

THE EXPERIENCE OF UNVEILING
CONCEPTUALIZATION OF UNVEILING IN A CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY
CONTEXT USING INTERPRETATIVE PHENOMENOLOGICAL
ANALYSIS

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Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe)

- 1) Örtünmeyi Bırakmak
- 2) Örtünmek
- 3) Utanç
- 4) Deri-Ben
- 5) Kendini Gerçekleştirme
- 6) Ego-İdeali / Super Ego

Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)

- 1) Unveiling
- 2) Veiling
- 3) Shame
- 4) Skin-Ego
- 5) Self-Realization
- 6) Ego-Ideal / Super Ego

Running head: THE EXPERIENCE OF UNVEILING

The Experience of Unveiling:
Conceptualization of Unveiling in a Clinical Psychology Context
Using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

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Abstract

İlknur Ünal. The Experience of Unveiling (Directed by Yudum Akyıl, PhD and Murat Paker, PhD). Department of Clinical Psychology, August 2016.

Two articles are contained in this dissertation. The first article is a literature review that puts forth the (un)veiling issue in a historical sense in Turkey as well as in a clinical psychological context. The central issues discussed in the literature review include (i) a brief historical background of (un)veiling in Turkey, (ii) the (un)veiling issue, (iii) the conceptualization of (un)veiling in terms of clinical psychological literature. The conceptualization of unveiling is argued with the concepts of (1) Ego-ideal and unveiling as a familial problem, (2) The course of the development of a woman, (3) Shame, and (4) Unveiling as peeling the skin-ego. Briefly stated, the literature review highlights the importance of the acknowledgement of unveiling as a significant psychic experience. The second article is the first known qualitative study in clinical psychology conducted with women who unveiled willingly after a significant period of veiling. Women were interviewed and the corresponding data were analyzed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis in which five themes emerged (I) the meaning of veiling, (II) evolving beliefs, (III) shame, (IV) the effect of significant others and (V) unveiling as a self-realization experience. Findings are reviewed with respect to existing literature and implications for clinicians and prospective researchers.

Keywords: veiling, unveiling, unveilor, (un)veiling, shame, skin-ego, self-realization, ego-ideal, super-ego.

Özet

İlknur Ünal. Örtünmeyi Bırakma Deneyimi (Tez Danışmanı Yudum Akyl, PhD ve İkinci Danışman Murat Parker, PhD). Klinik Psikoloji Bölümü, Ağustos 2016.

Bu tez iki makaleden oluşmaktadır. İlk makale hem Türkiye’de tarihi bakımdan hem de klinik psikoloji bağlamında örtünme(me) meselesini ortaya koymaktadır. Literatür taramasında tartışılan ana meseleler şunlardır: (i) Türkiye’de örtünme(me) meselesinin kısa arka planı, (ii) örtünme(me) meselesi, (iii) klinik psikoloji literatüründe örtünme(me) meselesinin kavramsallaştırılması. Örtünme(me) meselesi şu kavramlar üzerinden tartışılmıştır: (1) Ego-ideali ve ailevi bir sorun olarak örtünme(me), (2) Kadın gelişiminin seyri, (3) Utanç, (4) Deri-beni soymak olarak örtünme(me). Özetle, literatür taraması örtünmeyi bırakmanın önemli ruhsal bir deneyim olarak kabul edilmesinin önemini altını çizmektedir. İkinci makale belirli bir zaman örtündükten sonra kendi isteğiyle örtünmeyi bırakan kadınlarla yürütölmüş klinik psikoloji alanında bilinen ilk kalitatif çalışmadır. Kadınlarla derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmış ve sonuçlar Fenomenolojik Analiz yöntemiyle analiz edilmiştir. Analiz sonucunda beş ana tema ortaya çıkmıştır: (I) örtünmenin anlamı, (II) değişen inançlar, (III) utanç, (IV) önemli ötekilerin etkileri ve (V) bir kendini gerçekleştirme deneyimi olarak örtünmeyi bırakma. Sonuçlar var olan literatüre ve klinisyenler ve gelecek araştırmacılar için anlamlarına göre değerlendirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: örtünme, örtünmeme, örtünmeyi bırakan kişi, örtünme(me), utanç, deri-ben, kendini gerçekleştirme, ego-ideali, süper-ego.

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THE EXPERIENCE OF UNVEILING

Literature Review Article**Abstract**

(Un)veiling is an overlooked phenomenon from a clinical psychological perspective. This literature review tries to explore the problematization of (un)veiling by a historical perspective in Turkey where Islam confronts with modernism. Unveiling is conceptualized mainly around female sexual development where the key issues are the development of ego-ideal or super-ego, different facets of shame and the concept of skin-ego. Unveiling is tried to be understood in the context of family where it could be perceived as an interruption in the transmission of family values. From a separation-individuation perspective, unveiling is discussed in a process of self-realization.

Keywords: veiling, unveiling, (un)veiling, unveilor, shame, skin-ego, self-realization, ego-ideal, super-ego, separation-individuation.

“As a symbolic language, dress reveals some of the conscious and unconscious priorities people hold” (Rugh, 1986, p.2).

This study is an effort to put forward the psychical reality of (un)veiling. Turkey is a rapidly changing and developing country that wants to modernize on the one hand; but finds itself becoming more conservative every day (Konda, (2007)). This ambivalent structure of the society reflects in different regulations, laws, societal entities or internal worlds of people in different ways which results in cultural diversity. All of these domains deserve to be explored in detail. However, the subject of this study is to explore the psychic reflections of (un)veiling by taking into account different layers of the psyche such as family, culture and ego.

Unveiling is a phenomenon which is quite non-conceptualized. This literature review attempts to conceptualize unveiling in terms of the effects it creates on the psyche. It is not to be opposed that the issues arising from (un)veiling has not been discussed openly and frequently in the psychology discipline. The issue of unveiling remains overlooked. Thus, other disciplines are also utilized in this study such as sociology, history or anthropology in order to express to what extent the issue is worked through or contemplated on. In the scope of this study, unveiling refers to the act of not veiling any more. Hence, it automatically refers to a pre-veiling status. Unveiling suggests the act of quitting veiling from one's lifestyle rather than using the veil as intermittently.

Veiling is known to be not only a practice of Islam but there are different practices also in Judaism and Christianity (Freund, 2011). There are theologians and other social researchers who

interpret the verses of Quran and claim that the veil is not a command of God but rather it is a cultural phenomenon (Prof.B. B.-Ört., 2015; Bilgin H., 2011; Filiz, 2008). As it is applied in Turkish culture, it is used to cover the head in order not to exhibit the hair and it is also aimed not to exhibit the body contours, although it depends on the devotion or taqwa of the person.

The purpose of this literature review is to explore the cultural background of veiling and unveiling phenomena so that the context of the issue can be understood more fully. While doing so, veiling or unveiling will be discussed from an Islamic perspective rather than merely from a Turkish cultural perspective. However, the headscarf controversy will be discussed mainly according to what happened in Turkey.

Turkey has a Muslim population as majority. As a secular country, veiling is not compulsory in Turkey. However, there are the unwritten rules within the society in general and within families the society is constituted of that veiling is preferred, to say the least. Unveiling might or might not become a problem depending on the reasons of (un)veiling, the family's or significant others' reactions or whether or not (un)veiling made compulsory for the person. In order to give a taste of the cultural background of the phenomenon, the past will be discussed briefly.

A Brief Historical Background of (Un)Veiling in Turkey

In the formation of the new republic in 1923, much emphasis was placed on modernization. Although headscarf was not banned explicitly, there was a hat reform in 1925 which banned men from wearing traditional hats (Genç, 2013). Even before the hat revolution as it is called officially, Ataturk advises to get dressed in a civilised way by saying that Turks deserve to dress like that (Ozkan, 2005a). In 1934, another law prohibited religious based clothing including hijab or veil (Ferrari & Pastorelli, 2016). Another Kemalist reform was about

education which united all educational institutions. Religious education institutions called madrasas were closed or transformed into Imam-Hatip schools in order to train imams or sermons in 1924 (İmam-Hatip Tarihi, 2012). Imam-Hatip schools are under the control of government which has an ambivalent relationship with them. Imam-Hatip schools were closed in 1930 only to open up again in 1945 due to political competence (İmam-Hatip Tarihi., 2012). This time it was imam-hatip courses with ten months of duration of education (İmam-Hatip Tarihi., 2012). In 1951, as a result of a more conservative government in power, Imam-Hatip schools were opened again as high schools with three years of education (İmam-Hatip Tarihi., 2012). Imam-Hatip schools were accepted to be seven years of high schools (4 years of secondary and 3 years of high school) in 1954 (İmam-Hatip Tarihi., 2012).

Another problem is the coups that have become like a destiny for Turkey. Military always standing in a secular point, every military coup has affected Imam-Hatip schools in an attempt to protect secularism. In 1960 coup, Imam-Hatip schools' teaching program has been changed (Mardin, 2006). After 1971 coup, programs of Imam-Hatip schools were changed in 1972 by reducing the secondary school to three years and religious courses were abolished (İmam-Hatip Tarihi., 2012). In 1973, Imam-Hatip schools were recognized as regular high-schools (İmam-Hatip Tarihi., 2012). Lastly in 1980 coup, openings of new Imam-Hatip schools were prevented (İmam-Hatip Tarihi., 2012). In 1985, a new type of Imam-Hatip school was founded which is called Anatolian Imam-Hatip High Schools (İmam-Hatip Tarihi., 2012). These schools were highly demanded especially after a student becoming the first winner of university exams in 1994 (Tarihcemiz, 2015). The number of students in Imam-Hatip schools increased until the so-called postmodern coup in 1997, February 28th in which the army forced the government "to staunch increasing religiosity" in the society (İmam-Hatip Tarihi, 2012; Yinanc, 2012). The

postmodern coup aimed Imam-Hatip graduates to stay in their fields. That is, students could continue their university education only in theology departments. It was made very difficult for an Imam-Hatip graduate to take education in other fields. If a student did not continue her/his university education, s/he could have a chance to become an imam. However, as the girls could not be imams, they could be sermons or teachers at the Quaranic schools where only Islamic courses were given. Families aimed their children to take regular high school courses as well as Islamic knowledge. Many non-religious families also preferred Imam-Hatip schools because the education of Imam-Hatip schools were found to be good or effective. Many students wanted to continue their education in science or medicine following Imam-Hatip. Therefore, there was many victims of this new regulation as the possibility to continue regular high schools were also prevented. This postmodern coup provided the ground for the Justice and Development Party (AKP) to develop albeit unintentionally (Yinanc, 2012).

Students start Imam-Hatip when they are approximately eleven years old that is, after the primary school. Girls mostly start veiling when they start imam-hatip at the age of eleven. It is compulsory to veil during school hours and most students prefer to veil in their out of school time as it is very compatible with the family system. They graduate after seven years of education and in most cases continue their university education. (Un)veiling might have become an issue in the university.

Nilüfer Göle is one of the most referred social scientists who is writing about veiling or in general women in modern Turkey. She takes the phenomenon from the Ottoman Empire's modernization or westernization attempts. The first known attempt to westernize is the reforms of Sultan Mahmud II who regulated the government officials' clothing in 1820s (Quataert, 1997). According to Göle, Turkish modernization is based upon the women's appearance on the public

sphere which was originated before the proclamation of the republic (Göle, 2011, p.50). On the one hand, the problem arises when the conservative Islamic movements doubt about the place of women as they think that if woman is liberalized or 'allowed outside of the private sphere', it could dissolve moral values (Göle, 2011). On the other hand, "the secular side looks at veiling women as a representation of the puritanical past while seeing themselves as reformers" (Göle, 2011, p.50).

The headscarf ban is also parallel to Imam-Hatip schools' governance. As Imam-Hatip schools are governmentally controlled institutions rather than religious institutions, and moreover, headscarves or any religious clothing are not allowed in governmental institutions, headscarves had been sometimes banned in even Imam-Hatip schools as well as universities. The ban depends on the regulations and the execution of the regulations. As the headscarf is used politically, every government has a different regulation around it. However, for the sake of simplicity, it could be said that there have been two mainstream thoughts in Turkey, namely secularist/Kemalist side and Islamist/conservative side. Secularist side saw universities "as the strong castle of modernization" (Göle, 2011, p.115). Entrance of girls wearing headscarves into universities was therefore "a disappointment for secularists" (Göle, 2011, p.116). This disappointment provided the basis for the headscarf ban. An incomprehensible practice during the headscarf ban period after the postmodern coup in 1997 was 'persuasion rooms' in which veiled students were tried to be persuaded to unveil (Seggie, 2011). According to Nilüfer Göle, the short wearing girls in a national holiday together with the headscarf wearing girls represent "the Western ideal and Islamic ideal which express the fact that the female body has been the stage for societal preferences" (Göle, 2011, p.117).

Zehra Yılmaz uses Spivak's 'subaltern' term in order to explain how the woman is represented from a feminist perspective (Yılmaz, 2015). Yılmaz claims that when we look at Islamist women in Turkey, we see that by victimization of the subaltern, the subaltern is made a part of power relations (Yılmaz, 2015, pp.45-46). Since the AKP has been in power, things started to change in favor of headscarf and imam-hatip schools. Therefore, it could be suggested that the 'subaltern' has shifted in the last twenty years. One might wonder whether the new 'subaltern' among women who cannot talk or be represented would be the unveilors.

The (Un)Veiling Issue

Being covered by a headscarf, in the original Arabic term "tesettur" and sometimes referred to as "turban" or "hijab" or more conservative version "chador", or as the verb form 'veiling' is a phenomenon that has been argued in Turkey in various disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, cultural studies or politics (Mavi, 2012; Balta, 2014; Çorbacıoğlu, 2008; Işiker, 2011). Other studies might attempt to understand the signified meanings by the headscarf (Okutan, 2013). The common point of these studies is to discuss the headscarf controversy in terms of human rights, freedom or secularism.

Another perspective of the phenomenon of unveiling in terms of Turkey is the fact that it has been underestimated. This became very apparent in the fact that the former president's wife was demanded to unveil ignoring the fact that she quit her university education not to unveil (Oskay, 2015). Ozkan (2005a) exemplifies another demand on the unveiling of the prime minister's (of that time) wife. A journalist who is interviewed by Ozkan, states that in order to solve the headscarf controversy, the prime minister's (of that time) wife should unveil as a model for other women (Ozkan, 2005a, p.298). This underestimation of unveiling involves ignoring the agency or the psychic reality of women who use headscarves or other types of veiling. Societal

norms tend to ignore personal realities. I suggest that unveiling is a complicated psychic process for even someone who wants to unveil let alone a woman who quit university not to do it. It makes it more important to name unveiling as a significant experience taking into account the ignorance about it.

Ozkan exemplifies a journalist who unveiled in her adult life on her own will who then wrote a book about the issue (Ozkan 2005a;2005b). As another example, Shaima Khalil is an Egyptian BBC reporter who decided to unveil in her adult life after a personal journey of questioning and reviewing her values toward her religion (Khalil, 2014). Arman (2008) provides another example of a woman who unveiled at the age of 47 on her own will. The common point of these examples is the strong-mindedness of the decision after a questioning, examining or reading process.

Unveiling would refer to various actions in different regions. Fadil investigates the unveiling issue as an ethical practice among immigrant Muslim women in Belgium (Fadil, 2011). She investigates the motives underlying not-veiling among immigrants in Belgium and puts the agency of the not-veiling women forward (Fadil, 2011). In a Europe where unveiling has become almost compulsory in exertion of disciplining Muslims, Fadil takes unveiling as a bodily practice rather than generalizing not-veiled Muslims as seculars (Fadil, 2011). The approach to consider unveiling as an act in itself, rather than merely withdrawal from the act of veiling allows us to analyze unveiling in its own terms and therefore to focus on the specific aspects of it.

Predelli suggests that Muslim women can use Islam as a flexible source in order to adapt to changing roles (Predelli, 2004). Read & Bartkowski (2000) in their study in Texas, suggests that neither veiled nor unveiled women judge each other in a harsh way. Authors were surprised to see the reluctance of veiled women to judge their unveiled sisters and amazed at the empathy

of unveiled women towards their veiled sisters (Read & Bartkowski, 2000). In this study, it is found that unveiled women believe that veil is a means of control over women by men (Read & Bartkowski, 2000). Moreover, unveiled women suggest that it is understandable for women to continue veiling in order to preserve their culture and most unveiled women express tolerance and empathy for their veiled sisters as they were also veiled previously (Read & Bartkowski, 2000).

In terms of psychological research there exists few papers regarding the issue in Turkey, most of which are based upon the detrimental effects of or the attitudes towards headscarf ban in universities (Işiker, 2011; Çamlı, 2010). Any issue which is argued around some ban could be dichotomized as the victim and the victimizer groups and the headscarf ban is no exception. However, extension of the scope by both not focusing merely on the headscarf ban and also trying to understand the phenomenon by a wider lens could add to our understanding of (un)veiling. I will refer to different perspectives, mainly psychoanalytical and phenomenological perspectives in order to help in advancing our understanding of the phenomenon.

Until now, the arguments about headscarf issue was discussed with the underlying assumption that women wearing headscarves wanted to cover their hair with such a desire that they could sacrifice their education to this end as there was a ban going on. Nevertheless, it might be a significant point of curiosity to explore the affective perspective of women subject to unveiling even when it is not compulsory to unveil. Including as many perspectives as possible facilitates an integral understanding of a phenomenon (Esbjorn-Hargens, 2009). Therefore, the affective perspective of women should be included into the analysis of (un)veiling.

According to Topkara (2007), it was less of a problem to veil for a religious woman in Turkey twenty years ago but as the country gets more modernized and the determinism of

modernization over the society increases, women, more than men, confronts a conflict with their own drives and wishes and also with the societal norms (Topkara, 2007). Topkara thinks that veil has an identity determinant feature beyond being a religious command (Topkara, 2007).

Ozkan (2005a) discusses veiling through interviews with various intellectuals. One of the interviewees is a psychiatrist who thinks that the headscarf ban might lead to post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) or depressive disorders among women who are disappointed by not being let in the university with their headscarves and in turn quit their education (Ozkan, 2005a). She comments on the common symptoms among women who either quit education or job due to the ban, that these women experience some aggressive drives, non-communication, withdrawal, shame, guilt or anxiety disorders which she intervenes with medication combined with psychotherapy (Ozkan, 2005a). She also comments about women who decide to unveil due to the ban. She says that this decision (unveiling) might lead to a new conflict such as non-belongingness to any group or self-blame (Ozkan, 2005a). She asserts that compulsory veiling and compulsory unveiling are the same thing from a psychological perspective (Ozkan, 2005a).

According to Zehra Yılmaz, Islamism developed together with modernism but has a tense relationship with it (Yılmaz, 2015). Benslama, on the other hand, asserts that modernism of Islam is nothing but an imitated version of modern (Benslama, 2014). Oliver Roy claims that the migration of Islam into the West changes the bond to religiosity in the motherland which forces Islam to express itself as a personal preference (Roy, 2013, pp.76-78). Oliver Roy asserts that trying to modernize Islam involves transforming religious commands into a self-realization issue (Roy, 2013). According to Roy, this results in an understanding of veiling as a merely personal preference, which cannot be imposed by the religious command (Roy, 2013).

From a feminist perspective, veiling creates a paradox because it is ambiguous whether women's freedom is taken away by oppression or given back to them as it is chosen by women's free will. The same is true for compulsory unveiling because the oppression to veil is dismissed by it, however, the freedom to veil is taken away which creates another type of oppression. According to Hirschmann (1998), free agency of women to choose to veil does not make it an individual action but rather it may be as a result of women's political disempowerment. In a world where law makers are men, or in an Islamic world where Quran is interpreted only by men, it would be simple to assume that women have free will to choose the veil (Hirschmann, 1998). Hirschmann invites Western feminists to think whether the veil is more oppressive than blue jeans or miniskirts (Hirschmann, 1998). Veiling could be used to express agency, but at the same time it should be noted that the underlying power structure is reinforced by doing so (Hirschmann, 1998). According to Hirschmann (1998), cross-cultural dialogue is crucial in developing a global feminism.

Hirschmann argues that West sees the veil as a symbol of oppression. However, ironically, by trying to 'liberate' women from veil the West just undermines women's agency and replaces the social control (Hirschmann, 1997). Ahmad argues parallel to Hirschmann in asking whether the abandonment of the veil refers to liberation of women or whether it is a substitution of Islamic patriarchy with the Western one (Ahmad, 2006).

Fatima Mernissi is an Islamic feminist who contrasts Imam Gazali's work with that of Freud on human sexuality (Mernissi, 1987). By doing so, she puts forward the differences in viewpoints of East and West. According to Mernissi, Freud views female sexuality as masochistic (passive); whereas in Imam Gazali, and therefore in the East women are seen to be active and dangerous (Mernissi, 1987). Mernissi, in a way, sees the use of veiling in Islamic

world as a precaution to this danger. I suggest on my part that unveiling represents a renunciation of this duality of active and passive. Besides, unveiling might help a woman to reach for an integration of this duality within herself by transcendence and inclusion (Wilber, 2011).

Above it has been maintained that unveiling is an overlooked and mostly underestimated phenomenon which deserves to have a place in clinical psychology as well as other branches of humanities. Taking unveiling as an act in itself facilitates to deepen our understanding. Examples of intentionally unveiled women were given. The relationship between Islam, modernism and individualization were suggested to set the stage for transformation of commands to preferences.

Conceptualization of Unveiling in terms of Clinical Psychological Literature

(Un)veiling will be discussed around specific axis in an attempt to conceptualize it from a clinical psychology perspective. Clinical psychology perspective refers to the development and course of the human psychical reality in terms of scientific and clinical research.

Psychoanalytical concepts will be utilized and developmental processes will be revisited in terms of female sexual development. The concept of transmission of family values is also utilized regarding (un)veiling as a familial issue. The specific perspectives for discussion in this paper will develop around the concepts of skin-ego, ego-ideal, shame, and transmission of family values.

Ego-Ideal and Unveiling as a Familial Problem

It is not uncommon for women to take into account very subtle relational factors in their endeavor to veil or unveil. For instance an experienced therapist once gave a speech about being sensitive about the cultural backgrounds of our clients. She gave a clinical example where an adult woman who was taking care of her ill father wanted to unveil but had a very strong fear

that her father would die of a heart attack if he saw her unveiled. She had decided to remain veiled.

Families not only inherit their genes but also try to transmit their moral and religious values to their offspring. To this end, they try to organize the social and educational environment of their children accordingly. However, there is reason to believe that childhood determines the former life while the present life is influenced more by the present social life, spouses and friends. Stott (1988) shows that a person's religious involvement is strongly influenced by parents' religious involvement when s/he is a child; whereas is weakly influenced by parents' religious involvement when s/he is an adult. Stott (1988) concludes that parental influence on religious socialization has a transitory effect that diminishes gradually as the child goes into adulthood (Stott, 1988). As veiling signifies a dedication to the moral values of Islam, unveiling could be thought as a rejection of those values by the families even if the unveilor does not intend to do so. This very problem is known to be the main reason for many women who want to unveil but cannot realize it.

One of the critical aspects of unveiling could be suggested that it being a familial problem. Families transmit their values to the next generation either intentionally or unintentionally (Van Ijzendoorn, 1992). Unveiling could be understood as disobedience by the previous generation and might in turn affect the family relationships. There is no study expressing the parental attitudes regarding unveiling in Turkey. However, there is a study where parents' attitudes in terms of value transmission is explored (Akyil, Prouty, Balinchar, Lyness, 2014). It would be inferred by mediation of this study in a tentative way that parents might feel confused or powerless which results in a kind of resistance in adapting to the needs of their daughters when she decides to unveil (Akyil, Prouty, Balinchar, Lyness, 2014). In such a case

the daughter is confronted with a challenging situation whether to resign herself to the family's values by forgoing her own values or to constitute her own values without familial support.

Topkara (2007) gives a clinical example of a woman who wants to unveil but cannot realize it because she is "winced" considering her family (Topkara, 2007). This woman's wish for unveiling always overrides her emotions regarding religion (Topkara, 2007). However, she is constantly experiencing conflicts within her family regarding her clothing in spite of being veiled (Topkara, 2007). Topkara (2007) asserts that religious families are becoming modernized by their children's effect. This evaluation is also compatible with Akyl's finding that parents transform with the effect of their children (Akyl, Prouty, Balinchard, Lyness, 2014). According to Topkara, those religious families that are unwilling to take any kind of psychological help, goes out to get help because of the conflicts that they experience with their kids (Topkara, 2007). Thus, unveiling could also be suggested to be a subject of family therapy as well as conventional psychotherapy.

The problematization of unveiling points to what might happen in case of unveiling within the individual's internal world as well as within the family system which in turn re-affect the psyche of the woman through the intersubjective world. Considering the relation between the external world meaning society or family and the internal world meaning the psyche, it is worthwhile to be curious about how the reflections of the societal or familial system will be on the psyche. It is very important for psychotherapists to know the culture of veiling and have the possible frames of work in mind when a woman wants to unveil or already unveiled. The psychotherapist should be neutral and unbiased; at least taking her/his own beliefs or non-beliefs into parenthesis.

Phalet & Schönpflug (2001) found that the less is the emphasis on autonomy goals on a daughter the more is the separateness rather than relatedness between mother and daughter relationship in immigrant Turkish families (Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001). In some cases, unveiling could be thought as a step towards autonomy at least in the sense that not using the veil which the mother still uses. It might be a tool for the daughter to differentiate herself from her mother both physically and psychically.

Freud sees ego ideal as the representative of our relationship to our parents or as an inheritor of the Oedipus complex (Freud, 1923). Freud describes the formation of super-ego by its relation to id (Freud, 1923). Freud asserts that at the resolution of Oedipus complex, two groups of identifications emerge, namely a father and a mother identification; then the ego modifies itself to constitute an ego-ideal or a super-ego (Freud, 1923). From this point on, the ego ideal represses the Oedipus complex (Freud, 1923). I shall quote Freud's words directly at this point in order to express the full inspiration:

"The super-ego retains the character of the father, while the more powerful the Oedipus complex was and the more rapidly it succumbed to repression (under the influence of authority, religious teaching, schooling and reading), the stricter will be the domination of the super-ego over the ego later on—in the form of conscience or perhaps of an unconscious sense of guilt" (Freud, 1923, pp.34-35).

It is inferred from Freud's quote that unveiling would result in intense guilt. Taking Freud's quote into consideration, I suggest that unveiling requires a psychic work which involves becoming more flexible of the rigid super-ego in other parts of the psychic world as well. Janin (2015) sees the ego-ideal as a psychical agency which facilitates to develop an ethical code for oneself, which in turn diminishes self-hatred, both to oneself and to the human species, and also

the detrimental aspects of shame which makes social life sustainable. Development of an ethical code within oneself would be a part of the unveiling process (Arman, 2008; Fadil, 2011; Khalil, 2014; Ozkan, 2005b).

The Course of the Development of a Woman

Sigmund Freud writes in a letter to Ernest Jones in 1928: "Everything we know about early female development seems to me unsatisfactory and uncertain" (Freud, 1928). H.C. Halberstadt-Freud (1989) points to the continuity in psychoanalysis of scrutinizing the feminine psyche. Psychoanalytic theory is often criticised in the assumption of symmetry between girls' and boys' development (Halberstadt-Freud, 1989). In order to reach to an understanding of unveiling, a more comprehensive and accepted model of feminine psyche might be needed. However, there are many studies and concepts that could facilitate our understanding of unveiling. One of the most remarkable concepts in this regard is Margaret Mahler's concept of separation-individuation. Mahler defines separation and individuation processes as intertwined but not necessarily put in sync with each other (Mahler, 1971). Mahler asserts that individuation requires the evolution of autonomy within the psyche whereas separation process passes through the stages of "differentiation, distancing, boundary-structuring, and disengagement from mother" (Mahler, 1971). If the child cannot succeed in the resolution of this process, s/he cannot have a sense of self-identity (Mahler, 1958). According to Mahler, the sense of identity is mediated by bodily sensations, the core of which is the body image (Mahler, 1958). The body, therefore, provides the infant the opportunity "to work out the distinction between self and non-self" (Mahler, 1958).

The little girl faces a dilemma in which she either chooses a separate identity and sexuality at the risk of losing mother's love or she unites with the mother where

individuation is sacrificed (Halberstadt-Freud, 1989). The attitude of the mother especially in the rapprochement phase, a subphase of separation-individuation process (Mahler, 1971), becomes crucial for which Halberstadt-Freud gives the example of a narcissistically dissatisfied mother and how this non-separation can pass through generations through the maternal bond (Halberstadt-Freud, 1989).

Halberstadt-Freud (1998), claims that separation from the mother tends to be partial for the girls as it is revisited in different stages of life (Halberstadt-Freud, 1998). What is pathological in this sense is a radical separation as in the case of Electra or non-separation at all which she describes as 'symbiotic illusion' (Halberstadt-Freud, 1998). An ambivalent state where the girl does not spout feelings of rage towards the mother whom she will need forevermore seems to provide a balanced solution (Halberstadt-Freud, 1998). The two pathological sides may refer to one another. Women might turn mother-love into the opposite which make them seem like they gave away their mother but actually they manifest an obsession like preoccupation with their mothers (Halberstadt-Freud, 1998). A second pathological option is that the girl might refuse to separate completely. Halberstadt-Freud (1998) maintains that this process results in a stronger and more flexible super-ego in women with more shame and guilt as aggression is less indulged which in turn makes her prone to depression and masochism (Halberstadt-Freud, 1998).

Blos (1967) denotes that adolescence could be considered as a second individuation process. The child's learning to separate herself from the symbiosis with the mother in the first individuation process, replaces by discarding dependency to the family and releasing infantile ties in order to become an adult (Blos, 1967).

Dio Bleichmar (1995) focuses on the father-daughter relationship in an attempt to provide explanation for the feminine sexuality. She claims that the father by looking at his daughter, implants in his daughter's mind, a new meaning attached to her body (Dio Bleichmar, 1995). This experience of the look and being looked at, stays with the girl in all of her life at least until menopause (Dio Bleichmar, 1995). She continues as:

"The girl, like all women as reflected in the myth of Eve, at once possesses a provocative body while at the same time must feel guilty for possessing a body which attracts looks. This provocative nature, a provocation which stems from possession of an attribute rather than from an intentional act, lies behind the traumatic aspect of the girl's construction of sexual meaning" (Dio Bleichmar, 1995).

It is confidently inferred at this point that veiling either works as a defense to the feelings of guilt mentioned by Dio Bleichmar, or prevents the provocative look from the beginning.

Horney (1950) points out the struggle of humanity towards self-realization and views moral values emerging from this struggle (Horney, 1950). However, we do not need inner constrictions that would fade out our spontaneity or that would lead us to perfection (Horney, 1950). According to Horney, these disciplinary efforts can suppress the unwanted but ultimately are detrimental to growth (Horney, 1950). Instead of suppression, Horney (1950) suggests out-growth as a better way to approach destructive forces and points out the necessity of working at ourselves as a primary *moral privilege* (Horney, 1950). From this point of view, I suggest that recognition of the desire to unveil is an initiation at least for acceptance of one's conscious or unconscious desires, probably and specifically a desire to be rebellious, a desire to criticize, a desire to be seen, etc.

Shame

Covering a person's body extends to Adam and Eve's expulsion from heaven.

According to Quran, Adam and Eve, when they ate from the forbidden tree, they immediately realized their nakedness and had a need to cover themselves (Kuran, 20:121). They probably have felt ashamed. The word shame is thought to stem from the word "to cover oneself" which makes it reasonable to think that unveiling is a shame-included experience (Online Etymology Dictionary, n.d.). Turkish translation of the word shame is thought to stem from the word 'ut' which means genitals (Etimoloji Tr., (n.d.)). Even in this small part of the myth, we can see that shame is a social and relational phenomenon. Adam and Eve's journey of humanization or we might say 'existential struggle' start at this point (Balsam, 2009). Balsam, after stating different views of shame, suggests that it is agreeable that shame experience will illustrate one's "pained and significant existential struggle" (Balsam, 2009). Seeing the unveiling experience as an existential struggle seems respectable. Shame is expected to be one big part of what it feels like unveiled.

Wurmser (2015) argues that shame should not be analyzed as an isolate affect or merely from a social perspective but rather as encapsulated in deep super-ego conflicts and in the contaminated chains of self-destructiveness (Wurmser, 2015). Benslama exemplifies an Egyptian woman's words commenting on the punishment of God on her body in the form of bodily pain because she was not wearing the chador; claiming that God covered her with the veil of pain as she was not covering with the veil of shame (Benslama, 2014, p.61). Benslama argues that the thing that is disregarded in the form of moral command returns with the suffering of the body and that the body always pays the debts of the psyche (Benslama, 2014,

p.62). The words of this woman may be interpreted in various ways from a psychoanalytical perspective. However, the first thing that draws attention is the transformation of the 'veil of shame' into 'the veil of pain' where a psychic affect transforms into a bodily sensation. It is as if the woman cannot contain the affect of her own until it manifests itself more physically in the body. This is as a result of the non-metabolization of the affect due to lack of mentalization (Katz, 2010). Only after this manifestation, the woman interprets it in terms of moral command and decides to veil. It justifies Katz's (2010) claim that a punitive and rigid super-ego results in psychosomatic symptoms by evacuating non-contained affects into the body (Katz, 2010). I suggest that unveiling in this regard is a manifestation of the flexibility of the super-ego by daring to stand against the moral command Benslama (2014) talks about. Unveiling, as a process, brings forth many difficult emotions to contain which are hard to metabolize if the super-ego is like a strainer without holes on it. This process requires realizing one's id impulses or desires and negotiating them with a more flexible super-ego.

Garfinkel (2012) suggests that childhood inherently involves shame by being a dependent and inadequate process. However, according to Garfinkel, if a person was being beaten or sexually ashamed when s/he was a child, or if s/he has overly critical parents, s/he will be prone to body shame (Garfinkel, 2012). When shame is in question, it is difficult to assess internal and external causes; it originates from an interaction of the internal world with the social world (Garfinkel, 2012).

Yorke (1990) defines many characteristics of shame and points out its difference as a negative affect from guilt as:

"It is a major regulator not only of social conduct and personal relationships, but even at times of thinking itself. One can be ashamed of one's thoughts or be afraid to have them—

a tendency that may be strongly reinforced by religious belief and culture (and include the notion that God is watching and knows exactly what one is thinking)” (Yorke, 1990).

It may be worthwhile to note at this point that women must veil (as it is implemented in practice, though theoretically arguable) while praying the salaah (five times regular prayer of a Muslim) even if she is alone. Benslama (2014) questions this shame that women feel towards God (Benslama, 2014). It is related to women’s (imaginary) defiance of divinity because of the attributed power of seeing the unknown (Benslama, 2014). It implies that veil represents a kind of modesty towards Allah. In other words, women cover their power by veiling. If this is the case then it is reasonable to ask whether unveiling represents a reclaiming of their (women’s) power. According to Benslama, women are veiled not to protect themselves, actually the opposite is true: women veil to protect men; they veil as a precaution to men’s narcissism (Benslama, 2014, p.205).

Janin (2015), comments on the convergence of shame and hatred which is clearly seen in cases of masochism, if not in everyday life (Janin, 2015). Steiner (2015), discusses shame in a spectrum of emotions increasing in intensity; starting from being embarrassed as the less intense to being humiliated as the most intense, he mentions twenty eight emotional states between the two. Steiner (2015) implies that withdrawal might work as a defense against shame where the person withdraws to a place where s/he neither sees nor is being seen.

Unveiling as Peeling the Skin-Ego

Anzieu’s skin-ego is related to the earliest relationships and to the phases before Mahler’s separation-individuation (Mahler, 1971). It is preferred to refer to Anzieu’s model because it is about the primary relationships in the earliest phases of life, including the ones

in the maternal womb. Anzieu's model relies on Freud's ideas about ego and body. Freud states that "the ego is first and foremost a bodily ego; it is not merely a surface entity but is itself the projection of a surface" (Freud, 1923, p.26). Anzieu taking this into account, goes ahead to constitute his model as the psychic ego developing from the bodily ego through reclining the bodily ego but at the same time by differentiation and division from the bodily ego (Anzieu, 2008, p.138 and p.177). The container function of the body is executed by the skin-ego in the psychic reality (Anzieu, 2008). Anzieu, by using the myth of Marsyas, asserts that the roots of masochistic fantasy are constituted by the representations of first, the infant and the mother having the same skin and second, the separation and individuation of the child tears this symbiotic skin apart (Anzieu, 2008). Anzieu defines eight functions of skin-ego such as maintaining or containing the psyche with parallel to skin's functions on the body (Anzieu, 2008). The eighth function of the skin-ego is providing information about the external reality (Anzieu, 2008). The mother reinforces this function by presenting the world to the baby (Anzieu, 2008). This function has two aspects according to Anzieu; social and biological. The social aspect is when a person belongs to a social group, it appears as hair-cuts, tattoos, make-up or clothing (on the skin-ego) (Anzieu, 2008). It is reasonable to compare veiling, in a sense, functioning as tattoos, make-up or clothing on the skin-ego. Moreover, I suggest that veiling serves as an instrument for the separation from the mother by covering the skin-ego, thereby revealing the illusion of the same skin on the one hand; but on the other side of the coin, veiling conceals this illusion as mother and daughter are under the same veil in a physical sense.

Movahedi & Homayounpour (2012), examine the meanings attached to veiling by exemplifying with clinical vignettes where veiling serves different functions psychically. They

start with wondering why women use the chador on the couch with a female analyst where there is no religious or cultural code that a woman should veil near another woman (Movahedi & Homayounpour, 2012). They arrive at different conclusions for each patient including withdrawal into the protection of chador; making oneself invisible under the veil intertwined with exhibitionism; serving as a second skin ego albeit a non-containing one (Movahedi & Homayounpour, 2012).

Conclusion & Summary

It has been stated heretofore that unveiling is a quite non-conceptualized issue, especially in terms of clinical psychology. In Turkey, more attention was given to compulsory unveiling because of the headscarf ban which seems to be a thing of the past. Actually, unveiling is another appearance of the feminine psyche which is worthy of consideration, especially for clinical psychologists working with Muslim populations. This study tries to accomplish the acknowledgement of unveiling by clinical psychologists as a significant experience. Several suggestions have been made which will be crosschecked in the following section. A brief summary is given here.

The effect of religious education such as in Imam-Hatip schools on veiling was discussed. Turkish modernization or westernization attempts were reviewed with a brief history of (un)veiling. By referring to Göle, I pointed out the precedence of the female body in terms of societal preferences (Göle, 2011). I questioned whether the new 'subaltern' which cannot be represented or heard would be unveilers. I pointed out the fact that unveiling is thought too little of or even underestimated as a complicated psychic process. I also argued that unveiling should be named and explored as a significant experience. Unveiling is suggested to be acknowledged

as an intentional act by giving examples of three women all of whom unveiled in their adult life after a process of attentive evaluation. I proposed unveiling as a representation of a renunciation of the active/passive duality of gender roles and hypothesized that this renunciation might lead to an integration intrapsychically. I mentioned the relationship of Islam and modernism and the transformation of Islam from a collectivistic nature to a more individualistic one. I suggested that veiling or unveiling should be acknowledged as personal choices and by exemplifying with a study I put forward the empathy and understanding the women have towards each other (Read & Bartkowski, 2000).

I attempted to conceptualize unveiling with the concepts of ego-ideal, transmission of family values, shame and skin-ego in terms of clinical psychology. I proposed to understand unveiling as an interrupted transmission of family values and explored whether it would result in a rupture in family relations. The problematization of unveiling has been viewed from both sides, namely the girl and the family. In terms of female sexual development, unveiling has been suggested to be a representation of separation from the mother, and individuation as an authentic expression of femininity. I suggested, by quoting Freud (1923), unveiling might lead to intense guilt and that it requires a psychic work which involves the intolerant super-ego becoming more flexible intrapsychically. I questioned whether unveiling could be thought as a reclaiming of women's power. I also focused on the meanings of the veil. I pointed out the two poles of veiling as it serving as a separation tool from the mother by revealing the illusion of the same skin, but on the other pole concealing the same illusion as the mother-daughter are under the same veil in a physical sense.

Necessary of undertaking, then, is the implications of unveiling for psychotherapy. Adopting Horney's point of view, I suggested that unveiling would be an onset of a self-

realization journey. Psychotherapy should be acknowledged as an essential work to have gone through in order for self-realization to occur in case of unveiling. For it to be so, psychotherapist's sensitivity and unbiased attitude are required. It is also noted that unveiling is a complicated psychic process which brings forth many difficult emotions such as shame and guilt. Psychotherapists need to understand the complexity of the emotional burden that the process brings and help to explore the patient's feelings towards herself, her family or significant others, her desires, and her religion.

This study, as stated earlier, aims to emphasize the importance of the acknowledgement of unveiling as a significant psychic experience. Clinical work in this subject is limited. This part of the study concentrated more on the review of literature and description of the issue. To this aim, I have come up with some suggestions and hypothesis stated above. Prospective research must focus on the discussion of the validity of these propositions and the valid ones should be taken further in detail. The research I have done to this end will be given in the next section where I have conducted interviews with seven unveiled women and attempted to explore their psychic reflections.

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Research Article

Abstract

Unveiling is a multidimensional psychic experience which deserve to be investigated from a clinical psychological perspective. The researcher aimed to understand the different experiences of unveiling. The story of veiling and unveiling, making sense of the experience of unveiling and current perception of the phenomenon of unveiling were questioned via semi-structured interviews with seven unveiled women between the ages of 28 and 50. All the interviews took place in Istanbul, Turkey and conducted by the primary investigator. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis gave rise to five main themes which narrated women's experiences: I. Meaning of veiling, II. Evolving beliefs, III. Shame, IV. The effect of significant others and V. Unveiling as a self-realization experience. The results were discussed in terms of previous literature and clinical implications.

Keywords: veiling, unveiling, (un)veiling, unveilor, shame, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis.

The Experience of Unveiling: Conceptualization of Unveiling in a Clinical Psychology Context
Using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Psychotherapists face new challenges continually in the global world of today. They confront different cultures, different beliefs, religions and sects to which they have to approach with respect and in a considerate way. Besides, modernization and individualization of Islam compel more Muslims to undergo the process of psychotherapy. It follows, then, that the cultural aspects of Islam should gain a seat in the literature of psychology in order for therapeutic relations to flourish in an effective way. This study attempts to contribute to this domain by pointing out the necessity to acknowledge the experience of veiling and unveiling which is referred to as (un)veiling as a significant psychic experience. (Un)veiling in the sense of the potential it has towards changing a woman's relationship to her own body deserves to be a subject of psychological knowledge. As veiling is a prerequisite for unveiling, a study of unveiling involves an analysis of veiling. Covering a woman's body in an attempt to conceal the hair and body parts other than hands and face (in extreme cases the hands and face also included) has been known as veiling in a general sense. In Turkish culture, the veil is often used to cover the hair and neck while the face and hands are visible. Veiling aims to conceal not only the hair but also the body contours of a woman with a background intention to diminish if not extinguish the sexual appeal of a woman. The use of the veil for the invisibility of one's sexuality depends on the devotion or *taqwa* of the woman. Putting it this way helps to imagine the extent of the effect (un)veiling creates on the psyche. However, for a reliable analysis, the context in which the aforementioned subject finds its meaning has to be taken into consideration. To this aim, a very brief history of (un)veiling in Turkey will be given here in terms of Kemalist reforms and

their relation to the headscarf bans and Imam-Hatip schools (for a more detailed history please see the literature review article above).

Turkey, beginning from even before the proclamation of the republic has an affair with modernization on the one hand; and religion on the other hand. The modernization attempts are based on women's appearance on public sphere (Göle, 2011). Islamic movements, on the other hand, have doubts about the dissolvent of moral values in case of women's appearance in public (Göle, 2011). Although Atatürk gave the right to vote for women even before many European countries and the USA, with a law in 1934 religious based clothing such as hijab or veil was prohibited in public sphere (Ferrari & Pastorelli, 2016). The intention was probably not sending women away to their homes, rather perhaps that they would unveil. Although it was intended to accelerate the new republic's modernization, this law served as a basis for the later headscarf bans. Another Kemalist reform was the union of the education system which resulted in closing the religious education entities called madrasas or transforming them into Imam-Hatip schools in order to train imams or sermons in 1924 (İmam-Hatip Tarihi, 2012). The military is a secular entity in Turkey. Therefore, the military coups that are experienced in almost every ten-twenty years effected Imam-Hatip schools and the religious life style in general. The conservative governments give the right to live a more religious life whereas the coups try to take away those rights and brings forth the headscarf bans or other restrictions on religious services. Turkey experienced military coups in 1960, 1971 and 1980 all of which effected Imam-Hatip schools in some way (İmam-Hatip Tarihi, 2012). The last big incident was the so-called 'postmodern coup' in February 28th, 1997 in which the army forced the government "to staunch increasing religiosity" in the society (İmam-Hatip Tarihi, 2012; Yinanc, 2012). There was a headscarf ban in universities. Students were not allowed to go in the university buildings with a headscarf. It can

be called a compulsory unveiling. Moreover, there was the practice of ‘persuasion rooms’ where the girls were tried to be convinced to unveil (Seggie, 2011). There was many victims of this ban whether the end result was quitting the university and staying at home or unveil in order to continue the university education. Özkan (2005a) and Işiker (2011) provide examples where the quitters due to the headscarf ban experience symptoms of anxiety and depression. Other than the victims of compulsory unveiling regulations, there are also women who unveil on their own will (Arman, 2008; Khalil, 2014; Özkan 2005b). These women seem to unveil willingly and with a strong-minded decision after a questioning, examining or reading process. Yet, it is worthwhile to explore this process and how it is reflected through the significant relations to one’s psyche.

Some studies in Europe and the USA put forward unveiling as a preferred action within Islam. Fadil (2011) takes unveiling as an act in itself, rather than just quitting of an action and claims that it is an ethical practice among Muslim women in Belgium. Predelli (2004) shows that Islam can be used as a flexible source for adaptation to changing roles. Read & Bartkowski (2000) shows how the veiled and unveiled women could have empathy towards each other. Recent studies in Turkey focused on the different aspects of veiling such as its relation to power relations; from a feminist Islamist perspective; the signifiers of the headscarved women or the psychological detrimental aspects of the headscarf ban (Balta, 2014; Çamlı; 2010; Çorbacıoğlu, 2008; Işiker, 2011; Mavi, 2012; Okutan, 2013). The common point of these studies is the attempt to understand the headscarf controversy from different perspectives, albeit other than clinical psychology. According to Topkara (2007), as the country gets more modernized and the determinism of modernization over the society increases, women, more than men, confronts a conflict with their own drives and wishes and also with the societal norms. The conceptualization of (un)veiling in terms of a clinical psychology context is highly required in order for an integral

understanding of the issue not only for Turkey but also for all psychotherapists working with Muslim populations. Many women and their families continue seeking psychological help for their changing beliefs and the reflections of these changing beliefs into their private lives. Families also seek for help because of their daughters' unveiling or other anti-Islamic lifestyles of their kids which make a study of (un)veiling essential for clinical psychology. Psychotherapists need to know the culture of veiling, understand the dynamics behind it, what it would mean when a woman wants to unveil and how the family would react and how the woman would be effected by her family's reaction to it.

It is seen that unveiling is an overlooked phenomenon in clinical psychology. We, as clinical psychologists, need to understand what a woman experiences when she decides to unveil or already unveiled and what she will have to confront or already confronted during this process. This study aims to specifically understand the experiences of women who unveiled, what they have been going through, how they make sense of this experience as well as how they came to veil in the first place and what factors took them to decide to unveil. Taking into account the lack of clinical studies in this subject, this study aims to provide a picture of the process of unveiling, the internal psychic reactions to unveiling, the effects of the external social or familial reactions on the internal world of women living in Turkey.

Method

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was used to investigate the experiences of women who unveiled (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). IPA deals with what happens when a daily life experience becomes particularly significant for people (Smith, et al., 2009). The development of IPA research came with the idea that psychology as a science should have a qualitative method which does not lose the essence of the experience so that the experiential aspects of a phenomenon is captured as well as the experimental aspects (Smith, et al., 2009). Thus, a person's making sense of a major life event is the focus of IPA. As this research aims to understand how women make sense of the unveiling experience, IPA is thought to be the most appropriate method for this research.

The Primary Investigator

I am an unveiled woman who is in the clinical psychology graduate program adult track. I am coming from a religious Muslim family. I graduated from an Imam-Hatip school where I spent seven years. Unveiling brought me one of the most exceptional and also challenging advancements of my life. I have always been interested in religion and the roles it plays on a psychic level. I am also interested in feminism and gender studies. During my clinical internship, I had a client who had unveiled recently and was trying to understand the ambiguous emotions the process brings. As a result of my own experiences and my clinical observations with this case, I realized that this experience does not even have a name in Turkish to put it into words which tends to make the experience more traumatizing. Therefore, I decided to investigate how it feels to unveil for women as well as what challenges they face and how they make sense of this experience.

Sampling

Following the approval of the Ethics Committee for Social Sciences of Istanbul Bilgi University, the researcher recruited a purposeful sampling who met the criteria of being an adult unveiled woman after at least one year of veiling experience. The primary investigator (PI, first author) first announced the study in her close environment and enlarged the circle to reach more women. As this is a very specific experience, if the contact knew someone who unveiled, s/he worked as an intermediary. The intermediary asked the interviewee candidate whether she would like to participate in the research. In the affirmation case, the researcher asked the intermediary to ask the candidate how she would like to be communicated. The PI then communicated the participant in the way she preferred, usually by mobile; only one of them via email in order to arrange time and date for the interview. Some candidates rejected to be interviewed. The PI did not communicate the candidate in case of rejection. The recruitment process ended when the predetermined target of 6-8 women were reached. 7 women were interviewed.

Data Collection

The PI conducted seven semi-structured interviews face-to-face in the participants' houses, offices or in a public place the participant preferred. The interviews did not start before going through the informed consent form and reaching a mutual understanding of the purpose of the study. The participant read and signed the consent form. The interviews lasted between 45 minutes to 1.5 hours all of which was in Turkish language. The questions started with an open-ended question like "could you please tell me about your veiling story" in order to let the participant use her own words and her own concepts to tell her story. If the story she told already covered one of the questions, that question was skipped. If clarification or opening were needed, other questions were asked.

Data Analysis

The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim by the PI to Microsoft Word. The transcripts were edited for anonymity. The PI then started the process of interpretative phenomenological analysis. While transcribing, the PI noted some descriptive and linguistic comments such as tongue slips, laughs, crying or metaphors used to describe some part of the experience in parentheses ref. After transcription, the verbatim was uploaded to MaxQda software program which is designed for qualitative research. The PI coded the sentences or words one by one. There were sentences which were coded more than once if two or more aspects of a phenomenon was being described in the sentence. There were nearly 1000 codes initially. The emergent themes, then, were developed by the PI carefully. For example, thirty per cent of the codes involved a family member. So, the effect of significant others became a main theme. The participants' words as well as the PI's interpretation were considered in the development of the themes. Patterns across cases were overviewed to use in the writing process.

Trustworthiness

IPA requires both the phenomenological and idiographic accounts of the participant which is more case-specific and taking into account of the specific participant; and the hermeneutic approach which takes into account the researcher's viewpoint and experiences ref. This feature of IPA creates a challenge in balancing the researcher's viewpoint with that of the participants. In order to overcome this challenge, the PI wrote her own reflections and projections regarding the subject before conducting the interviews. The PI also continued to write her own reflections during the interview process. This let the PI know her own preoccupations with the subject which in turn will let the interpretations be more unbiased.

The real names or any identifying features of the person are not used. The PI used only her own computer to transcribe and used headphones while listening to the records to preserve confidentiality. The files in the computer were protected by passwords and could only be seen by the research team. The PI did not write the full identity of the participant on any of the notes. The notes were destroyed after the analysis process.

The PI discussed her findings with the research team on a monthly basis in order to strengthen and enlarge the findings as well as to avoid any biases regarding analysis.

Results

The results emerged from this study come from Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)'s three philosophical building stones: phenomenology, hermeneutic and idiography (Smith, et al., 2009). As for the phenomenology part, the subjective experience of unveiling is reflected in findings. However, it should be noted that the hermeneutic building stone of IPA suggests an interpretation from the researcher (Smith, et al., 2009). Therefore, the findings reflect the making sense of the researcher of the participants' making sense of their experience. As for the idiographic part, the findings are focused on the particular not on the general (Smith, et al., 2009).

This section is organized according to the five themes that emerged in the analysis: the meaning of veiling, evolving beliefs, shame, the effect of significant others and unveiling as a self-realization experience. The participants created an inspirational impact on me both personally and professionally. Therefore, I wanted to name them in the study. If the reader wants to follow specific cases, the names of the participants are changed to Amine, Behiye, Canan, Dilşat, Elif, Fatıma, and Gülizar in the order of interviews conducted. Amine is a 37 year-old woman who veiled when she started Imam-Hatip school after primary school. She unveiled when

she was 30 years old. Behiye is a 28 year-old woman who veiled irregularly even before finishing the primary school. She was taken away from the primary school after 5 years of education and sent to a Quaran boarding school. She graduated from Imam-Hatip externally. She unveiled when she was 25 years old. Canan is a 32 year-old woman who veiled when she started Imam-Hatip school right after the primary school. She unveiled when she was 15 years old. Dilşat is a 37 year-old woman who veiled regularly in the second year of the Imam-Hatip school when she was 12-13. She unveiled when she was 23 years old. Elif is a 36 year-old woman who was veiled when she was 10. She was also sent to a Quaran boarding school. She graduated from Imam-Hatip externally. She unveiled when she was 24 years old. Fatıma is a 47 year-old woman who was also sent to a Quaran boarding school right after the primary school. She was veiled when she was 11. She graduated from Imam-Hatip externally. She unveiled 7 months before the interview at the age of 47. Gülizar is a 50 year-old woman who went to an Imam-Hatip high school after the primary school. She veiled while going to the primary school (unveiled at school; veiled outside) at the age of 9. She unveiled interruptedly but the unveiling process first started at the age of 40. She unveiled completely at the age of 42.

The Meaning of Veiling

This main theme is organized around the participants' stories around how ordinary it was to veil in the family system, how the religious and college education affected their attitude towards veiling and how they stayed veiled against the headscarf ban. The meanings attached to veiling varies between participants. When the subject is unveiling, one would mistakenly think that these women have negative associations about veiling. However, more than half of the participants expressed the ordinariness of veiling in their familial system. Under this main

theme, how they came to veil, what meanings they did give to veiling and how they felt once veiled will be explored under three different subthemes.

Veiling is Traditional; Not Optional

All the participants expressed how they came to veil around a traditional, familial or customary story rather than a choice, a preference or an option. Veiling was a natural process in the family. It was something that you needed to do. The mothers of all seven participants were veiled. Veiling was encouraged by one or both parents. When their daughters veiled, parents either appreciated or act as if this was a developmental stage. Dilşat describes it as:

“I never realized that it would be this much problematic afterwards... It was natural, the family is like this.... it was like learning to walk; I am learning to walk, not doing something abnormal. I veiled and that was also very normal in that period of time.”

Amine felt like she did something good and right. She still went out to play with other kids and did not feel anything different as the family approves veiling and supported her. She did not think that it was a big thing nor that it was weird. She expressed it as:

“...as I was already grown up in a religious environment, we went to Quranic school in the mosque, we learned, from a very young age on, the prayings...the majority of the relatives were veiled. I thought my mother was veiled because of her religious beliefs, because of Islam. I mean as I thought this was the right thing to do, I veiled after I finished primary school during summer holiday. I veiled on my own will. There was my mother as an example, that’s why it wasn’t hard at all”.

I asked her how she felt when she veiled for the first time and she said:

“At those times you’re a kid. You did something different, maybe a different excitement or.... You think you did something good. Your family supports you... that’s why

you feel good with it. I mean it doesn't affect you that much. You don't feel different when you go out to play with friends".

The change in the first person pronoun to the second person might be interpreted as taking a distance to the feelings.

Dilşat felt proud of herself as she was doing something good. She also talked about her parents' response to her veiling:

"My father was very delighted. You're a kid at the secondary school after all. A kid is a kid veiled or unveiled. Although adolescence ends childhood from a religious perspective, as you are not mature enough mentally, it's also like a game on one hand. Your father appreciates you which is wonderful. 'Oh, my daughter did great, etc.'. You get proud of yourself like I'm doing a good thing."

Behiye does not even remember the first time she veiled. Her parents made her and her sisters veil even during summer holidays when she was a kid. I asked her whether she was the first among sisters to be veiled. Her answer was interesting: "Yes, I'm the first victim (smiling)". Veiling represents Islamic commands and then honor in her family.

Fatıma who veiled right after primary school thinks that it is a tradition to be veiled rather than being about religion. She veiled as if it was a duty and she thought she was doing the right thing as her mother and elder sister were also veiled as models. She said: "Now belief as a tradition, my mother is veiled as a tradition, my elder sister is veiled...now all my other sisters are veiled..." I asked her whether she thought of becoming veiled one day when she was younger. She said:

“No, I was too young, that kind of wish, desire. The primary school was just finished. I didn’t have an idea when I went to Quranic boarding school. It was something that everyone did directly as if it was a duty.”

Gülizar veiled when she was 9 or 10. She was going to the primary school and was unveiled in the school and veiled outside. She said: “As I was raised in a religious family, I veiled with the influence of conversations, chats, sermons, religious talks, books”.

Only Elif and Canan stated that they were not happy to be veiled. Elif thinks her father made veiling compulsory. She did not have a choice because a woman has to be veiled traditionally. She thought that a headscarf could be on an adult woman’s head. She said:

“I was raised in a religious family. When I was ten, my father told me that I should cover my hair from now on. It was very difficult for me. I thought I have beautiful hair, why am I covering them? That way, I was veiled by force of my father....and in the beginning it was like veiling when my father was around, unveiling otherwise. I did that kind of naughtiness for a while...” When I asked her about what the veil represents in the family system she answered as: “Tradition, I mean it doesn’t mean anything else. It just must be... a woman’s hair must be covered”. Canan, on the other hand, thinks that she veiled to make her mother happy although she never settled down with it. She said: “It was my mother’s choice... I veiled in a loathing way...”

‘Being Protected Like in a Crust’: The Effect of Religious Education

It is reasonable to presume that religious education is a facilitative factor for the veiling process. All participants have religious education histories. It is found that all participants have at least one (if not both) parent who is religious and wanted them to undergo religious education. Three of the participants were sent to Quranic schools which are

not officially recognized schools but schools where the students only learn Quran and Islamic knowledge. They were usually not approved by the government of that time as a secondary school. Those were boarding schools and pupils could go home only in weekends. Behiye and Fatima talked about the punishments in these schools which get as far as physical beating. Behiye once escaped from this school, only to return after being beaten by her father. Fatima did not like the school as she thought the teachers were unaware of child development and psychology. She remembers crying at nights. Fatima also talked about the teachers changing her name when she started the school with the reason that her name was not Islamic. They were already veiled in entrance, but Behiye and Fatima wore hijab in there. This could be thought as a second veiling. Although they learned a lot about Islam, Fatima tells that she did not like the teachers. Behiye remembers those times as the most unhappy times of her life. Fatima talks about the rule of not reading anything non-Islamic because it is sinful. Behiye tells that these schools were against anything that is modern, even wearing untraditional underwear. It would be unfair not to mention the negative effect of these Quranic boarding schools on Behiye who is 28 and Fatima who is 47 now although Elif did not mention any specific negativity. All three of them completed Imam-Hatip high schools through external education which brought them the opportunity to go to university.

The other four participant were sent to Imam Hatip high schools which are government approved high schools with both regular curriculum and Islamic courses. Dilşat thinks that her father sent her to Imam-Hatip because he thought that Islamic knowledge would be taught better in this school. She thinks that in this kind of environment, veiling becomes more natural. As everybody is veiled in the school and as she spent the whole day at school, she did not realize other consequences of veiling, not until the university. She realized

the negative perception of other people once she came out of that environment: "...I realized that we were protecting each other in a psychic way like a crust. When I came out, it blew up..."

Amine wanted to be a doctor even in the primary school. However, her family directed her towards Imam-Hatip thinking that she also could do it this way which actually made it more challenging. She thinks that at those times Imam-Hatip schools were very popular for the particular social group that her family is in.

Canan went to Imam-Hatip on her mother's wish. As she was veiling in the school, she also veiled outside. She hated the school. She finds her mother very oppressive.

When her father took her away from school and sent to Quranic boarding school, Elif promised herself: "Forasmuch as I came here, I will learn this religion. If it's a good thing, I will be very religious, and if it's a bad thing, I will destroy all the ships".

She thinks that this brave discourse of a fifteen-year-old girl turned her into a very religious person together with social pressure. She thinks that as everyone around her was religious and being religious was idealized, it was easy to be religious at that time.

'The bridge had collapsed': Staying Veiled against the Headscarf Ban

Nearly all the participants identified themselves with veiling in such a way that they fought against the headscarf ban in the universities. The most extreme case was Gülizar who confronted the headscarf ban several times even when she was an Imam-Hatip student. After the 1980 military coup, there was a governmental regulation to ban students wearing headscarves. Gülizar was a high school student grade one at the time. She struggled a few days and left school not to unveil. She remembers crying every day and dreaming about being in her classroom again every night: "I was so sad. I cried a lot. I was dreaming about

going to the university and high school was a bridge to it. But the bridge had collapsed...”

She did not go back to school, she switched to external education which she left again when the ban was implemented for external exams also. When the ban was no longer applied after one year, she continued her education. However, this time she could not easily finish the university. The last time she faced the ban was when she resigned from being a teacher in Imam-Hatip in 1998 headscarf ban.

Dilşat went through a similar process in the university. When she was a second grade university student, she could not enter the university for three weeks. She had to either quit school or unveil. She preferred her education but continued to veil outside school. Because she was veiled outside school she was being brought to the “Persuasion Room” which was a specific practice to persuade women to unveil during ’97 ban period (Seggie, 2011, p.61). She describes her feelings as: “I felt like I was someone sickly who had to be under quarantine.” Amine also finished her education without unveiling despite the ban.

It is important to realize that these women did not unveil during the headscarf ban which could be thought of as a compulsory unveiling. It would be easier and less challenging for them to unveil under the headscarf ban circumstances. However, they chose to fight against it. The ban, coming from outside, does not bring a real internal motivation together with it.

Evolving Beliefs

This main theme is organized around how the participants’ meaning attribution regarding the veil changed in time by realizing the contradictions in the living ways of Islam in social life or within oneself and how they came to unveil after they intended and how they criticized the current and previous political system in Turkey. The participants talked about

how the meanings they attributed to veiling and also religion changed over the course of time. Starting from a place where veiling is a necessary religious obligation which is irrevocable, their beliefs evolved to a point where veiling is not a must in the best possibility. This evolution took a process of realizing contradictions in Islamic life style in general, facing the difficulties when a woman is veiled and evaluating the real consequences. They, then decided to unveil but the intention differs from making it real. Under this main theme, three subthemes: realizing contradictions, deciding to unveil: from intention to reality and criticizing the system will be discussed.

Realizing Contradictions

After graduating from the university without unveiling despite the ban, Amine searched for a job which was a difficult process as she was veiled. She only could find a job in an Islamic interest-free bank. Amine describes it as:

“How can it accord with working in a bank in the capitalist system and on the other hand trying to do Islamic banking with no interest, in a competitive market? I think they do not comply with each other and there happens some contradictions, there could be unrighteousness which does not comply with the values that we believe in.”

She thought that she does not need to be desperate to work in non-interest banks that are not compatible with her values. She started to question what is taught to her comparing it with the facts of life. She stated that she thought about these contradictions also previously in her life. However, she did not deepen the questioning as “these were the things I would easily cover up”. After facing unfairness at work and also at home, she “wanted to bring them to the

surface". Amine interpreted the unfairness she faced around her being a woman. She describes it as:

"The things that you see at home, at work or outside or the things that hinder you, when you compare these to the things that you want to do in life, it initiates to make you think about how much necessary or how much rational or how much it (veiling) must be in your life."

Canan, on the other hand, was questioning why she was veiled from the beginning. She describes it as:

"I was always uncomfortable with it, never accepted. I was always ugly. I was always questioning. Why am I veiled if it is the man who makes me sinful when he looks at me, then the problem is his? Why don't I veil him and I veil myself instead? But, of course you cannot say it out loud because it is the religion that is being questioned here. The first command is to believe. In other words, do not question, put your mind aside, do not think. It contradicts in itself. How hard you try to throw it to the subconscious, it immediately pops out, maybe because of the subconscious being very pure in those years (smiling)".

Elif started to work in a religious company after studying theology in the university. It was not something that she wanted to do. She describes it as:

"I felt like arrested. I felt like my freedom was taken away from me because you could not behave as an unveiled woman outside, you could not behave as you wanted to do. The headscarf was not standing alone. There was a contradiction between what I was doing and the dress on me. I was seeing the gap between what is called as tesettur-and I learned all of this after studying theology for two years- and what I was doing"

Fatima, after raising her kids to adulthood, decided to go back to her college education. She started to read which changed her opinions about religious commands. She started to gain clear perspectives on things. She describes it as:

“For example, when people define themselves as simple-hearted, I thought it was not enough because I saw veiling as a command of Allah but now I understand those people better. I think that morality and personality is much more important than veiling”.

After struggling against headscarf bans for years, Gülizar started to realize the mistaken implementation of the precedence of veiling in Islamic culture. When she was a teacher at an Imam-Hatip school, at a time when her students were thinking about either quitting school or unveiling during headscarf ban, she asked them the following:

“If a person tells you that she will either veil or perform the salaah (Muslim prayer), what would you tell her to do? You would tell her to perform the salaah. Then, performing the salaah has a priority. To me, the priorities of many things have been replaced. I don’t know if it is right or wrong but I think this way.”

Gülizar also realized as she aged, through her life experiences, that there might be veiled women who are bad and unveiled women who are good people. She says:

“That atheist person might be perfect in her humanistic feelings, morality, honesty and self-respect. On the other hand, a veiled woman, but I am not generalizing, not all the veiled or prayers are like this but...”

She decided that it is not a must. The common point of all of these realizations is assuming responsibility of the act of veiling and the evaluation of the act through a different lens, a lens that is more related to reality because it is broader.

Deciding to Unveil: From Intention to Reality

The participants were asked about how the idea of unveiling proceeded. What is common under this theme is the fact that no one of them unveiled right away. It took some time or for some of them a plan to make it real.

After realizing the contradictions in her home and work life, Amine decided to unveil. She decided to unveil with the help of her boyfriend whom she was considering to marry at the time and when she was abroad. She thought that if she unveiled abroad, she would face less difficulties regarding her family or the social world. She told her family about her consideration: "I don't know, maybe during an argument or in a situation of disagreement (tongue-slip: instead of disagreement she says conflict and then she corrects herself), I told them. I also told them I was going to do it abroad. Not like 'sit, I'm gonna tell you something' kind of thing." She unveiled at the airport when she was coming back home:

"I was already veiling like this. I just did something like (showing a sliding kind of movement) and that was it...all in all you are this and the thing on you becomes an addition to you like make-up or clothing....If I had a contradiction in myself, it would be more difficult for me...."

Behiye was very unhappy after the Quranic school education when she started to take secondary school education from Imam-Hatip externally. She said to herself:

"I am veiled and I am unhappy. The things that I studied until today, Arabic, etc. did not bring me anything, it made me unhappy. Why did I veil? I veiled because of others. I did not choose this."

In this way, she started to realize that she was veiled and took all that religious education because of her parents. After this realization, Behiye noticed her desire to unveil.

She thought that she could give it a try in a place where her parents cannot see her, so that she could fulfill her desire, even if just for once. She describes it as: "I wanted my hair to wave in the wind but I didn't (do it), I didn't (do it)..." She talked to her sister and realized that she also wanted to unveil. When her parents went for a vacation, she said to her sister: "Shall we try? How will we feel? And we unveiled. Then I found a job." She stated that she could unveil after one or two years of her decision.

Canan was 15 years old when she unveiled. Her unveiling was more like a response, rather than a planned action as she was very young at the time. She was walking in the street on a hot August day. Her elder sister who was unveiled and her fiancée was also walking in front of her. Her sister's fiancée turned behind and asked her whether she was exhausted from heat. "He asked a very logical question. Aren't you exhausted? Aren't you sweating in August? I was sweating, I was dying in that synthetic headscarf". She unveiled and did not veil again.

Dilşat continued her education despite headscarf ban. She unveiled only at school. When she was accepted for PhD, she decided to unveil. She went to her first meeting with the professors with a hat. She describes it as:

"I didn't know the setting. There was a ban at the time. I didn't know the setting. I didn't know the reactions I would take. I was about to make the most important thing of my life.... As it had become like a toy; veil-unveil, I didn't want this way. I mean I decided this way."

She thinks that she cannot veil any more: "veiling is in my heart; but not in my mind. I mean I don't have such a plan." After realizing the contradiction between what she was

doing and what she was wearing, Elif tried to make a new plan. She both worked and prepared for the exams. She went to a new city to study psychology:

“When I went there, I think it was far enough, far enough from many things. First year I continued as veiled. The second year I said ‘I won’t do it any more’. Nobody could intervene. If I worked and won and came to the university on my own, nobody should say anything about it. Thinking this way, I did it there.”

One or two months before she unveiled, Fatima told a friend that she would unveil some time. “Maybe one year, maybe ten years or maybe five years, I don’t know; but I will unveil someday, I said to her. I did it in a shorter time, maybe 1-2 months later. It was my decision”. Her husband did not find it appropriate. However, Fatima thinks that it is her life. “I want to live in the way I believe...No one has a right to intervene...As my thought is more important than his, I decided to unveil and I did it.” She stated that as she veiled on her own will, she also unveiled on her own will.

Gülizar thinks that her unveiling proceeded gradually. She did not unveil at once. She thinks that this gradual process made unveiling less distressful. She first started to unveil for the job. She was veiling in her social life. She describes it as:

“As some physical circumstances change, some things in your mind also change....Over the course of time, I started to veil only when I was praying the salaah...Two weeks ago, my husband asked me whether I was thinking to veil. I said no, it is not necessary. To me it is not necessary. My belief is like this.”

Criticizing the System

The participants expressed their understanding of the current social and political conjuncture. They made comments about what it is like to be veiled in today’s world. They

also mentioned some concerns about politics. It is worthwhile to note that although they were not asked about this directly, it was something that they talked about inevitably and without exception. Therefore, this theme created itself.

Elif stated that she saw herself as the history of the country. "I am not sure though whether Turkey will become free like me and get rid of its shackles on its own will." She wonders whether there are women in this country who veil without social pressure. She exemplified women around her who veiled with social pressure. Canan also agrees to the notion that veiling is an element of pressure. She says: "Nobody could do this on free will; one would do it because she believes in religion. There is no free will in this case, there is the command"

Elif thinks that today's veiled women are more daring which is good, but this daringness is hollow. She thinks that education of girls is still neglected by this social group. For Elif, even if the girls take higher education, it is limited:

"They are allowed for critical thinking up to a point. They cannot go beyond that point....Your thinking has certain limits. You must know your limits. It is said to you that asking these questions are sinful."

Canan makes similar comments about education of girls and defines this generation as a "lost generation". She does not believe that a strong female figure will come out of this generation for our kids to follow. Canan, as she refers to Imam-Hatip students today, says: "The worst part is they are happy...which means they do not question the life assigned to them." Fatima is also concerned about not-questioning which in turn, she believes, regress people on a personal level and also the society as a whole.

Behiye talked about how she criticizes the local municipality of where she lives. She says:

“I criticize although I voted for them. I write to their web sites. Why do you always make religion-involved theatre? Can’t you do it about human relationships or other subjects? I must direct them, not vice versa...”

She also stated her wish about not being governed on the basis of being religious or not. She says:

“They should not try to make us irreligious or religious. There is this action and reaction thing...If left side tells us to unveil, we won’t...and if the right side says veil and be virtuous, we would say we have pride as women, we have our brains. You as men don’t try to manage us...” She also criticized the system because variety is not appreciated by the system.

Dilşat criticized women who exploit veiling for personal interests. She describes it as:

“My perception of veiling has been ruined too much. I have trouble in not my perception of veiling but my perception of society....together with this political thing, because I know from my environment, there is a person who veils for taking a job in municipality and after quitting that job, the same person unveils to take a job in an airline as a stewardess. This is not as simple as this....We suffered that much....I think it became a game.”

She thinks that veiling should be implemented by heart. She also thinks that the quantity of women who veils by heart, by feeling would be fifty per cent at most which makes her angry. She mentions something she read:

“We won the fight against headscarf, but we lost tesettur (Arabic word for veiling). Just like that there is no such thing as tesettur any more...It doesn’t make much sense. I

sometimes think I have more tesettur (more covered) compared to them. She wears a hobble skirt, her body parts are visible, but there is a headscarf on her head.”

She also talked about the injustices made by the influential people. She was disappointed as she thought that they would be fearful of God. She says: “I thought they would fear God, I had such a perception that they would not look to who is who, that they would be fair. Because it was done to us, they know it.” She gave examples of influential people pulling strings in her profession. She seemed very disappointed and angry.

Amine also criticized veiled women to be discriminative. She says: “I think veiled women are getting larger in quantity. Despite this fact, they are not in a position like we live in this society, we must exist in all levels of it. They think like we exist on our own, they exist on their own...They are not integrating.”

Gülizar criticizes the system on the basis of gender inequality. She says:

“You know there are active verbs and passive verbs....I should not be looked at, I should not be seen so that he would not be sinful. Means I am the second thing, you know, there is to take and to be taken, I am always in the second....Why am I taking form based on him?”

On the other hand, they also commented about how they criticize the system, not the veiled women per se. When people around her makes negative comments about the veiled, Elif cannot stay silent: “Degeneracy is not specific to headscarf...This degeneracy, this nonsense, this ignorance, this intolerance of freedom is everywhere...” Behiye also thinks that people who insult the veiled are also hideous. She talked about how she respects veiled women. Fatima also talks about her respect toward veiled women: “I would never insult the veiled, I was like that until yesterday.”

‘I Felt like I was Naked’: Shame

This theme is organized around the feelings associated with veiling and unveiling. One would expect many emotions involved in the unveiling experience and this is the case. However, shame is the most dominant of all emotions among the participants of this study. The feelings associated with unveiling will be explored under this theme, starting from shame. Shame will be discussed in a broader context as it is also related to veiling as well as unveiling.

Behiye is the participant who used the word “shame” the most. It was associated with both veiling and unveiling. She first felt shame when she veiled as a child. She was ashamed to be veiled at such a young age. She defined it as “I am young but I am veiled like a woman”. This sentence impressed me, both its being in the present tense as if it is still continuing and also the meaning. She matched veiling with womanhood as a child. She talked about how she was not let by her mother to swim in the sea because her body would be seen by others. Her mother attributes a genital value to her body prematurely by taking this action. Behiye says:

“I was ashamed of the people around because I was veiled at such a young age. I mean I am young but I have been veiled like a woman. I mean I felt this kind of pressure. I didn’t feel free enough to think that I should unveil because I didn’t think that I would do it, I would succeed in it. My family already made great pressure on me but I felt uncomfortable in the form of shame regarding the society”

It is seen that she experiences being a child as a challenge. She also told a dream she dreamt when she was 12: “I think my headscarf falls in the street. I come home running. I mean I lose my headscarf outside in some way and because I am ashamed I come home running, because I don’t want to be seen that way.” It is worthwhile to note that shame in the previous incident when she was nine years old differs from shame in this dream. Formerly, a premature

meaning attribution to her child body created the shame. In the latter one, she is adolescent and the shame could be suggested to represent the nakedness of the body without veil. It was a dramatic scene in the dream which led me to ask her how she feels now telling it: "I think it became an obsession then; I mean I think it affected me very much apparently. Being unveiled to be a very bad, shameful and sinful.... things like that affected me apparently" At this point, I tried to understand whether she still feels shame regarding the unveiling. She talked about how she put religion aside. She neither rejects nor embraces it. She also talked about her own ethical standards. She says:

"It doesn't have a direct effect on my life anyway. I mean I abide to ethical rules already. I am not someone who would steal a person's property just because religion is not in my life....but I prefer not to bring this subject to the agenda. I prefer to avoid religious subjects as if it doesn't exist at all." It is seen that the previously mentioned match between veil and womanhood is trying to be separated when she tries to express her ethical attitude albeit being unveiled. It also means that she internalized the ethics that veiling represents.

When she was staying in the Quranic boarding school where she was close to becoming a teacher, she wore hijab with a special ceremony. Hijab was not compulsory but she was criticized not to wear it. When she came back for the summer holiday, she couldn't go out because of shame. She says:

"....that summer, my mother saw that I don't go out any more because I am ashamed. I mean hijab is a strange clothing, even if veiling made me ashamed since childhood, I never could go out. I am at home all summer. My mother told me that she saw that I'm not going out. She said 'Wear your coat, you will wear your hijab when going to the boarding school again'...."

It may be suggested that what creates the shame in this case is related to aesthetic concerns and social appearance. She feels shame thinking that societal view would find her ugly. She described her feeling when she went outside unveiled for the first time as edgy: "I remember that day. I felt edgy, so..." I wanted her to open this edginess and she said:

"I mean I felt awkward, a weird feeling. I didn't like my hair very much. I mean I wasn't sure whether it looks beautiful? How do other women make their hair? As I didn't pay close attention to these before, I wasn't sure if my hair looked good...or does it look absurd? Or is it noticed? I thought this kind of things, I think. I was obsessed with my hair. It was such a feeling."

In the unveiled case, although she doesn't mention shame, we can see that she is very much preoccupied with how she looks from outside. This preoccupation with appearance might also be interpreted around shame.

Elif also talked about shame both in case of veiling and unveiling. She was asked whether she remembers the first time she went out veiled. She said:

"It's really hard to remember. But I know I was ashamed to be veiled. It wasn't something that I did willingly. Being unveiled-veiled (tongue slip) was related with illiteracy, with peasantry. We had just come from the village to the city. I had just changed my accent...I had just adapted to the city life and suddenly I felt like I was stigmatized as a villager"

She continued telling her story and at some point she said:

"That question you asked before, how I felt when I first go out unveiled, that was an important moment. That was an important moment. There was shame. There was anxiety. There was pride on the other hand, I mean to have been succeeded of. And at the same time there was rebellion."

The pride might be interpreted as a woman's pride related to the desire to be beautiful. When I asked her about this rebellion, she said:

"There was rebellion. I mean the discourse of 'nobody could tell me what to wear'. But it was difficult to adapt. People learn to be veiled or unveiled by wearing absurd. While I had just learnt to be an elegant veiled, when unveiled, I turned into a novice again. I was wearing clumsy clothes again. Of course it took some time"

She also talked about what kind of reactions she took from the people around her:

"I had a friend, she was very sweet, when she first saw me unveiled in the university, she said 'oh, you are scattered'¹. It was funny for me because she was unveiled after all. I didn't take very absurd reactions from the people around but I think I was a little bit aggressive in those days. I think I was transmitting 'if anyone dares to react, I would hurt' kind of message"

Dilşat in spite of not using the word 'shame', told a story which she could not talk to anyone about. When she was veiled at the age of 12, a neighbor reacted in a negative way when she first saw her veiled. I asked her whether she remembers the first time she went out veiled. She said:

"I don't remember at all, but I remember the first time I felt bad about it. There was a lady next door who used to like me. When she first saw me veiled (in the garden), she screamed saying 'what did they do to you?'.....I remember the first bad reaction I got, I mean I never forget it....There was a perception in where I used to live back then, that families of janitors or villagers veil... Therefore, she projects what she feels onto you"

I asked her how she felt when she faced this reaction. She said:

¹ In Turkish, scattered means saçılmak, it includes the word saç which means hair.

"I went home immediately. I had been too sad. I didn't say anything to anyone but I was too sad. Why did she say that to me? What does it mean that 'what did they do to you?'" And I thought have I become too ugly? I mean not something like 'am I doing a bad thing to be veiled? Or not 'is veiling perceived like this? 'But rather 'didn't it (veiling) suit me at all? Or thinking as it didn't suit me because they always told me that it suits me, that it was beautiful on me. It was a childish perception that it didn't suit me as this old lady reacted this way".

It is seen that although it is very acceptable inside the family system, there is not enough containment in the social world which tends to make it problematic. It creates a gap between the family system and the social world where the little girl feels appreciated in one part, and feels disapproved in the other. There is a conflict in different societal value judgments which leads to a confusion in according to which value system she would develop herself.

Fatima who unveiled at the age of 47 provides a different kind of example. She was veiling willingly while she was veiled. She then continued her education and became more curious about religion. She started to read different kinds of books and to expand her perspective. She decided to unveil willingly. She was asked how she felt when she went out unveiled for the first time. She said:

"I felt like I was naked (smiling)....I mean, I didn't care too much about strangers but people like the market guy or the husbands of my sisters or relatives, I mean I shied away from familiar people more....You know you are influenced, I mean it is not important what they think as a matter of fact but you're influenced inevitably. But frankly speaking I don't care about anyone..." I tried to open this influence and she said: "I mean was I ashamed at that moment? Was I shy? I mean there was a difference in acquaintances rather than in strangers but it is not important. I would get over it. I already got over it"

It was an intense moment in that she did not want to get in touch with shame but it was present with all its majesty. On the other hand, how she does not allow the shame to affect her decision to be unveiled is respectable.

Gülizar, who unveiled at a similar age with Fatıma, has a similar feeling. She emphasized that it was okay for her psychically and ethically to unveil. When for the first time she unveiled for an interview, she unveiled at the bus station. When she came back from the interview to the same station, she bought her ticket and she veiled again at the public toilet. She needed to talk to the ticket guy for the second time after she was veiled this time. She described it as:

“I need to talk to them again (veiled)....but I am ashamed. As my problem is that a person who saw me unveiled will see me veiled; and a person who saw me veiled will see me unveiled. I shy away from that when a person sees me in my previous state will see me in my current state”

I asked her how she felt other than that. She said: “I don’t have any problem religiously or spiritually....I talked to them, they looked at me, tried to understand. There was few incidences like this back then.....They were surprised”

It is seen again that the preoccupation with appearance in the social world and the importance of the perception of others create shame. When Gülizar told me about why she resigned from her job because of the headscarf ban while telling me that it was okay for her internally, things became clearer:

“... if I could start in another school unveiled, I would continue. At that time I already started to think like ‘veiling is not a must’. There are some teacher colleagues whom I still know. When I meet them for instance, I am still shy. As they saw me veiled! I have this kind of things.... I prefer them not to see. I mean, if some part of your body opens, you have the need to be protected. It’s like that...”

Shame in this case would be suggested as the shame of being inconsistent. I asked her whether she meant she felt shame. She affirmed me without using the word 'shame' which seemed as a significant confirmation to me.

Canan, on the contrary, unveils on the street and does not talk about any negative feelings regarding 'unveiling'. She said:

"I felt such free and happy....I mean when a person comes out of the prison, her perspective when looking at the sun, the mountains, the birds and the bugs differs from my perspective, because her perception is widely open, she is hungry to every one of them. It was like this for me also. It was like coming out of prison. That is why I am still content"

She then mentioned a recurrent dream that she still sometimes dreams of:

"There is the headscarf, I try to unveil; I cannot unveil; it stuck, I cannot take it off. I did it once, I can do it again but this time it stuck, there is a physical thing so it is not coming out. It is extremely hot and I am sweating."

We talked about this dream and she told me her associations about the dream which is based on the first unveiling experience on that street. She thinks that she goes to the day she unveiled for the first time. She said: "If I had not decided and unveiled on that hot August day, it would have really stuck but I decided and acted on my will and unveiled..." She also interpreted the recurrent feature of the dream:

"It repeats because it is traumatizing...It is like surviving a big accident....being alive is a miracle of course but this doesn't take away the traumatizing nature of the incident, on the contrary, it feeds it more. Black and white came together and there is a boundary. This is like that, that's why it is traumatic...As I realized my desire, fear is left for the dream...I dream on the fear that 'what if I could not unveil'...That's why I don't see the final (in the dream), I am at the

point that I couldn't unveil, that it stuck, that it stayed on me, that I sweated a lot, that I stayed too ugly. I dream the fear."

It should be noted that Canan is the earliest unveiler among the participants who unveiled at the age of 15 and she is currently 32 years old. Her declaration of dreaming repetitively about the first unveiling experience seems significant if not touching. It could be suggested that the underlying issue is related to trying to make her formless, ugly and sexless while she holds the desire to internalize her womanhood. It is meaningful, from this perspective, for her to unveil as an adolescent.

Amine comments on her first unveiling experience from a different perspective. She said:

"It wasn't such a thing, I mean I was already veiling like this and I just did like this (gesturing like it slipped from her head) and that was it. That thing on you becomes an addition to you like make up or clothing... It would have been more difficult if I had a big conflict in me....I didn't have such an integration (with the headscarf) within me."

The common point among all the participants about the feelings involving the unveiling experience is that they all were decisive about unveiling which could be thought as a facilitative factor while going through uncomfortable emotions such as shame. Veil plays a central role in a woman's symbolizations of the transitions from childhood to adolescence and adolescence to a woman who has genital sexuality. Shame could be suggested to be an appropriate response for a natural adjustment process between internal and external while stepping to the only internalized version of being veiled.

"I am Still Unveiling": The Effect of Relations with Significant Others

This theme is based on the relational effects of unveiling in the internal worlds of the participants. The participants talked about how their unveiling affected their relationships.

They mostly focused on the relationship to their parents, especially the mother. Under this theme, how the participants were affected by their significant relationships in terms of unveiling will be explored.

Behiye is one of the participants who talked about her parents most frequently. She told the story of her mother's religious education in the Quranic boarding school for 15 years before she got married. She told that her mother used to wear the hijab; she unveiled the hijab and started to wear headscarf after a short period of time of her marriage. Behiye described her parents and their relationship in detail. She sees her mother as a strong character, at least stronger than her father who is a clergy member. When I asked her about how she came to veil, her first word was her mother: "I veiled because of my mother..." Although she does not remember the first time she veiled as she always veiled in summer holidays while going to the mosque, she wanted to tell me a story around it:

"May I also tell a story? ...when we [means her sisters and her] were little, my mother made us veil a headscarf [a headscarf made from a lighter fabric]. That day I was veiled, I had put it on that day. I had an argument with my sisters [three sisters who are younger than her], possibly. My father beat me while I was veiled and I deeply resented it. I thought 'I veil for them and they beat me like this'. I mean I was offended and I thought it was meaningless to veil or do anything for them"

It can be suggested that the underlying fantasy behind veiling is to be protected against violence which is negated. She said that her father used to beat her in case of arguments with her siblings as she is the eldest.

When Behiye decided to unveil, she called her mother on telephone to inform her about her unveiling. She told the following:

“...My parents were still on a vacation. I called them so that they wouldn’t be shocked when they come back. I said to my mother that I unveiled and started working like this; that I will be known like this from now on and I will work like this. My mother said to me: ‘You cannot live with us any more, I will show you the door, I will beat you’. She threatened me like this... When they came back, there were fights. My father threatened me to cut my hair. He beat me. Then, he locked the door so that I wouldn’t go out to work. Then, I opened the window and shouted to inform the police. When I shouted like this, they opened my way. That day I went to work crying, feeling down...”

I was touched by the traumatizing aspect of the story. Her father was a clergy member and her mother used to be a teacher in a Quranic school. It is not difficult to understand how important for them for their daughter to be veiled, whereas one might wonder the source of all this violence. I asked her whether her attitudes or feelings towards them changed after unveiling. She elaborated on the family being unhappy anyway, regardless of the unveiling situation. She said:

“The family is unhappy from the beginning. They got married just to be married. Our family was never happy. I was never very happy within our family so as my feeling would change according to the unveiling situation. I can say it is the same, no change with respect to love. I just saw how strong my mother was.... Although my mother discriminated me this much, we can say that I have forgiven her”.

She continued: “I still love her; and I still don’t love my father. I mean, not to a degree of hate but I don’t have much respect for him. He is not a sufficient person.” At this point, the story was discussed around the violence issue because to me, unveiling was just another excuse for the violence albeit a big one. I asked her whether her mother also beat her.

She said: "Little if any. I could say she didn't. But after we reached to puberty, she inflicted psychological violence to an equal extent to my father... We could say it was even more...." I asked her about this psychological violence. She said:

"Things like you are sinful, you're bad, you are not worth for my efforts... Don't go out to date... Locking the door behind us (while they were in the house). She was angry if we put on makeup. She was angry if we didn't perform the salaah (Muslim ritual worship). And we didn't perform the salaah five times a day. We did it once or twice reluctantly because of my mother. Then she was really fed up to force us to pray, she couldn't deal with it...She quit forcing us to pray but not criticizing us if we didn't pray or if we put on makeup or asking where we're going while we're going out..... Still, if she is good to me, I am good to her. Of course, I get sad when she banishes me...."

Behiye also thinks that if her parents were not this much rigid, she could continue to be veiled just for the sake of her mother. She thinks that her parents' criticizing constantly of her behaviors with regard to religion is another trigger for her unveiling. She said:

"I said to my father: 'Dad, have you ever asked us about veiling? We're doing it but still you don't like it'. This not liking thing made me crazy....This is another reason to [unveil], even trigger of it, I mean their dissatisfaction for anything, their trying to make us live like a nun."

After a short while of silence she added: "When you say family, maybe happiness should come to one's mind but pressure comes to my mind when you say family" There was another short while of silence which ended when she said:

"I am sure other unveilors did not experience what I experienced. I think there wouldn't be anything like this, I mean I don't think so, I mean not even possible. My mother

maybe because she stayed in the Quranic boarding school for years , or because she was in such a black mood, she put pressure on us this much. I mean pressure whatsoever. Every family demands to be veiled or this and that. But wishing a daughter to be dead after unveiling, exaggerating it this much is specific to my mother, I think”

It was difficult at this point to stay calm considering the extent of the rage of her mother towards her. She was right that other participants did not have this much of a traumatizing history nor this much enraged parents. At this point, as a clinical psychologist, I referred her to a psychotherapist hoping that she could process this huge emotional baggage to some extent. I also appreciated her efforts in trying to make sense of her experiences in terms of her parents’ histories and life stories. She also linked her experience to her husband’s in a story where he had been beaten by his father because he did not perform the salaah. She said:

“When I remember this incident, I deduce that all religious families, at least most of them are like this. But still I hope that other families are not as oppressive as my family. Because I see people who are like friends with their mothers...”

She also talked about how their parents humiliated her at home when she didn’t want to go to Quranic boarding school. She, then talked about how her mother sent her to her grandmother’s in another city for a year when she was five. At this point, we started to talk about her history of psychological help. She went to a psychiatrist who tried to suggest religion to her: “He didn’t look like someone who would be useful for me....because he told me things like ‘you can return to religion’ or ‘don’t feel guilty, Allah forgives everyone’He said things like ‘don’t be ashamed of your father’s profession. I mean as he was also religious, I thought he was a bit biased...”

Then she told me how she deals with her mother or aunt when they try to convince her in religious issues. She said: "When my mother or my aunt try to warn me about something, to direct me toward religion in an uneducated way, I immediately find their fault which is why they do not come at me too much" This was like an explanation of why she studies theology at the university. It could be thought as a defense towards the mother. She thinks that: "My mother fed and took care of us and expected us to be religious. And when it didn't happen, she banished us..." It could be said that the conflict between her and her mother is experienced around the subject of religion rather than any other subject which explain the reason of unveiling having such a harsh effect on the family. Things get more complicated for her family after Behiye's sisters also unveiled one by one except the youngest.

Behiye might be the one participant who has the most tense and rigid relationship with her parents. However, Amine also pictures a difficult relationship with her mother. She veiled by taking her mother as an example in the first place. She says: "...as a result, I thought I have to veil at that time, that is how I was educated, I mean maybe because I saw my mother as an idol" I asked her about this in detail and she said:

"As a matter of fact, I never had a very good relationship, got even worse later on probably....I always loved my father more, always got along better with him. My mother figure is the one that my father also supports. So from this perspective, not so much like I should be like my mom but if I could be like how she represents as my father also thinks that thing to be the truth, or maybe because I trust my father more, [that is why] I thought this [veiling] should be done, it didn't seem weird to me [to veil]". As I said of course you are a kid [at the time]."

She finds her mother as more of a 'robot-like person' because she 'does not express her love' whereas her maternal grandmother is 'more compassionate'. She says: "As I was never on good terms with my mother, I wanted to go to the university so that I would have a job and I would be economically independent so that I would live on my own so that I would get away from the conflicts with my family, with my mother. I thought to set the boundaries and have my way." In her case, the desire for differentiation seem to motivate her towards life goals. When she told me about her preference for communicating less with her family, I asked her how she feels about it. She said:

"I was always in an attitude of convention. I mean, always like they should also be willing, or meeting somewhere in-between, I mean this kind of an attitude, but I realized that it was wrong.... There is nothing to come to terms with. They accept their truth and you will want to do whatever you want to do. There will be no meeting point in the end....And now I want to continue living by seeing them in the most minimum level possible."

I then asked her whether her parents' perception of her changed. She said: "I feel it sometimes. For example, I think they want to see me veiled again". I then asked her whether they accepted her totally. She said:

"No, but they probably think that 'if she wants it to be like this, let it be like this'. That is not a total acceptance as a matter of fact. It is not whatever you want we will support you and love you anyway kind of thing. They have in mind whatever they want to see me like and if I turn that way, they would be very happy.... This is not something to change I think. It will always continue. They will always think like this"

I asked her whether she feels like an outsider in the family. She said: "I felt like an outsider when I was veiled and I also feel this way sometimes in the present. My family

banished me. And my mother used this word the other way, that's why I'm using it. I never used it before." I asked her details and she said:

"....then, there were emotional moments, and there my mother is plaintive and so am I. My mother said 'We are not banishing you'. And I said you did until now. I mean she first used this word. I didn't think this way before, I thought maybe injustice but it came directly from my mother. Then I thought so it could be true."

I thought that in Amine's case, unveiling is a means to separation-individuation (Mahler, 1971). Canan is another participant who experiences unveiling as a big issue in her relationship with her mother. She finds her mother as oppressive and intolerant. She felt that she was veiling for her mother which makes unveiling more problematic in relation to mother. She says:

"My mother is a strange woman. She never forgets. Even now she still says, whenever I wear mini or low-cut, 'Look at my formerly veiled daughter; you don't look like my daughter'. She claims jestingly that I am not her daughter after I unveiled. I mean not very jestingly, actually in a sarcastic way. I mean her daughter is that veiled girl, when she unveils, she stops being her daughter. She talks as if she lost her"

She told me that she has been in psychotherapy for two years and still continuing which gave me courage to continue exploring her world. I asked her how she feels about her mother's words and she said:

"It made me feel like rejected. As I resolved and put this issue away, it doesn't have a negative counterpart now..... She still denies, you're not my daughter! I still fight with her. But as I said, it makes me feel stronger. Because I could have crushed under her sarcastic attitudes otherwise. Because however you fight with your mother, she is such a presence, she

is a place where you want to come down to. But you don't see there a station anymore and this is very hard to go beyond, let me say living the adventure rather than going beyond. That's why it makes me stronger. I mean I am still unveiling, not that I unveiled and it's over"

This last comment was poignant. I asked her whether she meant separation from mother while saying she is still unveiling. She replied: "In spite of my mother. My mother keeps the issue up to date.... I am not sure if she cares about religion. She might have got used to talk sarcastically (she laughs)..... I cannot prove my mother that I have grown up." What was interesting about Canan's story is that she is the earliest unveilor among the participants. She was veiled approximately three years and unveiled when she was fifteen. Despite this fact, it seems a very fresh subject for her:

"...sometimes I feel like the period I was veiled was 15 or 20 years and I was unveiled recently. I still dream about it (for the dream see the section on shame). Mother is someone you born into, you become part of her, you don't disobey her. My mother was a strong figure and it (veiling) was something she commanded... Disobeying my mother is in a way equivalent to disobeying myself. My feelings, her preferences....but it feels powerful because it is difficult to disobey the mother at that age"

I could see the freshness of the subject for their relationship clearly. She then talked about how she blames her mother about sending her to Imam-Hatip so that she couldn't go to the university she wanted: "...and my mother says: 'I didn't send you to have a career, I send you there to pray for me after I die'. And I say to her: 'Only I will not pray for you when you die'.... 'Because you aroused a big hatred'. And it's true even if it's sad." I asked her what the hatred was about. She said:

“...the fact that she doesn’t resent it arouses the hatred... She would still like me as a woman who is veiled, withdrawn and more sheepish. She would be more content. I don’t think that she is happy with my appearance. I am still unveiling. The process is continuing, at least for my mother. It is not like I unveiled and it’s over.”

It could be suggested that the separation-individuation is processed around the unveiling issue (Mahler, 1971). She expressed it in a clear way when she said:

“When I started to become my mother, I was too uncomfortable. After rejecting it, a person starts to make her own choices, they become very strong steps albeit minor ones.”

When she told me that it was difficult to reject a mother, I asked her how she did it. She said: “I am still doing it. It is not a process that ends. It is difficult to be born from the mother. To be born and to separate. That umbilical cord never detaches in fact. Cutting it with one’s own hands is a very long process...”

Dilşat experienced more difficulty in relation to her father. Her mother responded more rationally to her unveiling:

“No problem with my mother. She tells me to do whatever makes me happy and peaceful. No problem with her. The only concern of her for me not to neglect my prayings (the salaah) and it is a more rational mood; at least not like my father”

On the other hand, her father did not talk to her for a long time:

“He didn’t talk to me for a long time....I told him that ‘I thought that you have been hating me for ten years’.... He told me that ‘But I want you to be good my daughter, you unveiled’. And I said to him: ‘Dad, it’s not about veiling or unveiling. Even if I make a mistake, you have to be on my side’. Not talking to me, behaving like a stranger in the same house. This gave rise to many other problems. I mean my father responded extremely.”

It made a significant impact on the relationship: "My father didn't ask why I unveiled either. He just immediately cut the communication. We already didn't have a strong communication. My father doesn't talk much etc. That time I realized that if I do something for myself, whatever I do, I am a bad person [in a crying mood]. And I continued to do what I know [she opens the air conditioning as if she wishes to distract herself]."

It was clearly seen that this was a sensitive issue for her but I wanted to understand her feelings around her father's response: "My father's response rather than make me feel something, it led to too much nonsense afterwards." She thinks that she said yes to a potentially bad marriage because of the unhappiness at home which ended in divorce. I then asked her whether her feelings or attitudes towards her family changed after she unveiled: "Towards my father a little bit. Anger, distance, staying in the room, thinking why he behaves me like this..." She had to go to the southeastern side of Turkey for her job where she stayed two years: "Although it's a place that I hate a lot, it made me breathe [again]... He is a father who didn't call me for two years there....'Let me hear her voice, I miss my daughter', never ever. Two years. Doesn't a person call in two years? Two years...." She seemed very disappointed in her father whereas expressed it as:

"Hatred, he hates a lot. Let me say I hated my father at that time. Now I don't feel anything.....He contributed to my unhappiness at that time....Can a person look at his child disgusted? He looked at me that way. Or I felt like that. If you ask him of course not. He told me that he was too sad..."

We were then talking about her siblings at which point she told me she was the only girl: "The only daughter and she unveiled. Dear Allah, my god, I couldn't raise her in a good way [smiling]. They're in such a mood, I think, at least my dad..."

Elif is another participant who was more concerned about her father when she unveiled: "...The big moment was when my father saw it. Everybody knew except my father. They were helping me to hide it. I was going to my father's one morning. I got off the car. When I was just entering the building I met him. But as the times that he was authoritative and dominant on me have passed, he couldn't say anything although he was surprised, scared and angry....Everybody adapted afterwards"

Gülizar's father left her with a big decision when she confronted the headscarf ban for the first time when she was an Imam-Hatip student:

"He told me that 'Whatever you decide, I am with you. But if you decide to unveil and go to school, you put me in hell with your own hands. But still whether you veil or unveil, leave school or continue, I am behind you'. I mean this way they support but in their hearts I should be veiled."

She faced a big responsibility as an adolescent which is letting a father go to hell or not. She lost her parents which might be a reason to avoid her feelings around this subject. She told that although her parents didn't want her to unveil, they didn't hinder it either. One day after she unveiled she was having a conversation with her mother: "She cried.... my mother was 17 when her mother died at the age of 34-35. She told me that 'I was going to show you to my mother when I die. I was going to say 'Look, mom!' I was going to be proud of you. How will I show you to my mother now?' She cried." She faced another difficulty in being responsible of her parents' afterlives to a degree.

Fatıma, the most recent unveiler among the participants who unveiled at the age of 47, when I asked her about how her family reacted, she said: "My mother was too sad. She didn't say anything to me [initially]. Recently, she told me that she was burning inside, that

she was praying for me and that she was so sad.” It looks like it is a huge separation from the mothers’ perspective, maybe even spreading to afterlife.

Unveiling as a Self-Realization Experience

This main theme expresses how the participants make sense of their unveiling experience, how they experience it in their bodies and how they want it to be understood from outside. The participants talked about how the experience of unveiling changed their life, mostly in a positive way. They felt gratitude for the experience. They felt the same although people around them claimed that they changed. They also talked about the bodily sensations which focused on the sun and the wind. All these experiences have a common point which might be presented as a self-realization experience (Horney, 1950). Therefore, under this main theme, all these different experiences will be discussed.

Being the Same Person

The participants talked about their change processes while underlying the fact that they are still the same person. They were not asked a question like how much they changed or did not change with unveiling. However, most of them mentioned being the same which led to this subtheme.

Amine was talking about her first unveiling experience (for details see above). She felt it like a start with a little bit of edginess. While talking about these feelings she said:

“...It’s like a habit. You existed like that [veiled] in all settings. You will exist in another way from now on but of course, people’s perception of you is different in that case. You are still the same... I see myself as the same at the end of the day. Only people’s perception may change when they look at me. There could be a different kind of perception in the society but

me, I am the same within myself. Therefore, if I didn't think this way, it would be more difficult. I probably wouldn't do it in that case..."

Behiye defined it as: "There was religion in my life before, now there is not. I am the same person." Dilşat explained the same thing from a different perspective: "People accept the perception of you as unveiled but religious; however, in the instant that you're veiled you're automatically a danger, [although] nothing of mine changes! I think I express myself more comfortably as unveiled....I did it [unveiling] in order to ease my life." She then explained how she felt afterwards as she unveiled not so much on her own will: "Then it was like no big deal! What difference does it make? No difference between veiling or unveiling! Because on the emotional level, I mean as nothing changes mentally, my perception regarding the issue also changed. Nothing differed very much in me..."

Gülizar also agrees that she is the same person veiled or unveiled: "I am the same, but the way the society looks at me, I don't mean the last 5-10 years, I mean prior to that... the society's behavior, attitude, perspective towards veiled me and later unveiled me differed very much." Witnessing the expressions of all participants, it is clear that they want to be accepted as they are; veiled or unveiled. However, veiling or unveiling, perhaps inevitably, change the perspective of others which in turn forces them to accept external reality as it is as well as their internal wishes.

'Thank God, I Unveiled!': Achieving the Agency

The participants expressed their increased sense of agency after unveiling against all odds. It was impressive to see how powerful they seemed to feel despite telling me about all their vulnerabilities. Amine mentioned her gratitude in unveiling twice during the interview. In the first case she was talking about how she experienced unveiling: "...I was

really content that I unveiled. I thought I did it well. I still say 'Thank God, I did such a thing'. I knew I'd experience some difficulty and some distress but I thought like it would pass through" The second time she talked about it she said: "It was my own decision after all and I do not regret it in any way. I say to myself 'Thank God I did such a thing'". As she mentioned the name of God, I asked her whether she still believes. Her response was a good one:

"It's a bit private but yes. There may be such questionings of course. I've done these questionings previously, around the age of eight. Of course my spiritual feelings are very much related to the geography I live in. When it changes, you may be able to feel very different. Of course one wants to think in a way that would make her feel safe and secure. One wants to make herself believe that way"

I focused on the feelings of security. She said: "A more faithful person may be more courageous towards life. To tell the truth I also like to believe and to think that way but I don't limit myself in the end; I could think in any way, I could live in any way. I don't think like 'why did I do this or why did I go astray?' kinds of things." I asked her whether she thinks the opposite referring to her belief system transforming in a positive way after unveiling. She said:

"Of course, it was much better for me. What could have been changed regarding my belief? Of course you may think differently but now I feel like I can see the impasses that my family or my environment reach. I sometimes have difficulty in believing why they are in this situation right now"

She then talked about the parallelism of nuclear family and the way the country is governed nowadays: "...But he [her father] still tries to affect my opinion by using religion;

something like doing politics in Turkey... It is very normal to have this kind of strategy in all Turkey while it even exists in the nuclear family as a matter of fact”

Dilşat unveiled to ease her life during her PhD. She didn't really have to unveil but things would have been difficult in the case she stayed veiled. She said: “When I saw what they [veiled students] were going through in that period that I first started [PhD], I said to myself ‘Glad I unveiled’. I mean I said ‘glad that I unveiled’I mean I did well for my profession, I am also happy within myself...It makes you more powerful in your professional or social life...”

Fatima feels like she just started living: “Life just started for me. Getting married at the age of 18, I was in a completely different setting. I couldn't improve myself... As my years passed that way, I am more independent now, I can give my own decisions and this makes me happy. That's why I say I am virtually living right now...” She was then talking about how religion is un-criticizable and she directed the conversation to: “...There is not even a minimal sense of regret or something like that in me as I unveiled with my own decision”

Canan unveiled at a comparably younger age. She expressed how she makes sense of this experience as:

“I made a difficult decision at an age that could be said young. It is not only my mother who was surprised in the end, I had neighbors and friends...I endured their weird gazes. I had endured, I even don't remember. Not giving a hoot for any of it is magnificent for instance. I implemented a decision of my own. It makes me feel powerful, makes me feel free. I feel like a person who questions. The decision belongs to me, I mean it is not a decision that my guardian made, not a decision that they wished. I thoroughly interpret it as a first step towards

individualization. Frankly speaking, I also attach more importance to being it at such a young age”

Elif congratulated herself for successfully unveiling. She said:

“I congratulated myself. I said kudos to myself. It is never easy to get through this. It consolidated very much my sense of uniqueness, my sense of authenticity, extraordinariness.... Being able to do this under those conditions proved to me that I am really powerful. It affected my self-perception in a positive way”

She thinks that she has a good story to tell her grandchildren: “It is a very authentic and marvelous story. I love my story I mean [smiling].” I asked her how she defines herself as someone who experienced this. She said:

“As I said, I find myself very powerful, authentic. I think I have a good story. I probably won’t give boredom to my grandchildren. You know I was like this and that! While telling this, I will have the opportunity to tell them the culture of the country that they live in and where does this culture go. I say I always was in the wrong row. I was veiled when the veiled was oppressed. Now the unveiled has begun to be oppressed, I am in that row. I am always with the oppressed. Let’s see if the government fails, I may veil again [smiling]. This is a joke of course. I mean I had a joyful life. I say I have joyful things to tell. Maybe you noticed, I am proud of my story while telling it to you.”

The sun and the wind

The participants talked about their different bodily sensations after unveiling. As it was not asked directly to the interviewees, this was another theme that emerged in the interviews.

Behiye was talking about how her relationship to herself evolved after unveiling: “I would feel the sun on my arms when I wear a T-shirt”. I asked about this feeling and she said: “Touching the sun is a beautiful feeling. I sometimes even feel that the sun gives me energy and relaxes my

brain; I mean it has benefits for me. I could say I am reunited with the sun. My hair can touch the wind from now on.”

Canan was talking about the first time she unveiled on the street:

“...I mean I became that free, that happy. I suddenly became beautiful. The wind is going through my hair. It’s magnificent, why am I depriving myself of this? I mean it’s really very much like that emotion, I mean it is different when a person who comes out of prison looks at the the sun the mountains, birds, insects than my looking. Because her perceptions are wide open, she is hungry for all of it. I mean mine was like that also. It was just like coming out of prison. That’s why I’m still content.”

I was impressed by her enthusiastic manner of telling the story. I verbalized my impression and wanted her to tell me more about those feelings. She said: “Because I experienced it that way. For example, I used to go to the balcony. When light radiates [through the hair], the color of the hair changes. I still do like when I go out, light shines and I still go to that day. Why am I not experiencing this, I mean? The sun touches my hair and I become happy for seeing that.” She also told me that she is still feeling the unveiling moment when she felt her hair.

Amine was talking about how she felt in the beginning of her unveiling experience. She finds it more practical now to get dressed:

“...Previously as a lifestyle, I always tried to cover the body borders so that they are not seen. Later on I started to get dressed without taking it into consideration. It is much easier practically... My hair for example, I used to cut it short before, now it is longer. Of course you take more care of yourself or you take more care of your hair or your face, etc. For example nowadays I wear curvaceous dresses...”

She then talked about the wind:

"I remember the times in the beginning when I unveiled, feeling the wind going through my hair is really pleasant; or let's say that being able to sit with a T-shirt in the summer. You can change your clothing according to the climate from now on. You didn't have that chance before. Now you can adjust yourself with the nature, for instance. If you want to be in the sea you can wear accordingly, if you want to climb a mountain you can wear accordingly. Ok, you try to adjust it when you're veiled too but it is much easier now. It corresponds to my reasoning this way, I mean from the perspective of my feelings. I mean I think this is a much modest lifestyle"

It is possible to infer from the lines above that projection of veil covering the physical body on to the inner world might be another barrier to the relationship with the 'mother' nature. The notion of wind going through the hair seems to represent the life force springing up. The skin touching the sun seems to represent the realization of this life force on a deeper level. It is obvious that unveiling is not merely uncovering the head. It opens up the body to the world or to the reality of life, both physically and apparently psychically.

Discussion

The main objective of this study was to explore the psychic reflections of unveiling from the first person point of view. This was accomplished by acquiring the most appropriate research method for this kind of research, namely, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. IPA allowed to take the perspective of women who unveiled (Smith, *et al.*, 2009). Although every participant had a different story of unveiling, the common points helped to develop the main themes.

The strongest finding was the positive meaning attribution to unveiling among participants. The gratitude and content about the unveiling experience against all relational

challenges led to an interpretation of unveiling as a self-realization experience and was discussed around the theme of 'unveiling as a self-realization experience'.

Mahler's concept of separation-individuation was utilized to relate unveiling as a separation from the mother in a psychic way (Mahler, 1971). Halberstadt-Freud described two pathological sides of separation from the mother (Halberstadt-Freud, 1998). This study justifies that unveiling might be interpreted as an attempt to separate from the mother. However, the extent of the success of this attempt varies probably depending on the strength of the ego and the life circumstances one experiences. As a participant of this study Canan referred to the continuing nature of the process by saying that she is still unveiling. She meant that she was still separating from her mother. Some participants had problems predominantly with their mothers while others had problems mainly with their fathers. Mother-related problems seem to justify the concept of separation from the mother (Mahler, 1971). Father-related unveiling problems, on the other hand, associates with Dio Bleichmar's foresights on father-daughter relationship where the father sees the seeds of guilt in the body of the girl (Dio Bleichmar, 1995). If veiling is a defense towards that guilt, unveiling exposes it completely. For instance, Dilşat's father did not talk to her for years after she unveiled. It can be interpreted as after the precaution to the danger of provocative look -in Dio Bleichmar's words, has been removed from the daughter side, the father sets his own hedge (Dio Bleichmar, 1995). It is also compatible with Benslama's words that women veil to protect men rather than themselves (Benslama, 2014, p.205).

Roland (1980), compares the individuality observed in India to the West and asserts that contrary to popular belief there seems to be individuality in India. However, separation-individuation from especially the mother in childhood is prone to be inhibited due to the social emphasis on the bond and on the group (Roland, 1980). Individuality takes subtle forms in social

life. Nonetheless, individuality finds its expression through spiritual life where one is free to choose the way s/he worships to God (Roland, 1980). Roland's comparison of expressions of individuality between India and the West might facilitate to comment on the issue of unveiling in Turkey where East and West intertwines even in a geographical sense to start with. Among the participants of this study, there was a strong bond to at least one parent, usually the mother. One participant expressed it literally without any need to comment on: "...It is difficult to be born from the mother. To be born and to separate. That umbilical cord never detaches in fact. Cutting it with one's own hands is a very long process..." I therefore suggest that unveiling could be an expression of individuality; a manifestation of an attempt to separate from the mother; an attempt to complete the unfinished business of early childhood.

Every participant were asked what they would do in case of their (real or imaginary) daughter wanted to veil. Although it did not become a main theme, all of them answered in a liberalistic way that they would accept their daughters as they are. This appears to be another aspect of the self-realization theme where the participants talked about being the same person although others around may see them as different; having pleasant bodily sensations as if becoming one with nature and also expressed gratitude for this experience. This shift in the anticipated or real parental attitude of unveilors is another indicator for the improved sense of individuality mentioned above.

One of the most interesting findings was that most of the participants did confront the headscarf ban and did not unveil full time during the headscarf ban. They unveiled on their own will-power. I attach importance to this because I want to emphasize that the complexity of the process of veiling or unveiling could only be welcomed with such willpower and wish.

The participants talked about the natural process of veiling as it is taken as a tradition in the family. They went to take religious education either in Imam-Hatip school or in Quranic boarding school after primary school which facilitated their veiling at a young age. Although they were veiled in similar ages, the age of unveiling varied between the ages 15 to 47. This shows that there may be several motivating factors of unveiling and that generalizations should be avoided.

There is not a single term referring to the experience of unveiling in Turkish. There is a widely used term meaning uncovering the head or the hair (In Turkish: Başını/saçını açmak) but it is unfounded since a woman has to uncover her hair in daily activities even if she is veiled. The act of unveiling, however, refers to a shift in one's lifestyle or a change in the philosophical stance one stands in. Unveiling, as it is addressed in this study, does not imply compulsory unveiling per se. It rather refers to a preference of a woman not to veil on her own will whatever the reason of unveiling was in the first place. Therefore, I suggest the term quitting veiling (In Turkish: Örtünmeyi bırakmak) to refer to unveiling in Turkish. This study is a pioneer, in this sense, in naming the experience of unveiling. One of the most important contributions of this study is to establish a foundation on which unveiling could be argued in clinical psychological terms in Turkey and in the world.

Read and Bartkowski (2000) suggest that the meanings of veiling are produced through cultural discourse. Taking Turkey's geography and the unique stance in secularism among Muslim countries into consideration, I suggest that the meaning of veiling and unveiling will continue to be produced repeatedly. The participants of this study experienced the zeitgeist where Turkey had an ambivalent stance towards both Islam and modernism. Different aspects of the phenomenon will become visible in the future as we will not repeat, hopefully, any compulsory

unveiling any more. I want to emphasize that any kind of intervention to the female body by the family or by the government, either through compulsory veiling or compulsory unveiling or otherwise have significant effects on the psychic worlds of women which in turn affect the whole society.

Read and Bartkowski (2000) suggest that neither veiled nor unveiled women look down on the other group in their study in USA. One might think that this may be due to their being minority in a foreign country. However, my findings justify that on part of the women who unveiled, the participants respect their veiled sisters let alone looking down. Therefore, I would like to suggest that veiling or unveiling should be considered as personal preferences of women. Moreover, veiling or unveiling should only be discussed among women just like methods of giving birth, or like other womanly issues. From this perspective, this study wishes to contribute to feminist work.

Hirschmann brings forth the importance of cross-cultural dialogue in developing a global feminism (Hirschmann, 1998). The oppression through gender is already global although types of oppression differs according to the context. In a globalizing world, women in the East and the West need to integrate different views about disempowerment of women, presupposing the differences in cultural contexts (Hirschmann, 1998). The problem of the veil provides a productive framework for such an integration work.

According to Hirschmann (1998), it is not clear if women are given more freedom by setting them free to veil as it reinforces the underlying power structure. Hirschmann (1998) distinguishes between external limitations and internal limitations on desire. This study puts forward, in a way, these internal limitations on desire from a psychological perspective. It also helps to clear the view on the misinterpretation between oppression and agency that Hirschmann

states by revealing the oppressive sides confronting women with agency, namely the unveilers (Hirschmann, 1998).

There were distinctions and common points among the participants' experiences. As a common point the intention to unveil usually comes after a quest or questioning. They do not capitulate but acts on their intention to unveil, which unexceptionally brings forth intense feelings. The start of the quest or questioning may depend on different factors, however. The participant who unveiled at the age of 47 asserted that only after her kids went into adulthood, she could start to read. Whereas the participant who unveiled at the age of 15, rather attempted to differentiate as she was aware that she was becoming more and more like her mother. Most of them having been educated religiously, knows Islam better than average person. However, unveiling was not about becoming non-religious or did not appear as a rebel against Islam. It was rather becoming aware of the contradictions between real Islam and the practical way of livings of Islam where it stuck on the culture. They have strong opinions regarding their religions. Therefore, I suggest that unveiling would be an individualized expression of one's spiritual feelings on the bridge of Turkey where East and West unites. If we were to find a factor of rebellion it would not be against religion; it would be against the culture that does not allow individual differences or different interpretations.

The data of this study is interpreted around psychoanalytical concepts. However, it would be possible to interpret it from other perspectives as well. For example, from an existential perspective, unveiling would be interpreted as the unfolding of *uberwelt* or the spiritual world from *eigenwelt* or self-world (Van Deurzen, 2010). Such a stance would also demonstrate the issue in a reasonable way. Nonetheless, the scope of this thesis focused mainly on psychoanalytical concepts.

It was an expanding experience for me to write this thesis both as the primary researcher and as an unweilor. It broadened my scope and I was able to see and hopefully to reflect the varieties of the unveiling experience. Although it was a challenge at times to interview and write, I felt blessed most of the time that I am doing this work. I deeply felt the urge to write this down and I honor my ambition and devotion to the work. It contributed to my growth as a person and as a clinical psychologist both by amplifying the story of 'unheard' women and by expressing my story united with other women's story in a scientific and authentic way. I was able to appreciate different aspects of different stories all of which resonated deeply within me.

Behiye, one of the participants of this study, is an example who experienced a big burden of physical and psychological violence from her parents because of her unveiling. After the interview, she said that she had told all of her story so that her pain should subserve others; that others should not have such pain with the reason that they are sinful. Her benevolence affected me deeply and motivated me to work more. I hope that this work will contribute to whittle down the collective pain of people, whether the source is gender-related or culture-related, beside its contribution to the literature of clinical psychology.

Clinical Implications

One of my friends wanted to unveil in her late twenties while she was in therapy. The therapist gave a homework as to unveil in the street of his office maybe in attempt to use the exposure technique. I was not yet a clinical psychologist at the time but still felt the insensitivity of the approach. My friend did feel it too and unveiled only after quitting therapy with him. This underestimated view of unveiling is not uncommon among different entities of society (Oskay, 2015; Ozkan, 2005a). However, the last place to find such insensitivity would be a clinical

psychologist's office. Whatever the approach a therapist is using, unveiling should be acknowledged as a multifaceted complex experience which gives birth to many hard-to-metabolize feelings and emotions, one of the most profound of which was found to be shame among the participants of this study.

There are different areas of work to keep in mind for a clinical psychologist when working with a woman who unveiled or intends to unveil. The most important aspect would be the family and their responses either anticipated or real and the psychic reflections of these responses on the woman. Different transference and countertransference reactions are possible. If we were to define transference as a recurrence of the early unconscious relationships together with the emotions and bodily sensations it involves in the therapeutic process with the therapist, while working with unveiling we might expect mother issues, specifically separation from the mother to come up as a dominant transference issue. Movahedi and Homayounpour (2012) provide clinical examples where the veil is used as a defense against the symbiosis with the mother/therapist. In case of unveiling as defined in this study, no such defense is in question as there is no veil any more. It is to be expected at this point that this might bring out intense shame and guilt that the therapist must be aware of. Freud (1923) puts forward the inflexible nature of super-ego under the influence of religious teaching. Unveiling is already a psychic work which would be supported by super-ego integration work. The therapist should also watch her/his own countertransference reactions considering the depth of the work developmentally. Unconscious guilt and shame, from the therapist side might be triggered as well as rage and anger (of the patient or of her parents) or any other issue specific to the therapist's dynamics might come out. The patient might try to reestablish the symbiosis with the mother therapist where idealization or other love-related defenses would be utilized. This trial of symbiosis might evoke suffocating

feelings in part of the therapist. When such a cycle occurs, awareness of the therapist is the most reasonable prescription in order to come out of it.

A really neutral stance is needed in terms of the religious (non)affiliation of the therapist. Transference and countertransference issues would also be based on the gender of the therapist and also the veiled or non-veiled status of the woman therapist. Secondary issues to unveiling, such as physical or psychological violence as in the case of one of the participants of this study, may emerge which would be handled in itself by the usual way.

Limitations and Future Research

The major difficulty in writing up the study was the scarcity of clinical and/or psychological work in this field. It did not even have a name. Therefore, I had to utilize studies on compulsory unveiling or headscarf ban in Turkey. Studies on unveiling are from Europe and USA (Fadil, 2011; Predelli, 2004; Read & Bartkowski, 2000). Another major difficulty in conducting the research was the scarcity of unveilors to interview. When I first started to work, I thought that any women who unveiled would be willing to tell her story. However, it was rarely the case. Most of them did not want to talk about this unpleasant experience and therefore I did not have a chance to meet with them. Still, I know that there are other unveilors out there and I hope that this experience will continue to add to their insights.

Another limitation is that unveiling has not yet been a research material for social studies. There are rather reports on how many women started to veil but not vice versa (Konda, 2007). It may be due to the fact that unveiling is not as easily observed as veiling. Unveiling makes a woman anonymous whereas veiling is more noticeable. No matter what the reason is we do not have a quantified number or percentage which makes unveiling worthwhile to work on for other social researchers as well. However, clinical psychology as a discipline has strong tools for

exploring veiling and unveiling in detail as psychic experiences and Turkey is one of the best 'laboratories' in the world to work on where the confrontation of East and West is the most intense.

Unveiling should also be explored from the perspective of the family. There are very few studies that searches intergenerational value transmission in Turkish population (Akyıl, *et al.*, 2014; Phalet & Schönflug, 2001). How the family experiences their daughter's unveiling would also be a focus of curiosity in terms of value transmission. Unveiling from the mothers', fathers' and husbands' perspectives would also be a good point to search on. It would be interesting to understand the viewpoints of each of them.

Case studies related to unveiling is highly required. Compiling the various psychic meanings that are attributed to (un)veiling will contribute to psychological and psychoanalytical studies on womanhood and on the relationship between mothers and daughters.

The participants of this study were all Imam-Hatip school graduates. This was not intentional, that is, it appeared that way. Future studies should explore unveiling as well as veiling in different contexts. This study explored unveiling of women in religious families as a different stance in life. Future studies should also explore the psychic reflections of veiling in non-religious families so that the lens through which we look at the big picture will be widened.

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