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WOMEN BETWEEN RELIGION AND MODERNISM IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

The Ottoman modernization movement that started with the Tanzimat period continued in the Republican era. The process of modernization has affected Turkish society from different angles and left it alone with a new socialization process. Women who formed the face of social transformation in this process were presented as symbols of modernization. The modernization process did not create an inclusionary language that appealed to all women from different parts of the society. Women from the conservative and religious sections of society have not been able to take advantage of the opportunities of the public sphere shaped by the modern approach.

The fact that women from conservative and religious groups have deepened their distances to the public sphere and retreated to more private sphere because they can not have the clothing style required by modern public life.

Therefore, the modernization process has incorporated some of the women with public life through their restructured social roles and clothing styles while leaving the conservative and religious women out of it. Because of social roles defined by patriarchal values and unfulfilling formal criteria of modernity, conservative and religious women have not been able to push the boundaries of the public sphere. Our purpose in this study is to examine the effects of the applications during the period of modernization on conservative and religious women. The basic problem here is the struggle of conservative and religious women to overcome their invisibility resulted from their life and dressing style. This study is based on literature review, interview and observation.

STRUCTURED ABSTRACT

In Turkey, a lot of studies have been made about modernization process and the problems faced during this process. The focus of these studies are the problems women from different parts of society face. While studying the books and articles, it is seen that there are two focus points.

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One of them focuses on the women from conservative and religious women. The other focuses on the problems of women from modern lifestyle. The women in the first group are mostly eager to benefit from the opportunities of modern life. However, it is not easy for the traditional religious social structure to accept. Women in this society have to accept the traditional and religious dressings in order to be able to appear in the public arena and benefit from education, health, social and cultural opportunities. So, in order to benefit from the opportunities of modern life, these women have to veil themselves. Women from this society are trapped between modern and traditional life and tried to form a new lifestyle. While trying to benefit from the educational opportunities to a certain age, they also tried to continue their traditional and religious education. Thus, the rate of the religion in their education was high, and they were out of the public area. However, the situation of women with modern lifestyle is different. These women, who are actively involved in the establishment of the Republic, are women who have adopted a modern way of life. The pioneers of the modernization process appreciated these women for their imagination, while at the same time tried to define them more as a mother and a partner. One of the most important signs of this is that none of the women who actively work during this period are brought to a political and bureaucratic position. One of the most important conclusions that can be drawn from these studies is that even women who have adopted a modern way of life show that they cannot get rid of the acceptance of gender perception. Most of the women who chose a modern life were idealized in plain and unpretentious clothes. Femininity and clothes showing body lines are not accepted, and women are problematic with feminine features. It is not an accepted identity in all aspects yet. Besides having a modern clothing style, it is not considered separate from traditional roles.

Our study focuses on the problems that women in the conservative religious community are experiencing in the modernization process. In this process, efforts to shape the lives of women trapped between the two lifestyles are examined. Fieldwork studies show that women are eager to create a new public life outside the public sphere. They were trained in educational institutions till the age their parents and the social structure let. Then they tried to continue their education through Kur-an courses. On the grounds that women prepared from conservative and religious persecution, women in later periods wanted to be educated in universities with their clothing style. This was followed by demands for working with the headscarf in later periods. In our study, we tried to see how women perceive the modernization process through detailed interviews. The basic questions we are concerned with are these: 1. How do the conservative religious women perceive the modernization process in Turkey? 2. What does it mean to study and work with a headscarf in terms of conservative religious women and their families? 3. Do conservative religious women think that the way of religious perception changes with the modernization process?

Our aim with this study is to draw attention to the development of the modernization process which excludes women. The women from different social backgrounds perceived the

Keywords: Religion, Modernism, Women, Public Space

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DİN VE MODERNİZM ARASINDA KADINLAR

ÖZET

Tanzimat ile başlayan Osmanlı modernleşme hareketi, Cumhuriyetle birlikte devam etmiştir. Modernleşme süreci Türk toplumunu farklı açılardan etkilemiş ve yeni bir toplumsallaşma süreciyle baş başa bırakmıştır. Bu süreçte sosyal ve toplumsal dönüşümün görünür yüzünü oluşturan kadınlar, modernleşmenin sembolleri olarak sunulmuşlardır. Modernleşme süreci toplumun farklı kesimlerinden olan kadınlarının tamamına hitap eden bir dil tanımlayamamıştır. Modernleşme süreci, yaratılan “modern kadın” imgesinin dışında kalan kadınları görmezden gelmiştir. Görmezden gelinen kesimler arasında muhafazakâr ve dindar kesimin kadınları da bulunmaktadır. Toplumun muhafazakar ve dindar kesimlerinden gelen kadınları, modern yaklaşımın biçimlendirdiği kamusal alanın olanaklarından faydalanma imkanı bulamamıştır. Bu noktada muhafazakâr ve dindar kesimlerden gelen kadınlar, modern kamusal hayatın gerektirdiği giyim tarzına sahip olamadıkları için kamusal alanla aralarındaki mesafeyi derinleştirmiş ve daha çok özel alana çekilmişlerdir. Dolayısıyla modernleşme süreci kadınların bir kısmını yeniden yapılandırılmış sosyal rolleri ve giyim tarzları sayesinde kamusal hayata dâhil ederken, muhafazakâr ve dindar kadınları bunun dışında bırakmıştır. Muhafazakâr ve dindar kadınlar bir yandan ataerkil sistemin beslediği değerlerin tanımladığı toplumsal rollerinin bir gereği olarak diğer yandan da modernleşmenin biçimsel kriterlerini üzerlerinde taşımadıkları gerekçesi ile kamusal alanının sınırlarını zorlayamamışlardır. Bu çalışmada amacımız modernleşme sürecindeki uygulamaların muhafazakâr dindar kadın üzerindeki etkilerini irdelemektir. Çalışmanın temel problemi, modernleşme sürecinin giyim tarzları ve yaşam biçimleri nedeniyle gölgede bıraktığı kadınların, zamanla bu görünmezliği aşma çabalarıdır. Bu çalışma literatür taraması, mülakat ve gözleme dayalı olarak yapılandırılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Din, Modernizm, Kadın, Kamusal Alan

Introduction

Effects of modernization were discussed from the aspect of economic and social problems it revealed for Western societies. However, in terms of Non-Western societies, this process had been highly painful. The most important reason for this can be that modernization was experienced as the process to “break its connections” with the past. Hence, the attitudes of the different sectors of social structure toward change had been effective on the character of modernization process. Change process, in which modernization perceptions of the different sector of the society is shaped, precluded the formation of the change whose borders are determined. However, power desires actualization of process without stumbling and in flow from up to down. The economic, social, and cultural developedness differences forming between Western societies and Non-Western societies panicked the pioneers of modernization about closing the gap between them. In this panic, the belief in the direction of that a top- down modernization process, which covers all areas of the society, will close this gap of interest, is strong. The difference between two societies became so explicit that time

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needed in a transformation overrated. It was desired the change to immediately occur without taking more time. However, there are several points that this focusing on change and transformation ignores. This means that society is not ready to a change, which can be deemed abrupt socially and culturally. When considered that this change is basically executed through visibilities, it will not be easy for the society to adopt to differentiate its own formalization and visibility. Beside this, the technique, scientific, and intellectual infrastructure is not existent in Non-Western societies. Hence, the change of interest is difficult to overcome formalization. In all of this compilation to change, women are the most impacted sector from the process. Although the modernized sectors of women carry a formal modernity on them, they were awarded by the possibility of visibility in public areas. Beside this, the women of more conservative and religious sector trying to hide from modernization process faced to alienation. In case that they do not adopt the formalization of modernity, their visibilities in public areas were not accepted. When regarded from this point, while women are, on the one hand, presented as role models of modernization process, on the other hand, they are representatives of “becoming by gone”, which is necessary to be left behind. The women, who are representatives of the visibility belonging to the past, were not accepted by the pioneers of modernization and their visibilities were not approved. In this study, the life of the women, who want to be benefit from the opportunities the educational, cultural, and social life will provide but do not adopt the visibility defined to receive these services, will be deal with. The women belonging to the sector of interest live a lost time between existing and not existing. On the one hand, they want to live as individuals whose beliefs are strong, on the other hand, they want to be benefit from the various opportunities of modern life, especially education. While they use these opportunities, they do not want to give up the appearance that belief areas defines for them. The study, without going behind the concepts of religion and modernism, will deal with the meaning of these in terms of the life of women. In addition, this study, in historical process, is in the effort to shed light on the adaptation process of lifestyles of women hidden from modernity, by means of women themselves, to religion and modernism in later periods.

Religion and Woman

The subject woman formed the focus point of progressivism and reactionism discussions, fed political by power struggles, together with directing to Western world and “Westernization”. The cultural and social differences between Eastern and Western have become a discussion subject not only in political dimension but also in the context of its effect on daily life. In this context, while westernization adds a new form to the relationships of woman and man, begin to solve social texture organized in religious context (Göle, 2011:73). While this process paves the way for new approaches taking new form according to westernization perceptions in the society, those committing to the traditional and religious values have become the expired and ignored areas. In other words, there is a process that is necessary to be left behind. The effects of modernization and changes it generates in social texture were begun to be made visible in concrete form through woman. Thus, women faced to making a choice between the images defined for herself during modernization process. In this context, women not giving up their traditional and religious formations remained in the position to become the actors of invisible time and life over a long time.

Religion can be a subject of many definitions, depending on its structure and comprehensiveness on human being. Religion is a phenomenon related to the deepest aspects of individual and collective human life (Berktaş, 2014:8). Hence, in the practices of human life, it is possible to meet the images of religion. The effect of religion on the formation of social life makes disputable the social position of woman from Islamic point of view. This discussion experiences a dividedness between the argument of inequality between genders ordered by the religion and progressive interpretations of religious texts and the early Islamic history (Kandiyoti, 2015:92). In

this context, while religion forms many attitudes and behaviors regarding social life, it is also in the effort to form the position of woman. Saadavi(1991:119) says that the concept religion formed before monotheistic religion. According to him, people believed in the existence of power having a comprehension beyond their own comprehension and equipped with authorities they do not have. While religion creates a set of symbolic form and image, it becomes a part of culture, religious traditions, and styles of that culture to express itself and create meaning (Berktaş, 2014:8). Islam, as a religion, defines material world under the hegemony of spiritual world (Sabbah, 1992:87). In this context, traditional Islamic discourse divides the world into two as public and private and makes effort to arrange all of these areas according to Islamic rules. In this spatial medium, public area is defined for men and private area for women and children. At this point, while private area is mostly defined as the areas of women, public area and all elements belonging to public are under hegemony of men (Cindoğlu, 2015:118). Hence, life practices belonging to secular area were shaped under the effect of spiritual area and, in other words, its existence as much as spiritual area serves gains legitimacy. Thus, world is defined as devotion area through mystic formalizations under the shadow of here after life. What is under consideration is the idealized individuals and societies.

Religion, in the different societies, in which it takes place, adapting to structural texture of that society and modifying some of these structural features in return to this, can make articulation in the different forms (Berktaş, 2015:15). Hence, as religions spread toward societies from the sources they are born, cause the various differentiations within themselves and in social structures they get mixed in. Our aim is not to discuss whether or not what the pure state or absolute form of religion is. It is to define the process that woman in Turkey gets stuck in religion and modern life as much it can be fitted in the borders of this article. In this process, women, with their clothing styles and life forms, wanted to take place in public area. However, the first condition of benefitting from the opportunities of public area and modern life is to have a modern clothing style and appearance. Beside this, in the context of working, education, and social, cultural effects, it will be shed light on women getting stuck in religion and modern life to form life practices, which will open place in their lives. Hence, the visibility of religion in the life of individuals, especially women, and the relationship of this visibility with modernization is in our subject integrity.

Modernization Process in Turkey

In the face of that Islam is intertwined with society as both a religion and a cultural structure, modernization process enabled many break ages. Modernization in Turkey is shaped by the concerns of providing domestic social welfare, which is elite-oriented in a sense, has a top-down hierarchic structure, is state-oriented, and includes the mission of becoming rescuer. Thus, it is described as bureaucracy-based transformation project, which foresees in hurry to strengthen the position of country in foreign relationships, rather than creating social welfare (Kahraman, 2008:4-5). This modernization process has emerged as a change practice determined by external dynamics and gaining worldwide prevalence. This change is not a practice affirmed in a social structure Islam shapes and specific to society itself. Hence, this modernization process brings together with it alienation within itself (Canatan, 1995:10). In this context, Kahraman(2008:48) expresses that Turkish modernization differed from Western modernization from three points. The most important one of these is that modernization is attributed to a ground. What is under consideration is the effort to provide the change through this model. Hence, West is placed in a social opposition as a model. This model is West and Western life style. The second is that modernization process beginning an effort to model is sustained by the form of social understanding and perception that alienates itself. Finally, Turkish modernization, after it takes West as an example for itself, understood it as a break through that is necessary "to be realized and completed" very rapidly and tried to define. In Turkish society, modernization studies build on two different forms. Those accepting modernization process

that began in the last periods of Ottomans accused of being imitator the republican modernization. Beside this, those accepting a continuation between Republican modernization and Ottoman modernization evaluate the conflictions experienced in the context of modernization paradigms especially dress (Köse, 2014:52).

While the reforms made and hasty approach about transformation, for the society to reach a developedness level, arerapidly adopted by some part of society, it is found hasty and generic (Canatan, 1995:34-35). Women, whose existences are cared as a symbolic value, form one of the most disputable issues of modernization process.¹ Social position of woman was shaped under many cultural influences both historically and culturally and revealed a case, in which how to be have is not decided on modernization. In this context, it built on the center of approaches forming in the society against modernization. While the transformative structure of Western modernization maintained its effects on governmental structures, political institutes, and industrial economy, it also showed its effect on identity formations according to life styles and genders at the cultural level (Göle, 2010:85). Together with modernization process, women questioning the position they are in, female-male in equalities, and traditions surrounding them in the context of values of modern world were follower of a transformation in this context (Çakır, 2013:415). However, the demands of women, being over shadowed with the approach of social gender, were far away from gaining a visibility. Besides being away from this visibility, men from different sectors taking place in the society had also opinion about how social position of women to be. We can say that those sustaining this discussion are in fact men. The common approach of men from the different political tradition was to accept Westernization process on condition that the concepts of family and woman are protected. Thus, according to Sancar (2014:135), Tanzimat intelligences persuaded themselves that West was in a ethical vulnerability in order to aggrandize their own Eastern hopes. This vulnerability was evaluated through the new lifestyles of women. Hence, while Turkish society westernized, it made an effort for the traditional contents of the concept so family and woman not to be emptied. In this context, women would be more successful in her roles of interest, taking some amount of education, without becoming in dependent from her traditional roles. So, in modernization process, woman was defined in a position to participate in social life and business life, and prioritize her family and children to be raised in the face of visibility under the same conditions with men in public area. While Tanzimat intellectuals positively views educational possibilities reinforcing in-house roles of women, they do not imagine a female image become independent from their social and gender-based roles. However, for the development, improvement, and modernization of society, they find the development of woman in vital importance.

Modernization and Gains of Woman in Legal Area

Beside this, in equality between woman and man in Ottoman Law were fictionalized at the expense of woman. Although this case of inequality emerges as a case almost specific to all traditional societies, modernization did not become a complete solution for this case (Berktaş, 2015:98). As a matter of fact, Beauvoir (1986) did not find enough on the name of in dependence of woman that French Constitution decided that the obedience to husband did not have to be among the duties of woman. According to her, that woman has to the right to vote recognized by Constitution as a citizen does not mean that she gets rid of dependences economically and socially (Beauvoir, 1986:127). Hence, during and after Tanzimat Period, in the laws of Turkish Republic, many arrangements were given place, which can be deemed new for woman. In Tanzimat Period, by means of Land Decree (1856), in legacy works on the land, equalitarian rights were recognized for the man and woman compared to the previous period (Berktaş, 2015:98). By means of Decree of Family Law

¹For detailed information about the subject, see "II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını" Şafika Kurnaz. 1996. MEB.

issued in 1917, the marriage of men with many women were not forbidden but women were given the right to stipulate monogamy against her husband with a contract to be made during marriage. Besides this, in case that a man demands to marry with a second partner, right to be divorced was recognized to woman (Kaymaz, 2010:340). In 1926, acceptance of civil law and, following this, that right to vote and right to stand for election are recognized to women came to the forefront as important gains Republic presented to women (Arat, 2010:100). On the date of March 3, 1924, the law on unification of education (Tevhid-i Tedrisat) also represented an important stage in terms of existence of women in educational life. With this law, madrasas were closed and it was possible for the girl and boy friends to be educated together in the schools, directly subjected to Ministry of National Education, in which laic education is given, and national consciousness are replaced in. Especially, that primary schools are obligatory for everybody paved the way for that girls are included in the first step of education like boys. The girl students were introduced with the image of woman idealized through curriculum and reaching modern-contemporary womanhood qualities were underlined Kaymaz, (2010:346). The renewals made in the periods of Tanzimat and Republic and legal rights recognized enabled some changes too during the lives of women but it is not possible to mention about improvement covering all sectors of the society for both periods. So, as an indicator of the transition from the old status society to new convention society, nation-state brought modern formations in traditional roles and much more contributed to individualization of woman (Berktay, 2015:154). Together with modernization process, the legal rights recognized opened the public area for the use in the limits of the womanhood image determined and the other sectors of the society were kept away from this area. Thus, women not fitting to the limits of this image remained out of public area and were not either informed about the legal opportunity recognized for the more could not reach the possibility to use them. Although it is believed that any improvement cannot be social life as long as women do not take place in social life, the most important reason for this can be that the clothes such as *ferace* and *burqa* were defined as an impediment front of this (Barbarosoğlu, 1995:146). From this aspect, while women were made the subject of establishing the future with the past in the context of the religious and traditional values, in terms of reformists, the education and making liberal of woman are preconditions for reaching civilization (Göle, 2011:51). What modern life brings and legal rights remained away to woman from many sectors of society, including women in the rural area. So, that women share public area was shaped according to their adequacies to carry modernism and adequacies to be able to adopt familial, social, and national duties (Berktay, 2015:163); however, especially in the context of collecting styles, it did not include women remaining out of this. Women living in rural area and women, committed to conservative values, who live in the city consist of a large part of over shadowed women in change in this meaning.

Public Area and Conservative and Religious Areas

That woman undertakes responsibilities out of private area can date to the highly old dates. However, industrial revolution and becoming bourgeois accelerated the visibility of woman in public area as much as her existence in business life (Aktaş, 1997:243). In the periods of Ottomans and Republic, that women use areas out of private areas subjected to several restrictions from the different aspects. In Ottoman society, “veiling (*tesettür*)” was defined as precondition of using public area. Women wore *yeldirme*, *ferace*, or *burqa* hiding their faces and bodies out of private area. Thus, veiling was defined by both husband and government as precondition of the visibility of women (Çakır, 2013:244). Albeit Fatma Aliye (2012:61-62) expresses that covering only hairs is enough from Islamic point of view and that clothes such as *ferace*, *burqa*, and *yaşmak* are regional customs, it is known that this style of clothing is a general clothing style in Ottoman women after 17th century. After Republic, veiling was considered as an impediment for the visibility of woman in public area and her participation in social life. Also in both processes, the existence of public area from the point of

women is restricted and depends on conditions. It is not possible to mention about covering all women of society. Thus, while religious women can not turn their backs to the values of community (Berktaş, 2015:129), on the other hand, they fell away the woman image to force the doors of modern world. In this context, in the meaning that Böhürler expresses or defines, it is possible to say that the social counterparts of women appear.

“In traditional society, what is motivating father not sending his girl to the school has been headscarf. That is, girl goes to school with headscarf—necessary not to forget this—affected the resistance girls showed against their families for education. After republic, if we did not have school in rate of 100%, on this, there is effect of that republic imposed Western appearance in education. This society, at the last analysis, is a society lived with Islam over eleven years and its values are covered with Islam. That we cannot provide 100% is a reflection of imposition here. Headscarf made a contribution to the rise of educational rate of girls. It persuaded families having traditional and religious values about education of girls” (Böhürler, 2014)

Hence, for conservative and religious families, “veiling” is evaluated as legitimizing element of the visibility of woman in public area. As a matter of fact, beginning from Meşrutiyet (Constitutional Monarchy), women taking place with veiling in public were withdrawn to their home, following “Hat Law” of Republic. According to him, while no to being to veiling in Ottoman society was forbidden decrees, together with Republic, “purdah not necessary” was forbidden and conservative women were drawn from public area by this way. While official ideology of Republic enables women to be visible in public area, this was subjected to certain conditions. A new image of woman, whose existence was accepted legitimate in modern public area, was formed. This “new image of woman” was valued as respectable symbols of the society. The women, who find to be equal with men, with these qualities of them seemed to adopt the new forms of traditional roles. The new middle class created provided a high status for elites and educated groups such as teachers, public servants, and bureaucrats. Thus, deep differences began to form between the educated, elite, and civic women and women not adapting to the formalizations of new period (Durakbaşı, 2002:93). New system, which is formed by the concept of republican citizenship, following the theoretical institutes of Ottoman State, has begun to develop together with silent opposition of the sectors it leave outside (Kandiyoti, 2015:97). In this opposite discourse, women whose existence became visible, due to the fact that they do not adapt to the criteria of public area and they have a religious identity, were fit in the non-modern definition. In this context, while veiling (tesettür) was seen the most important legitimating element of becoming visible in public area for the girls of the religious and conservative families, it was evaluated as an element disturbing modernity in terms of modern sectors. So, just as women representing conservative and religious sectors remain outside in fictionalization of body as a symbol of nation and its borders, they are a way from this perception of body that is also affecting in drawing line so private and public area. Determination of which part of body will be opened to public look and which part of it will be hidden entered a conflictive process with the bodies formed with the religious values (Köse, 2014:59). In the context of both bodily reality and public roles, it was aimed to reproduce the visibility of woman and make laic public life. Public area, in which the images of woman, who does not veil herself, participates in the athleticism computation, and acquires profession, take place, is a substitution area of modern life (Göle, 2000:24). Also support of this process, the conservative and religious women were continued to be recognized as a part of private area. In other words, for the women from conservative and religious sector, both religion and modernism forced them to become the main elements. According to Berktaş (2015:128), social position of woman from Islamic point of view is a part of a hierarchical entity.

Hence, in this hierarchy, disobedience of woman to her husband or a man is evaluated as an element also threatening Islamic hierarchy. In this case, when woman does not obey to man, it is deemed revolted at ummah, the wisdom, in which ummah materializes, and order following this. Together with, modernization process, the conservative and religious women of the society faced with a choice between going out of Islamic hierarchy and using the opportunities of modern life. In the context of the way that Islam is perceived, besides the women are surrounded by the case of abiding Berktaş (2015) points out that there are women wanting to show their existences in public areas, on the condition that they realize purdah criteria the religion defines for them. Together with modernization process, utilizing educational opportunities, which are more visible and become institutionalized, and working in public institutions are rather difficult for women in this sector. As a matter of fact, Barbarosoğlu (2009), in his book titled "Religious Women of Republic", the troubles the girls of conservative families experience are reported through interviews made with them. Türkan Özkul, who experienced that period and studied in faculty of theology to develop her religious knowledge, underlining that they do not cover their heads, including Qur'an courses, gives clues regarding these strictions of public area of that period (Barbarosoğlu, 2009:119). The conservative and religious women experiencing this process can be defined as remained in the state of the women that waver between the past and the future, expressed by Beauvoir (1986:188), The conservative and religious women were not evaluated as right owners at the point of using the education, employment, and legal rights in the context of their existences in public area due to veiling that is a legitimate element. In this context, in the face of women to existing public area, leaving their femininities, with almost colorless and uniform clothes in the early years of modernization process (Berktaş, 2015:84), the women carrying the symbols of their religious identities became indistinct. This becoming indistinct is not only a case covering only civic conservative and religious women. The women living in rural regions and not being able to go out of their lives, surrounded with the sharp rules of their traditional roles, also were affected this process of becoming indistinct.

In the society, that woman in distinct and silence is not a case only conservative and religious women. Besides women from this sector, Sancar (2014:172-173) mentions about the silence of women participated in national struggle and received active duty in the foundation process of nation-state. Although women received active duty in rescue struggle are educated and talented, they took place in neither parliament nor top level bureaucratic position. The women from this sector were defined as "the women of national struggle" in the foundation stage of nation-state, after 1924, they became the subject of public invisibility. Instead of these, women, who will be "public role model", were created and supported. In this context, modernization process is quite selective about recognizing the existence and rights of woman. While this process, on the one hand, confines and makes invisible the religious and conservative women into private area, on the other hand, ignores modern women carrying their all formalization of the image of modern woman. Because rural area all far away of center, women living in these areas are the subjects of invisibility due to the fact that they differentiate from the image of modern woman idealized and on there as on for impossibilities they experienced at the point of reaching the opportunities modernization brings.

In this context, we can say that the silence and invisibility in public area includes many women from the different sectors of the society. Among women, that there is no claiming right about existing together with the differences can be evaluated among the elements deepening this silence. According to Aktaş (1986:169-170), the way that woman rights are kept equivalent to westernization moved away the society from a healthy female approach. According to her, some associations and clubs were established in the context of supporting social position of woman; however, they were open for limited number of people. This also narrowed the coverage area of political and legal rights including the women in all sectors of the society. So, the women not carrying the rules of formal

acceptance began to morecling to the roles of“good partner and mother” Islam defined to them. Hence, the education they receive and their professions were made meaningful at theme a sure that they serve the target to be come a good mother and partner. The conservative and religious women define to perform the functions of motherhood and partnership dutiesas a sacred duty as are quirement of the nature of woman (Köse, 2014:113). In this context, although the conservative and religious womendo not approve the visibility of womanin publicarea overlongyears,they are also aware of not carrying the criteria of being represented in the visibility of his area.

Woman in the Context of Alternative Publicity

While the laic modernist project of Turkey leaves the symbol and practices out of public area, thewomen carrying these symbols on them took their shares from the process like women from many different sectors (Göle, 2000:23). Thus, modern public area was formed in such away that it will lead to an image of woman, worn in simple and modest, earnest, and raised her self- conscious (Köse, 2014:63). In the families experiencing problems in the context of sterile public area ideals of modernization process, the attitudes of men negatively affected public lives of women. In this context, woman is a subject of supervision in both public area and private area.In this period, while the conservative and religious fathers make an effort about sending their sons to the good schools, they did not approve the education after primary schools for their daughters.Therefore, the women of that period tried to develop themselves in the areas other than education or were obliged to go to girls chools, which have a curriculum that will contribute them to professionally realize their womanhood roles. Burying their desire to be a scientist woman in to the depth of their hearths, they went to girls ‘vocational schooland received duty in this of institutes (Barbarosoğlu, 2009:19). In this context, justas the visibility ofthe women from the conservative and religious families are not adopted away from private areas, their education and social life was defined in this area as much as possible. Their demands related to education and employment are jammedin the religious sensitivities of their families. Misses Fakiha, one of the women, whose life stories are given place in the book by Barbarorosoğlu (2009:113), wants to receive course todevelopfroma hodja. However, thethought ofher husbandthatthebestwarshipfor women should being their house prevents her from doing this. For the women in this sector of the society, that women be come visible in Western styles in urban spaces; the foreign customs such as that they participate in the social life together with men;that the wife and her husband togo for a jaunt together; that balls are organized; that one goes to pasty shops in the evenings, that one rides a horse, and etc. are out of their lives they familiarize(Göle, 2011:92).While that this life style is accepted as preconditionin the context of visibility in public area more pushes the conservative and religious women to ward the borders of private area, their fathers, husbands,or brothers supported their belonging to private area. Women, wanted to be protected from the possible effects of westernization, was mostly defined in the house and her position in the house was blessed.While theconservative and religious women modernization process ignored continued their lives by private area, they received religious educationfromtheirfamiliesandfamily elders.Some part of them found to go to high education. Some part of the misobliged to confine herself to the education she receives in girls’ high school land faced to the different impossibilities of demanding more. These women more defining themselves in private area, sanctifying spaceand time(Köse, 2014:182), in a sense, entered the effort to perform the spiritual duties imposed to them in the best way.

In this process, while individuals enter public space, especially in the education andpolitics,theyare obliged to leave their local identities and, when they do notleave these,theyintroducethe exclusivist approach ofpublicarea(Göle, 2000:23).Thus,inthe center of changediscussions processed, beginningfrom Tanzimat,social position ofwoman stands.In a Muslim society, that woman gets out from the private closed family space to external spaces; that

private area is narrowed; that woman gains visibility; and that she shares the same space with men remained as the most basic confliction point between traditionalist Islamist approach western approaches Göle, 2011:92). Women seem to be able to sustain their lives, squeezed between the demands of their fathers and opportunities modernism provides, renouncing a large part of their demands. Hence, women entered the effort to sustain their lives squeezed between religion, tradition and modernism with a different publicity.

That modern women gain visibility from both bodily and public roles and are aggrandized as a competitive model made a contribution to be built in a laic plane (Göle, 2011:31). While women remain out of new public area, the civil, educated, and religious women entered an effort toward creating a publicity sub-publicity they do not belong to, giving up this new publicity they want to belong (Barbarosoğlu, 2006:56). This publicity is the one, in which religious education is dominant, and which is sustained by the specific efforts of women. While the women, who are excluded from modern public area, pursue the areas, in which they will exist with a clothing style that will not be opposite to their traditional and religious identities, in a sense, they established new hidden lives. Thus, as a result of policies of Republic pushing the religion in to private area, women have begun to make their religiousness more protected and vital (Köse, 2014:105).

In this process, women, through illegal Qur'an courses in their neighborhoods, attempted to provide continuation of religious education and provided a new social formation between them. In this period, women entered the effort to rebuild their lives, pushed out of public area a deepening their religious in formation (Aktaş, 1990:292). Arat (1980:116), finding this style of education contradictory to modernization process counts education of girls by non-competent hodjas of religion among the elements negatively affecting the development of society. In addition, he underlines that this style of education is adopted in rural regions made women passive and made them unaware from social and political rights. We can say that this educational process had been effective on the rooting of Islamist approach, which we will mention about it, and in the context of Islamic value, on forming a new life style. In other words, this life style served as a basis for women trying to exist in modern public area together with veiling.

New Women Overcoming Confliction of Religion and Modernity

Until 1970s, the conservative and religious women continued their lives away from the secular spaces of the society. While they benefit the blessings of new modern life reflecting to house, they did not have their possibilities to participate in activities regarding sports, arts, and social life due to their "non-civil" appearances. In this context, the women belonging to the local ethnic religious values, losing their rights and statuses due to different reasons, seem to be squeezed at the vulnerable points (Sancar, 2014:74).

Purdah, accepted as an expression of the way the religiousness and religious life style are adopted (Göle, 2011:11), has begun to introduce the new visibilities in public area. This, in a sense, seems to add a new dimension to confliction between modern and non-modern. This process can be defined as a break age period. The search of the conservative and religious women for alternative public seems to leave its place to the effort to be able to express themselves in hegemonic public area, beginning from the second half of 80s. (Barbarosoğlu, 2006:26). In the past, just as women, who were the subjects of non-modernity, were forced to be visible in public area, put a voluntary distance between this area and them. However, after 80s, the conservative and religious girls with headscarf viewed to exist in public area and the education as their legal rights. So, refusing to adapt the female image modernism defines, women who demand to be visible and defined as Islamist, emerged. While the religious women and young ladies pass from in visible area to visible area, they formed a new clothing language expressing themselves (Barbarosoğlu, 2009:21). With this approach, public

visibilities of new educated Muslim women modifies the meaning of purdah evoking the traditional family roles that Muslim women subject to another one (Göle, 2011:41). Thus, Islamic dress, in a way that it will point out the newly veiled mass, emerges a sadness of new subjects, i.e. educated Islamist young ladies, which disturbs the principles modernity imposes. This dress, addressing to a new global community, disconnected from locality and modern times, establishes ummah at a symbolic level (Köse, 2014:198). The women emerging with new purdah styles of them adopted a clothing style differentiating from local purdah formalization. In this context, the educated women, who are university student or graduated from university, did not give up the effort to become an established good mother and partnering accordance with the identity of religious women they adopt (Barbarosoğlu, 2009:22). While Yıldırım (2016:337) says that the role of Muslim woman, depicted as “household” and “inoffensive” evolve toward both being household and assuring the existence of house, he argues that makes visible the modernizing role of Muslim women. This new style of purdah publicly and collectively emphasizes the identities women acquired via Islamism that is expression of it and demands recognition (Göle, 2011:41). In this context, purdah of women is included to the visibility of politics becoming Islamic, man-woman relationships, and public area (Göle, 2000:27).

In this period, women identified with modern post-republican women left their place to women who demanded public space. Thus, the conservative and religious woman following this generation developed a personality that is university – graduated and fulfills the religious duties. In this context, women trying to overcome social position of their mothers challenged the image of “modern woman” with the female identity defined as “Islamist” (Barbarosoğlu, 2009:24). In many meanings, Islamism denied identification relationship between civilization and Islamism and alternatively demanded life styles to become Islamic. They oppose to the Universalist and monist structure of modernity (Göle, 2000:29). Until this period, while Islamists avoid using the concepts of world system, placing in the same framework with the system, and being mentioned together or in similarity as much as possible, after this period the requirements of daily life became Islamic (Yıldırım, 2016:81-82). Thus, when reached 1990s, the conservative and religious women, giving up building the idiosyncratic and independent lives far from public area, they have begun to be added to the visibility in public area. These women struggled to receive education with heads covered, after completing their educations, while going back to their house to become “a good partner and mother”, even if just a drop, have begun to participate in business life. (Köse, 2014:105). The public visibility and political acting of women form the new feature of Islamist movements. In this new formation, while the women define their being confined to in-house areas and their in-house roles differently from traditional Islam, they have begun to present the visibility of a new Islamism (Göle, 2000:27). So, in modern times; purdah movement, beside conveying the image of educated, civic, and militant woman to public area, also makes her visible as a political activist (Göle, 2000:32). Also, although the women noticing the power to make Islamic public area adopt to housewife, they also maintained the effort to transform life area (Köse, 2014:115).

With modernization efforts, in return to the effort to clear the visibility of religion from family life, education, and political life (Özdalga, 1998:21), while religious education is continued without approaching the borders of secular world, it also started a differentiation process in terms of women. While secular education is added to Qur’an courses given in the houses and educations given in mosques, the demands in this direction have been also begun to be expressed loudly. Together with the effort to adapt modern world, with identity of new female dress, in which the head is not covered, and skirt which his down ward knees, through letter revolution (Barbarosoğlu, 2009:23). women remaining out of public area were begun to be forced to be a part of public areas. This ground also brought together with it a vital transformation. The concern of developing objections against what is modern and protecting what is Islamic slowly replaced with a medium, in which modernity and Islam become compatible (Yıldırım, 2016:85). Touraine (2007:71) argues that that woman

breaks of from social order, which places her in a dependent position, makes her the target of new hegemony forms. In somuch that,this hegemony that is present every where urge the woman to individualism and consumerism. When regarded from this point of view, woman standing out as an important element in transformation of modern societies had also been effective in change of life style of Islamist sector (Yildirim, 2016:338). The consumption practices of women adopting modern life styles seem to remove the confliction between what is modern and religious. Turban, which has very strict links with political Islam, has gained a new meaning and form under the values and norms of mass consumption (Haenni, 2011:41). While public area becomes a stage of a new visibility with the different purdah, the approach in confliction with the visibility of modern world is moved away. Yildirim(2016) argues that this conciliation process takes out the idea of public about transforming Islam completely from the minds and urges Islam to the private areas. According to him, this approach produced the mass scaring Islamic identity and being near consumption culture in ritual level. Haenni(2011:52) also interprets that Islamism bends in the face of modern sociality is in the form of that a new religiousness enabling the discovery and blessing of individual is mentioned about.

Hence, conservative and religious woman squeezed between religion and modernism participated in the visibility of public area with a new modernity. Educated, conservative, and religious women have begun to appear in public area with their new dresses made esthetic.

“According to me, every kind of cover revealing that it is used with a religious concern is headscarf. Every kind of dress covering body, bought to wear really, not for emphasizing lines, and body language chosen form veiling. I find extremely reasonable that the efforts of civic religious women to ward appearing orderly and carrying esthetic concerns. However, if esthetic is the only purpose and it is perceived that the only way going to it is to follow fashion and use luxurious brand, and perceived in that way, it means that there is a contradiction there”(Karaca, 2011)

Albeit these attitudes of conservative and religious women are defined away from an appearance with taqwa (Yildirim, 2016:317), it was accepted as predict or of perception of a new religion and publicity. According to Barbarosoğlu(2006:64-65), together with modernization process, Ottoman women fell behind in the image of modern, educated, and western woman. In the face of these women, who are well-groomed and educated, who wearing compatible with fashion, Ottoman women were no longer appreciated. According to her, also in 2000s, these women, who are not found beautiful and well-groomed, were women in veiling. Hence, women in veiling, who are not found beautiful and well-groomed, began to modify their clothing styles and purdah forms. Women began to wear external dress in harmony with their body esthetics together with colorful headscarf instead of top coat. Thus, the problematic relationship of modernity with religion brought new practices in social life through the religious perception of Islamist women. These practices show itself in a large range in compatible with modernity and carrying religious symbols on it, including the activities of eating-drinking and leisure time. While the life of woman beginning out of modern houses is criticized from one aspect, from the other aspect, alternative modern middle class bring visibility in womanhood culture (Köse, 2014:117). The conservative and religious women opened a new area to their lives squeezed between religion and modernism. Women, who form this area as a result of struggle fluctuating between the triangle of patriarchal system, religion, and modernism, began to read both religion and modernism through their own perceptions. What Aydın(2013) reports during interview we made with him points out the area of this triangle.

“Women, in this sense, has been in the effort, which is strongly present in Eastern societies, and of being able to have a position. Man does not have such trouble and struggle. Anyway, from which ever perspective is regarded to area, especially religious women both struggled to be

able to pray freely and,beyond this struggle,with men to beable to takeplace in each area of public life.In another dimension, they also struggled with the system. In this meaning, they experienced a bidirectional struggle process” (Aydın, 2013)

Conclusion

So, religious women stood out as actors of that the pure state of religion, cleared of traditions, was reflected to the practice in Turkey until a period. As we also express above, in the period under consideration, asociality was wanted to be built through Islamic values. In this sociality, religion had a problematic relationship regarding to modern life. In other words, it was in an effort of a life practice and civilization building, which can be alternative of modern life,In this process,women,with a clothing style away fromthe female image of modern life, were in the effort to sustain the image “woman”, formed in the perception of Islamic civilization. However, beginning from the mid- 1990s, a new image of woman began to form in Islamic circles. These women, with their clothing and life practices, began to become visible faces of a life becoming concrete in the form of “modernization of religion”. This, it thought of that a new period began int he lives of conservative and religious people. In this new period, with either practices or practices reflecting to the different moment of the life, it is possible to mention about a differentiation.This differentiation had a quality showing that a compliance and similarity were adopted with the elements of modern life not a confliction. In this context, in the story of modernization of Turkey, while women squeezed in religion and modernity, brought a new perception inthe religion with their new life practices, on the one hand, they added an approach handlook at modern and problematic points, on theother hand. In this context, it can be said that a modernized Islamic approachs spontaneously restricted public area.The conservative and religious women overcome conflictive process between religion and modernism with their life practices.

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