

KONDA

Barometer

THEMES

**How Are Ramadan and
Religious Holidays Observed?**
August 2014





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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Theme of the Month: How do we experience the month Ramadan and the festivities?

Both the month Ramadan and the festivities significantly affect the daily life and agenda in Turkey, and therefore, in the theme of this month, we aimed to understand how people experience the month Ramadan and the festivities, their routines with religious services, celebration of festivities and expenses for festivities by looking at the religious services and traditions of Sunnis who make the 92 percent of the adult population.

In addition to the findings on the duration of fasting, frequency of religious services such as night prayers in the mosques, the breaking of the Ramadan fast in the evenings, alms and Islamic charity and eid prayers as well as the frequency of festival traditions such as shopping and wishing merry holidays to neighbors and relatives, also views on Ramadan drums, inefficiency due to fasting, closing down of restaurants that serve alcoholic beverages during the month Ramadan were obtained according to which the most prominent determinations are as follows:

- People indeed experience Ramadan in accordance with their religiousness level. The more religious they feel, the more intense the religious services and solidarity are. However, the frequency of attendance to night prayers in the mosques may be considered as the most obvious sign of religiousness.
- We observe that festivities are more important traditions than Ramadan in terms of social peace because even those clusters that have the poorest connection with religion and religious services intensively celebrate festivities and spend the festivities in traditional form. In this regard, since the uniting force of festivities goes far beyond religion and belief, festivities may serve as an important opportunity for the leaders of the society.
- The number of those who sometimes go for seaside holidays during festivities is about 9 million within the adult population. This number is not scarce yet not as large as it is presented in the media.
- The closing down of restaurants and especially those restaurants that serve alcoholic beverages during the month Ramadan may be considered as the most sensitive matter for the society. It is a pleasant change that the number of those who think that restaurants should be closed down decreased in the past 7 years since it denotes a decrease in the number of those who try to impose their own lifestyles to others. Yet, the fact that Alevis and those with modern lifestyles, i.e. the two clusters that are affected most from such social pressure, object to closing down of restaurants at very high rates and that the Alevis are also fervently against Ramadan drums, should be considered as a sign of suffering from social pressures.





2. THEME OF THE MONTH: HOW ARE RAMADAN AND RELIGIOUS HOLIDAYS OBSERVED?

We conducted the field survey for this month's barometer right after the Ramadan Feast, which was observed on July 28-30th. Ramadan and religious holidays have a considerable impact on everyday life practices and the agenda in Turkey. Therefore, we picked Ramadan and religious holidays as theme of the month with the aim to provide an in-depth understanding of how people observe Ramadan and religious holidays. Given the persisting debates on how conservatism and religion imposes a certain way of life on different life styles, it is critical to address this issue with reference to places of worship, as the stage for religious practice, and as other religious and social traditions.

The theme of the month, which covers Ramadan, the Ramadan Feast and related religious practices, mainly concerns Muslims, or to be more precise Sunni Muslims in essence. This is caused by two main reasons: 1) The sample size of the Barometers only enables the investigation of the religious practices of Sunni Muslims, who make up the majority in society. However, religious practices and types of worships performed or renounced by Alevi Muslims are discussed in the following sections of the report. 2) Since Sunni Muslims compose a substantial majority of society, Sunnism eventually dominates the organization of daily life during periods such as Ramadan and religious holidays.

Due its sample size of 2720 respondents, this research cannot unfortunately cover the beliefs of non-Muslims, atheists and those who belong to other religions and sects, although they play an indispensable role in enriching societal diversity. At this point, it would be useful to remember the distribution of religions and sects that the respondents feel themselves belonging to.

Which religion or sect do you feel you belong to?	Percentage
Sunni Muslim	92.1
Alevi Muslim	5
Other	2.9
Total	100

(Source: Barometer data, 2010-2014, 118.723 respondents)

“Who Are We? Social Structure Research” that we conducted in September 2006 by interviewing 47,598 respondents not only enabled us to gather more accurate findings on small groups, but also made it possible to ask more detailed questions on religious/sectarian belonging, in comparison to the questions we direct in the Barometers. According to the findings of this research, the distribution of the respondents by religion and sect is provided below:



Which religion or sect do you feel you belong to?	Percentage
Sunni Hanafi	81.96
Sunni Shafi'i	9.06
Sunni Other	0.4
Alevi	5.02
Nusayri	0.1
Shi'ite	0.71
Other Muslim	2.1
Orthodox	0.06
Catholic	0.01
Protestant and other	0.057
Jewish	0.013
Other religions	0.04
No religion	0.47
Total	100

(Source: "Who Are We? Social Structure Research", September 2006, 47.958 respondents)

It can be seen in the table that the rate of Alevi is 5 percent, and this rate remained the same since then. On the other hand, non-Muslims make up 0.14 percent of the adult population; in other words, 14 out of every 10,000 people are non-Muslim.

2.1. Opinions on Ramadan

In order to understand their opinions on Ramadan, we directed four questions to the respondents. These questions were about the Ramadan drum, considered an indispensable ritual of the month; perceptions of people who fast and who do not; the impact of fasting on work productivity, and finally, how Ramadan is traditionally perceived among society.

2.1.1. The Ramadan Drum

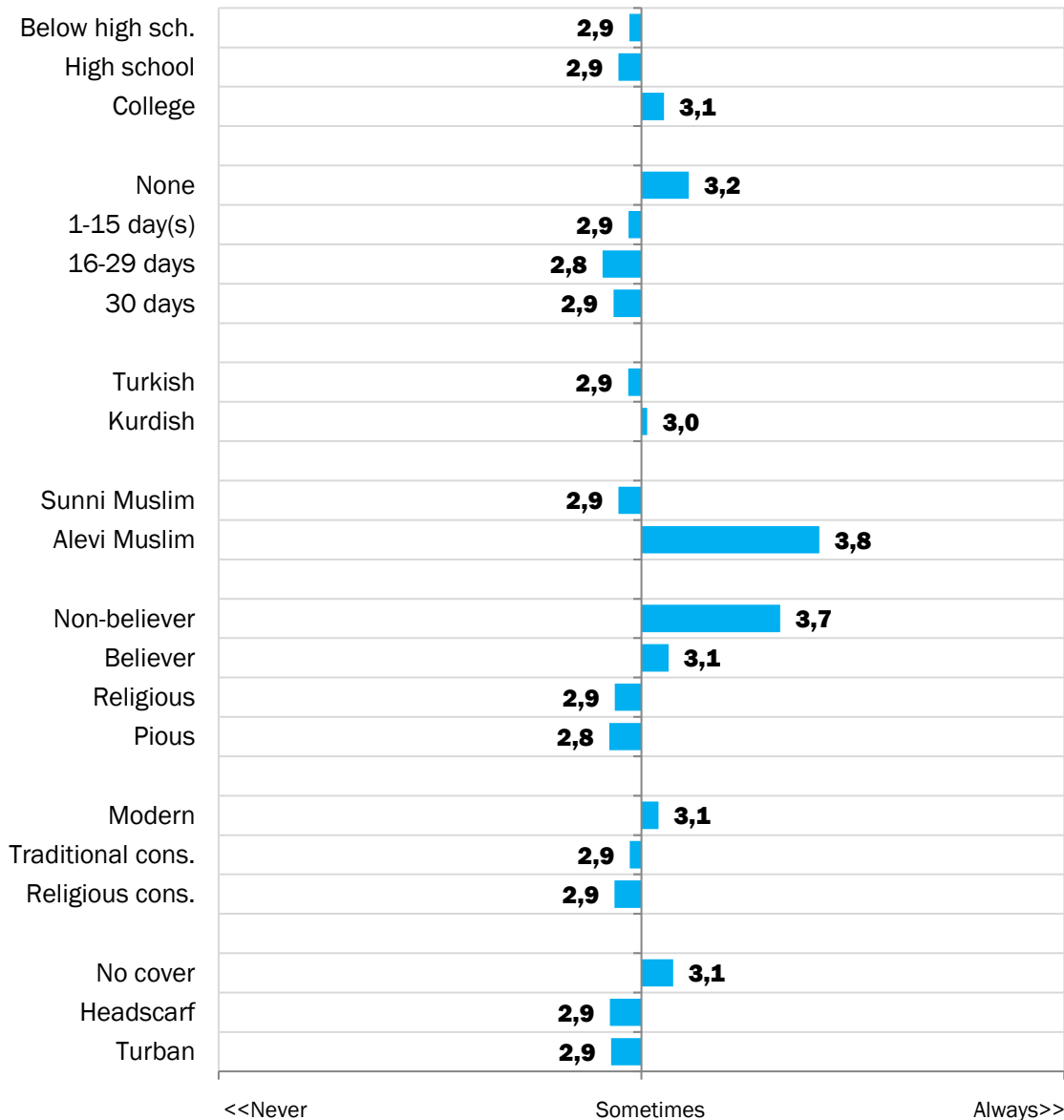
While 41.2 percent of the respondents expressed their agreement with the statement, 'I do not think that the Ramadan drum is necessary anymore, everybody has an alarm clock', 45.7 percent stated that they agree with this statement.

I do not think that the Ramadan drum is necessary anymore, everybody has an alarm clock.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	14.2
Disagree	31.5
Neither agree or disagree	13.1
Agree	26.8
Strongly agree	14.4
Total	100.0



Educational attainment level, lifestyle, degree of piety and sects have an impact on whether the respondents agree or disagree with the statement. The Ramadan drum can be considered as a cultural element more than a religious practice. During the face-to-face interviews, some respondents emphasized that the Ramadan drum practice should be continued on as a tradition.

I do not think that the Ramadan drum is necessary anymore, everybody has an alarm clock.



As usual, it would be misleading to perceive and to assume each demographic group as a whole and homogeneous mass when evaluating the preferences of the respondents under this heading. For instance, a respondent who identifies his/her lifestyle cluster as religious conservative may have a college degree. Therefore, we cannot conclude that all college graduates do not consider that Ramadan drum as a necessity. We



wanted to emphasize the importance of taking this perspective in the assessment of the graph.

Respondents with a college degree and above disagree with this statement as they do with a lot of similar statements. While respondents with secondary, undergraduate or graduate educational attainment do not perceive the Ramadan drum as necessary anymore, others with a lower level of educational attainment take the opposite approach. If we establish the relation between educational attainment level, and professional life and pace of life, it will be easier to understand this difference.

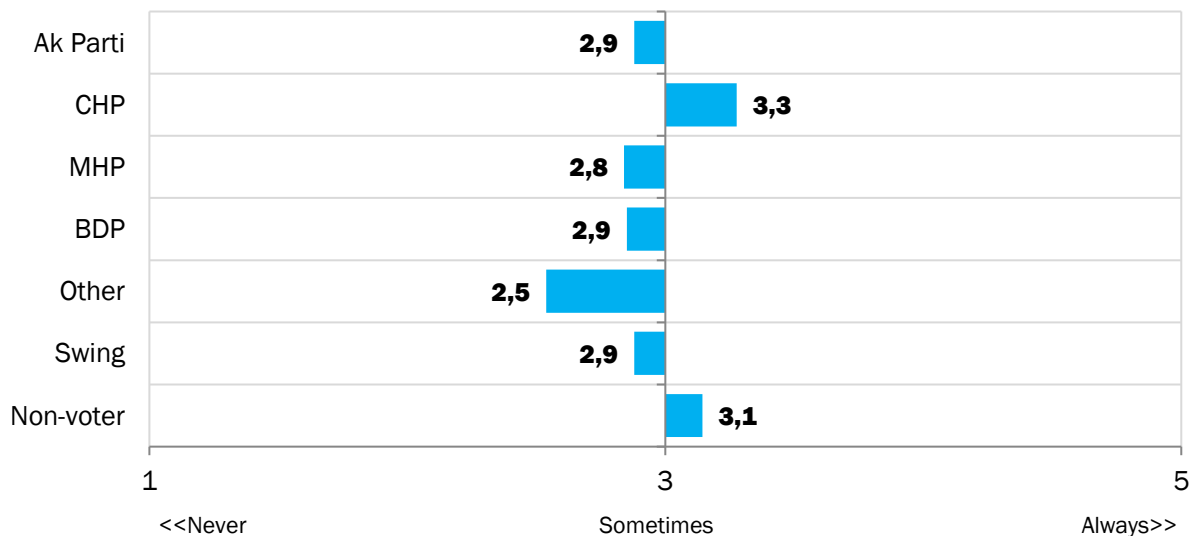
While discussing different viewpoints on Ramadan and the rituals related to the Ramadan Feast, the most significant difference is observed between those who fast and who do not. Indeed, Ramadan does not mean much for some segments of society.

Although fasting is a prescribed religious practice in the Alevi sect as well, fasting is not observed during the month of Ramadan. Therefore, the responses of Alevis about fasting during the month of Ramadan are different than the responses of Sunni respondents.

Similarly, responses by lifestyle and head cover status are easily predictable, since they reflect preferences that are directly associated with religion: While moderns and the respondents who do not cover their head think that “the Ramadan drum is not necessary anymore”, religious and the covered respondents find it necessary.

Political party preferences also reflect the respondents’ perception of and ideas about the statement on the Ramadan drum.

I do not think that the Ramadan drum is necessary anymore, everybody has an alarm clock.





2.1.2. Fasting

Another statement we inquired about was, 'Some people pretend to be fasting while they are not actually fasting'. We have been long emphasizing the impact of social polarization on the political preferences and daily life practices of individuals in our reports. We have already pointed out that the definition of 'the other' emerges not only from the mutual interpretations of people with different political and religious views and different life styles, but also from the critiques and interpretations within the same demographic groups. The below quote from an in-depth interview reflects this conviction more clearly.

Some people pretend to be fasting while they are not actually fasting.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	6.1
Disagree	24.9
Neither agree or disagree	24.6
Agree	33.8
Strongly agree	10.6
Total	100.0

Almost 45 percent of society thinks that some people pretend to be fasting while they are not actually fasting. The responses provided to this statement imply that different segments of society are not indifferent to the fears, needs and realities of 'the others'

"Because of the social pressure, some people are pretending to be fasting, although this is not the case. They do not want to be exposed to moral sanctions, as they may be called non-believers, heretics, infidels etc. Also, their families do not reveal their condition to outsiders. I have such neighbors and relatives. My aunt prepares a meal for her children at home, but she speaks of them as if they are fasting. But when you go to their home, you can tell. I think younger generations behave like this to a greater extent. The youngsters in the neighborhood all wake up before dawn for suhoor, they all go to tarawih prayer; but I see many of them smoking in the backstreets of the neighborhood. But, I think everyone should live as they would like to."

(In-depth interview: 32 – Female - Religious Conservative)

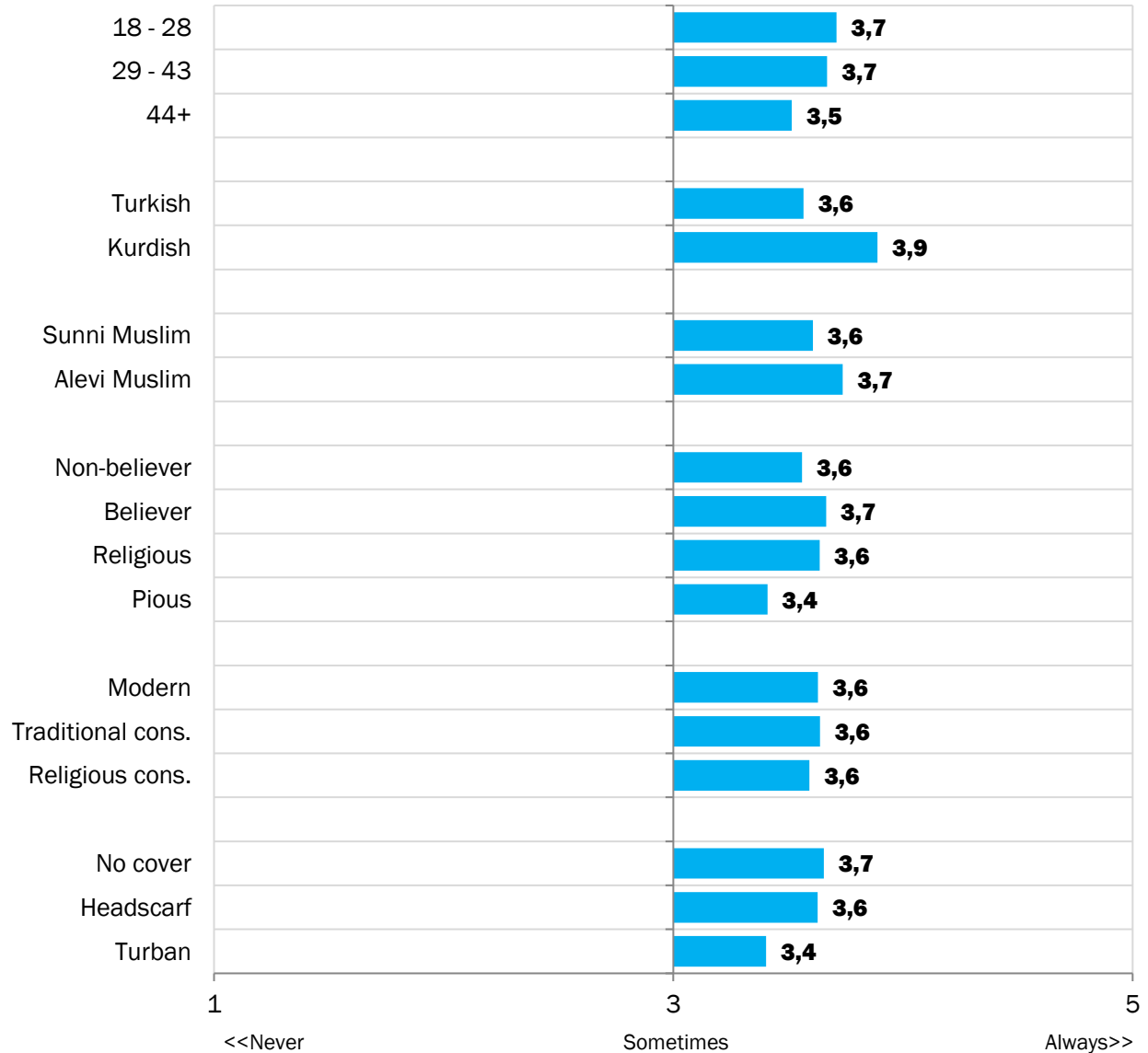
regardless of their political opinions.



2.1.3. Business Life during Ramadan

Two-thirds of the respondents (67 percent) 'agree' or 'strongly agree' with the statement, 'During Ramadan, efficiency at work decreases because everybody fasts'. Also, each demographic group stated that they agree with this statement to a varying extent. Therefore, we can conclude that society agrees on this issue in general.

During Ramadan, efficiency at work decreases because everybody fasts.

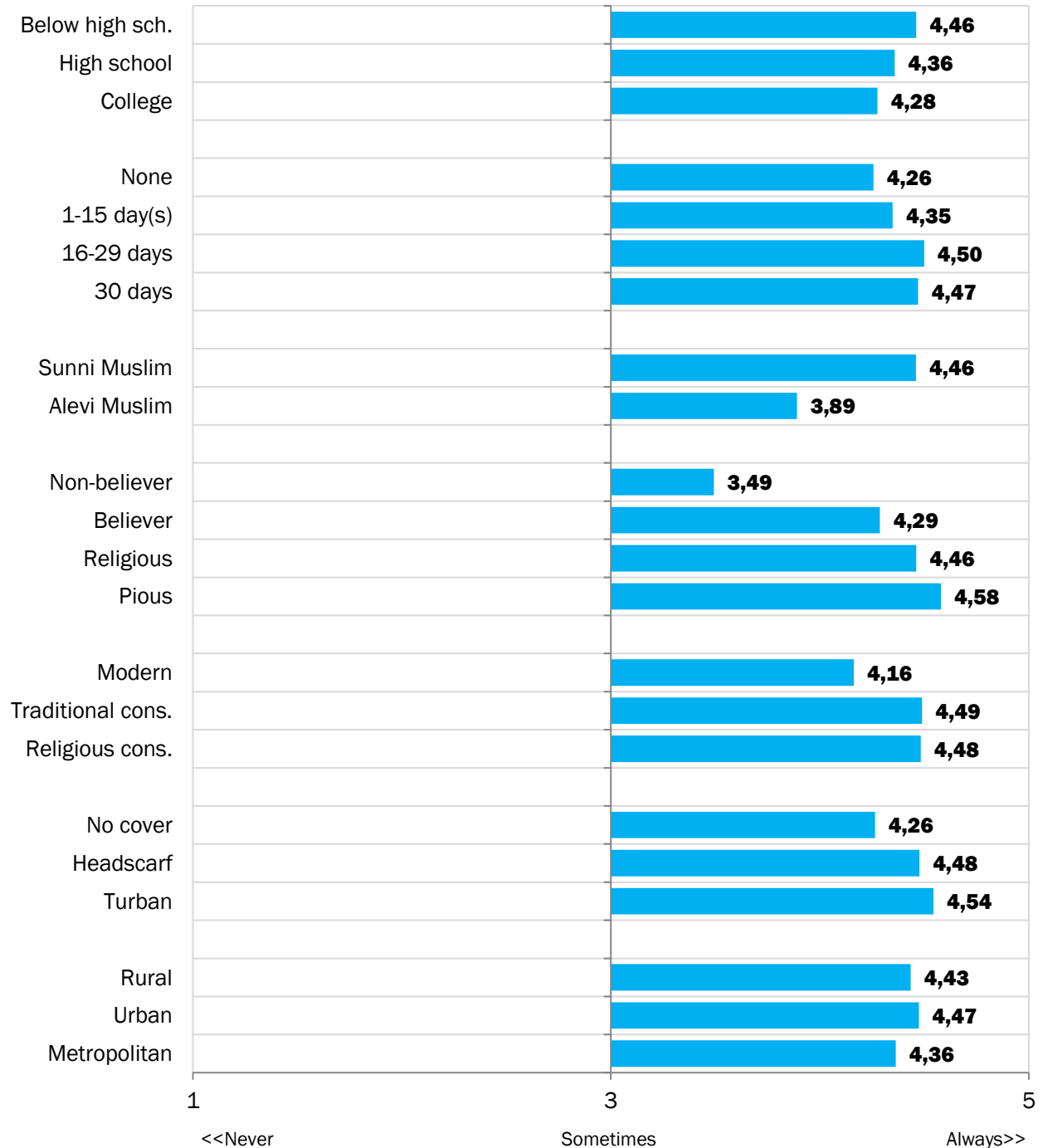




2.1.4. Ramadan, Religious Holidays and Social Peace

This statement shows that nearly all of the respondents perceive Ramadan and religious holidays as the most important traditions in ensuring social peace, including the demographic groups which clearly reflect social polarization in terms of political preference, degree of piety, lifestyle etc.

Ramadan and religious holidays are the MOST IMPORTANT traditions for social peace.



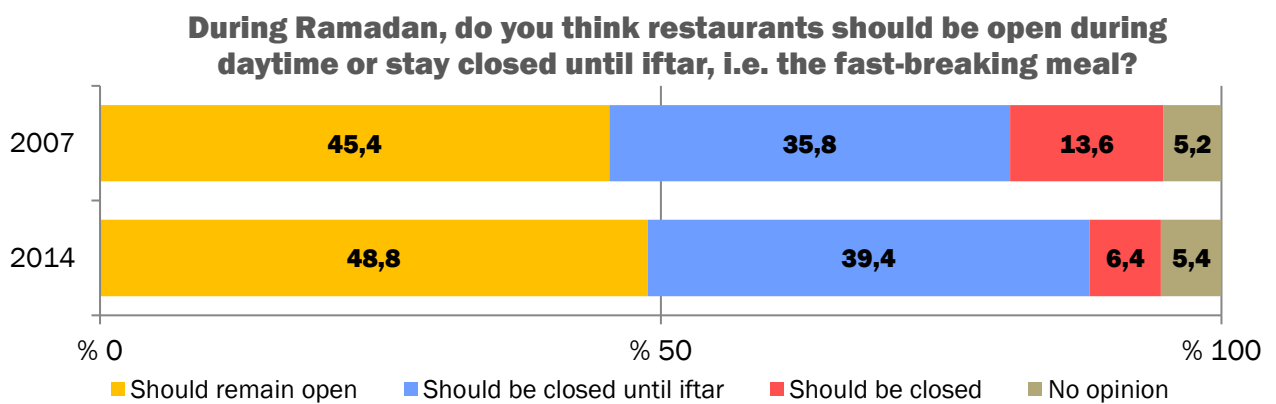


2.2. Restaurants and Taverns during Ramadan

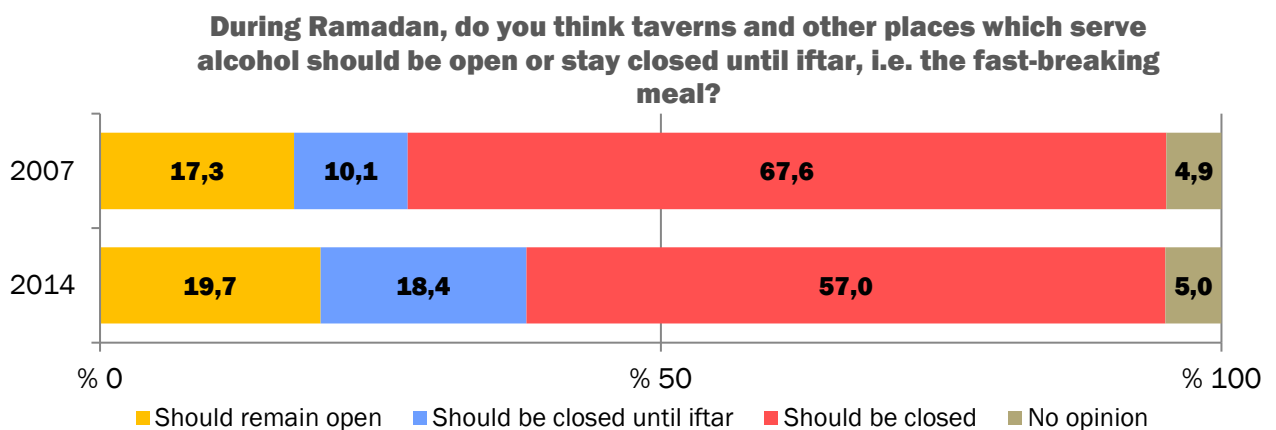
Another important debate, which was on the agenda during Ramadan, was whether restaurants which serve food and taverns which serve alcohol should be open during Ramadan. We directed two questions on this issue:

- 'During Ramadan, do you think restaurants should be open during daytime or stay closed until *iftar*, i.e. the fast-breaking meal?'
- 'During Ramadan, do you think taverns and other places which serve alcohol should be open or stay closed until *iftar*, i.e. the fast-breaking meal?'

The graph below presents the comparison of the response rates given to these questions, which we had also asked back in 2007.

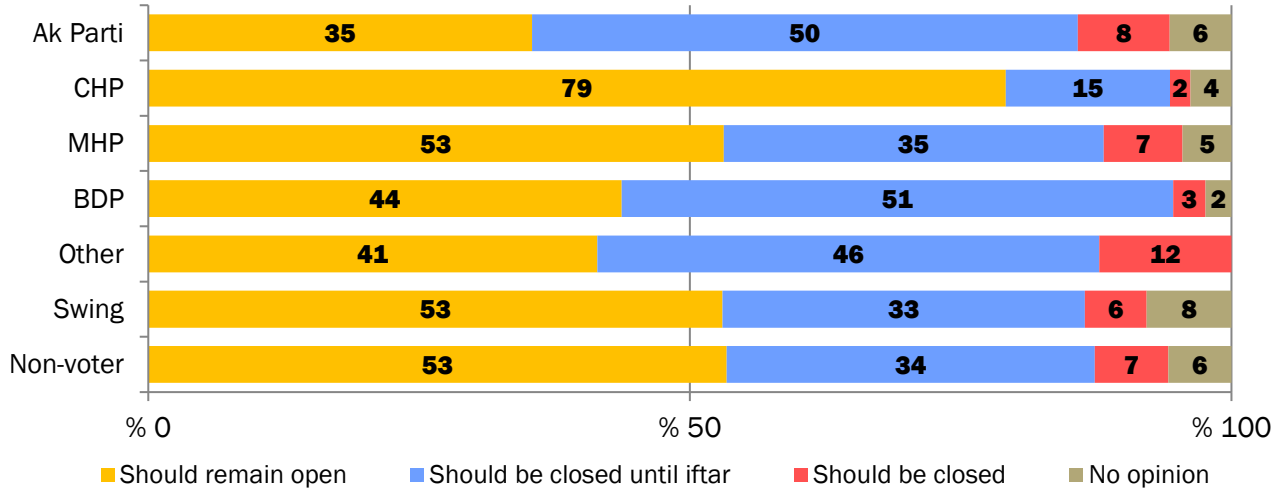


When we compare the results for 2007 and 2014, we can see that the responses are more libertarian; the rate of the respondents who think that restaurants/taverns should be closed during Ramadan declined by 50 percent. We can also observe that the respondents are more tolerant towards restaurants than they are to places which serve alcohol. Although the rate of the respondents who think that places where alcohol is served should be closed at least until *iftar* (8 percent) has clearly increased, the rate of the respondents who think that such places should be closed completely dropped by 11 percent over the last 7 years, and the rate of the respondents who state that such places should be closed until *iftar* increased by 8 points.



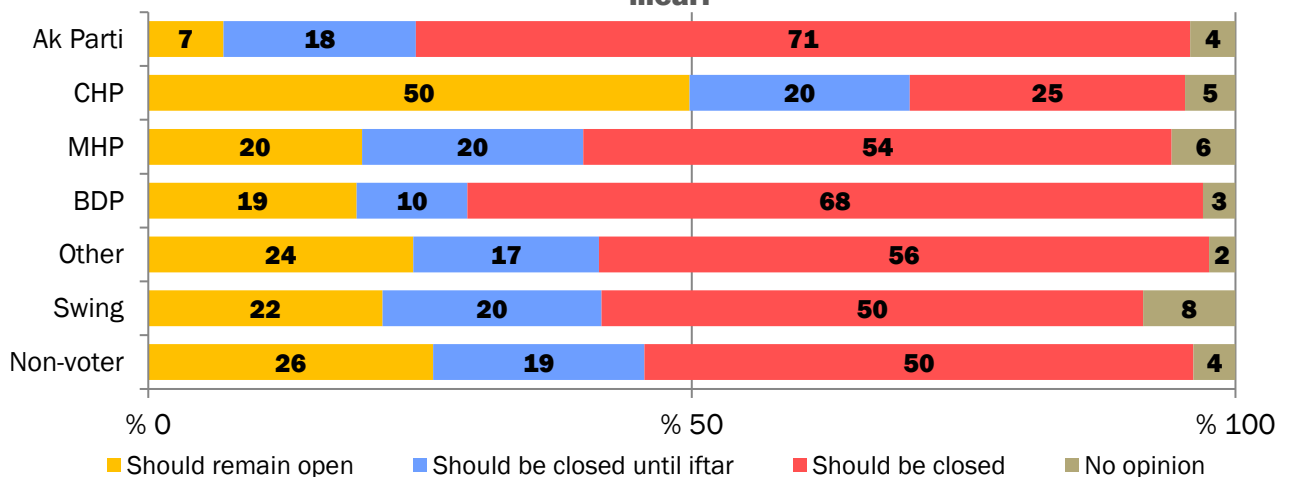


During Ramadan, do you think restaurants should be open during daytime or stay closed until iftar, i.e. the fast-breaking meal?



When we look at the response rates by political preferences, we can see that one fifth of CHP voters think that places which serve food should be open. At 35 percent, AkParti voters show the lowest rate of support for restaurants to remain open during daytime. However, half of BDP and AkParti voters express that restaurants should be closed until *iftar*.

During Ramadan, do you think taverns and other places which serve alcohol should be open or stay closed until iftar, i.e. the fast-breaking meal?



- Young respondents in comparison to elders,
- Respondents who have a higher level of educational attainment level in comparison to respondents with a lower level of educational attainment,
- Moderns in comparison to traditional conservatives and religious conservatives in order,

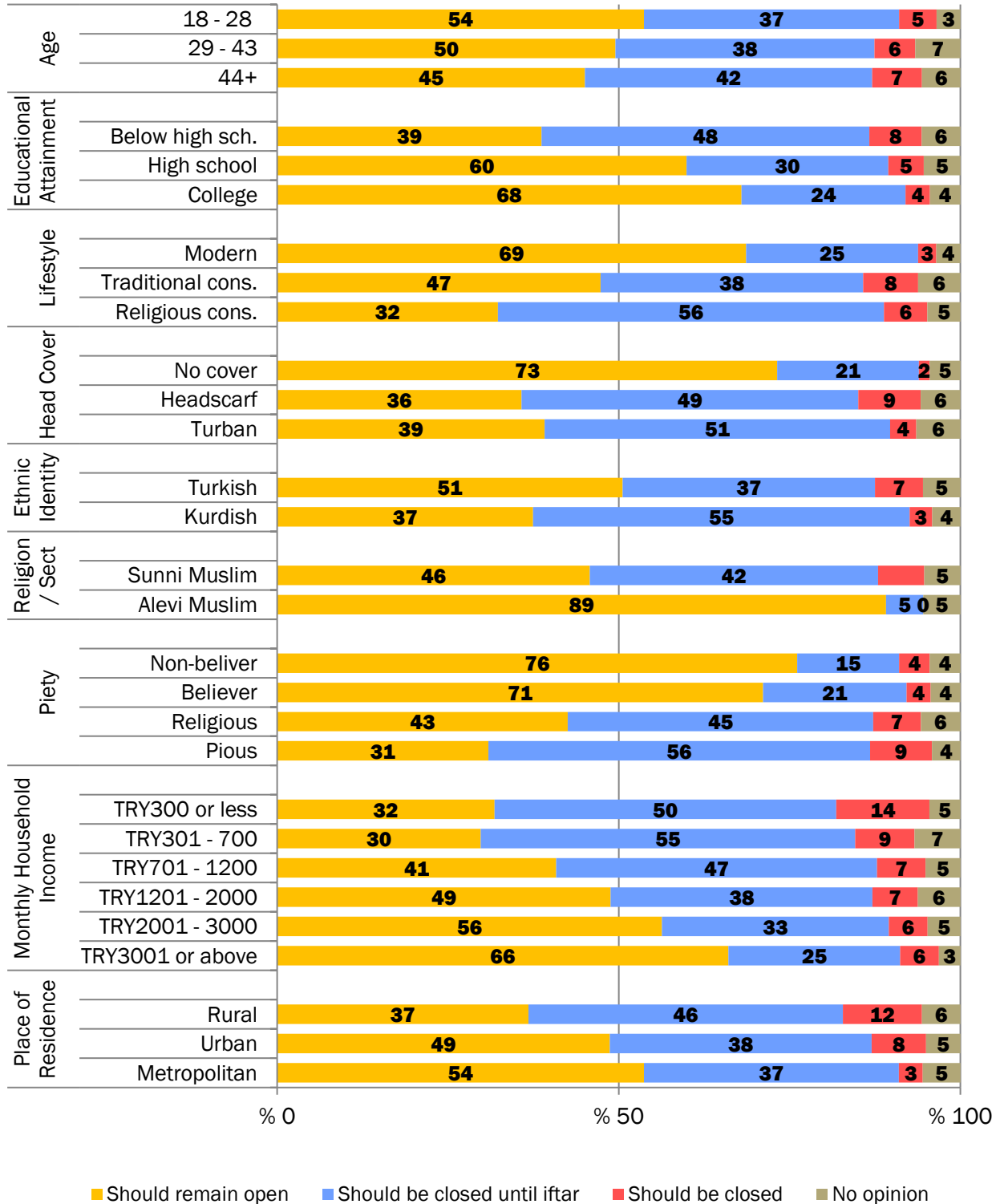


- Respondents who cover their heads in comparison to respondents who do not,
- The Turkish in comparison to the Kurdish,
- Alevis in comparison to Sunnis,
- Non-believers in comparison to believers,
- Upper-income groups in comparison to lower-income groups,
- Respondents who live in metropolitan areas in comparison to respondents who live in urban areas and rural areas respectively, think that restaurants and other food courts should be open during the month of Ramadan.

Similar to their opinions on restaurants, these demographic groups are in favor of the opinion that taverns and other places which serve alcohol should be open and accessible during Ramadan, yet at a lower rate than their support for the restaurants.

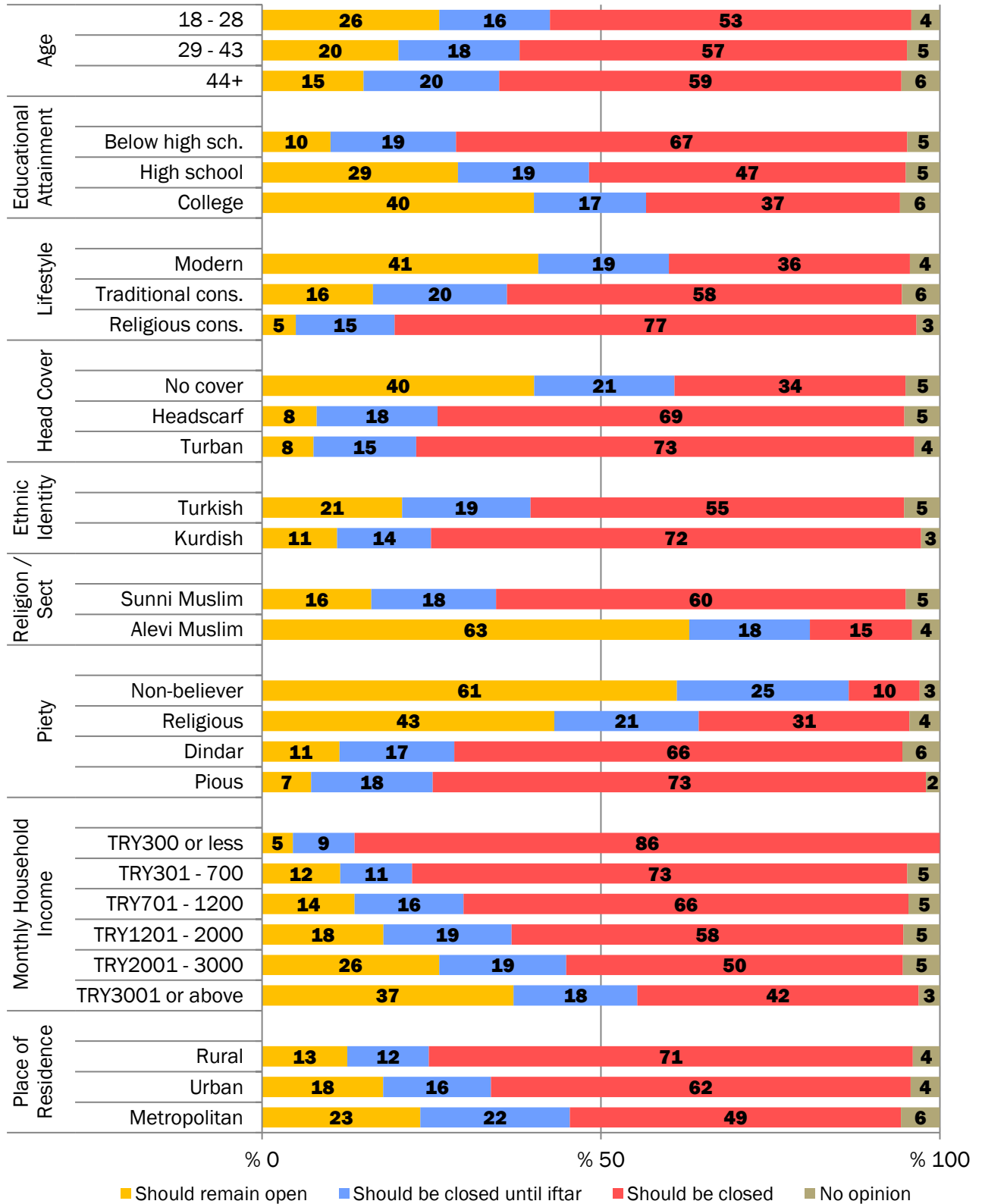


During Ramadan, do you think restaurants should be open during daytime or stay closed until iftar, i.e. the fast-breaking meal?





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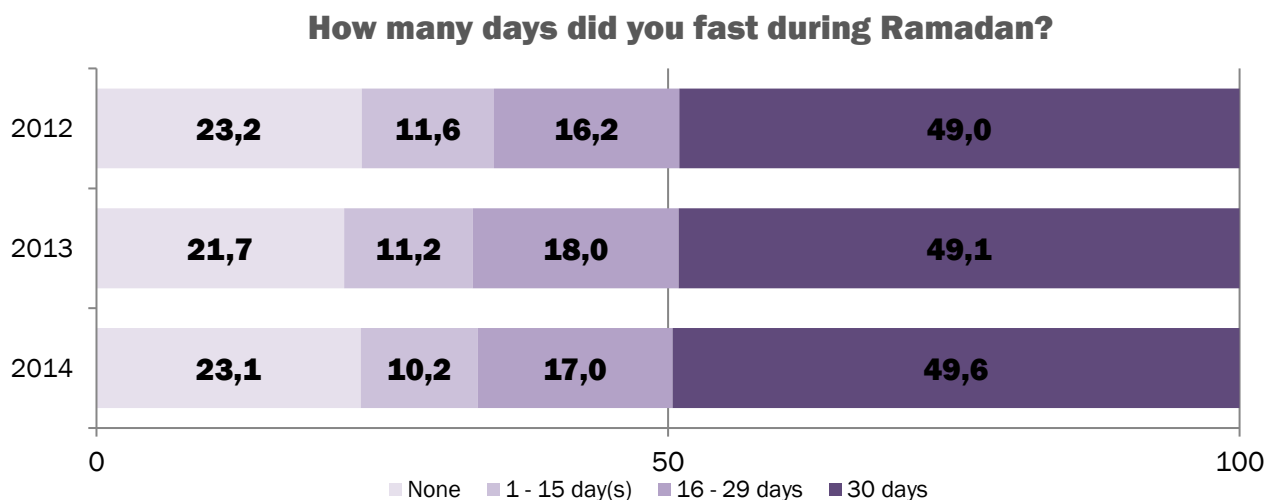




2.3. Religious Practices and Solidarity during Ramadan

2.3.1. The Frequency of Fasting

Within the scope of this month's theme on how people observe Ramadan and the Ramadan Feast, we once more asked the same question about fasting which we have been asking for two years. In the month of Ramadan which we left behind, half of the respondents state that they fasted for 30 days and one fourth of the respondents did not fast at all. Along with these ratios, the average number of days which the respondents fasted (20 days) did not change for two years.



When we look at number of fasting days, we do not see a considerable difference from the profile for the last two years, but there are several predictable divergences.

- Three factors have a serious impact on the number of fasting days: Sect, lifestyle and degree of piety.
- The average number of fasting days among Sunnis is 21, whereas it is 4 days among Alevis. 74 percent of Alevis did not fast at all. We can clearly observe from this difference as to how different religious beliefs are put into practice.
- Those who identify themselves as religious conservatives fasted for an average of 25 (71 percent of them fasted for 30 days). However, the average number of fasting days drops to 20 days among traditional conservatives, while moderns fasted for 14 days on the average.
- The average number of fasting days is 21 among women, and it is higher than the corresponding average among men. Also, the average number of fasting days among housewives is higher than others.
- More populated households lead to higher numbers of fasting days. This is also due to the fact that households of 1-2 person(s) are composed of the retired and moderns to a greater extent than others, whereas populated households are more pious in general.
- The length of the fasting period does not change in relation to the place of residence being in metropolitan, urban or rural areas.
- Although the length of fasting period does not differ greatly with respect to income level, there is a slight decrease among the respondents with higher income. On the

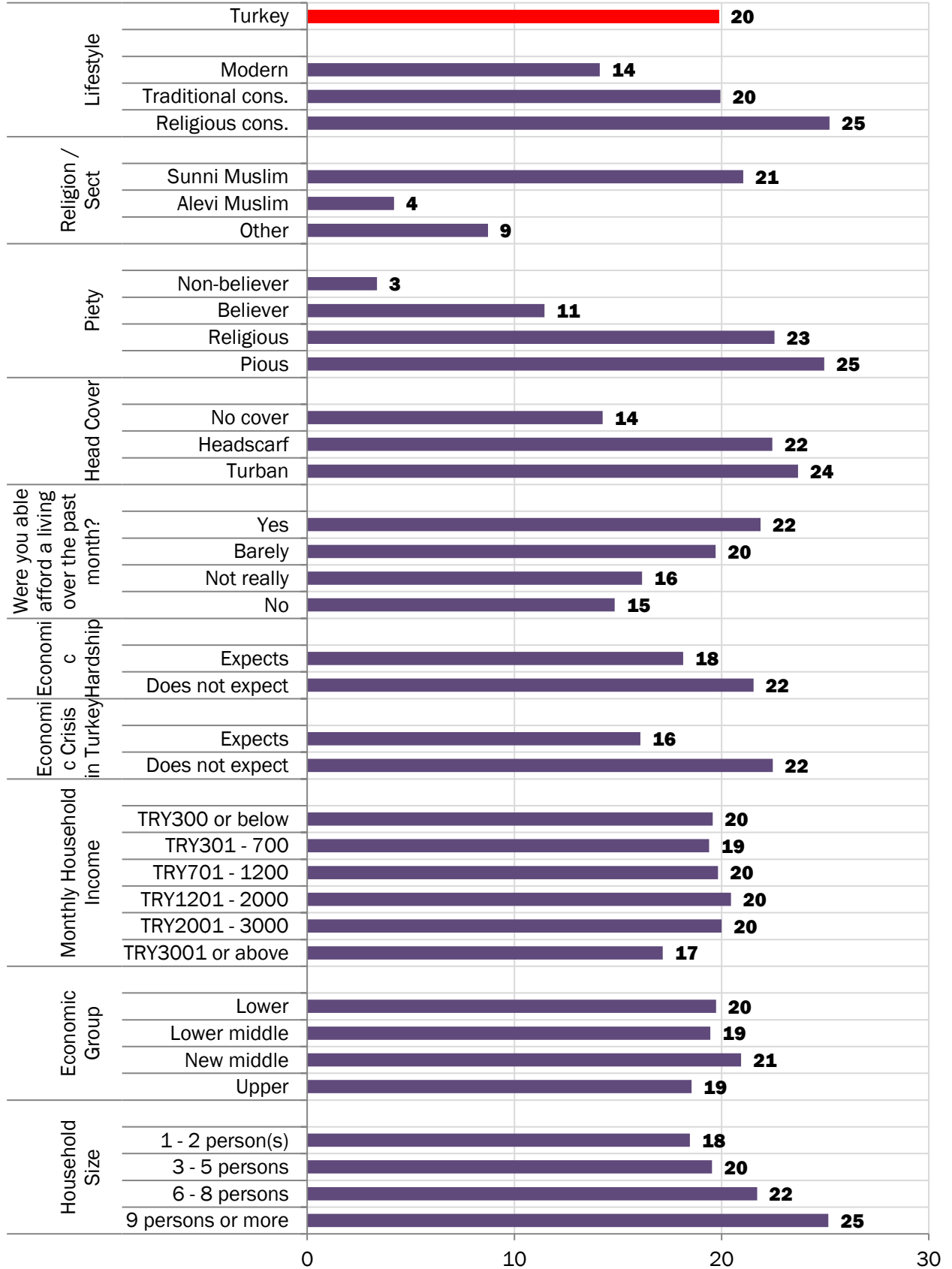


other hand, the fasting period gets longer among the respondents who have a more positive perception of their economic situation and who do not expect an economic crisis. It is remarkable that the new middle class, whose conservative character is often emphasized, fasted for an average of 21 days, which is the longest fasting period among all the groups.

- It is striking to see that level of educational attainment does not have a serious impact: College graduates fasted only one day less than the average.

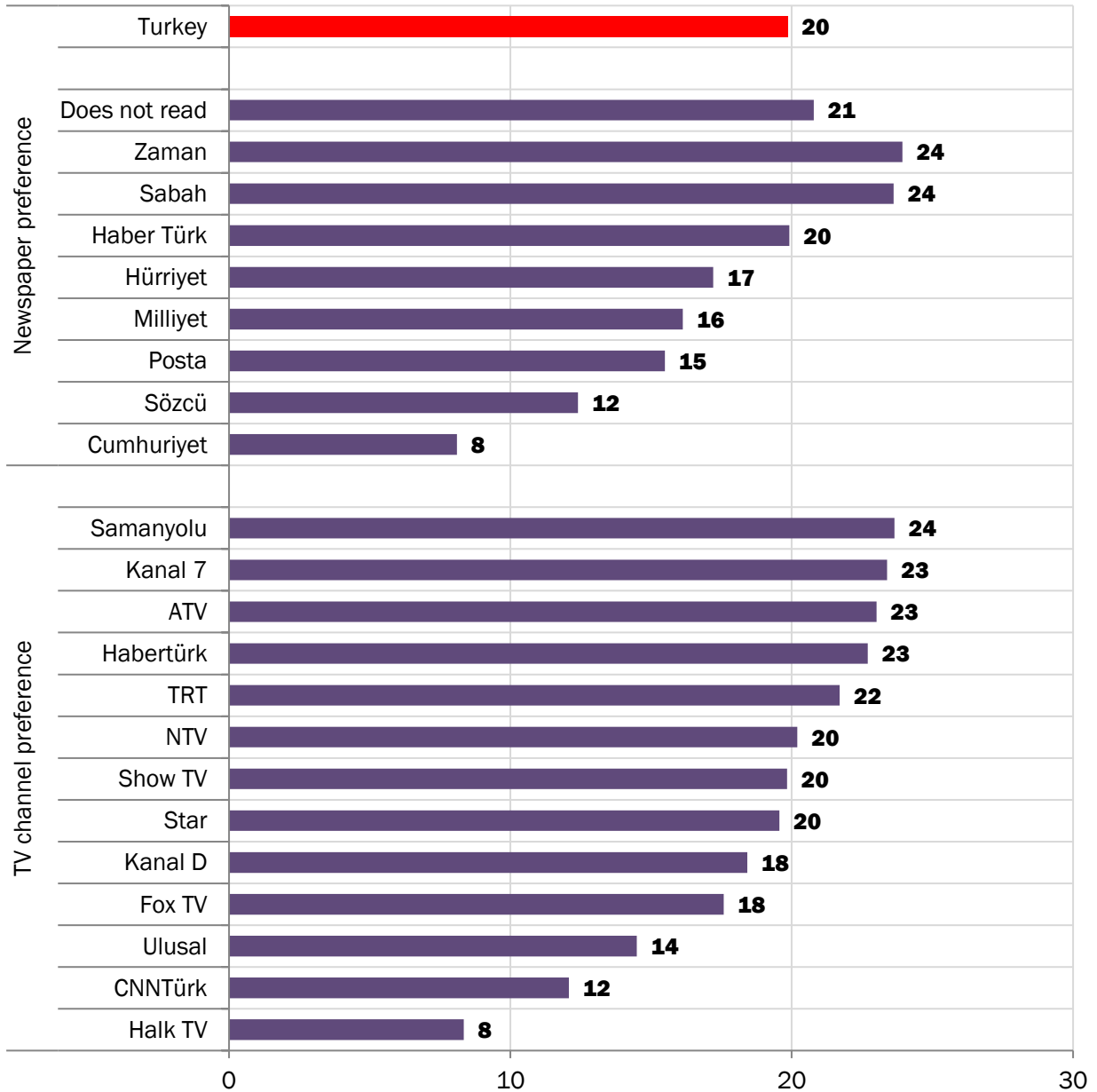


How many days did you fast during Ramadan?





How many days did you fast during Ramadan?



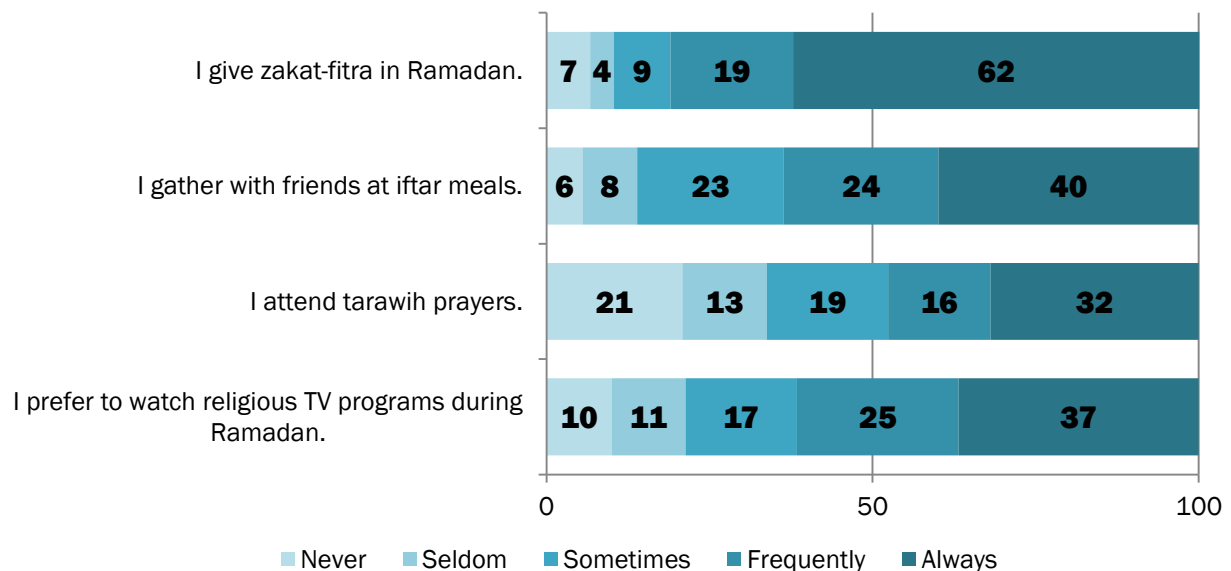
Preference for news channels and newspapers, which is closely related to lifestyles, also provide an idea about the length of fasting periods. While the respondents who follow Halk TV, Sözcü and Cumhuriyet fasted between 8 and 12 days on average, the respondents who follow Zaman Sabah, Samanyolu and Kanal 7 fasted for 23-24 days on average. It is worth noting that even the readers/audiences who are the most secular and the least religious tend to fast for a certain number of days.



The month of Ramadan does not only consist of fasting, but it is also a month of congregation and solidarity, with its own distinctive rituals and prayers. We asked how frequent the respondents practice rituals associated with worship, solidarity and charity, such as giving *fitra* (a special kind of alms given to the needy and the poor at the end of Ramadan), gathering with friends at *iftar* meals, and joining the *tarawih* prayer.

Fitra is a religious practice associated with charity and solidarity that is specific to the month of Ramadan. On the other hand, *zakat* (another religious charity practice given as alms) can be practiced at any time of the year, it does not have to be given during Ramadan. However, we also included it among the questions due to the widespread confusion about *zakat* as an obligatory religious practice reserved for the month of Ramadan.

Religious Practices and Solidarity during Ramadan



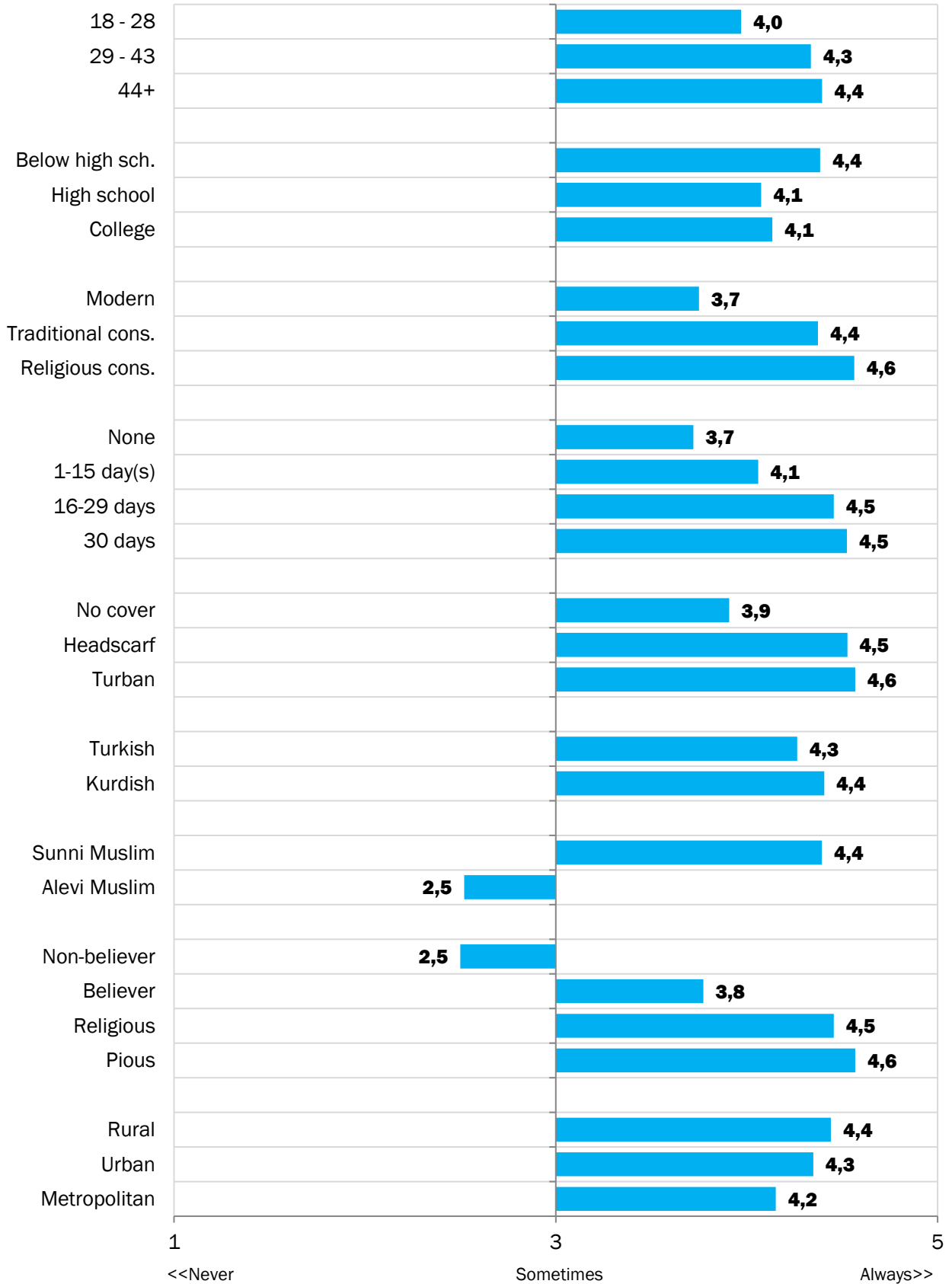
81 percent of the respondents express that they always or frequently give *fitra* and *zakat*, 64 percent of the respondents gather with friends at *iftar* meals, 48 percent practice *tarawih* prayer, and 62 percent prefer to watch religious TV programs.

As it may be anticipated, demographic groups other than Alevis and non-believers perform religious practices, such as giving *fitra-zakat* and gathering with friends at *iftar* meals, at higher rates.

However, demographic groups present very different practices in terms of performing *tarawih* prayer.

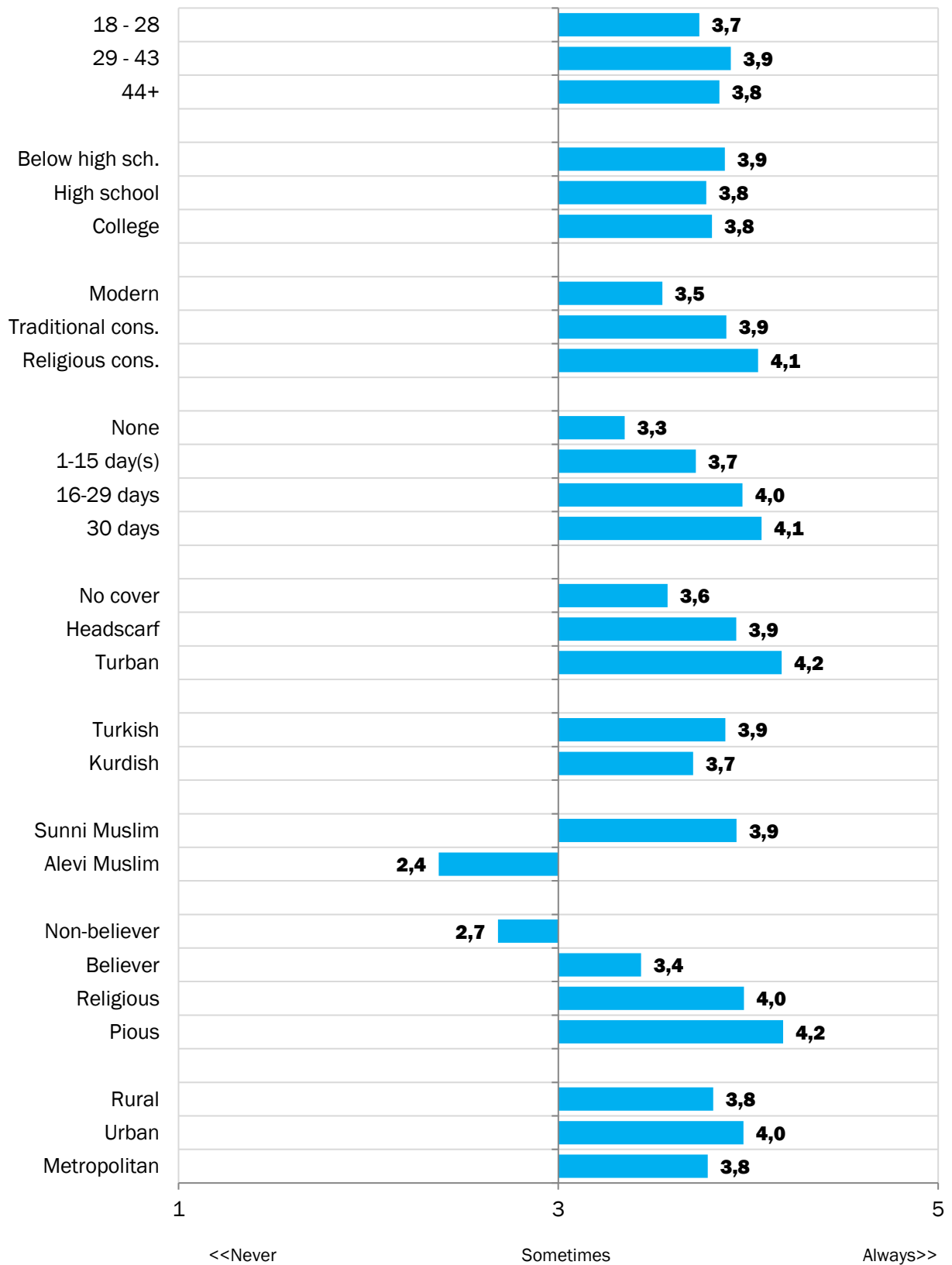


I give zakat-fitra in Ramadan.



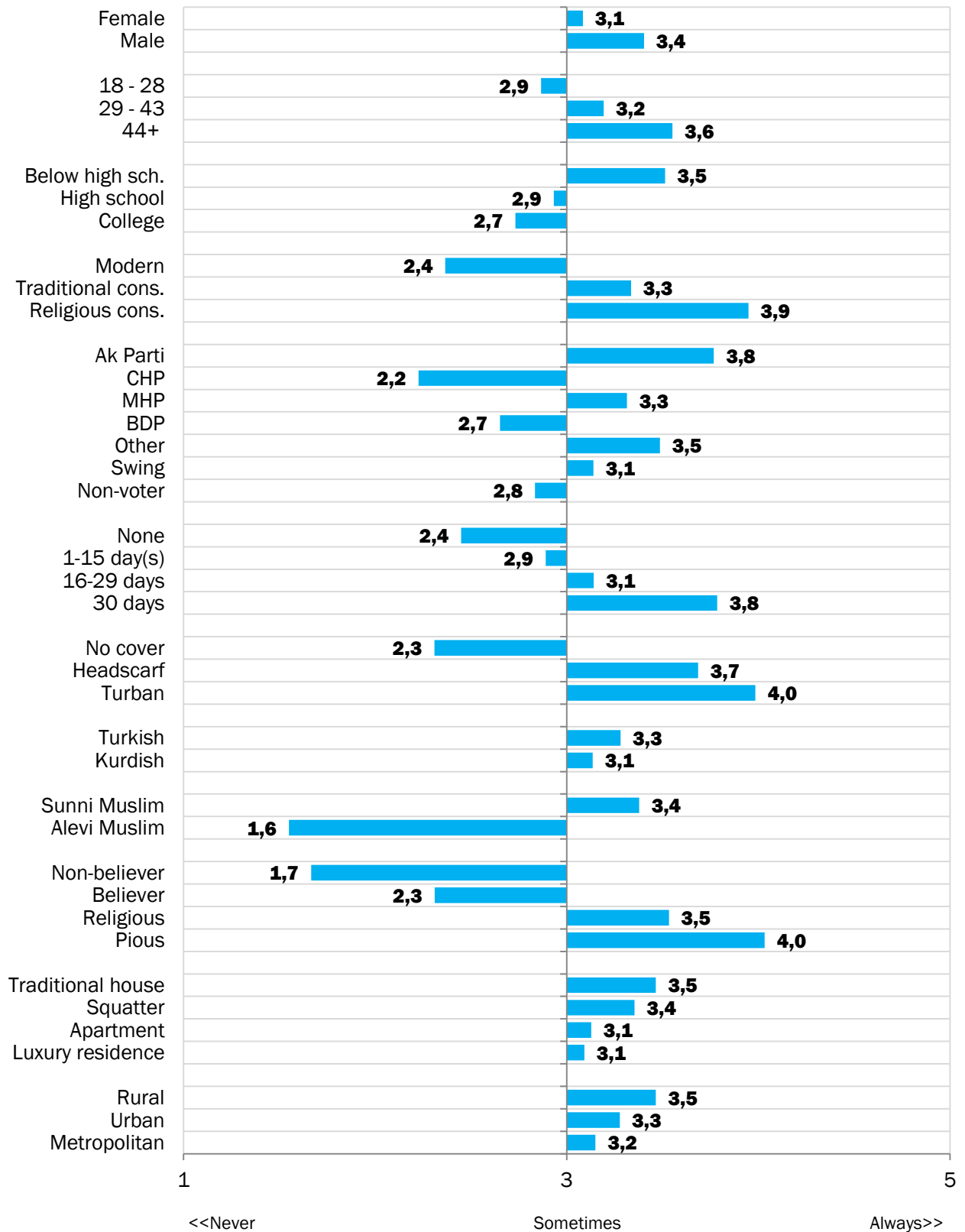


I gather with friends at iftar meals.





I attend tarawih prayers.

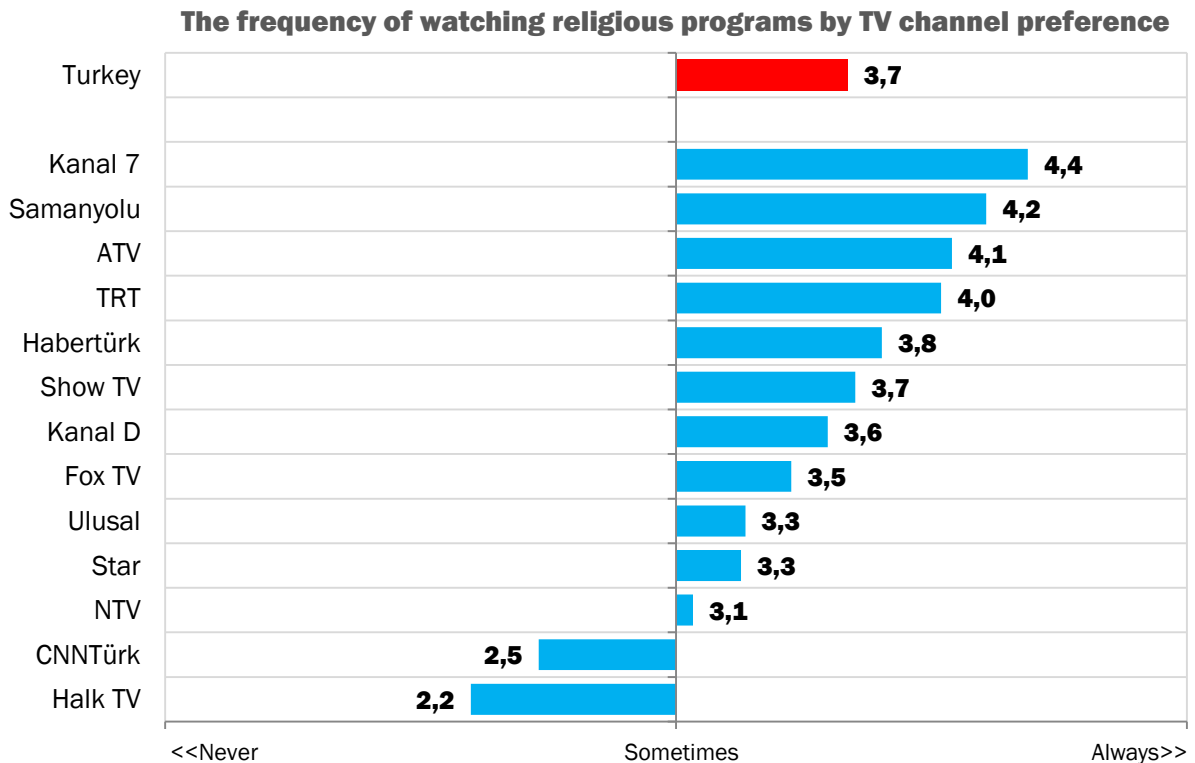




2.3.2. Religious Programs on TV during Ramadan

Three out of every five people in Turkey prefer to watch religious programs on television during Ramadan. Women (especially housewives), citizens with a lower educational attainment level, members of low-income groups, residents of rural areas and of course, the religious watch these programs more frequently than others.

The content of television channels has an impact on the frequency of watching religious programs. The graph below illustrates the frequency of watching religious programs in relation to the respondents' preferences for television channels. However, we should be reminded that these channels are preferred for 'watching news' and, therefore they indicate different political identities. Whether these channels broadcast religious programs or not, or how often they broadcast religious programs were not taken into account.



Audiences of channels such as Kanal 7, Samanyolu, ATV and TRT, which are known to be quite religious, watch these programs more frequently during Ramadan. The rate of Habertürk audience who watch religious programs is above average. Halk TV and CNN Türk audiences follow these programs at the lowest rates, while NTV audience watches religious programs slightly above average.

The distribution of the respondents, who responded to this question as 'frequently' and 'always', provides a better understanding of the profile of the respondents who watch religious TV programs. 45 percent of these respondent are above the age of 44-45; 70 percent have an educational attainment level of secondary school degree or below; half of them follow the news on the channels preferred by the most religious



respondents such as Kanal 7, Samanyolu, ATV and TRT; five out of six cover their heads; and slightly more than half belong to lower-income groups, and they are naturally are strongly religious.

2.4. Ramadan / Sugar Feast

Secularists tend to refer to the religious holiday commonly known as Eid al-Fitr or Feast of Breaking the Fast internationally, which marks the end of the month of Ramadan, as the Sugar Feast (*ŞekerBayramı* in Turkish), while conservatives prefer to use the term, Ramadan Feast (*RamazanBayramı* in Turkish). With the rise of conservatism, this distinction was discussed a few years ago in media and the advertisement world that is traditionally dominated by secularists. According to this month's research, 80 percent of the general public in Turkey prefers to use the term Ramadan Feast, while 14 percent would use Sugar Feast. There are also people who refer to this religious as the Thanksgiving Feast (*ŞükürBayramı* in Turkish).

What do you call the religious holiday at the end of Ramadan?	Percentage
Ramadan Feast	79.8
Sugar Feast	13.7
Thanksgiving Feast	6.5
Total	100.0

56 percent of non-believers, 50 percent of Alevis, and 25 percent of moderns refer to this religious holiday as the Sugar Feast. Indeed, half of the respondents who prefer to use the term the Sugar Feast are moderns.

Thanksgiving Feast is not commonly used within any of the clusters. Compared to the average, it is more common among the respondents who have lower income and lower levels of educational attainment. However, this is not driven by the Kurdish respondents, who use term Ramadan Feast at the highest rates.



2.5. Shopping for the holiday

Religious holidays not only impact people's daily and religious practices, but also increase their expenses, mainly due to shopping in preparation to the holidays. Four out of every five respondents agree with the statement, 'Our expenses increase during religious holidays because we spend more on shopping than usual'. Indeed, two out of every three respondents state that they frequently or always go shopping as a family before religious holidays.

On the other hand, the majority of the respondents do not find it reasonable to get bank loans to finance increased expenses during religious holidays. Only 16 percent of the respondents find it reasonable to get a bank loan to pay for religious holiday related expenses. Moreover, the respondents whose expenditures increase during such periods, compose the majority (79 percent) of those who are against getting bank loans.

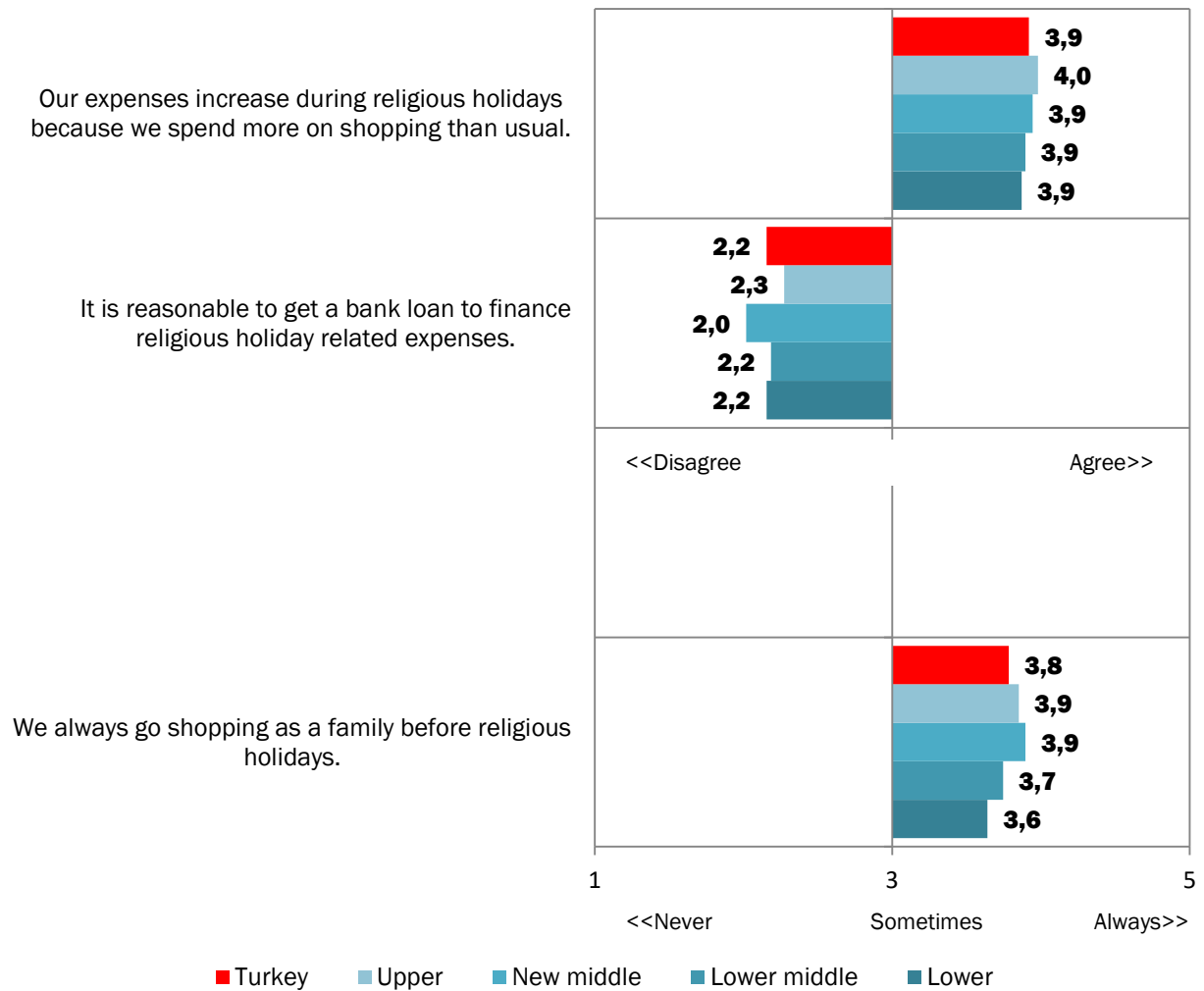
Our expenses increase during religious holidays because we spend more on shopping than usual.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	1.6
Disagree	10.6
Neither agree or disagree	7.8
Agree	56.2
Strongly agree	23.9
Total	100.0

We always go shopping as a family before religious holidays.	Percentage
Never	6.8
Seldom	9.5
Sometimes	21.0
Frequently	25.4
Always	37.3
Total	100.0

It is reasonable to get a bank loan to finance religious holiday related expenses	Percentage
Strongly disagree	26.9
Disagree	45.2
Neither agree or disagree	11.6
Agree	14.3
Strongly agree	2.0
Total	100.0



Shopping for the Religious Holiday



Families with higher household income and class tend to do more shopping for religious holidays, and therefore, their religious holiday related expenses are higher. The frequency of shopping for religious holidays presents a similar increase. Although the same relation is not clearly observed for the statement on getting a bank loan to finance religious holiday related expenses, it could be deemed significant that the new middle class is against the use of bank loans at a higher rate.

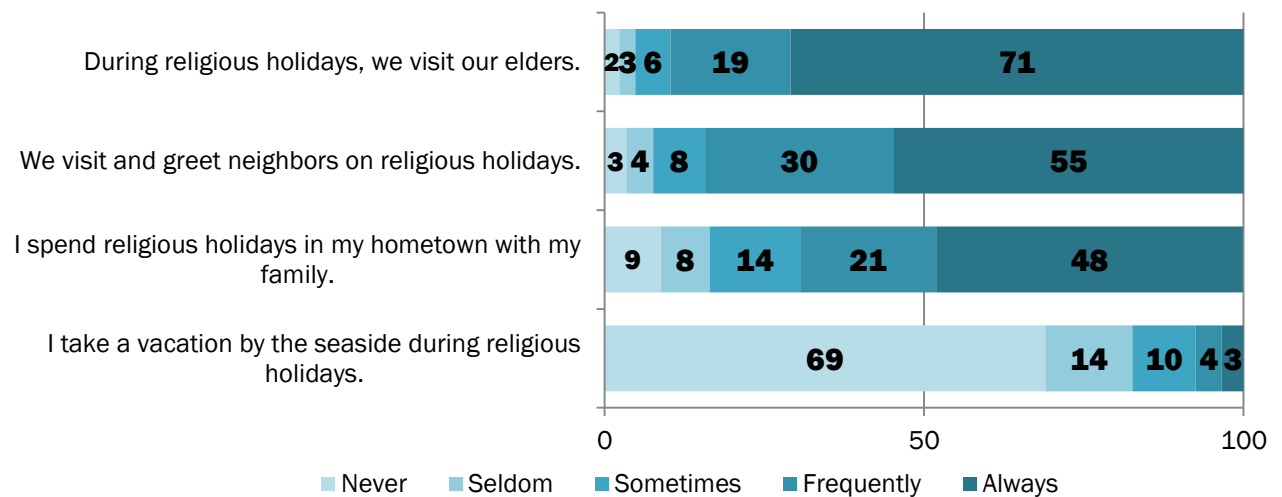


2.6. Visits, Greetings and Going on a Vacation during Religious Holidays

The findings of the research demonstrate that greeting one another and visiting the elders of the family during religious holidays are very important rituals for the entire society in Turkey. Thus, 90 percent of the general public frequently or always visit the elders of their families and kiss their hands as a sign of respect. 85 percent of the general public frequently or always exchange greetings with their neighbors during religious holidays. In addition, spending religious holidays with one's extended family at one's hometown is customary for the majority of society.

Religious holidays are also considered as opportunities to take vacations and to enjoy the beach. However, only 8 percent take vacations by the sea during the religious holidays. If we also add the 10 percent who responded to the question as 'sometimes', the total number of the respondents who go on a vacation in coastal areas during religious holidays reaches 9 million among the adult population.

Customs practiced during religious holidays



Customs practiced during religious holidays are mostly affected by the respondents' places of residence and lifestyles. People who live in rural areas exchange greetings with the elders of family and neighbors more frequently, and they stay in their hometowns to a greater extent. On the contrary, the hold of such customs and rituals on society is weaker in metropolitan areas, and the number of people who take vacations by the sea is higher. We can clearly observe the impact of the place of residence on respondents who live in İstanbul, and particularly among those who were born in İstanbul. Lifestyle is also influential: Religious conservatives perform these rituals more frequently; moderns also perform them to a great extent, but less frequently and they are more inclined to take a vacation during religious holidays.



2.7. Sacrifice

Are you planning to sacrifice on the Feast of the Sacrifice (KurbanBayramı)?	Percentage
Yes	57.1
I will decide according to my financial situation.	28.7
I will not perform sacrifice in the upcoming Feast of the Sacrifice.	7.0
I will not, but I will donate money to charities.	1.8
I/we do not practice sacrifice.	5.3
Total	100.0

In this month's research, we asked questions about Ramadan and the Ramadan/Sugar Feast, right after the latter was observed on July 28-30th. We also asked the respondents whether they are planning to sacrifice on the Feast of the Sacrifice or not. Slightly more than half of society is planning to sacrifice, whereas one third of the respondents stated that they would decide according to their financial situation. The rate of respondents who do not follow the custom of sacrifice is around 5 percent.

2.8. How Different Groups Observe Ramadan and the Ramadan Feast.

Most of the questions we asked within the scope of this month's theme were intended to assess the customs, opinions and rituals of Sunni Muslims. As a matter of fact, a substantial part of these questions proved to be irrelevant for Alevi and non-Muslim respondents. According to the survey findings, Alevis compose 5 percent of the adult population (5.5 percent in this research)¹. Unfortunately, the sample size of the survey does not allow non-Muslims to be taken into account since they are very few in number. Non-Muslims are grouped under the category of 'others' along with Muslims who belong to other sects of Islam such as Caferis and the respondents who identify themselves as atheists (1.8 percent in this research).

Nevertheless this survey presents a clear picture of Alevi citizens' relation to Ramadan and the Ramadan Feast. While most of the Sunni religious practices and rituals do not mean much for Alevis, we can also observe some of the practices are also shared by the Alevi tradition.

This section addresses the question of how groups with different life styles, men and women, and the individuals with different degrees of piety differentiate from each other.

¹The rate of Alevis among the adult population is calculated by using the rate of the respondents who state that they are Alevis to the poll taker. The rate of Alevis could be higher and some of the respondents may have refrained from revealing their sect; however, there is no scientific study on the actual size of the Alevi population.



2.8.1. Alevi: Expectation of Respect for Diversity

Before looking at how they observe Ramadan and the Ramadan Feast, we would like to remind the demographic profile of Alevi. They are younger and more educated than the average. 62 percent of Alevi identify themselves as moderns, and they make up 14 percent of the moderns. Two thirds of Alevi women do not cover their heads. The rate of Alevi women who are employed is above the average. Only one third of them identify themselves as religious or pious. Although they have higher income and enjoy slightly more luxurious housing (mainly apartment flats), they are worried about the future of the economy. Their political stance is very clear: 77 percent of Alevi vote for CHP, and they compose one fourth of CHP voters. 21 percent of Alevi follow the news on Halk TV.

It is possible to observe that Alevi perform very few of the rituals during Ramadan. Although the Ramadan Feast is a part of their daily life, they do not attach as much importance to it as Sunnis do. Moreover, they have a very clear opinion on issues such as the Ramadan drum or the sale of alcohol during Ramadan, where the majority opinion could be considered as an imposition on people with different religious beliefs

While 74 percent of the Alevi respondents did not fast at all, only 7 percent fasted for 30 days. 40 percent of the Alevi respondents did not give *fitra* or *zakat*, while 29 percent stated that they always or frequently give *fitra* or *zakat*. On the other hand, Alevi have quite different customs than Sunnis, 85 percent of whom stated that they give *fitra-zakat*. 39 percent of Alevi do not gather with friends at *iftar* meals, and 73 percent do not attend *tarawih* prayers and or religious holiday prayers. Only 18 percent of Alevi watch religious TV programs during Ramadan.

While 41 percent of the all respondents think that the Ramadan drum is not necessary in general, 70 percent of Alevi agree that the drum is not necessary. The opinion that people pretend to be fasting is more prevalent among Alevi, but the difference is not significant. Similarly, the rate of Alevi who agree that fasting decreases efficiency at work is 7 points higher than the average.

Alevi are sensitive about the closure of restaurants during Ramadan: 89 of Alevi think that all restaurants should be open during Ramadan, while 63 percent think that restaurants which serve alcohol should remain open. The difference becomes clearer when we compare the response rates provided by Alevi to those provided by Sunnis (45 and 16 percent, respectively). Only 15 percent of Alevi think that restaurants which serve alcohol should be closed during Ramadan.

It is possible to observe that the Ramadan Feast is more important for Alevi than the month of Ramadan. Three fourths of Alevi consider Ramadan and the religious holidays as the most important rituals contributing to social peace. Only 8 percent of them disagree with this statement. In other words, they also attach importance to Ramadan and the Ramadan Feast; however, not as strongly as Sunnis.

Half of Alevi call the religious holiday at the end of the Ramadan month the Ramadan Feast, and the other half uses the term the Sugar Feast. Similar to the respondents in



general, the expenses of Alevi respondents increase during the Ramadan Feast and their opinions on getting bank loans to pay for increased expenses is not different. In Turkey, 63 percent of the general public goes shopping for religious holidays, while this rate is 48 percent among Alevis.

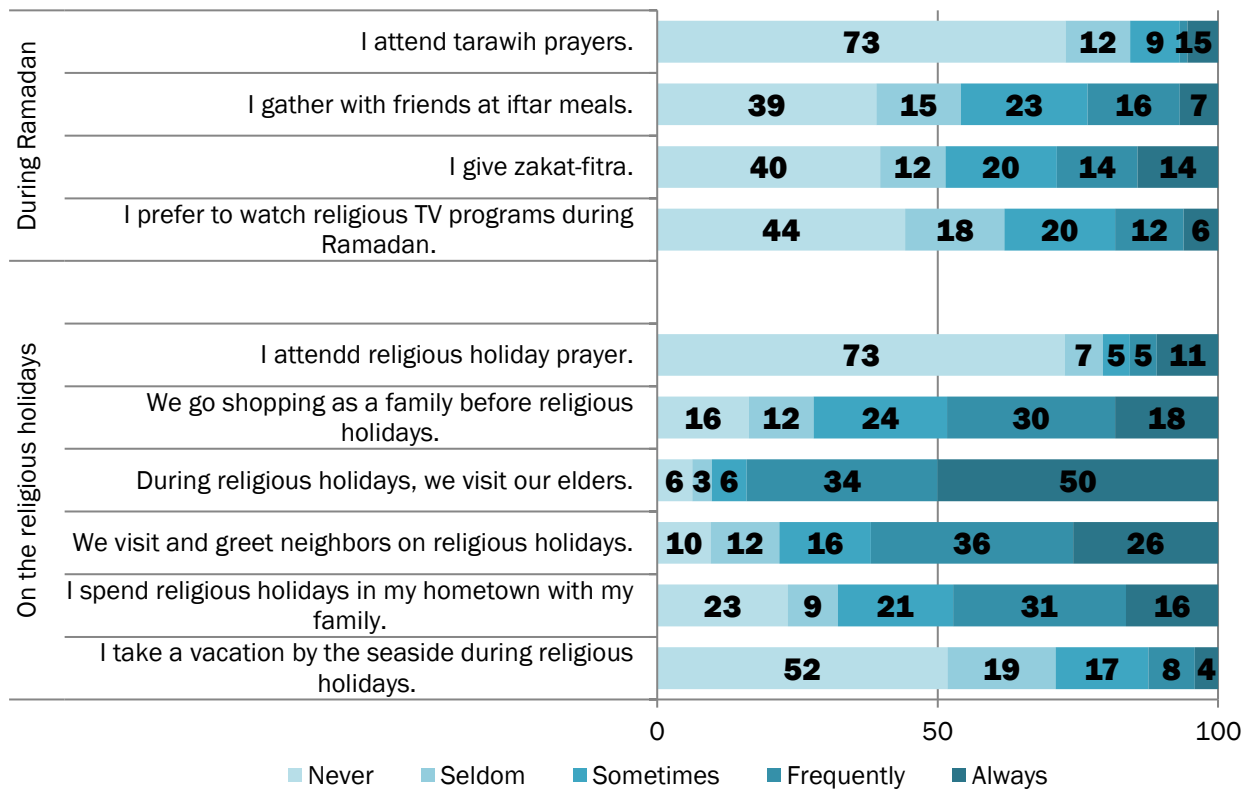
Rituals such as kissing the hand of one's elders as a sign of respect, exchanging greetings with neighbors and visiting one's hometown are practiced by half of Alevis during the religious holidays. However, this rate is remarkably lower than that of Sunnis. The rate of Alevi respondents who go on a vacation is 12 percent, which is 5 points higher than the country-wide average.

Sacrifice is not a common religious practice among Alevis. 27 percent of Alevis emphasized that "they do not sacrifice".

During religious holidays, we visit our elders and kiss their hands as a sign of respect.	Religion / Sect		
	Sunni Muslim	Alevi Muslim	Turkey
Never	2	6	2
Seldom	2	4	3
Sometimes	5	6	6
Frequently	18	34	19
Always	72	50	71
Total	100	100	100



Ramadan and religious holidays among Alevis



2.8.2. Moderns: Still Attached to Traditions

There are three lifestyle clusters with members who think and behave differently on most issues. Although these clusters diverge from each other with respect to religious practices, we can observe that their opinions on religious practices are indeed not much different from each other. In this section, we will not address traditional conservatives, whose religious practices and customs during Ramadan and the Ramadan Feast are not very different from the general profile of society in many respects. Instead, we will analyze 'moderns' who are known to have a weaker relationship with religion and 'religious conservatives'.

39 percent of modern respondents did not fast at all, while 30 percent fasted for 30 days. In comparison to the 64 percent of the respondents who gather with friends at *iftar* meals, 55 percent of moderns always or frequently join *iftar* meals with their friends. Compared to the country-wide rate of 47 percent, only 22 percent of moderns attend *tarawih* prayers. 40 percent of moderns never attend *tarawih* prayers. This rate is 5 times the rate of religious conservatives who do not go to *tarawih* prayers. 65 percent of moderns give *zakat* and *fitra*, in comparison to the country-wide average of 81 percent who perform this religious practice. 34 percent of moderns watch religious television programs, and the corresponding rate among the general public is 62 percent. Including those who make their decision according to their financial situation at the time, 75 percent of moderns are intending to perform sacrifice. In summary, although they do not fulfill religious requirements to the same extent as the rest of



society, it is not possible to claim that moderns are completely disconnected from religious practices and rituals.

46 percent of moderns think that the Ramadan drum is not necessary; this rate is 5 points higher than the country-wide average of 41 percent. 86 percent of moderns consider Ramadan and the Ramadan Feast as the most important rituals contributing to social peace, and this rate is 7 point lower than the country-wide average of 93 percent. The rate of moderns who think that there are people pretend to be fasting and who think that fasting decreases efficiency at work are at similar rates to the country-wide average. In other words, lifestyle difference does not seem to have led to a remarkable divergence of opinion. However, the question of whether restaurants should be closed during Ramadan is of crucial importance for moderns. 69 percent of moderns think that restaurants should not be closed during Ramadan, while 41 percent think that restaurants which serve alcohol should remain open. The latter is twice the country-wide average.

Compared to Ramadan, moderns observe the Ramadan Feast in a more similar fashion with respect to the rest of Turkey. Nevertheless, it can be stated that moderns display a more relaxed approach to the Ramadan Feast. 25 percent of moderns prefer to use the name the Sugar Feast, instead of the Ramadan Feast. They also shop for the religious holiday, and 77 percent state that their expenses increase. Only 20 percent of moderns find it reasonable to get a bank loan to finance increased expenses due to religious holidays, while the rest disagrees. 85 percent of moderns always and frequently practice rituals such as kissing the hand of elders (the country-wide average of 90 percent); 71 percent exchange greetings with their neighbors (the country-wide average is 84 percent); 59 percent of them spend the Ramadan Feast or the Sugar Feast with their families in their hometowns (the country-wide average is 70 percent); and 14 percent goes on a vacation on religious holidays, at 7 points higher than the country-wide average of 7 percent. Although the rate of moderns who perform religious holiday related rituals is slightly lower, we can observe that they are similar to the rest of society and they are not detached from traditions.

2.8.3. Religious Conservatives: Piety Stems from Religious Practices

The respondents who identify themselves as 'religious conservative' make up nearly one fourth of the adult population. In tandem with the definition of religious conservative, we can see a cluster of people, who fulfill religious requirements extensively and who expect others to do so as well.

Religious conservatives spend most of their time during Ramadan to fulfill their religious requirements and to worship: 71 percent of religious conservatives fasted for 30 days; only 10 percent of religious conservatives did not fast at all. 90 percent of religious conservatives frequently and always give *zakat* or *fitra*. 70 percent gather with friends at *iftar* meals. 69 percent of all religious conservatives and 76 percent of religious conservative men attend *tarawih* prayers. 85 percent watch religious television programs.



They expect the restaurants to be closed in line with their religious beliefs. While 32 percent of religious conservatives prefer the restaurants to be open (the country-wide average is 49 percent), 57 percent wants them to be closed until *iftar*. 77 percent of religious conservatives think that restaurants which serve alcohol should be closed during Ramadan. This rate is 20 percent higher than the country-wide average, and only 35 percent of moderns think alike.

However, they are not that strict on other issues: 40 percent find the Ramadan drum unnecessary, and 50 percent find it necessary. At 97 percent, nearly all of religious conservatives think that Ramadan and the Ramadan Feast are the most important traditions.

83 percent of religious conservatives prefer to use the term the Ramadan Feast to refer to the religious holiday at the end of the Ramadan month. Not surprisingly, they perform the related religious practices and worship during Ramadan. However, the differences are not as significant compared to moderns. 64 percent of all religious conservatives attend the religious holiday prayer, while 96 percent of religious conservative men religious holiday prayer. 85 percent of religious conservatives have increased expenses during the religious holidays, and 70 percent shops in preparation for religious holidays, both of which are highest rates among all clusters. In comparison to the country-wide figures, the rate of religious conservatives who kiss their elders' hands is 3 points higher; the rate of those who greet each other is 8 points higher, and the rate of those who spend religious holidays in their hometown is 1 point higher. On the other hand, the rate of religious conservatives who take a vacation by the sea during religious holidays is 2 points lower than the county-wide average.

In addition, sacrifice is an important religious practice for this cluster: 65 percent are planning to sacrifice, while 28 percent would like to do so if their financial situation permits.

We can draw the conclusion that the frequency of their religious practices and their opinions on restaurants and places which serve alcohol are the most important features of religious conservatives. These features distinguish them from other lifestyle clusters and the rest of society.

2.8.4. Women & Men

When we look at how women and men observe Ramadan and the Ramadan Feast, we can see that there are differences in the observance of several religious practices and customs, such as the number of fasting days, *tarawih* and religious holiday prayers and finally, watching religious programs on TV. On the other hand, we can notice that they experience the Ramazan Feast in the same way, and apart from the closure of restaurants, they agree on the statements regarding the Ramadan drum, the impact of fasting on work efficiency, etc.

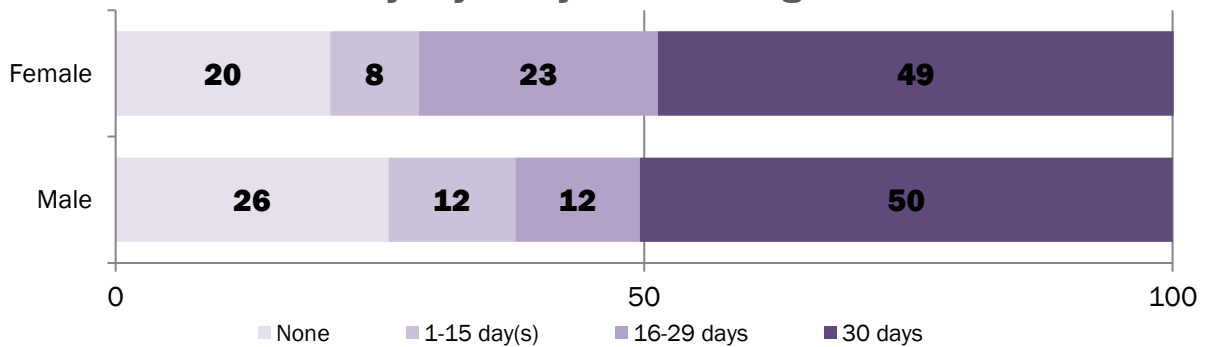
38 percent of men and 28 percent of women fasted 15 days or less. On the other, we can see that women attend *tarawih* prayers less frequently. 71 percent of women never



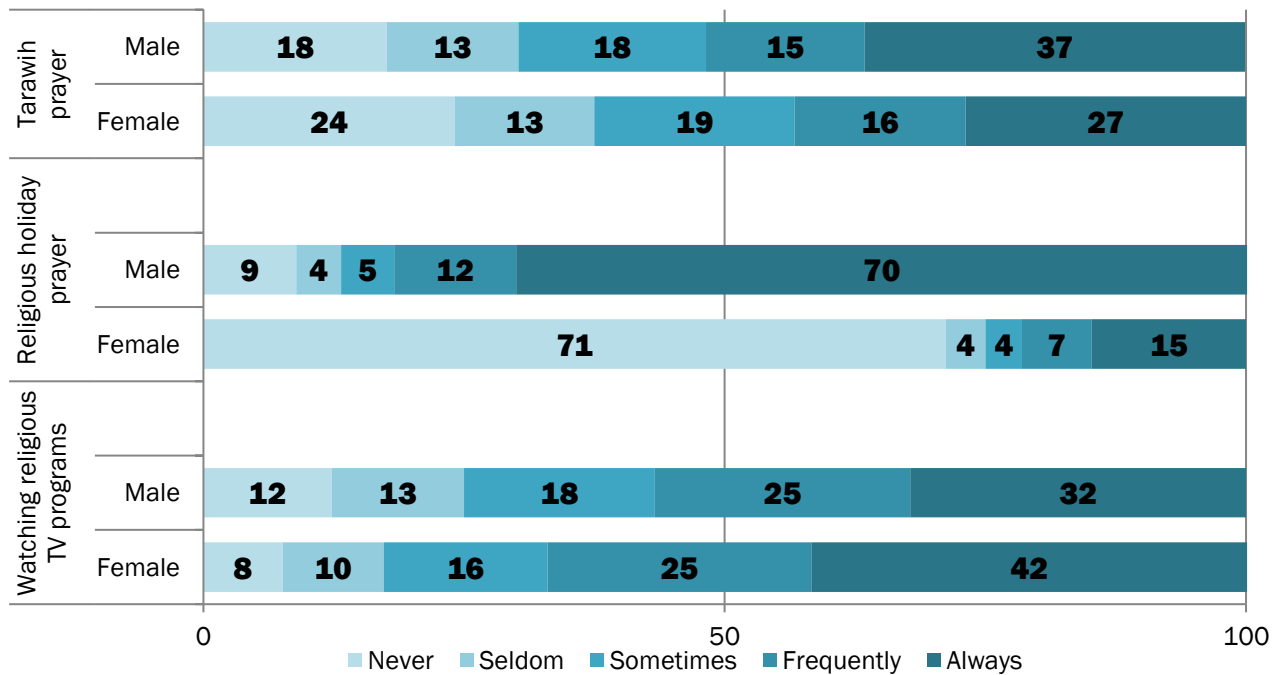
attend the religious holiday prayer, while 28 percent of women state that they frequently or always attend the prayer on the first day of the religious holiday. It is striking to see such a proportion since only men are expected to attend the religious holiday prayer. We can observe that it is more common in rural areas for women to join the religious holiday prayer. Consequently, we understand that there are different approaches to the religious holiday prayer in different parts of the country, and women are allowed to join the religious holiday prayer.

Apart from religious practices, another difference between women and men is observed in the frequency or watching religious TV programs. Two out of every three women state that they frequently or always watch religious TV programs. Finally, in comparison to men, women emphasize that all restaurants, whether they serve alcohol or not, should be closed during Ramadan to a greater extent.

How many days did you fast during Ramadan?



Religious practices and customs in Ramadan by gender





2.8.5. Piety & Ramadan and the Ramadan Feast

In every Barometer research, we ask respondents how religious they feel themselves, and we observe that the way they describe themselves engenders substantial differences concerning political and social issues. This month's theme clearly demonstrates the relation between how people describe their self-perceived degree of piety and how they experience religion through religious practices and rituals. This relation confirms the fact that more religious respondents spend more time and effort to fulfill their religious requirements.

First of all, let's remind the details of our question on piety. In our researches, we direct the question, 'Which of the below describes you in terms of piety?' to the respondents and ask them to select one of the options listed below:

- A person, who does not believe in the requirements of the religion (**Non-believer**)
- A person, who believes the requirements of the religion, but does not fulfill them (**Believer**)
- A person, who tries to fulfill the requirements of the religion (**Religious**)
- A person, who fulfills the requirements of the religion completely (**Pious**)

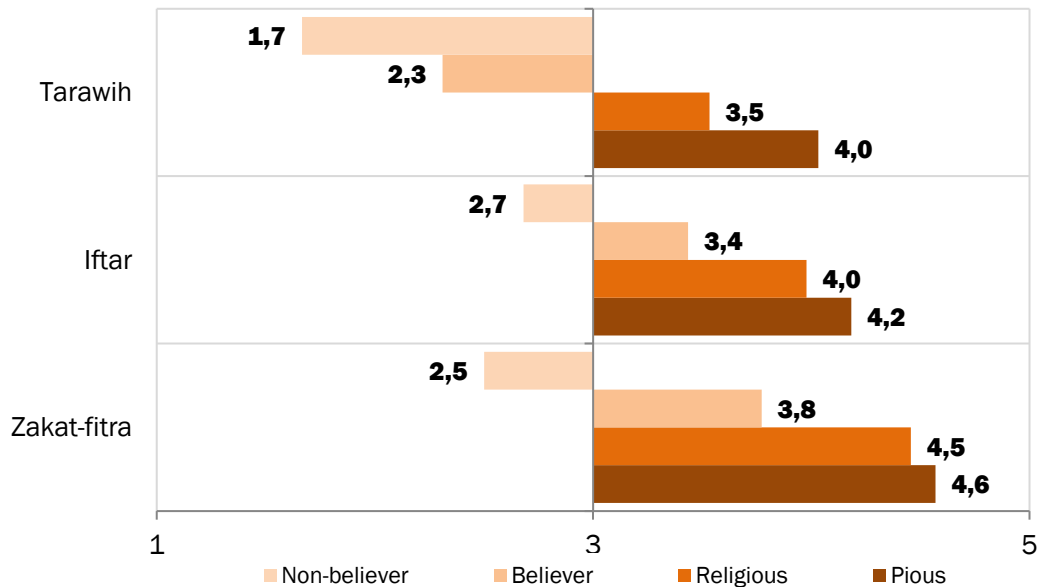
Afterwards, we shorten these response options into single words which are listed at the end of statements (but are not listed in the survey form) deliberately and for the sake of convenience. Accordingly, 2.5 percent of the respondents identify themselves as non-believers, 23.4 percent as believers, 60 percent as religious, and 13 percent as pious.

The definition of piety engenders substantial differences about religious practices, customs and opinions that we have addressed under this month's theme. Increased degree of piety leads to increased frequency of fasting, performance of the sacrifice ritual, naming the Ramadan religious holiday as the Ramadan Feast, and perception of Ramadan and the Ramadan Feast as essential rituals, tendency to kiss the elders' hands as a sign of respect and to exchange greetings during the Ramadan Feast, giving *fitra* and *zakat*, shopping in preparation for the Ramadan Feast and watching religious television programs. As anticipated, the frequency of taking a vacation by the seaside decreases with higher degrees of piety. Similarly, a higher degree of piety leads to an increase in the rate of the respondents who think that restaurants should be closed during Ramadan. On the other hand, it is remarkable to see that degree of piety does not have a significant impact on the statements about the Ramadan drum, pretending to be fasting, and the impact of fasting on efficiency at work.

Three religious practices come to the foreground in terms of their relation to the degree of piety: Higher degrees of piety leads to a higher frequency of participating at *iftar*, attending *tarawih* prayers and religious holiday prayers increase. 23 percent of men who are believers and 80 percent of men who are pious frequently or always attend *tarawih* prayers. These rates demonstrate that going to *tarawih* prayers is the most significant indicator of the degree of piety with respect to religious practices.



Frequency of fulfilling religious requirements by degree of piety



2.9. The Summary and Interpretation of Findings on Ramadan and the Ramadan Feast

The monthly theme which investigated how the respondents experience Ramadan and religious holidays in Turkey revealed several important findings which may assist us in understanding society:

- It is obvious that the respondents experience Ramadan with respect to their degree of piety. Increased degree of piety leads to an increase in the rate of the respondents who fulfill religious requirements such as fasting, giving *zakat-fitra* and attending *tarawih* prayers. However, it is possible to claim that attending *tarawih* prayers is the most visible indicator of an individual's degree of piety.
- Although majority of the respondents agree that 'Ramadan and religious holidays are the most important traditions for social peace', we can observe that religious holidays are more important traditions in comparison to Ramadan. Indeed, even the respondents who do not fulfill their religious requirements exchange greetings during religious holidays and strive to experience religious holidays properly. In this respect, the unifying potential of religious holidays beyond religion and piety is an important opportunity for the leaders of society.
- Although the expenditures most households encounter increased expenses during religious holidays, only one out of every six respondents finds getting a bank loan reasonable. According to the May'14 Barometer, 35 percent of the respondents got



a bank loan in the past. Therefore, it is possible to state that the rate of respondents who find it reasonable to get a bank loan to finance increased expenses due to religious holidays is not very low.

- While *tarawih* and religious holiday prayers offer men an opportunity to fulfill their religious requirements, women meet this 'deficit' by fasting for a higher number of days and watching religious television programs.
- 8 percent of the respondents consider religious holidays as an opportunity to take a vacation. If we also add the respondents who responded to the question as 'sometimes', the total number of respondents who take a vacation by the seaside during religious holidays reaches 9 million among the adult population. Although this is not a small number, it is also not as high as it is reported in the media.
- We can conclude that the most sensitive issue during Ramadan is whether restaurants, and particularly those which serve alcohol, should remain open or not. On the one hand, the rate of respondents who think that the restaurants should be closed has decreased over the past seven years. This is a positive change since there is a decline in the number of people who would like to impose their lifestyle on others. On the other hand, high rates of disapproval from Alevis and moderns to the closure of restaurants, and Alevis' disapproval of the Ramadan drum at similar rates should be interpreted as an indication that they are suffering from social pressure.





3. RESEARCH ID

3.1. Overall Description of the Survey

The survey that this report is based on was conducted by KONDA Research and Consultancy Limited (KONDA Araştırma ve Danışmanlık Ltd. Şti.).

The field survey was conducted on 2-3 August 2014. This report presents the political trends, preferences and profiles of the adult population above the age of 18 in Turkey, within the dates of the field survey.

The survey is designed and conducted with the purpose of determining and monitoring trends and changes in the preferences of respondents who represent the adult population in Turkey.

The margin of error of the survey is +/- 2 at 95 percent confidence level and +/- 2.6 at 99 percent confidence level.

3.2. The Sample

The sample was selected through stratification of the data on population and educational attainment level of neighborhoods and villages based on the Address-Based Population Registration System (ADNKS), and the results of the 2011 General Elections in neighborhoods and villages.

First, the administrative units were grouped as rural/urban/metropolitan, and then the sample was created based on the 12 regions.

Within the scope of the survey, 2720 respondents were interviewed face-to-face in 155 neighborhoods and villages of 112 districts - including central districts - of 30 provinces.

Provinces visited	30
Districts visited	112
Neighborhoods/villages visited	155
Number of respondents	2720

Among the 18 surveys conducted in each neighborhood, quotas on age and gender were enforced.

Age group	Female	Male
Between 18-28	3 respondents	3 respondents
Between 29-44	3 respondents	3 respondents
44 and above	3 respondents	3 respondents



	Level 1 (12 regions)	Provinces visited
1	İstanbul	İstanbul
2	Western Marmara	Balıkesir, Edirne, Tekirdağ
3	Aegean	Afyonkarahisar, İzmir, Denizli, Kütahya, Manisa
4	Eastern Marmara	Bursa, Eskişehir, Kocaeli
5	Western Anatolia	Ankara, Konya
6	Mediterranean	Adana, Antalya, Hatay, Mersin
7	Central Anatolia	Kayseri, Sivas
8	Western Black Sea	Samsun, Tokat
9	Eastern Black Sea	Düzce, Trabzon
10	Northeastern Anatolia	Erzincan
11	Middle Eastern Anatolia	Malatya, Van
12	Southeastern Anatolia	Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa

The distribution of respondents by region and place of residence is shown in the table below.

	Region where the survey was conducted	Rural	Urban	Metropolitan	Total
1	İstanbul			21.6	21.6
2	Western Marmara	2.0	2.6		4.6
3	Aegean	3.6	6.4	5.2	15.2
4	Eastern Marmara	1.3	2.6	5.3	9.3
5	Western Anatolia	0.7		9.6	10.3
6	Mediterranean	3.0	2.6	5.7	11.2
7	Central Anatolia	1.4	2.0	1.3	4.7
8	Western Black Sea	2.6	3.2		5.9
9	Eastern Black Sea	1.2	2.0		3.2
10	Northeastern Anatolia	1.3			1.3
11	Middle Eastern Anatolia	1.4	2.0		3.4
12	Southeastern Anatolia	2.0	3.3	4.0	9.3
	Total	20.4	26.9	52.7	100.0



4. FREQUENCY TABLES

4.1. Profile of the Respondents

Gender	Percentage
Female	48.0
Male	52.0
Total	100.0

Age	Percentage
Between 18 - 28	25.7
Between 29 - 43	34.6
44 and above	39.6
Total	100.0

Educational Attainment Level	Percentage
Illiterate	5.1
Literate without degree	2.6
Primary school degree	37.0
Secondary school degree	14.6
High school degree	26.6
College degree	12.6
Masters/PhD	1.4
Total	100.0

Monthly household income	Percentage
TRY 300 or less	0.9
TRY 301 - 700	4.3
TRY 701 - 1200	30.7
TRY 1201 - 2000	32.5
TRY 2001 - 3000	18.6
TRY 3001 or more	12.9
Total	100.0



Employment status	Percentage
Public officer	5.3
Private sector	6.7
Worker	10.3
Small retailer	7.9
Merchant/businessman	0.4
Self-employed	1.3
Farmer, agriculturist, stock breeder	3.8
Employed, other	6.4
Retired	13.8
Housewife	31.1
Student	8.3
Unemployed	4.0
Disabled	0.7
Total	100.0

Lifestyle Cluster	Percentage
Modern	25.7
Traditional conservative	48.7
Religious conservative	25.7
Total	100.0

Head cover	Percentage
No cover	26.8
Headscarf	49.6
Turban	10.2
Chador	0.7
Bachelor men	12.6
Total	100.0



Ethnicity	Percentage
Turkish	82.3
Kurdish	13.6
Zaza	1.3
Arab	1.1
Other	1.7
Total	100.0

Religion/Sect	Percentage
Sunni Muslim	92.6
Alevi Muslim	5.6
Other	1.9
Total	100.0

Piety	Percentage
Non-believer	2.5
Believer	23.4
Religious	62.9
Pious	11.2
Total	100.0



TV channel preferred to watch the news	Percentage
ATV	15.1
CNN Turk	1.9
Fox TV	6.9
Habertürk	2.6
Halk TV	3.6
Kanal 7	4.3
Kanal D	12.4
Kanaltürk	0.7
NTV	3.9
Roj TV	0.8
Samanyolu	3.1
Show TV	4.6
Star	5.3
TRT	12.0
Ulusal	2.2
Local channels	1.3
Other channels	7.1
No answer	12.0
Total	100.0

Newspaper preference	Percentage
Cumhuriyet	1.7
Habertürk	1.8
Hürriyet	6.0
Milliyet	2.8
Posta	8.7
Sabah	6.8
Sözcü	4.6
Zaman	2.9
Other	15.6
Does not read newspaper	27.2
No answer	21.9
Total	100.0



Household size	Percentage
1-2 person(s)	18.4
3-5 people	64.9
6-8 people	13.6
9 people or more	3.1
Total	100.0

Car ownership	Percentage
Yes	43.2
No	56.8
Total	100.0

Type of housing	Percentage
Traditional house	37.7
Squatter	5.5
Apartment flat	51.2
Luxury residence	5.5
Total	100.0

Place of residence	Percentage
Rural	20.4
Urban	26.9
Metropolitan	52.7
Total	100.0



Region where the survey was conducted	Percentage
İstanbul	21.6
Western Marmara	4.6
Aegean	15.2
Eastern Marmara	9.3
Western Anatolia	10.3
Mediterranean	11.2
Central Anatolia	4.7
Western Black Sea	5.9
Eastern Black Sea	3.2
Northeastern Anatolia	1.3
Middle Eastern Anatolia	3.4
Southeastern Anatolia	9.3
Total	100.0

Place of birth	Percentage
İstanbul	8.3
Western Marmara	5.4
Aegean	14.2
Eastern Marmara	6.7
Western Anatolia	7.7
Mediterranean	10.4
Central Anatolia	7.7
Western Black Sea	9.3
Eastern Black Sea	6.2
Northeastern Anatolia	4.9
Middle Eastern Anatolia	5.7
Southeastern Anatolia	12.8
Abroad	0.9
Total	100.0



4.2. How Are Ramadan and Religious Holidays Observed?

What do you call the religious holiday at the end of Ramadan?	Percentage
Ramadan Feast	79.8
Sugar Feast	13.7
Thanksgiving Feast	6.5
Total	100.0

Are you planning to sacrifice on the Feast of the Sacrifice (<i>Kurban Bayrami</i>)?	Percentage
Yes	57.1
I will decide according to my financial situation.	28.7
I will not perform sacrifice in the upcoming Feast of the Sacrifice.	7.0
I will not, but I will donate money to charities.	1.8
I/we do not practice sacrifice.	5.3
Total	100.0

How many days did you fast during Ramadan?	Percentage
None	23.1
1 - 15 day(s)	10.2
16 - 29 day	17.0
30 days	49.6
Total	100.0

Our expenses increase during religious holidays because we spend more on shopping than usual.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	1.6
Disagree	10.6
Neither agree or disagree	7.8
Agree	56.2
Strongly agree	23.9
Total	100.0



It is reasonable to get a bank loan to finance religious holiday related expenses.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	26.9
Disagree	45.2
Neither agree or disagree	11.6
Agree	14.3
Strongly agree	2.0
Total	100

I do not think that the Ramadan drum is necessary anymore, everybody has an alarm clock.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	14.2
Disagree	31.5
Neither agree or disagree	13.1
Agree	26.8
Strongly agree	14.4
Total	100.0

Some people pretend to be fasting while they are not actually fasting.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	6.1
Disagree	24.9
Neither agree or disagree	24.6
Agree	33.8
Strongly agree	10.6
Total	100.0

During Ramadan, efficiency at work decreases because everybody fasts.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	3.5
Disagree	16.8
Neither agree or disagree	13.0
Agree	47.7
Strongly agree	19.0
Total	100.0



Ramadan and religious holidays are the MOST IMPORTANT traditions for social peace.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	1.4
Disagree	2.8
Neither agree or disagree	3.0
Agree	39.4
Strongly agree	53.5
Total	100.0

During Ramadan, do you think restaurants should be open during daytime or stay closed until <i>iftar</i>, i.e. the fast-breaking meal?	Percentage
Should remain open	48.8
Should be closed until <i>iftar</i>	39.4
Should be closed	6.4
No opinion	5.4
Total	100.0

During Ramadan, do you think taverns and other places which serve alcohol should be open or stay closed until <i>iftar</i>, i.e. the fast-breaking meal?	Percentage
Should remain open	19.7
Should be closed until <i>iftar</i>	18.4
Should be closed	57.0
No opinion	5.0
Total	100.0

During religious holidays, we visit our elders and kiss their hands as a sign of respect.	Percentage
Never	2.3
Seldom	2.5
Sometimes	5.5
Frequently	18.8
Always	70.9
Total	100.0



I give <i>zakat-fitra</i> in Ramadan.	Percentage
Never	6.7
Seldom	3.6
Sometimes	8.7
Frequently	18.8
Always	62.3
Total	100.0

I gather with friends at <i>iftar</i> meals.	Percentage
Never	5.5
Seldom	8.4
Sometimes	22.5
Frequently	23.7
Always	39.9
Total	100.0

I attend <i>tarawih</i> prayers.	Percentage
Never	20.8
Seldom	13.0
Sometimes	18.6
Frequently	15.7
Always	31.9
Total	100.0

I attend religious holiday prayers.	Percentage
Never	37.3
Seldom	4.0
Sometimes	4.4
Frequently	9.4
Always	44.9
Total	100.0



We always go shopping as a family before religious holidays.	Percentage
Never	6.8
Seldom	9.5
Sometimes	21.0
Frequently	25.4
Always	37.3
Total	100.0

I prefer to watch religious TV programs during Ramadan.	Percentage
Never	10.0
Seldom	11.3
Sometimes	17.1
Frequently	24.8
Always	36.8
Total	100.0

I spend religious holidays in my hometown with my family.	Percentage
Never	8.8
Seldom	7.6
Sometimes	14.2
Frequently	21.3
Always	48.0
Total	100.0

I take a vacation by the seaside during religious holidays.	Percentage
Never	69.0
Seldom	13.6
Sometimes	9.9
Frequently	4.1
Always	3.4
Total	100.0



We visit our neighbors and exchange greetings in religious holidays.	Percentage
Never	3.4
Seldom	4.2
Sometimes	8.1
Frequently	29.6
Always	54.7
Total	100.0