

religion, secularism and the veil in daily life

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KONDA
ARAŞTIRMA VE DANIŞMANLIK

RELIGION, SECULARISM AND *TÜRBAN* IN DAILY LIFE

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A. INTRODUCTION

1. General Description of the Survey

This report is based on the survey requested by DOĞAN YAYIN HOLDİNG and conducted by KONDA Research and Consultancy.

The field work of the survey took place on September 8th-9th, 2007. This report reflects the perceptions and practices of the people in Turkey regarding religion, headcover and secularism in daily life on the days of the fieldwork.

2. Background and Rationale of Survey

Tarhan Erdem, heading the research firm A&G, had conducted a survey in May 2003 on headscarves and the survey, the findings of which were published in the *Milliyet* daily newspaper between May 27-31, 2003, revealed rather interesting and important results. Some findings were that there were veiled women in 77.2 % of households; that 64.2 % of all adult women in Turkey covered their heads outside of the household; that the practice of covering increases greatly with age, that education was a primary factor and that covering decreases greatly as social status increases.

AKP's re-election and the presidential election process have brought the issue of *türban*¹ back on the agenda. Repetition of the survey after four years would be of much interest for those who would like to understand the magnitude and nature of change and to evaluate the politics of this period. No one knows the direction or magnitude of change. Important data will be collected with a new survey on *türban* and this data will be transformed into knowledge.

3. Aim of Survey

The aim of the survey is to measure, evaluate and broadcast:

- How the adult population in Turkey (AREA OF RESEARCH) perceives the practice of veiling and the political debates around it,
- How much and in which direction there have been changes in the past four years,
- The perception of the *türban* issue in the adult population's eyes,
- The habits and perceptions on religion, veiling and secularism in daily life.

¹ The term *türban* in Turkish refers to a certain style of covering one's head and has taken on a different, mostly political, meaning than the word turban in English. Therefore, throughout the report, the Turkish word *türban* will be used without translation.

4. Scope of Survey

Within the scope of the survey, the aim is to measure and evaluate,

- How people in Turkey position themselves in terms of religiosity and religious practices;
- Their preferences about covering their heads, their reasons and explanations;
- Their views on the *türban* issue and debates;
- The validity and weight of religious rules in daily life;
- Their views on women's issues and the role of religious beliefs on these views;
- Perceptions of conservatism

5. The Sample

The sample of the survey is based on the 2000 General Census and 2002 General Election results. 46,797 neighborhoods and villages have been stratified and grouped according to provinces, regions, educational attainment levels, employment data, census data and election results. The neighborhoods and villages in the sample have been selected randomly by the computer based on population size.

Sample	Count
Province	41
District (central district included)	171
Neighborhood / Village	298
Urban	208
Rural	90
Number of Interviews	5291

Table 1 Sample

As shown Table 1, in 171 districts and 41 provinces, 208 neighborhoods and 90 villages have been visited. The streets to be visited in the neighborhoods have been selected based on average land/property meter square prices which constitute the basis for property tax returns.

In each neighborhood and village, 18 respondents were interviewed face-to-face in their homes. Age and gender quotas were adhered to.

The 12 regions listed in Table 2 have been defined in the Law of Development Agencies (*Kalkınma Ajansları Yasası*), itself based on economic development levels (Official Gazette: 08.02.2006, p: 26074).

Regions	Provinces
Istanbul	İstanbul
West Marmara	Balıkesir , Çanakkale, Edirne , Kırklareli, Tekirdağ
Aegean	Afyon, Aydın, Denizli , İzmir , Kütahya, Manisa , Muğla, Uşak
East Marmara	Bilecik, Bolu , Bursa , Düzce, Eskişehir, Kocaeli , Sakarya, Yalova
West Anatolia	Ankara , Karaman , Konya
Mediterranean	Adana , Antalya, Burdur, Hatay , Isparta, Kahramanmaraş , Mersin , Osmaniye
Central Anatolia	Aksaray, Kayseri , Kırıkkale, Kırşehir, Nevşehir , Niğde, Sivas , Yozgat
West Black Sea	Amasya, Bartın , Çankırı, Çorum, Karabük , Kastamonu, Samsun , Sinop, Tokat , Zonguldak
East Black Sea	Artvin, Giresun , Gümüşhane, Ordu, Rize , Trabzon
Northeast Anatolia	Ağrı, Ardahan, Bayburt , Erzincan , Erzurum , Iğdır, Kars
Central East Anatolia	Bingöl, Bitlis, Elazığ , Hakkâri, Malatya , Muş, Tunceli , Van
Southeast Anatolia	Adıyaman, Batman , Diyarbakır , Gaziantep , Kilis , Mardin , Siirt, Sanliurfa , Şırnak

Table 2 Regions-Provinces

Table 2 above shows the regions and provinces within each region. The provinces in bold are the 41 provinces that the survey was conducted in.

Region	Percentage of Respondents		Electorate Percentage for 2007	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Istanbul	14.3	2.4	15.5	1.9
West Marmara	3.0	2.2	3.0	1.9
Aegean	9.9	5.0	9.4	5.2
East Marmara	6.8	2.7	6.7	2.9
West Anatolia	8.2	1.7	7.8	2.1
Mediterranean	7.7	4.8	7.7	4.9
Central Anatolia	3.4	2.4	3.4	2.1
West Black Sea	4.0	3.1	4.0	3.1
East Black Sea	2.4	1.7	2.2	1.7
Northeast Anatolia	1.7	1.1	1.7	1.1
Central East Anatolia	2.7	1.7	2.6	1.7
Southeast Anatolia	4.8	2.5	4.8	2.4
Total	68.9	31.1	68.4	31.6

Table 3 Distribution of Respondents by Regions

As the above table (Table 3) demonstrates, the region-urban-rural percentage distributions of respondents are very close to the finalized electorate distribution for 2007 of the Higher Election Committee (*Yüksek Seçim Kurulu*).

The survey represents voters of Turkey very accurately and the table above shows that deviations are within margin of error; that the data is reliable.

B. PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

Gender	
	%
Female	49.9
Male	50.1
Total	100.0

Table 4 Gender distribution of respondents

Age	
	%
Ages 18-28	31.2
Ages 29-43	34.1
Ages 44+	34.7
Total	100.0

Table 5 Age distribution of respondents

Educational Attainment	
	%
Illiterate	8.0
Literate. no Diploma	3.9
Primary School Graduate	38.8
Secondary School Graduate	13.8
High School Graduate	26.7
University (Undergraduate level)	8.1
University (Graduate level)	0.6
Total	100.0

Table 6 Education distribution of respondents

Number of People in Household	
	%
1-2 Persons	14.6
3-5 Persons	63.0
6-9 Persons	18.4
9 Persons or More	4.1
Total	100.0

Table 7 Distribution of household size of respondents

Monthly Family Income	
	%
Less than 300 YTL	8.6
301-700 YTL	46.5
701-1200 YTL	30.2
1201-3000 YTL	12.8
More than 3001 YTL	1.9
Total	100.0

Table 8 Income distribution of respondents

Employment	
	%
Public Servant	5.2
Employee in Private Sector	4.9
Worker	11.1
Small Scale Retailer / Craftsman	6.8
Tradesman / Industrialist	0.9
Self Employed	3.3
Marginal Sector (street seller, housecleaner, etc.)	0.8
Farmer / Agriculturalist / Stockbreeding	8.0
Employed, other	1.6
Retired	11.2
Housewife	33.3
Student	5.6
Unemployed, Seeking	4.3
Unable to Work	0.9
Not Employed. Other	2.2
Total	100.0

Table 9 Employment distribution of Respondents

Place of Residence (Urban / Rural)	
	%
Urban	68.9
Rural	31.1
Total	68.9

Table 10 Urban/Rural distribution of respondents

Region Inhabited (12 Regions)	
	%
Istanbul	16.6
West Marmara	5.1
Aegean	14.9
East Marmara	9.5
West Anatolia	9.9
Mediterranean	12.5
Central Anatolia	5.8
West Black Sea	7.1
East Black Sea	4.1
Northeast Anatolia	2.8
Central East Anatolia	4.4
Southeast Anatolia	7.3
Total	100.0

Table 11 Regional distribution of respondents

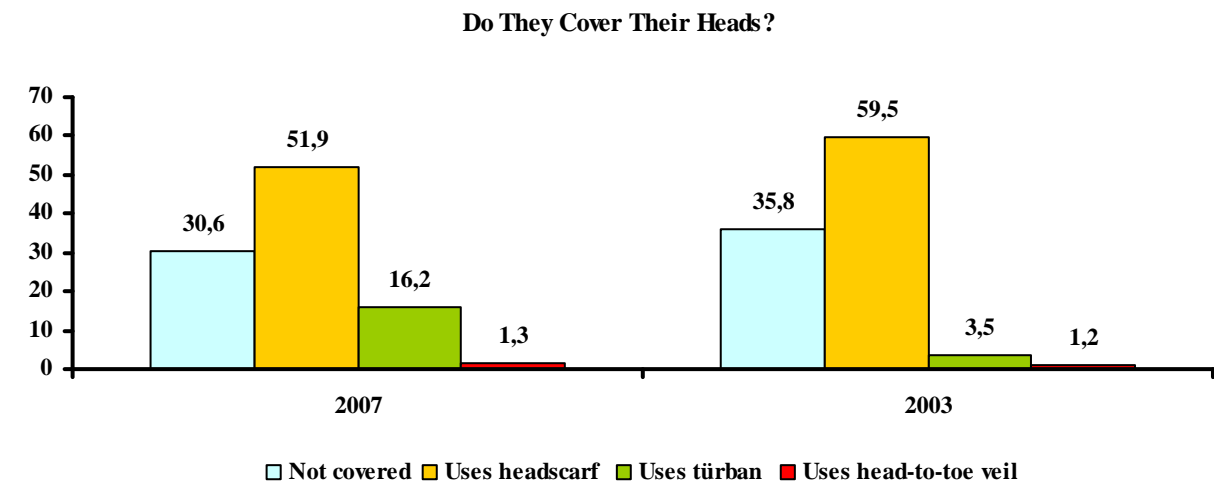
C. VEILING

1. Do They Cover Their Heads?

In response to the question whether they or their wife cover their heads when they go out of the household, 30.6 % of respondents said that they did not while 69.4 % said they covered their heads, regardless of what they call it. 51.9 % of respondents cover their head with headscarves and similar local headcovers, 16.2 % with *türban*s, 1.3 % with chador.²

Do you (or your wife) cover your head when going out to the street? How do you/does she cover it?	2007	2003
Not covered	30.6	35.8
Covers it	69.4	64.2
Total	100.0	100.0
Do you (or your wife) cover your head when going out to the street? How do you/does she cover it?	2007	2003
Not covered	30.6	35.8
Wears headscarf	51.9	59.5
Wears <i>türban</i>	16.2	3.5
Wears chador	1.3	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0

The percentage of those who veil themselves increased from 64.2 % in 2003 to 69.4 % today. Compared with the 2003 survey, those in society who cover their heads have increased by 10 % (within its own percentage) and a serious increase in those with *türban* is evident.



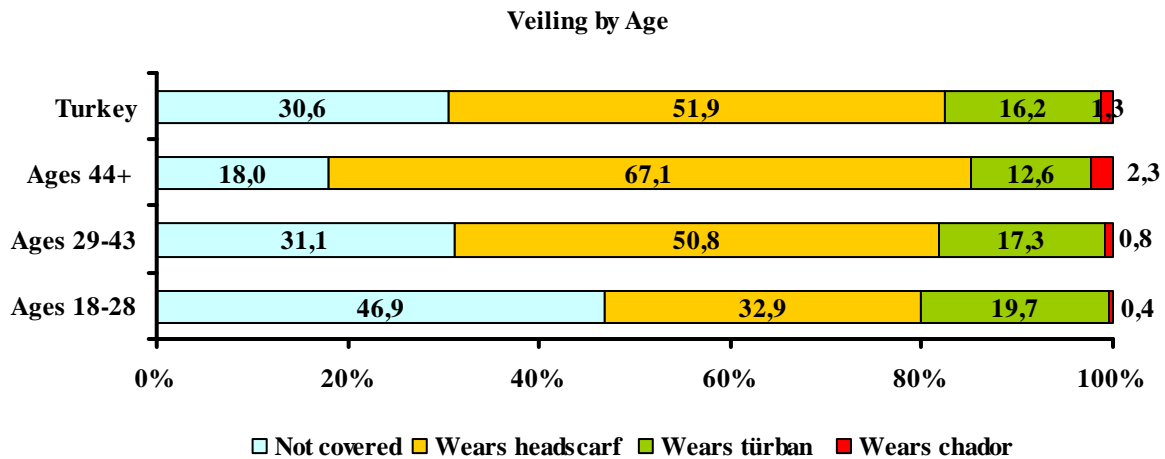
² Throughout the report, unless clearly indicated otherwise, all references to people covering their heads are actually to women who veil *and* to men whose wives veil.

a. Veiling by Age

Those who do not veil is 46.9 % among young people, 31.1 % in the 29 to 43 age group and drops to 18 % among the older group. Those wearing *türban* is 19.7 % in the 18 to 28 age group, 17.3 % in the 29 to 43 age group and 16.2 % among those who are 44 or older.

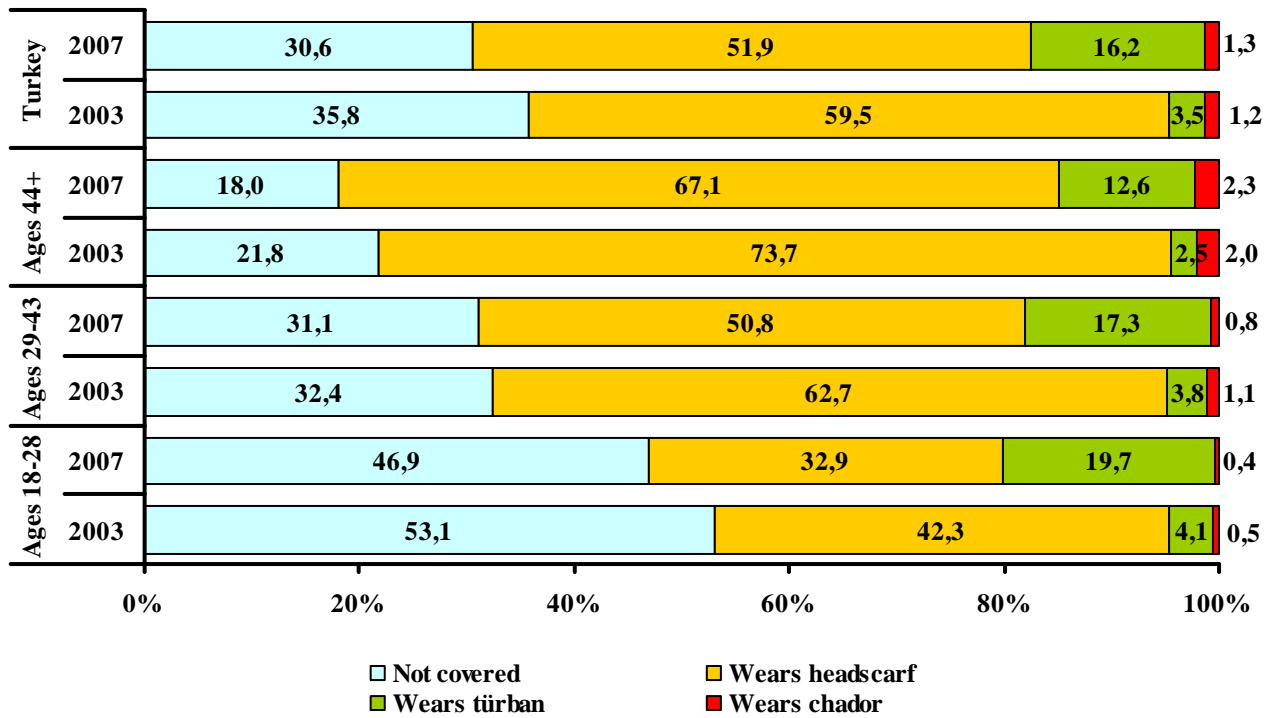
Do you (or your wife) cover your head when going out to the street? How do you/does she cover it?	Ages 18-28	Ages 29-43	Ages 44+	Turkey
Not covered	46.9	31.1	18.0	30.6
Wears headscarf	32.9	50.8	67.1	51.9
Wears <i>türban</i>	19.7	17.3	12.6	16.2
Wears chador	0.4	0.8	2.3	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

While veiling increase in line with the conventional trend, *türban* manifests an opposing character: it is surprisingly higher among younger people.



Compared to the 2003 survey, the increase among those using *türban* has gone highest among the younger population. While 4.1 % of youngsters were using *türban* in 2003, now 19.7 % of them are. In the 28- 43 age group, the rate was 3.8 % in 2003, while now it is 17.3 %. In the 44 and older age group, those using *türban* has increased from 2.5 % to 12.6 %.

Comparison of Veiling 2003-2007



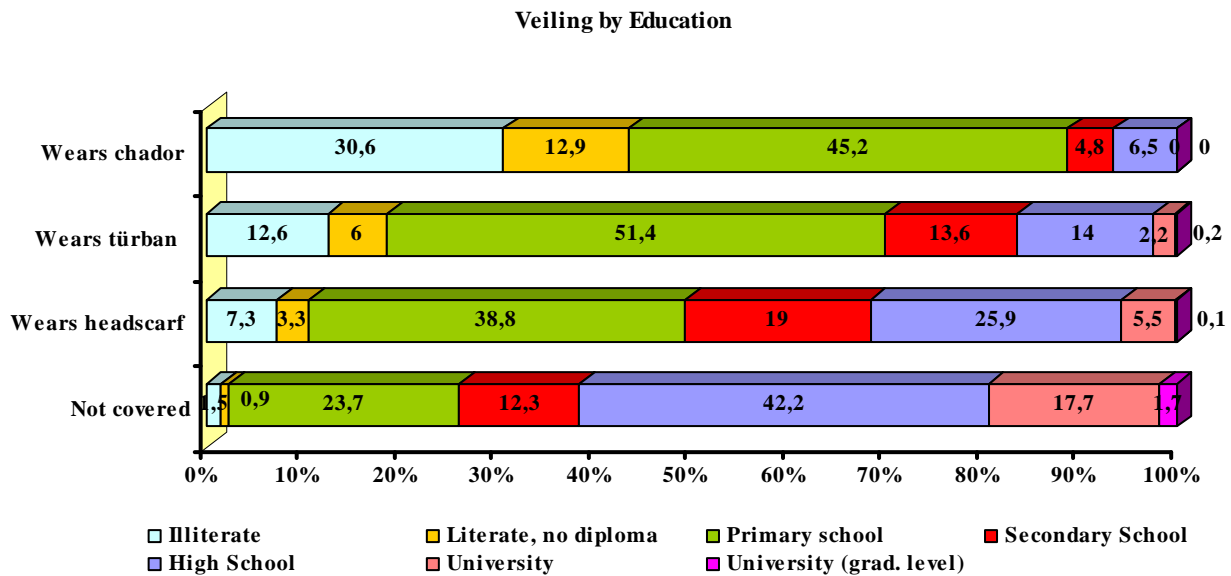
b. Veiling by Education

Among those not covered, 17.7 % have university education, 42.2 % high school education, 12.3 % secondary school education and 23.7 % primary school education. Among those who are covered with headscarves, 2.2 % have university education, 14 % high school education, 13.6 % secondary school education and 51.4 % primary education. Among those covered with *türban*, 5.5 % have university education, 25.9 % high school education, 19 % secondary education and 38.8 % primary education.

Do you (or your wife) cover your head when going out to the street? How do you/does she cover it?	Illiterate	Literate, no diploma	Primary school	Secondary School	High School	University	University (grad level)	Total
Not covered	1.5	0.9	23.7	12.3	42.2	17.7	1.7	100.0
Wears headscarf	12.6	6.0	51.4	13.6	14.0	2.2	0.2	100.0
Wears <i>türban</i>	7.3	3.3	38.8	19.0	25.9	5.5	0.1	100.0
Wears chador	30.6	12.9	45.2	4.8	6.5	0.0	0.0	100.0
Turkey	8.6	4.1	40.8	14.0	24.5	7.5	0.6	100.0

Looking at educational attainment levels, it seems that people with less than high school education are fewer in number among those who do not veil than they are among the whole of the population. In other words, it is more common for those with less than high school education to veil.

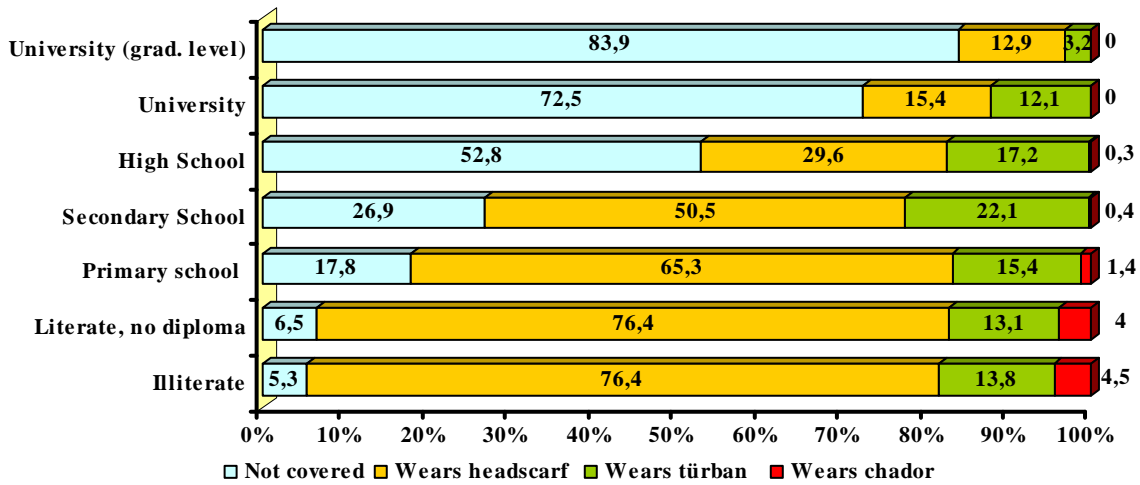
As education increases, veiling decreases overall and yet, again surprisingly, those using *türban* increase.



Examining the society by education, we see that those with chador are more common among the illiterate and those with no education. Those with *türban* are seen more often among secondary school (22.1 %) and high school (17.2 %) graduates. Those with the traditional headscarf make up 15.4 % among university graduates, 29.6 % among high school graduates, 50.5 % among secondary school graduates, 65.3 % of primary school graduates and 76.4 % among those with no diploma.

	Illiterate	Literate, no diploma	Primary school	Secondary School	High School	University	University (grad level)	Total
Not covered	5.3	6.5	17.8	26.9	52.8	72.5	83.9	30.6
Wears headscarf	76.4	76.4	65.3	50.5	29.6	15.4	12.9	51.9
Wears <i>türban</i>	13.8	13.1	15.4	22.1	17.2	12.1	3.2	16.3
Wears chador	4.5	4.0	1.4	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	1.3
Turkey	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

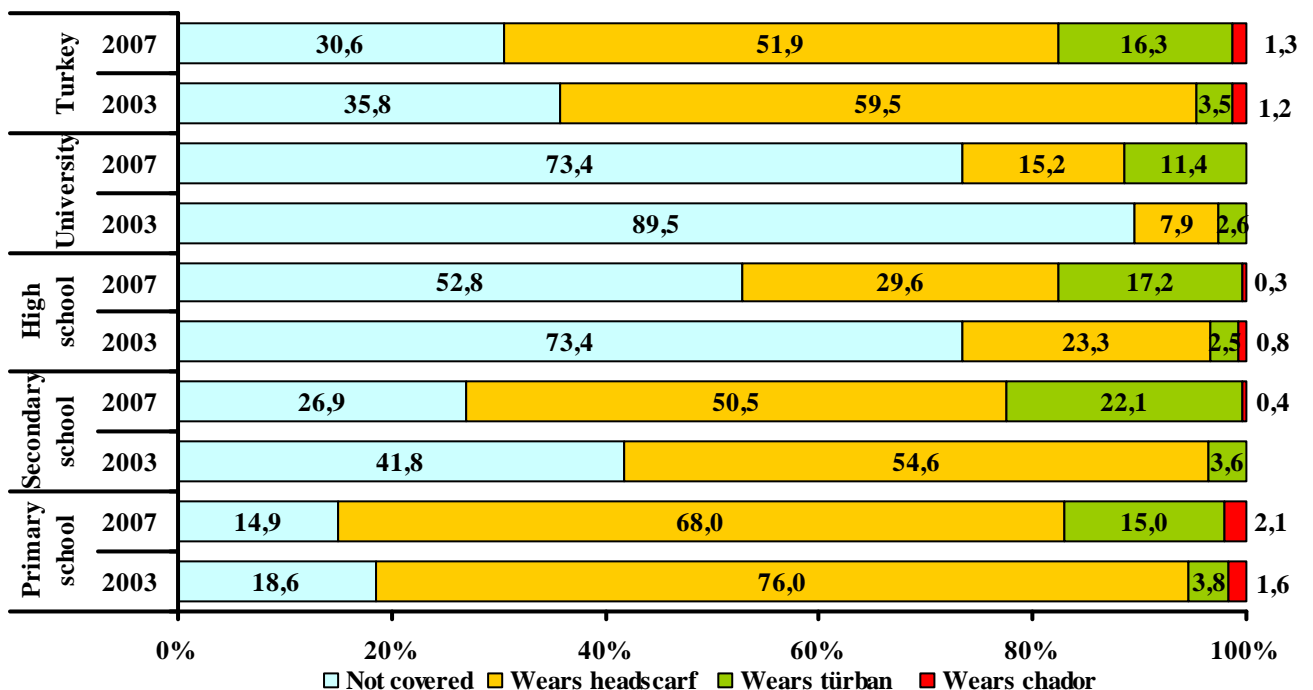
Veiling by Education



Compared to our 2003 survey, the percentage of people who are not covered seems to have dropped by 16 % all over Turkey, from 35.8 % to 30.6 %, whereas those who veil themselves one way or another, have increased by 8 %, rising from 64.2 % to 69.4. By educational attainment levels, those wearing *türban* have increased:

- 4.7 times in all of Turkey (from 3.5 % to 16.3 %),
- 4.4 times among university graduates (from 2.6 % to 11.4 %),
- 6.9 times among high-school graduates (from 2.5 % to 17.2 %),
- 6.1 times among secondary school graduates (from 3.6 % to 22.1 %),
- 3.9 times among those with primary school or less education (from 3.8 % to 15 %).

Comparison of Veiling by Education 2003-2007

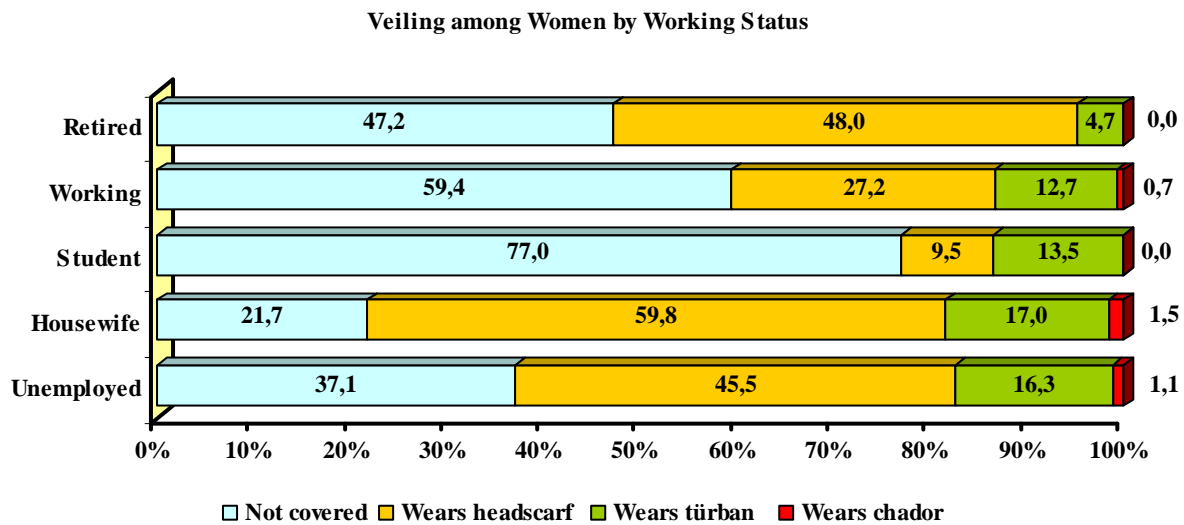


c. Veiling by Working Status

When we view women's working status, we see that 77 % of students, 59.4 % of working women and 47.2 % of retired women do not cover their heads. Headscarves are most prevalent among housewives (59.8 %) and unemployed women (45.5 %). Among women who are students, 13.5 % wear *türban* and 9.5 % headscarves, adding up to 23 % who cover their heads.

Work status of women	Unemployed	Housewife	Student	Working	Retired
Not covered	37.1	21.7	77.0	59.4	47.2
Wears headscarf	45.5	59.8	9.5	27.2	48.0
Wears <i>türban</i>	16.3	17.0	13.5	12.7	4.7
Wears chador	1.1	1.5	0.0	0.7	0.0
Average of Turkey	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As can be seen in the following graph, students are those who are least likely to veil.



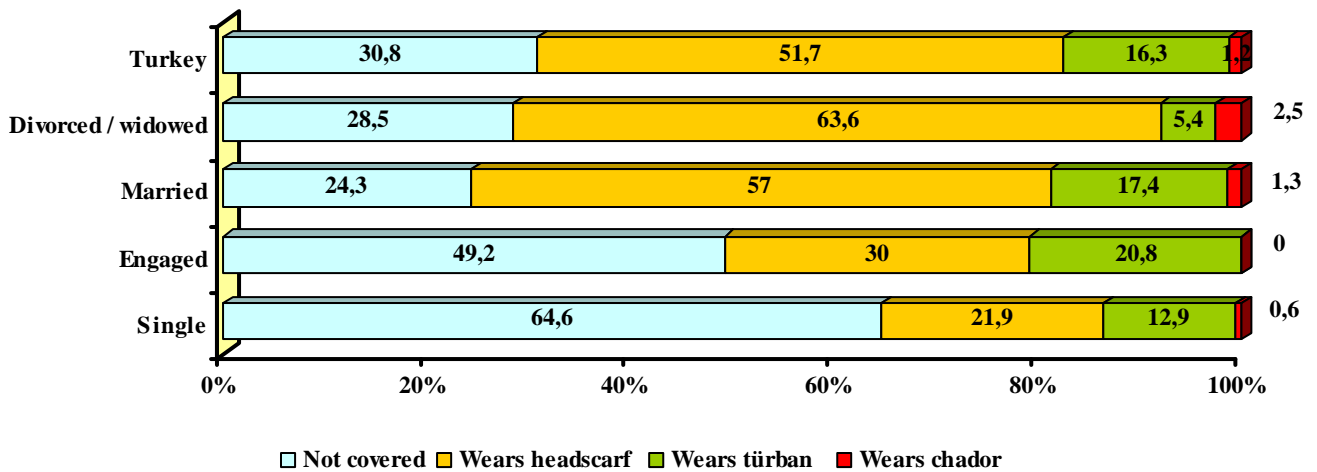
d. Veiling by Marital Status

64.6 % of single women, 49.2 % of engaged women, 24.3 % of married whose and 28.5 % of divorced/widowed women do not cover their heads in daily life. Those who are covered constitute 35.4 % of single women, 50.8 % of engaged women, 75.7 % of married women and 71.5 % of divorced or widowed women.

	Single	Engaged	Married	Divorced, widowed	Turkey
Not covered	64.6	49.2	24.3	28.5	30.8
Wears headscarf	21.9	30.0	57.0	63.6	51.7
Wears <i>türban</i>	12.9	20.8	17.4	5.4	16.3
Wears chador	0.6	0.0	1.3	2.5	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As the graph also demonstrates, as women's level of marital involvement with men increases, the rate of veiling also increases.

Veiling by Marital Status

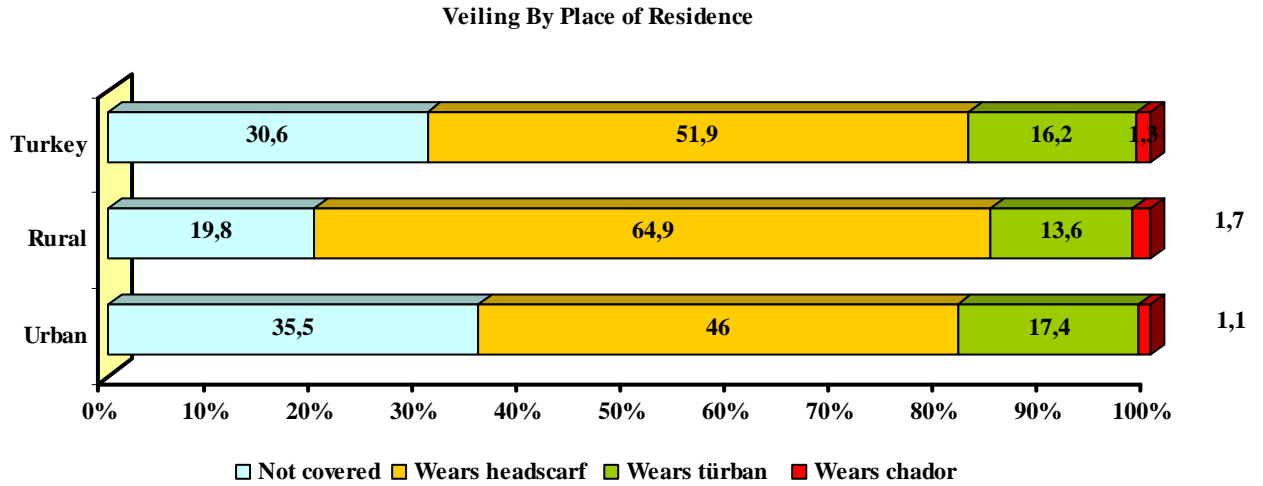


e. Veiling by Place of Residence

Looking at where people live, as urban versus rural, those living in urban areas do not cover their heads by 35.5 %, while this percentage drops to 19.8 % among rural dwellers. In other words, 64.5 % of those living in cities cover their heads and 80.2 % of those living in rural areas cover their heads. Headscarves are worn by 46 % in urban areas while it goes up to 64.9 % in rural areas. As for *türban*, the percentage is 17.4 in urban areas and 13.6 in rural areas.

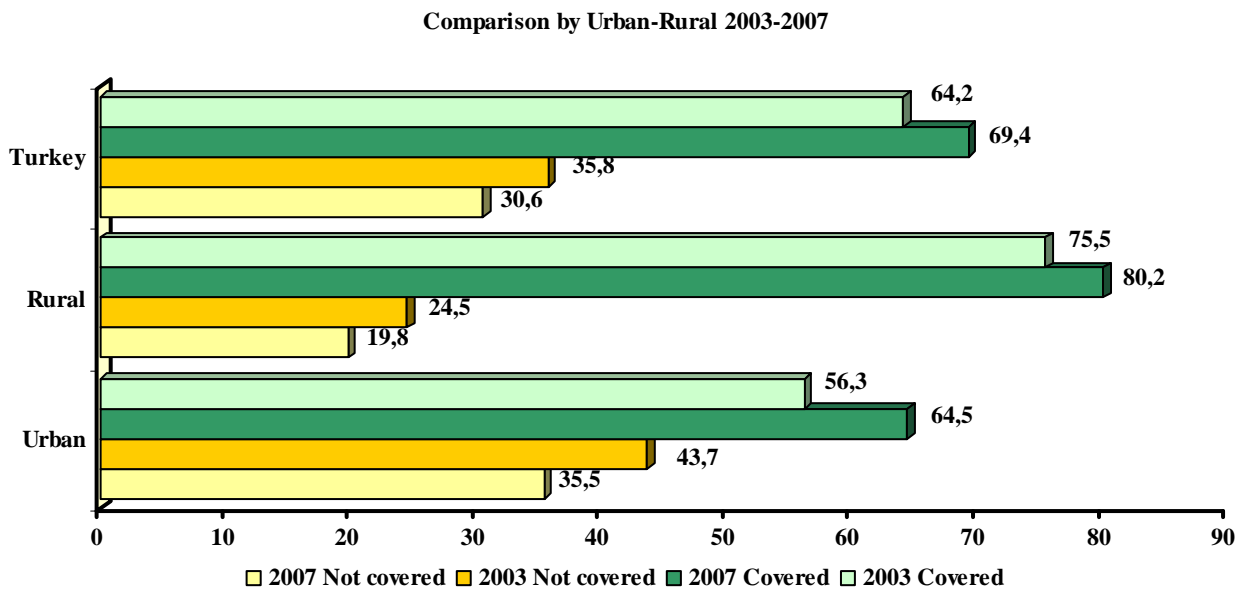
	Urban	Rural	Turkey
Not covered	35.5	19.8	30.6
Wears headscarf	46.0	64.9	51.9
Wears <i>türban</i>	17.4	13.6	16.2
Wears chador	1.1	1.7	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

As the graph also shows, veiling is more common in rural areas as can be expected while *türban* is used more often in urban than rural areas.



Compared to the 2003 survey, urban dwellers covering their heads was 56.3 % in 2003 and increased to 64.9 % in 2007; rural dwellers covering their heads was 75.5 % and now increased to 80.2 %. The likelihood of veiling tends to have increased slightly faster in urban areas.

	2003		2007	
	Covered	Not covered	Covered	Not covered
Urban	56.3	43.7	64.5	35.5
Rural	75.5	24.5	80.2	19.8
Turkey	64.2	35.8	69.4	30.6

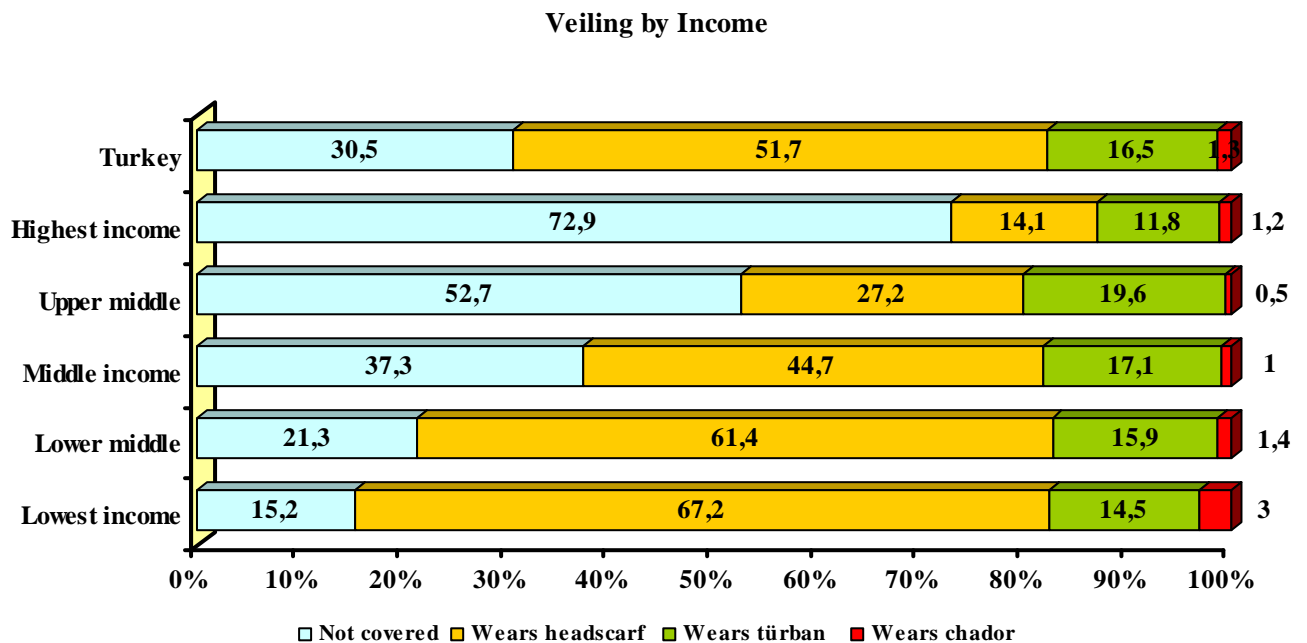


f. Veiling by Income

Those who do not cover their heads are seen most commonly among the highest incomes group (72.9 % of them). While among the lowest income group, those who are not covered make up 15.2 %, in the second lowest income group it is 21.3 % and in the middle income group, 37.3 %. Veiling shows an opposite trend and increases in number as income levels drop. Yet among the covered ones, the character of those with *türban* is somewhat different, they become more common in the higher income brackets.

	Lowest income	Lower middle income	Middle income	Upper middle income	Highest income	Turkey
Not covered	15.2	21.3	37.3	52.7	72.9	30.5
Wears headscarf	67.2	61.4	44.7	27.2	14.1	51.7
Wears <i>türban</i>	14.5	15.9	17.1	19.6	11.8	16.5
Wears chador	3.0	1.4	1.0	0.5	1.2	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The decrease in veiling as income increases is visible in the graph below. Yet, as we have mentioned earlier, *türban* is used more commonly in the upper middle and middle income groups than in the lower income groups.



g. Veiling by Political Party Choice

Among AKP supporters, those who do not cover their heads make up only 14 % while this rate is 59.3 % for CHP supporters and 32.5 % for MHP supporters. As for those covering their heads with headscarves, they make up 58.9 % of AKP supporters, 31.6 % of CHP supporters and 41.8 % of MHP supporters. Those using *türban* to cover their heads are 21.3 % of AKP supporters, 2.7 % of CHP supporters, and 11.7 of MHP supporters. As for those wearing chador, they account for 6.7 % of SP's support and 1.7 % of AKP support.

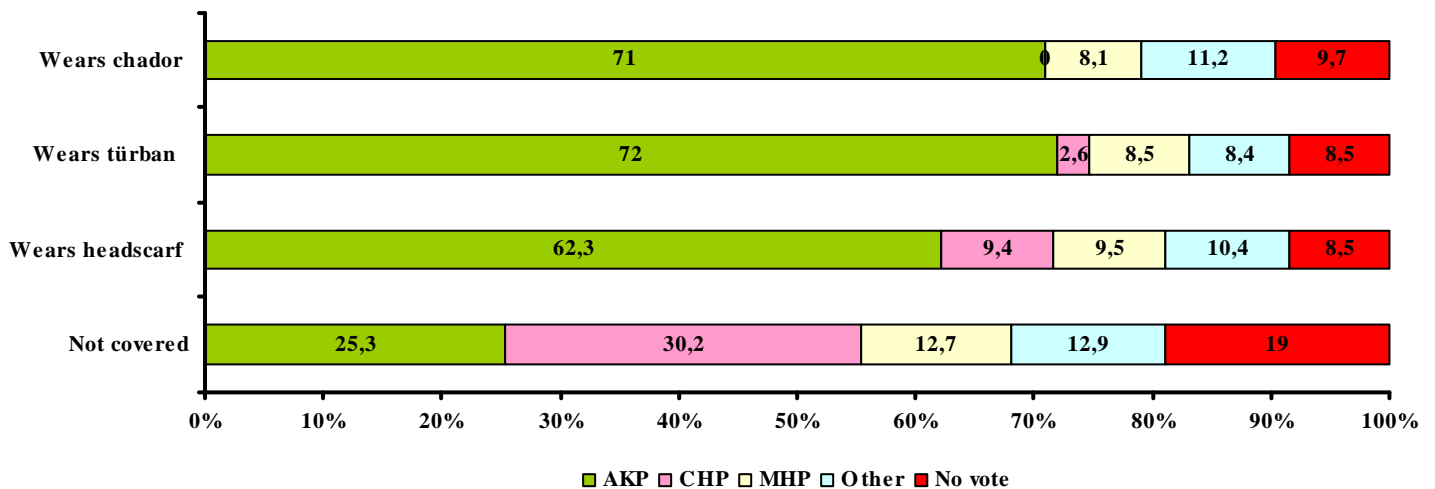
	AKP	CHP	DP	GP	MHP	SP	Other Parties	Indep. Candid.	No Vote	Turkey
Not covered	14.0	59.3	29.8	56.8	32.4	0.0	43.8	30.3	43.1	30.4
Wears headscarf	58.9	31.6	51.6	27.3	41.8	57.8	35.4	47.1	33.2	52.0
Wears <i>türban</i>	21.3	2.7	11.2	4.5	11.7	28.9	14.6	10.4	10.4	16.3
Wears chador	1.7	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.9	6.7	0.0	0.5	0.9	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

While AKP receives support above its own average from those who are covered, CHP receives above average support from those who are not covered. While AKP support is 62.3 % among those using headscarves and CHP's is 9.4 %, among those using *türban*, 72 % of their support go to AKP and 2.6 % to CHP.

	AKP	CHP	DP	GP	MHP	SP	Other Parties	Indep. Candid.	No Vote	Turkey
Not covered	25.3	30.2	3.3	3.5	12.7	0.0	1.5	4.6	19.0	100.0
Wears headscarf	62.3	9.4	3.4	1.0	9.5	1.1	0.7	4.2	8.5	100.0
Wears <i>türban</i>	72.0	2.6	2.3	0.5	8.5	1.7	0.9	3.0	8.5	100.0
Wears chador	71.0	0.0	4.8	0.0	8.1	4.8	0.0	1.6	9.7	100.0

While AKP is predominant among those who wear chador, among those with *türban* it is AKP and ve SP.

Distribution of Votes by Veiling

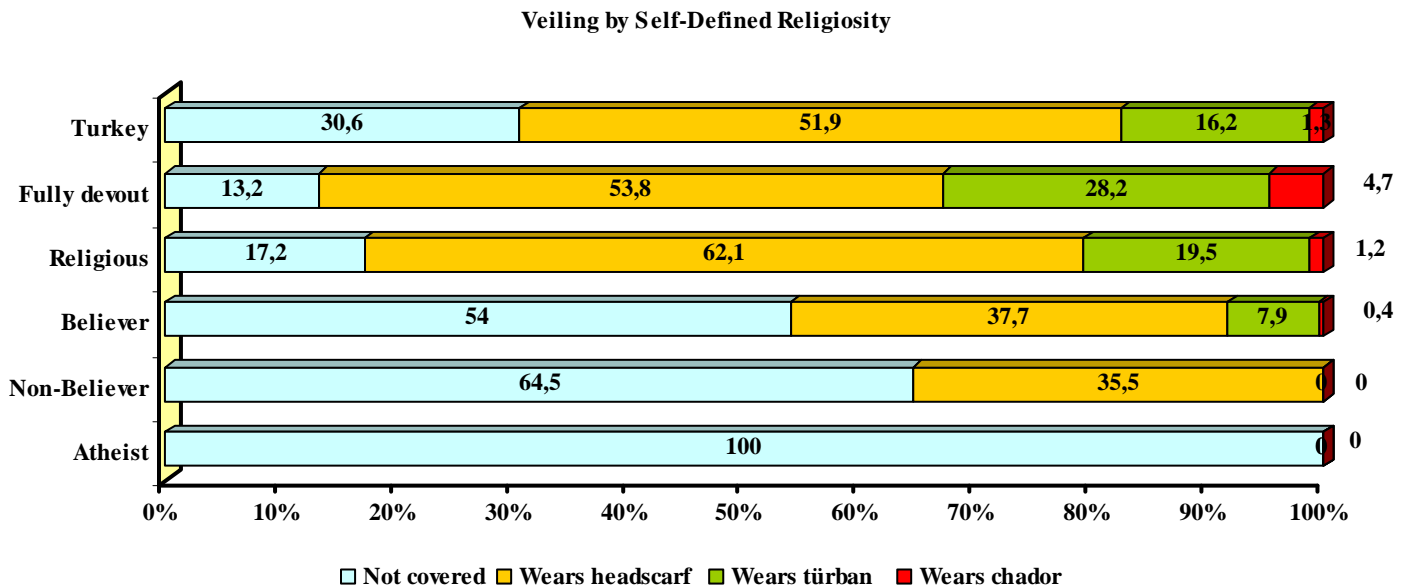


h. Religiosity by Veiling

Among those who consider themselves as “believer” (as someone who believes but does not fulfill religious obligations), those not covered make up 54 %, and those with *türban* 7.9 %. Among those “religious” ones who consider themselves as “a religious person who strives to fulfill religious obligations,” 17.2 % do not cover their heads, 62.1 % wear headscarves, 19.5 % wear *türban* and 1.2 % wear chador. Those who consider themselves to be “fully devout fulfilling all religious obligations” are made up 13.2 % who do not veil, 53.8 % wearing headscarves, 28.2 % wearing *türban*, and 4.7 % wearing chador.

	Atheist	Non-believer	Believer	Religious	Fully devout	Turkey
Not covered	100.0	64.5	54.0	17.2	13.2	30.6
Wears headscarf	0.0	35.5	37.7	62.1	53.8	51.9
Wears <i>türban</i>	0.0	0.0	7.9	19.5	28.2	16.2
Wears chador	0.0	0.0	0.4	1.2	4.7	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

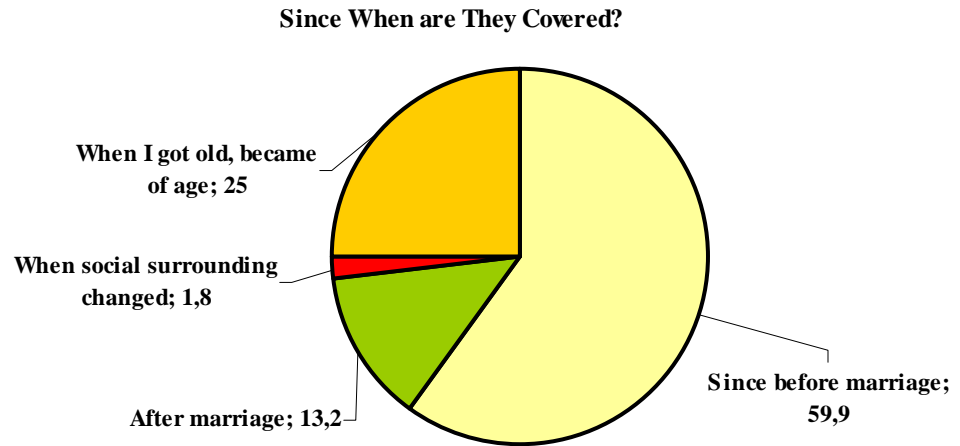
As is also seen in the graph below, as people’s self-claimed religiosity increases so does the rate of veiling and of wearing *türban*.



2. Since When Have They Been Covering Their Heads?

Among those who have been using some sort of veil, 59.9 % of them have stated that they have been covered since before marriage, 13.2 % once they married, 1.8 % ever since their social surroundings changed, 25 % when they came of age (became old).

Since When Have They Been Covered?	%
Since before marriage	59.9
After marriage	13.2
When social surroundings changed	1.8
When they came of age	25.0
Total	100.0



60.9 % of those with headscarves and 58.2 % of those with *türban* state that they have been covering themselves since before marriage. The practice of veiling after marriage is highest (% 14.6) among those with headscarves, while veiling as a result of change in the social scene is highest among those with *türban* (% 2).

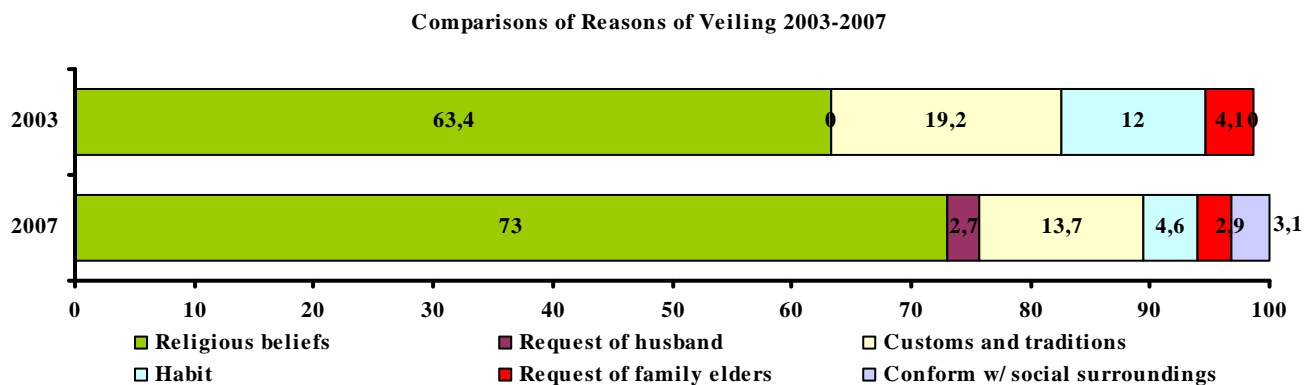
Covered since when?	Since before marriage	After marriage	When social surroundings changed	When they came of age	Total
Wears headscarf	60.9	14.6	1.6	22.3	100.0
Wears <i>türban</i>	58.2	10.2	2.0	29.0	100.0
Wears chador	25.8	3.2	1.6	69.4	100.0
Total	59.9	13.2	1.8	25.0	100.0

3. Why Do they Cover Themselves?

When asked for the reason why their cover their heads, the first two options which respondents selected were religious beliefs by 73 % and customs and traditions by 13.7 %. Following those, habit (% 4.6), conforming with the social surrounding (% 3.1), request of family elders (% 2.9) and request of husband (% 2.7) as quoted as reasons.

What do YOU think is the reason for you, your mother or sister to cover their heads?		
	2007	2003
Religious beliefs	73.0	63.4
Request of husband	2.7	
Customs and traditions	13.7	19.2
Habit	4.6	12.0
Request of family elders	2.9	4.1
Conform with social surroundings	3.1	
Total	100.0	100.0

Compared with the 2003 survey, the results show that the reasons are similar in 2007 to those in 2003: religious beliefs and abiding by traditions.

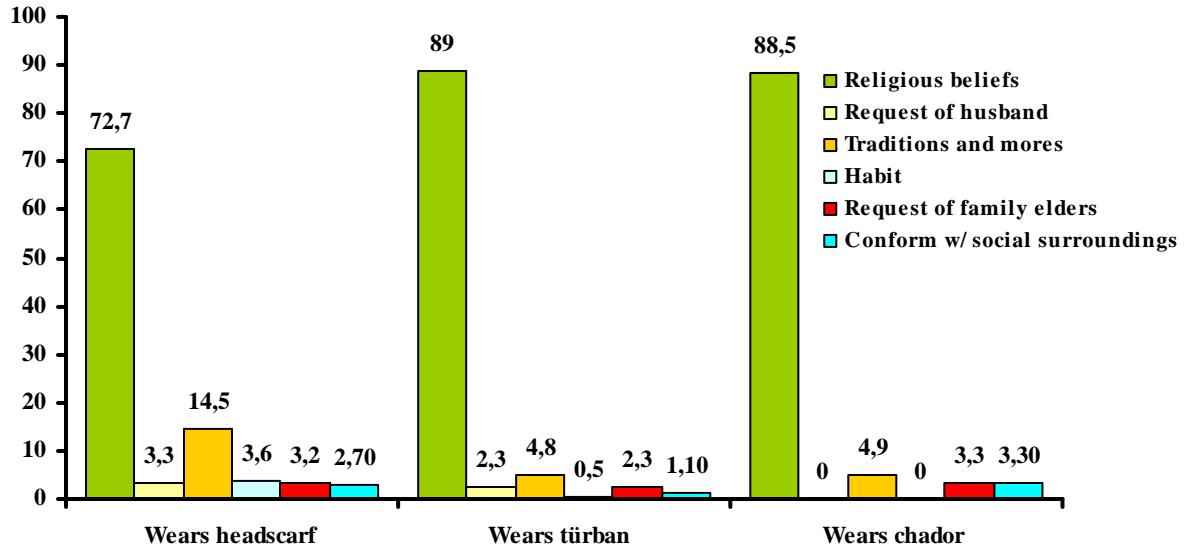


Looking at the reasoning for veiling along with the style of veiling, one can see that 72.7 % of those with headscarves say they cover it for religious beliefs and 14.5 % due to traditions. Religious beliefs is quoted most often (% 89) among those wearing *türban*, while abiding by traditions accounts for 4.8 % among them.

	Religious beliefs	Request of husband	Customs and traditions	Habit	Request of family elders	Conform w/social sur.	Total
Wears headscarf	72.7	3.3	14.5	3.6	3.2	2.7	100.0
Wears <i>türban</i>	89.0	2.3	4.8	0.5	2.3	1.1	100.0
Wears chador	88.5	0.0	4.9	0.0	3.3	3.3	100.0
Total	72.6	2.8	13.7	4.7	2.9	3.2	100.0

While the desire to abide by customs and traditions has its place for those who cover themselves with headscarves, the majority of those with *türban* and those with chador show religious beliefs as the reason.

Reasons for Veiling by Style of Veiling



If we break down data even further and look at veiling and reasoning by educational attainment levels, for those with less than high school education (where 75 % are covered), the reasons are religious belief and traditions; for women with university degrees, the reasons for veiling are religious beliefs and request of husband. It is rather striking that among women with university degree (where 27 % are covered) about 10 % cover their heads as result of their husband's wish.

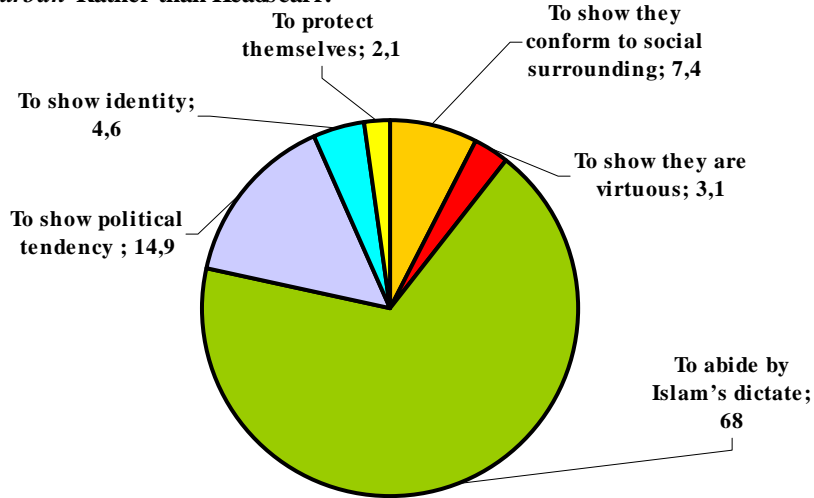
What do YOU think is the reason for you, your mother or sister to cover their heads?									
Gender	Education	Covering	Religious beliefs	Request of husband	Traditions and mores	Habit	Request of family elders	Conform w/social sur.	Total
Female	Less than high school	Headscarf	72.8	3.3	12.7	3.5	4.3	3.5	100.0
		Türban	87.2	3.1	4.5	0.3	4.1	0.7	100.0
		Chador	82.8	0.0	10.3	0.0	6.9	0.0	100.0
	High school	Headscarf	81.3	5.6	6.5	1.9	0.9	3.7	100.0
		Türban	94.2	1.9	1.0	0.0	1.9	1.0	100.0
		Chador	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
University	Headscarf	90.9	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	
	Türban	88.9	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	
Turkey			72.6	3.1	12.4	4.7	3.5	3.8	100.0

4. Why *Türban* Instead of Headscarf?

When asked why women who wear *türban* instead of headscarves would wear it, 68 % of respondents said “in order to abide by Islam’s dictate” and 14.9 % that they “showed their political tendency.” After those, “conformity with surroundings” (% 7.4), “showing their identity” (% 4.6), “showing that they are virtuous” (% 3.1) and “protecting themselves” (% 2.1) were quoted.

In your opinion, by wearing <i>türban</i> rather than headscarves, what do you or others demonstrate? In other words, why <i>türban</i> rather than headscarf?	%
They show that they conform to their social surrounding	7.4
They show that they are virtuous	3.1
They abide by Islam’s dictate	68.0
They show their political tendency / standing	14.9
They show their identity	4.6
They protect themselves	2.1
Total	100.0

Why *Türban* Rather than Headscarf?



Responses about the meaning of *türban* as different from headscarf demonstrate that the contention that it is Islam’s dictate is prevalent, as well as that they show their political tendency.

Looking at results along with educational attainment levels, it is remarkable that Islam’s dictate is high for all groups wearing *türban*. As for those who are not covered, the contention that they are showing their political tendencies is rather high.

In your opinion, by wearing *türban* rather than headscarves, what do you or others demonstrate? In other words, why *türban* rather than headscarf?

Gender	Education	Covering	Conformity	Virtuousness	Islam's dictate	Political tendency	Showing identity	Protection	Total	
Female	Less than high school	Not covered	7.6	4.6	47.4	28.6	9.1	2.7	100.0	
		Headscarf	8.2	2.6	77.7	7.2	2.1	2.2	100.0	
		<i>Türban</i>	2.4	3.1	90.3	2.1	0.3	1.7	100.0	
		Chador	3.6	7.1	85.7	3.6	0.0	0.0	100.0	
	High school	Not covered	9.5	3.5	46.1	27.1	9.2	4.6	100.0	
		Headscarf	11.5	1.0	68.3	14.4	2.9	1.9	100.0	
		<i>Türban</i>	5.9	4.0	86.1	2.0	1.0	1.0	100.0	
		Chador	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	
	University	Not covered	6.1	2.0	39.9	36.5	13.5	2.0	100.0	
		Headscarf	18.2	0.0	63.6	0.0	9.1	9.1	100.0	
		<i>Türban</i>	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	
		Turkey		7.5	3.0	68.7	13.8	4.5	2.5	100.0

Examining together responses to “Why do they cover?” and “What do they demonstrate?” those with headscarves quote other responses as well as religious dictate. The majority of those wearing *türban* say it is Islam’s dictate, with almost no mention of traditions.

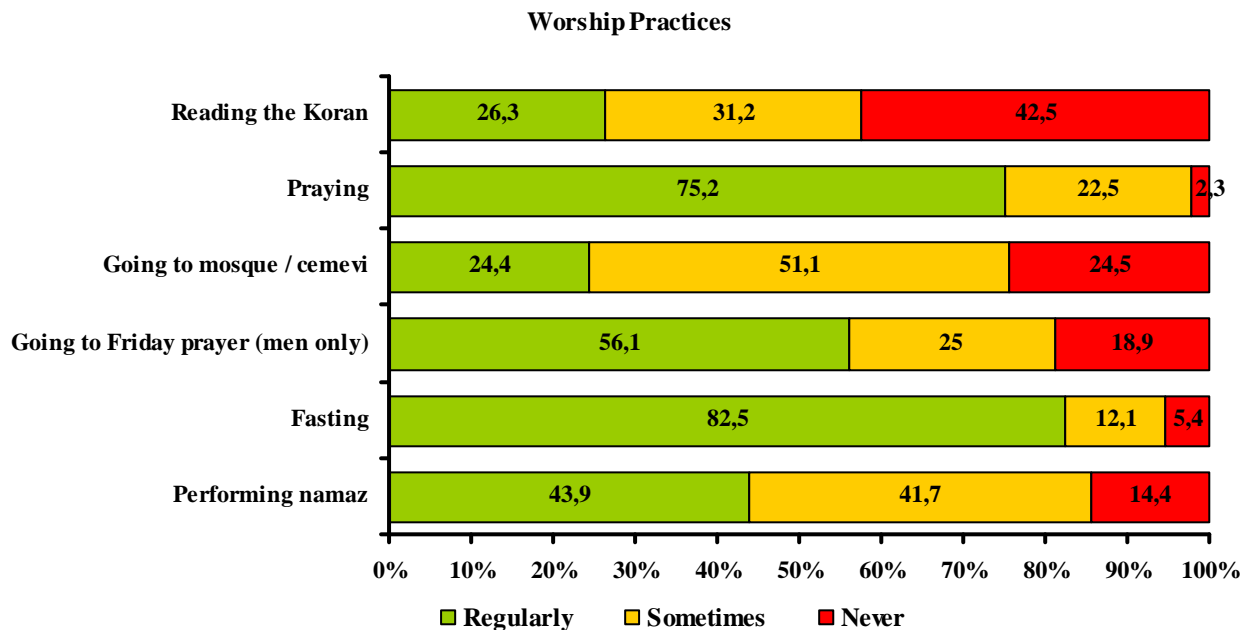
D. WORSHIP PRACTICES AND RELIGIOSITY

1. Worship Practices

When asked how often people practice acts of worship, the more regularly practiced acts of worship turned out to be fasting and going to Friday prayer. While 43.9 % of respondents said they performed their ritual prayer (*namaz*) regularly, 41.7 % that they performed it sometimes and 14.4 % that they never did. Those fasting regularly are 82.5 %, those who sometimes fast are 12.1 % and 5.4 % of the population never does. Men who regularly go to Friday prayer³ are 56.1 %, people who pray regularly are 75.2 % and people who regularly go to the mosque or *cemevi*⁴ are 24.4 % and those who regularly read the Koran are 26.3 %.

Frequency of worship	Regularly	Sometimes	Never	Total
Performing ritual prayer (<i>namaz</i>)	43.9	41.7	14.4	100.0
Fasting	82.5	12.1	5.4	100.0
Going to Friday prayer (men only)	56.1	25.0	18.9	100.0
Going to mosque / <i>cemevi</i> *	24.4	51.1	24.5	100.0
Praying	75.2	22.5	2.3	100.0
Reading the Koran	26.3	31.2	42.5	100.0

The people in Turkey seem to be more sensitive about fasting and praying. As education decreases and age increases, the acts of worship are practiced more frequently, while place of residence, i.e., whether people live in urban or rural places, does not make a big difference.



³ Women are not expected by Islamic law to go to Friday prayer so this question was asked only to men.

⁴ *Cemevi* is the prayer house where followers of the Alevi sect assemble.

2. Veiling and Worship Practice

While those who wear *türban* practice acts of worship much more frequently than those wearing headscarves, those with chadors practice them even more frequently than those *türban*.

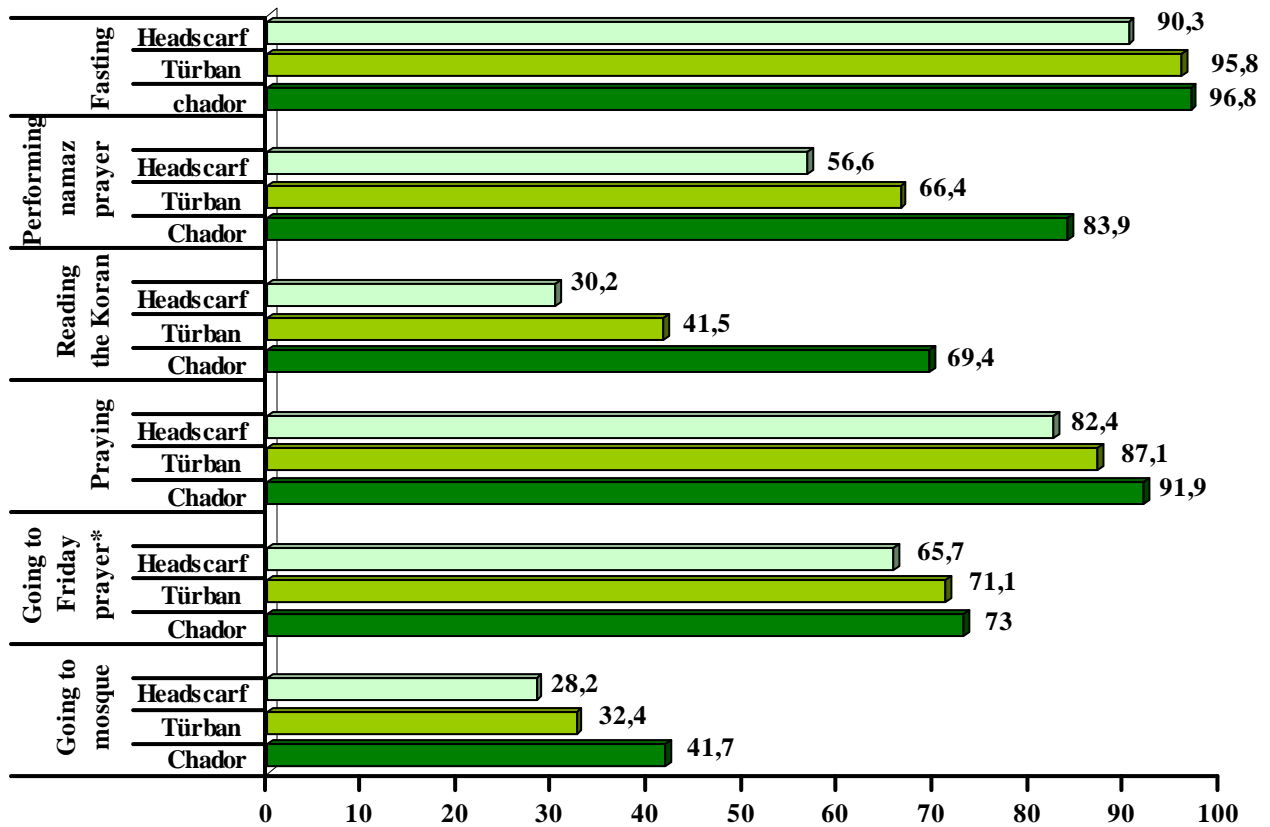
When asked about *namaz*, 56.6 % of those with headscarves, 66.4 % of those with *türban* and 83.9 % of those with chador say that they perform the ritual prayer *namaz* regularly.

The tendency to fast regularly is similar to *namaz*, with the frequency increasing from headscarf to *türban*, from *türban* to chador.

Wearing headscarf	Regularly	Sometimes	Never	Total
<i>Namaz</i> – performing ritual prayer	56.6	37.4	6.0	100.0
Fasting	90.3	7.6	2.1	100.0
Friday prayer (*)	65.7	20.0	14.3	100.0
Going to mosque / cemevi	28.2	51.7	20.1	100.0
Praying	82.4	16.8	0.8	100.0
Reading the Koran	30.2	30.2	39.6	100.0
Wearing <i>türban</i>	Regularly	Sometimes	Never	Total
<i>Namaz</i> – performing ritual prayer	66.4	31.2	2.4	100.0
Fasting	95.8	3.9	0.3	100.0
Friday prayer (*)	71.1	16.4	12.4	100.0
Going to mosque / cemevi	32.4	54.3	13.4	100.0
Praying	87.1	12.8	0.1	100.0
Reading the Koran	41.5	34.2	24.3	100.0
Wearing chador	Regularly	Sometimes	Never	Total
<i>Namaz</i> – performing ritual prayer	83.9	14.5	1.6	100.0
Fasting	96.8	3.2	0.0	100.0
Friday prayer (*)	73.0	10.8	16.2	100.0
Going to mosque / cemevi	41.7	45.0	13.3	100.0
Praying	91.9	8.1	0.0	100.0
Reading the Koran	69.4	16.1	14.5	100.0

(*) The question on Friday prayer was asked only to male respondents. Veiling styles refer to these respondents' wives practices.

Regularly Practiced Acts of Worship by Veiling



* denotes Friday prayer practices of men whose wives are veiled in these manners.

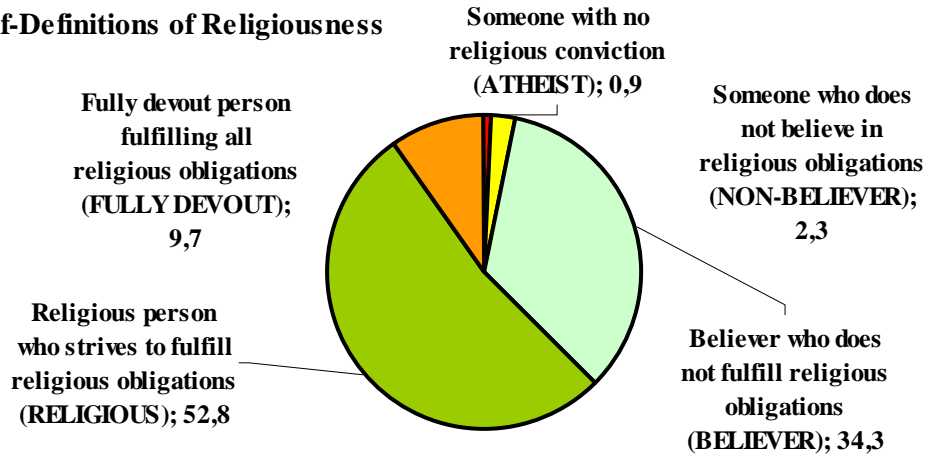
3. Self-Definitions of Religiosity

When asked how people define their relation with religion, their level of religiosity, 52.8 % of them defined themselves as “a religious person who strives to fulfill religious obligations (RELIGIOUS)”, 34.3 % as “a believer who does not fulfill religious obligations (BELIEVER)”, 9.7 % as “a fully devout person fulfilling all religious obligations (FULLY DEVOUT)”, 2.3 % as “someone who does not believe in religious obligations (NON-BELIEVER) and 0.9 % as “someone with no religious conviction (ATHEIST).” (The one word definitions in parentheses are ours. In the following tables and explanations, these definitions are being used. Also, the ATHEIST group is incorporated into the NON-BELIEVER group.)

In terms of religiosity, which of the following groups do you consider yourself to be in?	
Someone with no religious conviction (ATHEIST)	0.9
Someone who does not believe in religious obligations (NON-BELIEVER)	2.3
Believer who does not fulfill religious obligations (BELIEVER)	34.3
Religious person who strives to fulfill religious obligations (RELIGIOUS)	52.8
Fully devout person fulfilling all religious obligations (FULLY DEVOUT)	9.7
Total	100.0

The majority of the society (% 86.1) define themselves as “believer” and “religious.”

Self-Definitions of Religiousness



a. Self-Defined Religiosity and Acts of Worship

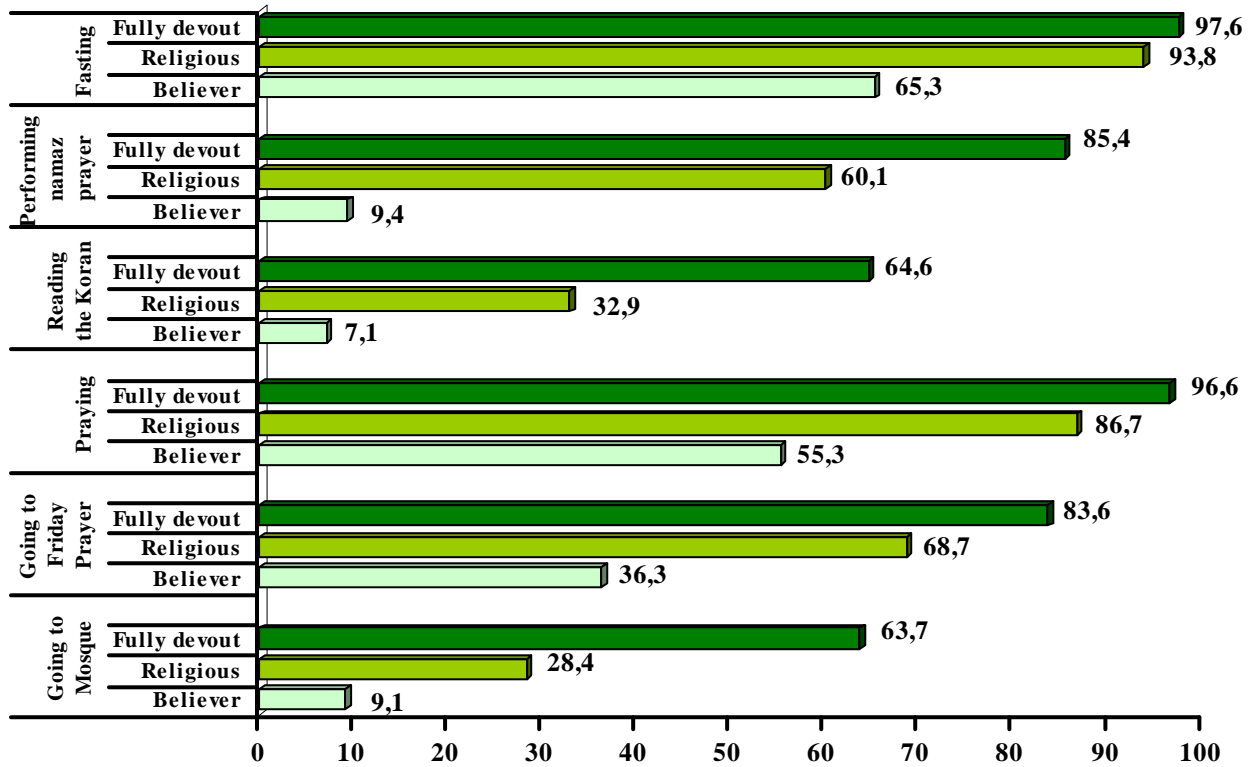
Looking at the different acts of worship practiced regularly by self-defined “believers”, for 65.3 % of them, it is fasting, for 55.3 % praying, for 36.3 % going to Friday prayer and for 9.4 % performing *namaz*.

The self-defined “religious” seem to practice their religious obligations on a regular basis about 50 % more often than “believers.” 93.9 % of them fast, 86.7 % of them pray and 68.7 % of the men among them go to Friday prayer on a regular basis.

In terms of worshipping practices, there seems to be little difference between religious and fully devout people. 97.6 % of fully devout people fast regularly, 96.6 % pray regularly, 85.4 % perform the *namaz* regularly and 83.6 % of the fully devout men go to Friday prayer regularly.

Believer	Regularly	Sometimes	Never	Total
Fasting	65.3	26.0	8.7	100.0
Prayer	55.3	41.8	2.9	100.0
Friday prayer	36.3	40.8	22.9	100.0
Performing <i>namaz</i>	9.4	61.7	28.9	100.0
Going to mosque	9.1	56.8	34.2	100.0
Reading Koran	7.1	32.1	60.8	100.0
Religious	Regularly	Sometimes	Never	Total
Fasting	93.8	4.9	1.3	100.0
Prayer	86.7	13.0	0.3	100.0
Friday prayer	68.7	17.2	14.2	100.0
Performing <i>namaz</i>	60.1	35.7	4.2	100.0
Going to mosque	32.9	33.6	33.5	100.0
Reading Koran	28.4	53.5	18.2	100.0
Fully devout	Regularly	Sometimes	Never	Total
Fasting	97.6	1.8	0.6	100.0
Prayer	96.6	3.4	0.0	100.0
Friday prayer	85.4	13.2	1.4	100.0
Performing <i>namaz</i>	83.6	8.9	7.6	100.0
Going to mosque	64.6	19.9	15.5	100.0
Reading Koran	63.7	27.0	9.3	100.0

Regularly Practiced Acts of Worship by Self-Defined Religiosity



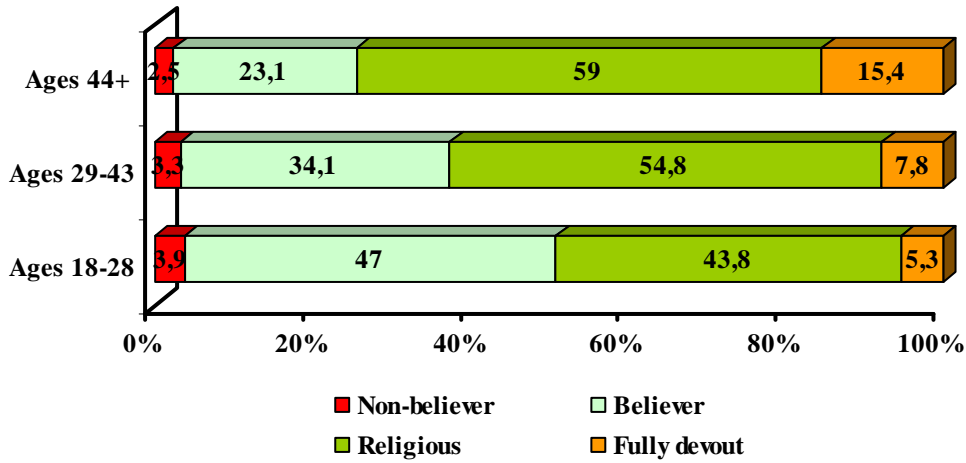
b. Religiosity by Age

By their own definitions, the 18-28 age group define themselves as believers by 47 %, as religious by 43.8 %, as fully devout by 5.3 %, and non-believer by 3.9 %. As for the 29-43 age group, 34.1 % define themselves as believer, 54.8 % as religious, 7.8 % as fully devout and 3.3 % as non-believers. Above the age of 44, people define themselves as believers by 23.1 %, as religious by 59 %, as fully devout by 15.4 % and as non-believer by 2.5 %.

In terms of religiosity, which following group do you consider yourself to be in?				
	Ages 18 - 28	Ages 29- 43	Ages 44+	Turkey
Non-believer	3.9	3.3	2.5	3.2
Believer	47.0	34.1	23.1	34.3
Religious	43.8	54.8	59.0	52.8
Fully devout	5.3	7.8	15.4	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As also seen in the graph, as the age group becomes older, there seems to be a shift from being a believer to becoming fully devout. In other words, as people become of age, their relationship with religion intensifies.

Religiosity by Age

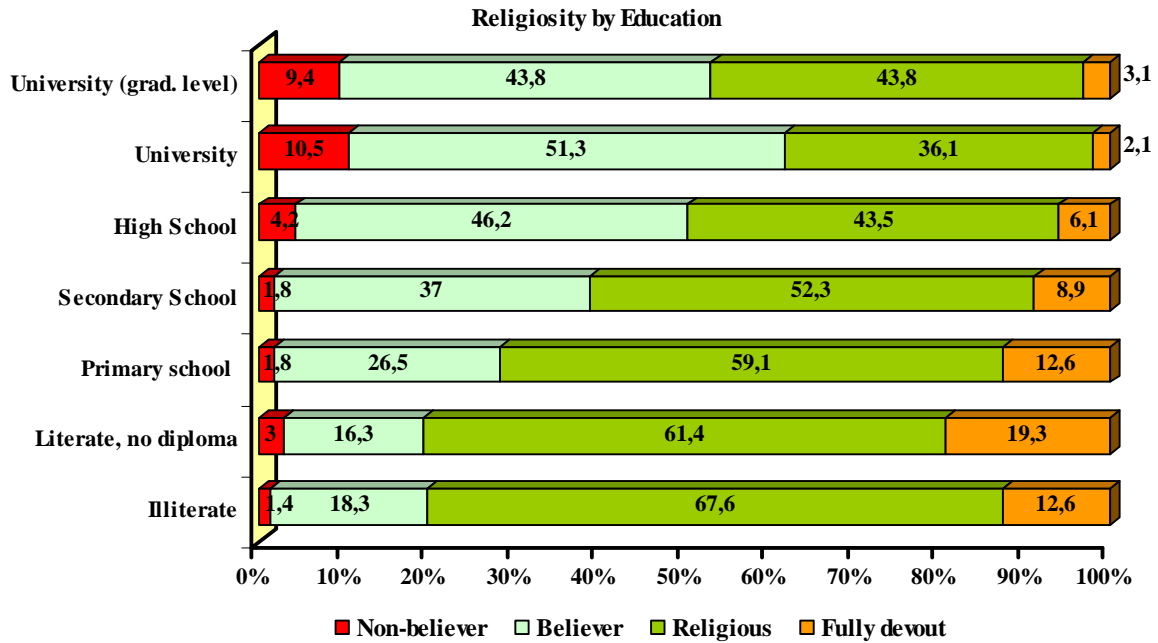


c. Religiosity by Education

Looking as self-definitions of religiosity, the groups in which religiosity is highest are the illiterate group (% 12.6) and the group which is literate with no diploma (% 19.3). The religious group accounts for 67.6 % of the illiterate, for 61.4 % of the literate with no diploma, for 59.1 % of those with primary education, 52.3 % of those with secondary education, for 43.5 % of the high school graduates, for 36.1 % of the ones with university degrees and finally for 43.8 % of those with graduate level university degrees. As for the believers, they constitute 18.3 % of the illiterate, 16.3 % of the literate with no diploma, 26.5 % of those with primary education, 37 % of those with secondary education, 46.2 % of those with high school education, 51.3 % of university graduates and 43.8 % of those with graduate level university degrees.

In terms of religiosity, which following group do you consider yourself to be in?								
	Illiterate	Literate, no diploma	Primary education	Secondary Education	High School	University	Higher Edu.	Turkey
Non-believer	1.4	3.0	1.8	1.8	4.2	10.5	9.4	3.2
Believer	18.3	16.3	26.5	37.0	46.2	51.3	43.8	34.3
Religious	67.6	61.4	59.1	52.3	43.5	36.1	43.8	52.8
Fully devout	12.6	19.3	12.6	8.9	6.1	2.1	3.1	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The distribution of the religious and the non-believers alone demonstrates the inverse correlation between education and piety: As education increases, there is a shift from being fully devout to being believers. This inverse correlation is also clearly visible in the graph below.

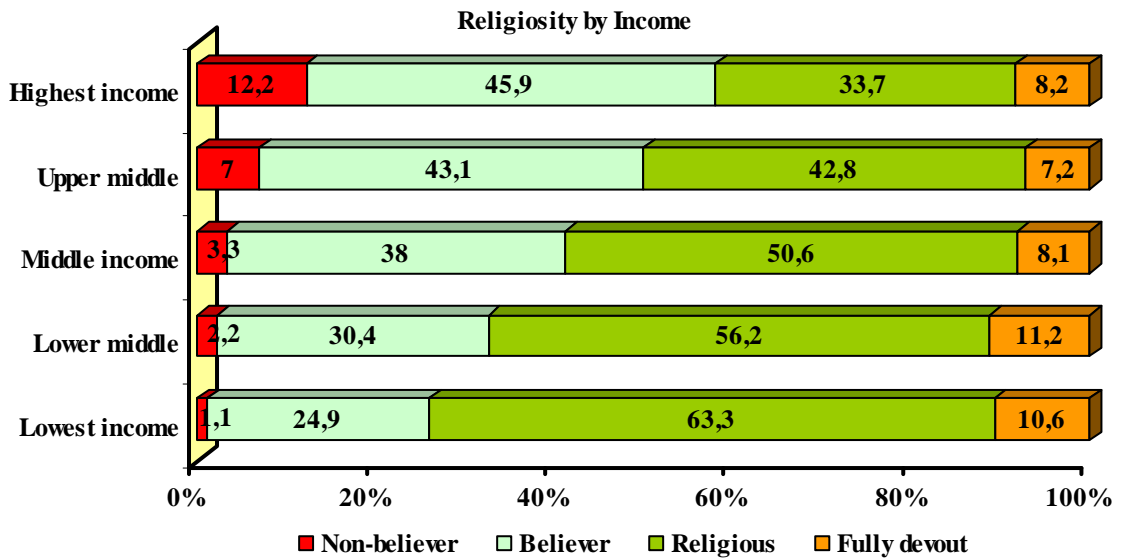


d. Religiosity by Income

In the lowest income group, 63.3 % state that they are religious while 24.9 % say they are believers. In the lower middle income level, 56.2 % say they are religious and 30.4 % believers. In the mid-level income group, 50.6 % have defined themselves as religious and 38 % as believers. In higher income levels, 43.1 % of the upper middle say they are believers and 42.8 % that they are religious, while 45.9 % of the highest income group have defined themselves as believers and 33.7 % of them as religious.

In terms of religiosity, which following group do you consider yourself to be in?						
	Lowest income	Lower middle	Middle income	Upper middle	Highest income	Turkey
Non-believer	1.1	2.2	3.3	7.0	12.2	3.2
Believer	24.9	30.4	38.0	43.1	45.9	34.1
Religious	63.3	56.2	50.6	42.8	33.7	53.0
Fully devout	10.6	11.2	8.1	7.2	8.2	9.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As income increases there is a shift from religiosity to being believers, or in other words, people's own definitions of religiosity decrease as income increases.

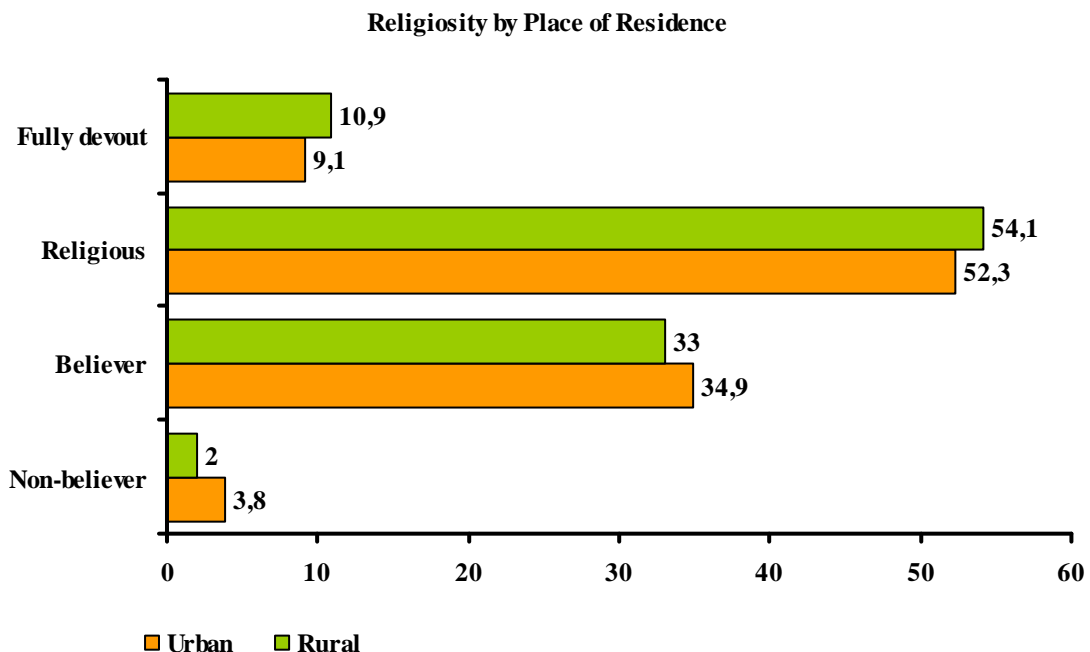


e. Religiosity by Place of Residence

When we look at how people’s definitions of their relationship with religion is affected by where they live, we see that being in an urban or rural does not make a significant difference. While 52.9 % of people living in cities define themselves as religious, this percentage increases to 54.1 % among those living in rural settings. 34.9 % of people in urban areas find themselves to be believers, while the same is true for 33 % of rural dwellers.

In terms of religiosity, which following group do you consider yourself to be in?			
	Urban	Rural	Turkey
Non-believer	3.8	2.0	3.2
Believer	34.9	33.0	34.3
Religious	52.3	54.1	52.8
Fully devout	9.1	10.9	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Whether it is urban or rural places that people live in, it does not affect people’s level of religiosity.



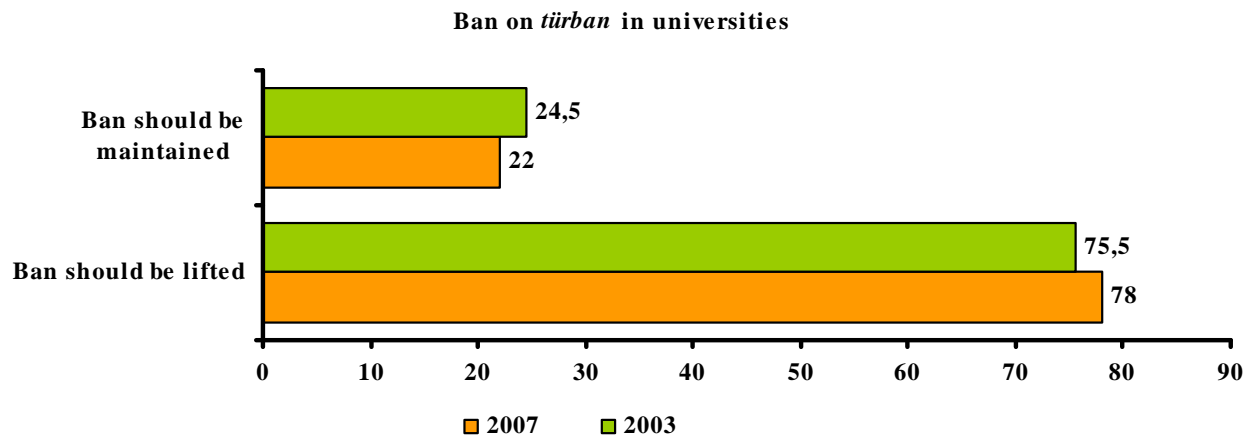
E. TÜRBAN IN DAILY LIFE

1. The Ban on *Türban* in Universities

Asked for their opinion on whether the current ban on *türban* in universities should be lifted or maintained, 78 % of society supported a lift on the ban while 22 % are in favor of the ban being kept in place.

Can you tell which statement you agree with?		
	2007	2003
The ban on <i>türban</i> at universities should be lifted.	78.0	75.5
The ban on <i>türban</i> at universities should be maintained.	22.0	24.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Compared with the results of the 2003 survey, there seems to be an insignificant change in the public opinion on the issue of *türban* ban at universities. Those against the ban were 75.5 % in 2003 and now it is 78 %; those in favor of the ban dropped a little bit from 24.5 % to 22 %.

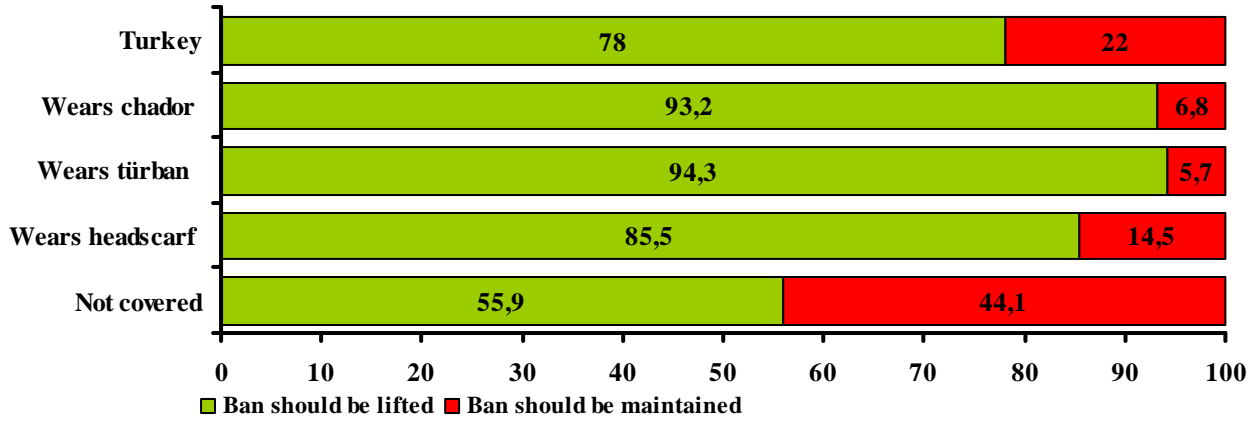


If we look at how people with different styles of veiling view the issue, we see that 55.9 % of those who are not covered, 85.5 % of those who wear headscarves, 94.3 % of those wearing *türban* and 93.2 % of those with chador wish to see the ban lifted.

	The ban on <i>türban</i> in universities should be lifted.	The ban on <i>türban</i> in universities should be maintained.	Total
Not covered	55.9	44.1	100.0
Wears headscarf	85.5	14.5	100.0
Wears <i>türban</i>	94.3	5.7	100.0
Wears chador	93.2	6.8	100.0
Turkey	78.0	22.0	100.0

Quite naturally, the majority of those covering their heads, with *türban* wearers leading, are in favor of the ban being lifted. Similarly, the more religious people become, the more they are against the ban.

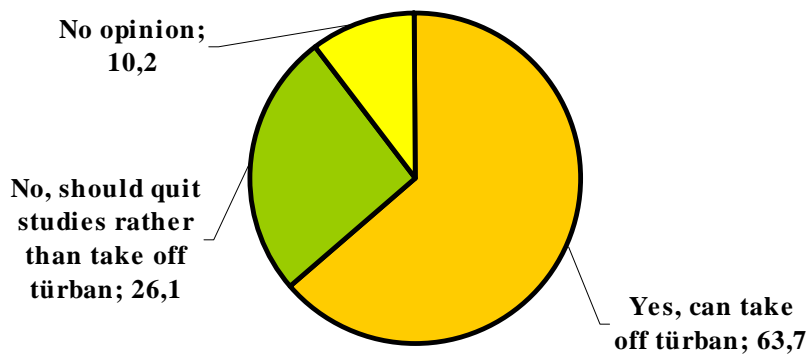
Views on Türban in Universities By Style of Veiling



The percentage of people who say that they would not take off their *türbans* to go to university and rather quit their studies constitute 26.1 % of society. The same question was posed in KONDA's Presidency survey on August 18-19, 2007 and 23.4 % stated that they could give up on their university education for their *türban*. The results are the same, given the margins of error for the surveys.

If you had a daughter or sister at the age to go to university, would you approve, accept her to take her <i>türban</i> off to be able to continue their studies at the university?	
	%
Yes, she (I) can take off her (my) <i>türban</i> .	63.7
No, she (I) should rather quit her studies at the university rather than take off her <i>türban</i> .	26.1
No Opinion	10.2
Total	100.0

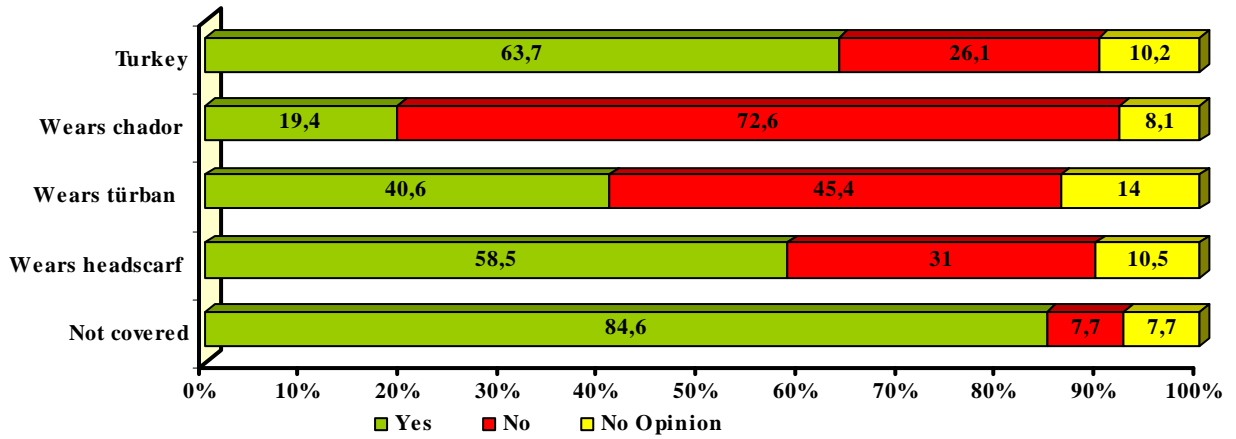
Continuing University Studies



58.5 % of those with headscarves, 40.6 % of those with *türban* and 19.4 % of those with chador approve of taking off the *türban* to continue studies. Looking at the matter from the other side, those who are most likely to sacrifice education for the sake of being covered are those with chadors. 45.4 % of those wearing *türban* also say that education can be sacrificed for the sake of remaining covered.

If you had a daughter or sister at the age to go to university, would you approve, accept her to take her <i>türban</i> off to be able to continue their studies at the university?				
	Yes	No	No Opinion	Total
Not covered	84.6	7.7	7.7	100.0
Wears headscarf	58.5	31.0	10.5	100.0
Wears <i>türban</i>	40.6	45.4	14.0	100.0
Wears chador	19.4	72.6	8.1	100.0
Turkey	63.7	26.1	10.2	100.0

Views on Continuing University by Style of Veiling



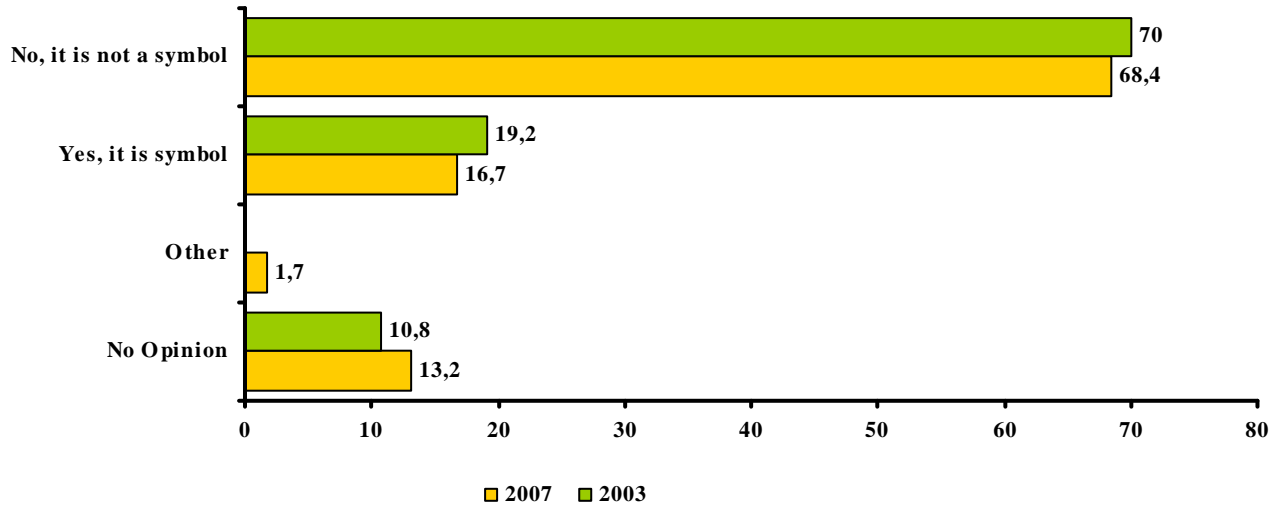
2. Is *Türban* a Symbol of Antagonism to Secularism?

16.7 % of society see *türban* as a symbol of antagonism towards secularism. Those who think that *türban* is not such a symbol are 68.4 %.

In your opinion, is <i>türban</i> a symbol, indicator or sign of antagonism towards secularism, of the desire for state affairs to be managed by religious rules? What is your opinion on the matter?		
	2007	2003
Yes, <i>türban</i> is a sign of antagonism towards secularism.	16.7	19.2
No, <i>türban</i> is not a sign of antagonism towards secularism.	68.4	70.0
Other	1.7	-
No Opinion	13.2	10.8
Total	100.0	100.0

No significant change is visible in the public's view on this matter since the 2003 survey. While those seeing *türban* as a sign of antagonism towards secularism was 19.2 % in the 2003 survey, today it is 16.7 % and those not seeing it as a sign changed from 70 % in 2003 to 68.4 % today.

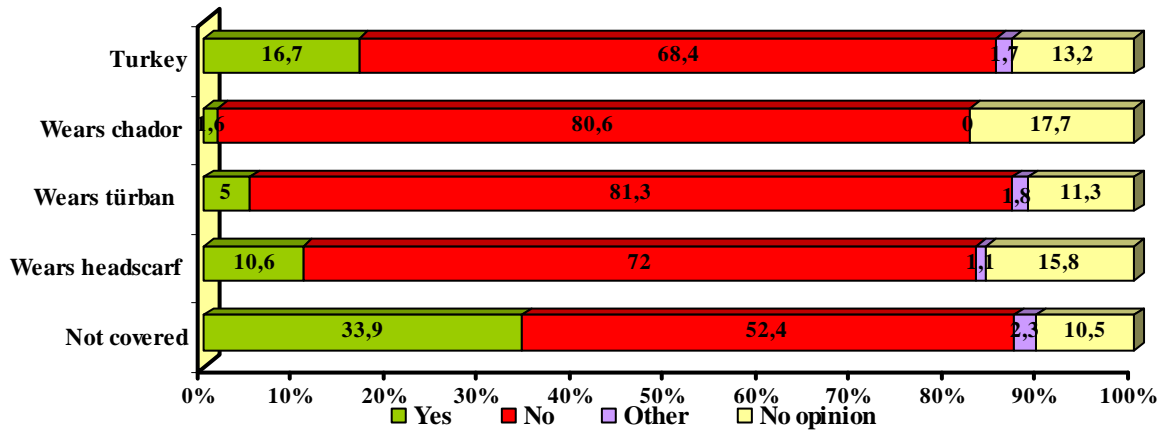
Is Türban a Symbol of Anti-Secularism?



While a third (% 33.9) of people not covering their heads view *türban* as a symbol of antagonism towards secularism, one in ten (% 10.6) of those with headscarves and one in twenty (% 5) of those with *türban* agree with this proposition.

In your opinion, is <i>türban</i> a symbol, indicator or sign of antagonism towards secularism, of the desire for state affairs to be managed by religious rules?					
	Yes	No	Other	No Opinion	Total
Not covered	33.9	52.4	2.3	10.5	100.0
Wears headscarf	10.6	72.0	1.1	15.8	100.0
Wears <i>türban</i>	5.0	81.3	1.8	11.3	100.0
Wears chador	1.6	80.6	0.0	17.7	100.0
Turkey	16.7	68.4	1.7	13.2	100.0

Views on Türban as a Symbol by Style of Veiling

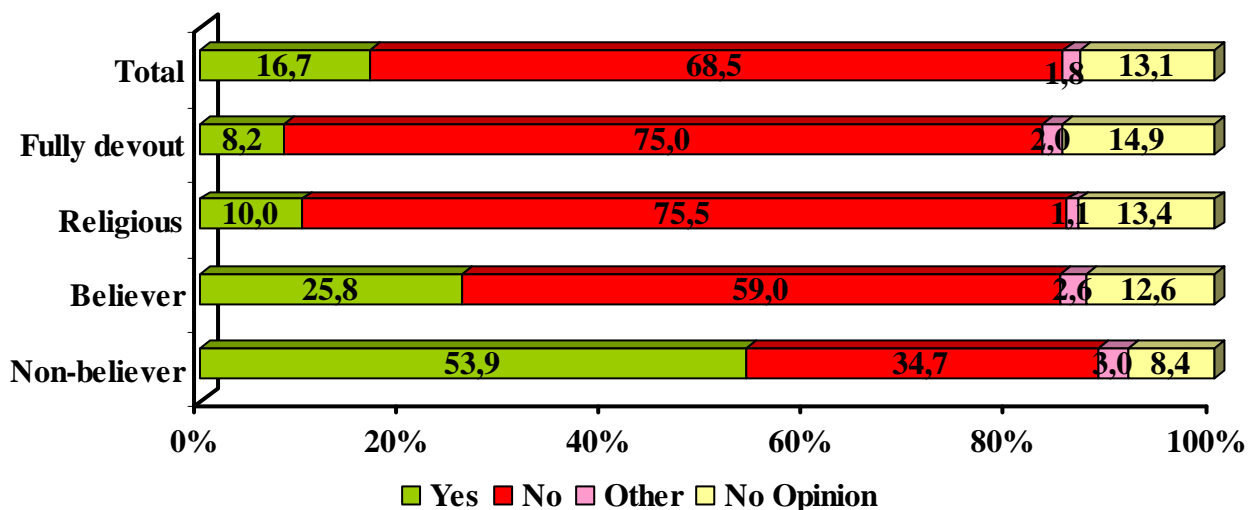


Looking at the issue by taking people's religiosity into account, 25.8 % of the believers, 10 % of the religious and 8.2 % of the fully devout see *türban* as a symbol.

In your opinion, is <i>türban</i> a symbol, indicator or sign of antagonism towards secularism, of the desire for state affairs to be managed by religious rules?					
	Yes	No	Other	No opinion	Total
Non-believer	53.9	34.7	3.0	8.4	100.0
Believer	25.8	59.0	2.6	12.6	100.0
Religious	10.0	75.5	1.1	13.4	100.0
Fully devout	8.2	75.0	2.0	14.9	100.0
Turkey	16.7	68.4	1.7	13.2	100.0

As religiosity increases, the tendency not to see *türban* as a political sign also increases.

Views on Türban as a Symbol by Self-Defined Religiosity



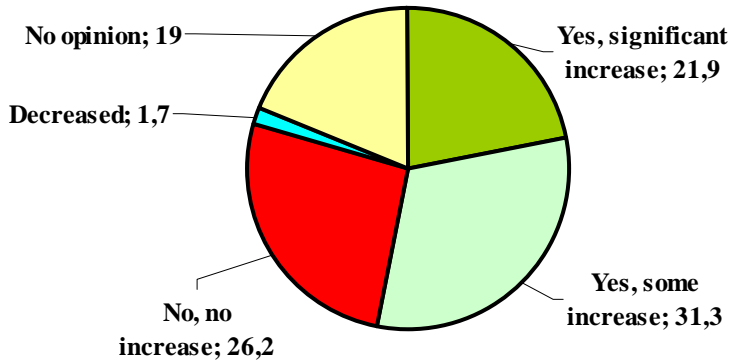
3. Did *Türban* Spread During AKP Rule?

While 21.5 % of society hold that there has been a significant increase in the number of women covered with *türban* during AKP rule, 31.3 % believe that there is some increase, 26.2 % that there is no increase and 1.7 % that there is in fact a decrease. In short, 53.2 % of society observe an increase in the number of people using *türban*, even if in differing amounts.

In the past 5 years, during AKP's ruling period, has there been an increase in the number of women wearing <i>türban</i> ?	
Yes, there is a significant increase	21.9
Yes, there is somewhat of an increase	31.3
No, there is no increase	26.2
It has decreased	1.7
No opinion	19.0
Total	100.0

Half of society thinks that the number of people covering their heads with *türban* has increased in the past 5 years. Two out of every 10 people think that there is a great increase while three out of every ten think there is some increase.

Türban wearers during AKP rule

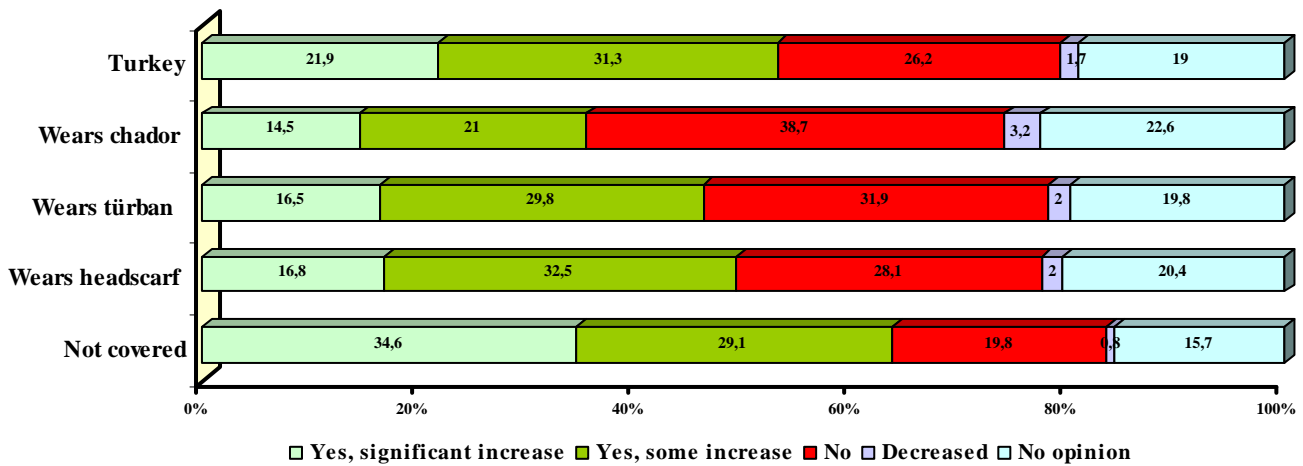


Among those who are not covered, 34.6 % see a significant increase, 29.1 % somewhat of an increase, while 16.5 % of those with *türban* see a significant increase and 29.8 % of them somewhat of an increase. As for those with headscarves, 16.8 % see a significant increase and 32.5 % some increase.

In the past 5 years, during AKP's ruling period, has there been an increase in the number of women wearing *türban*?

	Yes	Yes, some	No	Decrease	No opinion	Total
Not covered	34.6	29.1	19.8	0.8	15.7	100.0
Wears headscarf	16.8	32.5	28.1	2.0	20.4	100.0
Wears <i>türban</i>	16.5	29.8	31.9	2.0	19.8	100.0
Wears chador	14.5	21.0	38.7	3.2	22.6	100.0
Turkey	21.9	31.3	26.2	1.7	19.0	100.0

View on Türban Wearers During AKP Rule by Style of Veiling

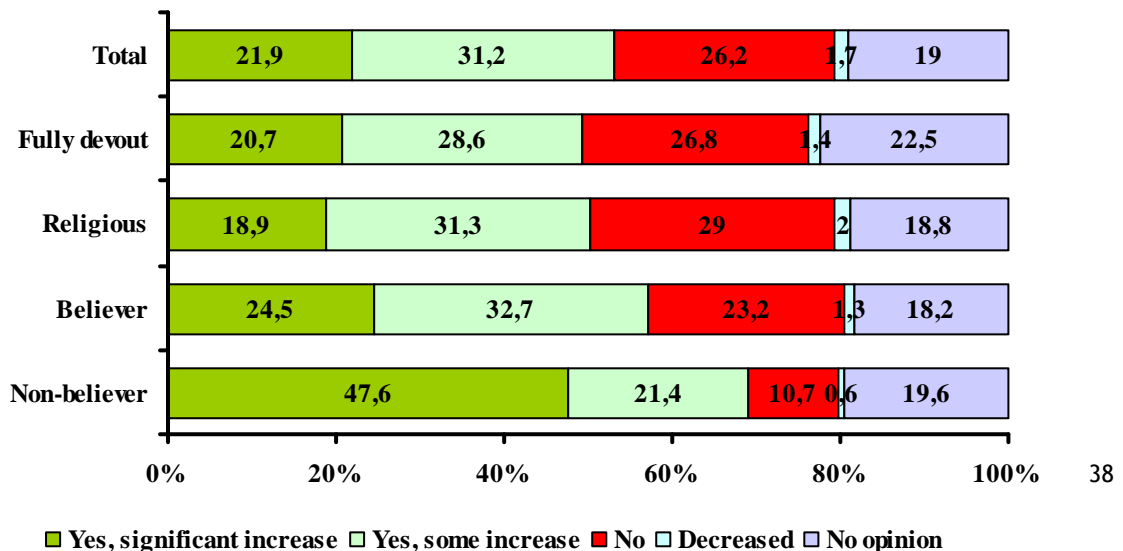


As religiosity increases, the likelihood of seeing an increase in *türban* wearers decreases.

In the past 5 years, during AKP's ruling period, has there been an increase in the number of women wearing *türban*?

	Yes	Yes, some	No	Decrease	No opinion	Total
Non-believer	47.6	21.4	10.7	0.6	19.6	100.0
Believer	24.5	32.7	23.2	1.3	18.2	100.0
Religious	18.9	31.3	29.0	2.0	18.8	100.0
Fully devout	20.7	28.6	26.8	1.4	22.5	100.0
Turkey	21.9	31.2	26.2	1.7	19.0	100.0

View on Türban Wearers During AKP Rule by Self-Defined Religiosity



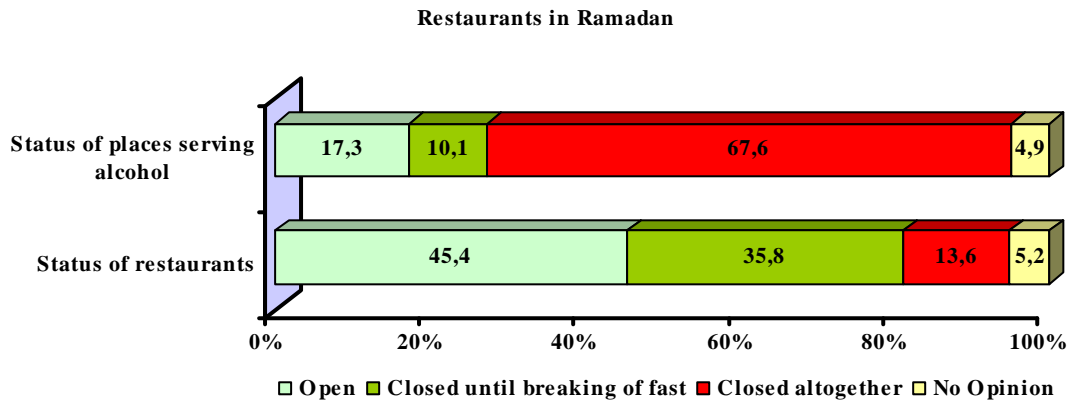
F. RELIGION AND SECULARISM IN DAILY LIFE

1. Restaurants in Ramadan

While 45.4 % of society think that restaurants may be open during the month of ramadan, 17.3 % think that restaurants and bars serving alcohol may stay open. As for the idea of them opening after breaking of fast, 35.8 % of people agree with this for restaurants and 10.1 % for restaurants serving alcohol. Those believing that restaurants should be closed altogether during ramadan are 13.6 % and for restaurants srving alcohol, this percentage goes up 67.6 %.

While 81 % of society are tolerant about restaurants in Ramadan, for restaurants serving alcohol, such tolerance exists only by 27 %.

	What should be status of restaurants during ramadan?	What should be status of restaurants and other places serving alcohol during ramadan?
Should be open	45.4	17.3
Should be closed until breaking of fast	35.8	10.1
Should be closed altogether	13.6	67.6
No Opinion	5.2	4.9
Total	100.0	100.0



Moving from those covered with headscarves to *türban* and chador, support for restaurants being closed altogether increases drastically.

As education increases and age drops, levels of tolerance increase.

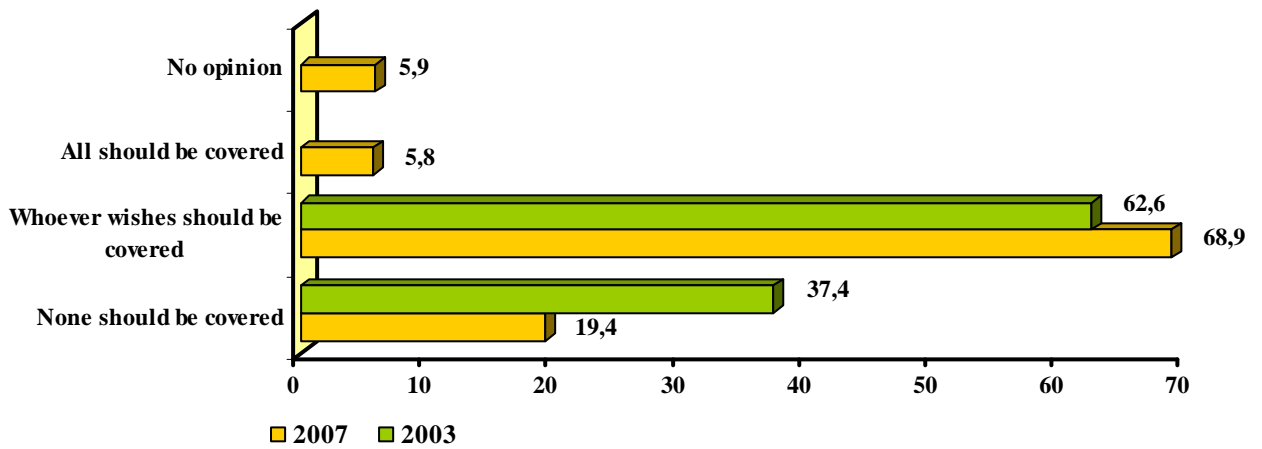
2. Veiling of State Officers

About women working as state officers covering their heads, 19.4 % of society think “none of them should be covered,” 68.9 % that “whoever wishes should be covered” and 5.8 % that “all of them should be covered.”

What do you think about women working as state officers covering their heads?		
	2007	2003
None of them should be covered	19.4	37.4
Whoever wishes should be covered	68.9	62.6
All of them should be covered	5.8	
No opinion	5.9	
Total	100.0	100.0

There seems to be a significant decrease since the 2003 survey in those who believe that female state officers should not be covered. While those who claim that state officers' head should not be covered was 37.4 % in the 2003 survey, this percentage dropped to 19.4 in 2007.

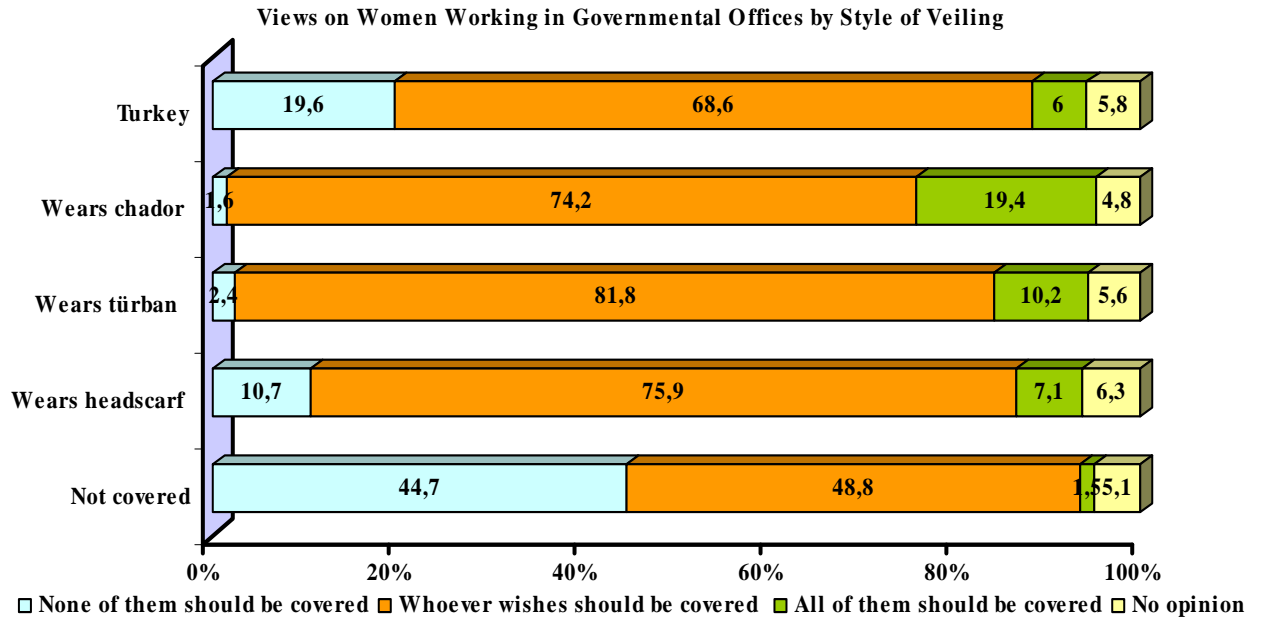
Türban in Governmental Offices



It is rather striking that 5.8 % have said that all female state officers should be covered.

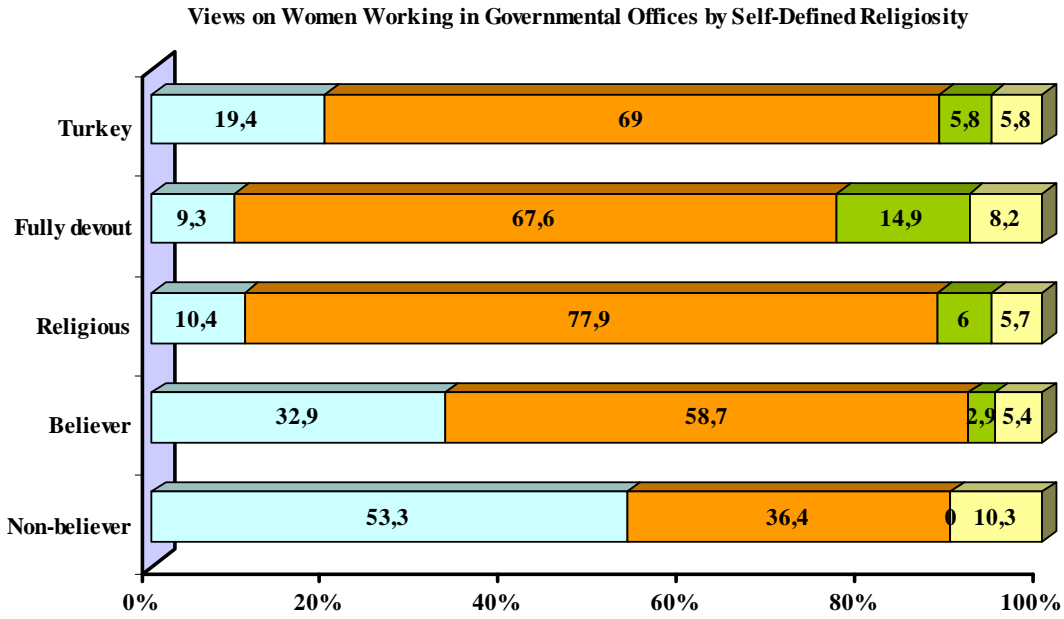
Ten percent of those wearing *türban* and 19 % of those wearing chador are in favor of all female state officers covering their heads. About half of those with headscarves believe that female officers who wish to cover their heads should be able to.

What do you think about women working as state officers covering their heads?					
	None should be covered	Whoever wishes should be covered	All should be covered	No opinion	Total
Not covered	44.7	48.8	1.5	5.1	100.0
Wears headscarf	10.7	75.9	7.1	6.3	100.0
Wears <i>türban</i>	2.4	81.8	10.2	5.6	100.0
Wears chador	1.6	74.2	19.4	4.8	100.0
Turkey	19.6	68.6	6.0	5.8	100.0



As relation with religion increases, the idea of all officers being covered is favored more and 14.9 % of the fully devout and 6 % of the religious maintain that all female officers should cover themselves.

What do you think about women working as state officers covering their heads?					
	None should be covered	Whoever wishes should be covered	All should be covered	No opinion	Total
Non-believer	53.3	36.4	0.0	10.3	100.0
Believer	32.9	58.7	2.9	5.4	100.0
Religious	10.4	77.9	6.0	5.7	100.0
Fully devout	9.3	67.6	14.9	8.2	100.0
Turkey	19.4	69.0	5.8	5.8	100.0



□ None of them should be covered □ Whoever wishes should be covered □ All of them should be covered □ No opinion

3. Islamic Law in Daily Life

Respondents were read seven propositions in order to find out their values and attitudes about the necessities of modern daily life, about civil law, about requirements of religious beliefs and about religious law.

Asked whether inheritance should be shared equally between sons and daughters, 92 % said that it should be equal while 8 % said it should be different.

With regard to abortion, 48.3 % are pro-life, that is, against it while 40.9 % are pro-choice, supporting it.

The idea of men taking on a second wife is opposed by 87.2 % while only 10.5 % approve of such an idea.

The proposition that women should be able to perform Friday prayers and funeral prayers next to men is supported only by 14.2 %, and 74.5 % find it to be wrong.

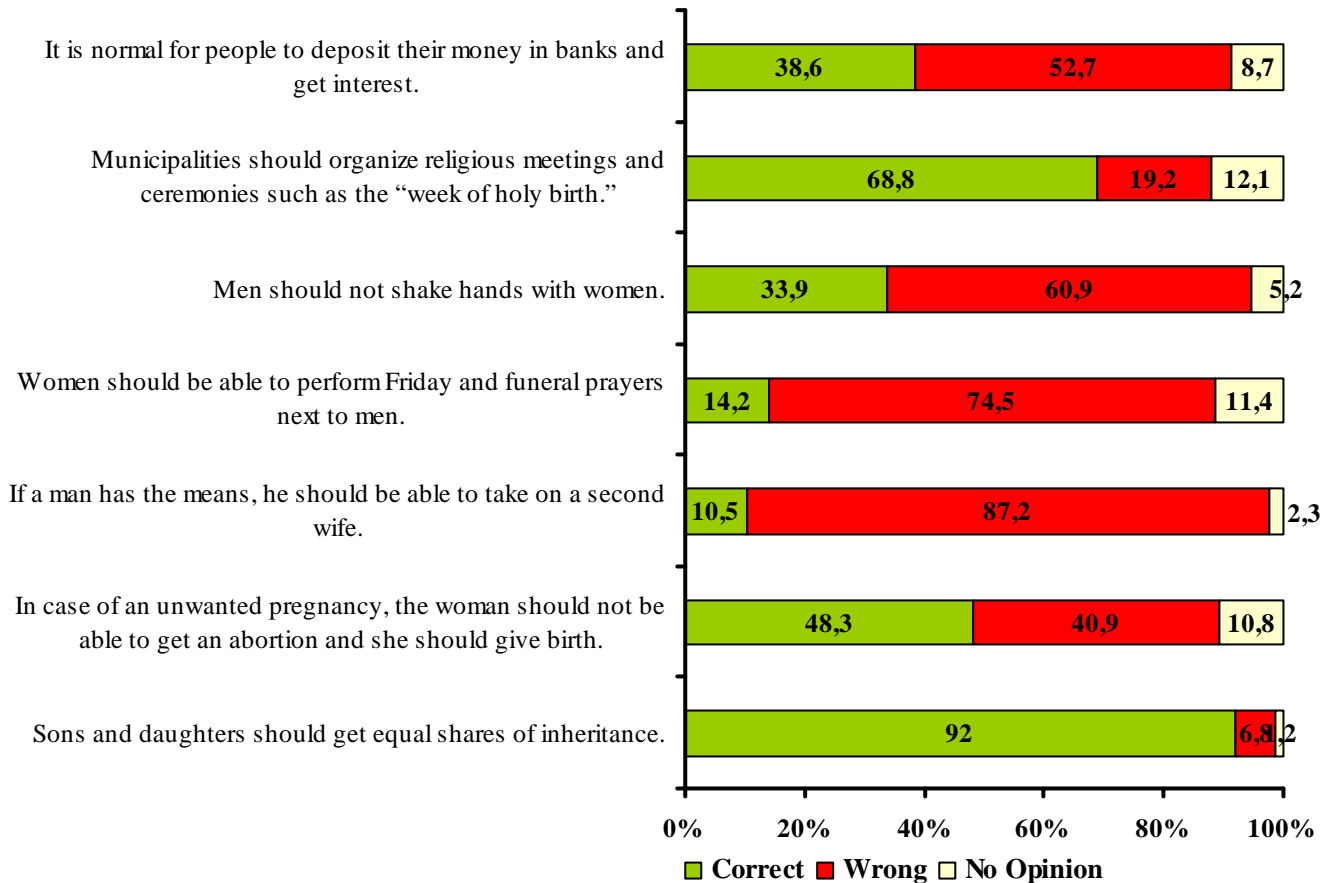
People who think that men should not shake hands with women are 33.9 %, while 60.9 % say that they should be able to shake each other's hand.

68.8 % are in favor of municipalities organizing religious celebrations and 19.2 % think that this is wrong.

While 38.6 % find it normal to draw interest from banks, 52.7 % are against it.

	Correct	Wrong	No opinion	Total
Sons and daughters should get equal shares of inheritance.	92.0	6.8	1.2	100.0
In case of an unwanted pregnancy, the woman should not be able to get an abortion and she should give birth.	48.3	40.9	10.8	100.0
If a man has the means, he should be able to take on a second wife.	10.5	87.2	2.3	100.0
Women should be able to perform Friday and funeral prayers next to men.	14.2	74.5	11.4	100.0
Men should not shake hands with women.	33.9	60.9	5.2	100.0
Municipalities should organize religious meetings and ceremonies such as the “week of holy birth.”	68.8	19.2	12.1	100.0
It is normal for people to deposit their money in banks and get interest.	38.6	52.7	8.7	100.0

Islamic Law in Daily Life



Believers agree with equal share of inheritance by 94.5 %, interest from banks by 56.3 %, municipalities organizing religious celebrations by 55.1 %, women praying next to men by 18 %, while they find it wrong for a man to take on a second wife by 89.3 %, for men to shake hands with women by 74.9 %, and for women to get an abortion by 40.2 %.

Believer	Correct	Wrong	No opinion	Total
Sons and daughters should get equal shares of inheritance.	94.5	4.9	0.6	100.0
In case of an unwanted pregnancy, the woman should not be able to get an abortion and she should give birth.	40.2	50.2	9.6	100.0
If a man has the means, he should be able to take on a second wife.	8.8	89.3	1.9	100.0
Women should be able to perform Friday and funeral prayers next to men.	18.0	68.1	13.9	100.0
Men should not shake hands with women.	20.3	74.9	4.9	100.0
Municipalities should organize religious meetings and ceremonies such as the "week of holy birth."	55.1	30.9	14.0	100.0
It is normal for people to deposit their money in banks and get interest.	56.3	34.9	8.8	100.0

The religious people agree with equal inheritance for sons and daughters by 91 %, with birth rather than abortion by 52.7 %, with municipalities organizing religious celebrations by 78.3 %, with women praying next to men by 11.6 %; while they believe it is wrong to take on a second wife by 86.7 %; for men to shake hands with women by 53.6 % and to draw interest by 63 %.

Religious	Correct	Wrong	No opinion	Total
Sons and daughters should get equal shares of inheritance.	91.0	7.6	1.3	100.0
In case of an unwanted pregnancy, the woman should not be able to get an abortion and she should give birth.	52.7	36.0	11.3	100.0
If a man has the means, he should be able to take on a second wife.	11.3	86.7	2.0	100.0
Women should be able to perform Friday and funeral prayers next to men.	11.6	79.4	9.0	100.0
Men should not shake hands with women.	40.9	53.6	5.5	100.0
Municipalities should organize religious meetings and ceremonies such as the "week of holy birth."	78.3	11.3	10.3	100.0
It is normal for people to deposit their money in banks and get interest.	28.1	63.0	8.9	100.0

The fully devout people agree with equal inheritance by 86.9 %, with birth rather than abortion by 61.2 %, with municipalities organizing religious ceremonies by 78.1 %, and with women praying next to men only by 8.6 %; meanwhile 81.2 % find the idea of second wife, 46.7 % the idea of men and women shaking of hands and 68.8 % the idea of getting interest from banks to be wrong.

Fully devout	Correct	Wrong	No opinion	Total
Sons and daughters should get equal shares of inheritance.	86.9	11.3	1.8	100.0
In case of an unwanted pregnancy, the woman should not be able to get an abortion and she should give birth.	61.2	28.6	10.2	100.0
If a man has the means, he should be able to take on a second wife.	14.0	81.2	4.8	100.0
Women should be able to perform Friday and funeral prayers next to men.	8.6	82.4	9.0	100.0
Men should not shake hands with women.	48.5	46.7	4.8	100.0
Municipalities should organize religious meetings and ceremonies such as the "week of holy birth."	78.1	7.0	14.9	100.0
It is normal for people to deposit their money in banks and get interest.	22.7	68.8	8.5	100.0

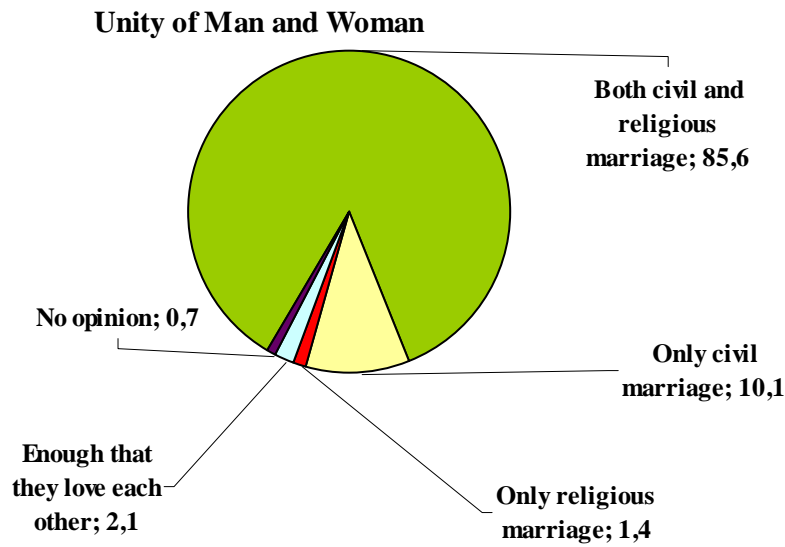
G. WOMEN'S STATUS IN DAILY LIFE

1. Unity and Marriage

In order to understand the significance of traditional or religious values in daily life, some question were related to “women and relations with women.”

For a man and a woman to live together, 85.6 % of people think that both a civil and a religious marriage is necessary while 10.1 % said “civil marriage is enough” 1.4 % said “religious marriage is enough and 2.1 % said “no marriage is necessary, it suffices that they love each other.”

For your family, your daughter or son, which of the following are necessary for a man and a woman to live together?	
Both civil and religious marriage	85.6
Only civil marriage	10.1
Only religious marriage	1.4
No marriage is necessary, enough that they love each other	2.1
No opinion	0.7
Total	100.0

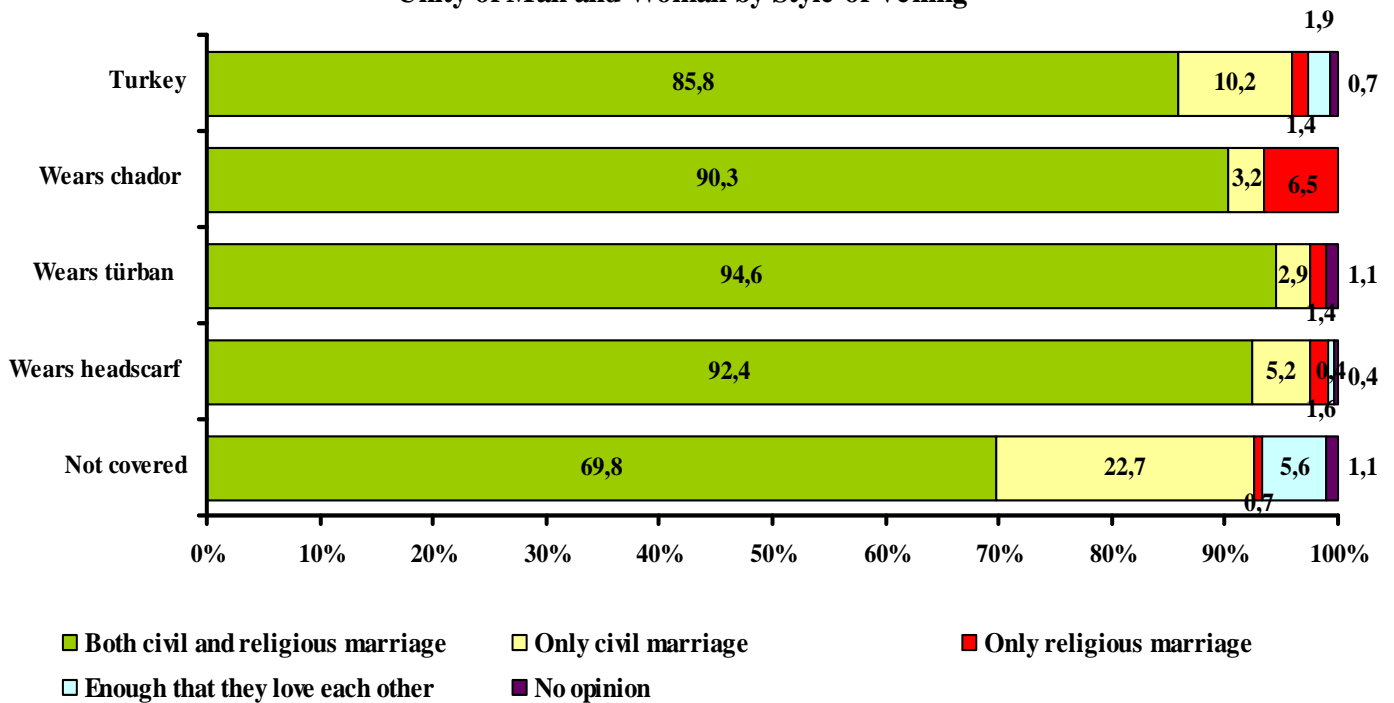


Among those who are not covered in daily life, 69.8 % of them see both civil and religious marriage necessary while for 22.7 % only civil marriage is enough. Among those who wear headscarves, both marriages is seen as a necessity by 92.4 % while proponents of civil marriage only drops to 5.2 %.

As for those wearing *türban*, those in favor of both marriages is 94.6 %, those in favor of only civil marriage is 2.9 % and those in favor of religious marriage only is 1.4 %.

For your family, your daughter or son, which of the following are necessary for a man and a woman to live together?						
	Both civil and religious marriage	Only civil marriage	Only religious marriage	Loving each other	No Opinion	Total
Not covered	69.8	22.7	0.7	5.6	1.1	100.0
Wears headscarf	92.4	5.2	1.6	0.4	0.4	100.0
Wears <i>türban</i>	94.6	2.9	1.4	0.0	1.1	100.0
Wears chador	90.3	3.2	6.5	0.0	0.0	100.0
Turkey	85.8	10.2	1.4	1.9	0.7	100.0

Unity of Man and Woman by Style of Veiling



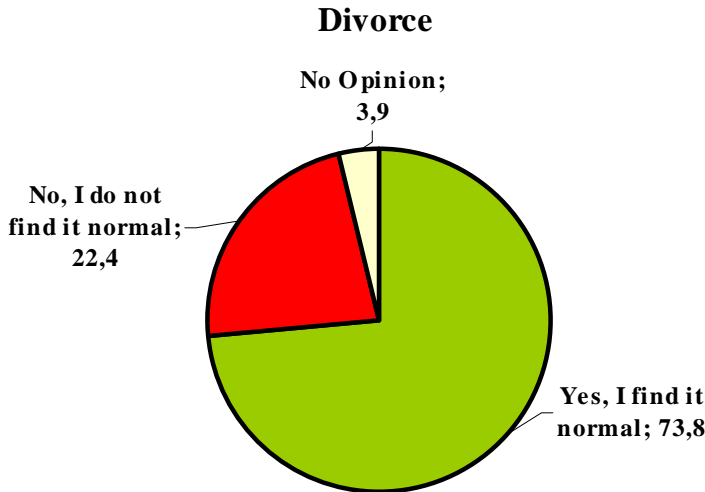
Looking at the requirement for living together from different levels of religiosity, the “believers” require both marriages by 78.3 % while this rate goes up to 92.3 % among the “religious” and as for civil marriage sufficing, 15.9 % of the “believers” think this way and 5.1 % of the “religious” do.

For your family, your daughter or son, which of the following are necessary for a man and a woman to live together?						
	Both civil and religious marriage	Only civil marriage	Only religious marriage	Loving each other	No Opinion	Total
Non-believer	40.2	44.4	0.6	14.8	0.0	100.0
Believer	78.3	15.9	0.8	3.9	1.0	100.0
Religious	92.3	5.1	1.5	0.5	0.6	100.0
Fully devout	90.3	5.7	3.2	0.2	0.6	100.0
Turkey	85.6	10.2	1.4	2.1	0.7	100.0

2. Divorce

Divorce is viewed as normal by 73.8 % of the population and as not normal by 22.4 %.

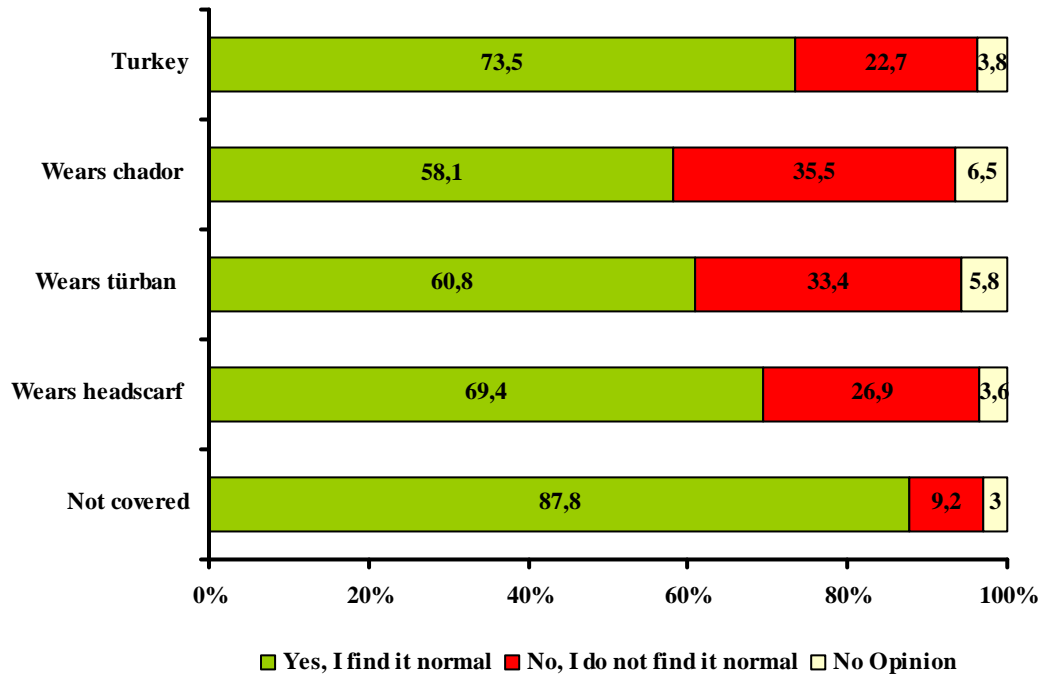
For your daughter/son/yourself, if spouses in the family do not get along, would you say divorce is best and find it normal for them to divorce?	
	%
Yes, I would find it to be normal	73.8
No, I would not find it to be normal	22.4
No Opinion	3.9
Total	100.0



People finding divorce to be normal are 87.8 % among those not covered and it drops to 69.4 % among those wearing headscarves and to 60.8 % among those wearing *türban*. As for people who do not think that it is normal, the rate is 9.2 % among those who are not covered, going up to 26.9 % among those with headscarves and to 33.4 % among those with *türban*.

For your daughter/son/yourself, if spouses in the family do not get along, would you say divorce is best and find it normal for them to divorce?				
	Yes	No	No Opinion	Total
Not covered	87.8	9.2	3.0	100.0
Wears headscarf	69.4	26.9	3.6	100.0
Wears <i>türban</i>	60.8	33.4	5.8	100.0
Wears chador	58.1	35.5	6.5	100.0
Turkey	73.5	22.7	3.8	100.0

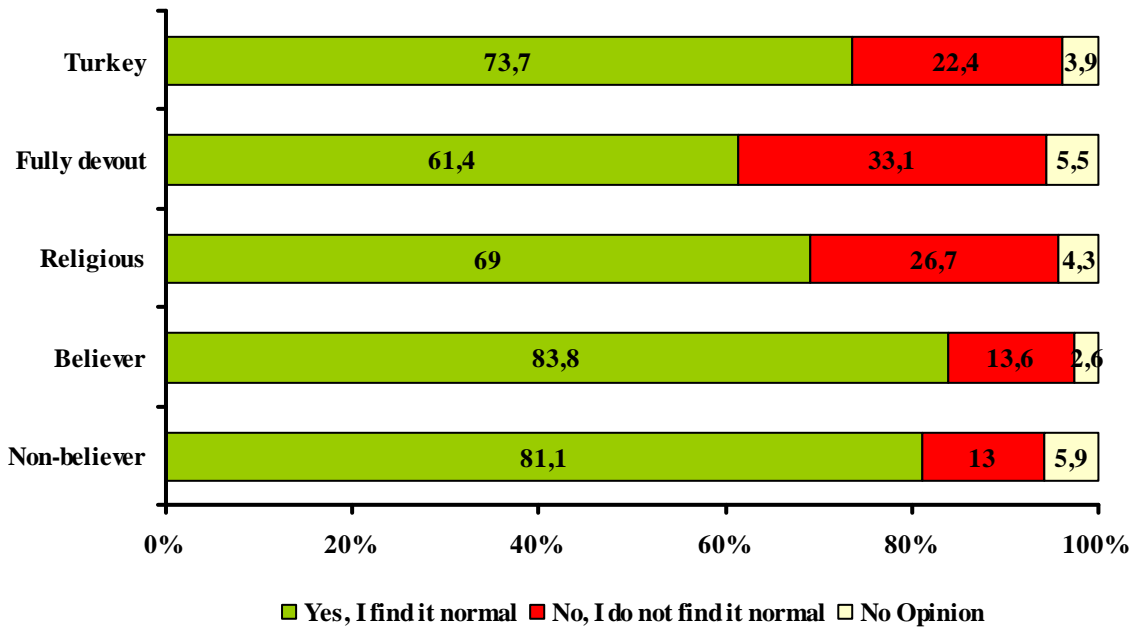
Views on Divorce by Style of Veiling



As for the relation between views on divorce and religiosity, the more devoted, the more involved in religion people are, the less they are likely to approve of divorce.

For your daughter/son/yourself, if spouses in the family do not get along, would you say divorce is best and find it normal for them to divorce?				
	Yes	No	No Opinion	Total
Non-believer	81.1	13.0	5.9	100.0
Believer	83.8	13.6	2.6	100.0
Religious	69.0	26.7	4.3	100.0
Fully devout	61.4	33.1	5.5	100.0
Turkey	73.7	22.4	3.9	100.0

Views on Divorce by Self-Defined Religiosity

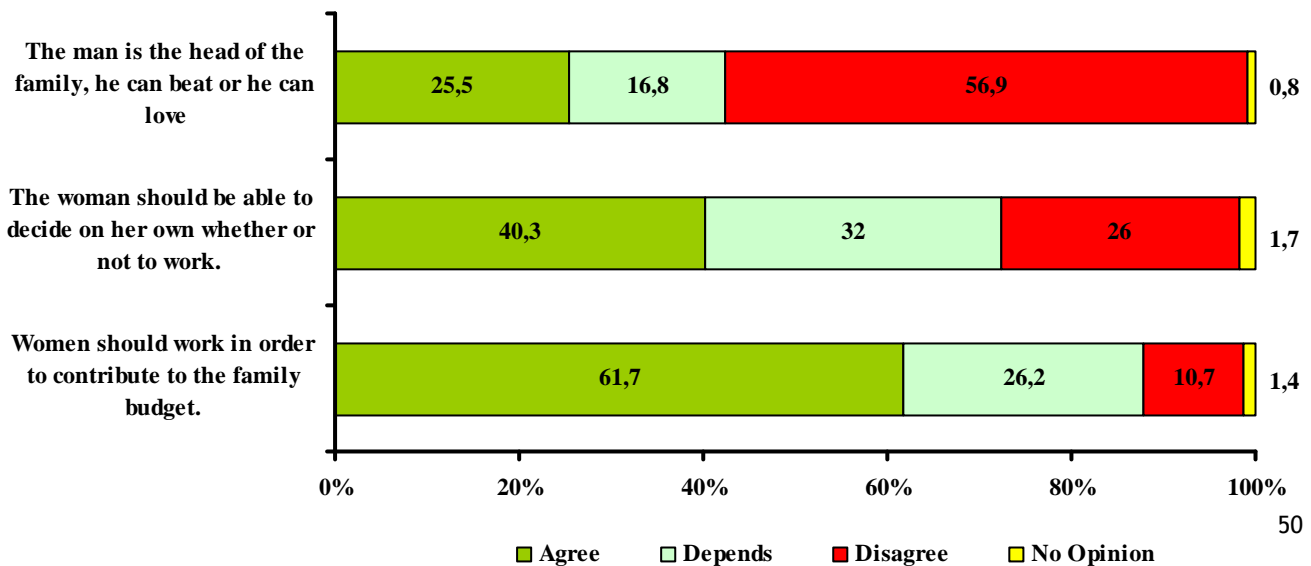


3. Women and Working

Asked about whether women should work, 61.7 % said that they should, 26.2 % that they can depending on the situation and 10.7 % said they are against it altogether. Those who think that it is the woman's own decision whether or not to work, make up 40.3 % of society while 32 % say it depends and 26 % disagree.

	Agree	Depends	Disagree	No Opinion	Total
Women should work in order to contribute to the family budget.	61.7	26.2	10.7	1.4	100.0
The woman should be able to decide on her own whether or not to work.	40.3	32.0	26.0	1.7	100.0

Women's Place and Working

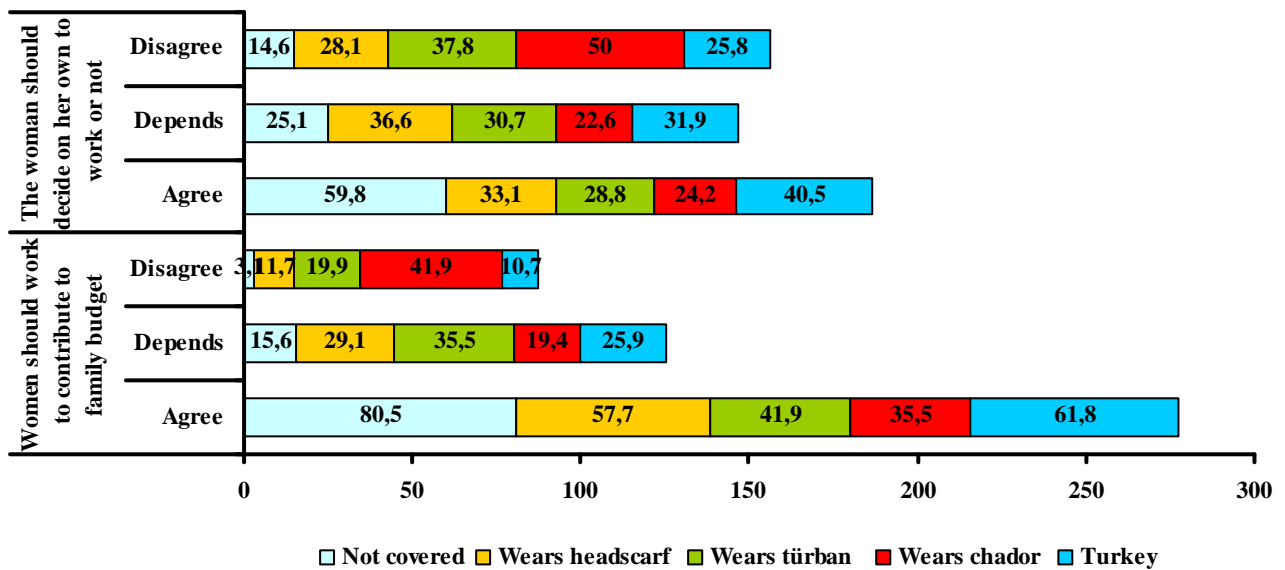


While those not covering their heads agree by 80.5 % with the idea of women working, 57.7 % of those with headscarves and 41.9 % of those with *türban* do.

People who agree that women should make the decision of working by themselves, are 59.8 % of those not covered, 33.1 % of those with headscarves and 28.8 % of those with *türban*.

	Women should work in order to contribute to the family budget.			The woman should be able to decide on her own whether or not to work.		
	Agree	Depends	Disagree	Agree	Depends	Disagree
Not covered	80.5	15.6	3.1	59.8	25.1	14.6
Wears headscarf	57.7	29.1	11.7	33.1	36.6	28.1
Wears <i>türban</i>	41.9	35.5	19.9	28.8	30.7	37.8
Wears chador	35.5	19.4	41.9	24.2	22.6	50.0
Turkey	61.8	25.9	10.7	40.5	31.9	25.8

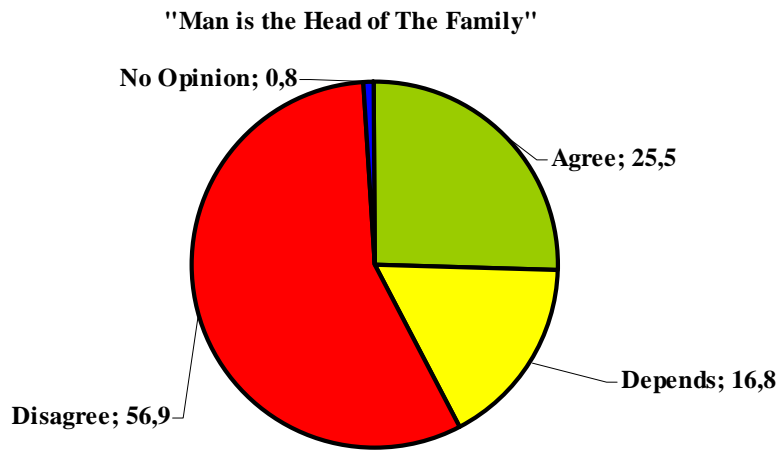
Working Status of Women by Style of Veiling



4. "The Man is the Head of the Family, He Can Beat or He Can Love" (Or Can He?)

While 25.5 % of the society agrees with the statement "The man is the head of the family, he can beat or he can love" (meaning both violence and affection come from him), those who say that the man can beat family members depending on the situation are 16.8 % and those who disagree with this statement are 56.9 %.

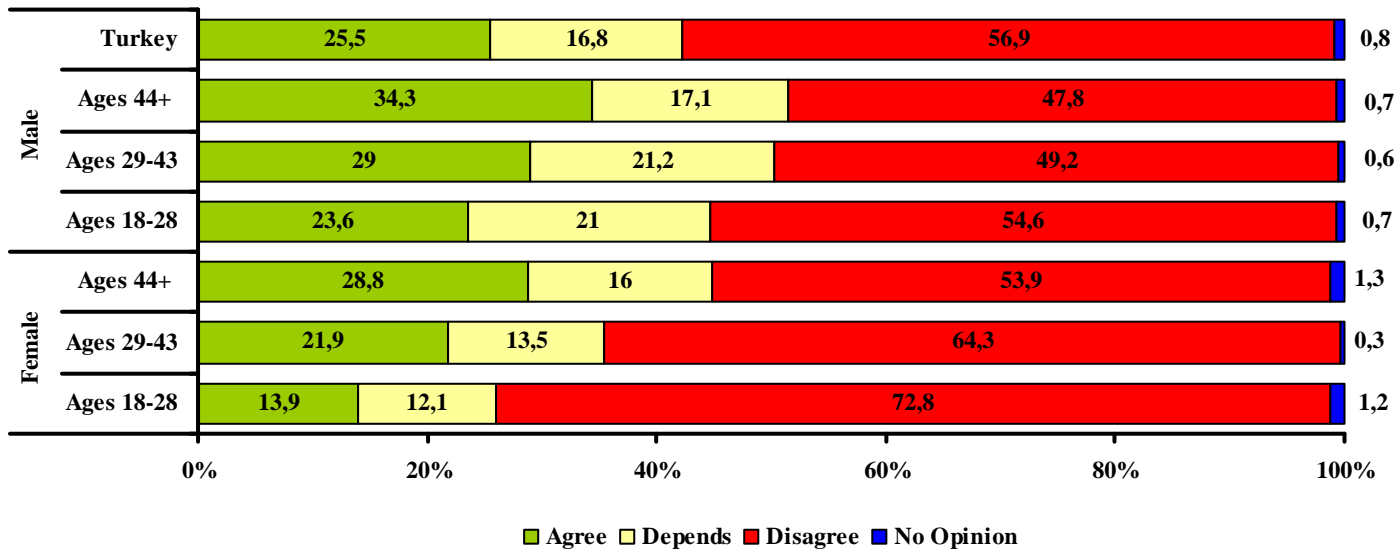
"The Man is the Head of The Family, He Can Beat or He Can Love"	
	%
Agree	25.5
Depends	16.8
Disagree	56.9
No Opinion	0.8
Total	100.0



Breaking down responses by age and gender, most groups give answers similar to the average with the exception of young women between the ages of 18 to 28. These young women agree with the statement only by 13.9 % and 12.1 % say it depends on the situation.

Age-gender	"The Man is the Head of The Family, He Can Beat or He Can Love"				Total
	Agree	Depends	Disagree	No Opinion	
Women aged 18-28	13.9	12.1	72.8	1.2	100.0
Women aged 29-43	21.9	13.5	64.3	0.3	100.0
Women aged 44+	28.8	16.0	53.9	1.3	100.0
Men aged 18-28	23.6	21.0	54.6	0.7	100.0
Men aged 29-43	29.0	21.2	49.2	0.6	100.0
Men aged 44+	34.3	17.1	47.8	0.7	100.0
Turkey	25.5	16.8	56.9	0.8	100.0

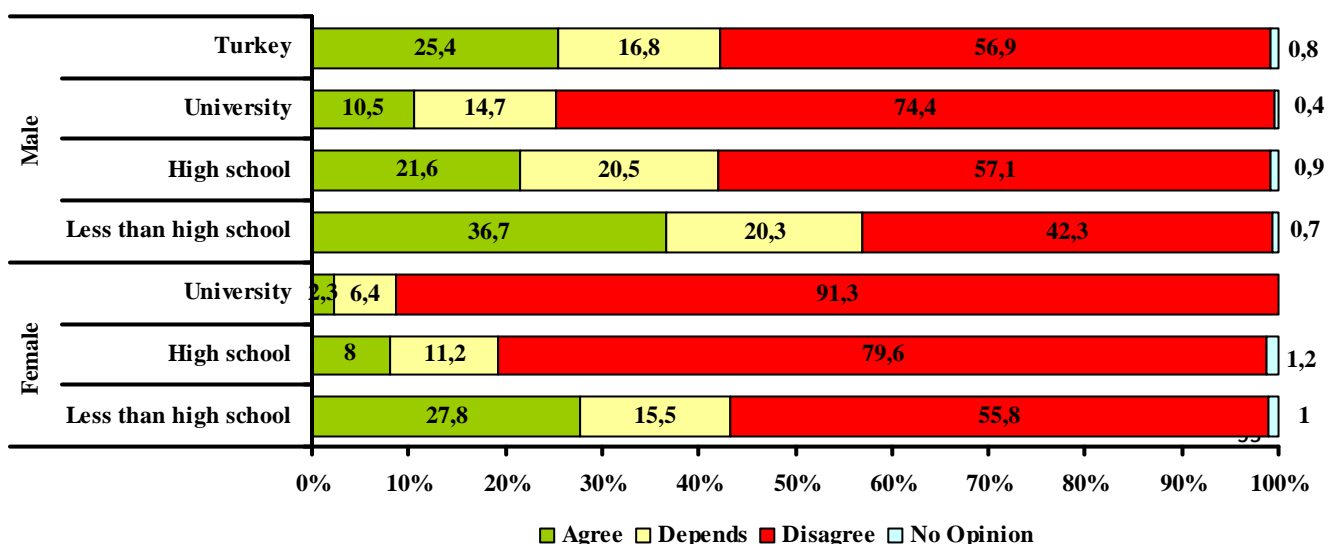
Views on "Man is the Head of the Family" by Gender



Similarly, breaking answers down by gender and education, we see that three groups view the matter differently than the rest of society: women with high school degrees, women with university degrees and men with university degrees mostly find the statement to be wrong.

Education-gender	"The Man is the Head of The Family, He Can Beat or He Can Love"				
	Agree	Depends	Disagree	No Opinion	Total
Women w/ secondary edu. or less	27.8	15.5	55.8	1.0	100.0
Women w/ high school edu.	8.0	11.2	79.6	1.2	100.0
Women w/ univ. edu.	2.3	6.4	91.3	0.0	100.0
Men w/ secondary edu. or less	36.7	20.3	42.3	0.7	100.0
Men w/ high school edu.	21.6	20.5	57.1	0.9	100.0
Men w/ univ. edu.	10.5	14.7	74.4	0.4	100.0
Turkey	25.4	16.8	56.9	0.8	100.0

Views on "Man is the Head of the Family" by Gender and Education



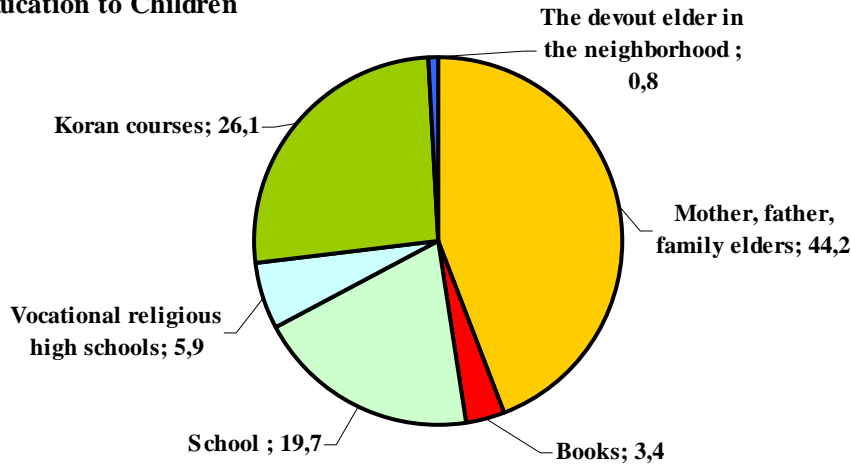
H. RELIGION AND ETHICS

1. Education on Religion and Education

When asked where they would prefer their children to get religious education, family was preferred by 44.2 %, Koran courses by 26.1 %, school by 19.7 %. Vocational religious high schools (*imam hatip okulları*) were preferred by 5.9 %.

Where should your children get their religious education, their information on religion?	
Mother, father, family elders	44.2
Books	3.4
School	19.7
Vocational religious high schools	5.9
Koran courses	26.1
The devout elder in the neighborhood	0.8
Total	100.0

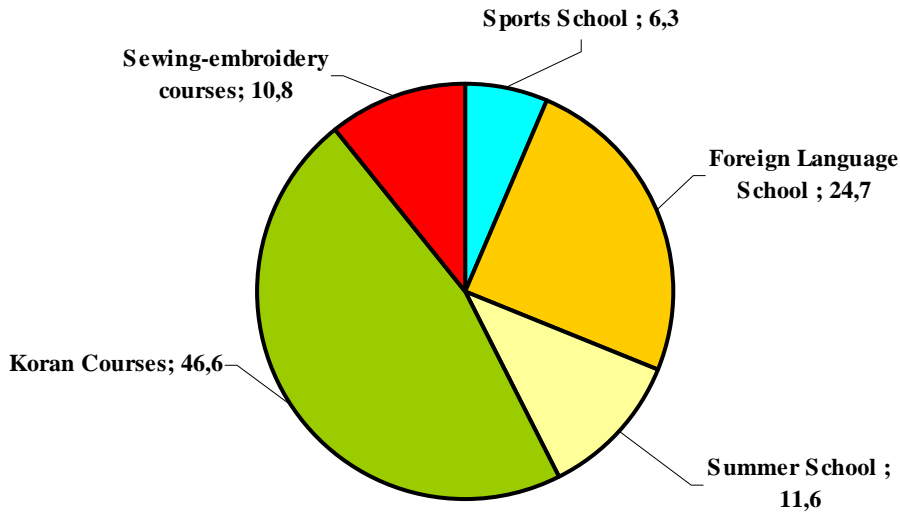
Religious Education to Children



Asked where they would send their daughters for summer vacation if all of them were for free, 46.6 % pick Koran courses for their daughters and 24.7 % foreign language courses. After these two, summer school (11.6 %), sewing-embroidery courses (10.8 %) and sports school (6.3 %) are preferred.

If all were for free, where would you send your DAUGHTER for summer vacation?	
Sports School	6.3
Foreign Language School	24.7
Summer School	11.6
Koran Courses	46.6
Sewing-embroidery courses	10.8
Total	100.0

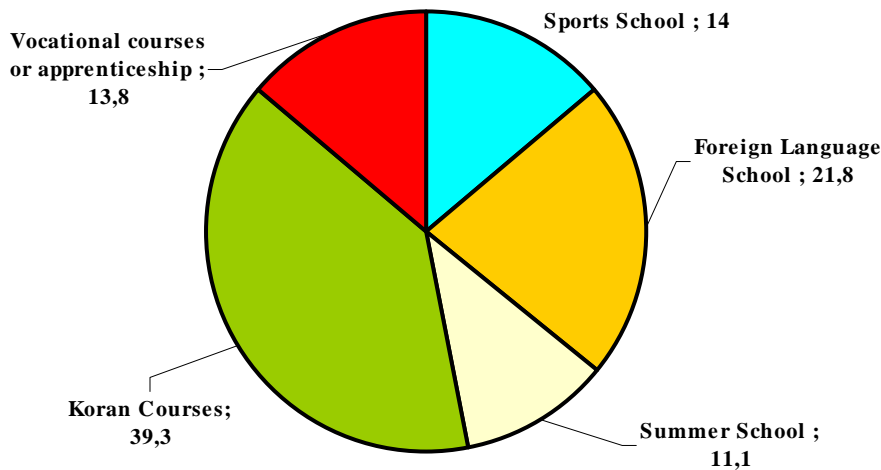
Where Would You Send Your DAUGHTER for Summer Vacation?



Asked where they would send their sons for summer vacation if all of them were for free, results are similar as with daughters: Koran courses at 39.3 % and foreign language courses at 21.8 % come in first. Following those are sports school (14 %), vocational courses or apprenticeship (13.8 %) and summer school (11.1 %).

If all were for free, where would you send your SON for summer vacation?	
Sports School	14.0
Foreign Language School	21.8
Summer School	11.1
Koran Courses	39.3
Vocational courses or apprenticeship	13.8
Total	100.0

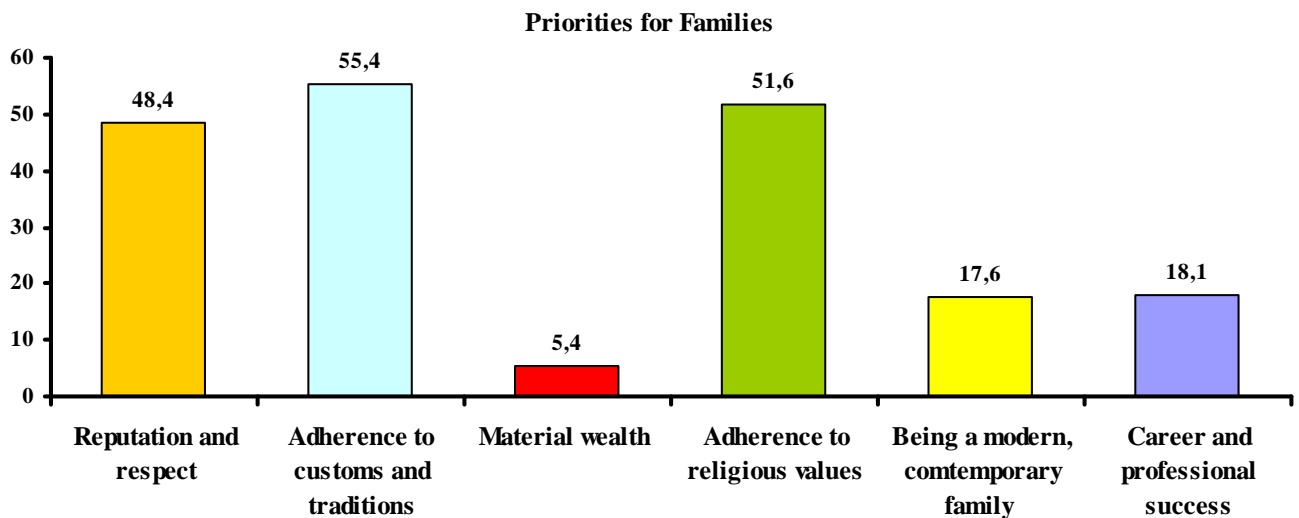
Where Would You Send Your SON for Summer Vacation?



2. Priorities for Family

Respondents were asked about priorities for themselves and for their family and were then asked to select two of the choices read out to them. The three most common choices were “adherence to customs and traditions” by 55.4 %, “adherence to religious values” by 51.6 % and “reputation and respect from social surroundings” by 48.4 %. Lesser selected choices were “success in professional life” by 18.1 % and “being a modern, contemporary family” and the least common choice was “material wealth” by 5.4 %.

The two properties you see as most important for your family, for yourself	
Reputation and respect from social surroundings	48.4
Adherence to customs and traditions	55.4
Material wealth	5.4
Adherence to religious values	51.6
Being a modern, contemporary family	17.6
Career and success in professional life	18.1

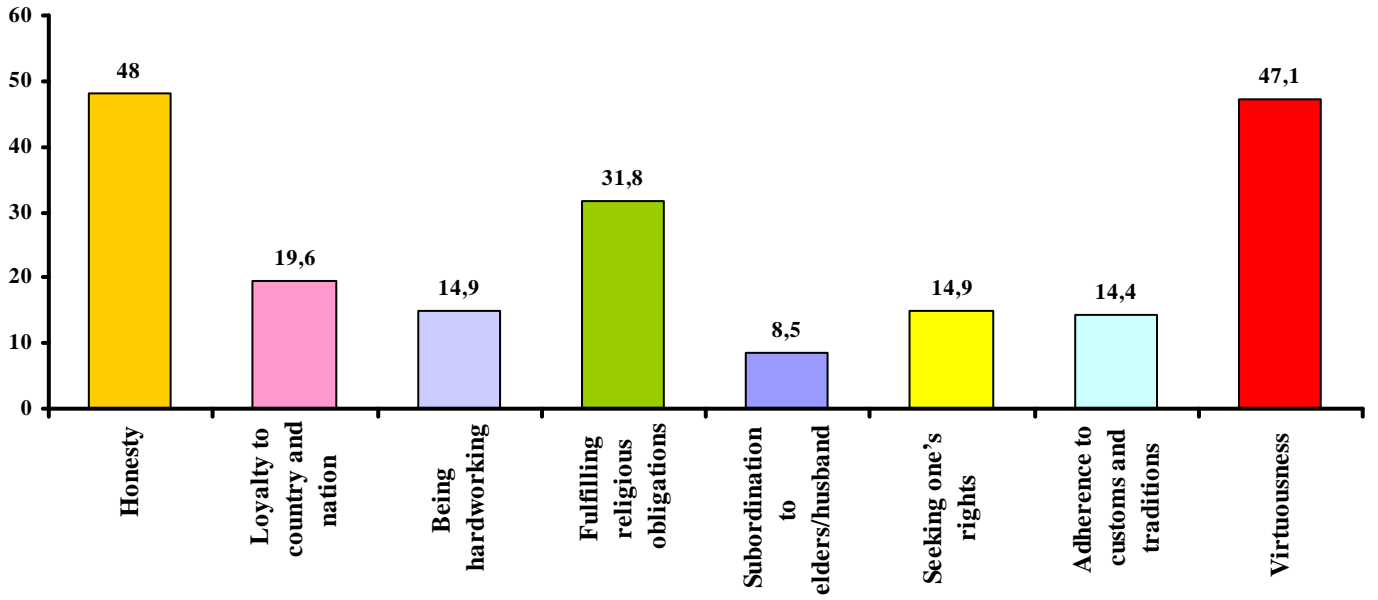


3. Priorities for Daughters

“What two qualities should good parents give to their daughters?” The most common responses to this question were “honesty” (48 %) and “virtuousness” (47.1 %). Also quoted were “fulfilling religious obligations” (31.8 %), “loyalty to country and nation” (% 19.6), “being hardworking” (% 14.9), “seeking one’s rights” (14.9 %).

What two qualities should good parents give to their daughters?	
Honesty	48.0
Loyalty to country and nation	19.6
Being hardworking	14.9
Fulfilling religious obligations	31.8
Subordination to elders and husband	8.5
Seeking one's rights	14.9
Adherence to customs and traditions	14.4
Virtuousness	47.1

Priorities for Daughters



I. CONSERVATISM IN DAILY LIFE STYLES

1. Method

This section focuses on an analysis of conservatism. By taking the various sources of conservatism, it groups these sources. First, we will explain the method used for the grouping of conservatism.

Examining the survey findings, we could see that in society there are, in differing percentages, people who oppose equal share of inheritance, divorce, abortion, working women etc., or believe that restaurants should be closed during ramadan. Yet, was there a certain group who believed in all of these at the same time, a group against novelties *and* equality of women *and* freedoms? If so, how large was this marginal group?

In order to find out how conservative the respondents were, first we examined each question on the questionnaire form to assess whether they provided clues about the respondents' level of conservatism. For example, people opposed to the idea of women working were considered conservative and we gave a number of points to such responses. Similarly, if the respondent wished restaurants closed during ramadan, again their responses got a number of points, weighted differently depending on whether they wished them closed until breaking of fast or closed altogether. When these points were added up, or in other words, when all clues about conservatism were put together, we considered those with the highest points as those who were most conservative.

However, conservative thought in our society has different sources, different philosophical references. Therefore, we must not simplify it down to a single axis. With this in mind, with an effort to conduct a deeper analysis, we broke down conservatism in Turkey into three axes: traditional, religious and political. In order to do this, we assessed answers in the questionnaire form for all three axes. For example, in our opinion, opposition to interest from banks had more of a religious point of reference whereas opposition to women working represented traditional conservatism. We put the political axis aside and our analysis in the end revealed the distribution of traditional and religious conservatism in society. We examined these distributions in five separate groups.

2. Segments of Traditional Conservatism

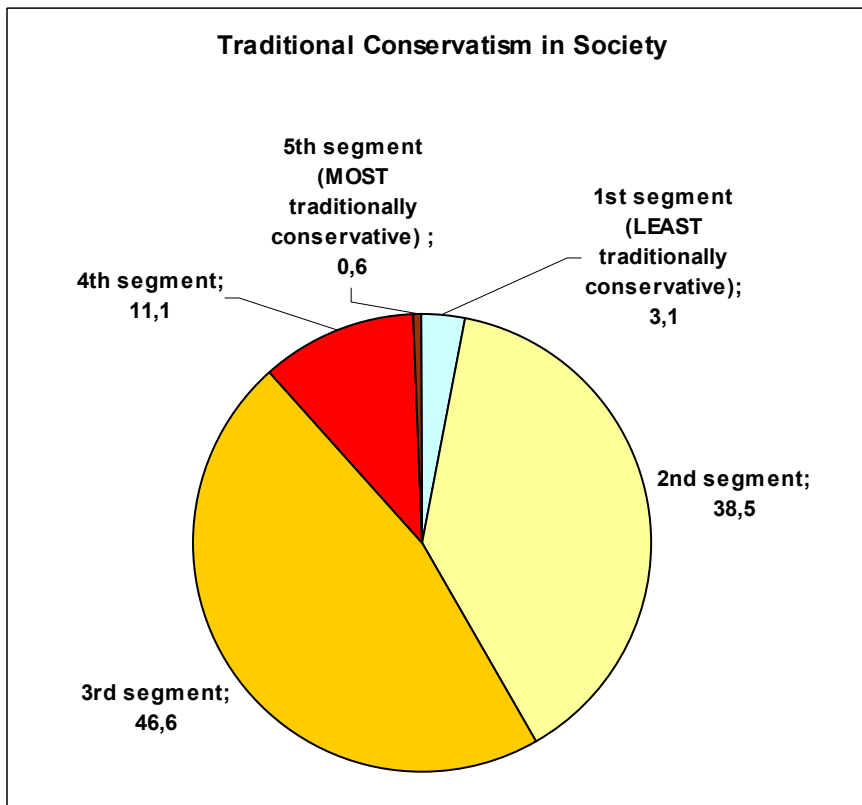
By adding up points for traditional conservatism, groups for traditional conservatism were calculated.

Traditional Conservatism Index	
1st segment (least traditionally conservative)	3.1
2nd segment	38.5
3rd segment	46.6
4th segment	11.1
5th segment: CONSERVATIVE (most traditionally conservative)	0.6

Examining the distribution of traditional conservatism, we see that the 5th segment, that is, the most traditionally conservative group makes up 0.6 % of society. In other words, the group most opposed to modernisation, to developments is but marginal in society.

Moreover, the majority of society, with differing levels of conservatism, falls in the middle segments of traditional conservatism. In other words, it does not seem possible to claim that the social structure in society is mostly conservative in a traditional sense. The very conservative ones are an extreme group.

Those who, according to our assessment, are least traditionally conservative, those who least likely wish to keep social rules and values the way they are make up 3.1 % of society.



3. Segments of Religious Conservatism

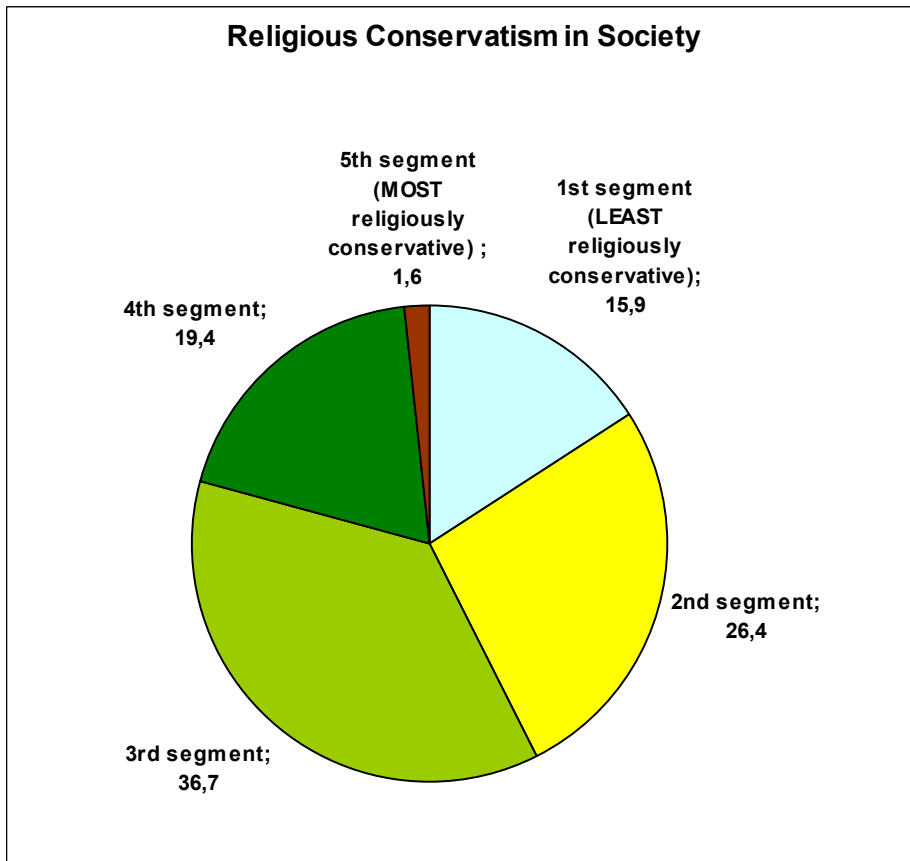
Looking at segments of religious conservatism, the most conservative group, in the religious sense, constitute only 1.6 %, a very small section of society. The rest of society can be considered religiously conservative at differing degrees.

According to the distributions, those with the least religiously conservative values are 15.9 % and those with above-average conservative values of religion, i.e., those closest to the most conservative group are 19.4 %. The segment in the middle with

36.7 %, and the segment a little less conservative than the one in the middle with 26.4 % are the most crowded groups.

Comparing traditional conservatism and religious conservatism in society, it is noticeable that religious conservatism seems to be more intense than traditional conservatism. Doubtlessly, more detailed research on lifestyles and segments of conservatism is needed to come to conclusive judgments.

Religious Conservatism Index	%
1st segment (least religiously conservative)	15.9
2nd segment	26.4
3rd segment	36.7
4th segment	19.4
5th segment (most religiously conservative)	1.6



4. Conservatism in Society

The common denominator between the previous section of this report and this section on conservatism is that, evaluated by all variables and issues, our society is not crowded in the extremes. Data in this section, like data in previous sections, demonstrate that in terms of traditional and religious conservatism, society is not at the extremes.

The percentage of people at the extremes, that is, those who are most conservative or religiously fanatical, as well as those at the opposite extreme, do not make up even 10 % of society. In sum, most of society manifest themselves in the middleground.

When the political conservatism dimension is included in this evaluation, the situation does not change. It could be said that, a little bit more than half of society faces the conservative side.

J. COMMENTARY BY TARHAN ERDEM

(Daily commentary published in *MİLLİYET* daily newspaper during publication of survey results)

1. Tying up Politics with *Türban*

In the 2003 survey, the number of adult women who covered their heads were about 13 million. Today the number is around 14 million. However in four years our ladies who wear *türban* rose from about 500 thousand to 2 million. The reason for this striking and fast increase is not clear.

The difference between those who are covered and those who are not is generally not merely about covering their hair. Veiling also influences people's life style and conception. For example, there's long-standing tendency to correlate veiling and modernisation. The claim that those covering their heads are against Westernisation is quite widespread. However, if this claim were to be accepted, then we would have to accept all but 30 % as opponents of Westernisation. If this were true, then for example we would not have been able make the forward thrust that we did in the past 10 or 20 years. Because these developments would not have been possible in a country were 70 % are against Westernisation. At least, we cannot say that our country and our society is moving away from the West because those covering their heads have increased by five percent.

In many respects, it is clear that the route traveled in modernisation is forwards not backwards. While it is true that some of the veiled people are against Westernisation, it cannot be ignored that the large majority among them face the West in technology, science, law and political regime. Our public does not wish to lose its traditions, its religious beliefs, but in short to modernise while holding on to its cultural values. For these people, adherence to cultural values is a safeguard against the dangers (!) of modernisation. On the other hand, people who are not covered have as much respect for cultural values as those who are covered. Speaking about values other than cultural, the difference between those who are covered and those who are not becomes less significant and veiling no longer becomes divisive.

In our political life, there seems to be a differentiation between those who wish to retain cultural values yet become Westernised and those who wish to protect the state and yet become Westernised. However, neither those on one side are trying to demolish the state or the republic and not are those on the other side striving to wipe out our cultural values.

As long as the contents of this struggle stays the same as today, no change should be expected in this picture.

If and when the debate can shifted from cultural values to common aspects of life (democracy, infrastructure, education, health, law), the picture today will change and the choice of veiling will no longer become the determinant of differentiation in political life.

2. Freedom and Secularism

A significant majority of people living in this country perform the *namaz* prayer and fast. No survey demonstrates that these forms of worship have been obstructed. This alone shows that the freedom of worshipping in our country should not be understood as the freedom of worship for those who perform *namaz* and fast. Freedom of worship for Turkey is not a question of providing freedoms to those belonging to the Sunnite sect, but a question of preventing discrimination against atheists and members of other sects, of ensuring that non-Sunnites or Sunnites who do not fulfill religious obligations do not feel under pressure.

We must think of this freedom along with secularism. Secularism is not, as our President has stated in a speech of his, about people living their beliefs as they wish, but rather about beliefs not influencing the life of society. In a secular society, beliefs do not have their place when social rules are set or implemented. The acquisitions of long experiments that our public has lived through has shaped the conception of secularism. According to this conception, secular state should prevent and limit pressure from certain belief groups to others, rather than improving rules that would ensure certain freedoms.

Secularism and freedom of worship will constitute the most significant heading of the current debates on the new constitution. We must not arrest this subject to the prejudices and memorised verses which dominate our political life.

To me, the findings of this survey demonstrate that our public is cool-headed on this issue as well and truly on the side of freedoms. Our politicians should side with the rational majority instead of a fanatical and loud minority.

3. The Message of *Türban*

While more than half of those with less than high school perform the *namaz* prayer regularly, among those with high school or university degrees this rate is 26 %. These data are the result of known correlation between education and worship. These findings can also aid us see our place in modernisation. It is known that, compared to 10 or 30 years ago, the number of students have risen and that the quality of our educational institutions have improved. This piece of truth alone confirms that our public is more modern compared to the previous period and that our state more secular.

The findings of this survey have demonstrated a linear correlation between education and veiling, religious practices. This correlation is evident with those “not covered”: While 20 % of those with little education are not covered, this rate increases with each educational attainment level and surpasses 70 % among the most highly educated.

However, this linear correlation cannot be seen with those wearing *türban*. The percentage of people wearing *türban* does not change linearly or meaningfully as educational attainment levels change. Starting from primary education and going to higher education, the percentage of those wearing *türban* are 13, 15, 22, 17, 12

% respectively, all values not far from each other. These data show that the rate of those wearing *türban* is independent of education.

People might be wearing the *türban* for various reasons such as taking on an identity, making their life-style choice known, demonstrating their sense of belonging or showing that they are close to current powers. However, they have another message that they uphold above all others. Most, and definitely not all, of those using *türban*, with the attire on their heads, make it known that in societal life they uphold religious values above other values. *Türban* is the symbol of religious values being prioritized.

Upholding religious values above other values is one of the ways of shaping societal life. Looking at matters from this perspective, it could be said, at least for some of them, that *türban* is a political symbol, that, more openly, it is the symbol or political Islam.

4. Our Tolerant Modern Public

The section of the survey published today includes respondents' preferences about different situations in life.

In these tables, I see the vast tolerance of our public. In a society where over 80 % of people say "I fast," some of those who fast do not see anything wrong with restaurants being open in ramadan and I take this to be an indicator of the common sense of our society.

The fact that rules of civil law, which contradict rules that have been in place for centuries, are approved and confirmed by large section of society demonstrate that we have come a long way in modernisation.

According to the data, even respondents who could be considered religious and fully devout, are progressive in woman-man relations. Data on inheritance, interest and abortion strengthened my confidence in society.

5. A Long Way to Go?

Society's approach to relations between men and women does not seem to be very consistent!

96 % of respondents view civil marriage as necessary for a man and a woman to live together. Those finding divorce "normal" are 74 %; those who believe that women should decide on their own about working are 72 %.

This findings which conform to both our traditions and to the requirements of Civil Law can be viewed as indicators showing that we have moved forward in men-women relations.

However, people who do not agree with the statement or rhyme "The man is the head of the family, he can love or he can beat " are 57 %. This result, which could

also be expressed as 40 % of society agreeing with the statement “he can love or he can beat” eighty years after the acceptance of the Civil Law, naturally causes disappointment.

In truth, the issue of political Islam and *türban* are part of man-woman relations. And these findings which indicate that we have a long way to go in man-woman relations is one of the most important results of this research.

K. QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

GOOD DAY SIR/MADAM,

KONDA is conducting a survey to gauge voter preferences. If I may, I would like to ask a few questions. The questionnaire will take only 3-4 minutes. Our survey intends to find out what the public in general thinks, not what individuals think. Therefore, we will not ask you any questions about your identity. We ask for your honest opinions for our questions.

Thank you for your time and interest.

<p>1. Gender of respondent</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/> Male</p>																		
<p>2. How old are you?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Ages 18–28 <input type="checkbox"/> Ages 29–43 <input type="checkbox"/> Ages 44 +</p>																		
<p>3. What is your education? Which school have you last completed?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Illiterate <input type="checkbox"/> Literate - No Diploma <input type="checkbox"/> Primary School <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary school <input type="checkbox"/> High School <input type="checkbox"/> Undergraduate level university <input type="checkbox"/> Graduate level university</p>																		
<p>4. Where were you born? <i>(TO INTERVIEWER: If born in Turkey, write down the PROVINCE; if born abroad write down the COUNTRY.)</i></p> <p>(.....)</p>																		
<p>5. How many people (including children) live in this household / residence?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 person(s) <input type="checkbox"/> 3-5 persons <input type="checkbox"/> 6-8 persons <input type="checkbox"/> 9 persons or more</p>																		
<p>6. What is your marital status? Are you married?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Single <input type="checkbox"/> Engaged <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced/widowed</p>																		
<p>7. Did you work last week to earn money? If so, what is your profession? If not, what is the reason?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; margin-top: 10px;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 50%; text-align: left;"><i>IF WORKING:</i></th> <th style="width: 50%; text-align: left;"><i>IF NOT WORKING:</i></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Public servant, chief, manager</td> <td>Retired</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Private sector employee, manager</td> <td>Housewife</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Worker</td> <td>Student</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Small retailer/craftsman/driver</td> <td>Unemployed, seeking</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Trader/industrialist/businessman</td> <td>Unable to work</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Self-employed (doc., archi., lawyer.etc.)</td> <td rowspan="3">Not working, other (Please write): (.....)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Marginal sector (street seller etc.)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Farmer, agricult., stockbreeder</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Working, other. (Please write): (.....)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	<i>IF WORKING:</i>	<i>IF NOT WORKING:</i>	Public servant, chief, manager	Retired	Private sector employee, manager	Housewife	Worker	Student	Small retailer/craftsman/driver	Unemployed, seeking	Trader/industrialist/businessman	Unable to work	Self-employed (doc., archi., lawyer.etc.)	Not working, other (Please write): (.....)	Marginal sector (street seller etc.)	Farmer, agricult., stockbreeder	Working, other. (Please write): (.....)	
<i>IF WORKING:</i>	<i>IF NOT WORKING:</i>																	
Public servant, chief, manager	Retired																	
Private sector employee, manager	Housewife																	
Worker	Student																	
Small retailer/craftsman/driver	Unemployed, seeking																	
Trader/industrialist/businessman	Unable to work																	
Self-employed (doc., archi., lawyer.etc.)	Not working, other (Please write): (.....)																	
Marginal sector (street seller etc.)																		
Farmer, agricult., stockbreeder																		
Working, other. (Please write): (.....)																		
<p>8. What religious sect do you belong to?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Sunnite Muslim <input type="checkbox"/> Alevi Muslim <input type="checkbox"/> Other Muslim <input type="checkbox"/> Other religion <input type="checkbox"/> No Religion</p>																		
<p>9. Who, which party did you vote for in the JULY 22nd parliamentary election two months ago?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I voted for party <input type="checkbox"/> I voted for an independent candidate <input type="checkbox"/> Did not go to the ballots, did not vote <input type="checkbox"/> Voted blank</p>																		

TO THE INTERVIEWER: FOR THE FOLLOWING THREE QUESTIONS, READ AND ASK THE QUESTION AS “YOU...” IF THE RESPONDENT IS FEMALE AND AS “YOUR WIFE...” IF THE RESPONDENT IS MALE.

10. Does your wife (or do you) cover her head when going out to the street? How does she cover it?

() Does not cover () Wears headscarf, traditional cover
() Wears *türban* () Wears chador

11. Are there other people living with in this household, besides you (or your wife), such as your mother, sister, grandmother who cover their heads?

() Yes, there are other in the household who cover their heads.
() No, noone else covers their heads.

12. Since when has your wife (have you) been covering her head? (TO THE INTERVIEWER: READ THE ANSWERS BELOW AND MARK THE FIRST CHOICE THAT THEY SAY)

() Since before marriage () After marriage
() When social surroundings changed () When she (I) got old, become of age
() Is not covered

13. What, IN YOUR OPINION, is the reason for your wife (or you), your mother or your sister to cover her head? (TO THE INTERVIEWER: READ THE ANSWERS BELOW AND MARK THE FIRST CHOICE THAT THEY SAY)

() Required by religion / belief () Habit
() Husband’s request () Family elders’ request
() Customs, traditions () Conforming to social surrounding

14. What do you think that you or others demonstrate by wearing *türban* rather than headscarf? So, why *türban* and not headscarf? (TO THE INTERVIEWER: READ THE ANSWERS BELOW AND MARK THE FIRST CHOICE THAT THEY SAY)

() They show that they are in conformity with their social surroundings
() They make it known that they are virtuous
() They abide by Islam’s rule
() They show their political tendency / stance
() They show their identity
() They protect themselves

To what extent do you fulfill the following religious obligations that I will now read? (TO THE INTERVIEWER: READ THE RELIGIOUS OBLIGATIONS AND MARK THE ANSWER IN THE CORRESPONDING BOX.)

		Regularly	Sometimes	Never
15.	Performing <i>namaz</i>			
16.	Fasting			
17.	<i>(Ask to male respondents)</i> Going to Friday prayer			
18.	Going mosque / <i>cemevi</i>			
19.	Praying			
20.	Reading the Koran			

21. In terms of religiosity, which of the following would you describe yourself as? (TO THE INTERVIEWER: READ THE ANSWERS BELOW AND MARK THE FIRST CHOICE THAT THEY SAY)

() Someone with no religious belief
() Someone who does not believe in religious obligations
() Someone who believes but cannot fulfill religious obligations
() Someone who is religious and striving to fulfill religious obligations
() Someone who is fully devout and fulfills all religious obligations

22. Could you please tell which of the following two statements you agree with?

() The ban on *türban* at universities should be lifted
() The ban on *türban* at universities should be kept.

23. If you had a daughter or sister wearing *türban* at the age of going to university, would you agree with, accept her taking off her *türban* to continue going to university?
 Yes, she can take it off No, she should not take it off, but should quit university
 No opinion

24. In your opinion, is *türban* a symbol, indicator or sign of antagonism against secularism, of the desire for the state to be run by religious rules? What is your opinion?
 Yes, *türban* is a symbol of antagonism against secularism
 No, *türban* is not a symbol of antagonism against secularism
 Other (.....) No opinion

25. Do you think that in the past 5 years, during AKP's rule, the number of women wearing *türban* increased?
 Yes, there is a great increase Yes, there is some increase
 No, there is no increase It decreased No Opinion

26. What should be the status of restaurants in ramadan?
 They should be open They should be closed until breaking of fast
 Should be closed altogether No Opinion

27. What should be status of restaurants (and other places) serving alcohol?
 They should be open They should be closed until breaking of fast
 Should be closed altogether No Opinion

28. What do you think about women working at state offices covering their heads?
 They should all be not covered Those who wish should be able to cover
 They should all be covered No opinion

Please respond to the following statements as correct or wrong.

		Correct	Wrong	No opinion
29.	Sons and daughters should get equal shares of inheritance.			
30.	In case of an unwanted pregnancy, the woman should not be able to get an abortion and she should give birth.			
31.	If a man has the means, he should be able to take on a second wife.			
32.	Women should be able to perform Friday and funeral prayers next to men.			
33.	Men should not shake hands with women.			
34.	Municipalities should organize religious meetings and ceremonies such as the "week of holy birth."			
35.	It is normal for people to deposit their money in banks and get interest.			

36. If your daughter/son/yourself cannot get along with the spouse in the family, would you say that divorce is best and find it normal to divorce?
 Yes, it is normal No, it is not normal No opinion

37. For your family, your daughter or son, which of the following are necessary for a man and a woman to live together? (TO THE INTERVIEWER: READ THE ANSWERS BELOW AND MARK THE FIRST CHOICE THAT THEY SAY)
 Both civil and religious marriage Only civil marriage Only religious marriage
 No marriage is necessary, enough that they love each other No opinion

About women working and women-men relationships, could you tell to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements? (TO THE INTERVIEWER: READ THE ANSWERS BELOW AND MARK THE FIRST CHOICE THAT THEY SAY)

38. Women should work in order to contribute to the family budget.
 Agree Depends Disagree No opinion

<p>39. The woman should be able to decide on her own whether or not to work.</p> <p>() Agree () Depends () Disagree () No opinion</p>	
<p>40. “The man is the head of the family, he can beat or he can love”</p> <p>() Agree () Depends () Disagree () No opinion</p>	
<p>41. Where should your children get their religious education, their information on religion?</p> <p>() Mother, father, family elders () Books () School () Vocational religious high schools () Koran courses () The devout elder in the neighborhood</p>	
<p>42. If all were for free, where would you send your DAUGHTER for summer vacation? (TO THE INTERVIEWER: READ THE ANSWERS BELOW AND MARK THE FIRST CHOICE THAT THEY SAY)</p> <p>() Sports school () Foreign language course () Summer school () Koran courses () Sewing-embroidery courses</p>	
<p>43. If all were for free, where would you send your SON for summer vacation? (TO THE INTERVIEWER: READ THE ANSWERS BELOW AND MARK THE FIRST CHOICE THAT THEY SAY)</p> <p>() Sports school () Foreign language course () Summer school () Koran courses () Vocational courses or apprenticeship</p>	
<p>44. Which two properties do you see as most important for your family, for yourself? (TO THE INTERVIEWER: READ THE ANSWERS BELOW AND MARK THE FIRST CHOICE THAT THEY SAY)</p> <p>() Reputation and respect from social surroundings () Adherence to customs, traditions () Material wealth () Adherence to religious values () Being a modern family () Career, success in professional life</p>	
<p>45. What two qualities should good parents give to their DAUGHTER? (TO THE INTERVIEWER: READ THE ANSWERS BELOW AND MARK THE FIRST CHOICE THAT THEY SAY)</p> <p>() Honesty () Loyalty to country and nation () Being hardworking () Fulfilling religious obligations () Subordination to elders and husband () Seeking one’s rights () Adherence to customs and traditions () Virtuousness</p>	
<p>46. A last and somewhat private question for you. This is important for our survey. What is the total monthly income of your household? Including all income by everyone, how much money enters you household each month?</p> <p>() Less than 300 YTL () 301-700 YTL () 701-1200 YTL () 1201-3000 YTL () More than 3001 YTL</p>	
LOCATION OF INTERVIEW	
PROVINCE:	DISTRICT:
NEIGH/VILLAGE:	AVENUE:
STREET:	NAME OF BUILDING:
NO OF BUILDING:	NO OF APT.:
<p>Name, Last Name of Interviewer: Neighborhood Village Code:</p>	

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