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EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXPERIENCES OF
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THE HEADSCARF BAN IN THE TURKISH UNIVERSITY: EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXPERIENCES OF PART-TIME UNVEILERS

VOLUME I

By

Fatma Nevra Seggie

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ABSTRACT

THE HEADSCARF BAN IN THE TURKISH UNIVERSITY: EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXPERIENCES OF PART-TIME UNVEILERS

By

Fatma Nevra Seggie

This dissertation examines the impact of the higher education headscarf ban policy on the educational and cultural experiences of part-time unveilers. The term "part-time unveiler" is coined to refer to undergraduate female students who cover their hair in their private lives in line with the tenets of Islam, but who remove the headscarf while at a Turkish university as a result of the higher education headscarf ban policy. This is a qualitative study based on one-on-one interviews with thirty participants and informed by grounded theory. The study highlights how part-time unveilers understand and negotiate the policy, the challenges and opportunities associated with unveiling and the strategies they use in response to these, and the impact of the headscarf ban on part-time unveilers' sense of identity. Based on the findings, one conclusion of the research is that the headscarf ban is more than just a policy of access. It appears to be a value-laden, multifaceted, and complex policy with many layers, interpretations, and implications, and with multiple intended and/or unintended outcomes. Another conclusion to be drawn from the study is that the ban appears to impact part-time unveilers at different levels. It seems to affect their daily lives on campus, their personalities, and their identity development in numerous ways. The effects of the ban have long-term and short-term implicit and explicit implications for higher education, society, and the role of Islam, democracy, and secularism in Turkey, which may have an overall impact on the social, political, and

economic contexts of the country. The dissertation makes recommendations for policy makers, administrators, and faculty. It also offers suggestions for future research.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to two men who spent their lives in education and service of their country.

In memory of my grandfathers

Mustafa Sevket Ergin
Ismail Tevfik Sargut

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Background

The place of religion in public institutions has become a fervently conversed topic in secular Turkey. Even though Turkey may define and exercise secularism differently from other secular nation-states in Europe, there seems to be a consensus about the preservation of the secular mission of public institutions to create an environment that welcomes people from different religions. Like all secular public institutions in Europe, Turkish secular public institutions are organized and regulated in such a way that secularism paves the way for their members to live together without oppressing one another ("Avrupa'da turban yasagi," n.d.). However, the general concern for Turkey with its substantial Muslim population is that exposure of overt religious symbols may threaten the secular nature of public institutions, and one overt religious symbol of constituents from one religion may lead to oppression of constituents from other religions. In order to avoid this problem, Turkey, like some other European secular countries, has taken actions that might limit their citizens' rights and freedom to expose, in public institutions, symbols of the religion to which they belong in order to equalize and thus become beneficial to the members of those organizations ("Avrupa'da turban yasagi," n.d.). The problem is, such policies have not been analyzed in depth as to whether or not (and the extent to which) such actions might lead to consequences that could in fact benefit or harm stakeholders in different ways.

Such policies of Turkey are evident in various arenas from healthcare to law to education. Each sector has regulated procedures for its public institutions in order to avoid the exposure of overt religious symbols. One such sector is higher education.

Statement of the Research Problem

In Turkey, higher education is centralized and regulated by a state-controlled higher education council. This institution is responsible for decision making in the realm of higher education. The nature of council control of institutions is an important issue and raises critical questions, such as institutional control of budgets, curriculum, and the faculty tenure system. The council formulates national policies to meet the needs of Turkish higher education stakeholders, to address issues of concern, and to further improve the quality of higher education in Turkey. Even though these policies are formulated for the public good, at times their outcomes might become troublesome. One such policy is the higher education headscarf ban policy.

The headscarf ban policy was introduced by the higher education council as a response to "a perceived threat posed by the encroachment of Islam" (Human Rights Watch, n.d., p.1) into higher education in the 1980s. The ban does not allow Muslim women who cover their hair into Turkish university campuses. Muslim female students who choose to cover their hair need to remove the headscarf to gain access to higher education institutions. The policy was formulated to eradicate a possible religious threat and ensure the stability of Turkish higher education and preservation of its secular mission (Human Rights Watch, n.d.). In addition, the policy explains why there are no women wearing headscarves in higher education institutions even though it is possible to

come across many women who are covered in the streets of all major metropolitan areas and rural areas in Turkey.

Different from a private university, a Turkish public university is tightly controlled and regulated by the higher education council and thus responsible for strictly following national educational laws and so enacting the headscarf ban policy to conserve its secular nature. To achieve this goal, it is obliged to ask students to uncover their hair to grant them access to its campus. A Turkish public university has also an obligation to ensure that students have positive educational and cultural experiences to help them succeed in their studies. A positive educational and cultural experience could be best described as a campus life that is inclusive, engaging and supportive, where everybody feels welcome and comfortable, and is granted opportunities to construct or reconstruct individual character habits of mind, establish identities and affective domains, and become intellectually and socially engaged to gain growth, development, learning, and success. However, forcing students who cover their hair in their private lives to take their headscarves off and act against their cultural values and religious beliefs to receive a higher education may create difficult educational and cultural experiences for these covered students.

Purpose of the Study

This study has examined the educational and cultural experiences of "part-time" unveilers during their degree programs in public institutions in Turkey. A part-time unveiler is a woman who covers her hair in her private life in line with the tenets of Islam, but who removes the veil while at a Turkish university as a result of the higher education headscarf ban policy. Although not all Turkish women wear a headscarf, those

who do must remove it, often against their wishes, if they wish to study or teach in postsecondary institutions. The subset of the part-time unveiler studied here is undergraduate students.

Research Questions

The research question is:

What is the impact of the headscarf ban policy on the educational and cultural experiences of "part-time unveilers" during their undergraduate programs in public higher education institutions in Turkey?

The sub-questions related to the research question are:

(1) How do part-time unveilers understand the headscarf ban policy?

(2) How do part-time unveilers decide to comply with the policy?

(3) What opportunities does unveiling bring to part-time unveilers on campus?

(4) What challenges are part-time unveilers faced with on campus and in their lives as a result of unveiling?

(5) How do part-time unveilers deal with these challenges?

(6) How do these challenges affect their educational progress?

(7) How does complying with the policy affect their plural self-identities (e.g., identities as Turkish citizens, Muslims, and females)?

Significance of the Study

Since it was implemented, the policy has resulted in the exclusion of thousands of Muslim women from Turkey's system of higher education. Numerous faculty members have been suspended or expelled because of the ban (Human Rights Watch, n.d. 2005). The ban has also forced veiled female students to make a choice about their religious

convictions and subsequent education. They either take their veils off and continue their education or insist on wearing the headscarf and terminate their education. Faced with this dilemma, some veiled female students have refused to uncover their hair claiming that they wear the scarf to follow the tenets of Islam (Human Rights Watch, n.d.).

Of these non-compliers, those who can afford it go abroad to continue their education, but those who do not have this option lose their chance of receiving a university degree. On the other hand, there have been some others who have complied with the policy. These compliers uncover their hair by either taking their veils off or wearing wigs or hats[1] to gain access to Turkish higher education.

Of these two groups of female students, compliers and non-compliers with the policy, the media and researchers have focused on the hurdles of veiled undergraduate women who have been denied access to postsecondary education as a result of their resistance to the policy. However, few studies examine the educational and cultural experiences of Muslim female students who comply with the ban during their undergraduate studies. This study has intended to fill this gap. I have examined how the policy has impacted these students' academic involvement and multiple identities as Turkish Muslim women. The study helps student affairs professionals, faculty, and policy makers understand the needs of this special group.

Structure of the Dissertation

The structure of this dissertation is as follows. The second chapter focuses on the review of literature by (1) presenting the macro-drivers of the headscarf ban policy within the political context of Turkey; (2) exploring the micro-drivers of the headscarf ban

[1] As an alternative solution to the headscarf ban, instead of exposing their hair, some students wear a wig or hat in a way that completely covers the headscarf and/or their hair. This way they look unveiled to the outside world when they in fact keep their real hair and/or headscarf unexposed underneath the wig or hat.

policy within the Turkish higher education arena; and (3) analyzing the background, language, and institutional enactment of the policy. The chapter concludes with the conceptual framework used in the study. The third chapter discusses the methods and procedures undertaken during the research. It explains the research approach, poses the research questions, explores the design of the study, and documents the challenges conducting the research. The fourth chapter discusses the background of the research participants and presents case narratives of five selected participants to help readers make better sense of the research findings. The fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters present the findings of the study, based on all thirty participants, using a thematic and analytical approach. Specifically, chapter 5 analyzes the findings concerning how the participants understand and negotiate the headscarf ban policy. Chapter 6 presents the findings pertaining to the participants' opportunities and challenges associated with unveiling at universities. This chapter also examines the strategies used by the women students when confronted with challenges related to unveiling. The chapter ends with a discussion of the ways in which the challenges affect the educational progress of the part-time unveilers. Chapter 7 explores the impact of unveiling on the citizenship, religious, and gender identities of the part-time unveilers. The dissertation concludes with a final chapter, which discusses and interprets the findings, reflects on the implications for research and practice, and makes recommendations for policy makers, administrators, and researchers.

Summary of Chapter 1

To sum up, this study deals with the educational and cultural experiences of part-time unveilers, women who are veiled in their private lives but choose to remove their headscarves during their undergraduate studies at state universities in Turkey. The

analysis of their shared experiences unpacks the ways in which a long-debated policy, the higher education headscarf ban policy, impacts their university lives and identities while attending postsecondary institutions in Turkey, reveals their academic and social needs, and illuminates the implications of the research findings for students, administrators, and policy makers.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

This chapter contains a review of literature on the political, social, and educational context of Turkey, with specific reference to the higher education headscarf ban policy. First, I explore the macro-drivers of the policy–that is, Turkish secularism, religion and identity, gender and class, and democracy in Turkey. Next, I move on to explain some of the policy-related features of the higher education system and elaborate on the way higher education policies are formulated, including the challenges policy makers face in the country. Later, the chapter provides an historical background about the higher education headscarf ban policy and discusses some of the issues emerging from its existence. After summarizing the literature reviewed in this chapter, I conclude by presenting the conceptual framework used in this study.

Political Context of Turkey

Modern Turkey emerged from the Ottoman Empire, which was ruled by Islamic law. After the collapse of the Empire, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk founded the Republic of Turkey in 1923. He defeated the Western armies and won the War of Independence. A series of political, social, cultural, educational, and economic reforms followed this victory, leading to the creation of a modern and strong nation (Cherry, 2003). These reforms brought about numerous changes in the way power is distributed within the population, creating new balances between the elite and the masses (White, 2002).

Turkey has both a president and a prime minister. Political parties come to power through democratic elections, which take place once every four years. Today, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) rule the country under the leadership of Tayyip Erdogan.

The party, which identifies itself as a moderate Islamist party (White, 2002), has had some conflicts and tensions with the secular elite and the Turkish military, which identifies itself as the number-one guardian of secularism. The differences between secularists and Islamists are explored in depth in the following pages.

Geographically, Turkey is a bridge between West and East; this bridge can be extrapolated to include the values of Western and Eastern cultures and political structures. Turkey has the ability to become a model for the rest of the Muslim world, as it is a secular democratic country with a predominantly Muslim population (Cherry, 2003), which puts it in a unique position in the world. Secularism, democracy, and religion are important features of the country, which are intertwined with issues of gender, identity, and class. Within the context of this study, it is important to analyze these characteristics in depth because they are the macro-drivers of the headscarf ban policy and depict the background and rationale of this policy in Turkish higher education.

Macro-Drivers of the Headscarf Ban Policy

Turkish Secularism

Traditionally, secularism has meant the separation of church and state, with the state playing no role in religious affairs. The Turkish model of secularism has a separation of state and religion to the extent that religion has no role in the affairs of state (Ayoob, 2004); however, the model differs on other certain important dimensions: First, attempts to separate religion and state in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire resulted in dual practices emerging between them. Secularism and religion became distinct belief models, with separate followers in each. With the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, which emphasized secularism, this dichotomous system was eradicated by abolishing all

institutions that failed to conform to the ideals of secularism (Berkes, 1998). The Department of Religious Affairs was attached to and still is under the control of the state, where imams[2] are civil servants and bound to follow the rules of the government. Thus, all the religious representatives and/or symbols were removed from public life and regulated by the state. From this perspective, in Turkish secularism, the state dominates and controls religious institutions at every level. This domination and control of religion can be exemplified by the fact that mosques are built and led under the direction of the state (Fuller, 2004).

Another characteristic of Turkish secularist policies is a definite segregation between politics and religion (Erdodan, 1999). Erdodan explained that, according to political theory, this type of detachment requires governmental religious neutrality, whereby the state does not support one religion or one secular view over another. The state strives to be neutral by not influencing the decision making of its citizens toward a special religious or secular belief (Monsma & Soper, 1997). However, Erdodan (1999) contended that there is a tendency toward secular values and actions with this model, and neutrality is not always attained.

Gulalp (2003) asserted that the normative definition of secularism is "associated with enlightenment and the freedom of thought" (p. 382), whereas in Turkey "it is imposed from above and protected in an authoritarian manner by state institutions, including the military" (p. 382). According to Ayoob (2004), "this augments the military's role in the political sphere and creates the Turkish model of 'authoritarian secularism'" (p. 452).

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[2] Imam comes from the Arabic word *Imam* and means a person trained to lead the prayer in a mosque.

Since Turkish secularism is based both on state-religion separation and state control of religion, within the context of the Turkish university, higher education policies sometimes result in outcomes that create tensions as a result of state domination over religion. One such example is the headscarf ban policy in Turkish higher education, which was introduced by the ruling elite. Research conducted by Seggie (in press) and Mabokela and Seggie (in press) indicated that the higher education headscarf ban policy, perceived as jeopardizing religious freedom on campuses, led to conflicts in the minds of undergraduate and graduate students in Turkish universities. What are the roots of these conflicts in the minds of these students? The answer lies in how Turks generally view themselves in relation to secularism and Islam. It is important to understand how religion has insinuated itself into secular and predominantly Muslim Turkey and how secularism and religion have influenced the identity of Turkish citizens.

Religion and Identity

The population of Turkey is 99% Muslim. Their cultural heritage dates back to the Ottoman Empire and identifies mainly with Islam. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, founding secularists were guided "by the ideas of the European Enlightenment" (Ayoob, 2004, p. 454) and emphasized "nationalism based on territory and ethnicity rather than religious affinity" (Ayoob, 2004, p. 454) would be the milestone in Turkey's progression. The aim was to create a Turkish identity that has a common language, race, and shared background with a new Western lifestyle. But it took quite some time for large parts of Turkey to have links with the West and to enjoy the opportunities their country provides (Fuller, 2004). These groups remained marginalized. Meanwhile, their identity was shaped around both religion, taking pride in their Ottoman

background, and secularism, being loyal to the newly born system (Fuller, 2004). Ayoob (2004) and Gulalp (2003) explained that this happened because the Turkish ethnic identity cannot be separated from its Islamic identity; a "non-Muslim can be a Turkish citizen but not a Turk" (Ayoob, 2004, p. 455). Fuller explained that the integration of Islam into the Turkish identity manifested itself in 2002 when an Islam-oriented party won the elections. In addition, Fuller and Ayoob suggested that the majority of the Turkish population do not view being a Muslim and a secularist as contrasting with but rather as complementing one another. Despite the fact that the Turkish identity is composed of both religion and secularism, throughout the decades Turkish citizens have started associating their identity more with either secularism or Islam. From this association emerged two distinct groups in the country: secularists and Islamists. Islamism is a concept coined in the 20th century as a result of global discussion about the Muslim lifestyle, exacerbated by both mass media and education.

Separate identities: Secularists and Islamists. Secularism was implemented to help Turkey modernize (Fuller, 2004). The nation underwent numerous societal reforms that led to the adoption of Western laws and lifestyle. As a result, the ruling elite marginalized Islam, and religiosity became associated with backwardness (Fuller, 2004). The development process resulted in a society that was polarized along secular and Islamic lines (Gole, 1997; Sunar & Sayari, 2004; White, 2002) and the creation of two distinct groups: secularists and Islamists.

Secularists consider themselves liberal, progressive, and individualistic and are strongly tied to the idea of modernity, "characterized by an emphasis on the superiority of individualistic, goal-seeking behavior over deference to 'traditional' forms of family and

communal authority" (White, 2002, p. 20). In contrast, Islamists are "Muslims who, rather than accept an inherited [religious] Muslim tradition, have developed their own self-conscious vision of Islam, which is then brought to bear on social and political events" (White, 2002, p. 23) in Turkey. Secularists view Islamists as "conservative, patriarchal, religiously extremist, and collectivists" (White, 2002, p. 31).

Secular-oriented citizens treat Islam as their religion, whereas Islamists have a lifestyle that views Islam both as a religion and a way of life. These devout Muslims choose to live strictly in accord with the tenets of the Qu'ran (Today, 2001). This alignment is most visible in the way women are dressed. The Islamist woman conceals her hair and wears modest clothes to cover her body (White, 2002, p. 31).

The mission of secularists is to protect Turkish secularism and "its guarantees of free choice of lifestyle, particularly for women, but limited choice in the realms of religion and ethnicity" (White, 2002, p. 29). Thus, the secular elite who are in power have determined the direction of the country through the state, law, and education. Since politics and education are intertwined in Turkey, secularists have played crucial roles in policymaking in higher education and have contributed to the formulation of national higher education policies. In the last two or three decades, Islamists have also gained some power in the decision making arena. In 2002, the AKP, a party with its political roots in Islam, won the elections.

In the realm of Turkish higher education, from time to time there have been tensions between secularists and Islamists in terms of policymaking and attempts to make changes in policies. These tensions are explained in the following sections. I believe one

of the causes of such tensions is the headscarf ban policy introduced by the secularists to the detriment of female students who wear headscarves and are associated with Islamists.

How has the religion played itself out in politics when there have been tensions between secularists and Islamists? In the following section I discuss the role of Islam in Turkish politics.

Islam in Turkish Politics

During the Seriat[3] rule of the Ottoman Empire, Islam played a central role in the governance of the Empire. The Sultan (King) of the Empire simultaneously represented the caliphate of Islam. Religious educators and leaders such as preachers and judges were part of the state elite and enjoyed extensive influence and power (Sunar & Toprak, 2004).

The foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the abolition of the caliphate, and the process of secularizing the country pushed Islam from the center to the periphery. The clergy and religious leaders lost their status (Sunar & Toprak, 2004). Islam was marginalized from the center during the leadership of early secularists. Even though central Islam lost its power in politics, "peripheral Islam" (Sunar & Toprak, 2004, p. 161) flourished in the rural areas of Turkey. In the late 1940s, when there was a shift from the mono-party to the multi-party electoral system, peripheral Islam was moved toward the center by two competing political parties, the newly formed Democrat Party (DP) and the old guardian of republican values and principles and reforms of Ataturk, the Republican People's Party (RPP), that used Islam as a means of attracting voters in rural areas. "As a consequence of party politics what emerged was a period of liberalization–a period of

[3] Seriat is derived from the Arabic word *Shariah* and means the compilation of Islamic holy laws.

decompression of Islam in which for the first time in republican history, peripheral 'folk Islam' became a participant in Turkish politics" (Sunar & Toprak, 2004, p. 161).

The decade between 1950 and 1960 is considered a period of revival for Islam in Turkey (Sunar & Toprak, 2004; White, 2002). Unlike the early secularists, who excluded the religious masses, the leaders of the DP followed a populist approach. They used Islam as an instrument to gain the hearts and votes of the masses (Sunar & Toprak, 2004). The DP attempted to "reinstate religion as civic ethics to fill in the ethical void created, especially among those born under the Republic, by the erosion of religious beliefs" (Sunar & Toprak, 2004, p. 162). In addition, party leaders formulated policies to train religious leaders to push Islam to the center. Religious education was re-established in primary schools. Religious schools called Imam Hatip high schools and departments of theology were opened for the purpose of training preachers, imams, and other religious leaders. *Ezan*, the call to prayer, started being recited in Arabic (Sunar & Toprak, 2004). These activities followed the revitalization of tariqas[4] and the establishment of unpaid service groups to teach religion to the masses and to publish religious materials. All of these activities were curtailed by a military coup in 1960, which led to a revision of the constitution.

In the 1970s, a newly formed party, the National Salvation Party (NSP), placed itself on the radical right and joined the government as a coalition party on two or three occasions (Sunar & Toprak, 2004). The 1970s were also a time for Islamists at the periphery to gain power. For Islamists to move toward the center and move up socially and politically, the NSP systematically organized and networked Islamists to make their

[4] A tariqa is a religious brotherhood that follows Islam in a particular way. Each tariqa has a different religious mission and follows the tenets of Islam in a distinct way.

voices heard. The party used Islam as an ideology and advocated a more religion-oriented lifestyle. Their activities were interrupted by the 1980 military coup.

During the 1980s and 1990s, Islam continued to take its place in politics through the Virtue Party and the Welfare Party, parties with political roots in Islam (White, 2002). The Welfare Party participated in coalition governments and became a means for Islamists to grow and flourish in the country. A community of Islamist businessmen and "young professionals who consciously situated their economic and political activities within a Muslim identity and Islamic principles [was established]" (White, 2002, p. 115). The Islamist movement was strengthened when a group of Islamist elite emerged and contributed generously to the Welfare Party, funded Islamist scholars and students, donated to charity, and built schools and residence halls (Sunar & Toprak, 2004). In a way, Islam in politics started to establish a place for itself in society through the political parties and its followers. Islam reached its peak in politics (and in society) in 2002 when, for the first time in Turkish history, a political party with its political roots in Islam won the elections and became the government on its own without a coalition.

In addition to religion and identity, the role of women in society and socioeconomic status are two other factors closely associated with the headscarf ban policy in Turkish higher education. These issues are discussed in the following pages.

Gender and Class

Gender. Through the manner in which they behave and dress in society, women have always represented either a secular or a religious lifestyle in Turkey (Gole, 1997). With the introduction of secularism, they have enjoyed equal status with men in both public and private life (Gole, 1997). On the way to modernization, they played key roles

as students, businesswomen, and civil servants. Photographs of women unveiled and in modern clothes, socializing with men in restaurants or bars, conveyed the new secular and modern lifestyle in Turkey (Gole, 1997). Women also represented the re-introduction of religious activities through their headcovering and conservative styles of dress in the 1980s in Turkey.

The Islamist woman and the issue of haircovering: Until the late 1970s, a Turkish female Islamic identity generally represented a traditional and uneducated woman who belonged to a lower or lower-middle class and followed Islam as a tradition inherited from her ancestors (Gole, 1996). She usually stayed at home and was responsible for looking after the house and children. These traditional and submissive women wore headscarves which were either tied under the chin or behind the head (*How to hijab: The styling guide*, n.d.). In the late 1970s and early 1980s, with the influence of an emerging feminist discourse and Islam gaining power within the social, political, economic contexts of Turkey, Islamist women started to move into public spaces, participated in Islamist movements, and became more visible and assertive (Arat, 2005; Gole, 1996). They pursued education and career. These new emerging Islamist figures opposed the subservient lifestyles of the traditional Islamic female identity, desired change, and sought reforms in the Islamist community. Different from Islamist traditionalists, these women became actively interested in Islamic teachings and claimed "to know the "true" Islam" (Gole, 1996, p. 4). To show that they rejected the model their elders provided (Gole, 1996, p. 4), they made a change in the most visible part of their self-presentation: the headscarf (Arat, 2005; Gole, 1996). They adopted a new style of veiling that framed the head with the headscarf in a very tight way and covered the neck and/or shoulder

(*How to hijab: The styling guide*, n.d.). The Turkish media labeled this new type of headcovering as the "turban." The word "turban", "originally from Turkish *tul(i)bend* and Persian *dulband*, refers to a headdress of Muslim origin, consisting of a long linen, cotton, or silk scarf. In modern Turkish, however, it is employed as a French word, one denoting a fashion of headdress, itself adopted from Ottoman Turkish" (Gole, 1996, p. 6). This new style of headcovering furthered the polarization between secularists and Islamists because of the meaning each group attached to the turban. On the one hand, Islamist women argued that their turban wearing was the accurate way of following the tenets of Islam and symbolized change in their life styles (Gole, 1996). On the other hand, secularists found this turban movement a threat to the secular nature of the country and claimed that this new outfit, originally uncommon among Turks, was similar to headcovering in other Muslim countries (most of which are governed by Seriat and/or ruled by a king or dictator) and hence symbolized a wish to return to Seriat and Ottoman Empire times ruled by Sultans. However, these were abolished forever before the foundation of Turkey, which followed secularism and democracy. In other words, according to secularists, these Islamist women "politicized religion as an assertion of their collective identity against modernity [and secularism]" (Gole, 1996, p. 4), and turban wearing was "a political statement of women, an active reappropriation on their behalf of Islamic religiosity and way of life rather than ... reproduction [of veiling] by established traditions" (Gole, 1996, p. 4).

According to an opinion poll conducted in 2006, the percentage of Turkish women who their hair outside their houses is 63%. The majority of these covered women veil in a traditional way, tying the headscarf under the chin or behind the head. Only

11% of the respondents participated in the opinion poll wear the turban covering the hair, neck and/or shoulder (Rainsford, 2006).

Whether secularists or Islamists, Metz (1995) explained that men and women, having different values and attitudes, tend to socialize within their own gender group. Modern urban families may encourage the socialization of men and women, whereas such a practice would be unacceptable among traditional families. Although gender relations may be a complex area, class is also a defining factor for the structure of a society.

Class. Class usually is determined according to socioeconomic status and profession (Metz, 1995). An elite social class is characterized by progressive, well-educated, middle- or upper-class professionals, such as business people or government officials. In contrast, a non-elite social class tends toward a less educated or uneducated lower class including unskilled workers. Urbanization has contributed to the social class structure (Metz, 1995). Poor rural workers who have migrated to the outskirts of urban areas are a distinct contrast to the elite city dwellers. Values, including religion, also create subcategories within the class system. It has been noted that traditional families have a different outlook on life than those who have a more modern outlook on what is valued (Metz, 1995). Since modernization is associated with secularism and traditionalism with Islamism, this creates a conflict between secular modernists and Islamists and between feminists and Islamist women because of their worldviews and belief systems (Gole, 1997; Marshall, 2005). The perception that women can represent either the introduction of secularism or the re-introduction of religiosity and socioeconomic class differences with regard to modern and traditional values are two

additional macro-drivers in the decision making process and exercise of the headscarf ban policy in Turkish higher education.

In addition to conflicts between Islamists and secularists in the decision making arena and the role of gender and class in the realm of the headscarf ban policy, it is also important to understand Turkey's democratic nature and the role of democracy with regard to the headscarf ban policy.

Democracy in Turkey

After the downfall of the Ottoman Empire, a republican system was established in 1923, which consisted of a secular nation-state with a constitutional parliamentary system. The first republican regime was defined as "state-dominant mono-party authoritarianism" (Sunar & Sayari, 2004, p. 70). Over the years, various parties took their place in politics. The problem is that the transition from a mono-party to a multi-party system was guided from the top through the ruling secular elite. Although the shift to liberalization and democracy exercised from above was smooth at the beginning, over the years, the centralized state structure, "the traditional and weakly penetrated nature of society" (Sunar & Sayari, 2004, p. 73), and economic and political problems made the development of democracy problematic for the country (Sunar & Sayari, 2004). "Competitive parliamentary democracy" (Sunar & Sayari, 2004, p. 66) was cut off several times by the direct or indirect participation of the Turkish military in politics. Nevertheless, despite military coups, Turkey has been successful in keeping multi-party and parliamentary democracy as the norm and in founding a variety of organizations associated with democracy (Onis, 2005). On the other hand, according to Dagi (2004),

this type of democracy–that is, democracy from above–has resulted in the suppression of Islamists and other peripheral forces in the country.

A change started when the AKP, a party with Islamist political roots, won the 2002 elections without a coalition, and Turkey became eager to take part in the European Union. For Turkey to conform to European Union policies, there have been numerous developments that extended freedom of speech and human rights and freedoms. There has also been further commitment to issues related to social justice and transnationalism (Onis, 2005).

One might argue that recent democratic developments enabling Turkey to become a member of the European Union have softened, to some degree, the conflict between secularists and Islamists (Onis, 2005). However, the headscarf ban policy is still in place and continues to cause tensions between these two groups. The policy also creates tensions among secularism, religion, and democracy in the sense that Islamists perceive it as a restriction of their religious freedom, and thus a violation of the democratic nature of the system.

All in all, issues of secularism, religion, class, identity, and democracy in Turkey are the main background drivers of the controversial headscarf ban policy that has caused fervent debates in numerous milieus since its implementation in the country. Having presented the pertinent background information, in the following discussion I explore the characteristics of Turkish higher education since the foundation of the country in 1923.

Turkish Higher Education

Two of the primary aims of higher education in Turkey are to educate students so that they will be loyal to Ataturk and preserve his reforms and principles and to enable

students to understand the country's cultural values and develop a sense of national unity (T. C. Yuksekogretim Kurulu, n.d. a). "Equality" is considered one of the core values of Turkish higher education (T. C. Yuksekogretim Kurulu, n.d. b). In addition, Turks believe higher education is a vehicle to a better life and career, allowing one to climb at least one step upward on the social class ladder (Metz, 1995). These aims are to be accomplished through the delivery of the Turkish college curriculum.

The undergraduate program usually takes four years (full-time) to complete. There are no liberal arts or general education requirements (except in one or two private universities), and few, if any, electives are offered. Certain courses are compulsory for all the curricula across institutions for a minimum of two semesters (T. C. Yuksekogretim Kurulu, n.d. b). These courses are the Turkish language, a foreign language course, and Ataturk's principles and the history of Turkish reforms, where the concept of Turkish secularism is part of the syllabus. These courses were either added to the curriculum or started being offered differently as a result of secularists' demands in higher education after 1980.

Turkish higher education has many characteristics. However, within the context of this study, I shall only focus on features that are closely related to the headscarf ban policy. These features are the secularization of Turkish higher education, the Higher Education Council (HEC), higher education policymaking, and the higher education headscarf ban policy.

Modernization Policies

Secularism led to the creation of the modern education system in Turkey (Berkes, 1998; *Higher education in Turkey*, 1990; Mizikaci, 2006). Before the foundation of the Turkish

Republic, there were both religious and secular schools. Religious education was abolished in 1924, which then unified and centralized Turkey's educational system. This was followed by various reforms that drastically affected the higher education sector in the country. With the closure of medreses[5] and the opening of secular postsecondary institutions, the teaching and learning of theology as central to college education came to an end. A theological curriculum was replaced by a secular curriculum that consisted of various subjects to educate Turkish citizens in different disciplines (Berkes, 1998). Teaching of Arabic and Persian was eliminated from primary and secondary schools. These languages became part of the curriculum of special departments, such as Middle Eastern Studies, and started being taught as foreign languages. With the launching of the Latin alphabet in 1928, higher education institutions started using it as their medium of written and oral delivery (Berkes, 1998). These modernization policies helped in establishing secularism in primary and secondary schools including the university.

In the late 1940s, there was a public request for the re-establishment of religious education as part of the school curriculum (Metz, 1995). In the early 1950s, an optional course on religious education began; in 1982 it became compulsory for all primary and secondary schools. This decision raised some questions about the place of religion in higher education. The secular elite believed that the best way to teach Islam would be through religious leaders trained in universities controlled by the state. Thus, departments of divinity with their curricula central to religious teaching and learning were established in order to train future preachers and imams (Metz, 1995).

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[5] Medrese is derived from the Arabic word *Madrasah* and is a college where teaching and learning revolve around Muslim religious laws and scholastic theology.

Until the 1980s, universities kept a strict secular nature without intruding in the private lives of students, and religion was taught as a separate subject on university campuses. The 1980s signaled a new era for the Turkish university in which many changes were brought about. Two such changes were the centralization of the higher education system and the introduction of a new higher education law. These changes led to the introduction of the headscarf ban policy.

The Higher Education Council and Policymaking in the Turkish University

Turkish universities had academic and institutional autonomy due to the university law enacted in 1946 (Metz, 1995), and this autonomy remained until the military coup in 1980. Sunar (2004) and Sunar and Sayari (2004) explained that this coup was an attempt to stabilize the country, which was struggling both politically and economically. The coup resulted in a revised constitution in order to keep anti-secular groups on a tight leash. The new constitution also aimed to depoliticize the society, which had a major effect in the arena of postsecondary education in Turkey. The secularists in power thought that university campuses were arenas for the cultivation of political ideologies not compatible with secularism, thereby jeopardizing the long-term security of the country (Metz, 1995). Thus, the government made provisions that would keep higher education institutions from becoming politicized, hence posing less of a threat to Turkish political stability. The higher education law in 1981 and new provisions in 1982 led to the development of the Higher Education Council (HEC), which regulates universities in Turkey (T. C. Yuksekogretim Kurulu, n.d. c). Duties of the HEC include planning, coordinating, and supervising higher education. State universities are largely controlled

by the HEC, which also regulates private universities by special provisions. This situation has drastically affected the campus lives of administrators, faculty, and students.

The new higher education law banned all students and teachers from having ties to a political party. The curriculum was standardized (Metz, 1995). This means that in higher education institutions "where education is given in the same fields or branches of a discipline, the Council of Higher Education, upon the recommendations of the Inter-university Board, regulates the education, methods, scope, teaching duration, and the principles of evaluation within each academic year in order to establish a uniformity of expected standards and degrees granted as well as of rights and privileges" (T. C. Yuksekogretim Kurulu, n.d. d, p. 1).

The HEC is a state-controlled institution and consists of 24 members "appointed by the President of the Republic from among candidates who are nominated by the Council of Ministry, the Chief of the General Staff, and the Interuniversity Board in accordance with the numbers of posts to be filled" (*Higher education in Turkey*, 1990, p. 15). The council consists mainly of members with secular roots (Altintas, 2002). The head of the council is selected and appointed by the President of Turkey for a period of four years (*Higher education in Turkey*, 1990; Mizikaci, 2006). The HEC is the institution responsible for centralizing the higher education system. Demirer and Ozbudun (1999) explained that this institution intends to create one type of university, one type of faculty, and one type of student, and to eradicate "the different" by generating homogeneous groups of university youth. The HEC has become an institution in conflict with many other institutions, and thus its reformation has been on the agenda of political parties (Altintas, 2002).

The HEC is the policymaking mechanism for the higher education system (*Higher education in Turkey*, 1990; Mizikaci, 2006). Thus, Turkish higher education policies are determined by small clusters of leading individuals who share similar worldviews (Edmondson, 2005). In other words, higher education policies are in the hands of the ruling elite in the HEC. The headscarf ban policy, therefore, is a product of the HEC and dates back to the 1980s.

The Clash of Secularists and Islamists as a Result of HEC Policies

Since the Islamists' rise in the power balance, conflicts and tensions have arisen between Islamists and secularists with regard to education policies. With the AKP winning elections and the head of the Ministry of Education becoming a member of the AKP, the scenario has taken on a new dimension: the clash between secularists and Islamists in the political arena has been extended to the context of higher education.

One major clash centers on Imam Hatip schools. These are state-controlled, Muslim, imam-training schools. The military and the secular ruling elite think that these Imam Hatip schools produce radical Islamist students and threaten the secular nature of the country (Gorvett, 2004). In 1997, as a way of dealing with the threat, a new education policy was adopted that included the classification of Imam Hatip schools as vocational high schools. If vocational school graduates choose to pursue a discipline/program that is different from what they studied and specialized in during high school, their points are deducted on the university entrance examination[6]. In other words, as a result of the new policy, the exam points of Imam Hatip graduates get deducted in such a way that they may not have a chance of securing a place in higher education other than in their

[6] Students' high school grade point averages, which are added to their university exam scores, are multiplied by a coefficient equal to 0.4 instead of 0.8.

vocational training area from high school (Gorvett, 2004). This policy is intended to keep Imam Hatip graduates in religious studies fields, by making it difficult for them to study in other disciplines than their high school area of specialization–that is, the teaching of Islam. The clash between Islamists and secularists regarding this policy arose because there may be fewer jobs in religious studies, and many female students attend these schools just to get an Islamic education, but women cannot become imams or preachers (Robinson-Fischer, n.d.). Islamists believe that this policy limits the career prospects of Imam Hatip graduates by restricting their access to only religious studies departments in universities. In addition, Islamists argue that Imam Hatip schools are no different from other high schools, in the sense that they follow a curriculum similar to that of high schools rather than vocational schools. The big difference seems to lie in their emphasis on religious subjects (*Turkey, education*, n.d.).

Recently, the AKP initiated an education reform that would provide vocational school graduates, including those from Imam Hatip schools, an opportunity on the university entrance exam equal to that of their peers from other public or private high schools. This reform brought secularists and Islamists into conflict again. According to Dumanli (2004), "university rectors reacted severely against the proposal that was aimed at making some amendments in the university entrance system. It was alleged that the government, trying to eliminate the obstacles against Imam Hatip schools, was pretending as if it was correcting the wrongs committed against other vocational high school students" (p. 1). The initiative was found to threaten the secular nature of the higher education system, and the bill was withdrawn.

Another clash happened around the issue of Qu'ran teaching schools. Secularists believed that there should be more foreign language teaching schools, rather than Qu'ran teaching schools (*Kuran kurslari icin anayasal tartisma*, 2005). Islamists wanted to have Qu'ran schools teaching five days a week instead of three days. In addition, some Qu'ran teaching schools had been established without state permission. Islamists tried to reduce these schools' penalties. Secularists objected to this (*Kuran kurslari icin anayasal tartisma*, 2005).

One other ongoing clash between these two groups in the arena of higher education concerns the policy that bans the wearing of religious symbols and clothing, including beards and mustaches. This issue, central to the present research, greatly diminishes access to university campuses by female students who cover their hair. This policy has caused further friction between Islamists and secularists in the arena of postsecondary education. The higher education headscarf ban policy is described in detail in the following section.

The Higher Education Headscarf Ban Policy

Background. During the 1970s, there were two main political parties in Turkey: the Republican People's Party (RPP) and the Justice Party (JP) (Sunar & Sayari, 2004). On opposite sides of the political spectrum, the JP leaned more toward the right of center, whereas the RPP leaned to the left of center. In addition to these parties, there were other less-powerful parties with various political orientations. One of them was the National Salvation Party (NSP), which placed itself toward the radical right on the political right-left spectrum (Sunar & Sayari, 2004).

These parties and their precedents failed to ensure economic, social, and political stability in the country. High rates of unemployment, uncontrollable inflation, and recurrent economic crises radicalized large portions of the low and middle classes. This situation resulted in the emergence of several extremist groups that were communist-oriented (Sunar & Sayari, 2004).

As a result of the emergence of these communist-oriented groups, there was a political rehabilitation of Islam as right-wing secular party leaders hoped to use Islam as a shield against their left-wing political rivals and also against the rise of communism. As a result, Turkey experienced a growth in private religious movements, including the building of new mosques, the opening of religious schools, and the emergence of an Islamic press (Metz, 1995). This began a movement toward more private religious activities in different platforms and Islam gained power and became visible in the social, economic, and political contexts of Turkey. This Islamist movement reflected itself in the context of higher education in the following way.

In the early 1980s, with the rise of the new Islamist figure explained earlier, some female university students began wearing veils and long coats either to prove their loyalty to Islam or to make a political statement. But their veiling consisted of turban wearing which, as mentioned previously, tightly framed the head with the headscarf covering the neck and sometimes shoulders too. Metz (1995) explained that this type of apparel appeared as a political ideology related to Islam rather than a traditional covering of the hair on university campuses. In response, the HEC forbade the wearing of the headscarf in postsecondary institutions (Metz, 1995).

Emerging issues. In the Turkish Constitution, a dress code policy bans the Islamic style of dress unless it is used for religious practices such as prayers. The word *headscarf* is not included in the dress code policy in the Constitution (Kurkcuoglu, Bozkurt, Gunes, Tasdemirci, Cagan, Ergun, & Genc, 1997) because at the time the Constitution was written, the headscarf was used in its traditional form–that is, tied under the chin or behind the neck–without being perceived as a threat to the existing regime in Turkey. In addition, the word *turban* is not included in the dress code either because its use penetrated Turkish society during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Even though it is not explicitly stated, it is generally understood that a turban is one of the head covers that is banned. Actually, the headscarf ban policy started as a turban ban policy on campuses since the turban symbolizes political Islam and religious ideology in the eyes of secularists (Gole, 1996). However, over the years, the distinction between the turban wearing and headscarf wearing has blurred, resulting in a policy that indeed bans the turban, but in fact prohibits any type of covering of the hair in the context of higher education. So what started as a turban ban policy came to be also called a headscarf ban policy over the years, and both terms are now used interchangeably. In this dissertation, I only refer to the policy as the headscarf ban policy, the reasons for which I explain in chapter 3.

The headscarf ban policy was introduced by the HEC in the 1980s (Hatiboglu, 2000). In 1982, the HEC issued a dress code that asked its administrators, faculty, and students to wear modest clothes. The policy included a prohibition on covering one's hair in classes, explaining that the traditional and religious use of the headscarf had turned into a political and ideological tool as a result of turban wearing, an action that is against

the secular nature of the country. The policy allowed the covering of the hair only when female Muslim students took classes in Qu'ran studies (Hatiboglu, 2000).

This policy received numerous protests, so to improve the political atmosphere, the HEC revised the policy in 1984. The language of the revised policy was vague. It said that female students were required to uncover their hair but that they could use the headscarf in a traditional way within institutions of higher education. This revised version of the policy led to discrepancies in the ways universities implemented the ban (Hatiboglu, 2000). Private universities allowed female students to cover their hair both on campus and in classes. Some public higher education institutions allowed students to wear headscarves on campuses but not in classes. Others left students' use of headscarves in classes to the professors' discretion (Labi, 2006).

In 1986, the HEC cancelled its 1984 decision and allowed the wearing of turbans on all campuses. The ban re-entered the higher education law in 1987, forbidding the use of the headscarf/turban in higher education institutions. Finally, in 1990, the policy was rewritten to read that the style of dress was free as long as it complied with the laws currently in practice (*Yuksekogretim Kanunu*, n.d.). In the eyes of the secularists, all head covering became associated with Islamic style of dress and since the law currently in practice banned all dress types of Islamic style, all headcovering is prohibited. So, since 1990, even though there is no explicitly-stated ban in the HEC Law, wearing the headscarf is still forbidden in the context of higher education in order to be in harmony with the current laws in Turkey.

Implementation of the headscarf ban has intensified since 1997, beginning with a military ultimatum to the HEC. The then-ruling elite argued that the headscarf ban policy

entered the higher education arena with the intention of depoliticizing Turkish universities and furthering the stability of the youths and the country (Metz, 1995). Another reason was to preserve the secular nature of university campuses. One more stimulus for the exercise of this policy might have stemmed from the rationale of equalizing all the students. If all students are unveiled and look similar, this might eliminate discrimination and prejudice. Despite these intentions, the outcomes of the policy have been troublesome. First, because public and private universities are regulated in different ways, there have been discrepancies in how the ban is implemented in the public and private sectors. Private universities, regulated by special provisions, exercise the headscarf ban in various ways, such as restricting the use of headscarves in closed areas like classrooms or laboratories (Labi, 2006). On the other hand, public universities are under stricter control by the HEC, which makes them follow the headscarf ban policy more closely. This means that students who cover their hair are not allowed on campus at all (Labi, 2006). Second, the policy seems to be in conflict with the core value of equality and equity (including equal access to the higher education system).

The headscarf ban policy has created tensions within the educational and political contexts of Turkey (Human Rights Watch, n.d.). On the one hand, policy makers claim that the scarf is a symbol of extreme political Islam that threatens Turkey's secular nature, and students who cover their hair are trying to make a political statement. On the other hand, female students with veils claim that they wear the scarf because of their religious beliefs. Students who refuse to comply with the ban report that because their access to higher education has been denied, their hopes for a future career have been terminated. Those who can afford it go abroad to study, but not all students have this

option. What about students who choose to comply with the policy? How does the policy affect students who uncover their hair, the part-time unveilers, both on campus and in their private lives? What kinds of educational experiences do they go through on campuses? How does the act of uncovering affect their educational progress and identity as Turkish Muslim women? This study was undertaken to shed light on these questions.

Summary of Literature Review

The literature review has presented the political and social context of Turkey. It has shown that the macro-level drivers of the higher education headscarf ban policy are Turkish secularism, religion, democracy, gender, class, and identity. These drivers are sometimes in tension with one another, and one manifestation of these tensions is the headscarf ban policy in the context of higher education.

The literature review also explored Turkish higher education and the ways in which some of its features are closely associated with the policy under study. These features are the secularization of the higher education system, the changes that occurred after the military coup in 1980, establishment of the HEC, and policymaking in the Turkish university. These features are the micro-level drivers of the headscarf ban on campuses. This section concluded with a discussion of the historical background of the headscarf ban and a discussion of emerging issues of the policy in the context of higher education.

Having discussed the background of the headscarf ban and documented findings of some studies regarding its implementation and outcomes, I shall now present the conceptual framework I used to examine the educational and cultural experiences of part-

time unveilers. This conceptual framework provided a basis for the study of the perceptions of the educational and cultural experiences of part-time unveilers.

Conceptual Framework for the Study

To explore the educational and cultural experiences of part-time unveilers, I used variations and parts of the following studies:

1. The policy-analysis framework (Downey, 1988).
2. The campus climate for diversity framework (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1999).
3. The student-involvement theory for higher education (Astin, 1984).
4. The model of multiple dimensions of identity (Jones & McEwen, 2000).

These frameworks were designed specifically for use in educational environments in the United States. Considering cultural differences, some part of these frameworks may be irrelevant in another country. For this study I only chose the factors that are general and broad, because they are most relevant to Turkish-Islamic students' development. In addition, I conducted a pilot study in which I tested the relevance of the chosen parts of the frameworks. All the chosen factors appeared relevant as a result of the pilot study.

Downey (1988) developed his policy-analysis framework to analyze policies in the context of education. This is a comprehensive model that includes all the stages of policy-analysis, beginning with the initiation and continuing through the termination stage of a policy. To understand how part-time unveilers understand the policy, I employed one stage of Downey's framework: interpretation.

I used the interpretation stage to explore how part-time unveilers perceive the headscarf ban policy. The question I used to elicit their perceptions is: "What does the policy mean?" Here my intention was to illuminate understandings of part-time unveilers regarding what the headscarf ban policy means to them. This component of the framework led me to formulate the following sub-questions of my research question: How do part-time unveilers understand the headscarf ban policy? How do part-time unveilers decide to comply with the policy?

Hurtado et al. (1999) offered a framework to examine different elements of campus climate that might affect the educational experiences of diverse students. In addition, Astin (1984) proposed basic elements of a student-involvement theory based on the premise that the student who spends more time studying, devotes more time to campus activities, and interacts frequently with faculty and other peers, is more intensely involved than other students, leading to more positive educational experiences and success. In my study, I was interested in opportunities and challenges of part-time unveilers. Using parts of the frameworks of Hurtado et al. and Astin, I particularly probed the following components as I explored the opportunities and challenges of part-time unveilers as a result of unveiling: (a) faculty-student interaction, (b) administrator-student interaction, (c) involvement in extra-curricular activities, (d) motivation for studying, (e) activities on campus, (f) interaction with peers, (g) discrimination/prejudice against part-time unveilers in classrooms and/or on campus, and (h) overall success during undergraduate studies.

These probes guided me as I sought answers to the following sub-questions of my research questions: What opportunities does unveiling bring to part-time unveilers on

campus? What challenges are part-time unveilers faced with on campus and in their lives as a result of unveiling? How do part-time unveilers deal with these challenges? How do these challenges affect their educational progress?

In both the Hurtado et al. (1999) and Astin (1984) frameworks, these elements were used as a guide to understand how these dimensions of a campus life contribute to students' educational progress. Using the above-mentioned components as probes helped me explore the opportunities and challenges of part-time unveilers as a result of unveiling, including how unveiling could be a service or disservice to their education. In studying the educational experiences of part-time unveilers, the study was sensitive to the fact that the research and theory on which I was relying was developed in the United States, a different cultural context from Turkey.

Jones and McEwen (2000) proposed a conceptual model of multiple dimensions of identity. They explained that each individual has plural identities, such as class, religion, and race, with personal identity at the core. I used certain parts of Jones and McEwen's model to explore how complying with the headscarf ban affects the following multiple identities of part-time unveilers: (a) citizenship identity as Turks, (b) religious identity as Muslims, and (c) gender identity as females. This exploration helped me answer the following sub-question of my research question: How does complying with the policy affect their plural self-identities (e.g., identities as Turkish citizens, Muslims, and females)?

Summary of Chapter 2

This chapter presented literature review of the macro-level drivers of the higher education headscarf ban policy and the close association of some of the features of the

higher education system with the policy under study. It also explained the components of the conceptual framework I used in the study. In the following chapter, I will discuss the methods and procedures I employed to conduct the research.

CHAPTER 3

Methods And Procedures

This chapter discusses the methods and procedures undertaken during the research. First, it explains the research approach including the theoretical perspective and strategy of inquiry that guides the dissertation. Second, it poses the research questions. Third, it explores the design of the study in depth by describing the research sites, the pilot study, the sample, and the instrument. In addition, it explains how the data were collected, recorded, and analyzed. Fourth, it presents the researcher, including her identity and position in the research, and documents the challenges conducting the research.

The Research Approach

Theoretical Perspective

This dissertation, analyzing the impact of the headscarf ban policy on part-time unveilers, is an exploratory qualitative research. After assessing both strengths and weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative research designs (Berg, 2001; Creswell, 2003), I concluded that a qualitative paradigm would be best because an in-depth qualitative study would:

1. Explore some hidden issues related to the headscarf ban policy not easily explored in a quantitative study.
2. Unpack the complexity of the act of veiling as a social issue and its embedded relationship with the Turkish political and educational system.
3. Help uncover inconsistencies and conflicts (if any) built into the policy.
4. Provide a rich and detailed interpretation of the policy and its impact on the part-

time unveilers (Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

Furthermore, the study is exploratory not in terms of the method, but because there is limited empirical research on the educational and cultural experiences of part-time unveilers. By investigating the perceptions of part-time unveilers, I intended to discover salient categories of meaning for participants and how these categories are linked with each other. This way I hoped to generate hypotheses for further research (Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

In this exploratory qualitative dissertation, I take the theoretical perspective that socially constructed knowledge occurs when "individuals seek understanding of the [environment] in which they live and work. They develop subjective meanings of their experiences–meanings directed toward certain objects or things. These [personal] meanings are varied and multiple [and define the knowledge of individuals] " (Creswell, 2003, p. 8). In other words, the approach in this dissertation is that knowledge is constructed and evolves through the interactions between people and the world in which they live (Derry, 1999; Ernest, 1999; Kim, 2001). This knowledge provides an opportunity for members of society to create their own truth, thanks to ongoing social interactions within cultures. So, in this dissertation study, culture and context play crucial roles (Kim, 2001). Another premise of this dissertation is that "reality is constructed through human activity. Members of a society together invent the properties of the world (Kukla 2000). [So] . . . reality cannot be discovered: it does not exist prior to its social invention" (Kim, 2001, p.1).

In short, the underlying belief while conducting the research in this dissertation is that the purpose of research is to understand the context, culture and perceptions of

individuals under study. As a researcher, I was primarily concerned with the perceptions of the participants concerning the headscarf ban policy in the context of higher education in Turkey. I gathered information through visits to universities and personal interactions with individuals and then inductively generated "meaning from the data collected in the field" (Creswell, 2003, p. 9), which is an interpretation "shaped by the researcher's own experiences and backgrounds" (Creswell, 2003, p. 9).

Strategy of Inquiry

The strategy of inquiry I was informed by is grounded theory. Grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1994) is an inductive methodology (Creswell, 2003) to investigate research questions. Grounded theory is a well-established inductive methodological framework "for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analyzed. Theory evolves during actual research, and it does this through continuous interplay between analysis and data collection" (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 273). Using grounded theory was appropriate since there are no empirically-based theoretical frameworks regarding part-time unveilers' perceptions about the impact of the headscarf ban policy on their educational and cultural experiences.

Research Question(s)

The research question is:

What is the impact of the headscarf ban policy on the educational and cultural experiences of "part-time unveilers" during their undergraduate programs in public higher education institutions in Turkey?

The sub-questions related to the research question are:

(1) How do part-time unveilers understand the headscarf ban policy?

(2) How do part-time unveilers decide to comply with the policy?

(3) What opportunities does unveiling bring to part-time unveilers on campus?

(4) What challenges are part-time unveilers faced with on campus and in their lives as a result of unveiling?

(5) How do part-time unveilers deal with these challenges?

(6) How do these challenges affect their educational progress?

(7) How does complying with the policy affect their plural self-identities (e.g., identities as Turkish citizens, Muslims, and females?

Research Design

An Overview

This is an exploratory and qualitative study. It is exploratory in the sense that, to my knowledge, part-time unveilers have not been used previously as research subjects. In this dissertation, the unit of analysis then is the Muslim female on the Turkish campus who complies with the policy and chooses to uncover her hair during her studies in higher education. The study, conducted with thirty part-time unveilers in five public institutions in four different cities, was based on face-to-face interviews that covered a variety of areas including opportunities and challenges of part-time unveilers on campuses and how complying with the headscarf ban policy affects their citizenship, religious and female identities. I interpreted and analyzed the perceptions and understandings of these women with regard to their educational and cultural experiences as a result of unveiling. The immediate aim was to identify the key issues in the educational and cultural experiences of the women studied.

Research Sites

Cities. The sites for the study were four cities in Turkey: two big cities, city A and city B, and two small cities, city C and city D. City A was selected because it is one of the most cosmopolitan cities in Turkey. As a center of education and business, it attracts people from both urban and rural areas, so there are hybrid identities and different dynamics in the population of this city. Furthermore, it has a high number of public institutions. In addition, in city A, I had accommodation, so regardless of the duration of the research it was feasible and relatively economical.

City B is another cosmopolitan city. It was selected mainly because it plays an important role in terms of policymaking especially within the context of higher education. Since there is constant educational and industrial growth, it has attracted citizens from various parts of the country, especially in the last twenty years. The city hosts a large number of old and well-established public institutions. In addition, I lived and worked in city B for a number of years, thus I have numerous contacts there. I had accommodation and a sense of navigation, which helped me conduct research without hurdles.

City C is a small city located in the relatively rural part of Turkey, selected because of its proximity to city A. Travel was easy and I already had well-established contacts and affordable accommodation. This is a city that is becoming more and more important because of the emphasis it places on industry and higher education.

City D is another small city located in the rural part of Turkey, selected again because of its proximity to city A. Despite the relatively low socioeconomic status of its citizens, the city has attracted some migration because higher education is a growing

industry. The foundation of new higher education institutions has made it possible for the economy of the city to grow. New industries such as bookstores, coffee shops, and youth hostels have started appearing in the streets of this city. Of these four cities, I would argue that city A and B are more cosmopolitan in terms of the political and religious beliefs of their citizens, whereas city C and D are more conservative and have citizens with more uniform political and religious beliefs leaning toward the right-wing.

Public higher education. The research was conducted with part-time unveilers who continue their undergraduate studies in public institutions. In Turkey, there are 76 (53 state and 24 private) universities. They host around 12% of student population in a country where the population was around 63 million in 1997 and almost 25% enrolled in a higher education program in 2001 ("The Republic of Turkey Ministry of National Education Research," 2001; Student Selection and Placement Center, 2006; T.C. Milli Egitim Bakanligi, 2000). Of those who sit the university entrance exam, a small percentage continues higher education. For example, in 2001, of 1,471,197 applicants who took the higher education placement exam, only 282,142 were successful and 262,028 of them were placed at state universities as full-time students ("The Republic of Turkey Ministry of National Education Research," 2001; Student Selection and Placement Center, 2006). Overall, full-time student enrollment (excluding graduate student population) in public higher education accounts for 95% of the total, making state universities carry the major burden of higher education in Turkey ("A brief description," n.d.; Guruz, 2006). In numeric terms, for example, of 1,211,937 full-time undergraduate students in Turkish higher education, 1,156,915 students attended state universities in 2000-1 academic year ("The Republic of Turkey Ministry of National Education

Research," 2001). Around 43% of bachelor's level students are female and 57% male. The age ranges between 16 to 30 and older, and the age distribution is as follows: 33.4% (age16-19), 47.3% (age 20-22), 14.3% (age 23-25), 3.9% (age 26-29), and 1.1% (age 30 and older) (T. C. Yuksekogretim Kurulu, n.d. e).

Since public institutions are largely controlled by the Higher Education Council, these institutions are the ones that implement the headscarf ban policy in the strictest way possible. State universities are the oldest and largest higher education institutions in the country, and state university students and faculty have always been on the front line of political movements. Compared to private universities, public universities have been the sites of many student movements, including resistance strikes against the headscarf ban policy.

State universities include four-year schools, offering bachelor's level programs with a vocational emphasis, and two-year vocational schools offering pre-bachelor's level programs of a strictly vocational nature. Compared to private universities, they charge very low tuition fees. To compete with the private universities and overcome under-funding, since 1998, they have been given autonomy to raise funding through partnerships with the industry and corporate world ("Turkey," n.d. 2006).

In this dissertation, the names of the cities, higher education institutions, and participants are concealed. Some participants requested that the names of their universities not appear in the written documents or oral presentations. Thus not only did I have to conceal the names of the higher education institutions, but also the names of the cities in which they are located since some cities have only one or two universities.

Universities. I recruited students from University I and University II in city A, University III in city B, University IV in city C, and University V in city D. The total full-time pre-bachelor's and bachelor's level student population of these five universities is around 110,000. The reason why I chose these universities is because they have a high number of female students. They are also known for hosting many Islamist students in various disciplines. In addition, these are the universities where I had professional contacts that helped me find participants for my study.

University I and II are two prestigious public universities in city A. They both attract quality students from all over the country. They offer higher education in various disciplines. In University II, the language of instruction is partially English. That is why students who do not have enough mastery of the English language to attend the classes in English take language preparatory classes before they start their degree program. In University I, some degrees are offered in English and some are in Turkish. University I has been one of the centers of student strikes when the headscarf ban policy was introduced. University II has recently come up with creative solutions with regard to the headscarf ban policy. The university set up a "fitting room" at the front door of its main campus for students to put on their wigs or hats before they enter the campus and to put back their headscarves as they leave the campus.

University III in city B is an old university, and competitive. The language of instruction is English. The campus is situated on the outskirts of the city and attracts a lot of national and international students. The university is seen as a pioneer of modern Turkish education since its presence brought about contemporary teaching and learning

methods and introduced new ideas to the Turkish higher education system. The campus provides education in scientific, cultural, and social fields.

University IV in city C is a relatively new public institution. The university is composed of numerous colleges and institutes dispersed across different areas of the city. It offers higher education in various disciplines with the intention of contributing to cultural and social development of the nation for global competition. To become competitive both nationally and internationally, the university heavily emphasizes research and promotes lifelong education whenever possible. With reference to the headscarf ban policy, this modern university has a "fitting room" at the main gate for its students to take their headscarves off before they enter the campus or put them back on before leaving.

University V in city D is reputable for its computer-assisted teaching and learning methods both at the undergraduate and graduate levels. In Turkish higher education, this university has a unique place with its complete technical infrastructure. Situated right in the middle of the city, the campus provides education in various disciplines including agriculture and engineering. With its huge investments in Information Technology (IT), the university makes contributions to the development and progress of the IT sector in Turkey.

Reaching the sites was not challenging. Turkey is the country where I am from and have lived for extensive periods of time. I am familiar with cities A and B since I have lived, schooled, and worked there. Cities C and D were close enough to travel by car. Since I did not have a car, I traveled to city B by bus. I recruited my father to help me drive around in city A and to cities C and D. Reaching the universities was hurdle-free as

well. I am quite familiar with the settings of public institutions I, II, and III. In addition, I had various contacts at universities IV and V enabling me to recruit students. I have known a lot of colleagues on all campuses for a while now. Furthermore, in all institutions, I am acquainted with or befriended by several administrators, professors and students. In addition, as a Turkish citizen researcher, I did not need to obtain permission from the Higher Education Council or university administrators to interview students.

Pilot Study

In June 2006, after the approval of Human Subjects, I decided to conduct my pilot study in city C since I already had three volunteer students eager to participate in the pilot study. They were recruited through the Dean of a public university in city C thanks to the social network of my father. I talked to the Dean on the phone, explained my research, and requested help for the pilot study, which he agreed to. He assigned a graduate assistant to find some female students meeting the research criteria in the college where he worked. The graduate student made the initial contact with these students and explained the research project to them, asking if they would like to participate. Interested participants were asked to see the Dean for any questions or concerns they had. The Dean arranged a day and time for the students to meet me on campus.

I wanted to make a positive impression on them, build trust, and establish good relations (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). As such, I was challenged by the decision of what to wear. I felt I had to wear something formal to meet the Dean, a close friend of my father, but something casual to look like a university student and break the ice more easily. I decided to be in a business casual dress style (Clark, 2006; "Clothing," n.d.). Since I was meeting the students on campus, I knew they would all be unveiled. The next

day, I traveled to city C with my interview questions in English, including the consent form both in English and Turkish notarized in Turkey (see Appendices A & B). My father accompanied me to introduce me to the Dean. The Dean allocated one of the meeting rooms for me to meet with the students and had refreshments served for us during the meeting. When I met the students on a one-to-one basis, I spent some time with each of them and explained who I was as a researcher and my project in a detailed way. I described the rationale behind the study and told them the reason why it was an important study for Turkish higher education. I explained to them I needed to conduct a pilot study at the beginning of the project to make modest changes or adjustments to the interview protocol as necessary based on the findings of the pilot study (van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001). I told them I would also welcome their input regarding the interview process and the protocol. I went over the consent form and asked them to read it. The consent form specifically mentioned the issues related to confidentiality and anonymity. I explained that participants would keep a copy of the Turkish and English version of the consent form, and tape recording would only be used should the respondents give permission. I also told them they would get a small incentive of 50 Turkish Liras (approximately $35) as a way of expressing my gratitude for their time. Finally, I asked them if they would like to participate in the pilot study. After they expressed a willingness to participate in the pilot study, we set a date and time to meet, on campus, since it was easier and more comfortable, as they were going to be on campus on those days, and I had access to a conference room thanks to the Dean.

Two issues came up during these initial meetings:

(a) The number of interviews per student: Initially, I designed the study in such a way that I would conduct two 60- to 90-minute interviews (with a possible third interview as a follow up if necessary) with part-time unveilers. The aim of the first interview was to examine the impact of the headscarf ban policy on student experiences on campus, and the second interview was designed to uncover how the policy affected student identity (see Appendix C for the initial interview protocol). If I felt there was a need and if the participants had time, there would be a possibility that a third interview be conducted as a follow-up. My rationale was that as a researcher who is unveiled, in the eyes of the part-time unveilers, I belong to a group that is different from them. This might create a challenge in terms of how they viewed me as the researcher, and they might be initially reluctant to answer the questions openly and honestly. To give the participants an opportunity to become comfortable with me, trust me, and share their experiences more honestly and openly, I wanted to interview them twice (with a possible third interview as a follow up). Also if there were certain points they had left out, the second (or the third) interview would allow them to come back to these points and refine them. However, students expressed a desire to meet with me only once. It was their month of final exams so they did not want to make multiple commitments. They were also considerate of the fact that I was traveling from another city and wanted to make my job easier. While making the appointment for one interview, students were given an estimated length of interview time so they could plan their day accordingly.

(b) The incentive of 50 Turkish Liras: Students were reluctant to accept the 50 Turkish Liras. They said that the reason why they participated in the study was to contribute to a piece of research they value since it could potentially have an impact on

the policy makers and administrators with regard to the headscarf ban policy in Turkey. However, since it was part of my consent form, I explained that I wanted to pay the money, but they could use it for a different cause should they choose, rather than spending it for their own expenses. When I was in Turkey, the war between Israel and Lebanon broke out. Donations were being accepted to help the war victims. So I suggested they used the 50 Turkish Liras toward that cause.

In general, the interviews with students ran smoothly. They were conducted in Turkish and I recorded notes. I had copies of the consent forms. Some participants asked me if it was OK for them to write their initials instead of their full names. None of the students wanted to be tape-recorded and asked me to write the following sentence "I conducted this interview without using a tape recorder" and sign it on the copy of the consent form they were going to keep. The interviews lasted between 150-240 minutes. At the end of each interview, I asked each participant to provide some feedback.

Based on my observations and the feedback I received from three participants, below are the changes I made after the pilot study:

1. In return for receiving the signed consent form, I gave back to each participant a signed copy of the consent form on which I wrote that I conducted the interview without using the tape recorder.
2. I decided to hold one interview rather than two or three.
3. I made modest changes to the interview protocol. Pilot study participants suggested that I start the interviews by asking them about their educational background and how they started veiling as background information. I used this suggestion and formulated a background information question as the first

question. I reformatted the interview protocol so that it looked like one interview protocol (see Appendices D & E for English and Turkish versions) rather than two protocols which I had before.

I also had a couple of learning points I needed to consider for interviews. They were as follows:

1. I had to make sure that I gave students a time frame (an average of 180 minutes) so that they could plan their day of interview accordingly.
2. I could have a maximum of two interviews a day since they were long, intensive, and hand-recorded.
3. I had to make sure that I told students that they could use the money to help Lebanon-Israel war victims in the Middle East.
4. I had to be better prepared to answer their questions relating to my personal and education background and research. I will elaborate on this issue in following sections of this dissertation.
5. In order to avoid any confusion regarding the focus of my dissertation, I had to make it clear that this piece of research did not focus on the headscarf ban policy as a social or political problem, but rather on the educational and cultural experiences of the part-time unveilers "with a desire to uncover 'their side of the story.'" (Lee, 1993, p. 135).

Even though the pilot study was fruitful and helped the research design and interview protocol become more solid, there was one misleading point that caused some disappointment at the beginning of the research project after the pilot study. Reaching three participants for the pilot study was relatively easy, thanks to my father and the

Dean. These three students were eager to participate and I established good rapport with them. The interview logistics in terms of the conference room and service were comforting, stimulating a positive environment (Clark, 2006). This led me to think that I could find the participants easily, even perhaps on my own, and they would all be eager to participate. This misleading assumption caused some distress and discouragement for a short while, reasons of which will be explained in the following sections.

Sample

Initial Criteria for Selecting the Participants

The participants who took part in this research are part-time unveilers who cover their hair in their private lives but must unveil it on campus as a result of the headscarf ban policy. These are participants who expose their hair, use wigs, or wear hats in order to look unveiled on campus. Inclusion of these categories allowed me to explore similarities and differences in their experiences. In this study, the hat includes the hat, beret, hood, and bandana.

Since the study was conducted in the summer of 2006, participants who would start their second, third, and fourth (fifth and sixth in health sciences) years of their studies in the 2006-7 academic year were chosen. First year students have no experience with higher education. The second, third, and fourth (fifth and sixth in health sciences) year students are more familiar with their institutions and have more experiences to share with better grounded opinions.

Based on these criteria, I interviewed thirty part-time unveilers from five public institutions in four different cities who attend public institutions, will start their second, third, or fourth (fifth or sixth in health sciences) years of their undergraduate program in

the 2006-7 academic year, and employ different types of unveiling. These were the main criteria I used to recruit my participants. If I were able to reach more part-time unveilers than I anticipated, such as forty or fifty part-time unveilers, where I had the option of choosing which participants to include in my study, then I was going to try to attain some variation in sampling in terms of socioeconomic status (SES), residence type (dormitories or off-campus), background, and discipline. In terms of age range, since there may be adult learners or returning students, the initial plan before going into the field was to limit the age group from 18 to 22, since this age group represents the majority of the second, third, and fourth year of higher education students on campuses. I decided to interview students at five different institutions because I assumed there might be diversity of perspectives and experiences across institutions. Had I interviewed all participants in the same institution, there could have been diversity in their characteristics too. But I believed institutional differences (such as urban versus rural, institutional size) needed to be considered and the appropriateness of this decision became more apparent after data analysis when I discovered that there were differences across institutions in the ways in which they implemented the headscarf ban policy, a finding which will be explored in the ensuing chapters.

Recruitment of Participants

As I mentioned earlier, after the pilot study, I was under the assumption that I would be able to recruit participants on my own. The next day after the completion of the pilot study, in the early morning, I went to the main gate of University II in city A. Under the heat of 100° F, I waited all day and used trees as shelters to protect myself from the sun. As soon as I identified the students approaching the fitting room with their

headscarves on, I walked toward them with a smile on my face. When I approached and asked them if I could have five minutes of their time, they looked at me either in an uninterested and oblivious or terrified and unnerved way. I could tell their discomfort and anxiety from their face, gestures, and body language (Scollon & Scollon, 1995). Some looked at me directly in the eye and said they did not have time for me. Others said they only had 5 minutes. When I was trying to explain who I was and my research, they constantly checked their watches anxiously. Some interrupted me and said they were not interested. Others were more gentle and waited until I finished what I had to say and then rejected my request. One student asked me who I was *really* working for and another inquired whether I was a journalist or a government member. At the end they all rejected taking part in the study, and in the late afternoon, I decided to go back home disappointed and unsuccessful, with some sunburn, but no recruits. The perceived political sensitivity of the topic and the "culture of suspicion" (Clark, 2006, p. 418) infiltrated into society was evident in the students' nervousness and the mistrust I felt all day (Clark, 2006). This event discouraged me, and I thought I would not be able to complete my research. What encouraged me again was to go back and read my dissertation proposal, where one of the sections extensively explored the expected challenges in accessing students. I also read the section that discussed the strategies to overcome the challenges, and using the help of administrators, professors, and others was explicitly stated there. Had I not written those sections in my dissertation proposal and had I not read them that evening, I do not think I would have completed my research. As such, I turned to personal contacts for help to recruit research participants.

I identified the participants through (a) my friends and professional connections–administrators, professors and ex-students, and (b) one participant leading to another. Via these two chains of referrals as vehicles to identify the participants, I was able to refer to a common contact that established some degree of rapport and trust. This gave me at least a chance to explain who I was and what my research was about in detail over the phone or face-to-face before potential participants made a decision about their potential participation in the research (Clark, 2006).

I contacted administrators, professors, and ex-students I have known for many years via telephone or campus visits. I explained my dissertation work to them. Due to the sensitivity of the research topic, I was clear and detailed about the research project, and the criteria for participant recruitment, including how I planned to ensure anonymity and confidentiality (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Some colleagues, mainly administrators and ex-students, agreed to help; others, mostly faculty members, did not wish to reveal the names of their students without asking their permission and/or explaining the situation. Faculty members thought the interviews might lead students to feel "unsafe" on campus, which could result in some decrease in trust between the teacher and student. Another concern was that they did not want to be associated with the study due to its sensitivity as a research topic as well as political implications, since involvement into politics is forbidden for faculty members (Metz, 1995). Colleagues who agreed to help identified potential participants and contacted me with students' phone numbers for me to reach them. One male ex-student of mine was especially helpful. He, an Islamist with numerous contacts with women who veil and part-time unveilers, put me in contact with six or seven friends of his who met my criteria. In addition, I asked my lifetime friends

for help. They used their own professional or non-professional contacts to identify a couple of participants meeting the criteria.

The second strategy I used to identify and contact potential participants was through participants directing me to others. Some participants were generous in providing names and directed me to three or four of their friends. The chain of referrals was interrupted if the second potential participant refused to participate in the study. I only contacted referrals after the participants contacted them first and told them to expect a phone call from me. This strategy eased my job in the sense that they were already expecting a phone call from a Fatma Nevra Seggie when I contacted them.

These two strategies I used to reach the participants allowed for a purposeful and snowballing sampling (Creswell, 2003). Snowball sampling was particularly useful since some degree of trust was imperative to establish the initial contact. Administrators, ex-students, and participants played a critical role in helping me gain access to the interviewees (Clark, 2006; Lee, 1993).

Via this snowball sampling technique, 72 potential interviewees were identified. In most cases, I contacted them through telephone. In some other cases, I met them face-to-face if they specifically requested. I explained who I was as a researcher, described my project, and helped them understand that findings would inform policy makers. Procedures were reviewed and assurance of confidentiality and anonymity given. I then answered any questions and concerns they had. Each initial contact lasted approximately 30 minutes. In one or two cases, rapport was established in such a way that an engaging discussion took place where I was on the phone for 90 minutes. Over the course of time, I realized a connection was made after I told some women the story of how my husband

converted to Islam or the story of how my father lost 64 pounds when he went on a Hac (pilgrimage) to Mecca in Saudi Arabia.

Of 72 students who were initial contacts, 38 of them agreed to participate in the study. However, five of them changed their mind either later during the day or the next day. In one case, one participant changed her mind at the last minute when I was on my way to our meeting point. She sent a text message to my cell phone and luckily my phone was not turned off, which is what I usually did on the way to interviews. As for three students, despite their eagerness to participate in the study, I could not meet with them because they had already returned to their hometowns for the summer holiday. Thus I interviewed thirty students.

Demographics and Description of the Final Sample

The participants I recruited conformed to the initial participant selection criteria with an exception of two changes. Had I been able to reach forty or fifty participants, the initial plan was to try to attain some variation in sampling in terms of SES, residence type (dormitories or off-campus), background, and discipline. However, I did not take these variables (SES, residence type, background, and discipline) into consideration during the recruitment since I was only able to reach the exact number (thirty) of participants I needed for my study. But still I was able to obtain a breadth of part-time unveilers with diversity in age, type of veiling, discipline, socioeconomic status, etc.

In terms of age range, the initial plan before going into the field was to limit the age group from 18 to 22. However, when I was in the field, I included older students for these reasons:

1. I realized that there were students older than 22, but still in their third or fourth year because they had not been successful for a couple of years in the national university entrance exam, continued one or two years of foreign language preparatory classes either in high school or at university, or had not been successful enough to graduate yet.
2. The length of study in some disciplines in the field of health sciences was 6 years, so usually students were older than 22 in their fifth or sixth years.
3. My time in the field was limited and reaching participants was challenging.

This section provided a short summary of the participants. Further information about the participants can be found in Appendices F, G, and H. An aggregated overview of the participants is given in Appendix F, an individually charted profile of all the research participants in Appendix G and a brief synopsis (some demographic and background information) of each woman who participated in this research in Appendix H. In the paragraphs below, I will highlight demographics, educational characteristics and the general outlook of the participants.

Demographics. The thirty participants included in this study range in age from 19 to 30 years. More than half of the participants come from a big city. Twenty-one participants have mothers who are housewives. The fathers of almost one-third of the respondents are businessmen. Twenty-two respondents come from nucleus families where all women are veiled. Twenty-four participants started to veil at some point in their education before university. One started using the headscarf in Grade 1, one in Grade 5, nine in Grade 6, three in Grade 7, two in Grade 8, four in Grade 9, two in Grade 10, and two in Grade 11. Of these twenty-four participants who started veiling before higher

education, sixteen mentioned that after they started veiling, they had to take their headscarves off to attend or continue in their schools due to the fact that the headscarf ban had either already been or just become a policy in their schools (see Appendix G for participants who had to unveil during the primary and secondary education). Fourteen of the participants cover their hair voluntarily to follow the tenets of Islam. Two participants wear a headscarf as a result of paternal pressure and one participant started veiling to receive a scholarship from a test center (see Appendix H, Participant 5 for a detailed explanation). Of all the participants, sixteen expose their hair, eleven wear a hat, and three use a wig as their type of unveiling while attending universities.

Educational characteristics. Twenty-four participants are traditional undergraduate students earning various bachelor's degrees. Six students are returning students who dropped out of college as a result of the headscarf ban policy and chose to return to college to receive a bachelor's degree due to various reasons. Twenty-seven students are single, and three students are married, two of whom are returning students. Twenty-eight students are in four-year institutions and two students are in a two-year institution. More than one-third of them study in social sciences. Almost all participants live off campus with an exception of two participants. Fourteen participants study in city 1 attending Universities I and II. One-third of them are in their third year and one-third in their fourth year. Thirteen participants have high GPAs and eleven average GPAs. Thirteen participants attended Imam Hatip schools at some point in their education before university (see Appendix I for a detailed description of the Turkish educational system). Of the thirty part-time unveilers who participated in the research, eight mentioned

whether the schools they attended before university were co-educational or only for girls. Of these eight women, five attended high schools only for girls and three co-educational.

The general outlook. Research participants gave off a variety of impressions. Some appeared more nervous and anxious with perceived feelings of distrust than others while talking to me. Observing part-time unveilers during the interactions helped me perceive the Islamist fashion and clothing trends of summer 2006.Based on the accounts of the participants and my observations, I found out that all part-time unveilers used turban style of haircovering. The most noticeable feature of their attire was the perfect match of the headscarf with the rest of their clothes (Navaro-Yashin, 2002). Some participants wore headscarves and long coats that were plain black, dark blue, or brown and made from cotton or polyester, which implied a low or average socioeconomic status (Navaro-Yashin, 2002). Other participants had colorful Vakko (a premium Turkish clothing shop), Valentino, or Christian Dior headscarves in silk. Their clothes were colorful and expensive-looking. They had gold or diamond jewelry, which implied a higher socioeconomic status (Navaro-Yashin, 2002). Some participants wore tight jeans, trousers, skirts, or tops with long sleeves that exposed the frame of the body. Others wore loose clothes that hid the shape of the body. Some overcoats were long, others short, some loose, others tight, some plain, others colorful with patterns. Not everybody wore an overcoat. They all wore a bonnet under their headscarves that covered their hair and neck (and sometimes their shoulders). There were a couple of participants who wore fashionable long lace knitted scarves as opposed to traditional square headscarves. Few participants wore make-up. Generally, their fingernails (and toenails) were short without nail polish. Some wore sandals without socks; others wore closed toe shoes with different

types of socks. Nobody had high-heeled shoes. All in all, other than their most distinctive feature, headscarves (in the turban style) and long coats (in some cases), they appeared as any other young woman in the street.

Interview Protocol and Data Collection

Description of the Interview Protocol

I used an interview protocol as an instrument for data collection. The instrument was originally designed in English and then translated into Turkish. During the translation of the interview protocol, I referred to the help of various colleagues in Turkey. I met with a couple of assistant professors who are either in the field of political science or follow politics closely as a personal interest. My aim was to ensure the accuracy of the terms I needed to use while conducting interviews in Turkish. They guided me through the translation process while translating the interview questions into Turkish. The challenge was with the choice of words. In Turkey, as I mentioned in chapter 2, the ban is usually referred to as either the headscarf ban or the turban ban. Since the word "turban" has a political meaning attached to it within the context of Turkey, as explained in the literature review section, I was advised to use the Turkish word "basortusu" (headscarf) while referring to the headscarf/turban ban to avoid being perceived as if I were making political statements and also the word "headscarf" was more comprehensive than the word turban since it referred to all types of hair covering including the turban. In addition, I was also challenged to translate the word "policy" and use it together with "ban". At the end, I decided not to use them together as I do in English. I either translated it as "basortusu yasagi" (the headscarf ban) or "universitelerin basini kapamayi tercih eden kiz ogrencilere karsi uyguladiklari politikalar" (policies that

universities exercise for veiled female students). After consultation sessions with the faculty members for a final approval of the Turkish version of the interview questions, I conducted interviews with the part-time unveilers.

The interviews started with a series of short-answer questions to have some demographic information about the participants. These questions included their age, year of educational study, parents' job, GPA, the university they attend, the discipline they study, the place they reside in while going to university (dormitory or off-campus), the city they are from, and the type of unveiling they use on campuses (e.g., wig, hat, or exposure of the hair). This section ended with a question asking participants to briefly explain their educational background and how they started veiling.

After these background questions, I asked six open-ended questions to explore the perspectives of the part-time unveilers about their educational and cultural experiences with regard to the headscarf ban policy. In broad terms, interviews focused on participants' goals of going to university, their understanding of the policy, the reason why they have chosen to comply with the headscarf ban, how the ban is implemented in their institution, and the opportunities, barriers, and problems that unveiling brings to this group of students on campus and in their private lives. The interviews also explored how these challenges affect their educational progress. In addition, these interviews explored the ways in which part-time unveilers welcome the opportunities and deal with the challenges. Furthermore, participants described their identity as they perceived it and then explained how unveiling affects their Turkish, Muslim, and female identities. At the end of the interviews, participants were asked if there were things they would like to add.

This gave them an opportunity to revise or make additions to what they said previously, and was a chance for follow-up and clarification.

During the interviews, in addition to open-ended questions, I also used more specific probing questions based on the components of my conceptual framework as appropriate. That is, when answers to the open-ended questions were brief and general, I used specific probing questions to give the participants an opportunity to talk about their experiences in a more specific way.

Procedures for Data Collection

Protection of the human subjects. The study is in a sensitive area of research in Turkey. The reasons why the topic is sensitive are threefold: (1) "there are potential consequences or implications, either directly for the participants in the research or for the class of individuals represented by the research" (Sieber & Stanley, 1988, p. 49); (2) the study "involves the possibility that information may be revealed which is stigmatizing or incriminating in some way" (Lee, 1993, p. 4); and (3) research becomes challenging when "it impinges on political alignments, [the word 'political' used to] refer to the vested interests of powerful persons or institutions, or the exercise of coercion or domination, [making] researchers often trespass into areas which are controversial or involve social conflict" (Lee, 1993, p. 4). In order to protect the research participants, I submitted my project for approval by the Institutional Review Board at Michigan State University and obtained a consent form. The consent form ensured the confidentiality and anonymity of the data. The participants in this study are a small but visible segment of population in their organizations. I took particular care to conceal details that might reveal any identity. Each participant was assigned an ID number during the interviews.

Data collection and recording. The method I used for data collection was an in-depth interview with a series of short-answer questions to obtain some demographic information about the participants and open-ended questions based on the research questions to give the part-time unveilers the opportunity to express their opinions ((Johnson, 2002; Marshall & Rossman, 1999; Seidman, 1998). The interviews, conducted in Turkish and hand- recorded, were semi-structured (Berg, 2001), and let me interact face-to-face with the participants in natural settings (Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

Data were collected in four different cities during the summertime over a period of three months, including the pilot study. Interviews took place on a one-to-one basis due to the sensitivity of the issue. The length of interviews ranged from 150 to 240 minutes, depending on how much information participants had or wanted to share. Usually, a short break of 10-15 minutes was taken partway through the interview.

Thirty participants agreed to participate in the research and I interviewed them only once, with the exception of three participants. In the case of these three participants, interviews were interrupted due to emergency calls or other commitments. Second interviews were conducted the following day. This way I had the opportunity to conduct two interviews as opposed to only single interviews. One main advantage of interviewing a participant twice was that the second interview gave the participants an opportunity to come back and expand the points they thought they had left out. In addition, in the second interview, they seemed to be more comfortable with me. Interviewing twice seemed advantageous in terms of trust building, and two participants wanted to develop a friendship after the second interview. They invited me out for lunch or dinner and introduced me to their parents and friends. On the one hand, it was a very enriching

experience for me and I was particularly happy to cultivate acquaintances with these young women since, in my own life, I had not known very many veiled women. On the other hand, with my researcher hat on, I struggled with their desire to befriend me since I did not want to compromise issues of confidentiality. As a relatively inexperienced researcher, I was not entirely sure of the degree of distance I needed to maintain with my interviewees (Clark, 2006).

During the interviews, I recorded notes myself. According to the consent form, the data could only be tape-recorded if participants consented. During the pilot study, participants stated that they would feel more at ease if I recorded the data by hand. I think the perception of an electronic recording device may have made participants feel as though their confidentiality could be violated (Belanger, 1999). After this experience during the pilot study, I decided to only record the interviews by hand and never asked the research participants whether they would consent to be tape-recorded or not.

Credibility of the data. While I was recording the data, I asked participants to check what I was writing so that they could warn me if I misreported a piece of information. This type of data checking during the interviews proved invaluable since it allowed participants to validate and ensure the accuracy of data recorded.

Interview locations. Participants had the liberty to choose the meeting points for interviews. Thus I met them in different settings according to their wishes. Some invited me to their houses; others wanted to meet outdoors in a coffee shop or restaurant. A couple of them felt more comfortable having the interview in organizations they do volunteer work for; and two participants found it easier to have the campus as our meeting place to conduct the interviews.

Five university locations were physically used for conducting two of the interviews and reaching administrators or professors. Other than two interviews, all other interviews were conducted outside a university. Two participants preferred the campus because of logistical reasons and time constraints. They had classes in between the interviews and did not want to go through the hurdle of leaving the campus and then entering the campus again, which meant veiling and unveiling again. In addition, since they were returning to their hometown after the final exams in a couple of days, they wanted to conduct the interviews as soon as possible. All other participants preferred to conduct interviews outside the campus. By the time the interviews were conducted, most of them had already finished their final exams and started their summer holiday. Thus they did not want to meet on campus and go through the unveiling process when, as many participants pointed out, "there was no pressing need."

Interview sites included open areas such as picnic places, public gardens or open air coffee shops; interviewees' places of residence; and clubs or associations where interviewees did voluntary work. These sites were scattered in each city. Thus I did not always have an easy time to reach the interview sites, and I was sometimes concerned with being late and missing the students in case they did not want to wait. As the research went along, I started to leave the house earlier than normal considering the road conditions and possibility of getting lost (McCosker et al., 2001). I think students selected the meeting points for interviews based on where they thought they would be most "comfortable" and "safe."

Data Analysis

The analysis of the data employed practices associated with the constant

comparative method (Merriam, 1998; Strauss, 1987) to identify recurring themes across respondents. Data were analyzed in five stages: (a) data organization; (b) constant comparison of incidents to identify distinct categories; (c) integration of categories and their properties; (d) delimitation; and (e) theory writing (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Data organization. Participants each had an ID number between 1 and 30. I read the data (in Turkish) to become familiar with each interview in "intimate ways" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 153). While reading, I did some modest editing to make the interview notes retrievable. I then translated the clean data into English.

Constant comparison of incidents. I used each research sub-question as an umbrella theme. Within each umbrella theme, certain categories were already highlighted by the interview protocol. Other relevant topics emerged during the data analysis. Each incident in the data was coded using different color highlights into as many categories of analysis as necessary. In addition, every time I coded an incident for a category, I compared it "with the previous incidents in the same and different groups coded in the same category" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 106). As a result of constantly comparing incidents in a category, theoretical properties of the category started to appear. My goal was to identify discreet and non-overlapping categories.

Integration of categories and their properties. As the coding progressed and categories and their properties emerged, I began to evaluate the possibility of developing new understandings and exploring them through the data. I analyzed the data during which I challenged the meaning, looked for opposing instances of the relationships, and included these in bigger ideas (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). I also searched for alternative explanations for the data.

The constant comparative method caused "the accumulated knowledge pertaining to a property of the category to readily start to become integrated; that is, related in many different ways, resulting in a unified whole" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 109). So the theory developed as different categories and their properties.

Delimiting the theory. After I finished coding and categorizing the data, I reviewed my research questions and determined which category answered the study's specific research questions.

Writing the theory. When I believed I had an analytical framework that formed "a systematic substantive theory" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 113), it was time to document the findings. In advance of presenting thematic analysis, in order to help readers make better sense of the findings, I first provided (a) an overview portrait of the research participants based on the qualitative analysis of data, and (b) several case narratives of selected participants that each highlighted some important characteristics to consider about participants (e.g., religiosity, decision of unveiling, and challenges of attending university as a part-time unveiler). Afterwards, I brought all my notes about each umbrella theme together and started writing the findings thematically. Every time I had a new point, I made sure I validated it with the data and provided illustrations. The criteria I used for the inclusion of a category as part of the theory included frequency of responses and importance of a point. I included all the points indicated by at least five respondents. To decide whether to include or exclude points that were indicated by less than five participants, I used my judgment as to how important the point was in terms of the literature review and experiences and accumulated informal knowledge I gained while interacting with the Islamist community during my research in Turkey.

Challenges of Conducting the Research

Position of the Researcher

As a researcher taking a mainly inductive research process with the intention of generating meaning from the data collected to develop a pattern of meaning (Crotty, 1998), I knew that my identity and my background were going to shape my interpretation of the data. Thus I positioned myself as an unveiled Turkish Muslim woman who had both secular and Islamic roots. Born and raised in Turkey to a Muslim family, I have always been surrounded by family members involved in education and service to secular Turkey. Both my maternal grandfather and my uncle were officers in the Turkish Navy. My maternal grandfather later became the Governor of the Turkish province of Zonguldak. My paternal grandfather was a teacher and then later in his career became the principal of one of the first secular high schools after the secularization of the educational system in Turkey.

My mother is a retired high school teacher and my father is a retired businessman. When my grandmothers were growing up in Istanbul, women usually married at an early age so only very few attended higher education. This did not mean that they did not value education, however, and when my mother was born, her mother was determined that she would receive the best education possible and attend university if she so desired. My mother attended a secular university and earned two bachelor's degrees, one in archaeology and another in English language teaching. After graduating, she worked as an English language teacher in a secular high school in Istanbul.

My paternal grandmother and her background had an influence on my Islamic roots. As a devout Muslim, she practiced Islam all her life. She had religious leaders in

her family so she had received her religious training at a very early age. Some of her relatives still live in Saudi Arabia, engaged in the teachings of Islam and following Islam closely both as a religion and way of life. My paternal grandmother taught me teachings of Islam when I was a child.

My husband, who is British, comes from a religious Christian family. However, when he moved to Turkey, where we met, he converted to Islam. He had decided to convert long before we met. Even though he does not practice Islam other than infrequent prayers, he reads the Qu'ran regularly.

My parents, secular in their lifestyles, practice Islam by reading the interpretation or translation of the Qu'ran, praying, and fasting. Of all women in my immediate family and relatives, only my deceased paternal grandmother and one paternal cousin veiled. Even though they wore a headscarf, they never insisted that I or other female members of the family be covered. Thus, even though I practice Islam in multiple ways such as praying or fasting, I choose to remain unveiled.

I grew up in a secular environment where I did not have many chances to have contact with veiled women. I had a comfortable and relatively easy life without many hurdles or challenges. My friends included male and female Muslim or Jewish Turks who had comfortable lives. I have always had an active social life and enjoyed drinking, going out, and partying. During my high school and undergraduate years, my main concern in life, as the concern of other friends, was what to wear, where to go, and what to do in my twenties. I read a lot, but mostly read about French literature and culture. I read particular newspapers and novels, listened to certain talks and discussions, and joined secular clubs. They all shaped me in a particular way as a person. In my teenage years and early

twenties, I was like many other adolescents in my surroundings. I never felt privileged or elite since every one else around me was like me and I did not know about or of the "other". In my late twenties and early thirties, my extensive traveling to other parts of the country and reading on different topics helped me mature intellectually and realize the privileges I had socially and culturally in Turkey. My doctoral studies contributed to my personal and intellectual growth since I investigated the political and social context of Turkey in depth from an analyst's point of view. This helped me gain a clearer and perhaps more accurate understanding of who I really am and where I stand in my home country and in the Muslim world. Meanwhile, my international experiences while living in Britain for two years and in the United States for three years contributed to my growth as a cosmopolitan person and clarified the meaning of what it means to be "the other". Right before I started delving into the dissertation, I was well aware of all the nuances that I needed to know about different ethnic, racial, socioeconomic, cultural, social, and political groups. Even though I became very conscious about myself and "the other" in relation to the headscarf ban policy, until I started this research, my closest interaction with veiled women had still been with my mother's cleaning lady who wore a traditional headscarf. Informed by this acknowledgment and positioning myself as a researcher, I interpreted the meanings part-time unveilers have about the "world."

Challenges

This piece of research proved challenging for the researcher in various levels. I went through personal and interpersonal challenges that have numerous social and political implications. As a researcher, one of my challenges was in the area of recruitment. There are three important reasons for this:

First, the headscarf ban policy is a sensitive topic in the Turkish higher education system and is intertwined with Turkish politics. The ban has a history of almost twenty-five years impacting the lives of Islamists in one way or another at different levels. The history of the ban is full of campus riots, police harassment, arrests, student protests, court cases, classroom violence, student discrimination, and dropouts among others ("Mazlumder," 1998). It is a topic that has been discussed widely by the opposition groups in the political and educational context of Turkey. It has been one of the hotly debated topics in the media. The constant battle for or against the ban cultivated feelings of mistrust, suspicion, and bitterness in society ("Mazlumder," 1998).

Second, as a researcher, even though I am a Turkish Muslim woman and an insider within Turkish society, I am an outsider to the Islamist community as a female who does not cover her hair. From the perspectives of part-time unveilers, I appear to be the introducer of the headscarf ban policy. In Turkey, hair covering and conservative dress are associated with Islamism, and unveiling and modern clothes convey the secular and modern lifestyle (Gole, 1997). As a woman who is unveiled in relatively modern clothes, I am associated with secularism and, thus, with the headscarf ban.

Third, in many of the instances I was perceived as a researcher affiliated with America rather than a Turkish researcher. The perception of most students, administrators, and faculty was that I was a doctoral student affiliated with an American university. In their mind, since I was studying in America, socializing with American students, and working with American professors, my frame of reference would be formed by American higher education. This seemed to be threatening to some administrators and potential research participants because they were not sure if a researcher with an

American frame of reference would be objective in the piece of research she was conducting. This type of perception challenged me on a personal level as well since while in my home country, I never identified myself as a student/researcher from America, but rather a Turkish woman who is unveiled. Being perceived as an American affiliate challenged my citizenship and political identities while conducting the research.

These factors made me struggle while locating the participants, making initial contacts, and convincing them to participate in the study. My colleagues, administrators, and professors sometimes directed me to other colleagues who they thought would be helpful in identifying potential interviewees. When I contacted these colleagues, some of them wanted to meet with me and have a little "chat" about my research before they agreed to help me. These people were professors from various departments including law and political science in Universities I, II, and IV. When I met them in their offices on and off-campuses, they asked me detailed questions about my personal and educational background. Then they inquired about my philosophy of research, the research paradigm I was using in the study, and the data collection methods. They challenged the research paradigm I chose and argued that inductive studies were more journalistic, rather than scholarly, and not well grounded in the theory. Thus they were not entirely convinced about the rigor of the study. In addition, lately they had come across a couple of American qualitative researchers asking for their help to conduct research. They perceived that current American research is full of subjectivity and thus can be biased. This was not how they believed research needed to be conducted. Thus they refused to help me. The general argument for refusing to help was that research in American higher education seemed to take a non-rigorous and less reliable route and they did not want to

become mediators of a piece of research whose validity they did not believe. Thus their low perception of quality of research in American higher education played a critical role for some faculty members in their decisions of guiding me further or not.

In addition to professionals, potential interviewees asked me various questions about my personal and educational background, including my study. There were a couple of questions that were asked systematically and I struggled answering them since I had not expected such type of questions or comments. Almost all potential participants I talked to over the phone or face-to-face wanted to know why I chose this topic. They inquired whether it was the "United States" that wanted me to pursue this research or not. In addition, they asked for some explanation on the direction I was planning to take while presenting the results. Some of their comments were that I was a student working for American professors in America. They perceived the dissertation would be framed by American mindsets and findings published in America. All the potential interviewees wondered about the kind of goals and objectives I had by studying this sensitive topic. Some asked me if I thought this dissertation would enable "America" to solve the headscarf ban problem. Others asked me directly whether I was working for American media or government besides going to school. They expressed concerns about U.S. foreign policies and the war in Iraq (Clark, 2006). They made inquiries about "agendas" of professors in my department. Clearly, perceptions of potential interviewees on the international political climate and role of the United States in the Muslim world had an impact on their decision to take part in the study. In addition, based on the questions asked, it was obvious that I was perceived as a student researcher from America rather than a Turkish woman living in the United States of America and attending an American

higher education institution. I believe this influenced the way potential participants reacted to me as a researcher and to my work (Clark, 2006).

Some potential interviewees challenged the benefits of research findings since I was an unveiled woman. Their argument was that as an unveiled woman, a privileged Turk, I would be working from a perspective of someone who would be in favor of the existing headscarf ban. They wondered about the value of this type of research since they did not understand how their participation in a study conducted by an outsider might benefit their lives (Lee, 1993). I also struggled with answers when a couple of women wanted to know how I perceived the life of a veiled woman in Turkey, because I was not sure the extent to which I wanted them to know my perceptions of them.

On a more personal level, my challenges stemmed from how I felt and carried myself throughout the research as I heard participants' remarks during interviews. As an unveiled secular Muslim woman, the visible part of my "self" that would shape potential interviewees' perceptions of the researcher before and during interviews was my clothing (McCosker et al., 2001). It was the summertime, over 100° F in most parts of Turkey. As a woman, I wear clothes that are not necessarily assertive, but not conservative either. Especially in the summer, I wear light clothes such as short sleeved tops, short skirts, and V-neck blouses. As a researcher, this is who I am and I did not want to change that. I considered wearing more conservative clothes, but I felt it would be a deception. On the one hand, I wanted to show them I had respect for their lifestyle; on the other hand, I did not want to change an important part of my identity to suit theirs. As an unveiled secular Muslim woman, I was an outsider and did not want to be perceived as an insider by temporarily looking like them. A similar issue was raised during my dissertation proposal

committee meeting where the suggestion was that I would cover my hair. Even though I think it might have facilitated the entry to the world of part-time unveilers initially, in the long run it could have had repercussions both for my own image and the image of secular people had the participants seen me unveiled elsewhere. Eventually I decided to wear long skirts or trousers and short sleeved or sleeveless tight tops to attain a certain balance between conservatism and modernism. I am not sure how, if at all, the clothes I wore influenced my research, the interviewees' perceptions of me, their decision to participate in the study or not, and the quality of data I collected.

As an unveiled and privileged woman, I had challenges on two different levels. First, as an unveiled woman, I appeared (or believed I appeared) as an oppressor and outsider. I do not know the extent to which their perception of me as an oppressor, if that was the case at all, influenced the degree of openness and honesty when they answered the questions during the interviews. Second, I was troubled by some terms participants used while exploring their understanding of the headscarf ban policy. They constantly used the word "they" to refer to secularists or government or military leaders who initiated the ban. Every time I asked participants who those people that they refer as "they" were, I could feel their discomfort and hesitation. They perhaps did not know how to answer since I was unveiled and possibly a perceived secular elite or oppressor. They explained that "they" were unveiled people from government or military and added "unveiled like you." Some of their descriptions of "they" included people who did not practice or appreciate Islam. A couple of students argued that the word *laik* (secular(ist)/laicist) means "without religion" or "denial of religion" since "la" meant *no* and "ik" meant *religion* in Arabic. In addition, a few students associated Muslimness

with the headscarf and Islamic way of life. I was very challenged, trying not to react and to stay neutral without making any comments. I felt confronted and had feelings of distress because this perceived confrontation was in such an implicit manner. Never in my life have I been treated as the "other" or "outsider" or constantly reminded of this otherness (Prasad & Prasad, 2002) as much as I did throughout the course of the research. Every time, after an interview, I questioned my own identity and what it means to be a secular Muslim. There were times when I almost lost my researcher hat and found myself "defending" my secular Muslimness as an unveiled Turkish woman.

Another challenge was the feeling of guilt as if I was responsible for the challenges participants went through since I appeared (or believed that I appeared) as the representative of the secular elite who issued the ban. In addition, I was troubled and disturbed when I started to learn more about the "other" Turkey, a Turkey I did not even know existed. I felt feelings of blame and anger for having lived my life within the five-mile radius of my apartment, which I now consider as a segregated area for secularists.

Another challenge of mine was the solitude throughout the research process. I was gaining new perspectives and learning about new communities, lifestyles and experiences. Their challenges were puzzling, disturbing, and troubling in different ways. I tried to discuss my feelings and observations with my family and friends, but they did not understand me since they did not know much about my point of reference. This made me question whether I still fitted into the community where I grew up. I felt like an outsider on the "inside."

Finally, lack of experience as an emerging researcher in the field brought some challenges. For example, some interviewees cried in interviews, and it was unnerving. I

was not sure what to do or how to respond. I felt helpless and realized I had insufficient training in qualitative methods especially with regard to the fieldwork (Clark, 2006). Only after asking my advisor for a piece of advice did I learn how to handle the situation gently and proceed.

My final challenge concerned the length of time I could spare for the research. When I flew to Turkey in the late spring, the initial plan was to start recruiting some students in the summer and others at the beginning of fall since during the summertime many of them would be gone. I paced the research accordingly. However, in the weeks to follow after I settled in Turkey, some unexpected personal responsibilities arose that required me to modify the schedule and return to the United States at the end of August. This changed the pace of the research. I rushed, which was stressful, and only the day before I flew back to the United States did I interview the last participant and complete my research.

Summary of Chapter 3

This chapter presented the research approach I utilized in this study, the research questions posed, the ways in which the research was designed to collect and analyze data, and the challenges I faced while conducting the research. The next chapter provides an overview portrait of participants to help readers better make sense of the research findings, and depicts narratives of different types of educational and cultural experiences of five participants to provide readers with a range of some of the important characteristics of experiences they may encounter in the findings.

CHAPTER 4

Background Information About Research Participants and Selected Case Narratives

To help readers make better sense of the findings about the ways in which the higher education headscarf ban policy impacts or has impacted the educational and cultural experiences of the participants, as discussed in chapters 5, 6, and 7, this chapter familiarizes readers with the identities, lives, and educational backgrounds of part-time unveilers, including some contextual information about universities in which their experiences occur. It also makes specific reference to the implementation of the policy. The first section of the chapter gives an overview portrait of the research participants to provide background information about who these women are. It explores their personality traits as young university students, discusses the kind of Turkish, Muslim, and female identities they have as covered women, and pinpoints what higher education means for them and their future careers by discussing their reasons for attending university and choosing their disciplines. The second part of the chapter highlights the perceptions of the part-time unveilers about the ways in which the higher education headscarf ban policy is implemented in their institutions. The chapter concludes with case narratives of five participants to highlight the variety of life experiences among the respondents. The quotes used in this chapter are translations from Turkish to English.

Overview Portrait of the Part-Time Unveilers

This section presents a portrait of the research participants, provides some background information about their identities and their rationale for continuing

postsecondary education, highlights some of their key character traits as undergraduate students, and discusses their overall views about university education.

Identities of the Part-Time Unveilers

This section explores the personalities of the research participants as university students going to college and discusses aspects of their identities in regard to citizenship, religious affiliation, and being covered women.

Personalities. Research participants appear to be very similar to any other student going to school. Fourteen part-time unveilers have a positive outlook in life and perceive themselves as hard working, smart, and open to improvement. Participant 14 explained that she was clever and wanted to broaden her perspective:

> I am a hard working and clever person. I am very fragile too. I always feel sorry for people who are in need. I appreciate the good things people do for me. I cannot stand unfairness. I would like to improve myself in my religion and other subjects such as poetry and literature. I do not like to be passive. I prefer to show and prove myself. I want to become an important person in the future. There are many times when I think I am not good enough and make efforts to further improve myself.

Twelve participants enjoy engaging in social activities and use terms such as extrovert, outgoing, and sociable to describe themselves. They seem to be like other energetic, vibrant young college students. Participant 15, for example, is a woman who likes to meet people and socialize with friends as often as possible:

> I am a woman who engages in dialogue with people quickly. I would talk to anybody without any problems. I always tell the truth and I do not hold grudges. I

am an active person who likes to socialize. . . . I have good relations with my friends. They are important to me. I go to movies or dinner with them. I do not sit at home very often. I visit and explore new places with my friends from high school.

As other undergraduates in their twenties on a university campus, the part-time unveilers perceive themselves with a wide array of positive and negative personality traits such as emotional, optimistic, stubborn, ambitious, depressed, anxious, relaxed, stress-free, responsible, self-sacrificing, and self-sufficient. Participant 9, for example, considers herself relaxed and happy: "I am somebody who likes her freedom with the spirit of a child. I am relaxed, happy, and satisfied. I usually make fun of life. I do not care about the mistakes of others. I smile and forget things that are done to me easily." On the other hand, Participant 15 thinks she is nervous and quick-tempered: "I am somebody who has responsibilities to Allah [God] and humanity. I am sometimes anxious and nervous. I am quick-tempered. Nobody knows how I am going to react. I am a little unbalanced. But I am self-sacrificing. But once I dislike someone, I dislike that person for the rest of my life." In addition, like some introvert undergraduate youth, seven participants have more reserved and quiet personalities: "I am a quiet and reserved person. I only become talkative and cheerful when I am with close friends" (Participant 16).

All in all, the part-time unveilers who participated in this study appear to be like the range of young women that attend university. They seem to be full of life and energy with lots of potential and hope for the future.

Citizenship identity. All participants associated their citizenship identity with being a Turk. Twenty-seven part-time unveilers closely related their Turkishness to their history and ancestors, which they take pride in. They also thought that this history of Turkey brings a rich culture with itself. One participant felt great about being a Turk as a result of the accumulated history behind it: "I am a great grand-daughter of the Ottoman Empire. This land has been left to us as a result of many wars. This is why it is great to be Turkish" (Participant 30). Another added that she was happy to be Turkish with strong roots and rich history and culture: "My Turkish identity is intertwined with our history. Turkishness means having roots. I am happy to be and be born a Turk. I am happy to be a Turk when I compare myself to other nationalities. We have a rich history and culture. I love my country, my city, and my home and would never want to live anywhere else" (Participant 9).

In addition to the background and culture, fifteen participants also viewed Islam as an integral part of their Turkishness. Participant 7 perceived Islam to have an important role in her Turkish identity: "Islam is a crucial part of the Turkishness. Social life is hand in hand with Turkishness and Muslimness in Turkey. There is a difference between a Muslim Arab and a Muslim Turk. Turks are polite and respectful people. I am happy to be Turkish."

Thirteen part-time unveilers explained that they perceive themselves as hospitable and honest people as part of their Turkish identity. They believe in their flag, national anthem, and importance of sacrificing themselves to save their country. They are attached to their families, customs, and traditions as part of the Turkish culture. Participant 24 was proud of her Turkishness: "I am proud of being a Turk because Turks are strong,

hospitable, and honest people with leadership skills. Turkey is a strong country. And I want to serve my country." Participant 12 added that she loved her country, her national anthem and flag: "I love my Turkishness. I love my country. I love my national anthem and flag. I can do everything and anything for my country. I want to serve my country and my people. I love speaking Turkish and am happy living with people who speak the same language. . . ."

In sum, part-time unveilers seem to predominantly associate their Turkish identity with their ancestors who lived during the Ottoman Empire times and left a legacy of rich cultural and religious traditions. In addition, they perceive the love of the Turkish flag and national anthem as other underlying characteristics of their Turkishness.

Religious identity. All participants associated their religious identity with Islam. For them, their Muslimness is closely related to following the tenets of Islam in life. Eleven participants perceive themselves as quite religious. Participant 3 thought she was fairly religious: "I am trying to live Islam as much as possible. I consider myself quite religious. . . . I love learning about Islam. I really like it." On the other hand, nineteen considered themselves as "modern" Muslims and not as religious as Muslims who devote their lives to Islam. Participant 4 identified herself as a modern Muslim and explained what she meant by that: "I am a modern Muslim, so maybe not very religious according to some people since I do not dedicate my life solely to Islam. I am still part of the modern life. I am trying to follow the tenets of Islam living in technology and modernity." These modern Muslims believe that they are well-educated and conscious Muslims. Participant 7 distinguished herself from her parents as a conscious and knowledgeable Muslim: "I am a conscious Muslim who reads a lot about Islam. I read the

interpretation and translation of the Qu'ran. I also read many religious books. My parents are religious, but they have not read about Islam as much as I have. I am a more knowledgeable and conscious Muslim."

As part of their Muslim identity, participants explained different ways in which they follow their religion, which is what constitutes their Muslim identity. Almost all of them reported to read and/or listen to the Qu'ran, pray as many times as possible, fast during Ramadan, wear a headscarf, and lead a life of good conduct. They believe that in addition to the precepts of Islam, what the Qu'ran wants them to do is to have good morals and ethics. Thus these participants explained that they try to respect family, help others, and work hard, avoid lying, stealing, and treating others badly, Participant 21 explored her understanding of Muslimness and efforts she made to be a good Muslim:

> My religious identity is my Muslimness. I am trying to be a good Muslim. I am not an extreme Muslim. I have never been a radical. I am trying to find the middle way. I pray. I fast. I wear a headscarf. I am trying to be honest and helpful. I am trying to keep good relations with people. . . . I am trying not to talk behind people's back. I have good relations with my family. We try to have quality time together. This life is a test. I am trying to pass this test in the best possible way.

As part of their religious identity, all these research participants cover their hair in their private lives. Part-time unveilers discussed two specific reasons why they chose to wear a headscarf. Twenty-four participants explained that they use the veil in order to obey the Qu'ran and follow the tenets of Islam. Participant 1 explained that she decided to cover her hair to obey some of the Surahs, chapters of the Qu'ran, in the holy book:

> Allah has commanded the headscarf in the Qu'ran. My faith in Allah motivates me to obey Allah's message and that is why I follow what Allah has commanded in the Qu'ran. I cover my hair according to the Surah an-Nur verse 31 and Surah al-Ahzab verse 59 [See Appendix J for translation of Surah an-Nur verse 31 and Surah al-Ahzab verse 59]. I believe in Islam. If this is not like this, then I am going to pay for it after I die. I cover my hair because of my belief system.

Six participants reported that they started to cover their hair first as a result of external circumstances such as the influence of family, friends, or school. Then they read about Islam and once they understood it was a wish of Allah, they continued wearing it. Participant 9, for example, started to cover her hair as a result of the influence of her parents. However, later she continued covering it as a result of religious readings she had done:

> My parents told me that I needed to cover my hair after I reached puberty. They explained to me the importance of the headcovering for them and for our religion. I was influenced by them and started to cover my hair. But then the importance of the headscarf was also taught at the Qu'ran course as well. Then I started reading about Islam when I was attending Imam Hatip school. I learned about the life of the wife of our Prophet. After starting covering my hair as a result of parental influence, I am now covering my hair understanding properly the reasons why I have to cover as a result of my religious readings and research.

Participant 16 started covering purely as a result of the environment that consisted of covered women:

> Nobody forced me to cover my hair. However, people said constantly that I should cover my hair, without forcing me. Most of my female friends, family members, and people in my surroundings are covered. When you are in a covered environment, you do not want to be an anomaly. You need to become covered too. The same was true during my high school as well. I had covered friends; this was the context I was in.

In sum, participants seem to associate their religious identity with Muslimness. Muslimness means following the tenets of Islam in varying degrees from praying and fasting to helping the poor and needy. Part-time unveilers all cover their hair to signal their Muslim identity for religious, social, or family-related reasons.

Gender identity. The gender identity of the part-time unveilers included femaleness, the lifestyle they lead as women, their role as daughters in the family, and the ways in which they do (or do not) interact with males.

Part-time unveilers as females: Part-time unveilers perceived their gender identity as females who have an important role in the society. They reported that in some parts of Turkey, especially in rural, conservative, and uneducated areas, women, perceived as born to serve men, are of secondary importance and do not need to receive education or have a job. Being aware of these challenges and sometimes facing some of them in their own families to varying degrees, they argued that their identity as women is very different from images of traditional Turkish girls. They perceive themselves as future women and mothers who are modern, educated, and economically independent, helping society shape future generations. They believe in the importance of gender equality and want men and women to walk hand in hand in different arenas of society including the

work environment. Participant 19 explained that she believes that as a woman, she has various crucial roles to play:

> I am a little bit feminist I guess. I know that in some parts of our country, women are not seen as valuable. But my female identity is as such that I will work, become successful, and be economically independent. This way I will contribute to the economy. I am strong. I have to prove myself and I will. Another important mission of mine is motherhood. I have to be sensitive and sensible while raising my children. I also want a marriage that is equal. I do not want male dominance. There are many roles and duties of women in society.

Participant 18 is proud of being a woman despite the fact that in Turkey women are oppressed and considered second-class citizens. She stated that she has important contributions to make to society:

> As a woman, I am fragile. I cannot stand unfair treatment. I take pride in being a woman. I am happy to be a woman. I know that in many parts of Turkey, women are oppressed and suppressed. They are not valued. Most of them used to be housewives. But as a woman, I want to make a contribution to society. There are many arenas where women can become competitive. I want to take part in those arenas and compete. As a woman I also want to raise good children. It is important that I teach good values to my children. This is another responsibility of mine as a woman.

Part-time unveilers as daughters: As daughters of their families, twenty-four part-time unveilers have very close relationships with their parents whereas six are in constant conflict with their family. Participant 27 explained her happy family life: "I have a great

relationship with my parents. I am so grateful for that. I still sit on my father's lap. I adore him and I know that he adores me. We always chat together as a family. We also pray together in the morning and evening." On the other hand, Participant 6 has some problems with her parents: "I am in conflict with my parents at all times. This is mainly because of religion. They want me to behave in the way they want. They did not want me to quit because of the ban. They do not want me to follow Islam strictly. I did not happen to be the daughter they wanted me to be."

Their social lives: In terms of social life, participants lead lives that exclude drinking alcohol and going to bars or discos since alcohol and being in places where alcohol is served are religiously banned. The majority of participants have active social lives without going to bars or discos and consuming alcohol. Some of the various activities of twenty-seven part-time unveilers with active social lives include going out with their friends, watching movies, going to the theatre, dinner, coffee shops, playing backgammon, smoking, doing sports, attending concerts, joining clubs, listening to music, and watching TV with their family members. Participant 7 explained that she has a busy and satisfying social life with a diverse group of friends:

> I am part of the social life. . . . I have friends from high school and university. We go to the movies, do sports, go to the theatre and cafes. We smoke. We play cards and backgammon. I am also a member of an Islamist club. This club intends to help people who are in need. I do not go to bars or discos. I do not drink alcohol. I have friends who drink. Sometimes they drink heavily and they call me to help them. In such instances I go to pick them up and help them. I also have friends

who wear mini skirts, socialists, and atheists. We picnic together. We go to pop concerts all together.

On the other hand, three participants have more limited activities compared to others. Participant 12, for example, has a conservative lifestyle due to her religious preferences: "I do not have a TV in the house where I am staying. It is a principle of our [Islamist] house. There are a lot of terrible programs on TV that are not appropriate for us to watch. The same thing is also true for movies. I do not go to movies either. I usually listen to the radio and read newspapers. I listen to the music. I go to the theatre. I do not have a very active social life."

Their relationship with men: As women, participants have varying degrees of relationships with men. Twenty-four participants have male friends, close or distant; they talk to them or socialize together within certain limits. A couple of them have boyfriends as well: "I have male and female friends. I am not very close to my male friends though. And I have a boyfriend" (Participant 14). "I have great male friends. They understand me. We go to eat or watch movies together" (Participant 19).

Six part-time participants are stricter in their relationship with men due to religious reasons. They rarely talk to them and do not socialize or shake hands with them: "I do not have male friends. There were two guys who were in love with me, but I did not talk to them. I do not think there is such a thing as a male friend. My honor can be hurt if they try to take advantage of me. So I prefer not to talk to them" (Participant 10). "I do not shake hands with men. I only salute them. Sometimes I talk to them, but just shortly" (Participant 12).

Summary. Research participants seem to be regular young women who are in their twenties, with a range of personalities, identities, and lifestyles. They appear to be dynamic, active young women like other female undergraduate students attending higher education institutions. Their personality traits range from free-spirited and stress-free to nervous and depressed. Their Turkish identity is mainly associated with Turkish history which dates back to the Ottoman Empire and its rich culture and traditions. Their Muslim identity seems to have a dominant role in the way they live their religion, lead their lives, and have relationships with men. They are engaged in numerous social activities, such as going to movies or dinner with friends, in differing frequencies within the limits of Islam. Many of them consider themselves as conscientious and well-educated modern Muslims who try to reconcile their Muslimness with the contemporary Turkish society. As any other young person, they sometimes get on well with their parents and some other times are in conflict with them. These part-time unveilers believe that they have an important role to play in the society, value their female identity, and perceive themselves as conscious women who will shape the future generations in Turkey.

Rationale for Attending Postsecondary Education

This part highlights perceptions of participants about their reasons for attending university and choosing the discipline they study. It provides an overview of what higher education means for part-time unveilers in general. In addition, this section pinpoints some background information about the choices part-time unveilers make regarding the discipline they study due to the educational, social, and political contexts of Turkey.

In this part, there are references to two different headscarf ban policies by the research participants. One of them is the higher education headscarf ban policy, a policy

that exists within the context of Turkish universities, which is the focus of the dissertation, and the other is the general headscarf ban policy, as I call it here, mainly exercised in state institutions. This general headscarf ban policy does not allow covered women to attend primary and secondary state schools or work in state institutions in every sector unless they remove their headscarves in Turkey.

Reasons for going to university. Part-time unveilers discussed the importance of higher education for themselves and elaborated on their motives for going to a higher education institution. Their reasons were various and can be categorized as intrinsic or extrinsic reasons. Intrinsic reasons are more to do with themselves, their families, and lives. Extrinsic reasons are related to the bigger society surrounding them. In any case, either implicitly or explicitly, both the higher education headscarf ban policy and the general headscarf ban policy seemed to shape some of these reasons in one way or another. Furthermore, some women had only one clear goal to attend university, while others had multiple reasons, including both intrinsic and extrinsic reasons.

Intrinsic reasons: Data reveals that intrinsic reasons for part-time unveilers to attend university seem to be parental motivation, self-motivation, and a desire to become a well-rounded person.

(1) Parental motivation: The first intrinsic reason seems to be parental motivation among other reasons. Sixteen participants mentioned the supportive role of their families regardless of their own level of education to motivate part-time unveilers to attend higher education. There were some participants who were simply not ambitious enough for a university education. Their parents motivated them by highlighting the importance of higher education and the ways in which it will contribute to their lives in the long run: "I

did not have enough motivation for university education; my parents motivated me shaping my thinking about higher education and its importance in Turkey" (Participant 8).

Some other participants used parental motivation when the general headscarf ban policy in their high school years was a reason that discouraged them to continue higher education. Parents of these participants seem to have played crucial roles in their lives when participants felt helpless and wanted to quit. Participant 1 explained how her parents convinced her to continue school when she decided to drop out:

> In October 2000, when I was at 2nd year of high school, the headscarf ban policy started in high schools. In those days, in Imam Hatip schools, boys and girls were separated. One will either unveil or will leave the school. First, I said OK, I will unveil. Then I thought I couldn't. I've been dismissed from classroom. Everybody was crying. I said I would quit studying. I've been unhappy in the place I was once most happy. My parents said I wouldn't be worth my salt then in their eye. I unveiled and kept on going to school. I was successful at the university entry examination. Thanks to my parents' motivation, I am here in front of you today as an undergraduate.

Participant 28 also continued her education thanks to her parents' encouraging words and motivation:

> As a result of the [general] headscarf ban policy in my high school, I spent the final year unveiled at school and veiled outside. This depressed me and I had psychological problems. When I realized this problem was going to continue at university as well, I did not want to continue higher education. My family

motivated me. They said that covered people needed higher education for their voices to be heard. They said that I could be a veiled female leader in society. To hear these words made me pull myself together and continue my education.

(2) Self-motivation: The second intrinsic reason for attending university seems to be self-motivation. Fourteen participants explained that they were very ambitious throughout their secondary education, and felt that they had to continue higher education to prove themselves, first as smart individuals and second as covered women. In addition, the existence of both the higher education and general headscarf ban policies seems to have further self-motivated some participants. Participant 26 was an ambitious student who kept motivating herself constantly to become successful during her secondary education and continue into higher education:

> I was very successful in sciences in high school. I knew I could do well in Health Sciences. I was very ambitious in the university entrance exam, and worked very hard. When I found out I was placed in Health Sciences, I realized that my ambition paid off since as a smart person and covered woman, I would be a university student.

(3) Desire for improvement: The third intrinsic reason why part-time unveilers go to university may be their desire to improve themselves. Nine participants reported that they wanted to go to university to become a well-rounded person in life and improve themselves. For four of them, this was the sole purpose of attending a higher education institution; for the rest, it was one of the many other reasons. From the way they elaborated on their reasons for attending university, it was clear that participants attached different values to being well rounded and had different understandings of improving

themselves, which also affected participants' immediate and/or long-term educational expectations from their campuses. Participant 4 wanted to improve herself by attending university and becoming specialized and expert in one area:

> There is no future for a person who does not go to university. Higher education makes you specialized in one area and you read so much in that area that you become like an expert. Professors are trying to guide you on your way to becoming more and more knowledgeable about the particular subject matter you are studying.

Participant 24 believed that, thanks to the knowledge she was going to acquire at university, she was going to improve herself, which was her main reason to continue higher education:

> The main reason I wanted to go to university was to become knowledgeable. Knowledge is power. . . . It helps me think . . . critically think and evaluate other people's opinions. Thanks to the knowledge, I can improve myself and become a well-rounded woman. Knowledge is a source of power that will protect me from any potential dangers in the future. It will help me grow and develop myself.

Participant 19 had a different view about improving herself. Her understanding of self-improvement specifically focused on reaching a level of sophistication where she could learn more about Islam and religious teachings:

> The reason why I wanted to go to university was to become cultured. By cultured, I mean becoming an intellectual and sophisticated person who would go to operas and theaters. After university, I hope to reach a level where I can understand the depth of philosophy. In addition, I also hope to appreciate the

values of my ancestors more. As a result of becoming cultured, I hope to better understand how the Ottoman Empire lived, and what kind of intellectual and spiritual activities they were engaged in. This will help me learn more about my own religion, Islam.

Participant 3 wanted to broaden her horizons and become a multicultural person to improve herself and chose to attend university to achieve these goals:

I attend university to become well-rounded. I live in an environment that has a specific culture. University will help me internalize another culture so that I become a multicultural person. The university culture will help me learn the realities of the world, the scientific facts, and contribute to my well-being psychologically and knowledge-wise. Thanks to the multiculturalism, I will respect other cultures. For example, we should respect all religions and races living together in one country. We should create opportunities for every citizen to live in harmony. I live in a religious environment, but people do not know the Islamic culture well enough. By becoming a multicultural person, I want to help people broaden their minds. I also want to help teach them what is good and right for them.

Participant 18 is going to university to improve herself and become part of the global society where she can use technological devices:

I am going to university to become part of the global society. We are living in the world of science and technology. We cannot fall behind. I cannot imagine myself without a mobile phone or a computer. The campus gives you the opportunity to use such devices. You interact with global society; you interact with intellectuals,

professors, and smart students. Your way of engaging in conversations with others in your environment changes substantially. You broaden your horizons and improve yourself.

Extrinsic reasons: In addition to intrinsic reasons, participants pinpointed several extrinsic reasons for attending university. These include better job opportunities, their willingness to become fully integrated into the society, ambition, their desire to switch to a higher social class, to earn respect, and to change the perceptions of secularists about Islamists.

(1) Job opportunities: Data reveals that the first extrinsic reason for part-time unveilers to attend university seems to be job opportunities. Fifteen participants reported that they started university because they believed that an undergraduate degree would provide them with better job opportunities after their graduation. For eight participants, this is the sole purpose of receiving higher education; for others it is one of the multiple goals they want to reach with a diploma. In any case, they all perceived higher education as a key to a successful career and economic freedom as a result in the context of Turkey. This was especially important since the job market was competitive and the general headscarf ban policy already restricted their job opportunities in state institutions. Participant 10 stated that the main reason why she goes to college is to have a good job after graduation:

> The main reason why I wanted to attend a university was to get a better job. As a covered woman, if you are a university graduate, you have many more options.

> . . . My mother did not go to university, and has always had problems in finding a good job as well as financial difficulties. After graduation, I am hoping that I will not have such hurdles in life.

Participant 21 perceives higher education as a door to economic independence:

> Higher education is a way to economic freedom in a male-dominant society. My mother has been economically independent thanks to the university she attended. But I know there are many women of her age who are dependent on the pocket money they receive from their husbands. I do not wish to become like them. In the 21st century, one should be economically self-sufficient. That is why they need to go to university, and so do I.

Part-time unveilers who have or had attended two-year higher education institutions seemed to think that the number of years spent in a higher education institution also mattered with specific reference to job opportunities after graduation. They stated that job opportunities are even better and more lucrative for four-year higher education graduates as compared to two-year ones. Participant 9, for example, explained that she wanted to go to university to obtain a good job. After graduating from the two-year institution she was in, she realized that she would not be able to make as much career progress as she would like with an associate degree, which was one reason for her to continue her education. Participant 14, a student who is attending a two-year degree program, has similar opinions about two-year institutions with relation to career prospects:

> There is a big difference between a two-year graduate and a four-year graduate when you are in the job market. Four-year graduates are almost always better placed and find higher paying jobs. This is why I want to continue my education. . . . I am hoping to be able to transfer my credits into a four-year program and receive a bachelor's degree to make myself more competitive in the job market.

(2) Desire to become active citizens: The second motive for part-time unveilers to continue higher education appears to be their desire to become active citizens in Turkish society. According to them, the higher education headscarf ban policy intends to make Islamists passive and segregate them from the society, and they do not want this to happen. Fourteen participants mentioned that they started university to become fully integrated into society in the future besides many other reasons. For twelve participants this integration meant contribution to the leadership, economic, and social welfare of the country. Participant 1 explained the ways in which she could become a better citizen thanks to higher education:

> One other reason to attend a university is to learn how I can become a leader so that as an Islamist, I can contribute in governing the country in the future. People like me (part-time unveilers/Islamists) need their voices heard. Our voices have been suppressed as a result of the higher education headscarf ban policy on campuses. I can make my voice heard by means of higher education. Higher education is preparing me to help shape the future direction of Turkey. [It is because] higher education is a platform where one can learn social and national values in a more refined way. When I learn them better, I can then go out and teach them to others who do not know. I can also take part in activities where I

can apply things I have been taught. I can become a better citizen, and take part in useful social activities such as helping the poor, marginalized and oppressed.

On the other hand, for two participants, full integration into the society meant contribution to the spiritual/religious development of society. One interesting observation is that both participants appear to have had intense involvement in the teachings of Islam through formal or informal Qu'ran courses at some point in their lives. Participant 15 shared her views in the following way:

> Allah commands that human beings receive education so that they can read and understand His teachings and teach them to those who do not have education. This is the big difference between a student who is educated and one who is not. After I graduate, I will be able to become a more religiously responsible person, and help the Turkish Muslims realize their own responsibility as well.

(3) Desire to step up in the social ladder: Another motivating goal for attending university appears to be the desire of the participants to step up in the social class ladder. Five participants commented that their primary reason to attend university is for a change in their social class in the society. Implicit in their comments seemed to be the dissatisfaction of these participants with regard to their current position in the class ladder because of either their current socioeconomic, educational, or professional situation, the city they originally come from, or how they are viewed as females. For these women a higher social class meant better socioeconomic status, gender equality, urban life, and speaking a foreign language. They all perceived higher education as a vehicle that will provide them with some or all of these qualities to step up in the social ladder. Participant 13 explained that higher education would provide her a higher status in the society:

> University is a knife that divides people into two: educated and non-educated. In Turkey, if you are educated, you are automatically seen as somebody superior. If you are uneducated, you are considered a lower class person. So in broad terms university categorizes Turkish people as high-class and low-class people. . . . In addition, women do not always have the right to continue their education. They are usually seen as inferior to the men . . . considered second-class citizens. I wanted to change that. I wanted to be part of the upper class ladder. The best way to change that was to continue higher education.

Participant 14 added the possibility of improving a foreign language at university, which is a status symbol:

> My university helps me improve the foreign language I started learning in my school years. You can learn or improve a foreign language at university. In Turkey, speaking a foreign language is a sign of quality. It means that you belong to a group of people who are at the top of the social ladder.

(4) Desire for respect in the society: Another motive for part-time unveilers to receive university education appears to be their desire for respect in the society among many other reasons. Four participants reported that higher education is a prestige that you earn when you graduate from university. According to these participants, this prestige brings some extra privileges in addition to stepping up in the social and economic ladder. In their minds, the most important of these privileges is respect. Participant 16 wanted respect to have followers in society:

> Some of the older members of my community are not taken seriously when they speak. It is because they do not have a university degree. However, my community members listen to those with diplomas carefully and take their suggestions. It seems to me that the difference between a good and bad suggestion is that it is a good suggestion or advice if it comes from a university graduate, and a bad suggestion if it comes from a primary school graduate. You earn more respect, and have more listeners and followers if you attend university. This is one of the reasons why I am pursuing an undergraduate education.

Participant 3 desired respect when she realized how important her status was as a covered woman in society:

> When the headscarf ban policy was introduced when I was in Imam Hatip, I felt as if [covered women were not welcome in society]. Later I realized that we [covered women] were in fact very important people. Think about it, the whole government is talking about you [covered women]. You [covered women] are in the media, news at all times. I realized how critical my status was. So I realized that it is imperative for me to earn some privileges and respect in the society. I wanted to prove myself this way. . . . I want to earn respect in the society so that the society will not abandon me.

The last but not least reason to attend higher education is to change the perceptions of secularists about Islamists, especially Islamist women. Four participants explained that one other reason why they are so eager to have an undergraduate degree is to change the way secularists perceive covered women. The participants think that secularists perceive them as backward and narrow-minded people who can only be

cleaners or housewives. Part-time unveilers want to change this stereotype by attending university. Participant 3 explained that she wanted to eradicate all the misconceptions about covered women by attending higher education:

> Secularists think that covered women can only be cleaners. Covered women can only clean floors or windows. They are there to be ordered around. They want us to stay at home and give birth to children. They think that we are backward, primitive, and unintelligent people. I want to change all these misconceptions, which is another reason why I attend university and receive a bachelor's degree.

All in all, participants expressed various clear goals to attend higher education institutions and receive undergraduate degrees. Both the general and higher education headscarf ban policies seemed to impact and shape some of the reasons why part-time unveilers attend university. Another issue that appeared clear from the intrinsic and extrinsic reasons discussed above is that part-time unveilers seem to desire a fruitful and rewarding future where they can become respected, active, and successful citizens in Turkish society, and use their potential in different ways as much as possible. They hope that higher education is a means to this end.

Reasons for choosing their current discipline of study. Data revealed that participants pointed to four different reasons for choosing the discipline of study they are currently studying. These are (a) consideration of the job market, (b) number of part-time unveilers in the discipline, (c) their exam scores, and (d) their everlasting desire to study in the program.

Consideration of the job market: The first reason appears to be the consideration of the potential job opportunities. Twelve participants mentioned that their primary

concern while listing their choices according to their scores after the university entrance exam was their restrictions and limitations in the job market. Thus they wanted to make sure that they would choose a discipline that would provide covered women with relatively more job opportunities after graduation. Participant 3, for example, wanted to become a lawyer initially. However, she later decided against it since it would be impossible for her to enter the court covered, or with a hat, due to the general headscarf ban policy, which prevented covered women from working with their headscarves (and in some cases with their hats) on. She was not even sure whether she would still be accepted to the court as ex-covered even if she decided to expose her hair. Thus she decided to focus on science since she thought there would be more job opportunities for her. Participant 15 also opted for a discipline where she could work with her father in his private business even if she did not find a job after graduation:

> I might have chosen another discipline than the current one, but I would have had to go through the trouble of looking for jobs in the competitive market, which is not always veil-friendly. I did not want to put myself under this type of stress. So I chose to study this discipline so that I can work with my father in his private business without any worries in the future.

The number of part-time unveilers in the program: The accounts of twelve participants indicated that another criterion for their choice of study was the number of part-time unveilers in a discipline. They wanted to make sure that there would be many other part-time unveilers in the program they chose, to be able to ensure some network and support structure. So they filled out the university lists accordingly. As Participant 14 mentioned she chose the program she is in now because she knew it was a popular

program among part-time unveilers: "I chose this program because I knew there would be many students like me [part-time unveilers]. I thought we could support one another. Some programs are more popular amongst the Islamists such as teaching and nursing. So I opted for the popular ones."

Exam scores: The third reason for choosing the program participants are in now is their university exam scores. Ten participants reported that the departments they are in now are as a direct result of their scores at the national university exam and being placed accordingly. Participant 27 explained her case in the following way:

> I am in this program by mere virtue of luck as a result of my university exam score. I did not know what the program entailed until I started studying it. Then I found out how issues of dress and worldviews played major roles in the job market of my area of specialization. The national university entrance system is not a good model to follow.

Always wanted to study in the program: The last, but not least, reason for choosing their program seems to be because they have always wanted and worked toward it. Eight participants reported that, all their lives, they have wanted to study what they are studying now, and they are really happy there. Regardless of the various reasons why they wanted to study in these programs, they all mentioned that they have never considered being in a different department. Participant 23 explained that she had listed this program as her only choice of department she wanted to study: "I love what I am studying. It has been the only program I have wanted to study during my secondary education."

To sum up, part-time unveilers seem to study in the programs they are in for various reasons. Besides the genuine desire to be in the program, part-time unveilers seem to study in the disciplines as a result of external forces, which are beyond their control. In addition to national university exam scores, the general headscarf ban policy in state institutions with reference to job opportunities seems to influence the decisions participants make while deciding which department to go to, which seems to have a restraining effect on participants and may cause anxiety and dissatisfaction in the long-term if some participants never become satisfied with their program and are concerned about job opportunities after graduation.

Summary. In short, this section explored what going to university means to part-time unveilers in this study. They seem to value higher education, are extrinsically or intrinsically motivated to attend college, and think that a bachelor's degree will contribute positively to their social and economic status in the society. These appear to be the drives that motivate them while making choices and acting upon the higher education headscarf ban policy. They appear to be strategic about the choices of programs that they want to study. They take into account the external factors that may hinder their careers. They try to pursue programs that will maximize their chances to find jobs as covered women since the general headscarf ban policy constrains their opportunities in the job market.

Implementation of the Policy

This section emerged out of the responses of participants while explaining their negotiation process with the higher education ban policy. The accounts of the participants revealed that the policy appears to be implemented in different state institutions in

different ways, sometimes being left at the discretion of the professors. Although it is important to understand that the implementation of the policy seems to have an impact on the way participants unveiled on campuses, the fact that the policy is implemented in various ways is also an important finding which might have implications for the Higher Education Council, policy makers, and campus administrators.

One point that needs to be addressed is that in Turkey there are one-campus and multi-campus universities. Multi-campus institutions are usually scattered across the city they are in. In this case, when participants refer to a campus, they may be referring to one college or numerous colleges. This dissertation does not specify if a university is one campus or multi-campus because, in certain cases, it may serve as an identifier. In addition, what is not clear from the accounts of the students is when they refer to a campus or university, whether they are referring to the whole campus of the university or to their colleges, which poses a limitation in the conclusions drawn from the data.

The voices of participants highlighted the various ways in which universities implement the headscarf ban on campuses. Participant 27, who is in the field of applied social sciences in University IV, explained that hats and wigs were forbidden in her campus: "In my campus, hats and wigs are forbidden. This does not mean that there are not students using them, but if the security or administration realizes that you are wearing hats or wigs, they will take them." Participant 12, a Health Sciences student in University V, explained that in the case of her own campus, the use of hats was left to the discretion of the instructor in class: "We are allowed to enter the campus with a hat, but in class, it is up to the teacher. The teacher decides whether you can sit in class with a hat or a wig." In the cases of Participant 18 in Language & Literature in University III and Participant

26 in Health Sciences in University I, hats are banned on their campuses, but students are allowed to use wigs. Participant 18 stated that she would wear a hat if it were not banned.

According to the participants, there are some state universities that do not apply the ban on campus. Participant 1 explained:

> [X] University does not deal with the headscarf ban policy. They do not deal with such things. Professors and administrators are busy with teaching and research. They are concerned with student learning and development. They do not hunt their students to see who is wearing what. Of course, there are some professors who do not let their students with headscarves or hats in class, but they are individual cases.

Participant 17 from Applied Social Sciences in University V explained that in her campus as long as she did not come across somebody who is totally against the headscarf, she could walk with her headscarf on until she entered a building. On the other hand, Participant 15 from Social Sciences in the same university stated:

> Had I known my campus was so strict about the headscarf ban policy, I would have waited, worked harder, and taken the university exam to enter a university that is higher in the rankings. The higher ranking a university has, the less strict it is in applying the headscarf ban policy. I have to expose my hair before entering the campus whereas it may not be the case for every other campus in the country.

Participant 10, another student in Social Sciences in University V, stated that she also had to remove the headscarf before entering the campus: "The security waits in front of the masjid [small mosque] on campus in order to catch us as if we are people with plague." The accounts of Participants 17, 15, and 10 who are in the same university, but

clearly in different colleges or departments, highlighted the various ways a policy is applied in one university.

Furthermore, based on the data analysis, it seems that universities vary in the way they make unveiling more or less "comfortable" or "easy" for their students by providing them with "unveiling" resources or not. As explained by Participants 1, 18, 19, and 20, there is a fitting-room with a mirror at the entrance of the campus for a maximum of two people where students can unveil. Participant 16 mentioned that in her university, in front of the college of Science and Literature, there was a mirror which is now broken. On the other hand, Participant 12 explained: "I wish we had a changing cabin at the entrance. There is a policy for the whole higher education system, but the application is so different in each institution." Participant 13 added that, when she first started there was not a fitting room in her university, so she had to unveil in the street or at the entrance of an apartment block with people watching her.

Summary

All in all, the accounts of these participants show that the way the policy is implemented varies in university, campus, college, department, and class. Data indicated that some universities seem to allow students with their headscarves on in the campuses, whereas others do not. Hat-wearing appears to be left at the discretion of campuses, colleges, departments, or individual professors. Apparently, in some cases, wigs may not be allowed either. The variety of the ways in which the ban seems to be implemented in universities or departments seems to have some impact on the decisions the participants have made about the way they unveiled. Having provided some contextual information

about the implementation of the ban, I now move on to the narratives of five part-time unveilers regarding their educational and cultural experiences.

Different Educational and Cultural Experiences of Part-Time Unveilers

To better make sense of the findings that address each research question about the impact of the headscarf ban policy on the educational and cultural experiences of the part-time unveilers in the following chapters, I will give an overview of some of the different types of experiences participants go through. The Turkish society is quite complex with numerous juxtapositions such as the modern and the traditional. Not only does the environment have contradictions, but also individuals do within themselves, and this is reflected in the data collected from the part-time unveilers. It is crucial to comprehend this complexity of lives and contrasts that happen within and among participants. It is my hope that these case narratives will highlight the extent to which the lives of these part-time unveilers are complex. The five different narratives include stories of participants with varying degrees of positive and negative experiences as part-time unveilers. In an effort to bring them alive and show the humane side of the individuals as much as possible, while also protecting their anonymity, these five participants have been assigned pseudonyms.

These accounts are by no means a complete illustration of all the different experiences of these women and of the whole group of women who participated in the study. Each woman's story is unique and has its own particularities. The aspects of these stories simply show the range within the women respondents in regard to background, identity, understanding of the headscarf ban policy, policy negotiation process, and educational and cultural experience.

I selected these five participants because of certain distinct characteristics that exist in their lives. Fatma (Participant 22) is a returning student whose narrative depicts how she dropped out of the university as a result of her decision not to comply with the headscarf ban policy and how and why she decided to complete her education as an unveiled woman a couple of years later. Also, her campus life seems to be toward the very negative end of the positive-negative spectrum in terms of educational and cultural experiences. Ayse (Participant 5) is a student who started to cover her hair after high school knowing in advance that she was going to uncover her hair while attending university. That is why unveiling may not have been as challenging for her as somebody who started veiling at a very young age and that is why the headscarf ban policy does not seem to impact her in any particular way. Meltem (Participant 29), on the other hand, is a woman who started to veil in Grade 6 with extensive knowledge about Islam. She had a very strategic and systematic way of negotiating the policy where she first made a choice between education and veiling, two precepts of Islam, and then about her way of unveiling. Buket (Participant 20), the fourth participant selected, has a distinct way of understanding the headscarf ban policy. Even though she does not support the ban, she thinks it was necessary to implement it given the then political and social context of Turkey. Unveiling impacts her well-being rather negatively, causing anxiety and some other psychological problems. Meral (Participant 25), an observant Muslim who started to cover in Grade 6, seems to have a relatively less challenging campus life with a non-threatening campus environment. Complying with a policy that she considers an imposition, unveiling challenges her female identity where she feels like a woman who is restricted in different ways.

Fatma

Introduction. Fatma (Participant 22) is a returning student. The headscarf ban policy seems to have impacted her educational and cultural experiences rather negatively at different capacities in various ways. Despite her strong personality, she seems to struggle on campus with her hat on since she decided to return to campus. Unveiling appears to create problems for her and she seems to have tensions and conflict with administrators, faculty, and peers. She feels restricted and unsafe on campus. Even though she was an activist during her undergraduate years before she dropped out of college due to the introduction of the headscarf ban policy on campus, the experience of unveiling appears to have made her quite passive. Unveiling and the challenges she goes through on campus seem to have impacted her personality and religious, citizenship and gender identities negatively as well. She feels a second-class citizen, a Muslim who commits a sin, and a woman who is humiliated without her headscarf as a result of unveiling.

Background information. Fatma is studying in Applied Social Sciences in University I with an average GPA. She is 26. She is from a small city. Her father is a businessman and her mother is a housewife who is illiterate. Her father had a big influence on her and her sisters' religious education and beliefs. A headscarf was always encouraged in the house during her childhood. As such, she covered her hair voluntarily in Grade 6 as a result of her father's teachings about Islam. She is married and has a child. As a family, they live in their own house and lead a happy and comfortable life.

Identity. Fatma believes that she is an honest person. She values her neighbors and avoids lying. As a Turkish citizen, she thinks that paying her taxes properly is an

important duty. As a Muslim, she wants to be a very good Muslim, especially after September 11. She wants to live according to the tenets of Islam:

> I am trying to lead a life according to the tenets of Islam. I do not lie. I do not do things Allah does not want us to do. I am trying to be a person with virtues. I am covering my hair following the Surah an-Nur. This is not the only measure of becoming religious. There are many uncovered women who are religious in different ways. I am trying to be as religious as I can. I read and learn about religion as much as I can. I am only a human being. So I am trying my best to do good things. I want to be a role model for other girls. I am a just person too. I never judge people without listening to them.

As a mother, Fatma believes that being both a mother and a covered woman are not always easy, especially in Turkey:

> I am a mother. I have to sacrifice a lot especially in Turkey as a mother and as a woman. There are a lot of missions for a woman in this country. . . . Allah protects the woman. . . . Woman is a symbol of purity and innocence. Our Prophet also gives a lot of importance to women. I read somewhere that those who have and raise three daughters go to heaven. The problem is that the society is problematic. There are problems of drugs, alcohol, men who want to use and abuse you, and sex. So for a woman, there are lots of dangers.

First university experience. As a returning student who decided to use a hat as her type of unveiling, she has a very different background from other university students since she completed some parts of her education veiled until the headscarf ban. The ban

made her experience events she never thought she would go through and caused her to be cut off from university due to her resistance to comply with the policy:

> I was born abroad. I came to Turkey when I was six. I attended Imam Hatip school during the secondary education. I was the top student in class. After graduation, I came to [this city] to start [this program] at university. I enrolled with my headscarf on in 1996. I attended university with my headscarf on until 1998. After February 1998, the headscarf ban was implemented on our campus. We were first asked to remove our headscarves while our pictures were taken for student IDs. Campus administrators wanted everybody to have pictures unveiled. Then, they extended the ban and asked us to remove our headscarves on campus. Thirty-five thousand students walked to protest the ban. I was one of them. We talked to the Government and Parliament members. Some of our professors supported us. In the third year, we had problems while registering for classes. During registration, we [veiled women] were brought to the convincing rooms. [A convincing room is a room where professors and administrators try to convince a student to remove her headscarf.] In my convincing room, there were professors from other departments. I was told: Remove your headscarf, you will not be able to continue your education like this. I also heard that some veiled students were humiliated in those convincing rooms, but I never experienced it. When I refused to unveil, the university did not enroll me. And on November 6, 1998, after the protests against the Higher Education Council and its issuing the headscarf ban, we were completely cut off from the university. I wanted to go abroad, but I realized it was not going to be a wise decision. The reason was because if I went

abroad, I would not be able to practice my job back here in Turkey since for some professions [i.e., those that require licensure], studying abroad precludes graduates from practicing in Turkey and my profession-to-be is one of them. So I took my case to court, it lasted seventy-eighty days but I lost the case. Then I took my case to the European Court of Human Rights. It is still there. After being cut off from the university, I joined the sitting protests in front of the university and in different parks around the campus. I also met with some business people and influential people with friends. Nothing changed. I gave up and started doing other things. I attended speed-reading seminars. I went to England to improve my English. I got married. I became involved in religious studies and activities. I never thought I would have such experiences when I started university. I never thought these things would or could happen to me.

Life after dropping out and decision to return to school. As a politically active woman who has fought against the ban in every capacity, Fatma was determined not to remove her headscarf and give up her education. However, after quitting, even though she was involved in various activities, she realized that her goals in life were not going to be met through the private courses or seminars she attended:

> Despite the activities I joined, nothing seemed to satisfy me. I realized that I would not be able to become someone successful without the prestige or etiquette the university brings. I did not want to take continuously; I also wanted to give. So I decided to go back to university.

Besides these goals, Fatma also added what higher education meant to her and why it was important that she had a university degree in her life. She also explained why she is studying the program she is in now:

> I grew up in a small city. To stay in a small city meant to get married. Higher education was not the appropriate thing for girls, but my father wanted me to go to university. When my brothers did not go to university, my father wanted my sister and I go to university. He always said that a person who was educated would not do harmful things, but would be beneficial to himself/herself and others. My teachers in high school also motivated me a lot. They also had an influence while choosing the program I wanted to study. . . . I know that after I graduate I am going to volunteer to work in non-profit organizations to help those who need me. I also want to do a Master's degree, but I do not know if I will actually do it. It depends on my experiences here in my undergraduate degree. I want to learn what I am studying in a perfect way. I know that my higher education will do a lot in contributing to my future.

Her account shows that she is a woman who values education, which is another reason why she perhaps wanted to go back and comply with the higher education headscarf ban.

Her understanding of the headscarf ban policy. Despite the compliance with the headscarf ban policy, she finds it unfair that it makes her feel a second-class citizen:

> The ban is a class division. It is the fight between the white and the black in America. I once read in history that there were signs that said dogs can enter, blacks cannot. It is like that. I have to wear a hat to go to university. I cannot go to university in the way I am. This shows that I am treated as a second-class citizen.

It is not fair to restrict educational rights of citizens by judging them from their clothes.

She also feels that the ban caused hostility between Islamists and secularists and became a barrier preventing her from continuing her undergraduate studies:

> The ban caused hostility. I did not become hostile toward the policy makers because my religion tells me to be patient. If the headscarf is wrong, if it is bad, if wearing it is a sin, then they should have taught that to us; they should have trained us. They should have educated us in that direction instead of dismissing us from university. We could not get the education we wanted because of the ban. Many became rebellious and anxious as a result of their experiences with the ban on campuses. I was 17 when I started university. I was 19 when I was dismissed. The policy makers saw me as their enemy when I was 19 and kicked me out of the campus.

She thinks that the headscarf ban policy is a political tool for those in power who do not want Islamists to take active part in society. She feels as if she is not wanted in the country even though she states that she loves her country:

> There is more to it of course. This is a political game too. This is a ban that tries to eliminate those who do not share the political and social views of the policy makers. They do not want us to live here. But I live here, I pay my taxes here, my husband did his military service here. I watch football games, I support Turkish teams, I cry when I see our flag. One politician recently said in public that covered women should go and live in a more conservative country. How can that be possible? This is my country. Turkey has many problems to deal with, but

politicians and the ruling elite deal with this ban for election purposes. The ban tries to categorize the women as covered and non-covered. But one cannot expect harm from those with education. I think harm comes from those who do not respect religion. We were told to leave if we wanted to follow the tenets of Islam. I really do not understand this. I think the headscarf ban is a result of globalization as well. Globalization tries to create one type of society. So does the ban. The ban takes my freedom away from me. I am wearing a hat to look like uncovered women. I become really sad when I put my headscarf into my bag. I just wish that people did not see me like that. I only go to campus when I have to. I would not go to campus for anything extra. I do not even go to campus to check my exam results. Other friends, or my husband, go on my behalf. When I first quit the university, there were friends who complied with the policy and exposed their hair as their type of unveiling. In those days, I thought they had chosen the easy thing to do. Now I realize that I was wrong. It is difficult to continue education without your headscarf on, especially if you first attended university veiled. The headscarf ban changed the lives of covered women drastically and caused a lot of pain [for both non-compliers and compliers with the policy].

Her voice revealed that she perceives the ban as a policy that has restricted her actions and caused her to leave the campus for the first time and come back as a woman with a hat, which is not her real identity. As mentioned earlier, even though she has negative impressions about the policy and resisted it for a while, due to her goals in life and how much she values higher education, she chose to negotiate the policy.

Negotiation of the policy. Fatma decided to unveil and go back to university to become productive:

> I unveiled in order to become productive. I know that I am going to become useful to people when I become an [X profession]. I decided to unveil because I wanted to learn more, because higher education is important. First I had negative feelings about university, but the more I read books and all that, the more I realized how much I missed school. And now I just love it. After I quit school in 1998, as I told you before, I tried to go [abroad], but I did not want to since I would not be able to practice in Turkey.

She chose the hat as her way of unveiling. Her family seems to have enthusiastically supported her decision of unveiling and continuing her higher education:

> I heard that my university started accepting students with hats. A hat is like being covered. In Islam, there is not a single way of being covered. At the same time, there was a risk that I could be dismissed from university for good. You see, you need to understand the difference. We were not dismissed for good initially. We were not allowed to register, so it was kind of a temporary dismissal at the time. I heard that I was going to be dismissed for good after a certain number of years. It became important that I graduated. . . . When I decided to comply with the policy and continue my education, my father cried. I never saw my father crying before in my life. He literally cried! My mother hugged and kissed me many times to tell me how happy she was. They were over the top. My husband supported me as well. My brother-in-law was very supportive as well. He told me to do what I wanted to do and behave in the way that would make me happy. For one minute, I

was not sure if my husband was going to think of me as a woman who makes a concession easily, but that never happened.

She believes that her return to campus is a new beginning for her life and involves leaving her past behind:

> Going back to university was to put an end to the complex of inferiority, incompleteness, and embarrassment. I chose my own happiness over many other things. I am not in a vicious circle anymore. I have a bright future now. I left my past in the past.

Her voice about her negotiation of the policy indicated some remarkable contradictions in herself when she says that in Islam, there is not a definite way to cover her hair while she earlier indicated that she would put her headscarf back on immediately after she left campus to continue being a good Muslim. In addition, the way she negotiated the policy clearly shows some lessons learned from her first university experience and the time spent between the dismissal from university and return back to campus.

Impact of unveiling on her educational and cultural experiences on campus. As a returning student with a hat, she does not feel as involved as she once was in campus life:

> When I returned to university in 2005, on the one hand I was very happy that I was back to my department, studies, and books. On the other hand, I was sad that I lost so many years. I have chosen the hat as my way of unveiling. With my hat on, metaphorically speaking my head is never up. I now realize how free I was with my headscarf on. Since I came back I have not sat in the campus garden. Before I used to sit there with friends all the time. I used to get involved in

protests. Once there was a leftist protest and I had joined that as well, but not anymore.

She seems to experience anxiety and nervousness because she is not sure if her type of unveiling would create problems for some administrators or professors:

> I am very nervous in the exams now. What are the assistants going to say? Are they going to ask me to take the hat off? . . . While registering for classes this time, I gave the student services a picture of mine that is photomontage [adjusting the photo to make it look like the person is unveiled. In other words, the picture on Fatma's ID had her real face with hair painted]. When the security guards at the campus door see it, they are very surprised, but I did it on purpose to express my reaction. . . . So far, three professors would not accept me in their classes with my hat on. They wanted me to remove that as well. In one exam, one assistant called the professor after half an hour and the professor told me that I would not be able to sit the exam with my hat on. It is as if some people do not want me to continue higher education no matter what I do. It is as if they are asking me what I am doing here. It is as if they are questioning me "You were dismissed, you made a decision, why are you back now?" . . . I am really grateful if I can survive classes and exams. I am really sad, anxious, and fearful.

Fatma believes that her unveiling brings her some opportunities and challenges. However, her perception seems to be that challenges of unveiling outweigh opportunities. She thinks that the only advantage of unveiling is that it helped her go back to university:

> When I think about the opportunities and challenges of unveiling, I think challenges outweigh opportunities. The only advantage of unveiling is that it

helped me go back to school. I will have a professional identity when I graduate. [People] will respect me more. I think I will be more influential with my professional title. Campus is a place that introduces me to theatre, cinema, academic debates, etc. University contributes to my personal growth. I have gained a new perspective thanks to university education. So unveiling helped me to go back to all these things again.

Despite this opportunity, she appears to face various personal challenges regarding her identity and educational and cultural experiences on campus. She seems to feel that she is making a concession from her religion and compromising her religiosity:

I have so many challenges to deal with. I keep thinking that I am not an honest person anymore since I have changed myself. I have made a concession from my religion. There is submission to Allah and there is patience in Islam. By making a concession, I feel as if I have not fully submitted myself to Allah. So what I am doing is I cover my hair as soon as I leave the campus. Whenever I leave the campus, I immediately cover my hair. Sometimes friends ask me why I am in such a hurry since the hat is covering my hair. The point is that I want to continue being a good Muslim. . . . I have many more challenges. Even if I have to ask a question in class or in an exam, I choose not to. My fear is that if they see me, maybe they ask me to leave the room. I always pray that my professors are not against the covered women. . . .

She has tensions with some administrators and faculty and is subjected to bad treatment and hostility in and outside class:

Some administrators look at me sarcastically all the time. I am always a bad person in their eyes. Female administrators are really bad. I have not had a bad experience with male administrators. When the exam results came out, my grades in one exam did not show up. I went to the Student Affairs to see what was going on. The minute I entered the room, a lady came up to me and held my hat. She shouted at me and told me to take my hat off and obey the rules. I lied to her and told her that I take my hat off in class. She wanted to take it off, but I stopped her. It is obvious that I am a covered woman. So the hat becomes a problem. There are uncovered women who wear hats. For them the hat is not a problem. . . . During the exams, the class is divided into two. Two different professors monitor classes. In the class I took one exam once, the Department Chair, a female, came to class. Apparently there was a problem between her and the professor. The problem was that the class I took the exam in was full of returning students. The Chair wanted to give us a different exam. We did not know this. Our own professor, a male, came to class and gave his own questions. The Chair came immediately and changed the questions. Later I heard that the Chair complained about our professor to the Dean. When she was in class, I was scared that she was going to see me and ask me to leave the room or remove the hat. Thank God, it did not happen. Some friends told me not to leave the class. I was happy that they supported me in that way. . . . In addition to problems in class, campus has also become an intimidating environment for me. I try to be invisible. I go to class; I take exams and then leave. I am even too shy to buy [a sandwich]. I am scared that somebody will say something. When I first went for registration, Student

> Services gave me a lot of hassle. So I am constantly scared that somebody will say something or make things problematic for me. . . .

Her goal is to graduate without any problems. So she seems to try hard to become as invisible as possible to avoid attraction and conflict:

> My aim is to graduate without any problems. This ban made me antisocial. Before there was a human rights organization on campus which I actively worked in. It does not exist anymore anyway, but even if it did, I would not. I was so active before. I was everywhere on campus. I used to attend political debates, speakers series, and all. Now I do not take part in any activities anymore. I just want to be as passive as possible not to attract attention. Of course because of all these reasons, I become very nervous while studying for an exam. I was not like that before. I am in a state of panic. I am worried that in the exam somebody will come up to and ask me to leave the room [because of my hat]. Thinking about this over and over again has a negative impact on my motivation for studying and general performance as well. . . . I think about these things instead of focusing on the studies.

Data shows that Fatma faces various challenges to continue her education despite the fact that she is happy to return to her studies. She feels unsafe both in the classroom and on campus as a returning student with a hat. From her accounts, it is also possible to see that she constantly compares and contrasts her university experiences in the past and present where she seemed to be happy and active until the headscarf ban policy implementation. Fatma also perceives some hostility from some of her professors and administrators as opposed to welcoming attitude from her friends and classmates.

Clearly, her so far unsuccessful fights against the headscarf ban policy and compliance with the policy have tired her and made her passive on campus. Different from the time she first attended college in late 1990s, she does not spend time on campus apart from attending classes and exams and is not involved in any activities anymore. She hardly ever goes to the canteen in between classes or exams to buy something for herself. She sees herself as a fearful and anxious woman on campus. Her motivation is negatively impacted due to her fears that she will be subjected to discrimination by professors and/or administrators.

Impact of unveiling on Fatma's decision about her career in the future. In addition to these challenges, the experience of unveiling has also impacted her decision about her career in the future:

> The ban and this experience of complying with the policy will affect my career in the future because I will not be part of the surroundings where I am supposed to unveil. . . . So I will continue my career performing my job in private companies. I know I could be more successful in state institutions, but I have already accepted the situation, and since I will not unveil in the future, this is how I am going to perform my job after graduation. So unveiling made me realize that I do not want to continue my life unveiled even for my job. So I will have a job on a smaller scale and less competitive, but I am OK with that.

Tensions. Her accounts also reveal some of her own contradictions or inconsistencies. For example, on the one hand, she constantly feels scared that somebody will say something, but on the other hand she is fearless enough to have a photomontage picture [i.e., real face with hair painted] on her ID since all the pictures used on campuses

including ID pictures have to be faces of students with hair unveiled. Her using a photomontage picture on her ID in order not to conceal her real hair may create problems for her since administrators may object to this kind of a picture and/or perceive it as deception. The contrasts in her accounts show how she has her own inconsistencies while experiencing higher education on campus. This is also perhaps a battle in her personality. Her "silent protest" with her photomontage ID is a residue of her politically active and rebellious personality that she is trying to reconcile with her new emerging passive and asocial character.

Impact of the ban on Fatma's identity. In addition to the way the unveiling impacted her experiences on campus and her character, compliance with the policy seems to have impacted her Turkish, Muslim, and female identities as well:

> Since there is such a ban, the government should prevent husbands of covered women from doing their military service. If we are enemies in Turkey, then we should not be allowed to pay taxes either. If there is a ban, it should be implemented everywhere. As a Turkish citizen, I do not even believe in the vote I use. I vote in the elections, but I am not represented properly in the Parliament. Even the party I voted for cannot do anything for its Turkish citizens. The ban affected my Turkish identity negatively as it did my Muslim identity. As a Muslim, I feel I am committing a sin. I am happy with my headscarf, but I am not allowed to wear it. I am acting against my belief system. I am acting against everything I believe in. I am doing something I do not believe in. This makes me wonder if Allah is going to forgive me because of this sin. I am fearful because of this. I pray really hard to be forgiven. I know that once I graduate, I will wear

my headscarf at all times again. I am looking forward to my graduation to go back to days where I used to be a [full-time] veiler. As a woman, I feel humiliated. I am treated unfairly because of my headscarf. If I am not educated, I will not raise my children properly so next generations will be affected negatively. So women have to go to university, but many cannot. I could not for a while, and I can now but this time not in the way I want. I feel naked as a woman without my headscarf.

Summary. All in all, based on her accounts, the headscarf ban policy seems to have impacted her rather negatively at various degrees at different times of her life, changing her from a quite active student to a passive one on campus. Her unpleasant experiences during her first time at university and her act of unveiling seem to play crucial roles in her passiveness and the challenges she goes through. Her identity seems to have impacted negatively as well, making her feel a second-class citizen, a Muslim who commits a sin, and a woman who is humiliated without her headscarf as a result of unveiling.

Ayse

Introduction. Ayse (Participant 5) seems to have different experiences from Fatma in the sense that the headscarf ban policy and her experience of unveiling do not seem to have impacted her educational and cultural experiences. Even though, like Fatma, she perceives the ban as a barrier for people who choose to live their lives according to the tenets of Islam, complying with the policy does not seem to have an impact on the personality and Turkish, Muslim, and female identities of Ayse in the ways it did on the identities of Fatma. She has a very distinct way of starting to veil and appears to have negotiated the headscarf ban policy easily and comfortably in her

decision to unveil, which is quite different from Fatma. She perceives her undergraduate experience as the experiences of any other student on campus and believes that her choice of unveiling, exposure of hair, makes her campus life smoother as opposed to that of those who wear a hat or use a wig.

Background information. Ayse was born in a small city. She comes from a large family with four siblings. Her parents only attended primary school, which made it difficult for them to find lucrative jobs. They have always had financial problems in the family. She is a first generation college student and the only sibling attending university. Her mother is covered in a traditional way–that is, her headscarf is tied under her chin with her neck showing. Her parents moved to a big city when she was very young and had a conservative, traditional, and simple life.

Ayse is a cheerful and respectful girl who has a strong Muslim identity. She believes that as a Turk, she is different from other Muslims having many opportunities that she would not have in other Muslim countries as a woman. Her only problem that affects her identity is the fact that her parents give more importance to her brother because he is a man. She feels under constant pressure to prove herself:

> My gender identity is closely related to the gender equality. In our family, boys are valuable. We are four sisters and one brother. My brother is more important for my family all my life. There is gender discrimination in my family and the environment I live in. As a girl, I feel obliged to constantly prove myself. I am at the back of the line as a woman, and I am trying to be in front. Other parts of my identity include my Muslimness and Turkishness. As Turks, we have a more self-conscious identity than other Muslims in the world. There is gender

discrimination, but not as much as in Arab countries. There is gender equality before laws. . . . I like being a Turk who is Muslim. As a Muslim, I am a believer and observant. I believe in Allah and the holy book. I am trying to be peaceful all the time. My belief system helps me to be peaceful. It has a positive effect on my life. When I pray, I am really happy and satisfied. I am a modern Muslim too. I am trying to adapt to the circumstances of the 21st century. I do not isolate myself from life. I try to reconcile my life with my religion. My biggest aim in life is to work, produce, and be useful to the society I live in.

How Ayse started veiling. In order to achieve her aims in life, during her last two years of high school, Ayse knew she needed to attend a "dershane", a private test center that prepares students for the university entrance examination which is very competitive. However, she could not go to a "dershane" since it was expensive and her parents could not afford it. She was unsuccessful at the university exam when she first took it. In the summer of high school graduation, she found out from her friends about a dershane that provided poor students with scholarships. The only condition to receive a scholarship as a student was to become more involved with Islam and its teachings. Having accepted this condition, she enrolled into the test center. Ayse was given religious books to read and attended meetings that focused on the teachings of Islam. At the same time, she worked hard the whole year, retook the university entrance exam, and became successful. She and her parents were very happy. When she started the university, she realized that she needed money to buy books and equipment needed for her Health Sciences classes. Two of her friends had already dropped out of university because of this very reason (i.e., they could not afford the books and the equipment) in the first week of the academic year and

she did not want the same thing to happen to her. She consulted her friends and teachers from the dershane asking for their help. The collaboration was immense and she was offered monthly stipends to help her pay for her books and materials, on the condition that she would cover her hair. She accepted it, covered her hair, and has been veiled for the past 5 years since she started the university. Even though she started veiling at a relatively older age and as a result of external circumstances, she came to appreciate it when she read more about Islam and attended the meetings organized by the Islamists. She thinks that veiling has now become part of her life and identity she would not give up. She lives with her parents and exposes her hair on campus.

Reasons to attend higher education. Two main reasons why Ayse wanted to attend higher education were to achieve better economic conditions and prestige in society:

> My parents are primary school graduates. So they do not know much about education. We do not have money either. It is my teachers who always helped me. With their support, both financial and educational, I was able to finish high school and go to university. Higher education is really important for me. It is going to give me a chance to [have a lucrative job] and make a lot of money. This way I will not have to go through the financial difficulties my parents did. Higher education will also give me prestige. With my undergraduate degree, I will not be a poor student anymore. I will have a higher social status with a job, money, and a diploma. This is why higher education is very important for me.

She also said that one of the reasons why she chose the profession she is studying now is because the job opportunities are ample and lucrative.

Her understanding of the headscarf ban policy. As a woman who has experienced both the life of an unveiled and veiled, she thinks that the headscarf ban policy is in place not to bar the use of the headscarf per se, but to bar the opinions and lifestyles of Islamists:

> The headscarf ban policy is a barrier for the opinions, worldviews, and lifestyles of those who are different from the ruling elite. It is a barrier. I have friends from different backgrounds. I am open to every idea. I respect different ideas. I speak with different people. Policy makers want to suppress the covered people. The society is cut off from Islam and I was not aware of this before I was this knowledgeable about our religion and society. The ruling elite argues that the headscarf is a political symbol and stigmatizes women who cover their hair. I do not use the headscarf as a political symbol. It is part of my life; it is my way of life now. When ordinary people like me started learning about their religion, the ruling elite used the headscarf as a way to prevent Islamists from gaining power.

Negotiation of the policy. After starting to use the headscarf, Ayse negotiated the ban by choosing to expose her hair while attending the campus because she did not have any other options. Her only possibility was to go to university to advance herself as a woman. So when she covered her hair, she knew she was going to uncover it on campus. She stated that because she was always uncovered until she started the university, unveiling was not as challenging for her as for someone else who started veiling at the age of 9, for example:

> Coming from a poor family, I did not have any other options but to go to university. My parents are traditional. For them, their sons are more valuable than

their daughters. So as a woman, I have to prove myself. I have to improve myself. I have to advance myself. So I have only one option: to go to university. Since higher education was the only option for me to have a better life and prestige in the society, I knew that I was going to unveil when I veiled. I did not consider wearing a hat or a wig because they attract too much attention. I was unveiled before, so exposing the hair seemed the best alternative. Exposing the hair would probably be more challenging had I veiled at the age of 9, for example. My parents approved my decision. One of my sisters also exposes her hair when she is at work. So this is the way I negotiated the policy.

Ayse seems to have negotiated the policy easily and comfortably. Her accounts revealed that her years of being unveiled eased her compliance with the policy and exposing her hair. In addition she thinks the decision of her type of unveiling is the best way to go for her since it helps her on campus. She believes that exposing her hair is advantageous because it makes her become like any other uncovered student and protects her from possible prejudices she might be subjected to on campus despite the challenge that she feels like a hypocrite when she unveils:

> Thanks to unveiling, I am receiving a higher education. I always wear casual clothes. Off campus, I wear my headscarf. On campus, I take it off. When I take it off, nobody judges me. I become neutralized. I become an ordinary person as a result of unveiling. Some high society and elite students change their attitudes toward me when they see me covered outside. Somebody who does not know me judges me when s/he sees me covered even though s/he does not know me. However, I am the same person. The headscarf has become a means to categorize

the women. So as one would categorize people as black, white, fat, slim, tall, short, you are also categorized as the covered woman. So with a headscarf, there is an immediate categorization. Unveiling eradicates being categorized as covered and all the prejudices it brings. However, unveiling has some disadvantages for me as well. Unveiling is something I do not believe in. I have marginal thoughts from an ideological point of view. I believe that I am in the right track doing the right thing with getting the education I need. When I unveil, I feel hypocritical. I am doing something I do not believe in doing.

Tensions. As highlighted in the accounts of Fatma, accounts of Ayse also contain some inconsistencies. She believes she is doing the right thing getting the education, but at the same time unveiling is something she does not believe in and makes her feel like a hypocrite.

Educational and cultural experiences as a result of unveiling. As a woman who exposes her hair on campus, she does not feel any negativity toward herself and explains that she has good relationships with administrators, faculty, and peers on campus:

> My ID has a picture of me in an unveiled way. I used to unveil in the restroom before. Before I could enter the campus with my headscarf on and unveil in the restroom. Then the system changed. Now we have to unveil in front of the campus gate. As a student who exposes her hair, I do not feel any negativity toward myself. I am a very hard working student. My relationship with my teachers is wonderful. They always support me and tell me that they are really proud of me. I am not really sure if they know I am covered. I do not know if their attitude would change if they knew I was covered. They can definitely tell I am

different. But probably what they think is that I am poor. You know that in Turkey you can easily identify which socioeconomic class one belongs to looking at their clothes. So the perception is that most poor people are covered. So you can definitely tell I am poor, but not always tell if I am covered or not. I have great friends. We always exchange class notes. I do not socialize with many of my friends outside campus. Some of them are really rich. I would not be able to afford socializing with them, but on campus we sit together in the canteen or garden. We go to the restaurant together. There were two or three excursions and I went with the group unveiled. My best friends are my study group friends. They know that I am veiled and this is not a problem for them. Overall I am treated like any other student on campus.

She feels that her type of unveiling, exposure of hair, brings some opportunities since it eases her educational and cultural experiences on campus:

When you expose your hair, it is very hard to tell if you are covered or not. You become like the uncovered. So as a student who exposes the hair, both the campus and classroom environments are welcoming. Right now I do not have any problems. I became used to it. I covered my hair suddenly. I was inexperienced and ignorant when I first veiled. I had some question marks and suspicions. Nothing was for definite. Now I am very knowledgeable and conscientious about what I am doing.

She only feels challenged during the holy month of Ramadan in terms of unveiling. Her major concern, though, is about her future and the kind of challenges she needs to face for a better life and lucrative career:

I was only challenged during Ramadan. It was the exam period and I was fasting and praying. I never asked permission of my professors to leave the class to go to pray or break fast. I was concerned that they could be judgmental, you never know. But this is a small challenge. My worry is not for now; my worry is for the future. I want to pursue a doctoral degree in a different department where I would like to specialize. However, the professors there are prejudiced against those who cover their hair in their private lives. I know this for a fact since one of my friends who exposed her hair in that department quit when her professors found out that she was covered in her private life and gave her a really hard time that affected her performance, and eventually, grades. Besides that, another problem is socioeconomic. The department I want to specialize in is very small and a kind of a society. No one is allowed to be part of this society unless you have a good car, good education, and a highly privileged family. This is another big drawback for me. I do not have a family with strong socioeconomic status. So I do not know what to do when I graduate. I will either pursue another area of specialization and pursue a graduate degree or start work.

The accounts of Ayse indicate that as a woman who exposes her hair she becomes any other female student on campus and is treated like the others. She perceives the classroom and campus as safe places, feels welcome in her department, and does not experience many challenges. She uses the campus resources and tries to join extra-curricular activities. Her only drawback in terms of socialization is her financial situation, which seems to affect her perhaps more than unveiling. Her main challenge appears to be

more related to her future plans where she thinks that both her veiling and socioeconomic status will put her at disadvantage.

Impact of the ban on Ayse's identity. In addition to the ways in which exposing her hair impacted her life on campus, Ayse also shared her perceptions about how complying with the policy had an effect on her citizenship, gender and religious identities:

> Unveiling did not have an impact on my citizenship or gender identity. The only identity unveiling impacted is my Muslim identity. It was a difficult choice to make. I had to choose in between. First it was difficult to cover the hair. Then it was difficult to remove the headscarf. What affects me negatively is that I am removing the headscarf, so, doing something against the wish of Allah. Wearing a headscarf becomes a habit after a while as well. So giving up that habit is challenging too. But it is only temporary. I will not unveil after graduation. I will keep wearing my headscarf after university. I will find a job where I can work covered. This probably means that I will have to work in a private institution, but it is OK by me. It is even better in a way since I will make more money.

Summary. Overall, even though she is opposed to the ban and thinks that it is a barrier for people who choose to live their lives according to the tenets of Islam, complying with the policy and unveiling do not seem to have an impact on her educational and cultural experiences. She perceives her undergraduate experience as the experiences of any other student on campus and believes that her choice of unveiling makes her campus life smoother as opposed to that of those who wear a hat or use a wig. The personality of Ayse does not seem to be impacted either. Other than the challenge of

acting against the religion by removing the headscarf, unveiling does not seem to influence her Turkish, Muslim, and female identities in the ways it has affected the identities of Fatma.

Meltem

Introduction. Meltem (Participant 29), who started veiling at a very young age, seems not to have many challenges even though she faces some problems from time to time as a wig user on campus. Although she chose to comply with the headscarf ban policy, she is opposed to it and thinks that it categorizes women in numerous ways. She appears to have good relations with many of her professors, administrators, and peers. However, different from Ayse, she does not seem to spend much time on campus and be involved in campus activities. The headscarf ban policy does not seem to have impacted her personality. Different from Ayse and Fatma, Meltem is uncertain whether she will unveil after graduation when she is employed.

Background information. Meltem was born and grew up in a big city; she comes from a small family who value education. Both her parents are professionals with advanced degrees. After Grade 5, she wanted to imitate the veiled women around her such as her mother or sister. Thus she started using the veil on and off in Grade 6. In Grade 7, she decided to wear the headscarf permanently. Meanwhile, she read extensively about Islam and its teachings including the life of the Prophet.

Meltem is a girl who perceives herself to be sometimes quiet, sometimes talkative. She likes to be social at times. She also has a leadership spirit. As part of her identity, based on the history, she is proud of being a Turkish citizen and Muslim. She

tries to follow the tenets of Islam as much as possible. She has strong ties with her family. As a woman, she believes in gender equality and wants to be as good as men:

> I am the great grand-child of the Ottomans. Our ancestors won this land by fighting and left it to us. It is great to be a Turk. It is valuable to be a Turk. Being Muslim is also great and valuable. You become different from all the other people in the world. This life is short. I believe being a Muslim will bring me a lot in the other world after I die. I think my Muslimness will give me happiness in both worlds. So I am trying to be a good Muslim. I am covering my hair since it is a requirement in my religion. I am doing it because I have to. It is the only option for a Muslim. It was an individual choice as well. I pray and fast. I try to do as much as I can to be a good Muslim. I do not think I am doing 100% of everything I have to do, but I think I am an observant Muslim. As a Muslim, I also value my family. I have strong relations with them. . . . As a woman, I believe that I need to be as good as men. I should even be better than them. There is no such thing as men are superior and I want to prove this. I do not have a boyfriend. People love once and get married.

During her high school years, she exposed her hair since the wig was banned. The act of exposing the hair was challenging for her. When she started the university, she chose to wear a wig on campus. The family was supportive of her decision, especially her father who encouraged her for a higher education. She does not have a high GPA. This is because the exams are really challenging for all the students. She stays with her parents and enjoys the program she is in even though it was not one of her first choices in the university exam. She values higher education, thinks everybody, especially covered

women, should go to university, and believes in the importance of an undergraduate diploma. She states that education is also one of the precepts of Allah:

> If I do not go to university, if you do not go to university, who is going to go? As women we need to go to university. Covered women need the diploma even more. In addition, higher education is important for me because my parents are well-educated and it is necessary for me to have a bachelor's degree. This is what Allah wants us to do as well. Allah wants us to get education. There is a big difference between somebody who goes to university, and somebody who doesn't. The program I am studying was not my first choice in the university exam. But in the exam I got a score lower than I expected so I was only able to enter this program. I was a little disappointed first, but now I really like it. I am also specializing in another subject at the same time. My GPA is not high but I am in the top five. I do not know what I will do when I graduate. But I will definitely do something good. I know that university education will contribute positively to my education.

Her understanding of the headscarf ban policy. Because she values education and considers it as one precept of Islam, Meltem feels that the headscarf ban policy makes her choose between two precepts restricting her freedom of living her religion in the way she wants:

> The headscarf ban policy does not make sense to me. It is the restriction of all types of freedom including freedom of living my religion. There is no restriction in the exposure of the body, so why is there a restriction in covering it. I do not think the policy intends to achieve something. . . . The headscarf ban categorizes

women. The headscarf ban tries to oppress and eradicate one specific group. It creates a gap that does not exist between people. But I have been able to overcome this ban. Maybe I am violating some part of my religion because I am in between two precepts. One precept is the use of the headscarf; the other one is getting education. I want to apply both of them, but it is not possible. So for the time being I am temporarily removing the headscarf and only on campus. In a way, I chose education over headscarf for a short while. So the headscarf ban is a bleeding wound that makes me choose between precepts of Islam.

Negotiation of the policy. Although she does not approve of the headscarf ban policy, she has still chosen to comply with the policy after negotiating it with herself and her family:

I realized I did not have any other options. If you do not go to university, you are the one who suffers from it. I had to comply with the policy in order to continue on the way I want. There were two different precepts and I had to choose one. I could have gone to Open University. But I know that university provides students with many educational and cultural experiences besides the diploma. Knowing this, I sat down with my family. We talked about the advantages and disadvantages of complying with the policy. I made the final decision eventually. I decided to comply with the policy and wear a wig. Hat-wearing is very difficult. It attracts a lot of attention. I do not want that to happen. I do not want to make my teachers angry. The headscarf prevents women from looking attractive. The wig serves the same purpose. I have a big responsibility. The wig is not equivalent to the headscarf. It is something difficult to use. That is also why I wanted to use a

wig. I did not want to become comfortable in any way. I know that when people become comfortable, they completely uncover. This is why I did not want to expose my hair as my type of unveiling. My parents were happy with my decision. So were many of my relatives. My family is composed of people who are educated and uneducated, covered and uncovered. So my decision was well received. My father wanted me to go to university and my decision was to go to university. So I decided to comply with the policy even though I do not approve of the policy itself.

So during the negotiation process, Meltem decided to comply with the policy because she did not have any other options to advance herself and make her father happy. While deciding on the type of unveiling, she seems to have weighed the pros and cons of all different types of unveiling before she decided to wear a wig.

Her campus experiences as an unveiled woman. She decided to comply with the policy by using a wig, nevertheless she also decided to arrive on the registration day as a veiled woman:

> I went to university with my father on the day of registration. I was covered. I decided not to uncover until I was asked to remove the headscarf. I hoped that maybe they would let me in with my headscarf. Some universities do, you know. In the registration area, I and other covered girls like me were invited into a room. There were some professors who chatted with us. They asked us why we were covered and said that they would like to help us if we were covered by force. They also explained the rules and regulations. They wrote down our names and departments we were in. They said the university did not allow hat wearers. . . .

Meltem seems to be comfortable with the act of unveiling and pleased with her type of unveiling:

> My wig allows me to enter the university. When I enter the university, my clothes give me away. People know who I am when I enter the building. There is not one professor who discriminated against me because of this. . . . When I first went to high school, I was going to unveil completely. I talked to the family members. I was told I was a strong girl and there was a difference between a voluntarily uncovered and a non-voluntarily covered. I was only uncovered due to the external circumstances. Since I knew this, I was not affected negatively by the act of unveiling. I am comfortable with the act of unveiling since I got used to it in high school.

Even though she is the only part-time unveiler in her program, she seems to have good relations with most of her classmates, professors and administrators even though she felt nervous about their initial reaction toward her wig:

> I am the only [part-time unveiler] in my program. I am also the only one who is socioeconomically comfortable and well-traveled. I have always been in nice environments. I have been abroad. I am a social and outgoing person. There are not many students like me. In fact, I am perhaps the only one. But this is not a problem for me. I am comfortable with people in class. They have respect for me. For example, I do not shake hands with boys; I do not touch boys. They know this and never try to touch me or shake hands with me. So there has never been a problem in class. I am usually an active student in class, but it also changes from class to class and from teacher to teacher. My core courses are small. In those

classes, I am really active. In crowded classes that are usually electives, students do not know each other. In those classes I am a little nervous because I do not know whether students or professors are against the wig. In those classes, I am a little passive initially to understand the atmosphere. I usually ask people in advance to find out which professor is or is not against us [part-time unveilers] so I choose my electives accordingly, but still I become nervous every time I take classes outside my program. With one exception, I have good relations with my teachers. I visit my advisor and other professors from time to time. I usually chat with them. Whenever I have questions, I go and ask them. I met with some of my professors outside campus. So they know I am a covered girl. I do not wear a long coat but I wear a turtleneck at all times so they probably understand on campus too. And the way they treat me has never changed. But there is this one professor who is against the covered women and wig wearers. I try to avoid that professor as much as possible. I am also lucky in terms of friends. My friends are respectful. They always wait for me to unveil and veil back. They always support and encourage me. I have male and female friends, but I am distant to guys. There are a couple of people in the program who do not talk to me because I am a covered woman. They are against Islamists. They never liked me. Thank God, they never argued with me or said anything bad. They just did not want to talk to me and they do not. So I do not talk to them either. Other than those students, I am friendly with everyone. I also have a good relationship with my dean. On campus, people sometimes stare at me when I walk. Those looks do not matter to me because I do not recognize myself there anyway. I always try to dress

appropriately when I go to university. I am trying to be proper. I do not wear jeans. I have things I represent. I represent the headscarf. So I think I have to be very appropriate at all times.

Despite her good relations with faculty and friends, she tries to spend as little time as possible on campus and does not seem to be fully involved in campus activities:

In addition, I spend as little time as possible on campus. I do not study on campus. I chat with friends, drink tea, go to class, or leave. Sometimes I sit in the garden with friends. I do not take part in extra- curricular activities either. It is mainly because I am very active off-campus so I do not have time for campus activities. I attended Spring Festival once. My father came to pick me up in the evening. But I never went to concerts or other activities. I do not need to attend them. My unveiling does not affect my motivation. But I know there are some students who are impacted negatively.

Impact of unveiling on Meltem's identity. In addition to the ways in which unveiling does or does not affect her life on campus, Meltem also shared her perceptions about how unveiling does or does not impact her identity with specific reference to her Turkish, Muslim, and female identities:

Unveiling did not impact but upset my identity a lot. It is my people who do this to me. I was very upset. This ban is the product of Turkish people who may have forgotten their past. You can enter universities in any way you like abroad, but not in Turkey which is a democratic and secular country. The ban is trying to categorize me as a second-class citizen. As a Muslim, I was challenged initially as well. But again unveiling did not impact my Muslim identity per se maybe

because my identity is strong and stable. But of course I was under a big responsibility by unveiling. I made some sacrifices by unveiling so I have to be successful. I also have to be successful as a woman. The ban is trying to change my identity as a woman. It is trying to make me somebody I am not. The aim is to prevent covered women from attending universities and becoming active citizens in the society. But this is not going to happen.

Impact of the ban on her decision about her future career. The experience of unveiling mostly challenges Meltem with regard to her decision about her career in the future:

> Unveiling made me realize the extent to which it is going to impact my choice about my career. Under normal circumstances, I would like to pursue an academic career, but I know it is very difficult. This requires me to continue unveiling. I can become an associate professor or even a full professor. I can become a successful academic but this means that I am not going to veil. So if I choose to continue veiling, my option of academia is out of the window. I am very indecisive. Everybody is your inspector on campus once you start your graduate study; I know that. Everybody will be watching and evaluating you. Even if I chose to unveil completely, my mother is veiled. Those who do not like me can use my mother's veil against me and prevent me from becoming a full professor. On the other hand, I want to continue veiling after undergraduate education as well. So I am very confused.

Summary. To sum up, Meltem seems not to have many challenges even though she faces some problems from time to time as a wig user on campus. However, even

though she appears to be comfortable with her unveiling and has good relations with most of her classmates, professors and administrators, she does not spend a lot of time on campus and is not involved in extra-curricular activities, which suggests that even though she may perceive her program as a safe place, she may not feel the same toward the campus environment. No matter how much she wants to stay and be involved in activities, she feels unable to because that would mean being uncovered for an even longer period of time. Her identity does not seem to be impacted as a result of her compliance with the policy either. Even though she is upset due to the subjection to the ban and faces some challenges, she feels she needs to fight and be successful. Different from Ayse and Fatma, Meltem seems to be more indecisive about her future decision of unveiling. Her passion for an academic pursuit, which requires her to continue unveiling, seems to make her struggle between her religious duty and career choice, which is perhaps why she cannot definitely say that she will continue veiling for sure as Ayse and Fatma did.

Buket

Introduction. Buket (Participant 20) is a part-time unveiler whose understanding of the headscarf ban policy is quite different from Ayse, Fatma, or Meltem. Although she is against the introduction of the ban in the context of higher education, she believes that its existence was the only option at the time due to the then political and social climate in Turkey. Even though she negotiated the policy easily, she feels challenged due to the act of unveiling. Her unveiling on campus and veiling off campus makes her feel as if there is two of her and impacts her educational and cultural experiences greatly in a negative way. Her biggest challenge seems to be in her social life on campus where she feels

isolated causing her various psychological problems.

Background information. Buket was born in a big city; she comes from a conservative family. Her mother is veiled in a traditional way. She was in a state school and planning to cover her hair when the big earthquake in Turkey took place. Shaken by it, she decided to cover her hair because of the fear of God. She has been covered for seven years now. Buket is a Turkish citizen who loves her country. She is also an observant Muslim who is trying to follow the tenets of Islam. She has good relations with her parents and friends. She has a boyfriend whom she really likes. As a woman, she wants to take part in corporate Turkey and become successful:

> I love my country. I want it to become developed. I do not want it to be a developing one. I believe everybody loves their own country. For me, my country is the best. I also love my religion. I am trying my best to do good things and avoid bad ones. I covered my hair because of the fear of Allah, because of religious reasons. The veil became a habit. I feel better and freer with my headscarf on. I feel as if something is missing without my headscarf. I believe intention is very important. The intention of veiling and unveiling is important. It is also important to be a good person, avoid gossip, and visit your relatives, because religion is not only composed of fasting and praying. I have a wonderful family. We have close relations with each other. I always talk to them intimately, share my problems, and chat for hours and hours. I also like going out with them. I feel terrible when I am away from them. As a woman, in Turkey, I know that women are mainly oppressed. Before almost all women were housewives. This is changing slowly. Women started becoming active in the corporate world. I

disapprove of gender discrimination. My boyfriend treats me as an equal. I also talk to male friends that I know. Of course, I always keep some distance.

Buket exposed her hair during her high school years and on campus at university. She is living with her parents while attending university. She has a high GPA. One of the reasons why she wanted to go to university is to become an important person in society. She likes her program and believes that it will broaden her horizons. She does not think that there is a bright future for her after graduation due to the headscarf ban policy which will affect her job opportunities and career choices:

> I want to become something. . . . I want to prove myself. I also like what I am studying. I believe my program broadens horizons. I am attending university, but I do not think there is a bright future for me. I want to have a job. Actually I want to pursue an academic career, but the headscarf ban is always a barrier for me. So if I want to become a professor, I need to continue unveiling. I have not decided what to do yet. I want people to accept me covered, but it is not possible now. Maybe I will work in a private institution. Anyway, for now, I will try my best to get a good education and make myself somebody important in the society. . . .

Like Meltem, Buket also appears pessimistic about her wish of pursuing an academic career at university due to the higher education headscarf ban. It is a ban that affects her present and future situation. She does not know whether she wants to continue living her life as a part-time unveiler or not yet.

Her understanding of the headscarf ban policy. Different from the views of Fatma, Ayse, and Meltem, she thinks that despite its restriction on her freedom, this is a ban that had to exist to prevent worse things from happening in the past:

> The headscarf ban shows that in fact there is restricted freedom of thought. The ban is an attempt to create one type of person. There is no success at the end of the road as a result of this ban. The ban oppresses covered women and tries to eradicate their religious identity. I do not know if this can be considered as a success. On the other hand, let's analyze the reasons behind this ban. One famous politician said, "Imam Hatip schools are the backyards of our political party. On campuses, professors will bow with respect in front of the covered students." If you say these things as a politician, you create tension, which is exactly what happened. Things were becoming very tense. Political games became too much to accept. The atmosphere became as such as if there was an attempt to make the country rule by Islamic law. It had to be stopped. Somebody had to say stop and [the general headscarf ban together with the higher education headscarf ban] was a response to stop this political tension and conflict.

As much as she appears to be against the headscarf ban policy, Buket thinks that the ban was necessary at the time due to the political atmosphere. But she also realizes that it has affected her whole education and forced her to make decisions about the way she looks since high school.

Decision to unveil. She decided to unveil to receive higher education and become an active citizen in society:

> I am exposing my hair on campus because my aim is to receive education and become a useful citizen in society. Maybe I can change the situation; I can make some corrections. Why shouldn't I go to university? Why shouldn't I become a university student like others? I did not even consider other options such as going

abroad. I always wanted to go to university in Turkey. After primary school, I really wanted to go to Imam Hatip. Another option was to go to a normal state school. I was going to unveil wherever I went. You know in 1990s, Imam Hatip schools were also following the headscarf ban policy. But as an Imam Hatip graduate, my university exam score was going to be reduced. This was not going to happen in the state school. So I chose to go to the normal state school. I have potential. I always thought I could change some things. But this is not going to happen. I am not going to be able to do anything. Maybe some other people will do some things. You know what, everybody wrote love poems into their diaries during high school years, I wrote why I was in the state I was in as a girl who had to unveil to go to school. I collected all the articles, news, and comics about the headscarf. I am not a politically active person. I am distant to all the political parties and politics. I do not know which political view is right. I do not want to be misused and abused by politics. This is why I do not want to become a member of a political group. I attended headscarf ban protests, but left in the middle. I always exposed my hair. I heard that in one of the verses, our Prophet said he did not like the wig. I do not know how much of it is true but I would still not choose the wig as my type of unveiling. It attracts a lot of attention. I go to university in a normal way and I do not think I attract attention. We have a fitting room at the entrance to the campus. We have a masjid [small praying area] in the garden. My parents did not react to my decision; they would never do that anyway. My friends also approved my decision of unveiling.

Even though she exposes her hair and the way she negotiated the policy seems

trouble free and relatively easy, she feels challenged by the act of unveiling and veiling. She is unhappy because of the fact that she has to unveil. This impacts her educational experiences greatly.

Impact of unveiling on Buket's educational experiences. The educational experiences of Buket seem to have been negatively impacted as a result of her unveiling:

> Unveiling does not have any advantages on my educational experiences. On the other hand, while others enter campuses in their usual clothes, I cannot. I feel as if there is two of me. I do not think I will be able to succeed in anything like this. My pride is hurt. Since I feel like this, I have dialogue problems with people. I cannot talk to anyone; I cannot get along with anyone. I feel as if people are looking at me differently. Maybe it is not the case, but I feel like that. I feel like a second-class citizen. It is as if uncovered women are privileged. . . . The only thing I do is attend classes, study hard, and get good grades. I do not have any relations with professors. I have not been to any of the offices of my teachers. This is my preference. I know it is important to create a network and talk to people, but I cannot do it. Normally, I have good relations with people I know, but I am uncomfortable with people I do not know. Maybe I am scared that I am going to be discriminated against if I start communicating with people. This might be because of my experiences in high school. Some teachers at high school told me when they saw me outside with my headscarf on, "I do not want to see you in this covered way; you are not my student like this." I do not want to experience the same thing again, that is why I have minimal contacts. I just go to school and come back. I say hello to people and that is it. I have become friends with some

students from other departments. They are also like me [part-time unveilers]. Their lifestyle is different. Since their parents are not here and they are living on their own, they are freer. Also they are more social. They attend extra-curricular activities. I only socialize with them on campus. . . .

In class she tries to avoid attraction and concentrate on her studies. Even though unveiling does not appear to impact her motivation for studying, it seems that it has a negative impact on her social life:

> In class, I sit in front, listen to the professor carefully and take notes. I am quiet. I talk to boys as well when there is group work. . . . I talk to them when they come and talk to me. I do not go up to them to talk. I am always looking for my headscarf. My hands are always on my head looking for my headscarf. It is part of my outfit since I always wear it, so I feel something is missing. My unveiling does not affect my motivation for studying, but it impacts my social life. I cannot establish connections, make friends, or have a social network. I could have improved myself better, built relationships with professors, administrators, and classmates. I wish I had the opportunity to stay on campus longer. I wish I could be more involved in campus activities and feel like a real university student.

Even though Buket does not seem to experience any type of abuse, discrimination or marginalization, she lives in a quite isolated way by choice on campus. She feels that if she socializes, she would or could be subjected to harassment as a result of the headscarf ban policy. In other words, her unveiling makes her antisocial and cuts her off from the campus activities. Even though she does not perceive this situation as impacting on her motivation for studying or general success, it affects the social capital she could benefit

from in the future.

Impact of unveiling on Buket's identity. In addition, her unveiling experience impacts her identity rather negatively in different ways:

> I feel worried and anxious even outside campus. This is why I have problems in initiating dialogue with new people I meet. Maybe I am scared of meeting new people and communicating with them. The person who is unveiled on campus is not me, but with new people, I feel as if they are going to ask me to unveil or something like that. So I feel as if I do not have any rights. . . . This creates anxiety and lack of confidence. I began to develop some lack of confidence in the government as well. Each political party has its own game and when they are the government, they do everything to stay in power. So with this ban in place, I feel as if things are going to get worse. Another impact of unveiling on my identity is the concession. Unveiling is a concession from my religious duties. I hope Allah does not punish me for that. Sometimes I wish I were a man; life would be so much easier I guess.

Summary. Even though Buket thinks that the ban had to exist due to the political context of then Turkey, her accounts show that Buket feels that she is quite challenged as a result of complying with the policy. Unveiling causes her anxiousness, worry, and lack of confidence in things she used to believe. In addition, she feels isolated and socially handicapped as a result of unveiling, which prevents her from building the social network she might need in the future.

Meral

Introduction. Meral (Participant 25) is a part-time unveiler who considers herself

a devout Muslim. Despite the fact that she has relatively non-challenging educational and cultural experiences as a result of complying with the headscarf ban policy, her Turkish, Muslim and female identities seem to be impacted in a negative way due to her unveiling. Her female identity appears to be particularly challenged in that Meral feels restrictions in various ways as a woman.

Background information. Meral was born and grew up in a big city; she comes from a large family where the mother is veiled too. She wanted to go to school with her hair covered, so she chose the Anatolian Imam Hatip school. When she was there, the headscarf ban policy was not in force in Imam Hatip schools. Her mother thought that Grade 6 was early for her to veil, but she insisted. When the point deduction of Imam Hatip graduates at the university exam policy came into force, she was sent to a co-educational private school where she uncovered her hair during her high school years.

Meral is a woman who can prove herself better in an environment in which she is comfortable. She considers herself a good listener and an introvert. However, she does not like loneliness. She is happy she was born in Turkey, a country with great history and ancestors. This makes her proud of being born a Turk. She also considers herself an observant Muslim. She tries to follow the tenets of Islam as much as possible:

> I am trying to follow the tenets of Islam as much as possible. There are many things that I cannot do. I know that. I am covering my hair because I know that it is a requirement. It is a wish of Allah. I know that this wish is written in Surah an-Nur in the Qu'ran. This is my identity as a Muslim woman. My headscarf is a symbol that distinguishes me from a non-Muslim woman. I also pray and fast. I help those who are in need. I believe I actually represent certain values and

virtues as a covered woman. That is why I am trying to be extra careful with the way I behave and treat others.

Meral reported that she has good relations with her family and as a woman she believes in gender equality in life:

> My mother is my best friend. I have a close relationship with my father and siblings too. I have deep relations with them, not superficial. I also have male friends. As a woman, I believe that in life men and women should have equality.. Women need to be part of everything. They should not be seen as inferior. This is how I envision my future as a grown up woman.

After her secondary education, for her bachelor's degree, Meral moved to another city and started living with friends in a flat while attending the university. She chose the hat as her primary style of unveiling. However, when professors did not let her wear a hat in class she switched to the wig. In the final semester of this year, she mostly used the hat. Her parents were supportive of her decision. She has always had good relations with her parents and siblings. Meral considers higher education as a source of prestige and a way to independence, and she likes the program she is studying. She believes that university education will contribute greatly to her life and career in the future:

> The reason why I wanted to go to university was to prove myself and be independent. University is a symbol. It will help me to stand on my own two feet. In addition, I love my program. This was a program I always wanted to study when I was in high school. . . . In the coming years, the university will contribute to my future more and more. University education is very important, but difficult. It is even more difficult for me since it is the first time I have lived on my own,

separated from my family in this city.

Her understanding of the headscarf ban policy. In addition to living on her own for the first time, she is also challenged by the headscarf ban policy. She perceives the policy as a product of prejudices of policy makers who are trying to prevent covered women from receiving higher education and take active part in society:

> Generally speaking, the headscarf ban exists because of the prejudices of policy makers. They want nobody to look different. They want everybody to be the same. . . . They are trying to prevent covered students from attending higher education institutions. Deduction of points for Imam Hatip schools, the higher education headscarf ban policy, they both exist to prevent us moving forward, to cut our progress and advancement. Policy makers try to direct us toward religious studies. They say you study religion only, become a teacher of religion, and that is all. They do not want us to be active in different parts of society. So this is a policy imposed upon covered women by policy makers.

Because she considers the ban as an imposition, Meral believes that covered women need to fight against it by complying with the policy, which is what she decided to do.

Decision to unveil. Another decision of hers was to wear a hat until she was asked to take it off:

> We need to fight against the policy. If everybody gives up, if everybody stays at home and gets married instead of complying with the policy to fight it, then there will be other bans. Bans will increase. Yes, I am making a concession, but this is for a limited period of time. This is a concession until the end of the

undergraduate education. The reason why I did not even consider other options such as going abroad was because even living in another city is difficult for me. I could never go abroad on my own. So I never considered that option. I knew I was going to attend a university here in Turkey. But here the implementation of the policy changes from campus to campus as well. I chose universities which were slightly more open to hat wearers by asking friends. I said to myself I was going to wear a hat until my professors objected. Then I would wear a wig in such cases. The wig is really ugly. You can definitely tell that it is a wig. The hat is the closest to the headscarf. When I wear a wig, I feel awful. I am able to express myself better with a hat. It reminds me of who I am. It prevents me from getting used to unveiling. Some of my friends suggested exposing the hair, but I did not opt for that.

Meral considers herself still covered with her hat on. She also knows that people understand that she is a covered woman with her hat on, which is what she wants.

University experiences of Meral. Meral feels that her main challenges are not to get used to unveiling as many of her friends did, and that unveiling makes her feel a little passive:

I am doing something that is imposed upon me by unveiling. I feel like a different person on campus. I feel as if I have lost my identity, I behave as if I am a different person. The challenge is that once unveiled, you can easily become used to unveiling, as many of my friends did. The hat reminds me that I am a veiled woman every single time. My relationship with professors changes from teacher to teacher. Only one of my professors would not accept me into classes with my

hat, so in that class I wore a wig, thus removing any tension. Many of my professors found out that I am a covered woman. Some professors do not care; others started treating me differently after they found out I am a covered woman. The professor I had tension with sometimes becomes sarcastic. When I do something good, she is surprised and says, "Did you really do this yourself? Does this thought really belong to you? Is it really your idea?" etc. She is prejudiced and gives me a hard time when I take her class. Other than this teacher, I do not have any problems with my professors. When I attend extra-curricular activities outside campus, I always wear my headscarf. Professors let me wear my headscarf in such cases. So they know I am a covered woman. There are other hat wearers on campus as well. My friends also know that I am covered. They have known it since the beginning. I have covered and uncovered friends. I also have friends whose religious ideas are different from mine. I also have friends who are covered in their private lives, but expose their hair on campus. There are some classmates who chose to distance themselves from me after they realized I was a covered woman. But they were not close friends anyway. . . . I have some close girlfriends. I am always with them on campus. Our campus is not a politically active place. There are some students who support me, some who do not. But they do not bother me. I sometimes take part in extra-curricular activities. I go to concerts with my headscarf on, do group projects, and attend seminars and conferences. In class, I am a little shy. That is because I am not perfectly comfortable with myself. I cannot be active and prove myself in the way I want as a result of this. I feel a little passive in class because of either my hat or my wig.

Meral seems to be handling her unveiling experience relatively better than some of the other part-time unveilers. It also appears that the non-threatening campus environment contributes to her university life positively making it easier and more tolerable for her.

Her future career. Meral does not seem to be concerned about her career in the future either:

> Career is not going to be a problem in the future. I want to work in the private sector anyway. There might be some companies that will not want to hire me, but this is not a big deal. If the worst comes to the worst, I can start my own company. So there are many options for me.

Impact of unveiling on her identity. One of the main challenges of Meral seems to be the impact of unveiling on her identity, especially female identity. She does not think unveiling affects her citizenship identity and she is not sure if her Muslim identity is affected in any way:

> As a Turkish citizen, I find it hard to understand the ban and its implementation. I find it hard to understand the relationship between secularism, which is the separation of the state and religion, and the ban, which is the involvement of the state into the religion. Unveiling does not affect my Turkishness. As for my Muslim identity, I do not know. I am not sure if Muslim identity is impacted in any way by unveiling. I know that my female identity is hurt. I feel inferior as a woman. This is a ban for women, not men. Islamist men do not suffer, but women do. As a result of unveiling, I am being forced into something I do not want. This is a burden for me. I am doing something in which I do not believe. I hope people

get rid of their prejudices and understand what the headscarf really means for covered women. I hope women like me can be in an environment where they have the freedom to live their lives in the way they want.

Summary. All in all, Meral appears to have relatively non-challenging educational and cultural experiences and the non-threatening atmosphere of her campus has a positive contribution making life on campus easier to handle. However, she perceives that unveiling challenges her female identity and makes her wonder about her role and status in society.

Summary of Chapter 4

This chapter first indicated the perceptions of the research participants with regard to their citizenship, religious, and gender identities as covered Islamist women. It then explored their views on what higher education means to them and why they study the programs they do. It then highlighted how participants perceive the way the higher education ban policy is implemented in different campuses. Finally, it provided narratives of the perceptions of five participants concerning some of the different types of educational and cultural experiences part-time unveilers experience and the ways in which the ban impacts their lives and identities. Following the detailed discussion of the lives of five participants, the following three chapters present the findings from all thirty participants. As outlined in the study's research questions, these chapters discuss the perceptions of the part-time unveilers about the ways in which they understand and negotiate the headscarf ban, the opportunities and challenges they experience as they comply with the policy, and the impact of unveiling on their sense of identity.

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THE HEADSCARF BAN IN THE TURKISH UNIVERSITY: EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXPERIENCES OF PART-TIME UNVEILERS

VOLUME II

By

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CHAPTER 5

Research Findings: Participants' Understanding and Negotiation of the Headscarf Ban Policy

This chapter explores the ways in which part-time unveilers understand and negotiate the higher education headscarf ban policy. The chapter first highlights participants' understandings of the policy (Research Question 1 of this study). This section explains the perceptions of the research participants about the reasons why the ban exists, the long-term goal of the policy, and what the ban actually means to them. Then, the chapter discusses the ways in which the part-time unveilers negotiated the policy (Research Question 2). This part describes the options in response to the ban, as perceived by the women studied, their reasons for complying with the policy, the reaction of others about their decision of policy compliance, and their rationale for unveiling the way they did. The quotes used in the chapter are translations from Turkish.

Research Question 1: Part-Time Unveilers' Understanding of the Higher Education Headscarf Ban Policy

This section highlights perceptions of part-time unveilers in terms of their understanding of the higher education headscarf ban policy. Data analysis shows that while unpacking their understanding of the policy, the research participants formulated their answers around three different sub-themes: participants' perceptions of the reasons why the higher education headscarf ban policy exists, participants' perceptions of the long-term goal of the policy, and what the policy means to the part-time unveilers.

Participants' Perceptions of the Reasons Why the Higher Education Headscarf Ban Policy Exists

Even though there is an overlap in some parts of the answers given by the research participants, data analysis shows that part-time unveilers perceive five distinct reasons why the higher education headscarf ban policy exists. While expressing their ideas and opinions, some participants referred to the political and/or social context of the country, whereas others restricted their responses within the Turkish higher education context. Apart from these reasons one participant stated that she did not know why the headscarf ban existed.

The political context of Turkey. Eight participants perceive that the reason why the higher education headscarf ban policy exists seems to be the political context of the country. They explained that the main reason why the ban exists is due to the power struggle between the secularists and Islamists in the context of Turkish politics. Participant 11 explained this political tension between these two groups as follows:

> The headscarf was banned in the context of higher education due to power struggle between secularists and Islamists. Secularists have been the powerful ones for a long time in Turkish history. They have had control of bureaucracy and the decision making mechanisms. When they realized they were going to lose their power or give some of it away as a result of Islamists gaining political power, they looked for ways in which they could prevent Islamists from gaining this power. The ban is one way of protecting their power. You need to understand that the headscarf is one of the visible faces of Islam, so it is a kind of symbol. As a response, Islamists used the ban as a provocative tool to mobilize the

conservative people. This worsened the situation and the ban became more intensified.

Other participants shared similar views, but also added a new dimension into the power struggle between Islamists and secularists. They thought some international political parties contributed to the power struggle of different groups in different ways worsening the political situation in Turkey. Participant 12 explained:

> In my opinion some Western countries do not want Turkey to have peace. External powers provoke Turkish politicians in different ways creating a conflict between secularists and Islamists. It is Turkey that suffers as result of the power struggle between different political views. It is Turkey that suffers from the headscarf ban in the context of higher education and other contexts.

The perceptions of these participants seem to hint at the intricacies lying behind the headscarf ban policy in terms of the national and international political context since the foundation of the Turkish Republic. One way to approach the perceptions of these participants might be to conclude that the headscarf ban policy is a result of competition between secular and Islamist identities in Turkish politics. From this perspective, the accounts of the part-time unveilers highlighted that, when the political climate started to lean toward the advantage of Islamists, secularists found ways in which to prevent this from happening so that they could continue to be the ruling elite. According to some of the participants, one of their political maneuvers seems to be the headscarf ban policy used as a barricade to deter Islamists from continuing their higher education, thus losing their chance of becoming future leaders of the country.

Another interpretation of the data might be the issue of political Islam. Some participants think that the headscarf ban exists due to the instrumentalization of Islam that opposing parties use for their power preservation and election purposes in Turkish politics. Research participants even commented that Islam was used as an instrument within the international politics as a way for Western countries to control internal affairs of Turkey. So, from this perspective, it might even be possible to argue that the voices of the participants hint that the driving force behind all the existing political tensions is the politicization of religion, in this case, Islam. Following this argument, it is then natural to conclude that the real issue behind what participants perceive as a political struggle between Islamists and secularists as a reason for the headscarf ban policy might in fact be the struggle of political Islam trying to establish itself in the Turkish political context.

Modernization efforts. Six participants perceive that the reason why the headscarf ban policy exists seems to be the result of numerous efforts to hide the religious identity of the country so as to appear more modern. They highlighted that policy makers in different Turkish contexts try to make sure that the visible face of Turkey looks as modern and secular as possible by pushing the Islamic identity aside. Participant 27 stated:

> Some ruling elite do not want to see people who look different. They see themselves as the symbol of modernity and want others to look like them. In order to achieve their goals, they apply bans that will eliminate religious symbols in different contexts in the country. Unfortunately, higher education is one of such contexts. When the ruling elite wanted to implement the ban in the higher education context, the Higher Education Council members approved the decision

since they are obviously alike in their thinking. So this way, both politicians and Higher Education Council members want to create one type of person in Turkey. This is the reason why the higher education headscarf ban policy exists.

Participant 6 added:

> The reason why there is the higher education headscarf ban policy is to hide the Islamic identity on campuses. Interestingly enough, there is also a ban on tight trousers, extremely short skirts, beards, and mustaches; but none of these are applied. Only the headscarf ban is applied on campuses. It is because it is the most visible facet of Islam. This ban confuses professors. Some who do not support the ban still had to apply it in order not to be in conflict with the administration. Those who support the ban keep asking me if I have a political reason to wear the headscarf. They always "hunt" the covered female students. They forget their academic jobs, the fact that university is a mosaic and all that and "hunt" us in order to make us look modern and secular.

The accounts of these participants show they perceive that policy makers seem to be using the ban as a way to improve the country, in order for Turkey to become part of the developed nations. The belief appears to be that universities are the contemporary face of Turkey, and campuses with all students appearing in non-religious looking clothes convey an image of modernity and advancement. What seems to be an issue for participants is that, on the one hand, policy makers want citizens to be contemporary and active, but on the other hand, they implement bans that might dissuade students from attending higher education, or cause them to leave Turkey and attend university in a

different country. In this sense, part-time unveilers find that what the policy makers claim to want is in conflict with what they do.

A preventative measure. Five participants perceive that the reason why the headscarf ban policy exists seems to be secularist efforts to prevent the return of Seriat, the Islamic law. They explained that they perceive secularists are scared to go back to Ottoman Empire times when the Empire was ruled by the Islamic law. They highlighted that secularists perceive the covered groups as representatives of the Islamic law and are taking preventative measures. As Participant 19 explained:

> The secularists wanted to prevent women from wearing their headscarves because they think that the headscarf is the beginning of the Seriat. The belief is that every covered woman wishes to go back to Ottoman Empire times and be ruled by Seriat. So they banned the headscarf in different contexts including higher education. The aim is to cause religious groups to lose interest in Islam and its tenets.

Participant 15 added that preventing the return of Seriat in the whole country also means the preservation of secularism in every arena including the higher education system:

> The higher education headscarf ban policy exists in order to preserve secularism and a secular nature of the campus. On campus, the easiest way to preserve the secular nature of the higher education system is to ask students to look alike. This is how the ban came into force. Secularists think that if the ban does not exist, all campuses will be full of women with headscarves looking like the old days during

> Ottoman Empire time . . . like the schools in Seriat time. . . . So the ban is another way of saying that there is no Seriat in Turkey.

The perceptions of these participants seem to highlight the sensitivities that exist in the country. Put into a wider historical context as explained in the literature review, Seriat symbolizes the dark times of the Ottoman Empire that caused the downfall of the empire. So secularists, who took the leadership during the foundation of the Turkish Republic, are clearly sensitive to every symbol that reminds them of Seriat, and the headscarf seems to be one of them.

Preservation of the secular nature of campuses. Two participants perceive that the reason why the headscarf ban exists is to ensure campuses preserve their secular nature. They highlighted that, since secularism is the separation of state and religion (Ayoob, 2004), one way to ensure secularism on campus is to remove all the symbols that are associated with Islam. They added that, this way, all students, free of their visible religious symbols, can receive an equal education without being subjected to any potential marginalization or discrimination due to political prejudices that students, professors, and administrators might hold. In this sense, these two participants perceive that the ban might ease their educational process, providing them an educational opportunity where students are treated equally since they all look alike on campuses. As explained by Participant 2:

> This is a fair policy. It is true that there are differences between Islamists and secularists. If the policy did not exist, there would be serious repercussions. Right now, it is true that my freedom is restricted and I look like someone else as a result of unveiling. But the policy helps everybody look similar. The policy

prevents students from political or religious mobilization and oppression. It also helps eradicate biases. If I attend university with my headscarf on, men might compare me to other women. They might think I have higher morals and I am more innocent than others. So the ban helps us to separate the state and religion. We preserve the secular nature of the campus and the country.

The prevention of chaos on campuses. Two participants perceive that the reason why the headscarf ban exists seems to be the prevention of the chaos that existed before 1980 on campuses by limiting some freedom on campuses, with an intention of deterring students from violent activism. They stated that, before 1980, terror escalated in universities due to the fights between left-wing and right-wing students. So, according to these participants, the headscarf ban could be used as one deterrent to inhibit thinking–that is, as one way of government controlling thoughts and making individuals passive. This showed campuses that the government was powerful enough to control the higher education when it was necessary in order to prevent the chaos. Participant 6 explained:

> On the surface, the headscarf ban exists to prevent the Islamist students from expressing their thoughts and ideas freely on campus. If you are [part-time unveilers], you are never really relaxed. This prevents you from expressing your thoughts freely. You become passive. This is just on the surface. The real reason why the headscarf ban policy exists is actually to show students that government controls the higher education system and will not condone violence. By oppressing one group, policy makers show they have the power to control students in different ways. They started with the covered women because at the time the headscarf was also seen as a political statement. So it gave policy

administrators the opportunity to kill two birds with one stone and unfortunately covered women have become the victims of this situation.

In this sense, as two participants perceive, the ban is not actually for the headscarf, but for the associated ideas, ideologies, and ideals.

Summary. All in all, participants perceive various reasons why the headscarf ban policy exists. All these reasons seem to derive from participants' perceptions of a struggle between Islamists and secularists, or political Islam trying to stabilize itself in Turkish politics, or secularists trying to preserve their power in the political, social or educational context of Turkey. These perceptions of part-time unveilers reveal how the headscarf ban policy seems to be closely connected and intertwined with the issues of secularism, Islamist and secularist identities, class, gender, and religion [Islam] that exist in the country.

The Long-Term Goal of the Policy

The participants formulated their responses around two issues as to what they think the policy intends to achieve in the long run. One group of part-time unveilers thinks that the long-term goal of the policy is to create one type of person and change Islamists, especially covered women, on campuses. Another group perceives that the higher education headscarf ban policy is in force to prevent covered women from having positions of power in society, economy, and politics by dissuading them from gaining access to higher education.

Change and secularize Islamists. Nineteen participants highlighted that for those who comply with the higher education headscarf ban policy, their perception is that the long-term goal of the policy is to change these compliers by creating one type of person

on campuses. Participants stated they understand that "One type of person equalizes students and prevents problems that might arise due to the socioeconomic, religious or political differences" (Participant 6). They think that this type of system is good in primary and secondary schools when students are not mature enough to understand, respect, and appreciate differences. However, part-time unveilers view higher education as an arena for mature students who come from diverse backgrounds. In their minds, "Campuses are platforms to appreciate diversity and learn to respect one another" (Participant 14). So from this perspective, participants think the headscarf ban aims to encourage policy compliers to remove their headscarves, in the long run creating a campus environment where everybody looks uncovered. And some part-time unveilers think that the policy is successful to a certain extent:

> The intention of the policy is to make all students look alike. When everybody is similar, when there is no diversity, then it becomes the norm. Being uncovered is viewed as normal. The first day of uncovering the hair is difficult, but in the long run, you get used to it, and it becomes normal. After a while you are not as uncomfortable as you used to be while unveiling. So in this sense, the policy is successful and achieving what it intends to achieve. (Participant 15)

Participant 19 explained the situation in a more detailed way:

> We used to wear long coats. Each year, with the influence of fashion, these coats became shorter and shorter. Fashion designers design more and more modern clothes, and we buy them. I think this is purposeful. The same is true for headscarves as well. Years ago, headscarves were only big, square, and plain covering the shoulders. Then they became smaller, now they are colorful, even in

the form of long scarves matching the color of the clothes. So with the influence of the fashion, the headscarf has moved beyond its purpose. Then came the headscarf ban on campus. First you uncover your hair on campus. Then you need to go out to buy something for five minutes. You do not want to cover your hair for five minutes, so go out uncovered. This goes on like this. Some students slowly start to go out uncovered, and then they get used to it. I think this is happening slowly. The number of those who will become uncovered completely might increase in 5-10 years. I think the ban succeeds in its long-term target. Students become used to looking uncovered, slowly but surely. The ban contributes to the creation of one type of student, causing covered women to lose interest in religion and headscarves.

Participant 21 shared a similar view, but also emphasized the fact that the focus of the ban is to specifically change Muslim women on campuses who choose to cover their hair because it is the woman who has the power to change society. According to her:

The long-term target of the ban is to change the religious woman, interrupt her values and beliefs. The ban makes a covered woman question herself and her belief system. The aim is to change the moral system of the Muslim women who choose to lead a conservative and religious life. This is a ban for women because they are more influential in society. It is women who bring up children, shape them, train them, and teach them values. So whether men accept or deny the argument, it is a fact that women are the fundamental parts of society. If you change women, you change the next generation. So when you comply with the ban, you become part of the system; there are some who do not change, but there

are many who change. I know a lot of friends who started college covered, and graduated as uncovered. This is an action in order to castrate the religion and religious lifestyle, especially to castrate the visible face of Islam by trying to change covered women. And I know for sure that the ban achieves what it intends to achieve to a certain extent.

A couple of participants took this point one step further and stated that the long-term goal of the policy is in fact to secularize Islamists in general. Two participants explained that secularists perceive Islamists as non-secular people and want to secularize them by asking them to unveil themselves during their educational years including university:

> The ban is a psychological battle. Since there is a phobia of religiosity in Turkey, the long-term goal of the ban is to distance students, future citizens of Turkey, from Islam. This way, it is hoped that [part-time unveilers] will become [full-time unveilers] and secularized after many years of uncovering the hair in schools or on campuses. I do not know how effective the ban is or will be in this sense, because it is true that there are some students who give up covering their hair as a result, but there are some who become more attached to their headscarves. So I do not know the extent to which the ban succeeds in this target. (Participant 26)

A similar issue that emerged earlier with reference to the relationship between modernity and Islam emerges here in the form of a relationship between secularism and Islam. Based on the data, the participants seem to perceive that secularists view Islamists as non-secular and so try to secularize them using the ban as a means to an end. This seems to hint that there may be a lack of understanding about how one would reconcile

secularism and Islam without any restrictions or bans within the context of Turkey as a democratic and secular country with a predominantly Muslim population.

There are some other part-time unveilers who agree with the target of the policy in the long run, but think that the policy is not powerful enough to change them in the future:

> I know the target of the policy is to create one type of woman in the future. This woman, regardless of her degree of religiosity, is the one who is uncovered wearing Western clothes. I am wearing a hat to look like others on campus. This makes me ashamed of myself, and I am sad that I have to remove my headscarf. So the headscarf ban policy reminds me of the value of my headscarf. The ban reminds me how important the headscarf is, and how I need to keep wearing it for the rest of my life. (Participant 30)

Even though these women have similar perceptions about what the policy intends to achieve in the long run, they diverge in opinion in terms of whether the policy seems to be successful or not. One interesting observation is that those who think that the policy achieves what it intends to achieve in the long run, in terms of causing covered women to lose interest in religion and headscarf, are mostly part-time unveilers who have chosen to expose their hair as a way to comply with the policy while attending higher education institutions. In the same way, those who think that the policy is not or will not be successful, in terms of achieving what it intends to achieve in the sense that part-time unveilers own their religion and headscarf more, appear to be those who wear hats or wigs.

Prevention of covered women from becoming active citizens. Eleven part-time unveilers perceive the headscarf ban as a way to prevent covered women from becoming active contributors of society, economy, and politics by dissuading them from gaining access to higher education. It is because participants perceive that not only secularists but also all of those who consider themselves modern are biased against women who are covered. According to part-time unveilers, the modern think that those who attend university as covered is an anomaly. Thus the ban, as an application of these prejudices and biases, is perceived as intentionally preventing Islamists from receiving higher education and becoming active citizens of the country. Participant 9 stated: "The ban wants to prevent Islamists from becoming active participants in society since the perception is that a covered woman cannot contribute fully to the economy of the country." Participant 27 elaborated on how the policy could prevent Islamist women from taking active part in the society in the long run:

> The aim of the policy is to hinder the success of Islamists. If you do not have an undergraduate degree, you cannot be influential in Turkish society. If you do not graduate from a university, it is very difficult to become somebody who has a say in critical matters concerning the economy, society, or politics. The ruling elite and the Higher Education Council members do not want conservative and religious people to become powerful in the country. The best and easiest way to achieve this goal is to prevent Islamists from attending higher education. They have not found an effective way for Islamist men yet, although they have a way to stop Islamist women by means of the headscarf ban policy. It is a critical barrier for women to decide what they want to become in the future. It is true that there

are many covered students who stopped continuing their education because of the ban.

Participant 17 added that in the past, the education of many covered women was interrupted as a result of the ban. According to her, these women lost the opportunity to have a say in society. She does not want to be one of them:

> The policy intends to dissuade covered women from attending higher education institutions. If I do not go, and you do not go, who is going to go, who is going to represent me? The policy makers are stubborn and they want to keep the ban. I am stubborn too. I am complying with the policy so that I can obtain access to higher education.

The accounts of this group of participants seem to hint that participants perceive that the policy resulted in keeping numerous covered women from obtaining higher education now and then. Part-time unveilers want to change this, and continue their education by agreeing to comply with the policy.

Summary. Participants considered two issues as the long-term goal of the policy. Based on their perceptions about the long-term target of the policy, the ban does seem to achieve what it intends to achieve in some ways and does not in other ways. The question of what this means for policy makers and administrators from the perspective of the headscarf ban policy seems to be an issue that needs to be discussed and evaluated.

What the Policy Means to the Part-Time Unveilers

In addition to the reasons why the policy exists and what it intends to achieve in the long run, participants also mentioned their perceptions of what the policy means to

them as individuals. Half of the women perceived the ban as a restriction of their freedom and questioned the extent to which higher education institutions are democratic.

For some women, the ban was more related to their psychological well-being affecting their emotions and personalities in different ways. A couple of women saw the ban as a concession of their religious beliefs. There were also a few participants who considered the ban as a signal that labeled them as the "other", or as a stimulator who made them ambitious.

Restriction of freedom. Fifteen women mentioned that the ban restricts their freedom since it does not allow them to be the way they like. While expressing their feelings, these part-time unveilers spoke passionately about the ways in which they felt and were treated. Some women used strong and assertive words to explain what the ban meant for them. Others appeared more emotional with a softer tone while highlighting their points:

> The ban means a restriction of freedom on a free and democratic campus. The ban resulted in the removal of my rights. I cannot do what I want to do. Am I a woman with plague? This is how I am feeling right now. The ban creates an environment where people might catch a disease as a result of communicating with covered women. (Participant 12)

Participant 14 added some more details:

> The ban means restriction to me. It restricts me from behaving the way I want, from being who I want. It is a ban that takes my rights away. This is a policy that does not allow me to be myself. I am very uncomfortable for this reason. The ban

changes me on campus; it makes me look as if I am a better person as an uncovered woman. This is not true though. This makes me really sad.

Participants appear to struggle to understand the place of the ban in a democratic higher education system where they believe they all have freedom. They seem to perceive the ban as a violation of their equal educational rights, which might contradict with the core of the higher education system in Turkey (T.C. Yuksekogretim Kurulu, n.d. b).

Psychological battle. For eight women, the ban meant an impact on their emotions and characters in different ways. These participants mentioned the ways in which their psychology was affected by the policy. Some part-time unveilers focused on the relationship between their psychological well-being and the policy, while others explored how the ban impacted their characters at a young age. The women also made a distinction between how they initially felt when they complied with the policy and how their feelings evolved over the years:

> What the ban initially meant to me was a psychological pressure and loss of confidence. The first day on campus, I felt tired and weak. But later on, I got used to uncovering. It is not a psychological pressure anymore, but it still has a huge impact on my confidence, and the way I carry myself on campus. (Participant 26)

Participant 8 had a different perspective:

> The ban is a psychological battle to me. It has always been. I have had a big struggle at a very young age. Subjected to such hurdles, I have become mature maybe more quickly than I should have. It has affected my psychology so negatively. After I was dismissed, I went abroad, but felt fearful on campus. I thought somebody was going to come at any time and tell me to leave the campus.

I had therapy abroad. Then I changed. When I returned home, I realized I was a grown-up. I felt like a human being. Now I realize that all this issue of the headscarf ban is a test. This is how I see it now.

On the other hand, Participant 30 explained what the ban meant to her from a different perspective:

> The ban means strengthening my character, solidifying it. I have learned how to fight injustices. I have come to see that there is always an alternative solution as long as I am strong. I know how to resist. I feel very strong. The ban taught me how I need to stand firm in the face of difficulties without falling down. It really made me brave and courageous. It gave me the energy to start a battle.

The participants perceive the headscarf ban as an issue that has a negative impact on their psychological well-being in numerous ways. For those who perceive that their emotions have been affected negatively, it is possible to argue that the ban had a negative impact on their psychology. The issue seems to become complex and not so clear when some participants stated that the ban had some contribution in making their character stronger. It is possible to interpret their perception of the contribution of the ban on their character in two different ways. One perspective is that the ban has a stimulating effect on part-time unveilers that helps them develop solid identities. Another perspective might be that the ban had such a deteriorating impact on the participants that those who managed to survive matured and grew stronger.

Concession of religious beliefs. For four women, the ban meant a concession of their religious beliefs. Some women thought that their decision of uncovering was a concession from Islam:

> The headscarf ban means a concession from Islam. I know it is a sin to remove my headscarf. I have to do it to continue my education. I hope Allah forgives me for this. I am sad because of this situation, but I think it is the policy makers who need to be sad for making my life miserable and causing me pain and sorry. (Participant 2)

Participant 27 saw the concession in a different way:

> In the Qu'ran, there are some precepts that need to be followed. One is the precept of education, and the other is the precept of covering. I cannot do both. So I make a concession from one precept to follow the other precept as a result of this policy. This is what the policy means to me. I know people who should not have seen my hair did, but I believe that Allah will forgive me. I have only removed my headscarf, I have not changed my behavior. In addition, intentions of removing the headscarf are also important. I am only removing my headscarf to serve another cause. It is an unfortunate situation, but this is a fact I need to take into account.

Otherness. Three participants consider the ban as a way of being labeled as the other. In their minds, the higher education headscarf ban policy is a marker that separates them from the rest of the campus population, labeling them as different from the majority:

> The headscarf ban policy means polarization to me. It is the reflection of [polarization] on campus. The headscarf ban policy labels you as someone different from the rest of society. The policy creates many groups that did not exist before. Now there are policy compliers, policy non-compliers, and people

who are not concerned with the policy. So even within Islamists, the ban creates differentiation and otherness. Policy compliers and non-compliers have become polarized. So on campus I am a policy complier, not an uncovered woman. So in the minds of many uncovered women, I am the other, I guess. (Participant 3)

Stimulation. Two participants explained that they perceive the ban as a stimulant: "The ban is a stimulator, it is like a whip that helps me move forward. It gives me ambition" (Participant 1).

Summary. In short, participants perceive the ban as a policy that restricts their freedom and creates otherness. Their perceptions also indicate that for part-time unveilers the ban leads to a psychological battle and concession from religious beliefs. A few participants consider the policy as stimulation.

Summary of Research Question 1

To sum up, the part-time unveilers unpacked their perceptions of the headscarf ban policy by elaborating on their perceptions of the reasons why the policy exists, what it intends to achieve in the long run, and what it specifically means to them as individuals. Having explored the perceptions of the part-time unveilers with regard to their understanding of the headscarf ban policy in the first research question, I now move to present the findings of the second research question.

Research Question 2: The Ways in Which Part-Time Unveilers Decided to Comply With the Policy

This theme highlights perceptions of part-time unveilers with regard to how they negotiated the higher education headscarf ban policy. Data analysis revealed that participants formulated their answers around four sub-themes. These are: (a)

consideration of other options, (b) reasons for compliance, (c) reaction of others to their decision of unveiling, and (d) reasons for the type of unveiling they have chosen.

Options

This sub-theme highlights the options participants evaluated before making a final decision for their future. Many part-time unveilers explained that the first stage of the negotiation with the policy was to consider their options when it was time to go to university. A majority of participants expressed their initial desire to continue their education abroad, but explained they could not do so, for various reasons. A couple of participants stated that they initially decided not to go to university as an option, but changed their mind due to parental pressure. In addition, data analysis revealed that some part-time unveilers did not consider any other options but to comply with the policy and go to university.

Education abroad. Seventeen participants stated that they first considered the option of continuing their education abroad. They mentioned that going abroad was initially a logical thing to do since Turkish higher education policy makers did not want them:

> If higher education policy makers do not want you, why should you stay? Of course, the first thing that comes to your mind is to leave. My reaction on those days was that if I were not wanted, then I would leave and not come back. I would not work here. I would not serve here. This is why I started looking at other options such as America, Russia, Austria. (Participant 13)

Five participants could not go abroad because their parents could not afford it. They looked for scholarships, but could not find any either: "I wanted to continue my

education abroad, but I knew it was very expensive. My parents could never afford it. I looked for a scholarship, but could not find one" (Participant 19) For four participants, going abroad was not possible because their parents, especially their father, did not give them permission to go: "My father would not let me go abroad. He is very attached to his children" (Participant 27). Two participants stayed in Turkey when they realized that for some professions (i.e. those that require licensing), including their professions-to-be, studying abroad precluded them from practicing in Turkey. Two participants went ahead and applied to universities abroad, but could not enter the programs they wanted. Two other participants had permission to go abroad with their finances in place, but decided against it later on because they realized they were going to go through a lot of adaptation problems. They did not want to be on their own either. There were two other part-time unveilers, returning students, who went abroad, but came back without completing their studies due to personal reasons:

> I went abroad after I stopped going to university in Turkey due to the headscarf ban policy. I quickly realized that it was not a good decision. First of all, it was very expensive. I felt very lonely and I was scared. Even though I was able to attend university with my headscarf on, I returned home. I could no longer stay in a strange country, where I had no family or friends. (Participant 7)

No consideration of other options. Ten participants stated that they did not consider other options. They did not want to go abroad. Not going to university was not an option for them either: "I did not think about any other alternatives. I always wanted to go to university in Turkey. Since my headscarf is not political, it was not difficult to

come to the decision of complying with the policy. I had other problems after removing it, but the decision of compliance was not a problem for me" (Participant 2).

Some students explained that they started university unveiled first and decided to veil during their undergraduate education. So after covering the hair, removing the headscarf was not a problem anyway. They never considered dropping out: "I started university unveiled. So unveiling after veiling was never a problem. I never considered any other options other than complying with the policy after I decided to cover my hair" (Participant 16).

Not going to university. Three participants mentioned that they did consider the option of not going to university, but their parents pushed them toward compliance with the policy and attending university. Participant 27, for example, explained that she did not want to remove her headscarf during higher education. So the only option for her at the time was not to continue higher education: "I did not want to continue university because I did not want to unveil." However, the pressure from her parents forced her to revise her decision and continue her education.

Summary. To sum up, the majority of the participants seem to have considered other options such as going abroad or not continuing their education before they eventually decided to comply with the policy. When their first option appeared not to have worked, they then chose to comply with the policy as a last resort. For many of these participants, not going to university was never an option; they were all determined to continue higher education, but they did not know where. Some other participants do not seem to have even considered other options. Compliance with the policy was the only

choice they wanted to make. They had known what they were required to do to continue higher education in Turkey and were prepared to follow the "rules".

Reasons for Compliance

After highlighting other options they considered before complying with the policy, participants moved on to explaining the rationale behind their compliance. One observation during the data analysis is that a majority of part-time unveilers who considered going abroad but could not, pointed out that they complied with the policy not because they did not have any other option. They explained some rationale for their compliance. The way they packaged their reasons for complying with the ban shows that these participants might see not having any other option than compliance as a sign of helplessness or weakness, and thus they portrayed their compliance from a different perspective that appealed to them. Whatever the reason may be, it appears that these part-time unveilers may have gone through a lot of internal battles and psychological challenges to rationalize and justify the compliance to themselves and others.

Part-time unveilers highlighted five distinct reasons why they decided to comply with the policy. Some of these reasons were directly linked to their concerns about their future, while others were more related with the social justice and efforts to advance the place of covered women in society. There were a few who had other personal reasons. Returning students wanted to complete unfinished business. The other four reasons emerged from the accounts of participants who are traditional students, and these four reasons did not follow any particular pattern.

Opportunities for a better future. Thirteen participants mentioned that the reason why they complied with the ban was to have opportunities for a better future. This future

included prestige and respect in society, becoming more conscientious about religion, and being educated, with lucrative job opportunities leading to economic freedom, among other benefits. Participants believed that university would open doors in the future that would not be open otherwise. This seemed to be even more critical for those who came from smaller cities where opportunities for jobs and advancement were scarce. All of the thirteen participants passionately echoed one another and emphasized that the reason they chose to unveil was their belief in the instrumental role of higher education in reaching their ideals. Participant 19 complied with the policy to gain better job opportunities and more appreciation for her religion:

> I have always wanted to go to university. Not to go to university was never an option. The university will prepare me for a brighter future. I will be able to have a better and more lucrative job. My status in society will increase. This is why I decided to comply with the policy and unveil against my wishes. If I did not, I would never be able to reach the ideals I have. Some women stop their education because they do not want to uncover their hair. If you do not obtain higher education, you do not become a doctor or a lawyer. In addition, without education, you will not fully comprehend your religion. You will just cover your hair for traditional purposes, without fully appreciating Islam. So to reach my ideals and become a truly religious person, I need higher education.

On the other hand, Participant 18 stated that her main reason for compliance was for economic independence:

> I do not want to become dependent on my husband. I want to earn my own money and have an income of my own. I also need to be able to raise my own children in

a responsible way. To achieve these goals of mine, I need a university education. If I did not comply with the policy, I would not be able to accomplish any of these goals. I want to have a good job; I want to be respected in society. I want to become a leader. University will help me reach these ideals of mine. This is why I uncover my hair even though I do not necessarily want to do it.

Participant 3 explained that even though she is not comfortable with the idea of unveiling, she does not regret her decision to become the person she wants to be in the future and to achieve her goals:

I grew up in an environment where my family members always encouraged me to seek a university degree. So I have been conditioned since the beginning: I was going to attend university and there was no other way. This is how I was brought up. In addition, I have been a successful student. . . . I know that every day I give up the tenet of Islam [covering] and follow some other rules. I know there is no excuse. However, I do not regret my decision. Right now, I am feeling guilty, but still I think I have made a good decision. This decision is going to help me become the person I want to become in the future and reach my ideals.

I am removing my headscarf to become a productive person. This is my aim. I want to do useful things for others, and perhaps contribute a little bit to a change in the process of the higher education system. Why shouldn't I go to university? I have dreams as all the other students do. I have the potential to realize my goals. I never wanted to give up my dreams and my future.

Participant 23 echoed a discomfort with the act of unveiling, but stated that she had to do it to have a better life and a say in society:

> I never thought it was OK for me to give up what I really wanted to do. The price of giving up is a lot higher. . . . University education is a must if you are planning a better life for yourself. You will have a say in society. You will have prestige. This is why I decided to comply with the policy. This is why I decided to remove my headscarf even though I know I am acting against the wishes of the Qu'ran. I am hoping that Allah will forgive me. Intentions are important. I am not removing my headscarf for fun, but for an important cause due to a policy imposed on me. In order to have a better life, I am complying with the policy.

Based on the accounts of the participants, it is possible to state that part-time unveilers perceive university as a key that will open the door of a better life in the future. This is consistent with their reason to attend university that they explored in chapter 4. Since they perceive higher education as a life-changing activity, it seems that they compromise some of their religious practices to clear the road to university. The voices of the participants showed that they perceive how hard it was for them to give up their headscarf, emotionally and morally. But their perceptions also indicated the value these part-time unveilers attach to higher education and the sacrifices they are prepared to make to gain access to higher education even though the ban requires them to act against the teachings of their religion.

The wish to advance covered women in society. Seven participants stated that the reason why they complied with the ban was because they wanted covered women to advance in society. They think that if all covered women give up on college education, then there will not be leaders who will relate to covered women and represent them in society. If all covered women choose to stay at home, then there will not be covered

doctors, lawyers, teachers etc. Only through higher education, part-time unveilers believe, can covered women advance and find the place they really deserve in society.

Participant 9 thought she needed to fight and complied with the policy in order not be isolated from society:

> Some of us [covered women] need to go to university. Some of us [covered women] need to develop and grow. I will put up with this ban for four years so that as a covered woman, I have a say in society. I want other covered women to attend higher education as well so that we [covered women] become part of the next generation of leaders. I cannot isolate myself from society. I need to fight. I cannot let the headscarf become a reason for isolation.

Participant 1 added that compliance is necessary for covered women to educate themselves and defend the rights of other covered women:

> If you quit as a covered woman, who is going to defend you? Who is going to support you? Who is going to defend your rights? Many of my friends quit. What are they doing now? They are at home, sewing, drinking tea, and watching television. I am a successful student who loves studying. If I did not go to university, I would never have a say in society. Now I can say "Here I am, I also exist, and I am part of society."

Participant 15 explained that she decided to comply with the policy in order to be visible in Turkey:

> We [covered women] need to fight this ban. If covered women do not attend higher education, they will become invisible in society. They will never be able to

advance themselves in the corporate world. I want covered women to become respectable doctors, lawyers, businesswomen, and take part in the economy.

Participant 4 wished to become a role model for other covered women:

> It is crucial that a woman with a headscarf has an important place in society. To make this possible, I, as a covered woman, need to go to university. Whether you [covered women] want to go to university or not is irrelevant. You [covered women] must attend university to have an important place in society. We [covered women] need to advance and prove ourselves so that we can show the world that covered women have a place in society. In addition, if I advance in society, I can become a role model for other covered women. They can follow me. This way, other covered women who hesitate attending university can look at me and envy my advancement and success, and follow my footsteps. I can become a leader.

Focusing on more concrete reasons, having an important role in the politics and economy was the driving force for Participant 10 to comply with the policy:

> I am uncovering my hair; I am complying with the headscarf ban policy. Why? I want covered women to advance in society. I want covered women to have important roles in politics and economy. Also, when covered women advance, they can be in the position of administrators, or decision makers. They can have the power to change the policy. Those who support the policy will not change the policy. So as covered women, we need to become powerful enough to change the policy. To be able to do this, we need to attend higher education institutions and get the education necessary for advancement.

Part-time unveilers perceive that university is a vehicle for covered women to have power and an important place in society. It seems that they perceive university as a savior that will help them take the place they deserve in Turkey. In addition, participants appear to believe that one way to change the ban might be for covered women to have a say so that, as policy makers, they have the authority to propose change. In this sense, it looks as if these women view university as a means to become change mechanisms in the future, and they are willing to compromise their headscarf wearing so that other women do not have to go through the same experiences in the future.

Completion of unfinished business. Six participants mentioned that the reason why they complied with the policy seems to be to complete unfinished business. As mentioned earlier, these participants, all returning students, echoed one another and explored the challenges they faced after they quit or were dismissed from the university because of their initial resistance to remove their headscarf in the 1990s when the ban started being applied strictly in their campuses. For these women, compliance with the policy meant a way to overcome the problems they faced in their lives after they left their education incomplete. Participant 7 realized that, after quitting university, the only way to fight the psychological problems and depression she had was to comply with the policy:

> I have been at home for two years. I was neither a high school graduate, nor a university graduate. I did not know what to call myself. I did not know who I was. I became depressed. I sought clinical help. I spent some time with counselors who tried to help me decide what I really wanted to do. Then I realized that I would never find myself if I did not finish this business [university]. The only way was to comply with the policy. I do not know if I matured or lost my energy to fight

anymore. I do not know if I am a loser. I have changed. . . . I did not want to go back to my old university though. I did not want to see the friends and professors whom I had fights with because of the ban. I took the university exam again and started at the university I am in now.

Participant 6, on the other hand, felt some lack of wholeness and wanted to overcome the feeling of incompleteness by complying with the policy and going back to school:

When I first quit, my parents excluded me. Society excluded me. They looked at me as if I was useless and unsuccessful. They considered me a failure. I could not find my true place, neither at home nor in my neighborhood. I had to continuously explain myself, my reasons for quitting university, for not wanting to remove my headscarf. Some understood, others did not. I became very unhappy. I felt incomplete. Many of my friends who quit university at the same time I did, started going back complying with the policy. I felt very alone. I felt as if my own people [covered women] cheated on me, leaving me on my own. Then I realized that one way to fight the policy is to comply with it to show policy makers that the ban was not going to work as a deterrent. So I went back to complete this unfinished business. My family are so happy.

Unlike other participants, Participant 8 simply stated that she wanted to complete what she had earlier started by complying with the policy:

I did not want to live with incomplete business. Since I stopped going to university, everybody looked at me with pity. They felt sorry for me. After some time I also started feeling sorry for myself. Life goes on, people make choices,

and you suffer, but nobody cares. I do not have great expectations; I just want to make sure that I finish what I started earlier. I do not want to look like somebody who is not capable of finishing things.

Clearly the perceptions of these participants hint that they have negotiated the policy in different ways. Even though their initial choice seems to be to refuse to comply with the policy, the circumstances seem to have caused them to re-negotiate the ban and take a different perspective based on their challenges, experiences, and learning points.

Pressure of the family. Three participants mentioned that their reason for compliance was the pressure of the family. They stated that they did not want to comply with the policy and decided not to continue with a university education after high school. The continuing pressure from their parents over the course of years during their secondary education made them reconsider their position with regard to the policy:

> I did not want to go to university, but my family never agreed with this decision. They kept pointing to the difference between my mother, a housewife, and my aunt who is a professional. They insisted that I complied with the policy. It is not that I did not want to go to university because I did not like school; I just did not want to unveil. You unveil in high school, but it is different. High school is a small and homogenous environment. You are not mature yet. University is different. There are all sorts of students from different backgrounds. I did not want to unveil in that environment. (Participant 27)

These three participants differ from other participants, such as Participant 8, who mentioned in chapter 4 that she simply was not motivated to go to university because she was not interested in education, independent from the existence of the ban. These women,

on the other hand, seem to appreciate the value of education, but were initially reluctant to continue higher education due to the headscarf ban policy. So the parental support or pressure in their eyes seems to have helped them negotiate the policy in a way they were originally not going to do.

Compliance as the only option. One participant stated that her reason for compliance with the policy was that compliance was the only option at the time. She mentioned that she did not have any other alternative to follow. She had the option of Open University as well, but she did not think Open University was equal to attending a university on campus. So she had to comply with the policy reluctantly. Apparently she searched for some other options for her education, but thought that compliance with the policy was the best to settle with.

Summary. All in all, part-time unveilers perceive various reasons to comply with the policy. Their perceptions indicate that they appear to have weighed the pros and cons of the compliance before they finalized their decision. The voices of the participants highlight that they perceive that the policy forces them to make a decision where they have to compromise in one way or another. In the case of these part-time unveilers, clearly university outweighed their religious preferences, in order to achieve their goals, and they had to make a decision mostly against their wishes.

Reaction of Others About the Decision of Unveiling

This section explores the perceptions of part-time unveilers about the reactions of the family, friends, and others towards the decision of unveiling. Data analysis revealed that the strong support for compliance with the policy usually appeared to come from the parents. The reactions of friends and people outside the family varied, ranging from

supporting the decision to being totally against it. One interesting observation is that, in some cases, people in general supported the idea of compliance with the policy, but criticized the type of unveiling participants chose for themselves. According to the way participants formulated their answers, the reaction of others about their decision of unveiling can be categorized as follows: total support from family and friends, lack of support from friends and others, or lack of support for the type of unveiling.

Support of family and friends. Nineteen part-time unveilers reported that their family and friends supported their decision of complying with the policy. Feelings and type of support varied, especially from family to family. It was also apparent that, in the case of returning students, parents supported and welcomed the decision of participants more enthusiastically. Some parents supported the decision of their daughters in some cases, more; in others, less strongly. Participant 24 had family support for her decision of compliance with the policy:

> There was no negative reaction from my parents. They totally supported my decision. They have always respected my decisions anyway. My friends supported my decision as well. Probably because they also made the same decision when it was time for them to go to university.

Participant 17 received similar parental support and stated that she did not face any negative reaction from her parents, family members or friends since "Unveiling is normal and expected to go to university due to the headscarf ban policy" (Participant 17). Participant 10 explained that her parents were happy as well that she was uncovering her hair to go to university. They were happy that she was going to become educated and have a bright future. Participant 2 explained that her parents supported her decision too,

but they advised her to continue behaving in the way a veiled woman would, despite her unveiling on campus:

> My parents did not react negatively; they were very supportive of my decision. The only thing they wanted me to do was to restrain myself from inappropriate behavior. They wanted me to continue being the girl they knew and were proud of. They told me to continue preserving my integrity and honor. My family members and friends supported me as well. I was not criticized for my decision because I have always supported those who removed their headscarves to continue higher education. I never said I was not going to remove the headscarf. I am not trying to prove a point wearing the headscarf. There are millions of covered and uncovered people. The headscarf does not eradicate the wickedness.

Based on the data, the family of returning students seemed to show greater enthusiasm when their daughters decided to comply with the policy compared to other parents. Participant 11, for example, expressed the joy and enthusiasm of her parents:

> My father has always wanted me to finish university. When I told my parents I decided to comply with the policy they were enthusiastic and extremely happy that they nearly cried. They bought me presents. My father told me that he was proud of my decision. My mother cooked all the food I liked for a week. They tried to do everything I wanted. I never saw them this happy and proud. I was happy too.

Participant 15, on the other hand, stated that she had the support of her family too, but she was not sure if this was a support given willingly or reluctantly:

My parents said nothing when they heard my decision. I unveiled during my secondary education anyway. During my secondary education, my father was against the idea of my unveiling. When I was attending a girls only school, he said that if the school became mixed, I would go to another school. The school then became mixed. I told my mother, who informed my father. He did not force me to change my school. He got used to the idea. He had to. They knew I wanted to go to school. They also knew I did not want to wear a wig either. Thus there was never an argument. Willingly or reluctantly, they accepted my decision. My friends and other people did not say anything. They could not, they did not have the right to say anything. If my parents let me do what I wanted to do, then others did not have a right to comment on the decision. I decided to expose my hair. Again my parents did not react. I do not know what I would do if they forced me to wear a hat. I think I would still expose my hair, but there would be some arguments. Thank God, everything went smoothly.

Lack of support for the decision with regard to the type of unveiling. Seven participants explained that despite the support of their family and friends for complying with the policy, there was a lack of support of family and/or friends for the decision they made with regard to the type of unveiling on campus. As explained by Participant 12, who chose the hat as her type of unveiling, her friends objected to her decision and suggested that she use a wig:

I received no negative reactions concerning my decision of compliance with the policy. I would have received negative reactions had I said I was not going to remove my headscarf. Everybody in my family is educated. Education is very

important in my family; my husband is a university graduate too. The problem was, the lack of support for my type of unveiling. When I decided to wear a hat on campus, some friends said that I should wear a wig instead. Some other friends insisted that I expose my hair. They all gave me instances from their own experiences on campus or in other institutions, and tried to convince me why I should not wear a hat, but use a wig or expose the hair instead. I did not listen to any of them.

Participant 14, who wears a hat and exposes her hair when necessary, shared a similar experience where she was subjected to the negative reactions of her friends as a result of her decision with regard to the type of unveiling she chose:

> My parents supported my decision of complying with the policy, but were not entirely happy that I was going to wear a hat. They did not want me to attract attention on campus, and thought a hat would be a way of doing so. My parents told me that I should expose my hair to make life easier for myself. I always wear turtleneck jumpers. My parents do not approve of them either. They do not see them as necessary. But those jumpers and hats help me deal with my feelings of guilt for removing my headscarf. I am struggling with my own emotions in my private life due to the double life I am leading. So these jumpers and the hat help me ease this struggle a little bit, giving me a sense of being covered to a certain extent.

Participant 21, who has chosen to wear a wig, has also had some negative reactions for the type of unveiling she has chosen for herself:

My friends and some of my family members are against the way I am unveiling. They think the wig attracts a lot of attention and looks very artificial. Some friends think that I should expose my hair for my own comfort on campus. However, a wig is not like unveiling. You remove the headscarf, but cover your hair with something else. So you do not expose your hair in any case. This is why I have chosen the wig in the first place.

Participant 23, who exposes her hair on campus, stated that she also received a lack of support for the way she chose to unveil before starting university:

My parents told me to do whatever I had to do to continue my education. I chose to expose my hair. My friends and some family members reacted badly. They wanted me to wear a wig or a hat. Maybe they thought if I exposed my hair on campus today, I would get used to it and end up unveiling off campus as well. When I received such reactions, I asked myself if I should wear a hat. I debated between a hat and exposure of the hair for a while. I was angry with myself because I did not know which one was a better way to unveil. I did not know which one was less sinful. I also thought about which one I would be able to handle. I chose the exposure of my hair. Had I chosen the hat, the struggle I would go through would be bigger, and I would pay a bigger price. The most important thing is that in the way I unveil now, I feel comfortable and normal on campus.

Partial support of friends and relatives. Four participants mentioned that they had partial support for their decision to comply with the policy. As highlighted by Participant 1:

When I decided to comply with the policy, many friends and family members asked me if it was worth it. They said things like the following: "Why do you want to comply with the policy? Clearly policy makers do not want you on campus. How can you act against your religion? Is it worth committing a sin? Your complying with the policy is not going to make a difference to the situation of covered women. You are just one person, so why be the one who commits the sin? It is not right." I was initially influenced by these comments. I hesitated and did not know what to do. I thought maybe my decision was not the right one. My parents helped me understand that compliance with the policy was in fact the best decision for my future.

Reluctant support of family. Two participants explained that their parents supported their daughters' compliance with the policy a little reluctantly and have faced some challenges as a result of seeing their daughters unveiled. In the case of Participant 27, it is the father who feels challenged more:

The decision was up to me. I decided to comply with the policy and my parents reluctantly supported me. However, my father has never been to campus since I started university. He tells me that he does not want to see me the way I am on campus. He is sorry that I have to go through this experience to gain access to education in my own country.

In the case of Participant 20 (Buket), both parents do not like seeing her unveiled, despite the support they give her for her education:

My parents supported me, I think reluctantly, when I decided to comply with the policy and unveil. My friends supported me as well. They all wanted me to unveil

and get the education I need for the future. My parents came to campus a couple of times. When they saw me in an unveiled way in the crowd, they told me they felt weird and sorry. They say that they constantly pray to Allah for forgiveness because of my unveiling. My mother keeps telling me that once the class is over, I should leave the campus immediately and cover my hair.

Summary. To sum up, the accounts of these participants show that participants perceive the support of family and friends as playing an important role in their lives in terms of carrying out their decision of compliance with the policy. Participants perceive that a majority of parents seem to have supported their daughters' decision even though it might not always have been easy for them to accept. Lack of support for the decision of compliance with the policy or the type of unveiling seemed to cause some participants to second-guess their decision for a short while. Based on the data, it is apparent that the headscarf ban policy does not only impact part-time unveilers but indirectly their parents and friends in different ways, as well.

Reasons Why the Participants Unveil the Way They Do

According to the participants, another phase of the negotiation of the policy was to decide on the type of unveiling. It appears that this decision was as complex as the decision of whether to comply with the policy or not. Some participants explained that they tried one type of unveiling for a couple of days, but did not feel comfortable, so they switched to another type. Data analysis showed that there were three apparent reasons as to why the part-time unveilers unveil the way they do. Besides the apparent reasons, participants mentioned other motives and incidents that contributed to their choice on the type of unveiling they chose. Part-time unveilers, while highlighting their reasons for the

type of unveiling they prefer, usually compared and contrasted all types of unveiling and showed vehement objection to the types of unveiling they did not choose. One interesting observation is that when the data was categorized according to the reasons participants had, the main category that emerged belonged to a specific type of unveiling. In other words, after the data analysis it became apparent that, besides the side motives and incidents mentioned, the fundamental responses of the participants in one category in fact belonged to participants of the same type of unveiling. So in the first category, the responses consisted of the opinions of all wig wearers, in the second one, of all hat wearers, and in the last one, of those who expose their hair.

Avoidance of exclusion and attention. Sixteen participants stated that the reason why they unveil the way they do is to avoid exclusion and attention. This reason belonged to those who chose to expose their hair as their style of unveiling. Participants mentioned that the main reason why they wanted to expose their hair was because they did not want to attract attention on campuses. They felt that they blended in looking exactly like the "other". While explaining what they meant by avoidance of exclusion and attention, participants also highlighted their opinions about wigs and hats. Participant 23 stated that she did not want to become excluded by wearing a hat:

> The policy categorizes women into two: covered and uncovered. The hat and wig bring other sub-categories within the category of being covered. You are excluded once through the policy. I did not want to be excluded twice by wearing a hat or using a wig. They attract a lot of attention. Policy makers do not like me with my headscarf on, and I do not like myself with a hat on. So I decided to expose my hair.

Participant 17 explained that she chose the wig to avoid exclusion, adding the perspective of her father as well:

> I exposed my hair to avoid attention. When you use a wig or wear a hat, it is obvious from day 1 that you are a covered woman. People learn who you are this way as well, but not until later, so you have some time to explain yourself. This way you have some time to blend in, to make connections and build friendships. In a way, the exposure of the hair avoids exclusion by looking completely uncovered on campus. In fact, at some point, I considered the wig. If I wore a wig, I would become an ideological person in the eyes of my father.

Participant 4 chose to expose her hair to avoid exclusion:

> There is no other way. If you want to socialize on campus and become part of the system as much as possible, you need to expose your hair. I have a lot of hair and it would not fit in a hat anyway. The wig is a really bad idea. It attracts a lot of attention. I do not want to attract attention, I just want to go to school in a hassle-free way.

Participant 26 shared a similar feeling about exposure of hair:

> I did not want to attract attention. I wanted to start with one type of unveiling and graduate that way. Wearing a wig means being psychologically covered. Once you remove the headscarf, all types of unveiling are sins. So since I was committing a sin, I at least wanted to be as comfortable as possible on campus. . . . The hat . . . is not allowed in our department and also in the future there is a possibility that the wig will become banned as well.

The voice of Participant 26 highlighted another issue, which is the way the policy is implemented in different higher education institutions. There are a couple of other participants who considered the application of the ban in their universities while explaining their position regarding the type of unveiling they chose. In the case of Participant 18, for example, the hat is banned in her department:

> The hat is banned in my department. The wig is a psychological relief. It is a feeling of hiding your own hair under someone else's hair. It is not a solution. Girls are using it to feel relieved. But they attract a lot of attention. I do not want that. I am trying to avoid attention as much as possible so that people will leave me alone.

Participant 10 explained that even when and where you exposed your hair made a difference in terms of attracting or avoiding attention:

> When I expose my hair before entering the minibus, I do not become the source of attention. I blend in and nobody bothers me, I am left alone. For example, when you are on the minibus entering the campus still with your headscarf on, the security guards stop the minibus at the entrance. They enter and ask you to remove the headscarf. Occasionally, some male students who are opposed to the ban swear at the security guards and arguments start. Sometimes, minibus drivers shout at you, asking you to remove the headscarf before entering the campus. When you remove your headscarf in the minibus, others look at you in such a sly way that you know they are making fun of you. A friend of mine has started exposing her hair before leaving the house, because she says she could not take the minibus experience anymore.

The voice of this part-time unveiler revealed that in certain circumstances, she needs to consider not only which type of unveiling is best for her, but also when to unveil the hair in order to avoid further problems or complications.

Participant 3 argued that students used hats or wigs to make a statement or become a target, and brought a different understanding of attention avoidance:

> The wig users and hat wearers make a statement. By drawing attention to themselves, they are saying, " we are here." They become a target or maybe they want to make themselves targets. Maybe it is their way of fighting with the policy. In my opinion, when you expose your hair, you become the injured party. With a wig or hat, it is not as if you are subjected to any unjust treatment. When you do not attract attention and others find out about your situation later, they feel sorry for you. When you attract attention, they exclude you and do not like you straight away.

My type of unveiling is the closest to the headscarf. Eleven participants explained that the reason why they unveil the way they do is because their type of unveiling was the closest to the headscarf. Their type of unveiling reminded them of their headscarf. Participants also thought that this way they were trying to avoid becoming accustomed to being uncovered. This reason and rationalization belonged to participants who wore a hat. Eleven hat wearers shared their reasoning, and also compared and contrasted their type of unveiling to other types. Participant 28 explained: "The hat is the closest to the headscarf. The wig is the same as exposing the hair: complete surrender! I do not think these are the appropriate ways to comply with the policy." Participant 11 echoed this and added that the hat covers her hair and neck like a headscarf: "I am wearing a hat that covers my hair

and neck. I also tie my hat under my chin. So it is like a headscarf. It is the closest to the headscarf." Participant 9 compared and contrasted use of a wig and a hat and exposing the hair and explained that she chose the hat since it reminded her of the headscarf:

> When you expose your hair, there is a danger of getting used to it. In addition, it is a complete surrender. You look like the others who do not cover their hair. My little sister, for example, exposes her hair on campus. My big sister never went to college and got married. At some point, I considered exposing my hair, but could not. I have been covering my hair since Grade 6. I covered my hair at a young age so it was very difficult for me to expose it. . . . A wig looks funny. So I went with the hat. The hat reminds me of my headscarf. It reminds me of the fact that I am a woman with a headscarf.

Participant 14 feels still covered with her hat. Her account also tells how some of her professors do not allow her to enter classes with the hat on, in which case she exposes her hair:

> I knew I was going to make a concession. I wanted this concession to be minimum. I did not want to concede totally. A wig is like exposing the hair. In addition, it looks ridiculous. The hat is another version of the headscarf, especially if you wear it with a scarf or a turtleneck sweater. You are still covered. This way I constantly remind myself that I am a covered woman. Some teachers do not let me into their class wearing my hat. In this case, I expose my hair.

Participant 25 (Meral) shared similar feelings and added that the hat reminded her of her headscarf and prevented her from the potential danger of getting used to unveiling:

> I decided to wear a hat until the department or teachers objected to it. When some teachers objected to my hat wearing, I used a wig in class. It was left to the teacher's discretion. A wig is ugly though. You know it is a wig. There are some wigs made of natural hair, but they are expensive. Not everyone can afford it. So people usually use the nylon hair. It looks really off-putting. When I wear my wig in class, I feel very ugly. I am fine with my hat. The main reason why I unveil the way I do is to remember that I am a woman with a headscarf and not to get used to being unveiled.

Making a statement and attracting attention. Three participants, wig users, indicated that the reason why they unveil the way they do is to make a statement and attract attention. They mentioned that one of the main reasons is because the wig attracts attention and conveys the message that the woman who wears it is a covered woman. As explained by Participant 24: "A wig is a way of making a statement. It is my way of expressing myself. I did not want my hair to be seen. People look at me and know immediately that I am a covered woman." In addition to making a statement, Participant 21 added that the use of a wig is a psychological relief and a way of telling people that she is in fact a covered woman:

> I am using a wig because it is a way of making a statement. It is a way of telling policy makers that I am complying with the policy without doing what you really want me to do. In addition, the wig is a heavy thing. So I know that it is there. Other people also know that I am a woman with a headscarf when they see my wig. So I do not have a headscarf, but I do not show my hair either. It is a

psychological relief as well. I wear my wig and I wear a turtleneck jumper at all times.

Summary. To sum up, participants seem to have rationalized the way they unveil from different perspectives. While explaining their points and highlighting their perspectives, they also seem to hint at their opinions about other types of unveiling women have chosen for themselves as a way to comply with the policy. Another interesting issue that emerges from the data as a result of part-time unveilers describing their reasons why they unveil the way they do is the implementation of the policy in different institutions. Whether directly related or not, the participants seem to have taken into consideration the way their campus, department, or teachers implement the policy.

Summary of Research Question 2

All in all, participants seem to have systematically negotiated the higher education headscarf ban policy. They made or had to make various choices evaluating their situation. The negotiation of the policy included consideration of other possible options, reasons for compliance, dealing with reactions of family and others, and their decision for the way they unveil. Based on the accounts of the part-time unveilers, this negotiation process seems to have been complex and difficult at times. It looks as if it required participants to come up with a lot of reasoning and rationalization with the decisions they made about the policy negotiation for their own peace of mind. They had to justify their decision to themselves. Challenges they faced, such as a lack of support from others regarding their decision or type of unveiling, seem to have caused some of them to second-guess the decisions they made. Their reasons why they unveil the way they do also highlight their rationalization about their type of unveiling and constant internal

debate. While trying to show how their decisions were best for them, they also explained why other types of unveiling did not suit them.

Summary of Chapter 5

This chapter explored the perceptions of part-time unveilers about the ways in which they understand and negotiate the headscarf ban policy. The following chapter presents the perspectives of the participants about opportunities and challenges unveiling brings to them on campus, their strategies to deal with such challenges, and the impact of these challenges on their educational progress.

CHAPTER 6

Research Findings: Participants' Opportunities and Challenges With Regard to Unveiling

This chapter explores the perceptions of the part-time unveilers about opportunities and challenges unveiling brings to them on campus. It first discusses the overall impact of unveiling in terms of the opportunities it provides, and then focuses on particular aspects of the opportunities unveiling offers in regard to daily life on campus (Research Question 3). Specifically, the chapter discusses participants' relationships with faculty, peers, and administration, the way they are treated on campus and in class, and their involvement in campus activities and extra-curricular activities. Later, the chapter considers the overall impact of unveiling in terms of challenges that arise (Research Question 4) and the strategies that participants employ to deal with these challenges (Research Question 5). The chapter concludes by unpacking the ways in which these challenges affect students' educational progress (Research Question 6). The quotes used in the chapter are translations from Turkish.

Research Question 3: Opportunities Unveiling Brings to Part-Time Unveilers on Campus

This section highlights the perceptions of part-time unveilers with regard to opportunities or advantages the act of unveiling brings to them on campus. Participants formulated their answers in both general and more specific ways. When they explained their views in a general way, they approached the opportunities/advantages of unveiling on campus holistically. Later they moved on to the specifics of what they perceived as opportunities or advantages in terms of faculty-student relationship, campus environment,

etc. This section is divided into two, so general opportunities are presented first, then followed by the specific categories.

Overall Impact of Unveiling in Terms of Opportunities

Data analysis revealed that part-time unveilers formulated their responses around three sub-themes. Four participants did not think unveiling had any advantages generally. The remaining twenty-six participants explained that unveiling provided them with an opportunity to attend (or re-attend in the case of returning participants) higher education. Using it as an umbrella opportunity, twenty-five part-time unveilers expanded their views on general opportunities of unveiling in various ways.

Opening doors to academic and cultural opportunities of campuses. Twelve participants highlighted that unveiling opened the door to academic and cultural opportunities of the higher education system. Participant 30 explained that unveiling gave her the opportunity to attend college where she can improve herself:

> Thanks to unveiling, I am academically well equipped. I am improving myself and learning a lot of things. Thanks to unveiling, I will be able to broaden my horizons and take part in different environments. Education has a lot of advantages and brings a lot of things to people. My unveiling will help me make an impact in the future.

Participant 19 added that unveiling opens the door for all the academic and cultural opportunities Turkish higher education offers. Participant 4 stated that unveiling gave her a chance for education so that she could become a useful citizen: "Since I am obeying the law, I am being educated. I will become a useful citizen for Turkey in the future with all the accumulated knowledge and culture."

Protection against prejudices. Seven participants mentioned that unveiling protects them against prejudices. They perceive that uncovered people or people who consider themselves modern or secularists are biased or prejudiced against covered women and/or Islamists. So unveiling is a way to hide their identity. Participant 23 explained that unveiling helps her receive unbiased treatment from people she has newly met and gives her a chance to show others that she is like them:

> Someone who does not know I am covered in my private life approaches me in a less prejudiced way. It shows me how unbiased people can be. It shows them that I am a human being too. When people later on find out that I am covered, sometimes they do not know how to behave. I do not get angry or upset because it is difficult for people to be out of the box, to act against everything they have learned.

Participant 2 added that unveiling protects her against prejudices by making them look like the uncovered, saying, "Unveiling makes you one of them. You become like the other. So the other approaches you in a neutral way. Your unveiling is a way of protecting yourself in the world of prejudices." Participant 10 stressed the importance of unveiling in terms of the way it stops marginalization: "Unveiling stops marginalization to some extent. I feel as if people who are uncovered look at me without any prejudices. They approach me in a way they may not have if they knew I was covered".

One interesting observation about these seven participants is that they are all women who chose to expose their hair as their type of unveiling. The fact that no hat wearers or wig users perceived their type of unveiling as a way to protect them from prejudices makes the researcher question if this specific perceived opportunity is

dependent on the type of unveiling. In other words, does this mean that when participants expose their hair, they look more like the "other" as opposed to hat wearers and/or wig users?

Becoming part of a community. Two participants who are returning students explained that unveiling helped them become part of a community. These part-time unveilers felt that they lost their sense of belonging to a community after they quit higher education as a result of initially refusing to comply with the policy. Unveiling seems to contribute to their regaining their identity in society. Participant 6 explained that unveiling made her become part of the academic community she lost but missed a lot, saying "Unveiling helped me become part of a community, a culture that I really liked and longed for. My psychological condition got better. I became part of higher education community. Now I have a say in class and on campus to some extent."

No advantages. Four participants thought that unveiling did not bring any opportunities or advantages to them. According to them, their hats or wigs or clothes reveal who they really are, so unveiling does not really neutralize them or make them look like uncovered. They believe that the real opportunity would be to attend higher education institutions with their headscarves on. Participant 25 (Meral) highlighted that unveiling would not have any opportunities or advantages since higher education should be a natural educational right whether one is veiled or unveiled:

> Unveiling does not have opportunities or advantages for me. Higher education is or should be my educational right anyway. People understand that I am a veiled woman because of my hat and clothes I wear. So I think the real opportunity for

me and people like me, would be the ability to attend campuses in the way we are, that is, with our headscarves on.

Summary. All in all, generally speaking, under the circumstances of an existing higher education policy, part-time unveilers perceived their act of unveiling as an opportunity that provides them with knowledge, technology, culture, diversity, and sense of belonging. In addition to these general comments about the opportunities or advantages that unveiling brings to them, participants also mentioned specific points in their campus life with regard to opportunities of unveiling. These specific points included perceptions of the participants about their relationship with their faculty, friends, and administrators, their treatment on campus and in class, their involvement in extra-curricular activities, and their activities on campus with regard to opportunities or advantages that unveiling brings.

Opportunities/Advantages of Unveiling Pertaining to Daily Life on Campus

Not every participant discussed each of the below-mentioned specific points in detail. Participants emphasized what they saw relevant to their campus and university life, and elaborated on issues that seemed more important to them.

Relationship with faculty. Thirteen participants discussed two specific opportunities or advantages that unveiling brings with regard to their relationship with faculty. One of them is that unveiling protects them from being academically discriminated against by some of their professors. The other is the support and encouragement they receive from some of their teachers as a result of their unveiling. So on the one hand, unveiling has a protective role, on the other hand, it plays a supportive role in the relationship part-time unveilers have with their teachers.

Protection from academic discrimination: Seven participants explained that in their departments there are different types of professors. There are some who are against the headscarf and some who are not or just indifferent. In the case of those who are against the headscarf, data reveals that participants believe professors discriminate against students who wear headscarves in their private lives by grading their papers with some prejudices and giving them lower marks, which affect student motivation and success. This type of professor seems to treat Islamist women differently in class by either ignoring them or asking them difficult questions. Part-time unveilers explained that in front of such professors, unveiling is a shield that masks their identity, especially in a big and crowded class, and protects them from being academically disadvantaged. Participant 19 summarized how she thinks she might be treated differently if some of her professors knew she was a covered woman:

> I am a woman with a headscarf in my private life, but not all my professors know this. I do not want them to know that I wear a headscarf. There are some professors that I want especially to make sure, do not know I wear a headscarf. Since, if they knew that I was in fact a woman with a headscarf, they would treat me differently, their behavior toward me would change immediately. It is because they are opposed to the headscarf. So them knowing that I am a woman with a headscarf would make them use it against me in class. They could or would discriminate against me academically. So my unveiling, exposing the hair, protects me.

Some participants explained that not every type of unveiling helps. Professors might be against the hat or wig, and if they realize that students are using wigs, they

might embarrass them in class or try to decrease student success. Participant 15, for example, highlighted this point as follows: "Some professors do not like girls with the headscarf. They would not let you in class with a hat. Once they realize you are using a wig, they try their best to fail you. That is why I did not think using a wig was a good idea." Participant 10 agreed and added that some teachers discriminated against students with wigs when grading exam papers, saying "Some professors evaluate papers of students with wigs in a different way. They always receive lower grades even though they are very hardworking. Students with wigs are scared and always try to hide themselves in the crowd in class." These perceptions of the participants indicate that, in their cases, wigs create problems and exposure of hair and/or hats protect them from discrimination. There are also some other cases where wigs protect students from discrimination. Participant 29 (Meltem), a wig user, explained that her wig protects her from academic discrimination that may impact negatively on her success:

> I did not want to attract the attention of my professors in class and create an environment that would negatively affect my success. So I decided to be what my professors wanted me to be. My unveiling makes me look the way some professors want their students to look. So my unveiling protects me against discrimination and marginalization.

Accounts of these participants showed that they perceive unveiling as a way to protect themselves from being discriminated against academically. One observation is that six of seven participants who discussed this specific point were those who exposed their hair, which raises the question of whether or not exposing the hair might be protecting participants better than wigs or hats in the eyes of part-time unveilers.

Support and encouragement from some professors: A second point six participants mentioned as an opportunity of unveiling is the support and encouragement they receive from their professors. Part-time unveilers explained that when professors who are not against the headscarf realize that they are part-time unveilers wearing a headscarf in their private lives, they support them for unveiling to gain access to higher education and encourage them to get through the process despite the challenges that might appear. Participant 27 appreciates the support of some of her professors and thinks that had it not been for their encouragement, she might have already dropped out:

> I am so grateful for the support of some of my professors. Had it not been for their support and encouragement, I might have dropped out. When some of my professors realized that I was a woman who wears a headscarf in her private life, they congratulated me on my decision of unveiling since not every woman chooses this way. They told me they had high expectations of me. They have helped me with my work, they have always encouraged me to study hard and get good grades. They want me to have a high GPA and prove myself as a [part-time unveiler].

Participant 8, a returning part-time unveiler, also appreciates the support of some of her professors for her unveiling and the encouragement for her academic success:

> Now that I am back at school, some of my professors have invited me to their offices to talk about my decision and future plans. Some of them were really supportive, which encouraged me a lot. They told me that they were there whenever I needed them and would try to make sure that I graduate from university. They congratulated me on my decision of unveiling. They wanted me

to go and see them whenever I need academic or personal help with regard to coursework or challenges that might appear along the way during my education. They gave me encouragement saying that as a returning student, I am mature so I need to be a role model to other students by studying hard. They also said that they were sure I would be very successful and graduate as one of the top students. They said they would be there beside me whenever I needed them. To know this keeps me going.

All in all, the perceptions of these participants indicate that many part-time unveilers seem to appreciate the support they receive from some of their professors, and the encouragement keeps them motivated, giving them the strength to fight against potential challenges on campus. In addition, these part-time unveilers perceive unveiling as an opportunity to conceal their covered identity in cases where professors are prejudiced against women with headscarves. In a way, unveiling, and perhaps more so exposing the hair, protects them against possible biases and discrimination that might create academic disadvantages for them.

Relationship with peers. Eighteen participants explained that one opportunity that unveiling brings to their relationship with peers on campus is the opportunity to mingle with uncovered women while overcoming the prejudices of other students.

Socialization with the other: According to ten part-time unveilers, unveiling helps them become friendly with other students more easily and they view this as a chance to introduce themselves and get to know people they may not otherwise. Participant 1 explained that unveiling helped her socialize with the uncovered that she may not have otherwise met at all:

> I grew up in an environment where people had more or less the same ideas. Imam Hatip is also full of people thinking along the same lines. Thanks to unveiling, I get to meet people who think very differently. I also got to meet people who had very different ideas and viewpoints. Unveiling helped me mingle with these people. I met people I would not have met otherwise. I had the opportunity to communicate with them on a one-to-one basis. My vision has broadened. I got to meet the secularists and women who are uncovered. At the same time, I had the opportunity to explain about the Islamists and covered women.

Participant 15 echoed by stating that she has friends from all backgrounds now: "I have friends who are more diverse now. Unveiling helped me meet students from different backgrounds . . ." Participant 9 responded similarly, noting that unveiling helped her grow and develop: "Unveiling contributed to my growth and development. I met a wide array of people coming from different lifestyles. My circle of friends has changed. It is more diverse now." Participant 13 shared her own experience as a woman who uses a hat and wig and explained how her unveiling helped her make friends on campus and gave her the opportunity to introduce the world of Islamists:

> My wig and hat helped me look alike. Even though you could tell it was a wig, it still helped me look uncovered and approach students. Once my classmates started to get to know me, we became really good friends. I am not any different to them with my everyday clothes on in an unveiled way. I do not wear a long coat either. I have a conservative but modern way of dressing. So all these things helped me to make friends. I was able to get to know others and they had the chance to get to know me. For many friends, I am their first covered friend. Also

for me they are my first proper uncovered friends. So I had the opportunity to explain the viewpoints of Islamists and learn the worldview of the uncovered.

Five of ten participants also added that, in one way, unveiling helped the covered to approach the other by overcoming, if not eliminating, the prejudices of other students, but in another way, it provided an opportunity for the uncovered to get to know the covered leaving the prejudices behind.

Participant 1 explained how unveiling helped her overcome her own worries about making friends by initially eliminating the possible prejudices of her friends against the covered. She also added how some of her friends may not have approached her had they known she was covered in the first place due to their own biases about the Islamists:

> When I first entered university, I had some worries. Would I be able to make friends? Would classmates be prejudiced? With my unveiling, peers first did not realize I was a covered woman. They approached me and we started building friendships. I listened to them and they listened to me. After a while, when we got to know each other better, I told them I was a covered woman. Apparently some of them had already suspected it because of my clothes and way of talking and behaving. They told me that it did not matter to them since my ideas were more important for them. One friend confessed that she might not have approached me had she known I was a covered woman. She told me that she did not really like the Islamists and she was biased and prejudiced against them. She saw this as a learning point and realized that she shied away from making friends with covered women until that time. So even though all my friends are uncovered, they have respect for me and I have respect for them.

One interesting observation about eight out of ten participants is that they are all women who chose to expose their hair as their type of unveiling. The fact that the majority of participants who socialize with others by looking like them, might raise the question of whether or not this means that when participants expose their hair, they look more like the "others" and build better social relationships as opposed to hat wearers and/or wig users.

The accounts of these participants show that they perceive that unveiling might be an opportunity for some secularists and Islamists to meet and create platforms where they can learn from and understand each other. It seems that in the case of these part-time unveilers, unveiling has helped them and their uncovered friends appreciate, and respect one another, by means of shared experiences during their friendship.

Relationship with administration. Thirteen participants discussed the advantage of being unveiled in terms of their relationship with their administrators. They mentioned that unveiling prevents any potential problems that might exist between the administration and part-time unveilers.

Prevention of potential problems: Thirteen participants elaborated on the ways in which the act of unveiling protected them against any conflict that may otherwise have arisen. Participant 24 explained that for administrators, unveiling means complying with the policy, so, in following the university procedures, "Unveiling is a symbol of complying with the policy. In addition, it means I am obeying the rules. I also try my best to unveil in the way my administrators want. So my unveiling prevents conflicting situations." Participant 7 responded similarly, noting that as a returning student who resisted the policy, her unveiling signals her compliance with the university rules in the

eyes of the administration: "When the headscarf ban policy started years ago, I had a lot of problems with the administration because I resisted the policy. Now as a returning student, I am obeying the policy. So my unveiling is a sign of submission in the eyes of the administration." Participant 12 stated that even though she does not have much contact with them, she obeys the rules and avoids making the administrators angry, thanks to her unveiling:

> I do not often get to meet with the administration. Once administrators were against the wig, and decided not to accept students with wigs. Wig wearers were going to be punished, but some professors objected to this and saved these students. So this experience of others showed me that I needed to obey them in order to graduate. I unveil in the way they want. I never do anything that would make them angry. I know that if I make them angry, they will try their best to dismiss me. So I am doing everything they want. My unveiling helps me with that.

Participant 24 added a different point by highlighting how her unveiling helps her avoid the problems and makes the administration select her for off-campus activities to represent the university:

> The administration is against women with headscarves. So I am trying my best to follow all the unveiling rules the university has, to avoid problems that may affect my studies. But interestingly, the university administration usually assigns me as part of the team when there is a need for representatives to represent the university outside campus. I always go to these outside places with my headscarf on. It is really weird. Maybe they choose me because they think that I can

represent the university well. Or maybe it is their way of praising me for complying with the policy and unveiling on campus. I do not know . . .

Treatment on campus. Twelve participants discussed their perceptions about the benefits of unveiling with regard to the way they are treated on campus. They formulated their responses around the issue of how unveiling helped them be treated equally without discrimination on campus in general.

Equal treatment without discrimination: Twelve participants explained the ways in which they perceived they received equal treatment without biases, prejudices, or discrimination as a result of unveiling. They mentioned that unveiling protects them against prejudices. They perceive that uncovered people or people who consider themselves modern or secularists are biased or prejudiced against covered women and/or Islamists. Unveiling is a way to hide their identity and receive equal treatment on campus. Participant 23 explained that unveiling helps her receive unbiased treatment from people she has newly met and gives her a chance to show others that she is like them:

> Someone who does not know I am covered in my private life approaches me in a less prejudiced way. It shows me how unbiased people can be. And it shows them that I am a human being too. When people later on find out that I am covered, sometimes they do not know how to behave. I do not get angry or upset because it is difficult for people to be out of the box, to act against everything they have learned. . . . I do not receive any looks since I am unveiled. Years ago, when there was no headscarf ban policy in secondary education, I attended school with my headscarf on. In those days, I realized that people did categorization of others. I

was not treated the same way an uncovered girl was treated. They were more careful and distant while communicating with me. They maybe thought that I would not understand where they were coming from since we were not speaking the same language.

Participant 2 added that unveiling protects her against prejudices by making them look like the uncovered: "Unveiling makes you one of them. You become like the other. So the other approaches you in a neutral way. Your unveiling is a way of protecting yourself in the world of prejudices." Participant 10 stressed the importance of unveiling in terms of the way it stops marginalization, saying "Unveiling stops marginalization to some extent. I feel as if people who are uncovered look at me without any prejudices. They approach me in a way they may not have if they knew I was covered. . . . I am treated in the way people treat one another without any prejudices." Participant 16 echoed, "Thanks to my unveiling, I am no different from any other students on campus. So I am not treated any differently. I have never felt different on campus." Participant 15 added that those who found out she was covered later had respect for her, explaining "On campus, I am not subjected to any negative treatment. On the contrary, those who know now that I am in fact a covered woman show me more respect." Participant 6, a returning student, compared and contrasted her treatment now with the treatment she received on campus years ago before she quit:

> When the ban started in our university, nobody knew how to treat one another. They thought we were there to cause problems. I was badly treated on campus in the final years of my university life before dropping out. Ten years on, I can see that things have changed. People have learned to listen to one another on campus.

> Uncovered women and we [part-time unveilers] socialize. Before it was all conflict, argument, and problems. Things seem to have calmed down. For Islamists, there is no more fight. We have become passive. Others have learned to listen to us and try to understand who we are. Those years were a transition period. Before, I heard that if you wore a wig or hat on campus, people would make fun of you. They would insult you. You would not be able to walk on campus. This does not happen anymore. That type of treatment has lessened a lot in my case. Despite a couple of unpleasant instances, I am not treated as badly as I was treated when I resisted unveiling. People have learned and I have learned and my unveiling is helping me to receive better treatment on campus.

Treatment in class. Twelve participants explained the opportunity of unveiling in terms of treatment in class. All of them mentioned that the treatment varied from class to class and from professor to professor. Data analysis revealed that part-time unveilers felt more comfortable in bigger classes where they had the opportunity to blend in without attracting much attention or in classes where they knew everyone. This seemed to be more of a case for hat wearers and wig users than for those who expose their hair. For all twelve participants, unveiling helps them blend in class.

Blending in class: Twelve participants explained the ways in which they felt blended and included in class as a result of their unveiling. Participant 3 explained that she feels comfortable and respected in class, and illustrated her election of being the class representative to prove her point:

> I have close friends and acquaintances in class. Everybody treats me equally and with respect, thanks to my unveiling. I am not even sure if the acquaintances in

class realize that I am a covered woman. I do not think they even care. My unveiling helps me blend in and be treated like any other student in class. One proof of this is the fact that I was chosen as class representative this year. I think I have succeeded in explaining myself. I think I have introduced myself in a neutral way. My aim is not to impose ideas, but find the middle ground, not to create groups, but unite the whole class. That is why I think the class has voted for me. I am not sure if the same thing would have happened if I had my headscarf on.

Participant 24 stated that she feels included in class:

I am an active student who always sits at the front and participates in discussions. So I always attract attention, but my unveiling has helped me not to attract any negative attention. I have good relations with my professors. Of course there are exceptions, but in general, my classmates do not seem to consider me as a person different from them. I think they have come to accept me as one of them. When there are differences in opinions, we discuss them and try to sort the problems out. I am part of the class. I never feel excluded.

Activities on campus. Eight participants mentioned that the only advantage unveiling has with regard to activities on campus is, that it opens doors to activities that would be unavailable to them otherwise. Data analysis revealed that some part-time unveilers perceive themselves as more outgoing and social, trying to do as many activities as possible on campus, as opposed to some other part-time unveilers that took part in this research. A couple of participants emphasized that they tried to maximize their time in order to benefit from the opportunities of the academic environment as much as they can since they were unveiled.

Opening doors to activities on campus: Eight participants described their perceptions about how unveiling opens doors to activities on campus, which they may not have had access to had they been veiled. Participant 13 explained that unveiling helps her use the campus effectively and describes her activities on campus:

> My unveiling helps me use the campus as much as I can. Without unveiling, I would not be able to use the campus in the way I am using it now. After attending classes and having lunch, I sit on the grass with male and female friends. I go to the canteen quite often to socialize. I do not refrain from doing activities on campus just because I am a wig user. I do not feel ashamed of my wig, so I do not isolate myself. I am quite a happy person who is at peace with herself.

Participant 12 also has different activities on campus and explained: "My hat gives me the advantage of doing activities on campus. I go to the library, use the computer lab, attend classes, and have lunch in the cafeteria with my friends. . . . I sit on the benches with friends." Participant 9 explained that she takes advantage of the opportunity of being on campus thanks to her unveiling and uses this chance in the best possible way by maximizing her time on campus: "Since unveiling gives me the right to be on campus, I am trying to take advantage of this opportunity. I am trying to spend as much time as possible on campus. I visit the Student Affairs department a lot. I applied to work in the Computer Lab, but have not heard from them yet."

The collective voice of these students seems to indicate that some part-time unveilers perceive that they are at peace with themselves as part-time unveilers and want to benefit from all the activities their higher education institutions offer them.

Involvement in extra-curricular activities. Few participants discussed the advantages of unveiling with regard to their involvement in extra-curricular activities, which take place on or off campus. Six part-time unveilers viewed unveiling as a way to take part in extra-curricular activities. Four of these six participants considered themselves quite active with regard to taking part in such activities and believe that their involvement helps them to stay connected with the academic world. Also, one or two of them mentioned that they also try to encourage their friends to become involved in various activities.

Opening doors to extra-curricular activities: Six participants explained that unveiling helped them take part in various extra-curricular activities on and off campus. Participant 19 described the kind of extra-curricular activities on campus and thought that she may have received some harassment had she done them with her headscarf on. These activities help her stay connected with campus and friends:

> Unveiling helps me do extra-curricular activities that I may not have as a woman with a headscarf. For example, I play basketball on campus. I am sure if I played it with my headscarf on, those who do not know me on campus would harass me because that would not fit into the stereotype of a woman with a headscarf. I attend picnics with class outside campus [unveiled], concerts on and off campus. All these help me stay connected with my campus and increase experience sharing with my friends.

Participant 9 described her extra-curricular activities and stressed that unveiling is a key that opens doors to them on and off campus:

> I try to take part in all the activities, except Spring Festival, because people become drunk and try to flirt with one another. I attend competitions, conferences, talks, and panels on and off campus. I go to watch movies and plays. I have joined some social clubs. The only ones I never attend are those that require one to wear short sleeves or mini-skirts. I never join those clubs, and probably I would not be welcome there anyway. I try to benefit from all other extra-curricular activities. Unveiling is a key that allows me to have access to all these activities.

It seems that these participants perceive unveiling as a key to different activities and try to take full advantage of opportunities that unveiling and campus life provide them with, in order to stay connected with their higher education institution. Their perceptions indicated that they try to maximize their time spent on campus to have an active higher education life and benefit from all the opportunities their universities offer, and to become as much involved as possible, socially and culturally, beside their educational experiences.

Summary. Part-time unveilers explored their numerous perceptions about the opportunities of unveiling in terms of their relationship with faculty, administrators, and peers, the way they are treated on campus and in class, and their activities and extracurricular activities on and outside campus.

Summary of Research Question 3

All in all, this section has dealt with the opportunities or advantages of unveiling from the perspective of part-time unveilers. Participants perceived unveiling as a visa to attend university and a shield that might protect them against prejudices and discrimination. Data analysis revealed that some participants perceived some specific

advantages or opportunities of unveiling on campus, such as enhancing their campus activities or motivation for studying. Thus, whether these participants complied with the policy reluctantly or not, they try to take full advantage of some specific opportunities to become as involved in the higher education experience as possible. Even though participants highlighted opportunities of unveiling, they also stressed the challenges or disadvantages that unveiling has brought to their lives on campus. The accounts of participants highlighting opportunities on the one hand and challenges on the other can be perceived as inconsistencies, internal conflicts, or juxtapositions that they are going through on campus.

Research Question 4: Challenges Part-Time Unveilers Are Faced With on Campus and in Their Lives as a Result of Unveiling

This section highlights the perceptions of part-time unveilers with regard to the challenges they are faced with on campus and in their lives as a result of unveiling. Participants first discussed their challenges as a result of unveiling in general terms and then elaborated on some specific points. These specific points included the disadvantages or challenges of unveiling with regard to participants' relationships with faculty, peers, and administration, their treatment on campus and in class, and their activities and extra-curricular activities.

Overall Impact of Unveiling in Terms of Disadvantages/Challenges

Participants discussed various points with regard to general disadvantages or challenges of unveiling. They usually formulated their responses around the issues of psychological challenges of unveiling and the emotional distress they have faced. Some participants mentioned more than one point as a challenge. Data analysis identified nine

sub-themes including one where participants mentioned that they did not experience any challenges and elaborated on their reasons. These sub-themes are explained below in detail.

Concerns about future career and challenges of future compliance with the policy. Twenty-six participants mentioned concerns about their future career as a challenge of complying with the policy. As women who have complied with the policy and experienced unveiling, some of them realize that to continue unveiling in a work environment is not a temporary situation anymore, as opposed to four years of undergraduate education. However, they realize that they need to continue unveiling in order to achieve their primary goals. Sixteen participants wanted to pursue an academic career on campuses and twelve participants wished to work in public places, both of which cases will require them to continue removing their headscarves. Unveiling made them realize that they will not be able to follow careers or work in companies they would like to unless they cover their hair, and they feel challenged that they have to make such an important decision about the rest of their lives. Participant 13, for example, did not want to work in a private company, but she did not know how to tackle the issue of unveiling. She is challenged with the question of whether or not her compliance with the higher education policy means that she will unveil for the rest of her life:

> Unveiling made me realize the problems that are waiting for me in the future. I will have struggled as an unveiled woman for four years when I graduate. Probably I will be emotionally very tired at the end. I want to work in a public place, but if I continue unveiling, my psychology might be worse. So if I want to remain veiled, I have to work in a private place, which is not what I want. I do

not know how to handle the experience of unveiling anymore. I do not know if I should unveil and work in a public place or veil and work in a private place. Complying with the policy makes me challenged about the kind of decision I need to make. If you do not comply at all, there is no problem, you know. . . . Once you comply, then you start questioning whether you will continue complying or not.

Participant 19 is challenged by the fact that her unveiling made her understand how the academic world really works, because she wants to become an academic and thinks she will not have the opportunity to advance even if she unveiled:

> I want to pursue an academic career, but I know that this is not going to be possible. First, I have to continue unveiling. I am not sure if this is what I want after going through the experience of unveiling. For the sake of argument, let's say, I will unveil. Other professors will eventually find out that you are a [part-time unveiler], which is more or less what is happening to many of us. Once they know you are in fact a covered woman, they will not let you advance. So you will be stuck at some point. I do not know what to do.

Psychological problems. Sixteen part-time unveilers highlighted the psychological problems they have, or have had to go through, as a challenge or disadvantage of unveiling. These psychological problems included depression, nervousness, anxiety, and feelings of guilt, often caused by the conflict in their act of unveiling which is against their values and belief systems. Their psychology seems to be negatively affected by the fear that they are making a concession of their religion and making a compromise by unveiling and do not know how far it will go which creates

some sort of identity crisis. Emotional problems seem to be exacerbated by the fact that they have these experiences at such a young age when other people of the same age group do not have to go through such hard moments. Participant 11 explained that she feels angry and frustrated as a result of unveiling:

> One challenge of unveiling for me is the psychological problems I have to go through. You have a way of expressing yourself. I am expressing myself and trying to live my religion with my headscarf on and other religious activities. All of a sudden, there is this policy in front of me. I make a choice of complying with the policy. For this choice, I compromise my beliefs and preferences. This causes frustration and anger. There are times when I want to scream and rebel, but cannot.

Participant 12 expressed similar feelings and added that she has experienced depression and anxiety: "I do not think I will ever want to go back to university after graduation. I do not know where I belong. I do not know why policy makers do not understand me. Things I have gone through have been really difficult for an adolescent, for a girl at this young age." Participant 15 stated that unveiling made her stressed and nervous: "Unveiling has negatively affected my psychology. My behavior has changed negatively. It first created distress and made me very nervous. Then I got used to it. It is a concession. I keep asking myself why I am in this situation." Participant 10 perceived unveiling as a sin and knowing this impacts her psychology negatively. She explained: "Unveiling is a sin. I know that. Veiling is an obligation of a Muslim woman. We are unveiling for a materialistic thing. I do not know why they want us to unveil. Allah will

punish us for this sin. Knowing this and still unveiling caused some psychological problems and made me very nervous and anxious."

While these participants perceive they still experience emotional and psychological problems, others who also suffered from these problems perceive that they started overcoming some of them. Participant 1, for example, stated that she cried a lot and suffered from obsession and depression in her first year of college, but started overcoming some of her problems as compared to other participants:

> I have started overcoming some of the negative feelings. This experience of unveiling caused me depression. I was not going to follow my religious beliefs anymore. To know this made me an obsessive, depressed, and introvert person. I closed my doors to people. People are asking me if I am unveiling. Do not ask me this question. You know that I am unveiling. I am tired of repeating the sentence that I am unveiling. Why do people keep reminding me by asking over and over again? My first two years have been like this. Youngsters who are at the same age as me are having fun and enjoying their youth outside while I am suffering and going through all these psychological problems because of the ban and unveiling. This is something hard to accept and overcome. I have overcome to some extent and I think I am stronger now.

Feelings of discrimination and hypocrisy. Sixteen participants mentioned that a challenge of unveiling is that they feel like a second-class citizen and are subjected to discrimination from either policy makers who have issued the headscarf ban policy or secularists. They feel as if Turkish women are being categorized into two polarized groups, covered and non-covered, in the country. They perceive that secularists do not

approve of covered people, think they are lower class, and they (covered people) need to become uncovered to receive their (secularists) approval. Participant 16 explained how she is made to feel that she belongs to a different category as a result of unveiling: "The reason why there is the headscarf ban policy is to categorize students, women, and people in general into two distinct groups: the modern and the backward. So the policy tells us that we belong to the backward. By unveiling, it is as if I accept that there are categories and groups in society. It is as if I am seeking approval of the modern."

On top of these feelings, they perceive themselves as hypocrites living a lie as a result of unveiling. So, in a way, the part-time unveilers perceive their unveiling on campus as trying to be made into a "first class" citizen. Their existence as unveiled and "first class" citizen appears hypocritical to them. Participant 14 explained she considers herself different on campus and does not understand why she is subjected to discrimination of policy makers:

> I am not the same person as unveiled. I am different on campus. I am different at home. Why am I being subjected to this discrimination? I do not want to go to the fitting room on campus. I want to go directly to my class, but I am not allowed to. When my friends see me covered outside, I am very happy. This is the real me. I want them to see me covered all the time. I do not want them to see me unveiled, but it is not possible.

Participant 12 responded similarly, noting that she is treated as a second-class citizen: "I am not sure how I am being treated. This is like a second-class citizenship. This is not humane." Participant 6 has similar views and this is why campus life is hard for her, saying, "This is discrimination and I do not feel as if I belong to my university. I

think unveiling makes me live as if I am another person and my being that way on campus is hard."

Outfit and behavior give away who I am. Fourteen participants mentioned that the fact that they remove their headscarf does not necessarily mean that they become unveiled. They draw attention to the difference between looking unveiled and being unveiled. They perceive that their challenge is that they remove their headscarf to look like others, but they have come to realize that their efforts do not always pay off. No matter how hard they try, their clothes or behavior give their identity away when people start spending time with them. They become frustrated because their unveiling does not protect their Islamist identity in the way they had hoped. So despite removing the headscarf, their perception is that they still remain veiled women in the eyes of many people on campus. Participant 8 explained her challenge with regard to her dress and how she is always perceived as a covered woman even though she removes her headscarf:

> As a result of removing my headscarf, I thought my problems would come to an end. You soon realize that your covered identity is part of who you are. I cannot wear tight jeans or mini-skirts. Clearly there is something about my outfit that tells everyone that I am a covered woman outside campus. No matter how hard I try to change that, I cannot. It is a challenge because it makes me vulnerable to potential discrimination and marginalization.

On the other hand, Participant 30 is usually challenged in the way in which she behaves and treats others:

> I do not play cards. I do not gamble. I do not drink alcohol. I do not walk with guys arm in arm. I am usually distant with them and try not to become too close

with a specific man. This puts me at a disadvantage immediately among the modern circle of friends. They first think I am very conservative, but later on start suspecting that I am covered and so on. So removing the headscarf does not become the solution you once hoped it would be.

Becoming asocial. As mentioned in earlier sections, even though for six to eight participants unveiling is an opportunity to socialize and open doors to extra-curricular activities, for another ten participants, unveiling meant just the opposite, making them quieter and passive and leading to becoming asocial. Participant 6 explained that, in general, unveiling makes students introvert:

> University students are usually young and dynamic people who support their ideologies enthusiastically. . . . If you are a covered woman, your belief system and ideology are shaped up accordingly. When unveiled, you are out of your system and start living like someone else. This affects your social life. You become an introvert. You have less people to socialize with. I can be unveiled, but this does not necessarily mean that I have the mentality of an unveiled woman. This makes you asocial. The number of people you become friendly with on campus decreases. . . .

Participant 15 explained that unveiling has made her shy and stressed in class and among friends, causing her to become an introvert: "I have become asocial as a result of unveiling. Since I am not comfortable with my unveiling, I try to remain invisible. This puts some barriers between me and my friends, distancing me from a social life."

Feelings of paranoia. Six students mentioned that they developed feelings of paranoia. The reason why they became paranoid seems to be the thought that they could

be dismissed from class or campus for one reason or another. This is mainly because of experiences they have had in the past and are not sure if these experiences could happen again. One point to mention is that the participants who feel this way are the ones who are hat wearers or wig users and mostly returning students. Clearly, these students do not feel safe on campuses, and Participant 11 is worried that she will be asked to remove her hat or leave the classroom or campus:

> I have never felt as comfortable as I did when I was attending college with my headscarf on. I have developed a phobia about being asked to leave the class or campus, or being asked to remove my hat. I have also developed paranoia of being warned. Every time there is an administrator or faculty approaching me, I feel as if they are going to warn me about something in the way they did in the past.

Lack of a changing room. Five part-time unveilers perceive that one of their challenges of unveiling is the actual act of unveiling in the street or on public transport before entering campus, due to a lack of a fitting room. Participant 7 explained that she had to unveil on public transport until she bought a car: "I wish we had a changing room like some other departments do. I had to remove my headscarf in the minibus while everybody was watching me, until I bought a car, in order not to embarrass myself any further in front of others. Unveiling while others are looking at you is a big challenge."

Creation of categories within the veiled women. Three participants stated that unveiling led to different types of unveiling creating some sort of categorization within the community of the veiled women. Part-time unveilers explained that there is some sort of hostility and distancing created among the covered women according to their type of

unveiling on campus. Participant 9 stated that she received negative reactions and even exclusion from other part-time unveilers who exposed their hair because she chose to use a wig:

> First I started with a wig. Uncovered students made fun of me. Even some of my professors made fun of me and told me I looked weird. I was really upset. What really made me more upset was the reaction of other veiled women who chose to expose their hair as their type of unveiling. They did not want to come and talk to me because they thought that if they did talk to me, this would or might give away who they really were. So their shying away from me was a real disappointment. Unveiling created groups within the Islamist women.

No challenges or disadvantages during higher education. Two participants pointed out that there were no challenges or disadvantages for them on campus because they were already challenged during their secondary education as a result of unveiling. In a way, they said that they knew they were going to remove their headscarf to go to university and they were used to it anyway.

Summary. To sum up, accounts of participants show part-time unveilers have concerns about future career and experience psychological problems, feelings of discrimination and paranoia, becoming asocial, and a creation of categories within a group of veiled women as general challenges of unveiling. There were a couple of part-time unveilers who do not perceive themselves as being challenged by the unveiling in general. Having laid out the general challenges, participants shared their perceptions about specific challenges or disadvantages of unveiling. These specific points included perceptions of the participants about their relationship with their faculty, friends, and

administrators, their treatment on campus and in class, their involvement in extra-curricular activities, their activities on campus, motivation for studying, and overall success during undergraduate studies.

Challenges of Unveiling Pertaining to Daily Life on Campus

This section highlights the perceptions of participants with regard to their specific challenges or disadvantages as a result of unveiling. Some participants mentioned one point while others discussed several.

Relationship with faculty. Fifteen participants perceived four main challenges or disadvantages of unveiling in terms of their relationship with faculty. Some of their challenges were more related to their type of unveiling rather than purely unveiling. In addition, the most important point they mentioned is that their challenges did not include all their professors, but specific faculty members who had some sensitivity about either types of unveiling or being uncovered in general.

Discouragement and negative comments from faculty: Six participants mentioned discouraging and negative comments of some faculty in class as a result of their unveiling. They explained that they were subjected to some ongoing disturbing remarks by a couple of professors, mostly female rather than male, during their studies. These remarks usually seem to be in the form of disapproval about the hat or wig participants have chosen to use in classes. Participant 13 explained how she feels challenged by some of her teachers because of her wig:

> One challenge of unveiling in the way I do is the remarks of some of my professors. One female teacher who is against the wig told me not to wear the wig because she thought I was playing games with her, trying to deceive her and

making political statements. According to her, by wearing a wig, I was making it obvious that I was a headscarf wearer. In her mind, my wig was a political symbol. . . .

Participant 16 also added that some professors make fun of the wigs, telling them in class that wigs look very artificial and ugly. Participant 28 experienced the same challenge because of her hat: "There is one female teacher who is really trying to create challenges for those of us who are unveiled wearing hats. She is against hat wearers. She tells us to take our hats off in class and scolds us in front of our classmates. If it is hot, she asks us why we keep wearing our hats, in a making-fun-sort-of way."

Being treated as uncovered: Five part-time unveilers perceived that one other challenge they have as a result of unveiling is that professors treat them as uncovered people and assign them work they are not comfortable doing because of their belief systems. Participant 14 summarized the situation succinctly:

> When professors consider you as an unveiled woman, they treat you that way. They give you a pat on your shoulder; want to kiss you on the cheeks during special occasions, etc. These are not very comfortable situations for a covered woman. In addition, they invite their class to an event or an organization. So you have to go but again, unveiled, even though it is not a campus activity. If you go, you find yourself in an uncomfortable situation because the event may take place in the evening or there might be alcohol. So you either continue unveiling outside campus, or attend such events with your headscarf on and run the risk of turning your professor against you if he or she is prejudiced against covered women. If you choose not to go, you have to make excuses. I do not want to lie or come up

with excuses. If you miss one time, it is OK, but if you do not go to any of the activities, that affects your success in class and the teacher becomes suspicious as well.

Skipping classes of professors who do not approve their type of unveiling: Another challenge three participants perceive that they face as a result of unveiling is that they skip a lot of classes, especially if their professors do not approve their type of unveiling and want them to expose their hair to continue classes. In other words, when participants realize that their professors are going to give them a hard time in class or send them out of class, they avoid attending as many classes as possible. This does not seem to create problems for students, since attendance is usually not taken, and students exchange class notes later on. Participant 11, for example, did not want to expose her hair when one of her professors did not approve her type of unveiling and asked her to expose her hair. She did not want to do that, so chose to leave the class for that day hoping that next time the teacher would not notice her: "I have a lot of problems with one of my professors as a result of the way I unveil. He does not want me to sit in his class with my hat on. So I try my best to be invisible, but it is not always possible. This is why I missed many of his classes unfortunately and was not very successful during the final exams."

Lack of dialogue with faculty: One final point that three participants highlighted is the lack of dialogue with faculty as a result of unveiling. Since these participants are trying to hide their covered identity, they try to have minimum conversation with some of the faculty, especially those who are against the headscarf, in and outside class. They try their best not to see faculty members. Their aim is to be invisible so that they do not say

or do anything that might give away who they really are. Participant 17 highlighted how she is trying to minimize the dialogue with faculty to protect her identity:

> There is one female teacher who is against covered women. So I was very quiet in her class, always sat at the back, and did not participate in many of the discussions. When she had one-to-one sessions with students, I just tried to be brief and quick. Whenever she asked me personal questions, I kept my answers short. Some uncovered friends told me that she was a really nice and talkative person. Apparently, they enjoyed chatting with her and learned a lot from her mentorship, but not me. If I ever saw her in the street outside campus, I crossed the street and changed direction. I kept my dialogue to a minimum so that I could protect my identity and pass the course without any problems.

Relationship with peers. Fourteen participants formulated their perceptions around three main challenges of unveiling with regard to their relationship with peers.

Challenges while making friends: Eight participants focused on the challenges that they faced on their way to establishing friendships as a result of unveiling. Participant 24 had some challenging experiences in terms of making friends initially, as a result of being unveiled with a wig:

> In the first months of the first year, there was some sort of negativity toward me. Classmates who were mainly uncovered did not feel comfortable that I was around them. They looked at me in a weird way. I realized that they did not want me to hang out with them because of my wig. I was their first [part-time unveiler] friend, so they did not know how to treat me, as veiled or unveiled. They did not

know what to do with me. They were a little distant. So I had to make the effort to make the connections. This was emotionally tiring.

Participant 6 has faced a similar challenge while making friends on campus because of her type of unveiling. Different from Participant 24, other part-time unveilers did not know how to treat her as an unveiled woman with a hat because they thought that her friendship could give away their Islamist identity:

> Some [part-time unveilers] are against those who wear hats. This created communication problems when I first returned to campus. They did not want to make friends with me because they did not want their identities to be exposed. Later on, I met other people and became friends with them.

Participant 15 highlighted a different challenge in terms of building relationships with peers as a result of unveiling. Her challenge concerns friends who do not initially realize that she is a covered woman. She starts making friends and then when they meet outside, they realize she is a covered woman and some of them stop talking to her. She feels as if she deceived them and also has wasted all her time and energy building friendships with people who judge her physical appearance:

> . . . There are not many covered students in my department. . . . I started having some friends who are uncovered. One day we met outside and they saw me with my headscarf on. They were surprised and told me that they now understand why I am wearing a hat at all times. After this event, some of them stopped talking to me. One said that I should have told them who I really was earlier, since it felt as if I was trying to deceive them.

Hostility from peers: Three participants perceived hostility from peers as a challenge due to unveiling. This hostility from peers included verbal abuse and harassment, including harsh comments about their unveiling that saddened part-time unveilers, deeply and negatively influencing their relationship with these peers:

> Peers who realize that I am a covered woman keep asking me why I am unveiling. In addition, on my way out, after I cover my hair, they tell me that I was unveiled a while ago and now I am covered. They say that they do not understand this. Male peers say that they see me unveiled and ask me the point of being covered again. One uncovered peer said that if she covered, she would cover after college and would never unveil like I do. They say that I should stick to my principles. These comments hurt me and prevent me from becoming more close to my friends on campus. (Participant 10)

Constant scrutiny from friends: Three part-time unveilers perceived that they are constantly under scrutiny from their friends. They explained that they cannot become very close to friends because those who know they are veiled watch them constantly to see if they are behaving properly, as a covered woman should behave. Participant 2 explained she perceives that friends are always watching her moves and behavior: "I always have a distance with friends on campus. They are always watching me. If I touch somebody, they look at me as if I have made a big mistake. They think that I have lost my way and started acting like someone else. This is very disturbing."

Relationship with administration. Five part-time unveilers mentioned the main challenge they perceive with the administration is the bad treatment from administrators, especially female ones, as a result of their type of unveiling.

Bad treatment from administrators: Five participants explored their perceptions about the ways in which they received bad treatment as a result of unveiling. Participant 11 had a bad experience with her new Dean, when she was called into a classroom by one of her professors, who wanted to dismiss her from class because of the way she was unveiled:

> The professor told me that she did not want to see me with a hat on in class and left the room, to apparently call the Dean. When the Dean entered the room with the teacher she looked at me and in front of everybody told me that she had enough of people like me. She was rude. She also said that she did not understand why I did not simply expose my hair and why I made my life difficult. She loudly asked me to leave the class immediately.

Treatment on campus. Fourteen part-time unveilers highlighted two main challenges about the treatment on campus as a result of their unveiling and mostly because of their type of unveiling.

Cynical looks and constant staring of others: One point that eleven part-time unveilers mentioned is the cynical looks or constant staring of others on campus. They usually come from students they do not know and the frequency and intensity of these looks vary from college to college on campus as well. Participant 11 is disturbed and feels uneasy when others are watching her on campus: "I know that the type of hat I am wearing is a little unusual. Everybody looks at me, wondering why I am wearing it. I feel so uncomfortable walking on campus under these looks. I feel very ugly. . . ." Participant 21 is also subjected to constant gazing and feels somewhat threatened by these looks, especially when she is on her own:

> I do not walk on campus when I am on my own. . . . When I have friends with me, I am here and there on campus. I do not feel comfortable in the campus environment. The way people look at me disturbs me greatly. They are looking at me cynically and as if I am somebody from Mars, as if I am somebody with a different body shape. This really upsets me and I feel threatened. I am trying to avoid these looks, but it is not always possible.

Participant 24 complained about the initial reaction of others when they see her with her wig: "When others meet me for the first time, they open their eyes wide with surprise on seeing my wig. First I was disgusted by these reactions and also ashamed of myself and how I looked, but I am used to it now. . . ." Participant 13 also suffers from the same problem because of her wig. She deals with the situation better and tries to ignore other people's reactions. At some point, her friends told her to take the wig off, but she insists on wearing it because she feels more comfortable with it despite the harassing looks: "When I enter the campus, people look at me in a weird way. They look at my wig and start laughing. They make fun of me and how I look, I know. . . This is a little disturbing, but not much because there are many other students with wigs on campus. I am not the only one."

Verbal abuse: Another challenge for part-time unveilers is the verbal abuse. Three part-time unveilers shared some instances where they were subjected to verbal harassment by other students they do not know. Even though participants stated that these instances do not take place often, when they happen, they are powerful enough to hurt them. Participant 11 shared her experiences about verbal harassment that happened twice, once in the canteen and once in class:

> One day, I was sitting in the canteen on my own drinking tea and eating a sandwich. A guy was sitting at the next table and all of a sudden he called me and asked me if I was cold. I did not understand what he meant initially. Then he said: "It is really hot in here but you must be really cold since you are wearing that thing on your head." . . . Another day, a student I do not know in a big class came up to me all of a sudden and asked me if I had a health problem. When I said I did not and asked her why she was asking me, she said: "I was trying to understand why you were wearing that weird thing. It looks really funny, do you know that?"

Treatment in class. Nine students mentioned two main challenges of unveiling with regard to treatment in class.

Constant criticism from Islamist male classmates: In addition to the constant scrutiny from their friends, as mentioned earlier, one similar challenge five participants mentioned is that their Islamist male classmates, regardless of whether they are friends or not, are constantly criticizing their behavior in class. Participants perceive that these male classmates consider themselves as Islamist brothers and feel the need to watch and protect their sisters. Participant 2 shared one of her experiences that happened to her a couple of times in class and explained how she was criticized by one of the Islamist male classmates whom she hardly even knew:

> I do not usually wear trousers. One day, I did. Next day, an Islamist male classmate came up to me and criticized me for wearing trousers. He is not even my friend. I hardly even know him. He said that my behavior was inappropriate and that because I was unveiled did not necessarily mean that I was going to change everything completely. I was shocked. . . . When you are veiled and wear

trousers, you do not attract attention. When you are unveiled, and wear trousers and put on make-up, or hug a male friend, etc., it is perceived as if you are changing as a result of removing your headscarf. So Islamist male classmates especially watch you at all times. I find unveiling a big challenge as a result of the way we are treated in class by Islamist male classmates.

Distance and gossip of classmates: Another challenge four participants mentioned is the perceived distance and gossip of some classmates in class. Even though this gossip only takes place occasionally, it is enough to challenge part-time unveilers, especially at the beginning of their undergraduate studies. Participant 27 explained the type of gossip she heard in class, which disturbed her, especially in the first year of her undergraduate degree:

> I heard that people were making fun of the way I looked and dressed. I was wearing a turtleneck at all times. . . . Since I was not very comfortable with my unveiling, I was really shy and did not want to talk to people in the first year. People talked a lot behind my back. Their perception of me was cold, distant, capricious, and fake [part-time unveiler].

This type of gossip caused some friction among friends in class as well. Because they perceived her as a distant person looking different, they ignored her initially:

> At the beginning of the first year, my classmates did not talk to me very much. They usually ignored me because I looked different. They involved themselves in activities, but never invited me. Unveiling made me belong nowhere and I ended up being ignored in class. This changed as time passed. . . (Participant 27)

Activities on campus: The main disadvantage of unveiling that fourteen participants mentioned is the restriction on doing activities on campus as a result of unveiling.

Restriction on activities: Fourteen participants perceived that unveiling restricts them from doing activities. Since these part-time unveilers do not feel comfortable when unveiled, they spend as little time on campus as possible, leaving university as quickly as possible when their work is done. For some participants, this was more of a problem during the first year of their studies and they became more comfortable afterwards; for others, the problem still exists. As explained by Participant 28: "I enter the campus, do what I have to do, and leave." Participant 14 had a similar challenge, but is slightly more active. She thinks that she cannot benefit fully from all the resources the university offers due to her discomfort with her unveiling: "Unveiling is a restriction to what I want to do and where I want to go. After I am done with classes, I usually sit on benches. Sometimes I go to the restaurant on campus, but reluctantly. If I were veiled, I would go everywhere . . ." Participant 6 had a similar experience on campus because she feels ugly with her hat and clothes: "I do not take part in activities. Those who do not know me look at me in a weird way with my hat and turtleneck. One day I had to go to the library, but the assistant there [treated me really badly], so since that day I have not been back.. I do not go to the computer lab or student union either. . . . So basically I do not do anything a university student would normally do."

Involvement in extra-curricular activities. The reason why participants perceived unveiling as a disadvantage in terms of involvement in extra-curricular activities was the same as the reason for activities on campus.

Restriction on extra-curricular activities: Eighteen part-time unveilers mentioned that the disadvantage of unveiling to participate in extra-curricular activities is that they do not want to take part in them because they do not want to be unveiled any longer than they should be. They believe that even though these extra-curricular activities should be part of their university life, they prefer not to take part in them because, as they are university activities, they have to attend unveiled. Participants reported that they chose not to unveil unless it is really necessary, such as attending classes or exams. They think they are missing an important part of their higher education experience, but still believe that this is a compromise they need to make. They stated that they would normally attend most of the extra-curricular activities, except the ones where alcohol is served, if they were allowed to participate as covered women.

Participant 12 explained that she does not want to take part in extra-curricular activities because she does not want to unveil for fun or activities she is not obliged to attend:

> I do not take part in extra-curricular activities. There are festivals, concerts, and other things, but I do not go, because I cannot go. . . . I do not want to unveil for fun. I am not obliged to go, so I do not go. . . . However, we are undergraduates, we should experience everything. I wish I could do everything freely . . . But it is not possible unfortunately . . .

Participant 16 stated that she cannot attend many of the activities either because she does not want to unveil more than she has to: "I am not going to the picnic. I am not attending introduction meetings at the beginning of the year to meet the newcomers. I am not going anywhere with the rest of my class because I do not want to unveil for these

activities." Participant 10 explained that she only wants to unveil for class purposes: "I do not attend extra-curricular activities. I do not want to remove my headscarf apart from class time."

Summary. Part-time unveilers perceived various challenges of unveiling in regard to their relationship with faculty, administrators, and peers, the way they are treated on campus and in class, and their activities and extracurricular activities on and outside campus.

Summary of Research Question 4

This section presented the perceptions of part-time unveilers with regard to numerous challenges they are faced with on campus and in their life as a result of complying with the policy. Having elaborated on the perceived challenges of the participants that ranged from psychological problems to restriction on involvement in activities and extra-curricular activities on and off-campus, I will now elaborate on the ways in which these women deal with these challenges.

Research Question 5: The Ways in Which Part-Time Unveilers Deal With These Challenges

Despite their challenges during their higher education years, part-time unveilers seem to find ways in which they can deal with their challenges. Data analysis revealed that there are six main strategies participants use to ease the hurdles and manage the disadvantages that unveiling creates. Some part-time unveilers follow one strategy, whereas others have two or three.

More Devotion to Religion

The first strategy that twenty-three participants mentioned that they use as a way

to deal with their challenges is more devotion to religion. Since they give up on following one tenet of Islam partially and temporarily, wearing the headscarf, they want to compensate for that by trying to follow the religious teachings of Islam more closely. Participant 26, for example, focuses on trying to be a better Muslim every day and does whatever she can to achieve her goal:

> The strategy I have to deal with challenges of unveiling is I am trying to nourish my religious feelings by other things than the headscarf. I read the Qu'ran more and talk to Allah more frequently. I donate money, pray more often, and try to be a better person in general so that Allah forgives me for removing my headscarf. I wear really conservative clothes, lead a modest life, fast, and pray five times a day. I often read teachings of Islam. I listen to religious songs. I am trying to devote more time and energy to be a well-rounded and better Muslim.
>
> I try to be more religious. . . . I guess overall I am trying to be a better Muslim in many other ways.

In addition to talking to Allah and trying to be a good Muslim, Participant 13 also believes in spiritual growth and helps the poor:

> I am dealing with the challenges of unveiling by sticking to my religion more. I have improved myself religiously over the years. I believe that no matter how terrible the situation is, there is always a light at the end of the tunnel. For me unveiling has been like this. The headscarf ban policy made me unveil against my wishes and religious beliefs, but unveiling strengthened my religious identity. I am a better Muslim now. I look for peace in the spiritual world. I smile to everyone thanks to my religious and spiritual growth. I have opened lots of new

> doors for myself, thanks to my smile. I respect people, and try to help the poor. I give presents and money to those who are in need. This way, I am rejuvenating my religiosity.

Strategic Selection of Elective Courses

The second strategy that eighteen part-time unveilers use to deal with challenges is the careful selection of courses beside their required courses. While choosing their electives, they try to make sure that the professors who teach the courses are not those who are against the headscarf or wigs or hats. They usually find out the information about professors from part-time unveilers who already took those courses. Participant 6, for example, chooses the electives according to teachers who treat students with hats equally in class:

> One of my strategies to deal with challenges is to choose my electives strategically. It does not matter which elective I am taking really. What matters is how I am going to be treated in class and whether or not my performance will be evaluated fairly. I am so grateful for students who give me advice on that. They have been very helpful so far. They give me great tips so I know which course to take and which one not to take. That is really a great strategy for me to deal with the challenges.

A Change in Appearance

The third strategy five participants have used is a change in their appearance. Participant 27 explained what she has changed in herself physically to feel better about herself as a part-time unveiler:

I had a haircut, thinking that less hair will be exposed. I hate short hair, but I really had a very short hair cut. I will continue having short hair until the end of my studies. That was my first reaction to unveiling. I avoided jewelry. I avoided everything that would attract attention. I have not worn any necklaces, earrings, or rings for a long time. I did not do anything that would make me look different. By being very simple and modest, I was hoping that nobody would notice me, that nobody would see me uncovered. It is a psychological strategy I have developed for myself.

Participant 7 also changed her look but in a different way:

I started wearing baggy clothes and baggy trousers as a way to deal with unveiling. Since unveiling was something different, I wanted to look different as well. If I looked totally different, I thought I could convince myself that I was not really me, but somebody different who was unveiled. So I wore really big clothes that hid my body. I wore colorful fashionable bandanas with really flashy earrings. I am usually simple, but this time I wanted to look different. . . .

Convincing Themselves That Unveiling Is Not Something They Can Control

A fourth strategy which three participants employ is that they convinced themselves that this was not something that they could control and it was not up to them. So instead of being upset about things that are beyond their control, they chose to make the best of what they can control, that is, receive the best of their education. Participant 18 deals with her challenges by trying to learn as much as she can to make good use of her time on campus:

> My strategy to deal with the challenges is to learn more. I continuously learn new things. I read and learn. This is how I overcome problems. I learn about everything at university. I learn about history, art, literature, and different people. This is a great joy to me. At least all this new information makes me excited and I am getting the best education possible, so making good use of the university education keeps me going.

Talking About Themselves

Another strategy that two participants use is talking about themselves and the ban to other students so that they have an opportunity to discharge their emotions, share their challenges, and express their true Islamist identities. They also hope that this way other students can understand how the ban really and deeply impacts the lives of part-time unveilers. Participant 24 explained that she tries to communicate her challenges as well as her worldviews as a covered woman to other students:

> My strategy is to express myself continuously. Since I wear a wig, it is easy for students to realize that I am a covered woman. It is also a way of expressing myself. I keep telling my friends who I really am. I tell them my challenges. It is a way of relieving my stress. It is my goal to explain who a covered woman is and how similar we all are. I also explain in my own way how the ban has impacted on me. I talk about the ban. I keep discussing the policy from various perspectives. I engage students in intellectual debates about Islamists, the headscarf ban policy, and Islamist identities . . .

Humor

One participant, Participant 21, mentioned that her strategy is to use humor:

I am using humor to deal with my challenges. This helps me to overcome the difficulties and erase the scars unveiling may have left. When students look at me in a way they are trying to understand whether what I am wearing is my real hair or wig, I start laughing and say "Hey, you are new on campus I guess, you will get used to me." And then I continue laughing when I see them puzzled.

In addition to these six strategies, Participant 7 said that she bought a car as a strategy to deal with the physical act of unveiling. She did not want to continue unveiling and veiling outside her campus or in the minibus in front of other people, so she finally purchased a vehicle that allowed her to remove her headscarf in privacy.

Summary of Research Question 5

All in all, participants shared their perceived ways of dealing with the challenges of unveiling. Some participants employ one, while others have multiple strategies. These strategies are various and creative, and appear to impact educational, personal, or social aspects of the lives of part-time unveilers. Obviously their perception is that the ultimate aim for them is to survive their undergraduate years and minimize the challenges by trying different ways of dealing with them.

Research Question 6: The Ways in Which These Challenges Affect the Educational Progress of the Part-Time Unveilers

Participants explored their perceptions about the ways in which their challenges affect their educational progress. They particularly focused on how their perceived difficulties and problems, discussed earlier, impacted their motivation for studying and general success. Data analysis revealed that twenty participants perceived that the challenges negatively impact their motivation for studying and general success, leading to

lack of motivation and a disconnection from academia, while seven part-time unveilers perceived that the difficulties have a positive effect on their studies, making participants more ambitious and determined to complete their studies. For some participants, even though their motivation is negatively affected, they try hard for their general success not to be negatively affected.

Lack of Motivation

Fifteen people stated that unveiling is a challenge on their motivation. Participant 14 explained how her motivation decreases as a result of unveiling: "Unveiling decreases my motivation for studying. I do not think I fully benefit from my undergraduate education. I just wish that these four years pass quickly and I graduate." For Participant 9, who has an average GPA, unveiling was more of a challenge in her first year: "Unveiling affected my motivation and general success a lot in a very negative way in the first year. I did not even want to go to university. Then I became more ambitious. . . . After the first year, I was more motivated and relaxed". In addition, Participant 6, who has a low GPA, worries about her hat while studying for an exam and wonders if there will be a problem in class, which affects her motivation negatively. Participant 2, who has a high GPA, feels that her success is compromised from unveiling since she is psychologically weak and tired from fighting her emotions:

> My motivation is really badly affected including my success. My psychology is bad. I do not feel comfortable. Since my real identity is not there, I am not performing as well as I should. So there is no success. I am in a constant war. I keep thinking about myself and unveiling. I am looking at my books, but not with

pleasure and full concentration. I am studying because I have to. My mind is not peaceful. I keep questioning things.

Participant 12, with an average GPA, focused more on her lack of motivation and concentration in class as a result of unveiling which impacts the quality of her general success:

> University is for classes and education, but there is a barrier for covered women. . . . So you face a barrier even before you come to school. You start your higher education with a low morale. You are held down. So you cannot concentrate on your studies in class. The teacher talks, but you are more concerned with your look and what others think of you. . . . This creates a lack of adaptation, motivation, and concentration. This creates a decrease in motivation for studying.

Disconnect From Academia

Five participants highlighted that as a result of unveiling they want to spend as little time as possible on campus, creating a break from academia and higher education that negatively affects their motivation. Participant 23, who has a high GPA, explained that she spends little time on campus and this makes her less involved and thus less motivated to study:

> I prefer going to campus as little as possible. The day I go to campus, I try my best to do everything I have to do. I am using the campus very economically. I do not want to spend more time than I should. I do not spend as much time as I should with my advisor and professors to fully benefit from all the academic opportunities the university provides. This creates a gap between the academic world and myself. I cannot breathe enough academic air to inspire me and to

motivate. Motivation for studying is all in the air of a university campus. However, unfortunately I am not getting that.

Becoming More Ambitious

Five participants mentioned that their unveiling has a directly positive impact on their GPAs. They perceived unveiling as a positive reinforcement for their motivation for studying. They highlighted that unveiling against their wishes has made them ambitious and they have to have high GPAs because they want to become very successful as a response to the higher education headscarf ban policy. Participant 21, with an average GPA, explained that she became very ambitious to be successful thanks to her experience of unveiling:

> Unveiling has motivated me so much that you would not believe. It made me very ambitious, actually more ambitious than I am. I study at all times. I am going to graduate from this university and will fight against the higher education headscarf ban policy in a powerful way with my diploma. I do not want others to go through the experiences and challenges I have gone through. I want others to have the option to make choices.

Participant 27, with a high GPA, added that her aim is to receive grades no lower than 85 out of 100 in all the exams as a result of her motivation for success due to complying with the policy:

> Unveiling has had a positive impact on my motivation for studying and general success. I am studying very hard to make what I am compromising worthwhile. I am trying my best not to get any grades lower than 85 out of 100. Even though I

am not super-ambitious about my career, unveiling made me extremely ambitious about my education and general success on campus.

Determination for Graduation

Two participants mentioned that unveiling affected their motivation indirectly, since they became determined to complete their studies and graduate from university no matter what challenges they have faced. Participant 10 explained how she might have dropped out if she did not experience the act of unveiling:

> Unveiling made me determined to graduate from university. Had it not been for unveiling, I might have even dropped out. Who knows? So to graduate I need to study. So unveiling did not impact my motivation for studying directly, but it did impact it indirectly since I need to study to graduate. Thus I am studying as much as I can in order to graduate.

On the one hand, some participants perceive that challenges of unveiling seem to push them toward studying and becoming more successful. Their success appears to be a way for participants to prove themselves and make their unveiling worth pursuing for their future. On the other hand, the perception of others is that challenges of unveiling lead to lack of motivation for their studies.

One interesting observation is that it seems as if there is no relationship between student GPA and the ways in which participants perceive unveiling challenges or impacts them. Participants who feel unmotivated or spend time on campus without having a close working relationship with advisors and/or professors, or without being involved in many activities, or extra-curricular activities have high, average, or low GPAs. The same is true for participants who perceive that they feel ambitious and motivated as a result of the

challenges of unveiling. Students who perceive themselves as determined to be very successful have high or average GPAs. In addition, as indicated in Appendix G, almost half of the participants seem to be doing well and have high GPAs. Eleven participants have average GPAs and only two participants have low GPAs. All these might indicate that, regardless of the challenges or impact of unveiling, participants appear to be self-motivated without letting the impact of the headscarf ban policy get in the way.

Summary of Research Question 6

To sum up, part-time unveilers perceived four different ways in which the challenges of unveiling affect their educational progress. The hurdles they go through seem to, on the one hand, create disconnection from academia and lack of motivation, on the other hand make them more ambitious and determined to complete their studies.

Summary of Chapter 6

This chapter presented the perceptions of the part-time unveilers concerning the opportunities and challenges unveiling brings to them on campus. It also explored strategies they used to deal with their challenges and unpacked the ways in which the challenges affect their educational progress. The following chapter presents the research findings about participants' perceptions of the impact of the policy on their sense of identity.

CHAPTER 7

RESEARCH FINDINGS: IMPACT OF THE POLICY ON PARTICIPANTS' SENSE OF IDENTITY

This chapter presents the perceptions of the part-time unveilers about the ways in which unveiling has impacted their sense of identity (Research Question 7). Specifically, it analyzes the participants' perceptions of the impact of complying with the headscarf ban policy on their identities as Turkish citizens, Muslims, and females. The quotes used in the chapter are translations from Turkish.

Research Question 7: The Ways in Which Complying With the Policy Affects the Plural Self-Identities (e.g., Identities as Turkish Citizens, Muslims, and Females) of Part-Time Unveilers

In this section, part-time unveilers explore their perceptions of how complying with the policy or unveiling impacts their identities as Turkish citizens, Muslims, and females. In terms of their identity as Turkish citizens, participants mostly highlight their perceptions about the ways in which unveiling has an impact on their citizenry and citizenship rights that exist (or do not exist) both in society and state institutions including higher education organizations. In terms of their identity as Muslims, the perceptions mostly revolve around Islam and teachings of Islam with relation to unveiling. Finally, part-time unveilers unpack the effects of unveiling in terms of how unveiling impacted them as women both in their private and social lives.

Impact of Complying with the Policy on Identities of Part-Time Unveilers as Turkish Citizens

Participants explained six ways in which they perceive complying with the policy,

i.e., unveiling, impacted their identity as Turkish citizens. Some part-time unveilers highlighted one point whereas others pointed out two or more.

Feelings of Not Being the Most Desirable Citizens in Society. Sixteen participants mentioned that unveiling made them feel as if they were regarded different and not the most desirable citizens in society. Most of the participants approached the issue within the bigger context of society while a few restricted their perceptions to the higher education system.

Participant 28 explained her feelings from a perspective of the impact of unveiling on her citizenship identity within society, saying "I feel insulted . . . I want to take an active role in the society. I want to become a productive citizen so that these bans do not get repeated. I feel as if the system in general or policy makers do not want me to take part in society." Participant 19 stated that her unveiling against her wishes makes her feel as if she is a second-class citizen:

> Unveiling makes me think that I am not a desired citizen in my own country. Policy makers created this policy and wanted covered women to follow it. This looks as if covered women are not good enough, as if they are second-class citizens. I wanted to cover my hair. Unveiling against my wishes is humiliating. It makes me feel as if I am not part of society. This is really hurting me and affecting my citizenship identity negatively.

Participant 12 concurred but also questioned the ban in terms of a relationship between secularism, democracy, and Islam:

> . . . I cannot express myself in the way I want. I am disturbed by the looks of students on campuses. I am not different. Policy makers say that there is

democracy, but this is not a democratic policy. A Turkish woman who is Muslim has the right to cover her hair. At school we were taught that secularism is the separation of state and religion. The state does get involved in religion. So there is a difference between the theory and application. If this is a democratic society, then I should live in the way I want. . . . Unveiling makes me feel as if I am not important in society.

Participant 23 questioned the way she is judged by policy makers as a citizen, as a result of being subjected to the higher education headscarf ban policy:

I have realized that the system in not fair. I have started to question the ways in which the system treats me as a citizen in this country. . . . I am a good and desirable citizen if I follow the policies of the policy makers; otherwise I am a problem citizen. I keep asking myself if I am not a good citizen and why I am not wanted in society. Why is it that policy makers do not want or like me? What have I done wrong? . . . The fact that people who do not know you see you as a threat and put your higher education rights at risk is a complicated matter. The higher education system threatens my rights of access to campuses. . . . All these questions make me question how policy makers view me.

Participants 17 and 27 expressed their sorrow in the sense that such a ban exists in a country that is both secular and predominantly Muslim. They stated that they could react differently if the ban existed in countries where the majority of the population was not Muslim. Participant 3 added that she felt as if she is not wanted in the country: "Now what unveiling tells me is that I am not wanted in my own country by my own policy makers in the way I am, that is, covered." Participant 1 took a narrower angle while

highlighting her perspective, and examined the impact of unveiling on her citizenship within the context of higher education:

> On campus, I am different. I am categorized as a different type of citizen. So I am regarded as the other. Does this mean that I am not wanted? I do not want to be classified like the other. I am part of society. I am a Turkish citizen. I want to be treated equally. I want to visit other campuses freely but cannot do it without unveiling. Unveiling makes me question my citizenship identity. I am trying to understand who I am. Am I a second-class citizen? I do not understand. Why is there such a policy for certain Turkish citizens?

Restriction. Ten participants mentioned restriction as another impact of unveiling on their citizenship identity. They stressed that they felt as if they were not free citizens and their freedom was at risk as a result of the headscarf ban policy that requires them to unveil to attend campuses. As stated by Participant 19: "Unveiling makes me feel that I am restricted as a citizen. It has a restricting effect on my [citizenship] identity." Participant 12 felt as if her freedom has been taken away from her as a result of unveiling. Participant 13 concurred and stated that the major impact of unveiling on her citizenship identity is that "Higher education policy makers made the general citizenship identity in Turkey look as if it is non-free and antidemocratic. So I feel as if I am not free as a citizen." Participant 27 explored the restriction in terms of job opportunities: "Unveiling makes me realize that I am restricted as a citizen. So when I graduate, I am restricted in the job opportunities. I will not be able to apply wherever I want." Participant 28 highlighted that she feels that restrictions happen on her educational rights as a citizen and cautions Turkish people against the potential outcomes of this problem:

> Unveiling makes me realize that I have restricted rights as a citizen. If the government has the total control of the higher education system, this is not good at all. . . . Higher education rights need to be equal for all citizens. Why is my educational right restricted, why is my education right conditional? I am a Turkish citizen. . . . I do not think the access to education should be restricted. I want to have a say in the education system as well. It is important that higher education campuses represent all citizens from all backgrounds. University is not only a diploma to find a job. It is for research, broadening horizons, opening minds. In such an environment, there should not be restrictions. Unveiling makes me feel that I do not have equal opportunities and that I am subjected to restricted access on campuses.

Not at ease while using state institutions, meeting new people, or walking in the streets. Six participants stated that one impact of unveiling on their citizenship identity is that they are not at ease in the streets, while entering state institutions, and while meeting new people. Participant 11 feels uneasy when she is in front of the campus with her hat on and wonders what other people think about her. Participant 7 feels fearful in state institutions, wondering if she will be asked to remove her headscarf:

> I am fearful when I enter the state buildings. . . . I am trying not to go to state institutions unless I have to, but it is not always possible. ... I feel as if somebody is going to come and ask me to leave the building unless I remove my headscarf. I want to do whatever I have to do in government buildings and leave quickly. When there are long queues, I do not wait. I leave and come back some other time. I prefer the early mornings.

Participant 9 stated that she has become suspicious of other people's intentions in general, so meeting new people is not very easy for her:

> Unveiling made me become suspicious of others. Every time I meet somebody new, I cannot stop wondering if he or she is against the headscarf. Every time I go somewhere new, I wonder if people there are going to ask me to remove my headscarf. I am uncomfortable, troubled, and sad because of the way unveiling affects my citizenship identity this way. I feel as if I have become a person who suspects everyone.

Politicization of citizenship identity. Three participants stated that unveiling has made their citizenship identity politicized. As explained by Participant 7:

> Before unveiling, I associated my citizenship identity with the history of the country, my love for the land I live in and people I mingle with, and the city I was born. But since unveiling, my citizenship identity has become intertwined with politics. I now have some political views that my citizenship identity has become tangled with. I never had these views before I started unveiling.

Participant 13 responded similarly, noting that her identity as a citizen became associated with her ideological beliefs since her unveiling:

> I never thought that I would become an ideological person until unveiling. My unveiling experience made me perceive my citizenship as a political identity. It is something I have not considered before. The headscarf became politicized, leading to my politicization as well. I am more politically involved and every time I think about my identity, I think about it in terms of politics and ideologies.

Loss of cultural values. One participant said that the impact of unveiling on her citizenship identity was the loss of cultural values:

> As Turkish people, our citizenship identities were associated with various traditions including the headscarf, conservative and modest lifestyle, celebrating the religious holidays, respect for elderly, and concept of neighborhood. Unveiling makes me realize that as a society we are losing some of our cultural values to look like Westerners or to become westernized. This is how unveiling is impacting on my citizenship identity. . . . (Participant 8)

No impact. Finally, four participants pointed out that they feel that unveiling did not have an impact on their citizenship identity. Participants 16, 14, and 21 briefly said that they did not think unveiling impacted their identity as citizens, while Participant 26 stressed that the reason why she thought there was no impact was because it was a man-made policy and decision and could change at any time in the future. She does not attribute the decision or unveiling to herself as a citizen, and that is why she does not think that unveiling has an effect on her citizenship identity.

Summary. Participants explored different ways in which complying with the policy impacted (or did not impact) their identities as Turkish citizens. Their perceptions ranged from feelings of not being the most desirable citizens in society to negative feeling for policy makers. For some participants, unveiling did not appear to have an impact on their citizenship identity.

Impact of Complying With the Policy on Identities of Part-Time Unveilers as Muslims

Participants expressed their perceptions about how complying with the policy impacted their religious identity. All part-time unveilers mentioned the ways in which

complying with the headscarf ban affected their Muslimness, framing the issue from the point of Islam and its requirements to become a good Muslim. Data analysis revealed six sub-themes, including a sub-theme where participants did not think unveiling impacted on their religious identity. Even though some sub-themes might seem to overlap, a closer look at the differences in perceptions indicates some of the nuances of the impact of unveiling on Muslim identities of the research participants.

Fears, dilemmas, and negative feelings. Fears, dilemmas, and negative feelings as a result of acting against Islam are part of the first sub-theme fifteen participants highlighted. Part-time unveilers explained that veiling is one of the precepts of the Qu'ran, as mentioned in various verses of the holy book (Appendix J) and complying with the policy, thus unveiling, is to act against the Qu'ran and its teachings. According to their perceptions, acting against religion, which is an attempt that might destabilize the Muslim identity, creates conflicts, dilemmas, fears, and negative feelings that make participants question the strength of their religiosity. Participant 8 stated that unveiling and acting against her religion impacted her Muslim identity negatively making her feel as if she lost her honor, which is an important part of her Muslimness:

> I was always proud of my Muslim identity since it was so intact and honorable. However, unveiling made me feel as if I lost my honor. Veiling is acting honorably. When you unveil, you contradict the verse of the Qu'ran that advises you to cover your hair. I felt really terrible and asked Allah to forgive me. I lost respect for myself, which affected my whole identity including my Muslimness.

Participant 24 feels guilty as a result of unveiling and thinks that she cannot fulfill her duty for Allah: "I feel guilty, I feel terrible because of the fact that I cannot do what I

have to do. I hope that Allah will forgive me considering why I am unveiling." Participant 14 responded similarly, noting that her Muslim identity has been impaired by the feelings of unfaithfulness: "My Muslim identity has been damaged and affected negatively because I feel that unveiling is an act of unfaithfulness to my religion." Participant 19 feels that her pride has been hurt as a result of unveiling, making her constantly fight between her religiosity and the material world. She is also continuously challenged by the fact that she has to live following criteria other than the criteria of her religion:

> I belong to a religion, but I am restricted. My Muslim identity is shaped by my religion, but I cannot follow it in the way I want. I ask myself if it is worth it. Shall I do it? Shall I not do it? I ask myself if Allah is going to forgive me. I cannot do what I am supposed to do which hurts my pride. My pride is part of my Muslim identity. It is part of what the headscarf stands for. . . . So unveiling hurts me and impacts my Muslim identity on these levels.

Participant 29 (Meltem) added that she feels as if she is committing a sin as a result of unveiling. This makes her fearful and wonders if Allah will forgive her because of this sin she commits reluctantly: "I am acting against religion. Unveiling is committing a sin. I do not know if Allah is going to forgive me because of this sin. . . . I am really scared that Allah is not going to forgive me. Sometimes I cry because of this. This is a big sacrifice." Participant 27 stated that unveiling has negative impacts on her Muslim identity, creating negative feelings toward the material world and making her live with dilemmas: "My Muslim identity tells me not to uncover. My [material world] identity forces me to uncover. If Allah says not to uncover, then why are we even discussing the

issue? This is a dilemma for me. If Allah asks us to wear a headscarf, this means that unveiling has bad effects. Unveiling is acting against the word of Allah, it is acting against the verse of the Qu'ran."

Giving up some of the Muslim identity and fear of distancing from Islam. Giving up some of the Muslim identity and fear of distancing from Islam is another sub-theme that seven participants highlighted as a way in which unveiling impacted their Muslimness. By giving up some of their religiosity, they meant that a hole was created in their Muslim identity which was either repairable or not. What they really questioned was whether they were becoming less religious as a result of unveiling, since after a while they felt that unveiling did not hurt them as much as it hurt the first time they experienced removing the headscarf. Participant 7 explained that since the headscarf is part of her Muslim identity, removing it means that her Muslimness is not wholesome anymore: "The way unveiling impacts my Muslim identity is through creating a sense of giving up some of my Muslim identity. I am actually giving up some of it. I change some of my religious identity. Some might argue that I reform it or modernize it or something else, but literally I give up some of it." Participant 1 concurred and added that becoming used to unveiling complicates giving up some part of the Muslim identity, which raises the question of whether it is going to be temporary or permanent. In other words, she fears distancing herself from Islam:

> When I unveiled, I cried so much. I asked myself if unveiling was for me, if it would suit me, fit my lifestyle. When you unveil, what happens is that you start quitting some parts of your Muslim identity. For some people, this is temporary, for others forever. . . . When you lose some part of that identity, it feels as if it is

> weaker. That is scary . . . The matter is complicated when you get used to unveiling, when unveiling every day is not difficult anymore, when unveiling becomes normal because there are some friends who unveil completely, who abandon some parts of their Muslimness forever. My fear is whether I am going to distance myself from Islam or not, the more I get used to unveiling.

A new Muslim identity. A new Muslim identity was the third sub-theme five participants highlighted. In this new identity, some values became more important as compared to the past, including the headscarf and intentions of one's actions. As explained by Participant 6:

> When I did not unveil initially, I thought I was a good Muslim. But religious identities are fluid as well. When I unveiled, I gained a new Muslim identity. I realized that the headscarf is the visible part of Islam. This does not mean that it is OK not to have it. On the contrary, when I unveiled, my new Muslimness included more devotion to my headscarf. I realized the importance of the headscarf more. I realized that intentions are important. Why I am unveiling, the rationale behind it is important. I appreciated my religion and my headscarf more. I also understood that what is really important in religion is not the visible things, but things you do on your own. I read about Islam more now. I pray more now.

Participant 8 shared what she meant by her new Muslim identity as a result of unveiling:

> When I did not unveil and quit university, everybody left me alone. My belief system was shaken. I realized that there are no groups. Human beings are alone. My faith in Islamists has been weakened. When I unveiled, I gained a new

identity. My faith has been strengthened in a different way. I realized that there are no figures. All the figurative things came to an end for me. Islam needs to be felt in the heart. I got rid of the prejudices. . . . I became a better person. I became a more honest person. I have more respect for justice now.

Fear of making more concessions. The fourth sub-theme is the fear that making a concession from the Muslimness will lead to other concessions. Four participants explained that unveiling is a concession impacting on their Muslim identity and they fear that concession will lead to other concessions:

> Unveiling is a concession. I am making a concession from my Muslim identity. I am fearful that concession will bring more concessions. Today if somebody told me that she was considering veiling, I would tell her to think twice. Since today becoming a covered person means making sacrifices and concessions. When you unveil, small things that used to be important become unimportant. You become less sensitive to certain things. Then you are likely to make more concessions about your Muslim identity . . . (Participant 26)

Participant 13 stated that she feels pangs of conscience as a result of removing the headscarf and agrees that unveiling is a concession from her religious identity, and she is fearful that she will have to make other concessions:

> As a result of unveiling, I am making a concession from my religious identity, from things I believe in and I have faith in. What does this mean? It means sacrifice; it means things you do reluctantly that are opposed to your religiosity, Muslimness, and Islam. On top of these things, what I am really scared of is whether I will have to make more sacrifices in the future or not. What if I make

another concession, this time about praying or fasting? This is why I am really scared.

Decision of veiling or unveiling in the future. Another way unveiling impacts the Muslim identity of part-time unveilers is their decision of veiling versus unveiling in the future. Eighteen participants mentioned that, having experienced unveiling, they became more attached to their headscarf and appreciated the value of their religion and the act of veiling more. Thus, they decided that they would continue veiling after their graduation even if they may face challenges in terms of career options or places to work: "Unveiling made me become more attached to Islam and to my headscarf. It is really important for me to continue veiling. I believe I can work in a private company" (Participant 3). "Having experienced unveiling, I know that I will never unveil after graduation. The state institution is not the only work place. There are other options too" (Participant 8).

> I will have unveiled for years when I finish university. So I do not want to unveil after graduation. I have many other options. I think I will find a job in a private company. I know that some private companies do not always hire covered women. So I know that the headscarf might be a barrier. But I have connections. Or maybe I will start my own company. The only thing I want is to continue my life according to my beliefs. I want to reflect my belief system via my clothing and lifestyle. And I do not think this is going to prevent me from having a career. (Participant 9)

Twelve participants, on the other hand, are either hesitant about continuing to veil, especially in the work environment (nine participants) or have decided to uncover for good or at least while working (three participants). They consider this decision as a

product of their unveiling experience. They reported that since they know the consequences of not unveiling, and their opportunity to attend higher education as a result of compliance with the policy, these part-time unveilers have either decided to remove the headscarf after graduation or are at least considering it as an option for the sake of better job opportunities. Participant 17 is an example of a part-time unveiler who is indecisive about veiling or unveiling after university:

> I do not know what I am going to do after graduation. I do not want to unveil, but I know that I have to unveil to have a good job. I may not work at all. Or I might have my own company, but it is risky and expensive. . . . If I decide to work in the public sector, then I will unveil for sure. On the one hand, I do not want to unveil; on the other hand I want to unveil to get a good job in the public arena. I do not know what to do. I am in the middle and do not like it.

Participant 15 is more decisive and knows that she will have to unveil in the work environment to find a good job and thrive:

> I wish I did not have to unveil. I know that I will have to unveil in the work environment after university. In the places I would like to work covered people are not accepted. So I have to unveil. I do not know how this is going to impact on my Muslim identity. I have a quota; until that quota is full, I will work unveiled because I want my economic independence. I am ambitious and want to achieve things. So I know I have to unveil. I know that unveiling is a bad thing. It has affected and will continue affecting my Muslim identity, but I have to do this. This is actually how unveiling on campus impacted on my Muslim identity. It taught me to replace one bad thing which is unveiling, with other things that are

good. So this is what I am trying to do and this is what I am going to do in the future as well.

Participant 19, on the other hand, thinks that she might unveil completely depending on the circumstances in future: "I want an academic career. Unveiling on campus may not be enough. Academia will not let you advance if you are a [part-time unveiler]. Knowing this I might have to unveil for good. I do not know yet. Time and circumstances will tell. Maybe things will change, maybe the policy will change, and I will not have to unveil reluctantly."

No impact. Finally, two part-time unveilers who are hat wearers mentioned that unveiling does not have a strong impact on their Muslim identity since the hat represents the headscarf in their eyes: "The way I unveil, my hat that covers my neck and ears, is very similar to my headscarf. This is why it is not seriously disturbing my Muslim identity" (Participant 11).

Summary. All in all, participants perceived numerous ways in which unveiling impacted (or did not impact) their religious identity. One common theme that seems to emerge for many of the part-time unveilers is a close relationship between the headscarf and tenets of Islam and how unveiling is in fact an act against their Muslim identity. Considering the fact that covering seems to be perceived as an important component of their Muslim identity, another emerging issue is the impact of unveiling on participants' decisions whether to continue veiling despite the career challenges they may encounter or unveil at least in the work environment.

Impact of Complying With the Policy on Identities of Part-Time Unveilers as Females

Part-time unveilers expressed the ways in which they perceived unveiling impacts

their identity as females. Participants elaborated their views from a perspective of a woman, shared their feelings and experiences about being unveiled, and questioned what it means to be a female in a male-dominated society. Their perception was that the headscarf ban policy was a product of men, leading to gender discrimination on and off campuses. Data analysis revealed seven sub-themes that discussed how unveiling affects the gender identity of these part-time unveilers as women.

Gender discrimination. Eight participants mentioned that they feel as if men and women are not equal and women are discriminated against. As explained by Participant 30:

> The dress code policy started for all students. If policy makers thought that Islamists were making political statements then they should realize that the headscarf ban policy affects women only. Female students are discriminated against. This is not happening to male students. All male students, whether they be secularists, Islamists, or leftists, they enter campuses in the way they want without any bans. So this is a ban to discriminate against women and I feel as if men and women are not equal.

Participant 18 tries to understand the message unveiling sends to women in general in Turkey:

> The way unveiling affects my gender identity is that I am trying to understand what it means to be a woman in this society. Unveiling makes me wonder if I am seen as inferior since this is a ban that is directly targeted at women. It is not a ban for all Islamists. It is a ban for covered women. What kind of implications does this have for Turkish women in general? Is there gender discrimination?

Participant 9 thinks that unveiling means gender discrimination because woman is the head of the family, raising and shaping next generations:

> The way unveiling impacts my gender identity is that it makes me realize that there is gender discrimination. I feel marginalized as a woman. It is only women who are supposed to go through challenges, nothing happens to men. So are men and women not equal? Clearly not! The reason why the policy discriminates against females is because women are the most important components of the family. Women raise kids.

Femaleness under attack. Another sub-theme six participants highlighted is that unveiling makes them feel that their gender identity is not fully expressed and thus under attack. Participant 14 explained: "In Islam, part of being a woman is through the headscarf. When you do not cover your hair, you do not express your entire Islamic femininity. So unveiling interrupted expressing my gender identity in the way I wanted." Participant 13 agreed and added that policy makers want to create one type of woman:

> As a Muslim woman, the way I express my gender identity is by using my headscarf. The headscarf represents both my gender and religious identities. So unveiling is like attacking both identities. Policy makers want to create a situation where there is one single type of woman. They want to create their type of woman. Unveiling makes me realize that my gender identity is a target which has to be changed.

Participant 29 (Meltem) agreed that unveiling is an attempt to change at least her visible identity as a woman:

> This is who I am as a woman. Unveiling makes me another woman who is not me. I feel different, it is not the same me anymore. The way I look as a woman, the way I carry myself as a woman, they are all different. Unveiling is an attempt to change my gender identity . . . or at least an attempt to change what is visible to others as a woman. There is not one type of woman in the world. There are veiled, unveiled, short, tall . . . We are not all size [8]!

Unveiling makes me ugly. Another way unveiling impacts five of the part-time unveilers is that while unveiled, mostly because of their way of unveiling, participants find themselves ugly as women. Participant 24 highlighted that she does not like her appearance when she is unveiled: "I do not look nice aesthetically when I am unveiled. Looking not attractive has a negative impact on my gender identity as a woman. Women would like to look nice no matter what. Unveiling makes me unattractive." Participant 11 does not like the way she looks with her hat on either: "As a woman, I always try to look proper and nice. It is a woman thing. I think I am beautiful with my headscarf on. The headscarf suits me. Unveiled, with my hat on, I look really bad and this is disturbing to me."

Loss of confidence. Four part-time unveilers mentioned that unveiling makes them lose some of their confidence as women. Participant 6 explained how she has lost some confidence as a result of unveiling: "Unveiling affects me negatively as a woman. There are lots of conflicts in me. I keep asking myself if I am doing the right thing. I used to be a woman who had confidence. Now I have lost my confidence. Or at least there is a decrease in confidence. However, as a woman I need my confidence to survive in the

society." Participant 23 also feels a lack of confidence as a woman when she removes her headscarf even though her thoughts are not very clear on the issue:

> As a woman, I was always very confident that I would make a difference in society. I always believed that Turkey needs self-confident women who would fight for their rights and take active part in society. When I removed my headscarf, I realized that it is very difficult to mingle as a woman. I do not know. Maybe I cannot express myself very clearly . . . The bottom line is that I lost a little bit of my self-confidence as a woman which was my raison d'etre in society as a result of unveiling.

Feeling naked and realizing more the importance of being a covered woman. Three participants mentioned that unveiling makes them feel naked and realize the importance of being a covered woman. Participant 17 said that she appreciated the value of the headscarf more as a result of being unveiled and feeling naked: "Veiling is a protection for me. When I am unveiled, I appreciate the value of my veil more because without it, I feel naked." Participant 12 feels very exposed and unprotected without her headscarf on: "Unveiling is like being exposed or being nude. It is very humiliating for a woman to walk on campus nude. Woman is like a piece of jewelry. You hide your piece of jewelry; you protect it in your safe. The more a woman protects herself, the more valuable she becomes. The headscarf protects you. Without my headscarf I feel unprotected and naked."

Being made passive. Two participants feel that they were made passive and pushed to the back as a result of unveiling as a sixth sub-theme. As explained by Participant 21:

> Unveiling made me very passive as a woman. I cannot express myself easily anymore. I do not open my mouth very often. Even when I say something, I am wondering if people are going to criticize me, especially men. I always feel that I am going to get criticized or rejected by men, or by others so I try to remain inactive as much as possible. This is what unveiling did to my gender identity.

Participant 19 feels pushed to the back row in society as a woman, as a result of unveiling. In addition, she compares her female identity to men in general and expressed that unveiling makes her feel as if she is beneath them:

> Life has become difficult as a result of unveiling and veiling back again throughout the day. I wish I were a man. As a woman, I feel as if I am pushed backward, behind the man. Men say "Women cannot do this; women cannot do that." However, a woman can do everything in a society. Women should walk hand in hand with men, not behind them. But unveiling makes me feel as if I am walking behind them in society.

Anger toward other women who support the ban. The last sub-theme that one participant focused on is that unveiling made her angry with other women who do not support her and who protest the ban: "As a result of unveiling, I became angry with all the women who support my unveiling. I am angry with all these women who support the ban. They wear what they want; they look nice and beautiful. I cannot. So I am really upset with those women who do what they want to do and do not let me do what I want to do." (Participant 30)

Summary. Part-time unveilers perceived numerous ways in which unveiling impacted them as women. What emerges from the data is that participants perceive that

unveiling challenges them as females and affects their gender identity negatively in different ways.

Summary of Research Question 7

This section explored the perceptions of the part-time unveilers about the impact of complying with the policy on their identities as Turkish citizens, Muslims, and females. Participants shared their perspectives in order to show the various ways in which unveiling affected them. Even though there are some participants who perceive that their identities (or part of their identities) are not influenced to a great extent, most part-time unveilers perceive that their multiple identities are challenged because of their experience of complying with the policy and removing their headscarf.

Summary of Chapter 7

This chapter presented the perceptions of part-time unveilers about the ways in which the headscarf ban policy has impacted their citizenship, religious, and gender identities. The following chapter provides an overall discussion of the research findings presented in Chapters 4 through 7, presents implications for research and practice, and makes recommendations for students, parents, administrators, policy makers and researchers.

CHAPTER 8

Discussion

This chapter focuses on a general discussion of all the research findings, highlights their implications for research and practice, makes recommendations for students, parents, administrators, policy makers, and researchers, explains limitations of the study, and offers suggestions for further research.

Findings and Discussion

This dissertation examined the perceptions of the part-time unveilers about the impact of the headscarf ban policy on their educational and cultural experiences in Turkish state universities. Part-time unveilers who participated in this study had diverse backgrounds in terms of age, SES, family life, and schools they attended as well as in respect to their personalities, and Turkish, Muslim and female identities. Participants who first dropped out of university as a result of the headscarf ban but later returned to complete their studies were also included. This diversity added to the strength of the sample and the power and usefulness of the findings.

The systematic analysis of the perceptions of the research participants has two main contributions. Data analysis unpacks who the participants are and how they live and highlights some of their distinct features as undergraduate students and covered women. In other words, the accounts of the participants familiarize readers with lives and identities of part-time unveilers and provide them with a portrait that seems not to have been fully depicted so far. Also findings indicate that the headscarf ban is not merely an access policy that appears to attempt to regularize students' entrance to universities, but a multi-layered higher education policy that seems to deeply impact and have serious

repercussions on both the academic experiences and identities of part-time unveilers together with the campus climate of Turkish universities. This means that political and educational debates about the headscarf ban have always framed the policy from the access-to-higher education point of view linking the policy to the social and political contexts of Turkey. From this perspective the issue seems to have been approached from a narrow viewpoint without tackling the bigger picture of the ramifications and implications of the policy with regard to the lives and personalities of the part-time unveilers, the higher education system, and the society in the long run. Thus, discussions around the issue of the policy need to be reframed, and their scope broadened, to better comprehend the long-term consequences of the policy for the education system and the country.

With these two main contributions of the study in mind, this section first portrays the research participants and their multi-faceted lives and personalities and then tackles the complexity of the higher education headscarf ban policy and its tensions. Later it highlights the campus life of part-time unveilers and reveals the impact of the headscarf ban policy on their identity.

Part-Time Unveilers and Their Multi-Faceted Lives and Personalities

Part-time unveiler is a term coined for a woman who chooses to cover her hair in her private life as a dictate of her religion, but removes the headscarf to go to college. This particular group of women is unique in the sense that they experience both what it means to be covered and non-covered for a long period of time, at least during their undergraduate studies as a result of the headscarf ban policy.

Part-time unveilers seem to have distinct features both as covered girls and students. The findings discussed in Chapters 4 though 7 regarding the participants' personalities and lives can be summarized as follows: As covered women, they seem to have strong but multi-faceted personalities as Turkish citizens, Muslims, and women. Their religious identity seems to be the dominant identity that governs their personalities and lifestyles. As students, they appear to be like other undergraduate students with the feelings and emotions of youth. However, they seem to be distinguished from other students in the way they have to physically appear on campuses–i.e., with wigs, hats, or non-genuine exposure of hair because of the headscarf ban policy. The policy seems to force participants to negotiate it in various ways. They first consider their possible options–i.e., complying or not complying with the policy, then rationalize their reasons for compliance, decide on the type of unveiling, and deal with the various reactions they receive from family and friends with regard to their decision. Their negotiation process and compliance with the policy seem to indicate that they are strong and resilient women who try to adjust their lives according to the changing circumstances in which they live. One main reason for their flexibility appears to stem from the value they attach to higher education. However, they appear to make strategic, not always voluntary, choices about the academic programs they would like to pursue as a result of the headscarf ban policy.

One interesting observation about the findings concerning their negotiation process is that part-time unveilers appear more conservative than their parents in the sense that when some of them initially refused to comply or were hesitant about complying with the policy, their parents encouraged them to unveil so that they could attend Turkish higher education institutions. In addition, based on the data, it is apparent

that some parents became enthusiastic when their daughters, who had dropped out as a result of the ban, decided to comply with the policy and go back to university. According to the accounts of the part-time unveilers, several parents supported the decision of the participants to remove their headscarves and in the case of a couple of parents, they even wished that their daughters would choose the exposure of hair as their style of unveiling. Based on the perceptions of the part-time unveilers about the supportive and encouraging role of some of these parents for their children to comply with the ban, it is possible to deduce that parents seem to be more liberal than the participants. The reasons for this situation might be examined from two perspectives. In the case of the parents, they may appear more liberal because of the following reasons. Some of them may be lower-class uneducated people struggling financially. Others may be middle- or upper-middle class well-educated people who would like their daughters to lead a similar life. In both cases, they may see higher education as a means for their daughters to succeed in life and have a bright future. With this in mind, they may make a compromise with the headscarf. In addition, considering the fact that, before the 1980s, most women veiled in a traditional way without knowing Islamic teachings in-depth, as explained in chapter 2, for them compromising with the headscarf may not be as hard as part-time unveilers who claim to know the true Islam and follow it accordingly (Gole, 1996). So in the case of the participants, they may appear more conservative because they may be more dedicated to the headscarf as a result of their proclaimed knowledge and consciousness about Islamic teachings, as mentioned in chapter 2.

Another possible explanation of the reason why parents appear more liberal than their daughters in relation to the headscarf may relate to generational differences in what

the headscarf is perceived by them to mean. Based on the literature reported in chapter 2 (Arat, 2005; Gole, 1996), it is possible to argue that with its traditional wearing, the headscarf, before the 1980s, represented the submission and subservience of women. Women wore it to mainly continue the traditional norms. On the other hand, with the emerging style of veiling, the headscarf, after the 1980s, symbolized liberation. In addition, most of the participants argued that they wore the headscarf voluntarily, without any external pressure. So, based on these arguments, it is possible to claim that participants appear more conservative because it may be easier for the mothers to 'give up' a traditional garment which may restrict them than for the participants who wear it by choice and perceive it as liberating.

Research findings highlight that part-time unveilers identify themselves as members of the Islamist community who were introduced to the tenets of Islam by their parents and/or during their school years. About one-third (nine) of the participants in the sample reported that they decided to cover their heads because they were encouraged or influenced by their peers, teachers, or acquaintances in schools. Three women were at university when they were attracted to Islam, and two were at the test centers for university exam preparation when they were asked to wear headscarves in return for financial support. In my opinion, this shows that educational sites might be places that can contribute to the adoption of Islamism, as was the case before it gained popularity in the 1980s when students embraced leftist or nationalist ideologies in their college years (Arat, 2005). This makes the concern of policy makers credible over the use and spread of headscarves on campus (Arat, 2005). However, the accounts of the participants indicate that one challenge of the headscarf ban policy is that the prohibition seems to

provoke the part-time unveilers and hone their will to fight the system. This situation seems to make some participants become more attached to Islamist ideology, which I think has the potential to radicalize them.

Findings highlight that part-time unveilers have strong but multi-faceted socially constructed identities as Turkish citizens, Muslims, and women. Although each component of their overall identity appears to be an important part of the self, the responses of the participants signal that their religious identity seems to be the aorta that feeds other identities that constitute their "self" as covered women.

Part-time unveilers are proud of being Turks and also of being Muslims. They consider themselves different from Muslims in the Arab world and appreciate the secular values Turkey provides them (Arat, 2005). Their accounts reflect the amalgamation of the influence of the Islamist belief system and worldviews and the secular nature of the education system they receive and the system they live in. In other words, their identity, akin to the traditional Turkish identity (Ayoob, 2004; Gulalp, 2003) is shaped by both Islam and secularism. In my opinion these women are different from other Muslim females in that the principles and customs of a secular nation-state shape their religion (Arat, 2005) as opposed to in the rest of the Muslim world where Islam shapes the values and norms of the countries.

However, even within Turkish Muslims, these women differentiate themselves as conscious Muslims in contrast to those who blindly follow Islam as a result of tradition, a finding which is in line with the literature (Acar, 1995; Gole, 1996) in chapter 2. As discussed earlier in chapter 2, the choices of these women imply a rejection of the model provided by their parents "who are perpetuating traditions and traditional religion within

their domestic lives . . ." (Gole, 1996, p. 5). As I mentioned previously, based on my observation during interviews and accounts of the part-time unveilers, participants do not use the old small headscarves tied under the chin that their mothers use. Instead, they wear large and colorful turbans that frame their head and cover their neck and sometimes shoulders. In my opinion, their new style of unveiling and their definitions of themselves as Muslims with extensive knowledge about Islam, as opposed to traditional Muslims, are two distinct features of part-time unveilers. These features show that they belong to the emerging contemporary Islamist figure as reported in the literature review (Acar, 1995; Gole, 1996). In addition to the influence of Turkish feminism and the rising power of Islam in the Turkish public sphere as mentioned in chapter 2, I would argue that, these features of the part-time unveilers highlight also the influence of Islamic feminism, a movement of Muslim women whose ultimate goal is "freedom of choice and a full exercise of identity" (Masood, 2004, p. 2). These features signal waves of change and new religious identities in the world of Islamist women (Arat, 1995). I agree with Gole (1996) that the message this new emerging profile of Muslim women tries to convey to both secular and Islamist communities is that Islam is not associated with backwardness or traditionalism, but rather with modernism and improvement. Yet, with reference to the arguments of the scholars in chapter 2, the challenge they seem to face is that secularists perceive this novel representation of Muslim identity as a political and ideological movement that brings a threat of religious radicalism and fundamentalism (Gole, 1996).

As for their identity as females, the findings highlight that these part-time unveilers aspire to be women who want education, prosperous careers, gender equality, and economic freedom. They wish to take active part in the social and business spheres.

They do not want to become dependent on male power; rather, desiring emancipation and liberation from patriarchal values (Gole, 1996). They seek recognition as self-asserting and independent women. They believe that they have the power to change future generations as mothers of their sons and daughters (Ozbay, 1995). This idea of educating children who will potentially shape the future of the country seems to empower their identities as women and give them a sense of self-importance and superiority over the men. In my view, Turkish and Islamic feminism encourages them to make their own choices, to assert their identity and visibility, to gain more power and dominance, and to create waves of change in the gender equilibrium. In my opinion, the new portrait of these women seems to be an attempt to diminish or if possible eliminate the perception of the female as the other "within the context of hierarchical and bureaucratic relations of patriarchy" (Prasad & Prasad, 2002, p. 57) in a predominantly male-dominated society. In other words, part-time unveilers try to make a transition to the position of being subjects rather than objects (Gole, 1996) by means of a process of active self-formation that transforms them "into subjects who secure their meaning and reality through identifying with a particular sense of their own gender . . ." (Bruni & Gherardi, 2002, p. 35). Furthermore I also think that their above-mentioned distinct gender-related features is an attempt to establish the modern image of assertive, career-oriented, and educated Muslim women as emerging actors within Turkish society and is particularly instrumental for Islamists in trying to change the perceptions of the secularists who consider the Islamist community to be a male-dominated environment where women do not have many rights (White, 2002).

The part-time unveilers also indicated that family is a very critical institution. This is in line with mainstream Islamic and Turkish opinion that suggests a critical role for the family in life (Tekeli, 1995). Most participants enjoy family life and aspire to have a family of their own where husbands and wives have equal rights. Their social life is family-oriented and is predominantly shaped by the dictates of Islam since they prefer to have relatively limited relationships with men (Acar, 1995), and do not drink or go to places where alcohol is consumed. In my opinion, these accounts seem to be another example of the dominance of religion over the personalities and social lives of part-time unveilers.

As students, findings indicate that part-time unveilers are full of energy and dynamism with the feelings and emotions of youth. They perceive their personalities in different ways ranging from responsible and relaxed to nervous and quick-tempered. Most identify themselves as conscientious, industrious, and productive, with apparent potential and hope for the future. These characteristics of the participants seem to be indicative of the fact that these women are just like other college students, full of ideals, goals, and excitement for life. However, they differ in terms of their physical appearance, not through their headscarf or conservative clothes, but instead through the way they conform to the headscarf ban policy, i.e., by wearing hats, using wigs, or exposing their hair. I am of the opinion that this inability to portray their genuine physical appearance, i.e., wearing the headscarf, necessitates them leading a double life, one on and one off campus. This enforced double life differentiates part-time unveilers from other university students.

However, this double life does not appear to make the participants victims of the ban as has been reported elsewhere (e.g., "Mazlumder," 1998; Arat, 2005). Rather, the accounts of the participants suggest strength and resilience and an ability to adapt to changing circumstances thus allowing them to be in control of their lives. They are very realistic as to what they can and cannot change, understand their circumstances as a result of the headscarf ban policy, recognize their options, and take actions strategically and rationally. Instead of acting with emotions based on hopes and dreams, it seems that they act with minds based on the real world in which they live.

Additionally, the accounts of the participants demonstrate a respect for higher education as a means toward social and economic mobility (Ozbay, 1995). The positives to be gleaned from further education seem to outweigh any negatives associated with the headscarf ban policy. I believe this strong desire to continue higher education in pursuit of a better life is rational and in line with scholars' findings showing that women of the ruling elite who had a good education have frequently had prestigious and lucrative jobs in Turkey (Oncu, 1979).

The accounts of the participants also indicate that they make strategic choices about the academic programs they would like to pursue based on their university exam scores, the number of part-time unveilers in the program, and the extent to which the academic program contributes to the formation of a successful career for a covered woman to overcome some challenges presented by the general and higher education headscarf ban policies. It seems that they make a decision that ensures a support structure while attending university and a future career path. I believe that this rational approach to choice of areas to study may lead them to study in areas they are not passionate about and

ultimately could impact their long-term achievement. This may lead to long-term dissatisfaction with, and a lack of success in, the careers that these part-time unveilers choose.

In addition, part-time unveilers voiced the ongoing negotiation process that they have with the headscarf ban policy. They consider complying or not complying with the ban, rationalize compliance, welcome positive comments and disregard negative comments, consider different types of unveiling, and even consciously choose not to engage with friends that may negatively influence their decision. The heuristic they employ seems to be one that allows them to make well-informed decisions about their future. I believe these choices are symbolic decisions that explain how they think about the headscarf ban policy especially with regard to their religion. It is a negotiation between education and career options, and religious duty, and also often means disregarding some of the comments of their relatives or friends that they may not have been subjected to in other circumstances. These tough internal battles are fought in the formative teenage years and these students consequently are being forced to grow up very quickly. This may have a harmful long-term impact on these students and may even serve to politicize part-time unveilers.

To sum up, although some part-time unveilers appear to be quiet and passive, most of them seem to be active, confident, outspoken, and ambitious women who seek higher education, oppose traditional and domestic roles of women (Gole, 1996), and aspire to take active roles in society. They try to reconcile how to be a Muslim woman in a contemporary and modern society. These self-conscious Muslims tend to seek full integration into society, better social and economic status, and more respect for their

rights including public expressions of religiosity. Their vibrant personalities, strong feelings of citizenship, religious, and female identities, and their determination to continue university, strongly imply their desire for change, to create a new image of an Islamist woman who would both alter the public visibility of Islamists, and eradicate the negative perceptions of secularists about Islamists. In my opinion, it is these part-time unveilers who will determine the direction of the Islamist community within the Turkish society, as opposed to those who choose not to comply with the policy, stop their education, and limit their options for the future.

Having discussed who the part-time unveilers appear to be and the kind of multi-faceted lives and personalities they tend to have, in the following section I discuss the higher education headscarf ban issue from various angles based on the perceptions of the participants about the policy.

Complexity of the Higher Education Headscarf Ban Policy and Its Tensions

Data analysis and different ways of interpreting some parts of the data revealed that the headscarf ban policy is a complex and intriguing issue that can be debated from various starting points. Based on the perceptions of the participants about the higher education headscarf ban policy presented in chapter 5, key findings are as follows: Participants perceive the headscarf ban policy to be intertwined with the social and political context of Turkey. They think the policy is a limitation on their basic right of access to higher education, restricts the freedom of religious expression, hinders the relationship between religion and education, and discriminates against women. Their accounts also highlight that the ban appears as a catalyst for their politicization, an instrument that categorizes and classifies female students, and a vehicle that makes them

passive. They perceive that secularists use the ban as a change agent to modernize the Islamists and the ban perpetuates the message that covered women symbolize the backwardness and the Islamic law.

The accounts of the participants highlight that the policy is closely intertwined with the social and political context of Turkey and has emerged as a direct result of the Turkish political tensions and politicization of Islam (Metz, 1995). I believe part-time unveilers are part of a power struggle between secularists and Islamists in Turkish politics (Tekeli, 1995) where the headscarf has been *victimized* or compromised to enable the Turkish ruling elite to get certain messages across to the future leaders of society. Another issue is that just as Islam was politicized and used to attract votes in the 1970s, it seems that now the headscarf has been politicized, making the headscarf ban policy an instrument in strategy formulation for political parties to win elections.

Linked to the sociopolitical situation of Turkey, the participants perceive the ban as a policy that restricts their freedom of religious expression (Arat, 2005) in contrast to the principles of Turkish secularism and democracy. In my opinion, this seems to highlight a tension between secularism and democracy in theory and secularism and democracy in practice in the context of Turkish higher education and create conflict and confusion in the minds of students (Seggie, in press; Mabokela and Seggie, in press).

In addition to its appearance as a restriction of religious freedom, the ban also appears to hinder the relationship between religion and education (Arat, 2005). According to part-time unveilers, Islam advises its followers to both wear a headscarf and pursue education (Gole, 1996), but the ban leaves them face-to-face with a situation where they have to give up one choice even if it is temporary.

Within the context of education, the participants perceive the ban as a limitation on their basic right of access to higher education (Arat, 2005). The ban is an obvious and long-term barrier for their future lives. Their decision about whether to unveil or not seems to be a turning point which determines the direction of their lives. In my opinion, their compliance with the policy hints at their willingness to choose the opportunities provided by education over the challenges resulting from unveiling. This means that part-time unveilers consider higher education as a means that empowers them and equips them with necessary tools to challenge the current headscarf ban policy in force.

The participants also perceive the ban as an attempt to make students passive at universities. According to them, by forcing covered women to uncover their hair on campuses, the Turkish higher education system attempts to prevent Islamist women from becoming political activists. This use of the ban as a means to make students passive makes the issue of the ban more complex for two reasons. One the one hand, both the literature and accounts of the participants indicate that there are women who cover their hair to make a political statement (Arat, 2005; Gole, 1996). These women cover their hair not because they consider the headscarf as a tenet of Islam, but because they believe that the headscarf contributes to the visibility of Islamism on campus. The aim of these women seems to be mainly to mobilize students toward an Islamic orientation and influence female students to islamicize (Arat, 2005; Gole, 1996). I would argue that, from the point of view of the government committed to secular democracy, trying to prevent ideologically-equipped Islamist women from becoming political activists is an appropriate goal and the existence of the headscarf ban policy is an appropriate means. On the other hand, based on the literature (Human Rights Watch, n.d., "Mazlumder,"

1998) and the accounts of the participants, there are also women who cover their hair because of their religious beliefs and I believe their voices need to be heard to foster the diverse nature of the campus. So, from the perspective of equal human rights, the existence of the ban violates social justice, limits the freedom and religious and educational rights of the part-time unveilers, and restricts the promotion of diversity.

The participants also explain how the ban has a direct impact on their worldview and hint at the possibility of the ban becoming a catalyst for their politicization due to their being victims of the political context of Turkey. It is ironic that the headscarf ban policy, which was implemented as a way to depoliticize the higher education context (Sunar, 2004; Sunar & Sayari, 2004), has somehow been diverted from its objective and has become an instrument that politicizes part-time unveilers. This politicization may even perpetuate and further the categorization between secularists and Islamists. Also, politicized women may be driven enough to mobilize and politicize other students they encounter on campus, re-politicizing the higher education context. Thus in the long run, the policy that was intended to depoliticize the Turkish university could actually perpetuate politicization.

From a feminist perspective, the part-time unveilers perceive the ban as discriminatory against women (Arat, 2005), placing them "in subordination to men in the context of the sex-gender system" (Gok, 1995, p. 131). Men with beliefs similar to covered women may enter universities freely while women are forbidden. Therefore, I would argue that the headscarf ban policy discriminates against covered women not only due to their belief systems, but also because they are female (Arat, 2005). In essence there exists a struggle against secularists and male dominance. In my opinion, this shows

that the Turkish higher education system seems to privilege not only secularists but also men, and problematizes the higher education headscarf ban as a policy that reproduces sexism and perpetuates male dominance on campuses, which may negatively influence the psychological well-being of the discriminated, in this case, the part-time unveilers (Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, & Owen, 2002).

In addition to gender discrimination, the ban seems to create several layers of categorization within the same sex. Part-time unveilers perceive that the policy seems to classify female students as covered or uncovered with the insinuation that covered is in some way inferior. Also, covered women are separated into compliers and non-compliers, with the category of compliers further broken down into hat wearers, wig users, and those with hair exposed. Within compliers there is also a level of acceptance or non-acceptance of the different methods of compliance. I believe all these various classifications may create multiple levels of difference, lead to the generation of subcultures, and encourage feelings of alienation, opposition, and/or superiority among female students, which in fact should not exist specifically in the context of higher education.

Framing the policy through the views of the secularists as perceived by the participants, the ban appears as an instrument for the secularists to label covered women as "anachronistic" with the intention of modernizing them through the act of unveiling on campuses. According to the part-time unveilers, secularists perceive covered women as backward and narrow-minded people who are lower class and not open to development (White, 2002). Participants perceive that secularists want to alter that and consider the ban as a change mechanism that intends to modify part-time unveilers in the long run by making them live a campus life where they are different, that is, unveiled. According to

part-time unveilers, the secularists want to change covered women in the direction of their secularization and, in addition to secular education that automatically contributes toward that aim (Gole, 1997), they also use the policy as an instrument toward that goal. However, data analysis shows that the ultimate change seems to take place in two different directions; in some cases, perceptions of participants are such that some women (and not all of them) may either end up removing the headscarf for good or become more attached to their headscarves. In this sense, I would argue that the ban might either secularize or further islamicize part-time unveilers in the long run. The emerging question is, what is the percentage of those who secularize or further islamicize? The answer to this question may reveal the extent to which the ban achieves its goal for the purposes of secularists. Another question that needs to be explored is: What does it mean to be further islamicized and become more attached to religion, and what are its implications for the country? To further complicate matters, one could argue that secular education secularizes Islamists to a certain extent anyway and the policy may not further contribute to the process.

Furthermore, the voices of the participants indicate that the ban seems to perpetuate the message that Islamists are the representatives of the religious law and threat of Seriat. In other words, the ban on the headcovering appears to be an indicator of the fact that secularists continue to perceive the headscarf as a "symbol of opposition to the Republic" (Arat, 2005, p. 26) and threat to secularism even if women wear it for only religious purposes.

In addition, paradoxically, the ban serves as an instrument for Islamist women to express themselves, explain who they are, and tell their "life stories." I think the policy,

framed from this perspective, *de-victimizes* the participants–that is, it removes its perceived victimization effect ("Mazlumder," 1998)–and so empowers them, enabling them to make statements about the ideologies of the Islamist community and the role of Islam and the covered women in secular Turkey.

To sum up, I think, on the one hand, the headscarf ban seems to be a policy that challenges, discriminates, and disadvantages Islamist female students who are already disadvantaged both as women and Islamists (Gok, 1995). It may categorize, stigmatize, and politicize them on campus. This might result in resentment and bitterness from Islamists against secularists and perpetuate polarization of secularists and Islamists, which might have some long-term implications for the Turkish society. However, on the other hand, the ban problematizes the role of religion in a secular country, centralizes the Islamist woman, and creates a platform for Islamist women to narrate their stories and make political and non-political statements about themselves, Islamism, religion, and secularism. From this perspective, the policy empowers the part-time unveilers, and, through the ways they handle the policy, becomes a vehicle through which the women explicitly avoid being victims.

Additionally, the ban impacts the lives of the part-time unveilers and makes them choose between continuing to veil or unveil after graduation. Furthermore, the question has to be raised as to the success of the ban. What seems to emerge is that if the policy depoliticizes the university, which some could argue it does since campuses may be relatively safer compared to the 1980s, then it is possible to conclude that the policy succeeds in what it intends to do. Likewise, the data analysis indicated that some women may continue covering their hair while some others may continue unveiling after

graduation. Assuming that those who choose to continue unveiling after graduation have become fully secularized, if the aim is to secularize the Islamists, then based on the data analysis, one could argue that the policy achieves, to a certain extent, what it intends to achieve from the point of view of the higher education policy makers. But does this mean that the policy works in the best interests of university students?

Campus Life of Part-Time Unveilers and Its Challenges

Analysis of the data, as documented in chapter 6, reveals opportunities and challenges as a result of their unveiling in the face of the headscarf ban. The opportunities occur when unveiling acts as (1) an instrument that opens doors to campuses and academic experiences, and (2) a protector from academic discrimination and marginalization. The challenges appear when (1) unveiling creates problems, and (2) as a result of unveiling, a majority of the participants spend little time on campus, have infrequent contact with faculty, and experience hostility from administrators and peers.

In terms of opportunities, all participants perceive unveiling as the key to enter Turkish campuses and some of them, as protection from academic discrimination and social marginalization. In my opinion, this implies that some academic and social discrimination from faculty, administrators, and peers may exist (and does exist according to the perceptions of part-time unveilers, as will be discussed later) and unveiling is seen as a preventative measure taken against them. However, is unveiling really an opportunity, or merely a temporary solution that allows part-time unveilers to continue higher education, arguably a right that should exist for all qualified citizens regardless of dress?

Findings indicated that there are some participants who perceive some specific advantages of unveiling, such as enhancing their campus activities, extra-curricular activities or motivation for studying. Thus, whether these participants complied with the policy reluctantly or not, it is apparent that they discovered some positive outcomes of unveiling for themselves and decided to take full advantage of these specific opportunities to become as involved in the higher education experience as possible.

Coupled with the opportunities come challenges, and it appears that ultimately unveiling creates problems and positive outcomes of unveiling outweigh its negative outcomes. Sooner or later some types of unveiling (e.g., wig or hat), outfit (e.g., constant use of turtlenecks even under the heat in the summer), and behavior (e.g., shying away from men or not drinking alcohol) tend to give away who part-time unveilers really are and they seem to become subjected to discrimination, harassment, marginalization, or isolation, not only because they are covered (or Islamists) but also due to their type of unveiling, outfit, or behavior. So in my opinion, in many cases, it appears as if the act of unveiling exacerbates biases and prejudices of other undergraduate students and perpetuates feelings of discrimination and intolerance.

The accounts of the participants show that most, if not all, participants tend to spend little time on campus as a result of unveiling, in an effort to avoid attention or minimize discomfort with being uncovered. This results in participants not using campus facilities and not attending extra-curricular activities, thus losing out on educational and cultural experiences that might strengthen their connection to the academic life and create a sense of belonging (Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998; Tinto, 1993).

In addition, the accounts of the participants highlight that they seem to have infrequent contact with faculty. The level of dialogue appears to further be minimized when professors utter words of discouragement and make negative comments about the participants as a result of their unveiling. Sometimes, they tend to miss classes or make purposeful curricular choices by avoiding certain electives even when they are useful for their education just to stay away from certain professors who are opposed to their type of unveiling. I would argue that these findings imply that participants may not receive enough academic support, lack faculty guidance, and make curricular decisions that do not contribute to their area of specialization. Coupled with their strategic choice of disciplines mentioned earlier, their intentional course selection seems to reinforce the fact that some part-time unveilers may follow a curriculum that they are not fully committed to or are not passionate about. In my opinion, this might hinder their learning, achievement, and intellectual maturity, which are critical elements in student success and development (Evans et al., 1998; Kuh, Kinzie, Schuh, & Whitt, 2005; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005) which could ultimately have an impact upon their future success and satisfaction in the careers that these part-time unveilers pursue.

Moreover, on various occasions, the participants indicate they seem to suffer hostility, both from administrators and peers that includes verbal abuse and harassment. They may feel challenged while making friends, which results in their becoming antisocial and they may suffer from isolation, exclusion, and marginalization. The staring and scrutiny of others both in class and campus appear to challenge them further as a result of their unveiling. These challenges are likely to result in a situation where

participants do not develop the social network which college attendance is expected to strengthen, or establish the kind of connections they need during and after their university lives (Evans et al., 1998).

In my opinion, these perceived feelings of marginalization and tokenism from faculty, administrators, and peers as a result of their hurdles around the issues of socialization may cause frustration, anxiety, and concern about whether they matter to people on and off campus (Schlossberg, 1989). To feel that one matters is particularly important because research findings indicate that a sense of mattering facilitates growth and learning, encouraging the development of self-esteem, self-confidence, and a sense of fitting in (Evans et al., 1998; Schlossberg, 1989). What seems to emerge as an issue is the extent to which Turkish universities provide part-time unveilers with opportunities to be noticed, appreciated, cared about, needed, and rewarded and to develop a sense of mattering as a result of the ways in which the headscarf ban policy impacts their academic experiences.

On the other hand, based on their reported GPAs and their accounts about their numeric success in classes, unveiling does not seem to drastically challenge their exam grades. As a result of becoming more ambitious and determined to graduate and prove that they are smart and studious women, several participants appear to devote considerable energy to their studies. Even though their success in numeric forms does not necessarily indicate the extent to which learning takes place, it still may be an important impetus that might keep some, if not all, part-time unveilers motivated to a certain extent.

The perceived challenges in their relationships with faculty, administrators and peers, and the quantity and quality of the time spent on campus, hints that the part-time

unveilers may not be fully involved in campus life. In my opinion, this is particularly important because research (Astin, 1984; Kuh & Love, 2000; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005) indicates that the degree of involvement in the campus environment is an important indicator of the extent to which a student learns and develops. Scholars explain that a high level of involvement–that is, studying effectively and efficiently, spending time on campus, participating actively in extra-curricular activities, using campus facilities, and interacting frequently with faculty and peers–results in a higher amount of student learning and growth (Astin, 1984; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). These arguments are based on research conducted in the U.S. but I am assuming that the findings hold in other settings as well. However, I think in the case of part-time unveilers, apart from some degree of studying (which may be a solitary effort as well), an active engagement in the campus environment does not seem to take place. This implies that (a) the campus does not present a fully healthy environment for participants, and (b) the student learning, development, and growth expected to take place during their undergraduate studies may not fully take place. In other words, the headscarf ban policy appears to create a "chilly" campus climate which may not provide the kind of faculty, administrator, and peer support part-time unveilers need, and which seems to be uncomfortable, unsafe, and challenging enough that part-time unveilers prefer to spend only minimal time on campus. All these negative experiences may result in institutional dissatisfaction. Also, both the unwelcoming environment and organizational dissatisfaction may have a negative effect on the educational outcomes of the part-time unveilers, which would have long-term implications.

Furthermore, this unsupportive campus climate may hinder the development of their self-esteem which would normally be improved in a supportive campus climate (Green, 1989; Hale, 1991; Tinto, 1993; Watson, Terrell, Wright, & Associates, 2002). Enhancement of self-esteem is important because it enriches teaching and learning and encourages individuals to take advantage of the special experiences and opportunities offered on higher education campuses. This suggests that part-time unveilers may not have enough opportunities to develop their confidence to fully benefit from the academic life at universities.

Impact of the Headscarf Ban Policy on the Identities of the Part-Time Unveilers

As young undergraduates who are at the final stages of their adolescence or at the beginning of their adulthood, the part-time unveilers seem to experience challenges to their identities at two different levels as a result of unveiling. At one level, their core identities (that is, personalities and psychology) are challenged while negotiating the policy in terms of considering their options, exploring the kind and extent of compromises they need to make during their compliance with the policy, deciding on whether they prefer the wig, hat, or exposing the hair, and while negotiating the campus life in terms of educational and cultural experiences at university. On another level, their socially constructed identities (that is, identities as Turkish citizens, Muslims, and women) are challenged while negotiating others' understanding of them as part-time unveilers, exploring how others perceive their identities as women who are unveiled on campus and veiled outside campus, and trying to find ways in which they can become accepted and convey their personalities as part-time unveilers on campus.

Research findings presented in chapter 7 reveal that the act of unveiling impacts the identities of the participants as students and as Turkish citizens, Muslims, and females in numerous ways that have various implications for identity formation and development. Based on the perceptions of the part-time unveilers about how unveiling impacts their identities, key findings are as follows: Because of unveiling, part-time unveilers seem to experience psychological problems, feel like second-class citizens as Turks and ugly and naked as women, and think that they are making concessions from their religious beliefs.

The accounts of the research participants indicate that unveiling seems to create psychological problems such as anxiety, depression, anger, guilt, and feelings of paranoia. Some participants appear to manage or overcome these negative emotions, but the impact of simply experiencing such intense psychological feelings at such young ages on the health of their long-term identities needs careful examination. Other part-time unveilers do not seem to manage or overcome these negative emotions, which may hinder the psychosocial development that contributes to the formation of identity (Chickering, 1969; Chickering & Reisser, 1993).

Also, the findings highlight that as a result of the headscarf ban policy, part-time unveilers seem to consider themselves second-class citizens. With feelings of second-class citizenship, they feel restricted and not valued. This implies that the headscarf ban policy may obstruct the further development of their citizenship identity, an important component of their identity as part of Turkish society, making them feel like restricted second-class citizens who are not valued. In my opinion, this might mean that their identities as citizens become politicized and polarized. It is because the policy appears to produce and reproduce ideologies, and create class issues based on their physical

appearance and the way they live their religion as citizens. Furthermore, in a country where there is democracy and equality of citizens in the eyes of the law, the ways in which the policy impacts the citizenship identities of these participants might impair the way they perceive themselves and act as citizens in the long term in Turkey. Moreover, a sense of not being valued may not only impact their learning and academic development as indicated in the earlier sections, but also their overall identity formation and development as active citizens of Turkey.

Findings highlight that the students, as Muslims, feel they make concessions from their belief systems and religious lifestyles. From a religious perspective, participants seem to negotiate unveiling within the framework of a sin trying to understand and rationalize the extent to which their unveiling under the current circumstances might be a sin or not, which seems to result in fears and dilemmas. I would argue that from an identity development perspective, these feelings may make them question their religiosity, destabilize their religious identity, which is an important part of their socially constructed identities, and hinder the establishment of their overall identity. In addition, from a religious perspective, this is likely to create new understandings of Islamic teachings, which might cause hot debates about unveiling and its consequences, which might exacerbate the instrumentalization of Islam within the social and political contexts of Islam (Sunar & Toprak, 2004).

As women, the findings indicate that unveiling challenges the gender identities of part-time unveilers and makes them feel ugly or naked, which leads to a loss of confidence or a sense of passiveness. In my opinion, this might damage their comfort with their appearance, self-concept, and self-respect and impair their personal stability

and integration, which are crucial for their identity formation and development (Chickering, 1969; Chickering & Reisser, 1993).

In short, the challenging impacts of unveiling on participants suggest that the headscarf ban policy seems to attack their personal and social identities. This means that the policy appears to threaten the stability of personalities and trouble the identity formation of part-time unveilers.

Summary of the Findings and Discussion

Even though the headscarf ban policy may be seen as a barrier in their pursuit of higher education opportunities among part-time unveilers, they try to proceed rationally and flexibly, adjusting themselves to the existing circumstances in order to gain access to university, which is seen as "the hope of a better life" (Tekeli, 1995, p. 5). However, their decision to comply with the policy and their act of unveiling seems to be accompanied by several challenges that impact their educational and cultural experiences in their undergraduate studies. Following from insights the part-time unveilers shared in this study, the policy seems to impair their relationship with faculty, administrators, and peers, compromise their social skills and socialization opportunities, interfere with the way they are treated in class and on campus, and challenge them in different ways while they are making attempts to engage socially, intellectually, and affectively on campus. Furthermore, the policy seems to impact the development of part-time unveilers affecting their identities as young undergraduates, Turkish citizens, Muslims, and women. It appears to encumber them with numerous psychological challenges at early periods of their lives, defy their personalities by making them doubt their value and place in society as citizens and women, and question the extent of their religiosity. These perceived

challenges, lack of support, and feelings of not mattering or being welcome indicate that they may not be fully involved in campus life and that their learning, growth, and identity development may suffer, which has some implications for themselves, higher education, and the society in general.

Implications for Practice and Future Research

The findings imply issues and concerns for part-time unveilers, higher education system in Turkey, and Turkish society. In this section, I discuss some of these broader issues that researchers and higher education stakeholders–educational leaders, administrators, policy makers, students, and citizens in the society–need to consider.

Implications for Part-Time Unveilers

First, based on their experiences on campus, part-time unveilers do not seem to be fully involved in the campus environment and as a result their persistence in college may suffer in the long run. Research on college attrition of undergraduate students (Astin, 1975; Astin, 1977; Astin, 1997) indicates that college environment seems to have a significant impact on a student's persistence at university. Positive factors such as participation in extra-curricular activities, student-faculty interaction, and joining student communities are likely to increase student involvement and contribute to student persistence whereas noninvolvement is likely to contribute to dropping out. Based on the study's findings, the participants do not seem to be significantly engaged in the campus environment and suffer from a lack of involvement, so they may drop out before they graduate. It is important to examine and understand the attrition rate of part-time unveilers to realize the extent to which the concerns raised in this discussion are valid.

Furthermore, the educational and cultural experiences of the participants indicate that the university may not completely provide an environment where they can fully grow, progress, or increase their developmental capabilities (Evans et al., 1998). As a result, enhancement in learning, intellectual growth, and affective and behavioral changes that are expected to happen in university, may not take place to the fullest extent possible. So in my opinion, even if participants persist and do not drop out, they may graduate without developing as much as they might have and may not become as mature, sophisticated, productive, and active citizens as they could. This means that the country may not be able to utilize the talents of these women as fully as possible.

There is research evidence (Cabrera & Nora, 1994; Cress & Ikeda, 2003; Guthman, 1994; Lagdameo, Lee, Nguyen, Liang, Lee, Kodama, & McEwen, 2002) that suggests that students who are not fully integrated in college life might develop psychological and emotional identities which might destabilize their personalities and generate anger, bitterness, ill feelings, animosity, and opposition. These negative feelings and instabilities have the potential to negatively impact their future lives and the lives of those who are involved with them when they take different roles such as wives, professionals, friends, and most importantly mothers in society.

Also, the perceived challenges of part-time unveilers, their constant struggle, and the search for creative and reactive coping strategies to survive for a couple of years may exhaust and demotivate the participants and drain their energy in their undergraduate years. As a result, they may feel too worn out to participate positively in the workforce, particularly if they perceive the general headscarf ban policy to be creating an uncomfortable work climate. Even if they join the workforce, they may not be as

constructive in their professional contributions as they could be. This would be a significant loss to both the students who would not make good use of their academic degrees, but most significantly, a loss for Turkey where an educated group of people would either avoid contributing or only contribute marginally to the civic and economic development of the country.

Moreover, the experiences of the participants as demonstrated by the research findings imply that some of the key factors (e.g., extensive and varied interaction among faculty and part-time unveilers, respect for the individual differences of participants, meaningful friendships) that exert significant influences on student development (Astin, 1997; Evans et al., 1998; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005) are not fully in place. As existing literature explains (Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Watson et al., 2002) the absence of these factors may hinder development of confidence, interconnectedness with others, mature interpersonal relationships, and integrity and management of emotions; the existence of which would promote psychosocial development of the part-time unveilers and contribute to the establishment and growth of identity. The lack of meaningful developmental experiences may prevent participants from forming a healthy identity, and participants may not have the opportunity to strengthen their self-esteem, intellectual and interpersonal competency, network, social, and leadership skills and interdependency, which can often be strengthened as a result of college attendance (Astin, 1984; Evans et al., 1998).

Finally, based on the study findings, the experiences articulated by the participants imply that part-time unveilers, instead of focusing on their studies, enjoying

their undergraduate years, taking full advantage of the academic life, and preparing themselves to become active citizens and professionals, are spending time and energy on the negotiation of the policy and outcomes of unveiling. This means that they seem to miss out a lot of developmental experiences and do not fully benefit from the opportunities the higher education system offers in Turkey.

Implications for Higher Education

First, if all policies can be evaluated in terms of the degree to which they increase involvement (Astin, 1984), based on the ways in which the higher education headscarf ban policy affects the time and amount of effort part-time unveilers devote to their educational experiences, findings from this study suggest that this policy may have unintended outcomes. Framed from the perspective that the effectiveness of an educational policy is directly linked to the capacity of that policy to increase student involvement (Astin, 1984) and because the experiences of part-time unveilers indicate otherwise, one might conclude that the policy has unintentionally had a negative impact on this group of students. It is therefore critical to explore those elements of the higher education system that have been most supportive to help students reach their full potential and contribute to society's betterment (Evans et al., 1998).

Second, the social function of higher education is to preserve, transmit, and enrich cultural and political values (Evans et al., 1998; Gok, 1995). Considering the experiences of the part-time unveilers, the emerging questions are (1) what kind of social and political values are transmitted to the part-time unveilers?, and (2) to what extent do part-time unveilers internalize society's values during their higher education years? In addition, the main responsibility of higher education to society is to prepare students in such a way

that they become active citizens and contribute to the economic development. Based on their experiences, does the university equip all students with necessary knowledge and skills to realize its responsibilities? Also, higher education has an emancipating potential (Gok, 1995). With a policy that restricts the actions, thoughts, and ideals of some students, to what extent is higher education liberating? What is the role of the university in Turkey?

Third, the higher education headscarf ban policy has the potential to influence and also politicize Turkish higher education in two different ways. First, it seems to directly influence, politicize, and polarize the covered students and their academic experiences. Second, it appears to indirectly influence, polarize, and politicize the campus climate, faculty, administrators, and other students. Faculty, administrators, and students take sides and react one way or another to the policy through part-time unveilers or (even perhaps non-compliers). So the campus climate becomes affected as a result of the reaction to the policy by part-time unveilers, administrators, faculty, and peers. From this perspective, the policy has the potential to polarize and politicize higher education system, diverting attention away from research, knowledge production, and scientific exploration.

Finally, findings imply an extensive variation in the interpretation and implementation of this policy across state universities. Even though the policy is the same for all state universities, it seems that different universities, departments and even professors interpret the ban in different ways and implement it accordingly, which seems to result in a non-systematic and inconsistent implementation across universities, departments and even classrooms. The emerging questions that require an investigation

are as follows: What does this variation in implementation highlight about Turkish higher education? What kind of understandings can we garner about the way the policy works in different universities, departments, and classrooms? What are the perceptions and reactions of students toward this inconsistency?

Implications for Society

The headscarf ban policy has the potential to exclude some talented women, the non-compliers of the policy, and create an outcome that may perpetuate disadvantaging women. This means the country loses a valuable workforce, especially considering the role of women in economic development and the nation-building process of countries, since scholars argue that the number of women in the workforce contributes to the economic development and social welfare of a country (Gok, 1995). This may slow down the process of Turkey becoming a developed country, especially when it is preparing itself for full membership of the European Union. From this perspective, is the current interpretation and implementation of the policy truly in the best interest of the country? What are the long-term consequences of the policy? These are important questions that require attention and careful examination.

Also, the policy may generate negative feelings toward the other and perpetuate the further polarization of Islamists and secularists in the society. The ban has the potential to polarize Islamist women according to their type of unveiling on campus or decision of continuing veiling or unveiling. So the policy appears to add extra layers in categorization and further polarize the society to different social and political camps, a development that may negatively impact the socio-cultural structure of Turkey.

Finally, emerging from the findings, the headscarf ban hinders the equal participation of one group of female students and forces them to make critical decisions about their appearance related to their beliefs in order to gain access to higher education. Furthermore, the ability of women to become active participants is compromised as a result of their decision to unveil both on campus and in Islamic milieus. This raises important questions about democratic participation, equal rights, and opportunities and the extent of social justice in the society.

Recommendations

This research has highlighted the experiences and challenges of the part-time unveilers. Their experiences could be supported and enhanced by various actions of those with whom they interact daily as well as the policy makers whose decisions affect them. Thus this section offers specific recommendations for peers of part-time unveilers, parents, administrators, faculty, policy makers, and researchers.

Recommendations for Peers of Part-Time Unveilers

Undergraduate students as peers of part-time unveilers need to make a conscious effort to socialize with part-time unveilers, let them express themselves, listen to their problems and challenges, try to empathize, and make friends with them. This might provide Islamists and secularists with an opportunity to get to know each other, diminish biases and prejudices, and depolarize the campus environment. Also, in order to facilitate the academic lives of part-time unveilers, they may want to educate themselves about the headscarf ban policy, its consequences, and different types of unveiling and avoid looks, scrutiny, and criticism toward part-time unveilers.

Recommendations for Parents of Part-Time Unveilers

Parents of the participants need to fully support the decision that their daughters make with regard to unveiling and type of unveiling. They need to understand their challenges on campus, listen to their problems, and help generate solutions and alternative approaches to facilitate their undergraduate experiences. It is important that the whole family provides a home for the participants which is comfortable and safe, and where they can share their daily campus activities and raise their issues and concerns, and ask for advice.

Recommendations for Administrators

Administrators need to identify the needs of part-time unveilers, develop proactive strategies to address these needs, design student development programs and services, and develop campus policies that will create a healthy college environment where part-time unveilers can interact and socialize. Also administrators need to facilitate the integration of part-time unveilers' identities. Empirical evidence (Chickering, 1969) suggests that a pattern development of identity may take place during the college years. According to Chickering and Reisser (1993), this identity construction consists of many psychological components, including establishment and/or clarification of the self through roles and a lifestyle in a social, historical, and cultural context; making choices about occupation, religious, or spiritual direction; and political and sexual values. Thus, the collegiate environment provides an opportunity for the shaping or reshaping of one's identity. In other words, college becomes a platform for the construction and reconstruction of individual character and habits of mind (Gumport, 2001). Thus, administrators need to create opportunities for the identity formation and development of

part-time unveilers. Also, they need to provide opportunities for part-time unveilers to engage in campus activities, business, and communities.

Recommendations for Faculty

Faculty need to recognize and respect individual differences. Advisors need to spend time and effort to get to know their part-time unveiler advisees and keep in touch with them constantly to be able to observe their progress, be aware of their situation, advise accordingly, and take steps on their behalf when needed. In class, professors need to create an atmosphere where all students can have opportunities to learn and develop. They also need to focus on what their students are doing. They may encourage group work, projects, and assignments which will require team work. They may closely monitor all of their students' work and progress. They may motivate their students by supporting their efforts, showing care and attention, and praising and rewarding them.

Recommendations for Policy Makers

Policy makers need to assess the outcomes of the policy for part-time unveilers (and non-compliers). They need to carefully analyze the long-term costs and benefits of the policy to the society and workforce development. They may assess the perspectives of different stakeholders such as Islamists and secularists, administrators, faculty, and parents to garner an understanding of the impact of this policy across different groups, and to explore the intended and unintended outcomes of the policy. Based on their findings, they may consider relevant decisions about the policy.

Limitations of the Study

This study has several limitations. One limitation is that the study focused on one specific group and reported the impact of the headscarf ban policy using the stories and

perspectives of this particular group only in state universities. It analyzed the perceptions of the part-time unveilers, which may be different from the perceptions of part-time unveilers in private universities and/or faculty, administrators, other undergraduate students, and policy makers in state and/or private universities.

Another limitation is that the sample may be biased because part-time unveilers who decided to participate in the study may have had a particular perspective. In addition, because it is a convenience sample using the snowballing technique, participants may have referred the researcher to other potential participants who had similar perspectives as theirs.

A third possible limitation is the implicit assumption that students' perspectives may be diverse across institutions due to institutional contextual differences. For example, some universities are cosmopolitan and others rural. However, this is an untested assumption because there are so few students per institution to test within institutional variation.

One other limitation is that the study does not include perspectives of students who wear a headscarf and attend university. In Turkey, there are not covered students who attend university. However, there are covered students who refuse to comply with the headscarf ban and decide to continue their education abroad with their headscarf on. Their educational and cultural experiences are not included in this dissertation.

The results presented in this dissertation are based on a study conducted with thirty women and snapshots of the current picture in Turkish higher education; they cannot be generalized for the entire higher education sector in this country. One snapshot, while important, is not enough to grasp the complexities of the whole system.

Therefore, it is crucial to conduct additional research in the future to understand the impact of the headscarf ban policy in Turkish postsecondary institutions.

Suggestions for Future Research

Even though I have raised several issues that require further examination in the section of implications for practice and future research and implied some potential areas for further research, in this section I will highlight some areas that I believe require attention as future research.

More research needs to be conducted around the headscarf ban policy. In order to have a bigger picture of the impact of the headscarf ban policy on covered female women, researchers need to examine the stories of non-compliers, lives of students who graduated, and the work experiences of administrators and faculty who are part-time unveilers on campus. Furthermore, a longitudinal study on this group of part-time unveilers needs to be conducted to understand the extent to which their experiences change (or do not change) and their success increases. It is also important that researchers conduct a study that gives a general profile of the part-time unveilers (e.g., a percentage of the number of part-time unveilers in Turkish higher education, their attrition rate, and their achievement). Below I propose some specific questions for further research in relation to the headscarf ban policy in the context of Turkish higher education.

1. What is the achievement rate of the part-time unveilers? How does this rate compare to other undergraduate students?
2. What is the drop-out rate of the part-time unveilers? How does this rate compare to other undergraduate students?

3. What are the perceptions of faculty and administrators with regard to the impact of the headscarf ban policy on the experiences of part-time unveilers in state universities?
4. How is the headscarf ban policy implemented in state and private universities in Turkey?
5. How does the policy impact the academic and cultural experiences of the part-time unveilers as faculty and administrators at Turkish universities?

Furthermore, the headscarf ban policy exists in K-12 contexts in predominantly Christian countries such as France and parts of Germany, potentially leading to different experiences. Thus it is important to understand the dynamics of the policy in these settings to be able to have a more fully informed and comprehensive view about the policy and compare and contrast the impact of the ban on students in different contexts. Below I propose a question for further research in relation to the headscarf ban policy in the context of Turkish higher education.

1. What is the impact of the headscarf ban policy on the educational and cultural experiences of the students in schools in other countries that apply the headscarf ban policy (e.g., France)?

Conclusion

This dissertation has examined the impact of the higher education headscarf ban policy on the educational and cultural experiences of the part-time unveilers. The diverse findings allow for certain conclusions to be reached.

First, based on the findings, one conclusion is that the headscarf ban policy is more than just a policy of access. Instead it appears to be a value-laden, multifaceted, and

complex policy with many layers, interpretations, and implications. It seems to have several dimensions and multiple (un)intended outcomes. Additionally, it is also possible to conclude that the ban impacts part-time unveilers at different levels. It seems to affect their daily life on campus, their personalities, and their identity development in a variety of ways. The effects of the ban on the part-time unveilers has long-term and short-term implicit and explicit implications for higher education, society, and the role of Islam, democracy, and secularism in Turkey. In turn these may impact upon the social, political, and economic contexts of the country.

The headscarf ban policy also appears to impact upon issues of power among Islamist women. Specifically, the policy seems to produce new power dynamics within Islamist women differentiating between policy compliers, non-compliers, wig-wearers, hat-users, and those who expose their hair. The ban also appears to reproduce the existing power struggle among Islamists and secularists by perpetuating the concepts of covered and uncovered women. Additionally, the ban seems to make part-time unveilers negotiate their belief systems and future lives and discriminates against women by preventing them from entering campuses in the way they want while Islamist men are not subjected to such restrictions.

The policy is full of tensions and juxtapositions in terms of the ways in which it impacts part-time unveilers. On the one hand, it seems to create a platform for veil politics and to empower part-time unveilers by enabling them to make political and/or apolitical statements about themselves, the role of religion in Turkey, and the Islamist community. On the other hand, it appears to challenge their identity and diminish their educational and cultural experiences on campuses. At the educational level, it seems to

influence their motivation for study in a negative way, while it appears to make them ambitious and determined for success. Furthermore, at the identity level, it seems to weaken and destabilize their psychology and their citizenship, gender, and religious identities. In contrast, it appears to strengthen their personalities by making them mature and strong. In addition, while it appears to make them passive on campuses, it seems to motivate them to be assertive in their future lives and in their commitment to advance in society. And finally, in the long run, on the one hand, it may devalue the headscarf wearing in the eyes of the part-time unveilers and "secularize" them by making them consider unveiling for good. On the other hand, it may empower veiling in the eyes of the part-time unveilers and further "islamicize" them by making them more attached to their religion and headcovering. With such a list of opposing consequences, how one interprets and makes meaning out of the impacts of the headscarf ban policy may relate to one's position (e.g., Islamist or secularist) in society.

The headscarf ban policy that exists in the context of higher education is a reflection of the very significant battle occurring concerning the role of Islam and secularism and the place of men and women in society, and the power struggle between Islamists and secularists in the social and political contexts of Turkey. Taking its intended and unintended outcomes, impacts, and implications into consideration, the higher education headscarf ban policy seems to be a challenging and conflictual issue for the higher education institutions responsible for the production and dissemination of knowledge and provision of opportunities for student persistence, success, improvement, and identity development in Turkey, which is on its way to further modernization in the global 21st century.

The case of the headscarf ban policy is an example of how higher education policies can be intertwined with the social and political contexts of the countries where such policies exist and how they may have intended and unintended outcomes which might have numerous repercussions for the society and for workforce development. Thus it is critical for policy makers to approach the issue of policy making from a comprehensive perspective and for policy researchers to consider politics as part of their analysis to better understand the dimensions and the extent of the impacts of higher education policies.

Reflections

Work on this dissertation was a rewarding experience that helped me grow both intellectually and personally. It challenged some of my core beliefs and opinions and made me reconsider the ways in which I analyze and evaluate the outside world and the other, and it broadened my perspective about issues I had not tackled before.

As a scholar, I also faced challenges. The struggle to use proportionally balanced Western and Turkish references, to understand what Western research findings might mean for the Turkish context, if applicable at all, and to explore the relevance of a theoretical framework about student identity development constructed in an American context, were intellectual challenges.

On a personal level, trying to find a balance between objectivity and subjectivity and considering the extent to which my identity as an unveiled Turkish woman could, and did, impact the research challenged me in different ways throughout the study. In particular, while writing the final chapter in which I interpret and discuss the findings, I experienced some internal conflicts and tensions which turned out to be transformational

for my personality. These challenges showed me the complexity and delicacy of dealing with sensitive issues both for the researcher and those studied. While, as a qualitative researcher, I impacted the dissertation, the dissertation also affected me and my identity in numerous ways all along.

APPENDIX A

Consent Form in English

Participant Consent Form for Study

The headscarf ban in the Turkish university: Educational and cultural experiences of part-time unveilers

This study is designed to examine the educational and cultural experiences of Muslim women who cover their hair in their private lives in line with the tenets of Islam, but who remove the veil while at a Turkish university as a result of the higher education headscarf ban policy.

The study involves two (2) 60-90 minute face-to-face interviews with a possibility of a third interview as a follow-up should the researcher feel the need and you have time to do it. Data analysis will follow standard qualitative procedures and will be conducted by Fatma Nevra Seggie. You have been chosen as a part of a random sample of Muslim undergraduate women who remove the veil as a result of the higher education ban policy while on campus to participate in this survey. It is important that you know your name will not be associated with any of your responses nor will any identifying personal characteristics.

You must be 18 years or older to participate in this research study. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw from any of the interviews and the study at any time with no penalty for doing so. You may also choose not to answer individual questions but to answer others.

I will pay you 50 Turkish Liras after you complete 2 interviews.

Your identity will remain confidential in all analyzing and reporting of data. At no time will your name be connected with the data we provide in any reports, presentations or publications. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law. It is possible that you may become uncomfortable during the interview process. You may, at any time and without penalty, elect not to answer a question and/or discontinue the interview.

It is important that you know I will be using an audio recorder during your interview. Please notify me if you do not want any one or all of the interviews recorded. The recording will be destroyed after the data analysis.

If you have any questions about the study, please contact the investigators (Dr. Ann E. Austin, 417 Erickson Hall, Michigan State University, 517-355-6757 or Fatma Nevra Seggie, 401F Erickson Hall, Michigan State University, 517-432-6083). If you have questions or concerns regarding your rights as a study participant, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact–anonymously, if you wish– Peter Vasilenko, Ph.D., Chair of the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS) by phone (517-355-2180), fax (517-432-4503), email (ucrihs@msu.edu) or postal mail (202 Olds Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824).

Your signature below indicates your voluntary agreement to participate in this study.

Signature of Participant | Date

_____ | _____

Please sign if you agree to be audio recorded | Name of Participant (please print)

APPENDIX B

Consent Form in Turkish

Arastirma için Katilimcinin Muvafakati Formu

Türk üniversitesinde başörtüsü yasağı: Yarı zamanlı başörtülülerin eğitim ve kültür tecrübeleri

Bu çalışma, İslam'ın şartları gereğince özel yaşamlarında saçlarını örten, ancak yüksek öğretimde başörtüsü yasağı politikasının sonucu olarak Türk üniversitelerindeyken başörtüsünü çıkaran Müslüman bayanların eğitim ve kültür tecrübelerini incelemek için yapılmıştır.

Çalışma iki (2) adet 60-90 dakikalık yüz yüze röportaj ile araştırmacının ihtiyaç duyması ve sizin buna ayıracak zamanınızın olması durumunda tamamlayıcı olarak üçüncü bir röportaj olasılığını içermektedir. Standart kalitatif prosedürlerin ardından Fatma Nevra Seggie tarafından veri analizi yapılacaktır. Siz, yüksek öğretim yasak politikasından dolayı kampus içerisindeyken başörtüsünü çıkaran lisans öğrencisi Müslüman bayanlar arasından rasgele seçilen bir örnek olarak bu ankete katılmak üzere seçilmiş bulunmaktasınız. İsminizin veya herhangi bir tanımlayıcı kişisel özelliğinizin yanıtlarınızda yer almayacağınızı bilmeniz önemlidir.

Bu araştırma etüdüne katılmak için 18 yaşında veya daha büyük olmanız şarttır. Bu çalışmaya katılım tamamen gönüllü olup, röportajlar ve çalışmadan istediğiniz zaman ve herhangi bir ceza almaksızın geri çekilebilirsiniz. Ayrıca, kişisel soruları yanıtlamayıp, yalnızca diğerlerini cevaplamayı da tercih edebilirsiniz.

2 röportajı da tamamladıktan sonra size 50 Türk Lirası ödeyeceğim.

Verileri analiz ederken ve yazarken kimliğiniz tamamen gizli tutulacaktır. Rapor, sunum veya yayımlarımızda verdiğimiz bilgilerle isminiz hiçbir zaman ilişkilendirilmeyecektir. Özel yaşamınız kanunların izin verdiği maksimum düzeyde korunacaktır. Röportaj sürecinde rahatsızlık hissedebilirsiniz. İstediğiniz zaman ve hiçbir cezaya tabi tutulmaksızın bir soruyu yanıtlamamayı ve/veya röportaja son vermeyi tercih edebilirsiniz.

Röportaj sırasında ses kayıt cihazı kullanacağımı bilmeniz önemlidir. Lütfen röportajların birinin veya hiçbirinin kaydedilmemesini isterseniz bana söyleyin. Bu kayıtlar, veri analizi sonrasında yok edilecektir.

Bu çalışmayla ilgili herhangi bir sorunuz olursa araştırmacılarla irtibata geçin (Dr. Ann E. Austin, 417 Erickson Hall, Michigan State University, 517-355-6757 veya Fatma Nevra Seggie, 401F Erickson Hall, Michigan State University, 517-432-6083). Öğrenci katılımcı olarak haklarınızla ilgili bir sorunuz veya söyleyecekleriniz olursa veya bu çalışmanın herhangi bir yönünden memnun kalmazsanız, isterseniz kimliğinizi belirtmeden Peter Vasilenko, Ph.D., University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects [İnsan Denekler İçeren Araştırmalara Yönelik Üniversite Komitesi] (UCRIHS) ile irtibat kurabilirsiniz: Telefon: 517-355-2180, faks: 517-432-4503, e-posta adresi: ucrihs@msu.edu, posta adresi: 202 Olds Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824.

Aşağıya atacağınız imzanız, bu çalışmaya katılmayı gönüllü olarak kabul ettiğinizi gösterir.

Katılımcının İmzası	Tarih
Ses kaydını kabul ediyorsanız imzalayın	Katılımcının Adı

APPENDIX C

Interview Protocol Used for the Pilot Study

Interview Protocol 1

Age:	Year of educational study:	Discipline:
Parents' job:	City she is from:	Place of residence:
GPA:	Dormitory or off-campus:	Type of unveiling:
University attended:		

1. What are your goals in going to university?

    What was your motive for pursuing an undergraduate degree?

    Why did you choose to study the discipline you are in?

    Where do you see yourself in five years time?

    In what ways do you think the undergraduate degree will contribute to where you want to be in five years' time?

2. What is your understanding of the headscarf ban policy?

    Why do you think there is such a policy?

    What do you think the policy intends to achieve?

    What does the headscarf ban policy mean to you?

    How would you define the headscarf ban policy?

3. What is the impact of the headscarf ban policy on you and your academic and cultural experiences?

    Have you experienced any opportunities or advantages related to unveiling?

    Have you experienced any challenges or disadvantages related to unveiling?

    How do you deal with these challenges?

    Have there been any opportunities or challenges resulting from unveiling in regard to any of the following aspects of your experiences?

        Faculty-student interaction
        Classroom atmosphere

Campus environment
Administrator-student interaction
Involvement in extra-curricular activities
Motivation for studying/contribution to your general success
Activities on campus
Interaction with peers/dating
Overall treatment on campus

Do you think your uncovering experience will affect a career choice and working in public places?

4. How have you thought about negotiating this policy?

Why did you decide to comply with the policy?

Did you consider other options, such as going abroad, etc.?

How did you decide to comply with the policy?

Why did you unveil the way you do?

How did your family/friends/relatives react to your decision?

What kind of challenges are you faced with as a result of unveiling in your private life?

Do you think you will continue veiling/unveiling? Why?

Interview Protocol 2

1. Could you describe your sense of identity?

Can you describe how you see yourself as a Turkish citizen?

What does it mean for you to be Turkish?

Can you describe how you see yourself as Muslim?

Why do you veil?

How religious are you?

In what religious practices are you engaged?

Please tell me the kind of lifestyle you generally lead (relationship with your family and society)

Can you describe how you see yourself as a woman?

Your role as a woman in society

Your relationship with men in general

2. How has unveiling affected your identity?

As a Turkish citizen
As Muslim
As a woman

Is there anything you want to add and/or elaborate?

Time for follow-up and clarification on issues that came up earlier.

APPENDIX D

Interview Protocol Used in the Study (in English)

Interview Protocol

Age:	Year of educational study:	Discipline:
Parents' job:	City she is from:	Place of residence:
GPA:	Dormitory or off-campus:	Type of unveiling:
University attended:		

Please briefly explain your educational background and how you started veiling.

1. What are your goals in going to university?

    What was your motive for pursuing an undergraduate degree?

    Why did you choose to study your particular discipline?

    Where do you see yourself in five years time?

    In what ways do you think the undergraduate degree will contribute to where you want to be in five years' time?

2. What is your understanding of the headscarf ban policy?

    Why do you think there is such a policy?

    What do you think the policy intends to achieve?

    What does the headscarf ban policy mean to you?

    How would you define the headscarf ban policy?

3. What is the impact of the headscarf ban policy on you and your academic and cultural experiences?

    Have you experienced any opportunities or advantages related to unveiling?

    Have you experienced any challenges or disadvantages related to unveiling?

    How do you deal with these challenges?

Have there been any opportunities or challenges resulting from unveiling in regard to any of the following aspects of your experiences?

Faculty-student interaction
Classroom atmosphere
Campus environment
Administrator-student interaction
Involvement in extra-curricular activities
Motivation for studying/contribution to your general success
Activities on campus
Interaction with peers/dating
Overall treatment on campus

Do you think your uncovering experience will affect a career choice and working in public places?

4. How have you thought about negotiating this policy?

Why did you decide to comply with the policy?

Did you consider other options, such as going abroad, etc.?

How did you decide to comply with the policy?

Why did you unveil the way you do?

How did your family/friends/relatives react to your decision?

What kind of challenges are you faced with as a result of unveiling in your private life?

Do you think you will continue veiling/unveiling? Why?

5. Could you describe your sense of identity?

Can you describe how you see yourself as a Turkish citizen?

What does it mean for you to be Turkish?

Can you describe how you see yourself as Muslim?

Why do you veil?

How religious are you?

In what religious practices are you engaged?

Please tell me the kind of lifestyle you generally lead (relationship with your family and society).

Can you describe how you see yourself as a woman?

Your role as a woman in society

Your relationship with men in general

6. How has unveiling affected your identity?

As a Turkish citizen
As Muslim
As a woman

Is there anything you want to add and/or elaborate?

Time for follow-up and clarification on issues that came up earlier.

APPENDIX E

Interview Protocol Used in the Study (in Turkish)

Gorusme Protokolü

Yaş:	Eğitim Yılı:	Bölümü:
Ebeveynlerinin Mesleği:	Memleketi:	İkametgah Yeri:
Not Ortalaması:	Kaldığı Yer: Yurt/Kampus	Başörtüsünü Açma Şekli:
Devam Ettiği Üniversite:	Dışı:	

Eğitim geçmişinizi ve başörtünüzü nasıl açmaya başladığınızı kısaca açıklayın.

1. Üniversiteye gitmekteki amaçlarınız nelerdir?

   Lisans derecesi almak istemenizin nedeni neydi?

   Okuduğunuz bölümü neden seçtiniz?

   Beş yıl sonra kendinizi nerede görüyorsunuz?

   Lisans derecesinin bu beş yıl içerisinde gelmek istediğiniz noktaya hangi yönlerden katkıda bulunacağını düşünüyorsunuz?

2. Başörtüsü yasağı politikası anlayışınız nedir?

   Böyle bir politikanın neden var olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?

   Bu politikanın amacı sizce nedir?

   Başörtüsü yasağı politikası sizin için ne anlama geliyor?

   Başörtüsü yasağı politikasını nasıl tanımlarsınız?

3. Başörtüsü yasağı politikasının size ve akademik ve kültürel tecrübelerinize etkisi nedir?

   Başörtüsünü çıkarmakla ilgili olarak herhangi bir imkan veya avantaj sağladınız mı?

   Başörtüsünü çıkarmakla ilgili olarak herhangi bir zorluk veya dezavantaj yaşadınız mı?

   Bu zorluklarla nasıl başa çıkıyorsunuz?

Başörtüsünü çıkarmanızdan dolayı bir aşağıdaki konulardan herhangi biri bakımından herhangi bir fırsat veya zorluk yaşadınız mı?

Fakülte – öğrenci etkileşimi
Sınıf atmosferi
Kampus çevresi
İdareci – öğrenci etkileşimi
Müfredat dışı faaliyetlerle ilgilenme
Eğitim motivasyonu / genel başarınıza katkı
Kampusteki faaliyetler
Akranlarla etkileşim / flört
Kampusteki genel muamele

Başörtüsü açma tecrübenizin kariyer ve kamusal alanlarda çalışmakla ilgili tercihlerinizi olumsuz yönde etkileyeceğini düşünüyor musunuz?

4. Bu politikaya uymayi nasil muzakere ettiniz?

Neden bu politikaya uymaya karar verdiniz?

Yurtdışına gitmek, vs. gibi diğer seçenekleri değerlendirdiniz mi?

Bu politikaya uymaya nasıl karar verdiniz?

Başörtünüzü neden bu yöntemle açıyorsunuz?

Aileniz/arkadaşlarınız/akrabalarınız bu kararınıza nasıl tepki gösterdiler?

Özel yaşamınızda başörtünüzü açmanızın sonucunda ne tür zorluklarla karşılaştınız?

Başörtüsü takmaya/başörtünüzü çıkarmaya devam edeceğinizi düşünüyor musunuz? Neden?

5. Kimlik duygunuzu tarif eder misiniz?

Bir Türk vatandaşı olarak kendinizi nasıl gördüğünüzü açıklar mısınız?

Türk olmak sizin için ne anlama geliyor?

Müslüman olarak kendinizi nasıl gördüğünüzü açıklar mısınız?

Neden başörtüsü takıyorsunuz?

Ne kadar dindarsınız?

Hangi ibadetleri yerine getiriyorsunuz?

Genel yaşam tarzınızı anlatın (aile ve toplumla ilişkiler)

Bir kadın olarak kendinizi nasıl gördüğünüzü açıklar mısınız?

Bir kadın olarak toplumdaki rolünüz nedir?

Genel olarak erkeklerle ilişkiniz

6. Başörtüsünü çıkarmak kimliğinizi nasıl etkiledi?

Bir Türk vatandaşı olarak
Bir Müslüman olarak
Bir kadın olarak

Eklemek ve/veya ayrıntılı olarak belirtmek istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Tam anlasilmayan konularin aydınlatılması süresi.

APPENDIX F

Aggregated Data (Statistical Description) of the Participants

Tables FI and FIV do not take into account the language preparatory years students attended during their secondary education and/or at university if the medium of instruction of the school they attended was different than Turkish. So if a student is in her second year, this is her year of study in her program regardless whether she did or did not attend the preparatory class at university. In addition, these tables do not show the interruptions students had during their education as a result of health problems, dropping out of school, or not becoming successful on the national university exam.

Table FI

Distribution of Participants According to Age Groups

Age	Number of participants
19 years	2
20 years	4
21 years	7
22 years	3
23 years	5
24 years	2
25 years	1
26 years	2R
27 years	2R
29 years	1R
30 years	1R
	TOTAL: 30

Note. Since I conducted the research in the summer of 2006, their year of study is recorded taking the upcoming 2006-7 academic year, that is, the year of study of a student who finished her second year in the summer of 2006, for example, was recorded as the third year.
R: Returning students

Table FII

Distribution of Participants According to Student Type

Student type	Number of participants
Traditional	24 (1 married)
Returning	6 (2 married)
	TOTAL: 30

Table FIII

Distribution of Participants According to University Type

University type	Number of participants
I	9
II	5
III	4
IV	7
V	5
	TOTAL: 30

Table FIV

Distribution of Participants According to Their Year of Study

Year of study	Number of participants
2	7 (2 associate-degree students)
3	10
4	10
5	1
6	2
	TOTAL: 30

Table FV

Distribution of Participants According to Their Field of Study

Field of study	Number of participants
Applied Social Sciences	8
Technical Sciences	5
Math & Natural Sciences	6
Health Sciences	5
Arts	1
Social Sciences	3
Language & Literature	2
	TOTAL: 30

Note. Applied Social Sciences: This group includes disciplines such as Educational Administration, Business Administration, International Relations, and Teacher Education.
Technical Sciences: This group includes Engineering and Architecture.
Mathematics and Natural Sciences: This group includes disciplines such as Mathematics, Biology, Chemistry, Astronomy, and Physics.
Health Sciences: This group includes disciplines such as Medicine, Dentistry, and Nursing
Arts: This group includes Art and Music.
Social Sciences: This group includes disciplines such as Political Science, Sociology, Psychology, and Philosophy.
Language and Literature: This group includes all language- and literature- related disciplines such as Turkish Language and Literature and German Language and Literature.

Table FVI

Distribution of Participants According to Their Place of Residence While Attending University

Place of Residence	Number of participants
On campus	2
Off-campus	28
	TOTAL: 30

Table FVII

Distribution of Participants According to Their GPAs

GPA	Number of participants
Low	2
Average	11
High	13
	TOTAL: 26 (4 non-respondents)

Note. If the university used a 4.00 system, then
Low: 0.00-2.00
Average: 2.01-3.00
High: 3.01-4.00

If the university used a 100-point system, then
Low: 0-50
Average: 51-75
High: 76-100

Table FVIII

Distribution of Participants According to the City They Are From

City she is from	Number of participants
Small city	12
Big city	18
	TOTAL: 30

Note. Small city: population of or under 1 million Big city: population over 1 million

Table FIX

Distribution of Participants According to Their Mothers' Jobs

Mother's job	Number of participants
Housewife	21
Worker	3
Businesswoman	2
Professional	4
	TOTAL: 30

Note. Housewife: Woman who does not work
Worker: Woman with an unskilled or semi-skilled job
Professional: Woman with a skilled job
Businesswoman: Woman who runs her own business

Table FX

Distribution of Participants According to Their Fathers' Jobs

Father's job	Number of participants
Retired	6
Worker	4
Businessman	10
Professional	8
Passed away	1
	TOTAL: 29 (1 non-respondent)

Note. Retired: Someone who is retired from any type of job
Worker: Someone with an unskilled or semi-skilled job
Professional: Someone with a skilled job
Businessperson: Someone who runs his own business

Table FXI

Distribution of Participants According to School They Attended Before University

Schools attended before university	Number of participants
Only Imam Hatip schools	5
Only state schools (different types except Imam Hatip schools)	11
Only private schools	1
Public and private schools (including Imam Hatip schools)	8
Public and private schools (excluding Imam Hatip schools)	1
	TOTAL: 26 (4 non-respondents)

Table FXII

Distribution of Participants According to Veiled Women in the Nucleus Family

Veiled women in the nucleus family	Number of participants
All veiled	22
All unveiled	2
Some veiled, some unveiled	3
	TOTAL: 27 (3 non-respondents)

Table FXIII

Distribution of Participants According to the Time They Started Veiling

Time the participant started veiling	Number of participants
Gradel	1
Grade 5	1
Grade 6	9
Grade 7	3
Grade 8	2
Grade 9	4
Grade 10	2
Grade 11	2
University	5
	TOTAL: 29 (1 non-respondent)

Table FXIV

Distribution of Participants According to Their Reasons for Veiling

Reason for her veiling	Number of participants
Voluntary	14
Influence of other parties	7
Financial	1
Family pressure	2
Other (imitation, fear of God etc.)	4
	TOTAL: 28 (2 non-respondents)

Table FXV

Distribution of Participants According to Their Type of Unveiling

Type of veiling	Number of participants
Expose the hair	16
Hat	11
Wig	3
	TOTAL: 30

Note. There are some students who predominantly wear hats. When their professors do not let them wear hats in class, they wear wigs or expose their hair during those classes. I considered such students as hat wearers since their primary choice of the type of unveiling was the hat with the exception of special circumstances that made them wear wigs or expose their hair. There are also some students who started the unveiling process with a wig or hat, but were uncomfortable with it, and they decided to expose their hair as their style of unveiling. I categorized these students' type of unveiling as "expose the hair" since they only wore a wig or hat for a short time and decided to expose their hair as their final style of unveiling. Finally, some participants reported that they wore versions of a hat such as bandana or beret. For the purpose of reporting and analysis, I grouped all students who wear bandana, beret, hood, or hat under the same category called 'hat'. Two participants in the study reported that recently, when professors have not accepted students with hoods, some students have taken their case to the Judiciary. The decision was that a hood did not carry an ideological meaning and it could be worn on campus. However, according to these students, this is not a decision widely known by students and professors yet. I have not been able to find the original document of the decision taken by the Judiciary with regard to the hood via a Google search or document analysis to report in this dissertation.

APPENDIX G

Profile of the Part-Time Unveilers

Table GI
Profile of All the Research Participants

Participant	Age	University	Year of study	Field of study	Place of residence	GPA
1	21	IV	3	Applied Social Sciences	Off-campus	High
2	24	V	2 *2-year degree	Technical Sciences	Off-campus	High
3	22	IV	3	Math& Natural Sciences	Off-campus	High
4	20	IV	3	Applied Social Sciences	On campus	Average
5	23	I	5	Health Sciences	Off-campus	
6	29 R	III	2	Math& Natural Sciences	Off-campus	Low
7	27 R	III	4	Applied Social Sciences	Off-campus	High
8	27 R	III	4	Language& Literature	Off-campus	
9	22	II	2	Technical Sciences	Off-campus	Average
10	19	V	2	Social Sciences	Off-campus	Average
11 M	26 R	I	4	Applied Social Sciences	On campus	
12	23	V	4	Health Sciences	Off-campus	Average
13	23	IV	2	Arts	Off-campus	High
14	21	II	3	Math& Natural Sciences	Off-campus	

15	21	V	4	Social Sciences	Off-campus	Low
16	21	II	3	Technical Sciences	Off-campus	High
17	19	V	2 *2-year degree	Applied Social Sciences	Off-campus	Average
18 M	20	III	3	Language& Literature	Off-campus	High
19	21	IV	3	Math& Natural Sciences	On campus	Average
20	20	IV	3	Math& Natural Sciences	Off-campus	High
21	22	I	4	Health Sciences	Off-campus	Average
22 M	26 R	I	4	Applied Social Sciences	Off-campus	Average
23	23	I	4	Social Sciences	Off-campus	High
24	24	I	6	Health Sciences	Off-campus	High
25	20	II	2	Technical Sciences	Off-campus	Average
26	23	I	6	Health Sciences	Off-campus	High
27	25	IV	4	Applied Social Sciences	Off-campus	High
28	30 R	I	4	Applied Social Sciences	Off-campus	High
29	21	I	3	Math & Natural Sciences	Off-campus	Average
30	21	II	3	Technical Sciences	Off-campus	Average

Note. This table does not take into account the language preparatory years students attended during their secondary education and/or at university if the medium of instruction of the school they attended was different than Turkish. So if a student is in her second year, this is her year of study in her program regardless of whether she did or did not attend the preparatory class at university. In addition, this table does not show the interruptions students had during their education as a result of health problems, dropping out of school, or not becoming successful on the national university exam.

M: Married R: Returning student

Participant	City she is from	Mother's job	Father's job
1	Small city	Housewife	Retired
2	Small city	Housewife	Worker
3	Big city	Housewife	Professional
4	Big city	Housewife	Professional
5	Small city	Worker	Worker
6	Small city	Housewife	Businessman
7	Big city	Housewife	Businessman
8	Big city	Housewife	Deceased
9	Big city	Housewife	Retired
10	Big city	Worker	
11	Small city	Housewife	Businessman
12	Small city	Housewife	Worker
13	Small city	Housewife	Businessman
14	Big city	Housewife	Retired
15	Small city	Housewife	Businessman
16	Big city	Business-Woman	Businessman
17	Big city	Business-Woman	Businessman
18	Big city	Housewife	Businessman
19	Big city	Housewife	Retired
20	Small city	Housewife	Retired
21	Big city	Professional	Professional
22	Small city	Housewife	Businessman
23	Big city	Professional	Professional
24	Big city	Professional	Professional
25	Big city	Housewife	Professional
26	Small city	Housewife	Businessman
27	Big city	Housewife	Professional
28	Big city	Housewife	Retired
29	Big city	Professional	Professional
30	Small city	Worker	Worker

Participant	School(s) attended before university	Women in the nucleus family with regard to veiling	Time/age the participant started veiling
1	Imam Hatip high school (attended Grade 11 unveiled)	Mother and all sisters: veiled	Grade 6
2	Vocational high school (attended school unveiled)	Mother: veiled	Grade 6
3	Imam Hatip school (Grades 6-7) State school (Grades 8-9-10- 11) (attended school unveiled)	Unveiled	Grade 9
4		Unveiled	At university
5	State high school	Mother: veiled	Year 1 at university
6	State high school for girls	Mother: veiled	Grade 9
7		Mother: veiled	Grade 11
8			
9	Imam Hatip high school	Mother and all sisters: veiled	Grade 6
10		Mother: veiled	At university
11	Imam Hatip high school	Mother: veiled	Grade 10
12	Vocational school	Mother and all sisters: veiled	Year 1 at university
13	Imam Hatip school (attended school unveiled in Grade 11)		Grade 7
14	State primary school Imam Hatip school (Grades 6-7-8) State high school (Grades 9-10-11) (attended high school unveiled)	All sisters: veiled	Grade 1
15	Imam Hatip school (Grades 6-7-8) Private high school (Grades 9-10-11)	Mother and all sisters: veiled	Grade 5
16	State high school	Mother and all sisters: veiled	At the end of the first year at university

17	Vocational high school (attended school unveiled)	Mother and one sister: veiled Two sisters: unveiled	Grade 9
18	Private high school	Mother: veiled	Grade 6
19	Science high school (boarding) (for girls) (attended school unveiled in Grades 10 and 11)	Mother and all sisters: veiled	Grade 10
20	State high school	Mother: veiled	Grade 8
21	State primary school Imam Hatip school (Grade 6) Private school (Grades 7 and 8) Anatolian high school (attended school unveiled)	Mother: veiled	Grade 7
22	Imam Hatip high school	Mother and all sisters: veiled	Grade 6
23	Imam Hatip school (Grades 6-7- 8) Private high school (for girls) (attended school unveiled in Grade 11)	Mother: veiled	Grade 6
24	State primary school Imam Hatip school (Grades 6-7- 8) Private high school (Grades 9-10-11-12) (for girls) (attended high school unveiled)		Grade 8
25	Anatolian Imam Hatip school Private high school (co-educational) (attended high school unveiled)	Mother: veiled	Grade 6
26	Anatolian Imam Hatip school (Grade 6) Private school (Grades7-8) Private high school (for girls)	Mother: veiled One sister: veiled One sister: unveiled	Grade 6

27	Science high school (co-educational) (attended school unveiled)	Mother: veiled Sisters: veiled	Grade 9
28	State high school (co-educational) (attended school unveiled in Grade 11)	Mother: veiled Older sister: unveiled	Grade 11
29	Private school (Grades 6-7-8) Anatolian high school (attended high school unveiled)	Mother: veiled Sister: veiled	Grade 7
30	State high school (for girls) (attended school unveiled)	Mother: veiled Sisters: veiled	Grade 6

Participant	Reason for her veiling	Type of unveiling at university
1	Voluntary	Expose the hair
2	Voluntary	Expose the hair
3	Voluntary	Expose the hair
4	Influence of a girlfriend - a decision made with a girlfriend	Expose the hair
5	Financial and encouragement from the test center she attended	Expose the hair
6	Voluntary, when she felt ready, a conscious decision	Hat (wig when necessary)
7	Voluntary	Hat (expose the hair when necessary)
8		Expose the hair
9	Qu'ran course, teachings of her family, her reading about Islam	Hat
10	To imitate other veiled women in her family and encouragement from students and teachers in a test center	Expose the hair
11	Voluntary	Hat
12	Influence of friends at university	Hat
13	Influence of friends at secondary school	Hat (with a wig and use of wig when necessary)
14	Voluntary after listening to the veiling experiences of her sisters	Hat (expose the hair when necessary)
15	Voluntary after spending some time in a boarding Qu'ran course	Expose the hair

16	Influence of friends and religious readings	Expose the hair
17		Expose the hair
18	Voluntary	Expose the hair
19	Voluntary	Expose the hair
20	Fear of God during the earthquake in 1999	Expose the hair
21	She thought she was mature and adult enough to start veiling, a voluntary decision	Wig
22	Influence of the father	Hat
23	Voluntary	Expose the hair
24	Influence of friends	Wig
25	Influence of the Imam Hatip school and voluntary	Hat (wig when necessary)
26	Voluntary	Expose the hair
27	Pressure of the father	Expose the hair
28	Voluntary	Hat
29	Wanting to imitate veiled women around her	Wig
30	Pressure of the father	Hat

APPENDIX H

Synopsis of Participants

Participant 1

She is 21 years old. She comes from a large family with five siblings. Her parents are not wealthy, but they never struggled either. Her mother is a housewife and her father is retired. She was born in a small city in the rural part of Turkey. The community she grew up in is fairly conservative and religious, with people practicing Islam in their daily lives. All the women in her family are veiled, including her mother, her aunt and her sisters. She covered her hair at a young age voluntarily. After primary school, she went to an Imam Hatip high school. She attended the school with her headscarf on until Grade 10. She was a high honor student when the headscarf ban came into force. She was going to either uncover her hair or drop out of school. She decided to leave school despite her success in class. However, her parents, especially her mother, did not let her drop school and insisted that she finish it. Thanks to the immense support of her parents, she unveiled at school and continued her studies. After graduation, she took the university exam and entered the discipline she is in now. Even though it was a coincidental choice initially, she loves what she is studying now, realizing that it has been a perfect fit for her. Even though she tried a wig at the beginning, she felt uncomfortable with it and decided to expose her hair on campus. She has a high GPA and is successful in her program. She lives with her parents at home during her university years.

Participant 2

She is 24 years old. She comes from a family that always struggled for food. Her mother is a housewife and her father is a worker. She was born in a small city in the rural part of Turkey. Since her parents are not educated, they have not had the opportunity to earn very much money. The fight for money eventually affected the relationship between her parents and led to their divorce. She stayed with her mother and they moved to a different city. This affected her psychological well-being for a while, which in turn had some repercussions on her performance in the university entrance exam. Since her parents did not have enough experience and knowledge about the Turkish education system, they were not able to guide her through the system well. Thus she chose to go to vocational high school so that she would have a profession even if she did not go to university. She had to uncover her hair during her K-11 education to attend school. Her parents never pushed her for a tertiary education. She did everything on her own without much help from her parents. She decided to cover her hair voluntarily at the age of 12. Her mother and other family members are also covered. She has recently married and lives with her husband in her own house. She loves her school and the program she studies. Even though she is pursuing a 2-year degree program now, she is thinking about continuing a 4-year program and transferring her credits in this program since she has a high GPA. She exposes her hair while attending the university.

Participant 3

She is 22 years old. Born in a big city, she comes from a traditional family. Her mother is a housewife and her father is a professional who earns enough for them to live comfortably. Her mother has always pushed her children for education so that they would earn their own money and not be dependent on their husbands, which is what she has been suffering from. Her father was initially a social democrat and now supports right-wing parties. Her parents do not practice Islam in their daily lives, so she did not receive any religious education at home. That is why they had a hard time accepting the fact that she was veiled. She started feeling God inside her when she was 10 and prayed for the first time. After primary school, she wanted to go to an Imam Hatip school where she was exposed to the "mass veiling" for the first time. The school was co-educational, with female students both veiled and unveiled. She sometimes chose to cover her hair and other times remained unveiled at school. In Grade 8, she continued her education in a state school. In Grade 9, she covered her hair for good except while she was at school. After she graduated from high school, she took the university exam and entered the program she is in now. She moved to the city where the university is and is living with her friends in a flat. She unveils while attending university.

Participant 4

She is 20 years old. Born in a big city, she comes from a family whose parents do not practice Islam in their daily lives. Her parents are social democrats, and her mother is unveiled. There are very few veiled women, mostly elderly, in her whole family, including immediate and second-generation relatives. She has always felt different since childhood. When she was a child, she did not want to uncover her hair after she came back from the mosque, which made her mother angry. Her parents never approved of the idea of veiling and were always opposed to her covering her hair. During her high school years, she was unveiled, but decided to wear more conservative clothes. Thus she stopped wearing mini-skirts, short-sleeved or V-neck tops. She was still living with her parents at the time and so did not cover her hair since her parents did not let her do that. When she moved out to go to the university and started living in a dormitory, sharing a room with a friend on campus, she and her friend decided that they would cover their hair. First, she became veiled, and then her friend followed. Prior to the program she is in now, she wanted to be in Health Sciences. During her high school years, when she realized that she was not as good in sciences as she thought, she focused on Social Sciences and entered the discipline she is in now. She is really enjoying the coursework and working hard to raise her GPA.

Participant5 (Ayse)

Born in a small city, she comes from a large family with four siblings. Her parents only attended primary school, which made it difficult for them to find lucrative jobs. They have always had financial problems in the family. Participant 5 is a first-generation college student and the only sibling attending the university. Her mother is covered in a traditional way; that is, her headscarf is tied under her chin with her neck showing. Her

parents moved to a big city when she was very young and had a conservative, traditional, and simple life. She is a student in the department of Health Sciences. She has been veiled for the past five years, since she started university. She lives with her parents and exposes her hair on campus.

Participant 6

Born in a small city and living in a big city, she is 29 years old. As a businessman, her father earns enough money for the family to live comfortably. Her mother, a housewife, is a veiled woman who had to cover her hair under the pressure of her own parents, especially her father. She ties her headscarf under her chin, exposing her neck, and so is unveiled in a traditional way. Participant 6 received her religious education at school, a school for girls only, read extensively about Islam, and became knowledgeable about it and its teachings. Only when she had pangs of conscience about being unveiled and felt ready to veil did she decide to cover her hair including her neck and shoulders, which was when she started high school. At the same time, she stopped shaking hands with men too. Her father was opposed to her veiling style and wanted her to become veiled like her mother. He was also angry with the fact that she stopped shaking hands with men. Since that time, she and her father have been in constant conflict about her religious beliefs and the way she lives her life. Her parents never understood why she covered her hair the way she did. She turned out to be a different type of a girl than her father imagined. Six years ago, after the university entrance exam, she entered the program she is in now. She left the house and started living with her friends in a flat. In her second year, with the headscarf ban policy in force, she decided to uncover her hair and leave the college. During the time she was away from higher education, she returned home and tried to do different activities such as taking a knitting course. She did not want to get married, and her parents did not want to send her abroad to continue her education. Her parents were disappointed with her decision to drop out. After four or five years, she realized that she had to go back to university to have a better and more secure future, which made her parents happy. An amnesty was granted by the government to students who dropped out, so she decided to go back to school. When she returned to campus, she chose to unveil, wearing a hat. However, some of her teachers or administrators do not allow students to wear hats, so if she receives a warning, then she switches to a wig, whether in class or in the administration building. Her parents are excited about her going back to school and are looking forward to her graduation, and so they support her in any way they can.

Participant 7

Born in a big city, she is 27 years old and comes from a financially secure family. Her parents are conservative and traditional. Her mother is veiled in a traditional way in the sense that she ties her headscarf under her chin or behind her head. Her parents' knowledge of Islam is limited compared to hers. She grew up in a traditional and conservative environment. During her high school years, under the influence of one of her schoolteachers, she started reading the Qu'ran. In her final year, she finished the translation and various interpretations of the whole Qu'ran and decided that she should

cover her hair. When she started university, her parents were concerned that she was moving to another city, but did not oppose her idea so she could receive higher education. She bought a house in this new place and lived there on her own. After two years, the headscarf ban came into force, and she decided to quit. She went abroad to continue her studies, but came back when she struggled with feelings of alienation and adaptation problems. She stayed at home for two years, where she had psychological problems and suffered from depression. When she realized she was neither a high school nor a university graduate, she decided to complete her studies. She took the university exam one more time and started a new program in a different university, in her hometown this time. She prefers using the hat, exposing her ears, as her way of unveiling. However, some teachers do not allow her to wear her hat, so in such cases she exposes her hair in class. Even though she enjoyed her previous program more, she also likes the discipline she is studying now. She is now living with her parents and looking forward to her graduation.

Participant 8

Born in a big city, she comes from a conservative family with financial security and a comfortable lifestyle. She never had to think about her future. When she went to university, she was happy with her discipline and had good grades. She lived with her friends in a flat. She attended the classes with her headscarf on until the first semester of her final year when the headscarf ban came into force at her university. She left school and went abroad to complete her studies in the second semester, but had to come back due to the unexpected death of her father. After five or six years of staying at home, doing voluntary work, and joining different clubs or associations, she decided to go back to school and graduate when the government granted an amnesty to students who dropped out in the year 2000. Now that she is back in school trying to finish her program, she has chosen to expose her hair as a way of unveiling on campus. She is living with her family and looking forward to her graduation.

Participant 9

Born in a big city, she comes from a conservative family. In Grade 6, when her menstrual cycle started for the first time, she knew it was time for her to cover her hair. Then she attended the Qu'ran course to read the Qu'ran and began covering her hair. In addition, her family asked her to cover her hair. When she first veiled, she was still wearing short-sleeve or open-neck tops. Later, during her Imam Hatip high school years, she read extensively about Islam and the life of the Prophet's wife. Then she decided to wear long coats and long-sleeve tops. She was in her final year when the headscarf ban policy came into force. She continued her school unveiled for a year and then took the university entrance exam. After finishing her associate's degree, she worked for a year and realized that she wanted to receive a bachelor's degree. She applied to her current university for a possibility of a transfer and got accepted. As a first-generation college student, her family is proud of her. Even though her father was first opposed to the idea of her unveiling, he supported her type of unveiling, the hat, when he learned she was successful at the university entrance exam. Her mother, on the other hand, wants her to

expose her hair since she thinks Participant 9's life will be easier on campus. It is only her brother-in-law that is opposed to her continuing her bachelor's degree, because he thinks, as a 22-year old woman, it is high time she got married. She is staying with her friends in a flat.

Participant 10

Born in a big city, she and her mother moved to another city after her parents got divorced. She covered her hair after high school. She wanted to imitate her mother, aunt, and cousin. They are all covered. She considered herself a "child" when uncovered. In her opinion, veiling is a sign of maturity and a step to adulthood. To prove that she had become an adult, she covered her hair. The test center she attended while preparing for the university exam contributed to this decision in a positive way as well. Teachers and friends there supported her way of thinking and decision of veiling. Her mother is proud that she is going to university since she is a first-generation college student. Her university is in another city, so she moved there and is staying with her friends in a flat. Her friends are all covered, and they all wear long coats including her. The flat she lives in is sponsored by a tariqa, a religious group, so they live according to their rules. They do not have a TV in their house since it is full of inappropriate programs, they follow specific religious rules, and they train high school students in return for the financial support they receive from the tariqa. She appreciates the financial help of the tariqa since her mother does not have a high income to support all her academic and everyday needs. She also continues to keep in touch with students and teachers in the dershane, the test center, she attended before starting the university.

Participant 11

Born in a small city and living in a big city, she comes from a well-educated family where all members of the family with the exception of her paternal grandmother have at least a bachelor's degree. The family are also traditional and conservative, but have never put pressure on her to cover her hair. In Grades 7 and 8, she sometimes covered her hair and other times she was unveiled. In Grade 10, she covered her hair for good. When she first started university, she was able to go to university veiled until the headscarf ban policy came into force. She first stayed in a state dormitory, but realized that there were various types of people there and she did not feel comfortable. She moved to a private dormitory and shared a room with a friend. With the ban in her third year, she started missing numerous classes and finally, in her fourth year, she quit. Her family suggested that they move abroad for her to continue her education, but she did not want to do that. She moved back to her hometown and lived there for a couple of years. Then she returned to the big city where she grew up, and met her future husband. Married, with a child, and living in her own house, she decided to go back to university and complete her degree when the government granted an amnesty to students who dropped out. This decision made her parents especially happy and proud. She wears a hat on campus and looks forward to her graduation before she has more children. Her parents and her husband support her return to school and try to help her in any way possible, such as taking care of the baby, helping her cook, and doing the housework.

Participant 12

Born in a small city, she comes from a family with financial problems. As a first-generation college student, she finished a vocational school and never veiled until she started the university, even though her mother and all her sisters are covered in a traditional way. The family, conservative and traditional, never put pressure on her dress and lifestyle. When she started university, she moved to another city and started living with some friends. The social circle she ended up with on campus was composed of devout Muslims. They explained to her the rationale behind veiling, reasons for covering the hair, and invited her to their meetings organized by a tariqa. She was given many religious books to read to understand and learn Islam. At the end of the first semester, instead of trousers, she started wearing long skirts only, and, after Ramadan, the holy month of fasting, she bought a headscarf and covered her hair. This is how she went to visit her parents during the religious holiday at the end of Ramadan. Her parents were happy to see her veiled and supported her decision. After becoming veiled, she chose to wear a hat as a type of unveiling on campus.

Participant 13

Born and raised in a small city, she comes from a family who supports every decision she makes. Her mother is a housewife and her father a businessman. She covered her hair at the age of 13 when her friends at Imam Hatip school chose to veil and explained to her why it was the right thing to do. In Grade 10, the headscarf ban policy came into force. After high school graduation, the psychological problems of uncovering her hair at school and the deduction of points in the university entrance exam as an Imam Hatip school graduate made it difficult for her to be successful in the exam. Even though she tried to enter university for 5 years, she has never regretted attending an Imam Hatip high school. Meanwhile, she worked as a journalist and published numerous articles. In addition, her father went bankrupt, but still wanted to send her abroad because he thought a university degree would give credentials she would need in the future. She did not want to go abroad and face adaptation problems. Rather, she stayed in Turkey and tried for the university one last time. She was successful this time and started the program she is in now. First, she wore a wig, but then, when it was windy, the wig flew off, exposing her hair and ears. Thus she started wearing a bonnet under the wig and a hat on top of it. She loves art, works hard, and has a high GPA. She lives with her friends in a flat near the university.

Participant 14

Born in a big city, she comes from a large conservative family. At the age of six, just after her sisters had veiled and explained the importance and virtues of veiling as a Muslim woman, she decided to cover her hair voluntarily despite her young age and although her menstrual cycle had not started by then. She has never regretted it. After the first five years of primary school, she started Imam Hatip school in order to receive education with her hair covered. In Grade 8, with the headscarf ban policy in force in their school and the policy that would deduct the points of Imam Hatip graduates at the

university entrance exam, her family made her change schools so that she could have a better chance in the university exam. When she started her new school, a state high school, she had her teachers and friends from her old school in her dreams for a long time. She did not tell anyone in her private life that she had quit Imam Hatip school for the first two or three months. Her high school teachers inquired about her reasons for veiling in her private life. They wanted to know if she was covered because of family pressure. When she unveiled for the first time, she unveiled at the gate doors of the apartment complexes near the school. She had to face verbal abuse from the residents, which created some psychological problems in her life at a very early age. She questioned whether she was supposed to quit the school in order not to unveil. Her parents insisted that she finish high school and go to university in order to fulfill her potential as a citizen. When she started at university, the discipline she is in now was academically hard for her, but she later got used to it after hard work and help from friends. The type of unveiling on campus she prefers is the hat. In classes, she exposes her hair and wears a turtleneck shirt to cover her neck. She lives with her parents and receives immense academic, emotional, and financial support from them.

Participant 15

Born in a big city, she comes from a financially comfortable family. Her mother is a housewife and her father a businessman. Her mother and sisters are all veiled. In the summer of Grade 5, she attended a boarding Qu'ran course for a short while and then covered her hair at the age of 11. Her parents were opposed to her veiling due to her young age. They wanted her to read and become knowledgeable about Islam before she made a decision about the veil. But she resisted and remained covered. She attended Imam Hatip school until Grade 9, then switched to a private high school due to the policy of deduction of points of Imam Hatip graduates at the national university exam. Her father was opposed to her unveiling during high school, but still did not do anything because he wanted her to finish school. After high school, he wanted to send her abroad where her brother was, but her mother would not let her go. Thus she took the university exam in Turkey and started the program she is in now. On the first day at university, she decided to expose her hair as her way of unveiling on campus. Her father did not insist that she use a wig or hat. He got used to the idea of her unveiling at school. She has always lived with her parents and has good relations with them.

Participant 16

Born in a big city, she comes from a family who can provide her and her siblings with a comfortable life. Both her parents are businesspeople. She grew up in a conservative environment where many of her family members are veiled. However, she only started covering her hair in the summer before she started her second year of university. She was uncovered during her state high school years and never considered veiling. Her parents never put any pressure on her, either. When she started at university, she moved to another city and stayed with friends in a flat. The friends she made on campus were covered and convinced her of the virtues of veiling. She did a lot of reading about Islam and other related matters, and finally decided to cover her hair in the summer

of her first year at university. Her parents did not react to her decision since the decision was that she would continue at the university and expose her hair on campus as she did in her first year. Thus the only difference occurred in her private life. She is a hard-working student with a high GPA.

Participant 17

Born in a big city, she comes from a family who can provide her and her siblings with a comfortable life. Both her parents are businesspeople. She grew up in a conservative environment where many of her family members are veiled. She is 19 and started covering her hair 4-5 years ago. After she graduated from high school, she took the university exam and entered a 2-year program. At the same time, she is attending a 4-year Open University program. She wanted to go abroad to attend a university, but the financial situation of her parents did not allow her to do so. When she uncovered her hair during her high school years, she did not really understand the importance of the headscarf and its relation to politics and the Higher Education Council. Only when she started at university did she become aware of the political intricacies of the headscarf. Since she exposed her hair during her high school years, she continued doing so on campus as well. Her father always encouraged her to continue her education, and so was never opposed to her unveiling at university. After she started at the university, she moved to another city and is living with her friends in a flat. She wants to transfer her credits to a 4-year program but does not think her GPA is high enough.

Participant 18

Born in a big city, she comes from a liberal family. She grew up in a democratic environment where there was never an imposition with regard to wearing a headscarf. Her mother is covered but the rest of her relatives are unveiled. Her mother is a housewife, and her father is a businessman. She started wearing the headscarf in Grade 6 right after she reached puberty. Her father was sad that she covered her hair at such a young age, but she never regretted the decision. Covering the head seemed natural to her since her role model, her mother, was also covered. In addition, she thought that the headscarf really suited her, which made her more motivated to wear it. She attended private schools until university and uncovered her hair during K-11 education. Her father has influenced her all her life, and she is following his footsteps in education by attending a higher education institution. She married recently and lives with her husband in her own apartment. She has a high GPA and exposes her hair while attending the university.

Participant 19

Born in a big city, she comes from a liberal family. She grew up in a democratic environment where there was no pressure on decisions with regard to clothing or lifestyles. Her mother and her big sister are veiled whereas her two little sisters are unveiled. Even though her mother is veiled in a traditional fashion, she is also knowledgeable about Islam. She received most of her religious education at home. In Grade 9, she hesitated between veiling and remaining unveiled. In Grade 10, she decided

to cover her hair. She was aware of the potential difficulties of being covered at school and work since her sister went through many hurdles at work. However, she thought this was what she had to do and did not step back. During her high school years, she had some friends who sometimes covered their hair and other times did not. She thought they did not know what it took to be covered. She thinks the most important thing is to have the willpower to be covered. Her parents are educated; almost all members of her family, including her uncles, have at least a master's degree. She has always been ambitious and successful and wanted to be in a program different from the current one. But stress and other reasons unrelated to the headscarf prevented her from entering her first-choice program from the university exam. She was initially disappointed, but enjoys it very much now. When she started at university, she moved to a different city and first stayed with her friends in a flat, but then moved to a state dormitory and continues to live there. She has chosen to expose her hair as the type of unveiling on campus.

Participant 20 (Buket)

Born in a big city, she comes from a conservative family. Her mother is veiled in a traditional way. Participant 20 was in a state school and planned to cover her hair without actually doing so until the big earthquake in Turkey took place. Shaken by it, she decided to cover her hair because of her fear of God. She has been covered for seven years now. She exposed her hair during her high school years and on campus at university. She is living with her parents while attending university.

Participant 21

Born in a big city, she comes from a family where both parents are professional, providing the family with a comfortable life. The female members of the nucleus of her family are covered; however, she has relatives who choose not to cover their hair. When she was young, she always wanted to cover her hair, but her mother would not let her do it, thinking that it was too soon. Then, when she thought she had matured enough and become an adult, she decided to cover her hair in Grade 7. After attending Imam Hatip school in Grade 6, she went to a private school for girls in Grades 7 and 8 and then finished high school at an Anatolian high school for girls that had some male teachers. She unveiled during her K-11 education, but always chose to wear a wig, until the second week of Grade 9 in Anatolian high school. In the second week, the principal of the school wanted her to expose her hair, so she obeyed her wishes. She was not very concerned since it was a school for girls, even though there were some male teachers. After graduation, she wanted to go abroad, but her parents would not let her because her brother had already been abroad and her parents did not want to send another child. Thus she took the university exam in Turkey and entered the program she always wanted in the Health Sciences. Her parents were happy and proud of her success since both of them were educated with advanced degrees. When she started at university, she chose to use a wig on campus because it was co-educational. Her mother has been a great support to her, since she went to university wearing a wig too. She stays with her parents while attending the university and tries to raise her GPA by studying harder.

Participant 22 (Fatma)

Born in a foreign country and raised in a small city, she comes from a religious family. Her mother is a housewife and her father a businessman. Her father had a big influence on her and her sisters' religious education and beliefs. A headscarf was always encouraged in the house during her childhood. As such, she covered her hair voluntarily in Grade 6 as a result of her father's teachings about Islam. In the environment where she grew up, staying in the small city she is from after high school means to marry and have kids. Higher education is seen as unnecessary for girls. However, when her older brothers did not go to university, her father insisted that she and her sister go to university. Since her parents did not go to university, it was her high school teachers who had an influence on the academic decisions she made with regard to the discipline she considered studying. She was a very successful student, the first, in Imam Hatip. When she started at university, she moved to another city and lived with her friends. She went to school with her headscarf on for two years until the headscarf ban policy came into force. She had enrollment problems in her third year and was not allowed to enter campus as long as she refused to uncover her hair. In the second semester of the year, she considered going abroad, but changed her mind since she was going to start from the first year, and she was also concerned that the education she received abroad may not be the equivalent of education in Turkey, affecting her ability to work in Turkey in the future. She actively took part in riots and protests in front of the university. She opened a court case against the policy with her friends, but lost. The case was taken to the Human Rights Court and remains there. Meanwhile, instead of returning to her hometown, she stayed in the city where she attended the university and enrolled in various courses, such as reading and foreign language. She went abroad to improve her foreign language skills for a short time. She conducted some religious research and read extensively about Islam. Then she got married and had a child. In 2005, she realized that she needed credentials if she wanted to take a more active role in fighting against the headscarf ban policy. With an amnesty by the government granted to students who dropped out of university, she decided to go back and complete her studies. She wears a hat on campus and tries to only attend exams whenever she can. She is 26 years old and lives in her own house with her husband and child.

Participant 23

Born in a big city, she comes from a family where both parents are professionals with university degrees. Her mother and sisters are veiled. Her mother is a master's student at another university going through similar experiences with regard to the headscarf ban policy on campus. Participant 23 chose to cover her hair right before she started Grade 6. She never considered not being covered, and when she reached puberty, she thought that it was time for her to cover her hair. Having attended Imam Hatip during Grades 6-8, she switched to a private school for personal reasons, not because of the policy of deduction of points of Imam Hatip graduates at the national university exam, which is usually the case for many students. She attended high school with her headscarf on until the headscarf ban policy took effect in her school. She wore a wig in the final year. Although she has a high GPA and is a successful student at university, she failed

and had to repeat her second year due to unexpected health problems. She exposes her hair while receiving higher education and is staying with her parents.

Participant 24

Born in a big city, she comes from a family where her parents are both professionals with advanced degrees. She went to Imam Hatip school and was unveiled in Grades 6 and 7 because her mother did not allow it. With the influence of her friends, she veiled in Grade 8 and this time her mother allowed her to as well. Due to the policy of deduction of points of Imam Hatip graduates, she was sent to a private high school for girls, where she uncovered her hair. Her unveiling was not a concern for her since the school was a same-sex school. After high school graduation, she considered the option of going abroad, but she was not sure whether her education abroad was going to be counted as equivalent to the education she received in Turkey. Thus she stayed in Turkey and took the university entrance exam. She was successful and able to enter the program she always wanted. She has chosen to wear a wig while attending the university, and her parents have not been opposed to her decision. She stays with her parents, studies hard, and has a high GPA.

Participant 25 (Meral)

Born and raised in a big city, she comes from a large family where the mother is veiled too. She wanted to go to school with her hair covered, so she chose Anatolian Imam Hatip school. Her mother thought that Grade 6 was early for her to veil, but she insisted. When the policy of point deduction of Imam Hatip graduates at the university exam came into force, she was sent to a co-educational private school, where she uncovered her hair during her high school years. For her bachelor's degree, she moved to another city and started living with friends in a flat while attending the university. She chose the hat as her primary style of unveiling. However, if professors did not let her wear a hat in class, she switched to the wig. In the final semester of this year, she mostly used the hat. Her parents were supportive of her decision. She has always had good relations with her parents and siblings.

Participant 26

Born in a small city, she comes from a conservative and religious family. Except for one sister, every female member in the family is veiled. They moved to a big city during her final year of her K-11 education. She received her initial religious education from her paternal grandmother, who influenced her life extensively. She decided to cover her hair after she finished primary school. After attending Grade 6 in Anatolian Imam Hatip School, she switched to a private school per her father's wish. All her siblings attended private schools at the time, and her father wanted her to receive private school education as well. After she started the university, she stayed on campus for a short while and then moved out. She is now staying in a flat with her friends. She exposes her hair to gain access to higher education.

Participant 27

She was born and raised in a big city. Her mother is a housewife and her father is a professional. Through her father's job, they had to live in various places in Turkey, which caused her to change schools a couple of times. She covered her hair in Grade 9 as a result of constant pressure from her father. She was uncovered in class while attending high school. In the final year of high school, the headscarf ban was intensified when teachers started preventing students from singing the national anthem with their headscarves on. That year, she was asked to remove her headscarf outside the school gate. She unveiled at the outside doors of the apartment blocks adjacent to her school. This experience dampened her enthusiasm to continue higher education. Her mother forced her to go to university, so she took the national university exam twice, but was not successful until the third time. After she entered the program she is in, she became a very successful student, the third in her class, and has always had a high GPA. She exposes her hair while attending university and is staying with her parents while schooling.

Participant 28

Born and raised in a big city, she comes from a family where family members live Islam as a religion, not as a way of life, even though her mother is veiled. Due to the sympathy toward Islam at home, she started reading about it extensively, and the more she read the more she realized she wanted to live Islam as a way of life. She attended a state school. In Grade 11, she decided to cover her hair despite the opposition of all her family and friends. She wanted to transfer to a same-sex high school, but her father did not let her do so. Thus she finished her high school as an unveiled woman in a co-educational school and a veiled woman in her private life. This caused psychological problems such as depression. Grade 11 was also the year when the headscarf ban policy came into force at universities. She did not want to continue higher education, but her parents insisted. After being unsuccessful at the university exam, she enrolled in a test center for a year. She continued living with her parents, but had bad relations with them because of the way she wanted to live her life. She worked hard that year and entered the program she is in now. The first year, she was unsuccessful and had to repeat it due to her psychological problems that started in high school, even though she attended the university veiled. For a short time, she lived in a dormitory, but then started living with her big sister, who is uncovered. Until the middle of her third year, she went to university veiled. When the headscarf ban became strictly applied on campus, she quit. Her decision to drop out created another clash between her and her parents. She suffered from depression for some more time. After seven years of being away from higher education, with the amnesty granted by the Higher Education Council to students who dropped out, she decided to go back to university to graduate to have credentials to fight for her cause. Her parents were happy with her decision and approved of it. She wears a hat, most of the time over her headscarf, which sometimes creates problems at the university gate or in classrooms.

Participant 29 (Meltem)

Born and raised in a big city, she comes from a small family that values education. Both her parents are professionals with advanced degrees. After Grade 5, she wanted to imitate the veiled women around her, such as her mother or sister. Thus she started veiling on and off in Grade 6. In Grade 7, she decided to wear the headscarf permanently. Meanwhile, she read extensively about Islam and its teachings, including the life of the Prophet. During her high school years, she exposed her hair since the wig was banned. The act of exposing the hair was challenging for her. Her consolation was the small size of the school with a small population. When she started at university, she chose to wear a wig on campus. The family was supportive of her decision, especially her father, who encouraged her to get a higher education. She does not have a high GPA, but she is the third in her class. This is because the exams are very challenging to the students. She stays with her parents and enjoys the program she is in even though it was not one of her first choices in the university exam.

Participant 30

Born in a small city, she comes from a family where neither parent attended university. Her family always had financial difficulties. Her parents want her to be a university graduate so that she can find a good job earning good money. Her mother and sisters are all veiled, but she never wanted to cover her hair. She started veiling as a result of pressure from her father. She exposed her hair while attending state high school for girls. While attending university, she is staying with her parents and wearing a hat.

APPENDIX I

A Summary of the Turkish Education System

The Turkish education system consists of pre-school, primary, secondary, and tertiary education ("The Republic of Turkey," 2001; "The Republic of Turkey Ministry of National Education Research," 2001). Until the academic year 1997-1998, the compulsory primary education lasted 5 years and the secondary education (lower secondary and high school) at least 6 years. In 1997, the system changed in such a way that the compulsory primary education lasted 8 years and secondary education at least 3 years ("The Republic of Turkey," 2001). The tertiary education lasts between 2 and 4 years depending on the type of university students attend.

Primary education is compulsory for all Turkish children, starting at the age of six, regardless of gender, and is free of charge in state schools. In addition to state primary schools, there are numerous private Turkish, foreign, minority, and international primary schools where students have to pay for tuition ("The Republic of Turkey," 2001; "The Republic of Turkey Ministry of National Education Research," 2001). At the end of the primary education, students take a national exam that tests their knowledge in Turkish, mathematics, sciences and social sciences. Students are placed in different kinds of schools according to their scores.

Secondary education includes general schools and vocational and technical schools. The most popular types of general schools are state schools, Anatolian schools, science schools, and private (Turkish, foreign, minority, or international) schools. High schools, Anatolian schools and science schools are state-funded institutions and free of charge. Anatolian schools are famous for preparing students for the national university exam in a generally successful way. Science schools, which prepare students to succeed in the university exam, are science-focused. Anatolian and science schools are very competitive and difficult to get into ("The Republic of Turkey," 2001; "The Republic of Turkey Ministry of National Education Research," 2001).

Vocational schools give education according to profession. Some of the vocational schools include technical schools, vocational schools, Anatolian technical schools, Anatolian vocational schools, vocational schools for girls and boys separately, technical schools for girls and boys separately, Imam Hatip schools, and Anatolian Imam Hatip schools ("The Republic of Turkey," 2001; "The Republic of Turkey Ministry of National Education Research," 2001). These vocational and technical schools are free and state-funded institutions. As discussed in the literature review section at greater length, the graduates of vocational and technical schools are at a disadvantage if they decide to pursue a program that is different from what they have studied during high school. Should such a case arise, the points of the graduate students of these schools are deducted, affecting their overall score in the university entrance examination (Gorvett, 2004). With reference to the headscarf ban policy, in 1934 the student dress code law banned use of religious symbols in K-11 schools. In 1981, another law was added, to explicitly state that students had to attend K-11 schools uncovered ("Turban yasagi," 1999). So, during primary and secondary education, students are not allowed to cover their hair while going to school, regardless of the type of school they attend. Imam Hatip schools were an exception until the late 1990s, where students could veil. Once the

education system changed and 5-year compulsory education became 8 years, Imam Hatip schools were reorganized and categorized as vocational and technical schools, banning the use of headscarves. Thus there is a difference between when and how the headscarf ban policy started on campuses and at Imam Hatip schools.

APPENDIX J

Translations of the Surah an-Nur and Surah al-Ahzab

Translation of the Surah an-Nur verse 31 from the Qu'ran reads:

And say to the faithful women to lower their gazes, and to guard their private parts, and not to display their beauty except what is apparent of it, and to extend their headcoverings (khimars) to cover their bosoms, and not to display their beauty except to their husbands, or their fathers, or their husband's fathers, or their sons, or their husband's sons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their womenfolk, or what their right hands rule (slaves), or the followers from the men who do not feel sexual desire, or the small children to whom the nakedness of women is not apparent, and not to strike their feet (on the ground) so as to make known what they hide of their adornments. And turn in repentance to God together, O you the faithful, in order that you are successful ("Why do you dress?," n.d.).

Translation of the Surah al-Ahzab verse 59 from the Qu'ran reads:

O Prophet! Say to your wives and your daughters and the women of the faithful to draw their outergarments (jilbabs) close around them; that is better that they will be recognized and not annoyed. And God is ever Forgiving, Gentle ("Why do you dress?," n.d.).

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