörler yeniden meydana çıktı. Tayyörlerle beraber onun imalatını yapan mensucat da çıktı. Bunların görünüşü sert, yüzleri tüylü ve düzdür. İpek, yünlü roplar poplin yünlü Türk kumaşları, yün hareliler, gabardin ve şayak bu baharda çok görülecektir. Yeni tayyörlerde şekilleri itibariyle sadeliğe doğru bir temayül var. İşlemleri ve zengin süslemeleri daha az... Etek genellikle kısa, düz, dar ve sola yandan çapraz şekildedir. Eteği yapmaya bir en kafidir. Ceket ekseriyetle yandan kapanır. Boyun bağıyla yakayı yükseltecek bir parça ile süslüdür. bu çok ağırbaşlı tayyörün altına biçimine özen gösterilmiş ve pek açık renkli ipekli bir bluz uydurarak biraz şuhluk katmakta serbestsiniz. Bluzunuz beyaz olsun çünkü beyaz bu seneki renklere hakim görünüyor. *Süs*, "*Paris Modası*", Number 42, 29 March 1924, p.5.

³⁵³ "Fakat ne olursa olsun, basit ve düz şekil en makbul ve en şayan kabüldür." *Süs*, "*Son Moda*", Number 44, p.9.

³⁵⁴ *Süs*, "*Son Moda*", Number 44, p.9.

of the day, and although it is not clear what they are wearing under their coats and coats, the front opening of their coats suggests that it is likely that they are wearing tights, one-piece dresses, or frocks. The women in the photograph seem to have made choices that fit the definition of simple tights and did not need extra ornaments and vibrant colors. In a photo of the students at the Ankara Biçki Dikiş Yurdu (Ankara Sewing School) taken in 1928, it is possible to see various examples of the skirt, dress, tailleur, and two-piece suit models of the period. **(Figure 21)** As described in *Süs* magazine, women who wore white blouses with embroidered collar edges, those who preferred simple and elegant straight-cut skirt and jacket sets, those who wore fashionable camel hair suits, and those who wore a scarf or tie on the collar of their blouses, were like the fashion sense of the period brought together in a single frame. The Charleston dance, which emerged and spread between 1925 and 1928, became fashionable, as did the clothes that matched it. Long bodies were fitted to the hips, and sleeveless V-neck jersey dresses and long pearl necklaces were used.³⁵⁵ The women in the photographs mentioned are dressed in this fashion. The most significant complement to the dress fashion of the period was pearls. Regardless of whether they are fake or real, long pearl necklaces worn around the neck are an indispensable accessory for 1920s dresses.

5.4.5 Fur Fashion

In the 1920s, fur was very popular as a complementary accessory to women's clothing and an element of outerwear. Turkish women also tried to adapt to this fur fashion as much as their budgets allowed. In issue number 21, *Süs* magazine, attention is drawn to the fur curiosity of women with the following words.

³⁵⁵ Ibid, Şahin p.87.

*"At the beginning of every season, stylish ladies ask themselves, "What will we wear this season?" They ask questions like "How do I get a dress made?". These questions will likely change according to the season... When winter comes, "I wonder which fur will be in fashion?" they ask the question. Because fur is a fashion type that most interests women. No matter what life conditions women live in, they are always interested in fur and weak against fur."*³⁵⁶

According to the article about women's fur curiosity, fur is no longer unattainable for women. Fur, previously seen only as an outfit for the wealthy, is now accessible to women of all classes because, according to their budget, women can use fur as accessories on the collar and sleeves of their dresses or prefer cheaper animal furs.³⁵⁷ For those unable to buy high-quality fur, here are some examples explaining where and how to use fur decorations.³⁵⁸

In *Haftada Bir Gün* Magazine, this fur fashion was conveyed with the following sentences, referring to the stories of Hasreddin Hodja. *"If Nasreddin Hodja had lived in this century and attended a modern tea meeting or one of the balls by chance, he would have told the famous fur story with great exaggeration."*³⁵⁹ In the magazines of the period, the readers were reminded that they could both be protected from the cold and be stylish by wearing a fur coat over their clothes when the weather got cold.³⁶⁰ *Süs Magazine*, drawing attention to the demand for fur, states that fur is used alone and is added as an accessory to the dresses' waist, sleeve, and collar parts. *"There is a great demand for fur this winter. It adds elegance to the outfit, especially when put in pieces on the collars, sleeves, waist, and coats skirts."*³⁶¹ The picture published in *Süs Magazine* as an example to its readers shows a state-of-the-art fur model. (**Figures 22 and 23**).

³⁵⁶ Her mevsim başlangıcında şık hanımlar kendilerine "bu mevsim ne giyeceğim?", "Nasıl elbise yaptıracağım?" gibi sorular sorarlar. Bu soruların mevsime göre değişme ihtimali vardır...Kış gelince "acaba hangi kürk moda olacak?" sorusunu sorarlar. Çünkü kürk kadınları en çok ilgilendiren bir moda çeşididir. Kadınlar hangi hayat şartlarında yaşarsa yaşasınlar kürke karşı daima ilgili ve kürke karşı daima zayıftırlar. Süs," Kürk, Kürk, Kürk," 3 November 1923, Number 21, p.9.

³⁵⁷ Süs," Kürk Kürk Kürk," 3 November 1923, Number 21, p.9.

³⁵⁸ Süs, 17 November 1923, Number 23, p.8.

³⁵⁹ "Rahmetli Nasreddin Hoca eğer bu asırda yaşasaydı ve tesadüfen asri bir çay toplantısına veya balolardan birisine katılsaydı meşhur kürk hikayesini büyük abartıyla anlatırdı." *Haftada Bir Gün*, Number 18, 27 January 1927, p.7.

³⁶⁰ *Muhit*, 1 October 1928, p.71.

³⁶¹ Süs, "Son Moda", *Kürk Ziyetleri*, 5 October 1923, Number 17, p.9.

5.4.6 Shoe Fashion

The most crucial element of outerwear is undoubtedly shoes. While shoes were a simple product worn only to protect the feet from external factors in ancient times, they became an accessory that complements the clothes worn by changing and embellishing over time. According to *Süs Magazine*, the feet are one of the most noticeable parts of the body. Beautiful women's feet are the most attractive part of their bodies. According to the magazine's understanding, men have taste in their ties, and women taste in their shoes. For women who care about elegance, their boots must harmonize with their dresses.³⁶²

It is frequently stated in the magazine that people pay more attention to shoes every day, and shoes are an element that complements elegance, almost like a glove.³⁶³ The fabrics used in shoes have also diversified, and velvet, silk, embroidered, and moire shoes have been made, and even shoes decorated with natural flowers and diamonds were produced.³⁶⁴ The emergence of these different shoe models, which have their share of human creativity, is that the shoes are more visible with shortened hemlines. Although it is up to the individual to choose the shoes with or without heels, the famous shoe fashion of 1924 is the various wefts and laces used on the shoes. These wefts and laces can also be made of crocodile and snakeskin.³⁶⁵ Regardless of the material used, it is essential and fashionable that the shoe is laced and banded.

As a Parisian fashion, buckled shoes were also popular during that period. With this buckle shoe fashion, it is possible to easily change the shoe's look by buying various buckles and attaching them to the shoe.³⁶⁶ According to the news published in *Süs Magazine* in 1924, all kinds of ornamented, leather, embroidered, sequined, and even illustrated shoes were presented as the latest fashion shoes in Paris as in the previous period. (Figure 24)

³⁶² Süs, "Hanım İskarpinleri", *En Son Moda*, Number 10, 18 August 1923.

³⁶³ Süs, "Son Moda İskarpinler", 3 May 1924, Number 47, p.4.

³⁶⁴ Süs, "Son Moda İskarpinler", 3 May 1924, Number 47, p.4.

³⁶⁵ Süs, "Son Moda İskarpinler", 3 May 1924, Number 47, p.4.

³⁶⁶ Süs, "Yeni İskarpin Tokaları", Number 12, 1 September 1923, p.8-9.

What else is suitable for a woman to wear on her feet other than such shoes? The question is asked to the readers along with this example. Shoes replaced Derbys in this period. (Figure 25).

5.4.7 Hat and Cap

It can be said that the essential tool for women's visibility was to show their hair because, for Turkish women who lived within the boundaries of hijab during the Ottoman period, one of the essential freedoms provided by the new regime was the freedom to display their hair as they wished. The new type of hijab fashion initiated by the White Russians stretches the concept of hijab considerably. This made a significant contribution to the process of women taking off the headscarf. This Russian headdress, which covers half the head and leaves the nape exposed, is like how hair accessories were used in the Flapper fashion. In the Anatolian geography, where veiling is blended with tradition, women's uncovering of their heads did not happen simultaneously. Until almost 1927, women continued to use hijab-looking hair accessories to complement their outfits. This situation is also related to the world fashion of the period because the headdresses suitable for the flapper fashion of the period are very similar to the hijab look. These caps made it easier for Turkish women to abandon the hijab. Thanks to these headdresses, they could both follow the fashion and continue the hijab without taking off the headscarf and revealing their hair directly. In the early period, hats helped women stuck between tradition and modernity and hesitant to uncover their heads. The fact that hats serve as functional hijabs have facilitated a new type of life for women who follow the traditional religious line. It can be said that it serves as a preliminary practice for women who want to abandon the hijab completely. Although the issue of women's hijab has frequently occupied the agenda of politics and the press since the Ottoman period, Turkish women generally resolved the hijab issue on their own, thanks to the transformation of hijab in the period leading up to the declaration of the new regime. There is no imposition on women to take off the hijab. Those who want to uncover their headscarves and those who do not wish to continue their hijab according to their determined standards. This is due to the

reforms carried out by the new regime and Mustafa Kemal as the founding figure, without shaking the patriarchy and using force in certain areas. The freedom given to women in their personal boundaries and clothing choices keeps Mustafa Kemal away from social conflicts. The founding figure, who does not conflict with patriarchy, seems to respect the moral and traditional rules of the society regarding the issue of women's clothing and leaves this area to a natural flow. However, it can be said that the press will fill the gap in this area and will be the actor of silent guidance by transferring Western fashions, especially French models, to Turkish women as the modern clothes of modern life.

In the 1920s, the fedora hats worn by men inspired the first women's hat models, and the enlarged frames gave a more feminine look.³⁶⁷ Although the Hat Law of 1925 was not made directly for women, it was adopted and quickly implemented by women. The effect of Paris fashion is also seen in hat fashions. On the pages of the magazines and newspapers of the period, the latest model Paris hats are presented to women as an example. (**Figures 26, 27 and 28**)

Hats of different fabrics are decorated with flowers, motifs, and ribbons. Another accessory used to decorate these hats was small pins attached to the side of the hat. It could be in various colors or with stone ornaments. The season was also decisive in the preferred hat models. While hats like velvet, fur, and wool were preferred in winter, lighter fabrics and materials such as straw were preferred in warmer weather.

The hairstyle that left its mark in the 1920s, called "a la garçon (boy style)," that is, bell hats called "cloche" along with shorter hair, began to be used and became very popular. These hats dominated women's fashion until the second half of the 1930s.

³⁶⁷ Yüksel Şahin, *1920-1930 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'de Kadın Silüetinde Moda Anlayışı ve Değişimler*, (İzmir: DEÜ Rektörlük Matbaası, 2006), p.80.

5.4.8 Hair Fashion in the 1920s

While Turkish women adopted modern hats and short-hair fashion, which has influenced the world, they have also gained comprehensive coverage in the Turkish press. Current hair fashions conveyed to women through the press also pave the way for Turkish women to abandon the hijab gradually.

Various hairdressing salons opened during this period, creating a new and profitable professional group with increasing demand. In the article in the *Aylık Mecmua*, which mentioned women's demand for barbershops in their period, female barbering is seen as the most profitable profession of the time. The magazine mentions that both long-haired and short-haired women go to barbers and undergo many procedures. To support its claim, it visits a barber shop and conveys to its readers the observations they made during the day. The decoration of the shop, the diversity of the customer profile, the various procedures that women perform, and the conclusion of the topic, which states that this profession is the one that makes and will earn the most money, are mentioned.³⁶⁸ In the article titled "*The History of Short Hair Fashion*" (Kısa Saç Modasının Tarihi) in the fourth issue of *Arkadaş* magazine, a broad and historical overview of this fashion that took the world by storm is presented to the readers about the past and present of the famous fashion of the period. "*There is an issue that is more important, relevant, louder, and ostentatious than many important issues of the day. You know, of course... You know, that feeling of fashion...*"³⁶⁹ expresses the popularity of short hair fashion, and the entire article examines why women cut their hair since ancient times and which hair fashion took over women and society in which period. In an article published in *Yıldız* magazine, women who decided to follow the short hair trend are addressed with the following words.

"Ladies! If you have decided to have your hair cut, examine your face before applying the scissors and decide on the style that will suit you. In this way, you avoid being ridiculous like some people are. The cut hair trend took off. Rich, poor, beautiful, or ugly, everyone started getting their hair cut. We do not want to say anything against or in favor of cut hair here. Because we know that what we write in favor of or against will have no effect, since starving is a fashion

³⁶⁸ "Zamanımızın En Karlı Zanaatı: Kadın Berberliği", *Aylık Mecmua*, Number 2, May 1926, p.6-7

³⁶⁹ "Kısa Saç Modasının Tarihi", *Arkadaş*, Number 4, 18 July 1928, p.8-9.

today, or rather a primitive one, everyone should practice this fashion in a way that suits them."³⁷⁰

However, *Yıldız* magazine refrained from making a subjective comment on this fashion that affects the whole world. It merely conveys the current fashion to women; while doing so, it accepts this fashion and its existence. Although *Yıldız* magazine leaves the fashion practice to women, deeming it a personal choice, the magazine also shared examples of how to choose a hairstyle according to the face, revealed by French experts, to prevent fashion accidents that may occur while doing this. *Aylık Mecmua* also mentions that women should choose models that suit their faces while applying new hair trends.³⁷¹ According to the magazine, how the hair is cut, and the shape given to the hair can completely change the shape and expression of the face. Depending on the model chosen, the face can be given purity, cleanliness, seriousness, sensuality, youth, and even old age. However, it is also mentioned in the article that women with short hair do not hesitate to use wigs, as short hair, which is the latest trend, will make it challenging to create this change of expression. According to these articles, having short hair and following and implementing this new fashion is natural. In *Resimli Ay* magazine, the article "Should it be cut? Shouldn't be cut it?" briefly mentions the birth of the short hair fashion; it mentions that this fashion rejuvenates and beautifies women and makes them more attractive. According to the magazine, in some societies, especially men cannot understand this fashion and do not like it or oppose it. Since there are men of this type in Türkiye, the magazine offers a solution to women who want to cut their hair but cannot.³⁷² Hair samples that make the hair look cut without cutting it, which is used worldwide and has become fashionable, are presented to the readers. The description given by the magazine is as follows;

First, comb your hair thoroughly from front and top to back and then to the sides. Then, starting from the top, divide the back hair into two so it falls over the ears. Fasten the two separated parts with a tie from the bottom. Take your hair falling on the left side and comb it gently and slowly from the top to the ends. Then, gently gather the ends so they fall on the cheeks and combine them over the ear. This collection should be done slowly and carefully, and the

³⁷⁰ *Yıldız*, Number 13, September 1925, p.5

³⁷¹ *Aylık Mecmua*, Number 3, June 1926, p.8)

³⁷² *Resimli Ay*, Birinci Cilt May, p.27.

collected hair should be attached with thin hairpins. Perform the same surgery on the hair hanging on your right side. The direction of the accumulated hair spreading to the ears will be at the level of the mouth. After a bit of experience or two, you can build this toilet. 373

According to the magazine, the appearance of this model is extremely attractive. Offering alternative methods for Turkish women to keep up with current fashion, the magazine also gives examples such as hair accessories, trendy hats from Paris, and hair combs and encourages Turkish women to use them. In the article titled "Cut Hair" (Kesik Saç) published in *Süs* magazine, "Should a woman cut her hair? Shouldn't she cut it?" the subject is debatable. According to the article, cutting hair in fashion, which creates problems between husbands and wives in countries such as England and France, causes social events; women should make good decisions on this issue and not regret it later. **(Figures 29 and 30)**

However, while short-cut hairstyles were introduced in magazines, long-haired women's images appeared in the press in 1929, raising the question of whether long hair was becoming fashionable again. Yet, the short-hair fashion continued in the 1930s in the world and Türkiye, and this can be observed in the images shared in the magazines.

5.5 Turkish Women's Fashion of the 1930s

The 1930s world fashion was affected by the economic crisis that started in 1929. The collapse of the New York Stock Exchange in 1929 had a local effect on America and created a financial crisis that had never been seen before. By the 1930s, the impact of the economic crisis was visible in Türkiye as well as all over the world. Türkiye acted against this crisis by the principle of Statism and tried to reduce the effects of the crisis as much as possible. However, the demand for foreign goods was very high due to factors such as the consumption habits of the period and the country's inability to establish its industry fully. The solution for the political power to change the public

³⁷³ Resimli Ay, Birinci Cilt May, p.27.

tended to launch "*Use Domestic Products*" (Yerli Malı Kullan) campaigns.³⁷⁴ These campaigns aimed to increase the production of domestic goods, create employment through increased production, and make a qualified workforce. The leg of the domestic goods campaign that extends to fashion is Sümerbank, founded in 1933. With Sümerbank, Türkiye became a critical cotton producer and exporter.³⁷⁵ Local fabrics were produced from local cotton in the weaving and fabric factories affiliated with Sümerbank and offered to the domestic market. Thus, using domestic goods instead of foreign goods in the clothing sector is desired. Thanks to Sümerbank, the control of the clothing and textile industry is, in a sense, taken over by the state, and it is aimed to develop these sectors by taking them under protection. One of the most important steps taken in these years is the beginning of the formation of the ready-made clothing industry in Türkiye.³⁷⁶ Although this sector in the world has an older history, Industry is a new and necessary field for the young Republic of Türkiye, which lacks workforce and knowledge in this field. Because clothing is still produced in a bespoke-tailored manner, only imported clothing is readily available. Any money given to imported products is seen as national capital going to foreigners and is not welcomed in an economic crisis environment. However, despite the financial crisis, fashion continued its adventure. Therefore, the two main features of 1930s fashion were simplicity and elegance.

The 1930s introduced the rakish girls of the 1920s to the realities of life and forced them to grow up. The 1930s have a more feminine silhouette, with feminine lines returning to the fore. Long evening dresses, low-cutbacks, boleros, and fur used on collars and sleeve ends are the main features of the period's fashion. Therefore, the masculine look that dominated the 1920s was replaced by a silhouette in which feminine lines were evident again, but it was essential to look tall and slim. Women in this period had an extraordinarily sharp and straight-lined silhouette, and fur was the decoration that softened these lines. Wide cuffs on the sleeves and large fur collars were trendy.³⁷⁷ Linen is one of the most essential fabrics used in clothing during this

³⁷⁴ Çağla Ormanlar, "Püsküllü Beladan Şapka'ya 1923-19401, 75 Yılda Değişen Yaşam Değişen İnsan: Cumhuriyet Modaları, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999), p.51.

³⁷⁵ Ibid Ormanlar, p.51.

³⁷⁶ Ibid Ormanlar, p.51.

³⁷⁷ Yüksel Şahin, Cumhuriyet'i Aydınlatan Kadınlar, (İstanbul: İyi Matbaa, 1990), pp.73-74.

period. Kloke, or bubble fabric, is also popular. Iranian and Chinese fabrics, silk, leather goods, and cotton fabrics were prominent fabric types of the period. 378

Turkish women continued to follow the fashion of the 1930s through the press, as before. Yet, the most crucial feature of the period for Turkish women was that in the 1930s, the chador and veil almost wholly disappeared in big cities, and women began to appear in public with their hair. It was again the Turkish press that introduced fashion to the readers. In the 1930s, after women's magazines, newspapers also started to devote a page or a corner of their pages to women, keeping their women readers informed about the latest fashions. In line with the increasing importance of sewing due to the economic situation in this period, the press does not only convey current fashion. At the same time, they describe how these models can be sewn, and some even begin to give measurements of dress patterns. There are no fashionable examples of these issues in the press of the period. Burqa and chador were replaced by mantle, coats, and jackets, and various hats of the period were preferred instead of headscarves. Although some local municipalities have made decisions banning chadors and veils, no comprehensive ban has been taken by the government across the country.³⁷⁹

Meanwhile, with the impact of the economic crisis, cutting and sewing became more critical in the 1930s. *Akşam Sanat Okulları* (Evening Art Schools), Kız Sanat Enstitüleri (Girls' Art Institutes), and *Biçki Dikiş Yurtları* attended by women and girls became areas where fashion is produced and spread. During this period, the current fashions presented to the readers of the press were copied exactly in these institutions, which became the fashion production centers based on imitation.³⁸⁰

Women who learned to sew at these institutions took a big step towards gaining economic freedom and becoming fashion carriers for those around them. *Milliyet* newspaper 1932 mentioned that the tailoring shops opened by women who graduated from schools by learning sewing and sewing and stated that women's tailoring had become a good way of earning money. In the article, it is noted that the increase in

³⁷⁸ Fatma Keser, *1923-1950 Yılları Arası Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kadın Kıyafetleri*, İstanbul: Arel Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Master Thesis, 2017, p.107.

³⁷⁹ Deniz Güner, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Kıyafet Yasakları", *RumeliDE Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Issue 37, 2003, pp. 602-605.

³⁸⁰ Ibid Ormanlar, pp.47-48.

trained tailors is to save society from ungraduated and ignorant fashion designers, and it is underlined how gratifying it is that women who learn sewing have started to open tailoring shops in different cities of the country.³⁸¹

5.5.1 Mantle, Coat, and Bolero and Fur Use

The mantle, cap, and bolero dominated the top clothing of the 1930s. Short and long coats, also called three-quarter coats, are very popular. The fabrics of the coats are determined according to the season. Woolen fabrics are preferred for winter and cold weather, linen is chosen for summer and spring, and coats are decorated with picture stitches. Metal buttons were frequently used in closures. Leather belts were used around their waists and decorated with pleats. While winter coats are produced from wool, velvet, and cachet fabrics, fur is also used on the edges of the sleeves or collars. In this period, fur became a decorative fabric used for decoration by adding to certain parts of outerwear rather than being a separate accessory.³⁸² *Akşam* newspaper, in a new titled "Fur is used everywhere this year" (Bu Sene Heryerde Kürk Kullanılıyor), reminded its readers that fur is again as "*Once upon a time, fur was used for warmth. However, fur is so fashionable this year that it is used everywhere, needlessly or unnecessarily.*"³⁸³ The news, exemplified by pictures, indicates that fur was an ornament in many clothes and accessories, such as gloves, hats, dresses, coats, bags, boleros, and capes.

Meanwhile, the fashion news published in the opinion newspaper began to be seen more in the 1930s, and *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, a popular opinion newspaper of the time, began to publish news on fashion. In its issue dated 23 November 1930, new coat models were introduced to its readers, and news stated that Paris tailors were late in producing coat samples that would be fashionable in winter. These models are suitable at knee level or just below the knee; their collars and sleeve edges are covered with various furs and come in green, blue, navy blue, and black colors.³⁸⁴ (**Figure 31**) In

³⁸¹ "Kadın Terziliği İyi Bir Kazanç Yoludur", *Milliyet*, 24 December 1932, p.5.

³⁸² *Ibid Keser*, pp. 108-114.

³⁸³ "Bu Sene Heryerde Kürk Kullanılıyor", *Akşam*, 2 October 1934, p.6.

³⁸⁴ "Kışlık Manto Modelleri Geldi", *Cumhuriyet*, 23 November 1930, p.5.

a photograph in Tuna Pektaş's archive, the coat worn by a woman posing leaning against a tree in the view of the Moda in the 1930s with a coat is black, with a loose cut towards the skirt and has a black fur collar. (**Figure 32**) is an excellent example to show how Turkish women were curious to follow the current fashion as soon as it took place in the press.

Son Posta newspaper also, in its article presenting to its readers the latest fashion coat models with thin and long lines and length between knee and ankle, stated that the elegance of the latest fashion can be achieved by wearing astrakhan fur on the collar of the models from previous years.³⁸⁵ In another article, *Son Posta* newspaper introduced the latest coat samples: "*These models are simple but suitable for the latest fashion. The collars are fur-lined, the waists are thin, and the skirts are wide.*"³⁸⁶ The waistline, pulled up in the period's dresses to appear longer, is also applied in outerwear elements. In the examples given by the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper in 1932, there are coats with high waistlines, belted waists suitable for slim and long silhouettes, and whose collars and sleeve edges are decorated with fur.³⁸⁷ (**Figure 33**) It is possible to see these models of three women standing on the Galata Bridge in Istanbul in winter in 1936 in a photograph from the personal archive of Selahattin Giz. The women in this photograph appeared in three types of coats: belted waists, fur collars, and collars at or slightly below the knee, by the period's fashion. (**Figure 34**) *Son Posta* newspaper also published models with collars of astrakhan and fox fur, tight-fitting belts, and lengths between the knees and ankles, which resembled the period's fashion.³⁸⁸

Velvet was also one of the fabrics used in outerwear, such as dresses, coats, and coats, mostly in 1932. Coat models made of velvet, with pleats on the shoulders and a fur collar, are frequently cited in the pages of newspapers. Bolero-shaped models that make the upper part of the coat look like a separate piece were also popular in the period's coat, mantle, and jacket fashion. Bolero models have more or less buttons on the front depending on their collar size. The most significant indicator of the economic problems in the coat fashion of this period is that the coat models were easily

³⁸⁵ "Son Moda Palto Modelleri", *Son Posta*, 20 October 1931, p.4.

³⁸⁶ "Palto Modelleri", *Son Posta*, 25 October 1931, p. 5.

³⁸⁷ "Bu Kış İçin Son Moda Şapka ve Paltolar", *Cumhuriyet*, 4 December 1932, p. 5.

³⁸⁸ "Yeni Manto Modelleri", *Son Posta*, 1 December 1932, p. 5.

convertible into other models. The most essential elements that will ensure this transformation are that the ornaments on the collar, fall, and sleeve edges can be changed. It is possible to create different models with removable decorations. *Akşam* newspaper states that the feeling of using different coats and dresses can be achieved, especially with closed collars. Accordingly, these collars are different models when open and when closed.³⁸⁹ It is possible to see the fur and coat fashion of the period in the photographs used when reporting an air race in England. The samples worn by the women in the pictures are the same as those described and shown in the press of the time. **(Figure 35)** In the news published in *Milliyet* newspaper, Paris's latest model fur coats are given as an example. It is stated that astrakhan and monkey skin are used as fur in sample models.³⁹⁰ These two types of fur entered the period's fashion as cheaper alternatives to more expensive furs. According to information obtained from the April issue of the 1936 *Moda Albümü*, beige and white were used in sports coat models sewn with woolen and broadcloth fabric. It is decorated with brown or red buttons, leather pockets, a belt, picture stitches, and wide pleats. In the June issue, plain colors such as white and gray, plaid and point patterns are seen on linen and delicate woolen fabrics. There are also picture stitches, pico, and fan pleats.³⁹¹ In the news published by *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, printed photographs of women watching a horse race held in Paris show examples of the use of fur, coats, and coats in the Paris fashion of that year. In these examples, stylish coats and coats decorated with fur on the sleeves, collars, or skirts are transferred to Turkish women following the period's fashion.³⁹²

Throughout the 1930s, coat, coat, and overcoat models followed the same line, and these models, which did not undergo any formal changes, were always decorated with fur or leather. The amount and type of skin and fur varies depending on the person's economic status. While wealthier people prefer dense fur, their furs, such as fox and sable, may be more expensive. In a world where economic crisis prevails, the fur fashion of the 1930s is probably the best example of how fashion affects the masses

³⁸⁹ "Kapalı Yakalar Çok Giyiliyor", *Akşam*, 11 December 1934, p.6.

³⁹⁰ "Kadın-Ev-Moda", *Milliyet*, 4 September 1934, p.5.

³⁹¹ "Günün Modası, İlk Bahar İçin, Manto Modelleri. Moda", *Moda Albümü*, Number 1, 1936, pp.11-13

³⁹² "Bu seneki Manto ve Kürk Biçimleri", *Cumhuriyet*, 11 November 1935, p.7.

and makes them accept the fashions it offers despite economic conditions. Despite all the difficult conditions, women could do what fashion dictated to them. They tried to implement fashion according to their financial situation.

In addition to the coats, the famous outerwear of the 1930s was bolero, frequently used and recommended in the press. Boleros are used not only as a cutting feature on the upper parts of dresses and coats but also on their own. Boleros worn over dresses and blouses can be embroidered from lace and various threads and sewn from different fabrics. While it is stated in the news newspaper that boleros are very fashionable, it is said that "*every woman who looks in the mirror after wearing these will find herself five years younger.*"³⁹³ Boleros and bolero-style short jackets can be worn on the street or over a dress for a night out. Boleros wore short skirts as city dresses and long skirts as dinner and evening dresses. In this case, it is also possible to say that boleros are very functional jackets and give women the feeling of wearing different clothes. *Moda Albümü* magazine, the readers were informed about combinations that can be offered which jacket, with which style of skirt they can wear on the street, as a daytime outfit, or for dinner and night out as follows:

*" In the model on the right, a short green skirt worn under a short jacket with embroidered green edging on the front makes it a daytime and street dress, while on the left, It is an evening dress when worn with a long white effect as in the model shown. The bolero in the middle is made of thick linen in two colors. A short dark wool skirt is a day dress, and a long linen skirt is a very original dress for summer nights."*³⁹⁴

This type of use of boleros allows two different outfits to be combined to form tailleurs.

³⁹³ "Küçük Kısa Ceketler Pek Modadır", *Haber*, 24 December 1938, p. 7.

³⁹⁴ "Sağdaki modelde önü işlemeli yeşil kenarlı kısa ceketin altına giyilen yeşil kısa bir etek, onu gündüz ve sokak elbisesi yaptığı gibi sol tarafta görülen modeldeki gibi uzun beyaz eteğe giyildiği zaman bir gece elbisesi olmaktadır. Ortadaki bolero, kalın ketenden iki renk yapılmıştır. Kısa yünlü koyu bir renk eteğe gündüz elbisesi ve ketenden uzun bir eteğe yaz geceleri için çok orjinal bir elbise olmaktadır" "Pikür Modası," "Nasıl Giyinelim", *Moda Albümü*, Number 7, p:1- 8.

5.5.2 Tailleur/Ladies Suit/Tight, Skirt and Blouses in the 1930s

The suit fashion started in the 1920s and continued in the 1930s. Suits are worn with short or long jackets, creating a slim and long appearance in line with the silhouette of the period. The period's fashion extended skirts. It is often emphasized in the press that skirts were getting longer and were quite different from the previous period. While women's legs were shown for the first time in the 1920s, it surprised people when fashion suddenly turned to long skirts in the 1930s. There are various debates about this issue, and it is thought that it would be difficult to walk in long skirts. In its issue dated July 9, 1930, *Akşam* newspaper reports that although the long skirt issue occupied the agenda, it was slowly being adopted by women in different countries worldwide. A photograph proves that German women started to follow this fashion after women in England.³⁹⁵ On the other hand, the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper published a survey and interviews conducted in foreign media about short or long skirt preferences. When actress Mary Astor was asked about her opinions on the subject, she stated that she would not choose long skirts to go on the street but that she has a combination of short and long skirts in her closet.³⁹⁶ *Akşam* newspaper presents various examples of the suit fashion of the period with an illustrated example. These examples use velvet, wool, crepsaten, and astrakhan. Model features include skirts that extend below the knee and widen ends below the knee, as well as short jackets with decorated collars and sleeve edges.³⁹⁷ Creating a suit look with short jackets and skirts was also trendy. While short jackets could be buttoned or belted on the front, skirts were also long and had pleats towards the ends. *Akşam* newspaper reported in 1932 that suits were more popular than before, and their models began to change as follows;

*"this year there is more demand for tailleurs than in previous years. The classic tights with coat collars and pockets worn in the past are almost non-existent. The main innovation is that the hems of the jackets are completely covered with fur. Tights are made of wool, and blouses are made of silk."*³⁹⁸

³⁹⁵ "Uzun Etek Her Tarafıta Rağbette", *Akşam*, 9 July 1930, p.5.

³⁹⁶ "Uzun Etekler Hakkında", *Cumhuriyet*, 27 July 1930, p.5.

³⁹⁷ "Mevsimlik Zarif Birkaç Tayyör", *Akşam*, 6 October 1931, p.7.

³⁹⁸ "bu sene geçen senelerden fazla tayyöre rağbet vardır. Eskiden giyilen klasik palto yakalı, cepli tayyörler hemen hemen hiç kalmamıştır. Bu sene giyilenler tamamıyla farklıdır. göze çarpan başlıca

In the news, the fashionable *tailleur* models of the year are also presented with examples. **(Figure 36)** *Cumhuriyet* newspaper states that short and long skirts are fashionable in suits and that autumn is the ideal season to wear suits. In the news, short jackets, small collars, belts, and buttons on the front of the jackets are seen by the period's fashion, exemplified by pictures.³⁹⁹ As the most popular fabric of that year, velvet is frequently used in jackets and is also recommended for suits. The photograph used in the news article published in *Uyanış* (Servet-i Fünun) magazine dated 23 June 1932, the exhibition held at the Ankara İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute, is an exact reflection of the tights fashion of the period. The skirt and jacket set worn by the woman posing in front of the hats sewn at the exhibition, reflecting the characteristics of the period, is a replica of the fashion of the period with its collarless, white blouse worn by the fashion of that year, and short, belted jacket. **(Figure 37)** In fact, in this period, in the classical understanding, tights can be perceived as a combination of two pieces rather than a whole created by combining skirts and jackets. Combining three pieces, a jacket, skirt, and blouse, provides practical elegance suitable for any occasion and the ability to use these pieces separately. Pique and rib stitching were used to decorate the collars, sleeve edges, hems, and pocket edges of tights, jackets, and skirts. The tights and jacket-skirt-blouse sets of the 1930s are more colorful, ornate, and warmer than the tights of previous years.⁴⁰⁰ The seriousness and aloofness of the 1920s tights are absent in the 1930s *tailleurs*. In the photograph showing students leaving class at Istanbul University in the 1930s, it is possible to see the period's fashion holistically in the clothes of female students. **(Figure 38)** The woman on the left is wearing an ankle-length skirt with wide hems and a short jacket that fits around the waist, giving the appearance of a *tailleur*. The woman in the middle wears a bolero short jacket over a skirt of the same type; she wears a coat with fur trimmed on all collars, sleeves, and hems. The woman on the far right completes her outfit with a fur coat and collar over a long skirt and blouse. In another photograph from the 1930s, four women out for a

yenilik ceketin etek uçlarının tamamen kürkle kaplanmasıdır. tayyörler yünlüden, bluzlar ipekliden yapılmaktadır." "Mevsimlik Tayyörlere Rağbet Fazladır", *Akşam*, 11 October 1932, p.6.

³⁹⁹ "Kısa ve Uzun Etek Modası", *Cumhuriyet*, 2 October 1932, p.5.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid Keser, pp. 115-120.

stroll wear the period's bolero-type tailleur, consisting of a short jacket and a long skirt. (Figure39)

Although the blouses to be worn under the tights are generally preferred in white, they can also be in different colors. These blouses are shaped like shirts but with a scarf-like collar. It is preferred for linen, knitwear, and wool, depending on the season. These blouses, which can be short or long-sleeved depending on the season, can be enlivened with puffed sleeves or decorated with picture stitches. The tenth issue of 1937's *Moda Albümü* mentions using pique and ribbing in the latest fashion blouse models. Blouses made of satin and silk fabrics with broad shoulders, puffed sleeves, scallop embroidery, and ruffles are presented as examples. The colors of these blouses are navy blue and baby blue. Blouses have neckties that look like bows on the collars.⁴⁰¹ Although tailleurs are suitable for all kinds of areas, they are divided into morning or afternoon leggings based on their colors and comfort. It can be said that comfort is at the forefront in morning tailleurs and elegance in afternoon taiellurs. Afternoon tailleurs are worn in public, while morning tailleurs are mostly worn at home or near home.

5.5.3 Dresses

The most characteristic feature of the dresses of the 1930s was that they had a silhouette that made the body look slim and long. The dresses of the period were in a way that revealed the shoulders, hips, breasts, and feminine lines. The straight-cut dresses of the 1920s were replaced by dresses that showed curves but did not reveal the legs as much as they did back then.

It is essential to divide the dress fashion of the period into evening dresses, ball gowns, overgowns, day dresses, and tea dresses. Because these differences arise from different understandings of elegance. For example, the V-shaped back neckline was opened while the legs were covered, especially in evening dresses. Since looking tall and thin

⁴⁰¹ "İşte Size 6 güzel Bluz Örneği", *Moda Albümü Dergisi*, Number 10, 1937.

constituted the general clothing silhouette in this period, tailors developed skills to create this silhouette with all kinds of sewing and fabric tricks. Although the sudden lengthening of skirts is a matter of debate abroad, this is not an issue that occupies the agenda in Türkiye. It can be said that this is because the country did not create fashion but adapted it. In the 1930s Türkiye, both tight and loose dress models were seen at the same time. This may be because Turkish women did not have as straight lines as French women, who were the models of French fashion.

Meanwhile, the striking model features of the dresses are the ruffles on the side skirts, the flounces used on the collar and sleeve details, pleats and ribs, lace, fur, and bows used as ornaments.

5.5.3.1 Evening Dresses, Ball gowns and Overgowns

The simple elegance characteristic of the 1930s is most evident in evening dresses and gowns. V-shaped back decollete influenced the period, and models that exposed the shoulders were used in this type of dress. The slim and long look, characteristic of the period, is seen mainly in evening dresses, overgowns, and ball gowns, where simple elegance comes to the fore. To achieve this look, plain fabrics were used, and various tailoring tricks were used with stitches to create a slim and long silhouette. Velvet and tweed led the fashion of dress fabric in the 1930s. These three types of dresses were the dresses that Turkish women wore for special events. These dresses, worn when they went out of the normal flow of life, such as at weddings, balls, and night entertainment, were still clothes that women should have in their wardrobes.

Evening dresses have skirt lengths at or just below the knee, but ball gowns and gowns are long enough almost wholly to cover the legs. *Cumhuriyet* newspaper reported this design: "*Despite all the demand for long skirts, they have not been accepted for afternoon dresses. Dresses with capes, one inch above the kneecap, constitute the majority.*"⁴⁰² However, as reported by *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, this situation did not

⁴⁰² "uzun etekler gösterilen bütün rağbete rağmen öğleden sonra elbiseleri için kabul edilmemiştir. dizkapağından bir karış uzun pelerinli elbiseler ekseriyeti teşkil etmektedir." "*Öğleden Sonra Elbiseleri*", *Cumhuriyet*, 7 September 1930, p.5.

last long, and the lengths of skirts of evening dresses gradually began to lengthen. In 1932, lace, crepe satin, crepe roman, and velvet fabrics were fashionable for evening dresses. Dresses made from these fabrics are also oblique cut, have a V-shaped back, make the body appear slim and elongated, and some have bias-cut skirts. Simple models that are not too exaggerated are top-rated, and Turkish women are recommended to wear these models. In the news published in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, a simple cream or white, sleeveless, satin dress with a belt at the waist is given as an example, and the hope is that Turkish women can also achieve simple elegance with the words;

*"My greatest aim is to encourage women in our country and worldwide to choose simple, far from fancy fashion models. Because being too fancy is never a sign of politeness. Elegance is always in simplicity."*⁴⁰³

Moreover, towards the mid-1930s, prints became fashionable, and floral-patterned prints began to be used in all dresses, including evening dresses. Evening dresses were also affected by the period's economic conditions, and started to use simple fabrics in more straightforward dresses and clothes. Fabrics such as cotton, wool, linen, and chintz are also turned into evening dresses. When we look at an evening dress worn by Mevhibe İnönü in the 1930s, we can see how appropriate it was to the period's fashion and that she wore the same Paris models. **(Figure 40)** The essential features of the dress models of the two dresses we have given as an example are the back decollete and the different color garment coming out of the side opening slit. These dresses, which are precisely in line with the period's fashion, are also among the most fashionable colors of the period. Details such as the V-shaped back decollete and the high waistline sitting on the waist bear traces of the feminine fashion of the period. *Kurun* newspaper describes the modern evening dress as:

"In modern evening dresses, the fabric adheres to the body from the armpits to above the kneecaps. At this distance, any expansion is avoided. The form is

⁴⁰³ "Sade Bir Gece Tuvaleti", *Cumhuriyet*, 6 June 1932, p.4.

*generally in this style. Only the fold after the kneecaps, the long skirt, expands and lengthens, sweeping the floor."*⁴⁰⁴

The newspaper went on to say that this style made tall, curvy, but straight women's bodies look even more beautiful, emphasizing the proportions of their figures.

In its issue dated December 7, 1930, the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* announces the arrival of a new fashion in an article titled "*Dresses falling below the shoulders are becoming fashionable.*" It describes the latest fashion with pictures that say, "*Overgowns are still in the same shape as fifteen years ago; the shoulders are open, and the collar falls.*"⁴⁰⁵ In the pictures *Cumhuriyet* published as an example, it is seen that the dresses with low shoulders have a V-shaped back decollete, and the dresses are sewn from lace. Plain fabrics have become more preferred instead of patterned or printed fabrics. This choice was a significant factor in creating the long, thin silhouette of the period. Because dresses made from plain fabrics make the wearer look taller, while patterned or printed fabrics cannot have the same effect. The velvet fashion, which started in Paris at the beginning of 1930, was also reflected in the overgowns of the period, and these types of dresses consisted of straight, flared, or gathered models.⁴⁰⁶ When the examples in the period's press are analyzed, although the black dress was dominant in the overgowns, the white fashion in 1932 affected the autumn overgowns. In the 1930s, the fashion of adding a piece of fur to every outfit was reflected in the overgowns, and sewing fur on the collar of the overgowns became one of the fashion symbols of the period. At a time when the economic crisis is affecting the whole world, it is surprising that fur fashion is so widespread and insists on being used in dresses, even if it is just a piece.

Cumhuriyet newspaper presents the new ballgowns fashion to its readers in its issue a week after introducing the new overgowns. Stating that the ball gowns of the year will be primarily white, the newspaper offers its readers a dress with a plain front and

⁴⁰⁴ "Akşam Elbisesi", *Kurun*, 7 February 1935, p.9.

⁴⁰⁵ "tuvalet elbiseleri bundan onbeş sene evvelki gibi gene empir şeklini almakta ve omuzlar açık, yaka aşağı düşmektedir" "Omuzdan Aşağı Düşme Elbiseler Moda Oluyor", *Cumhuriyet*, 7 December 1930, p.5.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid Keser, pp.123-125.

layered ruffles at the back and two examples of pleated skirts decorated with fur. The first dress was described by the newspaper as "*completely nude*" as it had a V-shaped, deep back that left the arms and shoulders primarily exposed.⁴⁰⁷ The white dress fashion that influenced the summer of 1932 continued in other seasons and was also reflected in winter ball dresses. It is recommended that prom dresses be made of white velvet. The *Akşam* newspaper reports that light colors are acceptable in prom dresses and that the backs open up to the waist, presenting these fashionable Parisian examples. These examples show oblique cuts, v-shaped backs, and skirts that are enlivened and widened with pleats from the knee down, in line with the silhouette of the period.⁴⁰⁸ Ball gowns were mainly made of satin or velvet black, gray, blue, and violet fabrics. Princess, double-breasted kimono, and back-buttoned models were decorated with openwork and lamé edging.

One of the first places where Turkish women could wear clothes such as overgowns and ball gowns was the republican balls, the first of which was held in 1925 and later became a tradition. However, these balls were so embraced by the public that they became a means of entertainment, and different state institutions and newspapers later organized them. At a ball held to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Republic of Türkiye, we see Turkish women dressed in ball gowns and overgowns in the colors and shapes of the fashion of the time. **(Figure 41)** As New Year's Eve celebrations become more popular, New Year's Eve balls are another event where such outfits can be worn. Greek-style dresses were also trendy in the mid-1930s. This style, generally preferred in white, is manifested as a white pleated dress among Turkish women. In a photograph taken at the circumcision wedding of Kazım Özalp's son, we can see examples of the period's evening dresses and prom dresses. **(Figure 42)**

⁴⁰⁷ "Yeni Balo Elbiseleri", *Cumhuriyet*, 14 December 1930, p.5.

⁴⁰⁸ "Kışın Balo Tuvaletleri Nasıl Olacak", *Akşam*, 20 September 1932, p.6.

5.5.3.2 *Day and Tea Dresses*

Day dresses or tea dresses are dresses that constitute women's daily wear. It is also used as work clothes for working women. According to *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, street dresses resemble old-style dresses with longer skirts.⁴⁰⁹ It can be said that casual dresses, also called plain dresses or business dresses, did not fully comply with the slim and long silhouette of the period. In these dresses, comfort rather than elegance is at the forefront; Plain, patterned, printed, and checkered fabrics are used. *Cumhuriyet* newspaper defines dress fabric distinctions as "*solid colors for formal banquets, plain but various colors for balls, floral fabrics for children's dresses.*"⁴¹⁰ Extra decorations are not used much in these dresses, and they must be washed frequently due to daily use so as not to make washing difficult. The day dresses are waist-fitting, knee-to-ankle length, wide hems, belted waists, V-neck or foldable, draped necklines. The flowing necklines of some tea dresses are made to be tied to one side or to be knotted to one side and hung down in front of the dress. Unlike the dress's color, collars made of white fabric, lace, or knitting are also used to add movement to the dresses. The indispensable part of these dresses is that they either have a belt to wear or a belt look when sewn. The general appearance of these types of dresses resembles a suit. The upper part of the dress is like the collar and appearance of suit jackets. Like the skirts of the period, the skirts cling to the hips and moving from slightly above the knees to the ends, looking like pleats. Winter and autumn dresses have long sleeves, depending on the season, and summer and spring dresses are either half-sleeved or completely sleeveless. *Son Posta* newspaper includes five models in the picture, presenting its readers with various dress models to wear in spring. These models are like a combination of the daily dress concept of the period. Examples include front pleated skirts, straight long skirts, skirts enlivened with two separate front pleats, knotable collars, necktie collars, scarf collars tied as long pieces, and thrown back, such as shawls.⁴¹¹ In the summer of 1932, white color dominated, and daily dresses turned white. "*There is hardly anyone who doesn't have one or two types of*

⁴⁰⁹ "Sokak Elbiseleri", *Cumhuriyet*, 5 November 1930, p.5.

⁴¹⁰ "resmi ziyafetler için düz renkler, balolar için düz fakat muhtelif renkler, çocuk elbiseleri için çiçekli kumaşlar" "Çiçekli Kumaşlar Yelek Moda", *Cumhuriyet*, 26 april 1931, p.5.

⁴¹¹ "İlkbaharda Giyilebilecek Muhtelif Elbiseler", *Son Posta*, 15 April 1931, p.4.

white dresses in their closet."⁴¹² It is acceptable for white dresses to be embroidered with cordonet and decorated with jurs. The white dress worn by world beauty queen Keriman Halis in the photograph where she met Turkish beauty queen Naşide Saffet in 1931 precisely reflects the fashion of that summer. (**Figure 43**) In a photo from the Tuna Pektaş archive, two women can be seen posing in the garden of a house. One of these women wore a long, plain white dress in line with the period's fashion (**Figure 44**). Spotted fabrics were also used in fashion during the summer season when white-dominated. Among these fabrics, black on white or spots of different colors were famous. The elegance of the summer season was achieved with scarf-shaped collars, flounced skirts, narrow waists, narrow sleeves from shoulder to elbow, and curved sleeves from elbow to wrist. Models with pleated skirts and sleeves are also fashionable in summer. Since it is a thin fabric, it can be made without printed crepe or chintz.⁴¹³ The slim and long silhouette of the dresses remained constant throughout the 1930s. Differences that can be created in this silhouette are made by decorating or changing the dresses' sleeves, collars, and hem details. Interchangeable collars were trendy in 1935. It is thought that thanks to these collars, the feeling of wearing a new dress can be achieved. The effects of the economic crisis should not be ignored when this situation emerges.

Since the fashion of the 1930s was a combination of simplicity and elegance, this simplicity was created by sporty style in daily clothes. Sports dresses, which can be positioned as a daily dress, became increasingly popular in this period. *Cumhuriyet* newspaper reports this situation: "*Women's tendency towards sports dresses is increasing. Even women who do not do sports follow this fashion. Sports dresses are both more practical, cheaper, and most of all, they make women look younger.*"⁴¹⁴ In a photograph from the Tuna Pektaş archive, a woman poses sitting on a railing in Taksim in 1935, wearing one of the daily sports dresses of the period. This dress, in one of the period's dominant beige or white colors, is tailored to fit the body. Its skirts are enlivened with pleats below the knees. The collar of the dress is a small folding v-

⁴¹² *Akşam*, 9 August 1931, p.6.

⁴¹³ "Yaz Elbiseleri", *Son Posta*, 2 June 1932, p.9.

⁴¹⁴ "kadınların spor elbiselerine temayülü gittikçe artmaktadır. hatta spor yapmayan kadınlar bile bu modayı takip ediyorlar. Spor elbiseleri hem daha pratik, daha ucuz hem de hepsinden fazla kadınları daha genç göstermektedir" "Bu Seneki Spor Modaları", *Cumhuriyet*, 24 May 1931, p.5.

shaped collar. The four wooden buttons on the right side are both the ornaments and the actual closure points of the collar. (Figure 45) The most significant complement to dresses is seen as hats. Wearing a hat that matches your dress is often suggested to readers on magazine pages.

5.5.4 Hair Trends and Hats

In 1929, even though hair began to grow longer, this raised the question of whether long hair was becoming fashionable again. Short-hair fashion continued in the 1930s. In this period, women's short hair begins to be shaped according to the season. Hair that is used a little longer in the winter season is cut short again when the weather starts to warm up. The hair attributed as long is not the long hair of the old period but slightly above or below shoulder length. In *Akşam*, dated June 2, 1930, the following sentences refer to hair being lengthened and shortened according to the season.

*“Last year, women's hair suddenly began to grow longer. This winter, one could see hair sticking out of hats everywhere. Some women even grew their hair up to their shoulders. Some even predicted a return to the era of long hair. This trend, which started at the beginning of winter, stopped as soon as the weather warmed up and hair started to get shorter again. The reason for this is straightforward. Women who have been used to living with their necks open for years cannot tolerate too much hair in hot weather. For this reason, hair grown longer in the winter is now being cut again.”*⁴¹⁵

News about short-hair fashion is also frequently covered in *Cumhuriyet*. In a November issue, a hair exhibition opened in England, and the difference between old and new women's hair fashion is mentioned with an emphasis on short hair. According to the newspaper, hair is the most considerable help for beauty. However, hair also

⁴¹⁵“Geçen sene birdenbire kadın saçları uzamaya başlamıştı. Bu kış her tarafta uçları şapkadan dışarıya taşan saçlar göze çarpıyordu. Hatta bazı kadınlar saçlarını omuz başlarına kadar uzatmışlardı. Buna bakarak tekrar uzun saç devrine geri döneceğini bile tahmin edenler vardı. Kış iptidasında başlayan bu cereyan havalar ısınır ısınmaz durdu ve saçlar yeniden kıalmaya başladı. Bunun sebebi çok basittir. Senelerce enseleri açık olarak yaşamaya alışan kadınlar sıcak havalarda fazla saça tahammül edemiyorlar. Bunun için kışın uzatılan saçlar şimdi tekrar kesiliyor “ “Saçlar”, *Akşam*, June 2, 1930, p.5.

fulfills this auxiliary role by becoming beautiful because of the care given. The better the health of the body, the better the hair's health. In line with these views, the newspaper asks its readers whether they pay attention to their health to have healthy hair.⁴¹⁶ Although the influence of Paris and the direction of France in clothing fashion continued in this period, the visible impact of Hollywood artists on hair fashion began to emerge. The short hair from the 1920s is often worn in wavy styles, modeled after Hollywood actresses. Turkish women also continued to wear their hair short for the most part during this period.

In the 1930s, hats are brought to the forefront more. While hair accessories, bands, hairpins, combs, pearls, and hats resembling head coverings were more popular in the 1920s, hats in various forms were more preferred as accessories that complement the outfit in the 1930s. Tiny plate-shaped hats that covered the forehead were popular. During this period, women also used scarves to tie their hair. The fashionable silhouette of the 1930s was the slender, elongated torso with flared shoulders and a collected countenance with slightly wavy hair. The hair was expected to be gathered wavy, and this long silhouette would be completed with the hat worn. Especially for more casual dresses, a hat to wear when going out was more like a complementary part of the outfit than an accessory. While these hat fashions are presented to women in the latest fashion news columns of newspapers and magazines, examples of the hats artists prefer are often given to make it easier for women to choose. Just as it is crucial to find the right haircut that suits the face and that women should not disfigure themselves while trying to conform to fashion, the same rule should be observed when choosing a hat. The *Son Posta* newspaper concludes its "Summer and Spring Hats" fashion article with the following words: "*When choosing your hat, look for one that suits your face. Beware of hats that make your face look big or thin.*"⁴¹⁷

Black velvet, wide-brimmed, oversized straw hats for summer and spring were popular. The suitability of hats to the collar of the upper garment worn is as essential as their suitability to the face. A wrong choice can cover the hairstyle and the hat, making the person look bad. For this reason, women should follow the fashion tips

⁴¹⁶ "Saç Güzelliğinin En Büyük Yardımcısıdır", *Cumhuriyet*, 25 May 1930, p.5

⁴¹⁷ "Yaz ve İlkbahar Şapkaları", *Son Posta*, 24 March 1931, p.4.

and examples given to them in newspapers and magazines, but they should also read these lines carefully for practice and not make mistakes. Towards the mid-30s, women gradually grew their hair to shoulder length. Hats also began to simplify during this period, and in the first half of the 1930s, the excessive ornaments and garters were significantly reduced, and they became almost exclusively plain and made almost exclusively of fabric. However, this time, the hats were made of striking colors, combined with dresses in contrasting colors to create a contrasting look. The simplicity and elegance of the dresses may have been tried to be highlighted by the striking color of the hat worn.

This is a new era in which fashion no longer sharply distinguishes between short or long hairstyles, and everyone can wear their hair as they wish. The most crucial hair detail in this period is the waves that continue to be used. The hair was parted from one ear to the other, models were created with small curls, and sometimes the hair was curled completely.⁴¹⁸ In the 1930s photographs of women from Ankara, it is possible to see Turkish women's short hair and hat fashion in detail. With curly hair and curls, the fashion of the period, three women from Ankara posed confidently for the camera, preferring the trendy hat that fits the head but has wide brims and the popular hat model of the period, which resembles a turban because it is shaped like a turban. **(Figures 46 and 47)** Another photograph from the period shows the *Ankara Girls' High School Teachers*. In this photograph from the 1936-1937 academic year, female teachers' hair is curly and gathered, slightly above their shoulders. **(Figure 48)** Although different hairstyle features were given in the newspapers and magazines of the period, these models have a common point as curly and short models rather than taking a name. Turkish women generally used their hair by paying attention to these two features. The hair fashion of the period also expects curly/wavy and short or close to shoulder-length hair. In the photograph taken by *Ankara Law School* students in 1933, the female students fully comply with the hair fashion of the period, with their hair length just below the ears and curly hair. **(Figure 49)**. Also see the **(Figures 50, 51, 52, and 53)**

⁴¹⁸“Şapka, Elbise, Çanta Modeli”, *Akşam*, 27 July 1937, p.6.

5.5.5 Shoe Fashion and Other Accessories

Oxfords, Pumps, and Sandals were the most fashionable footwear of the 1930s. High-heeled Oxford shoes remained in fashion until the late 1930s and were often combined with elegant dresses. Heel shoe styles were wider and lower compared to the 1920s and 1930s shoes, which had many decorative elements.⁴¹⁹ When the shoes of the period were examined, it was seen that colored shoes such as burgundy, earth color, red, grass green, dark blue, dark brown, white, and black were frequently used. This situation is reflected in the brightness of the dress and shoe colors. T-shaped strappy shoes, which were popular in the 1920s, continued to be used in this period. A simple elegance also prevails in shoes. Turkish women prefer shoes with light heels and either a single strap or a T-shaped strap at the ankle. Materials such as silk, suede, various kinds of leather, and wicker, especially for sandal making in the summer, were the main elements of shoes. Although fashion-related pages increased in the press during this period, shoe samples are almost rare in these pages. The shoe issue seems not to be taken seriously. Perhaps the shoes were not given enough attention, considering they were not visible under long skirts.

Although short gloves during the day and elbow-length gloves in the evening were in the fashion of the period, it can be said that Turkish women did not prefer these and did not add them to their daily clothing unless it was a ball or an event where they needed to dress very elegantly. Shoes, a small handbag, and an umbrella were the general accessories of Turkish women. Matching the shoes to the hat and dress was a must. When we look at the shoe preferences of the women among a group of young people taking photographs on the Bomonti ridge in 1939, we can see that they were wearing light-heeled shoes with a single strap and T-shaped straps. These types of shoes, which were fashionable in the 1920s and 1930s, are today mostly known for their use by tango dancers.

⁴¹⁹ Canan Erdönmez, “1900-1950 Yılları Arasında Değişen Kadın Ayakkabı Modasına Yönelik Bir Araştırma”, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi / Güzel Sanatlar Enstitüsü / Tekstil ve Moda Tasarımı Ana Sanat Dalı, Master’s Thesis, 2010, p.129-131.

5.6 Tailoring Culture as The Production Element of Fashion and Sewing Dormitories, Evening Art Schools, and Girl Institutes as Dissemination Centers

Sewing was one of the competencies that Ottoman women learned at a young age. Thanks to this skill learned through transfer between women, women had enough sewing knowledge to meet their and their families' needs. Since the new lifestyle that emerged during the Tanzimat period encouraged European fashions of Turkish women, women's sewing knowledge enabled them to imitate them. This skill learned to meet the household's needs, takes on a new meaning when it enables one to follow fashion. It becomes one of the agents of modernization. In the previous sections, we discussed the change in clothing perception during this period and the adoption of a European-centered fashion approach. During this period, upper-class women who wanted to follow and practice European fashions had their clothes sewn by non-Muslim tailors at high costs. On the other hand, for women in the lower classes, the only way they could implement these fashions was to sew themselves. At this point, the press again played a key role. In the magazines, information was given about all fashionable elements of clothing, from clothing to accessories, and the models, clothing patterns, and tailoring terms in fashion magazines in Europe and especially in Paris were transferred to Ottoman women.⁴²⁰ Thanks to these magazines, fashion no longer belonged to the upper class. Middle-class housewives also dreamed of meeting Parisian/Western fashion and owning the models they saw in magazines. As magazines started giving dress patterns, women gained the freedom to sew the models they liked at home easily. Thus, the spread of fashion was becoming faster and easier. During the Second Constitutional Era, sewing and dress patterns maintained their importance in women's magazines. In this way, women could easily and cheaply obtain the dresses they wanted and follow fashion in a way that would not shake the family economy. In addition, the national economy was supported because the money did not go to imported products or non-Muslim tailors.⁴²¹ The importance of knowing how to sew was mentioned in women's magazines of the period, and sewing was encouraged with

⁴²⁰ Ibid Demir, p.73.

⁴²¹ "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadımlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesinin Terzihanesi", *Siyaset*, Cilt 1, Sayı 1, 26 March 1914, p.15.

frequently published articles. An article in *Mehasin* magazine mentioned that in Ottoman society, it was as natural to expect a woman to know how to sew as it was to expect a man to support the household.⁴²² It was thought that girls should be trained in sewing early, and sewing was presented as "*a job that is extremely necessary for girls*."⁴²³ While sewing was a skill born out of necessity in the first place, thanks to the press, it became a tool that spread fashion and became more widespread among women. As the Parisian models in the showcases in Beyoğlu or Pera could be sewn at home without going to tailors, the spread of fashion to different classes and layers was accelerating. Learning sewing was such an essential skill that women were encouraged in different areas, from the curricula of girls' schools to the activities of associations and the sewing centers established by societies. In 1913, the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was the first course opened to train Muslim Turkish women in sewing. This course was established to provide poor women with job opportunities to earn a living by learning the tailoring profession.⁴²⁴ Knowing how to sew became an important skill, especially during and after the First World War. These skills enabled women to earn money and keep their families afloat under war conditions. *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was the only institution that the new republican regime inherited from the Ottoman Empire as a tailoring culture. In the Ottoman Empire, the culture of needlework and tailoring, which meant providing for family needs, following fashion, or contributing to the family and national economy, took on a new meaning with the new republican regime. We have already mentioned the idealized perception of women in the Republican period in previous chapters. We have also mentioned that these women were seen as ideal, followed and practiced European fashions through the press, as in the Ottoman period. In this new era, tailoring will become the means of producing and disseminating new fashions. In the Ottoman period, needlework, which can also be interpreted as a means of responsibility towards family and country, became one of the conscious choices of clothing production and adaptation to the West, constituting the visual pillar of modernization in the republican period. Among the most important ideals of the republic was the education of girls and women. Necessary

⁴²² "Dikiş ve Tabahat", *Mehasin*, Number 5, January 1908, p.371-373.

⁴²³ "El İşleri, Dikiş", *Kadınlar Dünyası*, Number 105, 17 August 1913, p.15.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid* Demir, p.93.

arrangements were made for them to receive all kinds of education, and their participation in educational life was ensured. In addition to regular education, vocational and technical education, which is seen as an alternative education, was crucial. The educational institutions and schools inherited from the Ottoman Empire were adapted to the period, new schools were opened, and a comprehensive educational reform was implemented in line with the opinions of foreign and local experts. In 1926, Belgian expert Ömer Buyse, invited to Türkiye in 1926, made arrangements for vocational and technical education due to his examinations of the relevant schools and recommended "*the opening of technical schools to train qualified workers and colleges to train technicians and engineers.*"⁴²⁵ As a result of Ömer Buyse's report, institutions providing vocational and technical education, such as boys' and girls' art schools, girls' institutes, trade schools, and tailoring schools, began to be opened. These schools, which provided competence in areas appropriate to gender roles, ensured the continuation of traditional femininity roles and aspired to create women who were both mothers and producers.⁴²⁶ The emphasis was on teaching the girls attending these schools to do respectable, albeit low-income, jobs and to help them gain professional competence. This is exactly what training in tailoring and needlework would do, and the girls who gained competence here would fill a much-needed gap. *Girls' Industrial Schools* (Kız Sanayii Mektepleri) inherited from the Ottoman Empire were transformed into *Girls' Art Schools* (Kız Sanat Okulları). Later, the existing programs of these schools were reorganized, and they were transformed into girls' schools. *The İsmet Paşa Girl Institute* opened in Ankara in 1928 and was the first of these institutions.⁴²⁷ Although these schools had general courses like others, courses based on technical and professional knowledge were more prominent. In the fashion and sewing branches of the girls' institutes, the foundations of the generations that would produce the clothes of the young republic were being laid. "*The sewing courses include sewing and cutting, fashion, underwear, sewing technology, technical drawing, and the history of clothing. The fashion courses included fashion, flower, sewing and cutting, fashion technology, technical drawing, and the history of*

⁴²⁵ Mine Tan, "Toplumsal Değişim ve Eğitim: Kadın Bakış Açısından", *Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Dergisi*, Cilt. 27, Sayı,1, 1994, p.84.

⁴²⁶ Ibid Demir, pp.180.

⁴²⁷ Ibid Demir, pp.184-185.

clothing.”⁴²⁸ In Girls' Institutes, French was emphasized as a foreign language due to France's influence on the arts. students were also expected to follow French magazines, fashion, and professional studies.⁴²⁹

Girls' institutes, which were opened not only in the capital and a few large cities but also in different cities in different regions of the country, became the centers of creating the changing appearance of the young republic. At a time when the upper class could easily access new fashions by purchasing them or having them tailored by private tailors, these institutes were the centers of fashion for middle-class women. These institutes were centers that produced a variety of clothing, accessories, and outfits for local middle-class women in Parisian fashion.⁴³⁰ The institutes mostly copied the fashion designs of Paris fashion houses, using patterns they saw in French magazines or brought from Paris. For example, at the *İsmet Pasha Girls' Institute*, French fashion was followed through subscribed magazines such as *L'Officiel*, *L'Art et la Mode*, *La Femme Chic*, *Vogue*, *Jour de France*, and *Collection*.⁴³¹ There may be expectations from women who attend such schools or courses opened within these schools, just as women are integrated into the education system with the education reforms and are expected to participate in business life afterward. Training tailors who can have a say in non-Muslims' tailoring and fashion fields and training qualified personnel who sew modern clothes suitable for the country's changing face can be considered the main goals. It would not be pretentious to say that the material foundations of the country's clothing production and fashion life were laid with the lessons in these schools, the workshops organized, the exhibitions, and the fashion shows prepared. Schools of this type manifested the new regime's political attitude towards women. As Özlem Dilber summarized, the primary objectives of the girls' institutes, which followed the policies of the Kemalist state, were to prepare Turkish women for successful careers as tailors and to promote them as perfect housewives. There was no conflict between these two objectives. The new republic promoted women to be public figures and perfect homemakers at home; one way to achieve these goals was through the tailoring

⁴²⁸ Ibid Dilber, p.178.

⁴²⁹ *İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Kültür Direktörlüğü Neşriyatı, 1937), p. 42.

⁴³⁰ Ibid Dilber, p.198.

⁴³¹ Yünniye Akbulut, *Şıklığın Resmi Tarihi Olgunlaşma Enstitüleri*, (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2010), p.35.

industry. The institutes led the charge in achieving this goal by providing students with the instruction they would need to develop into "modern women."⁴³² When women started working professionally, they gained power. Learning the tailoring profession for Turkish women could also intersect the public and private spheres. Even women who dropped out of school to start a family and didn't pursue a full-time career outside the home may still make a living by working from home as tailors or using their tailoring abilities to make things for their families.⁴³³ In line with the ideal woman approach of the new regime, the profile of women emerging from these schools is characterized by "self-sacrificing, thoughtful women" who are educated and either participate in the public sphere as professionals or adapt to the new type of life but prefer family life and contribute to their families through domestic labor. The women who receive education from these institutions or somehow cross paths with them are unlike the coquettish, fashion-conscious women mentioned in previous chapters. Fashion and clothing are tools for them. These tools enable them to receive education and help them participate in economic activity. In other words, they are not just consumers but women who produce and serve their families and society with their production skills.

Turkish women's preoccupation with fashion and tailoring has been essential in public activities since the last ten or fifteen years of the Ottoman Empire. Sewing knowledge, initially thought of as a feminine duty or skill that needed to be acquired to meet the household's needs, has turned into a tool of economic activity within the framework of the changing conditions of the time. However, Ottoman and Republican period magazines and newspapers conveyed "fashion," which has generally become a means of consumption, to their readers with fashion news and clothing models; they also frequently touched upon the importance of knowing how to sew and encouraged women in this regard. The idea of directing women to professional training institutions in sewing and tailoring is the state-organized version of the issue that the press has touched upon. The new regime, which did not directly intervene in the modernization of women's clothing, began mass-producing modern-looking clothes for women

⁴³² Ibid Dilber, p.225.

⁴³³ Ibid Dilber, p.225.

through schools of this type. Without making a direct political intervention in the dress of Turkish women, the state transforms the fashion-carrying instrumentality of the press into a productive one through schools of this type. Thus, French-based world fashions, touted in the press as "the latest fashion, the most civilized look, all the women of the world wear these clothes," become the hidden subjects of a silent dress revolution in these education-centered schools.

The growing importance and number of these schools in the 1930s can also be read as a reflection of the economic devastation caused by the Great Depression. The idea of teaching production and including women in the wheel of production by distancing them from the culture of consumption undoubtedly has economic concerns. The government's response to the 1929 financial crisis included promoting savings among the populace, promoting the use of domestic products, encouraging diversification of consumption patterns, and making choices about the prudent use of available resources. During this process, the state chose to invest in this area rather than control the economy.⁴³⁴ As mentioned, perhaps the most essential institution opened with a production focus at the most critical point in the field of fashion production is Sümerbank. Sümerbank produces patterns, colors, and fabrics suitable for Turkish culture to ensure the material construction of the national culture. In the atmosphere dominated by the economic crisis, Sümerbank products were widely adopted by the public. They became the number one textile choice, especially for families belonging to the lower class. In Anatolia, Sümerbank products are most in demand, so a Sümerbank "*material culture is built in Anatolia.*"⁴³⁵ Although the fabrics produced by Sümerbank were used in schools that created the tailoring and sewing culture, which are the mass learning and production centers of fashion, they could not find a place in the press organs examined within the scope of this study, which convey fashion styles and Parisian fashions to Turkish women. In the magazines and newspapers examined, all fabric and shape features of the sample clothing models are described in detail. Most of the time, readers are offered an alternative to the fabric

⁴³⁴ İlhan Tekeli ve Selim İlkin, *1929 Dünya Buhuranında Türkiye'nin İktisadi Politika Arayışları*, (Ankara: Odtü Yayınları,1977), p. 98.

⁴³⁵ Dilek Himam ve Elif Tekcan, "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Terzilik Kültürü ve Ulusal Maddi Kültürün İnşası", *Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Yıl 10, Sayı 20, Güz 2014, p.228.

from which the model is produced. Still, no hidden or indirect guidance regarding Sümerbank products was found in the magazines and newspapers examined. This may be due to the perception that Sümerbank fabrics will not fit the high fashion perception of Paris fashion. However, it is interesting that at a time when the political power returned to domestic production policies in the economy and implemented the principle of statism more strictly, the press did not direct its instrumental aspect in fashion transfer to state subsidiaries such as Sümerbank. Another approach may be that the press sees urban upper- and middle-class women as the target audience and that these women will not prefer Sümerbank due to their consumption characteristics. However, here again, the situation of not embracing the state's economic policies emerges, which creates an oppositional stance to the political power. Perhaps this ambivalent situation opens the door to other studies.

5.7 Was the Image of Turkish Women in the Early Republican Era Masculine?

In the process of national construction, women's sexuality is seen as an essential problem and creates tension. For this reason, definitions of femininity as a symbol of the nation are generally asexual and not sexualized.⁴³⁶ The female body, seen as the bearer of the future of the nation and its biological mother, is suppressed as much as possible when it comes to displaying her sexuality. As we mentioned in the previous sections, women who try to display their sexuality are immediately subjected to bad epithets and pushed out of the ideal woman type. In his study, Tanıl Bora argues that nationalism treats women as either passive victims or active traitors - only two opposing sexual positions - and at the same time serves to keep them under control.⁴³⁷ Serpil Sancar defines this situation as a paranoia experienced within a conservative modernization. According to her, there is a woman's sexuality sandwiched between chastity and corruption.⁴³⁸ Women's sexuality, which is seen as something to be kept

⁴³⁶ Ibid, Sancar, p.63-64.

⁴³⁷ Tanıl Bora, "Analar, Bacılar, Orosular: Türk Milliyetçiliği Muhafazakar Söyleminde Kadın", *Şerif Mardin'e Armağan*, ed. A. Öncü and O. Tekelioğlu, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005), p.241-282.

⁴³⁸ Ibid, Sancar, p.146.

under control, is thought to have been symbolically covered in the early years of the republic. As mentioned before, Ayşe Durakbaşa indicates that women must be 'respectable' in the eyes of patriarchal morality and bureaucracy to play the power game. They had to, in a way, conform to patriarchal norms and suppress their sexual selves to appear as chaste, modest women while holding bureaucratic positions.⁴³⁹ The few women who managed to do so took their place in history as '*respected symbols*' of the republic.⁴⁴⁰ The genderless woman type created by Halide Edip in his novel *Yeni Turan* is a woman who is stripped of her sexuality, who does not exist except to be beneficial to her husband, family, state, and society, and who has almost abandoned her sexuality. According to Ayşe Durakbaşa, women who behaved and appeared in this type created by Halide Edip were accepted by men in public and professional spheres. Accordingly, women who are aware of the mentality of society and know the behaviors expected from them have made it a skill to cover their sexuality symbolically to be present in the public sphere.⁴⁴¹ As mentioned in the study's introduction, many researchers think that Turkish women create a "conscious masculine image" to exist in the public sphere, consolidate their own political space, and avoid conflict with the male world. However, it is also obvious that these views need to be re-evaluated and questioned in light of the period's fashion. We should not ignore the desire of the new regime, which aims to modernize in every field and be compatible with the modern world, to adapt the visuality of the modern world that it takes as an example. It would be more accurate to talk about the clothing and fashion choices that constitute the visual pillar of Turkish modernization as a reflection or intersection rather than the conscious policies of women. So, what is this intersectionality? This intersection is the harmony between the latest fashion of that period and the Turkish moral structure. As examined in detail in the previous sections, 1920s fashion is considered masculine or androgynous because it had straighter-cut lines compared to the previous period, a silhouette that did not reveal body curves and models that provided comfort and freedom. The fashion of the 1920s was a liberation from the restrictive clothes of the

⁴³⁹ Ibid Durakbaşa, 2012, p.92.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid Durakbaşa, p.92

⁴⁴¹ Ayşe Durakbaşa, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadın ve Erkek Kimliklerinin oluşumu: Kemalist Kadın Kimliği ve Münevver Erkekler", *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), p.50.

past for the new type of independent women who emerged. This fashion includes a liberal and contradictory stance within itself. 1920s fashion is the first example of women's massive departure from the traditional female appearance. On the other hand, this protest attitude of 1920s fashion is not considered as the period's fashion is reduced to only androgynous features. The only thing considered is masculinity, which has never been seen before. Turkish women suffer from the same situation. In the same period, the fact that women who entered the public sphere followed and practiced the world fashion of the period within the scope of the modernization project or aspirations has been read as a conscious policy of desexualization or masculinization until now. Turkish women in the public sphere only wear the latest fashionable clothes their Western fellows wear. Researchers who put forward their views on the female image of the period, without considering this intersectionality, think that Turkish women of the period created conscious masculinity with their clothing choices and saw masculinity as a tool to consolidate their presence in the public sphere. Dress can have political meanings as an integral element of presence in public; this interpretation is certainly correct. However, it can be claimed that the idea that clothing, which has been turned into a political tool, shows masculine characteristics through conscious choices is not true. This is not a conscious effort to hide their sexuality and appear masculine, but at best, an effort to comply with the current fashion of the period. The only thing women want to do is to follow and apply the latest fashion and wear the same things that the women of the world wear. Because the goal of "*reaching the level of contemporary civilizations*," which is the modernization perception of the period, is the desire to comply with the most timeous in every matter. Naturally, Western elements came to the forefront in understanding the period's clothing fashion. French fashion, which also shaped world fashion, was followed and tried to be applied because it was the most up-to-date fashion. French fashion has been recognized, imitated, and applied worldwide for centuries and without much effort, thanks to its unique characteristics and the country's position and prestige. However, this fashion began to be seen as a tool that could spread worldwide in the 20th century, especially at the beginning and end of the First World War. In this period, France, particularly Paris, went from "the debonair master" who understood fashion to "the role of the stylish

and tasteful conscience manager."⁴⁴² During this period, the name Paris also became a label. Elegance is now an exportable product for industrialized fashion under the Paris label. Thus, having completed its branding process, Paris became the capital of fashion and determined world fashion by declaring its hegemony over the fashion world. It would be a mistake to expect Türkiye and Turkish women not to be affected by this fashion that shapes the world. This is the case not only for Turkish women but also in all countries advancing towards modernization or trying to integrate into a new type of life where women are freer. In addition, identifying the concept of civilization with the West during modernization led to the belief that the most civilized and modern is in the West, manifested as imitation and following the West. For these reasons, the clothing choices of Turkish women have also been adopted because of modernization and the concern of being the most civilized.

Women in many different nations wear ties and clothing with exposed breasts and hips in the 1920s, representing their freedom through dress and expressing it tangibly. It would be incorrect to attribute the influence of this fashion trend, which gives women a more masculine appearance in many aspects while also making the body more visible than in previous periods, on Turkish and European women as a purely formal imitation of the West.⁴⁴³ The social struggle of the women of the Republic during the same period is reflected in the appearance of European women in the 1920s. In other words, women's fashions of the period emerged in ways that reflected the protest and libertarian stance of women of the period, and these fashions influenced women worldwide. Women in different countries practiced them in the same period. We have stated in detail in the previous sections that Turkish women's fashion progressed in parallel with the women's fashion of the period through various clothing elements and the clothing styles and models of the period. The most crucial factor that enabled the female image of this period to be seen as masculine was the short-hair fashion that left its mark on the period. We mentioned that researchers who reduced women's fashion in the early republican period to a consciously created masculinity saw women cutting

⁴⁴² Ibid Kawamura p.11-112.

⁴⁴³ Ibid, Himam and Tekcan, p.234.

their hair as a sacrifice they made to enter the public sphere. However, this situation is nothing but an imitation of the hair fashion of the period. (Figures 54, 55 and 56)

There is a gender regime that the political masculine power wants to construct, but no concrete step has been taken regarding this gender regime in terms of women's clothing. The main reason for not taking this step can be seen as the fact that the current fashion of the period did not push the boundaries of women's sexuality, did not reveal the female body much with the androgyny it contained within itself, and pushed the female femininity into the background. In other words, the world fashion of the period did not challenge Turkish social morality and did not threaten the female body by making it the subject of sexuality. In this case, it would be very accurate to say that Turkish moral norms and the period's fashion intersected on a common ground. However, this is only true for the 1920s because the period's fashion contains androgynous or masculine references. In addition, for women who wanted to find comfort and elegance at the same time in the new type of life in this period, the most comprehensive and practical clothing that could be used both as a daily outfit, as a domestic outfit, and as a night outfit was the tights. Leggings, which could be worn with a blouse or a shirt or simply as a jacket and skirt, became the most preferred clothing of women worldwide because they were comfortable and practical for every environment. It is only natural for Turkish women to adopt this dress, and it should not be overlooked that Turkish women may also prefer it because it appeals to their moral boundaries. The fact that this dress was mostly preferred by teachers and working women caused it to be perceived as the official dress of women who entered the public sphere. It is almost as if these women transformed the tailleurs into the uniform of the regime's hard-working female soldiers. However, what is the preference of working women for an outfit that is suitable for all occasions, stylish, comfortable, dominates the current fashion, and is the female equivalent of a man's suit, if not a pragmatic approach? The image of women of the early republican period is generally evaluated within a masculine framework. In making this assessment, no historical boundaries are drawn. It is as if Turkish women have always dressed and looked like men until the transition to multi-party life. The main reason is that the changes in the period's fashion over the years are not thoroughly followed, and the narrative focuses on the

androgynous image of 1920s fashion. However, even the monthly changes in world fashion are reflected in Turkish women's fashion because the press instantly conveys even weekly, seasonal, or temporary changes to its pages and conveys them to its readers. Turkish women dressed in parallel with the changes in world fashion in the 1930s. In this period, it is difficult to talk about an androgynous or masculine image, a period in which such a fashion was dominant. For this reason, the idea that the female silhouette of the Early Republic period had a masculine appearance is nothing but a false proposition. This view must be corrected because it only had an androgynous appearance until the late 1920s. The 1930s were spent mainly searching for simple elegance as economic conditions permitted. Although the short hair trend continued in the 1930s, the silhouette of women's clothing became more feminine. The masculine image becomes a subculture within the general fashion concept of the period.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, the changes in clothing and fashion forms of Turkish women happened parallel to world fashion to adopt a Western outlook in the early republican period between 1923 and 1940. The study's primary focus is on Turkish women's fashion and attire as, despite the absence of reform in this area, Turkish women's fashion is evolving at the same rate as global fashion. Since the most significant and all-encompassing changes were implemented in Türkiye's modernization process, the historical framework was established between 1923 and 1940. It was considered suitable to abandon the historical framework in 1940 since the Second World War dominated the nation's and the world's agenda in 1940 and beyond. The essential data sources used in this analysis are Turkish magazines and newspapers published during the period covered in this thesis to present the representation of Turkish women's fashion in the press, the parallelism of this representation with the world, and to show the extent to which Turkish women adopted the fashions and photographs of the time.

Fashion in clothing has been integral to our sociocultural life for centuries. It originated as a unique phenomenon to Western civilization and is still regarded as such. It encompasses all clothing styles and changes in styles worn during a specific period. Social science disciplines have studied fashion and its impact on society. For instance, historians advocate that significant events like wars, revolutions, power shifts, and governmental changes have influenced changes in fashion. Studies on clothing and people's frequency of changing clothes fall under these topics. I have taken historians' approach to fashion, as mentioned by Nugent, as the center to prove my hypothesis.⁴⁴⁴ To this end, this thesis hypothesizes that the change in Turkish women's clothing

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid Nugent, p.1.

fashion is related to changing political conditions and the social structure created by political conditions and the change in the functioning of this structure as well as related to the world fashion through fashion news and pages in the Turkish press, which conveyed to the readers the latest women's fashion of the world.

Modernizing clothing in line with the definition of modernity became crucial as Türkiye was progressively modernized by the Republican regime's shift in the political landscape and changes. Besides, for the Republic of Türkiye, which seeks to distance itself from the Ottoman past and finish the comprehensive reforms that began with the Ottoman era, the clothing issue is highly symbolic, political, and psychological. The Republican regime, which wanted to eliminate all the legacies of the imperial period, also wanted to change the image of the citizens in Türkiye. The reforms were not restricted to certain areas, but, unlike the Ottoman imperial period, they covered all areas and spread from the top to the bottom in Türkiye, replacing everything left from the Ottoman period with the contemporary one. While the country was taking significant steps towards modernization with the various laws and reforms enacted, it was impossible for the people not to be affected by this change in their lives and outlook. Therefore, clothes and fashion were seen as the outward and symbolic manifestation of the nation's modernization when drastic changes were implemented for the country's modernization. The meaning of the modern outlook for women in Türkiye was not only a fashion adoption but also the liberation from the traditional status and obstacles and problems related to the social position of women, which for centuries could not be solved.

The different opinions offered different approaches to the issue of women's outlook and apparel since the Ottoman period and it was resolved in the Republican era, even though Turkish women began to follow Western fashions and gradually began to adapt their dress to Western fashion in the Ottoman era.⁴⁴⁵ In this period, women's fashion began to change along with the changes in the world and became increasingly liberated by the new type of womanhood that emerged. In the secular public sphere created by the new Turkish regime, with the breaking of religious dominations, the fashion

⁴⁴⁵ Ayşe Sultan, daughter of Abdul Hamid II, posed with her husband in 1920, appearing with open hair and wearing a modern dress. See **Figure 57**.

change experienced by women became faster and more visible. For women, wearing the latest fashion clothes is both a sign of getting rid of the old mentality and a sign of being modern. In other words, fashion evolved into a new form every day, influenced by the political, economic, and technological developments in the atmosphere of the period. Urban, upper and middle-class women were especially adopters of this change. This change can be easily understood from the change in people's clothing silhouettes. The changes in the social position of Turkish women and the issue of women's clothing during the modernization process are examined in detail in the third and fifth chapters.

Still, as discussed in the thesis, no concrete political steps were taken to address the issue of women's apparel in the 1920s, a social problem since the Ottoman Empire. The most significant step taken regarding clothing was the Dress Code dated 1925, which did not include articles that directly concerned women's dress; on the contrary, it determined the framework of men's image in the public sphere by ordering dress codes for state officials. Meanwhile, Mustafa Kemal, in his speech, encouraged a change in women's appearance by touching on the limitations of the old clothing styles.⁴⁴⁶ The shyness of direct steps taken in changing women's dress as fast as through the reforms and revolutions concerning institutions and legal arrangements can be attributed to society's definition of concepts such as morality and honor based on women's bodies as well as the limits imposed by religion on women in various fields and issues, and reactions from the Turkish society, at which traditional values and traditions were alive as discussed in Chapter 3. While the women's problem began to be solved with legal arrangements, the issue of modernizing women's clothing left its natural flow in Türkiye. It is thought that women can create a modern image by getting an education, participating in the public sphere, having a job, and gaining equal citizenship status. Considering the importance and symbolism of clothing, the new regime's aim to modernize Turkish women is also reflected in the changes they experienced in their appearance. Women may interpret it as a psychological mirror of their growing civic rights and freedoms and their desire to upgrade their wardrobes in line with the nation's modernization efforts. This idea is like wanting to look good for

⁴⁴⁶ Sadık Sarısan, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Kadın Kıyafeti Meselesi", *Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, Vol.6, Issue 21, 1998, p.100-101.

the new government and regime. It can be said that the press in that period tried to fill the gap in this field with its role as an intermediary and transmitter of the modern world, including fashion, consciously or unconsciously. Thanks to this role played by the press, fashion is conveyed to people, especially women, who are the target audience, and adapted by women who follow it by buying, sewing, and adjusting the fashionable clothes they encounter through the press in Türkiye.

However, it should not be ignored that the desire to follow fashion and adapt to new fashions has a class dimension. According to their economic conditions, upper-class and middle-class women could afford the latest fashions they saw in magazines by having them sewn by tailors or buying them directly from stores. Moreover, newspapers and magazines also published garment patterns, which allowed lower-class women to sew outfits at home.

Although the state does not directly engage in a reform process in the modernization of women's clothing in Türkiye, it can be said that it has indirect control over fashion due to factors such as leaving the task of transferring fashion to the press, building a tailoring culture, and enabling women to turn from consumers to tailors. However, this control has never been about controlling the style and silhouette of the period and interfering with the appearance. For example, in the early Republican Period, the government established many institutions and opened courses in the 1920s to teach women sewing techniques so they could sew their clothes. These institutions taught women how to sew their clothes and provided training to enable them to pursue tailoring as a profession if they wished. In these courses and institutions that offered vocational qualifications, Turkish women reproduced the Western fashions that they followed through the press and contributed to disseminating fashion.

Meanwhile, fashion in the Early Republican period was not only an object of consumption conveyed to women through examples, photographs, and models but also a phenomenon that was given importance and discussed from different aspects, such as the adoption or the changes in fashion by female and male intellectuals, and experts and interviews were published in the Turkish press. In the early republican period, fashion was an entirely imported concept. Various discussions regarding this concept can be quickly followed in the press. Problems such as what fashion is or is not or

whether fashion has changed are examined in newspapers. The economic basis of fashion, the dynamics of fashion, and how it is produced are other issues touched upon. In a separate subheading in chapter 5, the discussions and news about the fashion phenomenon in the press of the Early Republican period were examined. This analysis aims to understand the approach and perspectives of the period's press towards fashion as a phenomenon and the attitude of the period's press in reporting fashion news. In the fashion debates published in the press in the 1920s and 1930s, the concept of fashion is almost objectified by considering it as an invisible entity roaming the streets of Paris, changing seasonal fashions with its touch, or as an entity that becomes more beautiful and evolving with its constant state of change.⁴⁴⁷ According to the Turkish press, people cannot escape fashion; it constantly changes and develops, so it always catches people somewhere. If fashion somehow catches people, should one follow fashion, or should one adapt fashion to oneself? The answers were discussed in the thesis with quotations from interviews with famous tailors, economists, intellectuals, and female teachers published in *Milliyet* newspaper.⁴⁴⁸ Although the answers reflect each person's opinion, it is precious to open a discussion on the phenomenon of fashion and to have this discussion with respected people in the field in the 1920s.

Chapter 5 constitutes the main body of the thesis, where I analyzed the main lines of Turkish women's fashion, their formal features, and the fashions conveyed to readers in the press. The newspaper news, images printed in the newspapers and magazines, as well as photographs taken in the 1920s and 1930s, which I shared in this chapter, showed that there was a parallelism between world fashion and Turkish women's fashion, which I examined in Chapter 2, and supported the hypothesis of the thesis. Turkish women followed Parisian fashion, which was perceived as the latest fashion of that period, through newspapers and magazines of the period, which announced new designs in women's clothing, accessories and hairstyles with the titles "Latest Paris fashion" and "Latest fashion news from Paris". When the photographs of the period are analyzed, it is seen that the fashion news in the press and the most fashionable clothes were responded to, adopted, and worn by women. For this reason, it can be

⁴⁴⁷ *Son Saat*, "Moda Emrediyor: Etekler Dizden Aşağı!", 20 November 1929, p.6.

⁴⁴⁸ *Milliyet*, "Kadınlar mı modaya uymalı, onu mu kendilerine uydurmalı?", 1 December 1929, p.5.

argued that Turkish women dressed parallel with world fashion and had a silhouette in line with the dress sense of the day. Fashion was imported from Paris, and the press introduced this imported product to women. Women either bought it as ready-made clothing, had it sewn by tailors, or sewed it themselves. The primary catalyst in women's pursuit of this fashion is the desire for modernization with their new appearance and their readiness to show that they are free from the pressures of the past period. Turkish women who followed the world fashions of the 1920s and 1930s were no different from their Western counterparts. In fact, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who emphasized the importance of representing the Western appearance by men and women, pioneered European-style clothing and his ruling cadre and women in his family followed him. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk always expressed the goal that we should rise to the level of contemporary civilizations and make it possible to show this not only with the adoption of Western institutions but also with the Western way of life.⁴⁴⁹ The Western-style suggested by French fashion was not a political dictate but, in fact, a personal preference as it was a symbol of modernity and was internalized in this way. The changes in the outlook of the ruling circles and urbanites in times imitated by the people in Türkiye. The media's role as an intermediary in conveying new fashions and the upper and middle classes' role models introducing these fashions to the public effectively transformed clothes and whatever the world fashion of the period, Turkish women begin to look accordingly.

On the other hand, some researchers try to explain this transformation in the period's attire with women's entry into the public sphere, leading to a different interpretation. For example, Deniz Kandiyoti, Ömer Çaha, Ayşe Durakbaşa, Nilüfer Göle, and Çağla Ormanlar explain the change in Turkish women's clothing as they prefer a masculine image so that they can participate in the public space and be accepted into the public space more quickly, without wanting to attract attention with their femininity as introduced and discussed in detail in the introduction of this thesis. These researchers interpreted this masculine image as Turkish women's tacit agreement with the political power to be accepted into the public sphere by giving up their femininity and adopting

⁴⁴⁹ Sulhi Dönmezer, "Atatürk ve Çağdaşlaşmada İnsan Prototipi", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, Vol.9, Issue 26, 1993, pp.283-285.

a masculine image as if it were the “ideal dress of utopia.”⁴⁵⁰ According to these researchers, Turkish women’s fashion preferences of masculine outlook created a type of woman who gave up her femininity to exist in the public sphere by becoming genderless and even masculinized at times. However, the assertions on the creation of Turkish women’s masculine image, because of a tacit agreement with the government, did not face comprehensive criticism up to now. An inquiry into these views is made in the last part of Chapter 5. While explaining the change in Turkish women's dress with modernization, this study proved that women dressed in parallel with the world fashion of the period. In line with this parallelism, it was seen that Turkish women also adopted the masculine fashion of the period in the 1920s fashion introduced by the press, and they carried out their clothing revolution by imitating French fashion. This was a silent revolution in Turkish women’s images that took place in its way. The sources I used in my thesis provided that Turkish women's fashion was shaped by following the existing fashions and adapting to trends in the 1920s and 1930s in Türkiye when the country underwent modernization with reforms and revolutions. The silhouette of the 1920s French fashion, which had a silhouette that would not conflict with Turkish moral norms since it was far from feminine lines, in a way made it easier also for Turkish women to modernize their clothes. The hair caps in the flapper fashion of the 1920s, as given in Chapter 2, especially resembled turbans, and the use of boleros, capes, and coats instead of sheets made it easier for Turkish women to switch to new clothes.⁴⁵¹ Therefore, the assertions of Kandiyoti, Çaha, Durakbaşa, Göle, and Ormanlar cannot be validated when the women’s models presented in the press and photographs of the period are taken into consideration.

Additionally, my research proved that the political power, rather than creating an acceptable image of women in Türkiye, left this area to women themselves and did not draw legal boundaries on this issue as it did for men, and left it to the natural flow of women's fashion. The Turkish women in the 1920s created their image by following and applying the current and latest fashions conveyed to them through the press. This image shows masculine features due to the fashion of the period (1920s) rather than a

⁴⁵⁰ It is a form of fashion in which power defines the ideal costume, and because it is ideal, it is seen as unchangeable.

⁴⁵¹ See figures 6, 11, 12 and 13.

conscious creation. When all these are considered holistically, the image of a well-groomed and contemporary woman emerged. When the press of the period was analyzed, fashion progressed in its dynamics, and this dynamic was indexed to French fashion. In other words, by following the latest fashions conveyed to them by the press, Turkish women caught up with what was current. They tried to determine their direction without the pressure and guidance of the government. The fact that French fashion has influenced the whole world, that it is the latest fashion and the most contemporary clothing, and that it offers examples that do not threaten Turkish moral values may also be influential in its adoption. It is also apparent that the claims that women renounce their femininity by taking on a masculine appearance to appear in the public space and that they can exist in the public space by appearing as men cannot be validated. Turkish women who followed Parisian fashion did nothing but follow and apply the latest fashion. Even if women cut their hair short or gave it a brief look by fashion, the feminine care and indicators of femininity in their clothes continued. Another reason this type of woman is called masculine is related to the French influence that dominated fashion and the fact that the examples coming out of Paris were promoted through French women with straighter lines. Also, while the 1920s fashion had masculine characteristics, it evolved into a more feminine one in the 1930s. However, the researchers whose views were analyzed in this study claim that the image of Turkish women was masculine without making any distinction between the 1920s and the 1930s.

The world fashion of the 1920s is called masculine because it had straighter lines than the previous period; women started wearing short hair and more comfortable clothes. Since Turkish women have begun to dress in line with world fashion, they could not escape these masculine image interpretations. However, when the clothing features are examined, it is understood that this masculinity was present in the stitching and straight silhouette of the clothes. It can be said that the alleged female masculinity lasted a very short time, as this straight silhouette was replaced by a femininity that showed feminine lines in the 1930s. As in the rest of the world, the period's fashion was simple but elegant, and Atatürk's daughter's dress choices were an example of the silhouette of the 1930s. While straight-cut clothes and dresses that did not reveal body lines were

in fashion in women's fashion in the 1920s, this situation was reversed in the 1930s. In the 1930s, cuts that showed feminine lines, dresses that fit at the waist, and starting the waistline higher to make the body look longer were the main features of the clothing fashion of the period. During this period, long hair started to become fashionable again.

Finally, considering the fashion of the 1920s and the 1930s, it can be said that the image and fashion of Turkish women in the early Republican period was nothing but a desire to adopt a modern outlook in line with European fashion namely Parisian fashion. In a period of reforms in every field, it can be said that Turkish women imitated the fashions they saw in the press or on the European women they met on the street and reformed their clothes within the flow of the conditions of the period, without being subjected to direct political intervention regarding their clothes. As some researchers have argued, it is also wrong to call the women's fashion of the period purely masculine since only the 1920s fashion had a masculine silhouette, which was changed into feminine one in the 1930s. In addition, the masculine appearance in women's clothing is not a conscious choice or a fashion with political references, but it is purely the fashion of the period.

REFERENCES

7.1 Primary Sources

7.1.1 Journals & Newspapers

- Arkadaş
- Asri Türkiye Mecmuası
- Aylık Mecmua
- Cumhuriyet
- Haber
- Haftada Bir Gün
- Haftalık Mecmua
- Hakimiyet-i Milliye
- Hayat
- Kadınlar Dünyası
- Kurun
- Mehasin
- Milliyet
- Moda Albümü
- Muhit
- Resimli Ay
- Resimli Hafta
- Resimli Uyanış
- Servet-i Fünun (Uyanış)
- Siyanet
- Son Saat

- Son Posta
- Ss
- Őkufezar
- Tan
- The Times
- Trk Kadın Yolu
- Vakit
- Yarın
- Yedign
- Yeni Kitab
- Yıldız

7.1.2 Archival Documents

Matbuat Kanunu
https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc010/kanuntbmmc010/kanuntbmmc01001881.pdf Access: 01.10.2022

Takrir-i Skun Kanunu
https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc003/kanuntbmmc003/kanuntbmmc00300578.pdf Access: 19.09.2022

TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 5 Decemner 1934.

Trk Harflerinin Kabul ve Tatbiki Hakkında Kanun
<https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.3.1353.pdf> Access: 19.09.2022.

T.T.K. Arşivi No. 1091.

7.2 Secondary Sources

-----1. Basın Kongresi 25 Mayıs 1935. Ankara: Basın Yayın Genel Mdrlę, 1975.

_____ *İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu*. İstanbul: İstanbul Kltr Direktrlę Neşriyatı, 1937.

Abalı, Nurullah. *Geleneksellik ve Modernizm Açısından Kılık Kıyafet*. İstanbul: İlke Yayıncılık, 200.

Ahmed, Leila. "Feminism and Feminist Movements in the Middle East, a Preliminary Explanation: Turkey, Egypt, Algeria, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen". *Women and Islam*. Oxford: Pengamon Press, 1982.

Akbulut, Dursun Ali "Saltanatın Kaldırılması". <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/saltanatin-kaldirilmesi/> Access: 09.12.2023.

Akbulut, Yümniye. *Şıklığın Resmi Tarihi Olgunlaşma Enstitüleri*. İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2010.

Akkent, Meral. and **Franger**, Gaby. *Başörtü*. Frankfurt: Dağyeli, 1987.

Ardıç, Kamuran. *Atatürkle Çağdaşlaşmak*, <https://www.atam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/K%c3%a2muran-ARDI%c3%87-Atat%c3%bcrk-ile-%c3%87a%c4%9fda%c5%9fla%c5%9fmak.pdf> Access: 20.02.2022.

Arıç, Ayten Sezer. *Türk Kadınlar Birliği*. <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/turk-kadinlar-birligi/> Access: 07.05.2023.

"Şapka İnkılabı", <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/sapka-inkilabi/> Access: 12.10.2023.

Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal. *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri: II*, "Konya Kadınları ile Bir Konuşma". Ankara: Türk İnkılap Enstitüsü Tarihi, 1989.

Aysal, Necdet. "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Giyim ve Kuşamda Çağdaşlaşma Hareketleri", *ÇTTAD*, X/22 , (2011/Bahar): 3-32.

Barbarosoğlu, Fatma Karabıyık. *Modernleşme Sürecinde Moda-Zihniyet İlişkisi*. İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü. Doktora Tezi. 1994.

Barnard, Malcom. *Fashion as Communication*. London: Routledge, 1988.

Barr, Estelle DeYoung. "A Psychological Analysis of Fashion Motivation". *Archives of Psychology*. Vol.26. (June 1934):1-100.

Baydar, Oya. & **Özkan**, Derya (Ed.). *75 Yılda Değişen İnsan Cumhuriyet Modaları*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999.

Baydur, Özlem Kırılı. & **Baydur**, Cem Mehmet. "1929 Ekonomik Buhranı". <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/1929-ekonomik-buhrani/> Access: 23.09.2023.

Baykara, Tuncer. “Osmanlı Reformunun İlk Zamanları, Yeniçeri Ocağının Kaldırılması ve İlk Tatbikatı”. *Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*. (1995): p.1-11.

Berkes, Niyazi. *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002.

Berkin, Carol. **Miller**, Christopher. **Cherny**, Robert. **Gormly**, James. *Making America: A History of the United States*. Vol. 2: From 1865. USA: Cengage Learning, 2011.

Berktaş, Fatmagül. *Tarihin Cinsiyeti*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2010.

Berksü, Zeynep Özar. “Modanın Tarihsel Evrimi: 20. Yüzyıla Giriş”, <https://www.oggusto.com/moda/moda-tarihi-ve-20-yuzyilin-ilk-20-yili> Access: 12.03.2023.

“Modanın Tarihsel Evrimi: İhtişamın Altın Çağı 1930’lar”, <https://www.oggusto.com/moda/moda-tarihi-ve-1930lar-modasi> Access: 05.10.2023.

Bilgehan, Gülsün. *Mevhibe*. Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1995.

Binns, Miriam Palmer. “The Importance of Fashion: Women, Fashion, & Society”. <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/women-fashion-society-timeline-womens-suit-history-palmer-binns/> Access: 19.09.2023.

Breninkmeyer, Ingrid. *The Sociology of Fashion*. Köln-Opladen: Westdeutcher Verlag, 1963.

Bora, Tanıl. *Cereyanlar: Türkiye’de Siyasi İdeolojiler*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016.

“Analar, Bacılar, Oropular: Türk Milliyetçiliği Muhafazakar Söyleminde Kadın”. *Şerif Mardin’e Armağan*. ed. A. Öncü and O. Tekelioğlu, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005: 241-282.

Caporal, Bernard. *Kemalizm Sonrasında Türk Kadını*. İstanbul: Çağdaş Yayıncılık, 2000.

Kemalizm ve Kemalizm Sonrasında Türk Kadını. Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1982.

Crane, Diana. *Moda ve Gündemleri*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2003.

Çaha, Ömer. *Sivil Kadın*. Ankara: Savaş Yayınevi, 2010.

Çelikiz, Ekrem. and Gökhan Kuzucanlı. “İnönü Döneminde Basın Özgürlüğü: Cumhuriyet, Akşam ve Vatan Gazeteleri Örneği”. *Eurasian Journal of Researches in Social and Economics (EJRSE)*. Volume 6. Number 4. (2019):111-126.

Costantino, Maria. *Fashions of a Decade the 1930s*. New York: Chelsea House Publishing, 2006.

Coşkun, İsmail. “Modernleşme Kuramı Üzerine”. *Sosyoloji Dergisi*. Cilt: 3, Sayı.1, (1989): 289-314.

Davaz Mardin, Aslı. *Kadın Süreli Yayınları Hanımlar Aleminden Roza'ya*. İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998.

Değirmenci, Uğur. “*Resimli Ay Mecmuası*”. Yüksel Lisans Tezi, Erzurum Atatürk Üniversitesi, 1996.

Demir, Mine. “*Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Kadın Eğitiminde Biçki Dikişin Yeri (1908-1952)*”. Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Moda ve Tekstil Tasarımı Programı. Sakarya Üniversitesi. Doktora Tezi. 2017.

Demirdirek, Aynur. *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışının Bir Hikayesi*. Ankara: Ayizi Kitap, 2011.

Dilber, Özlem. “*Fashion, Handicraft and Women Between the Wars in Turkey: Modernization, Nationalism and Women's Movement*.” Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History. Boğaziçi University. Ph.D Thesis. 2021.

Dönmezer, Sulhi. “Atatürk ve Çağdaşlaşmada İnsan Prototipi”. *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*. Vol.9. Issue 26. (1993): 281-288.

Durakbaşa, Ayşe. *Halide Edip Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012.

“Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadın ve Erkek Kimliklerinin oluşumu: Kemalist Kadın Kimliği ve Münevver Erkekler”. 75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler. İstanbul: Türkiye Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998.

The Formation of “Kemalist Female Identity”: A Historical Cultural Perspective. Boğaziçi University, Sociology Department, Master Thesis, 1987, p.4-93.

Ebüzziya, Ziyad. “Ceride-i Havadis”. <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ceride-i-havadis> Access: 06.09.2022.

Ekinci, Necdet, “Türk Basın Tarihinden Kesitler”. *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*. Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002.

Erdönmez, Canan. “1900-1950 Yılları Arasında Değişen Kadın Ayakkabı Modasına Yönelik Bir Araştırma”. Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi. Güzel Sanatlar Enstitüsü. Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Li Yüksek Lisans Tezi. 2010.

Evans, Ivan H. *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*. New York: Harper & Row, 1981.

Fogg, Marnie. *Modanın Tüm Öyküsü*, İstanbul: Hayalperest Yayınevi, 2014.

Genç, Sema Yılmaz. “Millî İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti”, <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/milli-iktisat-ve-tasarruf-cemiyeti/#:~:text=%C4%B0ktisat%20politikas%C4%B1nda%20de%C4%9Fi%C5%9Fimin%20s%C3%B6z%20konusu,%C4%B0ktisat%20ve%20Tasarruf%20Cemiyeti%E2%80%9D%20kurulur> Access: 13.10.2023.

Göle, Nilüfer. *Modern Mahrem: Medeniyet ve Örtünme*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1992.

Gönenç, Aslı Yapar. *Türkiye’de ve Fransa’da Dergicilik ve Kadın Dergileri*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Yayınları, 2006.

Güner, Deniz. “Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Kıyafet Yasakları“. *RumeliDE Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 37, (2023): 598-608.

Güneş, İhsan. “Cumhuriyet’in İlanı”, <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/cumhuriyetin-ilani/> Access: 05.10.2023.

Güveloğlu, Gülşah Kurt. *Vakit (Kurun) Gazetesi*. <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/vakit-kurun-gazetesi/> Access: 06.09.2022.

Güven, İsmail. “Tanzimattan Cumhuriyeti Kadın Eğitimi Düşüncesinin Gelişimi”. *Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Dergisi*. Cilt: 34 Sayı: 1. (2001): 61-70.

Hakko, Cem. *Moda Olgusu*. İstanbul: Vakko Yayınları, 1983.

Hanioğlu, Şükrü. “Batılılaşma”. *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1992

pp. 148-152.

Herald, Jacqueline. *The 1920s*. New York: Chelsea House, 2007.

Hilbert, Clare & Adam. "A History of Fashion and Costume". Vol. 8, *The Twentieth Century*. New York: Bailey Publishing, 2005.

Himam, Dilek. & **Tekcan**, Elif. "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Terzilik Kültürü ve Ulusal Maddi Kültürün İnşası". *Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*. Yıl 10. Sayı 20. (Güz 2014): 221-254.

Hunt, Lynn. *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Işık, Esra. "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kadın Dergilerinde Kadın İmajı: Ev Kadın Dergisi Örneği," *Folklor / Edebiyat*, Yıl 27, Sayı 106-ek, (2021): 211-228.

İnan, Rauf. "Atatürk ve Türk Kadını", *Tarihte Türk Kadını*. İstanbul: Arkın Yayınevi, 1991.

İnuğur, Nuri. *Basın ve Yayın Tarihi*. İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 2005.

Jackson, Josie. "Where Do Hairstyle Names Come From?", <https://hji.co.uk/where-do-hairstyle-names-come-from> Access: 16.06.2023

Kandiyoti, Deniz. "Ataerkil Örüntüler: Türk Toplumunda Erkek Egemenliğinin Çözümlemesine Yönelik Notlar". Kadın Bakış Açısından 1980'ler Türkiye'sinde Kadın. Edt. Şirin Tekeli. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990.

Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011.

Kartal, Cemile Burcu. "Türkiye'de Kadınların Siyasal Haklarını Kazanma Süreci". Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2005.

Kaya, Mehtap. *Atatürk Dönemi Magazin Dergiciliği ve Sosyo Kültürel Dönüşümdeki Yeri*, Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, 2017.

Kawamura, Yuniya. *Modaloji*. (Trans. Şakir Özudoğru), İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2016.

Kellogg, Ann T. et al. 1., *In an Influential Fashion: An Encyclopedia of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Fashion Designers and Retailers Who Transformed Dress*, London: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Keser, Fatma. “1923-1950 Yılları Arası Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kadın Kıyafetleri”. Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul Arel Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü. 2017.

Kılıç, Sezen. “Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarındaki Gelişmeleri Basının Yorumlayışı (1923-1926)”, <https://atamdergi.gov.tr/tam-metin/149/tur>. Access: 15.10.2023.

Koç, Ceyhan. *Tek Parti Döneminde Basın İktidar İlişkileri 1929-1938*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 2006.

Kodaman, Bayram. *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*. İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları, 1980.

Koloğlu, Orhan. *Osmanlı Dönemi Basın İçeriği*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2010.

Komşuoğlu, Şükran. **İmer**, Arsal. **Seçkinöz**, Mine. **Aker**, Alpaslan & **Etike**, Serap. *Resim 2 Moda Resmi ve Giyim Tarihi*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1968.

Koylu, Zafer. “Ankara’nın Başkent Oluşu”. <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/ankaranin-baskent-olusu/> Access: 05.10.2023.

Köker, Levent. *Modernleşme Kemalizm ve Demokrasi*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013.

Kurnaz, Şefika, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını: (1839-1923)*. Ankara: Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Yayınları, 1991.

Kurt, Songül Keçeci. “II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Osmanlı Kadın Dergilerinde Aile ve Evlilik Algısı”. *Bellekten*. Cilt: LXXIX. Sayı.286, (Aralık 2015): 1073-1099.

LaPiere, Richard T. *Sociology*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1946.

Lehnert, Gertrud. *A History of Fashion*. Cologne: Könemann, 2000.

Fashion a Concise History. London: Calmann & King, 1998.

Mackenzie, Mairi.*İzmler Modayı Anlamak*, İstanbul: Hayalperest, 2017.

Mardin, Şerif. “Türkiye’de Din ve Laiklik”. *Türkiye’de Din ve Siyaset*, Cilt 3. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993.

Murray, James A. H. **Bradley**, Henry. **Craigie**, William A. & **Onion**, C. T. *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Volume 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901.

Mutlu, Nermin. *Popüler Kadın Dergilerinde Kadın Temsili (örnek olay: Cosmopolitan dergisi)*. Yayınlanmamış, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2009.

Nadi, Nadir. *Perde Aralığından*. İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Yayınları, 1965.

Neave, Dorina L. *Eski İstanbul'da Hayat*. İstanbul: Tercüman 1001 Temel Eserler, 1978.

Okur, Mehmet. "Mondros Mütarekesi". <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/mondros-mutarekesi/> Access: 09.08.2023.

Oral, Fuat Süreyya. *Türk Basın Tarihi*. Ankara: Yeni Adım Matbaası, 1967.

Ormanlar, Çağla. *Giyim Kuşam Modaları-Püsküllü Bela'dan Şapkaya 1923-1940, "75 Yılda Değişen Yaşam Değişen İnsan-Cumhuriyet Modaları"*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999.

Osmanbaşoğlu, Gülşen Kaya. "The Politics of What You Wear on Your Head". *Middle East Critique*. Vol. 24:4. (2015): 389-406.

Otmanbölük, Günvar. *Babiali'nin Yarım Asırlıkları*. İstanbul: Gazeteciler Cemiyet, 1986.

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

Özkaya, Yücel. "Atatürk Dönemi ve Atatürk İnkıpları". *Türkler ve Cumhuriyet Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 16. Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002.

Öztürk, Cemil. "Mondros Mütarekesi". <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/mondros-mutarekesi> Access: 11.09.2022.

Pendergast, Sara. & Tom Pendergast, *Fashion, Costume, and Culture*, Vol.4: Modern World Part 1:1900-1945. USA: Thomson Gale,2004.

Parmaksız, Pınar Melis Yelsalı. *Türkiye'nin Modernleşmesinde Kadınlar 1839'dan Günümüze*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2017.

Pınarcı, Gülden A. "Kadın Dergileri". *Atılım üniversitesi e-bülten*, Sayı:29, (Mart 2013).

Reischer, Erica. And **Koo**, Kathryn S. "The Body Beautiful: Symbolism and Agency in the Social World", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 33 (2004):297-317.

Remaury, Bruno. *Dictionnaire de la mode au XXe siecle*, Paris: Editions du Regard, 1996.

Riello, Giorgio. “The Object of Fashion: Methodological Approaches to the History of Fashion”. *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture*. Vol.3. (2011): 1-9.

Rissman, Rebecca. *A History of Fashion*. Minnesota: Abdo Publishing, 2015.

Roberts, Mary Louise. “Samson and Delilah Revisited: The Politics of Women’s Fashion in 1920s France”. *The American Historical Review*. Vol. 98. No. 3. (1993): 657-684.

Saktanber, Ayşe. “Kemalist Kadın Hakları Söylemi”. *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce- Cilt II Kemalizm*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009.

and G. Çorbacıoğlu. “Veiling and Headscarf-Scepticism in Turkey.” *Social Politics*. Vol: 15, No 4, 2008: 514-518.

Sancar, Serpil. *Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013.

Sarısamam, Sadık. “Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Kadın Kıyafeti Meselesi”. *Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, Vol.6. Issue 21. (1998): 97-107.

Sevin, Nurettin. *13 Asırlık Türk Kıyafet Tarihine Bir Bakış*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1991.

Sherrow, Victoria. *Encyclopedia of Hair; A Cultural History*. USA: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Simmel, George. “Fashion.” *American Journal of Sociology*. Issue 62, (1957): 541-558.

Steele, Valerie. “Flapper”, *Encyclopedia of Clothing and Fashion, Volume 1: Academic Dress to Eyeglasses*. (USA: Thomson&Gale, 2005),

Şahin, Seval. ““Yeni Kitab” Dergisi Üzerine”. *Türklük Bilimi Araştırmaları*. Issue 28, (2010): 325-339.

Şahin, Yüksel. *1920-1930 Yılları Arasında Türkiye’de Kadın Silüetinde Moda Anlayışı ve Değişimler*. İzmir: DEÜ Rektörlük Matbaası, 2006.

Cumhuriyet’i Aydınlatan Kadınlar. İstanbul: İyi Matbaa, 1990.

Şehsuvaroğlu, Haluk. “II. Mahmut ve Kıyafet İnkılâbı”, *Akşam*, 14 Eylül 1952.

Şimşek, Abdulazim. “II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Fikir Hareketleri Ekseninde Kadın Tartışmaları”. *Anasay*, Issue 12, (May 2020): 19-38.

Tan, Mine. “Toplumsal Değişim ve Eğitim: Kadın Bakış Açısından”. *Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Dergisi*. Cilt. 27, Sayı,1, (1994): 83-96.

Tansel, Fevziye. *Ziya Gökalp Külliyyatı: Şiirler ve Halk Masalları*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1952.

Taşcıoğlu, Muhaddere. *Türk Osmanlı Cemiyetinde Kadının Sosyal Durumu ve Kadın Kıyafetleri*. Ankara: Akın Matbaası, 1958.

Tekeli, İlhan. & **İlkin**, Selim. *1929 Dünya Buhranında Türkiye'nin İktisadi Politika Arayışları* Ankara: Odtü Yayınları, 1977.

Tekin, Mehmet. “Dergiler ve Dergicilik Üzerine Sohbet”. *Türk Yurdu*. Vol. 18. No. 132. (1998): 15-17.

Tellan, Bülent. “Ali Naci Karacan ve Milliyet”. *Türkiye’de Kitle İletişimi Dün-Bugün-Yarın*. Ankara: Ankara Gazeteciler Cemiyeti, 2015.

Toprak, Hicret. ““Asri” ve “Hür” Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye’de Kadın Kimliğinin Dönüşümü”. *İnsan Ve Toplum*. 9(3). (2019): 41-65.

Toprak, Zafer. “2. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Devlet, Aile ve Feminizm”, *Sosyo Kültürel Değişme Sürecinde Türk Ailesi*. Vol.1. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Yayını, 1992.

Türkiye’de Yeni Hayat İnkılap ve Travma (1908-1928). İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2017.

Topuz, Hıfzı. *II. Mahmut'tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2003.

Tunaya, Tarık Zafer. “İstanbul Üniversitesi Komisyonu’nun 28 Mayıs Bildirisi: Bir Belgenin Öyküsü”. *Tarih ve Toplum*. c.1. s.6. (6 Haziran 1984): 25-29.

Turan, Namık Sinan. ”Modernleşmeyi Semboller Üzerinden Okumak: Son Dönem Osmanlı Kadın Kıyafetinde Değişim ve Toplumsal Tartışmalar”. *Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi*. Sayı: 12, (2013): 103-138.

Türker, Hasan. *Türk Devrimi ve Basını 1922-1925*. İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, 2000.

Unat, Nermin Abadan. “Social Change and Turkish Women,” *Women in Turkish Society*. Leiden: E.J Brill, 1981.

Türk Toplumunda Kadın. İstanbul: Ekin Yayınları, 1982.

Ünal, Mehmet. “1917 Tarihli Hukuk-i Aile Kararnamesi,” *Aile Yazıları, Temel Kavramlar, Yapı ve Tarihi Süreç*. Ankara: Başbakanlık Yayınevi, 1991.

Üyepazarcı, Erol. “Cumhuriyet Dönemi İstanbul Basını”. *Antik Çağdan 21. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*. Cilt 7. Access: 25.09.2022. <https://istanbultarihi.ist/255-cumhuriyet-donemi-istanbul-basini>

Veblen, Thorstein B. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: The Modern Library Inc., 1934.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. *Cinsiyet ve Millet*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997.

Yüceer, Saime. “Demokrasi Yolunda Önemli Bir Aşama: Türk Kadınına Siyasal Haklarının Tanınması”, *Uludağ Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*. Sayı: 14, (2008): 131-151.

Zihnioglu, Yaprak. *Kadınsız İnkılap*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınevi, 2003.

Zubaida, Sami. “Islam, Cultural Nationalism and the Left”, *Review of Middle East Studies*, Vol.4, 1988: 1-32.

White, Jenny. “Çağdaş Türkiye’de İslam ve Siyaset”, *Türkiye Tarihi 1839-2010, Modern Dünyada Türkiye*. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2011.

7.3 Other Online Sources

Atatürk'ün Onuncu Yıl Nutku,
<https://uludag.edu.tr/atabolum/konu/view?id=3374&title=ataturkun-onuncu-yil-nutku> Access: 09.12.2023.

“Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası (1923-1938)”,
<https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/cumhuriyet-halk-firkasi-1923-1938/> Access: 23.09.2023.

“Dumlupınar’da Konuşma” <https://www.atam.gov.tr/ataturkun-soylev-ve-demecleri/dumlupinarda-konusma> Access: 03.05.2023.

Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture, Quarterly, Oxford: Berg, 1997—. Available from <www.fashiontheory.com>. From Valerie Steele, Paris Fashion: A Cultural History, Revised ed. Oxford: Berg, 1999. Access: 03.012.2022.

TDK, <https://sozluk.gov.tr> Access: 02.09.2022.

“Tük Kadını ve Kadın Hukukunda Devrim” <https://www.atam.gov.tr/duyurular/turk-kadini-ve-kadin-hukukunda-devrim> Access: 13.06.2023.

“Fashion,” <https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Fashion> Access: 12.09.2023.

“Flapper”, <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0011193/>

Smithsonian.com

Türk Harflerinin Kabul ve Tatbiki Hakkında Kanun, <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuatmetin/1.3.1353.pdf> Access: 09.11.2023.

APPENDICES

A. FIGURES



Figure 1: The flapper movie poster
www.imdb.com/title/tt0011193



Figure 2: The leading actress Olive Thomas
www.imdb.com/title/tt0011193



Figure 3: American flappers (ca. 1920s) Source: Smithsonian.com



Figure 4. The picture shows that the star actresses of the period also followed the short hair trend.

If You Must Do It Show This to Your Barber



Courtesy of the American Hairdresser, official organ of the National Hairdressers' Association. Copyright, 1924

Figure 5. Different bob hairstyles



Figure 6. Latife Hanım, Mustafa Kemal, Rauf Orbay, and his wife Galibe Hanım. 4 March 1923 (Atam Archive)



Figure 7. Mustafa Kemal and Latife Hanım, on 23 Mat 1923. (Atam Archive)



Figure 8. 3 April 1930. After Afet İnan's conference on women's rights. (Atam Archive)



Figure 9. Afet İnan with Ülkü and Salih Bozok in Florya, 1935. (Atam Archive)



1928 yılında Ankara'da II TBMM binasının bahçesinde gezintive çıkan Ankara kadınlar. Kıyafet dönemi oturmacı hoşlamıydu artık

Figure 10. Women strolling around the Parliament Garden in 1928. (Vekam Archive)



Figure 11. Resimli Ay, Number 8, September 1924



Figure 12. Süs, “En Son Moda”, Number 36, 16 February 1923



Figure 13. Muhit Magazine 1928



Figure 14. On the Black Sea Ferry, 13 June 1926. (Atam Archive)

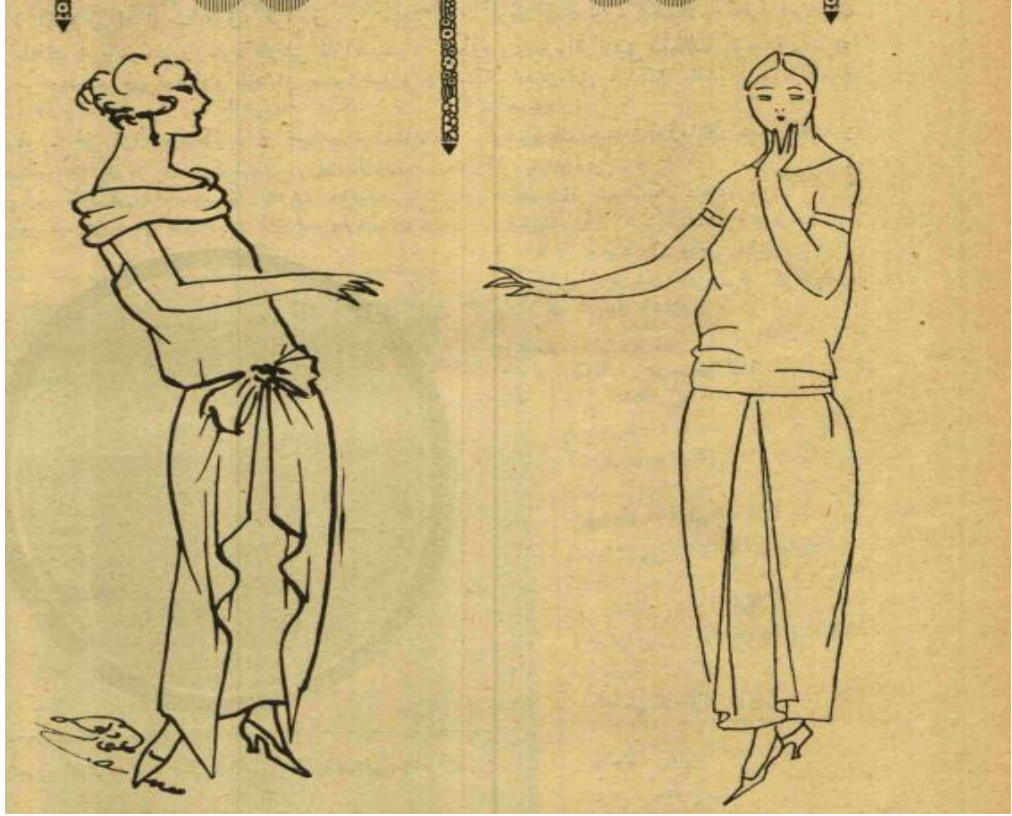


Figure 15. “Elbise Modelleri” Resimli Ay Nisan 1924



Figure 16. A young girl from Ankara can be seen with flapper-style clothes, Vekam Archive



Figure 17. Flapper Girls of İstanbul (Tuna Pektaş Archive)



Figure 18. Mustafa Kemal and a female student, 10 April 1926. (Vekam Archive)



Figure 19. Süs, 8 December 1923, Number 26



Figure 20. Women gathered in front of the parliament in 1925. (Nuray Bilgili Archive)



Figure 21. Students at the Ankara Biçki Dikiş Yurdu (Vekam Archive)



Figure 22. Süs, 17 November 1923, Number 23



Figure 23. Süs, 1923 November



Figure 24. Süs, 5 October 1923, Number 17



Figure 25. Süs, 3 May 1924, Number 47



Figure 26. Süs, 5 January 1924



Figure 27. Asri Türkiye Mecmuası, 1 April 1926



Figure 28. Asri Türkiye Mecmuası, 1 March 1926



Figure 29. 1929, Mustafa Kemal's adopted daughter Rukiye, Ali Fethi Okyar, Salih Bozok, Kılıç Ali (Atam Archive)



Figure 30. The ball was held at Ankara Palace for the marriage of Atatürk's adopted daughter, Nebil. 1929. (Atam Archive)



Figure 31. 23 November 1930, Cumhuriyet



Figure 32. A woman posing leaning against a tree in the view of the Moda in the 1930s (Tuna Pektaş Archive)



Figure 33. 4 December 1932 Cumhuriyet



Figure 34. Three women standing on the Galata Bridge in Istanbul in winter in 1936 (Selahattin Giz Archive)



Figure 35. Akşam 23 October 1934

Mevsimlik tayörlere rağbet fazladır



Bu sene, geçen senelerden fazla tayöre rağbet vardır. Eskiden giyilen [klâsik] palto yakalı, cepli, tayörler, hemen hiç kalmamıştır. Bu sene giyilenler tamamiyle yeni biçimdedir.

Göze çarpan yeniliklerin başlıcası ceketin, aşağılarının çepçevre dar bir bant kürkle çevrilmiş olmasıdır.

Tayörler yünüden, bluzlar ipekli- liden yapılmaktadır.

Modelleri görülen kostümler sade olmakla beraber, gayet zariftir :

1 ve 2 — Çividi mavi yünüden, brötelli elbise. Etekleri hafif kloştur. İçindeki bluzu beyaz ipeklidendir. Ceketini aynı mavi yünüdendir. Etrafı beyaz kürkle süslenmiştir. Kollarının üzerindeki diğer bol kolların da etrafında kürk vardır.

3 ve 4 — Zümrüt yeşili diya- gonal yünüden yapılmış etekle açık yeşil krep döşünden bluz. Etek pek az kloş parçalara tak- sim edilmiştir. Bu parçalar diki- lirken çizgilerin birbirine zıt gelmesine dikkat edilmiştir.

Bluzun yakası etrafı ve kol ağzı biçimli kesilmiş parçalarla süslenmiştir.

Tayörünü ve kollarını teşkil eden parçaların da çizgileri zıt olarak konmuş ve etrafı siyah lutr ile süslenmiştir.

5 ve 6 - Siyah kadifeden etekle beyaz krep satenden bluz.

Bluzun yakasına beyaz ve siyah krep satenden bükülmüş bir bant konulmuştur. Ceketinin ve kollarının etrafı dar birer bant siyah astrakanla süslenmiştir.

Figure 36. Akşam 11 October 1932



Figure 37. Ali Şükrü Çoruk Archive



Figure 38. Uyanış (Servet-i Fünun) 23 June 1932 Ankara İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü



Figure 39. İstanbul Şehir Arařtırmaları Archive



Figure 40. Mevhibe İnönü's 1930s evening dresses



Figure 41. Republic Ball 1933



Figure 42. A photograph taken at the circumcision ceremony of Kazım Özalp's son, 21 September 1931. (Atam Archive)



Figure 43. Servet-I Fünun (Uyanış) 11 August 1932



Figure 44. Tuna Pektaş Archive



Figure 45. 1935 Taksim (Tuna Pektaş Archive)



Figure 46. Women in Ankara (Vekam Archive)



Figure 47. An Ankara Woman (Vekam Archive)



Figure 48. 1936-1937 Academic Year Ankara Girls' High School Teachers (Vekam Archive)



Figure 49. Ankara Law School students in 1933 (Vekam Archive)



Figure 50. Fashionably dressed women in an open-roof taxi, 1932. (Selahattin Giz Archive)



Figure 51. Keriman Halis and her friends, 11 August 1932. (İstanbul Research Institute)



Figure 52. Women taking the court typewriting examination in İstanbul, 12 July 1931. (İstanbul Research Institute)



Figure 53. A restaurant in İstanbul, 1930s. (İstanbul Research Institute)



Figure 54. Students at Ankara High School for Girls dressed in hats by the law. (The Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation)



Figure 55. Tilkilik Biçki Yurdu students with their a la garçonne appearance (Ahmet Pristina City Archive Museum)



Figure 56. İzmir Tilkilik Biçki Dikiş Yurdu 1928. (Foto Nazmi)



Figure 57. Ayşe Sultan and her husband

B. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Koç, Duygu

Nationality: Turkish (TC)

Date and Place of Birth:

Marital Status: Single

Phone:

email:

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU History	2013
BS	Hacettepe University History	2016
High School	Biga Atatürk Anadolu High School, Çanakkale	2008

PUBLICATIONS

1. Koç Duygu, “İngiltere ve Fransa’da Kadınların Saç Politikaları ve Saç Güzelliği Algıları (19. Yüzyıl’dan 20. Yüzyıl’a)”, Journal of Social and Humanities Sciences Research (JSHSR)- 5, (22), 870-877, (2018)
2. Koç Duygu, “II. Meşrutiyet’ten İşgale: Osmanlı Kadın Dergilerinde Gayrimüslimlerin İzini Sürmek”, Tarih ve Günce Dergisi, 6, 147-170, (2020)
3. Koç Duygu, “Öcü Geçmiş, Yüceltilen Bugün ve Umutlu Gelecek: Türk Kadın Yolu Dergisi’nde Siyasi Söylem”, Ankara Üniversitesi Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi, 67, 585-609, (March 2020)
4. Koç Duygu, “Son Dönem Osmanlı Edebiyatında Lezbiyenliğin İzini Sürmek”, Ayıp, İstanbul: Libra, 2018.

C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKE ÖZET

ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİ TÜRK BASININDA TEMSİL EDİLEN KADIN İMAJLARI VE MODA: 1923-1940

BÖLÜM 1 GİRİŞ

Bu tez, Türk kadınının modern yaşama uyumunun görsel araçları olan giyim ve kadın moda formlarının 1923-1940 yılları arasında Türkiye'deki değişimlerini incelemektedir. Bu analizi yaparken dönemin dergi ve gazetelerini yani yazılı basını birincil veri kaynağı olarak seçmektedir. Esasen belli bir dönemde giyilen giyim tarzları ve giyim tarzındaki değişimler bütünü olarak basitleştirilebilecek giyim modası, Batı medeniyetine özgü bir olgu olarak ortaya çıkmış ve halen Batı medeniyetine özgü bir olgu olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Moda, sosyo-kültürel yaşamın vazgeçilmez bir unsuru olarak görülmekte ve sosyal bilimlerin pek çok alanında çalışma konusu haline gelmektedir. Bu alanlarda moda üzerine yapılan çalışmalarda giyime ve kıyafet değiştirme sıklığına göndermeler yer almaktadır. Kadın giyimine yönelik yaklaşım, bunun sadece kadınların kaprisleri meselesi olduğu yönündeki yüzeysel bir reddetmeden, modayı derinlemesine kökleşmiş bir toplumsal olgu olarak gören bir analize kadar çeşitlilik göstermektedir. Etkili bir toplumsal güç olarak kabul edilen moda, modern kültürün yadsınamaz bir parçası olarak kendini benimsetmiş ve yerini sağlamlaştırmıştır. Sosyal bilimcilerin modaya yaklaşımları kendi alanlarıyla örtüşmektedir. Örneğin psikologlar modayı sosyal bağlamda kişinin merceğinden inceler. Psikologlar, gruba uyum sağlayan bireylerin tutum ve davranışlarını inceleyerek daha genel bir konu olan moda değişiminin doğasını elde etmeye çalışırlar. İktisatçılar ekonomik güçlerin dinamiklerini modadaki değişimlere bağlarlar. Örneğin Thorstein Veblen, modadaki değişimin üretim yöntemlerindeki değişimlerden kaynaklandığını ve sanayi toplumunun ortaya çıkmasıyla birlikte arttığını açıklar. Tarihçiler, savaşlar, devrimler, güç değişimleri ve hükümet değişiklikleri gibi önemli olayların modadaki değişiklikleri etkilediği fikrini destekler.

Bazı akademisyenlere göre moda, kendi dönemindeki olayların gelişimini yansıtan ve bir dönemin "iklimini" ifade eden bir olgudur. Richard T. LaPierre, sosyologların sıklıkla geçici moda ve çılgınlıkları grup davranışının bir bileşeni olarak modayla birlikte bir araya getirdiğini iddia eder.

Bu çalışmanın ilk hipotezi, Türk kadın giyim modasındaki değişim faktörünün, değişen siyasal koşullar ve siyasal koşulların oluşturduğu toplumsal yapı ve bu yapının işleyişindeki değişimle ilişkili olduğudur. Bu hipotezi kanıtlamak için Nugent'in bahsettiği gibi tarihçilerin modaya olan yaklaşımı merkeze alınmıştır. Siyasi atmosferdeki önemli değişimlerin modayı da etkilediği iddiası, Türk basınındaki moda haberleri ve moda sayfaları aracılığıyla takip edilmiştir. Siyasi atmosferin her türlü kurum, hak, kavram, sembol ve görünüm açısından modern dünyaya entegre olma arzusuna dönüşmesiyle birlikte en modern ve güncel giyinme isteği de ortaya çıkar. Bu arzu da modayı takip etmeyi doğurur. Bu hipotez kapsamında Türk kadın modasının basında temsili ve bu temsilin dünya ile paralelliği incelenmiş, Türk basınında okuyucuya aktarılan modaların Türk kadını tarafından ne ölçüde benimsendiği döneme ait fotoğraflar incelenerek araştırılmıştır.

Bu çalışmada dönemin modaları incelendikten sonra bazı araştırmacıların erken Cumhuriyet döneminde Türk kadınının erkeksi bir imaja sahip olduğu yönündeki görüşleri de sorgulanmıştır. Bu araştırmacılar kadınların kamusal alana dahil olmaları ile kıyafet tercihleri arasındaki ilişkiyi ele alırlar. Kadınların kamusal alana dahil olmasının kadınların giyim tercihlerinde bilinçli bir maskülenlik yarattığı konusunda hemfikirdirler. Böylece erkeksi bir imaja bürünen kadın, cinselliğiyle bir tehdit olmaktan çıkacak, ahlaki sorunlar yaşamayacak ve o zamana kadar erkeklere ait olduğu düşünülen kamusal alanda sessiz bir varlık göstererek görünmez hale gelecektir. Bu araştırmacılar dönemin Türk kadın modasını kadının kamusal alana katılımı konusunda değerlendirmişlerdir. Bu değerlendirmeleri yaparken kadının görünüşüne odaklanmışlar ve giyime dayalı yorumlarda bulunmuşlardır. Yorumlarını yaparken dönemin dünya modasına odaklanmamışlardır. Araştırmacılara göre Türk kadınının giyim tercihleri bilinçli olarak erkeksidir. Araştırmacılara göre Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk kadınının giyim tercihleri bilinçli olarak masküldür. Bu tercihin temel sebebi ise cinsellikleri ve dişilikleriyle göze çarpmadan, neredeyse

görünmez kalarak kamusal alana katılma istekleri olarak yorumlanır. Bu yorumlamalar büyük oranda doğru olarak kabul edilmiş ve herhangi bir sorgulamaya tabii tutulmamıştır. Bu çalışmada dönemin dünya ve Türk kadına modasına basın üzerinden yapılan paralel bir okuma ile bu araştırmaların görüşlerine yeni bir bakış açısı sunulmak istenir.

BÖLÜM 2

MODA VE DÜNYADA KADIN MODASI

Tezin ikinci bölümünde ilk olarak moda kavramının ne olduğu açıklandı. Modanın kelime anlamı, bu anlamların ortaya çıkışları ayrıntılı olarak belirtildikten sonra modadaki değişimler ve dünya modasını domine eden Fransız/Paris modasının ortaya çıkışı ve dünyada nasıl söz sahibi olmayı başarabildiği incelendi. Buna göre; moda olgusunun 14. yüzyılda Fransız saraylarında, saray çevresinde yaşayanların istekleri doğrultusunda oluşturulan, kesimin ön planda tutulduğu ve çeşitli özel dikiş tekniklerinin uygulandığı kıyafetlerle ortaya çıktığı düşünülür. Oysa günümüzdeki anlamıyla moda, Sanayi Devrimi sonrası ortaya çıkmıştır. Sanayileşme toplumsal tabakalaşmayı yaratmış ve siyasete ya da hukuka değil paraya dayalı sınıf ayrımları toplumlarda ve yaşam tarzlarında önemli bir değişikliğe yol açmıştır. Bu değişimle birlikte Sanayi Devrimi, “Endüstriyel Toplum” adı verilen yeni bir kavramı, yepyeni bir toplumsal yapıyı yaratır. Ulusal pazarın yükselişi, iletişimin yaygınlaşması, kentleşme oranı, okuryazarlık oranının artması bu yeni toplumu tanımlayan temel unsurlardır. 19. yüzyılda her alanda yaşanan gelişmeler ve sanayileşme sonucunda Batı'da giyim kültürü de gelişir, sanayi toplumu ve yeni tipteki yaşam tarzıyla birlikte üretim ve tüketim hızlanır. Orta sınıfın büyümesi ve sanayileşmeyle birlikte ekonomik ilerleme, modanın yayılmasına ve demokratikleşmesine büyük ölçüde yardımcı olur, bu da takip etmeye gücü yetenlerin ona erişebileceği anlamına gelir. Dikiş makinesinin icadı, giysi üretimini hızlandıran ve giysilerin çeşitlendirilmesini sağlayan en önemli etmendir. Bu makine sayesinde insanlar her seferinde ölçülerini verip, kendilerine uygun giysilerin dikilmesini uzun süreler beklemek zorunda kalmadıkları için giysi ihtiyaçları hızla karşılanmış olur. 1800lerin ortasında üst sınıfın kendisini diğer

sınıflardan ayırma ihtiyacı her zamanki gibi hasıl olduğunda kişisel tarzlar ve moda evleri ortaya çıkar. Bu tarzhanelerde üretilen ve sürekli değişen giysi tipleri ve anlayış, günümüz modasının temellerini oluşturur. Çünkü buralarda üretilen ya da üretilmeye karar verilen stiller modayı belirlemeye başlar. Buralarda ortaya çıkan üretimler zenginler için olsa da diğer sınıflar tarafından taklit edilir ve bu taklit sürekli yeni stillerin ortaya çıkmasına neden olur. Bu da modanın temelindeki değişimi ortaya çıkarır. Sanayileşmeyle birlikte hızlanan yeni yaşam tarzında cinsiyet rolleri de değişmeye başlar. Kadınlar sosyal hayata uyum sağladıkça ve kamusal alanda daha görünür hale geldikçe kıyafetlerinin kendilerini ne kadar kısıtladığının da farkına varırlar. Özellikle kadın hareketinin ortaya çıkışı sonrasında kadınların her alanda eşitlik mücadelesi giyimlerine de yansır. Moda tasarımcıları da bu yeni yaşam biçimine uygun yeni kıyafetler tasarlamaya başlar. Özellikle 1900'lü yılların ilk çeyreğinde kadınları düşünerek kadınlara yönelik modeller yaratan kadın moda tasarımcılarının günümüz giyim anlayışının temellerini attığını söylemek abartı olmaz. Dolayısıyla kadınlar, sanayileşme sonrasında farklı alanlarda çalışarak kendi paralarını kazanmaya başladıkları ve bu paraları kendileri için harcadıkları ve eskisinden daha fazla kamusal alana çıktıkları için potansiyel tüketici olarak görülmeye başlanır. Bu gelişme kadınların moda üretimi ve tüketiminde daha çok hedef kitle haline gelmesine neden olur. Bu nedenle moda tasarımcıları kadınların zevklerine uygun olarak kadınlara yönelik daha fazla üretim yapmaya başlar. Özellikle Birinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası değişen toplum yapısında kadınlar iş hayatı ve kamusal alanda daha fazla varlık göstermeye başlayıp, ekonomik refaha kavuşunca tüketim unsurlarının da potansiyel müşterisi olarak görülmeye başlarlar. Moda kıyafetler de mali açıdan bağımsız, kamusal alanda eskisinden daha fazla yer alarak yeni yaşam biçimine uyum sağlayan “modern kadın” a hitap edecek şekilde tasarlanır. Modern kadınlar ekonomik bağımsızlığa sahiptir ve bu da onların potansiyel moda alıcıları olmalarını sağlar. Geleneksel kadınlar ise ekonomik bağımsızlıktan ve modanın protest duruşundan uzak oldukları için modanın hedef kitlesi haline gelemezler. Fransız saraylarında ortaya çıkan, Fransız tarzları ile günümüzdeki halini alan moda, Fransa'dan dünyaya yayılan bir araç haline geldiğinde bu aracı yayan en önemli unsur da kitle iletişim araçları ve basın olur. Fransız modası neredeyse İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın sonuna kadar dünya modasını şekillendirecek değişimlere uyum sağlayarak dünya modasına hâkim olmayı

sürdürür. İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın başında Alman ordularınının 14 Haziran 1940'taki Paris'i işgali sonucu buradaki moda evleri ya kapanır ya da Alman ordusu için çalışmaya zorlanır. Bunun sonucunda uzun yıllardır dünya modasına yön veren Paris etkisi kırılmış olur. Türkiye de 19. yüzyıldan itibaren Fransız modasının takip edildiği ülkelerden biridir.

Tez çalışmasının tarihsel çerçevesini oluşturan 1923-1940 arası dönemdeki dünya modasının biçim ve özellikleri 1920ler ve 1930lar modaları olarak ayrıntılı şekilde bu bölümde incelenmiştir. Bu modaları ortaya çıkaran sosyal, siyasi ve ekonomik değişimler, dünyada meydana gelen olayların etkisi belirtildikten sonra yeni modaların özellikleri vurgulanmıştır. Yapılan inceleme sonucunda 1920'leri domine eden moda akımının "Flapper" olduğu ve modanın eskiye nazaran kadınlara kısa saçlar ve kısa etekler, düz hatlarda elbise silüetleri getirdiği görülmüştür. 1930'larda ise Büyük Buhran'ın ekonomik etkisiyle kıyafetlerde sade bir şıklığa yönelinmiş, erkeksi olarak görülen 1920ler modası büyük oranda kaybolmuştur.

Bu bölümün ana amacı, tezin temel dinamiği olan moda kavramını açıklayarak, çalışmanın tarihsel çerçevesi içerisindeki dünya modalarını vurgulamaktır. Dönemin dünya modalarını analiz etmek, Türk kadın modalarına paralel bir okuma ve karşılaştırma yapabilmek için elzemdir.

BÖLÜM 3

TARİHSEL PERSPEKTİFTE MODERN TÜRKİYE VE TÜRK KADINI: 1923-1940

Üçüncü bölümde kadın sorununun Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminden Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne kadar nasıl algılandığı, bu soruna dair yaklaşımlar, Türk kadınlarının kamusal alana açılması meselesi, kadınların konumunu iyileştirmek için atılan adımlar, kadınları etkileyen siyasi ve kültürel gelişmeler incelenmiştir. Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde topyekün girişilen modernleşme hamlelerinin eskiyi yerinden ederek nasıl yeniyi getirdiği, toplumda ikilik bırakmadan her alanda geniş çaplı değişiklikler

yaparak hem asri dünyayı yakaladığı hem de kadın sorununu nasıl çözdüğü bu bölümde ayrıntıyla incelenir.

Erken cumhuriyet döneminin kadın algısına dikkat çekilmek istenen bu bölümde, idealleştirilerek yaratılmak istenen bir kadınlık algısının var olduğu görülmüştür. İdeal, asri cumhuriyet kadını olarak betimlenen bu kadın tipi; eğitim alarak iş sahibi olmuş, kamusal alana katılan, vatanına faydalı, annelik ve eşlik görevlerini de ihmal etmeyen çok fonksiyonlu bir kadındır. Yeni rejim yaptığı reformlarla kamusal alanı kadınlara açar. Kadınlar, eğitim hayatından iş hayatına, siyasetten hukuka, kültür sanat alanından üretime kadar her alana dahil olabilecekleri bir yaşam biçimine kavuşmuşlardır. Ancak bu büyük değişikliklere rağmen kadının asli görevi annelik olarak görülmektedir. Kadınlar her alanda hayata katılımlar ama aile hayatlarını, eşlerini ve çocuklarını, annelik ve zevcelik sorumluluklarını da ihmal etmesinler düşüncesi dönemin kadına olan bakış açısını yansıtmaktadır. Bu algının dışına çıkan kadınlar ise çeşitli söz öbekleri ile adeta rencide edilerek norm dışı kabul edilmiştir. Özellikle ekonomik yönden ailesini düşünmeyecek şekilde savurgan, moda ve süs düşkünü kadınlar ideal kadın algısının dışında kabul edilerek, dönemin basınında ve edebi eserlerinde sıkça eleştirilir.

BÖLÜM 4

ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİNDE BASIN

Bu bölümde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Dönemi'nde basının ortaya çıkışından 1940'lı kadar Türk basını hakkında ayrıntılı bir çerçeve çizilmiştir. Bunu yapmadaki amaç basın üzerinden incelenecek olan kadın modası konusunda kullanılan veri kaynaklarının tarihsel kökenini vermek ve çalışmanın basın ayağını sağlam temeller üzerine oturtmaktır. İmparatorluk döneminde basındaki kadın sorunu tartışmalarına da değinilerek kadın meselesinin geçmiş dönemine de bir göz atılmış olunur. Çalışma kapsamında veri kaynağı olarak kullanılan gazete ve dergilerin künye bilgileri, yayın hayatına başladıkları yıl, sahipleri, satıldıkları fiyat, vb. bilgiler ayrıntılı olarak bu bölümde belirtilmiştir.

BÖLÜM 5

1923-1940 YILLARI ARASINDA TÜRK BASININDA KADIN VE MODA

Tez çalışmasının asıl sorunsalının irdelendiği yer beşinci bölümdür. Bu bölümde, Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet modernleşmesindeki kadın, kadın kıyafeti ve moda meseleleri ayrıntılı biçimde incelenir. Modernleşme sürecinin kadın görselliği üzerinden nasıl kendini sembolleştirdiği ve kadın bedeninin modernleşmenin bir aracı olarak görüldüğü açıklanır. Moda olgusunun Türk topraklarındaki benimsenme ve değişim süreci betimlenerek Fransız modasının nasıl Türk kadınları tarafından takip edilen bir moda haline geldiği açıklanmaya çalışılır.

Fransız modası Türkiye'ye farklı kanallardan girer, 18. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda gerçekleştirilen askeri reformlar bunların ilki olur. Batılı toplumların o dönemin en gelişmiş toplumları olması nedeniyle askeri üniformalar Batı tarzlarını taklit edecek şekilde değiştirilir. Batı, yani Avrupa, Osmanlı yöneticilerinin ülke sorunlarını Avrupa çizgisinde reformlar yaparak çözmeleri için bir model haline gelir. Bu nedenle Osmanlı modernleşmesi adı verilen ve neredeyse cumhuriyetin ilanına kadar devam eden süreç, Batılılaşmayla eş tutulur. Osmanlı döneminde başlayan reform çabaları, kadının toplumsal konumuyla ilgili sorunları irdelse de çözüm üretememiş ve genellikle yüzeysel kalmıştır. Kadınların ve kız çocuklarının çeşitli okullarda eğitim almaları ve kamusal alana belli ölçüde katılmaları istenmişse de kadınlar geleneksel kalıplardan ve rollerden kurtulamamışlardır. Birçok alanda Batı'yı örnek alan Osmanlı-Türk modernleşmesi, kadın giyimi konusunda da pek bir adım atmaz. Osmanlı hükümdarları genellikle kadınların giyim konusuna ahlaki bir mesele olarak ortaya çıktığında müdahale etmişler ve bu müdahaleler yasaklamalar şeklinde olmuştur. Bunun dışında kadın giyiminin modernleştirilmesi yönünde herhangi bir istek ve adım atılmaz. Osmanlı kadınlarının Batı modasını takibi de imparatorluğun gerilme dönemiyle başlar. Özellikle Tanzimat Dönemi'nde saray kadınları ve üst sınıfa mensup kadınların Batılı tarzda kıyafetler giymeye başladıkları

görülür. Tanzimat Kanunu'nun tanıdığı haklarla azınlıklar eşit vatandaşlık statüsüne kavuşur ve toplumsal hayatta daha görünür hale gelir. gayrimüslimlere dayatılan eski katı kıyafet kurallarının değişmesi sonucunda, gayrimüslim Osmanlı tebaası Batı modasının, özellikle de Fransız modasının Osmanlı ülkesine taşıyıcısı haline gelir. Saray kadınları eski kıyafetlerini neredeyse tamamen bırakıp Avrupa kraliçeleri gibi giyinmeye, Avrupa mobilyalarıyla dolu salonlarda Avrupa tarzı yemekler yemeye, Fransız edebiyatını ve dergilerini takip etmeye başlar. Bu yaşam tarzı kamuoyuna da yansımaya başlamış ve Avrupa modasını takip etmek isteyen kadınlar, eski kıyafetlerini değiştirip, onlara Batı modası görünümü vermeye çalışmışlardır. Saray kadınlarının moda anlayışını etkileyen bir diğer faktör ise Mısırlı Hidiv ailesidir. Ahmet Cevdet Paşa'nın "sefahat vadisinde bir ilke imza attılar " sözleriyle anlattığı bu durum aynı zamanda kadın giyiminde maddi kültüre ilişkin gelenekten kopuşun bir eleştirisidir. Tanzimat döneminde değişen yaşam tarzı ve basın varlığı kadının konumuna ilişkin soruları da beraberinde getirmiştir. Kadının toplumsal konumunun tartışmaya açılması, kadının toplumsal hayatta yani kamusal alanda görünürlüğünün dini kurallar çerçevesinde sorgulanmasına neden olur. Tanzimat dönemi aydınları, ülkenin gerilemesini durdurmak için yapılması gereken reformların kadınları da kapsamı gerektiğini düşünürler. Bu duruma karşı çıkan İslamcılar ya da Gelenekçiler ise kadınların toplum hayatına karışmalarının dini kuralları ihlal edeceğini düşünerek karşı çıkar. Kadınların kamusal alana karışmalarındaki temel sorunsallardan biri kıyafetleri ve tesettürlerinin sınırları meselesidir. Kadın modası ve tesettüre ilişkin tartışmalar, Tanzimat dönemi sonrasında basında bu iki grubu sıklıkla karşı karşıya getirmiştir. Gelenekçiler, yeni kadın modalarını geleneksel örtünme kalıplarına meydan okunması ve dini kuralların terk edilmeye başlanmasıyla ilişkilendirilerek değerlendirir. Bu, "kimlik kaybı" veya "mahremiyet sınırının aşılması" olarak görülebilmektedir. Nilüfer Göle'nin işaret ettiği gibi, Osmanlı toplumunda dini kanunlar özel hayat ve cinsiyet ilişkilerini düzenlediği için, kadının kamusal alanda görünürlüğü, bu şekilde giyim özgürlüğünün ve Batı modasının benimsenmesinin İslam'dan uzaklaşma anlamına geldiğini düşünen muhafazakarlar için mahremiyetin ortadan kalkması olarak algılanmıştır. Batı kültür modeline direnen en köklü kültürel özellikler bu mahremiyet ve cinsiyet ilişkileri algısıydı. Zafer Toprak'a göre "Şehirleşme kadını 'modaya' sürükledi. Şehir kamusal alan anlamına geliyordu. Kentte

görünürlük ön plana çıkmıştı. Kent yaşamı kadınların modaya olan özlemini körükledi. Zamanla Osmanlı'da sokakta örtünme aracı bir süs unsuruna dönüştü.” Bütün tartışmalara rağmen giyimdeki değişim ve dönüşüm modayı takip etmeye evrilerek kadın giyimi de saray ve üst sınıftan alt sınıflara mensup kadınlara doğru değişmiştir. Bu dönemde Paris modasının takip edil çünkü Beyoğlu'ndaki Levanten terziler, yani modistralar, Paris modasını yakından takip ediyorlardı. Ayrıca Osmanlı Batılılaşması, başından itibaren Fransız etkileriyle birlikte, modernleşmenin giyim yönünü de etkilemiştir. Modayı takip etmenin en önemli aracı basındır. Kadın dergileri Avrupa ya da Paris'in en son modalarını okuyucularına aktararak ve onları güncel moda haberlerinden mahrum bırakmamıştır. Osmanlı kadınları da bu modaları yavaş yavaş adapte ederek kıyafetlerinde Batılı çizgiler oluşturmaya başlamışlardır. Özellikle çarşaf ve peçe gibi dini hükümlerle ilişkilendirilen dış kıyafetlerde değişim büyük olur. Peçeler incelenerek tül halini alır ve bir tesettür unsurundan ziyade süs ve kıyafeti tamamlayan bir aksesuar gibi algılanmaya başlar. Çarşaf ise pelenlerden etkilenecek iki parçaya bölünür. Alt parça uzun bir etek şeklindeyken üst kısım kısım pelerin gibi geniş, omuzları ve gövdeyi örten bir biçimde kullanılır. Ev içi yaşamda ise saray çevresi ve üst sınıfa mensuğ kadınların tamamen Batılı moda uygun giyindikleri dönemin seyyahları, anıları, fotoğrafları vb. üzerinden anlaşılmaktadır.

Yeni rejimin 29 Ekim 1923'te ilanı ve demokratik bir yönetime geçişle birlikte imparatorluk döneminin sorunları bir bir çözülmeye başlanır. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde yapılan reformlar sadece belli başlı alanlarla kısıtlı kalmamış, imparatorluk döneminden farklı olarak her alanı kapsayacak ve tepeden tabana yayılacak şekilde gerçekleştirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Reformlar gerçekleştirilirken imparatorluk dönemindeki yenileşme hareketlerinden farklı olarak eski olan her şey yerini yenisine bırakır. Böylece geçmiş dönem yenileşme hareketlerinin en büyük sorunu olan eski ve yenin bir aradallığına son verilerek, yapılan reformların daha kolay kabulü hedeflenir. Cumhuriyet rejimi ile yeni bir evreye giren Türk modernleşmesinin, daimî hedeflerinden biri olan kadının konumunu iyileştirme ve kamusal alana dahilini sağlama düşüncesi bu dönemde atılan büyük adımlarla gerçekçi bir hal alır. Yeni rejimin hedef olarak belirlediği "muasır medeniyet seviyesine ulaşmak" için kadın sorununun çözülmesi gerektiğinin bilincinde olan kurucu

kadrolar, yapılan reformlarla kadınları eşit vatandaş statüsüne getirir. Bu eşit vatandaşlığın en önemli göstergesi, kadınların kamusal alandaki çok yönlü varlıkları ile seçme ve seçilme hakkına sahip olmalarıdır. Çıkarılan çeşitli yasalar ve yapılan reformlar ile çağdaşlaşma yolunda büyük adımlar atılıp ülke adeta kabuk değiştirirken, halkın da bu değişimden etkilenmemesi imkansızdır. İmparatorluk döneminin her türlü mirasından kurtulmak isteyen cumhuriyet rejimi, eski tipteki vatandaş imajını da değiştirmek ister. Batılılaşma olarak da adlandırılan modernleşme çabalarının yansıması olarak Batı medeniyetinin seviyesine ulaşma, en medeni ve en yeni biçimde Batılılar gibi görünme isteğini de beraberinde getirir. Bu konuda atılan adım ise 1925 yılında gerçekleştirilen Şapka Kanunu olur. Ancak bu kanun doğrudan kadınları ilgilendiren maddeler içermediği gibi daha çok erkeklerin kamusal alandaki imajının çerçevelerini belirlemektedir. Kadın kıyafeti konusunda doğrudan bir yasa çıkarılmaz ve kadınların kendi kendilerine modern ve medeni olanı takip etmeleri beklenir. Ancak gerek Mustafa Kemal gerekse diğer hükümet yetkilileri ve basın organları tarafından kadınların kıyafetlerinin değişime olan ihtiyacı ve gerekliliği çeşitli konuşmalarda sıklıkla vurgulanır. Kadın kıyafeti konusunda doğrudan adımlar atılmamasının sebepleri olarak toplumun ahlak ve namus gibi kavramları kadın bedeni üzerinden tanımlaması ile dinin çeşitli alan ve konularda kadınlara çizdiği sınırlar gösterilebilir. Kadınların eğitim alma, kamusal alana açılma, iş sahibi olma, eşit vatandaşlık statüsü kazanma gibi ilerlemeleri sonucunda kendi imajlarını yaratabilecekleri düşünülür. Politik iktidarın yasalarla ya da düzenlemelerle doğrudan control etmeyi tercih etmediği kadın kıyafetinin modernleştirilmesi konusunda doğan boşluğu adeta basın doldurur. En güncel ve moda olan kılık-kıyafet örnekleri, moda haberleri, Paris moda dünyasında olup bitenler çeşitli gazete ve dergiler aracılığıyla kadınlara ulaştırılır. Kadınlara basın aracılığıyla Paris temelli Batı modaları aktarılırken, öte yandan da çarşaf ve peçe gibi kıyafetlerin çağdışılığı, geri kalmışlığın birer sembolü olmaları, kadınların fikren geçirdikleri değişimin şeklen de gösterilmesinin gerekliliği gibi konular basında gündeme getirilir. Dönemin yazarları çeşitli gazete ve dergilerde bu konulardaki fikirlerini sunarak kadın kıyafeti meselesini gündemde tutarlar. Mustafa Kemal de bu konuda teşvik edici konuşmalar yapmış, yanında yer alan kadınların diğer kadınlar için örnek teşkil edecek şekilde giyinip görünmelerine önem vermiş, gerek eşi gerekse manevi kızlarını mümkün olduğunca beraberinde kamusal alana

çıkarmıştır. Mustafa Kemal'in kılık kıyafet konusunda yaratmak istediği imaj; yeni Türkiye'ye yakışır, imparatorluk döneminin görüntüsünden kurtulmuş, önyargıların etkisindeki Türk imajını kırabilecek, Batı toplumlarının kabul edeceği çağdaş bir görünümdür denebilir. Mustafa Kemal topluma yeni bir çehre kazandırmak ister. Bu yeni çehrenin yaratılmasında basın rolü büyüktür. Özellikle, kadın kıyafeti konusunda basın yol gösterici ve her türlü yeniliği aktarıcı konumundadır. Dönemin gazete ve dergilerinde mutlaka yer alan kadın ve moda sayfaları sayesinde en güncel kıyafet modaları Türk kadınlarına sunulur. Bu dönemin modasını ise Fransız/Paris modası domine eder. Türk kadınları da tüm dünyadaki hemcinsleri gibi bu moda rüzgarına kapılarak dergi ve gazetelerdeki modelleri ellerinden geldiğince tatbik etmeye çalışırlar. Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında imparatorluk döneminin etkisindeki kadın kıyafetleri henüz çarşaf ve peçeden kurtulamaz. Ancak 1924 ve sonrasında peçe terkedilmiş, başörtüsü yerini önce zarif şapkalarla sonrasında ise açık haldeki saçlara bırakmıştır. Gelenekselleşmiş toplumsal muhafazakarlığın ve dinin etkisi ile kadınların bedenlerini saklama alışkanlıkları devam etse de özellikle kamusal alana karışmaya başlamış, eğitilmiş, şehirli kadınlar bu algıları değiştirmeye başlarlar. Hayata entegre oldukları her aşamada eskinin yüklerinden biraz daha kurtulan yeni tipteki bu kadınlar, görsel imajlarını da yeni olan her şeyi tatbik ederek değiştirme taraftarıdır.

1920'li yıllarda genç cumhuriyetin imparatorluk döneminden miras aldığı kadın sorunu yapılan reformlarla tek tek çözülmeye başlayınca ve yapılan reformların sağladığı seküler eğitim sistemi ve yaratılan kamusal alan ile Türk kadınları da görsel imajlarını değiştirebilecek cesarete sahip olurlar. Osmanlı döneminde Paris modalarını yavaş yavaş pratik etmeye başlayan kadınlar, bu dönemde dini tahakkümün kırılmasıyla kıyafet seçimlerinde özgürlük sahibi olur. Basının en güncel, en son moda şeklinde kadınlara aktardığı dönemin dünya modası, kadınlar tarafından ya Beyoğlu'ndaki terzilere diktirilerek, ya hazır konfeksiyon satılan yerlerden alınarak ya da yurt dışından getirilerek giyilir. Kadınlar yeni rejimin asri medeniyete ulaşma halini, kendi kıyafetlerinde asri kıyafetleri taşıyarak sergilemek isterler. Öte yandan kendi moda anlayışı gelişmemiş, tekstil sanayisi oluşmamış, terzilik kültürü bile gayrimüslim tebaanın tekelinde olan genç rejimin batı modalarını birebir adapte etmesi kadar doğal bir şey de yoktur. Yapılan eğitim reformları neticesinde terzilik kültürünü

oluşturacak okullar açılır, Kız Enstitüleri, Akşam Sanat Kız Okulları, Biçki Dikiş Yurtları gibi okullarda kadınlara ve kız çocuklarına terzilik ve dikiş üzerine eğitimler verilir. Osmanlı döneminde her kadının kendi aile ihtiyacını karşılayacak kadar dikiş bilmesi beklenirken, İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi'nde biçki dikiş kadınlar ekonomik katkı sağlayacak bir alan olarak geliştirilmiş açılan kurslar ve Biçki Dikiş Yurtları ile Türk kadınlarının hem kendi kıyafetlerini dikebilmeleri hem de öğrendikleri zanaat ile aile ekonomisine katkı sağlamayabilmeleri beklenmiştir. Cumhuriyet rejimi o zaman atılan bu adımları daha kapsalı hale getirerek açtığı mesleki ve teknik okullar sayesinde kadınları hem iş gücüne katmayı hem de onlara deyim yerindeyse birer altın bilezik kazandırmayı amaçlamıştır. Ayrıca bu okullardan mezun olan kadınlar ister kendi dükkanlarını açarak terzilik yapabilecekler, böylecek kamusal ve ekonomik hayata katılacaklar, isterse evden çalışarak aile ve annelik sorumluluklarını ihmal etmeden aile ekonomisine katkı sağlayabileceklerdir. Yani her türlü iki taraflı bir kazanım söz konusudur.

Dönemin dünya modası, çalışmanın ikinci bölümünde ayrıtı olarak inlenmiştir. Türk basını incelendiğinde de, 1920ler ve 1930lar dünya modasınının birebir okurlarına aktarıldığı görülmektedir. 1920lerde dönemin Flapper modasına uygun elbise modelleri, Bob kesim scalar, Charliston elbiseler, flapper elbiseleri tamamlamak için inci ve püskül, şapka gibi aksesuarların aktarımı dünyada kadınlarının giydiklerinin aynısıdır. Bu dönemde yeni tipteki özgür kadının erkek takım elbisesinin benzeri şeklinde kendileri için benimsedikleri tayyörlerin varlığı, her sene değişen renkleri ve yaka biçimleri de Türk basınında kadınlara aynen aktarılır. 1920ler modası özü itibarıyla maskülen bir imaj içermektedir, daha düz hatlara sahip elbise ve kıyafetlerin domine ettiği bu moda yeni tipteki özgür kadın imajı ile bütünleşmiştir. Türk kadınları da dünyadaki hemcinsleri gibi bu modaları takip ve tabik etmişlerdir. 1930lar moda dünyasında sadeleşme ve kadınsı hatların geri geldiği bir dönem olarak görülmektedir. Türk kadınları da bu değişimi yaşayarak, basının onlara aktardığı dönem ruhuna uygun kıyafetlere yönelmişlerdir. Saçları uzamaya da başlasa da halen daha kısa kullanmaya devam edenler vardır. Elbiselerde etek boyları uzamış, dişi hatları belli eden yüksek belli bir silüet moda olmuştur. Yılıme ve mevsimine göre kumaş, renk, model, didiş ve aksesuarların değiştiği görülmüştür.

Bu bölümde ayrıca Türk basınındaki modanın ne şekilde algılandığına da değinilmiştir. Bir kavram olarak modanın ne anlam ifade ettiğinin çeşitli meslek gruplarından tanınır kişilere sorulduğu gazete haberlerinde bu kişilerin moda hakkındaki görüşleri alınarak okurlara aktarılır. Modanın değişip değişmediği ya da kendini tekrar edip etmediği gibi tartışmalar yazı dizisi halinde dönemin gazetelerinde irdelenir. Ekonomistlerden terzilere, okul müdür ve müdirelerinden tanınmış terzilere kadar çeşitli kişilerin görüşleri doğrultusunda moda meselesi tartışılarak moda olgusunun tanıtılmaya çalışılmıştır.

BÖLÜM 6

SONUÇ

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminden itibaren kadın meselesi çözülmesi gereken bir sorun olarak algılanmış, Türk kadınlarının erkeklerden geri kalması üzerine sıkça düşünülerek bir çözüm aranmıştır. Osmanlı döneminde ülkenin Batı karşısında gerilemesinin Kabul edilmesi ve bunun çözümler aranması Tür modernleşmesinin başlangıç noktasını oluşturur. Yapılan siyasi reformlara rağmen, Tanzimat Dönemi aydınları tarafından kültürel reformlara da ihtiyaç duyulduğu, özellikle kadınlarının konumunu iyileştirmeden devletin de iyileşemeyeceği görüşü sıklıkla dönemin yazılı basınında vurgulanmıştır. Osmanlı son döneminde eğitim reformları sayesinde kadınlar eğitim hayatına entegre edilmeye çalışsalar da bu çok fazla tabana yayılamaz, ayrıca dini tahakkümlerin etkisi kadınların konumunun geliştirilmesine belirli noktalarda engel olur. Askeri kıyafetlerin Batılı tarzda değiştirilmesi ile başlayan kıyafetin modernleştirilmesi arzusu, saray erkanının ve üst sınıfların Batılı kıyafetleri benimsemeye başlaması ile sivil alana da sirayet eder. Modanın taklitçiliği sayesinde üst sınıflarda görülen kıyafetler diğerleri tarafından da taklit edilerek kıyafet biçimlerinde bir değişim yaratılmaya başlanır. Özellikle Mısır Hidiv ailesi Batı tarzı modaları aktarmada çok etkilidir. Bu ailenin İstanbul'a getirdiği yeni modalar hemen İstanbul sosyetesini tarafından benimsenir ve yayılır. II. Mahmut'un kıyafet reformu, siyasi alanda yaptığı reformların imparatorluğun modernleşme serüveninde yeni bir kapı

aralar. Tanzimat Dönemi'nde ise daha köklü ve kapsamlı modernleşme reformları görülür. Bu dönemde basının büyük bir güç olarak yaygınlaşması, basını aydınların fikirlerini özgürce tartışabildikleri ve sunabildikleri bir alan haline getirir. Bu dönemde kadın meselesi kamuoyunun gündemine önemli bir konu olarak açılır. Kadının erkeklerden geri kalarak toplumdaki görünmezlikleri, her yönden geri kalmaları ve bu geriliğin giderilmesi gibi meseleler tartışıldı. Kadın dergilerinin ortaya çıkması ile kadınlar da konuya müdahil olarak kendi görüşlerini belirtirler. Kadın meselesine dair konuşulan en önemli konulardan biri kadınların kıyafetleridir. Dini referanslara göre giyinen müslüman Türk kadınlarının tesettür dahilindeki kıyafetlerini Batı modalarına evriltmeleri İslamcı çevreler için korku yaratırken, Modernleşme taraftarları için bir gereklilik olarak görülür. Kadınlar kendi kendilerine Batı modalarını tatbik etmeye başlasalar da bu tatbik daha çok orta ve üst sınıf arasında yaygındır. Ayrıca kadınlar ev içinde tamamen Batı modalarına uygun giyinseler bile kamusal alana çıktıklarında gelenekselleşmiş dini sınırlar içerisindeki kıyafetleri giymek zorundadırlar. Birinci Dünya Savaşı cinsiyet rollerini değiştirerek kadınların işgücü olarak kamusal alana açılmalarını sağlar, savaş sürecinde çeşitli iş kollarında çalışan kadınlar bu çalışma hayatına uygun daha rahat kıyafet ihtiyacı duydukça, Osmanlı basınında kadın kıyafeti meselesi daha çok tartışılır. Ancak kadınların kendi kıyafet seçimlerini değiştirmeye başlamaları dışında resmi bir kıyafet devrimi ya da düzenlemesi hasıl olmaz. Türk kadınları bunun için yeni rejimin ilanına kadar biraz daha beklemek zorundadır.

Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde topyekün girişilen modernleşme hamlelerinin eskiyi yerinden ederek nasıl yeniyi getirdiği, toplumda ikilik bırakmadan her alanda geniş çaplı değişiklikler yaparak hem asri dünyayı yakaladığı hem de kadın sorununu nasıl çözdüğü çalışmanın üçüncü bölümünde ayrıntıyla incelenmiştir. Yeni rejim kadının konumunu iyileştirirken ideal bir kadınlık da yaratma hayali kurar. İdeal, asri cumhuriyet kadını olarak betimlenen bu kadın tipi; eğitim alarak iş sahibi olmuş, kamusal alana katılan, vatanına faydalı, annelik ve eşlik görevlerini de ihmal etmeyen çok fonksiyonlu bir kadındır. Yeni rejim yaptığı reformlarla kamusal alanı kadınlara açar. Kadınlar, eğitim hayatından iş hayatına, siyasetten hukuka, kültür sanat alanından üretime kadar her alana dahil olabilecekleri bir yaşam biçimine kavuşmuşlardır. Ancak

bu büyük deęişikliklere ragmen kadının asli görevi annelik olarak görülmektedir. Kadınlar her alanda hayata katılırlar ama aile hayatlarını, eşlerini ve çocuklarını, annelik ve zevcelik sorumluluklarını da ihmal etmesinler düşüncesi dönemin kadına olan bakış açısını yansıtmaktadır. Yaratılmak istenen kadınlık her türlü görevlerini ihmal etmeyen çok fonksiyonlu bir kadındır. Bu kadınlık anlayışının kurucu iktidar tarafından şekillendirildiği ve topluma çeşitli araçlarla dayatılarak, iktidarın makbul bir kadınlık yarattığı düşünülür. Yaratılan bu kadın tipinin kamusal alanda var olmak için kadınsılığından vazgeçtiği, cinsiyetsizleşerek ve hatta yer yer erkeksileşerek kendini kamusal alana katabildiği iddia edilir. Erkeksi kadın betimlemesi etrafında şekillenen bu yaklaşıma göre erken dönem cumhuriyet kadınının imajı da erkeksidir ve iktidar tarafından yaratılmıştır. Bu dönem kadınlarının kıyafetlerinin androjen yapıda olduğu, saçlarının kısa kesilmesinin bu yapıyı tamamladığı, abartıdan ve makyajdan uzak hallerinin bilinçli bir çaba sonucu olduğu ima edilir. Ve bu imanın da eril iktidara uzandığı apaçıktır. Bu çalışma erken cumhuriyet dönemi kadın modasının dünya modasına paralel bir biçimde geliştiğini iddia ederek, bilinçli bir şekilde maskülenlik üzerine inşa edildiği ve dönemin kadınlarının erkeksi bir kadınlık halinde oldukları iddialarını irdelemeyi amaç edinmiştir. Bu doğrultuda tarihsel çerçeveyi oluşturan 1923-1940 tarihleri arasında modanın izinin en iyi sürülebileceği araçlar olan dergi ve gazetelerin ışığında kadın modası incelenmiştir. Birinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında dünya modasını domine eden Paris/Fransız modası etkisinin ülkemizi de kasıp kavurduğu ve tüm dünyadaki etkisinin azaldığı 1940'a kadar bunun böyle devam ettiği görülür. Ulusal ve yerel düzeyde incelenen basın araçlarındaki veriler sonucunda onyediyıllık kadın modası ayrıntılarıyla kategorize edilerek, erken cumhuriyet dönemi kadın modalarının kapsamlı bir analizi yapılır. Dış kıyafetler, saç modaları, ayakkabılar, şapkalar, aksesuarlar gibi çeşitli kategorilerde incelenen veriler ışığında varılan sonuç ise kadın modasının var olan modayı takip etmek, güncel olana uyum sağlamak yani o günün modernitesine ayak uydurmak neticesinde şekillendiğidir.

Ayrıca Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi'nde Kız enstitüleri ve dikiş okullarının açılması, modanın Türkiye'deki kadınlara yayılmasında önemli bir teşvik olmuş, başkent Ankara'dan veya İstanbul ve İzmir gibi büyük şehirlerden başlayarak kıyafet meselesinde modern bir bakış açısının içselleştirilmesine de hizmet etmiştir. Sayıları

giderek artan bu okullar, giyim kültürünün yerleşmesi ve yaygınlaşmasında, terzi sayısının artmasında ve modern giysilerin yaygınlaşmasında etkili olmuştur. Özellikle 1930'lu yıllarda dikiş yurtları ve kız enstitüleri modern Türk insanının inşasında ve kıyafet yaratıcılarının yetiştirilmesinde önemli rol oynamıştır. Basın yoluyla aktarılan kıyafet ve modaları uygulayarak modanın halka yayılmasına önemli katkı sağlayacak olan bu kurumlar, Türk kadınının kıyafetinin medenileşmesinde basından sonra gelen en önemli araçlar olarak çalışmada incelenmiştir.

Eril iktidarın makbul bir kadın imajı yaratmaktan ziyade bu alanı kadınların kendilerine bıraktığı, bu konuda erkeklere yaptığı gibi yasal sınırlar çizmediği, kadın modasının doğal akışına siyasi düzenlemeler ile doğrudan müdahale etmediği anlaşılmaktadır. Çünkü kadın kıyafetini ve kıyafetin sınırlarını belirleyen, yasaklayan ya da dikte eden bir yasa hükmü çıkarılmaz. Dönemin kadınları dergi ve gazete gibi basın araçları yoluyla kendilerine aktarılan güncel ve en son modaları takip edip uygulayarak kendi imajlarını kendileri yaratmışlardır. Bu imajın erkeksi özellikler göstermesi ise bilinçli bir yaratımdan ziyade dönemin modasının bu şekilde olması sebebiyledir. Hatta dönemin kıyafetlerinin ve modasının erkeksi olduğunu söylemek bile belki yanlış olacaktır. Çünkü bu dönemde kadınlar geçmiş döneme göre daha düz ve sade kıyafetler giyseler de saç ve makyaj özeni, aksesuar kullanımı devam etmektedir. Tüm bunlar bütüncül olarak düşünüldüğünde de ortaya bakımlı ve çağdaş bir kadın imajı çıkmaktadır. Kadınlar moda için uygun olarak saçlarını kısa kestirirler ya da saçlarına kısa görünüm verseler bile kıyafetlerindeki dişilik özeni ve göstergeleri devam etmektedir. Bu kadın tipine maskülen denmesinin bir sebebi de modayı domine eden Fransız etkisi sebebiyle Paris'ten çıkan örneklerin daha düz hatlara sahip Fransız kadınları üzerinden tanıtılması sebebiyle olabilir. Dönemin basın araçları incelendiğinde çizim ve resimlerdeki örneklerin büyük ölçüde Fransız dergilerinden aktarıldığı aslında Türk kadını vücut tipini pek de yansıtmadığı görülmüştür. Verilerin ışığında modanın kendi dinamiğinde ilerlediği ve bu dinamiğin de Fransız modasına endeksli olduğu açıktır. Yani Türk kadınları basının kendilerine aktardığı en son modayı takip ederek güncel olanı yakalamış, iktidar baskısı olmadan kendi yönünü tayin etmeye çalışmıştır. Fransız modasının tüm dünyayı etkisi altına alması, en son moda, en çağdaş kıyafet olmasının yanında Türk ahlaki değerlerini tehdit etmeyecek

ölçülerde örnekler sunması da benimsenmesinde etkili olabilir. Sonuç olarak erken cumhuriyet dönemi kadın modası bir güç kullanılarak yaratılmış bir alan değildir. Basın araçları yoluyla kendilerine aktarılan günceli takip ve tatbik eden kadınlar sayesinde doğrudan plansız ve projesiz gerçekleştirilen bir modernleşme başarısıdır.

Kıyafetteki bu görsel dönüşüm meselesi sadece Türk kadınlarının geçirdiği bir evre değildir. Batılı olmayan ülkelerin Batı tipi modernleşme çabaları sonucunda benzer dönemde başta Japonya olmak üzere bir çok farklı ülkede benzer pratiklere rastlanmaktadır. Dünya modasının farklı farklı ülkelerdeki kadınlar tarafından aynı anda takip ve tatbik edilmesi moda kavramıyla alakalı olduğu kadar ülkelerinin tecrübe ettiği modernleşme pratikleri ile ilgilidir. Özellikle Orta Doğu toplumlarında modernleşme her daim kadın bedeni üzerinden görselleştirilerek, kadınların konumunda ve görünüşlerinde yapılacak değişiklikler bir ilerleme ve başarı olarak sunulma istediğini doğurduğu için Türkiye Cumhuriyeti de aynı doğrultuda ilerlemiştir. Kadınlar her alanda yapılan reformlarla erkeklerle eşit hak ve statüye kavuşmuş, kamusal alana açılmış ve geçirilen zihniyet değişimi ile de Batı tipi kadınlığa entegre edilmiştir. Bu entegrasyonun görsel ayağını oluşturan moda konusunda doğrudan adımlar atılmasa da basın bu alanda serbest bırakılarak kadınlara örnekler sunması, onlara Batı modalarını aktarması sağlanmıştır. Kadınlar da yeni rejime uygun görünmek, yeni tipteki hayata uyum sağladıklarını göstermek, yeni ve modern bir kadınlık biçimi pratik ettiklerini göstermek gibi sebeplerden dolayı bu modayı hızla benimsemişlerdir. Bu benimseme, dönemin basınında aktarılan dünya modaları ile döneme ait fotoğraflar karşılaştırıldığında görülebilir. Türk kadınlarının dünyadaki hemcinsleri ile aynı silüete sahip oldukları, aynı elbise, etek, bluz, ayakkabı, şapka, saç modeli, tuvalet, abiye, tayyör ve aksesuarları giydikleri döneme ait fotoğraflara bakıldığında anlaşılabilir. Çalışma kapsamında ülkenin farklı şehirlerinden seçilen kadın fotoğrafları incelendiğinde Türk kadınlarının dünya modasına paralel olarak uyumlandığı ve bunları gündelik hayatlarına yansıtarak uyguladıkları sonucuna kolaylıkla varabilmektedir.

D. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Social Sciences
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics
- Enformatik Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Informatics
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Marine Sciences

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : Koç
Adı / Name : Duygu
Bölümü / Department : Tarih / History

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English): WOMEN'S IMAGES AND FASHION AS REPRESENTED IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKISH PRESS: 1923-1940

TEZİN TÜRÜ / **DEGREE:** **Yüksek Lisans** / Master **Doktora** / PhD

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır.** / Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide.
2. **Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of **two years.** *
3. **Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for period of **six months.** *

* *Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir. /*

A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.

Yazarın imzası / Signature **Tarih** / Date ... /.../2024