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Araştırma Makalesi /Research Review

DETERMINATION OF THE FACTORS AFFECTING HIJAB CLOTHING IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FASHION AND CONSUMPTION*

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Abstract

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This study aims to investigate what hijab means for hijab-wearing women who adopt the Islamic dressing style, the commands of Islam regarding hijab and the factors that lead to hijab, and how consumption culture factors (fashion, brand, social media, etc.) affect the perception of hijab. Semi-structured in-depth interviews with open-ended questions are conducted within the scope of the qualitative research. Face-to-face in-depth interviews were conducted with 25 female participants who preferred hijab clothing. The study shows that modern consumption patterns have unintentionally distanced women from religious sensitivities and that fashion plays an essential role in shaping the lifestyles of women wearing hijabs. It is observed that appearance-oriented thoughts, such as keeping up with age, being modern, being liked, and being socially accepted, are adopted by women wearing hijabs with religious concerns. By revealing the social realities and opinions about hijab clothing, the study provides essential information for shaping the marketing and communication efforts of company managers who offer products to the market in this sector.

Keywords: Consumption, Fashion, Hijab, In-Depth interview

Jel Codes: M00, M3, M31



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1.Introduction

Hijab comes from Arabic, setr, and infinitive suffixes. Therefore, the term refers to *covering, hiding, concealment, and closure* (Apaydın, 2001:91). The Turkish Language Institution defines hijab as women dressing in a covered way (TDK, 2023). The opening of the hijab of the verses quoted from the Qur'an is as follows; "*And tell the believing women to lower their gaze (from looking at forbidden things), and protect their private parts (from illegal sexual acts, etc.) and not to show off their adornment except only that which is apparent (like palms of hands or one eye or both eyes for the necessity to see the way, or outer dress like veil, gloves, head-cover, apron, etc.), and to draw their veils all over Juyubihinna (i.e. their bodies, faces, necks and bosoms, etc.)*" (al-Nur 24:31). According to Islam, it is not only moral for women to cover and dress themselves, but it also means protecting their chastity. The veil, which serves a function of decency, should not cover the body, should not show the shape and contour of the body, but rather hide it, as well as hide it from the evil gaze (Göle, 1993: 88).

The neoliberal economic policies implemented after 1980, which pioneered economic development in Turkey, enabled the strengthening of Islamic capital, called green capital. This process reshaped the conservative segment's clothing preferences and transformed the perception of meaning attached to the hijab.

It is seen that the Islamic segment in Turkey has entered a new understanding of hijab as "hijab fashion," which is transformed in the context of consumer culture and combined with the concept of fashion, and that Islamic criteria are replaced by an understanding of hijab in which fashion and consumption are determinants. Islam's version of covering up is based on a simple covering that reflects chastity. Today, preference is made with a fashion perception based on the concept of hijab marketing. This shows a shift in the understanding of hijab covering from spiritual to fashionable.

In Turkey, in the 90s, the display of hijab fashion with hijab fashion showed that the hijab became a commodity that could be marketed, and the hijab was associated with various elements such as like, status, and image, leading to the hijab going beyond its meaning and representing visibility rather than secrecy. The hijab, which is seen as an area of the capital, is associated with the dynamics of consumption, leading to the emergence of a new understanding of the hijab that prioritizes the importance of time over the requirements of religion (Arslan&Çaylak, 2018:49).

As products appealing to Islamic segments proliferated and the market grew, clothes with Islamic content, which began to weaken in terms of religiosity, took shape according to the market conditions. Hijabs are being exposed to the dynamics of modernization, such as fashion and consumption, and new religious identities have emerged in which the religious tendencies associated with hijabs are not abandoned, but their religious practices are adapted to new conditions. The hijab, subject to capital, is associated with consumption dynamics rather than traditional norms. Thus, the understanding of keeping up with age, and dressing as the age requires, paves the way for the formation of a new perception of hijab that adapts the requirements of religion to the needs of the age.

A growing sector is referred to as hijab/conservative fashion. According to the Global Islamic Economy Report (2017: 103-104), the share of Muslims in the global clothing sector is increasing. While this sector, referred to as modest fashion, had a volume of \$ 254 billion in 2016, this figure is projected to increase to \$ 373 billion by 2022. Turkey is at the top of this sector, with a volume of 27.4 billion dollars. Considering the data, it is essential that the study was conducted in Turkey (Aygül&Gürbüz, 2019:191)

It is possible to come across many studies on the relationship between hijab clothing and fashion in Turkey. All these studies took place in western Turkey (Ökten, 2016:144, in Antalya; Aygül&Gürbüz, 2019:164 in Istanbul; Gazneli&Kılıç, 2020:197, in Izmir, Ankara, Istanbul). This study gains importance in being conducted in one of the eastern provinces of Turkey. In this virgin area, traditional life is dominant, cultural values are essential, and especially religious sensitivities are intensely observed. These all make this study different from other studies.

In this context, this study attempts to understand the meaning of hijabs for women, the factors that lead to hijabs, how hijab fashion affects women's clothing preferences, the importance of the brand in hijab clothing, whether the hijab is seen as a means of identity, and how media tools affect women's clothing preferences.

The article is organized as follows: First, the current theoretical framework for understanding the factors affecting hijab clothing in the relationship between fashion and consumption is presented. Next, it is suggested that the research methodology and findings. Finally, the study concludes with a discussion of practical implications and recommendations for further research.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Hijab (Veiling) in Islam

Hijab is a sign of Islam (Arslan&Çaylak, 2018:46). Hijab wear, which is of Arabic origin, refers to the veiling of women and is known as the use of a headscarf and the wearing of a long, loose dress (Göle, 2011:174). "Veiling means protecting oneself from being unrelated, avoiding, and hiding" (Apaydın, 2001:541).

Furthermore, a hijab refers to a woman's covering against men who are considered haram and who may marry her. According to the Qur'anic rules, it means covering and hiding parts of the body that are forbidden from being shown to people who are mahrams and which are specifically mentioned (Develioğlu, 2002:109). Therefore, according to Islam, a woman dresses to cover the parts that are forbidden to be seen and to extinguish and reduce the desires of the mahrams towards them (Erdem, 2015: 253). Hijab protects women from the gaze of men, defines the boundaries between the sexes, and draws the boundaries of their intimate areas (Göle, 2008:128).

How a hijab should be explained in Surahs Nur and Azhab, and for women, *it is to cover all their limbs and body contours except their hands from their face and wrists in a way that does not reveal their body lines* (Deniz, 2019:286). The Qur'an speaks of both the quality and form of veiling. The adornments Allah has given to women should be protected from foreign glances and reserved only for women or their husbands. The individual should be covered such that the head, neck, and necklace are not visible (Tok&Müftüoğlu, 2018:105).

2.2. The Dilemma Between Fashion and Hijab: Hijab Fashion

Fashion, which is derived from the Latin word *modus*, is a temporary phenomenon that has gained acceptance over time (Sproles, 1981: 118). Turkish Language Institution (TDK) defines fashion as; "*Temporary innovation that enters into social life with the need for change or the desire for adornment,*" "*Social appreciation that is effective for a certain period, excessive fondness for something,*" "*Temporarily suitable for innovation and social appreciation.*" (TDK, 2023)

While the formation process of hijab fashion in Turkey first appeared in the 1970s with the "*Muslim woman*" dress limited to a single type and a few colours, especially in the early 80s, "*hijab fashion shows*" caused the hijab to enter the fashion process (Barbarosoğlu, 2002:117). As a result of economic developments, the upper class started to get richer,

differentiated hijab clothing products, and started to reveal the concept of fashion among women who paid attention to dressing by the Islamic religion (Sandıkçı&Ger, 2005:78). As hijab and fashion began to intertwine, businesses producing for women wearing hijabs also launched many brands and products preferred by wealthy and elite women in hijabs (Özkaynak, 2018:5). In other words, while Islam and fashion are two concepts that seemed impossible to come together, the preparatory process for their coming together began in the 1980s (Meşe 2016: 96).

It is seen that the hijab, which is transformed in the context of consumer culture and combined with the concept of fashion, has entered a new understanding of "hijab fashion" and has transformed into an account of hijab where fashion and consumption are determinants instead of Islamic criteria (İlyasoglu, 1994:27). The concept of fashion, which represents appearance, is in stark contrast to the rules of the hijab, such as concealment and preservation, as it serves women who seek to make themselves beautiful through appearance (Durur& Şimşek, 2017:386). Thus, the hijab has taken steps towards changing its meaning and becoming fashionable. This has begun to turn the hijab into a commodity that needs to be consumed and used in consumer culture, and to change its purpose. Consequently, a new understanding of the hijab has emerged that merges with fashion and maintains the requirements of the modern age. (Arslan&Çaylak, 2018:41). Consumption patterns are reorganized for Muslims by producing "Muslim" versions of everything in daily life. Hijab, which means "to cover", and fashion, which is a concept that can exist through "conformity to social taste", that is, through display, have created a sector called "hijab fashion" (Barbarosoğlu, 1996:117).

Hijab fashion combines purity and style most appropriately and encourages individuals to consume accordingly (Gökarıksel&Secor, 2010:122). The concept of the hijab concerns protection, covering, and not attracting attention, while fashion is directly related to attracting attention and being liked. Hijab fashion has also divided the religious segment into two because of this contradiction. Fashion has transformed the phenomenon of "invisibility" for conservative women into "visibility." Hijab fashion has led to new styles and images that differ from traditional veiling (Güz *et al.*, 2018:752).

However, the emergence of hijab fashion has made hijab-wearing women feel obliged to keep up with existing changes. While they think they are outdated when not dressing by style, dressing in fashion increases their self-confidence. The primary criterion is no longer whether clothing is based on Islamic principles, but whether it is fashionable becomes more critical (Demirezen, 2015:87). For example, Islamic fashion/hijab magazines provide outfit

suggestions for hijab women to look beautiful, stylish, distinguished, and eye-catching in different public spaces (going to the theatre, a concert, or attending an event) with their scarf and jewellery, bag, and shoes so that they can create their style, keep up with fashion, and feel special (Erkilet, 2012:34). While hijab and clothing practices are based on concealing the female body, the images in the catalogues reveal the woman's body. In this way, women are not only turned into consumers, but are also reduced to the position of objects of consumption (Binark&Kılıçbay, 2005:291).

Moreover, the symbolization of the hijab and the definition of the "new Muslim woman" with different styles, forms, skirts, trousers, jackets, and colorful scarves, other than the colors determined by specific patterns, have combined the hijab with fashion. As a result, a new meaning has emerged, in which the emphasis on women's identities in the hijab has increased.

2.3. Factors Leading to Hijab in the Relationship between Fashion and Consumption

In studies in which people wearing hijabs are asked about their opinions and practices regarding fashion, it is seen that two main dilemmas shaped the answers. One of these is that there will be no hijab fashion, religious sensitivities should be observed in hijabs, and tradition should be preferred. However, it is seen that the opinions of hijab and fashion can be adapted.

In his research on religious university youth, Avcı (2018) revealed a dual view of people's thoughts and practices regarding hijab clothing. Accordingly, while some of the participants in the study defended the simple and traditional form of veiling and stated that it should never be compromised, another group noted that a Muslim individual should also look beautiful (Avcı, 2018:118).

In her study of head-scarved individuals, Okutan found that they follow fashion, care about looking harmonious, adapt what is fashionable to the hijab, and do not want to stay away from the world in a showcase. However, a small number of participants who stated that they did not follow hijab fashion said that the hijab would not be fashionable, that fashion is inappropriate in terms of Islam, or that it is essential for them to wear fair, comfortable, and inconspicuous clothing. Here, religion-based sensitivity is a determining factor in fashion evaluations (2013). Aygül&Gürbüz (2019:198) stated that students wearing hijab/turban are a part of consumer culture for reasons such as creating a "sense of distinction" with symbols/brands indicating class difference, compensating for aesthetic concerns, building desirable identities, and avoiding social exclusion. In a study conducted by Arslan and Çaylak

(2018:65), it was determined that young people wearing hijabs attach importance to fashion and clothing styles within the framework of purposes such as social acceptance, being noticed, and being visible and that the interest of young people wearing hijabs who wear makeup is high. In contrast, the influence of religion on clothing preference is low. In other words, as the interest of hijab-clad young people in fashion increases, the effect of religious sensitivity on their clothing preferences decreases.

In short, those who state that there is or should not be hijab fashion criticize clothing styles that are not Islamically appropriate, reveal body lines, and show beauty. Accordingly, according to the participants who had a negative approach to hijab fashion, the world of the meaning of the hijab, which is established to hide and protect, is being crushed and corrupted under the domination of style.

However, integration into modern culture makes it necessary to move away from traditional culture. To avoid moving away from social life and to act as more accessible individuals, conservative groups change their clothing styles and adapt to the prevailing fashion; in a way, they save themselves from being isolated by being like others (Gazneli&Kılıç, 2020:65). Women desire to be stylish, fashionable, modern, and beautiful in hijab fashion. Hijab has also entered the socialization of women with its acceptance in public spaces (Cihangiroğlu, 2014:9). Moreover, it has become possible over time to integrate the veil/hijab with the logic of consumption within the framework of purposes such as making oneself different, being approved by society, experiencing the feeling of belonging to a group, sharing common meanings and codes, being liked and respected, creating a "green fashion" and thus making the practice of veiling fashionable rather than functional. Thus, women in hijabs have made their bodies more visible in the public sphere. Besides, Islamic symbols and practices are materialized, sacred values are reconstructed, or Islamic symbols are transformed into symbols of consumer culture (Güz, 2013:38-41).into symbols of consumer culture (Güz, 2013:38-41).

3. Research Method

Given the exploratory nature of this study, we adopt a qualitative approach using in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews are among the most effective primary data-collection methods (Showkat&Parveen, 2017:4). It is helpful to obtain detailed information about a person's thoughts and behaviours or to explore new topics in depth (Boyce&Neale, 2006:16). Additionally, it is an effective technique for obtaining data on individuals' attitudes, opinions, experiences, feelings, complaints, and beliefs.

In this context, the data obtained from in-depth interviews will be used to investigate what hijab means to hijab wearers who adopt the Islamic dressing style, the commands of Islam regarding hijabs, the factors that lead them to wear hijabs, and how consumer culture factors (fashion, brand, social media, etc.) affect the perception of hijabs.

3.1. Sampling

The central mass of the research is female consumers who prefer hijab clothing, are over the age of 18, and live in Muş Province. Therefore, it is mandatory for people in the central mass of research to be hijabed clothing consumers.

Considering the impossibility of reaching the entire central mass, the research was conducted on a sample representing the universe. Because "*obtaining data by examining the whole population is called a census, and making predictions for the whole population from the results obtained by examining a part of the whole population is called sampling*" (Baştürk& Taştepe, 2013:134). Therefore, purposive sampling is used in this study. Purposive sampling consists of people who are suitable for research and have characteristics that can represent the central mass. Criterion sampling creates a sample of people, events, objects, or situations with qualities determined by the problem (Baltacı, 2018: 244). For example, the criterion used to select people who will participate in the study is to be a hijab clothing consumer and be able to give their preferences independently over the age of 18.

A total of 25 in-depth interviews are conducted. Attention is paid to ensuring that the participants are from all occupational groups. These are people from various occupational groups, such as public-private sector-craftsmen-housewives-students. Thus, by including people with different sociocultural characteristics in the sample, such as students, shopkeepers, nurses, fashion designers, engineers, teachers, and sales consultants, this study aims to understand the perspective on social media and consumption from a broader perspective.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews are conducted using open-ended questions within the scope of qualitative research. Therefore, the questions posed to the interviewees are not subject to specific limitations or rankings. The flexibility framework included questions in which respondents could express their thoughts, and the interviews were conducted in the province of Muş, which is in eastern Turkey, is relatively smaller than neighboring cities, has a more traditional lifestyle than western Turkey, and has more intense religious sensitivities. Thus, the realization of the first in-depth interviews with the subject reveals the importance of this study.

3.2. Data Collection and Analysis

For interview requests, an appointment is first made with the interviewees, and after providing information about the research to be conducted, permission is obtained and audio recorded. Whiting (2008:35) explained that the significance of listening, except verbal conversations, is to notice the pause, silence, and non-verbal functions. Therefore, an initial review is essential to understand the flow and frame of knowledge and to gain considerable information. This paves the way for researchers to divide data into categories that can be managed using codes (Lodico et al. 2010:186).

Each interview lasted between 30 and 45 minutes. In the interviews, the main questions indicated by numbers are asked, and sub-questions are requested if necessary for the participants to share their thoughts more comprehensively. When data saturation was reached and no new information was produced, the interviews were terminated, and data collection was completed after all discussions.

The data obtained are deciphered and coded as "I1," representing "interviewer 1." The raw data are presented throughout the study as they are within the theme determined to understand the differences and contrasts. In this way, the reading of the tables prepared is facilitated within the framework of contrasts, and it is presented to the reader that individuals with different thoughts and practices have different religious sensitivities. Descriptive content analysis and coding techniques are used to reveal differences and contrasts.

4. Research Findings

This study investigated the thoughts and practices of women wearing hijabs, who are involved in the ideology of consumption to the extent of their beliefs, consumption, fashion, and Islamic/hijab clothing. As a result of data collection and analysis from in-depth interviews, five main themes emerged. These are: (1) The Meaning of the Hijab, (2) The Primary Factors Leading to the Hijab, (3) Acceptable Hijab and Whether it is Complied with, (4) Brand Preference in Hijab, (5) Hijab Fashion, and (6) The Effect of Media on Hijab.

Theme 1: The Meaning of the Hijab

Codes are created to group themes about feelings and the most often-recalled statement expectations to show the meanings associated with hijab. All textures and statements related to the purpose of hijab are tabulated under the codes presented in Table I. When the participants are asked what hijab and covering their heads meant to them, it is found that the answers are generally grouped under the following codes: "Fulfilling Allah's commands (obligatory),"

"privacy," "protection from bad thoughts and haram," "giving peace of mind," "feeling comfortable," and "giving confidence." For example, interviewees stated the following.

"Wearing hijab is the best decision I have ever made because every Muslim must obey the commands and prohibitions of Allah, and every Muslim individual must fulfill this obligatory commandment."(I-7)

"The most important reason is God's commandment. The covering is concealment, and for me, the precious things must be not easily accessible."(I-19)

"To preserve the beauty of the blessings, I have been given. I keep something of my own from being seen by everyone."(I-3)

Participants expressed the meaning of their hijabs and headscarves as "protection from bad thoughts and unprotected people. For instance, some interviewees mentioned that the *"Hijab is not only covering the head but hiding the whole body from the forbidden evil eye."*, *"Hijab is a shield for me. It is a shield that protects me from evil thoughts, stormy eyes, and hostility." (I-13)* *"My hijab reminds me to avoid evil; I think I am protecting myself from evil; it reminds me to be away from haram."(I-23)*, *"The veil means to me that just as it is the peel that protects an apple, it is the veil that protects a woman. As when an apple is peeled off, it turns black and rots after a certain time, as does a woman without a veil. Therefore, we must cover most beautifully to protect ourselves."(I-12)*

Covering their heads is considered peaceful and reassuring for some women. These women stated that they felt more relaxed and spiritually secure by covering their heads or wearing a hijab: For example: *"Islam commands women to cover their heads. But, looking at it from another perspective, I feel happier and more peaceful, and my body is better covered."(I-18)*, *"Security, comfort, peace, these satisfy me; they give me the peace of mind that I am fulfilling God's command." (I-17)*

Apart from these, it is observed that the meanings attributed to the hijab, other than the commandments of religion and protection from unprotected people, are also attributed to the hijab in terms of respectability and feeling special. Some respondents uttered: *"My hijab expresses that I am dignified and have dignity in society and my stance in social life. Thus, I believe that my hijab reminds people to be careful about how they behave towards me and talk to me (i.e., telling me things I do not like or debauched things)." (I-5)*, *"I feel special; it makes*

me feel different, beautiful, and special, like my body, is a part of me, like something that belongs to me." (I-18).

Theme 2: The Primary Factors Leading to the Hijab

As a result of the analysis of the interviews and the transcripts obtained for this theme, different codes are determined regarding the main factors that led participants to wear the hijab. This theme is classified as "Religious Values," "Personal Research," "Family Structure," "Cultural and Social Environment," "Family Pressure" To Appropriate to Her, "Budget Compliance," and "Accessibility to Hijab Clothing" (Table I). It is determined that religious values are the primary factors leading to a hijab. For example, regarding religious values, some interviewees noted the following.

"The biggest factor that led me to hijab was religious values. However, it also gives me confidence. "To fulfill what my Lord has commanded me"(I-11)

"I am fulfilling the requirement of being a Muslim, of being a Muslim. So I dress because it is obligatory for me" (I-8).

"It was the clear verses of my Lord that guided me to hijab and my teacher who explained those verses" (I-25).

In addition, education and individual research on religious values encouraged the participants to enter hijabs. It is stated that: *"My research, I did some research in the past and found out that I should dress appropriately for my religion. And I try to dress that way." (I-24)*

Family structure, family pressure, social environment, and the influence of friends seem to be the dominant reasons for hijab preference. Although these factors seem to be the reasons for participants' preference for hijab clothing, it is observed that learning and adopting religious requirements later facilitated this clothing preference.

"My environment pressured me, I covered myself without knowing my religion, so I could not dress according to Islam." (I-4)

"The culture and environment I lived in influenced me; when I first covered my body, I covered my body because of my background; later, I covered my body because my religion commanded me to do so." (I-16)

"At first, it was family pressure, then I started to like it myself, and it did not matter whether it suited me."(I-20)

In addition, it is determined that factors such as family pressure have transformed the reasons for choosing a hijab from a religious duty to a perception of pleasing the people around them. One interviewee said, *"I was under a lot of pressure from my family, especially from my mother; tying the headscarf was very tiring for me; I was constantly scratching my head, but I felt like I wore the headscarf in order not to upset my mother to please her."* (I-12).

It is understood from the statements of some participants that the way women cover their heads is more important than the way they look, rather than expressing hijab: *"I like to dress in hijab; I covered my head because it suited me well. It made me look different and beautiful."* (I-23), *"My story of starting to wear hijab was that it suited me; of course, a person should never wear hijab because it fits him; this is officially using Islam and hijab and underestimating the religious values of God."* (I-5)

Some interviewees argued that economic conditions and accessibility drove their stories about wearing hijabs in stores. This situation is expressed in the following quote: *"I used to be an open woman; I knew that I had to wear hijab; in fact, hijab clothing was expensive for me at first, but when clothes suitable for my budget were produced, it was easy for me to wear hijab."*, (I-20) *"I am almost new to hijab clothing, if not before, now there are as many hijab clothing stores in our city as you want, it was the first reason for me to choose hijab"* (I-19).

Table 1.
Themes: 1-2

Themes	Codes	n	%
	Allah's command (obligatory)	15	60
	Avoiding Haraam	8	32
	Protection from Evil (Namahrem)	10	40
	Trust	3	12
	Peace	5	20
Theme 1: The Meaning of the Hijab	Privacy	6	24
	Liberation	2	8
	Freedom	1	4
	Happiness	3	12
	Chastity	2	8

	Religious Values	14	56
	Research	5	20
	Family Structure	7	28
Theme 2: The Primary Factors Leading to the Hijab	Cultural and Social Environment	6	24
	Family Pressure	2	8
	To Appropriate to Her	7	28
	Budget Compliance	2	8
	Accessibility to Hijab Clothing	1	4

Theme 3: Acceptable Hijab and Whether it is Complied with.

Participants are asked what Islam commands about Hijab and what an acceptable Hijab should look like. After this question, the same participants are asked whether they dressed according to Islamic criteria or values. In response to these questions, it is observed that the participants generally shared information about acceptable hijabs, according to Islam. These include wearing a topcoat, abaya or chador, not wearing tight clothing, not choosing striking colors, not choosing clothes that show body lines, covering the whole body, except the hands and face, and letting the headscarf fall below the shoulders (Table II).

However, participants had different views on the second question. It is observed that some state that they dress according to Islamic criteria, whereas others state that they do not comply with all requirements.

First, it is observed that the justifications of the participants who stated that they comply with the acceptable hijab clothing prescribed by the religion of Islam are more frequently grouped under the following codes. These are "Wearing a Topcoat, Chador or Abaya", "Not Showing Body Lines", and "Not Dressing Tightly". For example, interviewees stated, *"Of course, when I dress, I make sure that I dress in a way that is accepted by Islam, "I wear my headscarf down from my shoulders." (I-17), "It will not be tight, short, thin enough to show underneath, and will have no attention-grabbing colors. Yes, I try to pay attention to these criteria.", " Islam commands women to wear hijab, yes, alhamdulillah, with the permission of my Lord, I try to observe the hijab that Islam commands...So, I cover my body, except my hands and face.(I-22).*

While many participants shared their knowledge of acceptable hijab clothing, they expressed that they could not comply fully. For example, interviewees stated that: *"Yes, I stay*

away from clothes that will poke the opposite sex in a way that will show my body lines, I am cautious not to show my hair, I never go barefoot, I don't know if I dress exactly as Islam commands, but I pay attention." (I-5), "I know that what is acceptable is to wear loose clothing, to cover the haram parts, and to dress with attention to the fabric, but unfortunately, I don't pay attention to it completely" (I-16)

Participants expressed their reasons for not fully dressing according to the Islamic criteria. It is seen that the reasons for this are collected under the following codes: "Dressing Comfortably", "Being Active in Social Life", "Keeping Up with the Times", "Acceptance", "Non-exclusion", "Attentive", "Being Stylish", "Adaptation to the Friends".

Under the "comfort" code, which is often repeated as one of the reasons, participants are found to express their thoughts in the following ways: *"People should dress comfortably, what is essential for me is that clothes that should not show body lines should be preferred, and this is my preference." (I-17), "One should not restrict oneself to when one is covered. Instead, one should dress in a way that makes them feel comfortable and happy."(I-25) "Because I wear pants, which means that I follow modern clothing, which means that I do not fulfill the commandments of Islam very well." (I-18).*

Moreover, one respondent attributed the reason to the following statement: *"Islam commands the chador to hijab. It is a veil that does not reveal any parts of the body. So, no, I do not think about it. I do not dress fully. I prefer to wear pants and a tunic because I move often" (I-20).* It is also important to note that "keeping up with times" is another reason: *For example, participants stated that I need to keep up with the times, burqa abaya; these are heavy clothes for my soul; I cannot be comfortable with my friends around me." (I-15)*

Finally, it is seen that the reasons for not being able to dress according to Islamic criteria are declared by the participants as follows: *"If I dress in full hijab, I won't be accepted by my friends; of course, this is my opinion; I think I might have to break my relationship with them because I have close friends who never wear hijab. They would not accept me in the way I say.", "Life, I am active in my social life; I know that I need to take care of myself like I need to be stylish; this way, I don't stand out from society; the old way of dressing, the long overcoat doesn't go with today, if I dress like this I will have adaptation problems." (I-14).*

Theme: 4: Brand Preference in Hijab

Participants are asked about their views on brand preferences and practices in hijabs. The differences and contrasts under this theme are divided into two under the headings "Reasons for not Preferring Brand" and "Reasons for Preferring Brand" (Table II).

Accordingly, codes such as "Compliance with Religious Obligations ", "No Brand in Hijab", "Not Caring about the Brand", and "Budget Compliance" are observed as the reasons why the brand is not preferred in hijab. Some participants stated that branded clothing is not essential for them to prioritize religious principles, saying that hijab clothing is not a commodity to be branded and will not gain superiority or difference from the brand. Instead, religious compatibility should be prioritized for hijab clothing. For example, *"I do not care about brands. It is enough for me that my Hijab covers me.", (I-8) "Hijab does not have a brand; it has religious compatibility...and the right Hijab creates one's identity. So, I never care about brands in Hijab." (I-12), "I don't care about brands in hijab clothing because hijab clothing is not something to be branded." (I-3).*

Moreover, codes "Being Different", "Quality", and "Status (Identity)" define reasons for brand preference. Thus, some participants stated that they preferred branded clothing in hijabs based on factors such as achieving a desired identity, fear of being excluded from the circle of friends, quality, and the feeling of difference created by the brand. For example, interviewees stated the following:

"It is nice that it is a brand; of course, I think that wearing branded clothing affects my identity and personality; I prefer branded clothing in order not to wear worse, shabby clothes than the people around me, and let me also say this, clothing brands are talked about in the environment of friends, you should also be branded with clothing care."

"I can say that I care about the brand and feel much better than others with how I dress now".(I-24).

"I care about the brand because of the quality, and this is not something specific to Hijab. I think it gives me an identity, because I am a person who dresses without becoming everyone. So, I put my difference."(I-21)

"Yes, I care about the brand. I think it differentiates me, gives me the impression of being different, and gives me a distinct identity, but I accept that my clothing is sometimes a status indicator for me. " (I-23)

"I pay attention to the brand when buying scarves because they are of good quality; branded scarves are more comfortable, but I do not dress in a way that stands out; I follow fashion in terms of quality." (I-22)

Table 2.
Themes: 3-4-5-6

Theme 3: Acceptable Hijab and Whether it is Complied with					
Codes	Complied with		Codes	Not Complied with	
	n	%		N	%
Wearing a topcoat, chador or abaya	4	16	Dressing Comfortably	5	20
Not Showing Body Lines	8	32	Being Active in Social Life	4	16
Not Dressing Tightly	4	16	Keeping Up with the Times	3	12
Covering Except Hands and Face	4	16	Acceptance	3	12
Not Preferring Attractive Colours	3	12	Non-exclusion	2	8
Choosing the Right Fabric	1	4	Being Attentive	2	8
			Being Stylish	2	8
			Adaptation to the Friends	4	16
Theme 4: Brand Preference in Hijab					
Codes	Reasons for not Preferring Brand		Codes	Reasons for Preferring Brand	
	n	%		n	%
Compliance with Religious Obligations	4	16	Being Different	5	20
No Brand in Hijab	2	8	Quality	6	24
Not Caring about the Brand	5	20	Status (Identity)	3	12
Budget Compliance	2	8			
Theme 5: Hijab Fashion					

Codes	Negative Opinion to Hijab Fashion		Codes	Positive Opinion to Hijab Fashion	
	n	%		n	%
No fashion in hijab	4	16	Combination Suggestion	5	20
Far from faith	3	12	Keeping Track of New Products	3	12
Compatibility	4	16	Modern Outfits	4	16
			Trends	4	16
			Contemporary Relevance	5	20
			Dressing Tips	6	24
			Being Well Groomed	2	8

Theme 6: The Effect of Media on Hijab.

Codes	Negative Opinions		Codes	Positive Opinions	
	n	%		n	%
Nonconformity to Religion	3	12	Following the Trends	4	16
Lifestyles	5	20	Recommendations	5	20
			Seasonal Products	2	8
			Wondering About Their Lifestyle	3	12
			Compatibility	4	16
			To Be Instructive	7	28

Theme: 5: Hijab Fashion

In response to the general question, "Does hijab fashion affect your clothing style?" Some participants opposed the hijab fashion. By contrast, others believed that it is necessary, and some participants even found hijab fashion attractive and inevitably put it into their lives.

Participants wearing hijabs are asked about their views of hijab fashion. The differences and contrasts under this theme are divided into "Negative Opinion to Hijab Fashion" and "Positive Opinion to Hijab Fashion." Accordingly, individuals who expressed negative opinions about hijab fashion stated the following reasons: "No fashion in hijab," "Far from faith," and "Compatibility." The following statements of the participants, who expressed negative opinions on hijab fashion, are stated for their reasons (Table II).

"Hijab is not about fashion" "I don't find hijab fashion in line with the realities set by Islam, doesn't fashion also mean attracting attention?" (I-1)

"There is no fashion in hijab; if there is fashion, we cannot call it hijab, so they are eviscerating hijab. " (I-20).

"I see hijab and fashion as two concepts that do not go hand in hand. I am not influenced by fashion, and I do not want to generalize this when I compare it with people not wearing hijabs. Still, women who wear a religious hijab attract more attention than those who are open." (I-18).

The participants had a favorable view of hijab fashion and included it in their daily lives. It is observed that they listed the reasons for this as follows. First, I follow hijab fashion because I catch good combinations, keep up with my age, have the chance to follow the style and trends of the period, and avoid old clothes. For instance, interviewees reported as follows:

"I make combinations in my hijab under the conditions of the day. I am curious about new products and prefer them in my clothing." (I-25).

"I like to be well-groomed and attractive, and the way to do that is to be influenced by the wind of fashion." (I-4)

"I follow fashion. Yes, I see myself as modern. I am influenced by fashion in the following way: I do not wear things from very old times." (I-23)

"I like to dress in different styles. I prefer more colourful things than plain clothes like my veiled other." (I-9).

"It's hard on my soul to be fully covered, but the aesthetics of hijab have become beautiful, fashion has made it possible, fashion offers good clothing solutions." (I-24).

"The spread of fashion has increased the variety of products, it should not be seen as bad, so many women decided to wear hijab, they realized that it is not too heavy to wear hijab." (I-5).

While some participants opposed hijab fashion, they were under the influence of it. These respondents stated that they saw hijab fashion as irresistible or something to follow. *"Although I do not adhere to fashion 100 percent, I cannot say that I am not influenced at all; there are minor influences according to the style of the period." (I4), "Yes, from time to time, I follow and*

dress according to my preferences, without being carried away in fashion. However, I must adapt to my age and am inevitably influenced." (I-15).

Theme 6: The Effect of Media on Hijab

The answers to whether the participants followed fashion magazines, seasonal products, and social media phenomena related to hijabs are coded into two different subcategories. Among the reasons for the negative opinions of the participants who stated that they did not follow, the most common reason is that the styles and clothing examples did not reflect the Islamic lifestyle (Table II). For instance, interviewees reported that *"I do not follow any social media phenomenon; I do not like how they dress. I do not think they follow Islam; it's just the name hijab."*, (I-17), *"Phenomena distort the understanding of hijab. However, this is not called a hijab. That's why I stay away from social media in this regard."*(I-3).

On the other hand, some of the participants answered the question, "I follow." Participants stated that they followed phenomena on social media to be informed about innovations in clothing and dressing, catch trendy fashion, and create combinations. For example, *"I often follow this approach. It catches my attention. I like to follow boutiques on Instagram; they are like fashion magazines; I can easily see the styles and colors from here and make combinations."*, (I-12), *"I follow the season's products; I am always curious about how they are dressed and their combinations. I also like it: I have good suggestions."* (I-22), *"I have my favourites from social media influencers, there are pages on Instagram where I follow the scarf season products. Even though they have little effect on my hijab, I am still curious about their lifestyles."* (I-4).

5. Conclusion

The adaptation of the Turkish economy to neoliberal policies, the proliferation of foreign brands, the emergence of new shopping and entertainment districts, the expansion of the advertising sector, and the growth of a consumption-oriented urban middle class have all contributed to the development of secular, middle-class, and upper-class consumer culture. It also paved the way for an Islamic cultural sector geared towards the Islamic bourgeoisie (Sandıkçı&Ger, 2007: 192). Over time, the development of the concept of "green fashion" in the context of goals such as differentiating oneself, gaining social acceptance, feeling a sense of community, adhering to shared values and norms, gaining respect and admiration, and thus it has become possible to combine the veil or headscarf with the logic of consumption, making the fact of veiling fashionable rather than practical (Güz, 2013:38).

In the context of the relationship between fashion and hijab, this study aims to investigate what hijab refers to hijab-clad women who adopt the Islamic dressing style, what the commands of Islam regarding hijab and the factors that lead to hijab, and how the consumption of cultural factors (fashion, brand, social media, etc.) affects the perception of hijab. Data are collected using open-ended questions and a semi-structured in-depth interview form. Data are analyzed using the content analysis method.

As a result of the interviews, six main themes emerged, in line with data collection and analysis. These are: (1) The Meaning of the Hijab; (2) The Primary Factors Leading to the Hijab; (3) Whether or not the Information on Acceptable Hijab is Followed, (4) Brand Preference in Hijab, (5) Hijab Fashion, and (6) The Effect of Media on Hijab.

In line with the findings obtained from the interviews, it is understood that the primary meaning of wearing a hijab for the participants is to fulfill Allah's orders, similar to previous studies (Güz, 2013:108). Furthermore, in line with the other answers given by the participants, it is determined that the meaning of hijab and headscarf is shaped under subcategories such as "privacy," "protection from bad thoughts and haram," "giving peace of mind," "feeling comfortable," and "giving confidence." In this context, it is seen as a shield that keeps one away from evil thoughts, ulterior motives, and forbidden things. However, covering their heads is considered peaceful and reassuring for some women. These women said they felt more relaxed and spiritually secure by covering their heads or wearing a hijab. Apart from these, it is observed that the meanings attributed to the hijab, other than the commandments of religion, are also attributed to the hijab in terms of respectability and feeling special.

However, the findings determined different subcategories and codes regarding the main factors that led participants to wear hijabs. It is determined that feeling safe, especially religious values, is one of the primary factors leading participants to the hijab. In addition, education and individual research on religious values initiated the participants to enter the hijab process. In addition, family structure, family pressure, social environment, and the influence of friends seem to be the dominant reasons for choosing a hijab. For example, it is stated that although tying the headscarf is tiring, hijab clothing is preferred to ensure family satisfaction. Although these factors explain why participants chose hijab clothing, it is observed that later learning and adopting religious requirements facilitated this preference. In addition, it is seen that the increasing number of hijab stores and the accessibility and affordability of hijab clothing are listed as the reasons for choosing hijab.

In addition, in the context of the theme obtained regarding the participants' knowledge of the acceptable form of hijab and whether they apply this knowledge to their own lives, two different opinions are identified. First, participants shared information about acceptable hijabs according to Islam. These include wearing a topcoat, abaya, or chador, not wearing tight clothing, not preferring striking colours, not preferring clothes that show body lines, covering the whole body except the hands and face, and falling the headscarf below the shoulders. However, it is determined that participants have opposing views on how they are practiced in life. For example, those who stated that they dress according to Islamic criteria stated that they comply with religious rules by preferring overcoats, abayas, and dressing in a way that does not show their body lines. Besides, it is observed that the participants who stated that they did not comply with all the criteria prioritized excuses, such as social acceptance, not being excluded from social life, comfort, and keeping up with age, elegance, and grace. This situation shows that participants who adopt hijab fashion must comply with the fashion practice and age requirements with their commitment to the Islamic line. It also shows that they modernize without neglecting the dimensions of their faith, as the dynamics of contemporary life affect them, and they are predominantly positioned in a secularized world (Arslan&Çaylak, 2018:64).

In the findings obtained regarding the reasons for brand preference in hijabs, it is stated that branded clothing is not essential for them to prioritize religious principles, saying that hijab clothing is not a commodity to be branded and will not gain superiority or difference from the brand. On the other hand, it is determined that brand clothing is preferred in hijabs based on factors such as achieving a desired identity, fear of being excluded from the circle of friends, quality, and the feeling of difference created by the brand. In other words, it is seen that the brand is a means of differentiation, gives an identity to those in search of identity, and creates reasons for preference because the brand is an indicator of quality. Confirming this result, Kavak (2019:1) states that the hijab, branded in consumer culture, has turned into a commodity that can be purchased, bringing social class differences to the fore and clarifying status stratification. In addition, İlyasoğlu (2013:131-132) stated in her study that the importance students attach to fashion and their value to brands causes them to be less religiously sensitive to clothing.

When the findings obtained regarding the opinion of hijab fashion in the relationship between hijab and fashion are examined, it is seen that although there are opinions such as style is not sought in hijab, there is a high tendency towards hijab fashion in terms of being stylish, keeping up with age, and following hijab fashion. Accordingly, individuals who expressed

negative opinions about hijab fashion stated the following reasons: "No fashion in hijab," "Far from faith," and "Compatibility." In other words, it is stated that hijab fashion does not correspond to the realities set by Islam, that the purpose of fashion is to attract attention; therefore, the hijab is made meaningless, and that another goal of fashion is to attract attention, which Islam also rejects. On the other that, dressing in different styles, being well groomed, following trends, avoiding old clothes, and wearing clothes suitable for the age seem to be the reasons for adopting hijab fashion. In other words, it is stated that fashion gives tips for dressing by the day's conditions, contains the key to being well-groomed and attractive, contains stylish and aesthetic elements, and offers suggestions for making a combination. All these factors affected the participants' religious attitudes towards hijab clothing and reduced their sensitivity. As a result of the initial practices of the hijab, its meaning has changed. The hijab created by the consumption and fashion environment created a new identity. In this approach, identifying clothes with identity paves the way for transforming Islamic identity into status symbols (Kavak, 2019:1).

When the findings obtained in the context of the relationship between media and hijab are examined, social media influencers are defined as consumption-oriented people and criticized by the participants for prominent reasons, such as exaggerated posts and not observing the relationship between privacy and excessive lifestyles. However, participants who stated that they followed fashion magazines, seasonal products, and social media influencers expressed that they liked the product combinations, making it easier to dress, offering tips on making combinations, the desire to be like them, to be aware of innovations, and to look modern. The views of Gazneli and Kılıç also confirm these findings: the first place where conservative women turned away from religion and turned towards image was the hijab fashion shows and women's magazines. Subsequently, new media, online shopping sites, fashion and magazine pages, and social media influencers, which convey trendy hijab models to younger generations, have helped create a contemporary Muslim female identity infused with universal values by advising and contributing to the process of creating a modern Muslim female identity, such as how to tie a scarf, which colors to use together, and which pants and sweaters to combine (2020:204).

5.1. Limitations and Recommendations for Further Research

This study has several limitations. First, it is impossible to generalize the information gathered from a few selected locations to the entirety of Turkey. In essence, this restriction

increases the possibility of further research. Further research should be undertaken by conducting sequential exploratory investigations in other regions of Turkey and other nations to expand its content.

Secondly, although the study was conducted with people with different socio-demographic characteristics and provided important outputs, this study can be supported with new studies by addressing the hijab, which has become a consumption commodity, from other dimensions with studies including hijab businesswomen, hijab company owners, hijab fashion magazine owners, and hijab fashion designers.

A third limitation of the study is that this exploratory study only aimed to determine the meaning of hijab fashion in the relationship between fashion and consumption and people's opinions about it. This topic can be further developed based on specific brands that are highly preferred. In addition, social media influencers, who have emerged in recent years, attract the attention of their followers with their clothing and lifestyles and set an example by becoming a center of attraction. Being liked, approved, and appreciated for the image they have, social media interaction becomes essential as a result of the interaction feature. Therefore, the study can be more specific and in-depth by considering social media influencers who make suggestions on the hijab.

Finally, in such studies, a conceptual framework should be developed with the qualitative study in the first stage of the research through mixed research designs, and the necessary measurement scales should be created for the quantitative analysis to be carried out later.

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