



Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi

The Journal of International Social Research

Cilt: 7 Sayı: 34 Volume: 7 Issue: 34

www.sosyalarastirmalar.com Issn: 1307-9581

VEILING AND (FASHION-) MAGAZINES – ‘ALÂ DERGİSİ’ MAGAZINE AS A CASE FOR A NEW CONSUMER IMAGE OF A NEW DEVOUT MIDDLE CLASS IN TURKEY

Cüneyt DİNÇ*

Abstract

The emergence of the first fashion and lifestyle magazine for devout Muslim women in Turkey, *Alâ Dergisi*, in July 2011, has ensured both negative and positive publicity in Turkey. The humble purpose of this article is to examine the role of *Âlâ Dergisi* within the nexus of fashion conscious veiled women and fashion industry and how it constitutes a specific image of a new consumer. Hence, the article will first try to detect the dominant discourses regarding to the magazine's content by using Critical Discourse Analysis and will later discuss them in a more boarder social economical context. The results demonstrate that *Âlâ Dergisi* as a cultural artifact constitutes both a new image of an Islamic female consumer and a new form of Islamic conspicuous consumption. However, as a commodity product *Âlâ Dergisi* is still part of an Islamic commodity industry and is thus, bound into the logic of market, following liberal economic principles like offer and demand and profit making.

Keywords: Fashion for Veiling, Consumption Culture, Conspicuous Consumption, Turkey, Islam, Women.

Examples of everyday life are sometimes good reflections of societal changes on the level of ordinary people's life. For instance, the participation of veiled women at the fashion game show *Bugün Ne Giysem* (What should I wear today) on the Turkish national TV station Show TV, where women present their most trendy outfits in front of a jury, demonstrates not only a new public expression of veiling, but also the new relationship of veiled women with fashion. This single example mirrors the change of Turkish society and especially of everyday life of devout Muslims in the last decade. Beginning under *Turgut Özal* (1983 – 1993) Turkish economic policies experienced a paradigmatic shift from the former state subsidized policies to a neoliberal economic policy, including market and trade liberalization, a limited economic role of state and the rise of small and middle sized enterprises in Anatolia as backbones of this economic transformation (Yılmaz, 2009; Özcan and Turunç, 2011). This economic transformation caused the founding of many small- or medium-scale, mostly family-owned and Anatolian-based entrepreneur class with an Islamic identity in the 1990s and 2000s (Buğra, 1994, 1998; Demir, Acar, Toprak, 2004; Yavuz, 2003; Emrence, 2008).

One the other hand, this 'marriage between Islam and Neoliberalism' (Atasoy, 2009) resulted also in the appearance of a new class of devout and affluent Muslims next to other more traditional and not well off Muslim segments, with a rising new demand for some commodity goods, able to fulfill the needs for a conspicuous consumption. This in return lead to in the emergence of a new market and industry of Islamic consumer goods. New hotels, holiday villages, exclusive gated communities, country clubs, and cafes emerged that could satisfy for the class based demands for an Islamic conspicuous consumption of this devout bourgeoisie (Bilici, 1999; Kömeçoğlu, 1999, Göle 1999; Göle and Ammann, 2006). Moreover, this

* Yrd. Doç. Dr., Cüneyt Dinç, T.C. Süleyman Şah Üniversitesi, Sosyoloji Bölümü.

new class also developed new forms of style and taste in fashion. Therefore, a whole new sector of apparel companies started to produce and design new forms of Islamic dress for women (Demir, Acar, Toprak, 2004, Gökarıksel and Secor, 2010a, 2010b). In this context, the meaning and practice of veiling (tesettür) of devout women has also changed for some of them. While it has never lost its meaning as a religious practice, its outlook has changed and 'fashionized' veiling or veiling fashion has become for some women a consumption practice, next to other practices of veiling (Sandıkçı and Ger, 2007; Gökarıksel and Secor, 2009).

From this perspective, the emergence of the *Âlâ Dergisi* (*The splendid magazine*) in July 2011 as the first fashion and lifestyle magazine for the fashion conscious female Muslim represents the global rise of an Islamic consumer sector, linking fashion with religiosity and encouraging Muslim women to be both pious and fashion conscious. Nonetheless, the rise of a new demand for convenient good of a new segment of conservative Islamic bourgeoisie raised also the question about how this new form of consumption fits into the context of an Islamic ethos of *helal*, i.e. Islamic permissible consumption. So, *Âlâ Dergisi* emergence happened within the societal nexus of fashion, veiling and Islamic permissible consumption.

The issue of veiling has been always a research issue in Turkey and other parts of the Islamic world (Çınar, 2005; Göle, 1996, 1999; Göle and Amman, 2006; Mahmood, 2005; El Guindi, 1999; Gökarıksel, 2009). On the other hand, the emergence of fashionized veiling in the Islamic world has become the focus of a small but growing literature. The majority of this literature has examined the appearance of Islamic fashion in the context of women's engagements with piety and fashion through their everyday practices of dressing (Gökarıksel and Secor, 2010b, 119; see also Kiliçbay and Binark, 2002; Sandıkçı and Ger, 2002, 2005, 2007; Balasescu, 2003, 2007; Abaza, 2007; Jones, 2007; Gökarıksel and Secor, 2009, 2012, Navarro-Yashin, 2002, Gökarıksel, 2012). Another smaller branch of studies has focused more on the nexus between Islamic fashion and the fashion industry and the complex interaction between the interests of the Islamic apparel sector and the demands of pious women (Gökarıksel and Secor, 2009, 2010a). However, the majority of this literature has focused more on the veiling practise as such, based on in depth interviews of veiled women.

On the other hand, little research has focused on new resources of for the producing of new forms of fashioned veiling. For instance, Reina Lewis (2010) and her research on English language Muslim magazines demonstrates how these magazines produce a content, meeting their readers need of modesty and fashion in the societal context of majoritarian non-Muslim public. In the same vein, Carla Jones (2010) depicts how Indonesian lifestyle and fashion magazines help their readers to cope with ambiguity between piousness and consume. Nonetheless, the results of these few examples are relying on in-depth interviews with the magazines staff and to not explicitly focus on the visual and verbal elements which the magazines use to communicate with their readers.

Moreover, the societal nexus between religion and state (ideology) in Turkey can be regarded as unique in the Islamic world, with the exception of Tunisia before the Arab Spring. This conflictions relationship, basing on a rejection of religious symbols in the public has been challenged and changed, due of political and economic change in Turkey. The most visible sign of this change is the emergence of a new devout and wealth middle class. Consequently, the emergence of *Âlâ Dergisi* can be described as a material result of this social change in Turkey.

Hence, the humble intention of this article is examining the role of *Âlâ Dergisi* as an intermediating actor (Morean, 2006) within the nexus of fashion conscious veiled women and the fashion industry and as producer of a new image about veiled consumers in Turkey. Especially, the article wants to depict the discursive mediums through which it presents its readership these new images. Therefore, the article will first examine the magazine's central discourses by applying a critical discourse analysis (CDA). The results of this empirical part will then be discussed in a broader socio economic context of Turkey in which the textual discourses are embedded, for demonstrating how fashion and piety in Turkey are reformulated. Finally,

the article will examine the magazine's linkage to the tesettür fashion industry, questioning the way and intention of the production of these new consumer images.

The magazine

Published by an independent publishing house *Âlâ Dergisi* started in July 2011 with a circulation of 10,000 editions, which was 20,000 in September, 50,000 in December, without any promotional activities. The 5th Issue in November sold more than Turkish Vogue in the D&R book house chain, the biggest in Turkey. It is sold in book house chains like secular *D&R*, *Inkilap* or *Remzi* and in the big supermarket chains like Migros or Carrefour. With a sales price of 9 TL it is within the same price category like its secular counterparts *Vogue Türkiye* or *Marie Clair Türkiye* (Cingi, 2011). Consequently, the success of a fashion magazine for veiled women in secular Turkey has not only attracted national media, but also unleashed high media coverage by international media like NYT, Spiegel Online, VoA or DW, etc. As such the success of *Âlâ Dergisi* encouraged the founding of other lifestyle and fashion magazines for the new devout middle class woman, like Aisha, Enda or Hayat.

The magazine's core readership can be described as conservative religious women of the newly emerged Islamic bourgeoisie, between 18 – 35 years. Born in the economic transformation period of the Özal and post-Özal era, with a university degree and a professional career, most of these women are also participating in religious social activities, like weekly Koran interpretation groups (Yıldız, 2012). Furthermore, these women are veiled and fashion-conscious, wearing and purchasing cloths from international brands like H&M, Kenzo, Zara, Mavi, Mango, Armani, Luois Vuitton, Burberry, Gucci, Dolce Gabbana, Bulgari, Chanel, etc. *Âlâ* tries to build a connection with its readership not only through the magazine but also other interactive communication channels with its own website (www.aladergi.com) an interactive forum (www.alaloca.net) and other channels in social media like Facebook, Youtube, Pinterest and Instagram. Through this communication channels *Âlâ's* readers are encouraged to participate in essay competitions about different topics or in dress combination competition where different readers can send photos of themselves and their own combination. The winners of these photo competitions win a one year free subscription and their photos are presented in next month's issue.

Âlâ has four core content areas: First, 2 – 4 pages long interviews with experts about various topics from politics, theology, fashion and health. This is followed by a bulk of how-to and practical guidance articles about issues like health, psychology, childcare or beauty and style, mostly written by external free-lance experts. Besides, there are articles and interviews about religious issues. For example in Issue 17 and 18 you can find a feature article about the history of the Hagia Sophia or in the 5th Issue has a long interview with Cemalnur Sargut who is an expert on Islamic spirituality (*tassavuf*) and especially Mevlana Jalaluddin Rumi, an important figure in Turkish Islamic spirituality (pp. 16 – 26). Again in the 21st edition you can find an interview with the popular moderate preacher Nihat Hatipoğlu about the change of devout women, entering the public. In addition half of the magazine is visual features with advertorial features where you can find various brands with their prices gathered around a distinct issue. For example, again in Issue 17 you find an article about which hand bag a woman should wear in which situation, which consists mostly about pictures of different brands and their prices.

Consequently, the content of *Âlâ* is planned and produced by an all-female core editor staff, whereby not all of them are veiled (Yıldız, 2012). Only the two publishers of the magazine are male. The few editors coordinate the editing of the content and are responsible for conducting interviews. Free lancing staffs of approximately 10 experts write several articles about different topics for the magazine. Like all fashion and lifestyle magazines *Âlâ* consists of a thematic 20 – 24 pages photo shooting part in which various fashion cloths are presented by models, while the cloths are lend by various fashion boutiques of the growing veiling fashion industry in Turkey. However, the publishers and the editors underline in various interviews that these models are professional and are not veiled in real life, due the fact that they and their religious readership see modelling not appropriated for veiled women (Dinç, 2012).

Correspondingly, *Âlâ's* editorial policy can be described as presenting its fashion conscious religious readers a scope of products and give them suggestions about fashion, beauty and style. In an interview the publishers of the magazine said: "If you look into the magazine, it can be seen as a women and fashion magazine, but in reality its concept was as a platform where a 'conservative' lady (hanimefendi) can share her preferences and tastes and in which she can find alternatives to what the industry presents her. This is *Âlâ's* general theme; *Âlâ* is a beautiful lifestyle magazine" Moreover, the publishers also underline the fact that before *Âlâ* those readers lacked such a source: "We are telling them: You already have a lifestyle, a style which you have developed and accepted. ..., but you have not a platform to share this. Thus, we are giving you this possibility." (Yıldız, 2012).

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Âlâ Dergisi's content

Discourses are stabilizing collective orders of knowledge and symbolic meaning, institutionalized in a social ensemble, while discourse analysis tries to analyse these processes of stabilizing and production of meaning. While there are different approaches of discourse analysis, the central aim of all of them is to study the use of language as a real process in a specific context (Keller, 2011: 8). Unlike more pure linguistic approaches of discourse analysis like discourse studies, critical discourse analysis (CDA) focuses more on the connection of linguistic analysis with ideological and societal analysis, with the aim of societal critic. For this reason, CDA understand language as a social process and tries to reveal the interdependent influence between language and social structure and/or power relations (Tischler, Wodak, et al 1998: 181; Keller, 2011: 30). Besides, Norman Fairclough states that texts, as language which is produced in a discursive event, must be regarded as the basic units of CDA. However, texts are also embedded in a process of text production and consumption, while in return these processes are also embedded in a societal and institutional context (Fairclough, 1992: 225). That is why the major purpose of this article is not only to detect the major discourses of *Âlâ*, but also to detect the production these discourses in a broader societal and institutional context. In other words, using the central logic of CDA and especially Fairclough's (1992, 1995) understanding of text as discursive elements, the article asks how the major discourses in the magazine articles are connected with societal development in Turkey and how much do they reflect them. In addition, how are these statements about beauty, fashion, consume, etc. in the texts produced within the economic institutional context of the magazine?

To fulfil this task, from a sample of 31 issues (issue 1 – 31) always one text was selected covering each of one the central fields (editors letter, interviews, feature articles and the texts of the photo shootings) of the magazine, having a total of 96 texts. The selected texts were then analysed about their topics, their statements and lexical and grammatical patterns. The results of these analyses revealed the major discourses of the magazine's content. Following the critical logic of CDA, the discovered discourses will then later be discussed in more broader societal context, hoping to reveal societal change in power relations in Turkish society.

Hanimefendi Discourse

Examining the content of *Âlâ Dergisi* through a Critical Discourse Analysis reveals the dominance of three major discourses. The first dominant discourse is the *Hanimefendi* discourse. *Hanimefendi* means lady or gentle-lady and etymologically it is a combination of the two terms *Hanim*, which means the wife of the ruler and *efendi*, which describes an educated man in classical Ottoman Empire (Nişanyan, 2007). The central purpose of the *hanimefendi* discourse is to constitute a homogenous readership, a 'synthetic sisterhood' (Talbot, 1995) of cultivated and socially active religious women. Therefore *Âlâ* tries by using verbal and lexical nomination strategies to establish some form of membership organization (Wodak, 2001) and a form of collectivization. For instance, since 10th issue the subtitle of *Âlâ Dergisi* has been "The magazine of *Hanimefendis*" (*Hanimefendlerin Dergisi*). Besides, reading the letters of the editor in chief at the beginning of the magazine, one can observe that women in the interviews are labeled as *Hanım*, like for example Özlem Hanım (*Âlâ* 18: 126). This is very different from secular magazines like Vogue or Cosmo, who use only the name and not labeling people with the label *hanimefendi*.

Moreover, this verbal differentiation by the *hanımefendi* discourse is also supported by the use of different more classical Turkish terms for different head titles of different parts of the magazine. For instance, they use *muhabbet* instead of *söyleşi* for interview or *hıvadis* instead of *haberler* for news. In the same way, articles about religious issue and figures like *Mevlana Jalaludin Rumi's* have distinct language with specific classical terms. For example in Issue 25, one can find an article about *Mevlana Jalaludin Rumi* idea and concepts about love (*aşk*). The article written by an expert of Turkish Islamic literature uses specific terms like *Maşuk*, *Habibulah*, *mürit*, etc. This in return is a distinct language which is used and understood by devout women, who are active in weekly religious reading circles, in which the religious books that are read in these circles use a similar classical language and thus have a specific educational and cultural capital. In this context, Corrigan (1997) showed that such terms of address like titles or proper names can be used as means for locating particular social positions of the readers. Thus, by using this different language, by labelling and addressing women as *hanımefendi* the magazine wants to demonstrate its readers that they differ not only from secular readers but also from more traditional Muslims, who mostly not belong to the aforementioned economic elite class.

On the other side, *Âlâ* does not only try to address their readers as *hanımefendi* but also tries to advise them how a *hanımefendi* should behave. Like other lifestyle and fashion magazines *Âlâ* sees itself as an advisor, a friend of the readers (Ferguson, 1983). One way to give its readers those advices is also the use of role models in their interview, who, according to the magazine, fits to the notion of *hanımefendi*. For instance, in issue 21 the magazine conducts an interview with veiled fashion designer Nur Yamankaradeniz. In her interview first one can read that she has a good education from Tevfik Fikret Lyseum in Ankara, then studied fashion in the USA and worked at Chanel in Paris. Moreover, she is also labelled as a business woman, who has her own fashion design company and owns exclusive shops in Istanbul's top addresses. In her own work she tells that uses Turkish and Ottoman motives. Asked why she uses traditional Turkish motives she says that '*...I use them mostly in my life. My Father is direct descendant of Sultan Abdülhamid II. niece. So my life is always ottomanian and I am Proud of it.*' (*Âlâ* 21: 225). So Nur Yamankaradeniz demonstrates how a *hanımefendi* must be, having a good western educated but not neglecting her Ottoman past and is also economically independent. Thus, as a veiled successful *hanımefendi*, she represents a good role model for the also veiled and good educated readers of *Âlâ*.

This demonstration of role models in the magazine is not problematic with veiled women, but some of the role models are non-veiled, like fashion designers. One way to solve this "problem" is to label them also as *hanımefendi*, like in the interview with designer Emel Acar, who is labelled as "*...the hanımefendi designer of the fashion world Emel Acar....*" (*Âlâ* 17: 20). In this way, by using such referential strategies (Wodak, 2001) in the text, Emel Acar is included into this in-group of *hanımefendis*, who is justified to give advices to the readers of *Âlâ*.

It is important to realize that these role models are important for presenting the readership of *Âlâ* a distinct picture of a *hanımefendi* who is not only educated but also has a social life. First of all, like Nur Yamankaradeniz and Emel Acar the women presented in the interviews are all working women and not merely house wives. Secondly, all these women demonstrate that they have a social life next to work and their home. For instance, (veiled) TV show host *İkbal Gürpınar* says about her social activities in an interview: '*Yes, three days a week I make kick boxing and in addition Pilates... If I do not serve my body, how my body will serve me. ... Once a week a have piano lessons*' (*Ala* 8: 101). Thus, the women of the new Islamic economic classes are encouraged by these interviews to be more than housewives.

The use of a distinct language and the demonstration of role models do not only establish a shared bond between the reader and the magazine. Moreover, the discursive use of the *hanımefendi* image is used to explain the readership not only who is *hanımefendi*, but also what a *hanımefendi* should do. While role models like Nur Yamankaradeniz or *İkbal Gürpınar* are important to encourage the readers to have a social life, it is the magazine which uses this discursive image to advise them what they should do. Looking to the topics in various issues of

the magazine, one can see that the magazine gives advices to topics like health, make up, plastic surgery.

On the other hand, the example of Nur Yamankaradeniz also depicts another redundant element of the hanımefendi discourse, the reference to the Ottomans. As mentioned before the use of the term *hanımefendi* was used for upper class women in the Ottoman Empire. So, references in texts to the Ottomans or articles about the Ottoman past are vital to create a specific form of identity among these women. For example, in the photo shooting session in issue 29 on the picture in page 55 you can see a veiled model who presents a combination of a veil, a coat and trousers, while she sits in a café and drinking Turkish coffee from a classical Turkish coffee set. On the table we can also see a bag in the colour burgundy. In the left top part of the photo one can see a supporting text which states: *'You start your journey in the perfect play of lights of the Bosphorus. While you drink your coffee you start to dream. Burgundy, the most favoured colour of the Ottoman women is combining with the leaf and all centimetre of the clothes of the Ottoman women draws you to her glory and nobility'*. This reference to the Ottomans demonstrates who represents for the editors of the magazine the real 'role model' for the *hanımefendi*, namely the women of the upper middle class of the Ottoman Empire. These women represent not only for the readers of *Âlâ* with a distinct taste and education. Moreover, the reference past to the Ottoman past represents for the conservative religious groups in Turkey a distinct habit of distinction from secular groups, who in return totally reject their Ottoman past as backward and non-western. Thus, the reference to the Ottomans enhances the effect of the hanımefendi discourse, as an additional verbal discursive element.

Beauty Discourse

While the purposes of the aforementioned hanımefendi discourse is to both address and constitute a homogenous readership, the central purpose of *beauty* discourse is to displays these *hanımefendis* a distinct image of beauty. This is archived by three significant strategies. First, like other fashion and lifestyle magazine *Âlâ* uses lexical terms like *şık* (=stylish), *sade* (=pure), *zarif* (=elegant), *zarafet* (=elegance), *trend*, *sıcak* (=warm) *doğal* (=natural), *ahenk görünümlü* (=harmonious outlook), to describe cloth and accessories which are presented in the magazine. This use of lexical labelling demonstrates *Âlâ* readers what is stylish and beautiful according to the magazine. Hence, the magazine defines for them this new image of beauty and in the end it also creates a new concept of an Islamic femininity. Like other fashion and lifestyle magazine *Âlâ* presents itself as a 'friend' who advices its readership (Ferguson, 1983; Conradie, 2011). In this context, *Âlâ* uses the same language of style like other secular magazines. For instance, in an interview *Âlâ*'s fashion-editor Hülya Aslan said that she follows the actual fashion trends and colours when she selects the dresses for the magazine's photo shootings (Dinç, 2012). Also the fashion editors of *Âlâ* are visiting since 21st issue every year national fashion events like the Istanbul Fashion Week or the Mercedes Benz Fashion Week or international like the annual Paris Fashion Week, reporting its readers the newest fashion trends in Turkey and Europe. But as such, the magazine tries to show their readers not only the latest fashion trends. At the same time the readers, who had previously been excluded from the as secular seen world of fashion weeks and international fashion trends, learn these trends and styles from the fashion world and to accept and internalize these mostly western styles and forms as their own.

One important element of the beauty discourse are articles about make-up and plastic surgery, written by professional make-up artists and plastic surgeons. Especially since 25th issue one can find a lot of topics in *Âlâ* which deal beauty and health. For example, issue 28 asks 'if winter is a good time for making plastic surgery?' (140), Issue 29 give advices for perfect skin and the perfect makeup (36- 37), while in issue 30 one can read an article about the 11 mistakes for making make up (126). Again in issue 30 the readers of the magazine can read an article about eyebrow surgery, stating that *'... our eyebrows are the most important parts of our face. We use our eyebrow forms to express our feeling... Sometimes the form of the eyebrows follows distinct trends, like plane eyebrows, slim eyebrows or bold eyebrows.'* (*Âlâ* 30, 126). This invitation to the readers to change their bodily outlook represents some new element among conservative religious women. For a long time plastic surgery among religious people was regarded as a sin, because

for many religious experts the personal intervention in the creation of Allah represented a violation of principles of Islam. However, these articles about plastic surgery in *Âlâ* demonstrate that there is not only a change in the attitude about plastic surgery among religious women. In fact, this demonstrates also that the women are encouraged to be active for their beauty and their outlook. As such, the beauty discourse in the magazine does not only represent a new image about beauty, but also tells them how they should behave, giving them concrete instructions. So, beauty is not only image but also a habit which the readers must actively follow. Thus, the readers of the magazine should be active agents of their beauty.

A second essential element of this beauty discourse is the *visual parts* of the magazine, which are important sources to present visually *Âlâ's* readers the understanding of this "Hanımendi" beauty. One important element of these visual parts is cover page of the magazine, which is the first thing the readers and everybody else can see first. The cover page of *Âlâ* shows always a veiled photo model behind a neutral or non-neutral background, wearing trendy cloths, which fits to the motto of actual issue of the magazine. The cover page can be seen as the first possible communication between potential readership and the magazine. Moreover, it demonstrates its potential readers and non-readers an idea about what the issue of magazine is. Thus, the cover page is maybe the most important visual element of the beauty discourse which the magazine tries to show, because *Âlâ* demonstrates so the public its understanding of beauty of mostly veiled women. It is safe to say, that with the cover page the idea of beauty and veiling became public, particularly when considering the fact that the magazine is sold next to other secular fashion magazine like Cosmo, Vogue, etc.

On other element are photo shooting sections. Like other secular fashion magazine, *Âlâ* has also some 22 – 24 pages long photo shooting section around a specific theme, in which veiled models present some fashions behind a distinct scene. These presented cloths were lent by the apparel companies. For instance, in issue five the shooting was taken in the South-eastern Anatolian city Şanlıurfa, with two veiled photo models (pp. 112 – 160). While both models are veiled and their dresses are in accordance with Islamic principles, in some pictures the look of the models was in more alluring positions, which has no connection with the traditional picture of Muslim women. For instance, one of the models wears in page 155 very strong red lipstick. The same can we say about models in the aforementioned cover pages, were some of them have strong red makeup. Thus, this alluring positions can also be translated as beautiful or at least a new form of beauty which differs from traditional and Islamic understandings of beauty.

However, it should be noted that this alluring position of the photo models normally contradicts with traditional conservative religious understandings about female modesty. Nonetheless, the pictures about the veiled photo models have a distinct body language which can be described as a constructed distance between reader and photo model. Two important elements of body language are particularly noticeable. First, analysing the photo shootings one can depict that models have specific form of facial expression. In all photo shootings and cover pages the models do not always directly gaze the viewer, but look up or down. For instance, the cover model of issue 31 looks left to the top, far away from the viewer. In the same way, one can see the models in the photo shooting of Issue 31 at page 70 and 71 do not look to the viewer. However, in some cases the expression of the models both at the shootings and of the cover is direct to the viewer. Nonetheless, one can see still a form of distance towards the reader/viewer, even a form of shyness in the eyes. One other important element of body language is the posture. In many cases the models have positioned one arm or at least on hand which is facing their body. This is also producing one form of distance between the model and the viewer. For example, again in 31 at the same photo shooting section at the picture on page 75 the veiled model looks to the camera directly, but without any clear emotions in her face. Moreover her eyes demonstrate some form of fear and distance. This form of facial expression of distance is supported by a specific body language. Both of her arms are coming together at her belly's height, making a 'barrier' between her and the viewer. A big blue bag reinforces this barrier effect. It should be noted, that objects like bags and purses are mostly used to build up a

barrier and demonstrate a form of distance even if the facial expression of the model is more 'friendly'. For instance, the cover of Issue 21 shows a cover model, who is looking directly to the camera/ the viewer and smiles. But again she has a big purse which she keeps laterally, which covers the left side of the body. As such, she also constructs a form of distance between her and the viewer.

This visual element of distance between the photo models and the viewer is a redundant. Following Goffman's (1979) work about gender advertisement and that a distinct use of visual elements of gaze, body position, position of arms and legs and the use of accessories are important for transmitting ideas and pictures about femininity and womanhood in advertisements one can conclude that the models do not only demonstrate a distinct form of beauty, but also try to demonstrate a specific image of women. The use of bodily distance is in accordance of the conservative religious image of virtuous women (*iffetli kadın*). This female image bases on the idea that a woman who is in public must keep a distance against the gazes of men in public. The image of the *iffetli kadın* represents a counter image of the vivacious women (*şuh kadın*), which does not pay attention to her appearance in public and has direct contact and dealing with men. These are habits which are in contradiction to the values of conservative religious women. As such, this image of the *iffetli kadın* is not only in accordance with classical conservative religious ideas about women which is shared by religious women, but also demonstrates that a new public image of beauty represented by *Âlâ* is not in contradiction with an Islamic conservative lifestyle.

Finally, the beauty discourse is not only presented by verbal and visual elements in the magazine, but women are also encouraged to develop and enhance their own fashion style according to the new beauty image and discourse presented in the magazine. So the abstract term of beauty becomes embodied by *Âlâ*'s readers. Therefore, the aforementioned role models are here used as a form of discursive support to submit the readers that they must develop their own style. For instance, in an interview with designer Emel Acar, she said that: 'Instead of cover behind some distinct formats, we must develop our own style with a little bit more self-esteem. Veiled women must develop a little more their own style and must show some work by trying' (Ala 17: 79). In same way (veiled) fashion designer Nur Yamankaradeniz advises the readers that they '...should select cloths which suits to body from and to their social and cultural positions. The cloth is one of those elements which effect the first expression of others about us.' (Ala 21: 223). A second form to encouraging the readers is the fashion combination competitions, in which the readers can send pictures of themselves in their favourite dress, which will be evaluated by the fashion editor. The winner of this competition will be presented in the magazine and can win a one year free subscription.

In this sense, *Âlâ* uses visual and verbal/lexical elements to develop a new discourse of beauty, demonstrating its readers that being religious/ veiled and fashion-consciousness do not contradict with each other. It is safe to say that the beauty discourse is among the other discourses the most dominant discourse. The magazine does not only as such demonstrates its readers a new understanding and image of beauty, but also forces them to embrace this new understanding and follow distinct guidelines of style and fashion. Thus, the beauty discourse is not only a passive demonstration of an image, but also an active discourse which forces the readers to be their own agencies of a new Islamic conservative beauty. As such *Âlâ* does not only convince its readership to follow the actual fashion and style trends, but also to look for their health and outlook.

Thus, the magazine produces a distinct beauty discourse which uses specific visual and verbal elements to convince its mostly religious readers that being beautiful and religious is no a contradiction. On the other side it is obvious that *Âlâ* focuses on topics like health, plastic surgery, make up, etc. which do not differ from those in secular magazine like Vogue or Cosmo, borrowing topic from them. As such it is clear that this beauty discourse as such is still criticised by more religious women, who accuse *Âlâ* of *not being* authentic.

Religious-Familistic Discourse

The religious-familistic discourse is the third dominant discourse within the content of *Âlâ Dergisi*. The purpose of this discourse is first of all again the (re-) formation of an identity like the *hanımefendi* discourse. While the *hanımefendi* discourse constitutes an identity, which separates its readers from traditional and not so economic well-off Muslim segments, the religious-familistic discourse develops an additional identity, which in return separates *Âlâ*'s readers from secular women. This discourse consists of two elements. First the selection of the content of the magazine and the strong focus on articles about religion and family, which in return cannot be found in more secular lifestyle and fashion magazines. For example, in the 5th Issue is an interview with *Cemalnur Sargut* who is an expert on Islamic spirituality (tassavuf) and especially *Mevlana Jalaludin Rumi*, an important figure in Turkish Islamic spirituality (pp. 16 – 26). Another example is the article '*Hangi Ayda Hangi İbadetlere Yoğunlaşmalıyız?*' (On which religious rituals we should focus on which Month?) in issue 17 (pp. 119 – 120) which advises its readers about performing rituals in November. Especially articles about *Mevlana Jalaludin Rumi* are a redundant element in the magazine. For instance, in Issue 31 we can again read three articles about *Mevlana Jalaludin Rumi* and his relationship to his companion *Şems-i Tebrizi*.

On the other hand the religious articles has not only the discursive function to construct identity but also to convince the readers of the magazine that following fashion, style and actual trends is appropriate for religious and veiled women. This is done sometimes directly or indirectly. For example in issue 21 in an interview with the moderate TV preacher *Nihat Hatipoğlu* asked about his opinion about the fact that veiled women have developed different forms of fashioned veiling and of new magazines for these women he answers: '*First of all the emergence of such magazines does not bother me. Instead I believe that these magazines are important to fulfill the needs of some of these young women.... This is a lifestyle. I do not think so strictly like other friends. ...I can be aesthetic when I am religious. It does not violate religious rules if young women follow the rules of veiling and also wear clean and beautiful cloths. This is something beautiful.*' (Ala 21: 48) Such an article is important to convince the readers of the magazine that it is possible to combine a religious lifestyle and fashion. In the same vein, the magazine uses some indirect forms to help its readers to bridge the contradiction of religion and veiling. A good example how the magazine editors use methods to solve these problem is the head article of the Editor in Chief of the 21st *Zeynep Hasoğlu*. In this leading article *Hasoğlu* writes: '*This month you will find inspirations from the transition from spring to summer in our fashion and style pages...You will read pages about celebrities and how they wear the last world brands and trends on the Paris Fashion Week and red carpet of the 85. Oscar Academy Award*'. While in the next paragraph she then writes: '*And the Week of the Celebration of Birth of the Prophet Mohammed (Kutlu Doğum Haftası). I commemorate the birth of the Prophet 1442 years before. The more we know the life of the Prophet the more we are happy, the more we know him the more we are peacefully.*' She then ends her leading article with a saying of the prophet, a hadith. This article demonstrates the readers how easy and normal it is to switch between fashion style and religion and that there is no contradiction between the two worlds of fashion and style. As such, the article also depicts the change or transition the readers have done, developing an interest on fashion as veiled women. And this element of a change between articles of fashion, style beauty and somehow religious issues we can find in all issues, which is an indirect method of affirmation for their veiled readership.

Similarly, one can find articles about childcare like *Karakterli çocuk yetistirmek* (To raise a child with character) (*Âlâ* 22: 74), in which a (veiled) psychologist tries to advice the readers from a more familistic-religious perspective. Especially, the general tone of these familistic articles underlines the fact that the family is an important element of society. For instance, in an interview with (veiled) academician *Ayşe Morgül* about the reasons of postponing her divorce, she stated that '*We are people from Anatolia, we did not learn this from our parents in this way. You can deal with problems but going to the court for divorce without struggling is not the solution*' (*Âlâ* 17: 125). Especially this shows some form of critique against the rise of divorce rates in Turkey and (secular) women who are against marriage. So this religious-familistic articles demonstrate or at least convey the message to the readership, that they do not only

focus on pure consumption like secular women but that they care about traditional ethical and spiritual issues as well. Therefore, the readership of *Âlâ* should the feeling that they belong to a 'special group', differing from the readers of secular lifestyle magazines.

A second element of the religious-familistic discourse, through which this identity formation is achieved, is the use of some discursive verbal and lexical strategies. The lexical strategy is the use of inclusive pronouns like 'we' or 'our' as a form of collectivization, in which the social actors are directly or indirectly referred to a imagined collective (Wodak, 2001; Conradie, 2011). For instance, the aforementioned article about religious activities in Issue 17 begins with the following sentence: 'In these days when **we** finish November and run to the Month of December, both the Gregorian calendar in which **we** finish **our** worldly duties and the religious calendar in which **we** order **our** religious life will face a new beginning' (*Âlâ* 17: 119). A more verbal discursive strategy through which identity is formed by the religious familistic discourse is the use of specific religious terms, which only people with a distinct religious education can understand. One good example for this is again the article in Issue 25 about *Mevlana Jalaludin Rumi* idea about love (aşk), in which the author uses specific terms like Maşuk, Habibulah, mürit, etc. As such it became obvious that various discourses in the magazine are not isolated, but are in a specific discursive relationship with one other, enhancing each other's effect on the readers of *Âlâ Dergisi*.

Another strategy is the making of reference to religious sources when someone gives the readers some advices, as a form of justification. For example, in an article about diet the author writes: 'For those who have problems with their weights because of Ramadan, the time after Ramadan are a good time to start with a diet (*Âlâ* 5: 90). Also in an interview with TV show host Ikbâl Gürpınar, she admits that she uses an olive crème for her skin, because: 'You know that (olive) is named in the Koran' (*Âlâ* 8: 116).

So this redundant religious-familistic discourse within the content *Âlâ* is not only important for identity formation. The magazine tries to convince its readers that they must fulfill a distinct spiritual ethical norm and can not only focus on consumption. Thus, it embeds this new consumption practice of a new class of pious and affluent women in a specific Islamic consumption ethos, which in return reflect the ideal of implementing and living an Islamic lifestyle.

Discussion

The outcomes of the Critical Discourse Analysis present some important insights about the role of *Âlâ Dergisi* as a fashion magazine in the new emerging sector of Islamic fashion and the role of veiling in contemporary Turkey. First of all, the three main discourses of *Âlâ* are interrelated with each other. This interdiscursivity (Wodak, 2000; 2001) results in the founding of a new Islamic image of femininity. This new femininity describes educated and religious women, who are active in religious circles (Hanımefendi discourse), who care about style and an appropriate outlook in public, taking active responsibility for her beauty by making plastic surgery and make-up (beauty discourse) but set value on an Islamic (consumption) ethos (religious-familistic discourse). In this sense, these three discourses are also sub-discourses of a meta-discourse of living an 'Islamic lifestyle' (İslami Yaşam), which the magazine's editors label this as a 'beautiful lifestyle' (Güzel Yaşam). In other words, *Âlâ Dergisi* does not only constitute a new Islamic female consumer image, but also defines and presents a new form of Islamic consumption for its readers.

Nonetheless, the emergence of *Âlâ Dergisi* and its interpretation of and Islamic lifestyle was always criticized by other more traditional Islamic and also kemalist groups, embedded in the discussion about the public outlook of religious women. For instance, in the context of veiling Islamic scholars and journalists have condemned this form of veiling as contrary to Islamic principles, which regard this form of veiling as waste (israf) (Aktas, 1995; Karaosmanoglu, 2002, Gökariksel and Secor, 2009). As a result, this new class of women experiences some contradictions between their purchase of commodity goods to fulfil their demand for conspicuous consumption and an Islamic consumption ethos, preaching modesty

(Gökarıksel and Secor, 2012). Therefore, the primary function of *Âlâ* is not only to create a new consumer image, but also to guide its readers according to their new needs for taste and beauty and to assure them that their new mode of consumption is still in accordance with an Islamic consumption ethos. Examples for such an attempt are the switch between fashion and religion like in the aforementioned leading article of the editor in chief in Issue 21, the embedding of articles about religious issues in the magazine next to fashion and lifestyle topics. By articulating such an Islamic consumption ethos, *Âlâ* also answers Islamic critics who accuse this new form of Islamic aesthetics, taste, consumption and veiling as unauthentic and also non-Islamic. The aforementioned interview with Nihat Hatipoğlu in Issue 21 is a good example for this attempt to assure its readers. However, it is clear that there is a selection of religious topics. The focus of *Mevlana Jalaludin Rumi* in Issue 5 and 31, the focus on the commemoration of the birth of the Prophet Mohammed, the aforementioned interviews with Cemalnur Surgut, Nihat Hatipoğlu, etc. shows that the magazine expresses a more soft understanding of Islam, which is not only accepted by magazines reader, but also by more secular readers.

Second, despite the connection of the major discourses of *Âlâ Dergisi* with societal transformations and specific power conflicts in Turkey it is important to understand that *Âlâ Dergisi* is embedded in the capitalist logic of a fashion magazine and a commodity product, whose main purpose is to gain profits. Like all other fashion and lifestyle magazines it is a product of the print industry. It is an important site for advertising and sale of commodity products, in which the fashion companies need fashion magazine for presenting their goods (Ferguson, 1983; Rayner, 2004; Morean, 2006). For instance, in Issue 30 an article about anti-ageing (120 – 121) is followed by advertorial article in which various anti-aging products are presented (122 – 123). In the same way, we can see an article about the remove of skin pigments in Issue 25 (112 – 113) in which the editor directly recommends specific products. In the context of the *tesettür* industry, this new emerging actors in the fashion sector cannot present their veiling fashion in classical magazines like Vogue or Cosmo, because their secular readers do not represent the customers of the *tesettür* industry. In the past there were other ways to communicate with potential customers, like fashion shows, shops or blogs (Sandikci and Ger, 2010) Nonetheless, the access of consumers to these sources was always limited, while *Âlâ Dergisi* has a broader access to potential consumers. In return, the fashion company are not only important for *Âlâ's* revenues, but they also lend dresses for the magazine's photo shootings, give interviews, etc. Thus, the magazine and the fashion/beauty industry have an interdependent relationship with each other.

It is important to realize that fashion magazines like *Âlâ Dergisi* must fulfil two contradictory tasks. Having a 'multiple audience' (Morean, 2006), they must attract both a readership and the advertisers, who are in return their major source of revenue. The editors of a fashion magazine sell their readerships to (potential) advertisers while editors sell advertisement products to their readers (Rayner, 2004, Morean, 2006, Conradie, 2011). For example, all photo-shootings consist first of the picture with the photo models with the cloths and the veil she wears, and second and written information about the brands she wears and the price. For instance, in the photo shooting in 29th issue on page 55 we can see a veiled photo-model wearing red trousers, light coloured coat, and shoes in off white. In addition, the reader can see that the coat is from Banana Republic for 665 TL, the trousers are from Gucci for 1720 TL, etc. Like in other fashion magazines, the cloths are lent by the fashion companies for the shooting. In return the shooting is used for advertising. For that, *Âlâ* tries to develop a homogenous readership or at least tries to convince the fashion industry that its readership is homogenous. This homogeneity is created by *Âlâ* through the new discursive image of new Islamic femininity and beauty ideal, which in return is shared by its readers, despite the fact that the readers of *Âlâ* are not representing the whole Islamic community. In other words, *Âlâ* tries to create a "Sisterhood of readers" (Talbot, 1995), to whom they can give valuable advices about products, which help them to be part of this new 'sisterhood'. Thus, like aforementioned examples of fashion and lifestyle magazines for Islamic women in other countries (Jones, 2010, Reina, 2010) the content of *Âlâ* and also its successors try to fulfil the need of their readership to

combine religiosity and consumption. These products are then presented by the fashion and cosmetic industry in the magazine, which in return become the major income source of the magazine (Ferguson, 1983). Even the publishers of *Âlâ* stated in an interview that the purpose of their magazine is to be a platform to bring devout women who have a distinct taste and style with the fashion and lifestyle industry together (Yıldız, 2012). Like other fashion magazine in Turkey, *Âlâ Dergisi* follows a distinct capitalistic logic: It filled a demand gap of both the consumers who looked for appropriate goods and the fashion industry that looked for an advertising channel for their goods.

Finally, the advent of *Âlâ Dergisi* gives us a good insight about the changing role and relationship of veiling, fashion and female bodies in the Middle East and particularly in Turkey. What those nations have in common, is that, their state elites, during the process of national modernization wanted to implement a distinct secular-liberal project, with the aim to alter peoples' ethical and aesthetic sensibilities (Mahmood, 2005: 74). In this context, the secular Kemalist elites – similar to some degree with the secular state elites of the Shah Regime and in Tunisia until the Arab Spring - wanted not only to ban public markers of religious life in public, but also focused on women's public outlook, as a symbol of this modernist secularist project (Göle, 1996; Arat, 1997; Navaro-Yashin, 2002). For instance, in Turkey, the central issue of 'state feminism' of the Kemalist Republic was not only giving women their political and social rights. Moreover, it established a new ideal of a 'republican woman'. As the embodiment of the modern Turkish Republic, she was educated, professional and a politically active citizen, and more important, she was not veiled (Göle, 1996; Arat, 1997; Kandiyoti, 1997; Çinar, 2005). This ideal of a secular unveiled womanhood was shared by many urban elites in the Middle East, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, where the public picture of women in Cairo, Tehran, Kabul and Ankara were unveiled (Ahmed, 1992; 2011). In this sense, Mahmood has showed that 'veiling is incommensurable with, and inimical to those forms of public sociability that a secular-liberal polity seeks to make normative' (2005: 75).

In the same vain, the discourse of veiling and beauty and the new religious femininity represented in *Âlâ Dergisi* has challenged the existing Kemalist secular embodied discourse of womanhood (Çinar, 2005). In the Turkish case, the ideal picture of women presented in *Âlâ Dergisi* shares a lot with 'modern' women: they are educated, and they work and are socially and politically active women. However, they are also religiously active and at least veiled. Hence, they challenge the picture of the Kemalist classical picture of religious women, as uneducated and suppressed. In this sense, interview with veiled role models like aforementioned Nur Yamankaradeniz in Issue 21 or İkbâl Gürpınar in issue 8 are important to question the kemalist notion about veiled women. In addition, the presentation of veiled and fashionized and successful women at the covers of the magazine does not only convince veiled women to accept and embody a new understanding of (veiled) beauty. This demonstration of a veiled public beauty also should convey secular people that veiled women can be beautiful like other women too.

On the other hand, this meta-discourse of living an 'Islamic lifestyle' developed by *Âlâ Dergisi* is also important for a form of de-stigmatizing of veiled women. (Sandıkcı; Ger 2010). Not only is the fact that the magazine demonstrates that an Islamic way of lifestyle can be in accordance with being fashionable. Also important is the fact that so the veil as an object and veiled women as subjects loses the stigma of being second class citizens in kemalist Turkey. Also the fact, that the fashion editors of the magazine visit various national and international fashion shows, like for example in issue 21 and 31, demonstrates that veiled women are now somehow accepted in former secular social space. In the same way, that in Issue 29 with famous fashion designer Uğurkan Erez (p. 120) demonstrates veiled and also non veiled women that veiling as way of living is accepted. As such the emergence of *Âlâ Dergisi* and its successors become very important for making the veil public visible and in the final end to de-stigmatize it.

Thus, the discourse formation about fashion and the public expression of the female body represented by *Âlâ Dergisi* is one of many discourse formations. It is safe to say, that this new discourse formation is also the expression of a multi-vocality (Bilgili, 2011) in Turkish

public not only challenging kemalist discourses about female bodies but also traditional Islamic ones. This in return reveals a change of power structures in contemporary Turkey, due of a distinct socio economic change, i.e. the conflict about public representation between old secular elites and new religious elites on the one side but also between various religious groups on the other side.

In the final analysis, it is safe to say that the discursive elements within the magazine's content do not only represent a picture of the social world of its readers. In fact, *Âlâ* helps to constitute a specific frame of understanding, trying to provide its readers a subjective meaning for their everyday practice (Hall, 1996; Macdonald, 2003). In other words, *Âlâ* constructs a definition what the social praxis of fashion conscious veiling is, constitutes an image of a new religious consumer subject of the *Hanımefendi* and helps also do justify it. Thus, *Âlâ* becomes an important media tool, which does not only represent societal change and a diversity of the public outlook of religious women in Turkey, but also constitutes it. Nonetheless, it should be mentioned that *Âlâ* is not the only source for these new female religious consumers to get information about this new form of fashion conscious veiling. Before *Âlâ* these were and are still fashions shows, shops and blogs about veiling. Generally speaking, fashion magazines like *Âlâ* are new actors who help to constitute and define this new form of fashion conscious veiling and a new religious consumer. For this reason, the idea of veiling as a convenient good develops in a wider material and symbolic network, which in return constitutes a form of Islamic-ness (Gökarıksel and Secor, 2010b).

However, as it is mentioned before, this does not happen in an ideological and context free environment. The discursive elements within the magazine's content happen under the context of the aforementioned mostly gendered societal conflict between old secular elites and new religious elites and their battle of public visibility. Also these discursive elements are also the result of a unique operative logic of media capitalism, like profit gaining and the aforementioned double readership of a fashion magazine. In this vein, the major discourses of *Âlâ* do not only constitute new social practices, but are also constituted.

Conclusion

The results of this article have demonstrated that *Âlâ Dergisi* is both a cultural artifact and a commodity product. As a cultural artifact it constitutes a specific Islamic female image (hanımefendiler) and a distinct form of an Islamic conspicuous consumption (güzel yaşam). It creates an image of a homogenous identity of its readership with a distinct and shared consumption pattern and beauty ideals and advises them how to consume distinct products to fulfill the everyday task of being stylish and tasteful. In addition, by presenting a specific religious-familistic discourse *Âlâ* justifies the new lifestyle of its active pious readers and thus contributes with counter- arguments against critics of this new lifestyle from other Islamic groups. In this sense, the magazine reflects the fragmented nature of active pious Muslims in Turkey and their quarrel about the real definition of an Islamic lifestyle.

Another key point is, that as a commodity product *Âlâ Dergisi* is still part of an Islamic commodity industry and is thus bound into the logic of market, following liberal economic principles like offer and demand and profit making. Therefore, its content and editorial policy is the result of the demands of both its readers and the veiling fashion industry. Its survival depends on its economic success, i.e. to make profits by pleasing both the demands of its readers and of the advertisers. Consequently, it must follow established rules of fashion magazines or magazine industry. Hence, *Âlâ Dergisi* does not differ from other (secular) fashion and lifestyle magazines. Its emergence is the result of capitalist considerations about a demand in a new emerging consumer market in Turkey, like Vogue, Cosmo, etc. which emerged 10 – 15 years before to answer the demands of a new secular middle class. Under these circumstances, *Âlâ Dergisi* does not only constitute a new form of consumer identity and Islamic conspicuous consumption pattern in a context free environment, but transforms and develops existing trends further.

Finally, the article also demonstrated that *Âlâ Dergisi*, in particular, reflects social change in Turkey. In the context of neo-liberal capitalism, a new class of devout economic elites emerge, who has some rising demands for class conscious consumption. Moreover, they have developed a new form of an Islamic ethos of consumption. This in return, challenges traditional understandings of secular Kemalist and also traditional Islamist presumptions about the role of pious Muslims, the visibility of women and the idea of consumption. Thus, neo-liberalism produces new individuals, who develop new forms of identity, taste and demands and no longer be controlled by classical political ideas like Kemalism or traditional Islam.

However, while this article reveals some important insights in the role of Islamic fashion magazines in the nexus of taste, consumption and social change, it has some shortages, which indeed provides valuable ideas for further research about this topic. For instance, this paper focused only on the content of *Âlâ Dergisi*. Consequently, further research can improve the results of this article and can, for example, compare it with the content of other Islamic fashion magazines, which have been established after the success of *Âlâ*. Moreover, *Âlâ* is a magazine which has emerged in the distinct socio-economic and political context of Turkey. The comparison with similar magazines in other Muslim and non – Muslim countries would give a valuable insight in the differences and similarities of these magazines in the context of fashion industry and Islamic middle class conspicuous consumption. In addition further research can also compare the discursive means between *Âlâ* and its successors like *Aysha*, *Enda* or *Hayat*, not only asking about the differences of their readerships and how these magazine visual and verbal content try to fulfil the demands of their readerships. Finally, the article has a limited scope about what the Muslim women really think about the emergence of *Âlâ Dergisi*, its content and how they present beauty and a new form of Islamic femininity. This can be examined by a discourse analysis of the discussions in the mainstream and the social media or by in depth interview with religious readers and non-readers of this magazine.

In conclusion, the results of this article and the further venues for research has shown that the issue of Islamic lifestyle magazines is a very important research field about topics like social change in Islamic countries, the emergence of new forms of consumption and consumption ethics, etc. from the perspective of everyday life. Thus, researches about Turkey and other Islamic countries should be encouraged to focus more on the perspective of everyday life to understand the dynamic in these countries and how they affect the life of ordinary people.

REFERENCES

- ABAZA, Mona (2007) "Shifting Landscapes of Fashion in Contemporary Egypt." *Fashion Theory* 11: 281-98.
- AHMED, Leila (1992). *Women and gender in Islam: historical roots of a modern debate*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- AHMED, Leila (2011). *A Quiet Revolution: The Veil's Resurgence, from the Middle East to America*. Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- AKTAŞ, Cihan (1995). *Mahremiyetin tükenişi* [The end of modesty]. Istanbul: Nehir.
- ARAT, Yeşim (1997). 'The project of modernity and women in Turkey'. *Rethinking modernity and national identity in Turkey*, edited by Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, 95–112. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- ATASOY, Yıldız (2009). *Islam's Marriage with Neoliberalism - State Transformation in Turkey*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- BALASESCU Alexandru (2005). 'Tehran Chic: Islamic Headscarves, Fashion Designers, and New Geographies of Modernity.' *Fashion Theory*, 7 (1): 39-56.
- BİLGİLİ, Alper. (2011). 'Post-Secular Society and the Multi Vocal Religious Sphere in Turkey.' *European Perspectives*, 3 (2): 131 – 146.
- BİLİCİ, Mücahit (1999). 'İslam'ın bronzlaşan yüzü : Caprice Hotel örnek olayı [The suntanning face of Islam: the case of Caprice Hotel]'. In *İslamın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri* [Islam's New Public Faces]. edited by Nilüfer Göle, 216–236. Istanbul: Metis.
- BUĞRA, Ayşe. (1994). *State and Business in Modern Turkey: A Comparative Study*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- BUĞRA, Ayşe. (1998). 'Class, culture and the state: an analysis of interest representation by two Turkish business associations' *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 30: 521 – 539

- CARUANA, Robert, CRANE, Andrew and FITCHETT, James A. (2008). 'Paradoxes of consumer independence: a critical discourse analysis of the independent traveller'. *Marketing Theory* 2008; (8): 253 – 272
- ÇINAR, Alev (2005). *Modernity, Islam, and secularism in Turkey: bodies, places, and time*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- CİNGİ, Sinem (2011). Muhafazakar Vogue. *Radikal*, 9 November, 2011.
- CORRIGAN, Peter (1997). *The Sociology of Consumption*. London: Sage Publications.
- CONRADIE, Marthinus (2011). 'Constructing femininity: A critical discourse analysis of Cosmo.' *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 29(4): 401-417.
- DEMİR, Ömer; ACAR, Mustafa and TOPRAK, Metin (2004). 'Anatolian Tigers or Islamic Capital: Prospects and Challenges.' *Middle Eastern Studies*, 40 (6): 166 – 188
- DİNÇ, Emine (2012). Erkekler bu dergiye bakmasın [Men should not look to this journal]. *On5yirmi5*. Online: <http://www.on5yirmi5.com/genc/haber.87350/erkekler-bu-dergiye-bakmasin.html> (28.12.2012)
- EL GUINDI, Fatima (1999). *Veil: Modesty, Privacy and Resistance*. Oxford: Berg.
- EMRENCE, Cem (2008). 'After Neo-liberal Globalization: The Great Transformation of Turkey.' *Comparative Sociology* 7: 51–67
- FAIRCLOUGH, Norman (1992). *Critical Language Awareness*. London: Sage
- FAIRCLOUGH, Norman (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage
- FAIRCLOUGH, Norman (2001). 'Critical discourse analysis as a method in social scientific research.' In: *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edited by Ruth WODAK and Michael MEYER, 121 – 138. London: Sage.
- FERGUSON Marjorie. (1983). *Forever feminine: Women's magazines and the cult of femininity*. London: Heinemann.
- FISHER, Johan (2008). *Proper Islamic Consumption: Shopping Among the Malays in Modern Malaysia*. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies
- FISHER, Johan (2011). *The Halal Frontier - Muslim Consumers in a Globalized Market*. London: Palgrave Macmillan
- GOFFMAN, Erving (1976). *Gender Advertisment*. New York: Harper Collins
- GÖLE, Nilüfer (1996). *The Forbidden Modern: Civilization and Veiling*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- GÖLE, Nilüfer. ed. (1999). *İslam'ın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri. [Islam's New Public Faces]*. Istanbul: Metis.
- GÖLE, Nilüfer and AMMANN, Ludwig eds. (2006). *Islam in Public*. Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi University Press.
- GÖKARIKSEL, Banu (2009). 'Beyond the officially sacred: Religion, secularism and the body in the production of subjectivity.' *Social and Cultural Geography* 10 (6): 657–74.
- GÖKARIKSEL, Banu (2012). 'The Intimate Politics of Secularism and the Headscarf: The Mall, the Neighborhood, and the Public Square' *Gender, Place, and Culture* 19 (1): 1-20.
- GÖKARIKSEL, Banu and SECOR, Anna J. (2009). 'The veiling-fashion industry in Turkey.' *Area*. 41 (1): 6–18.
- GÖKARIKSEL, Banu and SECOR, Anna J. (2010a). 'Between Fashion and Tesettür: Marketing and Women's Islamic Dress.' *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*. 6(3): 118 – 148.
- GÖKARIKSEL, Banu and SECOR, Anna J. (2010b). 'Islamicness in the life of a commodity: Veiling-fashion in Turkey.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. 35 (3): 313–33.
- GÖKARIKSEL, Banu and SECOR, Anna J. (2012). "'Even I Was Tempted": The Moral Ambivalence and Ethical Practice of Veiling-Fashion in Turkey.' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 102(4): 847-862.
- HALL, Stuart (1996). 'New ethnicities.' In *Black British Cultural Studies: a reader* edited by Houston.A. Baker, Matina. Diawara, and Ruth.H. Lindeborg, 163-72. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- JONES, Carla (2007). 'Fashion and Faith in Urban Indonesia' *Fashion Theory* 11 (1): 211-31.
- JONES, Carla (2010). Images of Desire: Creating Virtue and Value in and Indonesian Islamic Lifestyle Magazine. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* Vol. 6, No. 3.: 91 – 117.
- KANDİYOTİ, Deniz (1997). 'Gendering the Modern – On Missing Dimensions in the Study of Turkish Modernity.' In *Rethinking Modernity And National Identity In Turkey*. Edited by Sibel BOZDOĞAN and Reşat KASABA, 113 – 132. Washington: University of Washington Press.
- KARAOSMANOĞLU, Fatma K. (2002). *Moda ve zihniyet* [Fashion and mentality] Istanbul: İz.
- KELLER, Rainer (2011). *Diskursforschung* [Discourse Research]. Wiesbaden: VS Verlage.
- KILIÇBAY, Barış and BİNARK, Mutlu (2002). 'Consumer Culture, Islam and the Politics of Lifestyle : Fashion for Veiling in Contemporary Turkey.' *European Journal of Communication* 17: 495 - 511.
- KÖMEÇOĞLU, Uğur (2006). 'New sociabilities: Islamic cafe's in Istanbul'. In *Islam in Public: Turkey, Iran, and Europe*, edited by Nilüfer GÖLE and Ludwig AMMANN, 163–189. Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi University Press.
- LEWIS, Reina (2010). Marketing Muslime Lifestyles: A new Genre. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* Vol. 6, No. 3.: 58 – 90.
- MACDONALD, Myra (2003). *Exploring Media Discourse*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- MAHMOOD, Saba (2005). *Politics of piety: The Islamic revival and the feminist subject*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- MOREAN, Brian (2006). 'More Than Just a Fashion Magazine.' *Current Sociology* 54 (5): 725 – 744
- NAVARO-YASHİN, Yael (2002). *Faces of the state: secularism and public life in Turkey*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- NİŞANYAN, Sevan (2007). *Sözlerin Soyağacı: Çağdaş Türkçenin Etimolojik Sözlüğü*, [Geneology of the Words. The etymological dictionary of contemporary Turkish] (3th edition), Istanbul: Adam
- RAYNER, Philip (2004). *AS media studies: The essential introduction*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge.
- SANDIKCI Özlem; GER, Guliz. (2002). 'In-between modernities and postmodernities: Theorizing Turkish consumptionscape.' *Advances in Consumer Research* 29 (1): 465–70.
- SANDIKCI Özlem, GER, Guliz (2005). 'Aesthetics, ethics and politics of the Turkish headscarf.' In: *Clothing as material culture*, edited by S Küchler and D Miller, 61–82. Oxford: Berg.

- SANDIKCI Özlem, GER, Guliz (2007), 'Constructing and Representing the islamic Consumer in Turkey.' *Fashion Theory*. 11 (2/3): 189-210.
- SANDIKCI Özlem, GER, Guliz (2010). 'Veiling in Style: How Stigmatized Practice Become Fashionable?' *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37: 15 – 36.
- TALBOT, Mary (1995). 'A synthetic sisterhood: False friend in a teenage magazine.' In *Gender articulated: Language and the socially constructed self*. edited by Kira Hall and Mary Bucholtz, 143–165. New York: Routledge.
- TİTSCHER, Stefan, WODAK, Ruth, MEYER, Michael, VETTER, Eva (1998). *Methoden der Textanalyse*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag
- YAVUZ, Hakan (2003). *Islamic political identity in Turkey*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- YILDIZ, Gamze (2012). Muhafazakar Modanın Kurumsal Mutfağı 'Ala' [The Institutional Kitchen of Conservative Fashion: 'Ala'] *Gazete Bursa* Online: <http://www.gastebursa.com/ust-manset/2012/1/28/31285/muhafazakar-modanin-kurumsal-mutfagi-ala.htm> (28.12.2012)
- YILMAZ, Kamil (2009). 'The Emergence and Rise of Conservative Elite in Turkey.' *Insight Turkey* 11 (2): 113-136
- WODAK, Ruth (2000). *Discourse and Discrimination: Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism*. Florence: Routledge.
- WODAK, Ruth. 2001. 'The discourse historical approach.' In: *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. Edited by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer; 63 – 94. London: Sage.