



Hazar Education, Culture and Solidarity Union

**THE FACTS ABOUT  
THE HEADSCARF CONTROVERSY IN TURKEY**

FIELD RESEARCH ON HEADSCARF BAN

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Cover design: MAST MPI Advertising Co. 0216 340 66 01  
Published by: Umut Publishing, 0212 637 04 11  
Istanbul 2007

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To those who suffer from the ban...

#### Expression of Thanks

It was with the contribution of many friends that the project entitled ' into existence.

While it is not possible to express the depth of our gratitude for those who accepted this project as their own research and did their best to contribute to it with an open heart I am reassured by knowing that the reward that they deserve is not one to be given by us.

First of all I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Mr. Lütfü Sunar, our consultant at the planning stage of the project.

In particular, I would like to mention my dear friends Nazife Şişman, Yıldız Kavuncu, Ayşe Böhürler, Fatma Benli, Havva Sula and Sıdıka Çetin, who also contributed to this research during the planning phase.

Mr. Selim Tuncer, director of Mast MPI Advertising Company, was in charge of the project's design, publishing, and invitations.

Mr. İbrahim Uslu, President of ANAR, greatly contributed to the realization of this Project.

I also would like to thank Mr. Hanifi Tekin, Kenan Güler, Mustafa Kır and our other friends whose material and spiritual support has been of great value in carrying out this study.

In addition, I would like to thank all of my friends from the HAZAR Union.

Ayla Kerimođlu

Director of the HAZAR Education, Culture and Solidarity Union

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## THE FACTS ABOUT THE HEADSCARF CONTROVERSY IN TURKEY

The implementation of the headscarf ban in universities and official organizations in Turkey has created serious social problems, particularly during the last twenty years. These problems have a multidimensional structure that can be examined from philosophic, economic, cultural and personal aspects.

In particular, this matter has to do with the violation of freedom, something that is considered to a fundamental right today. Wearing a headscarf, which is a religious application, is one of the most important rights and freedoms. In this case, such a ban contradicts Paragraph 24 of the Constitution of Turkey, which guarantees freedom of religion and conscience. In our time, a time when every freedom is protected, such a violation of a fundamental freedom cannot be justified either in national legislation nor in the international arena. The continuation of such a groundless ban creates oppression in our society.

The headscarf ban constitutes a serious obstacle in the democratization process in Turkey. This anti-democratic application will undermine the trust in Turkish society, a society which is taking the necessary steps to complete the democratization process. The headscarf ban also damages the peace and stability of Turkey; it is a factor in a conflict that is fictionally created between religion and secularity. Such a situation creates an opportunity to bring certain political biases onto the agenda to work towards non-democratic solutions.

Because the headscarf ban has been an issue of political discussion it has always been a source of social tension; different political approaches implemented their day-to-day policies via the headscarf issue. As long as the bans continue to be a reason for social tension, there will always be someone who is willing to present the matter in this dimension.

Practicing one's religion, which is a fundamental freedom, thus becomes a cause for unnecessary social tension and polarization.

The mistreatment and negative experiences in the use of rights and justice are another important issue here. As is well-recognized, awareness of justice and trust in one's freedom are elements that hold a society together. The headscarf ban, applied for groundless reasons and in an uneven manner, destroys the feeling of justice and shakes society's reliance on the law.

On the other hand, the ban has also caused certain negative effects on the economy. Firstly, young women are excluded from education due to the ban, and these are losses from the aspect of a qualified labour force. On the other hand, this issue also has become a source of further discrimination against women. Throughout the world the problem of the "feminization of poverty" is a matter that is on the agenda. Like the rest of the world, the rate of poverty among women is higher than that among men. The headscarf ban increases the restrictions on female economic independence and causes a further deepening of poverty among women.

An increase in literacy level and time spent pursuing education are factors that are deemed important for the development of a country. Cases in which women have to abandon education due to the headscarf ban have negatively affected this percentage. There is a serious contradiction between the efforts to eliminate traditional obstacles and barriers to the education of girls and the prohibition of other girls from school due to the ban.

It is evident that education is a natural right which is stated in and accepted by all international agreements and conventions. In particular, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, also signed by our country, emphasizes that girls should not be subject to gender discrimination in education. The headscarf ban currently in force in Turkey actually means that girls who wear headscarves for religious reasons are being discriminated against and denied a right to education.

A great number of young girls are being deprived of their right to education, despite this right being clearly stated in international agreements and conventions, because of the headscarf ban. As a consequence, this matter has not only meant that some people are being deprived of an education, but it has also had a negative effect on the educational potential of the country.

The headscarf ban has caused economic and social inequality. Its implementation and practice transforms these inequalities into a traumatic experience that results in feelings of hopelessness. From time to time this bitter emotional experience can cause serious psychological trauma.

The headscarf ban causes young girls to abandon their education before completing it, excluding them from economic and social life; it also results in negative situations, such as the early marriage of girls. This is only one of the negative consequences of the ban that we can mention here.

Another dimension of the ban is importance of the Turkish experience for other countries. It is well-recognized that a headscarf ban of some form or another is applied in some European countries. Certain discussions about Islamic symbols, which are manifestations of xenophobia and hostility, increased after 9/11 and are currently on the agenda in Europe. The decision on this matter taken by Turkey, a country whose majority population is Muslim, will be one that leads the way for other countries.

Some of the negative consequences of the headscarf ban, which we have listed above, have been present in Turkey, at different degrees, for twenty years. However, it is not possible to say that important steps have been taken in order to prevent this violation of freedoms and liberties. The headscarf ban is a violation of human rights and it has been practiced and, indeed, is increasing.

The purpose of this research THE FACTS ABOUT THE HEADSCARF BAN IN TURKEY is to study the scope of the problems that have been caused by the ban, to present the social, economic and psychological changes, which indicate the uneasy process of Turkish democracy, that have been brought about by the ban in the form of statistical data, to share with the public the feelings and observations of those who suffer from the ban, to determine in which spheres of life it has an effect, and to make the words of the young women who are victims of the ban be heard.

Our goal is to contribute to the establishment of a society that consists of members with equal rights and opportunities, a society in which there is no discrimination on the base of race, language, religion, gender or garment.

## Methodology and Samplings

### Methodology

This research focuses on facts that are as of yet unknown related to the experiences of women who wear the headscarf and who have been affected by the headscarf ban that has been applied in education since 1968. For this reason, women aged 18 to 50 years of age who have been affected by the headscarf ban applied in different time periods, either in their secondary or higher education, have been chosen as the key respondents of this study.

The absence of any official statistical data on the 'victims of the headscarf ban', as well as a lack of empirical studies carried out until now has caused great problems with regard to the planning of this study. First of all, as there was a lack of a social or demographical data, for example, the total number of victims of the headscarf ban, where they lived, what their occupations were, etc. to determine the sample amount, distribution and selection, and as it was not possible to include this information in the research resources this study did not use a probability-based sampling method.

In order to make this study possible, a snowball sampling method, a method that does not rely on probability, was applied, as it permitted contacting a certain number of respondents within the key recipients. Applying the snowball method, in spite of certain difficulties, was unavoidable due to an absence of sufficient information about the environment or the difficulty experienced in reaching the key recipients

In order to avoid the risk of starting the study incorrectly, , which was one of the most important drawbacks, the research was carried out simultaneously in nine cities in which large universities were located. A starting point was determined in every city, and the respondents in the region were contacted.

When determining start-up points in the regions, support was received from some NGOs that are active in the sphere of helping victims of the headscarf ban and/or which have members who fit the profile of the key respondents of the study.

The NGOs mentioned are: Hazar Education, Culture and Solidarity Union, AK-DER, the Union of Anatolian Youth (Anadolu Gençlik Derneği (AGD)), Başkent Women's Platform (Başkent Kadın Platformu) and MazlumDer.

The study was carried out in one-on-one interview with 1,112 respondents between 5 January and 15 February 2007 in Adana, Ankara, Bursa, Diyarbakir, Erzurum, Istanbul, Izmir, Konya and Samsun

The Parametric Chi Kare test was applied to examine the correlations between variables used in the study and to establish numerical data. "Asymptotic Significance" values have been presented in the tables that are related to the application of this test. The mentioned value is less than 0.5. This indicates that there is a significant correlation between the variables presented in the tables; if the figure were higher than this value, then it would confirm that there was no significant correlation between the variables.

All the phases of the research were carried out by the Ankara Center for Social Studies (ANAR Ankara Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi).

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### Respondents

Table 1: Distribution of Respondents according to Region

Table 2: Distribution of Respondents according to Age Group

Table 3: Distribution of Respondents according to Marital Status

Table 4: Distribution of Respondents according to Educational Level

Table 1: Distribution of Respondents according to Region

Region	#	%
ISTANBUL	230	20.7
ANKARA	228	20.5
IZMIR	161	14.5
BURSA	112	10.1
ERZURUM	90	8.1
ADANA	79	7.1
DIYARBAKIR	75	6.7
KONYA	70	6.3
SAMSUN	67	6.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1112</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 2: Distribution of Respondents according to Age Group

Age	#	%
18-24	439	39.5
25-29	226	20.3
30-34	177	15.9
35-50	270	24.3
	1112	100.0

Table 3: Distribution of Respondents according to Marital Status

Marital Status	#	%
Single	633	56.9
Married	452	40.6
Widow/Divorced	27	2.4
	1112	100.0

Table 4: Distribution of Respondents according to Educational Level

Education	#	%
Primary or secondary school	401	36.1
University	597	53.7
MA or PhD	74	6.7
Left primary school/secondary school/university/MA or PhD program	40	3.6
	1112	100.0

Table 5: Distribution of Respondents according to Family Income

Family Monthly Income	#	%
Less than 350 YTL	10	0.9
350-499 YTL	56	5.0
500-999 YTL	335	30.1
1000-1999 YTL	419	37.7
2000-5000 YTL	237	21.3
More than 5000 YTL	38	3.4
Unable to reply	17	1.5
	1112	100.0

Table 6: Distribution of Respondents according to Employment

Do you work?	#	%
Yes	508	45.7
No	604	54.3
	1112	100.0

Table 7: Distribution of Respondents according to Professional Groups

Profession	#	%
Professionals employed in educational sciences	185	36,4
Office worker	78	15,4
Other professional groups	50	9,8
Other support profession	38	7,5
Medical services and healthcare profession	31	6,1
Owners or directors of small enterprises	27	5,3
Professional support staff related to medical services and healthcare	25	4,9
Client representatives	14	2,8
Models or advertising	14	2,8
Professional group related to physics, mathematics or engineering	12	2,4
Sales and services, without knowledge about sales or services	8	1,6
Professional support staff employed in educational sciences	7	1,4
Company Director	6	1,2
Other	12	2,4
No reply	1	0,2
	508	100.0

Table 8 : Reasons for Unemployment of Respondents

Unemployment Reasons	#	%
Student	217	42,8
Unable to find a job due to the	170	33,5
Insufficient education	47	9,3
Family/children need to be looked after	41	8,1
No need for money	30	5,9
Housewife (or unmarried girl fulfilling	30	5,9
Unable to find a job	24	4,7
Not permitted to work by family/husband	22	4,3
Retired	10	2,0
Personally does not think it right for women to work	8	1,6
Preagnancy/health problems	7	1,4
Failure to complete education due to headscarf ban	7	1,4
Never contemplated working	6	1,2
Other	14	2,8
No reply	96	18,9

## Results

### Attitude to the Headscarf

Contrary to the common notion put forward by the media, 79.4% of the respondents define the object covering their heads as başörtü (headscarf). The percentage who refer to this garment as türban is only 6%.

Results of the research clearly show that the argument which states that the 'headscarf is used as a political tool' is completely false. 75% of the respondents stated that they began to wear the headscarf at an age which was before political/ideological views could develop – that is, before primary school, in primary school or in secondary school. The percentage of respondents who began to cover their heads after graduating from secondary school is 21%. In particular, nearly all of the respondents (97.7%) stated that they wear the headscarf because it is so ordered by their religion, and 96.7 % answered the question 'What is the most important thing about the headscarf for you?' by saying 'I believe that it is an order of our religion.'

While 62.2% of the respondents confirmed that wearing a headscarf was their own voluntary decision, the results of the study also reveal that this attitude to covering one's head is a family tradition. Mothers of 97.9% of the respondents wore headscarfs; the percentage of those wanting their daughters (if any) to cover their heads was 96.5%. These figures also prove that wearing a headscarf is not a political attitude or behavior, but rather a cultural tradition.

Table 9: Definitions of Headscarves

How Do You Define the Covering You Wear?	#	%
Headscarf	883	79.4
Scarf	142	12.8
Turban	67	6.0
Other	19	1.7
No reply	1	0.1
	1112	100.0

Table 10: Age when Headscarf was First Worn

When Did You Start Wearing a Headscarf?	#	%
Primary school (Middle School)	449	40.4
Secondary school	246	22.1
University	149	13.4
For as long as I can remember	139	12.5
After graduation from secondary school	35	3.1
After marriage	31	2.8
After graduation from university	20	1.8
Other	38	3.4
No reply	5	0.4
	1112	100.0

Table 11: Reasons give by Respondents for Wearing a Headscarf

Why Do You Cover Your Head?	#	%
Because I believe that this is a religious order	1086	97.7
Other	38	3.4
No reply	24	2.2
	1112	100.0

Table 12: Persons Who Influenced the Respondents' Decision to Wear a Headscarf

Who Was the Greatest Influence on Your Decision to Wear a	#	%
It was my decision	692	62.2
My father	88	7.9
My mother	84	7.6
My family	118	10.6
My friends	62	5.6
My teacher	28	2.5
My relatives	17	1.5
Other	20	1.8
No reply	3	0.3
	1112	100.0

Table 13: Places Where Respondents Wear a Headscarf

Where do You Cover Your Head?	#	%
Everywhere that is in keeping with religion orders	975	87.7
Everywhere except school	36	3.2
Only in the streets	33	3.0
Everywhere except official organizations / In places where wearing a headscarf is not prohibited	27	2.4
Everywhere except place of employment	25	2.2
Other	9	0.8
No reply	7	0.6
	1112	100.0

Table 14: Reasons Why Wearing a Headscarf is Important

What Do You Think Is the Most Important Reason for Wearing a Headscarf?	#	%
I believe that this is an order of our religion	1075	96.7
It represents honor and morality	10	0.9
It indicates political identity	1	0.1
Other	15	1.4
No reply	11	1.0
	1112	100.0

Table 15: Percentage of Respondents Whose Mothers Wear Headscarves

Did/Does Your Mother Cover Her Head?	#	%
Yes	1089	97.9
No	20	1.8
No reply	3	0.3
	1112	100.0

Table 16: Views of Respondents about their Daughters (if any) Wearing Headscarves

Would You Like Your Daughter (if you have one) to Wear a Headscarf?	#	%
Yes	1073	96.5
No	13	1.2
No reply	26	2.3
	1112	100.0

Table 17: Reasons of Respondents for Wishing their Daughters not to Wear Headscarves

Why Do You not Want Your Daughter to Wear a Headscarf?	#	%
Because I want her to make her own choice	4	30.8
So that she will not face the same problems I have	4	30.8
So that she will not face problems in education	2	15.4
So that she is not faced with prejudice in society	1	7.7
So that she not be restricted at work	1	7.7
So that she will not be worried about her future	1	7.7
No reply	0	0.0
	13	100.0

Table 18: Respondents' Attitude to their Daughters Wishing not to Cover their Heads

What Would be Your Reaction if Your Daughter did not Want to Cover Her Head?	#	%
I would explain she should wear a headscarf	882	82.2
I would not interfere in her choice	142	13.2
I would tell her to wear a	39	3.6
I would apply pressure/force to make her wear a headscarf	2	0.2
I would support her	0	0.0
No idea / No reply	8	0.7
No reply	0	0.0
	1073	100.0

#### Attitude and Actions to the Headscarf Ban

It is evident that the headscarf ban has not been able to reach its objective. The percentage of those who have removed their headscarves due to the ban is only 1.2%, while the percentage of women refusing to remove their scarves constitutes a majority (40.5 %). 35% of the respondents removed their headscarves only in the places encompassed by the ban, while 19.9 % used other means to cover their hair (wigs, hats etc.) instead of the headscarf. The results of the study clearly show a correlation between age and removing the headscarf. The percentage of respondents who removed their headscarves falls as age increases.

As a result of the headscarf ban, 73% of the respondents stated that they removed their headscarf to finish their education, while 22.5% had to remove their scarves to preserve their jobs.

16.6 % of the respondents appealed to the law in order to attempt to gain back their rights they had lost with the ban. 76.2 % did not make any legal appeal. The main reason for not appealing to the courts was a lack of confidence in the legal system. (62.8 %).

While 36.4% of all respondents believe that the headscarf problem is possible to be solved with political applications, 13.8 % believe that this issue can only be solved by the President and another 8.5 % do not see a solution to this problem, claiming that no one can solve this problem.

Table 19: Respondents' Attitude to the Headscarf Ban

What Was Your Reaction to Pressure Applied with the Headscarf Ban?		
Did not remove headscarf	450	40.5
Removed headscarf where the ban was applied	389	35.0
Wore a wig/hat/cap etc.	221	19.9
Removed headscarf permanently	13	1.2
Other	34	3.1
No reply	5	0.4
	1112	100.0

Table 20: Respondents' Attitude to Headscarf Ban according to Age

What Was Your Reaction to Pressure Applied with the Headscarf Ban?			
AGE	REMOVAL OF HEADSCARF (%)	NON-REMOVAL OF HEADSCARF (%)	TOTAL (%)
18-24	76.7	23.3	100.0
25-29	62.8	37.2	100.0
30-34	42.6	57.4	100.0
35-50 arası	39.2	60.8	100.0

Asymp. Sig.= 0,000

Table 21: Reasons for Respondents' Not Wearing Headscarf

What Was the Main Reason for Removing the Headscarf?	#	%
In order to be able to continue education	455	73.0
Belief that the headscarf issue would not be able to be solved in the near future	164	26.3
In order not to remain in employment	140	22.5
Anxiety about future	123	19.7
In order to continue academic carrier	69	11.1
To remove pressure	60	9.6
Family pressure	31	5.0
To enter exams	15	2.4
To prevent spouse from being dismissed from employment	8	1.3
Belief that the headscarf is not a fundamental part of the religion	7	1.1
Other	42	6.7

Table 22: Legal Measures for Mistreatment

Did You Appeal to the Courts after Receiving Mistreatment ?	#	%
Yes	847	76.2
No	185	16.6
No reply	80	7.2
	1112	100.0

Table 23: Legal Measures

What Was the Outcome of Your Appeal? Where is Your Appeal Now?	#	%
I lost the case	115	62.2
Case is on going	20	10.8
I won the case	14	7.6
No outcome	11	5.9
Unaware of outcome/did not follow the appeal	5	2.7
Won the case but decision was overturned by the Higher Court	4	2.2
Decision that there was no legal grounds	2	1.1
Other	7	3.8
No reply	7	3.8
	185	100.0

Table 24: Reasons for not Taking Legal Measures

Why Did Not You Appeal the Court?	#	%
No confidence in the legal system	532	62.8
No confidence that an positive outcome would be attained	126	14.9
Felt no need to make an application to the courts	77	9.1
Economic reasons	33	3.9
There was no situation that made an appeal to the courts necessary	26	3.1
Insufficient knowledge about this issue	9	1.1
No self confidence	9	1.1
No idea	8	0.9
Other	21	2.5
No reply	6	0.7
	847	100.0

Table 25: Opinions about Different Organization and Entities for the Solution to the Headscarf Problem

Who, in Your Opinion, Shouls Solve the Headscarf Problem?	#	%
Parliament	232	20.9
Government	172	15.5
President	154	13.8
Public	99	8.9
No one can solve it	94	8.5
Army	89	8.0
With Cooperation between all governmental bodies	84	7.6
The Courts	81	7.3
The Higher Education Council	56	5.0
International organizations	10	0.9
Other	39	3.5
No reply	23	2.1

Table 26: Opinions about Bodies and Entities for the Solution to the Headscarf Problem According to the Respondents' Educational Level

Who Do You Think Is Able to Solve the Headscarf Problem?					
ANSWERS	SCHOOL / HIGHSCHOOL (%)	UNIVERSITY (%)	POSTGRADUATE DEGREE (%)	ABANDONED SCHOOL/UNIVER SITY STUDIES DUE TO BAN(%)	TOTAL (%)
President	44.8	49.4	3.2	2.6	100.0
Government	42.4	49.4	5.2	2.9	100.0
Parliament	24.6	56.9	13.8	4.7	100.0
Army	37.1	58.4	2.2	2.2	100.0
Court	27.2	64.2	8.6	0.0	100.0
Higher Education Board	57.1	35.7	1.8	5.4	100.0
Noone can solve	40.4	53.2	2.1	4.3	100.0
Public	40.4	46.5	6.1	7.1	100.0
Cooperation between all governmental	25.0	67.9	6.0	1.2	100.0
International organizations	20.0	60.0	20.0	0.0	100.0
Other	17.1	74.3	2.9	5.7	100.0
No reply	39.1	52.2	8.7	0.0	100.0

## The Unjust Treatment Faced as Result of the Headscarf Ban

It is absolutely clear that the test subjects who had to remove their headscarves because of the ban were deeply affected by this event. 70.8% of them felt that they had suffered psychological injury, while 63.2 % stated that they had been offended. 46.9% of the subjects felt ashamed every time they had to remove the headscarf and 46.5% considered themselves to be committing a sin. Although approximately two-thirds of the respondents faced no serious mistreatment in their families due to the headscarf issue, the remaining one-third experienced problems in their family life. 11.2% of the test subjects experienced problems in their immediate family, 21.2% faced problems from other relatives.

The headscarf ban also negatively affected the working life of the test subjects. 20.8% of the women who covered their heads were unable to find a job because of the headscarf, while 17.8% had to work in less conspicuous positions, and 17.1% said that they had to carry out a job that was different from that for which they had been trained.

- The headscarf ban had the greatest effect on psychology of the subjects. Only 3.8% of those interviewed said that they had not experienced any psychological problems in this matter. Others believe that they faced different psychological problems. 66.5% of the respondents confirmed that their self-respect had been deeply hurt by the negative attitude of the mass media, while 63.9% had lost their confidence in the state and 60.6% in the law. 54.1% stated that they felt that they had been treated like criminals, something that caused them a great deal of stress, and 45.7% said that they felt under more pressure than other people.
- Except for 4.5% of the test subjects, the remainder believed that they had experienced social mistreatment because of the headscarf ban. Being treated differently from others in official organizations was the most common mistreatment (51.5%); this was followed by being prevented from going to certain places or environments due to possible problems (50.6%), and being ostracized from some social environments (36.5%). A notable number of respondents (28.1%) stated that they had been offended/harassed in the streets because they were wearing the headscarf.
- As far as mistreatment in educational life, 11.7% of the respondents preferred to remain silent about this matter, while 16.1% confirmed they had not faced any problems in this field. The remaining test subjects had experienced mistreatment due to the headscarf ban. Nearly a quarter of these had been offended/harassed at school, and a similar number had had to abandon their education. 19.3% had had their school performance obstructed because of the need to remove the headscarf.  
The majority of those who had to abandon their education because of the ban were university students. While 60% of the test subjects who were unable to continue their studies had to abandon bachelor or master degrees, another 24.6% failed to take their exams due to headscarf ban.
- 93.9% of the test subjects felt that they would have had a different life from the one they were experiencing now if there had been no ban. 67.6% of those who felt that the ban had changed their life stated that they would have received a better education, while 63.8% said they would have had a different social life, 45.1% thought that they

would have lived under better economic conditions, and 44.6% believed that they would have had more self-confidence.

- 23.8% of the test subjects stated that the ban did not prevent them from following their ambitions, while the rest, except for 1.6%, gave no reply to the question of whether or not the ban had been an obstacle to fulfilling their plans. Failure to start/continue a university education and being unable to establish an academic career (26.3%) were the most common plans that were not realized. There is a close relation between age and the failed plans. As the age decreases, the ratio of disappointment becomes higher.

*Table 27: Feelings of Respondents in Situations When they had to Remove their Headscarfs*

<b>How did you feel when you had to remove you headscarf?</b>		
Psychologically hurt	441	70.8
Offended	394	63.2
Great shame each time I had to remove headscarf	292	46.9
I felt as if I were sinning	290	46.5
I lost my self-respect	184	29.5
My school performance suffered	129	20.7
Not greatly affected as I believed that I was doing the right thing	93	14.9
Was angry with those who had forced me to take of my headscarf	20	3.2
I was greatly upset	11	1.8
Other	21	3.4

*Table 28: Difficulties Faced in Family Life Due to the Headscarf*

<b>In your family life, did you face any of the situations listed below when wearing a head scarf?</b>		
No family problems related to this issue	725	65.2
Negative reaction from relatives	236	21.2
Pressure from family to remove headscarf	125	11.2
Unable to participate in activities with my husband's work colleagues	84	7.6
My family was mistreated because I wore a headscarf	43	3.9
My children were mistreated because I wore a headscarf	29	2.6
My husband was not promoted because I wore a headscarf	21	1.9
Negative reaction from husband	15	1.3
My husband was dismissed/investigated because I wore a headscarf	9	0.8
We had to live in different cities so that my husband would not lose his job	5	0.4
Other	28	2.5

*Table 29 : Difficulties Faced in Employment Due to the Headscarf*

<b>In your employment, did you face any of the following situations?</b>		
Never been employed	356	32.0
Failed to find a job because of headscarf	231	20.8
Forced to work in a background profession due to the headscarf	198	17.8
Worked in a job that was not relevant to my profession due to the headscarf	190	17.1
Had to accept a low salary due to the headscarf	141	12.7
Work performance declined due to the headscarf	120	10.8
Denied an opportunity to choose form of employment due to the headscarf	74	6.7
Dismissed due to the headscarf	141	12.7
Had to wear a wig	67	6.0
Failed to advance in my career due to the headscarf	36	3.2
Faced discrimination at work due to the headscarf	33	3.0
Faced financial penalties at workplace due to the headscarf	26	2.3
Compelled to remove headscarf	21	1.9
Did not face any problems in the workplace	16	1.4
Had to leave employment due to the headscarf	15	1.3
Chose to work in a place where the headscarf was not a problem	12	1.1
Other	15	1.3
No reply	86	7.7

*Table 30 : Psychological Difficulties Faced Due to the Headscarf*

<b>Did you face any of the following psychologic problems when you wore a headscarf?</b>		
I was offended by the negative representation in the press	740	66.5
I lost confidence in my country due to the attitude of some governmental bodies shown to those who wear a headscarf	711	63.9
My confidence in the was law shattered	674	60.6
I was deeply upset and felt that I was being treated like a criminal	602	54.1
I felt that I was under more pressure than other people	508	45.7
I felt different and alienated at having to wear a wig	185	16.6
I experienced seroius psychological problems and had to undergo medical treatment	102	9.2
I did not suffer from any psychological problems	42	3.8
Other	33	3.0
No reply	21	1.9

Table 31: Difficulties Faced in Social Life Due to the Headscarf

Did you experience any mistreatment due to wearing a headscarf in your social life?		
I faced different treatment in official organizations	573	51.5
I stopped going to certain places as I was worried that I would encounter some problems	563	50.6
I was ostracized by some circles	406	36.5
I was offended/harrassed in the street because of my headscarf	312	28.1
I had to abandon my social life and activities	205	18.4
I encountered no problems in my social life or activities	103	9.3
I lost connections with friends	97	8.7
My community and groups to which I belong applied pressure to force me to remove my headscarf	50	4.5
I was forced to marry at an early age after leaving school	26	2.3
Other	30	2.7
No reply	50	4.5

Table 32: Difficulties Faced in Educational Life due to the Headscarf

Did you experience any mistreatment because of the headscarf in your education?		
I was offended/harrassed at school because of the headscarf	280	25.2
I had to quit school because of the headscarf ban	276	24.8
I had to remove my headscarf at school because of the headscarf ban and this negatively	215	19.3
I did not face any problems/mistreatment in educational life	161	14.5
I had to remove my headscarf	55	4.9
I did not study at university due to the headscarf ban	44	4.0
I had to temporarily abandon my education due to the headscarf ban	43	3.9
I was unable to establish my academic career due to the headscarf ban	28	2.5
I had to continue my education abroad due to the headscarf ban	26	2.3
I was unable to study in the field I wanted to because of the headscarf ban	20	1.8
I did not suffer from a ban during my education	18	1.6
I only put on the headscarf after completing my education	16	1.4
I was warned/underwent investigation/ was expelled from school due to the headscarf	15	1.3
I had to wear a wig	15	1.3
I had /have to remove the headscarf during exams	11	1.0
Other	51	4.6
No reply	130	11.7

Table 33: Abandoning Education due to the Headscarf

When did you have to temporarily abandon your	#	%
I had to leave university	113	40.9
I could not attend the exams due to the headscarf ban	68	24.6
I had to abandon a post-graduate course	42	15.2
I was expelled from the university	13	4.7
Other	4	1.4
No reply	36	13.0
	<b>276</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 34: Observations on the Headscarf's Influence in Private Life

Do you think that your life would have been different if there had been no	#	%
Yes	1044	93.9
No	68	6.1
	<b>1112</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 35: Opinions on Possible Developments in Private Life without a Headscarf Ban

How do you think your life would have been different if there had been no	#	%
I would have had a better education	706	67.6
I would have a different social life	666	63.8
I would be in a better financial position	471	45.1
I would have more self-confidence	466	44.6
I would be working	379	36.3
I would have a different marriage	74	7.1
I would have a better carrier	40	3.8
I would have been happier	32	3.1
I would have had an academic career	21	2.0
Other	38	3.6

Table 36: Ambitions not Realized Due to Headscarf Ban

Was the headscarf ban an obstacle to any of your ambitions?	#	%
It was not an obstacle to any of my aspirations	265	23.8
I was unable to complete university	178	16.0
It was an obstacle to my academic carrier	172	15.5
It was an obstacle to my business carrier	116	10.4
I could not study in the university	115	10.3
I cannot work in the field of my	77	6.9
I was unable to study at the school/department I wanted to	50	4.5
Yes (no comment)	29	2.6
My social life became narrower	20	1.8
I was unable to work in official	14	1.3
I was unable to chose the profession I	12	1.1
Other	46	4.1
No reply	18	1.6
	<b>1112</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 37: Situation of Ambitions not Realized Due to Headscarf Ban

Did the ban prevent you from pursuing your aspirations ?			
AGE	YES (%)	NO (%)	TOTAL (%)
18-24	15.3	84.7	100.0
25-29	10.2	89.8	100.0
30-34	7.9	92.1	100.0
Between 35 and 50	4.1	95.9	100.0

Asymp. Sig.= 0,000

#### Corelation between the Headscarf, Modernity and Politics

When the respondents were asked in which country they would like to live, Turkey was the place most often mentioned (91.1%). Any of the EU Member State occupied the second position (23.1%), and these were followed by Saudi Arabia (%19.2). Only 7.5% of the respondents stated that they wanted to live in Iran. There is a clear corelation between age and the desire to live in an EU country. The younger repondents tended to want tolive in the EU.

- While 39.6% of the respondents supported Turkish EU membership, 36.8% stated that they opposed to it. The percentage of EU supporters among those who wear headscarves is notably much more lower than the average figures in Turkey. There is a corelation between the desire to live in EU countries and support for EU membership. The

percentage of EU membership supporters is higher among those who desire to live in the EU. Thus, there is a certain relation between age, state of education and opinions of the EU. The greater one's education, the more likely one is to support the EU. And an anti-EU attitude becomes more apparent as one becomes older.

- It can be easily observed that women who wear headscarves hold in modern values in different spheres of their lives. While only 3.2% of the respondents say the place of a woman is in her home, 6% find male polygamy acceptable, while 3.9% state that honor killings are acceptable; however, 98.6% of the respondents stated that women must be given the right to choose whom they marry, **and** 77.2% believe that a woman can be a faithful Muslim without covering her head, 85.6% think that women should work and gain economic independence, and 87.5% think that men and women should hold equal rights and responsibilities in the family life.
- At the same time, women who wear headscarves have quite a liberal attitude towards other women who do not. Only 12.4% of the respondents say that they feel free only among their friends who cover their heads, while 85.6% say that clothing and appearance is not important when it comes to friendship.
- 95.9% of the respondents did not think that the headscarf should be a political issue.
- 61% said that they would support a future female president, while 66.5% stated that they support parties with female candidates.
- 33.2% of the respondents confirmed that they understood democracy to be freedom of thought and expression, while 24.2% said that the most important element of democracy was to ensure social justice and equal opportunities. The percentage of those who bring freedom of religion and conscience to the fore is 20.3%. While one-fourth of the respondents stated that they wanted to enter political life, the rest did not want to become involved in politics for various reasons.

Table 38: Countries Respondents Would Like to Live in

In which of the countries listed below would you like to live if it were possible ?								
	WANT TO LIVE IN		DON'T WANT TO LIVE IN		NO REPLY		TOTAL	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
USA	159	14.3	905	81.4	48	4.3	1112	100.0
Any EU Member State	257	23.1	812	73.0	43	3.9	1112	100.0
Iran	83	7.5	975	87.7	54	4.9	1112	100.0
Saudi Arabia	214	19.2	845	76.0	53	4.8	1112	100.0
Turkey	1013	91.1	82	7.4	17	1.5	1112	100.0

Table 39: Countries Respondents Would Like to Live in according to Age

Would you want to live in any EU Member State if it were possible?				
AGE	YES (%)	NO (%)	NO REPLY (%)	TOTAL (%)
18-24	27.1	69.5	3.4	100.0
25-29	26.1	67.3	6.6	100.0
30-34	18.6	78.0	3.4	100.0
Between 35 and 50	17.0	80.4	2.6	100.0

Asymp. Sig.= 0,003

Table 40 : Opinions of EU Membership

How would you vote in a referendum on EU membership?		%
Support EU membership	440	39.6
Against EU membership	409	36.8
No idea / No reply	263	23.7
	<b>1112</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 41 : Desire to Live in EU Member Countries

Opinion about EU membership in a possible referendum in keeping with the desire to live in any EU Member State				
	WOULD LIKE TO LIVE IN EU (%)	WOULD NOT WANT TO LIVE IN EU (%)	NO REPLY (%)	TOTAL (%)
Support EU membership	31.1	65.5	3.4	100.0
Against EU membership	17.6	78.2	4.2	100.0
No idea / No reply	18.3	77.6	4.2	100.0

Asymp. Sig.= 0,000

Table 42 : Opinions of EU Membership according to Education

How would you vote in a possible referendum on EU membership?				
EDUCATION	WOULD SUPPORT EU MEMBERSHIP (%)	WOULD NOT SUPPORT EU MEMBERSHIP (%)	NO IDEA/ NO REPLY (%)	TOTAL (%)
Secondary School	32.9	40.6	26.5	100.0
University	41.9	35.2	22.9	100.0
Master's/Doctor's degree	62.2	25.6	12.2	100.0
Abandoned education	30	42.5	27.5	100.0

Asymp. Sig.= 0,000

Table 43: Opinions of EU Membership according to Age

How would you vote in a possible referendum on EU membership?				
AGE	WOULD SUPPORT EU MEMBERSHIP (%)	WOULD NOT SUPPORT EU MEMBERSHIP (%)	NO IDEA/ NO REPLY (%)	TOTAL (%)
18-24	32.1	42.4	25.5	100.0
25-29	39.4	38.5	22.1	100.0
30-34	37.9	36.1	26.0	100.0
Between 35 and 50	53	26.6	20.4	100.0

Asymp. Sig.= 0,000

Table 44: Respondents' Value Systems on Different Issues

<b>Do you agree with the statements listed below? (1)</b>				
	<b>YES, I AGREE (%)</b>	<b>NO, I DO NOT AGREE (%)</b>	<b>NO IDEA / NO REPLY (%)</b>	<b>TOTAL (%)</b>
1- I feel that women who wear headscarves are ostracized from social life	84.4	13.1	2.5	100.0
2- I feel that legislation is not sufficient to secure equality between men and women	77.3	14.5	8.2	100.0
3- I feel that women who wear headscarves should stay at home	3.2	95.2	1.5	100.0
4- I feel that society does not welcome working women who cover their heads	45.0	50.3	4.8	100.0
5- I feel that a woman who fails to wear a headscarf is committing a sin	53.4	35.6	11.0	100.0
6- Women should have the right to choose who they marry	98.6	0.4	1.0	100.0
7- Women can be true believers without wearing a headscarf	77.2	15.9	6.9	100.0
8- It is acceptable if a man is unfaithful to his wife	2.1	97.3	0.6	100.0
9- I would not vote for a party that does not give importance to the problems of women who wear headscarves	83.8	7.8	8.4	100.0
10- I feel honor killings are acceptable	3.9	92.2	4.0	100.0
11- I feel that it is necessary for women to work and thus gain economic independence	85.6	9.3	5.1	100.0
12- I feel that women who wear headscarves are affected by social degeneration	93.6	4.1	2.2	100.0
13- I feel it is normal for a man to have more than one wife	6.0	90.7	3.2	100.0
14- Women who wear headscarves should have the right to work both in educational and public institutions	99.2	0.6	0.2	100.0
15- Physical appearance is not important when it comes to making friends	85.6	12.8	1.7	100.0

Table 44: Respondents' Value Systems on Different Issues

<b>Do you agree with the statements listed below? (2)</b>				
	<b>YES, I SUPPORT (%)</b>	<b>NO, I DO NOT SUPPORT (%)</b>	<b>NO IDEAS / NO REPLY (%)</b>	<b>TOTAL (%)</b>
16- I do not believe that the headscarf problem will be solved in the near future	79.7	16.3	4.1	100.0
17- I only feel free with friends who also cover their heads	12.4	85.7	2.0	100.0
18- I think that those who oppose the headscarf have no real faith in democracy or human rights	92.8	4.1	3.2	100.0
19- I feel that wearing a headscarf is not a danger to secularity	95.3	2.7	2.0	100.0
20- I feel that those who oppose the headscarf also oppose the values it represents	90.9	5.1	4.1	100.0
21- I would like my child to study abroad/ at a school that teaches lessons in a foreign language	53.4	38.7	7.9	100.0
22- I feel that religious people are being oppressed in our country	92.3	4.9	2.8	100.0
23- I feel that the notion of secularity in Turkey is not well understood	90.0	7.3	2.7	100.0
24- I feel that men and women should have equal rights and responsibilities in the family	87.5	10.0	2.6	100.0
25- Wearing a headscarf is a matter of self-expression	79.7	16.4	3.9	100.0
26- I do not feel that it is right for the headscarf to be a political issue	95.9	3.1	1.1	100.0
27- I feel that those who oppose the headscarf do not actually know women who cover their heads or do not want to know and understand them	96.4	2.2	1.5	100.0

Table 45: Respondents' Approach to Electing a Female President

<b>Would you like for a woman to be elected President?</b>	<b>#</b>	<b>%</b>
Does not matter	526	47.3
No	387	34.8
Yes	160	14.4
No idea / No reply	39	3.5
	<b>1112</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 46: Respondents' Approach to Electing a Female President according to Education

Would you like for a woman to be elected President?				
ANSWERS	LICEUM (%)	UNIVERSITY (%)	DEGREE (%)	QUIT LICEUM / UNIVERSITY / DEGREE (%)
Yes	15	14.1	17.5	7.5
No	34.2	36.5	27	30.0
Does not matter	47.8	45.5	54.1	55.0
No idea / No reply	3	3.9	1.4	7.5
	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Asymp. Sig.= 0,437

Table 47: Respondents' Approach to Electing a Female President according to age

Would you like for a woman to be elected President?					
AGE	YES (%)	NO (%)	DOESN'T MATTER (%)	NO IDEA / NO REPLY (%)	TOTAL (%)
18-24	15.0	36	45.1	3.9	100.0
25-29	14.2	32.7	50.9	2.2	100.0
30-34	9.6	39.5	48.1	2.8	100.0
Age between 35 and 50	16.7	31.5	47.4	4.4	100.0

Asymp. Sig.= 0,382

Table 48: Opinions on Democratic Values

What does the notion of democracy mean to you?		
Freedom of thought and expression	369	33.2
Ensuring social justice and equal opportunities	269	24.2
Freedom of religion and conscience	226	20.3
Right to elect and be elected, people's participation in administration	88	7.9
Supremacy of law and state of law	75	6.7
Secularity and modern life	14	1.3
Other	44	4.0
No reply / No idea	27	2.4
	<b>1112</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 49: Opinions on Political Activity

Would you like to participate in politics?		
No, I don't like politics	561	50.4
Yes, but I cannot because I wear a headscarf	150	13.5
Yes, I would like to participate in politics	135	12.1
No, being in politics is very difficult	97	8.7
No, my education is insufficient	28	2.5
No, I do not think that it is right religiously for women to be involved in politics.	26	2.3
No, I have too much family responsibility	13	1.2
No, my husband/family would not allow me to do so	5	0.4
No, I cannot afford it	4	0.4
Other	89	8.0
No reply	4	0.4
	<b>1112</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 50: Desire for a Political Career according to Age

Would you like to participate in politics?				
AGE	YES (%)	NO (%)	OTHER (%)	TOTAL (%)
18-24	26.5	69.1	4.3	100.0
25-29	22.2	65.8	12.0	100.0
30-34	25.4	62.1	12.4	100.0
Between 35 and 50	27.5	64.7	7.8	100.0

Table 51: Desire for a Political Career according to Education

Would you like to enter politics?				
EDUCATION	YES (%)	NO (%)	OTHER (%)	TOTAL (%)
Secondary School	23.6	68.4	8.0	100.0
University	25.7	66.6	7.7	100.0
Master's/Doctor's Degree	35.1	52.7	12.2	100.0
Abandoned education	30.0	65.0	5.0	100.0

Asymp. Sig.= 0,238

Table 52: Support for Political Parties with Female Candidates

Do you support a political party with female candidates?	#	%
Yes	739	66.5
No	139	12.5
No idea / No reply	234	21.0
	<b>1112</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 53 : Support for Political Parties with Female Candidates according to Age

<b>Do you support a political party with female candidates?</b>				
<b>AGE</b>	<b>SUPPORT (%)</b>	<b>NOSUPPORT (%)</b>	<b>NO IDEA / NO REPLY (%)</b>	<b>TOTAL (%)</b>
18-24	60.1	14.6	25.3	100.0
25-29	68.1	10.6	21.2	100.0
30-34	73.4	11.3	15.3	100.0
Age between 35 and 50	70.7	11.5	17.8	100.0

Asymp. Sig. = 0,018

Table 54: Support for Political Parties with Female Candidates according to Education

<b>Do you support a political party with female candidates?</b>				
<b>EDUCATION</b>	<b>SUPPORT (%)</b>	<b>NOSUPPORT (%)</b>	<b>NO IDEA/ NO REPLY (%)</b>	<b>TOTAL (%)</b>
Secondary School	62.8	14.7	22.4	100.0
University	68.8	10.7	20.4	100.0
Master's/Doctor's	71.6	9.5	18.9	100.0
Abandoned education	57.5	22.5	20.0	100.0

Asymp. Sig. = 0,144

Table 55: Factors of Great Importance in Voting

<b>Which items from the following list are most important for you when voting?</b>		
	639	57.5
Party leader		
Party program	618	55.6
Party personnel	598	53.8
Approach to headscarf issue	595	53.5
Candidates put forward by the party	151	13.6
Political promises	114	10.3
Political campaign	56	5.0
My family's preference	32	2.9
Attitude of press and media	10	0.9
Friends' advice	4	0.4
Other	79	7.1
No reply	11	1.0