

**RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES AND MUSLIM IDENTITY,
WITH REFERENCE TO TURKISH UNIVERSITY STUDENTS**

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others

Dedicated to my family

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ABSTRACT

The thesis explores religious attitudes and Muslim identity in Turkey from a social psychological perspective with reference to university students. Religious attitudes are explored in relation to three components: cognitive, behavioural and affective religious attitudes, whereas Muslim identity is examined through macro and micro levels, and observations. In order to investigate these issues, qualitative and quantitative methods are employed. Research hypotheses are developed on the basis of a review of secondary materials related to Islam in the Turkish context, Muslim identity and the measurement of religious attitudes. Primary data for this study are gathered through standardised questionnaires, such as the Religious Attitude Scale, in-depth interviews and observations. The techniques of psychometrics are employed for the fieldwork of this study, carried out among 1149 students in two universities in Turkey. Using sophisticated statistical analyses, test variables are operationalised and research hypotheses are tested. In doing this, a number of demographic and contextual variations, namely gender, age, family incomes, social and educational backgrounds, supplementary religious education and orientations towards both the *Diyanet* and *cemaats*, are taken into account as independent variables. Conclusions are drawn on the basis of the results of statistical analyses, as well as using qualitative inferences from in-depth interviews. The thesis also investigates the predictors of religious attitudes. Using a stepwise multiple regression analysis, between about 55% and 75% of variance in religious attitudes of Turkish university students are explained. The greatest amount of variance in religious attitudes is explained by orientation towards the *Diyanet*, the formal religious institution in Turkey.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE ISSUE

Obtaining a fair appraisal of Muslim identity in secular Turkey is imperative given the fact that at least 90% of the population is Muslim. It is important to understand the Muslim identity of the Turkish people in a historical perspective. The Ottoman Empire was characterised by the prevalence of a plethora of religions, cultures and ethnic groups. However, Islamic teaching guided the basis of rule. Islam as a whole had an important role in state affairs during the Empire period. The Ottoman Empire was replaced by the Turkish Republic in the early 1920s. The Turkish Republic pursued a policy to convert the country into one whose population constituted almost entirely Muslim inhabitants. In pursuit of this, there was even population exchange with Turkey's Greek and Balkan neighbours. To be a Muslim constituted an important part of Turkish national identity in the sense that to be a Turkish citizen one needed to be a Muslim. The ideas of Turkish national identity and Muslim identity became entwined. The state implicitly demanded Muslim identity as it was embedded in the various policies pursued despite its claim to be a secular nation.

This thesis attempts to establish Turkish Muslim identity focusing on (a) macro level, which is four general Islamic trends; secular, mystical, moderate and political Islam, (b) micro, individual, level, and (c) observations. An understanding of Muslim identity is obtained by carrying out a comparative study of the religious patterns obtained through these three approaches. There are some religious differences expressed in

Turkey concerning the way Islam is perceived. The central proposition here is to investigate the Muslim identity of the Turkish people from different perspectives, and to consider whether these differences have their roots in religion per se or whether they emanate from the interplay of other factors not directly pertaining to the principles of Islam. I believe that exploring the Muslim identities through these perspectives will provide an insight into this proposition given the existing sparse knowledge in the field. Therefore, an understanding of the Muslim identity of Turkish people will provide the basis for any arguments relating to this issue.

The second major issue dealt with in this thesis is the religious attitudes of Turkish people. Islam has been important for Turks since the eleventh century. Islamic institutions related to education, the judiciary and *tarikats* (*Sufi* orders) became very influential in forming the religious attitudes of people living in Ottoman territories. Reorganisation and regulation movements (*Tanzimat*), mostly in scientific and technical areas, as well as political and religious matters, gained a further momentum in the mid-nineteenth century. At the same time, the *Islamism* proclaimed by the Young Ottomans appeared in opposition to Ottoman bureaucracy. The Young Ottomans were dispersed by Abdulhamid II (1876-1909) through the use of the argument of *pan-Islamism* (the unity of the Muslim world). Hence, Islamic discourse became a disputed issue in Turkey.

Religion has indeed been at the core of reforms introduced in the 1920s. Following the foundation of the Turkish Republic, reform movements initiated by Atatürk focused on either changing or abolishing religious institutions and symbols. From the mid-1920s to the 1950s, secularist policies were increasingly implemented and strictly enforced. However, since the rise of the multi-party era in the 1950s, religion has gained further momentum with the introduction of compulsory religious education (RE) at both primary and secondary levels, the further development of supplementary religious education (SRE), the construction of additional mosques, the reinforcement

of the *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti. Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı* (Presidency of Religious Affairs of Turkish Republic), through an increase in personnel coupled with an increase in budget allocation, and the rise in activities of *cemaats*. In this period, these changes have been a source of controversy. Some have argued that the measures above provided a licence for the rise of *gericilik* by enticing people to adhere to extremist religious attitudes. Others have argued that this gain in momentum of religious activities and symbols was a basic manifestation and exercise of freedom of religion and opinion. To them, a further increase in such activities would not constitute a threat but is fully desirable.

On comparing the multi-party period with the single party one, it may be observed that there has been an increase in the outward demonstration of Islamic religiosity. The main question here is, "What is the contemporary appraisal of the religious attitudes of Turkish people?". From a social psychological perspective, I will focus on three issues: (a) levels of religious attitudes, (b) dimensions of religious attitudes and (c) correlates and predictors of religious attitudes. First, the levels of religious attitudes will be investigated numerically. Increasing numbers will show an increase in religious attitudes and vice versa. Second, it is assumed that religious attitudes consist of three aspects: cognitive, behavioural and affective. Cognitive religious attitudes imply personal belief and conviction centred on belief in God. Behavioural religious attitudes refer to all religious behaviours which a person sees as duty resulting from belief in God. Affective religious attitudes can be formulated as expectation from God or self-assessment in the eyes of God. Using such an approach to religiosity, this study attempts to rectify the paucity of data reported on religious attitudes in Turkey.

Issues of group membership and the structure of *cemaats* will not be the main focus of this study. However, such issues will be referred to when they are tied to social psychological variables and have theoretical implications for the thesis. The findings concerning religious attitudes will enable the assessment of the impact of RE and SRE

and of orientations towards the *Diyanet* and *cemaats* on the religious attitudes of people. It is hoped that they will assist in improving policies pertaining to the *Diyanet* and *cemaats*, and other religious-related fields.

In order to investigate Muslim identity and the religious attitudes of Turkish people, university students have been chosen as a sample. This was thought to be the most representative sample of Turkish people given the time and cost constraints of the research. The university population constitutes students from different social, economic, and geographical backgrounds making them reasonably representative of the Turkish population. University students are one of the most dynamic and interactive populations in Turkey. For instance, demonstrations against the ban on the *başötüsü* or *türban* (the headscarf) have been organised by students in the last two decades. Moreover, university students will form part of the future generation and will be involved in different fields and positions in the country. Their current attitudes and identity will be informed and will affect future religious attitudes prevailing in the country. Therefore, to a great extent, inferences based on data from this sample will be applicable for the Turkish population as a whole.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

The major objectives of this thesis as a whole are fourfold. First, in terms of Islam in the Turkish context, the Muslim identity of university students will be investigated. Second, the issue of religiosity and religious attitudes will be examined. The development of appropriate measurement instruments will also be scrutinised. Third, in the light of contextual variables, the current religious attitudes of university students will be analysed. Finally, an attempt at predicting religious attitudes will be made in order to ascertain the contribution of different factors, such as gender, educational background and orientations towards *cemaats*, that make up the overall religious attitudes of people. For the last three purposes, the techniques of psychometrics and statistics will be employed.

In doing so, the issues of choosing a representative sample, the reliability and validity of measurement instruments to be employed, relevant data analysis and test techniques will be examined. The replicability of questionnaires, in-depth interviews, and data analysis techniques will be considered. The background literature, development of measurement instruments, descriptive statistics for dependent and independent variables, and research hypotheses will be detailed in each of the respective chapters that follow.

1.3 IMPORTANCE

This study breaks new ground in considering contextual variables to explain the religious attitudes of Turkish people. Studies carried out in the past have focused on destructive religious groups, *tarikats*, *cemaats* and the (former) Welfare Party (Heper, 1981; Ayata, 1993; Bruinessen, 1996; Margulies and Yıldızoğlu, 1997; Yavuz, 1997). The stress was on their structure, finding out their real/hidden purposes and their influence on society in general. The demographic and contextual variables related to *cemaats* or followers of general Islamic trends have been left unexplored. This study makes an attempt to go beyond the issue of the structure of religious groups and exploits a methodology based on a social scientific perspective, using a number of variations. It attempts to bridge the existing gap in the literature by throwing some light on the interplay of contextual variables in the determination of religious attitudes.

This thesis uses an innovative method of measuring religious attitudes in Turkey. Studies pertaining to the measurement of religious attitudes in Turkey are sparse. These works have in common their importation of scales used in measuring religious attitudes in Christianity. Item-pool techniques used in previous studies have been adopted, resulting in items being designed without any theoretical basis, further questioning their validity and reliability. This study will attempt to prepare a theoretical background for the development of measurement instruments. The validity

and reliability of the scales will be tested using appropriate statistical techniques. The original scales developed will then be used for carrying out the fieldwork.

I have ensured that maximum objectivity and creativity characterise the results emanating from the fieldwork. Data from both secondary - published and unpublished - and primary sources will be used. Qualitative as well as quantitative techniques will be employed. Quantitative techniques have been supplemented with sophisticated statistical tests. Primary data is gathered using questionnaires, in-depth interviews and observations. Data will be analysed using factor analysis, means, frequencies, *chi-square* and *t*-tests, ANOVA, correlation and regressions. Following such a wide ranging methodology at the stage of data collection and analysis ensures the reduction of error risks and biases.

Before moving on to the outline of the thesis, I would like to mention a previous study I conducted which provided a valuable background for this research. The thesis, submitted in 1997 as part of my Masters degree at the University of Ankara in the field of educational psychology of religion, focused on the association between levels of religious attitudes and levels of test anxiety. I used questionnaires in the fieldwork. At the stage of concluding statistical findings, with the benefit of hindsight, I realised the potential value of interviews at the stage of interpretation of quantitative results from statistical analyses. This previous experience and data collection enabled me to improve my data collection and analysis techniques in this study. I also developed an earlier form of Religious Attitudes Scale (RAS). This made me appreciate the usefulness of RAS as a tool to measure religious attitudes. At that time, I also realised that there was a gap in the literature relating to religious attitudes in the Turkish context.

After gaining this academic experience, the purpose of my research, which is to make a contribution to improve the service policies of the *Diyanet*, also contributed to the

choice of a social psychological approach for this thesis. My professional background for about fifteen years prior to this ranged from *vaiz* (preacher), to *mufti* and religious inspector, at the *Diyamet*. In this period, I realised that, despite the presence of speculations about the dominance of the *Diyamet* in the religious sphere, its contribution to individuals' religious attitudes has remained unclear. In this sense, I, personally, sought an answer to the question, "What is my contribution to individuals' religiosity, and how can I improve religious services for those for whom I am responsible?". When I heard about the 'Religious Mapping of Leeds' and the 'Community Religions Projects' in the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Leeds, I decided to carry out my research in this Department.

1.4 OUTLINE

This thesis is organised in ten chapters including an introduction and conclusion.

The study is of an empirical nature and broadly comprises two parts: first, an analysis of secondary data drawn from published and unpublished sources; second, an analysis of primary data obtained by means of questionnaires, in-depth interviews administered to students in two universities in Turkey, and observations. The methodology of the study will be set out in Chapter 2. Secondary as well as primary data collection methods will be selected and explained. A general discussion of the fieldwork strategy, selection of samples and a tentative development of measurement scales will be provided. The proposed data analysis procedure will also be highlighted in this chapter.

Chapters 3 - 5 deal mostly with theoretical issues that constitute the basis of this thesis. Chapter 3 deals with Islam in the Turkish context. The general characteristics of Islam as espoused in Turkey will be investigated. Present religious attitudes and Muslim identity issues are, obviously, connected with historical events and movements in the last two centuries. This chapter provides the historical context since the

nineteenth century. Major reform movements both in the Ottoman era and in the Republican period will be explored. One of the points of focus will be disputed issues pertaining to Islam and secularism after the foundation of the Turkish Republic. In this chapter, the four general Islamic trends - political, mystical, secularist and moderate - will be introduced. The formal religious institution in Turkey, the *Diyanet*, will be presented and its role, duties and structure highlighted.

In terms of a social scientific perspective, one of the most unexplored issues in Turkey is Muslim identity. To date, there has been little empirical work which has presented data from fieldwork. The primary goal of Chapter 4 is to provide a factual account in order to enable construction of a framework for understanding Muslim identity. Muslim identity will be examined at the macro level in Turkey. To do this, the development and application of the Muslim Identity Matrix will be carried out. The study of Muslim identity at the micro level will be supplemented with an analysis of three previous studies.

Chapter 5 contains a literature review on religious attitudes. Three distinct lines of enquiry in relation to the religiosity scales will be examined. First, Allport and Ross's Religious Orientation Scale and the other studies adhering to this scale are discussed. Secondly, King and Hunt's Religiosity Scale will be assessed. The works of other scholars in Christianity and Islamic religiosity who have adopted the latter scale will be reviewed. Thirdly, the Religious Attitudes Scales that I developed as part of my master's thesis will be analysed. Finally, demographic and contextual variables will be assessed and research hypotheses will be developed.

The development of questionnaires and their applications will be presented in Chapter 6. In order to collect relevant data from primary sources, three different questionnaires will be used: The Religious Attitude Scale (RAS), the Diyanet Orientation Scale (DIBOS) and the Cemaat Orientation Scale (COS). The theoretical backgrounds of

these scales and a detailed presentation of the results will be provided at each stage. The methods used to assess validity and reliability of the scales will be presented. The results of validity and reliability tests will be given for application in the University of Erciyes as well as those for replication in the University of Ankara.

Chapter 7 will deal specifically with the descriptive statistics of the test variables focusing mainly on descriptive statistical analyses of the general demographic variations of the two samples. The results will be presented in frequency tables and figures such as bar charts and histograms.

In Chapter 8, a set of hypotheses will be tested on the difference between the relative importance of the levels of measurement in relation to religious attitudes. Using SPSS (release 9.0), *t* test and ANOVA will be run for inferential statistics. The results will be presented in tables and scatter plots.

The relative importance of a set of variables capable of predicting religious attitudes will be examined in Chapter 9. Major research questions regarding prediction will be formulated and tested on a range of topics including the prediction of, (a) total religious attitudes, (b) cognitive religious attitudes, (c) behavioural religious attitudes, and (d) affective religious attitudes. A stepwise multiple regression analysis will be employed for each group of variables in different steps, such as family incomes and educational backgrounds, in an attempt to identify the main predictors for the criteria of religious attitudes.

A summary and conclusion will be provided in Chapter 10.

Chapter 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Whilst in the last three decades the outward demonstration of religiosity has increased in many parts of the world, Islam has shown a dramatic increase in modern Turkey. So, not only religious attitudes in Turkey, but also religious institutions such as the *Diyanet* and *cemaats* (religious groups), have become issues for debate and discussion. Often, the views expressed are based on common assumptions or religious group involvement rather than multivariate empirical and scientific conclusions. However, it is difficult to explain someone's religious attitudes with one or two variables such as involvement in a religious group or attendance at a *Qur'an* course, or both. Other basic variables need to be taken into account such as gender, social background, income level, and orientations towards the *Diyanet* and *cemaats*.

This study followed the principles of the social psychology of religion and used primary and secondary research methods (Man, 1985; Pennington, 1993; Manstead and Semin, 1994; Tabachnick and Fidel, 1996; de Vaus, 1996, Howitt and Cramer, 1997; Beit-Hallahmi and Argyle, 1997). Data for this study were gathered from secondary and primary sources. The secondary method involved reading both published and unpublished materials, such as books, journals, both PhD and masters theses, newspapers and web-pages, and then their analysis, involving classification, criticism and commentary. In terms of primary methods, self-administered measurement instruments such as questionnaires and an Islamic Identity Matrix, semi-structured in-depth interviews and observations served to provide a sampling frame for

the primary data collection. Correlation and difference analyses were run for the relevant data. The methods used for data collection are presented in Table 2.1.

It is important to note that two different, but related methods, qualitative and quantitative, were employed for data analysis so as to minimise error risk at the stages of both data collection and data analysis. Hypotheses were statistically tested and then results from sophisticated statistical analyses, correlation and difference, were examined using data from in-depth interviews and observations. This is necessary because, a peculiar result may be obtained using statistical tests alone. Additionally, common assumptions in a society may easily prejudice our conclusions based on qualitative analyses only. In these circumstances, how shall we interpret the findings? Shall we ignore some results, or check them through the application of a different method? Relying on one method alone may invalidate our conclusions. However, the use of two methods together, qualitative and quantitative, enable us to avoid such pitfalls (Pennington, 1993; Manstead and Semin, 1994; de Vaus, 1996, Beit-Hallahmi and Argyle, 1997).

2.2 SECONDARY METHODS: Written Resources

Secondary methods mostly involved using archival (published and unpublished) research and published surveys. They enable researchers to develop a theoretical background for their empirical work.

This study, however, although drawing extensively on primary methods, also used secondary methods in order to identify Islamic trends and institutions in terms of both historical perspectives and the contemporary Turkish context. Additionally, previous works on religious attitudes helped me to place my own work in context. Published and unpublished works both in English and in Turkish were used to delineate the

theoretical background of this study (Manstead and Semin, 1994; Hamilton, 1995; Saunders, et al., 1997; Myers, 1999).

Table 2.1. Data collection methods

<i>Sources</i>	<i>Tools</i>	<i>Application</i>
Secondary	Books, articles, theses, web-pages and reports.	Appropriate materials published by the end of 1999 were collected.
Primary	Questionnaires 1. Data sets for contextual variables 2. Religious Attitude Scale 3. <i>Diyanet</i> Orientation Scale 4. <i>Cemaat</i> (religious groups) Orientation Scale	A questionnaire booklet containing survey instruments was administered to groups of students. 1149 students completed these questionnaires in 13 departments in the University of Erciyes, and 10 departments in the University of Ankara (see Appendices, 5 and 6).
	Semi-structured in-depth interviews	31 students were interviewed in the two universities.
	Muslim Identity Matrix-C, B, A	Data from in-depth interviews was also used for the matrix
	Observation	News articles and editorials were collected from magazines and newspapers. Two University mosques, student canteens, and student accommodation were visited. My personal experiences as a <i>Vaiz</i> (preacher), <i>Mufti</i> and religious inspector for the <i>Diyanet</i> were also used.

Books and articles about current Islamic orientations in Turkey published within the last two decades have focused overwhelmingly upon socio-political critiques with reference to the (former) Welfare Party, *tarikats*, and the issue of veiling. Some studies used a historical approach; a limited number utilised fieldwork carried out in Turkey. These works are reviewed in the relevant chapters.

2.3 PRIMARY METHODS: Fieldwork

The primary methods of scientific investigation employed in the social psychology of religion may be classified into three main categories: Correlation and difference analyses, field research, and laboratory experiments. First, correlation and difference analyses consist of a range of sophisticated statistical tests. Data are generally collected through standardised measurement instruments and either correlation analysis or difference analysis, or both are run for these data. Correlation analysis is employed to investigate (a) whether or not a relationship exists between two or more variables, (b) the degree of association existing between the variables, (c) the prediction of variance in criteria and group membership, and (d) the structure of a variable. Results are presented as positive or negative numerical values with their significance levels (Pennington, 1993; Tabachnick and Fidel, 1996; de Vaus, 1996, Howitt and Cramer, 1997; Myers, 1999). For example, the relationship between religious attitudes and orientations towards the *Diyanet* and *cemaats* may be investigated by correlation coefficient analysis.

Correlation coefficient values vary between +1.00 and -1.00. Whilst a correlation of +1.00 indicates that a perfect positive association exists between two variables, a correlation of -1.00 shows a perfect negative relationship between two variables. However, around zero correlation shows a low association between two variables.

Difference analysis is employed to investigate (a) the significance of group differences and (b) the degree of differences (Tabachnick and Fidel, 1996; 1996, Howitt and Cramer, 1997). For example, the difference between male and female students' religious attitudes, and the difference between religious attitudes of those who belong to low, medium and high income level families were examined by *t*-test and ANOVA (analysis of variance) respectively.

Second, field research consists of observation (Pennington, 1993; Blaxter *et al.* 1997). In order to gain a deeper insight into how people act in a particular situation, one of the most useful methods is observation. For instance, in order to understand how university students behave in certain religious situations, they were observed in university environments such as student canteens, university mosques and student accommodations.

Third, laboratory experiments consist of controlled events and measurements. These experiments require perfect design and as high as possible a control over test variables (Pennington, 1993; de Vaus, 1996; Blaxter *et al.* 1997; Myers, 1999).

2.3.1 Primary Data Collection

Several methods can be used for data collection in fieldwork. Questionnaires, interviews, observation and laboratory experiments are the most frequently employed. Each data collection method has advantages and disadvantages (Pennington, 1993; Malthotra, 1996; Blaxter, *et al.*, 1997; Beit-Hallahmi and Argyle, 1997). Before using any of them, the most appropriate method or methods should be selected according to the overall research objectives, the characteristics of the population to be studied and the research hypothesis to be tested (Murphy and Davidshofer, 1994). The issue of finding a representative sample has a consequential influence on selecting a method.

In order to gather relevant data in relation to the religious attitudes of university students and determinant variables of religious attitudes, three main primary methods were used in this research: self-administered questionnaires, in-depth interviews and

observations. Considering the time and sample constraints of this study, laboratory experiments were not used in this research.¹

Sample

The aim of this study has been to investigate religious attitudes and Muslim identity in Turkey. In the Turkish context, there are approximately one million university students (excluding those in open universities). They not only constitute a good representative sample of the people of Turkey, but are also important for its future. Therefore, it was decided that university students selected randomly in different departments from two universities, a metropolitan city university and a provincial city one, would provide a good sample for investigating religious attitudes and Muslim identity in Turkey. However, these universities were selected after having received permission from the authorities.

For this purpose, permission was obtained from two university authorities, one in Kayseri, a provincial city, and the other in Ankara, a metropolitan city. The University of Erciyes in Kayseri generally admits students from middle and lower middle socio-economic and educational backgrounds. The University of Ankara, in general, admits students from middle and upper middle socio-economic and educational backgrounds. During the in-depth interviews, interviewees were asked which geographical region their friends came from. According to descriptions given by students who took part in the survey, students in the University of Erciyes generally came from central to eastern parts of Turkey; students in the University of Ankara generally came from central to western parts.

¹ For example, if an experimenter wished to test a hypothesis, “religious attitudes of the students who obtained supplementary religious education (SRE) in a *Qur'an* course are different than those who obtained SRE in a mosque”. The experimenter could have arranged two groups of students who were the same in age, sex, family incomes, social and educational backgrounds and religious affiliation. One group obtain SRE in a *Qur'an* course and the other group obtain SRE in a mosque. Religious attitudes of each group are measured before and after obtaining SRE, for example one month and six months later, or one year and five years later. Considering time periods and groups, differences in religious attitudes are analysed.

Considering the limitations of this survey, private universities, admitting students from the highest socio-economic and educational backgrounds, and new universities in the eastern provinces, admitting students from middle to very low socio-economic and educational backgrounds, were excluded. It should be remembered at this stage that some exceptions may be considered in this kind of classification.

Initially, the survey was designed with the expectation that the measurement instruments would be administered in more than half of academic departments in these two universities. Fortunately, this proportion was exceeded, and they were carried out in more than three quarters of the departments. In each department, one classroom was chosen randomly by the department administrators, in order to give out the questionnaires. In some departments, particularly in the University of Ankara, survey instruments were distributed in student canteens rather than classroom settings.

The proportion of questionnaires completed by male and female respondents corresponded to gender proportions in the classrooms and student canteens at the time when the measurement instruments were administered.

Response Rates

As can be seen from Table 2.2, 617 male, 532 female, a total of 1149 Turkish university students responded to this research. The whole sample consisted of about 54% male and 46% female students.

In the University of Erciyes, 635 booklets were distributed, of which 592 were properly completed. In this case, 93% of the booklets were returned. Response rates according to academic departments and gender may be seen in Table 2.3.

In the University of Ankara, 650 booklets were distributed, of which 557 were properly completed. In this case, 86% of the booklets were returned. The

administration of the questionnaires was completed in 1999. Response rates on the basis of academic departments and gender can be seen in Table 2.4.

Table 2.2. The whole sample.

	Gender	
	Count	Percentage
Male	617	53.7%
Female	532	46.3%
Total	1149	100%

Table 2.3. Response rates according to academic departments and gender in the University of Erciyes.

Departments	Gender				Total	
	Male		Female			
History	34	(9.5%)	19	(8.1%)	53	(9.0%)
Physics	11	(3.1%)	25	(10.7%)	36	(6.1%)
English Linguistics	8	(2.2%)	11	(4.7%)	19	(3.2%)
Fine Arts	19	(5.3%)	24	(10.3%)	43	(7.3%)
Marketing	30	(8.4%)	26	(11.1%)	56	(9.5%)
Economics	15	(4.2%)	10	(4.3%)	25	(4.2%)
Divinity (Day)	30	(8.4%)	29	(12.4%)	59	(10.0%)
Divinity (Night)	25	(7.0%)	11	(4.7%)	36	(6.1%)
Finance	43	(12.0%)	6	(2.6%)	49	(8.3%)
Administrative	24	(6.7%)	38	(16.2%)	62	(10.5%)
Mechanical Engineering	30	(8.4%)	8	(3.4%)	38	(6.4%)
Construct Engineering	44	(12.3%)	8	(3.4%)	52	(8.8%)
Environment Engineering	45	(12.6%)	19	(8.1%)	64	(10.8%)
Total	358	(100.0%)	234	(100.0%)	592	(100.0%)

Table 2.4. Response rates on the basis of academic departments and gender in the University of Ankara.

Departments	Gender				Total	
	Male		Female			
Divinity	51	(19.7%)	23	(7.7%)	74	(13.3%)
Agriculture	36	(13.9%)	33	(11.1%)	69	(12.4%)
Law	42	(16.2%)	20	(6.7%)	62	(11.1%)
Education	16	(6.2%)	27	(9.1%)	43	(7.7%)
Communication	22	(8.5%)	55	(18.5%)	77	(13.8%)
Health Sciences	13	(5.0%)	13	(4.4%)	26	(4.7%)
Politics	6	(2.3%)	37	(12.4%)	43	(7.7%)
Medical	27	(10.4%)	32	(10.7%)	59	(10.6%)
Sciences	21	(8.1%)	26	(8.7%)	47	(8.4%)
Linguistics and History-Geography	25	(9.7%)	32	(10.7%)	57	(10.2%)
Total	259	(100.0%)	298	(100.0%)	557	(100.0%)

Questionnaires

The purpose of the study was to gain a deeper understanding of the determinant variables that relate to the religious attitudes of university students and also to illuminate their Muslim identity. To achieve this, proposed associations between the religious attitudes of university students and relevant variables were sought. These are general demographic variables such as gender, age, and social and educational backgrounds, and participation in supplementary religious education (SRE), and attitudes to the *Diyanet* and *cemaats*.

Bearing in mind these objectives, the research instruments were developed taking into account the guidelines laid down by Sencer and Sencer (1978), Nunnally (1982), Oppenheim (1992), Eagly and Chaiken, 1993); Murphy and Davidshofer (1994),

Foddy, 1994), Öncü (1995), Tezbaşaran (1996) and Verner *et al.* (1998) in order to avoid any crucial pitfalls of questionnaire design.

In this study, in order to measure religious attitudes and orientations towards both the *Diyanet* and *cemaats*, rating scales, known as the direct measure method, were employed. Two types of rating scales, the Likert scale² and the Semantic Differential³, are most widely used for the measurement of attitudes in psychometrics. These scales are relatively straightforward to construct and administer, and their validity and reliability is easily tested (Oppenheim, 1992; Eagly and Chaiken, 1993; Murphy and Davidshofer, 1994; de Vaus, 1996). The Religious Attitudes Scale (RAS) used in this study was designed on a four point (always, frequently, sometimes and never) *Likert* scale. The *Diyanet* Orientation Scale (DIBOS) and *Cemaat* (religious groups) Orientation Scale (COS) were designed on a five point (strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree, strongly disagree) *Likert* scale. For the evaluation of orientations towards the *Diyanet* and *cemaats*, a ten-point Semantic Differential item (*extremely beneficial-not at all beneficial, extremely dangerous-not at all dangerous*) was added to both the DIBOS and COS.

The preliminary measurement instruments, the Religious Attitude Scale (RAS), the *Diyanet* Orientation Scale (DIBOS) and *Cemaat* (religious groups) Orientation Scale (COS), were discussed with relevant scholars in both Turkey and the UK, and with religious specialists such as *Imams* and *Muftis* in Turkey. Taking into account their criticisms and comments, relevant revisions were made in the draft questionnaires. After these revisions, they were piloted among 70 university students in Ankara, Turkey, in order to confirm understanding of the main research issues on the part of

² This measurement technique was developed by R. Likert in 1932.

³ The Semantic Differential measurement technique was developed by C E Osgood, G J Suci and P H Tannenbaum in 1957.

potential respondents and to make sure that the items in the measurement instruments were clear and unambiguous.

A series of tests were done with data from these questionnaires. In order to arrive at the final forms, the results were discussed with Dr Knott in the University of Leeds and Professor Kuzgun in the University of Ankara, and then further revisions were made in the measurement instruments.

It is important to note here that the questionnaires were in Turkish. Therefore, all comments made in English had to be translated into Turkish. At this stage, translation of some concepts became a major difficulty. This difficulty was coped with in two ways. Whilst some concepts were expressed directly in Turkish equivalents, others were substituted by a phrase with a similar meaning. Ironically, a similar problem was also experienced in the translation of Turkish concepts into English, both at the stage of translation of the measurement instruments into English and at the stage of writing up the thesis. Similar approaches were used in order to cope with this difficulty. For example, 'secularism' was translated into Turkish as *laiklik*, a term which shows the special implementation of secularism in the Turkish context. Another example was *gericilik*. This term literally means 'demanding to go back to the past'. This term refers to the demand made by some Islamic groups to return to pre-republican *shariah* (Islamic law). This concept has been translated into English as 'reactionary'.

The Validity and Reliability of the Questionnaires

The validity and reliability of a measurement instrument can be assessed using different methods. In this research, the validity of an instrument was assessed by investigating its content and construct validity. Reliability, on the other hand, was assessed by internal consistency methods.

Content validity refers to the agreement among professionals that a scale logically appears to reflect accurately what it intends to measure (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993; Murphy and Davidshofer, 1994). The content validity of the measurement instrument in this survey was established by three main steps. First, an extensive literature review was undertaken to develop items for the data collection instruments. Second, preliminary questionnaires were discussed with relevant persons in the field. Finally, a pilot study was conducted in Ankara in order to give the final shape to the questionnaires.

The aim of construct validity, on the other hand, is to resolve whether a good measure of a specific construct is provided by test scores. A few common methods are used to assess construct validation (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993; Murphy and Davidshofer, 1994; Tabachnick and Fidel, 1996). In this study, construct validity of the scales was assessed by a mathematical technique known as *factor analysis* (Child, 1970; Hurley, *et al*, 1997). For instance, items of the Religious Attitude Scale (RAS) were developed on the basis of three dimensions, cognitive, behavioural and affective. These dimensions of the scale were examined by factor analysis. Statistical test results verified that RAS consists of three sub-scales.

The reliability of the survey instrument, that is, whether it repeatedly measures the same things and whether its items are internally consistent, was tested by *internal consistency* methods, using, in particular, the values of *Cronbach alpha coefficient* and *split-half* (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993; Murphy and Davidshofer, 1994; Hair, *et al*., 1995; Tabachnick and Fidel, 1996).

In order to increase understanding of the tests which were applied in the measurement instruments, an *item analysis* technique can be employed. Such an analysis can provide a researcher with insight into the reliability or unreliability of test results from piloting, or into the failure of scores to reach expected levels of validity. The reliability and

validity scores of some scales can be found to be low, due to their poorly expressed items or ambiguous questions. In such circumstances, in order to increase the validity and reliability of the questionnaire, such poor items can either be re-worded or can be omitted from the scale. For example, after piloting, the *Cronbach Alpha coefficient* and *split-half* scores for the *Cemaat Orientation Scale (COS)* were quite low, about .60. Results of these analyses indicated that items of the COS had different connotations, and the scale measured different things depending on the individual. So, the reliability of the scale was very low (Murphy and Davidshofer, 1994). I realised that the concept of *cemaats* caused this confusion. This was because the term *cemaat* was used for both a religious group and for the congregation of members of a mosque. After putting an in-brackets explanation for *cemaats*, indicating that the term meant 'religious groups', the *Cronbach Alpha coefficient* and *split-half* scores of the scale rose over .90, which was very high.

Whilst there are different techniques for *item analysis*, in this survey the discriminating power of each item was measured by the *item-total correlation technique*. The aim of this technique was to discriminate between those items which scored well in the test and those which did not (Murphy and Davidshofer, 1994) in relation to the purposes of the survey instruments. For example, before piloting, there was an item in the RAS, "I expect spiritual help from visiting tombs (*türbe*) of shrines". In theory, the more religiously oriented students should have got more points, the less oriented should have got less points from this item. However, after item analysis was run with the data from piloting, there was no significant difference between the results of the two groups of students. In terms of this item, both the more and the less religiously oriented students were seen to have a very similar attitude. Very religious students were 'never' expecting spiritual help from visiting tombs of shrines due to its being a sin. The others were also 'never' expecting their help due to it being irrational. Using this item, it was impossible to discriminate between the religious attitudes of students.

Obviously, the value of the item total correlation for this item was very low. Therefore, it was omitted from the scale.

Using these procedures, the values related to the *factor analysis*, *Cronbach Alpha coefficient*, *split-half* and *item-total correlation* will be provided for each analysis reported in the relevant chapter.

Conducting Questionnaires

This survey was designed to be used in two universities. They were the University of Erciyes and the University of Ankara. Letters from the Department of Theology and Religious Studies, the University of Leeds, were written to these universities (see Appendices 1, 2 and 4). These letters were translated into Turkish and sent initially to the Educational Counsellor at the Turkish Embassy, in order to obtain official permission. Another letter was written by the *Diyanet*, the sponsor, to these universities (see Appendix 3). Presenting these official documents, permission was then requested of the universities to carry out questionnaires in academic departments during 1999.

Of the fifteen academic departments in the University of Erciyes and thirteen in the University of Ankara contacted by both telephone and brief meetings, two departments in Erciyes and three in Ankara refused to carry out the survey, either in classroom or student canteen settings in their departments, stating their internal regulations. The other departments gave their permission. Questionnaires were administered in January in the University of Erciyes and in November in Ankara.

Four scales⁴ and a set of questions regarding contextual variables were prepared as a booklet (see Appendices 5 and 6). Sets of data were collected in a group-administered

⁴ In this survey, a Religious Pluralism Scale (RPS) was also administered. The basic objective of the scale was to examine attitudes to religious pluralism. However, considering the objectives of the thesis, the assessment of RPS was excluded from this study.

manner, either in classrooms or in student canteens. Respondents were not asked their names in order to reduce anxiety and help them to relax. It was hoped that this might enhance the likelihood that they would reveal their true attitudes. A questionnaire booklet took between 12 and 18 minutes to complete.

The issue of whether questionnaires were completed carefully by respondents was examined by specific 'attention-test items'. These items, "The sun rises in the east", "The *Diyanet* is an institution responsible for Turkish economy" and "There are a number of *cemaats* (religious groups) in Turkey" were added in RAS, DIBOS and COS respectively. The answers to these attention-test items are obvious. Therefore, I assumed that if someone gave two or three wrong answers to these items, he/she might have completed the questionnaires without sufficient attention. These items were placed near the end of each scale.

Conducting In-Depth Interviews

In this survey, semi-structured in-depth interviews were also carried out with the purpose of collecting detailed data on student attitudes and the underlying reasons for them. In the academic departments where questionnaires were carried out, interview offers were made randomly. The interviews took between 30 and 45 minutes. The majority of students accepted these offers. In several cases, students returned to be interviewed after their lectures had finished. A few students refused to be interviewed due to their timetable or lack of time. Before starting conversations, permission was required for tape recording. All interviews were recorded in the University or departmental campuses. However, recordings of two interviews were lost as a result of the theft of my bag in Manchester Airport in transit from Turkey.

Items in the Religious Attitudes Scale, the *Diyanet* Orientation Scale, the *Cemaat* Orientation Scale and the Muslim Identity Matrix (MIM)-C, B, A were used to guide the interview questions. I asked all questions in MIM to students in order to get short

answers such as “yes-no”, “strict-flexible” or brief explanations. I also asked questions regarding contextual variables and some items from measurement instruments mentioned above. Students were required to give reasons for the answers they had given. They were asked, “Why did you give these answers?”.

After the application of the questionnaires and interviews in Erciyes, I found some surprising figures, particularly related to *cemaats* and *Qur'an* courses. Therefore, in order to explore the reasons behind these surprises, I paid more attention to asking questions about these issues in the Ankara replication.

Thirteen students in the University of Erciyes and eighteen in the University of Ankara were interviewed. Half of the female students who were interviewed wore the *başörtüsü* or *türban* (headscarf); half did not. The students who were interviewed are presented in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5. Students who were interviewed.

		The University of Erciyes	The University of Ankara
Male		7	10
Female	Wore <i>başörtüsü</i>	3	4
	Did not wear <i>başörtüsü</i>	3	4

The interviews were used to probe more deeply into what lay behind the answers given by students in the questionnaire. Therefore, data from interviews and observations was generally employed in two ways. On the one hand, output from statistical tests was supported by giving direct quotations from in-depth interviews and referring to the observations. It is assumed that following this procedure not only gave more illustrative results and insights, but also minimised the risk of bias at the stage of

interpretation. On the other hand, both in-depth interviews and observations encouraged me to seek other possible relationships or differences between any particular variables. Therefore, a number of statistical tests were achieved by these means.

Observations

Observations were carried out in two ways. On the one hand, recent publications such as books, journals and newspapers relating to the research questions were sought in order to obtain a general picture about how Islam was situated in students' daily life. On the other hand, in addition to my personal experience as a *Vaiz, Mufti* and religious inspector, two university mosques, student canteens, and one private and one university student accommodations were visited.

In these visits, I found that students were very sympathetic and cooperative. In every instance, students offered me tea and they asked me if I needed more students for the interviews or the questionnaire. They were willing to help me and to disclose their thoughts, as long as the information they gave was not used for non-academic purposes.

2.3.2 Primary Data Analysis

The secondary data will be analysed in chapters 3 to 5. Both secondary and primary data analysis will be reported in chapters 6 to 9. The primary data analysis was conducted using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) for Windows Release 9.0 (Norusis, 1999).

The examination of data from questionnaires in terms of a number of criteria is an important issue in data analysis. This examination was undertaken in line with the suggestions by Myers (1999), Blaxter *et al.* (1997), Howitt and Cramer (1997), Tacq

(1997), Tabachnick and Fidel (1996), de Vaus (1996), Babbie (1995), Murphy and Davidshofer (1994), Eagly and Chaiken (1993), and Pennington (1993). Before entering data into the computer, booklets from respondents were examined carefully. After this assessment, a number of cases were dropped from the data set because of excessive missing values, and two or three attention-test items were given wrong answers. Data entered into the computer was examined with respect to normality, linearity, homogeneity of variance, and outliers and missing values. The initial examination was also verified by means of graphical and descriptive summary statistical measures such as histograms and scatter-plots. The statistical methods which were employed included means, frequencies, cross-tabulations, *t*-tests, ANOVA, correlation and regressions.

2.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, methods which were followed in the course of collecting primary and secondary data, and analysis of these data have been discussed. The issue of which survey method to employ to collect primary data has involved a consideration of the framework and the procedure of in-depth interviewing, questionnaire administration and observation. In order to elicit the required information from as large a sample as possible within the time and cost constraint of the study, two universities were chosen for the administration of the questionnaire and in-depth interview as the most appropriate method and sample. Data from primary sources were analysed with appropriate statistical test techniques using SPSS for Windows (Release 9.0).

Response rates of 93% and 86% were obtained for both the University of Erciyes and the University of Ankara respectively, both of which are eligible for statistical analysis. These response rates may be considered to be excellent for a study such as this conducted outside the UK.

Chapter 3

ISLAM IN THE TURKISH CONTEXT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Being Muslim, for Turks, seems as old as Islam. They have more than one thousand years of the Islamic state tradition too. The first Muslim Turkish state was formed by the *Karahans* in the tenth century. Since the *Karahans*, Islam remained a religion of the state during the *Seljuk* period and the Ottoman Empire until the early twentieth century (Mardin, 1977). In the 1920s, the foundation of the Turkish Republic was based on secular rather than religious principles. However, as a result of the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey, the composition of the population within the borders of the new Republic changed dramatically between 1914 and the census of 1927; the non-Muslim population declined from 20% to 2.6% and continued to decline thereafter. Therefore, Turkey became a country with close to 100% Muslim population (Mardin, 1977). Despite this, secularist policies were accepted and were strictly enforced.

In today's Turkey, Islam still seems an important issue in many aspects of social life. It not only has a significance in the religious domain but also has consequences in economic, political, educational and social spheres. At the same time, Islam in the Turkish context is affected by current economic, political and educational developments. The outcome of these interactive relations, to some extent, results from the modernisation process in Turkey from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.

A regulating and modernising movement, which started in the 1750s and became very influential during the *Tanzimat* era, brought about some substantial changes in traditional Islamic discourse in Turkey. On the one hand, concepts from the political theory of Islam such as *wilaya* and *tawkil* (representation and delegation), *adalet* (justice), *ijma-i ummet* (consensus of the community) and *mashvarat* (consultation) re-emerged. On the other, some new concepts such as nationalism and secularism entered the intellectual agenda. Nevertheless, the vast majority of the population in the Turkish provinces preserved their own way of Islamic life and thought. *Sufi* orders (*tarikats*), for example, remained an important part of their traditional practice.

Since the foundation of the Republic, Islam has undertaken an official task so that it may play a role in bringing about national solidarity and unity among the whole population. The main responsibility for this was given to the *Diyanet (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı)*, alongside its purely religious duties in relation to belief (*itikad*), ritual (*ibadat*), moral issues (*ahlak*) and religious institutional administration. It seems that this task has been overwhelmingly accepted by Turkish Muslims too. Its roots arose generally in the *Tanzimat* era, and thereafter, within the nationalist tradition. Some elements of this responsibility could easily be found within Turkish Muslim thought and practice such as *dua* or prayers¹ (Ates, 1977), religious education (Kaymakcan,1998) and religio-political views (Yavuz,1997; Heper,1997; Çakır,1994). *Qur'anic* verses and the Prophetic tradition (*hadith*) were used to legitimise this. Therefore, to play the role outlined above among the whole population might be seen as an undisputed religious task for Islam in the Turkish context (Zubaida, 1996).

As a result of state policy, Sunni Islam was promoted by the *ulama* (Muslim scholars) during the Ottoman period. A great number of *tarikats* (*Sufi* orders) emerged and

¹ For example: Oh God! Strengthen our national unity!

played a crucial role within the society. However, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some *Alawi-Bektashi tarikats* and their activities were banned temporarily. A similar policy has been more firmly enforced for all *tarikats* in the new Republic. They are disregarded and seen as illegal. The establishment of any religious society other than *Diyanet* is considered an offence. Just as the *ulama* in the Ottoman Empire had followed Sunni Islamic principles, so did the *Diyanet* after its establishment. This policy justifies itself in the Islamic sphere with the idea that, "there is one Islam, therefore there must be one type of Muslim, practising or non-practising, and one type of Islam". Moreover, any attempt to establish a secret religious organisation is charged with the accusation of aiming to replace the current democratic parliamentary regime with a theocratic one. It is then banned and its members punished.

This study attempts to survey the general characteristics of Islam in the Turkish context. In so doing, first, it will be necessary to look briefly at historical developments, particularly at intellectual thought in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century and onward. The seeds of current Islamic trends in Turkey must be sought there. Secondly, the period of substantial change and disputed issues concerning Islam and *laiklik* (secularism) policies in Turkey will be discussed. Thirdly, religious trends will be surveyed briefly. Next, the *Diyanet* and its role in the society will be examined. Finally, these issues will be summarised and further analysed.

3.2 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The earliest religion of the Turks was *Shamanism*. Contacts between the Turks and Muslims commenced at the beginning of the eighth century and some of the Turks began to favour Islam. Islam spread among the Turks from the west and the south beyond the river *Ceyhun*. The Turks became fully Muslim by the tenth century, and this resulted in the achievement of political unity. Following these developments, the first Muslim Turkish state was formed by the *Karahans* in the tenth century. This

construction was also maintained during the *Seljuk* States period and the Ottoman Empire (Mardin, 1977; Ahmad, 1995).

By the end of the thirteenth century, when the Ottoman State was established, Islam was well organised. After Yavuz Sultan Selim (1512-1520) acquired the *Caliphate*, Ottoman Sultans also embodied religious leadership as successors to the Prophet Muhammed. Hence, they accepted the role of guardian of the whole Muslim world (İnalçık, 1973).

As the Ottoman Empire expanded over three continents, it contained many people who affiliated to different Islamic sects or legal rites (*mezheps*), in addition to the Christian and Jewish populations, which also lived within the boundaries of the Empire. This religious heterogeneity, particularly the influence of the *Shi'a*, posed a threat to the Ottoman bureaucrats who took measures to reduce the probable dangers. Whilst they supported mainstream Sunni Islam², they also tried to keep the *Shi'a* at a distance. Moreover, they exiled some groups, which they perceived as heterodox and dangerous, to the far regions of the country. They also used various strategies to keep the *ulama* under control. In order to achieve this end, they created a religious elite (*ulama*) and an educational system controlled by this elite (Mardin, 1977 and 1993).

The official establishment of the Ottoman Empire was influenced deeply by *tarikats* such as *Nakshibendi*, *Kadiri* and *Rufai*, and obviously by their latitudinarian approach (Mardin, 1977). These orders were not only influential among the multi-ethnic and multi-religious Ottoman people, but also many Sultans were affected by them. Some Sultans became members of *tarikats*.

² When the *Diyanet* was established, it was ruled that it had to follow mainstream Sunni Islam.

However, both *tarikats* and *ulama* retained some control over the revenues of religious foundations (*evkaf*). Mahmut II (1808-1830) kept these foundations under control through the institution of an inspectorate. He also incorporated the *ulama* into his remodelled state by creating an official office for the *Şeyhu'l-Islam*. The *Şeyhu'l-Islam* was transformed into a civil servant with advisory and consultative functions. Later he became a member of the cabinet (*Divan-i Humayun*) (Ahmad, 1995).

This regulating and modernising movement was influential both in Ottoman territories and other Ottoman influenced Muslim countries such as Egypt, Tunisia, India and Malaysia. For instance, Sayyid Ahmad Khan in India and Khair al-Din Pasha in Tunisia were well-informed about *Tanzimat*, particularly the thought of the Young Ottomans (Mortimer, 1982). The seeds of Islamic modernism in the work of Muhammad Abduh and Sayyid Ahmad Khan, and of political Islam in the ideas of Hasan al-Banna and Abu al-Ala al-Mawdudi might be found in this influence. In the second part of the twentieth century, Islamic trends in Turkey were influenced by both the ideas of Islamic modernism and political Islam.

3.2.1 Reform And The Modernisation Process: The Ethos Of Tanzimat

Tanzimat is a word from Arabic meaning “reorganisation” or “regulation”. It refers to a period of the Ottoman Empire from 1839 to 1878 (Mardin, 1962). Reform and the modernisation process, particularly of military institutions, in fact, had been evident since the mid-eighteenth century. A school of military engineering was established and many scientific texts on medicine, botany, astronomy, navigation, geography, astronomy and mathematics were translated into Turkish. Western languages, mainly French, were studied. The objective of these reforms was to strengthen the Empire in its military and scientific aspects (Lewis, 1968). To some extent, the reforms were oriented towards maintaining the Ottoman status quo. Therefore, as Kadioğlu (1998) and Mortimer (1982) noted, the ideology which lay behind this reorganisation

encouraged the maintenance of the Ottoman state system. The Ottoman state system was based on the *millet* system, of a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-lingual, multi-juridical and multi-cultural society.

In 1839, a charter known as the *Gülhane* Prescript was issued. With this charter, an equality between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects was brought forward, with regard to security for life, honour, and fortune for the purpose of levying taxes and troops. In 1856, the second charter of *Tanzimat*, the Edict of Reforms was declared. In relation to military service, the organisation of justice, levying of taxation, acceptance of educational institutions and employment in public services, equal rights and obligations were given to both Muslims and non-Muslims (Mardin, 1962, 1995; Mortimer, 1982).

These regulations were administered by the Sultan via his *Vezirs*, high bureaucrats under coercion from Christian West. Therefore, these reforms focused on equal rights for Muslims and non-Muslims, although the Ottoman statesmen intended by these reforms to recover the supremacy of the Empire over Western countries. However, it was observed that to some extent Western influence on the reforms badly affected the Ottoman Empire despite their recognition of the necessity of the reforms. By the end of the *Tanzimat* era, the decline of the Empire became much more visible, western interference in the Ottoman government increased, and the Ottoman Empire became “a sick man” of Europe. As Mortimer pointed out:

“Moreover, the reforms were enacted under pressure from Christian powers who seemed intent either on breaking up the Empire, or on completely dominating its economy, or both, and for both purposes they were using the Christian minorities as a kind of Trojan horse” (Mortimer, 1982: 96).

It seems that this new context caused the emergence of an organised opposition which used religion and nationalism as two crucial elements of its ideology. After the mid-nineteenth century, two new trends were seen as prominent in the Ottoman Empire: *Islamism* and *Turkism* (Zurcher, 1993). *Islamism* was partly a response to the Ottomans' legal administrative system, but also a response to current Islamic understanding which turned back to the original, unadulterated sources of Islam.

During the reign of Abdulhamid II (1876-1908), *pan-Islamism* was promoted officially. At the same time, when the Young Ottomans who proclaimed *Islamism* were dispersed by Abdulhamid II, their place was taken by the Young Turks. When they established the Committee of Union and Progress (*CUP, İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*), which favoured nationalist ideas rather than *Islamism*, other *Islamist* views mostly became subordinate. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, Turkish nationalism became the official ideology.

Islamism: The Young Ottomans and the Political Theory of Islam

In the nineteenth century, the argument of *Islamism* was one of purification, returning to the unadulterated sources of Islam. Prophet Muhammad had three powers of government: executive, legislative and judicial. After he died, executive and judicial but not legislative powers were maintained by the *caliphs*. However, since the earliest days of the *Caliphate*, in the light of divine law or *Shari'a*, *icma* (consensus), *urf* (custom, social ethic), *ibaha* (if there is no restriction, general freedom) and *maslahat* (necessity and reason) were used as if they were secular lawmaking powers. Applying these sources, the Ottoman Sultans as *caliphs* proclaimed *kanunnames* or *nizamnames* (edicts or regulations).

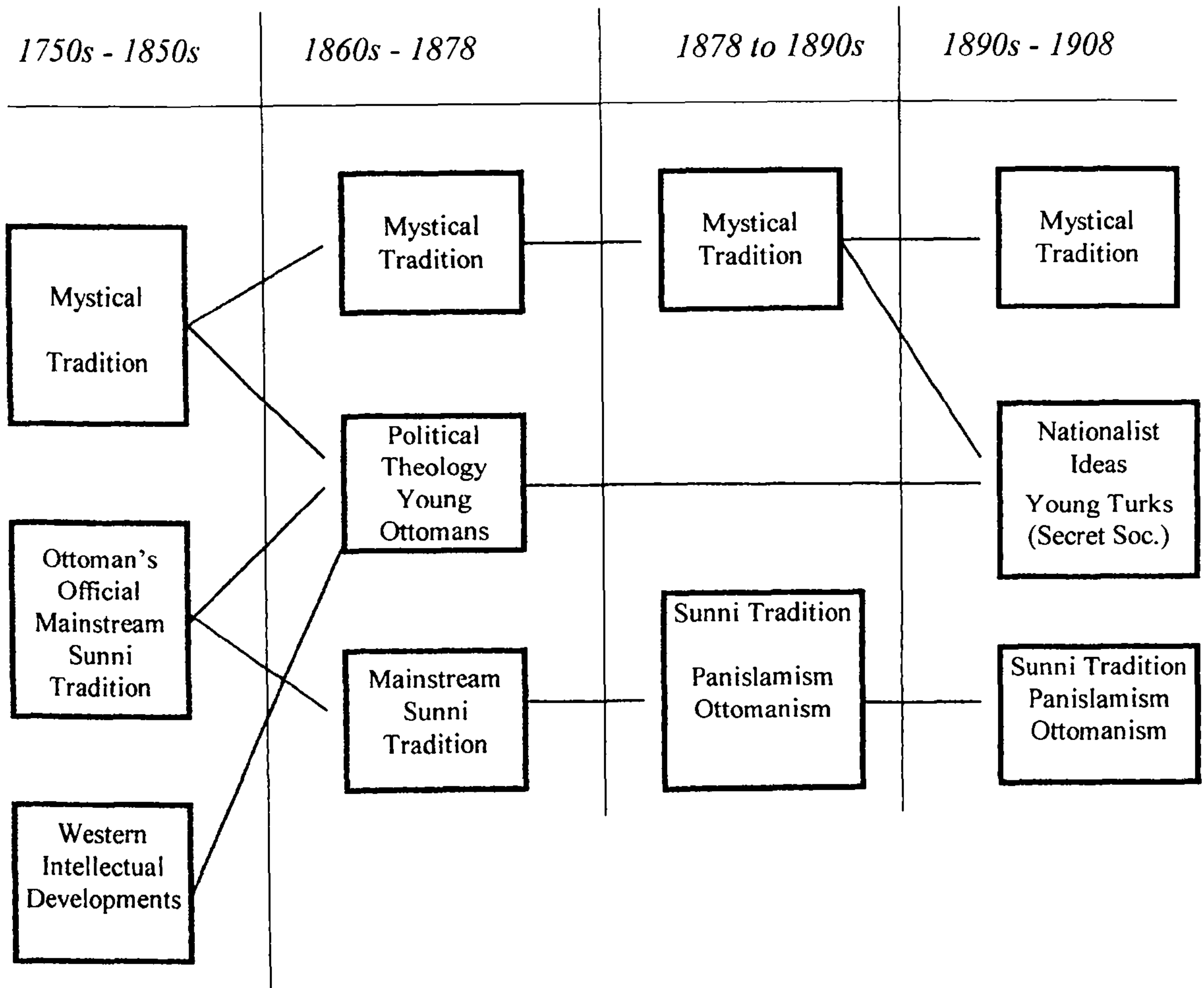
In the 1860s, according to Namik Kemal the patriotic poet and his collaborators, known as the Young Ottomans, liberty (*hürriyet*) was a concept which was

particularly significant. In using this concept, they were reformulating the ideas of individual freedom and individual responsibility in the *Qur'an*, referring to philosophers such as Nasireddin et-Tusi, Ibn Sina, Huseyn Vaiz Kaşifi and jurist Calalddin ad-Davvani, and of natural law, referring to Ibn Rusd, al-Ghazzali and Ibn Haldun. The Young Ottomans attributed the concept of “*tyranny*” to the government of the Empire.

Considering the lawmaking power of the *caliphs*, on the one hand, the Young Ottomans drew attention to *tawkil* (delegation), *biat* (contract of investiture) and *wilaya* (the right to decide for the community) as issues of relevance to the *Caliphate*. On the other hand, *mashvarat* (consultation), *ijma-i ümmet* (consensus of the community) and *adalet* (justice) came under debate. In conclusion, in conceptualising liberty, the Young Ottomans were questioning two substantial points, the role of the government, its responsibilities, limitations and representatives, and the role of the people (society), their responsibilities, limitations and representation.

Islamism, the Young Ottomans’ political theory of Islam, was quite influential between 1860-1876. In 1878, by suspending the first Ottoman Constitution, which was proclaimed in 1876, the Young Ottomans were also dispersed. Following this, *Islamist* thinkers were attracted to the Young Turks, which later became the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). However, within the new Republic, it was evident that *Islamist* views were seen as reactionary until the early multi-party period, the 1960s. Islamic trends from the 1750s to the 1900s and their interactions can be seen in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Islamic trends in Turkey from the 1750s to 1900s.



Turkism: The Young Turks or the CUP and Turkish Nationalism

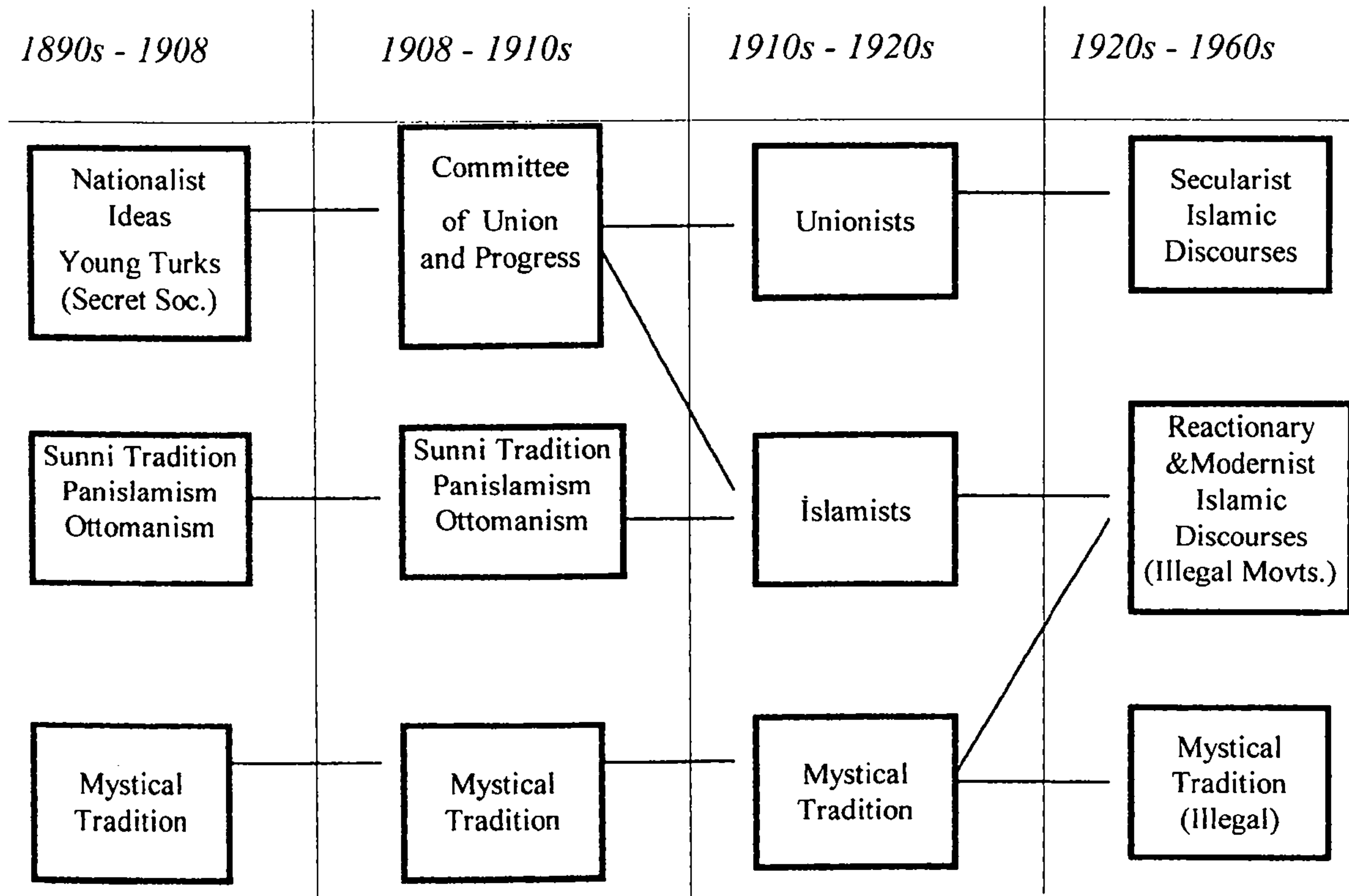
After the dispersal of the Young Ottomans, Sultan Abdulhamid II argued the ideology of *pan-Islamism* to protect the unity of the Empire. Any Islamic and patriotic ideas and activities which opposed this policy were also suppressed in the name of *pan-Islamism*. Ironically, in 1892, Abdulhamid II invited Jamal al-Din Afghani, a *pan-Islamist* thinker, to Istanbul. Despite keeping Afghani in comfort, he prevented him from publication, public speaking, and even from leaving Istanbul, until his death in 1897 (Keddie, 1995). This represented an inner conflict in the policy of *pan-Islamism*.

Additionally, the decline of the Empire became much more visible in these years. To some extent, this decline meant that *pan-Islamism* was also a hopeless policy.

It was in this context that the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) was formed in 1889 by the Young Turks. The Young Turks were the successors to the Young Ottomans. Their committee consisted of members of different ethnic and religious communities such as Turks, Arabs, Armenians, Albanians, and Greeks (Ahmad, 1995). Following the restoration of the second constitutional rule in July 1908, members of the CUP divided into two main groups in the early 1910s, the *Islamists* and *Unionists*. *Islamists* such as Said Halim Pasha emphasised *Islamism* in the sense of the Ottoman millet system. *Unionists* such as Ziya Gökalp the poet and first Turkish sociologist stressed the process of modernisation with reference to the unity of the nation state (Ahmad, 1995; Türkdoğan, 1998).

Islamic solidarity was of considerable importance in this period. Abdulhamid II, in particular, emphasised Islamic unity and his own role as *caliph* of all Muslims. Islamic solidarity policy was partly followed until the 1920s (Ahmad, 1995). In the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the Unionist wing overwhelmingly prevailed, especially among the army commanders. In the name of modernisation, a great number of reforms were carried out in the early years of the new Republic. Some reforms were unexpected such as the abolition of the *Caliphate*. Although Ziya Gökalp was accepted as an ideological father within the Unionist wing in the CUP, as Sirriyeh (1999) has pointed out, some reforms related to Islam were beyond Ziya Gökalp's thoughts too. Islamic trends in Turkey from the 1890s to the 1960s are charted in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2. Islamic trends from the 1890s to 1960s.



3.2.2 Reform Movements and Two Disputed Issues: Islam and Laiklik

The establishment of the Republic brought about many reforms in the socio-religious sphere. The Sultanate was abolished (1 November 1922), the Turkish Republic proclaimed (29 October 1923) and the *Caliphate* abolished (3 March 1924). These reforms were crucial steps for the new Republic. After these developments, every kind of institution which was related to religion -whether directly or indirectly- was abolished or reformed. The following changes were made: the abolition of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Pious Foundations, and the establishment of *Diyanet İşleri Reisliği* (the Religious Affairs Headquarters) (3 March 1924), the abolition of religious courts (18 April 1924), the adoption of the hat as headgear (25 November 1925), the reform of the calendar (1 January 1926), the adoption of new criminal codes (1 July 1926), the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code (4 October 1926), the

disestablishment of Islam as the religion of the Turkish Republic (10 April 1928), the reform of the alphabet (1 November 1928), and the adoption of *ezan* (the call to prayer) in Turkish rather than Arabic (3 February 1932) (Mardin, 1977; Heper, 1997; Ergil, 1989). These reforms were the turning point for Islam in Turkey. Religion was almost eliminated from public life and institutions by this immense secularisation program (Yalman, 1973; Ayata, 1993, 1996). Institutional transformation into secular structures was mostly successful within a short period. However, it took many years for the resultant changes in social life to be observed.

Secularisation did not result in the separation between religion and state; on the contrary, religion became a crucial branch of the nation state in the sense that all religious affairs were sponsored by the government. Additionally, the writing of new interpretations for both *Qur'an* (Yazır, 1979) and one of the famous *hadith* collections, *Sahih al-Bukhari* (Al-Bukhari, d.870, 1983), was sponsored by the Turkish National Assembly, as a part of the massive secularisation process. Therefore, as Kadioğlu (1998) has pointed out, secularism developed a theological character in Turkey. As a response to this sponsorship, it was expected that Islam take up the mantle of national solidarity and unity in the state. As an official institution, the *Diyanet* was structured in a way suited to this purpose.

Islam

These complex developments resulted in the emergence of a rather different Islamic understanding from previous *Islamist* and *Mystical* traditions. It can be described as a reactive Islamic understanding from the secular viewpoint. In one of his speeches, Kemal Atatürk (1924: 6) said: "Changing the orders of life in accordance with the necessity of time is irresistible. ... Superstitions and irrational beliefs have to be omitted from our mind." So, a considerable number of regulations, from the adoption of *ezan* (the call to prayer) in Turkish rather than Arabic (3 February 1932) to banning

hajj (pilgrimage) until the state recovered from its bad economic situation (Mardin, 1977; Berkes, 1998). To some extent, Islam or Islamic understanding within those years was seen as the cause of backwardness, and was generally eliminated from public life and institutions. This new official idea may be referred to as 'secularist Islam'.

The main characteristic of secularist Islam was that priority should be given to Republican ideology. If any discord was to appear between them, Republican ideology was accepted and Islamic teaching was interpreted in its terms. In secularist Islam, it was permissible for an individual to fail to perform religious duties, or to commit sins. These were not seen to be of such overriding importance, as the most important thing was good intention rather than religious duty. Allah was understood to be merciful and forgiving. Religion was a private matter which regulated the relationship between God and the person. However, every act against the state was seen as contravening human (all Turks) rights, and was interpreted as the greatest of sins. Moreover, Islam was seen as a religion that upholds knowledge and reasoning. Basically, no conflict was observed between secularist Islam and Republican ideology.

Republican reforms were very rigid and some of them were unexpected for *Islamists*. However, the *Islamists* themselves also argued for some reforms of an Islamic modernist variety. For example, it is interesting to note that Said Nursi, the founder of *Nurculuk*³, was exiled by Abdulhamid II, because of his ideas. Following that, he became a member of the CUP. He was a parliamentarian in the first Grand National Assembly with the *Unionists* (later known as *Kemalists*). He opposed the abolition of the *Caliphate*, as well as refusing to accept some other changes made in the name of secularisation. After this, opposition was mostly represented by *Nurculuk*. As a result, *Nurculuk* developed a systematic reactionary approach to Republican policies. After

³ *Nurculuk*: An Islamic movement so called after the *Risele-i Nur* authored by the founder Said Nursi.

the Kurdish insurrection of 1925, Said Nursi spent most of the rest of his life (he died in 1960) either in exile or in prison. Following the accusation that the *Nurcus* were involved in an act of rebellion against the Republic, all of their activities were also banned.

According to Said Nursi (1980), materialistic ideas influence every aspect of life. He believed that, in this century particularly, not only traditional Islamic life, but also the beliefs (*iman*) of individuals were under threat. Therefore, the basic discourse of the *Nurcus* involved the protection of the basic Islamic beliefs (*iman rescue*) of individuals. On the other hand, they seemed to promote *Ottomanism*, because they often illustrated their views with examples from social, political and economic organisation of the Ottoman state (Mardin, 1989; Ayata, 1993).

Republican efforts to create a new religious world-view drew *Nurcus* to concern themselves with the Islamic future of Turkey and inter-group religious education (Mardin, 1997). They represented a radical Islamic approach. However, they also adopted some practices from Islamic mystical tradition, particularly the *Nakshibendi*, during the single party period. Tension between the Government and *Nurcus* resulted in growth of the movement. Commenting on the Jehovah Witnesses in the USA, Stark and Iannaccone (1997: 144) wrote “new religious movements are likely to succeed to the extent that they maintain a medium level of tension with their surrounding environment” As a result of such a tension, the *Nurcus* immediately found widespread support among the Turkish population.

In the new Republic, in 1925, one of the most momentous acts was the banning of the *tarikats*. There had been a continuation of the mystical tradition in Turkey since the earliest days of Islam (Kaya, 1984). The *tarikats* were as old as Islam for the Turkish tribes in central Asia. They maintained this mystical tradition by repeating the

teachings of great Turkish *sufis* such as Hoca Ahmed Yesevi, Yunus Emre and Mevlana Calal al-Din al-Rumi.

Before and during the Ottoman Empire, *tarikats* were the only organised religious groups beyond the *ulama*. *Tarikats* were very influential as civil societal organisations within the Ottoman state. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, not surprisingly, leaders of reactionary movements in both the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic came from *sufi* backgrounds. One of the founders of the Young Ottomans, Namık Kemal, the ideological father of Turkish nationalism in the CUP, Ziya Gökalp, and founder of *Nurculuk*, Said Nursi, all had a background in *Sufi* orders. In the 1960s, the foundation of the radical *Islamist* National Order Party (NOP) was also supported by a *Sufi* order (Mardin, 1977; Yavuz, 1997).

In the early Republican period, the *ulama* were dispersed and *Sufi* orders banned. Despite their Sunni status, all *tarikats*, their *tekkes*⁴ (meeting places) and *zaviyes* (lodges) were closed, including the *Alawi-Bektashi* (Mardin, 1977). It was later evident that this ban had not wiped out these *tarikats* as civil societal religious organisations. It is possible that it drove them underground. The *ulama*, however, which were under governmental control during the Ottoman period, were finished within a couple of decades after the Empire.

Laiklik: The Turkish Form of Secularism

In 1937, the principle of *laiklik*, a concept that emerged from French constitutional practice in the nineteenth century, was introduced into the Turkish Constitution. In theory, it referred to the necessity that the state should refrain from lending its positive support to any one religious denomination. However, when *laiklik* in Turkey is

⁴ *Tekke* is a place where members of *Sufi* orders frequently meet. They fulfil their special *Sufi* order practices in addition to the normal worship duties in *tekke* besides the *mosque*.

compared to the French equivalent, structural and practical differences are seen between the two countries. As Mardin (1993) pointed out, in France, *laiklik* was achieved with the separation of church and state as two independent institutions in terms of function and authority.

However, in Turkey, it was evident that *laiklik* was largely based on Comptean theory (İlyasoğlu, 1996). According to this theory, science and religion are two instruments which are used by society. So, whilst society and humanity were elevated to the level of God, science and religion became instruments in the service of society (Vergin, 1994). As pointed out by Göle (1997) and Kadioğlu (1998), the idea of *laiklik* had a theological character during the evolutionary phase which would mould the contours of modernisation theory. A religious institution, the *Diyanet* was established as a branch of government in order to play a role in solidifying and uniting Turkish society. To some extent *laiklik* was entwined with Islam. Therefore, Muslim identity has become an important part of the national identity in the new Republic (Olsen, 1985; Rooijackers, 1994). This notion of secularism as a mechanism for private and public happiness formed the backbone of *Kemalist* secularisation. Hence, *laiklik* became a crucial keyword during the Turkish modernisation process.

In Europe, secularism arose as a consequence of the religious wars of the seventeenth century. In the Muslim World, however, governmental policies as a part of the modernisation process caused secularism. As a result of these two different historical processes, whilst the Christian world tends to see secularism as an antithesis of religious intolerance, the Muslim world tends to see it as an antithesis of the *Shari'a* (Zebiri, 1998).

3.2.3 Multi-Party Period

By the multi-party era, after 1946⁵, a more flexible policy was followed towards religion. This policy was characterised as more respectful of religion and less interfering in religious affairs. Consequently, an Islamic resurgence was observed in many aspects of daily life. *Ezan*, the call to prayer, once again returned in Arabic (Margulies and Yıldızoğlu, 1997). After 1949, *hajj* was also allowed, and the number of people who went on *hajj* increased each year. The formal religious institution of the Republic, the *Diyanet*, was re-constructed and strengthened by personnel and funds, in 1965 and onward (Aytürk, et al 1987). Throughout the multi-party period, similar developments were seen in the education sphere. In the course of time, the same approach to religion was also followed in the cultural and economic realms. (Ayata, 1993; Margulies and Yıldızoğlu, 1997; Yavuz, 1997).

Whilst a divinity faculty in Ankara and several *imam hatip* courses in different regions had been established earlier, in 1949 optional religious education was introduced in primary schools. In the 1950s and 1960s, the number of *imam hatip* schools and also their students increased sharply. Simultaneously, the same rise also occurred in *Qur'an* courses. Furthermore, optional religious lessons were introduced in the curriculum of secondary schools, and Higher Islamic Institutes were founded (Atasoy, 1996; Tarhan, 1996; Margulies and Yıldızoğlu, 1997). In addition to these improvements in the religious education field, the leaders of the 1980 military coup passed an act that made religious and moral education compulsory in primary schools (in the fourth and fifth classes) and secondary schools. This provision was stated in the 1981 constitution of the Turkish Republic. Whilst the governments have followed a policy of not allowing the opening of new *imam hatip* schools since the military intervention of 1980, they have supported the opening of new divinity faculties in line with a major university

⁵ Theoretically, the multi-party period started in 1946. However, in practice, it started in 1950 with the general election.

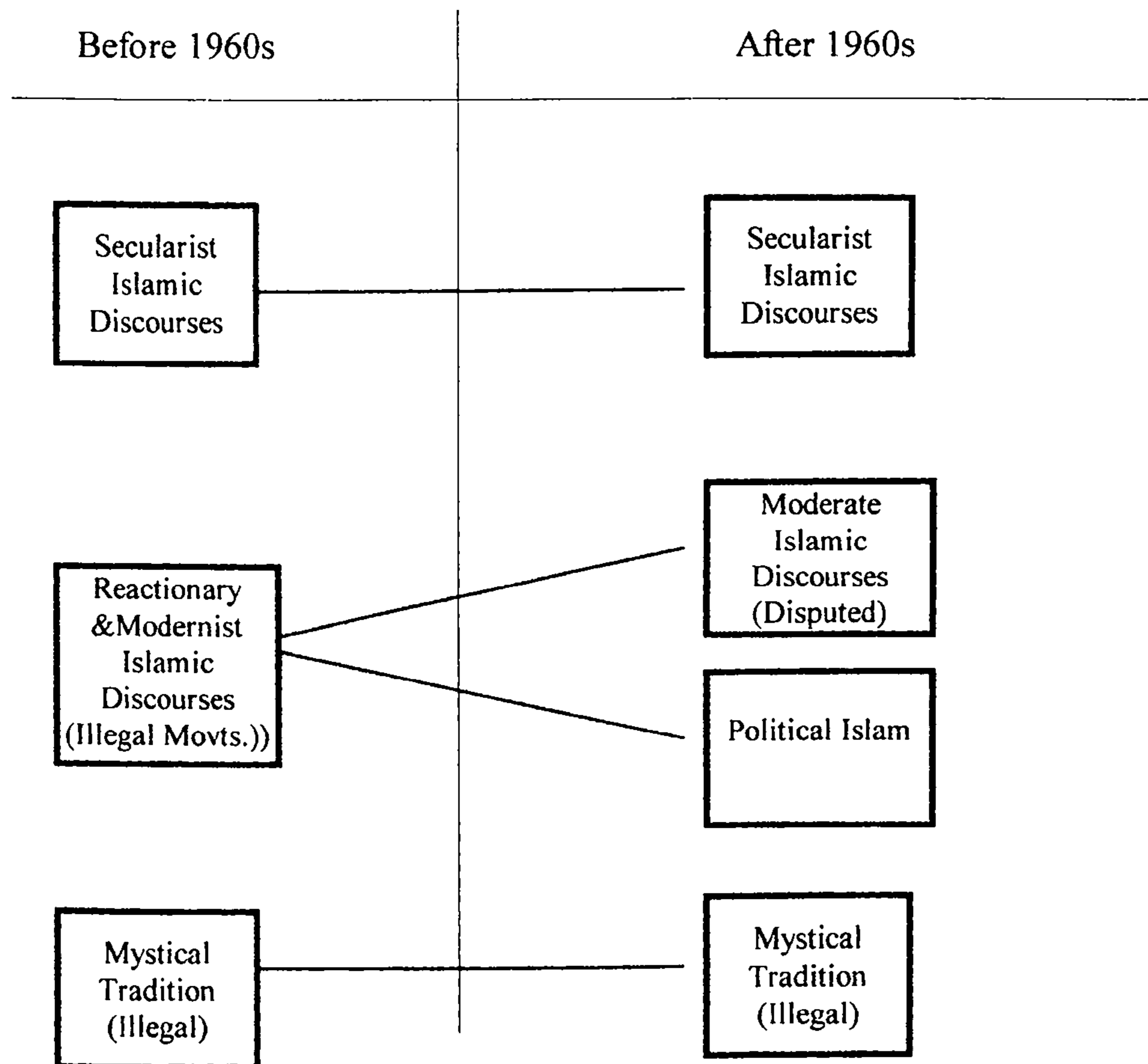
expansion. Consequently, the number of divinity faculties has risen to over twenty in the 1990s.

Concurrently, a number of books and articles related to Islam were translated into Turkish. Many people found a chance to read a range of Islamic materials in Turkish. Moreover, a dramatic increase was observed in the impact of the Islamic press and media in the same period (Tapper, 1991). These improvements also resulted in basic changes in traditional Islamic thought affecting the life style and mercantile activities of Muslims, alongside structural changes in the economy.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the work of Jamaladdin Afghani and Muhammad Abduh sought to bring together Islamic values and modern techniques in an Islamic modernism, and this affected many Muslim scholars in the Islamic world (Donohue and Esposito, 1982; Esposito, 1991). It was evident that their influence continued in Turkey until the 1970s. From the mid-twentieth century, the ideas of Mawlana Abdu'l-Ala al-Mawdudi, Hasan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb were seen to prevail in the Islamic world. They took an anti-modernist stand, in the name of an alternative Islamic model.

This new current resulted in further changes to Islamic trends. These changes are seen in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3. Islamic trends in Turkey before and after the 1960s.



3.3 CEMAATS AND GENERAL ISLAMIC TRENDS

The modernisation project of the nineteenth century and rigid secular nation state policies of the twentieth century brought about a transformation in Islamic trends. *Cemaats*, which have existed in Turkey since the Ottoman period, are seen as significant in this process. Until the 1920s, *tarikats* and religious groups were known with their specific labels, whereas *cemaat* was mostly used for the congregation of a mosque. Particularly, during the last three decades, religious groups/communities have emerged in Turkey that have preferred to refer to themselves using the Arabic term *cemaats*. This term has continued to be used for the congregation of a mosque. An

actual link between these two meanings may be observed. In many cases, a religious group/community, such as *İskenderpaşa Cemaati* and *Fethullah Hoca Cemaati* originated from the congregational members of a mosque. The *İskenderpaşa Cemaati* originated in the congregation of the *İskenderpaşa Mosque* with the leadership of its imam, a *Nakshibendi* Sheikh Muhammed Zahid Kodku followed by Esad Hoca (Demirci, 1996). The *Fethullah Hoca Cemaati* also emerged from congregations of the mosques in İzmir, with the leadership of their *vaiz* (preacher) Fethullah Hoca. After the emergence, they grew quickly.

Cemaats are identified with their *hocas* or *sheikhs* and the points that they stress. For example, whilst Islamic mysticism is a central issue for the *İskenderpaşa Cemaati*, following a moderate Islamic way in the society is the main concern of the *Fethullah Hoca Cemaati*. Therefore, in today's Turkey, *cemaats* can be classified into three trends on the basis of their emphases, although they have different *hocas* and *sheikhs*.

First, the political theory of Islam, argued by Namık Kemal and his collaborators, was transformed into a *political Islam* with the significant support of a *Nakshibendi Sheikh* Muhammed Zahid Kodku, in the 1970s. The (former) Welfare Party is the best example of this trend. Secondly, the *Islamist* wing within the CUP took a radical and reactionary position during the single party period, which later developed such a way that they were seen to create a *moderate Islamic approach* to both Islam and the *laik* (secular) policies of the last two decades. This trend may be exemplified by the *Fethullahcıs*. Finally, the most stable and least modified form of Islamic trend has been the *mystical tradition* known as *tarikats*. A number of *tarikats*, such as *Nakshibendi*, *Kadiri*, *Rufai* and their branches exemplify this trend.

Following the foundation of the Turkish Republic, beyond the *cemaats*, a new approach towards Islam from both the Republican and the secularist viewpoints developed. This new approach, a *secularist Islam*, was created during the single party

period. Secularist Islam is different than the other three trends which all consist of *cemaats*.

3.3.1 Mystical Tradition: A Popular Islamic Philosophical Network

In today's Turkey, several *tarikats*, which have deep roots in Turkish social and religious life, are accommodated, for example, *Nakshibendi*, *Rufai*, *Kadiri* and *Mavlavi*. They are basically interested in the salvation of the individual. *Zikr* (the remembrance of God) and *sohbet* (attendance at religious lectures) are the principal practices. These orders differ in their way of performing the *zikr*. *Nakshibendis* perform the *zikr* as internal speech. *Kadiris* recite the *zikr* as a chorus. *Rufais* perform it as both chorus and rhythmic actions, and *Mavlavis* perform it with divine music and dance.

The formal ban on *tarikats* did not put an end to these movements. In the last couple of decades, the celebration of annual ceremonies of some great Turkish *Sufis* such as Mavlana Calal al-Din al Rumi, Hacı Bektaş Veli, Pir Sultan Abdal, and Hoca Ahmed Yesevi was allowed (Zubaida, 1996). Official involvement was also observed during these anniversaries. For example, the year of 1991 was announced to be "Yunus Emre love and brotherhood year" and sponsored by the Ministry of Culture. Additionally, annual festivals for Pir Sultan Abdal, a figure revered by *Alawis* began to be celebrated with official participation. Despite these developments, *tarikats* remained illegal (Özdalga, 1998; Beller-Hann, 1995; Yargıtay, 1999).

3.3.2 Political Discourses on the Basis of Islam

The post-World War II, multi-party period began in Turkey in 1946. Together with the Republican People's Party (RPP), founded by Atatürk, the Democrat Party (DP) was formed in 1945, and was elected into office in 1950. The party programme of the

DP was similar to that of the RPP, although the DP followed a policy that was more respectful of religion and less interfering in religious affairs. Moreover, some concrete improvements were seen in the religious realm. Thus, Islamic votes began to be represented in the Turkish National Assembly.

In 1970, with the serious support of the sheikh of the *Nakshibendi* order Mehmet Zahit Kotku, the National Order Party (NOP) was formed by Necmettin Erbakan's leadership. The NOP, which was viewed as a radical *Islamist* party, was banned by the constitutional court in 1971. As its successor, the National Salvation Party (NSP), founded by Erbakan's friends, won forty-nine seats in the national election of 1973 and participated in the two following coalition governments. All the political parties were prohibited by the military intervention of 1980 (Mardin, 1977; Yavuz, 1997; Gülalp, 1999). The same group then established the Welfare Party (WP) in 1983 (Yavuz, 1997). Although the WP had developed a modern image as a mass party and had rejected some of its previous religio-political arguments and anti-state, civil societal characteristics, it was also closed by the constitutional court in 1998 (Kadioğlu, 1998; Islam-Husain, 1998; Gülalp, 1999).

It is possible to see examples of Islamic interpretation and religious symbols in the implementation of all these policies although arguments based on religion remain strictly banned from the political arena. Additionally, a number of small parties which have adopted a religious approach have also emerged alongside the Welfare Party (WP), such as the Grand Unity Party (GUP).

In the 1960s and 1970s, a number of books and articles related to Islam -including political Islam- were translated into Turkish. Among them, the works of Abu al-Ala al-Mawdudi from Pakistan, and Hasan al-Banna and Seyyid Qutb from Egypt and their collaborators seem to have been influential in the reconstruction of Turkish political Islam.

Today's Turkish political Islam, which re-emerged largely in the 1960s and 1970s, links Islam with general moral values. The political Islam of the 1860s and 1870s was based on a theory which questioned fundamental concepts arising in the political theory of Islam. It is difficult to establish the theory of today's political Islam. Rather, it concerns itself with how to come to power within the current democratic parliamentary system.

3.3.3 Seeking a Moderate Way between Secular and Political Islam: Fethullahcıs

Whilst the *Nurcus* were thought to be a radical Islamic group in the period before the 1960s, they gradually transformed into one that was less marginal and more mainstream. Since the late 1970s, moderate Islam may be exemplified by the *Fethullahcıs* as a prevailing branch of the *Nurcus*.

Fethullah Gülen, a former preacher and the leader of this branch, promotes religious co-existence both in Turkey and beyond (Ayata, 1993; Kadiođlu, 1998). The basic argument of moderate Islam is freedom of conscience. The moderates also emphasise the use of science and technology. They have many private schools in Turkey or other countries, particularly in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), and supplementary courses for higher education as well as a newspaper, *Zaman*, and a television channel, the *STV*, which reflect their viewpoints.

When this trend towards moderation is assessed, an improvement is apparent in religious education policies between 1949 and 1982. Since these policies appeared to have been fruitful, the *Fethullahcıs* departed from their radical and reactionary stance. As Stark and Iannaccone (1997) have pointed out, when the causes that fertilise tension are eliminated, religious groups generally avoid radical discourses. So, in recent years, the *Nurcus*, particularly the *Fethullahcıs*, have operated in a peaceful and

conciliatory manner in Turkey (Ayata, 1993). They accepted Islam as the tradition of Turkish society and hoped it might remain a defining element in that society.

3.3.4 Secularist Discourses about Islam

In today's Turkey, the term secularist Islam is not used to describe a particular pro-Islamic group or groups. Many social democrats and some of the secular elite can be considered in this category. In the last three decades, it can be said that secularist Islam has appeared as a counter-political Islam in Turkey. The most frequently repeated slogan by secular Muslims is "love, peace and brotherhood/sisterhood in the modern, *laik* democratic and civil parliamentary state." Although, this slogan is also used by political Islam (Zubaida, 1996; Toprak, 1993), it better describes the views of secularist Islam.

Secularists can be classified into two groups according to their perception of Islam: radical or moderate. On the basis of this categorisation, the *radical secularists* see Islam as backward and their attitude towards Islam can be described as one of hostility. They refuse to accept any relationship between *laiklik* and Islam, or to enter a dialogue with *Islamist* inclinations (Heper, 1997). By contrast, the *moderate secularists* accept the importance of Islam as the religion for the people. However, some of the moderate secularists also fear the establishment of an Islamic state in Turkey. Many members of the centre-right political parties and some of the elite may be considered in this category (Heper, 1997). According to this classification, the moderates may be identified as secularist Muslims.

Additionally, several *Islamist* intellectuals (intellectual Islam) such as Ali Bulaç, Rasim Özdenören and İsmet Özel have emerged recently (Meeker, 1991; Göle, 1997; Heper, 1997). They claim a redefinition of the present Islamic understanding. In so doing, they use three basic elements. First, they call for a return to the original sources of

Islam: the *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah* (sayings and traditions of the Prophet Muhammad). Second, they criticise both many aspects of Western modernity and traditional or folk Islam. Third, they call for a pluralist Muslim community (Heper, 1997). Although many people are interested in the discourses of intellectual Islam, at present, it does not seem to have communal significance.

3.4 DİYANET İŞLERİ BAŞKANLIĞI (THE PRESIDENCY OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS)

All religious institutions were either abolished or re-structured in Turkey in 1925 (Berkes, 1998). In the very early stages of the reform project known as *Atatürk devrimleri*, the Religious Affairs Headquarters was established by the Parliament Bill of 429, as a branch in the Prime Ministry, on 3 March 1924.

In the 1961 constitution of the Turkish Republic, section 154, the *Diyanet* was stated as an institution within the general governmental administration. Hence, *Diyanet*, which is the only formal religious institution in Turkey, became a constitutional, governmental establishment. This structure was retained in the 1982 constitution. The policy of the *Diyanet* follows the doctrine of Sunni Islam (Tarhanlı, 1993). This was the stance of the *ulamas* during the Ottoman Empire. In fact, most of the population of Turkey is Sunni, predominantly *Hanafi* and then *Şafii*. However, the *Alawis*, which were identified with a *tarikats* known as *Alawi-Bektashi* rather than being considered a sect such as *Shia* (Fıçlalı, 1990; Türkdoğan, 1995), and other *tarikats* were not represented in the *Diyanet*.

3.4.1 Official Duties of the Diyanet

Certain special obligations were attributed to the *Diyanet* in accordance with its structure. These responsibilities were stated in the 1982 constitution, section 134.

Whilst the *Diyanet* should fulfil its -purely religious- duties, it was obliged to consider three principles: first, to perform in line with the principle of *laiklik*, second, to remain strictly apolitical, third, to play a role in bringing about unity and national solidarity among the whole population. These obligations, for the first time, were given to the *Diyanet* as a constitutional obligation in 1961 (Bilimer, 1963; Tarhanlı, 1993; Aytürk, et. al. 1987; Yargıtay, 1999).

This governmental department initially was involved in the administration of mosques and the appointment of imams and preachers (Aytürk, et. al. 1987). The activities of the *Diyanet*, in general, remained at the same level until the 1960s. In 1965, act 633, “the Law about Establishment and Duties of *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*” was issued in line with the 1961 Constitution. With this regulation, both its duties and structures were expanded. In pursuance of the act 633, section 1, which outlines its duties, the *Diyanet* is responsible for all activities pertaining to belief (*itikad*), ritual (*ibadat*) and moral (*ahlak*) matters of Islam, to inform society about religion, and to administer places of worship.

The imams employed by the *Diyanet* carry out their duties by *ezan* (call to prayer), *salat* (daily prayer) five times each day, *va’z* (preaching), teaching *Qur’an*, religious publications, basic teaching of the catechism and answering questions about religious matters (Diyanet, 1999). They are also involved in most of the regional or national charity organisations, with permission of the local authority. The *Diyanet* constituted the *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı* (The Religious Foundation of Turkey) in 1975. Its basic aims were to support the services of the *Diyanet* and to regulate some of its charitable organisations.

According to the official/legal and actual existence of the *Diyanet*, it is not a religious organisation like the *cemaats*. *Diyanet İşleri Başkanı* (the president of *Diyanet* Affairs) is not seen as a religious leader but a reliable and the highest religious representative

appointed by the government. However, the *Diyanet* is not regarded as an official department like education, treasury and defence.

Consequently, the *Diyanet* acted as a moderating force since its establishment in 1924. Whenever Islamic movements representing extreme views appeared in Turkish society, the *Diyanet* criticised them whilst remaining within the doctrine of Sunni Islam. On the other hand, when a government body put forward an idea which opposed Islamic belief, it managed to represent the doctrine of Sunni Islam without confrontation, as in the case of the *fatwa* of the headscarf in the 1980s and 1990s (Tarhanlı, 1993). In so doing, its main instruments have been preaching, formal religious declarations (*fatwa*) of the *Din İşleri Yüksek Kurulu* (the Supreme Board of Religious Affairs), and *Qur'an* courses. Therefore, the *Diyanet* exercises a role of tension reduction regarding Islam in Turkey.

3.4.2 Present Structure of the Diyanet

The *Diyanet* had a very simple structure from 1924 to 1950 (Table 3.4). Between 1950 and 1965, some minor changes were made to it. However, in 1965, the *Diyanet* was re-structured and strengthened in terms of personnel and budget. This progress was maintained in the following years. After that, it began to operate more effectively in society (Aytürk, et al, 1987).

In the 1990s, the *Diyanet* was made up of three main parts: central organisation, provincial organisation and international organisation (Diyanet, 1999; Diyanet-APK, 1999). Official structure of the *Diyanet* is presented in Table 3.5. The central organisation consisted of ten main departments and seven supplementary departments. The main departments were the Supreme Board of Religious Affairs, Board for the Control of Copies of *Qur'an*, Inspection Board, Legal Advisors Board, Department of

Table 3.4. Official structure of the *Diyamet* until 1950.

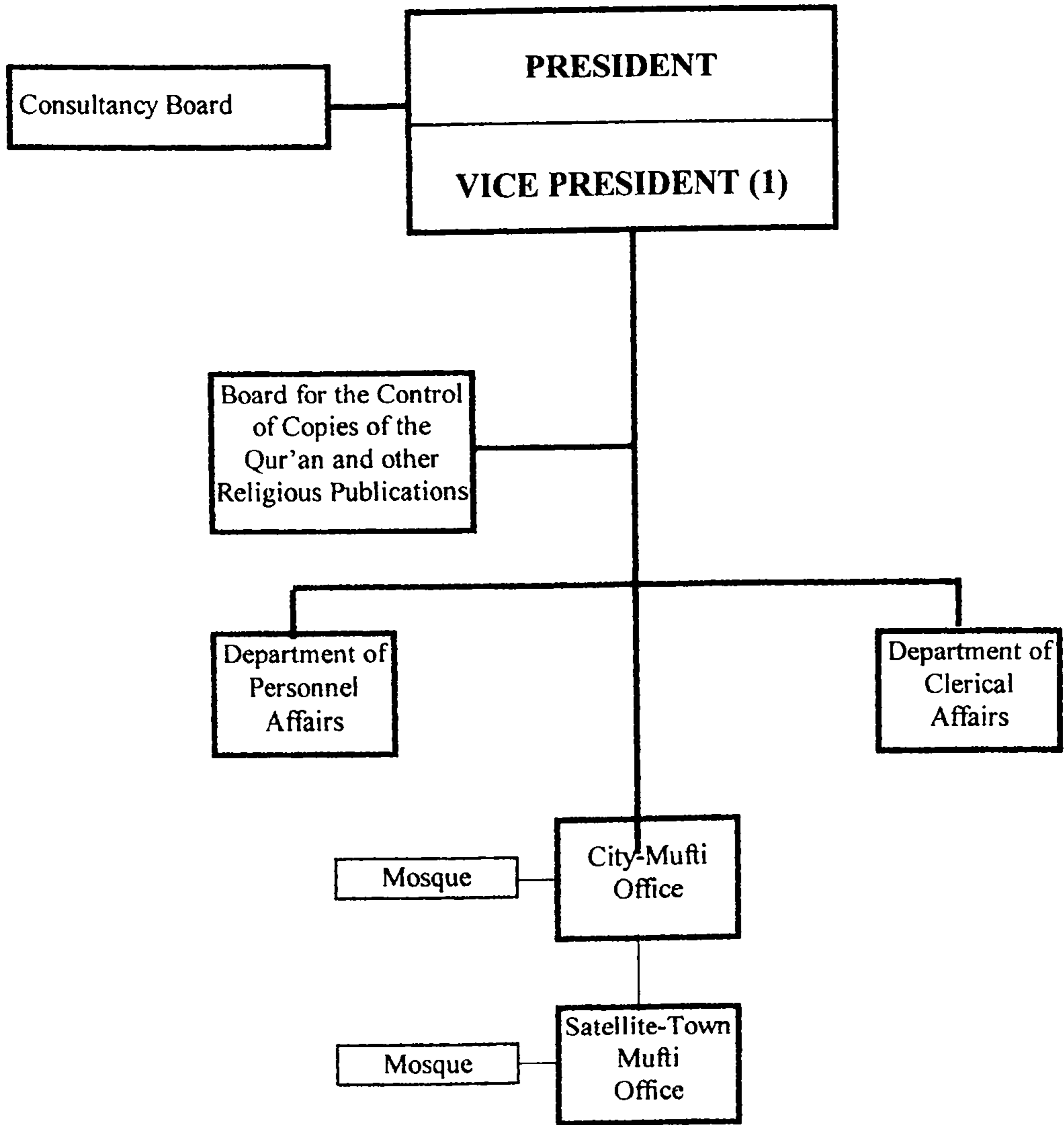
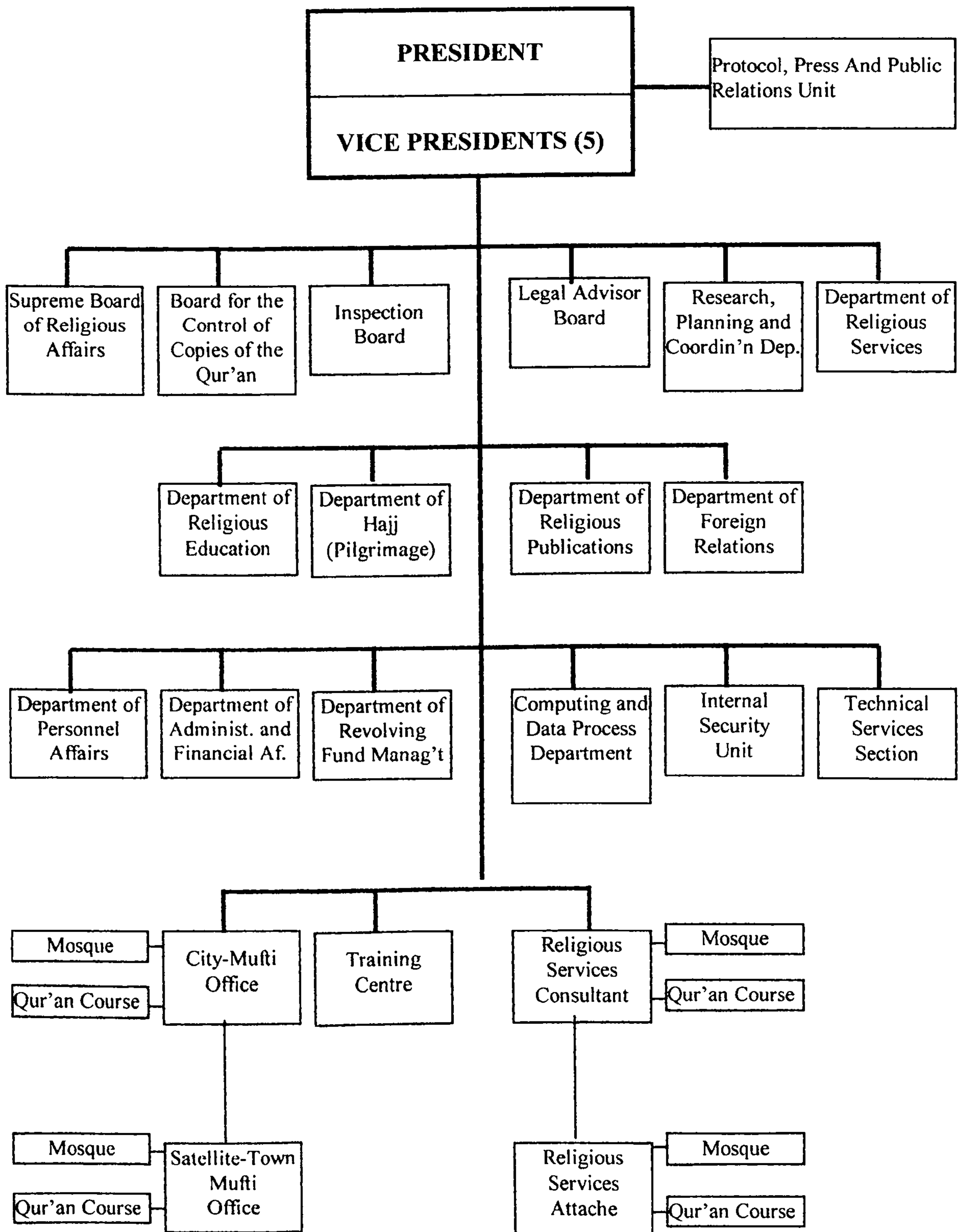


Table 3.5. Official structure of the *Diyanet* in the late 1990s.



Research, Planning and Co-ordination, Department of Religious Services, Department of Religious Education, Department of *Hajj* (Pilgrimage), Department of Religious Publications and Department of Foreign Relations. Supplementary departments were the Department of Personnel Affairs, Department of Administrative and Financial Affairs, Department of Revolving Fund Management, Computing and Data Processing Service, Protocol, Press and Public Relations Unit, Internal Security Unit and Research, and the Technical Services Section. The departments were also comprised of some relevant sub-divisions (*Diyanet*, 1999; Diyanet-APK, 1999).

The provincial organisation of the *Diyanet* consisted of two parts: the city-Mufti offices in every city and training centres in several cities. The city-Mufti offices consisted of satellite-town Mufti offices in all satellite town, mosques, *Qur'an* courses, preachers, administrative and clerical staff in cities. Satellite town Mufti offices also comprised of mosques, *Qur'an* courses, preachers, and clerical staff in towns. However, they were responsible to the city-Muftis (*Diyanet*, 1999; Diyanet-APK, 1999).

The international organisation consisted of Religious Services Consultants in Turkish Embassies, Religious Services Attaches in the Turkish Consulate General and religious functionaries (*Imams* and *muezzins*) in the mosques. The international organisation was initially founded to meet the religious and spiritual needs of Turkish workers in Germany in the early 1980s. Since the similar organisations were established to meet the demands of Turkish workers or other Turkish citizens in other European countries and the USA (*Diyanet*, 1999; Diyanet-APK, 1999).

The number of *Diyanet* religious functionaries had reached over eighty thousand in the 1990s. Whilst 55.5% of them worked in villages and small towns, 44.5% worked in

big towns or cities. Most of these personnel gave their services in the mosques, of which there were over 60,000 (*Diyanet*, 1999; *Diyanet-APK*, 1999).

3.5 CONCLUSION

In terms of Islam in Modern Turkey, three stages can be observed. In the first stage, from the nineteenth century to the 1920s, a number of reforms and regulations were achieved to modernise the basic institutions of the Empire. From the eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, reforms mostly dealt with bringing Western technological and scientific developments into the Empire. In this period of adaptation, reforms and regulations were made in accordance with Islamic principles. Both the Young Ottomans and Young Turks were mostly interested in substantial changes in the structure of the Empire. The Young Ottomans re-emphasised the political theory of Islam. They also drew attention to many Islamic texts and pioneered the ideas of the *ulama* in this regard. In so doing, they attempted to illustrate their thoughts with Western examples. It is as a result of this that Lewis argued that the Young Ottomans' political theory derived from Montesquieu and Rousseau (Lewis, 1968). On the contrary, the Young Ottomans' political theory, particularly the ideas of Namik Kemal, were based on a return to the original sources of Islam. Their concepts, such as *wilaya*, *tawkil*, *adalet*, *ijma-i ummet* and *mashvarat*, which related to political theology, were different but authentic. However, whilst they were impressed by technological and scientific developments in the West, they were not so keen on the Western ideologies. Instead, they sought inspiration in the Islamic ideological heritage. They argued that the reason for the decline of the Empire was not only technological backwardness but also the countermining or abandonment of Islamic principles. Their attribution of *tyranny* to the Ottoman bureaucracy was based on this ideology. A similar philosophy was seen in the works of the national poet Mehmet Akif Ersoy who wrote the national anthem of the Republic (Ersoy, 1984).

Two issues had a vital effect on Republican policy making. On the one hand, using the idea of *pan-Islamism*, Sultan Abdulhamid II's autocratic policy brought about the dispersal of the Young Ottomans, with their emphasis on liberty and patriotism, and their successors, the Young Turks, and caused the cancellation of the first Ottoman Constitution. The experience of this policy of prohibition in the name of Islam might have had a considerable influence on the decision to omit Islam from public institutions in the Republican period. On the other hand, Western pressure on Ottoman reforms was, to some extent, used as an instrument for the break up of the Empire. All Western advice was met with suspicion regarding its ultimate purpose. These two painful memories had a consequential and useful impact on the way in which later policies were constructed. As a result of this, Republican reforms were neither totally in the Western nor in the Islamic mould.

The second stage runs from the establishment of the Republic and the achievement of strict secular reforms to the beginning of multi-party period, in the 1950s. In this period, secularist and nationalist ideology were seen as the backbone of the Republican modernisation project. Islam and its influence were mostly eliminated from governmental institutions. However, the *Diyanet* was established, and the writing of new interpretations of both the *Qur'an* and the *Sahih al-Bukhari*, a *hadith* collection, were sponsored by the Turkish National Assembly. Therefore, Islam was *used* for official purposes in order to play a role of national unification within Turkish society. In fact, Islam was *employed*, for the first time, with the aims of Islamic solidarity and the protection of the unity of the Empire as an official policy.

The notion of *din-u devlet* (religion and the state, in which religion is the first principle followed by the state) had been an essential policy in the Ottoman Empire. During Sultan Abdulhamid II's reign, in fact, the idea of *din-u devlet* was also partly reversed with religion being used implicitly for the maintenance of Ottoman unity. For many reasons, such as technological, educational and economic backwardness, the Empire

was close to absolute breakdown. It was hopeless to expect religion to reverse this process, though it may have deterred the process of breakdown for a while. The notion of *din-u devlet* was abandoned or reversed partly in the Republican secularisation project. According to the new assumption, everything, including religion, must operate for the good of the Turkish Republic (Olsen, 1985). It was accepted as a Prophetic tradition (*hadith*) that “Patriotism is a substantial part of belief: *Vatan sevgisi imandandır.*” This very idea was institutionalised in the *Diyanet*. (Akseki, 1981; Islam-Husain, 1998)

A similar attempt could be observed within the mystical traditions, which have deep roots in the history of Turkish culture, and strong community networks. All the *tarikats* have remained illegal from 1925 until the present, according to an article dated 25 November 1925. However, in practice, official participation and sponsorship are observed in the annual celebration of some great *Sufis*, such as Hacı Bektaş Veli and Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi. This may be seen as both a protection of Turkish culture, which is deeply inter-twined with mystical tradition, and an attempt to keep the *tarikats* under control. In every case, *laiklik* or secularism can be seen to become much more complex and disputed.

Additionally, many Turkish Muslims found a middle ground between *Kemalist laik* symbols and Islam. They saw them as an expression of national identity (Zubaida, 1996).⁶ In order to accelerate this process, a Turkish-Islamic synthesis was introduced in the 1980s (Güvenç, et al, 1994; Yavuz, 1997) as a part of cultural planning. In 1986, a report related to this synthesis was accepted by the Supreme Board for Atatürk (Nokta, 1987; 2000’e Doğru, 1987). Within this project, the *Diyanet* was also employed actively, like the Ministry of Culture, and the State Planning Organisation (Güvenç et al, 1994; Yavuz, 1997).

⁶ Studies among Turkish community in the Netherlands and the U K revealed that Islam took a significant place in the national identity of Turkish people (Rooijackers, 1994; Küçükcan, 1996).

Islamic intellectual activities such as the engagement with Islamic modernism and the political theory of Islam overwhelmingly ceased during the single party period, between the 1920s and 1950. In this period, Turkish Muslims seemed unaware of any Islamic intellectual developments beyond Turkey, despite the fact that several of these projects had been started by Turkish Muslim intellectuals. At this time, Islamic thought developed mostly in those Muslim countries under Western hegemony such as Egypt and India. These countries were involved in an independence struggle against the Christian West. Islamic intellectual developments were no doubt affected by the psychology of this context. After their independence was obtained, Western influence continued in these countries, especially at government level. As a result, religiously and politically motivated *Islamists* were seen as opposing both the West and their local governments. However, the history of Islam in modern Turkey was quite different to this. Islam in the Turkish context did not develop any socio-psychological reactionary features towards Western hegemony or the West as a whole. Additionally, whereas colonialism accelerated the emergence of political Islam in countries like Egypt and Pakistan, in Turkey it emerged as a result of internal political developments. The first Islamic Party, the NOP, was not founded until two decades after the beginning of the multi-party period.

In the third stage, from the 1950s-1960s until today, more flexible policies developed towards religious matters, especially in the sphere of religious education. In this era, many serious improvements were observed in the various areas of Islam, in political, institutional, educational and economic activities. A substantial improvement was observed in the structure of the *Diyanet* and its role. However, in order to win votes, Islamic discourse was also used for political purposes. Some politicians argued that more flexible policies should be followed towards religion, as a basic necessity of human rights. They promised to follow these policies as a safeguard against the enemies of religion. On the other hand, some politicians argued that reactionary

(*gericilik*) was the main danger in Turkey.⁷ They promised to protect the *laik* and democratic Republic against reactionaries (*gericiler*).

Political, moderate, mystical and secularist Islam are seen as unstable but dynamic trends. The ideas identified with these movements can so easily change as a result of expediency rather than strong theories and their related concepts. With regard to Islam in the Turkish context, two important issues should be clarified, (a) legitimacy and (b) politics. First, the issue of legitimacy is discussed alongside concepts such as *tarikats*, *gericilik* (reactionary) and *bölücülük* (separatism). The *Diyanet* was organised to solve this issue in line with official ideology.

It was evident that *tarikats* played a major role in this complex issue of legitimacy. Turkey, in fact, has several unfortunate experiences to justify its attitude towards *tarikats*. For example: (1) A serious rebellion in 1925, was organised by Sheykh Said, a *Nakshibendi sheykh*. He revolted against the Republic with the counter argument towards the *Kemalist* reforms. (2) It was known that Said Nursi, who was opposed to some *Kemalist* reforms, was involved in a *tarikat*. In the pre-Republican period, he was also opposed to Sultan Abdulhamid II's politics. (3) Namık Kemal, who was opposed to Sultan Abdulhamid II, was from a *tarikat* background too. (4) Moreover, the foundation of the NOP, which was the first radical Islamic party in the Republican period, was supported by a *tarikat*. Despite these movements using different arguments in different contexts, all of them were against government policies. They used social arguments such as justice, liberty and respect. They also justified these arguments with religious discourses. So, as İnalcık (1998) has argued, did the opposition movements towards governments result from *tarikats* themselves in the Turkish context? Several points need to be considered to give an adequate answer to this question. First, the vast majority, including Ottoman sultans, were involved in one

⁷ *Gericilik* is a concept which is attributed to some extremist Islamic ideas in Turkey.

of the *tarikats*. Second, *tarikats* differed and expanded in the population according to occupation, life style and social class. Third, *tarikats* were the only civil organisations in the society. Other organisations from *ulama* to artisans were controlled by the government. Fourth, there was a fertile ground within the *tarikats* for the growth of liberal thought for the public. Finally, there were no liberal and widespread public organisations within society beyond the *tarikats*.

All in all, it was unavoidable that links should be established between various social movements and *tarikats*. It was easy to establish a relationship between them due to the social structure. It is very interesting to note at this stage that Ziya Gökalp, who was the most important ideological father of the Republic, was also from a *tarikat* background. Consequently, these movements might be seen as the voice of the non-governmental organisations. Contrary to İnalcık's assumption (1998), it seems inappropriate to see these social movements entirely as the consequence of the activities of the *tarikats*. When the nature of these movements is assessed, it can be seen that *tarikats* stayed at the supporter level. Neither Young Ottomans nor the NOP were *tarikat* movements, and neither of them transformed into a *tarikat* either. Nevertheless, *tarikats* preserved their own authenticity for centuries.

Second, the issue of politics is seen to be debated in relation to the use of Islam for political purposes. *Laiklik* was seen as one solution to this issue. However, the *Diyanet* seems to have been unable to embrace the main Islamic trends, and to serve individuals' religious experiences. It even ignores them to some extent, with the argument of "one Islam, one type of Muslim". It is very difficult to find an agreed-definition of *laiklik*. Similarly, there have been different applications of *laiklik* since the 1920s. Therefore, both the *Diyanet* and the concept of *laiklik* appear to be complicated and disputed in the secular state of Turkey.

During the Republican period, whilst governments have followed secularist policies, the population has remained over 90% Muslim. Therefore, the current Islamic revival within the context of religious co-existence would not appear to have been an attempt to return to a golden age, or to have been a fundamentalist rejection of modernity. It is better described as a visible demonstration of Islam by means of contemporary communication in Turkey. In general, economic, political and educational progress is seen as an important aspect of this demonstration.

Chapter 4

MUSLIM IDENTITY OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN TURKEY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The main aim in this chapter is to construct and explain a framework for understanding Muslim identity with reference to university students. The Muslim identity of close to one million university students constituting the intellectual future of Turkey has been constructed in the Turkish context with its strong inter-relationship between Islam and Turkish history and culture. Islamic influence can be found in every facet of Turkish life: music, economy, cuisine, language and celebrations. Almost every day, people are exposed to Islamic commands, prohibitions, rituals, and all sorts of questions about Islam. Since 1981, religious and moral education has become compulsory from the fourth year of primary school until the final year at high school level. Therefore, the Muslim identity of university students is a vital issue in Turkey, which has more than 90% Muslim inhabitants.¹

However, observing a variety of tone within the colour of Muslim identity is also inevitable. The reason for this variation is that, from a psychological viewpoint, everyone has a different personality and inclination. Levels of religiosity vary from person to person. Some Muslims are completely involved in Islam, whereas others are only partly concerned about it. Some prefer to keep a distance between religion and other aspects of their lives. Religious experiences, as Hay (1982, 1990) pointed out,

¹ See Chapter 10.

also differ in relation to demographic variations such as age, gender, and social background.

Similarly, different kinds of religiosity can be observed in religious communities which distinguish themselves from one another. *Mezhebs* (legal rites) and *tarikats* are evidence of this in Islamic religious history. Islam strongly encourages Muslims to participate in a *cemaat* (a Muslim community). For example, the prophet Muhammad says “to pray with a *cemaat* brings twenty-seven times more reward than to pray alone” (al-Muslim, d.875, 1980, *hadith* no: 649 - 650) and there are a number of *hadith* which state that Allah’s mercy is upon the *cemaat* and its activities (Imam Malik, d.795, *hadith* no: 8.3.12) However, differences between Muslim communities are inevitable because of physical, sociological and psychological factors such as region, educational background, gender and orientation towards religion.

In Turkey, it is possible to observe a variation in the Muslim identification of university students with Islam. In fact, students who follow general Islamic trends in Turkey have different inclinations and distinctive personal identities. Their identities can be examined from three aspects, the macro level of general Islamic trends, the micro or individual level, and observation. At the macro level, their involvement in Islamic rituals, and their religious beliefs and expectations, are overwhelmingly similar. At the micro level, students, without distinguishing whether they follow any one of four Islamic trends - *mystical*, *moderate*, *political* and *secularist* Islam – may be identified as showing one of two different orientations towards religion. Some students are visibly concerned about observing religious duties, whereas the others constantly deny any such involvement.

The remainder of this chapter is as follows. First, the issue of identity will be reviewed. Second, at the macro level, differences and similarities in the Muslim identity of university students who follow Islamic trends will be discussed. Third, an analytical

framework of Muslim identity at the micro level, with reference to the findings of three former field studies, will be assessed. Fourth, the Muslim identity of university students by means of observation will be examined. Data from interviews, observation and secondary literature will be used for these analyses. Finally, the results of this process will be discussed, and a further analysis will be made.

4.2 IDENTITY ISSUE

The concept 'identity' has been used in a wide variety of ways in sociology and psychology. Different uses of this concept, in fact, indicate differing aspects of the definition of 'identity'. In terms of use of the concept, studies about this issue may be classified into three approaches. First, this group of studies conceptualises identity as progressive and a fairly stable aspect of 'self' (McCall and Simmons, 1978; Mol, 1976; Queen, 1996). In these studies, identity has been used as an aspect of self-concept. Both the biographical view of identity (McCall and Simmons, 1978) and the historical dialectic model (Mol, 1978) see identity as a fairly stable component of the self, and it changes gradually. However, post-modernists, accept a progressive view of identity. They see it as a shifting situational aspect of 'self' (Stone, 1970; Hewitt, 1997; Baron and Byrne, 1997). Constant change may be evident in situational identities.

Second, a central question which was considered in this group of studies was "How does someone sees himself/herself" or "How do others see him/her?" (Dashefsky, 1976; Mol, 1976; Knott, 1986; Knott and Khokher, 1993). From this point of view, identities were conceptualised as components or levels of self-concept. Identities were analysed in three levels; (a) micro or personal level, (b) institutional or group level, and (c) macro or social level (Mol, 1978; Weigert, et al, 1990). According to Mol (1976) there is a link between identity and religion, and the latter has a central function in the formation and maintenance of identity in terms of its personal, group and social levels. This very idea became a source of inspiration for many scholars for the exploration of identity (Langbaum, 1977; Gordon, 1978; Assimeng, 1978; Crabtree,

1998; Gilliat-Ray, 1999). Fulton (1996) found a significant correlation between identity status and religious orientation. Knott (1986) explained the impact of the religion on personal identity in three ways, life circle rites, belief and practices, and tradition of religious authority and organisation. Taking into consideration a close relationship between religious and ethno-cultural elements, it was argued that religious and ethno-cultural backgrounds have a great influence on the nature of the identity (Knott, 1982 and 1986; Knott and Khokher, 1993; Poulton and Taji-Farouki, 1997).

The third approach accepted that individuals have multiple identities. Generally, scholars in psychology and social psychology have tended to see the identity as multi-dimensional (Stryker, 1977 and 1980; King, 1986; Roof, 1993; Neeleman and Lewis, 1994; Huo et al, 1996; Gaertner et al, 1998). The main question here is, "How does someone see himself/herself in relation to his/her particular beliefs, rituals, ideology, group involvement and specific attitude?". For example, an individual may see himself/herself as religious, mystical, feminist, intellectual, political etc. So, according to this account, interconnected multiple identification becomes the best description for an individual self. In social psychology, analysis of multiple identities has been made across cognitive, behavioural and affective domains (Stryker, 1977; Stryker and Serpe, 1982; Brewer and Crano, 1994).

In this study, the term "Muslim identity" has been used to refer to the multiple ways in which someone sees himself/herself as Muslim and lives according to a Muslim way of life. The Muslim identity of Turkish university students was explored in relation to three aspects, macro, micro and observations. The main questions at each level were "How far do students see themselves as Muslim?" and "To what extent do they differ from one another as Muslims?". For the analysis of Muslim identity at macro and micro levels, cognitive, behavioural and affective dimensions of religiosity were considered.

4.3 MUSLIM IDENTITY AT THE MACRO LEVEL

Exploring the Muslim identity of university students is a controversial issue in Turkey. Articles about *cemaats* (religious groups) can frequently be found in newspapers and magazines. Most of them have been based on particular news stories or events, and offer some interpretation (Anadolu, 1997; Hürriyet, 1998; Superonline, 1999; Zaman, 1999). As a result, they often present a normative or judgmental approach towards the Muslim identity of those university students who belong to *cemaats*. In such accounts, some students who have been associated with a particular *cemaat* have been accused of having secret and dangerous objectives, whereas others have been acquitted as harmless. Most of these studies engaged in a quasi-judicial assessment of the activities of *cemaats*, rather than a social-scientific analysis. However, a limited number of observational and analytical field studies have been carried out on this issue (Köktaş, 1993; Koştaş, 1995; Konrad, 1999). The work of both Köktaş and Koştaş was in line with Glock and Lenski's work on Christian religiosity in the 1960s.

In the study which follows, two noteworthy approaches have been adhered to in examining the Muslim identity of university students. First, both theological and socio-psychological perspectives on the basis of the four general Islamic trends discussed earlier have been used, and, second, no normative or judgmental assessment about any *cemaat* has been made. The main questions which arise at this stage are what caused students to acquire different identities, and how different are they really?

There are two issues for the exploration of the Muslim identity of university students: a) being Muslim, and b) following an Islamic trend via involvement in a *cemaat*. Being Muslim is generally associated with keeping the six fundamental principles of the faith of Islam² and the five pillars of Islam.³ Following an Islamic trend may be considered

² The six fundamental principles of Islam are belief in Allah, angels, holy books, prophets, the here after (both the future and the day of judgement) and fate (*kader*).

³ The five pillars of Islam are the declaration of faith (*kelime-i shahadah*), performing prayers, fasting, alms giving, and going on *hajj* (pilgrimage)

to be one of the consequences of being Muslim in a Turkish context. This is because of the fact that a certain kind of correlation can be observed between Islamic principles and each of those Islamic trends. Therefore, from a theological perspective, the differences between Islamic trends might be identified by investigating the way in which the six fundamental principles of faith and five pillars of Islam are being observed and put into practice by the different followers of these trends.

The six fundamental principles of the faith of Islam and five pillars of Islam can be divided into three groups: cognitive, behavioural and affective principles and their associated practices. First, the cognitive principles are the declaration of faith (*kelime-i shahadah*), belief in Allah, angels, holy books and prophets. Reflections about Islam and Islamic commands are also related to cognitive principles. Second, behavioural principles refer to the performing of prayers, fasting, alms giving, and going on *hajj* (pilgrimage). Moral behaviour, which is strongly advised by Islam, is also related to these behavioural principles. Third, the affective principles, which concern human expectations, entail belief in Allah, the here-after (both the future and the day of judgement) and fate (*kader*).

In order to assess the Muslim identity of Turkish university students according to these ideas, a three-dimensional Muslim Identity Matrix (MIM-C, B, A) will be developed and employed.

4.4 THE MUSLIM IDENTITY MATRIX (MIM-C,B,A)

4.4.1 Development of the Matrix

The aim of the matrix is to examine the Muslim identity of university students at the macro level. To do this, on the basis of these three aspects, a Muslim Identity Matrix (MIM-C, B, A), which comprises of three sub-matrices, has been developed with the

purpose of assessing points of convergence and divergence of Islamic trends at the macro level.

The MIM-C, B, A is constructed on the basis of the six fundamental principles of the faith of Islam and five pillars of Islam. These principles have been divided into three groups, are cognitive, behavioural and affective, in line with the Muslim Identity Matrix-Cognitive (MIM-C), Muslim Identity Matrix-Behaviour (MIM-B) and Muslim Identity Matrix-Affective (MIM-A). For this, traditional Sunni Muslim scholars' formulations of these principles according to *Qur'anic* teaching and the Prophetic tradition, were followed to develop the items of the matrix (Aydın, 1975; Topaloğlu, 1981; al-Sarahsi, d.1090, 1983; al-Musuli, d.1284, 1980; Ghazzali, d.1111, 1974). Additionally, items in Köktaş's questionnaire and in the religiosity section of Konrad's questionnaire were considered when designing items for the MIM-C,B,A.

Belief in Allah, angels, prophets and the here-after were entered in the MIM-C. In addition to these principles, five prohibitions highly emphasised in Islam (al-Muslim, 1980; Ghazzali, 1974; Bilmen, 1981), having sex outside marriage, drinking alcohol, eating pork, receiving interest and investments and going out without a *başörtüsü* or *türban* (headscarf), were entered in the MIM-C. Three normative/judgmental ideas about Islam as a religion were also accounted for in the MIM-C: (a) whether or not Islam is a cause of backwardness, (b) whether it brings good community relations, and (c) whether it is worth being a Muslim (Kutub, 1971; Akseki, 1981; Bilmen, 1981; Nursi, 1980). Views about leadership and points of stress were also entered in the matrix.

Praying, fasting, giving alms and going on *hajj* were entered in the MIM-B. The prayers were detailed as daily prayers, Friday prayers, *Eid* prayers and funeral prayers (Bilmen, 1981). In addition to these principles, four rituals of demonstrative

importance both in Islam and in Muslim society were also entered in the MIM-B: religious marriage ceremony, circumcision, religious funeral rites and *mawlid*.

Four affective principles having a vital importance in the *Qur'anic* teaching were entered in the MIM-A (al-Bukhari, 1983; al-Muslim, 1980, Bilmen, 1981; Akseki, 1981; Aydın, 1975). These items were belief in *kader* (fate), petitioning God in prayer, asking forgiveness from God, and expecting an assessment of God according to his/her deeds.

After the development of the matrix, it was applied in interviews with university students who followed the four Islamic trends in the University of Erciyes and the University of Ankara, Turkey (see Appendices 13 and 14). Two methods were followed in order to classify interviewees as *mystical*, *moderate*, *political* or *secularist* Muslims. Generally, they articulated their own tendencies throughout the conversation. Their identity (*mystical*, *moderate*, *political* or *secularist*) particularly became evident in their discussion of the priorities for contemporary Muslims and leadership (see Appendix 13, points 5 and 6). In cases where they did not reveal their personal tendencies, towards the end of the conversation, they were asked a question like, "In theory, which *cemaat* (Islamic group) or trend do you favour?"

4.4.2 The Application of the Matrix and Results

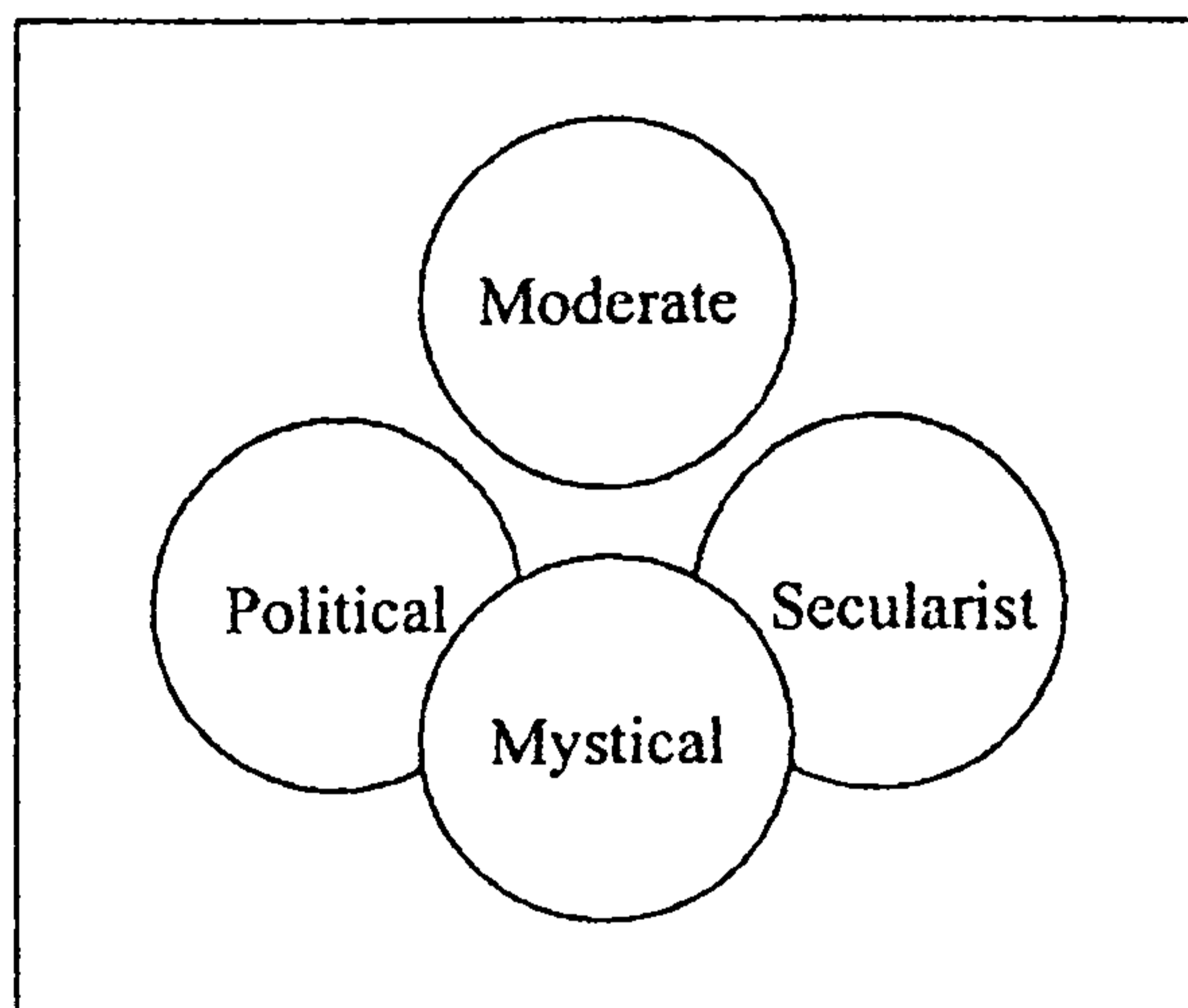
Using MIM-C, B, A, thirteen in-depth interviews in the University of Erciyes and eighteen in-depth interviews in the University of Ankara were carried out. Eleven students were identified as *mystical*, eight students were *moderate*, five students were *political* and seven students were *secularist* (Table 4.1).

However, it is interesting to note that among the *mystical* students, four of them also identified themselves as *political* and three of them as *secularist*. This inter-related identity among the four trends is seen in Figure 4.1.

Table 4.1. The four Islamic trends of university students in Ankara and Kayseri

Mystical	Moderate	Political	Secularist	
4	8	5	7	
4	←-----→		4	
3	←-----→			3

Figure 4.1. Inter-action between Islamic trends



Muslim identity Matrix-Cognitive (MIM-C)

As can be seen from the MIM-C (Table 4.2), there were no differences among *mystical*, *moderate*, *political* and *secularist* trends in terms of the fundamental principles of Islamic faith.

The students' views about some Islamic commands, such as having sex outside marriage, eating pork and drinking alcohol, were also similar. However, some differences may be noted regarding their opinion about other Islamic commands, such as wearing the *başörtüsü* and receiving interest from banks. Whilst *mystical* students

were strict about them, the *secularists* were more rationalist and government-oriented. *Moderate* and *political* trends comply with the mainstream Sunni position which is represented by the *Diyanet*. In fact, according to the *fatwa* (ruling) of the Supreme Board for Religious Affairs of the *Diyanet*, wearing the *başörtüsü* is a religious obligation for Muslim women. In addition, where bank interest is limited to the inflation rate, it is not considered real interest and is not prohibited by Islam.

University students allying themselves to one or other of the four trends accepted Islamic principles. However, the main differences among the trends lay in the emphasis in their statements and their views regarding religious leadership. It was also observed that *secularist* students complained of the unconventional actions of radical groups and some *hocas* (both religious functionaries and religious masters).

Muslim identity Matrix-Behavioural (MIM-B)

The behavioural aspects of students following Islamic trends are stated in the MIM-B (Table 4.3). The table shows that the responses of *mystical*, *moderate*, *political* and *secularist* trends were the same in relation to many items. The behavioural attitudes of *moderate* and *political* students were the same as far as Islamic rituals were concerned. However, *mystical* students appeared more strict than the others, whereas the *secularist* ones followed a more flexible and rationalist route.

Muslim identity Matrix-Affective (MIM-A)

The affective aspect of Islamic trends is presented in the MIM-A (Table 4.4). As can be seen from the table, *moderate* and *political* trends were found to have a similar affective orientation. However, students following *mystical* and *secularist* trends appeared in a slightly different affective orientation. Whilst *mystical* Islam placed slightly more stress on the affective aspect, *secularist* Islam had a somewhat different interpretation from the other trends. However, it is evident that the same values were shared by all of them.

On the whole, the religious identities of university students appeared within general Islamic outlines. Their Islamic identities in terms of cognitive, behavioural and affective aspects were mostly similar (Figure 4.2). However, the principal difference was noticed in their cognitive orientations. Students who followed Islamic trends were observed to have emphasised some particular cognitive issues. Additionally, whom they looked to for leadership was in line with the general inclinations of their *cemaats*. So, their identities may be said to have been largely shaped around these two issues.

Figure 4.2. University students, Islamic trends and religious leadership

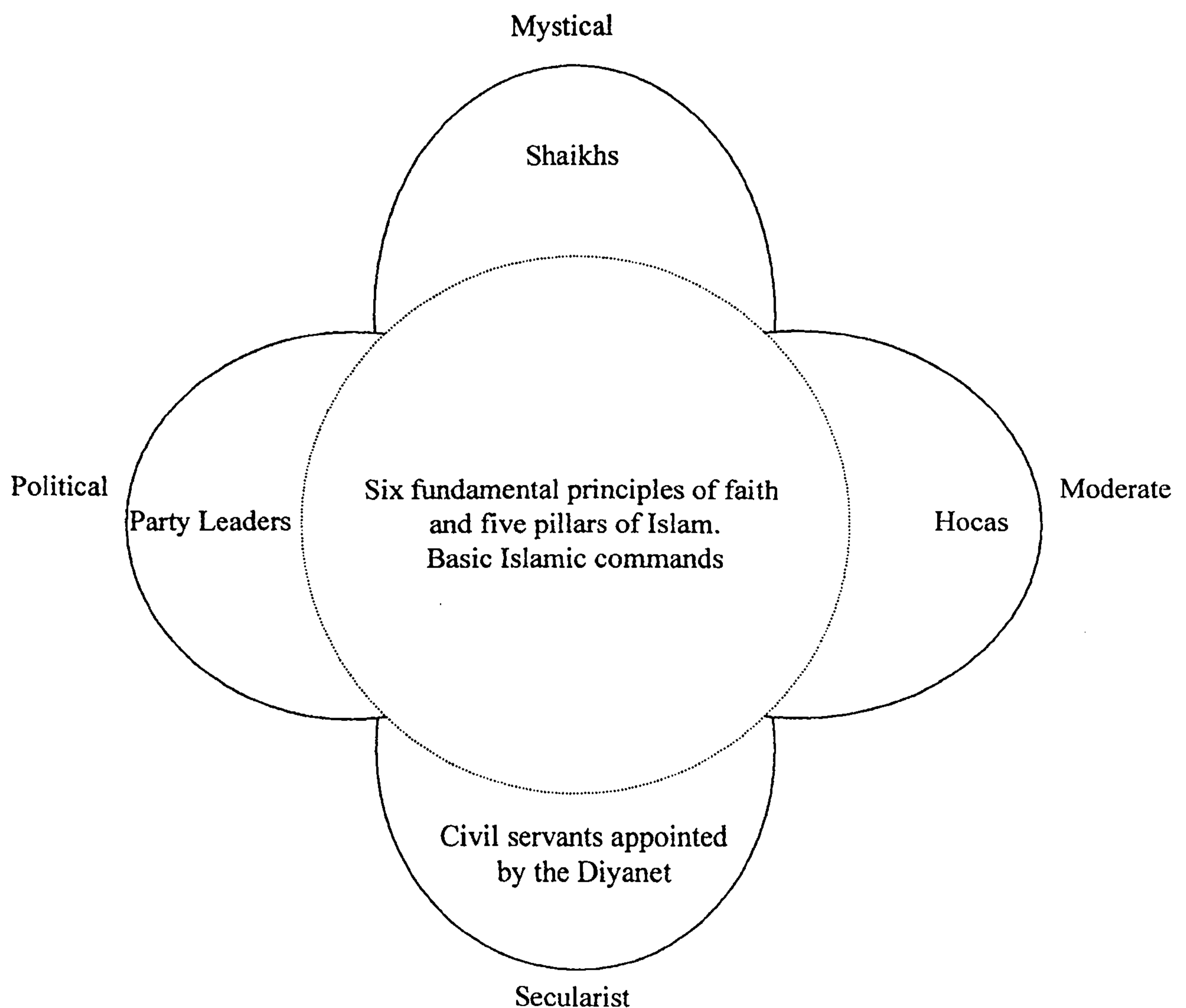


Table 4.2. Muslim Identity Matrix-Cognitive (MIM-C): Islamic trends and the cognitive aspect.

	ITEMS	MYSTICAL	MODERATE	POLITICAL	SECULARIST	
1	<i>Declaration of Islamic faith</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
2	<i>Faith in</i>	<i>Allah</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	
		<i>Angels</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	
		<i>the Qur'an</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	
		<i>Prophets</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	
		<i>the after life</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	
		<i>having sex outside marriage</i>	Unacceptable	Unacceptable	Unacceptable	Unacceptable
3	<i>Views about Islamic commands</i>	<i>drinking alcohol</i>	Unacceptable	Unacceptable	Sinful, but it may be drunk	
		<i>eating pork</i>	Unacceptable	Unacceptable	Unacceptable	
		<i>wearing headscarf</i>	Very necessary	Necessary, but it could be taken off, if there is a ban	Necessary	It is worn for prayer and reciting Qur'an, but unacceptable as a political symbol
		<i>receiving interest from banks</i>	Sinful	Uncertain, depending on level of inflation	Uncertain, depending on level of inflation	It is acceptable, as it is kept under governmental control

Table 4.2. Muslim Identity Matrix-Cognitive (MIM-C): Islamic trends and the cognitive aspect, (continued).

	ITEMS			MYSTICAL	MODERATE	POLITICAL	SECULARIST
4	Views about Islam as a religion	Islam is a cause of backwardness	No	No	No	No	No, but some <i>hocas</i> are a cause of backwardness.
		Islam creates good community relations	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, but some radical groups destroy community relations.
		It is worth being a Muslim	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
5	Points of stress	In order to gain God's love and peace of heart, one must take guidance from a <i>shaikh</i> .	It is important to revive and maintain Islamic values in the light of science and by compromising with the rest of society.	Islam is not only a private issue. Political activities are also required in order to ensure that the democratic system is retained.	Religion is a personal matter, Islam also requires a person to obey the commands of the state.		
6	Leadership	<i>Shaikhs</i>	<i>Hocas*</i> (religious masters)	Party leaders or both party leaders and <i>shaikhs</i>	<i>Hocas</i> of the <i>Diyanet</i> or both <i>hocas</i> and <i>shaikhs</i> .		

* The term *hoca* is used for a number of meanings in Turkish. For example: religious practitioners (imams and müezzins), religious masters, senior lecturers, and the coach of a football team are called *hoca*.

Table 4.3. Muslim Identity Matrix-Behavioural (MIM-B): Islamic trends and the behavioural aspect.

	<i>ITEMS</i>		<i>MYSTICAL</i>	<i>MODERATE</i>	<i>POLITICAL</i>	<i>SECULARIST</i>
1	<i>Prayers</i>	<i>Daily prayers</i>	Most strict	Strict	Strict	Flexible
		<i>Friday prayer</i>	Strict	Strict	Strict	Moderate
		<i>Eid prayer</i>	Strict	Strict	Strict	Strict
		<i>Funeral prayer</i>	Strict	Strict	Strict	Strict
2	<i>Fasting</i>	Strict	Strict	Strict	Strict	
3	<i>Giving Alms</i>	Strict	Strict	Strict	Paying tax means giving alms too.	
4	<i>Going on Hajj</i>	Strict	Strict	Strict	Moderate	
5	<i>Other rituals</i>	<i>Religious marriage</i>	Very strict	Strict	Strict	Officially marriage is essential, but religious marriage is optional.
		<i>Circumcision</i>	Strict	Strict	Strict	Strict
		<i>Religious funeral</i>	Strict	Strict	Strict	Strict
		<i>Mawlid</i>	Important	Optional	Optional	Important

Table 4.4. Muslim Identity Matrix-Affective (MIM-A): Islamic trends and the affective aspect.

	ITEMS	MYSTICAL	MODERATE	POLITICAL	SECULARIST
1	<i>Belief in kader (fate)</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2	<i>Petiitioning God in prayer</i>	Very valuable, in addition to hard work	Valuable, in addition to hard work	Valuable, in addition to hard work	Valuable, but religion and science are different
3	<i>Asking forgiveness from God</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
4	<i>Expecting an assessment of God according to his/her deeds</i>	Yes, and not only deeds but also prayer and behaviour	Yes, and not only deeds but also prayer and behaviour	Yes, and not only deeds but also prayer and behaviour	Yes, plus social behaviour

4.5 MUSLIM IDENTITY AT THE MICRO LEVEL

The Muslim identity of university students at the micro level is another important aspect in this issue. Examining how Islam has been observed by individuals gives an additional insight in to this matter. Here again, with reference to the six fundamental principles of the faith of Islam and the five pillars of Islam, the identity of university students, in relation to cognitive, behavioural and affective aspects, will be explored.

For this, the findings of three pieces of research, conducted by Köktaş (1993), Koştaş (1995) and Konrad (1999), will be examined. In the work of Köktaş and Koştaş, similar questionnaires were employed. Konrad, however, used a broader questionnaire, though a specific section of it contained very similar items to the others. These questionnaires mostly focused on examining how individuals observed the six fundamental principles of the faith and five pillars of Islam. These surveys, their samples and sample sizes are presented in Table 4.5.

Köktaş chose six districts in İzmir: two of them belonged to a high socio-economic group, two to medium and two to low. He conducted a questionnaire among 680 inhabitants. 20.8% of the respondents were university graduates and 7.8% of them were students at higher education level (Köktaş, 1993). Koştaş carried out a questionnaire among 385 students in the University of Ankara and 338 students in the University of Gazi, in Ankara (Koştaş, 1995).

Konrad conducted a broad questionnaire including questions on Islamic religiosity among 2,223 youngsters aged between 15 and 27. Nearly 25% of the respondents were either students in higher education or graduates. Representing Turkey, eleven cities, Istanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Denizli, Trabzon, Sivas, Diyarbakır, Antalya, Edirne, Gaziantep and Tokat, were chosen. These cities were chosen according to various

criteria, such as social, economic and geographical situations, level of education and political preferences (Konrad, 1999).

Table 4.5. Islamic religiosity surveys, their samples and sample sizes.

<i>Researcher</i>	<i>Sample</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Köktaş (1993)</i>	Inhabitants	İzmir	468	212	680
<i>Koştaş (1995)</i>	University of Ankara (students)	Ankara	246	139	385
	University of Gazi (students)	Ankara	198	140	338
<i>Konrad (1999)</i>	Young people (15-27 years)	İstanbul	51%	49%	310
		Ankara	51%	49%	156
		İzmir	51%	49%	159
		Denizli	51%	49%	206
		Trabzon	51%	49%	204
		Sivas	51%	49%	197
		Diyarbakır	51%	49%	204
		Antalya	51%	49%	195
		Edirne	51%	49%	201
		Gaziantep	51%	49%	188
		Tokat	51%	49%	203

4.5.1 The Cognitive Aspect

As can be seen from Table 4.6, the majority of respondents in the surveys of Köktaş, Koştaş and Konrad had a positive attitude towards accepting Islamic belief. Around 80% of the respondents in İzmir, 90% of the youngsters in the eleven cities, and somewhere between 62% and 89% of university students in Ankara had a strong belief in the fundamental principles of the Islamic faith. Between 5% and 23% of them had some problems with accepting one or other of these principles. The ratio of unbelievers were 2% to 6% in Köktaş's findings, 1.5% in Konrad and 3% to 18% in

Koştaş's findings. Belief in Allah and belief in the *Qur'an*, less often directly denied, were seen as two of the most problematic issues. The highest ratio of unbelievers was reported for angels, followed by the *Qur'an*.

Views about either Islamic commands or Islam as a religion were another important issue in relation to the cognitive aspect. Between 65% and 87% of the respondents in the surveys of Köktaş and Konrad had a positive view about these matters.

Table 4.6. The cognitive aspect: results of surveys

Items		Köktaş				Koştaş				Konrad		
		S/A %	P/N %	U/D %	M %	S/A %	P/N %	U/D %	M %	S/A %	P/N %	U/D %
Belief in	Allah	82	15.6	2.4	4.6	62	22	8	8	89.8% believer 3.5% believer in God without belonging to any religion 1.5% unbeliever 5.2% not sure or problematic		
	Angels	84.5	9.3	6.2		68	14	18				
	the <i>Qur'an</i>	80.6	14.1	5.3		62.5	23.6	13.9				
	Prop- hets	86.5	12.9	0.6		89	8	3				
	the here after	80.9	17.1	2		71	14	15				
Having sex outside marriage		21.2	7.2	70.9	0.7							
The wearing of headscarves in school										65	9	26
Drinking alcohol		1.5	11.6	86.9								
Islam is cause of backwardness		13.2	9.9	76.2	07							

S/A: Strong belief or Agree, P/N: Problematic or Not sure, U/D: Unbeliever or Disagree, M: Missing or unanswered

4.5.2 The Behavioural Aspect

As presented in Table 4.7, by comparison with cognitive and affective religiosities, observing the duties associated with worship was recorded at a low level in the surveys of Köktaş, Koştaş and Konrad. Approximately 50% of the people who lived in İzmir (Köktaş), 72% of youngsters (Konrad) and 15% to 26% of university students in Ankara (Koştaş) either regularly or sometimes fulfilled their prayer duties. However, 17.3% to 27.3% people in İzmir, 27.9% of youngsters and 48% of university students never observed the prayers.

Fasting had the highest ratio among the worship duties. Approximately 87% of people in İzmir, 91% of youngsters and 70% of university students in Ankara regularly or sometimes fasted. However, 12.5% in İzmir, 9.3% of youngsters and 21.9% of students never fasted.

Table 4.7. The behavioural aspect: results of surveys

Items	Köktaş %				Koştaş %				Konrad %		
	R	S	N	M	R	S	N	M	R	S	N
Daily prayers	23.5	24.4	27.3	1.8	6.2	9	48	7.8	14.6	57.5	27.9
Friday prayers	23.5	24.4	17.3	1.8	12	9	48	7.8	14.6	57.5	27.9
Eid prayers	23.5	24.4	17.3	1.8	17	9	48	7.8	14.6	57.5	27.9
Fasting	69.1	18.1	12.5	0.3	40.8	29.6	21.9	8.7	69.4	21.3	9.3
Giving alms*	25.2	13.2	7.5	0.7	76		9				
Going on hajj**	5.8		17.8	0.4							
Religious marriage	83.5		15	1.5	54	10.5	35	.5			

R: Regularly or as Required in Islam, **S:** Sometimes or not Sure, **N:** Never, **M:** Missing or unanswered.

* Rich people are responsible for giving alms (*zekat*). Therefore, there is another option for this offered "If I were rich, I would like to give alms". The responses to this option, for Köktaş: 53.4%; Koştaş: 15%.

** Responsibility of hajj is for the wealthy only. Here again, respondents to "If I were rich, I would like to go on *hajj*" option, for Köktaş were 76%.

Both people in İzmir and university students in Ankara appeared to be more positive about religious marriage. However, whilst 15% of people in İzmir were negative or indifferent to the idea of religious weddings, this ratio rose to 35% for students. These two different findings may have resulted from the university environment. People generally monitor each other outside the university, whereas students feel more free in their behaviour on university campuses. This difference may also have resulted from the design of this question, or may have been due to the age of the respondents.

Islamic responsibility for giving alms and going on *hajj* depends on wealth. However, apart from between 8% and 18%, both people in İzmir and university students were seen to have a positive attitude towards giving alms and going on *hajj*.

4.5.3 The Affective Aspect

Findings related to the affective aspect are computed in Table 4.8. Respondents were seen to have a positive orientation towards the affective aspect of Islamic principles. According to the findings of all three surveys, the ratio was around 90% in this issue. However, 1.5% to 14% of respondents appeared to have a negative attitude towards expectation from God.

On the whole, Turkish university students were seen to have a strong Muslim identity. At the micro level, the main difference was observed in the behavioural orientation of students compared with their cognitive and affective orientations. Approximately, between 60% and 90% of university students had a positive attitude to cognitive and affective principles of Islam. Approximately, between 25% and 70% of the students either regularly or sometimes fulfilled one or more worship duties, whereas the percentage of the students who fasted increased to between 70% and 90%. However, a principal difference between students who followed different Islamic trends was

noticed in relation to the cognitive aspect namely, in the emphasis of their statements and their opinions about religious leadership.

Table 4.8. The affective aspect: results of surveys

Items	Köktaş %				Koştas %				Konrad %		
	S/A	P/S	U/N	M	S/A	P/S	U/N	M	S/A	P/S	U/N
<i>Belief in Kader (Fate)</i>	84.7	8.1	7.2		66	20	14		93.3	5.2	1.5
<i>Belief that God accepts petitions made in prayer</i>	81.5	12.6	4.6	1.3	52	34	11	3			
<i>Petitioning God in prayer</i>	50.6	44.4	4.6	0.4	44.5	46.9	4.7	3.9	59.3	33	7.7

S/A: Strong belief or Always, P/S: Problematic or Sometimes, U/N: Unbeliever or Never, M: Missing or unanswered

4.6 THE OBSERVATION OF MUSLIM IDENTITY

At this stage, examples from the daily lives of university students will give a further insight into the Muslim identity of university students. Therefore, observation based on interviews, both magazine and newspaper articles, and personal experience either as a scholar or as a Mufti and religious inspector is necessary for the exploration of their identities. This technique is directed to the visible aspects of identity, and provides more demonstrative information than results from questionnaires.

Participation in religious rituals has been growing in recent years in Turkey. Involvement in Islamic rituals seems to have been on an upward trend in the last two to three decades (Karaman, 1997; Freenet, 1997). Concurrently, a considerable number of people fail to fulfil various religious rituals and duties including four of the five pillars of Islam.⁴ Despite the fact that they consider these rituals to be a religious

⁴ These are performing prayers, fasting, alms giving, and going on *hajj* (pilgrimage)

duty, they nevertheless ignore them. Furthermore, although they identify themselves as Muslim, they openly commit sins such as drinking alcohol, gambling and not performing the Friday prayers.

For example, in order to observe students' orientations towards the Friday prayer, I visited the Faculty of Linguistics and History-Geography, at the University of Ankara, on a Friday, November 1999. There was a *mescit* (*masjid*, a small mosque) under the *Sihhiye Bridge*. The *mescit* was about 70 metres away from the main entrance of the Faculty. Friday prayer was performed between about 12.45 and 1.10pm. The student canteen was nearly full of male and female students before and after the Friday prayer. By 12.35, I had not noticed any intention or preparation of the students for the prayer. They were talking and joking with their friends. Some students were sitting and walking around in the front garden of the Faculty. Although about 300 people attended Friday prayer at the *mescit*, only 10 or 15 appeared to be students. After the prayer, I went to the Faculty and I saw that most of the students whom I had seen before the prayer remained in the canteen and in the front garden. I asked several students some questions about Friday prayer and the *mescit*. They confessed that they did not remember to go to Friday prayer though they accepted its importance. They also said that a few *dini bütün* (religiously committed) friends went to Friday prayer and fulfilled other religious duties. From their description the *dini bütün* students were considered to be members of *tarikats*. None of these students knew that there was a *mescit* very close to their Faculty.

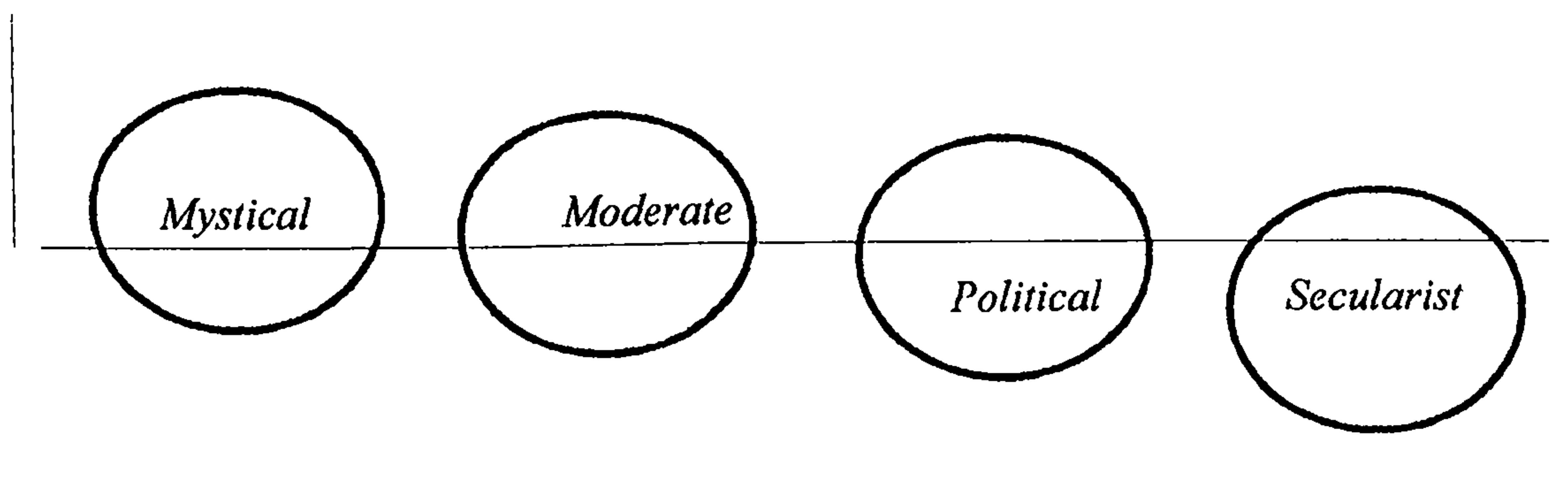
People with these responses can be found in any of the four Islamic trends. These responses are personal matters rather than clear-cut reflections of the attitude of the Islamic trends that the students follow. However, it is evident that whilst *mystical* students pay slightly more attention to the fulfilment of religious rituals, *secularist* ones tend to be generally more non-practising (Figure 4.3).

Within the last three decades, religious rituals have become more visible among university students. An increase has been noticed in the number of mosques and places for prayers on university campuses. At the same time, the number of universities has also risen from the twenties to the eighties. The number of *cami cemaati* (congregational members of mosques) who attended *Cuma namazi* (Friday prayers) in university campuses also rose rapidly even as a proportion of students. Moreover, for Friday prayers, not only the insides of the mosques but also their annexes were fully used (Faruk, 1999; Freenet, 1997). A similar rise, in the non-student population, was observed in the cities, whereas the *cami cemaati* in rural areas remained at a stable level. However, at the same time, an increase in the number of those not attending mosques for prayers, even once or twice a year, was observed.

One week later, I visited the *Cebeci Mosque*, which was located close to many departments of the University of Ankara, for Friday prayer. The mosque was full including its annexes. As I noticed, about one third of the Friday congregation consisted of students.

Figure 4.3. Islamic trends and the observance of religious rituals (worship duties).

Observing religious rituals (worship duties)



Ignoring religious rituals (worship duties)

Many students fast in the month of *Ramadan*. In fact, an increasing number of students, irrespective of whether they fulfil daily prayer or go to mosque, fulfil their fasting duties. Data from questionnaires also supports this finding (Köktaş, 1993; Koştaş, 1995; Konrad, 1999). During this month, both men and women attend mosques for *Ramadan* prayers and *mukabele* (reciting of the *Qur'an*), whereas in the other months of the year, women are not seen in the mosques (Beller-Hann, 1995). The majority of the Turkish people, even those who do not fast, invite their relatives and friends for dinner (*iftar*) in the evenings during the month of *Ramadan*. These rituals have been maintained for many years.

Many people prefer to give their alms to students who do not receive sufficient support from their families. They give it either direct to the students or via charitable organisations. Three aspects may be considered as important in this issue. First, an increase has been observed in the number of people who give alms (*sadaka*) after the 1970s. Secondly, the people with high and medium income levels give alms to religious foundations or societies and charitable organisations in addition to needy students. Thirdly, it is observed that almsgiving reaches its peak during the month of *Ramadan* (Diyanet Aylık Dergi, 1998, 1999).

At the time of the *Kurban Bayramı* (the festival of sacrifice), almost every rich family slaughters a sheep or a cow (*kurban*) as a sacrifice to Allah. Generally, meat from the sacrifice is divided into three equal parts: one is given to the poor, one is eaten with relatives and neighbours, the rest is stored. In addition, more recently, it has been noticed that many people prefer to give some or all of their meat to a domestic charity or a religious foundation, especially one related to students. Some also give to international charitable organisations -whether formal or informal- by donating the price of a whole *kurban*. On the other hand, recently, an increasing number of people have given the skin of the *kurban* to a religious foundation or society, or contributed instead to the expenditure of the mosques (Zaman, 1999).

The number of people who had gone on *hajj* increased to over one hundred thousand by the 1980s. Later, in accordance with the quota imposed by Saudi Arabia in the 1990s, approximately 60,000 people (the maximum limit) went to Mecca. However, it is difficult to observe whether any students had gone on *hajj*. In fact, students are not likely to go on *hajj* owing to their economic dependence on someone else.

In addition to these rituals, the practices of wearing the *başörtüsü*, growing a beard, and avoiding some foods containing chemical preservatives became much more visible in the last three decades.

At the same time, an invisible but considerable rejection and abandonment can be observed in the practice of Islamic rituals (Hann, 1990). It is difficult to identify any trends within Islamic rituals as a whole. Therefore, the point of divergence between different Islamic identities must be sought in other matters such as their priorities and their attitudes to leadership. *Mystics*' prime concerns are to gain inner tranquillity and God's love. *Moderates* pay attention to preserving Islamic values in the secular state, staying away from political activities, and compromising with the rest of society. *Politically committed Muslims* involve themselves in political activities with Islamic values, and are keen to maintain the democratic system. *Secularists* seek to keep religion at the personal level with full obedience to the commands of the state.

4.7 MUSLIM IDENTITY A MULTI-LEVEL APPROACH

The Muslim identity of university students has been explored in relation to three different aspects. The first aspect is Muslim identity at the macro level. At this level, students who follow the four Islamic trends identified earlier were overwhelmingly seen to have a similar orientation towards the basic Islamic principles and commands. We must conclude that the Muslim identity of university students who follow these

four Islamic trends cannot be distinguished according to the fundamental principles of Islam and its commands.

Two differences between followers of the four Islamic trends were noticed at the macro level. They were the points of stress and the issue of leadership. Whilst these two issues appear to be related to religion, they may derive instead from the vulnerable structure of civil societal organisations in Turkey. There may be a significant correlation between the points of stress identified in the Islamic trends. Every *cemaat* and its leaders have been associated with some particular problems that have arisen within the context. They have stressed certain issues, without ignoring the others. Therefore, some leaders have become figureheads because of their approach to problems in the social context rather than to purely religious issues. In tackling economic, political and educational issues, religion has also been used as a vital means for the strengthening of their views and thus their status.

In conclusion, at the macro level, the Muslim identity of university students who follow Islamic trends is based mostly on contextual issues. Their identities cannot be distinguished on the basis of religious matters solely.

The second aspect is Muslim identity at the micro level. Over 80% of students in two universities in Ankara were discovered to have positive attitudes towards Islam in terms of cognitive and affective aspects. Although this proportion which was measured for students is high, it is still just under the proportion measured for both people in İzmir and youngsters in eleven cities. The proportion of students who had negative attitudes in these aspects was found to be between 3% and 18%. This ratio, accordingly, is a little higher than the other two samples.

Two points can be noticed as important in relation to the behavioural aspect. On the one hand, the proportion of those observing prayers is considerably lower than the

proportion of those observing other Islamic rituals. On the other hand, the proportion of students who fulfil religious rituals is notably lower than the proportion for youngsters and people in İzmir.

The final point is observations about Muslim identity. Compared with the period before the 1970s, a notable increase is now evident in relation to the observable aspects of Islamic living. Application of Islamic principles has been adopted according to students and their needs. Especially in the last two or three decades, mosques have been constructed within or near university campuses. Charitable organisations have been started to organise the giving of alms and *kurban* with the purpose of supporting students. Newspapers, magazines and books have been published which stress religious living by university students.

Comparing data from three surveys, university students seemed to be less religious than people in the rest of society despite the provision of religiously related resources. Nevertheless, the majority of students continue to be religious.

4.8 CONCLUSION

The findings in this chapter revealed that three points are significant for the exploration of the Muslim identity of university students. First, the majority of university students have a Muslim identity, and students share the same values, such as the five pillars of Islam. Second, the priorities and the issue of leadership are two substantial factors which indicate divergence between the four Islamic trends. Third, the Islamic identity of university students, particularly the outward demonstration of religiosity in their daily lives, has been affected by the context.

University students share the same Islamic values, despite having different priorities and views on religious leadership. Whilst inner tranquillity is the prime issue for some

students, to take place in political activities is more important for others. Some students have been involved in *cemaats*. Consequently, they have taken their place in different Islamic trends. These analyses have given a general picture of the Muslim identity of university students. However, what remains to be explored is the correlation between their religious attitudes and their social and religious situation.

Chapter 5

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES:

The Issues of Measurement and Hypotheses Development

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The basic purposes of this chapter are (a) to investigate the measurement of religious attitudes through a review of three main lines of enquiry and (b) to develop research hypotheses by considering demographic and contextual variations for Turkish university students. The measurement of the religious attitudes of individuals began to appear in the 1940s and onward (Moreton, 1944; Satter, 1944; Daines, 1949; Hyde, 1959; Glock, 1962; Lenski, 1963). Although preliminary studies were undertaken in those years, the studies which used rigorous scaling techniques were undertaken from the mid-1960s onwards (Faulkner and De Jong, 1966; King, 1967; Allport and Ross, 1967). Results obtained from these research studies were analysed using quantitative data analysis techniques. These studies were mostly related to Christian religiousness, and were carried out in the USA.

A limited number of studies concerning Muslim religiousness were undertaken in Turkey (Firat, 1977; Mutlu, 1989, Köktaş, 1993; Uysal, 1995b; Koştaş, 1995; Konrad, 1999). The measurement instruments of these studies were generally adopted from Glock (1962), Lenski (1963), and King and Hunt's (1969) Christian Religiosity Scales.

This Chapter is organised as follows: First, three research perspectives will be reviewed briefly, Allport and Ross's Religious Orientation Scale (ROS), King and Hunt's Christian Religiosity Scales, and the Religious Attitude Scale, RAS. Second, demographic and contextual variations related to the religious attitudes of university students will be considered, and research hypotheses will be developed.

5.2 THE MEASUREMENT OF RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES

Measurement in this case is an attempt to indicate someone's religious attitudes using numerical values. The measurement of religious attitudes differs according to the definition of religious attitude and the method used for measurement. Previous studies which attempted to measure religious attitudes can be classified into three main lines of enquiry and a third new approach of relevance to this study. The first was developed by Allport and Ross. According to Allport and Ross, religious orientation consisted of two components, extrinsic and intrinsic. They sought to measure religious attitudes according to these two dimensions (Allport and Ross, 1967). The second was developed by King and Hunt. This approach was concerned with the question of how Christian individuals are. Using a multi-dimensional scale, they measured Christian religiosity (King and Hunt, 1969, 1990).

The third approach attempted to prepare a theoretical base for the measurement of religious attitudes from a social psychology of religion perspective. The concept of religious attitude is a 'construct' (Pennington, 1993) or a 'frame' (Lawson and Garrod, 1999) that refers to a someone's process of religious belief, behaviour and perception. According to this definition, religious attitudes consist of three components: cognitive, behavioural and affective. This structural approach is in line with a traditional psychological three-component analysis of attitudes (Katz, 1960; Eagly and Chaiken, 1993; Stahlberg and Frey, 1994; Human and Presser, 1996). The cognitive component relates to the religious belief and conviction of a person. The

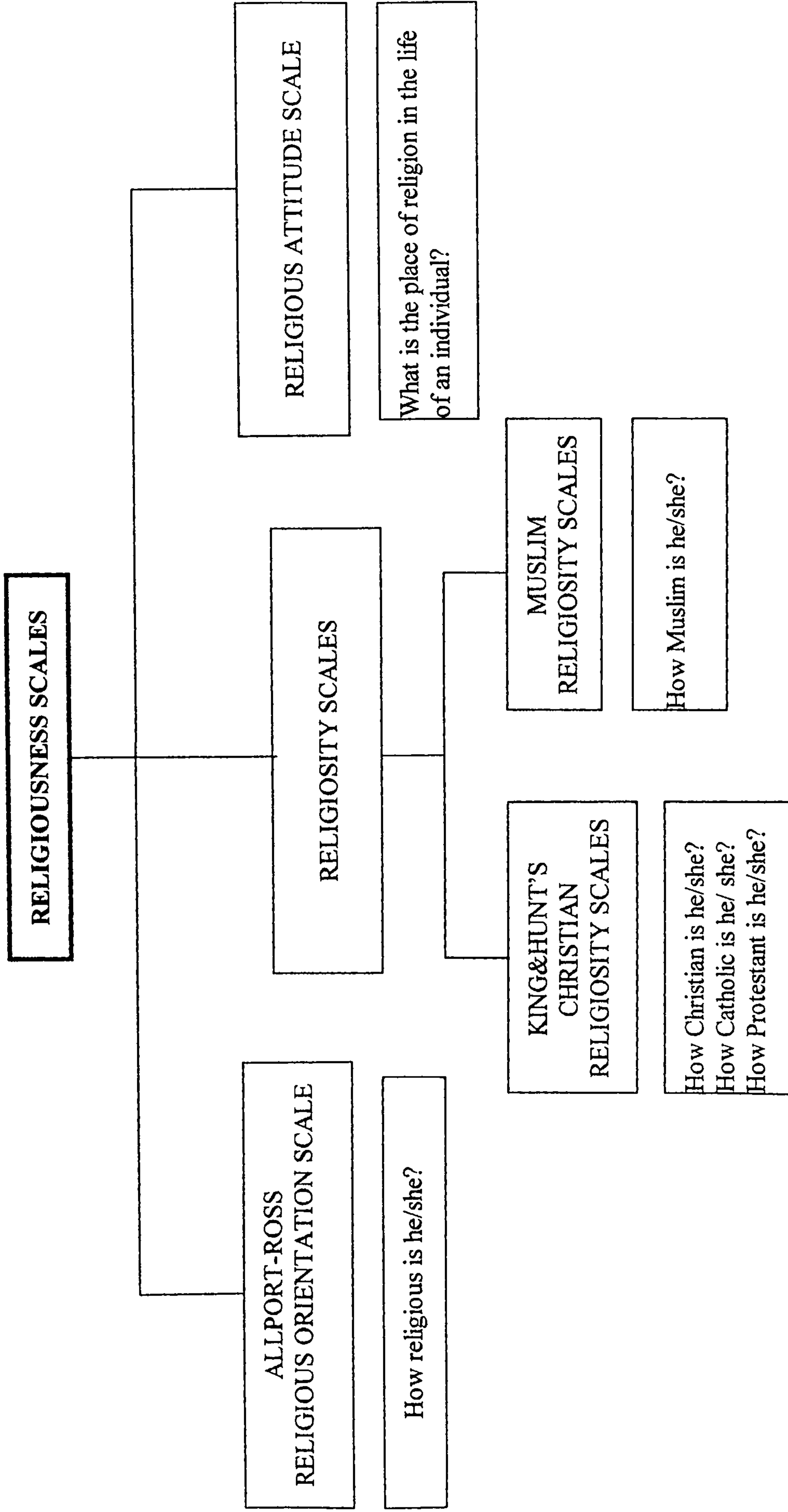
behavioural component relates to all the activities of a person 'according to' and 'against' his/her beliefs and convictions. The affective component relates to self-assessment in the eyes of God, including expectation from God.

In this study, a Religious Attitude Scale (RAS) is used to measure religious attitudes. Its primary question is "In terms of cognitive, behavioural and affective, what is the place of religion in the life of an individual?". These three approaches are presented at Table 5.1.

It is important to grasp that there is a difference between religious attitude and attitude towards religion(s). Whilst religious attitude characterises an appreciation of the religious dimension of life, attitude towards religion(s) characterises an individual's response towards religion or towards an aspect of religion (Francis and Kay, 1984). For example, theoretically, an atheist and agnostic have no (or around zero point) religious attitudes, whereas they have an attitude towards religion, such as a negative or neutral attitude. However, a Muslim has both a religious attitude as a Muslim, and an attitude towards religion(s), such as Islam, Christianity and Buddhism.

As can be seen from previous studies, there is no consensus on the concept which best expresses the religious involvement of individuals. Some prefer to use the term *religiosity* (Faulkner and De Jong, 1966; Chamberlain and Zika, 1988; Grasmick *et al.*, 1991; Ammerman, 1995), others favour using *religiousness* (Suziedelis and Potvin, 1981; Baker and Gorsuch, 1982; Donahue, 1985a-b; Schaefer and Gorsuch, 1991; Stark, 1997). Some use *religious orientation* (Allport and Ross, 1967; Windholz, 1986), others employ *religious attitude* (Turner and Crossey, 1993; Van Der Ven and Beauregard, 1997; Onay, 1997).

Table.5.1. Religiousness scales



It is evident that some research has been based on general religious affiliation or religious group (sectarian) affiliation (Heaton and Cornwall, 1989; Rathge and Gorehom, 1989; Hoffman and Miller, 1997), using data obtained from the census or by asking the respondents of surveys to state their religion, denomination or sect. In some studies, religiosity was measured by frequency of attending worship services (Religious Research Papers, 1981-1984; Grasmick *et al.*, 1991). The data derived from this technique is, of course, of considerable worth. It may facilitate the description of a sample. However, such data were not used for quantitative analyses and for the precise testing of hypotheses. Therefore, these kinds of surveys will not be discussed further.

5.3 ALLPORT-ROSS RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION SCALE (ROS)

The scale which was developed by Allport and Ross opened an important path for the measurement of religious orientations. It was concerned with the question of how religious individuals are. Allport and Ross's study has contributed two now commonly used concepts, *intrinsic* religiousness (*I*) and *extrinsic* religiousness (*E*). The main issues raised by studies using this approach can be summarised by the interaction of three concepts, religion, personality and behaviour (Donahue, 1985b).

The scale consisted of nine intrinsic items, eleven extrinsic items, totalling twenty items in all (Allport and Ross, 1967). Their language suggests that the items were designed in relation to Christian religiosity. However, rather than using statements relating to Christianity, general expressions were used in many items. Allport and Ross's scale has been used in many empirical studies as a measurement instrument for religious orientation. These studies were reviewed by Batson and Ventis (1982), Batson and Raynor-Prince (1983), Paloutzian (1983), Meadow and Kahoe (1984), Hood, (1985) and Donahue (1985a).

In the first of the two orientations identified by Allport and Ross, the intrinsic orientation, the main motive of individuals is religion. Allport and Ross (1967) explain it as follows:

Other needs, strong as they may be, are regarded as of less ultimate significance, and they are, so far as possible, brought into harmony with the religious beliefs and prescriptions. Having embraced a creed the individual endeavours to internalise it and follow it fully. It is in this sense that he lives his religion (Allport and Ross, 1967: 434).

In the extrinsic orientation, religion operates as a useful instrument for individuals' own aims. They illustrate it as follows:

Persons with this orientation may find religion useful in a variety of ways to provide security and solace, sociability and distraction, status and self-justification. The embraced creed is lightly held or else selectively shaped to fit more primary needs. In theological terms the extrinsic type turns to God, but without turning away from self (Allport and Ross, 1967: 434).

Despite the popularity of the *I/E* scales, as a result of construct analyses, some scholars have suggested that the extrinsic religious orientation consists of two different components: those who use religion for personal benefit (*Ep*) and those who use religion for social reward (*Es*) (Gorsuch, 1988; Gorsuch and McPherson, 1989; McFarland, 1989; Kirkpatrick and Hood, 1990; Masters, 1991; Haerich, 1992). From this perspective *ROS* involves three sub-scales: intrinsic (*I*), extrinsic for personal benefit (*Ep*) and extrinsic for social reward (*Es*).

Respondents of *ROS* were classified into four types by Allport and Ross. First, are those who agree with items on the intrinsic sub-scale and who disagree with items on the extrinsic sub-scale, the *intrinsic type*. Second, are those who agree with items on the extrinsic sub-scale and who disagree with items on the intrinsic sub-scale, the

extrinsic type. Third, are those who, on the intrinsic sub-scale, score at least 12 points less than on the extrinsic sub-scale, the *indiscriminately pro-religious type*. Fourth, are those who show a strong tendency to disagree with both items on the intrinsic and extrinsic sub-scales, *indiscriminately anti-religious or non-religious type* (Allport and Ross, 1967).

Using this scale, a number of studies attempted to construct a cumulative picture of the correlates of intrinsic religiousness and extrinsic religiousness. These studies include detailed analyses of intrinsic-extrinsic religiousness and prejudice (Allport and Ross, 1967), and general religiousness (Batson, 1976; Batson and Ventis, 1982), and sex differences (Argyle and Beit-Hallahmi, 1975), and dogmatism (Paloutzian *et al.*, 1978), and feminism (McClain, 1979), and fear of death (Spilka *et al.*, 1968), and trait anxiety (Baker and Gorsuch, 1982), and depression (Genia, 1993), and social desirability (Batson *et al.*, 1978), and internal locus of control (Kahoe, 1974), and psychological adjustment (Schaefer and Gorsuch, 1991), and perceived powerlessness (Minton and Spilka, 1976). These researches are outlined at Table 5.2.

Table 5.2. Correlations between the ROS (I/E and I/Ep/Es) and other variables

Researcher(s)/Year	Variables	Results
Allport, G W & Ross, J M, 1967	Prejudice	<i>E</i> is more positively correlated than <i>I</i> . <i>I</i> is negatively correlated with prejudice.
Spilka, B & Pelligrini, R J & Dailey, K, 1968	Fear of death	<i>I</i> is negatively and <i>E</i> is positively correlated with fear of death.
Kahoe, R D, 1974	Internal locus of control	<i>I</i> is positively correlated with internal locus of control.
Argyle, M & Beit-Hallahmi, B, 1975	Sex differences	The score of women is higher on <i>I</i> than men.
Minton, B & Spilka, B, 1976	Perceived powerlessness	While <i>E</i> is positively correlated with perceived locus of control, <i>I</i> is uncorrelated.

Table 5.2. Correlations between the ROS (I/E and I/Ep/Es) and other variables (continued)

Researcher(s)/Year	Variables	Results
Batson, C D & Naifeh, S J & Pate, S, 1978	Social desirability	<i>I</i> and <i>E</i> are positively correlated .36 and .17 respectively with social desirability.
Paloutzian, R F & Jackson, S L & Crandal, J E. 1978	Dogmatism	Significant correlation was found between dogmatism and <i>E</i> .
McClain, E W, 1979	Feminism	Feminism is significantly negatively correlated with <i>I</i> .
Baker, M & Gorsuch, R, 1982	Trait anxiety	<i>I</i> is negatively, <i>E</i> is positively correlated with trait anxiety.
Batson, C D & Ventis, W L, 1982	Religiousness	<i>I</i> is correlated .39, <i>E</i> is correlated .16 with other measures of religiousness.
Schaefer, C A & Gorsuch, R L, 1991	Psychological adjustment	Religiously oriented people were found significantly better adjusted psychologically
Genia, V, 1993	Depression	While <i>Ep</i> and <i>Es</i> are significantly related to higher depression, <i>I</i> is unrelated.

5.4 RELIGIOSITY SCALES

By adapting King and Hunt's scale and approach on Christian religiosity rather than religiosity in general, a number of scholars reformulated and applied their measurement instruments. Their scales concerned Christian religiosity. They attempted to clarify one of the following questions: How Christian, how Catholic, or how Protestant are people? This scaling technique/approach was employed to measure Muslim religiosity in Turkey (Mutlu, 1989; Köktaş, 1993; Uysal, 1995b). King and Hunt's scale development procedure were mostly based on item pool technique (King and Hunt, 1969, 1975). The *item pool technique* which they used generally involved the following procedure: first, the surveys were carried out with many items from

these pools. Statistical analyses were run for these answers. After these calculations, some items were chosen according to factor loadings or some other values.

5.4.1 Christian Religiosity Scales

In order to measure Christian religiosity, some earlier studies were carried out, such as Glock (1962), Lenski (1963) and Faulkner and De Jong (1966). These earlier studies explained the religiosity with several somewhat different sub-dimensions. For example, Faulkner and De Jong (1966) claimed five dimensions for religiosity. According to them, religious commitment was characterised by ideological, ritualistic, experiential, intellectual and consequential dimensions.

Until 1967, unidimensional hypothesis was not explicitly tested, however a multi-dimensional theory was accepted. King tested the null-hypothesis that “religion is unidimensional”. His results revealed that the unidimensional theory should be rejected. In King’s work (1967), nine tentative dimensions, with several of which were similar to those previously suggested in the earlier studies, were presented. These dimensions were (i) creedal assent and personal commitment, (ii) participation in congregational activities, (iii) personal religious experience, (iv) personal ties in the congregation, (v) commitment to intellectual search despite doubt, (vi) openness to religious growth, (vii) dogmatism, (viii) extrinsic orientation, (ix) financial behaviour, (x) financial attitude, (xi) talking and reading about religion (King, 1967). Two years later these findings and the scale were amended by King and Hunt. This scale¹ contains 81 items (King and Hunt, 1969). Therefore, these works became stepping stones to further research.

Their early studies were carried out within Protestant groups in an urban area. They then replicated these with items selected from previous studies on other denominations

¹ This scale was known as *King and Hunt’s 1968 Scale*.

and on a nation-wide sample. They categorised the scale² into three sub-scales: *Basic Religious Scales*, which contained 39 items, *Composite Religious Scales*, which contained 25 items, and *Cognitive Style Variables*, which contained 16 items. The *Basic Religious Scales* consisted of seven dimensions: (i) creedal assent, (ii) devotionism, (iii) Church attendance, (iv) organisational activity, (v) financial support, (vi) religious despair, (vii) orientation to growth and striving. *The Composite Religious Scales* contained three dimensions: (i) salience: behaviour, (ii) salience: cognition, (iii) the active regulars³. *The Cognitive Style Variables* included three dimensions: (i) intolerance of ambiguity (which consisted of Martin and Westie's items), (ii) purpose in life: positive (which contained items adapted from Crumbaugh and Maholick), (iii) purpose in life: negative (which contained items adapted from Crumbaugh and Maholick) (King and Hunt, 1975).

King and Hunt's findings were replicated by Hilty and Morgan. They used both King and Hunt's Questionnaire (1968) and the Presbyterian Panel⁴ in their research. They also provided strong support for King and Hunt's items for the seven factors (Hilty and Morgan, 1985). A model which consisted of three attitudinal and two belief constructs was also examined by Hilty among Mennonites, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics. He found five common factors in these samples. They were (i) religious belief, (ii) religious difficulty, (iii) social conscience, (iv) religious apathy and boredom, (v) religious satisfaction (Hilty, 1988).

The relationship between religiosity and psychological well-being was examined by Chamberlain and Zika. They used two sub-scales of King and Hunt, *Orientation to Growth and Striving*, *Salience: Cognition* (Chamberlain and Zika, 1988).

² This scale was known as *King and Hunt's 1973 Scale*.

³ In 1968 Scale, this dimension was called Index of Attendance and Giving.

⁴ This scale includes 37 items which were developed by Dean Hoge, and 61 items which were used in King and Hunt's 1968 Scale (Hilty and Morgan, 1985).

Slik has reviewed the line of research inspired by King and Hunt. He has criticised this approach which was called *creed-alike scales* (Slik, 1994). According to Slik, this approach “fails to unravel distinct personality-based attitudes towards the Biblical tradition” (Slik, 1994: 38).

All the above studies have been summarised at Table 5:3.

5.4.2 Islamic Religiosity Scales in Turkey

Several studies concerning Islamic religiosity were conducted in the 1960s and onward in Turkey. However, these preliminary attempts are excluded from this study because of poor scale development techniques and lack of statistical analysis assessments (Taplamacıoğlu, 1962; Fırat, 1977).

The studies of Mutlu, Köktaş, Uysal and Koştaş was in line with Glock, Lenski, and King and Hunt’s work in the 1960s. In these, in general, the religiosity of students was examined according to five dimensions, creed, attendance at worship, religious experience, religious knowledge, and the effect of creed, religious experience and emotion on secular life (Köktaş, 1993; Uysal, 1995b; Koştaş, 1995). In Konrad’s work, seven questions related to Islamic principles were asked of youngsters in eleven cities (Konrad, 1999).

More recently, Mutlu has developed an Islamic Religiosity Scale by selecting and adapting relevant items from Christian religiosity scales, such as those of Faulkner and De Jong (1966), King (1967), King and Hunt (1969). His scale consisted of 8 direct and 6 reverse *Likert*-type items (Mutlu, 1989). Using this scale, he examined the correlation between the religiosity of university students in Turkey and fundamentalism (Mutlu, 1996).

Table 5.3. Studies carried out using King and Hunt's line of enquiry.

Scales	Researcher(s)	Country/Year/ Sample	Research Objective(s)	Results
Items of the scale were developed by following the basic guidelines provided by Glock, C. Y	Faulkner, J E & DeJong, G F	USA - 1966 Pennsylvania State University students	Examining religiosity in five dimensions.	Religious involvement is characterised by ideological, ritualistic, experiential, intellectual and consequential dimensions.
Items of the scale were selected from three preliminary surveys and relevant literature.	King, M B	USA - 1967 Members of Methodist congregations (Protestants) in Dallas	Is the religious variable unidimensional, and what are its subdimensions?	Nine tentative dimensions are presented for further researches.
King and Hunt's 1968 Scale	King, M B & Hunt, R A	USA - 1969 Same sample	Reassessing the findings	The scale which was developed by King (1967) was reformulated, according to statistical analysis.
King and Hunt's 1973 Scale	King, M B & Hunt, R A	USA - 1975 Non-Protestant Christian denominations on a nation-wide sample	National replication of the King-Hunt 1968 Scale	The national data were produced, and also the scale was categorised into three subscales: (i) Composite Religious Scale, (ii) Cognitive Style Variables, (iii) Basic Religious Scale.

Table 5.3. Studies carried out using King and Hunt's line of enquiry (continued).

Scalcs	Researcher(s)	Country/Year/ Sample	Research Objective(s)	Results
Two scales were used: a. King-Hunt's 1968 Scale b. Presbyterian Panel	Hilty, D M & Morgan, R	USA - 1985 United Methodist & Presbyterian denominations	Replication of King and Hunt's findings by using their item- pool	King and Hunt's items provided strong support for the seven factors.
Four Likert-type Scales used		USA - 1988 Mennonites	Examining a model which consists of three attitudinal and two belief constructs.	Five common factors were found after examining denominational differences among Mennonite, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic denominations:
a. Religious Attitude and Belief Survey	Hilty-Pneuman, 1981			a. Religious belief
b. Hilty-Pneuman Religious Inventory: Protestant Form	Hilty-Pneuman, 1982	Presbyterian and Roman Catholics		b. Religious difficulty
c. Hilty-Pneuman Religious Inventory: R. Catholic Form	Hilty-Pneuman & Woods, 1983	Catholic denominations in Illinois, Indiana		c. Social conscience
d. Hilty-Pneuman Religious Inventory: Protestant Form Second Edition	Hilty, 1986	Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania		d. Religious apathy and boredom e. Religious satisfaction

Table 5.3. Studies carried out using King and Hunt's line of enquiry (continued).

Scales	Researcher(s)	Country/Year/ Sample	Research Objective(s)	Results
Two subscales of King and Hunt's 1973 Scale: a. Orientation to Growth and Striving b. Salience: Cognition	Chamberlain, K & Zika, S	New Zealand - 1988 Middle class people	The relationship between religiosity and psychological well-being.	The relationship between religiosity and subjective well-being is variable, depending upon how these constructs are assessed.
Francis Scale of Attitude toward Christianity (for 8-16 year olds)	Francis, L J	United Kingdom, Kenya and Nigeria 1978 - 1995	To explore an affective response to God, Jesus, bible, prayer and church.	This scale was used in more than 80 published studies.
Francis Scale of Attitude toward Christianity (Adult)	Francis, L J & Stubbs, M T	U. K., U. S. A., Australia and Canada 1987 - 1995	To explore an affective response to God, Jesus, the bible, prayer and church.	This scale was also used in a number of studies.
Francis Scale of Attitude toward Christianity	Rhymer, J	Scotland - 1984 Roman Catholic pupils in Scotland	To explore Roman Catholic pupils attitude towards religion.	Roman Catholic pupils in Roman Catholic secondary schools have a more positive attitude towards religion than Roman Catholic pupils in other schools.

Table 5.3. Studies carried out using King and Hunt's line of enquiry (continued).

Scales	Researcher(s)	Country/Year/ Sample	Research Objective(s)	Results
Islamic religiosity based on belief in Allah	Firat, E	Turkey - 1977 University students	Belief in Allah and perception of religion.	Belief in Allah and perception of religion among university students were examined.
Islamic Religiosity Scale	Mutlu, K	Turkey - 1989 University Students in Ankara	An attempt to develop an Islamic Religiosity Scale in Turkey.	A Likert-type scale was standardised by using 14 items. The scale was adopted from Christian religiosity scales.
Islamic Religiosity Scale Items from Faulkner and DeJong (1966), King (1967) & King and Hunt (1969)	Mutlu, K	Turkey - 1978, 1991 University Students in Ankara	The correlation between religiosity and fundamentalism.	Although the religiosity of university students increased in 1991 from 1978, religious discrimination and fundamentalist attitudes decreased.
Islamic Religiosity Scale	Köktaş, ME	Turkey - 1993 Some residents in İzmir	Exploring religious life in İzmir.	An Islamic Religiosity Scale was cultivated on the basis of five dimensions: (i) creed, (ii) attendance at worship, (iii) religious experience, (iv) religious knowledge, (v) the effect of the creed, religious experience and emotion on secular life.

Table 5.3. Studies carried out using King and Hunt's line of enquiry (continued).

Scales	Researcher(s)	Country/Year/ Sample	Research Objective(s)	Results
Islamic Religiosity Scale (The structure of the scale is very similar to Koktas's scale)	Koştaş, M	Turkey - 1995 Students in two universities in Ankara	Exploring religiosity of university students.	Religiosity of university students was examined in line with Koktas's work.
Islamic Religiosity Scale	Uysal, V	Turkey - 1995 Some residents in Istanbul	An attempt to develop an Islamic Religiosity Scale in Turkey.	A Likert-type scale was standardised by including five dimensions: (i) the effect of religion on life, (ii) creed, (iii) knowledge, (iv) worship, (v) individual and social functions of worship
Seven questions related to Islamic principles	Konrad Adenauer Vakfi	Turkey - 1999 15-27 year olds in eleven cities	To explore 15-27 year olds from different aspects including their religiosities.	15-27 year olds' attitudes towards Islamic principles were investigated.

Köktaş developed an Islamic religiosity scale and carried out a rigorous survey in a provincial city, İzmir. After acknowledging difficulties in the description of the concept of religiosity, he attempted to define Islamic religiosity with reference to five dimensions. They were: (i) creed, 14 items; (ii) attendance to worship, 12 items; (iii) religious experience, 4 items; (iv) religious knowledge, 7 items; (v) the effect of creed, religious experience and emotion on secular life, 44 items (Köktaş, 1993). He called this process the operationalisation of the concept of religiosity (Köktaş, 1993: 63). Using a very similar scale to Köktaş, Koştaş⁵ carried out a survey among university students in Ankara (Koştaş, 1995).

Uysal also developed an Islamic Religiosity Scale. His scale consisted of five dimensions. These dimensions were: (i) the effect of religion on life in general, (ii) creed, (iii) knowledge, (iv) worship, (v) the individual and social functions of worship (Uysal, 1995b). This scale was used to investigate religious life and personal characteristics (Uysal, 1995a). Islamic religiosity scales have been summarised at Table 5.3.

5.5 RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE SCALE (RAS)

The Religious Attitude Scale (RAS) is an instrument which measures the level of individuals' religious attitudes consisting of cognitive, behavioural and affective dimensions. The RAS attempted to prepare a theoretical base for the measurement of religious attitudes from both theological and social psychological perspectives. This scale was initially developed to examine the relationship between religious attitudes and test anxiety among 16-22 year old students (Onay, 1997). The RAS was also

⁵The whole structure of the scale and its items in Koştaş's work (1995) are very similar to Köktaş's scale (1993) apart from some minor editorial amendments and omitting several items which were in Köktaş's scale. Ironically, neither in Koştaş's scale nor in his methodology, have I seen any reference to Köktaş's scale. Koştaş only stated that "For the development of the scale, it was benefited from some previous works in Turkey and abroad" (Koştaş, 1995: 19).

employed to investigate association between religious attitudes and services of the *Diyanet* in a survey in Erzincan, Turkey (Onay, 1998).

The earlier form of the RAS consisted of 25 *Likert* items. However, the scale was amended for this study in 1999. In this modification, ten items in the RAS were omitted, three items re-phrased and three new items added. Therefore, the new form of the RAS comprised 18 *Likert* items (see Chapter 6).

5.6 HYPOTHESES DEVELOPMENT

In this study, religious attitudes will be investigated with reference to Turkish university students. To do so, religious attitudes of university students will be examined on the basis of the following the independent variables:

5.6.1 Gender

Until the 1960s, there was a negative attitude towards women working and attending schools, either privately or with males, despite the fact that men and women had been living and working together in rural areas for many years. This attitude was mostly based on the interpretation of religious injunctions. One of the major conflicts which turned into a psychological battle between the Republican policy, representing *secularist* Islam, and those representing the other Islamic trends, resulted from the practical aspect of the gender issue.

In today's Turkey, men and women work together in the fields. In the cities, both husband and wife have to work in order to ensure a standard of living beyond the basic level. In many cases, families need their daughters as well as sons to contribute to the family budget. During the same period, educated and qualified women have been

participating fully in different professional activities. Therefore, women have been found in the same workplace as their male colleagues particularly in the cities.

Since the 1920s, the *başörtüsü* or *türban* (headscarf) was strictly not allowed for civil servants at work. This ban, which was made in the name of Westernisation, caused a conflict between managers and some officers. This debate gained further momentum because thousands of Turkish workers in many European countries, all of whom experienced western life-styles, were allowed to wear the *başörtüsü*. The ban has still not been waived.

In the 1970s, female students were increasingly allowed to attend *İmam Hatip* Schools. A rapid change has since been observed in women's education. Overwhelmingly, parents have become keen on sending their daughters into every level of education. A very limited number of parents have avoided sending their daughters to mixed classes. However, a considerable number of parents and female students are in favour of wearing a *başörtüsü* while attending school. The issue of wearing *başörtüsü* remains a point of conflict between school administrations and students. Sometimes, parents also become involved in this conflict.

In recent years, alongside men, women members of the social elite have been seen among the educated *İslamists*. They are skilled and intellectual, such as Cihan Aktaş, Hamide Toros and Sibel Eraslan. They began to play an active role, and to perform as auxiliaries to men in some Islamic activities, from the 1970s (Göle, 1997; White, 97/11285). Additionally, some Islamic women's journals have been published in recent decades. These include *Mektup*, *Kadın ve Aile* and *Bizim Aile*. They find readers predominantly among female students and women who live in urban areas (Acar, 1991). These female authors have stressed the problems of female students, such as

the issue of the *başörtüsü*, in their schools and the opportunities of work. (Acar, 1991; Özdalga, 1998).

Generally, world-wide, women are thought to be more religious than men (Gallup, 1980; Gallup and Castelli, 1989; Wilson, 1961; Hay, 1982). By contrast, not only male students but men in general are apparently more religious than female students or women in Turkey. There are three studies which are worth mentioning here. Two of them were carried out on university students in Istanbul and Konya and the latter on the people of Erzincan and its three towns. According to the results of these three surveys, women are seen to be less religious than men (Köktaş, 1993; Uysal, 1995a; Bacanlı, 1995; Onay, 1997).

These results should not be a surprise. Three reasons can be considered in relation to these findings. First, when we look at religious institutions in Turkey - whether formal or informal - it is obvious that the *Diyanet* almost exclusively focuses its activities and services on men. They are mostly relevant for men. The proportion of women is very small among the religious personnel in the *Diyanet*; at perhaps 1% or 2%. Second, the ban on the wearing of the *başörtüsü* since the 1920s may have discouraged many religious parents from sending their daughters to schools after compulsory education. Third, in recent years, some female students who wore the *başörtüsü* were not allowed to take university entrance exams, or to register in departments, or to enter lectures, or to take university examinations. This may have caused religious female students to be eliminated at the level of higher education. From this discussion, we might reasonably form the hypothesis that:

H1: The Religious attitudes of female Turkish university students are different from those of males.

5.6.2 Age

The association between age and religiosity has not been exposed to social scientific investigation in the Turkish context. Despite a general assumption that elderly people are more religious than youngsters, there is no evidence related to religious attitudes among children, adolescence, adulthood and the elderly.

A number of studies carried out in the USA and the United Kingdom have examined the issue of age and religiosity. The findings of these studies revealed that there is a decline during adolescence (Spilka *et al.*, 1985; Francis, 1987; Francis and Stubbs, 1987) and young adulthood until the age of 30 (Beit-Hallahmi and Argyle, 1997). This leads to the following hypothesis:

H2: There is a significant negative correlation between the religious attitudes of university students and age between 18 and 26.

5.6.3 Family Incomes and Social Backgrounds

Changes observed in the general economic and social structures of Turkey, in the last three decades, have affected people's inclinations. For example, during the single party period and the following decade, the majority of the Turkish population was engaged in agriculture and living in villages and small towns (*kasabas*). Traditions and customs (*örf ve adetler*), such as wedding ceremonies, religious festivals, funerals, circumcision ceremonies and hospitality, were observed according to Turkish-Islamic culture in villages and small towns. The Turkish economy was overwhelmingly controlled by the government and to be a civil servant was seen as a good standard of job to have. Being a civil servant in Turkey required a certain (secular) style of dress, attendance at formal ceremonies and obedience to strict rules.

Free policies in the economic realm were implemented in the last three decades. These policies were seen in different aspects of the economy, related to privatisation, deregulation in banking, foreign exchange, foreign trade, foreign investment, tax reform and free trade zones (Aktan, 1994). This progress caused the loss of governmental control via the economy over the Turkish lifestyle. Family income levels and people's orientations, either in economic issues or other aspects of daily life, were modified according to these policies.

Economic changes have also brought a transformation in traditional Turkish farmers' ways of living. Many farmers in villages and small towns left their farms and migrated to cities and big towns (*ilçes*) in order to become civil servants or factory workers, or to work as artisans or shopkeepers. So, a dramatic increase was observed in the population of cities. Most of these immigrants were residents in districts on the outskirts of cities known as *gecekondu*. Although they tried to adapt to a new and difficult lifestyle in a city, a *gecekondu* lifestyle emerged in their districts (Gürsoy-Tezcan, 1991). Urban people also experienced this new *gecekondu* lifestyle. To some extent, the way of life in the big towns (*ilçes*) was similar to that in the villages. People who migrated to big towns found it easier to adapt to the big town environment and to maintain their customs, by comparison with those who migrated to cities. It can be concluded that big towns (*ilçe*) were relatively less affected by these rapid changes. Consequently, religious life in big towns remained more stable than in cities and villages including small towns.

In the 1960s and 1970s, a considerable number of Turkish families went abroad as workers. They visited Turkey for holidays with both money and new experiences drawn from the European lifestyle. Whilst some traditional village customs were lost or weakened and forgotten, new traditions emerged in cities, villages and small towns.

In the last two decades, the private sector rather than the public has increasingly attracted qualified people. In the private sector, more work, more money and more flexibility with regard to personal style, as well as more flexibility in personal religious matters, such as attendance at Friday prayer within working hours, may all be observed. This improvement has attracted many mainstream religious families to seek involvement in the private sector. Parents have encouraged and supported their children through university with this in mind.

The globalisation process in the economic realm has created a number of opportunities for expansion and individual advancement. Additionally, the decline of the nation-state and the Left (Marxism) have occurred as basically parallel phenomena. Concurrently, a further parallel tendency has involved the transmission of liberal democracy and the rise of a discourse on citizenship and human rights (Öniş, 1997). An *İslamist* bourgeoisie (Ayata, 1993, 1996; Öniş, 1997) has emerged during this period.

Additionally, associated with this trend, a large number of books and articles about Islam have been translated into Turkish and, thus, have become widely accessible. In fact, the university environment, and therefore students, have been greatly affected by these publications. These improvements have also resulted in basic changes in traditional Islamic thought affecting the mercantile activities of Muslims, in addition to the structural changes in the economy (Ayata, 1993; Koştaş, 1995; Schuman and Rossant, 1996; Öniş, 1997).

Whilst many people originally avoided engaging in complex trade relationships, such as using banking facilities, because of the fear of committing sin, they later managed to overcome these worries and started to penetrate the commercial sector. The Independent Association of Industrialists and Businessmen (MUSIAD), which emerged as an Islamic business concern, was founded in 1990 by a group of young businessmen. Its members, who have their own companies, have reached 3000 in total

within a few years (Öniş, 1997). Although many started out as artisans or shopkeepers, they have now begun to be involved in a substantial amount of foreign trade, and have been engaged in forming cross-border equity investments in the form of both joint ventures and wholly-owned investments. They have sponsored many Islamic activities. They have given financial support to charitable organisations run by religious institutions, and have funded the building and development of mosques, *Qur'an* courses and *imam hatip* schools. They have also joined foundations which have religious aims. Unavoidably, students have also begun to make contact with these business activities. It has happened in different ways, such as applying for scholarships, seeking jobs and work placement.

Some changes were also observed in the traditional Turkish family structure. Middle-class families began to decrease in number in the period of high inflation in the 1980s and 1990s. Families generally decreased in size, in the cities as compared to the villages. The nuclear family predominated. However, it is still true to say that the Turkish family is one of the strongest institutions in the society. Today, nearly all marriage ceremonies include some Islamic practices. Families continue to follow religious rules in the instance of divorce. Almost all the death and funeral rituals are religious. Sexual relationships outside marriage are perceived in a negative manner. Homosexuality is seen as an extremely immoral activity. In addition to this, taking a bath after having sex according to religious belief is still practised by Turkish couples. These understandings can be considered as the strongest bases of religion in the family. They establish an unconscious link with Islam. All these points can easily be evidenced in interviews among university students.

Both the income level of a family and its social background, alongside its religiosity, affects the preferences of the children on educational issues. A variety of cheap rented accommodation has been introduced by *cemaats* for students who are from middle and lower income level families who live in villages and *gecekondus*. Supplementary

courses and private schools are available to middle class and upper income level families. So, in addition to religiosity, family income level and social background also affect the opportunities students have to make contact with *cemaats*.

On the basis of the preceding discussion the following hypotheses have emerged:

H3: The religious attitudes of the students who come from medium income level families are different from the attitudes of those who come from low and high income level families.

H4: The religious attitudes of the students who come from big towns (ilçes) are different from the attitudes of those who come from cities or villages.

5.6.4 Religious Education in Schools

Religious education has been as disputed an issue as *laiklik* (secularism). Official policy regarding religion and education has fluctuated during the last 150 years. This varies from a defensive approach to an informative one. This development, as Ayata (1993) claimed, can be divided into four historical stages.

First, until the middle of the nineteenth century, education in the Ottoman State was overwhelmingly a religious affair undertaken by *ulema*, Islamic scholars. All educational activities were in the service of religion. Not only education but also the judiciary and administrative network were under the control of the *ulema* who entirely harmonised with the State-bureaucracy. Through this harmonisation, in other words, by the controlling of the *ulema*, the state could ensure the control of social life (Mardin, 1993). Therefore, religion was under the control of the state in the name of its defence.

Secondly, from the mid-nineteenth century onward, secular education took place gradually within religious institutions. A secular law school was established in 1880. Henceforth, pluralism in education was characterised by secular and modern schools on the one side and traditional religious institutions, *medrese*, on the other (Ayata, 1993). During the reign of the Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876-1909), *medreses* lost their status and financial sources because they were abandoned by the State. The new educational system and the military schools, *Rushdiye*, in particular, were emphasised (Mardin, 1993).

Thirdly, after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the *Unity of Education Act* was passed. During the single party period (1923-1946), while the new educational system was improved, religious education was left almost totally outside the formal educational realm (Kaymakcan, 1996). This reform appeared as hostile towards both religion and religious education.

Finally, throughout the multi-party period (since 1946) new opportunities have been given to religious education. In 1949, at the same time as a divinity faculty in Ankara and several *imam hatip* courses in different regions were established, optional religious education was introduced in primary schools. In the 1950s and 1960s, the number of *imam hatip* schools and also of their students increased sharply. Simultaneously, the same rise occurred for *Qur'an* Courses. Furthermore, optional religious lessons were introduced in the curriculum of secondary schools, and Higher Islamic Institutes were founded (Tarhan, 1996; Atasoy, 1996; Margulies and Yıldızoğlu, 1997).

In addition to these improvements in the religious education field, the leaders of the 1980 military coup passed an Act that made religious and moral education compulsory in primary schools (in the fourth and fifth classes) and secondary schools. This provision was stated in the 1981 constitution of the Turkish Republic. Whilst the

governments have followed a policy of not allowing the opening of new *imam hatip* schools since the military intervention of 1980, they have supported the opening of new divinity faculties in line with a great university expansion. Consequently, the number of divinity faculties has risen to over twenty in the 1990s.

In today's Turkey, religious education is provided for students until the end of high school education. The six fundamental principles of faith, five basic principles of Islam and moral issues, in line with the idea of national unity and collaboration, are thought to be a segment of the culture. Moreover, in *imam hatip* schools, *tefsir* (interpretation of the *Qur'an*), *hadith* (Prophetic tradition) and reciting *Qur'an* are taught at a basic level, in addition to the normal high school curriculum (Tarhan, 1996).

Religious education was not the sole reason for an increase in the number of people attending *imam hatip* schools. In *imam hatip* schools, a flexible policy was observed with regard to the issue of wearing the *başörtüsü*, whereas it was strictly not allowed in other high schools. This flexibility attracted many families with concerns about veiling to send their daughters to *imam hatip* schools (Tarhan, 1996). An increased number of students chose to go to such schools because, after graduation from them, additional employment choices were available, such as work as an *imam* or trainer in *Qur'an* courses. Such conclusions lead us to expect that:

H5: The religious attitudes of the students who attended imam hatip lise are different from the attitudes of those who attended other lises.

5.6.5 Supplementary Religious Education (SRE)

All means of obtaining religious education outside the school (from the primary to the university), including private schools, are considered to constitute voluntary supplementary religious education (SRE). According to current legislation, SRE is

given either in mosques, depending on the local authority, or in *Qur'an* courses. The *Diyanet* administers both of these. Generally, during the summer holiday, parents send their children to mosques, in the hope that they will learn to read the *Qur'an* in Arabic and will gain basic catechetical knowledge. After compulsory education, some parents send them to a *Qur'an* course for the same purpose for one year.

However, whilst some young people obtain religious education by themselves through books, self-training sets⁶, such as book and tapes, or book and videos, or computer programmes, some of them acquire such education through a private *hoca*. Some people obtain the benefits of SRE through other different means, such as learning from parents and friends. The main purpose of SRE is to gain some knowledge about how to pray as well as how to learn to read the *Qur'an* in Arabic. This leads to the following hypotheses:

H6a: The religious attitudes of students who obtained supplementary religious education (SRE) are different from the attitudes of those who did not obtain SRE.

H6b: The religious attitudes of the students who obtained SRE in a Qur'an course are different from the attitudes of those who obtained SRE in other ways.

5.6.6 Orientations towards Religious Institutions

Religious institutions in Turkey can be classified into two main categories; formal and informal. The *Diyanet* (Presidency of Religious Affairs of the Turkish Republic) is a formal religious institution, whereas a number of *cemaats* (religious groups), such as *Fethullahcıs* and all *tarikats* (Sufi orders), are informal religious institutions. Using a variety of means, both the *Diyanet* and *cemaats* have provided religious services in different arenas, such as the mosque and the media (see Chapters 3, 4 and 6). The

⁶ For example, publication of *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı* and *Cantaş Yayınları*.

majority of the people have benefited from the services of either the *Diyanet* or *cemaats*, or both, in different degrees. However, the more religious people are the more oriented they are to one of these institutions. This is reflected in the following hypotheses:

H7: There is a significant positive correlation between the religious attitudes of university students and their orientations towards the Diyanet.

H8: There is a significant positive correlation between the religious attitudes of university students and their orientations towards the cemaats.

5.7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In the first part of this chapter the issue of the measurement of religious attitudes was discussed and religiosity scales were reviewed. Measurement instruments and their assessment differ according to the aim and definition of religious attitudes. These scales, which approach measuring religiosity from various perspectives, can be classified into three basic lines of enquiry. First, the Allport-Ross Religious Orientation Scale was concerned with the question of how religious individuals are. Religious orientations were interpreted using two concepts, intrinsic religiousness and extrinsic religiousness, in this scale. Secondly, King and Hunt's approach, which became a source of inspiration to many scholars to develop their own scales, attempted to examine one of the following statements: How Christian, how Catholic, how Protestant, or how Muslim are people? Finally, the Religious Attitude Scale was concerned to measure the extent to which, in terms of cognitive, behavioural and affective attitudes, religion had a place in an individual's life? With this scale, moreover, preparing a theoretical base for the measurement of religious attitudes was initiated.

These three groups of scales have provided an opportunity to researchers to measure religiosity from different perspectives. Researchers in social sciences can use one of these scales according to the specific purposes of their study. According to the nature of the survey, the measurement of religiosity from variable perspectives may be crucial. The greater number of measurement instruments the more opportunities there are to choose the best measurement instrument. This means that more time may be spent on the main subject of research rather than in the development of a new scale.

In order to avoid common pitfalls in the measurement of religious attitudes six points should be considered in selecting an appropriate religiosity scale:

1. One of the substantial issues in the measurement of religiosity is whether a scale is based on a theoretical background and relevant statistical verification. It is interesting to note that, from a theoretical perspective, neither Allport and Ross's approach nor King and Hunt's approach was based on a precise theory. It seems that the scales which they developed consisted of the visible aspects of living religion and some religiosity assessment based on the customs which people commonly practice. These measurement instruments, which were well-designed from a sociological or psychological perspective, were always carried out by sociologists or psychologists rather than theologians or other scholars of religion.

The absence of either a theoretical background from a theological perspective or of statistical verification seems to be a substantial problem in the measurement instruments of religiosity and religious orientations. In addition to these problems, how well a specific idea is expressed in a statement is important. The comprehension by the respondent of each item could affect the measurement. These problematic issues, accordingly, arise in relation to the Christian religiosity scales of King and Hunt, and Francis, and the Muslim religiosity scales of Uysal and Mutlu. Two questions have to be asked at this stage. First, was any item included which scored a low value as a

result of its bad design? Such an item may have been crucial to the aim of the scale, but may have been excluded due to its low value in the analysis. Second, was any item included in the scale which scored a high value despite having little theological significance? Moreover, which criteria was followed in entering some items in the scale and leaving others out? Inclusion or exclusion of such items could affect the construction of the scales. Therefore, in any scale which is based on a theoretical background any crucial items which score a low value have to be re-written in order to compensate for the difficulties. Then, the whole scale has to be piloted and analysed again.

2. Given the complexity of the term religiosity, it is important to try to trace the limits of the term by making it as precise as possible. Whilst religious knowledge, and “religious difficulty”⁷ may relate to someone’s religiosity, these matters are not themselves components of religiosity. Unlike previous Christian and Muslim religiosity scales, the RAS developed in this thesis does not ask specific questions relating to religious knowledge and religious difficulty as part of religiosity in an attempt to increase the reliability and meaning of the measurement. First, religious knowledge has not been considered to be part of religiosity. This is due to the fact that having a certain level of religious knowledge does not in itself imply that a person is religious. Alternatively a person who does not possess much religious knowledge may be religious. However, religious knowledge may affect religiosity. For example, following Glock (1962), religious knowledge was accepted as a component of Muslim religiosity by Köktaş (1993), Koştaş (1995) and Uysal (1995b). They asked individuals about their level of knowledge of reading the *Qur’an* in Arabic. Even in Arab countries, if the number of religious illiterate people is considered, it may be seen how little correlation there is between being a good Muslim and the issue of reading the *Qur’an* in Arabic. For the measurement of religiosity, then, to what extent is a distinction to be made between religiosity and knowledge about religion? Which of the questions might

⁷ For example, see Hilty- Pneuman Religious Inventory (Hilty, 1988).

allow us to measure religiosity, and which might give us an idea about individuals' levels of knowledge of their religion? In fact, some people are very knowledgeable *about* a religion but are not religious themselves; some others are very religious, but have a very limited knowledge about their religion.

Second, the level of difficulty experienced in practising different religious duties is not part of religiosity. There is thus no direct correlation between level of difficulty and religiosity. The fact that a disciple who finds fulfilling religious duties to be difficult and demanding does not mean that he or she is more or less religious than another person. It is recognised, however, that this very level of difficulty can affect the behavioural patterns of people. For example, in Hilty's Christianity Scale we find the following questions:

- I have a difficult time practising my faith in the home;
 - I feel anxious because some personal habits are difficult to overcome;
 - It is difficult for me to apply Christian principles in a "touchy situation"
- (Hilty, 1988: 248 - 249).

These items raise two issues: (a) Is it expected that good Christians should not experience such difficulties? (b) In contrast, the experience of such difficulties, if someone puts an effort into the fulfilment of his/her religious commitments, may be valuable for the development of personal religiosity. All in all, looking at whether someone experiences difficulties in religious matters, does not allow us to draw a conclusion about his/her religiosity.

3. In a scale, it is necessary to take into consideration how people experience religion according to their own economic status, social context and cultural background? It seems that spreading items across these aspects, to some extent related to religiosity,

may not measure someone's religiosity. For example, in King and Hunt's Christianity Scale we find the following questions:

- How often do you spend evenings at church meetings or in church work?;
- Last year, approximately what per cent of your income was contributed to the Church? (1% or less - 10 per cent or more);
- How often do you read literature about your faith (or church)? (Frequently - Never) (King and Hunt, 1975: 20).

It might be assumed that each individual who responded to these items positively was a good Christian or a religious person. However, those who responded to these items negatively may, in fact, still regard themselves as religious and often be regarded as such by others. Spending time at church meetings in the evenings or in church work could be related to the amount of spare time they had, rather than their religiosity directly. Some people are unable to make any financial contribution to religious organisations because of their poor economic situation, rather than as a result of their lack of belief. Similar points could also be argued over the reading of literature about the faith or church. So, whether a healthy and accurate measurement of Christianity can be made by answers to questions on these issues remains problematic.

In another example from Uysal's Muslim Religiosity Scale we find the following measurements undertaken:

- The frequency of involvement in debates about religious issues (with close friends);
- The frequency of attendance at religious meetings whether in or out of the Mosque (Uysal, 1995b: 265-266).

Here again, positive responses to these questions were thought to indicate good Muslims. However, involvement in debates about religious issues might be conditional on a number of variables such as place, subject, person, mood etc. Attendance at

religious meetings also depends on a variety of conditions along with the religiosity of the person.

So, how successfully the responses to these questions lead us to discriminate precisely between the religiosity of individuals is debatable. How do we discover which items best measure the construct or attribute that the test was designed to measure? However, it is assumed that every item of a scale, to the best ability of the scale designer, should measure the same thing. For these reasons, it is important to avoid asking whether the respondent fulfils any particular religious practices or accepts any particular principles of his/her religion.

4. Individual experiences cause some negative attitudes towards established religious institutions or their services, such as the church and the *Diyanet*, rather than religion itself. Many Muslims may find *hutbes* (sermons delivered at Friday prayers) boring, just as many Christians may find church services boring. Their feelings are more likely to be directed at the content or delivery style of the *hutbes* or church services. Such criticism cannot be taken into consideration as an indication of religiosity. For example, in the Francis Scale of Attitude toward Christianity, we find the following items:

- The church is very important to me.
- I think Church services are boring.
- I think going to church is a waste of my time.
- I find it boring to listen to the bible. (Francis *et al.*, 1995: 950)

Christians may give very different answers to a very general/sweeping question, such as whether church is important to them. There are two reasons for this difference. First, "Which church?": today's churches in general, an ideal or hypothetical church, or the church close to his/her home? Second, "In what sense is church very important?": In terms of the very existence of the church, the services of the church,

or the role of the church in his/her life? One person's answer to this question will be different to others depending on which aspect he/she is considering. In fact, such a sweeping question is problematic in a questionnaire. Any items which raise other question(s) should be avoided in a scale. Moreover, a Christian who found church services boring may think that going to church is a waste of his/her time. He/she may find it boring to listen to the Bible due to the style of reading, or the repetitions, or for other individual reasons. It is evident that answers given to these four items reflect someone's attitude towards church services rather than his/her religiosity as a Christian.

Results from empirical data in this study have also revealed that someone's religious attitude and his/her orientation towards religious institution(s) are clearly different. For example, in Turkey, students' religious attitude score was found to be 69%, whereas their scores related to orientation towards the *Diyanet* and *cemaats* were 49% and 45% respectively (see Chapters 7, 8). There is at least a 20% difference between students' religious attitude score and their scores for orientation towards religious institutions.

5. Validity and reliability issues are important for the development of a scale. As can be seen from the examples, especially, content validity seems a serious matter for the religiosity scales. The issue of content validity seems more problematic for the religiosity scales which are developed according to an item pool technique. Therefore, the formatting of items on the basis of concrete criteria or a theological theory may well be a cornerstone for the development of future religiosity scales. When the item pools are constituted, the issue of which questions to include and according to which criteria will be a crucial issue.

6. Some preliminary statistics might be needed in order to ascertain which item discriminates between those who do well on the test and those who do poorly. In order to examine the validity and reliability of the religiosity scales some relevant statistical analysis should also be employed. The issue of whether the scale consists of any sub-scales, might then be examined by factor analysis. In Christianity, for example, while many Christians believe in God, very few of them go to church. So, such aspects might be distinguished as sub-scales in the test. For instance, it is assumed that the Francis Scale of Attitude Towards Christianity includes 24 items related to an affective response to God, Jesus, the bible, prayer and church (Francis, et al, 1995). It is expected that an individual's affective responses to God, Jesus, the bible, prayer and church might be different. However, the two issues, at this first stage, are to ascertain how successful the scale is in distinguishing between these dimensions, and second, to establish whether individuals really differ in their responses to these dimensions as is assumed. Although the Francis Scale was used in a large number of surveys, this point does not seem to be examined by either exploratory or confirmatory factor analysis.

In conclusion, development of the religiosity scales has a vital importance for the measurement of religious attitudes. A reliable and valid scale allows us to carry out precise measurements. The RAS and other scales used in this study, and their development will be explored in Chapter 6.

In the second part of the chapter, independent variables for religious attitudes were reviewed and research hypotheses were developed accordingly. Considering the existing literature in this field, it was assumed that religious attitudes correlated with age and orientations towards both the *Diyanet* and *cemaats*. It was also assumed that religious attitudes differ according to gender, family incomes, social and educational backgrounds, and SRE. Descriptive statistical analyses of these variables will be

investigated in Chapter 7 and research hypotheses of this study will be tested in Chapter 8.

Going a step further, predictor variables for religious attitudes will be identified. The amount of variance in religious attitudes, including cognitive, behavioural and affective religious attitudes, explained by predictor variables will be explored in Chapter 9.

Chapter 6

THE MEASUREMENT INSTRUMENTS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers the development of the measurement instruments employed in this study. In order to investigate the religious attitudes of Turkish university students, three *Likert*-type psychometric scales, the Religious Attitude Scale (RAS), the Diyanet Orientation Scale (DIBOS) and the Cemaat Orientation Scale (COS) were developed. At the stages of construction, evaluation, interpretation and application of these scales, I took into consideration *Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing* (1985) determined by the American Psychological Association.¹

These psychometric scales have three defining characteristics: (a) Each scale aimed to collect a systematic sample of behaviour related to religious attitudes, and orientations towards the *Diyanet* and *cemaats*, from a representative/target sample. To do so, preparing a theoretical basis for each of these scales, test items were developed. (b) Questionnaires were administered under standardised conditions. For example, questionnaires were given in a group-administered manner, respondents were not asked their names and attention-test items were used (see Chapter 2). (c) General principles for scoring, for gathering quantitative (numeric) data, and for analysing data were followed (see Chapters 2, 6, 7, 8, 9).

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The rest of this chapter is set out in the following way. The next section (6.2) argues the theoretical background of the RAS and its development. In the following two sections (6.3 and 6.4), the theoretical background of orientations towards the two religious institutions, and procedure of development of the *Diyanet* and *cemaat* orientation scales will be presented. Validity and reliability issues connected with these scales will also be discussed in this section. A conclusion follows in the final section (6.5).

6.2 RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE SCALE (RAS)

RAS is a scale that enables an individual to assess his or her level of religious attitudes, consisting of cognitive, behavioural and affective dimensions. RAS attempts to measure the extent to which religious belief and behaviour have permeated people's lives. It also measures individual's levels of expectation from God. Therefore, RAS encompasses three aspects, namely the cognitive, behavioural and affective. The central assumption of RAS is that, for a person to be religious, he or she has to believe in God, and then either perform religious duties based on this belief in the expectation of good rewards, or, by ignoring duties, in the expectation of forgiveness or punishment. For instance, if a person believes in Allah, then he or she is expected to fulfil daily prayers and expects to be rewarded by God; if he/she fails to do so, punishment maybe the expectation. Belief in this context is measured in terms of belief in God, the relationship with God and expectation from God.

This theoretical base is discussed below. It examines the relationship of mutuality between believers and the transcendent and the way in which believers seem to be motivated by ethical behaviour and ideas about judgement and the here-after. This understanding is then used as a basis for developing items for the scale.

6.2.1 Theoretical Perspectives

It is obvious that religion has been an important element in many societies. Numbers of individuals have felt the need to believe in someone or something, such as Allah, Jesus, the stars, or natural forces (Sarıkçıoğlu, 1983). They have followed either divine obligations or those derived from the self. They have expected either good or bad ends as a result of obeying or ignoring these obligations.

Belief in a transcendent or superior power, being or force is a primary characteristic of many religions. In Islam, Christianity and Judaism, this is Allah, God or Yhwh. Other religious principles and practices follow from this belief.

Perception of the here-after and ethical behaviour have a central role in most religious systems. Salvation or destruction are believed to result from these. Even if God has a transcendental nature, the main relationship between God and the believer is one of mutuality. It is due to this that religious statements, in general, often start with phrases like,

-If you do (good or bad things),

-If you do not ,

-If you pray ,

-If you do not pray ,

and end as follows,

-You will see (later or hereafter or on the day of judgement),

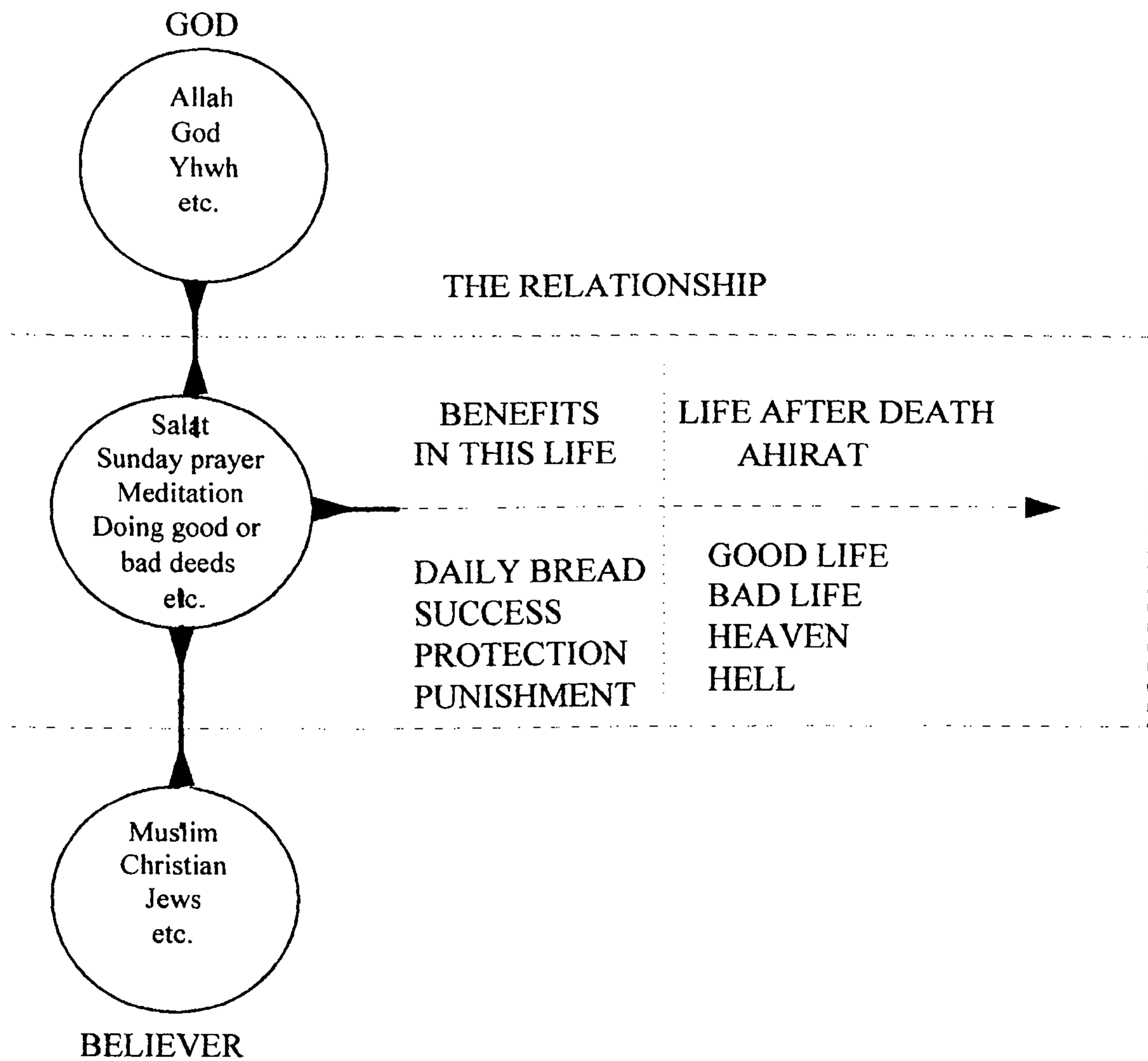
-God gives you (some good things),

-God protects (you from bad events),

-God punishes you (later in this life or after death)

Religious systems and religious experience are shaped by these dimensions: the believer, the believed in (God) and the relationship between believer and God in relation to the purpose of life and the afterlife. These aspects are shown at Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1. Three dimensions of religions



Whilst belief in the here-after (*ahirat*) and benefits within this life (Shadinger, et al, 1999) may be seen explicitly in Islam (Qur'an, 12/101; 19/33; 20/55; 26/81-102; 71/17-18; 2/62; 5/69) and Christianity (Matthew, 22/23-30; Mark, 12/18-27; Luke,

20/27-38), it may be seen implicitly in Judaism (Job, 14/14-22, 19/25-29; Daniel, 12/2).

For the development of the Religious Attitude Scale, belief in God and acting in the expectation of benefits in this life or in the afterlife are accepted as the basic distinguishing features of religious attitudes. The RAS has built on these crucial features of religion. However, we have also considered Islamic explanations based on the research sample. The initial research question which we sought to refine in this scale was, "What is the place of religion in the life of an individual?".

The structure of the RAS is constructed in line with the social psychology of religion. Traditionally, psychologists have explained the structure of the attitudes as having three components; cognitive, behavioural and affective (Katz, 1960; Pennington, 1993; Human and Presser, 1996; Myers, 1999; Smith and Machie, 2000). When we apply this structure in religious attitudes, we can draw the following conclusion: (a) The cognitive component relates to someone's belief in God, such as Allah, God and Yhwh, and his/her conviction resulting from this belief. (b) The behavioural component relates to all activities of a person 'according to their beliefs', such as performing *salat*, Sunday prayer, meditation, doing good deeds and benefiting the community, and 'against religious teaching', such as not obeying religious rules, doing bad deeds and harming the community and committing sin. (c) The affective component relates to self-assessment in the eyes of God, whether good or bad, including expectation from God, such as success, protection, punishment, heaven and hell, (see Figure 6.1). These ideas have contributed to the theoretical development of the RAS.

6.2.2 Scale Development

The Earlier form of Religious Attitude Scale

Of central importance to the RAS have been the affects of belief in God and relationship with God on the emotion, thought and behaviour of individuals. In terms of belief, rituals and expectation from God, to what extent has religion been involved in an individual's life? It was this question rather than random questions related to religion from item pools that was the focus of this research. Bearing in mind the nature of the sample, several illustrative items were designed which focused the research to suit the Turkish religio-cultural background rather than religion in general. From this perspective, a number of pertinent items were prepared. The booklets of the first draft of the questionnaire were distributed to relevant experts for their views concerning the content validity of the scale. After the assessment, thirty-two items were chosen for piloting. The items of the RAS were designed on a four point *Likert*-type scale: *always, frequently, seldom and never*.

Three different groups from Ankara, Muğla and Diyarbakır cities and in eight satellite towns of these cities were sampled for this study in 1997. The groups were selected randomly from different occupations, in addition to high school and university students, and various age groups. The entire sample consisted of 615 males and 523 females whose ages ranged from 12 to 60.

The reliability and validity of the scale was tested via relevant statistical analysis methods (Murphy and Davidshofer, 1994; Joseph F Hair, et al., 1995; Tezbaşaran, 1996; Bryman and Cramer, 1997). The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Release 6.0 was used for this purpose (Norusis, 1993). Following these tests, the RAS was standardised as a 25 item scale.

Religious Attitude Scale

The earlier form of RAS was used in several surveys (Onay, 1997, 1998; Kuzgun, 1998). However, some revisions were needed after these applications. Ten items were omitted because they were mostly related to expectation from God in the here-after, and they were also found to be repetitive. Three of them were re-written with the aim of comprehension. Three new cognitive items related to religious life were added to the scale.

Following a similar process to the earlier form of the RAS, the new form of scale was piloted in Ankara. Similar statistical analyses were also employed in order to test the validity and reliability of the scale. After completing these stages, it was standardised (Table 6.1 and appendices 5 and 6), and then used in a survey which was carried out in 1999 among 592 university students in a provincial city university, Kayseri, Turkey. The scale was replicated in the University of Ankara, among 557 students for the second part of this study in 1999.

Results of a factor analysis² showed that the RAS-1999 consisted of three sub-scales. The first sub-scale consisted of eight items which contained cognitive items: 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17 (see Table 6.1). The second sub-scale consisted of six ritual (behavioural) items: 3, 5, 10, 13, 14, 18. The third one consisted of four affective (expectation from God) items: 6, 7, 11, 16. Theoretically, the scale was designed to measure religious attitudes in three dimensions, cognitive, behavioural and affective. Therefore, the result from the factor analysis also confirmed this aspect of the RAS (Child, 1970). At the end of these stages, it was seen that the factor loadings³ of all remaining items had risen over .50 for both Erciyes and Ankara. The percentage of

² Factor analysis is a mathematical procedure which is run to cluster highly correlated items of a scale into sub-scales. This proceeding helps us to explore latent dimensions of a scale (see: Chapter 2).

³ Factor loadings are values related to correlation coefficients. Factor loading for an item indicates that an item positively or negatively correlates to factor-1, or factor-2, etc. Assessment of the values for factor loadings is similar to that for correlation coefficients (see Chapter 2.3).

variance, which was explained by the three factors, reached 63% for Erciyes and 65% for Ankara (Table 6.2). The first two columns in Table 6.1 present the factor loadings.

The reliability of the RAS, that is, whether it repeatedly measures the same things and whether its items are internally consistent was tested by internal consistency methods, using *Cronbach Alpha coefficient* and *Guttman split-half* tests (Murphy and Davidshofer, 1994; Joseph F Hair, et al., 1995; Tabachnick and Fidel, 1996). The analysis showed the coefficient *Alpha* for reliability estimates for the RAS to be .94 for Erciyes and .95 for Ankara, and the value of the *split-half* to be .95 for both samples (Table 6.2).⁴

The discriminating power of each item was measured by the item-total correlation method, the aim of which was to discriminate between those who do well on the test and those who do not (Murphy and Davidshofer, 1994) in relation to religiosity. As a result of this analysis, the item-total correlation of each item in the scale had risen over .50.⁵ The second two columns in Table 6.1 present the item-total correlations of the 18 items.⁶

The RAS consisted of 18 items; 12 direct and 6 reverse items. Its range of values varied from 18 to 72. The values declining to 18 points showed diminishing religious attitudes. The points rising to 72 indicated increasing religious attitudes.

⁴ The meaning of the reliability estimate values for *Cronbach Alpha coefficient* and *split-half* are:

.90 and above : High

Around .80 : Moderate to high

Around .70 : Regarded as low

Below . 60 : Unacceptably low, (see Murphy and Davidshofer, 1994: 103-104.

⁵ See Chapter 2.3.

⁶ Item-total correlations are accepted as pertinent to the reliability of the scale (see Chapter 2.3).

Table. 6.1. Factor loadings and item total correlations of the RAS for Erciyes application and Ankara replication

		Factor Loadings		Item-Total Correlations	
		Erciyes	Ankara	Erciyes	Ankara
<u>Factor-1: RAS-Cognitive</u>					
1	I consider religion contributes to many good causes in society.	.78	.71	.80	.83
2	I think that religious belief is unnecessary for everybody.	.72	.63	.81	.68
4	I sometimes do things that are forbidden by my religion.	.66	.82	.70	.51
8	I generally find that observing religious rules is boring.	.73	.58	.83	.79
9	I think that religion makes an important contribution to bringing about a peaceful and happy society.	.71	.81	.81	.83
12	I think that it is not worth enduring difficulties for the sake of religion.	.75	.66	.79	.75
15	I think that it is OK to have sex outside marriage.	.59	.63	.69	.65
17	I think that religion is a principal cause of the backwardness of society.	.71	.59	.72	.70
<u>Factor-2: RAS-Bahavioural</u>					
3	I fulfil my religious duties.	.69	.75	.71	.78
5	I try to fulfil the rules of my religion concerning the social aspects of life.	.62	.60	.72	.74
10	Whenever I don't act according to my religious beliefs, I feel uncomfortable.	.58	.65	.70	.82
13	I feel that I have to obey religious rules.	.60	.78	.77	.67
14	I pray privately (<i>nafile</i>) in my own time.	.65	.64	.56	.62
18	I think I should try to convey my religious message to others.	.71	.76	.62	.72
<u>Factor-3: RAS-Affective</u>					
6	Whenever I commit a sin I ask forgiveness from God.	.67	.59	.72	.75
7	I think that God assesses everybody according to his/her deeds.	.69	.79	.61	.51
11	I expect that God will have mercy upon me on the day of judgement.	.54	.60	.67	.72
16	I pray to God (making <i>dua</i>) spontaneously.	.70	.66	.67	.67

Table 6.2. Cronbach Alpha coefficient and Guttman split-half scores of the RAS for Erciyes and Ankara.

	Erciyes	Ankara
Percentage of variance	63%	65%
Cronbach Alpha coefficient	.94	.95
Guttman Split-half	.95	.95

6.3 DIYANET ORIENTATION SCALE (DIBOS)

The *Diyanet* orientations of university students have been taken as an independent variable so as to examine the religious attitudes of university students in Turkey. In order to measure *Diyanet* orientations, the Diyanet Orientation Scale (DIBOS) was developed and used in this study. The scale includes 12 items (Table 6.3). The DIBOS relies on a five-point *Likert* scale.

6.3.1 Theoretical Perspective

Considering the official duties of the *Diyanet* and its immense institutional structure (see Chapter 3.4), in the eyes of Turkish people, do they really rely on the *Diyanet* and its religious functionaries? In what way has it been found to be a reliable religious institution? If it has been seen as unreliable, in what way has its efficiency been criticised? When people choose to go to a mosque, or to listen to a *va'z* (religious advice), or to buy religious publications, do they really prefer those offered by the *Diyanet*? From a broad perspective, are Turkish people happy with the *Diyanet*, including its services and its employees? The answers to these questions are vital in a society which is more than 90% Muslim, and where a single official religious institution is responsible for providing the great majority of religious services.

Moreover, the *Diyanet* must have an effect upon the religious attitudes of university students. Accordingly, there must be a lesser or negative effect of the *Diyanet* on the religious attitudes of students who are less oriented towards the *Diyanet* and a greater effect on those favourable to the *Diyanet*. In this circumstance, a correlation between *Diyanet* orientation and religious attitudes is expected.

6.3.2 Scale Development

This theoretical perspective was considered at the stage of the development of the DIBOS. Considering particular points which constitute the theoretical ground of the DIBOS, a number of relevant items were prepared, in order to find students' orientations towards the *Diyanet*. Booklets of the first draft of the questionnaire were dispensed to relevant experts both in the UK and Turkey for their feedback. After an initial assessment, 10 items were chosen for piloting. The items of the DIBOS were designed on a five-point *Likert*-type scale: *strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *not certain*, *agree*, and *strongly agree*.

Relevant statistical analyses were done with data from this pilot study (70 students) in order to test the validity and reliability of the scale. Four items were then rephrased. In order to obtain a logical balance among the items, two new items were added. After completing these assessments, the scale was standardised (Table 6.3).

The standardised form of the DIBOS was used in the first phase of the survey, carried out among 592 university students in the University of Erciyes, Kayseri. The scale was replicated in the second part of the survey, carried out among 557 university students in the University of Ankara.

Results of a factor analysis showed that the DIBOS consisted of three sub-scales. The first sub-scale comprised five items indicating those aspects of the *Diyanet* considered

to be reliable by students: 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7 (Table 6.3). The second sub-scale comprised four items related to an assessment of services of the *Diyanet*: 5, 8, 9 and 12. The third sub-scale comprised three items indicating aspects of efficiency of the *Diyanet*: 3, 10 and 11.

After the Erciyes application and the Ankara replication of the scale, factor loadings of all remaining items have been found over .53. Factor loadings of the DIBOS for Erciyes and Ankara are presented in the first two columns of Table 6.3, respectively. The percentages of variance, which were explained by three factors, were 68% and 62% (Table 6.4).

In order to discriminate between those items which scored well in the test and those which did not in relation to the purposes of the DIBOS, the discriminating power of each item was measured by the item-total correlation method. As a result of this analysis, item-total correlation scores for each item in the scale were found to be over .50 for both the Erciyes and Ankara samples. The second two columns in Table 6.3 present the item-total correlations of the 12 items.

The reliability of the DIBOS was tested by internal consistency methods. Values for the *Cronbach Alpha coefficient* and *Guttman split-half* were sought for this analysis. The analysis for Erciyes and Ankara showed the coefficient *Alpha* to be .92 and .88 respectively, and the value of *Guttman split-half* to be .84 and .82 respectively (Table 6.4).

Table. 6.3. Factor loadings and item total correlations of the Diyanet Orientation Scale (DIBOS) for Erciyes application and Ankara replication

	Factor Loadings		Item-Total Correlations		
	Erciyes	Ankara	Erciyes	Ankara	
<u>Factor-1: DIBOS-Reliability</u>					
1	The publications of the Diyanet are reliable.	.72	.75	.79	.75
2	If I have a question related to religion, I should go first to the religious functionaries of the Diyanet for an answer.	.74	.64	.74	.75
4	The Diyanet plays a convincing role in maintaining good community relations.	.62	.75	.72	.64
6	In Turkey, there is no real need for the Diyanet.	.81	.67	.68	.64
7	Islam is well represented by religious functionaries of the Diyanet.	.76	.61	.76	.63
<u>Factor-2: DIBOS-Services</u>					
5	I am influenced in my social life by the preaching in the mosques.	.69	.73	.58	.51
8	Religious messages given by the Diyanet satisfy people.	.80	.65	.71	.67
9	The Diyanet tries to provide people with a better service than the current level.	.75	.61	.80	.75
12	What is your general opinion about the Diyanet? (Please circle an appropriate number)	.69	.59	.81	.77
	Not at all beneficial				
	<u>1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10</u>				
					Extremely Beneficial
<u>Factor-3: DIBOS-Efficiency</u>					
3	Religious functionaries of the Diyanet are not allowed to tell people the whole truth about Islam.	.54	.67	.65	.56
10	The Diyanet is losing its efficacy.	.81	.75	.77	.69
11	I find that religious functionaries of the Diyanet are inadequate in terms of their performance.	.67	.71	.65	.56

Table 6.4. Cronbach Alpha coefficient and Guttman split-half scores of the DIBOS for Erciyes and Ankara.

	Erciyes	Ankara
Percentage of variance	68%	62%
Cronbach Alpha coefficient	.92	.88
Guttman Split-half	.84	.82

The results of these analyses have revealed that the DIBOS is a highly reliable and valid scale. The DIBOS consisted of 12 items; 7 direct items, 4 reverse items, and 1 semantic differential item. Its range of values varied from 12 to 60. The values decreasing to 12 points showed diminishing *Diyanet* orientations. Those rising towards 60 indicated increasing *Diyanet* orientations.

6.4 CEMAAT (RELIGIOUS GROUP) ORIENTATION SCALE (COS)

In order to examine the religious attitudes of university students in Turkey, the issue of *cemaat* (religious group) orientation has been taken into account as another independent variable. The Cemaat Orientation Scale (COS) was developed and used in this study to measure the *cemaat* orientations of the students.

6.4.1 Theoretical Perspective

Cemaats, particularly *tarikats*, have existed in Turkey since the Ottoman period. Every *cemaat* has its own leaders known as *hoca* or *sheikh*, and their followers and sympathisers. Any establishment, other than *Diyanet* based on religion, sect or *tarikats* is strictly banned by article 9, the Law of Associations promulgated in 1938 (Berkes, 1998). Additionally, the religious activities of *cemaats* have also been strictly banned

from the mid-1920s. Nevertheless, *cemaats* have been seen in indirect, religious activities such as supporting the poor, the provision of funeral services and producing religious publications. They have also been seen to offer *Qur'anic* and other cathetical information and to hold *tarikats* meetings.

According to the current official regulations about *cemaats*, their actual existence is illegal. So, how do Turkish people see *cemaats*, as harmful or beneficial? Are they thought to have used religion as a means for their own, often secret, ends, or as a means to worthy objectives? Do they really rely on *cemaats*? Should their illegal status be maintained, or should they be allowed to expand their activities beyond the current level? What is the place of *cemaats* in the eyes of Turkish people? To what extent do people find *cemaats* and their cadres reliable or unreliable? If they have been seen as unreliable, for what have they been criticised? The answers given to these questions might be important for exploring *cemaat* orientations in Turkey.

It is expected that followers of *cemaats* and also their non-aligned sympathisers will have a generally positive idea about *cemaats*, as well as an inclination towards a particular *cemaat* or *cemaats*. However, if someone sees *cemaats* as harmful and as pursuing a hidden agenda, he/she might have a negative or less positive orientation or simply a neutral orientation towards *cemaats*. As a result, a correlation between *cemaat* orientation and religious attitudes is expected.

6.4.2 Scale Development

Based on these theoretical considerations, the COS was developed. Taking into account different aspects of *cemaat* orientation, a number of relevant items were initially developed. Booklets of the first draft of the questionnaire were given to relevant experts both in the UK and Turkey for their view. After an initial assessment, 10 items were chosen for piloting. The items of the COS, like the DIBOS, were

designed on a five-point *Likert*-type scale: *strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *not certain*, *agree*, and *strongly agree*.

After a similar piloting process to the DIBOS, three items were rephrased, two new items added and the COS standardised (Table 6.5). The standardised form of the scale was then employed in two universities, Erciyes and Ankara.

The results of a factor analysis showed that the COS consisted of three sub-scales. The first sub-scale consisted of six items related to the reliability of *cemaats*: 4, 6, 8, 9, 10 and 12. The second sub-scale consisted of four items related to the services of *cemaats*: 3, 5, 7 and 11. The third sub-scale consisted of two items concerning whether or not the authority of *cemaats* should be expanded beyond the current level: 1 and 2 (Table 6.5).

After the Erciyes application and the Ankara replication of the scale, factor loadings of all remaining items were found to be over .51. Factor loadings of the COS for Erciyes and Ankara are presented in the first two columns of Table 6.5, respectively. The percentages of variance, which were explained by three factors, were 76% and 70% respectively (Table 6.5). After the item-total correlation analysis, the discriminating power of each item in the scale was found to be over .50 for both the Erciyes and Ankara samples. The second two columns in Table 6.5 present the item-total correlations of the 12 items.

Table. 6.5. Factor loadings and item total correlations of the Cemaat Orientation Scale (COS) for Erciyes application and Ankara replication

		Factor Loadings		Item-Total Correlations	
		Erciyes	Ankara	Erciyes	Ankara
<u>Factor-1: COS-reliability</u>					
4	Generally, cemaats (religious groups, RG) are harmful.	.64	.51	.84	.78
6	Generally, the real aim of cemaats (RG) diverges from the provision of religious services to people.	.77	.61	.78	.73
8	Generally, cemaats (RG) use religion as a means to trivial ends.	.63	.66	.80	.79
9	There is a concerted attempt to show that cemaats (RG) are bad.	.64	.61	.83	.78
10	In today's context, Islam is well-represented by some cemaats (RG).	.77	.77	.83	.66
12	What is your general opinion about cemaats (RG) in Turkey? (Please circle an appropriate number)	.64	.65	.88	.84
	Extremely dangerous				
	<u>1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10</u>				
			Not at all dangerous.		
<u>Factor-2: COS-services</u>					
3	Some cemaats (RG) offer more support and resources than the Diyanet.	.74	.78	.83	.77
5	A large number of good things are achieved by cemaats (RG) in Turkey.	.71	.82	.78	.69
7	Many cemaats (RG) try to provide better religious services than the Diyanet.	.68	.65	.82	.76
11	Generally, I find members of cemaats (RG) to be very friendly.	.81	.76	.79	.75
<u>Factor-3: COS-authority</u>					
1	All religious affairs should be regulated by cemaats (RG).	.93	.87	.58	.60
2	Cemaats (RG) should be allowed to expand their activities beyond the current level.	.59	.74	.81	.78

Table 6.6. Cronbach Alpha coefficient and Guttman split-half scores of the COS for Erciyes and Ankara.

	Erciyes	Ankara
Percentage of variance	76%	70%
Cronbach Alpha coefficient	.95	.93
Guttman Split-half	.93	.91

The reliability of the COS was tested by internal consistency methods. Values for the *Cronbach Alpha coefficient* and *Guttman split-half* were sought for this analysis. The analysis for Erciyes and Ankara showed the coefficient *Alpha* to be .95 and .93 respectively, and the value of *Guttman split-half* to be .93 and .91 respectively (Table 6.6).

The results of these analyses have revealed that the COS is both reliable and valid. The COS consisted of 12 items; 8 direct items, 3 reverse items, and 1 semantic differential item. Its range of values varied from 12 to 60. The values decreasing to 12 points showed diminishing *cemaat* orientations. Those rising towards 60 indicated increasing *cemaat* orientations.

6.5 CONCLUSION

Three measurement instruments for this study were standardised following the scientific and ethical rules of psychometric scale/test development. The Religious Attitude Scale, Diyanet Orientation Scale and Cemaat Orientation Scale have their own theoretical bases. They were employed considering particular conditions and

established scoring principles. Considering standardisation of the scales, they were administered in the University of Erciyes, Kayseri and then replicated in a different sample, the University of Ankara. First results were verified by the second results from the replication. It is important to note that these standardised scales are characterised objective in terms of scoring principles. At the end of these stages, it was seen that the RAS, DIBOS and COS are highly reliable and valid measurement instruments.

Data from the application of these scales will be analysed in the following chapters.

Chapter 7

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS:

An Analysis of Independent and Dependent Variables

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will focus on presenting new data and new empirical insights for the main characteristics of the whole sample, for students studying in both Erciyes and Ankara. University students have different religious attitudes. These differences in attitudes can be explained by a variety of independent factors. The dependent variable of this survey, of course, is the religious attitudes of Turkish university students. This dependent variable can be examined in relation to several demographic variations. By looking at the relevant literature, particularly in the Turkish context, the appropriate independent variables were chosen which were thought to contribute best to the examination of the religious attitudes of university students in Turkey.

In this study, three groups of independent variables were taken into account to analyse the religious attitudes of university students. First were the general demographic variables, gender, age, family income, social and educational backgrounds. Second, there were two variables which were related to supplementary religious education (SRE). They were whether students acquired any additional religious education and, for those who did, the ways of getting such SRE. Third, two variables concerned orientations towards religious institutions. They were the *Diyanet* and *cemaat* orientations of Turkish university students.

The remainder of the chapter is as follows: The next three sections (7.2 -7.4) will mostly be concerned with providing a descriptive statistical analysis of the independent variables which might have influenced the religious attitudes of university students. The characteristics of the sample, according to the test variables, will be presented in tables of descriptives and figures. In order to investigate differences between those students who obtained SRE and those who did not, a cross-tabulation and a *Chi-Square* test will be used. In the following section (7.5), general figures related to religious attitudes will be examined. A discussion will be provided in the final section (7.6).

7.2 GENERAL DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

7.2.1 Gender

Significant differences are observed between the religious attitudes of men and women. Data from empirical works, such as American and British, indicate that women are more religious than men (eg. Gallup, 1980; Hay, 1982). However, according to the findings of some empirical works carried out in Turkey, men appeared more religious than women (Köktaş, 1993; Koştaş, 1995; Uysal, 1995a; Bacanlı, 1995). So, considering demographic variables, it is important to ascertain where the greatest gender differences have been noticed. In order to provide an adequate illustration of this issue in this chapter, descriptive statistical figures on the basis of gender will be presented for each variable.

As can be seen from Table 7.1, of those who participated in this research, about 54% were male, 46% were female university students. In Erciyes, about 60% of the students were male and 40% were female. In contrast, male and female student ratios were about 46% and 54% in Ankara, respectively.

Table 7.1. Sample distribution based on gender in Erciyes and Ankara.

	Erciyes	Ankara	Total
Male (N/%)	358 60.5%	259 46.5%	617 53.7%
Female (N/%)	234 39.5%	298 53.5%	532 46.3%

7.2.2 Age

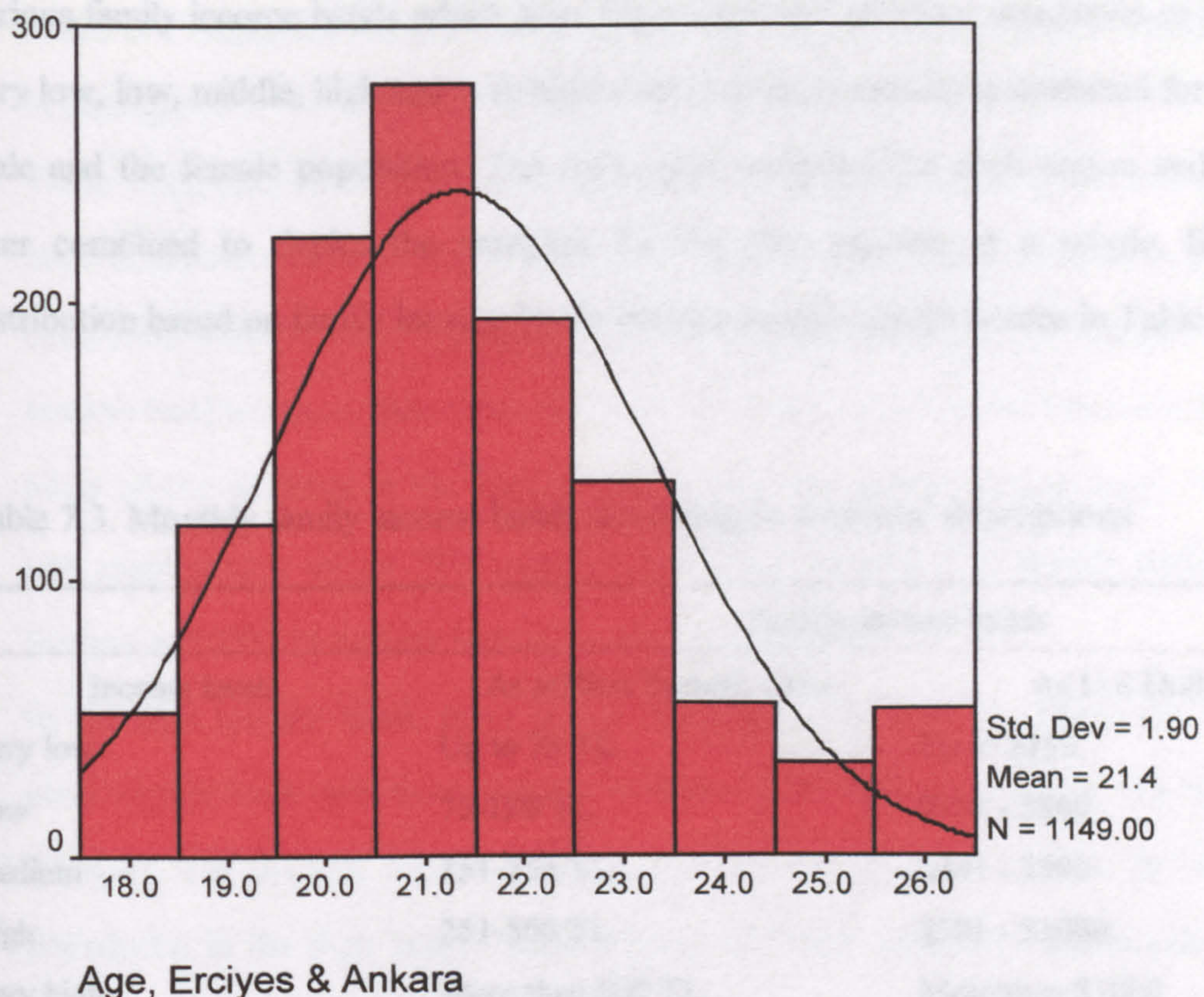
Another variation affecting religiosity is age. A significant correlation between age and religiosity has been reported in a great number of studies, such as those by Kuhlen and Arnold (1944), Loukes (1961), Francis (1987) and Ozorak (1989). In terms of age, generally, a linear fluctuation in religiosity was observed among children and young adolescents, adolescents and adults, and adults and those in old age.

In Turkey, students, generally, graduate from high school at the age of 18 and 19 depending on the type of school. University departments, generally, give between four and five year courses. A few departments, such as medical schools, give six year courses. Therefore, eighteen years old or above is the expected age for university education. For information, however, the sample distribution based on age in both Erciyes and Ankara is presented in a table (Table 7.2) and in a histogram (Figure 7.1).

Table 7.2. Sample distribution based on age in Erciyes and Ankara.

Age	Erciyes		Ankara	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
18	22 6.1%	23 9.8%	3 1.2%	5 1.7%
19	47 13.1%	47 20.1%	11 4.2%	15 5%
20	81 22.6%	73 31.2%	33 12.7%	37 12.4%
21	79 22.1%	62 26.5%	51 19.7%	87 29.2%
22	69 19.3%	12 5.1%	46 17.8%	67 22.5%
23	35 9.8%	15 6.4%	54 20.8%	31 10.4%
24	11 3.1%	-	29 11.2%	16 5.4%
25	10 2.8%	1 0.4%	13 5%	10 3.4%
26 or more	4 1.1%	1 0.4%	19 7.3%	30 9.8%
TOTAL	358 100%	234 100%	259 100%	298 100%

Figure 7.1. Sample distribution based on age in both Erciyes and Ankara.



7.2.3 Family Income

The students taking part in the survey were left to themselves to identify in which category of income their family fell. Thus no benchmark had been set by the researcher, but the perception of the students was taken into consideration in evaluating how “rich” their family was. In the in-depth interviews, sufficient data was collected which allowed figures to be imputed to the different income bands. It should be pointed out, therefore, that this classification may not be conventional, but rather reflects the opinion of the interviewees. Monthly family income bands according to students’ descriptions are computed in Table 7.3.

Table 7.4 shows the distribution of university students in Ankara and Erciyes in the various family income bands which have been separated into five categories or levels: very low, low, middle, high and very high. Data has been separately collected for the male and the female population. The data were compiled for each region and were later combined to depict the situation for the two regions as a whole. Sample distribution based on family income bands in Erciyes and Ankara is seen in Table 7.4.

Table 7.3. Monthly family income bands according to students' descriptions.

Income levels	Family income bands	
	As million Turkish Liras	As U S Dollars
Very low	Up to 75 TL.	Up to \$150
Low	75-150 TL.	\$151 - \$300
Medium	151-250 TL.	\$301 - \$500
High	251-500 TL.	\$501 - \$1000
Very high	More than 500 TL.	More than \$1000

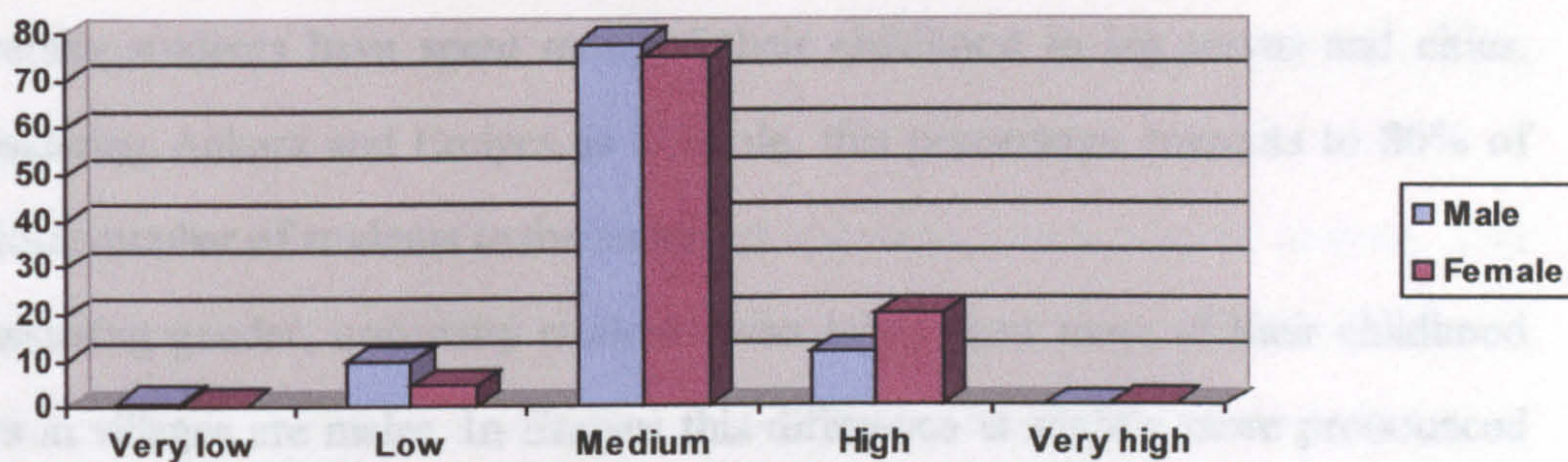
Table 7.4. Sample distribution based on family income bands in Erciyes and Ankara.

		Very low	Low	Medium	High	Very high
		N and %	N and %	N and %	N and %	N and %
Erciyes	Male	4 1.1%	45 12.6%	278 77.7%	31 8.7%	-
	Female	-	16 6.8%	167 71.4%	51 21.8%	-
Ankara	Male	3 1.2%	14 5.4%	201 77.6%	40 15.4%	1 0.4%
	Female	2 0.7%	8 2.7%	231 77.5%	55 18.5%	2 0.7%

Observations:

1. There is a negligible number of students in the very low income band irrespective of the region.
2. There is regional difference in the distribution of students as far as the low income band is concerned. More students come from this family income level in Erciyes compared with Ankara. In Erciyes (12.6%), male students belonging to this income band are more than twice the number of such students in Ankara (5.4%).
3. Most of the students in the sample come from the middle income band. For the two regions as a whole 78% male students, and around 71% female students in Erciyes and 78% in Ankara belong to this income band.
4. In the high income band, there is not much regional disparity. However, within each region there are more female students than male students in this income category. For the two regions as a whole, between 15% and 21% of the student population in the high family income group are male (Ankara) and female while only 9 % are male in Erciyes.
5. There are no students in the very high income category in Erciyes and the figure is negligible in Ankara as well.
6. Students from very low and very high income bands are very few. This is because students belonged to very low income level excluded from the study (see Chapter 2). According to a report of UNICEF, "Development in Geographical Regions in Turkey, 2000", the percentage of people who belonged low and very low income bands was about 14% (Zeynep, 2000). It is therefore, in this study, percentage of students who belonged to low and very low income levels was about 8%. Sample distribution based on family income in both Ankara and Erciyes is displayed in Figure 7.2.

Figure 7.2. Sample distribution based on family income bands in both Erciyes and Ankara.



7.2.4 Social Background

The geographical dimension has been singled out to provide an insight into the university students' social backgrounds. Four broad categories: village, small town (*Kasaba*), big town (*İlçe*) and city have been identified. According to 1997 census, 65% of the Turkish population lived in either big towns or cities whereas 35% in villages or small towns (DIE, 1999). Sample distribution based on social background in Erciyes and Ankara is presented in Table 7.5.

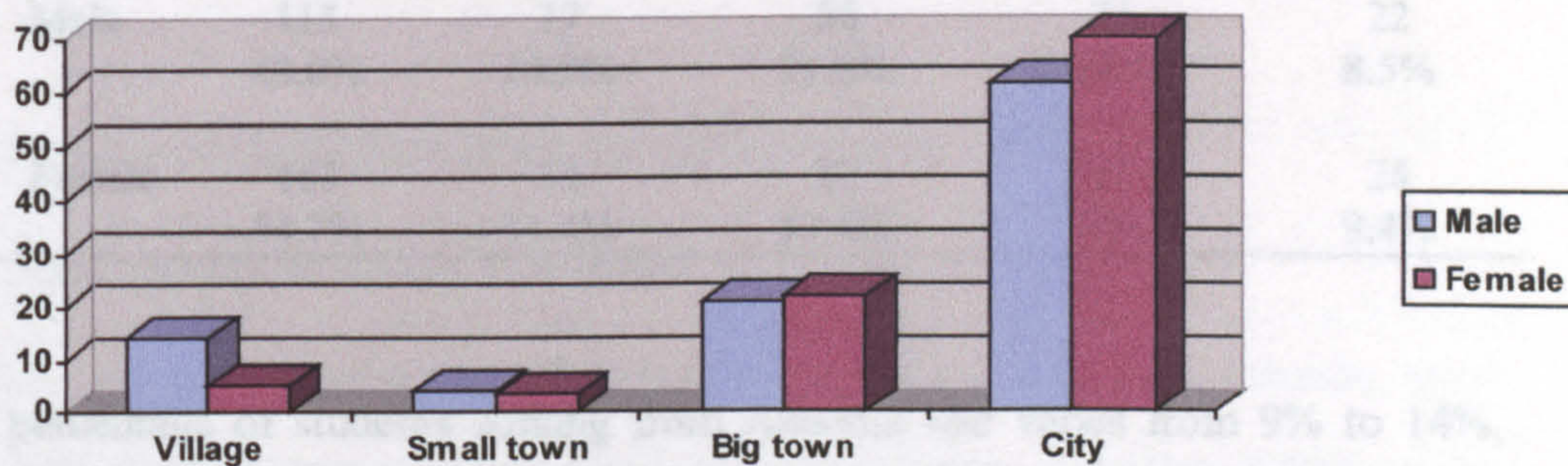
Table 7.5. Sample distribution based on social background in Erciyes and Ankara.

		Village N and %	Small town (Kasaba) N and %	Big town (İlçe) N and %	City N and %
Erciyes	Male	57 15.9%	13 3.6%	72 20.1%	216 60.3
	Female	14 6%	7 3%	43 18.4%	170 72.6%
Ankara	Male	29 11.2%	12 4.6%	56 21.6%	162 62.5%
	Female	13 4.4%	12 4%	73 24.5%	200 67.1%

Observations:

1. The major conclusion that can be drawn from the Table is that the majority of university students have spent most of their childhood in big towns and cities. Considering Ankara and Erciyes as a whole, this percentage amounts to 80% of the total number of students in the survey.
2. Considering gender, university students who have spent most of their childhood years in villages are males. In Erciyes this difference is slightly more pronounced with 16% of the students being male and 6% female.
3. A greater percentage of female students have lived in cities. Around 67% and 73% of the students from Ankara and Erciyes respectively are female. However, the figure for male students is about 60% in Erciyes and 53% Ankara. Sample distribution based on social background in both Ankara and Erciyes is displayed in Figure 7.3.

Figure 7.3. Sample distribution based on social background in both Erciyes and Ankara.



7.2.5 Educational Background

Table 7.6 shows the high school educational background of the students in the sample. For the purpose of this study, five categories of high schools (thereafter referred to as *lise*) have been used: *lise*,¹ *anadolu lise*,² *imam hatip lise*, *private lise*, and the residual

¹ State high schools for three years.

schools. (The latter have been clustered under the heading of *other lise*.) Data have been segregated for male and female students.

Observations:

1. Most of the sample have had their high school education in *lise*. In Erciyes, 55% of the male students and 57% of the female students have attended *lise*. However, in Ankara, the disparity between the sexes seems more apparent with 44% male and 55% female having attended *lise*.

Table 7.6. Sample distribution based on educational background in Erciyes and Ankara.

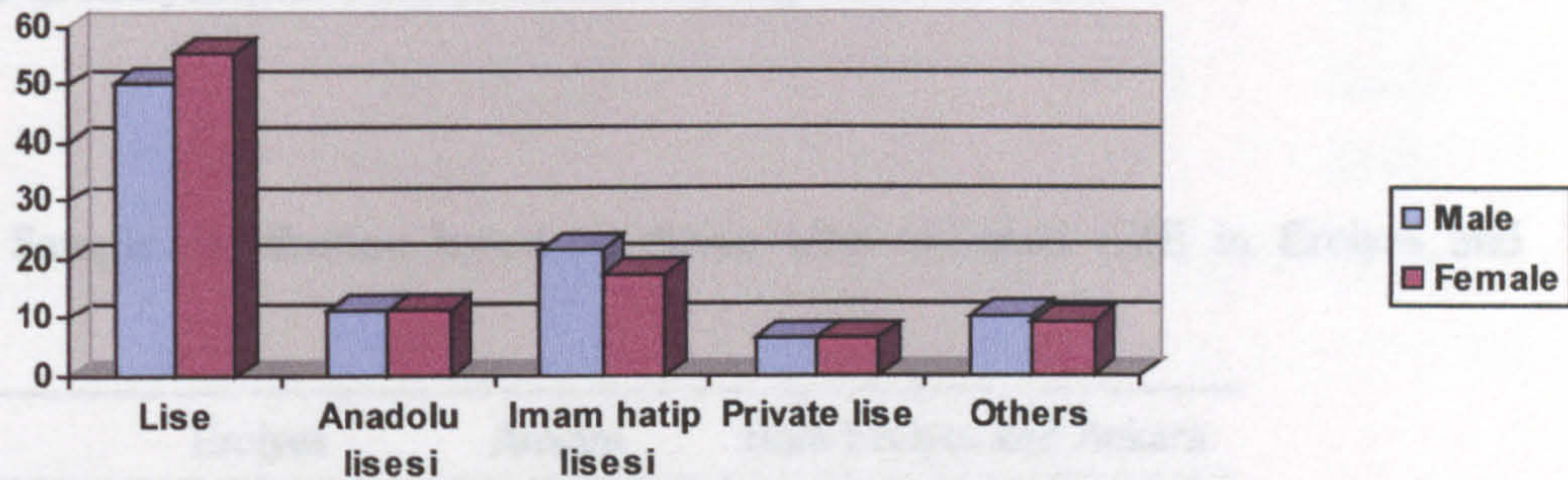
		Lise N and %	Anadolu Lise N and %	Imam Hatip Lise N and %	Private school N and %	Other schools N and %
Erciyes	Male	198 55.3%	32 8.9%	78 21.8%	8 2.2%	42 11.7%
	Female	134 57.3%	25 10.7%	40 17.1%	13 5.6%	22 9.4%
Ankara	Male	113 43.6%	37 14.3%	56 21.6%	31 12%	22 8.5%
	Female	163 54.7%	34 11.4%	52 17.4%	21 7%	28 9.4%

2. The percentage of students coming from Anadolu *lise* varies from 9% to 14%, with a slighter concentration on Ankara.
3. *Imam hatip lise* is the second most frequently attended school accounting for a total of 22% male students and 17% female students. However, more male students had attended this *lise* as compared with their female counterparts.
4. In Ankara, 12% of male and 7% of female students had attended *private lise*. However, this percentage is not only lower but also reversed in Erciyes with only

² High schools for four years, its first year is preparation for a foreign language.

2.2% male and 5.6% female students. Sample distribution based on educational background in Erciyes and Ankara is presented in Figure 7.4.

Figure 7.4. Sample distribution based on educational background in both Erciyes and Ankara.



5. The female population having attended other schools in Ankara and Erciyes is about 9%. In Ankara 9% of the female population had been to *other lise* while in Erciyes the percentage is about 12%. Sample distribution based on educational background in both Ankara and Erciyes is displayed in Figure 7.4.

7.3 SUPPLEMENTARY RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

7.3.1 Supplementary Religious Education

Alongside compulsory religious education in secondary and high schools, some families want their children to obtain supplementary religious education (SRE) outside school. Depending on parental permission, children and teenagers usually acquire additional religious education during the summer holidays. Sometimes, they take a one-year study in *Qur'an* courses.

Observation:

1. Around 81% and 78% of the male students obtained SRE, in Ankara and Erciyes respectively.
2. Less female students opted for –or were permitted to take- supplementary education as compared with their male counterparts in Ankara. The situation is reversed in Erciyes with 86% of females having received SRE.

Table 7.7. Sample distribution based on those who obtained SRE in Erciyes and Ankara.

		Erciyes	Ankara	Both Erciyes and Ankara
Yes	Male	291	203	494
	%	81.3%	78.4%	80.1%
	Female	201	213	414
	%	85.9%	71.5%	77.8%
No	Male	67	56	123
	%	18.7%	21.6%	19.9%
	Female	33	85	118
	%	14.1%	28.5%	22.2%

Looking at these figures, we might ask the following question, “Are male and female students in the two samples significantly different in terms of whether or not they obtain SRE?”. In order to answer this, a *Chi-Square* test was run for both the Erciyes and Ankara samples (Table 7.8.1 and 7.8.2).

Table 7.8.1 shows the observed and expected frequency of cases for those who took SRE (Yes) and those who did not (No), in each cell. The observed frequencies (Count) of those who took SRE are 494 and 414, and expected frequencies (Expected Count) are 488 and 420 for male and female respectively. The observed frequencies of those who did not take SRE are 123 and 118, and expected frequencies are 129 and 112 for male and female respectively.

Table 7.8.1. Supplementary RE, gender (Erciyes and Ankara) cross-tabulation

			Gender		
			Male	Female	Total
Supplementary RE	Yes	Count	494	414	908
		Expected Count	487.6	420.4	908.0
	No	Count	123	118	241
		Expected Count	129.4	111.6	241.0
	Total	Count	617	532	1149
		Expected Count	617.0	532.0	1149.0

Table 7.8.2. Chi-Square tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.869 ^b	1	.351		
Continuity Correlation ^a	.739	1	.390		
Likelihood Ratio	.868	1	.352		
Fisher's Exact Test				.383	.195
Linear-by-Linear Association	.868	1	.351		
Number of Valid Cases	1149				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table.

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 111.59.

The Pearson chi-square value, its degrees of freedom and its significance level are seen in Table 7.8.2. The chi-square value is .87, its degree of freedom is 1 and its significance level is .35 ($\chi^2 = .87, df = 1, p > .05$). Results of the test have revealed that there was not a significant difference between the observed and expected frequency of male and female university students taking SRE. So, there was not a significant association between gender and whether or not they took SRE. Access to SRE might be related to some other factors such as economic and social backgrounds. Parental

choice might also be influential in whether or not children and teenagers take SRE in Turkish society.

7.3.2 Ways of Obtaining Supplementary Religious Education

The ways of obtaining SRE have been divided into 5 main categories: by the students themselves through publications, videos, computer programmes etc.; from a *Qur'an* course; in the mosque; from a private *hoca*; and from other different means, for instance, learning through friends and parents. The sample distribution based on ways of obtaining SRE in Erciyes and Ankara is computed in Table 7.9.

Table 7.9 Sample distribution based on ways of obtaining SRE in Erciyes and Ankara.

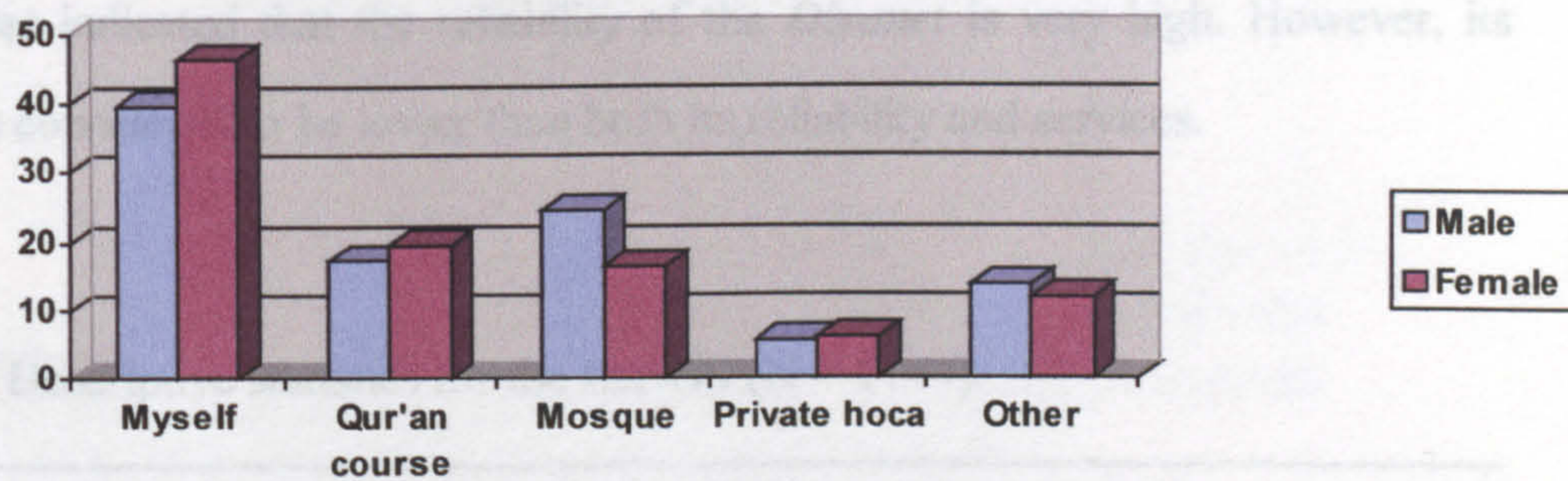
		Myself	Qur'an Course	Mosque	Private Hocas	Other
		N and %	N and %	N and %	N and %	N and %
Erciyes	Male	107 37%	44 15.2%	84 29.1%	10 3.5%	44 15.2%
	Female	97 48.3%	28 13.9%	34 16.9%	16 8%	26 12.9%
Ankara	Male	89 43.6%	41 20.1%	36 17.6%	16 7.8%	22 10.8%
	Female	98 44.7%	54 24.7%	34 15.5%	9 3%	24 11%

Observations:

1. Self learning seems to be the most preferred means accounting for 37% to 48% of the sample in Ankara and Erciyes.
2. Around 16% to 29% of the students obtain SRE in mosques making the latter the second most popular choice.

3. *Qur'an* courses had been followed by around 14% to 25% of the students. *Qur'an* courses are a more popular means of obtaining SRE in Ankara than in Erciyes.
4. Between 3% and 8% of the students obtained their SRE through private *hocas*.
5. Other means of obtaining such education accounted for about 11% to 15% of the cases. Sample distribution based on means of acquiring SRE in both Ankara and Erciyes is displayed in Figure 7.5.

Figure 7.5. Sample distribution based on ways of obtaining SRE in both Erciyes and Ankara.



	N	Maximum	Minimum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean as percentage
DIBOS-orientation	1145	5.00	21.50	15.0826	4.3877	55%
DIBOS-services	1142	4.00	20.00	12.6344	3.2880	45%
DIBOS-efficiency	1148	3.00	15.00	7.8247	2.7598	40%
DIBOS-total	1136	12.00	48.50	35.4928	9.3433	49%

7.4 ORIENTATIONS TOWARDS RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

There are two types of religious institutions in Turkey, those that are formal and legal and those that are informal and illegal. They are the *Diyanet* and the *cemaats* (religious groups). In terms of the religious attitudes of individuals, the existence and influence of these institutions and activities are considerable in society. Therefore, it is important to consider them at the stage of exploring the religious attitudes of Turkish university students. The issue has been examined by two independent variables, the *Diyanet Orientation Scale (DIBOS)* and the *Cemaat Orientation Scale (COS)*

7.4.1 Orientation towards the Diyanet

Mean scores for Turkish university students' orientation towards the *Diyanet* is presented in Table 7.10 and in Figure 7.6. Their mean score as percentage³ in DIBOS-total is 49% ($x = 35.44$, $sd = 9.34$). Students' scores from DIBOS-total were clustered between 30% and 70%⁴ (see Appendix 11).

In terms of sub-scales of the DIBOS, university students have the highest mean score in relation to DIBOS-reliability, 55% ($x = 15.98$, $sd = 4.40$), followed by DIBOS-services 48% ($x = 11.65$, $sd = 3.39$), and DIBOS-efficiency 40% ($x = 7.83$, $sd = 2.76$). These figures indicated that the reliability of the *Diyanet* is very high. However, its efficiency is considered to be lower than both its reliability and services.

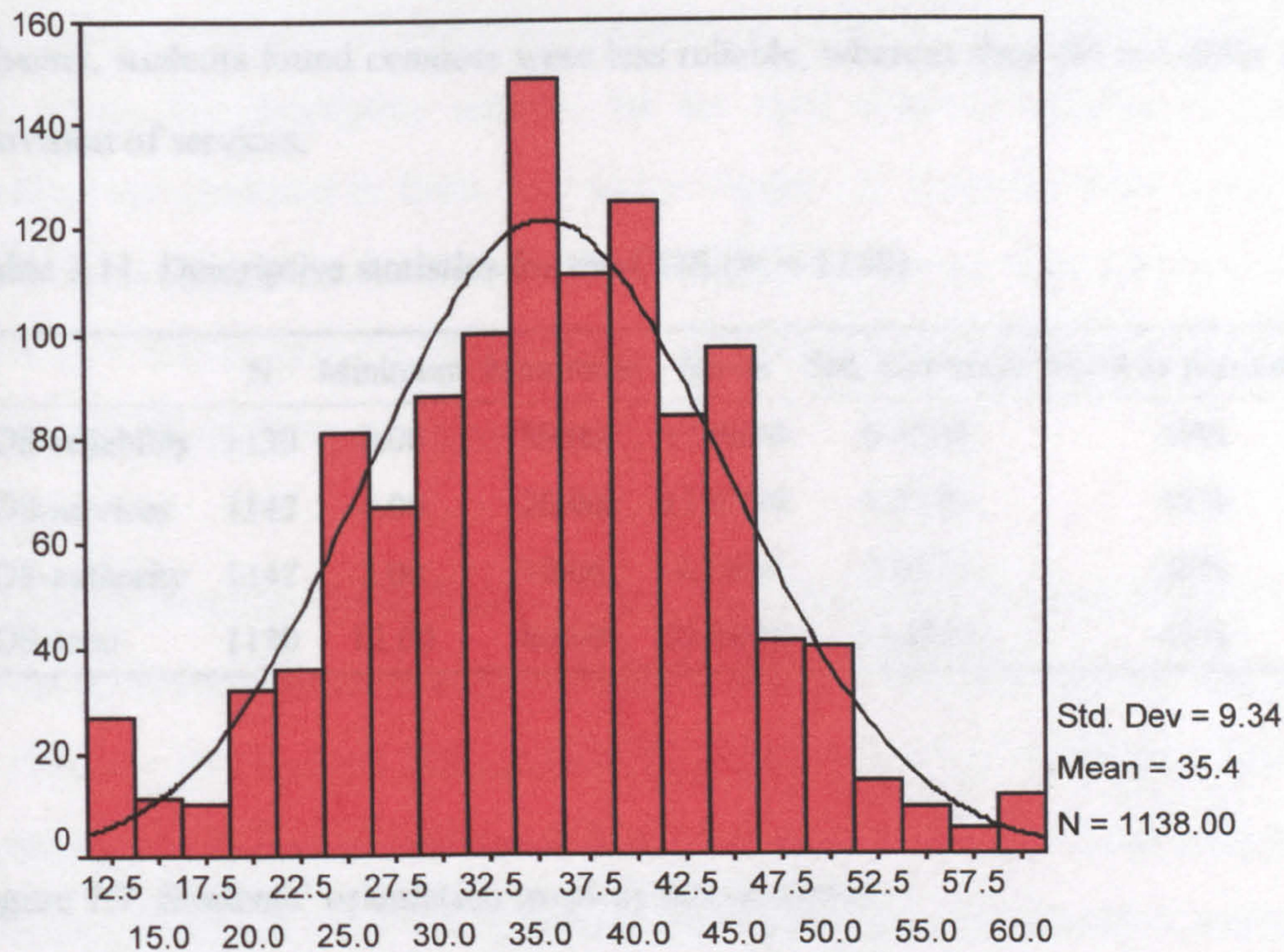
Table 7.10. Descriptive statistics for the DIBOS (N = 1149)

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean as percentage
DIBOS-reliability	1146	5.00	25.00	15.9826	4.3977	55%
DIBOS-services	1142	4.00	20.00	11.6544	3.3880	48%
DIBOS-efficiency	1148	3.00	15.00	7.8267	2.7599	40%
DIBOS-total	1138	12.00	60.00	35.4438	9.3431	49%

³ Mean scores from DIBOS-total were converted into percentages. To do so, minimum score from the test was considered 0%, and maximum score from the test was considered 100%. For example, in DIBOS-total and COS-total, 12 point is equal to 0%, and 60 is equal 100% (see Appendices 11 and 12). However, in RAS-total 18 point is equal to 0% and 72 is equal to 100% (see Appendix 7). The same procedure was applied for sub-scales (see Appendices- 8-10)

⁴ These figures are from the frequency table in Appendix 11. Moreover, for these figures, I took into consideration standard deviation (Table 7.10) through converting into percentages (see the previous footnote).

Figure 7.6. Students' orientation towards the *Diyanet*



DIBOS total, Erciyes & Ankara

7.4.2 Orientation towards Cemaats (Religious Groups)

University students' orientation towards the *cemaats* is seen in Table 7.11 and in Figure 7.7. The mean score of the students as a percentage in COS-total is 45% ($x = 33.66$, $sd = 11.90$). Students' scores from COS-total were clustered between 19% and 68% (see Appendix 12).

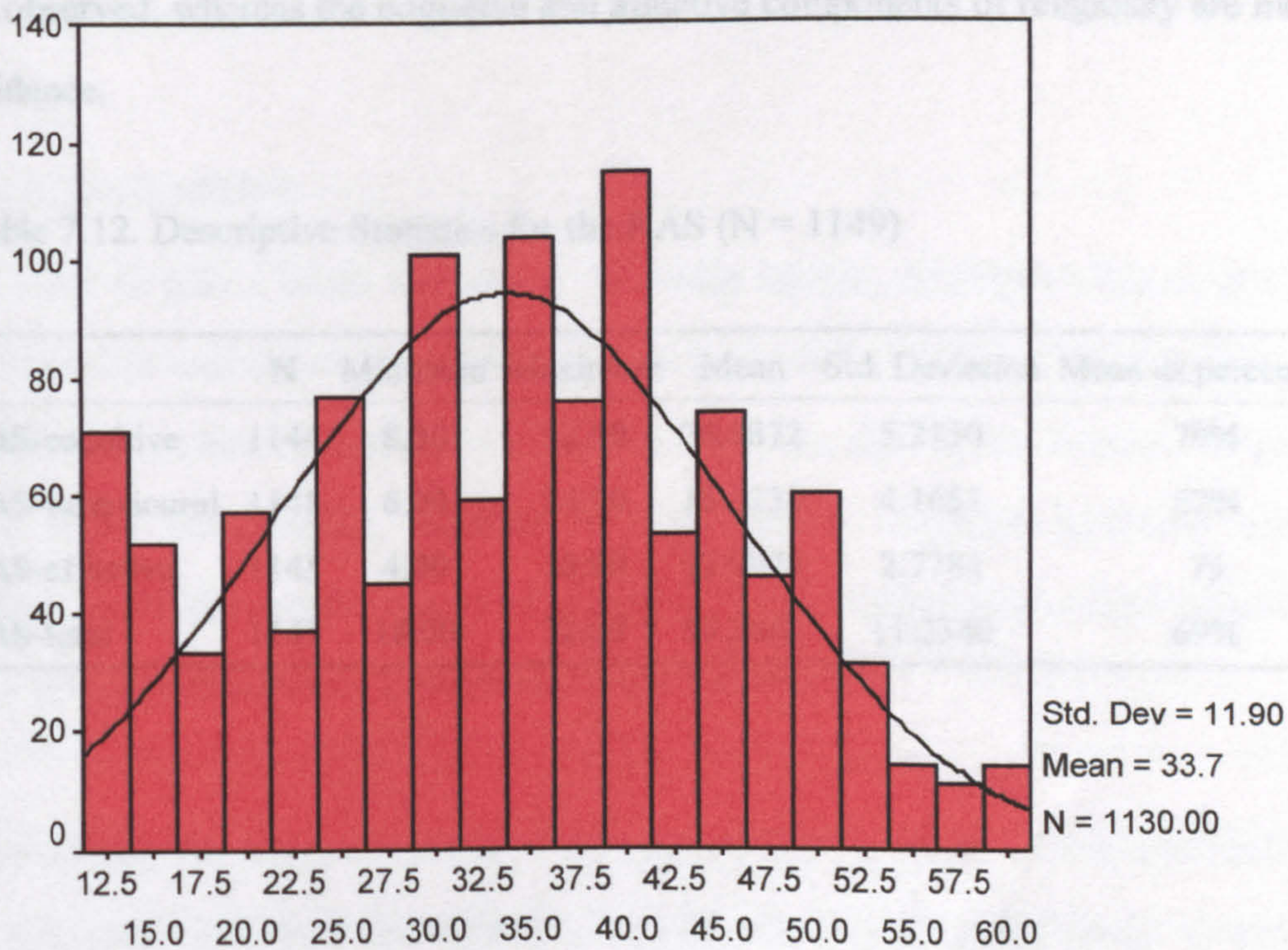
In terms of sub-scales of the COS, university students have the highest mean score in relation to COS-reliability 49% ($x = 17.87$, $sd = 6.46$), than COS-services, at 48% ($x = 11.64$, $sd = 4.27$), followed by COS-authority 26% ($x = 4.19$, $sd = 2.04$). Students are seen to have the highest orientation towards the reliability of *cemaats*, which is slightly

higher than their orientation scores towards the services of *cemaats*. However, students' orientation towards the authority of the *cemaats* is about 50% less than orientations towards both reliability and services of the *cemaats*. Compared with the *Diyanet*, students found *cemaats* were less reliable, whereas they did not differ in their provision of services.

Table 7.11. Descriptive statistics for the COS (N = 1149)

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean as percentage
COS-reliability	1130	6.00	30.00	17.8690	6.4598	49%
COS-services	1147	4.00	20.00	11.6399	4.2740	48%
COS-authority	1147	2.00	10.00	4.1944	2.0375	26%
COS-total	1130	12.00	60.00	33.6602	11.8981	45%

Figure 7.7. Students' orientation towards the *cemaats*.



COS total, Erciyes & Ankara

7.5 RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES

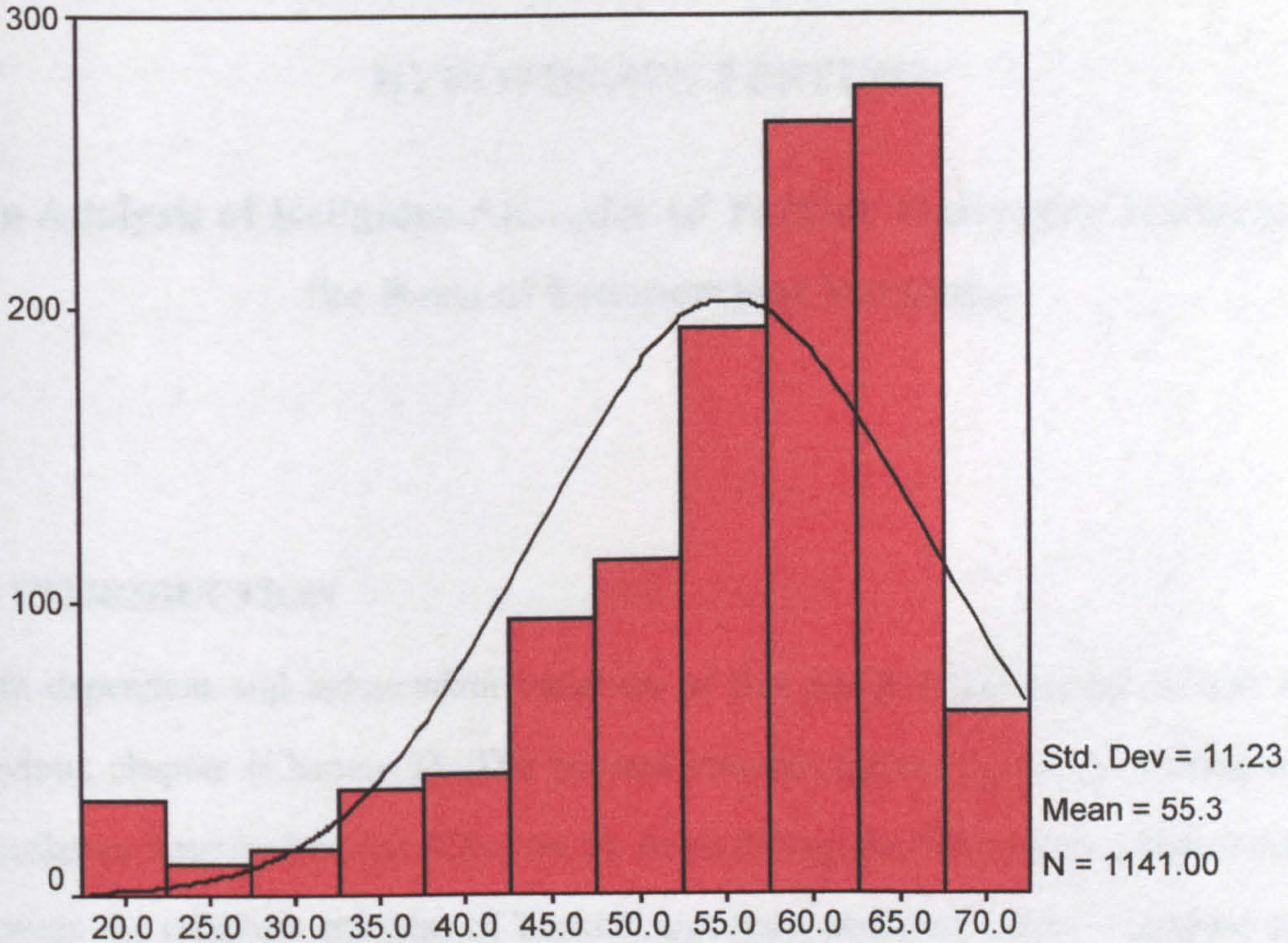
The religious attitudes of university students in Turkey is the dependent variable of this study. The descriptive analyses for the total religious attitudes of university students are presented in Table 7.12 and in Figure 7.8. From the mean scores of the RAS-total scale, it can be observed that students have very high religious attitudes 69% ($x = 55.27$, $sd = 11.23$). Students' scores from the RAS-total were clustered between 48% and 92% (see Appendix 7).

As can be seen from Table 7.12 (see also Appendices 8 - 10), considering sub-scales of the RAS, the mean score of the students in relation to RAS-cognitive is the highest, at 79% ($x = 26.89$, $sd = 5.28$), and then RAS-affective 75% ($x = 13.00$, $sd = 2.78$). By contrast, the mean score of the university students in RAS-behavioural is the least, at 52% ($x = 15.41$, $sd = 4.17$). The behavioural component of religiosity is less likely to be observed, whereas the cognitive and affective components of religiosity are more in evidence.

Table 7.12. Descriptive Statistics for the RAS (N = 1149)

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean as percentage
RAS-cognitive	1144	8.00	32.00	26.8872	5.2750	79%
RAS-behavioural	1148	6.00	24.00	15.4138	4.1651	52%
RAS-affective	1145	4.00	16.00	12.9974	2.7784	75
RAS-total	1141	18.00	72.00	55.2682	11.2340	69%

Figure 7.8. Religious Attitudes of Turkish university students.



RAS total, Erciyes & Ankara

7.6 CONCLUSION

In order to gain a broad idea about the whole sample, descriptive figures related to independent and dependent variables were presented. To do so, ten variables were initially taken into consideration. They were gender, age, family income, educational and social backgrounds, whether or not students obtained additional religious education (SRE) and the means of obtaining it, the *Diyanet* and *cemaat* orientations, and religious attitudes of Turkish university students.

Considering the research sample of the study, these variables were operationalised in this chapter. In the next two chapters, the religious attitudes of university students will be analysed according to the independent variations.

Chapter 8

HYPOTHESES TESTING:

An Analysis of Religious Attitudes of Turkish University Students on the Basis of Independent Variables

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Both dependent and independent variables of this study were operationalised in the previous chapter (Chapter 7). The present chapter focuses upon the testing of the hypotheses described earlier (Chapter 5). In so doing, the differences and associations between the religious attitudes of Turkish university students will be examined on the basis of independent variations such as those relating to gender, income and the *Diyanet* orientations.

In Turkey, although there were a few early studies of the religiosity of university students, none of them went beyond descriptive analyses (Köktaş, 1993; Koştaş, 1995 and Konrad, 1999). They contented themselves with percentages about religious matters such as observing daily prayers, fasting and belief in God. However, descriptive data analyses are not only capable of quantifying the extent of such practices, but also of investigating the differences and associations between variables. Descriptive statistics provide the basis necessary to facilitate further, more sophisticated analyses (Howitt and Cramer, 1997; Tacq, 1997; Tabachnick and Fidel, 1996; de Vaus, 1996; Babbie, 1995, and Murphy and Davidshofer, 1994). This study will be the first to fill this gap seen in the present literature on the religious attitudes of Turkish university students.

The remainder of the chapter is organised into three sections. The first (8.2) reviews the research hypotheses and the testing procedures. The following section (8.3) provides both descriptive and inferential statistical results. Descriptive results are given in scatter plots, 'group statistics', 'multiple comparisons' and 'descriptives' tables. The inferential results are presented in 'independent sample test' (*t-test*), 'ANOVA' and 'multiple comparisons' tables and correlation matrixes. The discussion and conclusions follow in the final section (8.4).

8.2 PROCEDURES FOR HYPOTHESES TESTING

The theoretical foundations of this thesis were asserted in earlier chapters. Islam in the Turkish context and the Muslim identity of Turkish university students were reviewed in chapters 3 and 4. As we saw, in Turkey, religious attitudes are affected by a variety of factors. These factors were investigated from a broad perspective in chapters 5 and 6. In particular, the dependent variables of this study, religious attitudes, and the issue of the measurement were considered. In addition, the independent variables for the research sample were analysed. Nevertheless, some variables were seen to confound the correlation between religious attitudes and such variables. For example, a number of studies about British and American society revealed that women were more religious than men (Gallup, 1980; Gallup and Castelli, 1989; Wilson, 1961; Hay, 1982). However, according to the findings of a limited number of empirical works, the situation has appeared to be reversed in Turkey (see Chapter 5.6).

On the basis of nine variables (gender, age, family incomes, educational and social backgrounds, SRE, and the type of SRE and orientations towards the *Diyanet* and *cemaats*), the religious attitudes of Turkish university students were controlled. On the basis of these, the following hypotheses developed in Chapter 5 will be tested:

H1: Religious attitudes of female Turkish university students are different from those of males.

H2: There is a significant negative correlation between the religious attitudes of university students and age between 18 and 26.

H3: Religious attitudes of the students who come from medium income level families are different from the attitudes of those who come from low and high income level families.

H4: Religious attitudes of the students who come from big towns (ilçe) are different from the attitudes of those who come from cities or villages.

H5: Religious attitudes of the students who attended imam hatip lise are different from the attitudes of those who attended other lises.

H6a: Religious attitudes of the students who obtained supplementary religious education (SRE) are different from the attitudes of those who did not obtain SRE.

H6b: Religious attitudes of the students who obtained SRE in a Qur'an course are different from the attitudes of those who obtained SRE in other ways.

H7: There is a significant positive correlation between the religious attitudes of university students and their orientations towards the Diyanet.

H8: There is a significant positive correlation between the religious attitudes of university students and their orientations towards the cemaats.

The first and most basic step for investigating inter-variable differences is to determine whether significant differences (*H1, H3, H4, H5, H6a* and *H6b*) and associations (*H2, H7* and *H8*) exist in the religious attitudes. In order to run the statistical tests, the research hypotheses were classified into three groups, according to the character of their independent variables. (a) In the first group, two hypotheses, *H1* and *H6a*, consisted of two levels of nominal variables, such as male and female. These hypotheses were analysed through a *t test*. (b) In the second, four hypotheses, *H3, H4, H5* and *H6b*, consisted of three or more levels of nominal variables, such as *lise, Anadolu lise, imam hatip lise*, private *lise* and other *lises*, or ordinal variables, such as low, medium and high income levels. A one-way ANOVA test was run to analyse them. However, ANOVA does not tell us where the differences between three or more conditions lie. So, in order to ascertain where such differences lay *post hoc* tests were employed for the multiple comparisons. (c) In the third group, three hypotheses, *H2, H7* and *H8*, consisted of interval (ratio) variables, such as the levels of *Diyanet* orientation. *Pearson's* bivariate correlation analysis was used for the purpose of testing these hypotheses. The tests, the purpose of the tests and the main characteristics of the test variables are presented in Table 8.1.

8.3 RESULTS

8.3.1 Religious Attitudes And Gender

Table 8.2 presents the mean scores of religious attitudes for male and female students. In terms of four measurements, the RAS-total, cognitive, behavioural and affective, female students' scores are slightly lower than males. The difference between their RAS-total scores is about three. Therefore, female students have slightly less religious attitudes than males. In terms of the sub-scales of the RAS, mean score differences of 0.4 were noticed for the RAS-affective as the lowest level, and 1.3 for the RAS-cognitive as the highest.

Table 8.1. Tests, purpose of tests and main characteristics of the test variables.

<i>Variables/ Type of variable</i>	<i>Levels of Measurement</i>	<i>Type of Data</i>	<i>Tests/ Purpose of the Tests</i>
Religious Attitudes/ Dependent	RAS-total -RAS-cognitive (ss.) -RAS-behavioural (ss.) -RAS-affective (ss.)	Interval/ratio	It depends on the type of independent variable
Gender/ Independent	1.Male 2.Female	Nominal/ Dichotomous	<i>t-test</i> (two tailed)/ To explore differences
Age/ Independent	Between 18-25	Interval/ratio	Pearson's correlation/ To explore correlations
Family Incomes/ Independent	1.Low, including very low. 2.Medium 3.High, including v. high.	Ordinal	One-way ANOVA (unrelated)/ To explore differences
Educational Backgrounds/ Independent	1. <i>Lise</i> 2. <i>Anadolu Lise</i> 3. <i>Imam Hatip Lise</i> 4. <i>Private Lise</i> 5. <i>Other Lises</i>	Ordinal	One-way ANOVA (unrelated)/ To explore differences
Social Backgrounds/ Independent	1.Village 2.Small Town (<i>Kasaba</i>) 3.Big Town (<i>Ilçe</i>) 4.City	Ordinal	One-way ANOVA (unrelated)/ To explore differences
SRE/ Independent	1.No 2.Yes	Nominal/ Dichotomous	<i>t-test</i> (two tailed)/ to explore differences
Types of the SRE/ Independent	1.Myself 2. <i>Qur'an Course</i> 3.Mosque 4.Private <i>Hoca</i> 5.Others	Ordinal	One-way ANOVA (unrelated)/ To explore differences
The <i>Diyanet</i> Orientations/ Independent	DIBOS-total -DIBOS-reliability (ss.) -DIBOS-services (ss.) -DIBOS-efficiency (ss.)	Interval/ratio	Pearson's correlation/ To explore correlations
<i>Cemaat</i> Orientations/ Independent	COS-total -COS-reliability (ss.) -COS-services (ss.) -COS-authority (ss.)	Interval/ratio	Pearson's correlation/ To explore correlations

(ss.) Sub-scale

Table 8.3 presents the *t test* results for the religious attitude scores of male and female students. The results are statistically significant. The mean score¹ ($x = 53.91$, $sd = 11.70$)² of the RAS-total for female students is significantly lower ($t = 3.84$, $df = 1139$, two tailed $p < 0.001$)³ than that of male students. In terms of three sub-scales of the RAS, for female students, (a) the mean scores ($x = 26.15$, $sd = 5.64$) of the RAS-cognitive ($t = 4.42$, $df = 1142$, two tailed $p < 0.001$), (b) the RAS-behaviour ($x = 14.96$, $sd = 4.24$; $t = 3.44$, $df = 1146$, two tailed $p < 0.001$) and (c) the RAS-affective ($x = 12.80$, $sd = 2.82$; $t = 2.30$, $df = 1143$, two tailed $p < 0.05$) are also significantly lower than for the males.

Four measurements of religious attitudes consistently supported the first hypothesis, *H1* that “*religious attitudes of female Turkish university students are different from those of males*”. Therefore, we may conclude that female Turkish university students are indeed less religious than their male counterparts.

¹ Equivalences of mean scores in percentages are different from one scale to another (see footnote 1, in Chapter 7). Mean scores were converted into percentages in frequency tables (Appendices 7 – 12).

² In the mean score formula:

\bar{x} value indicates the mean score;

sd (standard deviation) shows the ‘average’ amount by which scores differ from the mean or average score (Howitt and Cramer, 1997: 41).

³ In the *t-test* formula:

t value tells us the difference between two samples. Whilst positive value of t indicates that the mean score of Group-2 is lower than Group-1; the negative value indicates that the mean score of Group-2 is higher than Group-1.

df (degree of freedom) shows number of the cases taken into account in the test.

p value indicates the significance of the test. If the p value is higher than 0.05, it means that results of the test are not significant.

For instance, this formula proves that female students’ religious attitude scores are lower than males at the level of 3.84, the test has been run among 1139 cases, the p value is smaller than 0.001. (It means if this measurement is repeated one thousand times among the sample the probability for the same result is 999 in one thousand, one in one thousand may be different.) Obviously, results of the test are highly significant, but the difference between the two groups is not so much. This is because the test score of the RAS-total varies between 18 and 72.

Table 8.2. Group statistics (Religious attitudes and gender, N = 1149)

Erciyes and Ankara		Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
RAS cognitive	male		612	27.5245	4.8534	.1962
	female		532	26.1541	5.6377	.2444
RAS behaviour	male		616	15.8052	4.0614	.1636
	female		532	14.9605	4.2409	.1839
RAS affective	male		613	13.1729	2.7284	.1102
	female		532	12.7951	2.8240	.1224
RAS total	male		609	56.4548	10.6793	.4327
	female		532	53.9098	11.7001	.5073

Table 8.3. Independent samples test⁴ (Religious attitudes and gender, N = 1149)

Erciyes and Ankara		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances	t-test for Equality of Means	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	
		F	t	df		
RAS cognitive	Equal variances assumed	14.59****	4.42****	1142	1.3704	.3102
	Equal variances not assumed		4.37****	1055.024	1.3704	.3134
RAS behaviour	Equal variances assumed	2.606	3.44****	1146	.8447	.2454
	Equal variances not assumed		3.43****	1106.142	.8447	.2461
RAS affective	Equal variances assumed	1.182	2.30*	1143	.3778	.1643
	Equal variances not assumed		2.29*	1108.570	.3778	.1647
RAS total	Equal variances assumed	6.66**	3.84****	1139	2.5451	.6627
	Equal variances not assumed		3.82****	1083.805	2.5451	.6668

* = Significant at 0.05, ** = significant at 0.01, **** = significant at 0.001.

⁴ The distribution of the scores has been tested with Levene's test for equality of variances.

8.3.2 Religious Attitudes And Age

Figure 8.1.a, b, c and d presents crude trends in religious attitudes (the RAS-total, cognitive, behavioural and affective) of university students for ages between 18 and 26. According to the figures, a very slight decrease in religious attitudes is observed as the ages increased from 18 to 26 as is shown by the slope of the scatter⁵.

Table 8.4 presents correlations between religious attitudes -RAS-cognitive, behavioural, affective and total- and age. There are significant negative relationships between religious attitudes, RAS-total ($r = -0.070$, $df = 1139$, $p < 0.05$)⁶, RAS-cognitive ($r = -0.071$, $df = 1142$, $p < 0.05$) and RAS-behavioural ($r = -0.063$, $df = 1146$, $p < 0.05$), and age. A significant association was not observed between RAS-affective and age between 18 and 26.

Therefore, the findings related to the RAS-total, RAS-cognitive and RAS-behavioural revealed that the second hypothesis, *H2*, which was “*there is a significant negative correlation between the religious attitudes of university students and age between 18 and 26*”, was supported. However, there is not a significant relationship between affective religious attitudes and age between 18 and 26.

⁵ When the slope of the scatter lies in a straight line, it indicates that the relationship is linear rather than curvilinear. When this line moves from the upper left to the lower right, it signifies a negative correlation. When it moves from lower left to upper right, it indicates a positive relationship. The narrower scatter of points shows the higher correlation.

⁶ In the Pearson's correlation formula:

r shows a positive correlation coefficient, minus sign (-) indicates a negative correlation.

df proves number of the cases, but minus 2.

p value indicates 2 - tailed significance level, as was explained in footnote 3, in this Chapter.

For example, in this formula, correlation between age and religious attitudes is at the level of -0.07. If this value is squared, the variance, which explains religious attitudes by age factor, will be obtained. Squared value can be read as per cent ($0.07 \times 0.07 = 0.0049 = 0.49\%$). There is a half per cent negative correlation between religious attitudes and age. 1141 cases were taken into account for this analysis and the significance level is 0.05.

Figure 8.1.a. Religious attitudes (total scores) and age.

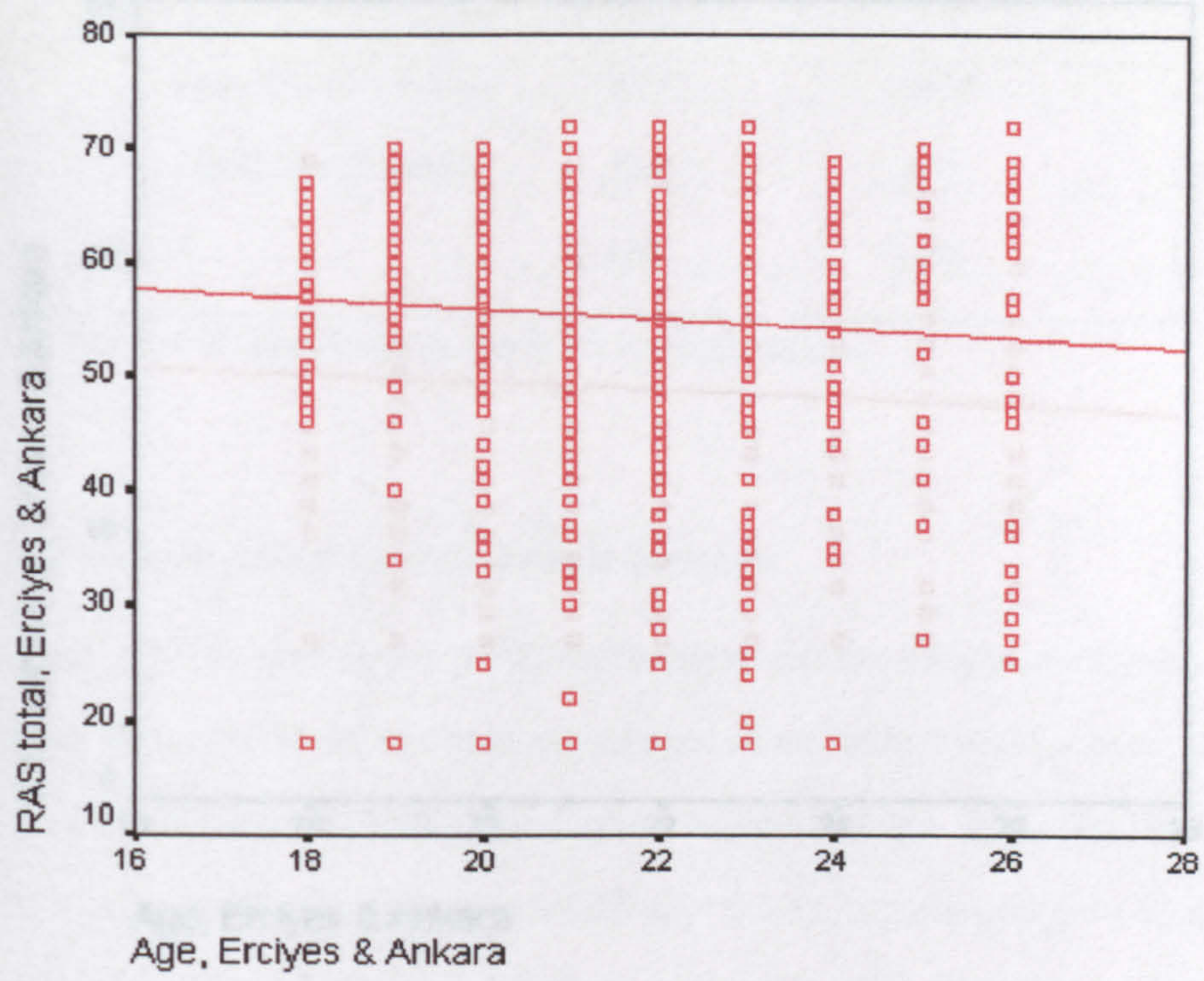


Figure 8.1.b. Religious attitudes (cognitive scores) and age.

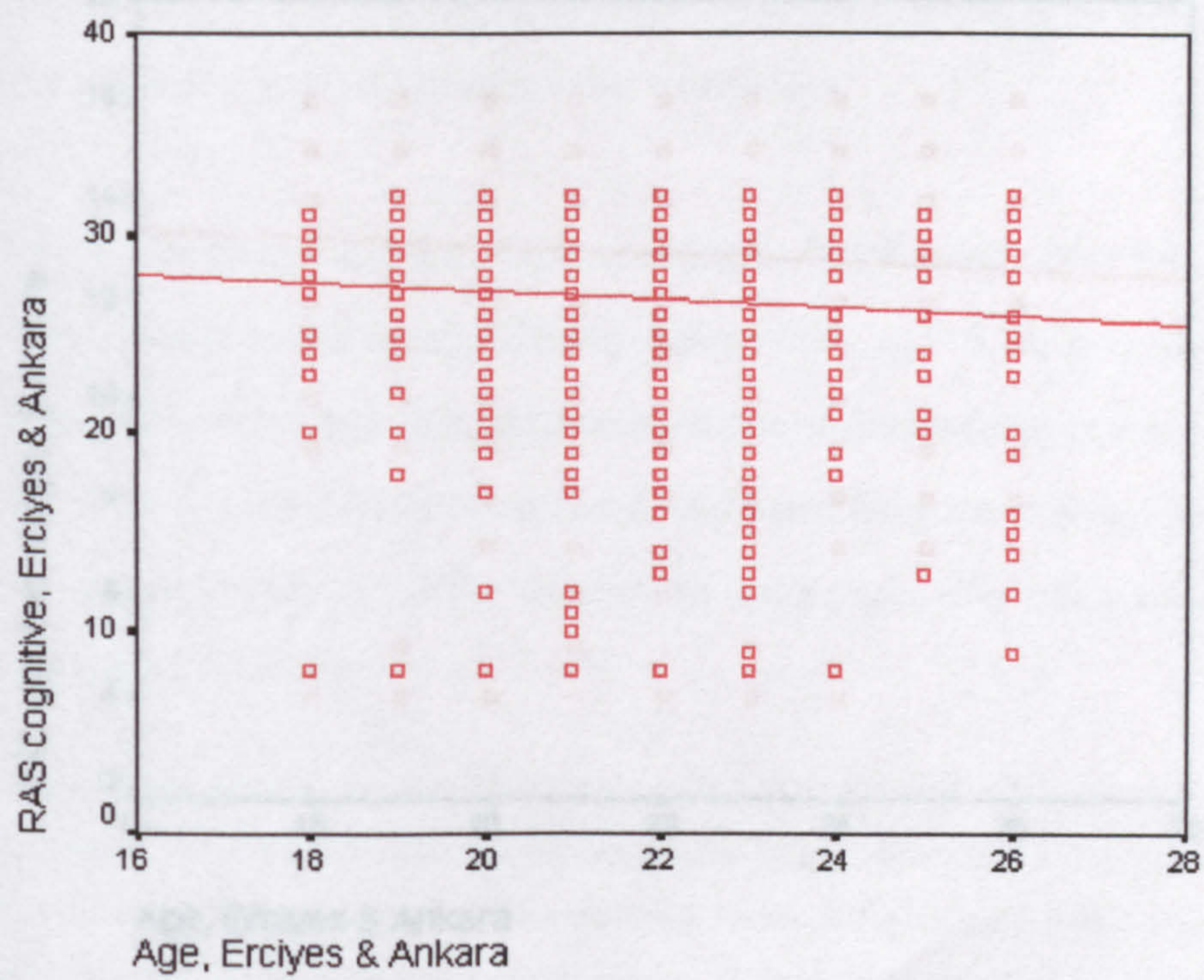


Figure 8.1.c. Religious attitudes (behavioural scores) and age.

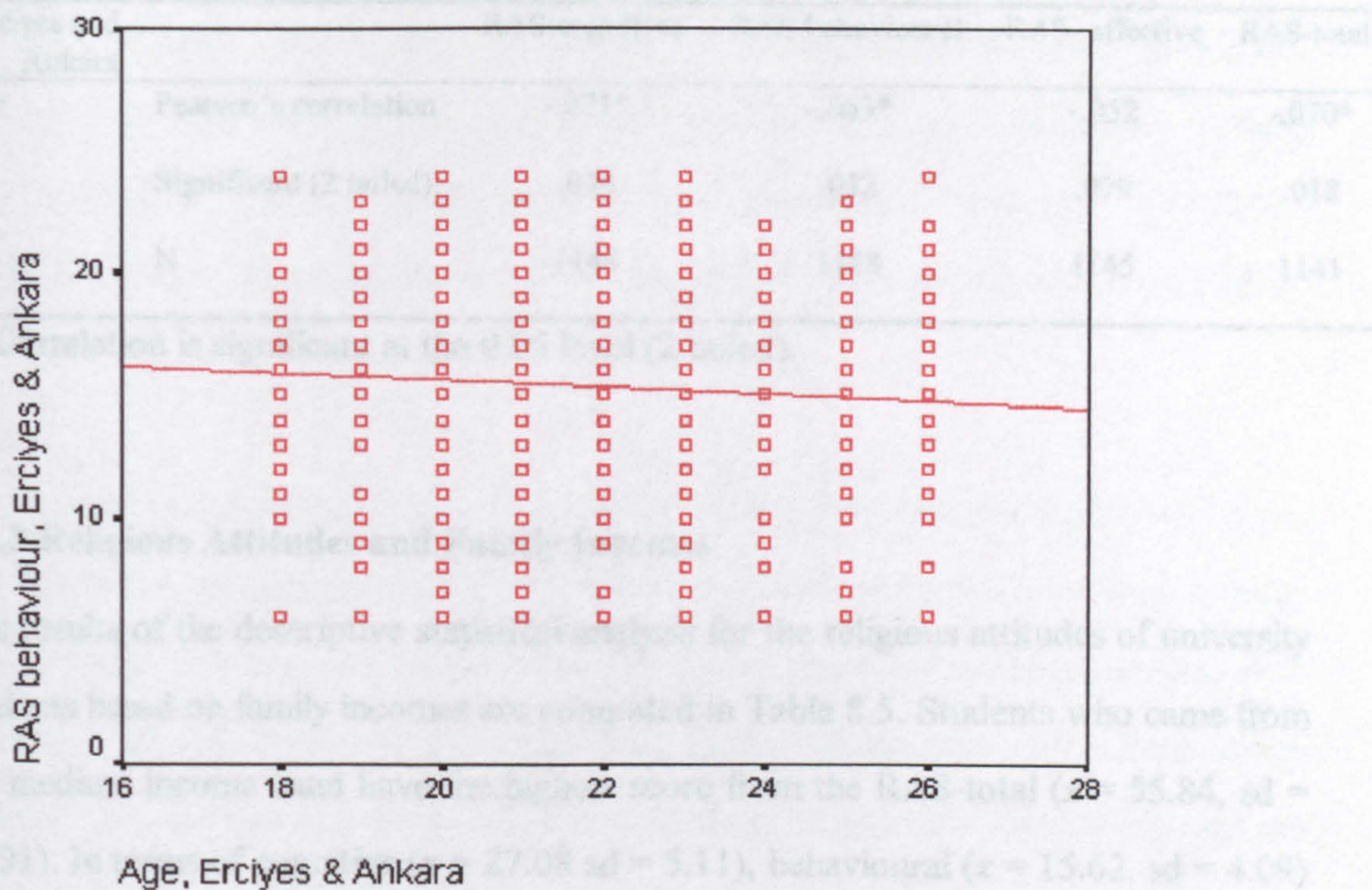


Figure 8.1.d. Religious attitudes (affective scores) and age.

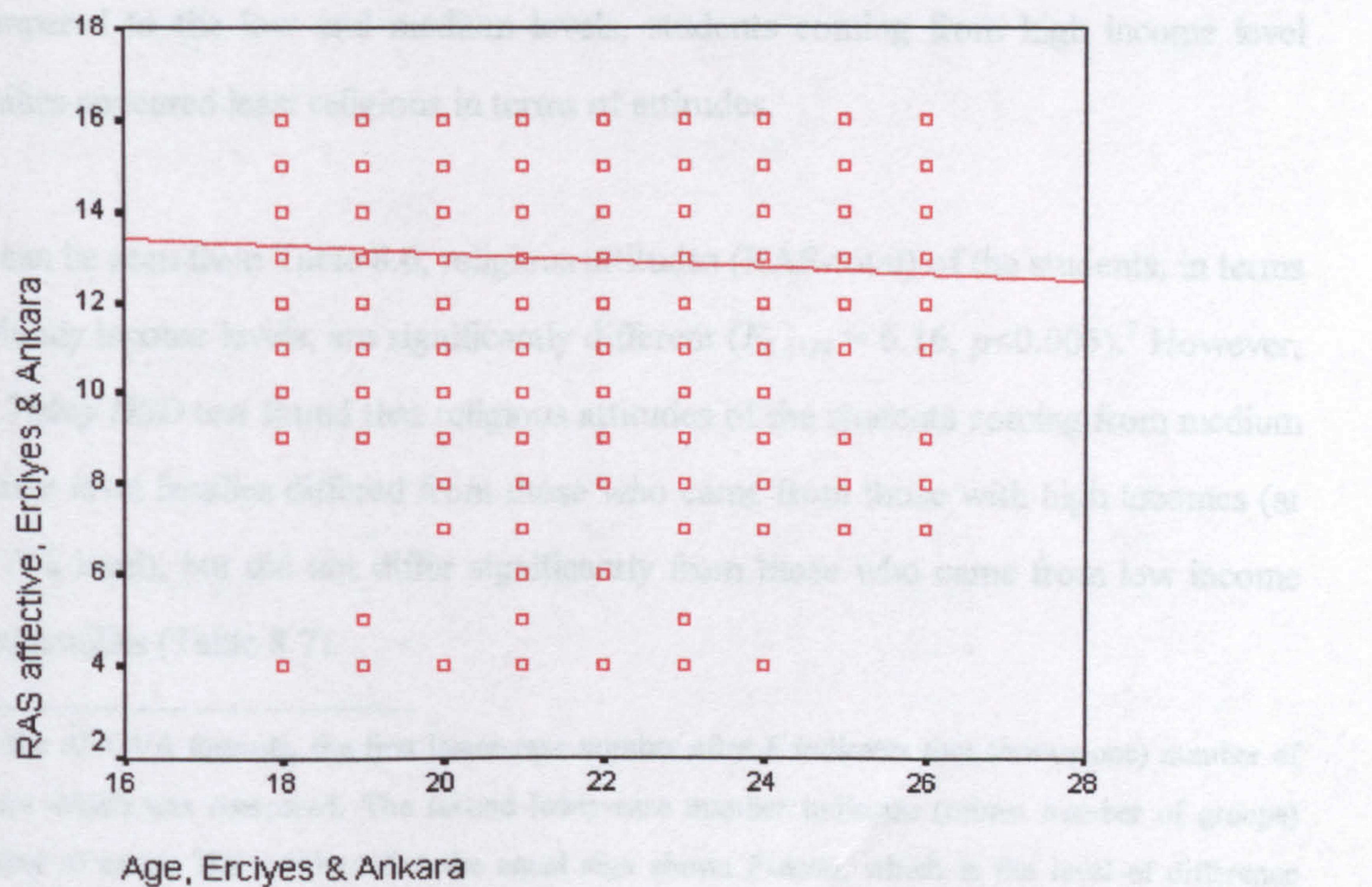


Table 8.4. Correlations between religious attitudes and age (N = 1149)

Erciyes and Ankara		RAS-cognitive	RAS-behavioural	RAS- affective	RAS-total
Age	Pearson's correlation	-.071*	-.063*	-.052	-.070*
	Significant (2 tailed)	.016	.032	.079	.018
	N	1144	1148	1145	1141

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2 tailed).

8.3.3 Religious Attitudes and Family Incomes

The results of the descriptive statistical analysis for the religious attitudes of university students based on family incomes are computed in Table 8.5. Students who came from the medium income band have the highest score from the RAS-total ($x = 55.84$, $sd = 10.91$). In terms of cognitive ($x = 27.08$ $sd = 5.11$), behavioural ($x = 15.62$, $sd = 4.09$) and affective ($x = 13.08$, $sd = 2.71$) components of the RAS, students belonging to medium income level families are also seen as more religious than the others. Compared to the low and medium levels, students coming from high income level families appeared least religious in terms of attitudes.

As can be seen from Table 8.6, religious attitudes (RAS-total) of the students, in terms of family income levels, are significantly different ($F_{2,1138} = 6.16$, $p < 0.005$).⁷ However, the *Tukey HSD* test found that religious attitudes of the students coming from medium income level families differed from those who came from those with high incomes (at the 5% level), but did not differ significantly from those who came from low income level families (Table 8.7).

⁷ In the ANOVA formula, the first lower-case number after *F* indicates that (minus one) number of groups which was compared. The second lower-case number indicates (minus number of groups) number of cases. The number after the equal sign shows *F-ratio*, which is the level of difference between groups and *p* value indicates the probability of the *F-ratio*. For instance, in this formula three samples were compared, the whole sample consisted of 1141 cases, difference among the groups was 6.16 and the significance level was 0.005.

In terms of the cognitive and behavioural aspects of religious attitudes, students belonging to low, medium and high income level families are significantly different (RAS-cognitive: $F_{2,1141} = 6.69$, $p < 0.001$ and RAS-behavioural: $F_{2,1145} = 10.78$, $p < 0.001$). There is no significant difference in the affective religiosity of students based on their family income bands.

These results have revealed that we should accept the third hypothesis, $H3$, which was that “*religious attitudes of the students who come from medium income level families are different from the attitudes of those who come from low and high income level families*”. In this case it seems more likely that students who come from middle income level families are more religious than those from either low or high income level families.

Table 8.5. Descriptives (Religious attitudes and family income, N = 1149)

Erciyes and Ankara		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
RAS cognitive	low	92	26.6087	6.4518	.6726
	medium	872	27.1778	5.1107	.1731
	high	180	25.6222	5.2311	.3899
	total	1144	26.8872	5.2750	.1560
RAS behaviour	low	92	15.9457	4.3762	.4562
	medium	876	15.6244	4.0870	.1381
	high	180	14.1167	4.2100	.3138
	total	1148	15.4138	4.1651	.1229
RAS affective	low	92	12.4565	3.2494	.3388
	medium	873	13.0756	2.7055	.9157
	high	180	12.8944	2.8491	.2124
	total	1145	12.9974	2.7784	.8211
RAS total	low	92	55.0109	13.4291	1.4001
	medium	869	55.8412	10.9115	.3701
	high	180	52.6333	11.2299	.8370
	total	1141	55.2682	11.2340	.3326

Table 8.6. ANOVA (Religious attitudes and family income, N = 1149)

Erciyes and Ankara		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
RAS cognitive	Between Groups	368.781	2	184.391	6.69****
	Within Groups	31435.673	1141	27.551	
	Total	31804.454	1143		
RAS behaviour	Between Groups	367.747	2	183.874	10.78****
	Within Groups	19530.715	1145	17.057	
	Total	19898.463	1147		
RAS affective	NOT SIGNIFICANT				
RAS total	Between Groups	1541.061	2	770.530	6.16***
	Within Groups	142328.874	1138	125.069	
	Total	143869.935	1140		

*** = significant at 0.005, **** = significant at 0.001.

Table 8.7. Multiple comparisons Tukey HSD (Religious attitudes and family income, N = 1149)

Erciyes and Ankara				Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error
Dependent Variable	(I) Family income bands	(J) Family income bands			
RAS cognitive	low	NOT SIGNIFICANT			
		medium	low	.5691	.5754
	high	high	1.56*	.4297	
		low	-.9865	.6727	
		medium	-1.56*	.4297	
		high	1.56*	.4297	
RAS behaviour	low	medium	.3212	.4526	
		high	1.83*	.5293	
	medium	low	-.3212	.4526	
		high	1.51*	.3380	
	high	low	-1.83*	.5293	
		medium	-1.51*	.3380	

Table 8.7. Multiple comparisons Tukey HSD (continued).

Erciyes and Ankara		Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	
RAS affective	NOT SIGNIFICANT			
RAS total	low	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
	medium	low	.8303	1.2261
		high	3.21*	.9158
	high	low	-2.3775	1.4333
		medium	-3.21*	.9158

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

8.3.4 Religious Attitudes And Social Backgrounds

In terms of social background, the descriptive analyses for the religious attitudes of university students are presented in Table 8.8. According to the crude figures, students who spent their childhood in a village score higher in terms of cognitive religious attitudes ($x = 27.93$, $sd = 5.55$) compared with those who spent their childhood in a small town (*kasaba*), big town (*ilçe*) and city. Nevertheless, students who came from a big town score higher in terms of more behavioural ($x = 16.30$, $sd = 4.20$) and affective ($x = 27.80$, $sd = 4.92$) religious attitudes than the others. The RAS total scores ($x = 57.46$, $sd = 10.61$) for those who came from big towns are also higher than the others.

As can be seen from Table 8.9, the religious attitudes (RAS-total) of university students are significantly different ($F_{3, 1137} = 6.50$, $p < 0.001$), in terms of social backgrounds. As presented in Table 8.10, the results of the *Tukey HSD* test revealed that the religious attitudes (RAS-total, cognitive and behaviour) of university students who came from both villages and big towns differed from those who came from cities (at the 5% level). Whilst (a) the students who came from big towns have the highest scores for the RAS-total and its behavioural component, (b) those who came from villages have the highest scores in cognitive religiosity. However, on the basis of social

background, the affective religiosity of the students is not statistically significant (Table 8.10).

Therefore, we can accept the fourth hypothesis, *H4*, which was that “*religious attitudes of the students who come from big towns (ilçe) are different from those who come from cities or villages*” for the RAS-total. However, the results for the subscales of the RAS were inconsistent. Whilst the findings for behavioural religiosity were supportive of the *H4*, the results for cognitive and affective religiosity were not.

Table 8.8 Descriptives (Religious attitudes and social backgrounds, N = 1149)

Erciyes and Ankara		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
RAS cognitive	village	112	27.9286	5.5519	.5246
	small town	43	27.3256	5.1995	.7929
	big town	244	27.7992	4.9162	.3147
	city	745	26.4067	5.2963	.1940
	total	1144	26.8872	5.2750	.1560
RAS behaviour	village	113	16.2743	4.2746	.4021
	small town	43	15.7674	4.2249	.6443
	big town	244	16.2992	4.1993	.2688
	city	748	14.9746	4.0730	.1489
	total	1148	15.4138	4.1651	.1229
RAS affective	village	113	13.0619	3.0801	.2898
	small town	43	12.4884	3.0657	.4675
	big town	244	13.3648	2.4750	.1584
	city	745	12.8966	2.8000	.1026
	total	1145	12.9974	2.7784	8.211
RAS total	village	112	57.2589	12.1661	1.1496
	small town	43	55.5814	11.6991	1.7841
	big town	244	57.4631	10.6099	.6792
	city	742	54.2278	11.1371	.4089
	total	1141	55.2682	11.2340	.3326

Table 8.9 ANOVA (Religious attitudes and social background, N = 1149)

Erciyes and Ankara		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
RAS cognitive	Between Groups	504.657	3	168.219	6.13****
	Within Groups	31299.797	1140	27.456	
	Total	31804.454	1143		
RAS behaviour	Between Groups	424.615	3	141.538	8.32****
	Within Groups	19473.847	1144	17.023	
	Total	19898.463	1147		
RAS affective	NOT SIGNIFICANT				
RAS total	Between Groups	2426.803	3	808.934	6.50****
	Within Groups	141443.132	1137	124.400	
	Total	143869.935	1140		

**** = significant at 0.001.

Table 8.10. Multiple comparisons Tukey HSD (Religious attitudes and social background, N = 1149)

Erciyes and Ankara		Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	
Dependent Variable	(I) Social backgrounds	(J) Social backgrounds		
RAS cognitive	village	small town	.6030 .9400	
		big town	.1294 .5981	
		city	1.52* .5310	
	small town	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
		big town	village	-.1294 .5981
			small town	.4736 .8666
	city	city	1.39* .3865	
		village	-1.52* .5310	
		small town	-.9189 .8218	
	big town	-1.39* .3865		

Table 8.10. Multiple comparisons Tukey HSD (continued)

Erciyes and Ankara			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error
RAS behaviour	village	small town	.5069	.7393
		big town	-2.4844	.4695
		city	1.30*	.4164
	small town	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
	big town	village	2.484	.4695
		small town	.5317	.6824
		city	1.32*	.3042
	city	village	-1.30*	.4164
		small town	-.7928	.6470
		big town	-1.32*	.3042
RAS affective	NOT SIGNIFICANT			
RAS total	village	small town	1.6775	2.0009
		big town	-.2042	1.2730
		city	3.03*	1.1307
	small town	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
	big town	village	.2042	1.2730
		small town	1.8817	1.8447
		city	3.24*	.8231
	city	village	-3.0312	1.1307
		small town	-1.3536	1.7495
big town		-3.24*	.8231	

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

8.3.5 Religious Attitudes And Educational Backgrounds

Descriptive statistics for the religious attitudes of university students based on educational backgrounds are computed in Table 8.11. According to the crude figures, students who went to *imam hatip lise* are seen to have the highest religious attitudes ($x = 62.29$, $sd = 5.88$). In terms of cognitive ($x = 30.04$, $sd = 2.51$), behavioural ($x =$

18.31, $sd = 2.44$) and affective ($x = 13.93$, $sd = 1.95$) religious attitudes, students who attended *imam hatip lise* are seen to have the highest. By contrast, students who attended private *lise* are seen to have the least religious attitudes, compared to those who attended *imam hatip lise*, *Anadolu lise*, *lise* and other *lises*.

According to the analysis presented in Tables 8.12 and 8.13, the religious attitudes (RAS-total) of Turkish university students who attended *imam hatip lise* are significantly different from those who attended other *lises* ($F_{4,1136} = 35.71$, $p < 0.001$). *Tukey HSD* test found that the students who came from *imam hatip lise* differed from those who came from all other *lises* at the 5% level.

Similarly, the cognitive, behavioural and affective religiosity of the students who attended *imam hatip lise* was also significantly different to that of those who attended all other *lises* (RAS-cognitive: $F_{4,1139} = 34.40$, $p < 0.001$, RAS-behavioural: $F_{4,1143} = 46.61$, $p < 0.001$ and RAS-affective: $F_{4,1140} = 8.91$, $p < 0.001$). The only exception was noticed in the RAS-affective. Students who had an *imam hatip lise* background did not differ significantly from those who had an *Anadolu lise* background in terms of affective religiosity.

These results strongly support the fifth hypothesis, *H5*, which was that “*religious attitudes of the students who attended imam hatip lise are different from the attitudes of those who attended other lises*”. Therefore, we should accept *H5*.

Table 8.11 Descriptives (Religious attitudes and educational background, N = 1149)

Erciyes and Ankara		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
RAS cognitive	lise	605	26.2463	5.6942	.2315
	Anadolu lise	127	26.3701	4.3531	.3863
	imam hatip lise	225	30.0444	2.5050	.1670
	private lise	73	23.3699	5.4785	.6412
	other	114	26.8860	5.0111	.4693
	total	1144	26.8872	5.2750	.1560
RAS behaviour	lise	607	14.8221	4.3492	.1765
	Anadolu lise	128	14.6719	3.4893	.3084
	imam hatip lise	226	18.3097	2.4370	.1621
	private lise	73	12.5205	3.4039	.3984
	other	114	15.5088	4.1311	.3869
	total	1148	15.4138	4.1651	.1229
RAS affective	lise	607	12.7331	3.0167	.1224
	Anadolu lise	126	13.1429	2.3211	.2068
	imam hatip lise	225	13.9289	1.9513	.1301
	private lise	73	12.4795	3.0144	.3528
	other	114	12.7368	2.7717	.2596
	total	1145	12.9974	2.7784	8.211
RAS total	lise	605	53.7736	12.0149	.4885
	Anadolu lise	125	54.0640	9.3677	.8379
	imam hatip lise	224	62.2946	5.8764	.3926
	private lise	73	48.3699	10.7141	1.2540
	other	114	55.1316	11.0362	1.0336
	total	1141	55.2682	11.2340	.3326

Table 8.12. ANOVA (Religious attitudes and educational background, N = 1149)

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
RAS cognitive	Between Groups	3428.456	4	857.114	34.40****
	Within Groups	28375.997	1139	24.913	
	Total	31804.454	1143		
RAS behaviour	Between Groups	2790.431	4	697.608	46.61****
	Within Groups	17108.032	1143	14.968	
	Total	19898.463	1147		
RAS affective	Between Groups	267.612	4	66.903	8.91****
	Within Groups	8563.380	1140	7.512	
	Total	8830.992	1144		
RAS total	Between Groups	16067.877	4	4016.969	35.71****
	Within Groups	127802.058	1136	112.502	
	Total	143869.935	1140		

* = significant at 0.001.

Table 8.13. Multiple comparisons Tukey HSD (Religious attitudes and educational background, N = 1149)

Erciyes and Ankara			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error
Dependent Variable	(I) Educational backgrounds	(J) Educational backgrounds		
RAS cognitive	lise	Anadolu lise	-.1238	.4872
		imam hatip lise	-3.80*	.3897
		private lise	2.88*	.6184
		other	-.6397	.5096
	Anadolu lise	lise	.1238	.4872
		imam hatip lise	-3.67*	.5540
		private lise	3.00*	.7331
		other	-.5159	.6440
	imam hatip lise	lise	3.80*	.3897
		Anadolu lise	3.67*	.5540
		private lise	6.67*	.6723
		other	3.16*	.5738
	private lise	lise	-2.88*	.6184
		Anadolu lise	-3.00*	.7331
		imam hatip lise	-6.67*	.6723
		other	-3.52*	.7482
	other	lise	.6397	.5096
		Anadolu lise	.5159	.6440
		imam hatip lise	-3.16*	.5738
		private lise	3.52*	.7482
RAS behaviour	lise	Anadolu lise	.1502	.3763
		imam hatip lise	-3.49*	.3015
		private lise	2.30*	.4793
		other	-.6867	.3949
	Anadolu lise	lise	-.1502	.3763
		imam hatip lise	-3.634*	.4280
		private lise	2.15*	.5674
		other	-.8369	.4982

Table 8.13. Multiple comparisons Tukey HSD (continued)

Erciyes and Ankara			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error
RAS affective	imam hatip lise	lise	3.49*	.3015
		Anadolu lise	3.64*	.4280
		private lise	5.79*	.5208
		other	2.80*	.4444
	private lise	lise	-2.30*	.4793
		Anadolu lise	-2.15*	.5674
		imam hatip lise	-5.79*	.5208
		other	-2.99*	.5799
	Other	lise	.6867	.3949
		Anadolu lise	.8369	.4982
		imam hatip lise	-2.80*	.4444
		private lise	2.99*	.5799
	lise	Anadolu lise	-.4097	.2683
		imam hatip lise	-1.20*	.2139
		private lise	.2537	.3395
		other	-3.7284	.2798
Anadolu lise	NOT SIGNIFICANT			
imam hatip lise	lise	1.20*	.2139	
	Anadolu lise	.7860	.3050	
	private lise	1.45*	.3692	
	other	1.19*	.3151	
private lise	lise	-.2537	.3395	
	Anadolu lise	-.6634	.4031	
	imam hatip lise	-1.45*	.3692	
	other	-.2574	.4108	
other	lise	3.728	.2798	
	Anadolu lise	-.4060	.3543	
	imam hatip lise	-1.1920	.3151	
	private lise	.2574	.4108	

Table 8.13. Multiple comparisons Tukey HSD (continued)

Erciyes and Ankara			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error
RAS total	lise	Anadolu lise	-.2904	1.0421
		imam hatip lise	-8.52*	.8296
		private lise	5.40*	1.3142
		other	-1.3580	1.0830
	Anadolu lise	lise	.2904	1.0421
		imam hatip lise	-8.23*	1.1842
		private lise	5.69*	1.5624
		other	-1.0676	1.3736
	imam hatip lise	lise	8.52*	.8296
		Anadolu lise	8.23*	1.1842
		private lise	13.92*	1.4295
		other	7.16*	1.2203
	private lise	lise	-5.40*	1.3142
		Anadolu lise	-5.69*	1.5624
		imam hatip lise	-13.92*	1.4295
		other	-6.76*	1.5900
	other	lise	1.3580	1.0830
		Anadolu lise	1.0676	1.3736
		imam hatip lise	-7.16*	1.2203
		private lise	6.76*	1.5900

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

8.3.6 Religious Attitudes And Supplementary Religious Education (SRE)

From the mean scores of the RAS-total scale (Table 8.14), it can be observed that those students who obtained SRE are apparently more religious than those who did not. Considering the sub-scales of the RAS, the divergence between those who received SRE and those who did not is highest as far as behavioural religiosity is concerned. Regarding cognitive religiosity, it can be seen that there is not much

difference between those who benefited from SRE and those who did not, as revealed by the sub-scales.

Table 8.15 presents the *t-test* results for religious attitude scores of students who took SRE and those who did not. The results are statistically significant. The mean score ($x = 56.93$, $sd = 10.67$) of the RAS-total for those who took SRE is significantly higher ($t = -10.08$, $df = 1139$, two tailed $p < 0.001$) than for those who did not. Considering the sub-scales of the RAS, for students who took SRE, (a) the mean scores ($x = 27.57$, 5.04) of the RAS-cognitive ($t = -8.77$, $df = 1142$, two tailed $p < 0.001$), (b) the RAS-behaviour ($x = 16.10$, $sd = 3.96$; $t = -11.44$, $df = 1146$, two tailed $p < 0.001$) and the RAS-affective ($x = 13.29$, $sd = 2.65$; $t = -7.00$, $df = 1143$, two tailed $p < 0.001$) are significantly higher than for those who did not obtain such an education.

Therefore, we should accept *H6a*, which was that “*religious attitudes of the students who obtained supplementary religious education (SRE) are different from the attitudes of those who did not obtain SRE*”.

Table 8.14. Group statistics (Religious attitudes and SRE, N = 1149)

Erciyes and Ankara religious education	Supplementary	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
RAS cognitive	no	240	24.3167	5.3497	.3453
	yes	904	27.5697	5.0422	.1677
RAS behaviour	no	240	12.8208	3.8958	.2515
	yes	908	16.0991	3.9611	.1315
RAS affective	no	240	11.9042	2.9859	.1927
	yes	905	13.2873	2.6477	.8801
RAS total	no	240	49.0417	11.1178	.7176
	yes	901	56.9267	10.6742	.3556

Table 8.15. Independent samples test⁸ (Religious attitudes and SRE, N = 1149)

Erciyes and Ankara		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances	t-test for Equality of Means			
		F	t	df	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference
RAS cognitive	Equal variances assumed	8.92***	-8.77****	1142	-3.2530	.3709
	Equal variances not assumed		-8.47****	359.732	-3.2530	.3839
RAS behaviour	Equal variances assumed	.013	-11.44****	1146	-3.2783	.2865
	Equal variances not assumed		-11.55****	379.986	-3.2783	.2838
RAS affective	Equal variances assumed	11.55****	-7.00****	1143	-1.3831	.1976
	Equal variances not assumed		-6.53****	345.099	-1.3831	.2119
RAS total	Equal variances assumed	8.47***	-10.08****	1139	-7.8851	.7822
	Equal variances not assumed		-9.85****	364.935	-7.8851	.8009

*** = significant at 0.005, **** = significant at 0.001.

8.3.7 Religious Attitudes and Ways of Obtaining Supplementary Religious Education

As can be seen from Table 8.16, those students who obtained their SRE through private *hocas* seem to be more religious (RAS-total: $x = 61.24$, $sd = 5.99$; RAS-cognitive: $x = 29.27$ $sd = 2.41$; RAS-behaviour: $x = 17.76$, $sd = 3.34$; RAS-affective: $x = 14.20$, $sd = 1.52$) than those who obtained theirs through other means: by themselves, through a *Qur'an* course, mosque or by other means. The observation is valid irrespective of whether the RAS total or its sub-scales are considered. Those

⁸ The distribution of the scores has been tested with Levene's test for equality of variances.

who obtained their SRE by the option “myself” can be said to be the least religious. The scores of the students who obtained their SRE through a *Qur'an* course are almost as low as the latter in most cases. The only exception related to behavioural religiosity is where the students who received their additional education through the *Qur'an* course are the least religious.

As presented in Table 8.17, in terms of ways of obtaining SRE, religious attitudes (RAS-total) of university students are significantly different ($F_{4, 901} = 8.76, p < 0.001$). The results of the *Tukey HSD* test indicated that the religious attitudes of students who obtained SRE through private *hocas* differed from the attitudes of those who took such education in other ways (at the 5% level) (Tables 8.18).

So, we should reject *H6b*, which was that “*religious attitudes of the students who are obtained SRE in a Qur'an course are different from the attitudes of those who obtained SRE in other ways*”.

Table 8.16. Descriptives (Religious attitudes and ways of SRE, N = 908)

Erciyes and Ankara		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
RAS cognitive	myself	385	26.6883	6.0227	.3069
	Qur'an course	163	27.2638	5.0806	.3979
	mosque	188	28.5372	3.4616	.2525
	private hoca	51	29.2745	2.4090	.3373
	other	115	28.6435	3.6759	.3428
	total	902	27.5732	5.0472	.1681
RAS behaviour	myself	389	15.6607	4.2491	.2154
	Qur'an course	163	15.4110	3.9185	.3069
	mosque	188	16.2234	3.3195	.2421
	private hoca	51	17.7647	3.3442	.4683
	other	115	17.6348	3.6857	.3437
	total	906	16.1015	3.9651	.1317
RAS affective	myself	389	12.8997	3.0566	.1550
	Qur'an course	163	13.1840	2.5802	.2021
	mosque	185	13.4486	2.0978	.1542
	private hoca	51	14.1961	1.5234	.2133
	other	115	14.1043	2.1373	.1993
	total	903	13.2901	2.6499	8.818
RAS total	myself	385	55.1948	12.4917	.6366
	Qur'an course	163	55.8589	10.6312	.8327
	mosque	185	58.1784	7.5423	.5545
	private hoca	51	61.2353	5.9853	.8381
	other	115	60.3826	8.4163	.7848
	total	899	56.9355	10.6845	.3563

Table 8.17. ANOVA (Religious attitudes and ways of SRE, N = 908)

Erciyes and Ankara		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
RAS cognitive	Between Groups	771.138	4	192.785	7.80****
	Within Groups	22181.533	897	24.729	
	Total	22952.671	901		
RAS behaviour	Between Groups	567.535	4	141.884	9.36****
	Within Groups	13661.123	901	15.162	
	Total	14228.658	905		
RAS affective	Between Groups	183.865	4	45.966	6.71****
	Within Groups	6150.118	898	6.849	
	Total	6333.982	902		
RAS total	Between Groups	3950.659	4	987.665	8.96****
	Within Groups	98563.599	894	110.250	
	Total	102514.258	898		

**** = significant at 0.001.

Table 8.18. Multiple comparisons Tukey HSD (Religious attitudes and ways of SRE, N = 908)

Erciyes and Ankara			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	
Dependent Variable	(I) Types of supplementary RE	(J) Types of supplementary RE			
RAS cognitive	myself	Qur'an course	-.5755	.4647	
		mosque	-1.85*	.4425	
		private hoca	-2.59*	.7410	
		other	-1.96*	.5285	
	Qur'an course	NOT SIGNIFICANT			
	mosque	myself	1.85*	.4425	
		Qur'an course	1.2734	.5322	
		private hoca	-.7373	.7851	
		other	-.1062	.5887	
	private hoca	NOT SIGNIFICANT			
	other	myself	1.96*	.5285	
		Qur'an course	1.3797	.6056	
		mosque	.1062	.5887	
		private hoca	-.6310	.8366	
	RAS behaviour	myself	Qur'an course	.2496	.3633
			mosque	-.5627	.3459
private hoca			-2.10*	.5799	
other			-1.97*	.4133	
Qur'an course		myself	-.2496	.3633	
		mosque	-.8124	.4167	
		private hoca	-2.35*	.6248	
		other	-2.22*	.4742	
mosque		myself	.5627	.3459	
		Qur'an course	.8124	.4167	
		private hoca	-1.5413	.6148	
		other	-1.41*	.4610	

Table 8.18. Multiple comparisons Tukey HSD (continued)

Erciyes and Ankara			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error
	private hoca	myself	2.10*	.5799
		Qur'an course	2.35*	.6248
		mosque	1.5413	.6148
		other	.1299	.6551
	other	myself	1.97*	.4133
		Qur'an course	2.22*	.4742
		mosque	1.41*	.4610
		private hoca	-.1299	.6551
RAS affective	myself	Qur'an course	-.2843	.2442
		mosque	-.5489	.2337
		private hoca	-1.30*	.3897
		other	-1.20*	.2778
	Qur'an course	myself	.2843	.2442
		mosque	-.2646	.2811
		private hoca	-1.0120	.4199
		other	-.92*	.3187
	mosque	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
	private hoca	myself	1.30*	.3897
		Qur'an course	1.0120	.4199
		mosque	.7474	.4139
		other	9.173	.4403
	other	myself	1.20*	.2778
		Qur'an course	.920*	.3187
		mosque	.6557	.3108
		private hoca	-9.1731	.4403
RAS total	myself	Qur'an course	-.6641	.9812
		mosque	-2.98*	.9393
		private hoca	-6.04*	1.5647
		other	-5.19*	1.1158

Table 8.18. Multiple comparisons Tukey HSD (continued)

Erciyes and Ankara		Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error
Qur'an course	myself	.6641	.9812
	mosque	-2.3195	1.1280
	private hoca	-5.38*	1.6847
	other	-4.52*	1.2787
mosque	myself	2.98*	.9393
	Qur'an course	2.3195	1.1280
	private hoca	-3.0569	1.6606
	other	-2.2042	1.2469
private hoca	myself	6.04*	1.5647
	Qur'an course	5.38*	1.6847
	mosque	3.0569	1.6606
	other	.8527	1.7665
other	myself	5.19*	1.1158
	Qur'an course	4.52*	1.2787
	mosque	2.2042	1.2469
	private hoca	-.8527	1.7665

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

8.3.8 Religious Attitudes and Diyanet Orientations

As explained in Chapter 6, the Diyanet Orientation Scale (DIBOS) was developed and used in order to measure Turkish university students' orientations towards the *Diyanet*. The scale includes 12 items. The DIBOS relies on a five-point *Likert* scale. Scores from this scale vary between 12 and 60. The DIBOS consists of three sub-scales: DIBOS-reliability, DIBOS-services and DIBOS-efficiency.

From the scatter plots in Figures 8.2.a to 8.2.d, we may observe that there exists a positive relationship between the *Diyanet* orientation and the level of religious

attitudes as measured by the Diyanet Orientation Scale (DIBOS) and the RAS total respectively. When the RAS-cognitive, behavioural and affective were considered, it was seen that the same relationship prevailed, underlining that the more a student was *Diyanet* oriented the more religious he/she tended to be. On studying the relationship between the DIBOS orientation and the RAS sub-scales, affective religiosity was found to be strongest, while behavioural religiosity was the least strong, as is shown by the slope.

Table 8.19 presents correlations between religious attitudes and *Diyanet* orientations. There are significant positive relationships between religious attitudes, RAS-total ($r = 0.302$, $df = 1129$, $p < 0.01$), RAS-cognitive ($r = 0.317$, $df = 1132$, $p < 0.01$), RAS-behavioural ($r = 0.195$, $df = 1135$, $p < 0.01$) and RAS-affective ($r = 0.323$, $df = 1132$, $p < 0.01$), and the DIBOS-total. There are similar positive correlations between sub-scales of the DIBOS and the RAS. However, association between behavioural religiosity and DIBOS-efficiency is not significant.

Therefore, findings related to correlation between the RAS-total, cognitive, behavioural and the DIBOS-total and its sub-scales revealed that we should accept the seventh hypothesis, *H7*, that “*there is a significant positive correlation between the religious attitudes of university students and their orientations towards the Diyanet*”.

Figure 8.2.a. The RAS-total and the DIBOS-total orientations.

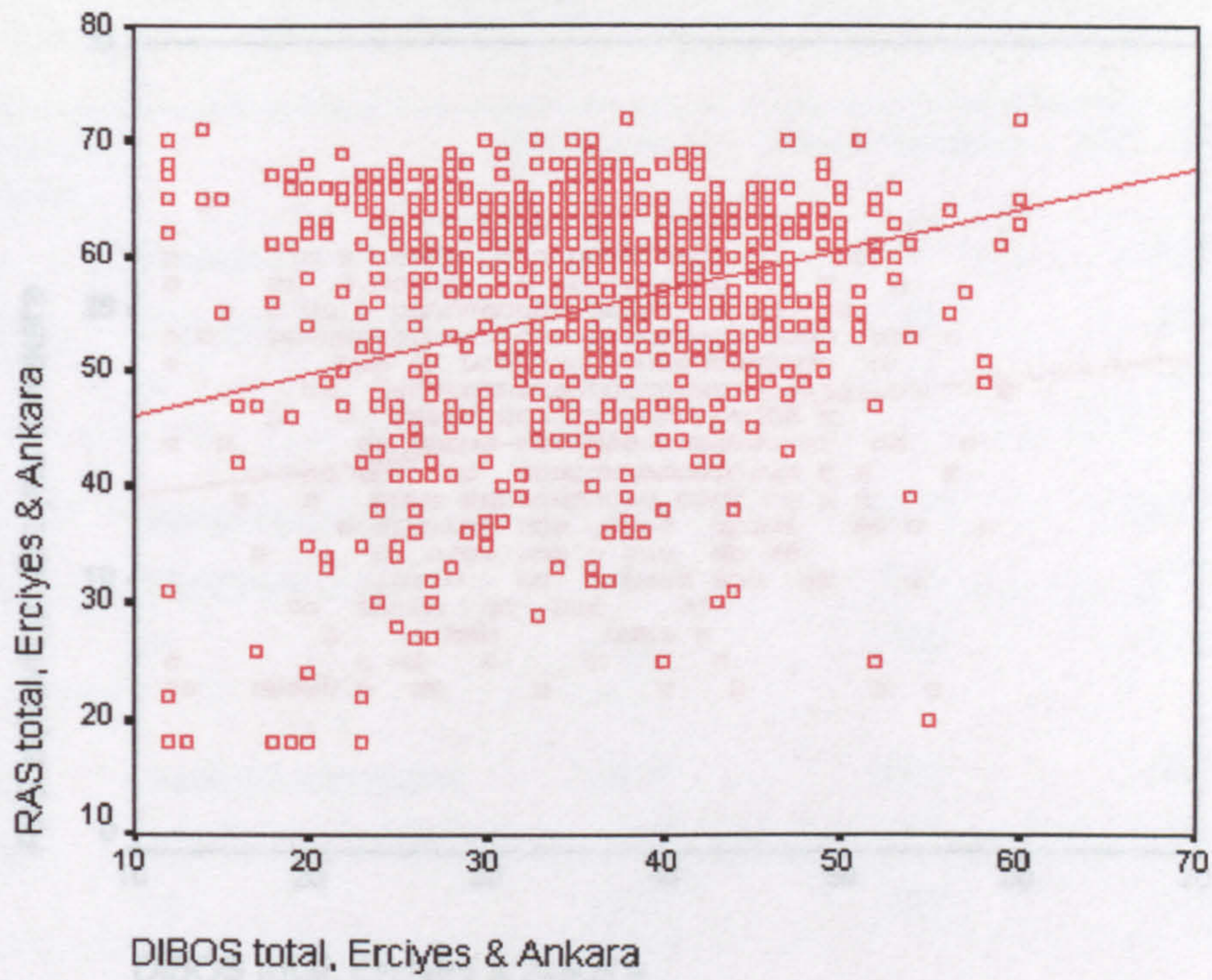


Figure 8.2.b. The RAS-cognitive and the DIBOS-total orientations.

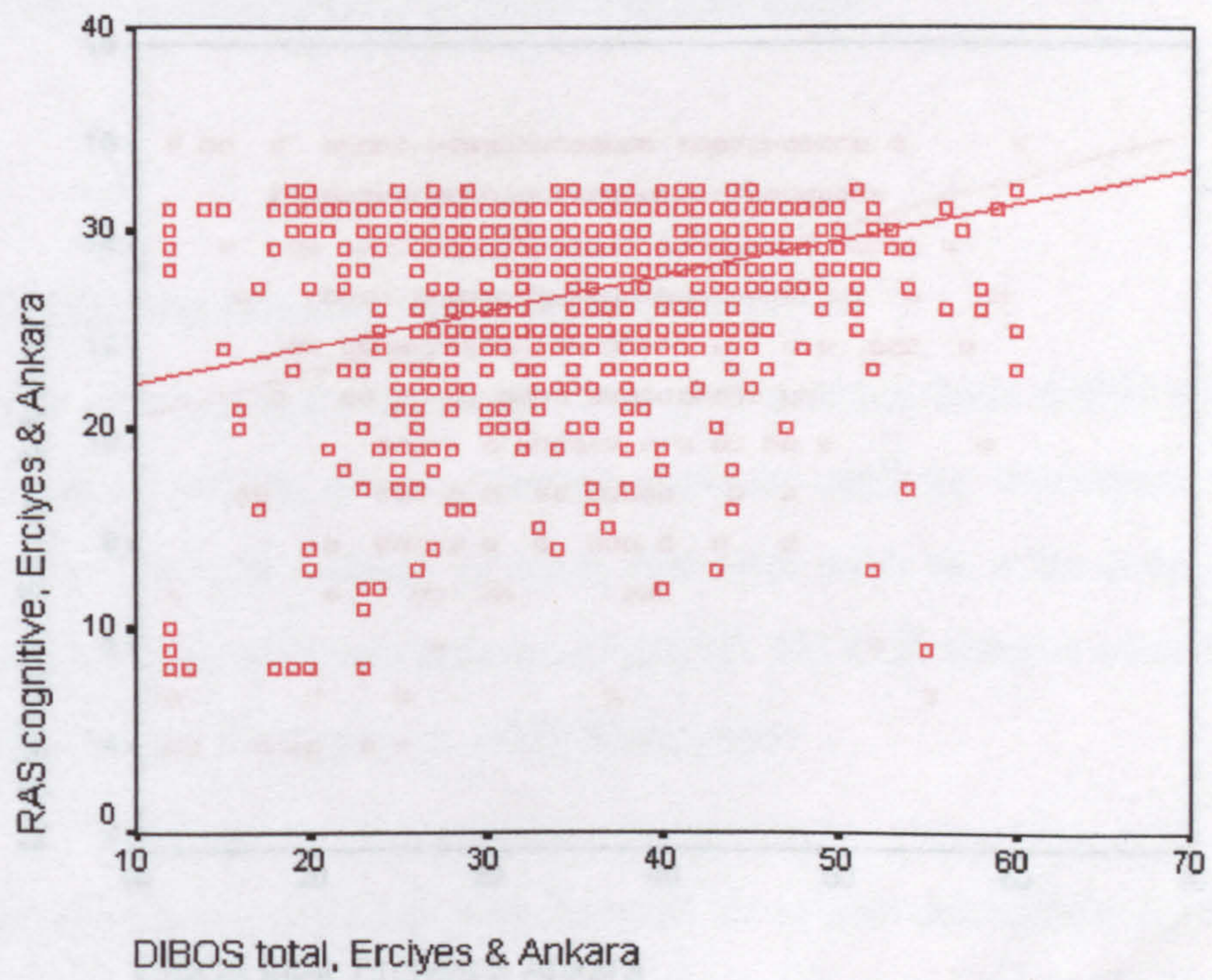


Figure 8.2.c. The RAS-behavioural and the DIBOS-total orientations.

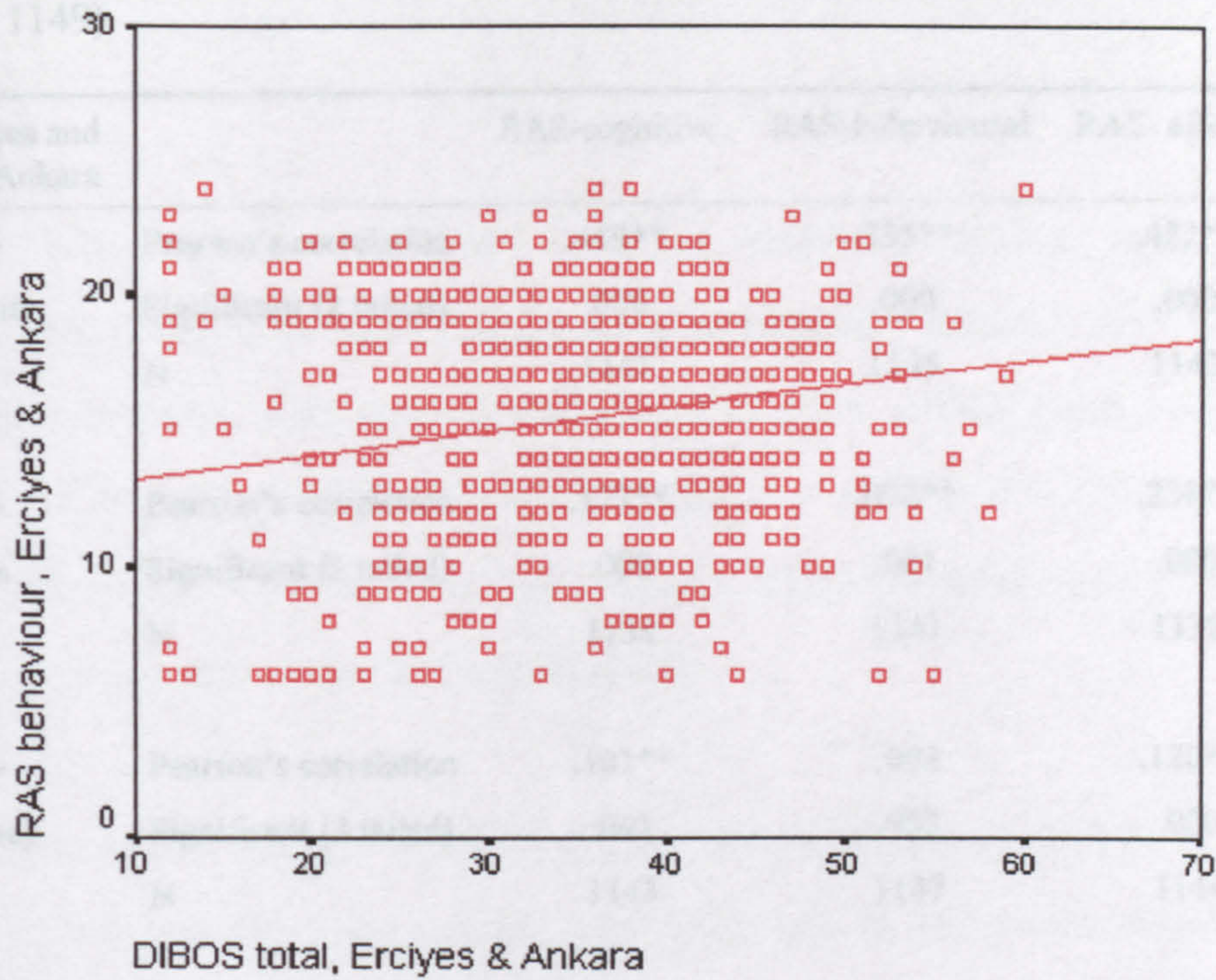


Figure 8.2.d. The RAS-affective and the DIBOS-total orientations.

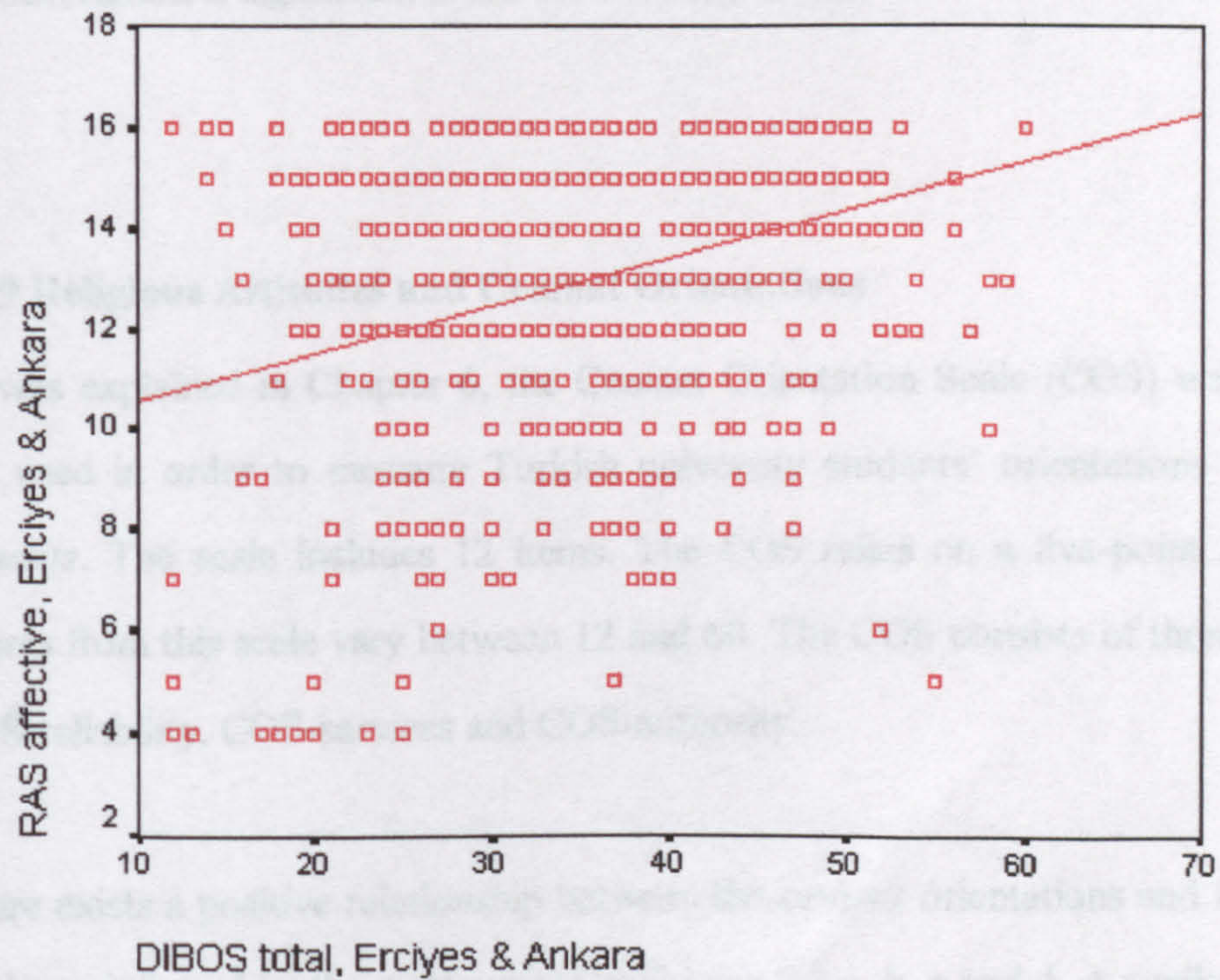


Table 8.19. Correlations between religious attitudes and the *Diyanet* orientations (N = 1149)

Erciyes and Ankara		RAS-cognitive	RAS-behavioural	RAS- affective	RAS-total
DIBOS-Reliability	Pearson's correlation	.469**	.335**	.422**	.451**
	Significant (2 tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	1141	1145	1142	1138
DIBOS-Services	Pearson's correlation	.177**	.098**	.238**	.179**
	Significant (2 tailed)	.000	.001	.000	.000
	N	1138	1141	1138	1135
DIBOS-Efficiency	Pearson's correlation	.101**	.002	.120**	.079**
	Significant (2 tailed)	.001	.953	.000	.008
	N	1143	1147	1144	1140
DIBOS-total	Pearson's correlation	.317**	.195**	.323**	.302**
	Significant (2 tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	1134	1137	1134	1131

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2 tailed).

8.3.9 Religious Attitudes and Cemaat Orientations

As was explained in Chapter 6, the Cemaat Orientation Scale (COS) was developed and used in order to measure Turkish university students' orientations towards the *cemaats*. The scale includes 12 items. The COS relies on a five-point *Likert* scale. Scores from this scale vary between 12 and 60. The COS consists of three sub-scales: COS-reliability, COS-services and COS-authority.

There exists a positive relationship between the *cemaat* orientations and RAS total as further reinforced by the scatter plots in Figures 8.3.a, b, c and d. A similar association was observed when RAS sub-scales were taken into consideration. However, in the

association between the COS and the RAS, behavioural religiosity was the strongest amongst the three sub-scales, and the affective religiosity relationship was the least strong .

Table 8.20 presents correlations between religious attitudes and the *cemaat* orientations. There are significant positive relationships between the COS-total and religious attitudes, RAS-total ($r = 0.646$, $df = 1121$, $p < 0.01$), RAS-cognitive ($r = 0.632$, $df = 1124$, $p < 0.01$), RAS-behavioural ($r = 0.665$, $df = 1127$, $p < 0.01$), and RAS-affective ($r = 0.416$, $df = 1124$, $p < 0.01$). There are similar positive correlations between sub-scales of the COS and the RAS.

Therefore, the findings related to association between RAS-total, cognitive, behavioural and affective, and the COS-total and its sub-scales revealed that we should accept the eighth hypothesis, *H8*, which was that “*there is a significant positive correlation between the religious attitudes of university students and their orientations towards the cemaats*”.

Figure 8.3.a. The RAS-total and the COS-total orientations.

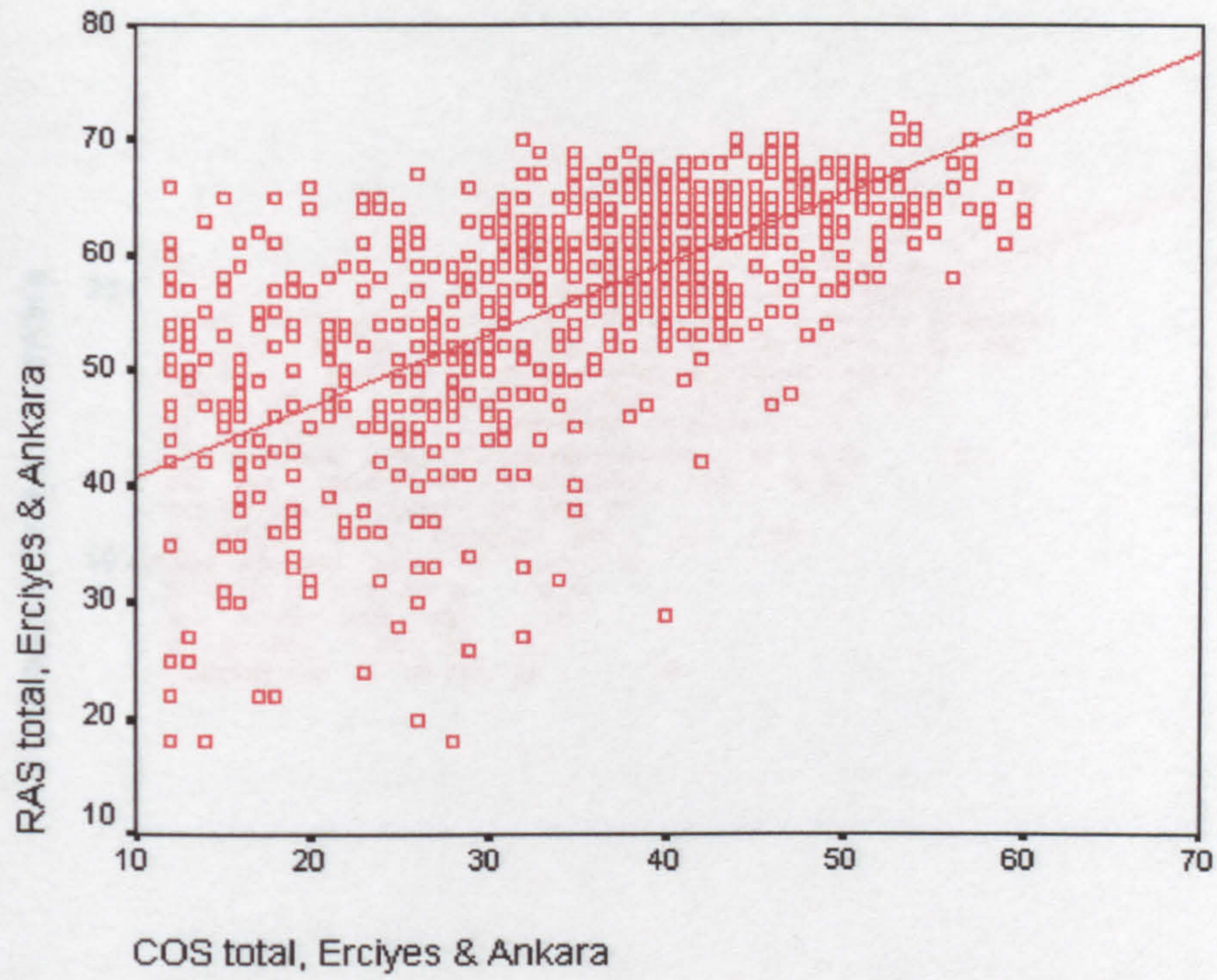


Figure 8.3.b. The RAS-cognitive and the COS-total orientations.

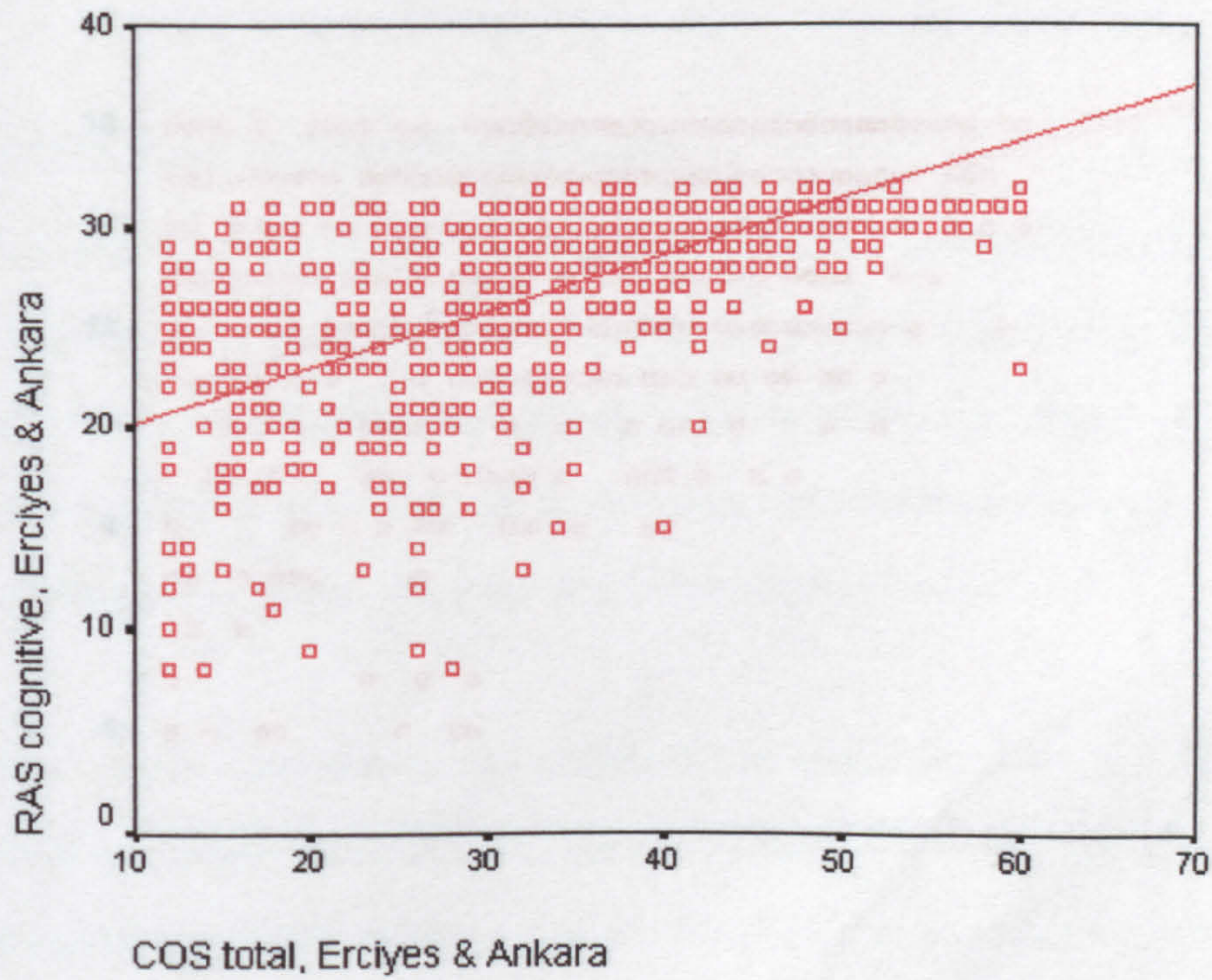


Figure 8.3.c. The RAS-behavioural and the COS-total orientations.

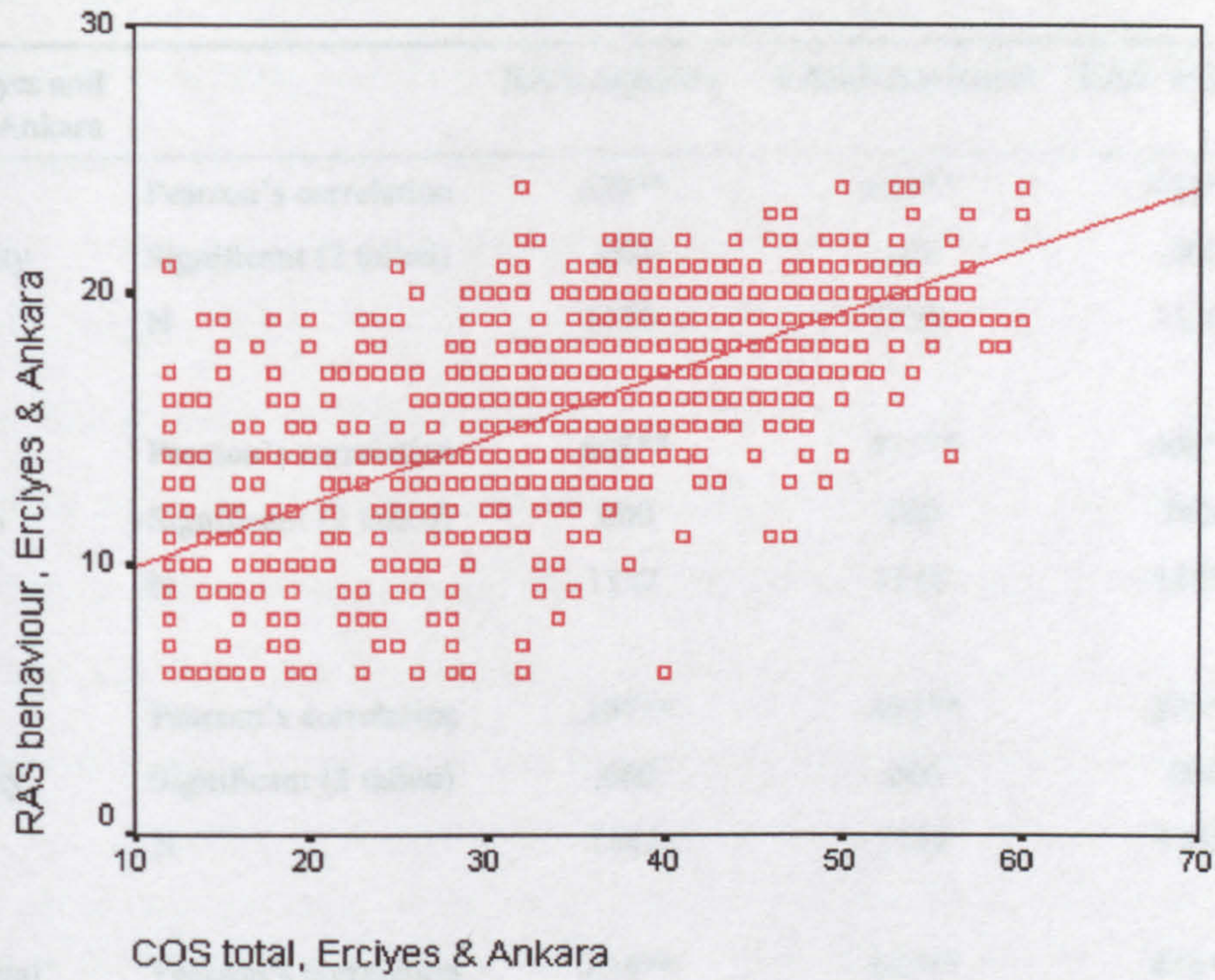


Figure 8.3.d. The RAS-affective and the COS-total orientations.

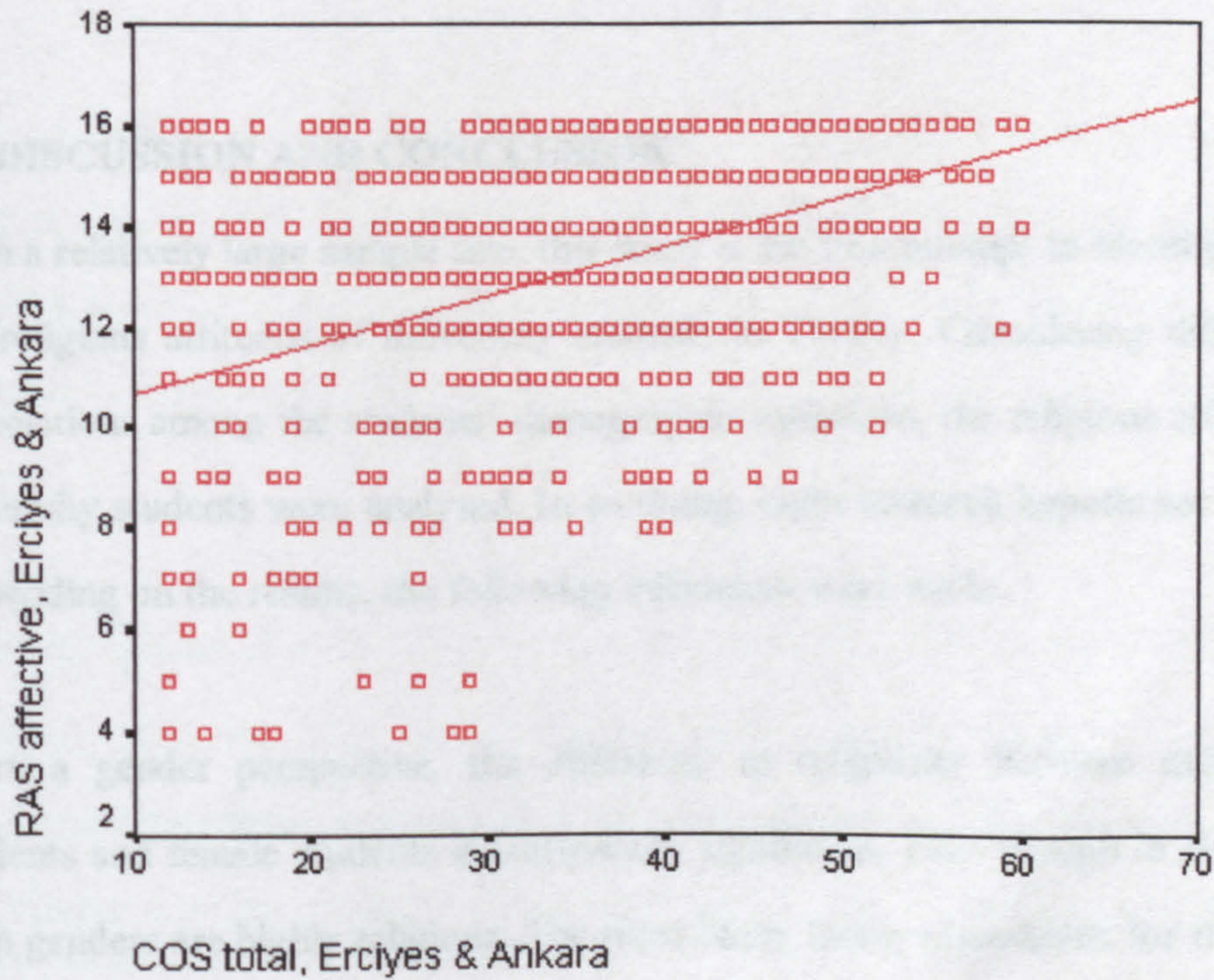


Table 8.20. Correlations between religious attitudes and the *Cemaat* orientations
(N = 1149)

Erciyes and Ankara		RAS-cognitive	RAS-behavioural	RAS- affective	RAS-total
COS- reliability	Pearson's correlation	.629**	.638**	.404**	.632**
	Significant (2 tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	1126	1129	1126	1123
COS- services	Pearson's correlation	.605**	.635**	.406**	.620**
	Significant (2 tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	1142	1146	1143	1139
COS- authority	Pearson's correlation	.397**	.495**	.275**	.438**
	Significant (2 tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	1142	1146	1143	1139
COS-total	Pearson's correlation	.632**	.665**	.416**	.646**
	Significant (2 tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	1126	1129	1126	1123

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2 tailed).

8.4 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

With a relatively large sample size, this study is the first attempt to identify and explain the religious attitudes of university students in Turkey. Considering differences and associations among the students' demographic variations, the religious attitudes of the university students were analysed. In so doing, eight research hypotheses were tested. Depending on the results, the following inferences were made.

From a gender perspective, the difference in religiosity between male university students and female students is statistically significant, even though in absolute terms both genders are highly religious. The most likely factor responsible for this difference is the lack of opportunity for female students to have access to SRE. Secondly, the

Diyamet as an institution on the whole has a male bias. For instance, females cannot attend Friday prayers, and the preachers at the mosque are mostly male. However, some other interesting factors emanated from the interviews carried out alongside the questionnaire. The female students themselves said that they found it difficult to observe religious practices in student accommodation. This was a concern only for female students. When I visited student accommodation in Ankara, I saw that two or more students were sharing one room. I did not notice any place of worship (*masjid*) for students.⁹ The female students stressed the fact that it was practically impossible for them to frequent the mosque. Another inhibition they expressed was the fact that they did not have any contact with *imams* who could answer their questions and clarify any issues they may have had. One of the female interviewees reported¹⁰

... It is easy for males to be Muslim in Turkey. However, the situation is not same for females; males can go to a mosque five times a day, but females cannot ... And if you have a question to ask an imam or a mufti, you cannot get in contact with them. I mean, people see it as a bit strange unless you know an imam or a mufti personally (Female student, 21 years old, Ankara, November, 1999).

It is interesting to note here that a survey carried out among second generation Turkish migrants (17-26 year olds) in the Netherlands exposed a similar conclusion in a different way. In this study, Rooijackers (1994) stated that females were found in a negative orientation towards traditional Turkish-Islamic norms and values more than males.

In the age group 18 to 26 years, a negative relationship was observed between age and religious attitudes. The results for cognitive and behavioural religiosity were statistically significant as opposed to affective religiosity. From the interviews it could be inferred that the students' main focus was on the successful completion of their

⁹ I lived in the accommodation of the University of Leeds. However, I have not seen any place of worship for students there as well.

¹⁰ Participants including interviewees were not asked their names (see Chapter 2).

courses. The primary preoccupation towards the end of an academic course was that of identifying career opportunities:

I do not know how I am going to explain; we have to take at least 8-10 modules every term, and we have to go to school all weekdays. If you want to complete your time in school successfully, you cannot find any time for other things, I mean, all we have to do is study, study and study. It is difficult for me to spare some extra time for religious things, I do not know ... Maybe this is my way (Male student, 24 years old, Ankara, November, 1999).

The above trend is in accordance with similar studies carried out in the United Kingdom and the USA. Studies carried out in the latter countries showed that the decline in religiosity starts when students are at high school. At this stage the question remains whether this declining trend in religious attitudes in Turkey can also be observed at high school level. However, no such comparison is possible in the case of Turkey due to absence of primary data in this domain. Other potential areas for further investigation are the relationships between religiosity and intellectual capacity, and religiosity and university environment.

On the income front, it was seen that students from middle income families were the most religious. The difference was statistically significant only as far as cognitive and behavioural religiosity were concerned. The underlying explanation for this difference in attitude lies in the fact that students coming from middle income families had the opportunity to have greater access to SRE. The students belonging to low income families were compelled to work during the holidays to contribute to the total income of their families. On the other hand, the students in the high income category had different options, namely working in the family business, attending different courses such as training programmes, learning a foreign language and going on holidays:

Because, my father is a carpenter and he lives in a village. Neither my parents nor me –to my knowledge- have gone on a holiday up to date. When summer breaks begin I should go to my village and either I work in fields or accompany

my dad in construction work. Therefore, I have not found a chance –like others- to go to a *Qur'an* course. Ironically, some of my friends -despite plenty of spare time- did not go to a *Qur'an* Course or a summer course in the mosque either. I know they are Muslim, but they did not care to go to such courses, and they preferred to spend their time in teahouses or whatever (Male student, 19 years old, Erciyes, January, 1999).

Considering educational backgrounds, students who had attended *imam hatip lise* were the most religious compared with those who had attended other *lises*. The differences were statistically significant. In relation to behavioural religiosity, the difference was much higher. Regarding affective religiosity, students who attended *imam hatip lise* had the highest scores, but the difference was not as pronounced as the difference observed for behavioural religiosity. This demarcation in religious attitudes across the *lises* could be due to the fact that the *imam hatip lise* places most stress on religious courses such as *tefsir*, *hadith* and reciting *Qur'an*. Female students in the past were accustomed to wearing *başörtüsü* or *türban* to attend *imam hatip lise*. This focus on religion has encouraged religious families to send their children to *imam hatip lise*. Before drawing any conclusions, it is wise to remember that the students who attended private *lise* tended to be the least religious. The private *lise* places more emphasis on the learning of foreign languages, sports and social activities with least attention given to religion. There are two possible but fundamental differences in the family backgrounds of the students attending *imam hatip lise* and private *lise*, and the following conclusions may be drawn. First, students from medium-low income families attended *imam hatip lise*, because all *lises* except private *lise* are free. However, parents expect to pay between one and two thousand pounds-equivalent in Turkish Liras as an annual tuition fee, if they choose to send their children to private *lise*. So, students who attended private *lise* belonged to higher income level families compared to the others. Secondly, those students attending *imam hatip lise* came from families with higher religiosity as compared with those in private *lise*. We may, therefore, infer that religion was already an important part of the life of the students even prior to attending the *imam hatip lise* when contrasted with those attending private *lise*.

During the interviews, the students who attended *imam hatip lise* revealed that they were already fulfilling religious duties/practices and were informed about Islam as imparted by the elder members of their family even before attending *lise*. This was not the case for the students who attended private *lise*. Their knowledge of religion and practice was limited, and their interest was inculcated by peer group members rather than family members as in the case of students who attended *imam hatip lise*:

As far as I know, my parents never failed in observing their daily prayers. When I was in primary school, my grandmother taught me to recite the *Qur'an* and she also gave me some instruction about religious rituals and Islamic moral issues. I started to observe my daily prayer and fasting duties when I was in primary school. My parents were very delighted to send me to an *imam hatip lise*. It was my dream to know more about Islam, and now I am in a divinity faculty (Female student, 20 years old, Erciyes, January, 1999).

The question that remains here is whether family members or schools are more influential as far as inculcating religiosity to students (whether from *imam hatip lise* or private *lise*). Although it is difficult to reach a definite conclusion in this matter, the influence of the religiosity of the family is probably greater than the influence of high schools. Findings related to family incomes (i.e. where students coming from high income level families were less religious than those from medium income level families) also support this conclusion.

In terms of the social background of university students, the RAS total and its behavioural components were significantly higher in big towns as compared with cities. In villages, however, cognitive religiosity was significantly higher than in big towns. There was no difference in affective religiosity among the students, in terms of their social backgrounds. During the interviews, the students from villages mentioned *Imams* as the most common and influential source from which to gain SRE. The students who came from big towns believed that the *imam hatip lises* and their

teachers provided the best opportunities for them to gain answers to their questions about Islam. Some students attended mosques so as to listen to the Imam's preaching, whilst others mentioned the existence of bookshops. University students coming from big towns and villages also mentioned that their parents encouraged them to obtain a basic religious background. As one student said,

In our *ilçe* (big town), *ilçe müftüsü* (the satellite town mufti) opens summer courses for students, in the mosques. Imams teach recitation of the *Qur'an* and basic religious instructions related to Islamic belief, worship and moral issues, and they also answer our questions. I think I attended these courses for at least three summers before I finished primary school. I learned to recite the *Qur'an* during these courses, even though I do not understand its meaning. *Imam hatip lise* teachers –not often– came to our course and gave us fascinating speeches and answered our questions. They spoke from the heart (Female student, 22 years old, Erciyes, January, 1999).

It was found that those university students who received SRE were significantly more religious than those who did not. It was highlighted by students during interviews that they obtained SRE mostly to satisfy their personal religious aspirations and interests. Consequently, a positive relationship between SRE and religiosity was seen to be normal. The importance of peers in obtaining SRE was also underlined during the interviews. Some students were encouraged to go to mosques along with their friends. Friends seemed to have had more of an influence, as some students did not attend SRE classes despite the recommendations of their families. The students believed that reciting the *Qur'an* in Arabic was not what they wanted in terms of SRE given their inability to understand what they read. They wanted to have a more broad-based instruction in Islam.

Focusing on the different ways of obtaining SRE, it was observed that the religiosity of those students obtaining their SRE through private *hocas* was significantly higher than those students who obtained SRE through alternative means. The fundamental factor accounting for this difference was the levels of motivation related to various

ways of obtaining SRE. Private *hocas* were most successful in motivating students. The students, during the interviews, considered them as *abi* (brother), *abla* (sister) or *hoca* (master), to be informal, tolerant, friendly and above all unimposing. The students felt free and more at ease to ask questions of their *hocas* with whom they also interacted socially, e.g. going for a walk, playing football and having a cup of tea together. Despite the high respect that they had for their *hocas*, the students did not consider them to be superior or spiritual human beings, making the process of obtaining SRE less intimidating. However, obtaining SRE by themselves was clearly much less motivating. Those who chose to read about religion themselves were rendered unmotivated as, on reading, they had more and more unanswered questions:

Until my *lise* years, I attended neither summer courses in the mosque nor *Qur'an* courses. During my *lise* years, my interest in Islamic matters was irresistible, and I bought two or three books to read, but their languages were difficult to understand, because they contained many Arabic and Persian words or phrases, so, I could not continue to read them. By the way, I met an *abi* (big brother). He was not a *hoca*, but his knowledge about Islam was wonderful, because he gave me logical answers and interesting explanations. He was also a very friendly person. Although he was older than me, he played football many times with us. I mean, we were very close to each other. I have a deep respect for him, because I am indebted to him for many things which I know about Islam and moral issues (Male student, 20 years old, Ankara, November, 1999).

It was rather surprising to find that *Qur'an* courses had not succeeded in inculcating the same degree of religiosity as the private *hocas*. This was due to the fact that there was excessive emphasis placed there on reciting the *Qur'an* in Arabic. Teachers in *Qur'an* courses had not had any formal pedagogical training. There were a limited number of prescribed text-books for *Qur'an* courses and even the existing ones were said to be lacking in explanation as well as failing to capture the interest of the students. From interviews, it was unanimously stated that the press and broadcast media had contributed to the derisory portrayal of *Qur'an* courses. The constant distortion of information about *Qur'an* courses had had a deep impact on attitudes of

the students. Interviewees who attended *Qur'an* courses emphasised that they were overwhelmingly unmotivated to attend such courses due to the systematic fabrication of news or editorials in such press and other media, and even those who attended *Qur'an* course did not wish to acknowledge that they had done so. It was articulated by the interviewees that similar motivational problems were also faced by *Qur'an* course teachers:

After primary school, I went to a *Qur'an* course for a year, because it was my dream to be a good reciter of the *Qur'an* like my grandfather. However, I remember that my primary school teacher, many times, came to my father and told him not to send me to a *Qur'an* course. Actually, he saw *Qur'an* courses as a cause of backwardness and used to show us –in primary school- some fabricated news stories in the newspapers, but we never saw him in a mosque, even for Friday prayer. He took a humiliating approach towards these courses, and therefore, towards me. So, I was very sorry about all these incidents. Even today, some people –except in the *Diyanet*- tend to discriminate against someone who went to a *Qur'an* course. To be honest, many times, I have felt inclined to hide that I went to this course (Male student, 22 years old, Erciyes, November, 1999).

In this circumstance, the psychological feelings behind remaining silent about attendance at a *Qur'an* course could be one of “regret”. On the one hand, this regret, possibly, resulted in undermining some of the values given in the *Qur'an* course, and thus led to a less religious orientation. On the other hand, bearing in mind these students were still religious, this regret might possibly have turned into anxiety. This issue clearly needs further study.

There was a positive significant relationship between the religious attitudes of university students and the *Diyanet*, and *cemaat* orientations. Considering *cemaat* orientation with the RAS sub-scales, behavioural religiosity was seen to be the highest, followed by cognitive and affective religious attitudes. On the other hand, the *Diyanet* Orientation Scale in relation to the RAS sub-scales revealed that affective religiosity was the highest, followed by cognitive and behavioural religiosity. This difference

arises from a basic difference in focus of the two institutions. *Cemaats* tend to value more behavioural aspects as well as symbols. In their view, religion revolves around demonstrations, for example, performing daily prayers and wearing *başörtüsü*. The *Diyanet* emphasises the relationship between religion and the psychological well-being of the Muslim population in Turkey. It values religion as a means to self-actualisation. The rationale behind this approach is to make religion easier and more accessible to all as many people find it difficult to engage in its daily practices. As one student said,

I am not a practising Muslim, but I try not to fail in observing Friday prayers; I both perform the prayer and listen to *hutbas*. In mosques, everything is very well organised by the *Diyanet*. It is very nice that an imam or a preacher tells the *cemaat* (congregation of a mosque) what is written in the *Qur'an* or what our Prophet –peace be upon him- said to us. Sometimes, they express themselves on public peace, health and environmental issues as well. This approach also shows the sensitiveness of the *Diyanet*, I think. I acknowledge that the *Diyanet* never allows imams and preachers to rise political issues in the mosque (Male student, 21 years old, Ankara, November, 1999).

In *cemaats*, affective religiosity is the lowest for the following reason. In the interviews, students suggested that *cemaat* members often used “fear” as a means to motivate people to become religious thus affecting their behavioural patterns. This was done by focusing more on God as one who punishes rather than one who forgives. During the interviews, students criticised *cemaats* as attributing excessive importance to demonstrating religious practices. The female students considered that *cemaat* members reduced Islam as a religion to two lists: ‘the do’s and don’ts’ of religion, *halals* and *harams*. This led to the fear of learning about religion owing to its stress upon the eventuality of being sent to hell. This aroused a concern amongst them:

I know some of my friends are affiliated to a *cemaat*. They are, indeed, very nice people, but I do not like their way of speaking ... I am not against Islam, although I do not wear a *başörtüsü*. When they –not all, but some of them- start talking, you can classify their sentences into two groups; about *halals* and about *harams*. In their eyes life consists of either orders or prohibitions, but is this Islam? ... No, I do not think so. If so, you cannot live as a Muslim in the society.

For example, I can wear a *başörtüsü*, but it is not allowed strictly inside the campus. So, I should choose one of two things, either my school and my work – after my graduation- or to be sacked. I do not want to be sacked, of course. I do not want to be discriminated against either. However, I am very sorry that some of my female friends cannot attend their lectures and exams because of the ban on the *başörtüsü* (Female student, 20 years old, Ankara, November, 1999).

In conclusion, we found both significant and strong support for *H3*, *H4*, *H5*, *H6a*, *H7*, and *H8*. A significant support was also observed for *H1* and *H2*, but it was not strong. *H6b* was not supported. However, it was strongly and significantly indicated that students who obtained SRE through a private *hoca* are more religious than those who obtained SRE in other ways.

In the following chapter (Chapter 9), considering these results, predictor variables for the religious attitudes of Turkish university students will be investigated.

Chapter 9

PREDICTING RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES:

An Analysis of Predictor Variables for Religious Attitudes of Turkish University Students

9.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 8, the hypothesised relationships between the religious attitudes of Turkish university students and independent variables were presented and discussed. These analyses were basically bivariate. Therefore, conclusions were drawn according to one-to-one relationships. For example, “students who come from medium income level families are more religious”, “students who attended an *imam hatip lise* are more religious” and “male students are more religious”. As can be seen from these examples, there is a positive relationship between religious attitudes and belonging to a medium income level family, attending *imam hatip lise*, and being a male. On the one hand, such bivariate analyses are unable to identify which of the explanatory variables are likely to be the most significant. In daily life, on the other hand, variables do not appear independently of each other. Being a male, coming from an *imam hatip lise* and belonging to a medium income level family may be involved in religious attitudes at various levels. So, in order to go a step further, univariate analyses were considered suitable for the exploration of these relationships, from a multi-dimensional perspective.

Therefore, the main goals of this chapter are (a) to determine the underlying predictor variables for the religious attitudes of Turkish university students, and (b) to examine the features of the relationships between predictor variables and religious attitudes. For this purpose, the RAS-total and its three sub-scales, RAS-cognitive, RAS-

behavioural and RAS-affective, will be used as the criteria¹ to be predicted. Four major questions arise at this stage:

Q1a: Which variables predict the religious attitudes (RAS-total) of Turkish university students?

Q1b: What is the amount of the variance in religious attitudes (RAS-total) explained by the predictor variables?

Q2a: Which variables predict the cognitive religious attitudes (RAS-cognitive) of Turkish university students?

Q2b: What is the amount of the variance in cognitive religious attitudes (RAS-cognitive) explained by the predictor variables?

Q3a: Which variables predict the behavioural religious attitudes (RAS-behavioural) of Turkish university students?

Q3b: What is the amount of the variance in behavioural religious attitudes (RAS-behavioural) explained by the predictor variables?

Q4a: Which variables predict the affective religious attitudes (RAS-affective) of Turkish university students?

Q4b: What is the amount of the variance in affective religious attitudes (RAS-affective) explained by the predictor variables?

In order to seek adequate answers to these questions, a multiple regression analysis will be employed in this chapter.

The rest of this chapter is set out in the following way. The next section (9.2) reviews the procedure for the multiple regression in this study. The following section (9.3) presents the results. The final section (9.4) provides a summary and discussion.

¹ A predicted variable named as criterion. For example, RAS-total is a predicted variable whereas gender, age and educational backgrounds are predictors.

9.2 PROCEDURE FOR MULTIPLE REGRESSION

Multiple regression analysis allows us to determine the minimum number of predictors needed to predict the religious attitudes of Turkish university students. As examined in Chapter 7, significant associations were observed between independent variables and the religious attitudes of students. However, at the same time, there may also be significant correlations between the independent variables. If so, whilst one of them may predict the criterion, the other may not (Howitt and Cramer, 1997; Tacq, 1997; Tabachnick and Fidel, 1996 and Babbie, 1995). For example, there is a significant correlation between religious attitudes and both gender and orientation towards *cemaats*. Gender and *cemaat* orientations may also be correlated with each other. If so, it is not necessary for these two variables to predict the religious attitudes; one of them may predict the criterion.

In order to examine which factors predicted the religious attitudes (RAS-total, RAS-cognitive, RAS-behavioural and RAS-affective) of Turkish university students a stepwise multiple regression analysis was employed. Independent variables were entered in steps, beginning from demographic variations to more specific ones. The steps were arranged, beginning from variables thought to be less associated with religious attitudes to those with apparently greater correlation. It is important to note that the forced entry of these sets of variables into the regression equation necessarily influences the way in which explanatory power is allocated within the analysis. Forced entry, therefore, means that decisions about the relative strength of association between sets of variables and religious attitudes have been made before such sets were entered into the analysis.

Table 9.1. Predictor variables and their main characteristics.

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Levels of Measurement</i>	<i>Type of Data</i>	<i>Purpose of Stepwise Multiple Regression</i>
(Factors of Religious Attitudes) -RAS-cognitive (ss.) -RAS-behavioural (ss.) -RAS-affective (ss.)	Between 8 - 32 Between 6 - 24 Between 4 - 16	Interval/ratio	To predict religious attitudes of Turkish university students by means of these variables.
-Gender	1.Male, 2.Female	Dichotomous	
Age	Between 18-25	Interval	
(Family Incomes) -Low -Medium -High	1.The rest, 2.Low 1.The rest, 2.Medium 1.The rest. 2.High	Dichotomous	
(Educational Backgrounds) -Lise -Anadolu lise -Imam hatip lise -Private lise -Other lises	1.The rest, 2.Lise 1.The rest, 2.Anadolu L. 1.The rest, 2.I. H. Lise 1.The rest, 2.Private L. 1.The rest, 2.Other L.	Dichotomous	
(Social Backgrounds) -Village -Small town (<i>kasaba</i>) -Big town (<i>ilce</i>) -City	1.The rest, 2.Village 1.The rest, 2.S.town 1.The rest, 2.B. town 1.The rest, 2.City	Dichotomous	
(Types of the SRE) -Myself - <i>Qur'an</i> course -Mosque -Private <i>hoca</i> -Others	1.The rest, 2.Myself 1.The rest, 2.Q. course 1.The rest, 2.Mosque 1.The rest, 2.P. <i>hoca</i> 1.The rest, 2.Others	Dichotomous	
(The <i>Diyamet</i> Orientations) -DIBOS-reliability (ss.) -DIBOS-services (ss.) -DIBOS-efficiency (ss.)	Between 5 – 25 Between 4 – 20 Between 3 -15	Interval/ratio	
(<i>Cemaat</i> Orientations) -COS-reliability (ss.) -COS-services (ss.) -COS-authority (ss.)	Between 6 – 30 Between 4 – 20 Between 2 - 10	Interval/ratio	

(ss.) Sub-scale

Twenty-seven variables were taken into consideration as predictors. Whilst the analysis was running, three variables were excluded as they contained a number of missing values. These variables were (a) “high” in family incomes, (b) “city” in social backgrounds, and (c) the option of “lise” in educational backgrounds. The test variables for multiple regression and their main characteristics may be seen in Table 9.1.

9.3 RESULTS

9.3.1 Predicting Religious Attitudes (RAS-total)

In order to answer *Q1a: Which variables predict the religious attitudes (RAS-total) of Turkish university students?*, and *Q1b: What is the amount of the variance in religious attitudes (RAS-total) explained by the predictor variables?*, seven sets of variables were entered in the regression equation, in separate steps. As can be seen from Table 9.2, all steps were significant and the equation as a whole accounted for 55.4% of the variance in total religious attitudes ($R^2 = 0.554$, $p < 0.001$).

Respondents' gender and age were entered in the first step, accounting for 1.7% of the variance in total religious attitudes (total $R^2 = 0.017$). Beta² revealed that both gender and age negatively related to religious attitudes.

In the second step, family incomes were entered, which explained a further 0.7% of the variance (total $R^2 = 0.024$). Belonging to a medium income level family related positively to the RAS-total, whereas a significant correlation was not observed in belonging to a low income level family.

² Beta indicates a correlation between predictors and the criterion.

Four variables regarding students' social background were entered in the third step. Social background explained a further 1.1% of the variance (total $R^2 = 0.035$). Coming from a village or a big town was associated significantly with the RAS-total.

In terms of students' educational background, five variables entered into the equation in the fourth step. Attendance at an *imam hatip lise* or private *lise* contributed significantly to the regression equation. It was observed that *imam hatip lise* positively correlated with total religious attitudes whereas private *lise* negatively correlated to it. As a consequence, educational background explained a further 9.6% of the variance (total $R^2 = 0.131$).

In the fifth step, a series of variables, which showed respondents' ways of involvement in supplementary religious education (SRE), were entered into the equation. All means of SRE were significant and they were positively correlated to the RAS-total. A further 8.2% of the variance in the RAS-total was accounted for by the ways of obtaining SRE.

Next, it was important to examine the three factors of DIBOS (from the principal component analysis, Chapter 6.3) which indicated students' orientations towards the *Diyanet* (DIBOS-reliability,³ DIBOS-services⁴ and DIBOS-efficiency⁵). The variables of interest explained 19.2%, of the variance (total $R^2 = 0.405$), the highest percentage

³ DIBOS-reliability was measured by five items: 1. The publications of the *Diyanet* are reliable. 2. If I have a question related to religion, I should go first to the religious functionaries of the *Diyanet* for an answer. 3. The *Diyanet* plays a convincing role in maintaining good community relations. 4. I am influenced in my social life by the preaching in the mosques. 5. In Turkey, there is no real need for the *Diyanet*.

⁴ DIBOS-services were measured by four items: 1. Islam is well represented by religious functionaries of the *Diyanet*. 2. Religious messages given by the *Diyanet* satisfy people. 3. *Diyanet* tries to provide people with a better service than the current level. 4. What is your general opinion about the *Diyanet*? (Please circle an appropriate number)

Not at all beneficial 1- 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10 Extremely beneficial

⁵ DIBOS-efficiency was measured by three items: 1. Religious functionaries of the *Diyanet* are not allowed to tell people the whole truth about Islam. 2. The *Diyanet* is losing its reliability. 3. I find that religious functionaries of the *Diyanet* are inadequate in terms of their performance.

in the seventh step, and showed that DIBOS-reliability positively correlated to RAS-total, at the highest level ($r = 0.53, p < 0.001$). Whilst DIBOS-efficiency associated negatively with RAS-total, a significant correlation was not noticed between DIBOS-services and RAS-total.

In the final step, the three factors of COS (from the principal component analysis, Chapter 6.3) which indicated students' orientations towards *cemaats* (COS-reliability,⁶ COS-services⁷ and COS-authority⁸) were entered. Respondents' *cemaat* orientations accounted for a further 14.9% of variance in total religious attitudes (total $R^2 = 0.554$). COS-reliability and COS-services were positively correlated to RAS-total. However, correlation between COS-authority and RAS-total was not significant.

Table 9.2. Regression of seven sets of variables onto RAS-total

Independent Variables	R ²	F	B	S E B	Beta	T
Step 1	0.017	10.48****				
Gender			-2.67	4.02	-0.12	-3.95****
Age			-0.47	0.18	-0.08	-2.61**
Step 2						
(Family incomes)	0.024	7.85****				
Low			1.71	1.46	0.04	1.17
Medium			2.93	0.93	0.11	3.15***

⁶ COS-reliability was measured by six items: 1. Generally, the real aim of religious groups (RG) diverges from the provision of religious services to people. 2. Generally, RG use religion as a means to trivial ends. 3. There is a concerted attempt to show that RG are bad. 4. In today's context, Islam is well-represented by some RG. 5. Generally, I find members of RG to be very friendly. 6. What is your general opinion about religious groups in Turkey? (Please circle an appropriate number)
Extremely dangerous 1- 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10 Not at all dangerous.

⁷ COS-services was measured by four items: 1. Some RG offer more support and resources than *Diyamet*. 2. Generally, RG are harmful. 3. A large number of good things are achieved by RG in Turkey. 4. Many RG try to provide better religious services than *Diyamet*.

⁸ COS-authority was measured by two items: 1. All religious affairs should be regulated by *cemaats* (religious groups). 2. *Cemaats* should be allowed to expand their activities beyond the current level.

Table 9.2. Regression of seven sets of variables onto RAS-total (continued)

Independent Variables	R ²	F	B	S E B	Beta	T
Step 3						
(Social background)	0.035	6.80****				
Village			2.59	1.19	0.07	2.18*
Small town			0.99	1.81	0.02	0.55
Big town			3.06	0.83	0.11	3.68****
Step 4						
(Educational backgr.)	0.131	16.21****				
Anadolu lise			0.76	1.06	0.02	0.72
Imam hatip lise			8.71	0.87	0.31	9.99****
Private lise			-4.75	1.33	-0.10	-3.57****
Other lises			1.57	1.10	0.04	1.43
Step 5						
(SRE)	0.213	19.81****				
Myself			5.40	0.85	0.23	6.38****
Qur'an course			5.36	1.60	0.16	5.06****
Mosque			8.66	0.99	0.28	8.67****
Private hoca			11.45	1.58	0.21	7.27****
Others			9.36	1.18	0.25	7.95****
Step 6						
(Diyanet orientation)	0.405	40.86****				
DIBOS-reliability			1.37	0.08	0.53	16.64****
DIBOS-services			-0.18	0.12	-0.06	-1.54
DIBOS-efficiency			-0.51	0.14	-0.12	-3.68****
Step 7						
(Cemaat orientation)	0.554	63.91****				
COS-reliability			0.38	0.07	0.22	5.35****
COS-services			0.71	0.10	0.28	7.06****
COS-authority			-3.25	0.16	-0.01	-0.20

* = Significant at 0.05, ** = significant at 0.01, *** = significant at 0.005, **** = significant at 0.001, R² = the multiple correlation squared, F = F-ratios, B = unstandardised beta, SEB = standard error of Beta, Beta = the standardised regression coefficient, T = difference.

9.3.2 Predicting Cognitive Religious Attitudes (RAS-cognitive)

In order to answer *Q2a: Which variables predict the cognitive religious attitudes (RAS-cognitive) of Turkish university students?*, and *Q2b: What is the amount of the variance in cognitive religious attitudes (RAS-cognitive) explained by the predictor variables?*, eight sets of variables were entered in separate steps. As can be seen from Table 9.3, all steps were significant and the equation as a whole accounted for 75.9% of the variance in cognitive religious attitudes ($R^2 = 0.759, p < 0.001$).

Students' gender and age were entered in the first step, accounting for 2.1% of the variance in total religious attitudes (total $R^2 = 0.021$). Both gender and age related negatively to cognitive religious attitudes.

In the second step, family incomes were entered into the equation. Family incomes accounted for a further 0.7% of the variance (total $R^2 = 0.028$). Belonging to a medium income level family related positively to RAS-cognitive, whereas a significant correlation was not observed in belonging to a low income level family.

Predictors relating to students' social background were entered into the equation in the third step. Social background explained a further 1.1% of the variance (total $R^2 = 0.039$). Coming from a village or a big town associated significantly with RAS-cognitive, coming from a small town did not.

Respondents' educational background was entered in the fourth step. Educational background explained a further 9.2% of the variance (total $R^2 = 0.131$) in RAS-cognitive. Attending an *imam hatip lise* or private *lise* contributed significantly to the regression equation. It was observed that *imam hatip lise* correlated positively with cognitive religious attitudes. However, private *lise* correlated negatively with the criterion.

In the fifth step, respondents' ways of involvement in SRE were taken into account. A further 6.2% of the variance in RAS-cognitive was accounted for by the ways of obtaining SRE (total $R^2 = 0.193$). Ways of obtaining SRE were significantly and positively correlated to cognitive religiosity.

Table 9.3. Regression of eight sets of variables onto RAS-cognitive

Independent Variables	R^2	F	B	SE B	Beta	T
<u>Step 1</u>	0.021	12.78****				
Gender			-1.43	0.32	-0.13	-4.51****
Age			-0.22	0.08	-0.08	-2.63**
<u>Step 2</u>						
(Family incomes)	0.028	9.16****				
Low			0.63	0.69	0.03	0.93
Medium			1.38	0.44	0.11	3.17***
<u>Step 3</u>						
(Social background)	0.039	7.42****				
Village			1.35	0.56	0.08	2.42*
Small town			0.77	0.85	0.03	0.91
Big town			1.32	0.39	0.10	3.39****
<u>Step 4</u>						
(Educational backgr.)	0.131	16.22****				
Anadolu lise			0.32	0.50	0.02	0.63
Imam hatip lise			3.90	0.41	0.29	9.51****
Private lise			-2.57	0.63	-0.12	-4.11****
Other lises			0.51	0.50	0.03	1.41
<u>Step 5</u>						
(SRE)	0.193	17.68****				
Myself			2.01	0.40	0.18	4.97****
Qur'an course			2.18	0.50	0.14	4.34****
Mosque			3.88	0.48	0.27	8.17****
Private hoca			4.60	0.75	0.18	6.13****
Others			3.36	0.56	0.19	5.99****

Table 9.3. Regression of eight sets of variables onto RAS-cognitive (continued)

Independent Variables	R ²	F	B	S E B	Beta	T
Step 6						
(Diyamet orientation)	0.397	39.62****				
DIBOS-reliability			0.68	0.04	0.56	17.34****
DIBOS-services			-0.16	0.06	-0.11	17.34****
DIBOS-efficiency			-0.16	0.07	-0.08	-2.50*
Step 7						
(Cemaat orientation)	0.546	61.95****				
COS-reliability			0.23	0.03	0.27	6.72****
COS-services			0.32	0.05	0.27	6.71****
COS-authority			-0.19	0.08	-0.07	-2.52*
Step 8						
(Religious attitude)	0.759	147.13****				
RAS-behaviour			0.51	0.04	0.40	14.62****
RAS-affective			0.56	0.04	0.29	13.12****

* = Significant at 0.05, ** = significant at 0.01, *** = significant at 0.005, **** = significant at 0.001, R² = the multiple correlation squared, F = F-ratios, B = unstandardised beta, SEB = standard error of Beta, Beta = the standardised regression coefficient, T = difference.

In the sixth step, the three factors of DIBOS, indicating students' orientations towards the *Diyamet*, were entered. In terms of the three DIBOS sub-scales, students' orientations explained 20.4% of the variance (total R² = 0.397) in cognitive religiosity. DIBOS-reliability correlated highly with RAS-cognitive ($r = 0.56$), whereas DIBOS-services and DIBOS-efficiency associated negatively with RAS-cognitive at a small level, $r = 0.11$ and $r = 0.08$ respectively.

The three factors of COS indicating students' orientations towards *cemaats* were entered in the seventh step. Respondents' *cemaat* orientations accounted for a further 14.9% of variance in RAS-cognitive (total R² = 0.546). Whilst COS-reliability and

COS-services were positively correlated to cognitive religiosity, COS-authority was negatively associated.

In the final step, students' behavioural and affective religious attitudes (from the principal component analysis, Chapter 6.2) were entered into the regression equation.⁹ These two factors accounted for a further 21.3% of variance in the third factor of religious attitudes, RAS-cognitive (total $R^2 = 0.759$).

9.3.3 Predicting Behavioural Religious Attitudes (RAS-behaviour)

Eight sets of variables were entered in separate steps, in order to answer *Q3a: Which variables predict the behavioural religious attitudes (RAS-behavioural) of Turkish university students?*, and *Q3b: What is the amount of the variance in behavioural religious attitudes (RAS-behavioural) explained by the predictor variables?*. Table 9.4 demonstrates that all steps were significant and the equation as a whole accounted for 75.2% of the variance in behavioural religious attitudes ($R^2 = 0.752$)

In the first step, students' gender and age were entered. These predictors accounted for 1.3% of the variance in the criterion (total $R^2 = 0.013$). Both gender and age related negatively to RAS behaviour.

Family incomes were entered into the equation, in the second step, accounting for a further 1.4% of the variance (total $R^2 = 0.027$). Belonging to either a medium or low income level family related positively to RAS-behaviour.

⁹ Three sub-scales of the RAS, cognitive, behavioural and affective, are different scales. This is because, each sub-scale measures different component/aspect of religious attitudes.

In the third step, students' social backgrounds were entered into the equation. Social background accounted for a further 1.4% of the variance (total $R^2 = 0.041$). Coming from a village or a big town was associated significantly with behavioural religiosity.

In the fourth step, students' educational backgrounds were entered, which explained a further 11.7% of the variance (total $R^2 = 0.158$). *Imam hatip lise* and *private lise* contributed significantly to the regression equation. Whilst *imam hatip lise* positively correlated with behavioural religious attitudes, *private lise* correlated negatively.

In the fifth step, students' ways of obtaining SRE were entered into the equation. SRE accounted for a further 9.8% of the variance in RAS-behaviour (total $R^2 = 0.256$). Ways of obtaining SRE were significantly and positively correlated to cognitive religiosity.

In the sixth step, the three factors of DIBOS were entered, explaining a further 11.8% of the variance (total $R^2 = 0.374$) in RAS-behaviour. DIBOS-reliability positively correlated to RAS-behaviour. DIBOS-services associated negatively with RAS-cognitive, whereas DIBOS-efficiency did not significantly correlate to behavioural religiosity.

In the seventh step, COS-reliability, COS-services and COS-authority were entered which accounted for a further 16.3% of variance (total $R^2 = 0.537$). These three factors were positively correlated to behavioural religiosity.

In the eighth step, students' cognitive and affective religious attitudes were entered into regression equation. These two factors accounted for a further 21.5% of variance in behavioural religious attitudes (total $R^2 = 0.752$).

Table 9.4. Regression of eight sets of variables onto RAS-behaviour

Independent Variables	R ²	F	B	SE B	Beta	T
Step 1	0.013	8.27****				
Gender			-0.86	0.25	-0.10	-3.43****
Age			-0.16	0.07	-0.07	-2.44*
Step 2						
(Family incomes)	0.027	8.72****				
Low			1.64	0.54	0.11	3.03***
Medium			1.43	0.35	0.15	4.15****
Step 3						
(Social background)	0.041	7.80****				
Village			1.02	0.44	0.07	2.31*
Small town			0.64	0.67	0.03	0.96
Big town			0.26	0.31	0.12	4.07****
Step 4						
(Educational backgr.)	0.158	20.03****				
Anadolu lise			2.10	0.39	0.01	0.05
Imam hatip lise			3.55	0.32	0.34	11.14****
Private lise			-1.98	0.49	-0.12	-4.07****
Other lises			0.74	0.40	0.05	1.85
Step 5						
(SRE)	0.256	25.01****				
Myself			2.51	0.31	0.28	8.23****
Qur'an course			1.99	0.38	0.16	5.22****
Mosque			3.18	0.36	0.28	8.81****
Private hoca			4.62	0.57	0.23	8.13****
Others			4.05	0.42	0.29	9.54****
Step 6						
(Diyanet orientation)	0.374	36.08****				
DIBOS-reliability			0.41	0.03	0.43	13.13****
DIBOS-services			-5.85	0.05	-0.05	-1.28

Table 9.4. Regression of eight sets of variables onto RAS-behaviour (continued)

Independent Variables	R ²	F	B	SEB	Beta	T
Step 7						
(Cemaat orientation)	0.537	59.68****				
COS-reliability			0.13	0.03	0.19	4.75****
COS-services			0.25	0.04	0.26	6.49****
COS-authority			0.14	0.06	0.07	2.35*
Step 8						
(Religious attitude)	0.752	141.98****				
RAS-cognitive			0.32	0.02	0.41	14.62****
RAS-affective			0.44	0.03	0.29	12.80****

* = Significant at 0.05, ** = significant at 0.01, *** = significant at 0.005, **** = significant at 0.001, R² = the multiple correlation squared, F = F-ratios, B = unstandardised beta, SEB = standard error of Beta, Beta = the standardised regression coefficient, T = difference.

9.3.4 Predicting Affective Religious Attitudes (RAS-affective)

In order to answer Q4a: *Which variables predict the affective religious attitudes (RAS-affective) of Turkish university students?*, and Q4b: *What is the amount of the variance in affective religious attitudes (RAS-affective) explained by the predictor variables?*, eight sets of variables were entered into the regression equation in separate steps, these can be seen in Table 9.5. Seven steps were significant and the equation as a whole accounted for 62% of the variance in affective religious attitudes (R² = 0.620). However, step 2 was not significant.

Students' gender and age were entered in the first step, explaining 0.5% of the variance in affective religious attitudes (total R² = 0.005). Whilst gender related negatively to affective religious attitudes, age was not significant.

Family incomes, in the second step, were entered into the equation. They were not significant, however.

Students' social backgrounds were entered into the equation in the third step. Social backgrounds explained a further 0.7% of the variance (total $R^2 = 0.012$). Coming from a big town was associated significantly with RAS-affective, whereas coming from a village or small town was not significantly correlated with the criterion.

In the fourth step, respondents' educational backgrounds were entered. Educational backgrounds explained a further 2.6% of the variance (total $R^2 = 0.038$) in affective religiosity. Whilst *imam hatip lise* correlated positively with affective religious attitudes, other predictors did not correlate with RAS-affective.

In the fifth step, students' ways of obtaining SRE were entered. A further 5.1% of the variance in RAS-affective was accounted for by the ways of obtaining SRE (total $R^2 = 0.089$). Ways of obtaining SRE were significantly and positively correlated to RAS-affective.

In the sixth step, students' orientations towards the *Diyanet* explained 16.7%, of the variance (total $R^2 = 0.256$) in RAS-affective. DIBOS-reliability correlated positively with RAS-affective, whereas DIBOS-efficiency associated negatively with affective religiosity. DIBOS-services was not significant.

Students' orientations towards *cemaats* were entered in the seventh step, and accounted for a further 5.6% of variance in affective religious attitudes (total $R^2 = 0.312$). COS-services was positively correlated to cognitive religiosity.

In the final step, students' cognitive and behavioural religious attitudes were entered into the equation. These predictors accounted for a further 30.8% of variance in affective religious attitudes (total $R^2 = 0.620$).

Table 9.5. Regression of eight sets of variables onto RAS-affective

Independent Variables	R ²	F	B	SE B	Beta	T
Step 1	0.005	4.05*				
Gender			-0.38	0.17	-0.07	-2.26****
Age			-8.43	0.04	-0.06	-1.91
Step 2						
(Family incomes)		NOT SIGNIFICANT				
Step 3						
(Social background)	0.012	2.89**				
Village			0.22	0.30	0.02	0.74
Small town			-0.42	0.45	-0.03	-0.92
Big town			0.49	0.21	0.07	2.34*
Step 4						
(Educational backgr.)	0.038	5.03****				
Anadolu lise			0.42	0.28	0.05	1.54
Imam hatip lise			1.27	0.23	0.18	5.60****
Private lise			-0.20	0.35	-0.02	-0.58
Other lises			0.10	0.29	0.01	0.36
Step 5						
(SRE)	0.089	7.84****				
Myself			0.88	0.23	0.15	3.93****
Qur'an course			1.18	0.28	0.15	4.21****
Mosque			1.60	0.27	0.21	6.02****
Private hoca			2.23	0.42	0.17	5.34****
Others			1.95	0.31	0.21	6.26****
Step 6						
(Diyamet orientation)	0.256	21.19****				
DIBOS-reliability			0.28	0.02	0.45	12.50****
DIBOS-services			3.65	0.03	0.05	1.11
DIBOS-efficiency			-0.13	0.04	-0.13	-3.50****

Table 9.5. Regression of eight sets of variables onto RAS-affective (continued)

Independent Variables	R ²	F	B	SE B	Beta	T
Step 7						
(Cemaat orientation)	0.312	23.94****				
COS-reliability			2.66	0.02	0.06	1.22
COS-services			0.14	0.03	0.23	4.63****
COS-authority			1.70	0.05	0.01	0.34
Step 8						
(Religious attitude)	0.620	76.67****				
RAS-cognitive			0.24	0.02	0.46	13.12****
RAS-behaviour			0.30	0.02	0.45	12.80****

* = Significant at 0.05, ** = significant at 0.01, *** = significant at 0.005, **** = significant at 0.001, R² = the multiple correlation squared, F = F-ratios, B = unstandardised beta, SEB = standard error of Beta, Beta = the standardised regression coefficient, T = difference.

9.4 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter presents details about predictor variables for religious attitudes of university students, and about the variances which were predicted by these variables. These data allow us to fill in the gaps left in previous studies on religiosity. Consequently though, there is little of relevance against which to compare the results of the present study. Therefore, this section presents a summary of the main findings and discusses how adequate conclusions may be drawn.

Considering the total religious attitudes of the students, 55.4% of variance was explained by seventeen variables, in seven steps. All the steps were statistically significant. Thirteen predictors correlated positively with the RAS-total, whereas four of them were found in negative correlation. For example, predictors for RAS total were: gender, age, medium income level, village, big town, *imam hatip lise*, private *lise*, the five means of obtaining SRE (myself, *Qur'an* course, mosque, private *hoca lise* and others), DIBOS-reliability, DIBOS-efficiency, COS-reliability and COS-services.

However, gender, age, private *lise* and DIBOS-efficiency were associated negatively with RAS-total.

In cognitive religious attitudes, 75.9% of variance was accounted for by twenty variables, in eight steps. The results of every step were statistically significant. A positive correlation was observed between RAS-cognitive and fourteen variables. Predictors for this criterion were: gender, age, medium income level, village, big town, *imam hatip lise*, private *lise*, the five ways of obtaining SRE, DIBOS-reliability, DIBOS-services, DIBOS-efficiency, COS-reliability, COS-services, COS-authority, RAS-behaviour and RAS-affective. Six variables among those predictors were negatively correlated to RAS-cognitive: gender, age, private *lise*, DIBOS-services, DIBOS-efficiency and COS-authority.

In terms of behavioural religious attitudes, 75.2% of variance was explained by twenty variables as in RAS-cognitive. However, although low income level was an additional predictor for RAS-behaviour, DIBOS-efficiency and COS-authority were not. A negative correlation was found between RAS-behaviour and four predictors, gender, age, private *lise* and DIBOS-services.

From the perspective of affective religious attitudes, 62% of variance was accounted for by thirteen variables, in eight steps. Family incomes, tested in Step-2, were not statistically significant. Whilst big town, *imam hatip lise*, the five ways of obtaining SRE, DIBOS-reliability, COS-services, RAS-behaviour and RAS-affective were positively correlated to RAS-affective, gender and DIBOS-efficiency were not.

In terms of overall findings from the regression analysis, in order to explain total, cognitive, behavioural and affective religious attitudes, gender, age, family income levels and social background contributed only a small degree of variance, ranging from 0.5% to 2.1% (see Tables 9.2 - 9.5). Despite the fact that more than 90% of those

living in Turkey are Muslim, the context itself was not found to impose any significant religiousness. For example, whether one lives in a village or in a city makes little difference to someone's religiosity. It was not a surprise in Turkey, a secular country, that all opportunities both secular and religious, were available to the inhabitants equally. As can be seen from the findings, a considerable amount of variance in religious attitudes was noticed resulting from optional opportunities such as types of *lises*, the various means of obtaining SRE and *Diyanet* and *cemaat* orientations.

Between 9% and 12% of variance in total, cognitive and behavioural religious attitudes was accounted for by educational background. However, although 11.7% of variance in behavioural religious attitudes was explained by educational background, only 2.6% of variance in affective religiosity was accounted for by high school education. The most likely interpretation for this difference might be the contents of religious education in Turkish high schools. Religious education in high schools consists largely of cathetical (*ilmihal*) instruction in Islam. The *ilmihal* approach has been described by Kaymakcan (1998). In this approach, whilst religion was introduced as a range of instructions as well as behaviours, the affective aspect of religion might well have been undermined. Basically, when someone is informed about religion and involved in religious behaviour, he/she would also need religious affection and expectations from God, such as *hubbu-Allah* (love of Allah), obtaining *cennet* (heaven), avoiding *cehennem* (hell), and obtaining *nusretu-Allah* (help from Allah) accordingly. During the interviews, students described religious education in high schools as insipid and spiritless. They also objected that when they went to a mosque or attended a *cenaze merasimi* (funeral service) they did not know how they were expected to behave there, or how to make *dua* (to ask Allah for mercy). In these circumstances, they described just following the crowd. So, how have students filled this gap? This issue needs further study.

Between them all the various ways of obtaining SRE explained roughly between 5% and 10% of variance in total, cognitive, behavioural and affective religious attitudes. SRE explained 5.1% of the variance in affective religiosity compared with the 9.8% of variance in RAS-behaviour. However, SRE explained twice as much variance in affective religiosity as educational background explained. This issue also needs further study.

According to the overall findings of this stepwise multiple regression, from step-1 to step-7, the greatest variance in religious attitudes (between approximately 12% and 20%) was explained by *Diyanet* orientations. Looking at the findings (see Tables 9.2 - 9.5), it may be concluded that (a) DIBOS is a major predictor of religious attitudes in Turkey. This is because of the fact that religious affairs, in relation to mosques, *imams*, *muftis* and *Qur'an* courses, as a whole are administered, and inspected by the *Diyanet*. (b) *Diyanet* orientations, particularly, explained seven times greater variance in affective religiosity than *lises* and three times greater than SRE and COS. Students during interviews highlighted the reason by saying that they made their first *duas* in a mosque or with an imam. During the *dua*, they felt themselves very close to God and they asked God to forgive, to be merciful or whatever. They described making *dua* as a powerful experience. Consequently, the fact that *Diyanet* orientations explained the greatest variance in affective religiosity should come as no surprise.

(c) DIBOS-reliability correlated positively with religious attitudes, whereas DIBOS-services and DIBOS-efficiency were negatively associated with them. This result allows us to conclude from a broad perspective that the *Diyanet* has been seen to be a reliable and satisfactory religious institution and that it has had a positive effect on religious attitudes. However, when students were able to know about services of the *Diyanet* and to discover its weaknesses, then these aspects of the *Diyanet* affected their religious attitudes negatively. Nearly all interviewees stressed that the *Diyanet* was a reliable religious institution and it should continue to exist in Turkey. Its

publications, *fatwas* and *hajj* organisation were found to be convincing and satisfactory. However, interviewees criticised the *Diyanet* by saying that many *imams* were suffering because of their very limited knowledge about Islam. They had failed to read and improve themselves. They continued to conduct prayers in the mosque five times a day and read a *hutba* (a special sermon delivered before Friday prayers) sent by the *Diyanet* on Fridays. Interviewees also said that, despite other people explaining their ideas about Islam and giving *fatwas* about daily problems, the *Diyanet* had generally remained silent. The majority of the students stated that they found the *Diyanet* to be passive and routine. As a consequence, whilst DIBOS-reliability explained 12%-20% of positive variance in religious attitudes, DIBOS-services and DIBOS-efficiency similarly explained 12%-20% of negative variance. These results also revealed that some measures should be taken in order to find a positive correlation between religious attitudes and both services and those aspects most criticised regarding the *Diyanet*. (d) *Diyanet* orientation explained the lowest amount of variance (11.8%) in behavioural religiosity compared with cognitive and affective ones. Considering the contents of *hutbas* and the publications of the *Diyanet*, this issue needs further study.

Cemaat orientations accounted for about 15%-16% of variance in total, cognitive and behavioural religiosity. The variance in behavioural religiosity is slightly higher than RAS-total and RAS-cognitive. The second greatest variance in religious attitudes was explained by *cemaat* orientations. However, *cemaat* orientations explained only 5.6% of variance in affective religiosity. This amount is about one third of the variance in cognitive and behavioural religious attitudes explained by COS. In terms of *cemaat* orientations, particularly involving *tarikats* (Sufi orders), this result might be seen as a real surprise. In theory, the main focus of the *tarikats* is purification of the soul, inner tranquillity of heart and closeness to God through additional prayers such as *zikr* (remembrance of God). So we may ask two questions here. First, in Turkey, do *cemaats*, particularly *tarikats*, care about affective religiosity as is suggested by the

theory? Second, as explained in Chapter 8, do they overwhelmingly use “fear” as a means to motivate people to become religious, resulting in low self-assessment, despite their high level of affective religiousness? As female interviewees highlighted, when they learnt about religion from *cemaat* members, their concern about being ultimately sent to hell had been aroused. Nevertheless, this approach contradicts the ideology highlighted by *Qur’anic* verses; those who believe and do deeds of righteousness, they will have their rewards and on them shall be no fear (see *Qur’an*, 2/277; 13/29; 23/1; 79/31-36). Further studies are needed to answer these two questions.

COS-reliability and COS-services, which are assessments of *cemaats* and comparison between the services of the *Diyanet* and *cemaats*, correlated positively with religious attitudes. However, COS-authority correlated negatively with cognitive religious attitudes. Those students who accepted the statement that “*Cemaats* should be allowed to expand their activities beyond the current level and that all religious affairs should be regulated by them”¹⁰ were less cognitive in terms of religious attitudes.

Unsurprisingly, the three dimensions of religious attitudes, RAS-cognitive, RAS-behavioural and RAS-affective, explained about 21%-31% of variance in each of the three factors of religious attitudes. Behavioural and affective religious attitudes positively correlated with cognitive religiosity. In other words, when someone observes religious duties and has good expectations from God, a 21.3% increase in his/her cognitive religious attitudes will be expected. Cognitive and affective religious attitudes were positively associated with behavioural religious attitudes. Similarly, if someone believes in the fundamental principles of his/her religion and he/she has good expectations from God, a 21.5% increase in his/her behavioural religiosity will be expected. Cognitive and behavioural religious attitudes also correlated positively with

¹⁰ This statement is the summary of COS-authority.

affective religiosity. So, if someone believes in the fundamental principles of the religion and observes religious duties, a 30.8% increase in his/her affective religious attitudes will be expected.

All in all, using twenty-five variables, 55.4% of variance in total religious attitudes was explained, whereas 44.6% of variance was not explained. 75.9% of variance in cognitive religious attitudes, 75.2% of variance in behavioural religious attitudes and 62% of variance in affective religious attitudes were explained through twenty-seven variables. The amounts of variance explained seem to be very high. Educational backgrounds, SRE, and orientations towards the *Diyanet* and *cemaats* are the major predictors of religious attitudes. Cognitive, behavioural and affective religious attitudes are highly correlated with each other. These results revealed that the *Diyanet*, *cemaats*, SRE and religious education in high schools are very influential in religious attitudes of university students in Turkey.

24.1%, 24.8% and 38% of variances were not explained in cognitive, behavioural and affective religious attitudes, respectively. Taking into account more variables, such as personality and meaning of life, the residuals may be decreased by further studies. However, in such studies it is nearly impossible to explain all variances, due to the complexity of human behaviour. Religious attitudes are also very complex and multi-dimensional matters in human life.

Chapter 10

CONCLUSION

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In this study, religious attitudes and Muslim identity issues in Turkey have been investigated by means of empirical research. In order to prepare an appropriate theoretical background for such an empirical investigation, a historical account was given of Islam in the Turkish context. This final chapter will begin by returning to this account with particular reference to reform movements which are central for understanding the place of Islam in contemporary Turkey. The following section will review the findings related to Muslim identity and religious attitudes. The third section will focus on the contribution of the thesis to the study of Islam in Turkey. The final section will provide an assessment of the limitations of the research and suggestions for further study.

10.2 REFORMS AND RELIGION

Islam in Turkey is best understood if we look at the role of reform movements, particularly in the last two centuries. The Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century accelerated the development of the reform movements instigated in the eighteenth century. In the mid-nineteenth century, the Young Ottomans revitalised the political theory of Islam. The backbone of their theory rested on the return to original, unadulterated sources of Islam. They accused the Ottoman Empire of being tyrannical and corrupt. The Young Ottomans and their successor Young Turks were dispersed

by the Ottoman Sultans. In the early twentieth century, the multi-cultural and multi-religious Ottoman Empire disintegrated.

It is wise to remember here that the general assumption by the Turkish people was that the breakdown of the Ottoman Empire had been caused mainly by the fact that the Christian West used ethnic and religious minorities in Ottoman territories as a Trojan Horse. The second causal factor of the breakdown was believed to be the prevalence of nationalist movements in the Balkans and the Middle East. Consequently, and as a response to those beliefs, Islam arose as an important part of national identity at the stage of the foundation of the Turkish Republic. In this context, the *Diyanet* was established as a government institution in 1924 with its main duties defined in terms of nurturing national unification within Turkish society and the regulation of conduct of religious services. The ideology mentioned above gained further momentum in the 1980s under the auspices of a Turkish-Islamic synthesis and was pursued as an official cultural planning policy with a view to enhancing national unification.

However, the 1920s were also characterised by substantial changes; for example, some Islamic symbols were altered, the *ezan* (the call to prayer) was adopted in Turkish from Arabic, and institutions, such as the *caliphate* and religious courts, were abolished. In this context, secularism, which gained a theological character, was introduced and pursued as an official policy. These were the seeds sown for what later came to be known as *laikler* or *laik Müslümanlar*, the secularist Islamic trend. The complex structure of secularism remains to date an issue of controversy. The main problem may be the prevalence of an ambiguous definition of secularism as perceived within the Turkish context.

Political Islam and mystical Islam were somewhat repressed during the single-party period between the 1920s and 1950s. Turkish Muslim intellectuals did not keep abreast of the developments in the domain of political Islam taking place in other parts

of the Islamic world. They remained oblivious to the anti-colonialist perspective of political Islam propounded by their Pakistani and Egyptian counterparts. There were no such anti-colonialist reactions observed in Turkey. In the Turkish context, political Islam instead developed its own dynamics with a major focus on achieving more freedom in the religious sphere. At the beginning of the 1970s, the National Order Party (NOP) was founded with the support of a *tarikats*. For the first time since the foundation of the Republic, a close relationship between a *tarikats* and a political party was observed. So, political Islam in Turkey was the result of political developments on the domestic front rather than reactions to religio-political developments elsewhere.

The changes in Islamic symbols and institutions formed the basis for the thinking of moderate Islam. A reactionary movement was started by the *Nurcus*. In their reactionary discourses they criticised the reforms that they regarded as being anti-Islam, particularly the abolition of the *Caliphate*. However, after the 1960s, more flexible policies were adopted towards religion, leading the *Nurcus* to become more moderate in nature, and thus contributing to the emergence of a moderate form of Islam in Turkey.

With the foundation of NOP, *tarikats* became the subject of discussion and became more visible than previously in Turkey. Discourses associated with Islamic trends faced two major problems: legitimacy and politics. Legitimacy encompassed, first, the issue of whether the existence of *tarikats* was in compliance with legal provisions, and, secondly, their likely impact on society. In this period, reactionary and fundamentalism were attributed to the prevalence of *tarikats*. *Tarikats* have existed in Turkish societies for more than a thousand years, and in today's Turkey about 40% of the population are involved in *tarikats*. On the one hand, this widespread involvement makes it easy for anti-*tarikats* sections of the population to link any occurrence that has a bad connotation to the work of *tarikats*. On the other hand, some *tarikats*, such as the *Nakshibendi*, were seen to be very active in a serious rebellion after the foundation of

the Republic, and made oppositional stands on the basis of religion. It may be seen that this argument has been used against *tarikats*, often supporting the belief that they should not be legalised. The main hindrance in legalising *tarikats* lies in the somewhat dubious association of negative occurrences with the motives of the *tarikats*. The second problem lies in the question of whether Islam has been used for political purposes, in terms of influencing voting behaviour. Some political parties have claimed to be the guardians of democracy and secularism thus protecting the Turkish Republic against the rise of reactionary elements. However, some admit that their role is to act as watchdog to protect the religious rights of Muslims against non-Islamic currents. The central argument used by political parties is based on Turkish secularism.

10.3 THE ISSUE OF MUSLIM IDENTITY

Three main points were noted about Muslim identity in the Turkish context. First, in terms of the four general Islamic trends, mystical, secular, political and moderate, Muslim identity at the macro level emerged in particular contexts. Secular and moderate Islamic trends emerged as a result of Turkish secularist policies. The political trend, however, re-emerged with the rise of Islamic political theory in the second half of the nineteenth century; it appeared as a phenomenon of the multi-party period. These trends, excluding the mystical, distinguished themselves in their interpretation and application of secularism in Turkey. Nationalist ideas constitute a point of convergence for them in the following ways. (a) Whilst secularists recognise the importance of Islam in Turkish society, they fear an Islamic establishment at state level. Consequently, they have supported a rigid policy by prohibiting any Islamic symbols, such as the *başörtüsü* or *türban* (headscarf), in the public services, including in private schools. (b) Those advocating political Islam, however, argue the possibility of political activities with Islamic values, whilst preserving the democratic, secular system. (c) The moderates highlight the preservation of Islamic values in the secular state whilst staying away from political activities. They have concentrated on

education through the opening of private schools in Turkey and abroad. They tend to compromise with the rest of society. (d) For more than a thousand years, proponents of Islamic mysticism have been interested in the attainment of inner tranquillity and God's love. About 40% of the Turkish population may have some attachment to the mystical tradition, through the *tarikats* in Turkey. Bearing in mind the widespread nature of the mystical tradition, the supporters of mysticism may also be observed in political and secularist Islam.

Second, in terms of orientation towards basic Islamic principles and commands, the Muslim identities of those who follow these four general Islamic trends are very similar. The Muslim Identity Matrix (MIM-C, B, A) indicated that there was no difference among them regarding acceptance of the six fundamental principles of faith in Islam and the five pillars of Islam. The only difference was reported in the stress they placed on issues, such as the headscarf, inner tranquillity, or the issue of religious leadership. Findings regarding religious attitudes also supported this proposition. The mystical, moderate and political trends, in which the *cemaats* may be found, tended to value behavioural religiosity and religious symbols to a greater extent than secularists. During the interviews conducted with university students, the *cemaats* were criticised as ascribing extreme importance to the demonstration of religious practice. Statistical analyses also revealed that there was a significant positive association between behavioural religiosity and *cemaat* orientation. As a consequence, Muslim identities at the macro level with regard to the fundamental principles of Islam are similar. However, *cemaats* identify themselves by expressing certain religious symbols and stressing the importance of religious behaviour.

Third, the examination of Muslim identity at the micro or individual level, which was based on the empirical work of Köktaş, Konrad and Koştaş, suggested that the six fundamental principles of faith in Islam and the five pillars of Islam were widely accepted. Muslim identity at the micro level was seen to be quite strong in Turkey.

However, looking at these three empirical studies, between 1.5% and 18% of the population were seen to have a negative inclination¹ towards one or more of the cognitive and affective Islamic principles such as belief in Allah or belief in *kader* (fate). This percentage varied from 8% to 27% in relation to the behavioural principles of Islam such as fasting and daily prayers. This dismissal of Islamic principles was considerable at the individual level. According to my findings, the percentage of students who scored under 10% in the scale of total religious attitudes was just over 3%. Those who scored under 40%² comprised about 10%. The two sets of findings together suggest that there is a change or abandonment in Muslim identity at the personal level.

In conclusion, following the foundation of the Republic, a policy directed at the religious homogenisation of the population of Turkey was followed. However, overall figures relating to the individual level have suggested that Muslim identity in today's Turkey may well have decreased, with only around 90% of the population affirming the fundamental principles of Islam. Ironically, according to common perception, this figure is nearer to 100%. It was for this reason that I used this percentage in early chapters of this thesis. Two issues arise at this point: first, has Republican policy failed or been abandoned, or has this apparent decrease resulted from other factors, such as an interest in materialist philosophy, modern life-styles and globalisation? It is likely that both of these have occurred. Second, looking more closely at this percentage of about 90%, some six million³ people might now have other, non-Muslim identities. What are their identities? Have they become atheists or agnostics, or have they converted to other religions? Have they created a new religious/Muslim identity?

¹ Someone who does not believe or fulfil one or more basic Islamic principles.

² Whilst the percentages rising towards 100% indicate increasing religious attitudes, those decreasing to 0% show diminishing attitudes.

³ According to 1998 census, population of Turkey is just over 60,000,000 (DİE, 1999).

10.4 RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES

Religious attitudes were measured by a Religious Attitude Scale in this study. Before moving onto the analysis of religious attitudes, it is necessary to recall the theoretical basis of this scale. RAS is a scale that enables an individual to assess his or her level of religious attitudes, consisting of cognitive, behavioural and affective dimensions. RAS attempts to measure the extent to which religious belief and behaviour have permeated a person's life. It also measures one's level of expectation from God. Therefore, RAS encompasses three dimensions; the cognitive, the behavioural and the affective. The central assumption of RAS is that for a person to be religious he or she has to believe in God, and then either perform religious duties based on this belief expecting good rewards or ignore them expecting forgiveness or punishment. For instance, if a person believes in Allah, then he or she is expected to fulfil daily prayers and expects to be rewarded by God or vice versa. In this context, belief is measured in terms of belief in God, the relationship with God and expectation from God.

Overall findings related to religious attitudes revealed that religion occupied an important place in individuals' lives. Cognitive and affective religious attitudes were more evident in their lives than behavioural religious attitudes. Overall, the score of university students' in total religious attitudes was 69%. In terms of the RAS subscales, the students got the highest score in cognitive religious attitudes, 79%. Their score in affective religious attitudes was slightly lower, at 75%. However, there was a drop of more than 20 points in their behavioural religious attitude score, to 52%. Köktaş's findings in İzmir were similar to my results. Konrad's overall findings in eleven cities were slightly higher than both Köktaş's and my figures⁴.

⁴ However, Koştaş's findings were dissimilar to Köktaş, Konrad and our findings. In Koştaş's study, students were scored about between 20 and 40 points lower than these three studies. The procedure of conducting questionnaires, data analyses procedure, or both might have caused these different findings in Koştaş's study.

Four groups of variables were influential in relation to the religious attitudes of Turkish university students. First, general demographic variables had a small influence on religious attitudes. Second, compulsory religious education (RE) in primary and secondary schools and supplementary religious education (SRE) were important factors, after the *Diyanet* and *cemaat* orientations, in influencing religious attitudes. Particularly, *imam hatip* schools and obtaining SRE through a private *hoca* had a significant effect on religious attitudes. Third, attitudes towards the *Diyanet* and *cemaats* were the most important factors in religious attitudes. A significant positive correlation was found between religious attitudes and both the *Diyanet* and *cemaat* orientations. Finally, each dimension of religious attitudes, the cognitive, behavioural and affective, had a great influence on the others.

Using these groups of variables, 55% of variance in total religious attitudes was explained. In terms of the sub-scales of the RAS, 76% of variance in cognitive religious attitudes, 75% of variance in behavioural religious attitudes and 62% of variance in affective religious attitudes were explained by the test variables of the study. It is significant that these were able to be explained in relation to an issue as complex as religious attitudes. Using these variables, three quarters of the variance in cognitive and behavioural religious attitudes may be predicted. The contingency of the prediction of affective religious attitudes is lower than for cognitive and behavioural attitudes. However, the probability of the prediction of religious attitudes in total seems to be the lowest, when compared to the probability of the prediction of individual components.

10.4.1 Contextual Variables

Gender, age, family incomes and social backgrounds are considered as contextual variables. The whole sample of this study consisted of 53.7% males and 46.3% females. Their ages varied between 18 and 26. The vast majority of the students

belonged to medium income level families. Most of them came from cities, followed by big towns (*ilçe*).

The total religious attitude scores of male students belonging to medium income level families from big towns and villages were slightly higher than for the other students. However, the difference between medium and low income level students was not significant. The scores of the students who come from big towns and villages were significantly different than those who come from cities, but not small towns (*kasaba*). In terms of age, a negative association between age and religious attitudes was observed. There was a very slight decrease in religious attitudes as the ages increased from 18 to 26.

These results suggested that the Turkish context had not imposed religiosity upon the young people. Implementation of secularism may be seen as a significant factor for this result. Contextual variables, such as gender, age, family incomes and social background, accounted for only a small degree of variance in religiosity. The variance explained in religious attitudes by these variables is about 4%. The 'medium' component of family income, and the 'big town' and 'village' components of social background positively influenced the religious attitudes. However, the 'female' component of gender and the increase of age from 18 to 26 negatively related to religious attitudes.

The results of this study and a few previous empirical works showed that females in Turkey are less religious than males. This is an interesting result, because in American and British studies of this issue, women are more religious than men. Two factors may be influential in relation to female religiosity in Turkey. First, there may be inadequate opportunity for women to benefit from religious services. The services of the *Diyanet* are mostly relevant for men, such as attending daily prayers and listening to *hutba* (the sermon delivered in the mosques on Fridays). The percentage of the female personnel

in the *Diyanet* is about 2%. As female students expressed during the interviews, they have a limited chance of contact with religious practitioners, such as *imams* and *muftis*⁵, who could clarify any concerns that women may have. Secondly, the consequence of the ban on the wearing of the *başörtüsü* may be seen in two ways. On the one hand, many religious parents may have decided not to send their daughters to school after the stage of compulsory primary education, because of this ban of *başörtüsü*. On the other hand, periodically, female students who wore the *başörtüsü* were strictly not allowed either to take university entrance exams, or to enter lectures and other exams. These tendencies may have resulted in religious female students being eliminated from higher educational levels.

10.4.2 Religious Education and Supplementary Religious Education

From the 1950s onwards, new improvements were observed in both religious education (RE) and supplementary religious education (SRE), compared with the period between the mid-1920s and the late 1940s. Religious education was initially introduced as optional in primary and secondary schools, and then in the last two decades, it became compulsory. In the early 1950s, several *imam hatip* schools and *Qur'an* courses were opened and their numbers increased subsequently.

Six fundamental principles of faith, the five pillars of Islam and moral issues have been taught in compulsory RE in high schools, such as *lises*, *Anadolu lises*, *imam hatip lises*, private *lises* and other *lises*. In addition to the high school curriculum, *tefsir* (interpretation of the *Qur'an*), *hadith* (prophetic tradition) and recitation of the *Qur'an* have been taught in *imam hatip lises*. The objectives of SRE can be described as (a) to gain basic catechetical (*ilmihal*) knowledge and (b) to learn to read the *Qur'an* in Arabic.

⁵ All *imams* and *muftis* are male.

Approximately 20% of the university students in the survey came from *Imam Hatip lises*. The percentage of those who obtained SRE was about 80%. Most of the students obtained SRE by themselves (43%), followed by those who went to a mosque (21%) and those who took a *Qur'an* course (18%). Whilst 6% of students benefited from obtaining SRE through a private *hoca*, 13% of them obtained such an education through other means. A significant correlation between gender and whether or not they obtained SRE was not observed.

The total religious attitudes scores of the students who attended *imam hatip lise* were the highest (81%). By contrast, the scores of the students who attended private *lise* were seen to be the lowest (55%). The total religious attitude scores of the students who took SRE through private *hocas* was the highest (80%), whereas the scores of those who obtained SRE via *Qur'an* courses was the lowest (70%).

About 10% of variance in total religious attitudes was accounted for by educational background whereas 8% of variance in total religious attitudes was explained by SRE. Attendance at an *imam hatip lise* and the five means of obtaining SRE were positively related to religious attitudes. However, attendance at a private *lise* had a negative influence on religious attitudes. Behavioural religious attitudes were explained as the highest variances, about 12% and 10%, by both educational background and SRE respectively. However, educational background and SRE explained the lowest variances, 3% and 5% respectively, in affective religious attitudes.

Cathetical (*ilmihal*) instruction in Islam has been taught in RE in high schools and SRE. This cathetical approach focuses largely on teaching six fundamental principles of the faith, the five pillars of Islam, a range of major *harams* and *halals* as well as moral issues. As the students highlighted during the interviews, the cathetical (*ilmihal*) approach in RE was found to be insipid and spiritless. This point seems to be important. For example, although RE in high schools has 12% of influence in

behavioural religiosity, it only has 3% of influence in affective religiosity, that is, in expecting mercy from God. In this circumstance, “expending 12 points of effort, in exchange for 3 points reward” seems an unfair business, especially in light of the *Qur’anic* verse, one point of good effort brings from 10 to 700 points reward (*Qur’an*, 2/261). This raises the question of whether the current cathetical (*ilmihal*) approach has reflected the mission and spirit of Islam.

10.4.3 The Diyanet and Cemaats

Since 1924, an official religious institution, the *Diyanet*, with over 80,000 personnel, has provided religious services, in over 60,000 mosques, several thousand *Qur’an* courses and over a thousand Mufti offices. Religious publications, including audio-visual materials are also provided by the *Diyanet*. Beyond the *Diyanet*, the establishment of any organisation based on religion has been considered an illegal act in the Republican era. Despite this, the existence of *cemaats* and their activities have not ceased in this period. *Cemaat* activities have been mainly in evidence in publications, including daily newspapers, radio and television broadcasting and *tarikah* meetings for *zikr* (the remembrance of God) and *sohbet* (attendance at religious lectures).

A positive, significant correlation was observed between the religious attitudes of students and both the *Diyanet* and *cemaat* orientations. The *Diyanet* orientation was found to be the major predictor of religious attitudes in Turkey. The greatest variance (about 20%) in total religious attitudes was explained by the *Diyanet* orientation. The second greatest variance (about 15%) in total religious attitudes was accounted for by the *cemaat* orientation.

Comparing associations between the *Diyanet* orientation and the dimensions of religious attitudes, affective religious attitudes were seen to have the highest

correlation followed by cognitive and behavioural attitudes. However, the *cemaat* orientation was highly associated with behavioural religious attitudes, followed by the cognitive and affective attitudes.

These findings reveal that the focus on the *Diyanet* and *cemaats* in religious attitudes is different. This may result from the fact that the role and situation of the *Diyanet* and *cemaats* in Turkish society are different. The *Diyanet* is legal and open, whereas *cemaats* are illegal and to some extent hidden. This situation may have affected their relationship to religious attitudes. The *Diyanet* has tended to emphasise inner/intrinsic matters, such as affective religiosity and self-actualisation, whereas *cemaats* have tended to value more outward/extrinsic matters, such as behavioural religiosity and outward symbols. During the period of suppression of *cemaats* in the Republican period, they emphasised the behavioural aspect of religiosity as a mark of their identity.

The “mercy of God” seems to be a key concept in religious attitudes. Whilst the *Diyanet* emphasises it, *cemaats* might have generally undermined it. The *Diyanet*’s focus on affective religiosity may have increased people’s expectation of God’s mercy. The *Diyanet* orientation explains three times greater variance (about 17%) in affective religiosity than *cemaat* orientation. Therefore, the students described their affective experiences in the mosque, such as making *dua* (to ask Allah for mercy) with an *imam* as a powerful experience. However, *cemaat* orientation accounted for only 6% of variance in affective religiosity. As the students highlighted during the interviews, *cemaat* members, to some extent, stressed the “do’s and dont’s” of religion, *halal* and *haram*. In so doing, they frequently used “fear” as a psychological tool for motivation.

The pronounced objective of *cemaats* and their subsequent approach seem to be different to one another. One of the major objectives of *cemaats*, especially *tarikats*, is affective religiosity through purification of the soul, inner tranquillity and closeness to

God. However, they follow a judgmental approach, using fear and introducing notions of order and prohibition. Whether this approach assists this objective is questionable.

10.4.4 Cognitive, Behavioural and Affective Religious Attitudes

Each of the three dimensions of religious attitudes accounted for between 21% and 31% of variance in the other two dimensions. These three components positively influenced each other. Behavioural and affective religious attitudes accounted for 21% of variance in cognitive religious attitudes. Affective and cognitive attitudes explained 22% of variance in behavioural religious attitudes. However, behavioural and cognitive religious attitudes accounted for 31% of variance in affective religious attitudes.

These results revealed that belief (the cognitive dimension), religious behaviour and expectation from God or self-assessment in the eyes of God (the affective dimension) are highly inter-related. An increase in one of the three dimensions of religious attitudes influences the other dimensions positively. Of the three, affective religiosity is seen to be the most influenced component by cognitive and behavioural religious attitudes. However, it will be better to recall that variance in the components of religious attitudes was related to a number of variations and these relationships were not causal. Therefore, whilst students' overall scores in cognitive and affective religious attitudes were 78% and 75% respectively, their score in behavioural religious attitudes was 52%.

10.5 CONTRIBUTION OF THIS WORK

The originality and contribution of this thesis are summed up in the following five points.

1. The pioneering characteristic of this study lies in both the development of a Muslim Identity Matrix (MIM-C,B,A) and the classification of Islamic trends based on the fundamental principles of Islam. The Muslim Identity Matrix enabled me to explore the Muslim identity of the Turkish people. General Islamic trends have been categorised under four main headings: Mystical, political, moderate and secularist Islamic trends. These provided a framework for exploring Muslim identity and the religious attitudes of Turkish people.

The study has added to the existing pool of knowledge by making it possible to understand, through comparative study, the Muslim identity of the followers of different Islamic trends with a view to obtaining an overall understanding of Muslim identity in Turkey. The Muslim identity of followers was explored using cognitive, behavioural and affective dimensions.

2. Religious attitudes were measured by a Religious Attitude Scale (RAS) developed exclusively for this study. Items on the RAS have their foundations in a theoretical background that I devised and have been the subject of sophisticated statistical analyses and an assessment of validity and reliability. The development of the RAS was a clear departure from the Muslim religiosity scales adapted from Christian scales, as was the case in past studies carried out in Turkey. This pioneering scale has thus contributed to providing a more apposite and relevant measure of religious attitudes.

3. In order to measure orientations towards the *Diyanet* (Presidency of Religious Affairs) and *cemaats*, I have also developed scales, the Diyanet Orientation Scale

(DIBOS) and the Cemaat Orientation Scale (COS). These three scales together have facilitated the correlation between religious attitudes and orientations towards the *Diyanet* and *cemaats*. DIBOS and COS are based on sound propositions theorised in the thesis, and have assisted in identifying the orientation towards the *Diyanet* and *cemaats* of the Turkish people. They have also been used to explore the effects of students' orientations towards the *Diyanet* and *cemaats* on religious attitudes. The findings will prove useful for the *Diyanet* and other policy makers at various levels.

4. The data collection and analysis techniques adopted in this study have been used for the first time in the field of religion in Turkey. The work has pioneered the interrelationship between social psychology and the sociology of religion. Data were collected from various sources and sophisticated statistical tests were used for data analyses. This thesis has allowed the association between religious attitudes and demographic variables and has considered the impact of these variables on religious attitudes.

5. This study has revealed facts about the religiosity of *cemaats* that diverge from the current literature. The existing literature propounds the idea that *cemaats*, particularly *tarikats*, espouse affective religiosity. Results from in-depth interviews and quantitative analyses have been used complementarily. The resulting conclusion was that *cemaats* focus more on behavioural and cognitive religiosity rather than on affective religiosity. The pattern would not have been particularly clear if I had not used both in-depth interviews and results from quantitative analyses to explain the findings. This contradiction in findings raises interesting questions regarding the very purpose of *cemaats*, including their focus. It identifies areas of potential research in the area.

10.6 EXCLUSIONS AND LIMITATIONS

In this research, private universities and new universities in the eastern provinces, which admitted students from the highest and middle to very low socio-economic and educational family backgrounds respectively, were excluded.

The investigation of university students' orientations towards religious institutions, both the *Diyanet* and *cemaats*, in relation to religious group membership in Turkey was excluded. These issues were examined as independent variables, in order to explore religious attitudes.

The limitations of this study are twofold:

1. The empirical research in this study was limited to Turkish university students. However, as the university students were from different social, economic and geographical backgrounds, it may be assumed that the conclusions were reasonably applicable for the Turkish population, excluding very high and very low income levels.
2. The results derived from primary and secondary data were limited by the methodology, data collection and analysis techniques applied in this study. The appropriateness of the results may also be limited by a reasonable time period. Religious attitudes and Muslim identities may change over time, and a re-study conducted in ten or twenty years may reveal different results.

10.7 FURTHER RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES

In this study, the correlation between religious attitudes and orientations towards the *Diyanet* and *cemaats*, and the influence of these two orientations on religious attitudes were examined. The *Diyanet*-oriented students were seen to have the least behavioural religious attitudes, and *cemaat*-oriented students were seen to have the least affective

religious attitudes. In order to understand fully the reasons for this difference, a comparative study is necessary of the *Diyanet* and *cemaats*, particularly the *tarikats*, including their publications and sermons.

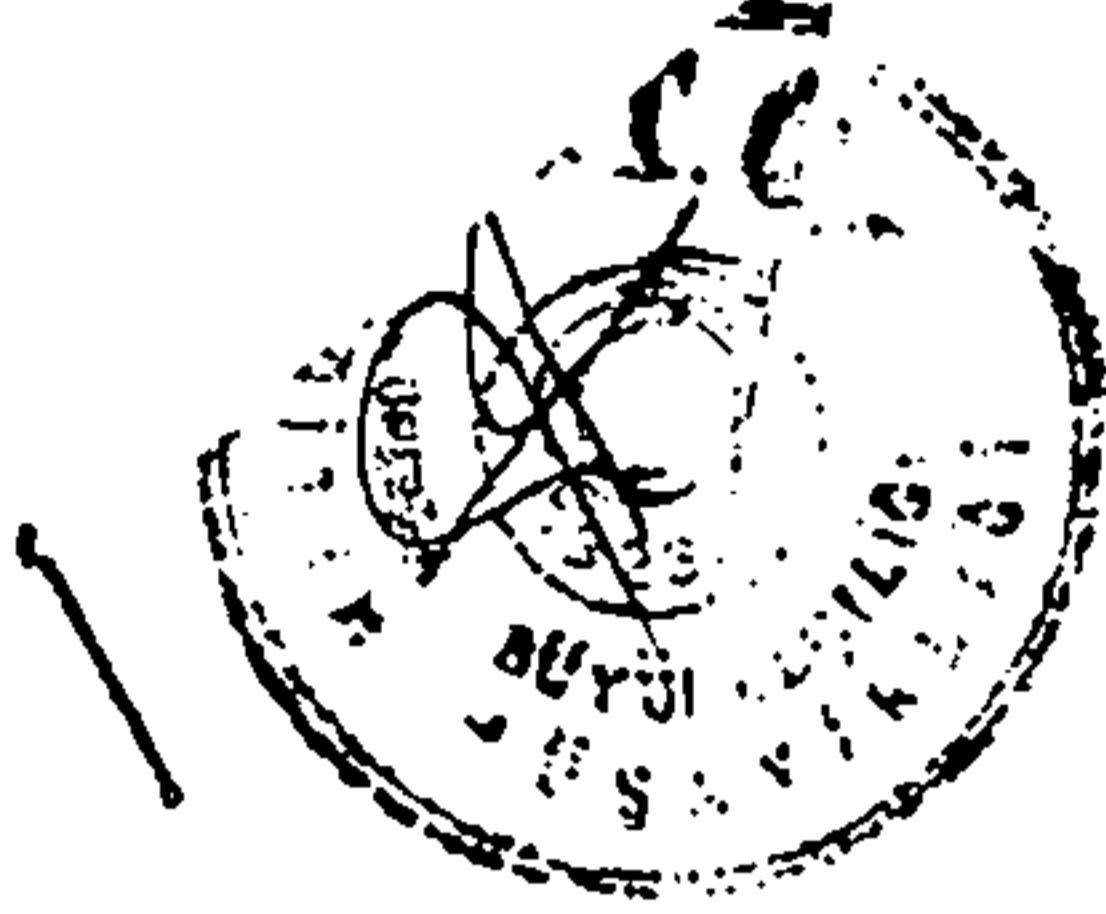
Religious education in high schools explained about five times lower variance in affective religious attitudes than it explained in the behavioural attitudes. Religious education, which consists largely of cathetical (*ilmihal*) instruction, was found to be inadequate for affective religious education and it was described as insipid and spiritless. The reasons for the failure of religious education to convey affective religiosity, and the question of how students have satisfied the affective component of their religiosity remain unexplored. Therefore, RE in high schools deserves further investigation. Moreover, the psychology of individuals has been affected by the *cemaats* emphasis on duty and fear. A further investigation is necessary to discover the association between religious attitudes, particularly affective religiosity, and trait anxiety.

The issues of both religious attitudes and Muslim identity require further exploration. On the one hand, in order to verify the results presented here, this study should be replicated with more samples in Turkey. On the other hand, in order to compare religious attitudes and Muslim identities in different contexts, similar studies should be carried out in other countries, such as Pakistan, Egypt, Indonesia and England.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Covering Letter from the Department for Piloting



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Theology and Religious Studies Bölümü
Bölüm Başkanı
Dr. Kim Knott

İLGİLİ MAKAMA

Sayın Ahmet Onay, PhD adayı:
"Türkiyedeki Üniversite Öğrencilerinde Dini Yönelim Düzeyi: Kuantitatif Bir Analiz"

Bu mektup, çalışmasının bir parçası olarak, pilot bir araştırma yapmak ve basılı literatürü toplamak amacıyla sayın Ahmet Onay'ın Türkiye'ye gitmesinin gerekli olduğunu belirtmek üzere yazılmıştır. Onun, bu iş için en az 15 gün süreyle Türkiye'de kalması gerekir.

(İMZA)

Dr. Kim Knott
09 Haziran 1998

İzmir T.C. Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı
Eğitim A.Ş. Başkanı
İngilizce aslına uygundur.
12 JUN 1998

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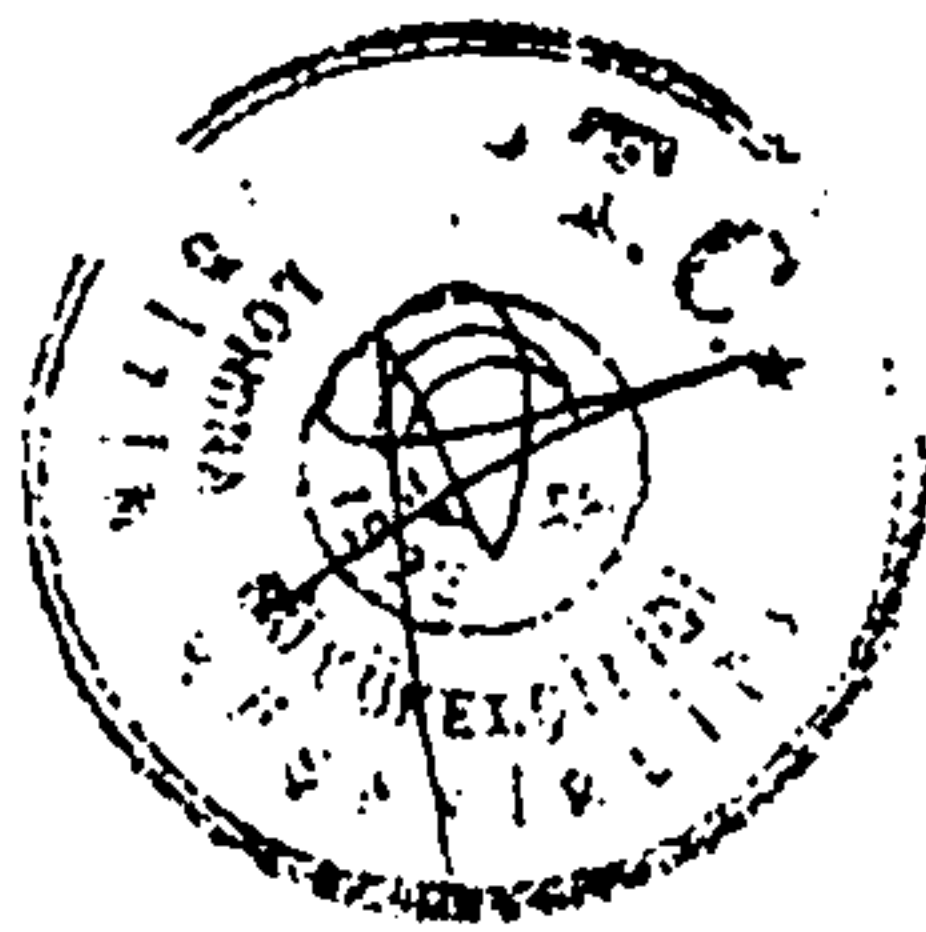
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

**Mr Ahmet Onay, provisional PhD candidate:
'Religious attitudes among university students in Turkey: A quantitative analysis'**

This is to confirm that it is necessary for Mr Ahmet Onay to visit Turkey in order to carry out a pilot survey and collect secondary data as part of his studies. His stay should last at least 15 days.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Kim Knott'.

Dr Kim Knott
9 June 1998



Appendix 2

Covering Letter from the Department for the first phase of field research



ology and Religious Studies

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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Ahmet Onay, Research Student

Mr Onay, a research student studying for a PhD in the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Leeds, is preparing a thesis on 'The religious attitudes of university students in Turkey'. This is a psychological and sociological study which requires him to conduct a survey among students. As Head of the Department of Theology and Religious Studies and Mr Onay's supervisor, I would be very grateful if you would allow him to carry out this survey in your university. It is essential to his study, and will provide important information for an analysis of religious attitudes in your country. His work will contribute to the research going on in many countries at present to improve our understanding of the role of religion for the individual and society.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Kim Knott'.

Dr Kim Knott
26 November 1998

Leeds Universitesi
Leeds LS2 9JT
Fax: 00-44-113-233 3654
Tel: 00-44-113-233 3646
Sekreter: 00-44-113-233 3638
E-mail: k.knot@leeds.ac.uk

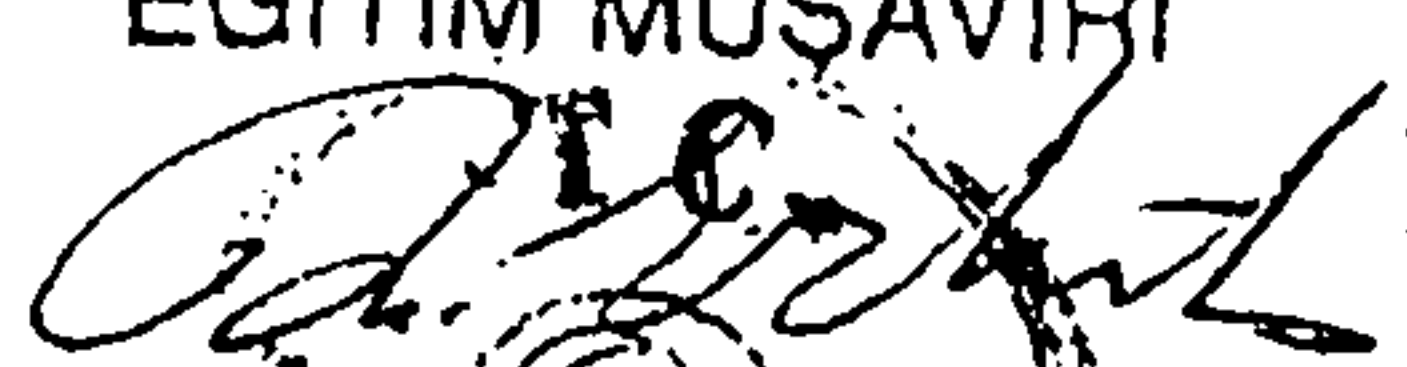
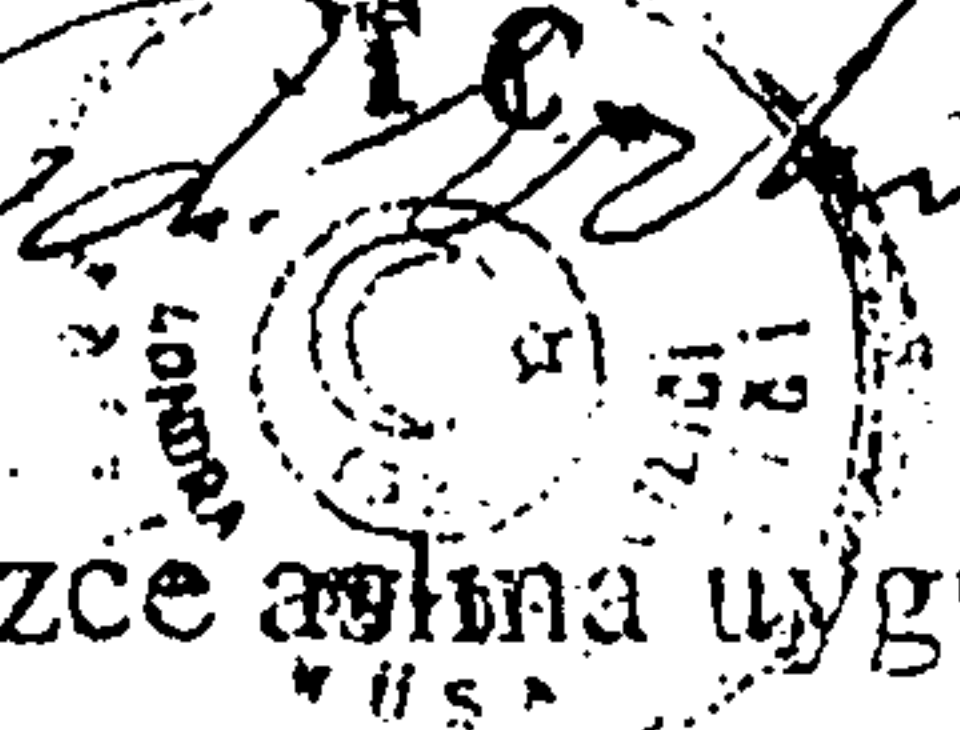
Theology and Religious Studies Bolumu
Bolum Baskani
Dr. Kim Knott

ILGILI MAKAMA

Ahmet Onay, Doktora Ogrencisi

Sayin Onay, Leeds Universitesi 'Theology and Religious Studies' Bolumunde doktora ogrencisi olup, "Turkiye'deki universite ogrencilerinde dini yönelim" konusunda bir tez hazirlamaktadır. Psikoloji ve sosyoloji perspektifli olan bu calisma, ogrenciler arasinda bir anket calismasi yapilmasini da gerekli kilmaktadır. Theology and Religious Studies Bolumu Baskani ve sayin Onay'in danismani olarak, Universitenizde bu arastirmanin yapmasi konusunda ona izin verirsiniz cok memnun olurum. Soz konusu arastirma, onun calismalari acisindan zorunlu olmanin yaninda ulkenizdeki dini yönelimlerin analizi bakımından da önemli bilgiler saglayacak niteliktedir. Onun calismasi, su anda bir cok ulkede yurutulmekte olan arastirmalara, kisi ve toplum hayatinda dinin rolü konusundaki mevcut anlayisimizin gelismesine katkı saglayacaktır.

(IMZA)
Dr. Kim Knott
26 Kasim 1998

Mustafa ERTÜRK
EĞİTİM MÜŞAVİRİ


İngilizce aslına uygundur.
2 - DEC 1998

Appendix 3

Covering Letter from the Diyanet for field research

T.C.
BAŞBAKANLIK
DİYANET İŞLERİ BAŞKANLIĞI
Din Eğitimi Dairesi Başkanlığı

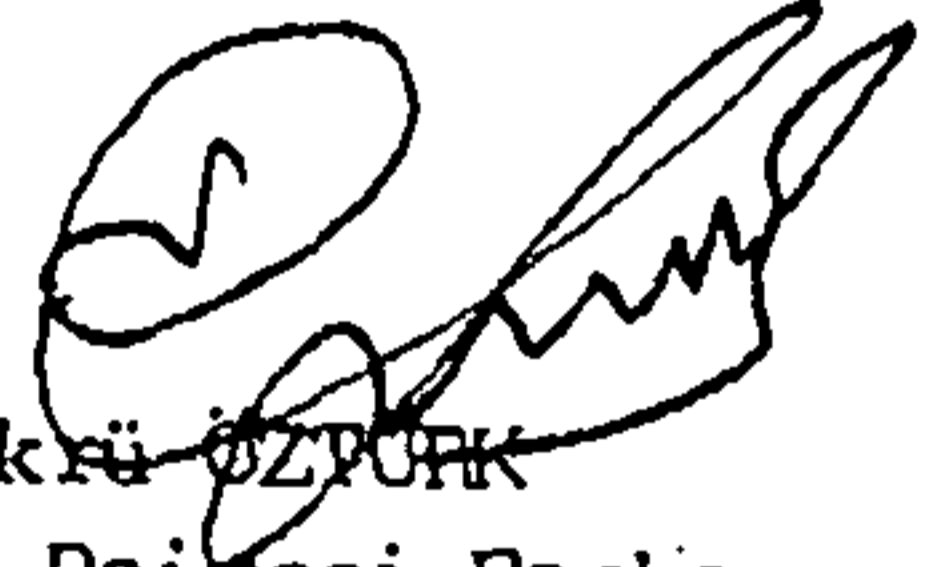
SAYI : B.02.1.DİB.0.72.00.02/1
KONU : Ahmet ONAY

04/01/1999

İLGİLİ MAKAMA

Başkanlığımız Teftiş Kurulu Üyesi Ahmet ONAY, halen İngiltere'nin Leeds Üniversitesi'nde Sosyal Psikoloji alanında doktora (PhD) çalışması yapmaktadır. Çalışmasının bir parçası olarak üniversitelerde anket yapmaya ihtiyaç duymaktadır.

Bu konuda yardımlarınızı bekler saygılar sunarım.


Şükrü ÖZPÜRK
Din Eğitimi Dairesi Başkanı

Appendix 4

Covering Letter from the Department for the second phase of field research



Leeds Universitesi
Leeds LS2 9JT

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Theology and Religious Studies Bolumu
Bolum Baskani
Dr. Kim Knott

ILGILI MAKAMA

Sayin Ahmet Onay: Doktora Ogrencisi

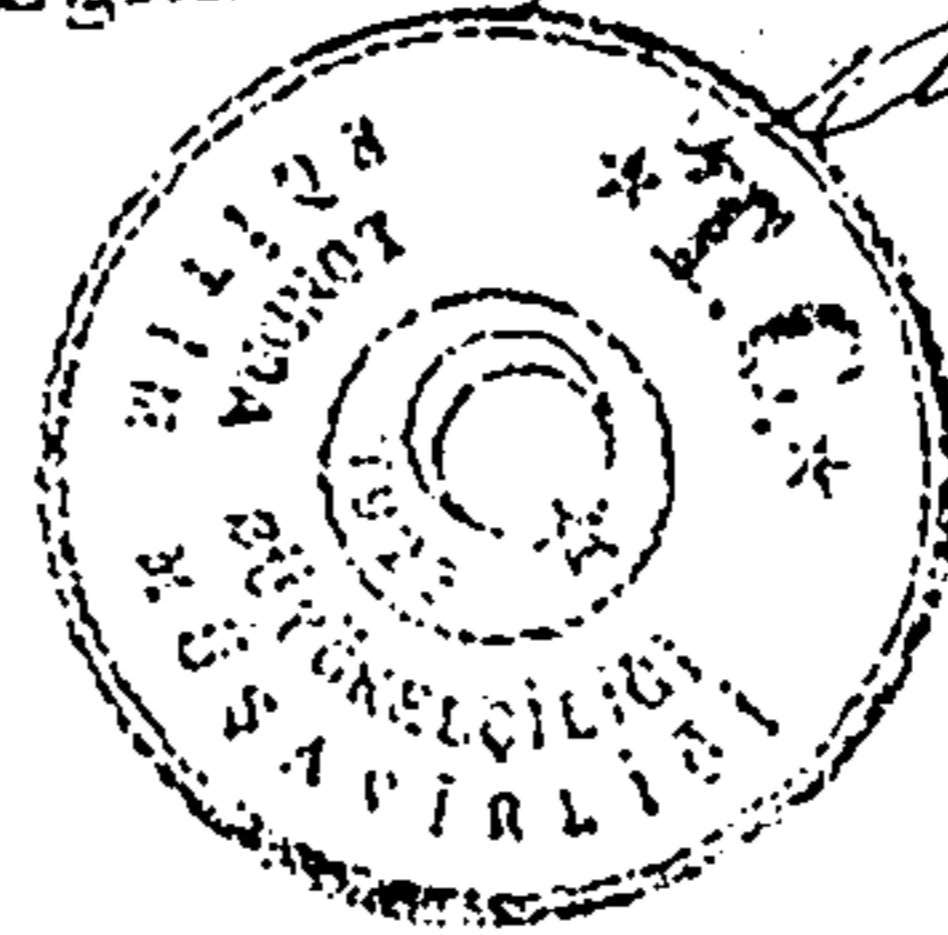
Ahmet Onay, halen Leeds Universitesi Theology and Religious Studies bolumunde doktora ogrencisidir. O, "Turkiye'deki universite ogrencilerinde dini yönelim" konulu bir tez hazirlamaktadır. Bu sosyal psikolojik bir calisma olup ogrenciler arasinda bir alan arastirmasi yapmasini gerektirmektedir. Theology and Religious Studies bolumunun dekani ve sayin Onay'in danismani olarak, arastirmasini yapmasi icin universitenizde ona izin vermeniz beni oldukca memnun edecektir. Bu arastirma, onun calismasini tamamlayabilmesi icin zorunlu olmanin yanisira, ulkenizdeki dini yönelimlerin analizi icin onemli bilgiler saglayacaktır. Onun calismasi halen bir cok ulkede yurutulmekte olan calismalardaki dinin kisi ve toplum hayatindaki rolu ile ilgili mevcut anlayisimizi gelistirmemize katkı sagliyacaktir.

(IMZA)

Dr. Kim Knott
1 Ekim 1999

İngilizce aslına uygundur.

Muzaffer ERTÜRK
T. C. Londra Büyükelçiliği
Eğitim Müşaviri





Department of Theology and Religious Studies
Head of Department
Dr Kim Knott

University of Leeds
Leeds LS2 9JT

Fax 0113 233 3654
Telephone 0113 233 3646
Secretary 0113 233 3638
E-mail: k.knott@leeds.ac.uk

To Whom It May Concern

Ahmet Onay, Research Student

Mr Onay, a research student studying for the PhD in the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Leeds, is preparing a thesis on 'The religious attitudes of university students in Turkey'. This is a psychological and sociological study which requires him to conduct a survey among students. As Head of Department of Theology and Religious Studies and Mr Onay's supervisor, I would be very grateful if you would allow him to carry out this survey in your university. It is essential to his study, and will provide important information for an analysis of religious attitudes in your country. His work will contribute to the research going on in many countries at present to improve our understanding of the role of religion for the individual and society.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Kim Knott'.

Dr Kim Knott
1 October 1999

Appendix 5

Questionnaires (English)

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES OF UNIVERSITY STUDENT (A RESEARCH PROJECT)

INSTRUCTION

This survey is a part of my PhD study in relation to affective, cognitive and behavioural experience of university students. This study aims to examine clear figures of religious attitudes in our country. Therefore, your answers will be valuable.

Thank you for your interest

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME

NOTE: This study, sponsored by the Diyanet, is carried out by Ahmet Onay who is doing PhD in social psychology in religion.

ADDRESS:

173 Woodhouse Lane

Leeds, LS2 9JT

ENGLAND

EMAIL: trsao@leeds.ac.uk

A. Below, you will find some questions related to independent variables of this survey. please state on the right hand side. Please put a tick by any of the four choices which best expresses you.

1. What is your gender? ()Male()Female

2. What is your income level?

()Very low ()Low ()Medium ()High()Very high

3. How old are you?.....

4. From what kind of high school did you graduate?

()Lise () Anadolu Lise () Imam-Hatip Lise () Private Lise () Other

5. Where did you mostly live as a child until Lise?

()Village ()Small town ()Big town ()City

6. Did you obtain any supplementary religious education (outside the school)?

()Yes ()No

7. If yes, how did you obtain supplementary religious education?

()Qur'an Course ()Mosque ()Private ()Other

B: Below, there are some statements which are used by individuals to describe themselves. After you have read each of the statements, please put a tick by any of the four choices stated on the right hand side. Please tick the one which best expresses your thoughts and feelings, without spending too time on each statement.

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE SCALE-1999 (RAS)

		Never	Seldom	Frequently	Always
1.	I consider religion contributes to many good causes in society.				
2.	I think that religious belief is unnecessary for everybody.				
3.	I fulfil my religious duties.				
4.	I sometimes do things that are forbidden by my religion.				
5.	I try to fulfil the rules of my religion concerning the social aspects of life.				
6.	Whenever I commit a sin I ask forgiveness from God.				
7.	I think that God assesses everybody according to his/her deeds.				
8.	I generally find that observing religious rules is boring.				
9.	I think that religion makes an important contribution to bringing about a peaceful and happy society.				
10.	Whenever I don't act according to my religious beliefs, I feel uncomfortable.				
11.	I expect that God will have mercy upon me on the day of judgement.				
12.	I think that it is not worth enduring difficulties for the sake of religion.				
13.	I feel that I have to obey religious rules.				
14.	I pray privately (<i>nafile</i>) in my own time.				
15.	I think that it is OK to have sex outside marriage.				
16.	I pray to God (making <i>dua</i>) spontaneously.*				
17.	I think that religion is a principal cause of the backwardness of society.				
18.	I think I should try to convey my religious message to others.				

* Following this item, an 'attention-test item' was included: "The sun rises in the east".

C: Below, there are some statements related to *Diyanet*. After you have read each of the statements, please put a tick by any of the five choices which best expresses your thoughts.

DIYANET ORIENTATION SCALE

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not certain	Agree	Strongly agree
1.	The publications of the Diyanet are reliable.					
2.	If I have a question related to religion, I should go first to the religious functionaries of the Diyanet for an answer.					
3.	Religious functionaries of the Diyanet are not allowed to tell people the whole truth about Islam.					
4.	The Diyanet plays a convincing role in maintaining good community relations.					
5.	I am influenced in my social life by the preaching in the mosques.					
6.	In Turkey, there is no real need for the Diyanet.**					
7.	Islam is well represented by religious functionaries of the Diyanet.					
8.	Religious messages given by the Diyanet satisfy people.					
9.	The Diyanet tries to provide people with a better service than the current level.					
10.	The Diyanet is losing its efficacy.					
11.	I find that religious functionaries of the Diyanet are inadequate in terms of their performance.					

12. What is your general opinion about the Diyanet? (Please circle an appropriate number)

Not at all beneficial 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10 Extremely beneficial

** Following this item, an 'attention-test item' was included: "The Diyanet is an institution responsible for Turkish economy".

D. Below, there are some statements related to *Cemaats* (religious groups). After you have read each of the statements, please put a tick by any of the five choices which best expresses your thoughts.

'RELIGIOUS GROUP' ORIENTATION SCALE

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not certain	Agree	Strongly agree
1.	All religious affairs should be regulated by cemaats (religious groups, RG).					
2.	Cemaats (RG) should be allowed to expand their activities beyond the current level.					
3.	Some cemaats (RG) offer more support and resources than the Diyanet.					
4.	Generally, cemaats (RG) are harmful.					
5.	A large number of good things are achieved by cemaats (RG) in Turkey.					
6.	Generally, the real aim of cemaats (RG) diverges from the provision of religious service to people.					
7.	Many cemaats (RG) try to provide better religious services than the Diyanet.					
8.	Generally, cemaats (RG) use religion as a means to trivial ends.					
9.	There is a concerted attempt to show that cemaats (RG) are bad.***					
10.	In today's context, Islam is well represented by some cemaats (RG).					
11.	Generally, I find members of cemaats (RG) to be very friendly.					

12. What is your general opinion about cemaats (RG) in Turkey? (Please circle an appropriate number)

Extremely dangerous 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10 Not at all dangerous.

*** Following this item, an 'attention-test item' was included: "There are a number of cemaats (RG) in Turkey".

Appendix 6

Questionnaires (Turkish)

ÜNİVERSİTE ÖĞRENCİLERİNDE DİNİ YÖNELİM ARAŞTIRMASI

AÇIKLAMA

Bu araştırma, üniversite öğrencilerinin din ile ilgili duygu, düşünce ve tutumlarını araştırmak üzere yürütmekte olduğum doktora çalışmasının bir parçasıdır.

Çalışmanın amacı, ülkemizdeki üniversite öğrencilerinin dini tutumlarına ilişkin gerçek figürleri yakalayabilmektir. Bu açıdan, vereceğiniz cevaplar önemlidir.

Gösterdiğiniz ilgi için teşekkür ederim.

ANKET FORMUNA

LÜTFEN İSMİNİZİ YAZMAYINIZ

NOT: Bu çalışma, Diyanet adına İngiltere'nin Leeds Üniversitesi'nde sosyal psikoloji alanında doktora yapan Ahmet ONAY tarafından yürütülmektedir.

ADRES:

173 Woodhouse lane

Leeds, LS2 9JT

ENGLAND

EMAIL: trsao@leeds.ac.uk

A. Aşağıda, araştırmanın bağımsız değişkenlerine ilişkin sorular bulunmaktadır. Gösterilen şıklar arasında kendinize uygun olanını seçerek bir çarpı işareti koyunuz.

1. Cinsiyetiniz? ()Erkek ()Kadın

2. Ailenizin gelir düzeyi?

()Çok düşük ()Düşük ()Orta ()Yüksek ()Çok yüksek

3. Yaşınız?.....

4. Hangi tür liseden mezun oldunuz?

() Lise () Anadolu Lisesi () İmam-Hatip Lisesi () Özel Lise () Diğer

5. Çocukluğunuz genellikle nerede geçti?

()Köy ()Kasaba ()İlçe ()İl

6. Okul haricinde dini bilgiler öğrenme gayretiniz oldu mu?

()Evet ()Hayır

7. Eğer oldu ise, hangi yolla?

()Kendi kendine ()Kur'an Kursunda ()Camide ()Özel hocada ()Diğer

B. Aşağıda, kişilerin kendilerini tanımlamak için kullandıkları bir dizi ifade sıralanmıştır. Bunlardan hiç birisi üzerinde fazla zaman harcamadan, genel olarak kanaatinizi ve hislerinizi gösteren cevabı işaretleyin.

		Hiç bir zaman	Bazan	Çoğu zaman	Her zaman
1.	Dinin toplum hayatı açısından faydalı olduğunu düşünürüm.				
2.	Dini inancın gerekli olmadığını düşünürüm.				
3.	İbadetlerimi yaparım.				
4.	Dinin yasak ettiği şeyleri yaptığım olur.				
5.	Dinin sosyal hayat ile ilgili kurallarını yerine getirmeye özen gösteririm.				
6.	Hata işlediğim zaman Allah'tan af dilerim.				
7.	Allah herkesi kendi niyetine göre değerlendirir diye düşünürüm.				
8.	Dini kuralları sıkıcı bulurum.				
9.	Toplum huzurunun sağlanmasında dinin önemli bir katkısının olduğunu düşünürüm.				
10.	İnancıma göre hareket etmediğimde, içimde bir huzursuzluk duyarım.				
11.	Allah kıyamet günü bana da merhamet eder diye umarım.				
12.	Kişinin din uğruna bir takım güçlüklerle katlanmasını anlamsız bulurum.				
13.	Dini kuralları yerine getirme zorunluluğu hissederim.				
14.	Nafle (farz olmayan) ibadetler yaparım.				
15.	Evlilik dışı ilişkileri normal karşılarım.				
16.	Dua ederim.*				
17.	Toplumun geri kalmasına, dini kuralların neden olduğunu düşünürüm.				
18.	Dinimi başkalarına da anlatmaya çalışırım.				

* Ölçek uygulanırken, bu maddeden sonra "Güneş doğudan doğar" 'dikkat-değerlendirme maddesi' eklenmiştir.

C. Aşağıda, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı ile ilgili bir dizi ifade yer almaktadır. Bu ifadelere ne ölçüde katılıp katılmadığınızı sağ tarafta gösterilen ifadelerden birisini seçmek suretiyle belirtiniz. Bunun için, ilgili kutucuğun içerisine bir çarpı işareti koyunuz.

		Hayır, kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Hayır, katılmıyorum	Emin değilim	Evet, katılıyorum	Evet, kesinlikle katılıyorum
1.	Diyanet yayınlarına güvenirim.					
2.	Dinle ilgili sorularımı bir Diyanet yetkilisine sormayı tercih ederim.					
3.	Diyanet görevlilerinin, İslam'ın tüm gerçeklerini söyleyemedikleri kanaatindeyim.					
4.	Diyanet toplumda bütünleştirici bir rol oynuyor.					
5.	Camilerde yapılan vaazlar, günlük hayatta beni etkiler.					
6.	Türkiye'de Diyanet'e ihtiyaç yoktur.**					
7.	Günümüz şartlarında, Diyanet görevlileri İslam'ı iyi temsil ediyor.					
8.	Diyanet'in verdiği dini mesaj genellikle halkı tatmin edecek düzeydedir.					
9.	Diyanet, halka daha iyi din hizmeti sunma gayreti içerisinde.					
10.	Diyanet, etkinliğini yitiriyor.					
11.	Mesleki yönden Diyanet görevlilerini yetersiz buluyorum.					

12. Diyanet hakkında genel fikriniz nedir? (1-10 arası uygun bulduğunuz bir puanı daire içerisine alınız.)

Hiç faydalı değil 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Çok faydalı

** Ölçek uygulanırken, bu maddeden sonra "Diyanet, Türk ekonomisinden sorumlu bir kurumdur" 'dikkat-değerlendirme maddesi' eklenmiştir.

D. Aşağıda, Cemaatler (dini gruplar) ile ilgili bir dizi ifade yer almaktadır. Bu ifadelere ne ölçüde katılıp katılmadığınızı sağ tarafta gösterilen ifadelerden birisini seçmek suretiyle belirtiniz. Bunun için, ilgili kutucuğun içerisine bir çarpı işareti koyunuz.

		Hayır, kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Hayır, katılmıyorum	Emin değilim	Evet, katılıyorum	Evet, kesinlikle katılıyorum
1.	Türkiyede, din işleri tamamen cemaatlere (dini gruplara) bırakılmalı.					
2.	Cemaatlere (dini gruplara) daha geniş bir hareket imkanı verilmeli.					
3.	Bazı cemaatler (dini gruplar), Diyanet'ten daha fazla halka yardımcı oluyor.					
4.	Genellikle cemaatler (dini gruplar) zararlıdır.					
5.	Türkiye'de, hayırlı işlerin bir çoğu cemaatler (dini gruplar) tarafından yapılmaktadır.					
6.	Çoğunlukla, cemaatlerin (dini grupların) esas amacı halka din hizmeti sunmak değildir.					
7.	Bazı cemaatler (dini gruplar), Diyanet'ten daha iyi bir din hizmeti sunma gayreti içerisinde.					
8.	Çoğunlukla, cemaatler (dini gruplar) dini kendi çıkarları için alet ediyorlar.					
9.	Türkiye'de, cemaatler (dini gruplar) kötü olarak gösterilmeye çalışılıyor.***					
10.	Bazı cemaatler, günümüz şartlarında İslam'ı iyi bir şekilde temsil ediyorlar.					
11.	Genellikle cemaate (dini gruba) mensup olan kişileri sempatik bulurum.					

12. Cemaatler (dini gruplar) hakkında genel fikriniz nedir? (1-10 arası uygun bulduğunuz bir puanı daire içerisine alınız.)

Kesinlikle zararlı 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Kesinlikle zararlı değil

*** Ölçek uygulanırken, bu maddeden sonra "Türkiye'de çok sayıda cemaat (dini grup) vardır" 'dikkat-değerlendirme maddesi' eklenmiştir.

Appendix 7

Frequencies for RAS-total, Erciyes and Ankara

	Scores as %	Row scores	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0%	18.00	26	2.3	2.3
	3%	20.00	2	.2	2.5
	7%	22.00	5	.4	2.9
	10%	24.00	2	.2	3.1
	12%	25.00	3	.3	3.3
	14%	26.00	2	.2	3.5
	16%	27.00	4	.4	3.9
	18%	28.00	2	.2	4.0
	20%	29.00	2	.2	4.2
	22%	30.00	6	.5	4.7
	24%	31.00	2	.2	4.9
	26%	32.00	4	.4	5.3
	28%	33.00	7	.6	5.9
	30%	34.00	3	.3	6.1
	32%	35.00	8	.7	6.8
	34%	36.00	12	1.1	7.9
	35%	37.00	7	.6	8.5
	36%	38.00	7	.6	9.1
	38%	39.00	5	.4	9.6
	40%	40.00	4	.4	9.9
	42%	41.00	15	1.3	11.2
	44%	42.00	11	1.0	12.2
	46%	43.00	6	.5	12.7
	48%	44.00	13	1.1	13.8
	50%	45.00	15	1.3	15.2
	52%	46.00	28	2.5	17.6
	54%	47.00	32	2.8	20.4
	56%	48.00	14	1.2	21.6
	58%	49.00	17	1.5	23.1
	60%	50.00	24	2.1	25.2
	62%	51.00	26	2.3	27.5
	64%	52.00	33	2.9	30.4
	65%	53.00	33	2.9	33.3
	66%	54.00	35	3.1	36.4
	68%	55.00	35	3.1	39.4
	70%	56.00	32	2.8	42.2
	72%	57.00	58	5.1	47.3
	74%	58.00	44	3.9	51.2
	76%	59.00	42	3.7	54.9
	78%	60.00	49	4.3	59.2
	80%	61.00	67	5.9	65.0
	82%	62.00	61	5.3	70.4
	84%	63.00	71	6.2	76.6
	85%	64.00	66	5.8	82.4
	86%	65.00	62	5.4	87.8
	88%	66.00	47	4.1	91.9
	90%	67.00	29	2.5	94.5
	92%	68.00	28	2.5	96.9
	94%	69.00	13	1.1	98.1
	96%	70.00	13	1.1	99.2
	98%	71.00	2	.2	99.4
	100%	72.00	7	.6	100.0
		Total	1141	100.0	
Missing		System	8		
Total			1149		

Appendix 8

Frequencies for RAS-cognitive, Erciyes and Ankara

	Scores as %	Row scores	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0%	8.00	26	2.3	2.3
	4%	9.00	3	.3	2.5
	8%	10.00	2	.2	2.7
	12%	11.00	2	.2	2.9
	16%	12.00	5	.4	3.3
	21%	13.00	7	.6	3.9
	25%	14.00	6	.5	4.5
	29%	15.00	3	.3	4.7
	33%	16.00	9	.8	5.5
	37%	17.00	12	1.0	6.6
	41%	18.00	11	1.0	7.5
	46%	19.00	22	1.9	9.4
	50%	20.00	26	2.3	11.7
	54%	21.00	25	2.2	13.9
	58%	22.00	21	1.8	15.7
	62%	23.00	44	3.8	19.6
	66%	24.00	41	3.6	23.2
	71%	25.00	66	5.8	28.9
	75%	26.00	59	5.2	34.1
	79%	27.00	50	4.4	38.5
83%	28.00	87	7.6	46.1	
87%	29.00	123	10.8	56.8	
91%	30.00	153	13.4	70.2	
96%	31.00	304	26.6	96.8	
100%	32.00	37	3.2	100.0	
		Total	1144	100.0	
Missing		System	5		
Total			1149		

Appendix 9

Frequencies for RAS-behavioural, Erciyes and Ankara

	Scores as %	Row scores	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0%	6.00	48	4.2	4.2
	6%	7.00	19	1.7	5.8
	11%	8.00	20	1.7	7.6
	17%	9.00	29	2.5	10.1
	22%	10.00	37	3.2	13.3
	27%	11.00	46	4.0	17.3
	33%	12.00	69	6.0	23.3
	39%	13.00	82	7.1	30.5
	44%	14.00	89	7.8	38.2
	50%	15.00	97	8.4	46.7
	56%	16.00	91	7.9	54.6
	61%	17.00	121	10.5	65.2
	67%	18.00	108	9.4	74.6
	72%	19.00	104	9.1	83.6
	77%	20.00	86	7.5	91.1
	83%	21.00	52	4.5	95.6
	89%	22.00	28	2.4	98.1
	94%	23.00	7	.6	98.7
	100%	24.00	15	1.3	100.0
			Total	1148	100.0
Missing		System	1		
Total			1149		

Appendix 10

Frequencies for RAS-affective, Erciyes and Ankara

	Scores as %	Row scores	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Valid	0%	4.00	33	2.9	2.9	
	8%	5.00	9	.8	3.7	
	17%	6.00	3	.3	3.9	
	25%	7.00	16	1.4	5.3	
	33%	8.00	29	2.5	7.9	
	42%	9.00	34	3.0	10.8	
	50%	10.00	40	3.5	14.3	
	58%	11.00	86	7.5	21.8	
	67%	12.00	123	10.7	32.6	
	75%	13.00	190	16.6	49.2	
	83%	14.00	180	15.7	64.9	
	92%	15.00	207	18.1	83.0	
	100%	16.00	195	17.0	100.0	
			Total	1145	100.0	
	Missing		System	4		
Total			1149			

Appendix 11

Frequencies for DIBOS-total, Erciyes and Ankara

Scores as %		Row scores	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0%	12.00	26	2.3	2.3
	2%	13.00	1	.1	2.4
	4%	14.00	4	.4	2.7
	6%	15.00	3	.3	3.0
	8%	16.00	4	.4	3.3
	10%	17.00	3	.3	3.6
	12%	18.00	7	.6	4.2
	14%	19.00	9	.8	5.0
	16%	20.00	15	1.3	6.3
	18%	21.00	8	.7	7.0
	20%	22.00	14	1.2	8.3
	23%	23.00	22	1.9	10.2
	26%	24.00	26	2.3	12.5
	28%	25.00	22	1.9	14.4
	30%	26.00	33	2.9	17.3
	32%	27.00	28	2.5	19.8
	34%	28.00	39	3.4	23.2
	36%	29.00	22	1.9	25.1
	38%	30.00	34	3.0	28.1
	40%	31.00	32	2.8	30.9
	42%	32.00	50	4.4	35.3
	44%	33.00	50	4.4	39.7
	46%	34.00	45	4.0	43.7
	48%	35.00	36	3.2	46.8
	50%	36.00	68	6.0	52.8
	52%	37.00	47	4.1	56.9
	54%	38.00	64	5.6	62.6
	56%	39.00	40	3.5	66.1
	58%	40.00	47	4.1	70.2
	60%	41.00	38	3.3	73.6
	62%	42.00	40	3.5	77.1
	64%	43.00	44	3.9	80.9
	66%	44.00	41	3.6	84.5
	68%	45.00	31	2.7	87.3
70%	46.00	25	2.2	89.5	
73%	47.00	29	2.5	92.0	
76%	48.00	12	1.1	93.1	
78%	49.00	19	1.7	94.7	
80%	50.00	11	1.0	95.7	
82%	51.00	10	.9	96.6	
84%	52.00	8	.7	97.3	
86%	53.00	6	.5	97.8	
88%	54.00	3	.3	98.1	
90%	55.00	2	.2	98.2	
92%	56.00	4	.4	98.6	
94%	57.00	2	.2	98.8	
96%	58.00	3	.3	99.0	
98%	59.00	1	.1	99.1	
100%	60.00	10	.9	100.0	
		Total	1138	100.0	
Missing		System	11		
Total			1149		

Appendix 12

Frequencies for COS-total, Erciyes and Ankara

	Scores as %	Row scores	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0%	12.00	58	5.1	5.1
	2%	13.00	13	1.2	6.3
	4%	14.00	11	1.0	7.3
	6%	15.00	18	1.6	8.8
	8%	16.00	23	2.0	10.9
	10%	17.00	14	1.2	12.1
	12%	18.00	19	1.7	13.8
	14%	19.00	26	2.3	16.1
	16%	20.00	9	.8	16.9
	18%	21.00	22	1.9	18.8
	20%	22.00	16	1.4	20.3
	23%	23.00	21	1.9	22.1
	26%	24.00	19	1.7	23.8
	28%	25.00	21	1.9	25.7
	30%	26.00	37	3.3	28.9
	32%	27.00	22	1.9	30.9
	34%	28.00	23	2.0	32.9
	36%	29.00	27	2.4	35.3
	38%	30.00	30	2.7	38.0
	40%	31.00	44	3.9	41.9
	42%	32.00	30	2.7	44.5
	44%	33.00	29	2.6	47.1
	46%	34.00	32	2.8	49.9
	48%	35.00	35	3.1	53.0
	50%	36.00	37	3.3	56.3
	52%	37.00	41	3.6	59.9
	54%	38.00	35	3.1	63.0
	56%	39.00	46	4.1	67.1
	58%	40.00	34	3.0	70.1
	60%	41.00	35	3.1	73.2
	62%	42.00	29	2.6	75.8
	64%	43.00	24	2.1	77.9
	66%	44.00	30	2.7	80.5
	68%	45.00	24	2.1	82.7
70%	46.00	20	1.8	84.4	
73%	47.00	30	2.7	87.1	
76%	48.00	16	1.4	88.5	
78%	49.00	25	2.2	90.7	
80%	50.00	19	1.7	92.4	
82%	51.00	16	1.4	93.8	
84%	52.00	17	1.5	95.3	
86%	53.00	14	1.2	96.5	
88%	54.00	7	.6	97.2	
90%	55.00	3	.3	97.4	
92%	56.00	4	.4	97.8	
94%	57.00	6	.5	98.3	
96%	58.00	5	.4	98.8	
98%	59.00	2	.2	98.9	
	100%	60.00	12	1.1	100.0
		Total	1130	100.0	
Missing		System	19		
Total			1149		

Appendix 13

Muslim Identity Matrix (English)

Muslim Identity Matrix-Cognitive, MIM-C

	ITEMS	RESPONSES
1	Declaration of Islamic faith	
2	Faith in	Allah
		Angels
		the Qur'an
		Prophets
		the after life
3	Views about Islamic commands	having sex outside marriage
		drinking alcohol
		eating pork
		wearing headscarf
		receiving interest from banks
4	Views about Islam as a religion	Islam is a cause of backwardness
		Islam creates good community relations
		It is worth being a Muslim
5	Points of stress (in terms of religion)	
6	Leadership	

Muslim Identity Matrix-Behavioural, MIM-B

ITEMS		RESPONSES
1	Prayers	
	Daily prayers	
	Friday prayer	
	Eid prayer	
2	Fasting	
	Funeral prayer	
3	Giving Alms	
4	Going to Hajj	
5	Other rituals	Religious wedding
		Circumcision
		Religious funeral
		Mawlid

Muslim Identity Matrix-Affective, MIM-A

ITEMS		RESPONSES
1	Belief in kader (fate)	
2	Petitioning God in prayer	
3	Asking forgiveness from God	
4	Expecting an assessment of God according to his/her deeds	

Appendix 14

Muslim Identity Matrix (Turkish)

Müslüman Kimlik Göstergesi-Düşünce, inanç, MKG-C.

CEVAPLAR

MADDELER

1	Kelime-i Şehadet	
2	İman	Allah'a Meleklerle Kitaplara, Qur'an'a Peygamberlere Ahirete
3	İslami esaslarla ilgili görüş	Evlilik dışı ilişkide (seks) bulunmak İçki içmek Domuz eti yemek Başörtüsü takmak (Bankadan) faiz almak (yemek)
4	Bir din olarak İslam Hakkındaki görüş	İslam geri kalmaya neden olur İslam fertler arasındaki iyi ilişkiler yaratır Müslüman olmak iyi bir haslettir
5	Ağırlık verilen husus (din ile ilgili)	
6	Dini önderlik (veya, liderlik)	

Müslüman Kimlik Göstergesi-Davranış, ibadet, MKG-V

CEVAPLAR

MADDELER

1	Namaz kılmak	Günlük beş vakit namaz	
		Cuma namazı	
		Bayram namazı	
		Cenaze namazı	
2	Oruç tutmak		
3	Zekat vermek		
4	Hacca gitmek		
5	Dini merasimler	Dini nikah töreni	
		Sünnet	
		Cenaze merasimi (adetler)	
		Mevlit merasimi	

Müslüman Kimlik Göstergesi-Duygu, beklenti, MKG-Y

CEVAPLAR

MADDELER

1	Kadere iman		
2	Allah'tan dua ve istekte bulunmak		
3	Allah'tan bağışlanmayı dilemek		
4	Allah katında niyetine göre değerlendirilmeyi ummak		

GLOSSARY

<i>İlmihal</i>	Catachetical instructions
<i>Abi</i>	Brother (someone older than you)
<i>Abla</i>	Sister (someone older than you)
<i>Adalet</i>	Justice
<i>Ahiret</i>	Here-after, day of judgement
<i>Ahlak</i>	Moral issues
<i>Anadolu</i>	Anatolia, Turkey
<i>Başörtüsü</i>	Headscarf
<i>Bayram</i>	Festival
<i>Biat</i>	Contract of investiture
<i>Bölücülük</i>	Separatism
<i>Caliph</i>	A successor of the Prophet Muhammed
<i>Cami</i>	Mosque
<i>Cehennem</i>	Hell
<i>Cemaat</i>	Religious (Muslim) group; congregation of a mosque
<i>Cenaze merasimi</i>	Funeral service
<i>Cennet</i>	Heaven
<i>Cuma namazı</i>	Friday prayer
<i>Devlet</i>	State
<i>Din</i>	Religion
<i>Dini bütün</i>	Religiously committed
<i>Diyanet</i>	Presidency of Religious Affairs of the Turkish Republic
<i>Dua</i>	To ask Allah for mercy
<i>Evkaf</i>	Religious foundations
<i>Ezan</i>	The call to prayer
<i>Fatwa</i>	A formal religious declaration
<i>Fethullahcıs</i>	A branch of <i>Nurcus</i> with the leadership of Fethullah Gülen

<i>Gecekondu</i>	A residential area located on the outskirts of a city, suburb
<i>Gericilik</i>	Reactionary
<i>Hadith</i>	Prophetic tradition, sayings of the Prophet Muhammed
<i>Hajj</i>	Pilgrimage, going on <i>hajj</i> , to Mecca
<i>Hoca</i>	Religious practitioner, religious master, senior lecturer, etc.
<i>Hubbu- Allah</i>	Love of Allah
<i>Hutba</i>	A sermon delivered in the mosques on Fridays
<i>Hürriyet</i>	Liberty
<i>İbadat</i>	Religious rituals
<i>İbaha</i>	General freedom
<i>İcma</i>	Consensus
<i>İftar</i>	Dinner in the evenings during the month of Ramadan
<i>İjma-i Ummet</i>	Consensus of the community
<i>İlçe</i>	Big town (smaller than a city)
<i>İtikad</i>	Religious belief
<i>Kader</i>	Fate
<i>Kanunname</i>	Edict
<i>Kasaba</i>	Small town (bigger than a village)
<i>Kelime-i shahadah</i>	Declaration of faith, Islam
<i>Kurban</i>	A sacrifice
<i>Laiklik</i>	Secularism, Turkish form of secularism
<i>Lise</i>	High school
<i>Mashvarat</i>	Consultation
<i>Maslahat</i>	Necessity and reason
<i>Mawlid</i>	Prophet Muhammed's birthday, the birth song of the Prophet
<i>Medrese</i>	Traditional religious schools
<i>Mescit</i>	Small mosque
<i>Mezheb</i>	Legal rite
<i>Mukabele</i>	Reciting of the <i>Qur'an</i>

<i>Nizamname</i>	Regulation
<i>Nurculuk</i>	An Islamic movement so called after the Risele-i Nur authored by the founder Said Nursi
<i>Nusretu-Allah</i>	Help from Allah
<i>Örf ve adetler</i>	Traditions and customs
<i>Rushdiye</i>	General name of military schools established by Sultan Abdulhamid II
<i>Sadaka</i>	Alms giving
<i>Salat</i>	Prayer
<i>Shaikh</i>	Leader of a <i>tarikah</i> , an older person
<i>Shariah</i>	Islamic law
<i>Sohbet</i>	Chat, talk, religious lectures
<i>Sufi</i>	Mystic
<i>Sunnah</i>	Sayings and traditions of the Prophet Muhammed
<i>Tanzimat</i>	Reorganisations, regulations
<i>Tarikat</i>	Sufi order
<i>Tawkil</i>	Delegation
<i>Tefsir</i>	Interpretation of the <i>Qur'an</i>
<i>Tekke</i>	A place where members of a Sufi order meet
<i>Türban</i>	Headscarf
<i>Ulama</i>	Muslim scholars, religious elite
<i>Urf</i>	Custom, social ethic
<i>Vaiz</i>	Muslim preacher
<i>Wilaya</i>	Representation; the right to decide for the community
<i>Zikr</i>	The remembrance of Allah

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