Hijab Fashion Industries ‘Unveiled’

By: Danybell Farhad
“Like any other clothing, hijab has its regional and social characteristics. As for the quality of fabric and color can be identified not only the age and social status of its owner.”¹ Modern Turkey has been viewed as a unique multinational and multicultural Islamic country because of its secular state ²—described as a paradigm of state ideology and the hegemonic (ruling of) public discussions in modern day Turkey. ³

National reforms started questioning women’s equal opportunity in the social and political aspect of their lives, which then led Muslim women to be the first to acquire legal and social rights;⁴ however, the Turkish Republic began to discourage the wearing of headscarves, an item that became associated with rural migrant, lower-class society. ⁵ In the 1980’s, nevertheless, the hijab in a political and cultural aspect had emerged with the rise of Islamic groups to power and the emergence of new entrepreneurial-conservative businessmen to build profit out of hijab fashion industries. ⁶

The rise of hijab fashion industry is fundamentally associated with the rise of capitalism in Muslim-majority countries. However, the driving factors of Islamic fashion marketing rely on a variety of political, social, and religious narratives about the devout Muslim women’s access to


²Necla Arat, “Beijing and Beyond: Towards the Twenty-First Century of Women,” in Women’s Studies Quarterly, No. ½, 400


⁴Necla Arat, “Beijing and Beyond: Towards the Twenty-First Century of Women,” in Women’s Studies Quarterly, No. ½, 400

⁵Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettür: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies, No. 3, 121

⁶Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettür: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies, No. 3, 121-122
fashion. Companies utilize a mix of consumerist marketing and appeal to modestly, couple with export of modern fashion products in regions of low tariffs to reach global audiences. As a result, Islamic hijab fashion industry has generated and expanded its markets domestically and internationally.

This paper will examine the factors that enable Muslim countries to continue to become major actors in the hijab fashion industry. The research question also touches on global and cultural fashion in terms of hijab because of its growing industry in Muslim countries. The marketing of hijabs in Muslim countries, such as in Turkey, is also analyzed on how the Islamic country tries to sell their tesettur apparel globally.

Contemporary Turkey is portrayed as an influential Muslim country—large market in textile—a major exporter of hijab fashion industries. Turkey continues to emerge in terms of capitalism from its exportation of tesettur apparels globally in Western and Middle Eastern markets, through hybrid fashion styles and complex sociopolitical dynamics.

The tesettur fashion industry in Turkey is referenced by Muslim countries as rising in capitalism—tesetturs are the reason for the rise in capitalism within Turkey and we must look at how certain textile industries are able to become major actors in the fashion industry and what influences their exportation of tsetetur apparel globally.

Map ‘outline’ of the paper

The literature review introduces theory based on Muslim countries rising in capitalism: Eugenia Paulicelli and Hazel Clark’s article on “The Fabric of Cultures: Fashion, Identity, and Globalization,” looks at how International Relations, (theoretical approach on diverse ideas), and fashion correspond with one another. Additionally, the process of producing hijabs and the
factors that affect the economy within the Islamic culture and interpreting what a veil is and how it is referenced towards hijabs from different regions of Muslim countries is discussed.

Defining the term Islamic marketing and observing the increase in full proliferation of hijab fashion industries within Muslim countries is also analyzed. Lastly, the different types of hijabs and what makes them different in regards to historical, cultural-traditions, and the regional areas the veils have been developed within is demonstrated on the diversity of each hijab style through the following figures (images) presented.

The case study introduces an analysis on the marketing of hijabs within Muslim countries, such as in Turkey, discussing on how the Islamic country tries to sell their tesettur apparel globally. The observation focuses on Turkey experiencing a politically Islamic government and a rise in economic growth that allows a larger section of the population to engage in consumerism and capitalism.

The hijab is domestically a bigger market because it detached itself from politicization and remains apart of the popular culture—media made hijab a household item. The designs of tesetturs becoming a major actor in the hijab fashion industry is analyzed because of the production of textile industries in Turkey and how it demonstrates several unique styles through the market focusing on ‘cheering’ up hijab and portraying ‘the hijab women’ to be as beautiful as ‘the secular women,’ which made it much more appealing—not only to domestic audiences—but internationally as well.

**Literature Review**

Hijabs are in many ways an outcome of rising capitalism within the majority of Muslim countries in regards to reviewing theory based off of developing countries rising in capitalism. Islamic women want to express themselves through their identities, as well as too demonstrate
upper-class society. An understanding on why hijabs were originally portrayed for rural migrant, lower class Muslim women is reviewed in the development of hijab becoming a major actor in the fashion industry.

The relationship between Islam and capitalism has transitioned through movements of Islamic and neo-liberal consumerism. The movement on re-defining veiling is continuously challenging and evolving the old-stereotypical perspective society has of the term; however, veiling as a commodity of the fashion market industry is portrayed through self-expression and the representation of Muslim women adapting to new ideas of consumerism.

**International Relations and Fashion**

An observation on Eugenia Paulicelli and Hazel Clark’s article on “The Fabric of Cultures: Fashion, Identity, and Globalization,” is viewed with regards to how International Relations, (theoretical approach on diverse ideas), and fashion correspond with one another. Through fashion, the authors portray an understanding of new cultures and individual lives as a ‘privileged lens,’ meaning fashion itself can institute consumers’ identity through their desires and demand from the market.

---

7Banu, Gökariksel, and Ellen McLarney. "Muslim women, consumer capitalism, and the Islamic culture industry." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 6, no. 3, 1

8Banu, Gökariksel, and Ellen McLarney. "Muslim women, consumer capitalism, and the Islamic culture industry." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 6, no. 3, 3

9Banu, Gökariksel, and Ellen McLarney. "Muslim women, consumer capitalism, and the Islamic culture industry." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 6, no. 3, 3


It is a privilege to understand fashion since it’s a cultural system of meanings—clothes are defined because of cultural mediation, such as observing the real reason behind Fashion Week—designers increase their sales by showcasing their collections to new buyers and press. Individual tastes and choices influenced from the media, magazines, and other forms of fashion-public display are acquired through cultural mediation.

“The impact fashion has, and has had, as a manufacturing industry and as a culture industry that shapes the identities of nations and cities, in a cross-cultural perspective within a global framework.”


Understanding the perspective on Muslim women wearing hijabs is observed through (non) Muslim countries. The hijab has become an identity for Muslim women in regards to it symbolizing a cultural and religious, conscious decision-making on Muslim women wearing a hijab. The hijab has been portrayed as a protection for women from men in terms of

---

12 Eugenia, Paulicelli, and Clark, Hazel, Eds. The fabric of cultures: fashion, identity, and globalization, 2


14 Eugenia, Paulicelli, and Clark, Hazel, Eds. The fabric of cultures: fashion, identity, and globalization, 2


16 Rhys H. Williams, and GiraVashi, "Hijab and American Muslim Women: Creating the Space for Autonomous Selves," Sociology of Religion, no. 3, 281
modesty and creating a Muslim identity. Additionally, the moral status of both genders would be affected because of Muslim women revealing ‘too much of the body.’

Muslim women through self-expression and their opinions of gender difference portray veiling practice to have cultural (religious) influence from their personal or political perspective of the hijab—the hijab is a diverse definition within (non) Muslim society. “The practice of hijab varies in tradition, style, and usage from country to country and culture.”

Muslim women highlighted the benefits of wearing a hijab and how it separates them from non-Muslims in terms of understanding and identifying the reasons for veiling. Such benefits Muslim women gain by wearing a hijab has been mentioned with regarding to men respecting them more—veiling prevents flirting or sexual attention towards Muslim women.

---

17 Rhys H. Williams, and GiraVashi, "Hijab and American Muslim Women: Creating the Space for Autonomous Selves," *Sociology of Religion*, no. 3, 281

18 Rhys H. Williams, and GiraVashi, "Hijab and American Muslim Women: Creating the Space for Autonomous Selves," *Sociology of Religion*, no. 3, 281

19 Jen'nan Ghazal, Read, and John P. Bartkowski, "To veil or not to veil? A case study of identity negotiation among Muslim women in Austin, Texas," *Gender & Society*, no. 3, 396

20 Jen'nan Ghazal, Read, and John P. Bartkowski, "To veil or not to veil? A case study of identity negotiation among Muslim women in Austin, Texas," *Gender & Society*, no. 3, 396

21 Darnell, Cole, and Shafiqahmadi, "Perspectives and experiences of Muslim women who veil on college campuses." *Journal of College Student Development*, no. 1, 48

22 Rhys H. Williams, and GiraVashi, "Hijab and American Muslim Women: Creating the Space for Autonomous Selves," *Sociology of Religion*, no. 3, 282

23 Rhys H. Williams, and GiraVashi, "Hijab and American Muslim Women: Creating the Space for Autonomous Selves," *Sociology of Religion*, no. 3, 282
wearing a hijab. \textsuperscript{24} The hijab is signified as a `sexual purity’ or abstinence based on a Muslim women’s religious perspective. \textsuperscript{25}

In other words, non-Muslim men understand the veils message in reference to a Muslim women’s sexuality and the perception of `sexual unavailability’; \textsuperscript{26} however, the practice of veiling should not be referenced specifically on a Muslim women’s sexual vulnerability but also on how wearing a hijab can be promoted as an equalizer between women and men. \textsuperscript{27} “Women who wear the hijab are not excluded from society. They are freer to move around in society because of it.” \textsuperscript{28}

The hijab is a cultural resource that does not only go against inequality but it also represents a Muslim women’s traditional identity from the process of creating their own lives through the practice of veiling. \textsuperscript{29} Thus, the hijab is a fashion statement demonstrated along with

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{24}Rhys H. Williams, and GiraVashi, "Hijab and American Muslim Women: Creating the Space for Autonomous Selves," \textit{Sociology of Religion}, no. 3, 282

\textsuperscript{25}Darnell, Cole, and ShafiqAhmadi, "Perspectives and experiences of Muslim women who veil on college campuses." \textit{Journal of College Student Development}, no. 1, 59

\textsuperscript{26}Darnell, Cole, and ShafiqAhmadi, "Perspectives and experiences of Muslim women who veil on college campuses." \textit{Journal of College Student Development}, no. 1, 59

\textsuperscript{27}Jen’nan Ghazal, Read, and John P. Bartkowski, "To veil or not to veil? A case study of identity negotiation among Muslim women in Austin, Texas," \textit{Gender & Society}, no. 3, 405

\textsuperscript{28}Jen’nan Ghazal, Read, and John P. Bartkowski, "To veil or not to veil? A case study of identity negotiation among Muslim women in Austin, Texas," \textit{Gender & Society}, no. 3, 405

\textsuperscript{29}Rhys H. Williams, and GiraVashi, "Hijab and American Muslim Women: Creating the Space for Autonomous Selves," \textit{Sociology of Religion}, no. 3, 284
\end{flushleft}
its religious and social meanings. “While the veil carries a religious significance, it is a social symbol as well; women have come to use it to fulfill other needs.”

**Production of Hijabs & the Factors of the Economy**

The process of producing hijabs and the factors that affect the economy is examined within the Islamic culture and interpreting the meaning of what a veil is and how it’s referenced towards hijabs from different regions of Muslim countries is also discussed.

The veil is politically defined as a symbol of religious and patriarchal oppression against Islamic women, while a dictionary definition describes it as a type of clothing that covers a woman’s hair (most of the face) with a cloth like material; however, the term hijab in Arabic is referenced as “to separate or to hide from sight.” The definition of a hijab is not a term afflicted upon a female ‘sartorial practice’ and in the Qur’an—hijabs are not instituted towards a Muslim women’s clothing, nor it is used to describe a dress code against women.

However, from a historical and cultural tradition, the word hijab has been influenced among Muslim society as a proper women’s dress. The several different types of hijabs presented are known to be factors that derive from religious interpretation, customs, fashion,

---


32 NeclaArat, “Beijing and Beyond: Towards the Twenty-First Century of Women,” in *Women’s Studies Quarterly*, No. ½, 401

33 Amer, Sahar, *What is Veiling?*, UNC Press Books, 12

34 Amer, Sahar, *What is Veiling?*, UNC Press Books, 13
race, ethnicity, geographical location, and the political system of that society—each hijab has a
different set of style of clothing to it that makes it not just a religious matter but because of
culture and geography, the definition of the veil does not contain just one universal meaning that
reflects upon all Muslim women.

In chapter one of Amer Sahars, “What is veiling?: Understanding Veiling in Islamic
Sacred Texts,” discusses the ideology that Muslim women veil because of the strict-Islamic
religious practice in terms of their family structure, as well as do to ‘political pressure.’

Observing Muslim women’s clothing with reference to the Islamic sacred text, such as the
Qur’an, is discussed with regards to Islamic veiling within Muslim countries.

First, Sahar observes the term hijab and translates the following Qur’anic terms from
scholars M.A.S Abdel Haleem and Arthur Arberry in regards to Muslim women and their dress
code. The term and the meaning of hijab is mentioned in the Qur’an only seven-times: Q 7:46;
Q 17:45; Q 19: 16-17; Q 33: 53; Q 38: 32; Q 41: 5; Q 42:51.

Regarding the seven-times the term hijab has been mentioned in the Qur’an, about five of
these terms do not observe women and the subject of the Islamic dress code; however, only
two (Q 19: 16-17 and Q 33: 53) mention the term hijab in regards to Muslim women in general,

35 Amer, Sahar, What is Veiling?, UNC Press Books, 13-14
36 Amer, Sahar, What is Veiling?, UNC Press Books, 14
37 Amer, Sahar, What is Veiling?, UNC Press Books, 21
38 Amer, Sahar, What is Veiling?, UNC Press Books, 21
39 Amer, Sahar, What is Veiling?, UNC Press Books, 23
40 Amer, Sahar, What is Veiling?, UNC Press Books, 23
41 Amer, Sahar, What is Veiling?, UNC Press Books, 23
but Q 19: 16-17 does not refer back to women’s clothing. Scholars and other Muslims reference the Q 33: 53 verse as “the verse of the hijab,” known as a revelation on the subject of Muslim women veiling—in regards to veiling as an Islamic duty.

The Islamic codes with regards to an ideological set of resources that constructs a Muslim women’s identity, and such ‘symbolic’ relationship between religion and market will emerge as a domestic factor that affects the economy of the Muslim country, which also institutes as a major actor in the hijab fashion industry. The observation shifted to the Islamic codes because of influence from majority of Muslim countries, such as Egypt, describe the relationship between religion and other institutionalized-social structures and how it can be an influence towards a Muslim women’s choice of consumption.

In Egypt, the Pink Hijab is a symbol of generations, deterring away from centuries of restrictions through the Islamic code and the redefining of ‘what it means to wear a hijab from young Egyptian women’s perception.’

“The change is visible in virtually every Muslim country. The young are shedding black and gray garb for clothing more colorful and even shape revealing, albeit still modest.

---

42 Amer, Sahar, *What is Veiling?*, UNC Press Books, 23

43 Amer, Sahar, *What is Veiling?*, UNC Press Books, 23

44 Sandikci, Ozlem, and Guliz, Ger, “Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, No. 1, 32

45 Sandikci, Ozlem, and Guliz, Ger, “Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, No. 1, 32

46 Sandikci, Ozlem, and Guliz, Ger, “Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, No. 1, 32

47 Robin, Wright, "The pink hijab," *Wilson Quarterly*, 49
Pink is the most popular hue. Women in their teens, twenties, and thirties also flavor their faith with shades of pastel blue, bright yellow, and rustic orange, occasionally trimmed with sparkles, tassels, or even feathers. Hijab stores from Gaza to Jakarta now carry everything from long denim dresses with rhinestone designs to frilly frock with matching scarves.”  

—Robin Wright, “The Pink Hijab” (2011)

In the patriarchal Arab world—“For many young women from Muslim developing countries, the hijab has become now about liberation, not confinement.”—the veil for Egyptian women is symbolized as a mask demonstrating the ‘power struggle’ a Muslim Egyptian woman faces against the dictatorship of Egyptian men in society.  

This power struggle mentioned before is portrayed as a basic right for Egyptian women to have because the veil has emerged to become an equalizer between both sexes. Egyptian women should have the right to their own decision-making in the patriarchal Arab world. The several types of hijabs that exist in Muslim countries today have become a symbol for change—as well as protection from militants targeting Egyptian women because of the corrupt Western influences present in their Muslim society. In short, veiling can have many meanings:

48 Robin, Wright, "The pink hijab," Wilson Quarterly, 49
49 Robin, Wright, "The pink hijab," Wilson Quarterly, 50
50 Robin, Wright, "The pink hijab," Wilson Quarterly, 50
51 Robin, Wright, "The pink hijab," Wilson Quarterly, 50
52 Robin, Wright, "The pink hijab," Wilson Quarterly, 50
53 Robin, Wright, "The pink hijab," Wilson Quarterly, 50
54 Robin, Wright, "The pink hijab," Wilson Quarterly, 50
“[Headscarves] create a tent of tranquility. The serene spirit sent from God is called by a feminine name, ‘sakinah,’ in the Qur’an, and I understand why some Muslim women like to wear their prayer clothes for more than prayer, to take that sakinah into the world with them.”


The Islamic government policies promote certain type of textile industries can be an influence towards domestic factors, such as Iran, affect the economy of the Muslim country. Textile industries play an important role in the development of Muslim countries because it economically defines their share in international markets and competiveness within its industries.

Thus, the demand for promotion of different styles in textile industries is rising in terms of need and having an organized economy in the outcome. However, even though Iran has relative advantages in servicing its Islamic society in needs of textile, clothing, and exportation of markets—as their paramount obligation to its people—Iran fails in the achievement of a ‘good-standing’ position in the worlds economy.

The Iranians lack interdependence and lose millions in terms of their national economy; forty-percent of their products for textile industrial needs are distributed within its provinces.

---

55 Amer, Sahar, *What is Veiling?*, UNC Press Books, 21
56 Seidi, Mohsen, "Iran accession to WTO and its effects on textile industries," 164
57 Seidi, Mohsen, "Iran accession to WTO and its effects on textile industries," 164
58 Seidi, Mohsen, "Iran accession to WTO and its effects on textile industries," 164
59 Seidi, Mohsen, "Iran accession to WTO and its effects on textile industries," 164
import from Turkey, China, Dubai, and Australia.  Thus, when observing veiling practice and the Iranian youth, they frame veiling as a symbol of political and social issue, instead of religious matters.  When in Iran, wearing dark chadors symbolizes and represents the Islamic Iranian society as whole in terms of respecting revolutionary values.

Nevertheless, the Iranian youth in contemporary Iran, “While wearing form-fitting overcoats, open-toes shoes, and ankle-revealing skirts, loose headscarves, t-shirts without collars, and shorts, the youth vandalize poster of Khomeini. This seemingly insignificant wardrobe choice is, in fact, a strong sign of disaffection with and lack of support for the Iranian regime.”

In regards to public or private fashion shows, the Iranians continues to practice veiling and the youth frames veiling as a symbol of political and social issue, instead of it correlating with religious matters. However, religion demonstrated by (Iranian) Muslim fashion designers, display their Islamic values and sensibility by conducting fashion shows during mid-March because of the Iranian New Year Norouz.

---

60Seidi, Mohsen, "Iran accession to WTO and its effects on textile industries," 164

61Ceriello, Caroline K, "Growing Against the Grain: Turkish and Iranian Youth on Religious-Secular Tensions," 121

62Ceriello, Caroline K, "Growing Against the Grain: Turkish and Iranian Youth on Religious-Secular Tensions," 121

63Ceriello, Caroline K, "Growing Against the Grain: Turkish and Iranian Youth on Religious-Secular Tensions," 121

64Ceriello, Caroline K, "Growing Against the Grain: Turkish and Iranian Youth on Religious-Secular Tensions," 121

65Amer, Sahar, What is Veiling?, UNC Press Books, 165
Islamic Marketing

Defining the term ‘Islamic marketing’ and observing the increase in full proliferation of hijab fashion industries within Muslim countries—Islamic studies, to business management, and other social sciences—Islamic marketing is a term that is described by Jonathan A.J. Wilson to be viewed as “very new, and reflective of an emergent phenomenon which stretches across the Muslim world and beyond.” 66

The development of a new Islamic culture industry has had positive outcomes in terms of its new market production revolving around ‘the fashionable hijab’ 67 and other domestic factors, such as: advertising, media, business, and consumption. 68 Through the market industry, the construction of Muslim women and of their social norms and values are defined, re-defined, and represented from the perceptions of capitalism. 69

Wilson's editorial on Islamic marketing, “The new wave of transformational Islamic marketing: Reflections and definitions,” interprets the hijab as a headscarf that imposes religious obligations on Muslim women. Islamic veiling is referenced as fashionable clothing used to cover-up the essence of their beauty in day-to-day social interaction within the Muslim

---


67Banu, Gökariksel, and Ellen McLarney. "Muslim women, consumer capitalism, and the Islamic culture industry," *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies* 6, no. 3, 1

68Banu, Gökariksel, and Ellen McLarney. "Muslim women, consumer capitalism, and the Islamic culture industry," *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies* 6, no. 3, 1

69Banu, Gökariksel, and Ellen McLarney. "Muslim women, consumer capitalism, and the Islamic culture industry," *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies* 6, no. 3, 2
community. Thus, a model on the *three-points of definition* on Islamic marketing will be demonstrated in regards to becoming major actors, as well as looking over the increase in full proliferation of hijab fashion industries within Muslim countries:

1. Demonstrating a higher-Islamic marketing ‘perspective’ by being aware of the culture is an essential for becoming a major actor; also, viewing the opinions of other marketers and consumers is seen as a skill or trait to have, if one is associated within Islamic marketing.  

2. An understanding of the Islamic point of view in regards to ethical norms and values of how a Muslim woman demonstrates these social norms is knowledge in terms of becoming a major actor and exporter of hijab apparel.  

3. Defining what veiling is through the Islamic codes of conduct, tradition, as well as government policies in Wilson’s model of Islamic marketing with regards to becoming major actors and observing the increase in full proliferation of hijab fashion industries within Muslim countries.  

The hijab is a reason (domestic factor) for rising capitalism in Muslim countries and its *expressions* are examined throughout the research question—in regards to Islamic marketing in

---


71 Jonathan AJ, Wilson, "The new wave of transformational Islamic marketing: reflections and definitions," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 3, no. 1, 6-10

72 Jonathan AJ, Wilson, "The new wave of transformational Islamic marketing: reflections and definitions," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 3, no. 1, 6-10

73 Jonathan AJ, Wilson, "The new wave of transformational Islamic marketing: reflections and definitions," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 3, no. 1, 6-10
hijab fashion industries. The observation on the Islamic culture industry is a variety of Muslim women’s identities depicted in terms of gender, class, and nationality.  

Banu Gokariksel and Ellen Mclarney’s article, *Muslim women, consumer capitalism, and the Islamic culture industry*, suggests in the Islamic market fashion industry that veiling is a brand or label for Muslim women within developing countries. “Veiling transforms the iconic symbol of Muslim women and Islam into a commodity moving through the ever changing cycles of the global fashion industry.” Nevertheless, trying to produce a marketable image for Muslim women is tough to acquire because one must appreciate the Islamic code and consumer capitalism.

**Hijab Regional Styles**

When observing several types of hijabs and questioning their differences in regards to historical, cultural-traditions, and the regional areas the veils have been developed within—hijabs are increasing in variety and influence of which styles of blending colors, shapes, and designs—emerging in Muslim countries to become more or less popular in regards to the given time in the Islamic society.

---

74 Banu, Gökarişel, and Ellen McLarney. "Muslim women, consumer capitalism, and the Islamic culture industry," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 6, no. 3, 6

75 Banu, Gökarişel, and Ellen McLarney. "Muslim women, consumer capitalism, and the Islamic culture industry," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 6, no. 3, 7

76 Banu, Gökarişel, and Ellen McLarney. "Muslim women, consumer capitalism, and the Islamic culture industry," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 6, no. 3, 7

77 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Aesthetics, ethics and politics of the Turkish headscarf," *Clothing as material culture*, 67

78 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Aesthetics, ethics and politics of the Turkish headscarf," *Clothing as material culture*, 67
“Achieving a beautiful and faithful look requires a creative and resourceful negotiation of the subjective meanings, social influences, and the fashion dynamics…”79 The rise of hijab fashion industry is fundamentally associated with the rise of capitalism in Muslim-majority countries. However, the driving factors of Islamic fashion marketing rely on a variety of political, social, and religious narratives about the devout Muslim women’s access to fashion.

Through, ‘History of Appearance and Distribution of Hijab, discussed by K.Zh. Monkebayeva, N.Zh. Baitenova, and A.A. Mustafayeva, demonstrate the history in the rise and spread of hijabs and its types 80—in comparison to the observation proposed before—hijabs are portrayed as a symbol of practice for many reasons in terms of the local traditions and the regions custom. 81 In other Muslim regions, such as tropical countries, hijabs are veiled for protection from sand, dust, and sunlight. 82

Thus, companies utilize a mix of consumerist marketing and appeal to modestly, couple with export of modern fashion products in regions of low tariffs to reach global audiences. As a result, Islamic hijab fashion industry has generated and expanded its markets domestically and internationally.

79 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Aesthetics, ethics and politics of the Turkish headscarf," Clothing as material culture, 66


Figure 1. Hijab Style Abaya, Zipped Color Block abaya, “One of our favorites from the new collection, we love everything about this stunning abaya. Simple details and color blocking done right, this long dress boasts contrasting hews in a flattering silhouette perfect for every body type,”
Source: shukronline.com
Figure 2. Hijab Style
Khimar, Azure Bliss Khimar exquisite abaya, “The ultimate choice for a special day. Flowing styles in hue of teal features pleats on bodice and accentuated with crystal-embellished motifs deliver a sparkling finish. Azure Bliss also features a flattering fit and the shape falls beautifully by flaring at the skirt. Undeniably sophisticated, exquisite and elegant, wear yours with a crepe flower scarf and black or gold crystal clutch,”

Source: khimaronline.co.uk
Figure 3. Hijab Style Chador, Street fashion for hijab Iranian styles; Humans of Iran, “Iranian women have had their special way of wearing from the time that Islam was introduced to Iran. Nowadays they are trying to create an identity and maintain an Iranian style of hijab fashion, pretty much similar to many other Muslim countries. But what is an Iranian hijab style,”

Source: dreamofiran.com
Figure 4. Hijab Style
Burqa, Black Lycra
readymade burqa,
“Embroidered with stone
work, it comes along with
Lycra mouth cover and faux
georgette dupatta,” Source:
utsavfashion.com
**Figure 5.** Hijab Style Niqab, Lady at Gulhane Park in Istanbul, Turkey; Mohannad Khatib, “Although the Niqab is not a required in Islam, many women opt to wear it. With the red tulips and the relaxing couple in the background, the Niqab Lady at Gulhane Park presented an interesting candid portrait.” **Source:** ngm.nationalgeographic.com
Thus, demonstrated through images, the hijab style known as the *Abaya* (see Figure. 1) is a long traditional, cut-free dress that does not need a belt. 83 It is a type of veiling seen in (mandated) Arab countries and it’s designed (traditionally in black) to be worn in public areas. 84 The *Khimar* is a mild form of head-cover (see Figure. 2) that varies in its ‘length and mannerism’ but is a common headscarf veiled throughout the Middle East, such as Turkey and by the European Muslim women. 85

However, the *Chador* (see Figure. 3) is portrayed to be an Iranian (version), traditional clothing for the Islamic (Persian) women. 87 It’s a blanket that covers the entire body, also the individuals’ choice of veiling the face with additional fabric—mostly in the colors white, blue, or black—including the head as well. 88 The *Burqa* (see Figure. 4) is mandated for women in Afghanistan and Northwest Pakistan in regards to revealing the eyes with a tightened net and

---


covering the head with a blanket. Also, the veil is a long gown that hides the body with false sleeves and is usually made from cheap plastic in the color blue.

Lastly, the Niqab is termed as the Arabic ‘mask’ a form of veiling that only reveals the women’s eyes (see Figure. 5) and is designed to be a hat that would cover the hair and the face of the Muslim women. The color black is regulated in terms of dress code and can be attached like a veil—other forms and combinations of niqabs are based on local traditions of the region.

### Reviewing the Factors

Hijabs are in many ways an outcome for rising capitalism within majority of Muslim countries in regards to theory based off of developing countries rising in capitalism. Islamic women want to express themselves through their identities, as well as to demonstrate upper-class society. It is a privilege to understand fashion since it’s a cultural system of meanings—clothes are defined because of cultural mediation, such as observing the real reason behind Fashion

---


93 Banu, Gökariksel, and Ellen McLarney. "Muslim women, consumer capitalism, and the Islamic culture industry." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 6, no. 3, 1

Week—designers increase their sales by showcasing their collections to new buyers and press.  

The hijab is a cultural resource that does not only go against inequality but it also represents a Muslim women’s traditional identity from the process of creating their own lives through the practice of veiling.

The hijab is a fashion statement demonstrated along with its religious and social meanings. The veil is politically defined as a symbol of religious and patriarchal oppression against Islamic women, while a dictionary definition describes it as a type of clothing that covers a woman’s hair (most of the face) with a cloth like material; however, the term hijab in Arabic is referenced as “to separate or to hide from sight.”

Muslim women veil because of the strict-Islamic religious practice in terms of their family structure, as well as do to ‘political pressure,’ is a stereotypical-ideology. Thus, Muslim women veiling with regards to the Islamic sacred text, such as the Qur’an, Muslim women’s clothing is defined.


96 Rhys H. Williams, and GiraVashi, "Hijab and American Muslim Women: Creating the Space for Autonomous Selves," Sociology of Religion, no. 3, 284


98 Necla Arat, “Beijing and Beyond: Towards the Twenty-First Century of Women,” in Women’s Studies Quarterly, No. ½, 401

99 Amer, Sahar, What is Veiling?, UNC Press Books, 12

100 Amer, Sahar, What is Veiling?, UNC Press Books, 21

101 Amer, Sahar, What is Veiling?, UNC Press Books, 21
In Egypt, the *Pink Hijab* is a symbol of generations, deterring away from centuries of restrictions through the Islamic code and the redefining of ‘what it means to wear a hijab from young Egyptian women’s perception.’ 102 Veiling practice through the Islamic government policies, reference to the Iranian youth, frame veiling as a symbol of political and social issue, instead of religious matters. 103 When in Iran, wearing dark chadors symbolizes and represents the Islamic Iranian society as whole in terms of respecting revolutionary values. 104

The *three-points of definition* on Islamic marketing demonstrates how to become major actors, as well as how to look over the increase in full proliferation of hijab fashion industries within Muslim countries. The Islamic market fashion industry discusses veiling as a brand or label for Muslim women within developing countries. Hijabs portray as a symbol of practice for many reasons in terms of the local traditions and the regions custom. 105 Meanwhile, in other Muslim regions, such as tropical countries, hijabs are veiled for protection from sand, dust, and sunlight. 106

102 Robin, Wright, "The pink hijab," *Wilson Quarterly*, 49

103 Ceriello, Caroline K, "Growing Against the Grain: Turkish and Iranian Youth on Religious-Secular Tensions," 121

104 Ceriello, Caroline K, "Growing Against the Grain: Turkish and Iranian Youth on Religious-Secular Tensions," 121


Case Study on Turkey

The hijabs main purpose of serving protection by fencing away from the public eye has…“Evolved from local forms of clothing in accordance with the ideological and social norms of society,” 107 also, from the process of different periods between national and regional areas of Muslim countries. 108 Nevertheless, the hijab in a political and cultural aspect has emerged with the rise of Islamic groups to power and the emergence of new entrepreneurial-conservative businessmen to build profit out of hijab fashion industries. 109

When reviewing the case study on comparing the marketing of hijabs within Muslim countries, such as in Turkey, and how the Islamic country tries to sell their tesettur apparel globally—religion and the interdependence desire for the markets in the Islamic culture have

---


109 Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettur: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies, No. 3, 121-122
become domestic factors—deriving from the adaptation of ‘fashion marketing tools and the professionalization of tesettur stores in Turkey.’

“Religion affects marketplace activities. Religious traditions and institutions can influence the rules of trade, prohibit or obligate the trade of certain products, and affect the time and place of markets…” The demand for certain goods and services are met by the marketplace in regards to spiritual practice and beliefs.

Thus, the markets paramount obligations are to serve and develop to meet the demand of the people through political and strategic mechanism, markets are able to influence society in terms of religion. Also, fast-fashion has emerged within Turkey as a change in the culture of fashion in regards to ‘ready-to-wear’ fast fashion—replenishment considerations are less popular—suppliers replenish between ‘selling seasons’ in regards to…

“Designs remain[ing] in the market region…Today’s buyers are different from the ready-to-wear buyers in that they have already freed themselves from what they call the ‘seasonal-collection trap,’ and consequently order many different items (but small quantities of each of these items) through the year.”

---

110 Sandikci, Ozlem, and Guliz Ger, “Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, No. 1, 32

111 Sandikci, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," *Fashion Theory* 11, no. 2, 191

112 Sandikci, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," *Fashion Theory* 11, no. 2, 191

113 Sandikci, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," *Fashion Theory* 11, no. 2, 191

The *tesettur* requires reconstructing from such, ‘fashion marketing tools,’ in order for it to be developed into a *soft tesettur*. Nevertheless, the proliferation and reconstructing of the *tesettur* as a clothing option by the market in the hijab fashion industry did not simply develop. The markets contemporary role in the demand increases of both ‘appeal and visibility’ for the *tesettur* is lead into the observation of interdependence in media and pop-culture as another domestic factor. “The reconstruction of individual fields of cultural production that reverberate within public understand of people’s place, and hence of their rights and entitlements, in a given society.”

**What is Tesettur?**

“We believe that through following these tensions we can map out the relationship between a material object and the self, and understand how the headscarf and head covering practices embody the struggle between remaining faithful to the Qur’anic principles on religiously appropriate dressing and constructing a fashionable, beautiful and modern appearance.”

---

115 Sandikci, Ozlem, and Guliz, Ger, “Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, No. 1, 32

116 Sandikci, Ozlem, and Guliz, Ger, “Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, No. 1, 32

117 Sandikci, Ozlem, and Guliz, Ger, “Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, No. 1, 32

118 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey,” *Fashion Theory* 11, no. 2, 191

119 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Aesthetics, ethics and politics of the Turkish headscarf,” *Clothing as material culture*, 61
The Muslim, yet secular societies, political issue with the headscarf began in Turkey in the 1980’s because of its cultural reform associating with the transformation of the political headscarf in the large sectors of Turkish society. *Vernacular politics*—a cultural-political ideology—is referenced with regards to Islamist movement in Turkey during the 1990’s. *Vernacular politics*—a cultural-political ideology—is referenced with regards to Islamist movement in Turkey during the 1990’s. Although, “The Islamist movement in Turkey in the 90’s up to twenty-first century is a community and value centered political process that, despite its local roots, is able to draw large numbers of people of diverse background into national politics;” *Islamist mobilization, then, whether in Turkey or Iran, may not really be about religion…”

However, the rise of the headscarf as a symbol of political Islam is examined with reference to the strict reinforcement on the ban of religious clothing in schools and public space. Thus, “Islamist feminist show, the movement toward a ‘conscious Islam’ and adoption of *tesettur* veiling as a distinguishing mark indicate a high concern for religion and its interpretation within society…” *Turkey entered the emergence of politicization within Islam and recognized*

---

120 Banu, Gökarıksel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35, no. 3, 315


123 Christian, Pond, "Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics (review)." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 1, no. 2, 146

124 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Aesthetics, ethics and politics of the Turkish headscarf," *Clothing as material culture*, 62

125 Christian, Pond, "Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics (review)." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 1, no. 2, 146
the polarity between secularists and Islamists.  

Up to now, veiling fashion is discussed as a ‘high-profile’ political debate in Turkey. 

In the 1970’s, Turkey’s apparel industry became ‘well-developed’ in terms of their textile sector. Since then, the liberalization of the Turkish economy has been successful because of Turkey’s relationship with Europe and the Custom Union, between the years 1959 to 1996, on the basis of apparel exportation. "Although the turban continues to operate as a symbol of political Islam, it also circulates as an object of material culture, subject to various consumption and production dynamics." 

Turkey has a leading export economy; the Muslim country is the fourth largest apparel exporter in the world (WTO 2008). Through Istanbul Apparel and Textile Exporters’ Associations Bureau (ITKIB) had implemented export-oriented state policies—exporters must legally be registered—reported over 11,000 producing exportation from apparel firms with 14

---

126 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Aesthetics, ethics and politics of the Turkish headscarf," Clothing as material culture, 62

127 Banu, Gökarkinşel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35, no. 3, 316

128 Banu, Gökarkinşel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35, no. 3, 316

129 Banu, Gökarkinşel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35, no. 3, 316

130 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Aesthetics, ethics and politics of the Turkish headscarf," Clothing as material culture, 62

131 Banu, Gökarkinşel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35, no. 3, 316

132 Banu, Gökarkinşel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35, no. 3, 316
billion dollars in apparel exports in 2007 (WTO 2008). “The initial uniformity of attire, characterized by the large scarf and the accompanying loose-fitting long overcoat, gradually transformed into heterogeneity of dressing styles, signaling the educated, young Islamist women. Textile companies catering to the Islamists developed rapidly…”

However, Turkey’s continues to rise as a leading export economy in the European apparel markets because of the capability to trade without tariffs, such as with Germany, the United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands (IGEM 2009). The unique assemblage of fashion and Islamic dress that we are calling veiling-fashion is one such area in which Turkish apparel firms have taken a leading role in design and branding.

Also, “Adopting fashion marketing tools, some of these companies aggressively publicize their clothing lines through fashion shows, catalogues, and television and newspaper advertisements,” because “These women spend a lot of time, money and effort to achieve their desired look, and use the headscarf as a means for projecting their aesthetic judgments, religious interpretations, and social positions.”

---

133 Banu, Gökarkinçel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35, no. 3, 316

134 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Aesthetics, ethics and politics of the Turkish headscarf," Clothing as material culture, 62

135 Banu, Gökarkinçel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35, no. 3, 316


137 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Aesthetics, ethics and politics of the Turkish headscarf," Clothing as material culture, 62

138 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Aesthetics, ethics and politics of the Turkish headscarf," Clothing as material culture, 80
Media and the Household Item

The media’s representation of images and advertisement is a domestic factor affects the economy in Turkey as a major actor in the hijab fashion industry. When looking at Turkish Islamic sociopolitical (social and political factors) movements, Muslim intellectuals have gained access to media technology to interpret ‘textual communities’ in regards to involving Islamic women in current debates and activities.  

The rapid increase of Islamic principles, as well as the ‘vision of life’ is a domestic factor viewed from the media by young women, (distant generation from Islamic practice), which affects the economy as a major actor in the hijab fashion industry. The observation on the

---


140 Sandikci, Ozlem, and Guliz, Ger, “Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, No. 1, 32
Islamic culture industry has a variety of Muslim women’s identities depicted in terms of gender, class, and nationality. ¹⁴¹

Within Turkey, the media is a forum for open discussions on the social and political movements of what constitutes a proper covering (the veil) and the important factors which allows the development of the *soft tesettur*. ¹⁴² "The media, as a major actor in the hijab fashion industry, has contributed to the transformation of new Islamic elites."¹⁴³ Thus, employment opportunities for Islamic women have been provided by the Islamic companies in order for women to choose career paths that were related to the change of their lifestyle and the development of *soft tesetturs*. ¹⁴⁴

Femininity is a domestic factor on how the media’s representation of images and advertisement are represented in terms of affecting the economy in Turkey, as a major actor in the hijab fashion industry, portraying to be as one of (capitalist) consumers most viable fashion marketing tools, allowing Turkey to continue to sell commodities, such as headscarves for veiling. ¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ Banu, Gökariksel, and Ellen McLarney. "Muslim women, consumer capitalism, and the Islamic culture industry." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 6, no. 3, 6

¹⁴² Sandikci, Ozlem, and Guliz, Ger, “Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, No. 1, 32

¹⁴³ Sandikci, Ozlem, and Guliz, Ger, “Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, No. 1, 32

¹⁴⁴ Sandikci, Ozlem, and Guliz, Ger, “Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, No. 1, 32

¹⁴⁵ Sandikci, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," *Fashion Theory* 11, no. 2, 201
“Positive images about tesettur women; they seek to not only decrease fear among the secular population but also to instill self-confidence in covered women who can proudly claim that they look as fashionable and attractive as uncovered women can proudly claim that they look as fashionable and attractive as uncovered women…”

“Constructing and Representing the Islamic Consumer in Turkey,” by Ozlem Sandikci and Guliz Ger, discuss the observation made with reference to ‘femininity’ advertised in images and symbolize beauty and fashion as ideals—women have become objects of desire.

Source: peopleofshambhala.com

---

146 Sandikci, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," *Fashion Theory* 11, no. 2, 201

147 Sandikci, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," *Fashion Theory* 11, no. 2, 201
Initially, the markets development and generating product in terms of interest (demand) is instituted towards consumers to increase their consumption on a specific product. Thus, *tesettur* marketers demonstrate their changes in their collections by advertising the modification made on style and identifying new needs in regards to communicating with consumers in order to become ‘better marketers.’ Nonetheless, market action takes place in institutional contexts and market institutions are shaped by legal, political, and conventional constraints that are not always designed with economic outcomes in mind.

Ozlem and Ger introduce the previous quote by analyzing the ‘threat of fundamentalist activities’ on the subject of banning headscarves from the public sphere in Turkey on February 28, 1997—universities and state offices affected as well—in terms of outcome on the design and advertising of headscarves, specifically towards *tesettur* clothing.

The event on September 11, 2001 is also a triggering factor in terms of impact on hijab fashion in Muslim countries and an affect on the market institutions being influenced through conventional constraints demonstrated outside of ‘economic constraints.’ Through the media and stigmatized images on the portrayal of Muslim women veiling had emerged as a

---


149 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," *Fashion Theory* 11, no. 2, 203

150 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," *Fashion Theory* 11, no. 2, 203

151 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," *Fashion Theory* 11, no. 2, 203

152 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," *Fashion Theory* 11, no. 2, 203
symbol of ‘Islamist militancy’ and was quickly stripped away from its modest, elegant, and modern appearance.  

_Tesettur_ fashion is quickly evolved in terms of black and dark colors; as well as veiling large headscarves became less popular as the outcome of these events. Thus, secularists argued against the media being a major actor in the hijab fashion industry and its contribution to the transformation of new_tesettur_ fashion in contemporary Turkey. ’Tesettur women dress donot reflect change in the ideological position, or a ‘softening’ of religious politics; rather, it is a disguise.

Many believe that fashionable styles of tesettur are tools for self-concealment, and beneath the façade of a trendily covered woman is the will to change the regime and introduce Islamic law in Turkey.’ However, from a marketing perspective, the change in the ideological position and representation of _tesettur_ fashion through consumers (Muslim women) portrays the transformation as a sign of ‘market maturation.’ The media’s representation of _tesettur_ fashion is a domestic factor that will affect the economy in Turkey as a major actor in the hijab fashion industry.

---

153Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," _Fashion Theory_ 11, no. 2, 203

154Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," _Fashion Theory_ 11, no. 2, 203

155Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," _Fashion Theory_ 11, no. 2, 205

156Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," _Fashion Theory_ 11, no. 2, 202
The Designs of Tesettur in Turkey

With regards to Islamic government policies promoting certain type of textile industries can be an influence towards domestic factors that affect Turkey’s economy, as a major actor in the hijab fashion industry, since the 1980s. The textile industries in Turkey have developed as a factor in the tesettur industry because of the involvement with Muslim bourgeoisie, which increased the rise in political Islam.\(^{157}\)

Leading textile industries, such as Aydan Tesettur, demonstrates their fashion in service to Islam, as one of the largest manufactures and retailers for Muslim women in Turkey.\(^{158}\) Since 1994, the rise of ‘Islam-oriented political parties’ in Turkey had become a factor in the rapid increase of tesettur fashion industries and also, a trend that is influenced from the marketing of Islamic products and lifestyles.\(^{159}\)

Thus, leading to the designs of tesetturs as a major actor in the hijab fashion industry because of their production of textile industries in Turkey is recognized.\(^{160}\) Also, how tesettur fashion demonstrates several unique styles within company catalogs in terms of women’s fashion

---

\(^{157}\) Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettur: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, No. 3, 118

\(^{158}\) Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettur: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, No. 3, 118-119

\(^{159}\) Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettur: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, No. 3, 122

\(^{160}\) Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettur: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, No. 3, 122
and tesetturs ‘become negotiable elements of everyday practice,’ in a Muslim country is analyzed. 161

The design of tesettur is demonstrated to be a domestic factor that can affect Turkey’s economy, as a major actor in the hijab fashion industry. Tesetturs produced in contemporary society within Turkey seem to demonstrate the market’s new diverse yet, colorful tesetturs changing in style on a daily basis. 162 “We have no intention of using tesettur for the purpose of fashion. Just the opposite, in fact, we intend to use fashion for the agenda of tesettur…”163

Tekbir Giyim, another leading textile industry in Turkey demonstrates the companies development in regards to the ‘forces of globalization’ having an influence towards the global appeal of tesettur fashion. 164 Marketing of tesettur fashion with regards to Islamic product and lifestyles—the proliferation of tesettur fashion industries—through the rise of Islamic political parties in Turkey. 165

As discussed, the media’s representation of tesettur fashion is a domestic factor that will affect the economy in Turkey as a major actor in the hijab fashion industry. “Observing the demand for dressing in a religiously appropriate but fashionable way, Tekbir’s motto became ‘to

161 Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettur: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies, No. 3, 122

162 Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettur: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies, No. 3, 122

163 Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettur: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies, No. 3, 119

164 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," Fashion Theory 11, no. 2, 204

165 Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettur: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies, No. 3, 122
make covering beautiful’ and mixing religious aspirations with capitalist ambitions, Tekbir Giyim utilizes all the tools of fashion marketing to reach its target segment.”

Source: fashionminutes.com

Muslim designers in most developing countries, such as in Turkey, have been creating new lines of clothing in terms of engaging the Islamic society ‘as a whole’ in participating in the global fashion industry. "We want to change the way this product has been sold for centuries. Our vision is to cheer up the world of hijab," Tarik Houchar, owner of Hijab House (2013).

---

166 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Göliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," *Fashion Theory* 11, no. 2, 204

167 Amer, Sahar, *What is Veiling?*, UNC Press Books, 164
In the 1970’s, most Muslim women had to sew their own hijabs because of the limited resources/access to Islamic ‘modest’ dress stores to serve the needs (demand) for the rising middle class. Also, between the 1980’s and 1990’s, other Muslim women had to venture too specialized stores to purchase their abayas or hijabs. 169

_Tesettur_ fashion industries are growing and supporting designers, styling salons, and makeup artists. 170 Muslim fashion designers argue on the basis of Islamic fashion industries becoming economically beneficial to Muslim countries—Muslim fashion supports local economies—making it an important factor in regards to national economies offering Muslim countries a source of wealth and development. 171

However, veiled Muslim women in contemporary Turkey have access to resources and stores because of Western influence in regards to Islamic fashion festivals introducing new uniquetesettur styles. 172 Tekbir Giyim was the first to introduce a fashion show in Turkey (1992) by featuring famous Turkish models demonstrating showcased swimwear, lingerie, and secular clothes. 173 Nevertheless, the Islamic fashion show displayed their values and sensibility by

---

168 Amer, Sahar, _What is Veiling?_, UNC Press Books, 148
169 Amer, Sahar, _What is Veiling?_, UNC Press Books, 154
170 Amer, Sahar, _What is Veiling?_, UNC Press Books, 165
171 Amer, Sahar, _What is Veiling?_, UNC Press Books, 166
172 Amer, Sahar, _What is Veiling?_, UNC Press Books, 165
173 Amer, Sahar, _What is Veiling?_, UNC Press Books, 165
veiling headscarves, overcoats, long dresses, and suits for the Muslim conservatives and secularists that appalled the idea of fashion shows in Islamic societies. 174

“The conflict between secularists and Islamist women was a central arena for the production of such fantasies for Turkey’s local culture. On the axis of this politics of identity, women’s practices of everyday life were the central focus of arguments over the meaning of Turkish culture.”175

The marketing focused on ‘cheering’ up ‘the hijab women’ to be as beautiful as ‘the secular women,’ which made it much more appealing—not only to domestic audiences—but internationally as well. An interview from the secular news magazine on Mr. Cafer Karaduman, a partner of Tekbir Giyim, discusses the development of the company manufacturing into a multinational tesettur apparel chain: 176

“When we began manufacturing in 1983, we were going through a period when the effects of the [1980] military coup were heavily felt. There was an authoritarian regime. We decided to produce tesettur clothes. We were not the only producer. Other manufacturers were operating as if they were the representatives of tarikats (religious sects). There were shops that were catering the members of the tarikats they belonged to. We can characterize [Tekbir] as a company that moved out of this. We advanced from

174 Amer, Sahar, What is Veiling?, UNC Press Books, 165

175 Navaro-Yashin, Yael, Faces of the state: Secularism and public life in Turkey, Princeton University Press, 26

176 Sandikci, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," Fashion Theory 11, no. 2, 204
tarikats to the public. Nowhere in the world is there resistance to fashion and music.

People adapt [to fashion] easily and we take advantage of this…”¹⁷⁷

—Quoted in Kas 1999 by Mr. Cafer Karaduman

Tesettur Producing Firms

The following table is demonstrating sectors (tesettur producing firms) in terms of the year they were founded, their current location on exportation of tesetturs, the proportion of exports in total production, and the proportion of production in veiling-fashion. “Technological visual analyses through catalog images are the formal strategies of economic, social, and political relations, institutions, and practices that surround an image and through which it is seen and used.” ¹⁷⁸

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Producing Firms</th>
<th>Year Founded</th>
<th>Location of HQ</th>
<th>% Of Exports in Total Prod.</th>
<th>% Of Production in Tesettur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tekbir¹⁷⁹</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>&gt; 90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boutique Dayi¹⁸⁰</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>26 – 50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armine¹⁸¹</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>75 – 90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Basic data on three veiling-fashion firms

¹⁷⁷Sandikçe, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," Fashion Theory 11, no. 2, 204

¹⁷⁸ Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettur: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies, No. 3, 123

¹⁷⁹ Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettur: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies, No. 3, 123

¹⁸⁰ Banu, Gökarkesel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey,” Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35, no. 3, 325

¹⁸¹ Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettur: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies, No. 3, 123
With reference to visual technology, Secor and Gokariksel demonstrate their analysis through “critical visual methodology.”\textsuperscript{182} The table presents the statistical factors of how these firms are able to portray the Muslim lifestyles and images towards consumers in need of Islamic dress in Turkey.\textsuperscript{183} Also, Wilson’s editorial on the three points of definition on Islamic marketing is observed with reference to Tekbir, Boutique Dayi, and Armine demonstrating on becoming major actors from their increase in full proliferation of tesettur fashion industries within Muslim countries through:

1. Demonstrating a higher-Islamic marketing ‘perspective’ by being aware of the culture is an essential for becoming a major actor; also, viewing the opinions of other marketers and consumers is seen as a skill or trait to have, if one is associated within Islamic marketing.\textsuperscript{184}

2. An understanding of the Islamic point of view in regards to ethical norms and values of how a Muslim woman demonstrates these social norms is knowledge in terms of becoming a major actor and exports of hijab apparel.\textsuperscript{185}

3. Defining what veiling is through the Islamic codes of conduct, tradition, as well as government policies in Wilson’s model of Islamic marketing with regards to

\textsuperscript{182} Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettur: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” \textit{Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies}, No. 3, 123

\textsuperscript{183} Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettur: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” \textit{Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies}, No. 3, 122-123

\textsuperscript{184} Jonathan AJ, Wilson, "The new wave of transformational Islamic marketing: reflections and definitions," \textit{Journal of Islamic Marketing} 3, no. 1, 6-10

\textsuperscript{185} Jonathan AJ, Wilson, "The new wave of transformational Islamic marketing: reflections and definitions," \textit{Journal of Islamic Marketing} 3, no. 1, 6-10
becoming major actors and observing the increase in full proliferation of hijab fashion industries within Muslim countries.¹⁸⁶

**Tekbir ‘Islamic’ Fashion**

“We are *tesettur* [veiling-fashion] company and being a *tesettur* company has its set of rules. You cannot break these rules. We cannot put forward an advertisement that exposes [women’s bodies]. That won’t work for us. We favor advertisements that are conservative, that suit our name, that appeal to our customer base and do not bother them, and that are also aesthetically appealing.” ¹⁸⁷

—Public Relations (PR) manager of Tekbir

From Tekbir’s point of view, veiling-fashion is considered to be an Islamic commodity that transforms its consumers.¹⁸⁸ The expansion (See Table. *Tesettur Producing Firms*) of their veiling-fashion industry—to make covering beautiful¹⁸⁹—is introducing a market focused on ‘cheering’ up ‘the hijab women’ to be as beautiful as ‘the secular women.’

Additionally, this makes it much more appealing—not only to domestic audiences—but internationally as well. Tekbir is portraying a wide selecting of unique clothing items, including

---

¹⁸⁶Jonathan AJ, Wilson, "The new wave of transformational Islamic marketing: reflections and definitions," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 3, no. 1, 6-10

¹⁸⁷Banu, Gökarkıksel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35, no. 3, 324

¹⁸⁸Banu, Gökarkıksel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35, no. 3, 323

¹⁸⁹Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," *Fashion Theory* 11, no. 2, 204
tunics and pants, as well as fashion styles (Chinese collars and buttons) with diverse color options (the questionable bright colors) for Muslim veiling women. 190

“As a uniform and symbol of social mobility, the tesettür veil units people across class and political motivations; as a fashion accessory it differentiates between those who can afford to follow the latest trends and buy quality material, and those who cannot afford to.” 191

In interviews, Karaduman stresses on Tekbir’s motive on veiling-fashion to be representing an ‘appropriate’ Islamic veiling industry, 192 while keeping in mind the Islamic point of view in regards to ethical norms and values of how a Muslim woman demonstrates these social norms… 193

“Tekbir’s underline mission is to spread Islamicisation through veiling by making it attractive. The daring strategies the company employs, such as organizing fashion shows and hiring professional models for these shows, as all serving this mission through Islamic veiling.” 194

Additionally, the company utilizes a mix of consumerist marketing and appeal to modestly, couple with export of modern fashion products in regions of low tariffs to reach global

---

190 Banu, Gökarkasel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35, no. 3, 323

191 Nadia Abgrab, Noormohamed, "Muslim Women-Adapting Culture To The Modern Western World," Journal of Diversity Management (JDM) 3, no. 1, 69

192 Banu, Gökarkasel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35, no. 3, 323


194 Banu, Gökarkasel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35, no. 3, 323
audiences. As a result, Islamic hijab fashion industry has generated and expanded its markets domestically and internationally.

Source: Tekbir factory floor, Istanbul 2007 – Photograph by Gokariksel and Secor

Tekbir demonstrates a higher-Islamic marketing ‘perspective’ by being aware of the culture is an essential for becoming a major actor. Also, viewing the opinions of other marketers and consumers is a responsibility to the companies influence (power) to not misguide customers with regards to making religiously correct-decisions. “We have a responsibility [to our customers]. Because our customers trust us. They say, ‘Tekbir does what is correct.’ Misusing this trust would be destructive. For Tekbir, it would not be ethical…”


196 Banu, Gökariksel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35, no. 3, 324

197 Banu, Gökariksel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35, no. 3, 324
Lastly, Wilsons model of Islamic marketing on the exportation of veiling through Islamic codes of conduct, tradition, as well as government policies with regards to Tekbir becoming a major actor and having increasing in full proliferation of veiling-fashion industries within Muslim countries is examined. Tekbir as a company thus acts pragmatically, implementing Islamic practices that do not disrupt or negatively affect its profit margin and efficiency…”

Source: Tekbir’s Istanbul Factory 2007, women workers eating, separated from men-

Photograph by Gokariksel and Secor

Portrayed from the picture is segregation between both genders in the dinning center, separating men and women with a wooden panel. This is an example of ‘selective application of Islamic injunctions in the workplace.’ Also, Tekbir retail stores provide for Muslim veiling

---

198 Jonathan AJ, Wilson, "The new wave of transformational Islamic marketing: reflections and definitions," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 3, no. 1, 6-10

199 Banu, Gökarkesel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35, no. 3, 323

customers a tailoring service to accommodate desired change in length; however, as mentioned before, Tekbir takes responsibility for guiding their sartorial practices and ensures standards for Muslim veiling customers to understand the length of an appropriate veil.

**Boutique Dayi ‘Religious’ Fashion**

“Being a Muslim is something different [than business]; it is about fulfilling religious requirements. A Muslim performs his/her religious duties, acts according to personal beliefs. [Beliefs] are never mixed up with business, especially not in our [business].”

Boutique Dayi, unlike Tekbir and Armine, exports a higher percentage (See Table. Tesettur Producing Firms) of its total production not domestically, but to diverse international markets with ‘no restrictions’ on veiling-fashion. However, Friday’s at Boutique Dayi is far different than other firms—with reference to Wilson’s model of Islamic marketing—understanding of ethical norms and values on how Muslim woman demonstrate these (religious) social norms. The salespeople and the manager, as women, shut down the store for prayer hour with a sign to inform Muslim veiling customers on their Friday prayer hours.

---

201 Banu, Gökarkchsel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35, no. 3, 323


204 Banu, Gökarkchsel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35, no. 3, 325

205 Jonathan AJ, Wilson, "The new wave of transformational Islamic marketing: reflections and definitions," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 3, no. 1, 6-10

Also, Boutique Dayi demonstrates higher-Islamic marketing ‘perspective’ by being aware of the culture is an essential for becoming a major actor, such as accommodating to religion but not specifically to Islamic businesses.  

“Women’s experiences of veiling are shaped by this environment created by a complex set of informal and formal regulations and norms.”

Thus, Boutique Dayi is portraying as a company that accommodates religion, but religion itself does not affect hiring process of employees, business decisions, or other forms of commodities produced and sold. Boutique Dayi demonstrates veiling through the Islamic codes of conduct, tradition, as well as government policies in Islamic marketing with regards to becoming major actors with increase in full proliferation within veiling-fashion industries…

“[If we didn’t keep religion out of business] Dayi would have been completely tesettur. Thus, we would have been another Tekbir…But we are not like [Tekbir]. [Dayi’s owners] fulfill their religious obligations. They do not bring religion into business. We have our wholesale in Laleli. We produce Garment for Russia; this is a very different line. [The company’s too level] managers do not ever say ‘a woman has to cover, or uncover, she must pray five times a day’ when hiring someone at Boutique Dayi…”

—Interview with Store Manager of Boutique Dayi


208 Banu, Gökarkısel, "Beyond the officially sacred: religion, secularism, and the body in the production of subjectivity," *Social & Cultural Geography* 10, no. 6, 663


210 Jonathan AJ, Wilson, "The new wave of transformational Islamic marketing: reflections and definitions," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 3, no. 1, 6-10

211 Banu, Gökarkısel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35, no. 3, 325
Armine ‘Political’ Fashion

In 2000, Armine expanded its retail industry to include diverse clothing, such as items along with headscarves with regards to understanding the Islamic point of view, referencing the ethical norms and values of how a Muslim woman demonstrates these social norms. However, Armine’s—*Giyinmek guzeldir*—slogan advertised an underlying ‘political motto’ referencing the debates and opinionated issues on veiling headscarves.

---

212 Jonathan AJ, Wilson, "The new wave of transformational Islamic marketing: reflections and definitions," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 3, no. 1, 6-10

213 Banu, Gökárksel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35, no. 3, 326
“Our goal is to produce clothing according to the rules of fashion and of religion, to combine veiling and fashion and to dress women who wear the headscarf stylishly, with modern flair. This is all we want to do.”  

During this time, debates over the headscarf ban had emerged within Muslim countries and for Armine; their ad (portrays only the models’ upper half) is referenced towards not the dress, but the headscarf as a political interest.

Armine’s retail manager expresses an allegory towards the political accusations made in regards to the ‘slogan remark’ published all around Istanbul on their billboard advertisement—dressing is beautiful—with reference to what veiling is through the Islamic codes of conduct, tradition, as well as government policies with Wilsons model of Islamic marketing when trying to become major actors and observing how their veiling-industry can have an increase in full proliferation.

He states, “From a religious perspective, a grape seller is not considered sinful when the buyer makes the wine with the grapes. The sin is the wine maker’s.”

The retail manager’s analogy discusses how Armine is not responsible for how Muslim veiling customers choose to veil their headscarf because it’s up to Muslim womento make use of

---


217 Jonathan AJ, Wilson, "The new wave of transformational Islamic marketing: reflections and definitions," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 3, no. 1, 6-10

218 Banu, Gökarkisel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35, no. 3, 327
the commodity, as she pleases. Thus, by demonstrating a higher-Islamic marketing perspective,’ Armine is aware of culture being an essential for becoming a major actor in the hijab fashion industry (See Table. Tesettur Producing Firms) and produces clothing items that are very colorful, and that vary in length.

“We do not aim to force a covered woman to wear knee-length skirt and boots underneath. But we have products for a woman who wants to dress in that style…we have shorter skirts for those who want them but we are focused more heavily on tesettur…”

However, Armine situates that the ongoing political debate on veiling-fashion for Muslim women is the portrayal of the scarf symbolizing a religious commodity but…”They argue that it is up to the customer to make the headscarf Islamic through its use.”

“Our goal is for women who have chosen the path of tesettur to dress comfortably. Because [veiled women] search for this kind of clothing in the market and cannot find it. There are hundreds of stores for women who do not cover. There are also stores for veiled women but the models in these stores are not stylish; they are not in touch with the

---

219 Banu, Gökarksel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35, no. 3, 327


221 Banu, Gökarksel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35, no. 3, 327

222 Banu, Gökarksel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35, no. 3, 327

223 Banu, Gökarksel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35, no. 3, 327
modern age; they are stuck in the past, in Anatolian style. What we are trying to do is to break this [tradition]. A veiled woman can dress very fashionably. “ —Interview with Retail Manager of Armine

Analysis of the paper

The case study introduces an analysis on the marketing of hijabs within Muslim countries, such as in Turkey, discussing on how the Islamic country tries to sell their tesettur apparel globally. This project observes factors on how religion and the interdependence desire for the market in the Islamic culture is a domestic factor that derives from the adaptation of ‘fashion marketing tools’ and the professionalization of hijab fashion industries within Muslim countries, as mentioned in the literature review.  

The focus on Turkey experiencing a political and cultural Islamic government and examining a rise in economic growth allows a larger section of the population to emerge. Thus, Islamic groups rise to power and new entrepreneurial-conservative businessmen build profit out of hijab fashion industries to engage in consumerism and capitalism. Muslim, yet secular societies’, political issues with the headscarf in Turkey are cultural reform associating with the transformation of the political headscarf in the large sectors of Turkish society.

---

224 Banu, Gökärksel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35, no. 3, 327

225 Sandikci, Ozlem, and Guliz, Ger, “Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, No. 1, 32

226 Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettur: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, No. 3, 121-122

This is demonstrating *vernacular politics* in regards to the Islamist movement interpreting the *tesettur* as a symbol of political Islam with reference to the strict reinforcement ban on religious clothing in schools and public spaces. However, the markets contemporary roles in the demand increase of both ‘appeal and visibility’ for the hijab is domestically a bigger market because it detached itself from politicization and remains apart of the popular culture—media made hijab a household item.

The observation on the Islamic culture industry has a variety of Muslim women’s identities depicted in terms of gender, class, and nationality. Within Turkey, the media is a forum for open discussions on the social and political movements of what constitutes a proper covering (the veil) and the important factors which allows the development of the *soft tesettur*. Additionally, events such as the attacks on September 11, 2001 is a portrayal of how the media instituted-stigmatized images on Muslim women who veil are symbolized as ‘Islamist militants’ and the veil was stripped from its modest, elegant, and modern appearance. Nevertheless, the

---

228 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Aesthetics, ethics and politics of the Turkish headscarf," *Clothing as material culture*, 62

229 Sandikci, Ozlem, and Guliz, Ger, “Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, No. 1, 32

230 Banu, Gökariksel, and Ellen McLarney. "Muslim women, consumer capitalism, and the Islamic culture industry." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 6, no. 3, 6

231 Sandikci, Ozlem, and Guliz, Ger, “Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, No. 1, 32

232 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," *Fashion Theory* 11, no. 2, 203
media is also representing women to be objects of desire through ‘femininity’ advertised in images by symbolizing beauty as fashion ideals. 233

The designs of tesetturs as a major actor in the hijab fashion industry is analyzed because of the production of textile industries in Turkey with regards to Islamic government policies promoting certain type of textile industries can be an influence towards domestic factors that affect Turkey’s economy, as a major actor in the hijab fashion industry. Leading textile industry, Aydan Tesettur, demonstrates their fashion in service to Islam, as one of the largest manufactures and retailers for Muslim women in Turkey. 234

Thus, demonstrating several unique styles through the market, while focusing on ‘cheering’ up hijab and portraying ‘the hijab women’ to be as beautiful as ‘the secular women,’ is much more appealing—not only to domestic audiences—but internationally as well. Muslim designers in Turkey have been creating new lines of clothing in terms of engaging the Islamic society ‘as a whole’ in participating in the global fashion industry. 235 Muslim fashion supports local economies—making it an important factor in regards to national economies offering Muslim countries a source of wealth and development. 236

This case study is also examining three tesettur producing firms with reference to a table analyzing with “critical visual methodology” presented by Secor and Gokariksel with emphasis

233 Sandıkcı, Özlem, and Güliz Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," Fashion Theory 11, no. 2, 201

234 Banu, Gokariksel and Anna, Secor, “Between fashion and tesettur: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress,” Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies, No. 3, 118-119

235 Amer, Sahar, What is Veiling?, UNC Press Books, 164

236 Amer, Sahar, What is Veiling?, UNC Press Books, 166
to Wilson’s editorial on the three points of definition on Islamic marketing is observed on Tekbir, Boutique Dayi, and Armine.

The three firms demonstrate on becoming major actors from their increase in full proliferation of tesettür fashion industries within Muslim countries by examining the years they were founded, their current location on exportation of tesettürs, the proportion of exports in total production, and the proportion of production in veiling-fashion. Tekbir demonstrates a higher-Islamic marketing ‘perspective’ by being aware of the culture is an essential for becoming a major actor. 237 From Tekbir’s point of view, veiling-fashion is considered to be an Islamic commodity that transforms its consumers. 238

However, the analysis presents Boutique Dayi is exporting a higher percentage of its total production not domestically, but to diverse international markets with ‘no restrictions’ on veiling-fashion. 239 Thus, Boutique Dayi is portraying as a company that accommodates religion, but religion itself does not affect hiring process of employees, business decisions, or other forms of commodities produced and sold. 240 Unlike Tekbir and Boutique Dayi, Armine represents their

---


238Banu,Gökanksel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers35, no. 3, 323

239Banu,Gökanksel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers35, no. 3, 325

retail industry through ‘political fashion’ with reference to ethical norms and values of how a Muslim woman demonstrates these social norms. \(^{241}\)

Nevertheless, Armine situates that the ongoing political debate on veiling-fashion for Muslim women is the portrayal of the scarf symbolizing a religious commodity but it is solemnly up to the Muslim veiling customer to make the headscarf Islamic through its use. \(^{242}\) The three-tesettur producing firms demonstrate on becoming major actors from their increase in full proliferation of tesettur fashion industries within Muslim countries by implementing through veiling-fashion an Islamic, religious, and political understanding on:

1. Islamic point of view in regards to ethical norms and values of how a Muslim woman demonstrates these social norms;
2. A higher-Islamic marketing ‘perspective’ by being aware of the culture is an essential for becoming a major actor;
3. Defining what veiling is through the Islamic codes of conduct, tradition, as well as government policies in Wilson’s model of Islamic marketing. \(^{243}\)

**The Intertwine on Factors**

This paper is examining factors that enable Muslim countries to continue to become major actors in the hijab fashion industry. The research question also touches on global and cultural fashion in terms of hijab because of its growing industry in Muslim countries.

---

\(^{241}\) Jonathan AJ, Wilson, "The new wave of transformational Islamic marketing: reflections and definitions," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 3, no. 1, 6-10

\(^{242}\) Banu, Gökanksel, and Anna Secor, "Islamic-ness in the life of a commodity: veiling-fashion in Turkey," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35, no. 3, 327

\(^{243}\) Jonathan AJ, Wilson, "The new wave of transformational Islamic marketing: reflections and definitions," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 3, no. 1, 6-10
The literature review introduces theory based on Muslim countries rising in capitalism with regards to how International Relations and fashion correspond with one another.

The perspective on Muslim women wearing hijabs is defined through diverse definitions, such as symbolizing it to a cultural and religious, conscious decision-making on why Muslim women choose to veil the hijab. This correlates with the marketing of tesettur in Turkey because the reader must approach the idea on Muslim women’s religious perspective on veiling is do to self-expression and their opinions on gender difference portrays veiling practice to have cultural influence from personal or political perspective of the hijab. This understanding benefits the observation on how Turkey tries to sell their tesettur apparel globally.

The observation focuses on where the hijab is being produced and what factors affect the economy of the culture within the Muslim country. Also, interpreting what a veil is and how it’s referenced towards hijabs from different regions of Muslim countries is discussed. The veil is defined as different set of style of clothing that makes it not just a religious matter but because of culture and geography, the definition of the veil does not contain just one universal meaning that reflects upon all Muslim women.

However, the Qur’anic passage Q 33: 53, is mentioned as “the verse of the hijab” defining the veil as an Islamic duty on the subjects of Muslim women veiling. Additionally, the reader is introduced to Islamic codes with regards to an ideological set of resources that

244 Rhys H. Williams, and GiraVashi, "Hijab and American Muslim Women: Creating the Space for Autonomous Selves," Sociology of Religion, no. 3, 281

245 Jen'nan Ghazal, Read, and John P. Bartkowski, "To veil or not to veil? A case study of identity negotiation among Muslim women in Austin, Texas," Gender & Society, no. 3, 396

246 Amer, Sahar, What is Veiling?, UNC Press Books, 14

247 Amer, Sahar, What is Veiling?, UNC Press Books, 23
constructs a Muslim women’s identity. Such symbolic relationship between religion and market is emerging as a domestic factor that affects the economy of the Muslim country, which also institutes as a major actor in the hijab fashion industry.

This paper demonstrates the Islamic codes and government policies by observing Muslim countries, such as Egypt and Iran, examining their relationship between religion and other institutionalized-social structures and how it can be an influence towards a Muslim women’s choice of consumption. In Egypt, the Pink Hijab is a symbol of generations, deterring away from centuries of restrictions through the Islamic code and the redefining of ‘what it means to wear a hijab from young Egyptian women’s perception.’ While the Iranian youth is practicing and framing the veil as a symbol of political and social issue, instead of a religious matters.

Thus, correlating our understanding on the Islamic code and government policies in terms of ‘what is tesettur’ and how it is distinguishing Turkish hijab fashion from others is useful with regards to knowing where the tesettur is being produced and what factors affect the Turkish economy. Additionally, interpreting what a veil is in a brief background and how the tesettur became popular in a country where it was originally banned is observed on Turkey trying to sell their tesettur apparel globally to Muslim veiling customers.

248 Sandikci, Ozlem, and Guliz, Ger, “Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?,” Journal of Consumer Research, No. 1, 32

249 Sandikci, Ozlem, and Guliz, Ger, “Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?,” Journal of Consumer Research, No. 1, 32

250 Sandikci, Ozlem, and Guliz, Ger, “Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?,” Journal of Consumer Research, No. 1, 32

251 Robin, Wright, "The pink hijab," Wilson Quarterly, 49

252 Ceriello, Caroline K, "Growing Against the Grain: Turkish and Iranian Youth on Religious-Secular Tensions," 121
Defining the term Islamic marketing and observing the increase in full proliferation of hijab fashion industries within Muslim countries is analyzed. People want to express themselves through their identity—people want to show different class societies through capitalism and its expression by examining the Islamic market increase in fashion. Additionally, through the market industry, the construction of Muslim women and of their social norms and values are defined, re-defined, and represented from the perceptions of capitalism.  

Nevertheless, Islamic marketing correlates with media and the hijab, demonstrating images and advertisement touched upon the media being a domestic factor that affects the economy in Turkey, such as tesettur marketers demonstrating changes in their collections by advertising the modification made on style and identifying new needs in regards to communicating with consumers in order to become ‘better marketers.’ This observation concludes that Islamic marketing and the media are a domestic factor that affects the economy in Turkey, as a major actor in the hijab fashion industry.

Lastly, the several types of hijabs, (Abaya, Khimar, Chador, Burqa, and the Niqab) are portrayed on what makes them unique in regards to historical, cultural-traditions, and the regional areas the veils have been developed within is examined on the diversity of each hijab style through the following figures (images) presented in the literature review. However, correlating and demonstrating Islamic marketing with regards to tesettur producing firms, this project develops a table chart analyzing these three firms through “critical visual methodology,” presented by Secor and Gokariksel. Additionally, an emphasis on Wilson’s editorial of three

253 Banu, Gökariksel, and Ellen McLarney. "Muslim women, consumer capitalism, and the Islamic culture industry," *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies* 6, no. 3, 2

254 Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Güлиз Ger, "Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey," *Fashion Theory* 11, no. 2, 203
points of definition on Islamic marketing is observed and analyzed on Tekbir, Boutique Dayi, and Armine trying to sell their tesettur apparel internationally to Muslim veiling customers.

The three-tesettur producing firms demonstrate on becoming major actors from their increase in full proliferation of tesettur fashion industries by having a high-Islamic marketing perspective on the culture is essential for becoming a major actor. Additionally, Tekbir, Boutique Dayi, and Armine are implementing veiling-fashion as an Islamic, religious, and political duty to serve and guide Muslim veiling customers to demonstrate these social norms by defining what veiling is through the Islamic code of conduct, tradition, as well as government policies with regards to Wilson’s model on Islamic marketing.  

Concluding Remarks

Hijab fashion industries are enabling Muslim countries to continue to become major actors in the veiling-fashion industry. First, this paper observes theory based on the hijab to be in many ways an outcome for rising capitalism within majority of Muslim countries. Discussing the correlation on political-fashion (international relations and fashion) that defines the Muslim veiling customers preference on wearing the hijab is analyzed with regards to the production and the factors that affect the economy of the Muslim country.

This project continues to observe the culture within Muslim countries in terms of understanding information on sartorial practice examined through the Qur’anic passages, the Islamic code, such as Egypt redefining the veil through ‘The Pink Hijab’ movement, and government policies in regards to the Iranian youth symbolizing the veil as a social and political issue, instead of it relating to a religious matter. Additionally, Islamic marketing is looking over

Muslim veiling customers wanting to express themselves through their identities, while representing a social class through capitalism and regional styles on the hijab—demonstrating an increase in Islamic marketing fashion—benefiting local economies—within Muslim countries.

Second, the marketing of the tesettur is analyzed in Turkey with regards to their sells in tesettur apparel globally. The observation focuses on the background of the tesettur in terms of distinguishing the Turkish hijab fashion from others and recognizing the hijab becoming popular in a country that once banned the veiling of headscarves. Furthermore, the media and the hijab are domestic factors when examining on femininity, soft tesettur, and on Turkey trying to sell their tesettur apparel through fashion marketing tools on the ‘cheerful hijab.’ Lastly, the design of the tesettur is analyzed on three tesettur producing firms: Tekbir, Boutique Dayi, and Armine demonstrating their production and exportation on tesettur apparel globally—representing Islamic, religious, and political fashion—to serve and guide their Muslim veiling customers.

Based on my findings, I would like to continue on with this project in the future for graduate school within international relations. However, instead of just focusing on the current research question and providing additional content on hijab fashion industries, I am hoping to demonstrate a counter argument that I had stumbled upon throughout my research on this topic. “Heading covering, for many feminists, is an issue that reveals the backwardness of Islamist ideology. Moreover, many feminists fear the consequences of Islamic head covering. They worry that if Islamist groups achieve their aims, they may force all women to wear the turban.”

Danybell Farhad, an alumnus of the International Relations department from San Francisco State University, has interests in becoming a diplomat for the Middle East but wants to further

pursue his education within IR and enhance his current skills to serve as a Peace Corps representative shortly after.

Bibliography
Ceriello, Caroline K. "Growing Against the Grain: Turkish and Iranian Youth on Religious-Secular Tensions." (2013).
Deniz, Elif. "Veiling fashion, consumption culture and identity: a qualitative analysis for interpreting the veiled Turkish women’s changing clothing practices."
Gokariksel, Banu, and Secor, Anna. “Between fashion and tesettur: marketing and consuming women’s Islamic dress.” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies* 6, No. 3 (2010):
Kelly-Thompson, Kaitlin. "Opening the Public Space: Hijab and Education in Iran and Turkey." (2012).
(Online Website URL) [http://www.e-tesettur.com.tr/ferace](http://www.e-tesettur.com.tr/ferace)
(Online Website URL) [http://www.tekbirgiyim.com.tr/](http://www.tekbirgiyim.com.tr/)
(Online Website URL) [http://go.worldbank.org/N174APV2T0](http://go.worldbank.org/N174APV2T0)
(Online Website URL) [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/serena-guen/international-relations-f_b_4895436.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/serena-guen/international-relations-f_b_4895436.html)

Seidi, Mohsen. "Iran accession to WTO and its effects on textile industries." (2012).


