Islam, Secularism, and Democracy: Insights from Turkish Politics*

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu
Sabancı University

Introduction

The end of the Cold War precipitated a new debate concerning the might and hegemony of the liberal democratic and market models in the world. Have we now started to live in an era where people are to be ruled according to some form of democracy, which operates in tandem with liberal market economy for the foreseeable future? Francis Fukuyama's famous book even averred that this was no less than the end of history![1] The enemy of liberal democracy, the Soviet Union and its allies has lost the Cold War, and liberal democracy and free market capitalism have now become second to none. Fukuyama seemed to lead us to believe that the liberal democracy has no barbarians at its gates, threatening destruction of its civilized world.[2] From now to eternity under the civilized rule of liberal democracy and free market capitalism humanity will persist in a state of bliss.

It did not take long for a contrasting perspective to emerge to criticize and even refute Fukuyama's overtly optimistic view of political change and development.[3] Bernard Lewis was the first to argue in 1990 that "there is a mood and a movement afoot … far transcending the level of issues and policies and governments that pursue them. This is no less than a clash of civilizations…."[4] In fact, the argument by Lewis curiously seemed to suggest that there were several civilizations competing for the minds and hearts of the peoples of the world. In the post-Cold War era they are now coming to head on clash. The post – Cold War world is one where ideologies had come to an end, but now it is the civilizations that seem to be poised to struggle for supremacy. Soon after, it was Benjamin Barber who drew our attention to the role of cultural in defining political conflict in the world in the post - Cold War era.[5] Barber's analysis did not seem to veer so far away from the nation-states and their relations to the extent that Lewis had earlier argued. Nevertheless, Barber also maintained that cultural differences have started to provide the basis for political interaction and conflict in the world. However, neither Lewis nor Barber could draw the attention of the world to the extent that Samuel P. Huntington's work did. It was Huntington who popularized the "Clash of Civilizations."

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[1] Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*, (New York, NY: Avon Books, 1992).

[2] Ibid.: 82 -88.

[3] In fact, even a cursory study of Ibn Khaldun's famous work *Muqaddimah* (Introduction) would cast real doubt on the thesis propounded by Fukuyama. Khaldun had argued in the medieval times that human history is the unfolding of a struggle between the battle hardened barbarians, (mostly men of the desert in North Africa who are shaped by *asabiyyah*, (a form of social solidarity and unity formed between kinsmen) and the lethargic, meek, and urbane civilized states. No civilized state has and possibly can withstand the challenge of the uncivilized masses moved by *asabiyyah*. It is also possible to consider the answer that Samuel Huntington and others composed to challenge Fukuyama emerged out of the same *Khaldunian* genre of social thought.

[4] Cf. Jeremy Salt, "Global Disorder and the Limits of 'Dialogue'" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 4, 2008, pp 693.

[5] Benjamin Barber, *Jihad vs. the McWorld: How Globalism and Tribalism are Re-Shaping the World*, (New York: Random House, 1995).

Huntington contended that Islam as a civilization was poised as a threat to the civilized liberal democracy and free market capitalism of the West. The new barbarians at the gates of the liberal democracies of Europe and North America were the Muslims, whose call for *jihad* against the West symbolized the battle cry of against the civilized world.[6] Huntington went on to suggest that a country of Muslims such as Turkey should be neatly removed from the several club of democracies it belongs to, and Turkey's bid for European Union membership should also be stopped on the same grounds, for Islamic values and liberal democracy are irreconcilable.

Huntington is not alone in his views on the incompatibility of Islam with liberal democracy. In fact, historical analyses of Islam seemed to emphasize a similar argument that state and religion (*din wa dawla*) are inseparable in Islam,[7] which impedes secularism from developing. Under the circumstances democracy as a form of secular government is thus rendered very difficult to develop if not virtually impossible in polities with Muslim majorities. Another group of studies focused not on history but the recent political developments in the Middle East, Asia and Africa where armed radical Islamic movements developed to challenge secular political regimes in societies with Muslim majorities. These studies analyzed the role of local socio-economic welfare of communities that came under the influence of political Islam, as well as such political events as war and disaster, and the intricacies of the political ideology of the fanatics who participated in Islamic radical movements and organizations.[8] In the meantime, several studies pointed to the historical record of the same societies and pointed out that the relationship between religion and the state anything but constant or even stable; on the contrary, in countries with Muslim majorities the interface between religion and state varied over time.[9]

In the last decade a new breed of studies began to appear, which specifically scrutinized the claim of irreconcilability of Islam and liberal democracy. Mark Tessler using data from four Arab countries, and Richard Rose analyzing the record of the Central Asian Turkic countries with large Muslim populations argued that the perception, evaluations and

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[6] Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Re-making of World Order*, (New York: Touchstone, 1996).

[7] It is also a matter of fact that political Islam or Islamic Revivalist movements in the twentieth century have clearly argued for the fusion of Islam and politics, government, and the state. It was none other than *Hasan al-Banna*, the founder of the Muslim Brethren (Ikhwan-al Muslimeen) in Egypt who argued that "… When asked what it is for which you call, reply that it is Islam, the message of Muhammed, the religion that contains within it government,… If you are tıold that you are political, answer that Islam admits no such distinction." (Robert Mitchell, *The Society of Muslim Brothers*, (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969: 30 cf. Behrooz Ghamari – Tabrizi, *Islam and Dissent in Post-Revolutionary Iran: Abdolkarim Soroush, Religious Politics and Democratic Reform*, (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2008): 24). For a review of the literature on the pros and cons about Islam and secularism see Dale Eickelman and John Piscatori, *Muslim Politics,* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Pres, 1996).

[8] Emmanuel Sivan, *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics*, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Pres, 1985); Nazih Ayubi, *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World,* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Olivier Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Pres, 1994); Olivier Roy, Secularism Meets Islam, (New York; Columbia University Pres, 2008); Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam,* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2002). For a more recent treatment of the same subject that points its vagaries and paradoxes as Islam becomes a force of politics see the review essay by Charles Tripp "All (Muslim) Politics is Local: How Context Shapes Islam in Power," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 88, no. 5, (Sept./Oct. 2009): 124 – 129.

[9] Dale Eickelman, and John Piscatori, *Muslim Politics,* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Pres, 1996), and Asma Afsaruddin, "The Islamic State: Genealogy, Facts, Myth," *Journal of Church and State,* vol. 48, no. 1 (Winter, 2006): 153-73.

orientations of the voting age populations toward democracy were indeed highly favorable.[10] More recently, Rose using national survey data in Turkey concluded that there are no major hindrances in the minds of voters in Turkey, one of the few liberal democracies with large majority of Sunni Muslims that impeded democracy from developing.[11] In the meantime, more comprehensive surveys of attitudes, values and beliefs of Muslim populations in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East were conducted. These surveys also indicated that the Muslim voting age populations were hardly any different from their counterparts living elsewhere. However, Pippa Norris ad Ronald Inglehart found only one difficulty for the consolidation of liberal democracy in societies with large Muslim populations, the rights of women.[12] Islam seemed to differentiate and even discriminate against women, while it tolerated polygamy, and restrictions of shares for daughters from inheritance of deceased parents, and the like. In the hands of patriarchal conservatives, and even hypocritical clergy the Qur'an has been interpreted in a way to ensure patriarchal supremacy in civil relations. When women suggest participating in re-interpretation of the Qur'an in a less patriarchal fashion the clerical orthodoxy strikes back with damning opinions and even death threats. However, we do not yet know whether such issues can become matters of democratic deliberation and even vote in referenda in polities with large Muslim populations. Some recent research continued to indicate that Muslims could be hardly considered as hostile toward liberal democracy.[13] In spite of the fact that these studies continued to give insights into Muslim thinking about democracy, which seemed to be quite favorable, those polities with large Muslim populations failed to develop liberal democracies, yet continued with the practice of producing armed, radical Islamic groups, which seemed to favor bullets over ballots. Although the two phenomena seem to be related, they are distinctly different intellectual challenges and could only be treated as separate issues. In this paper, I would like to turn to the former issue of whether religiosity in societies with large Muslim populations hinders the development of liberal democracy or not, and if so how?

One way to resolve the differences pertaining to the impact of Islam on democracy is to examine a society where a preponderant majority of Muslims lived under a political regime where liberal democracy has been practiced. Turkey provides such an example, where democratic government seemed to persist in a society where Sunni Muslims lived in huge majority. Specifically, it is possible to delve into the attitudes of the pious and non-pious Muslims of Turkey toward democracy, as well as and simultaneously the characteristics of social capital, which tries such an effective role in the development and sustenance of civil society, which in turn is a significant factor that contributes to the emergence and sustenance of liberal democracy. Thus, doing so it is possible to begin with inquiring into the role that religiosity plays in determining values, beliefs, attitudes, which constitute social resources that are critical in the development of civil society in Turkey, on the one hand, and democracy, on the other. Secondly, we can take a step further and inquire into the role that religiosity plays in the emergence of political behavior that are potentially dysfunctional to the smooth operation

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[10] Mark Tessler. "Islam and Democracy in the Middle East: The Impact of Religious Orientations on Attitudes toward Democracy in Four Arab Countries." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 34, no. 3, (2002): 337-354, and Richard Rose, "How Muslims View Democracy: Evidence from Central Asia," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, no. 4, (2002): 102-111.

[11] Richard Rose, "Turkish voters and losers' consent", *Studies in Public Policy, No:440,* (Aberdeen, Scotland: Centre for the Study of Public Policy University of Aberdeen, 2008).

[12] Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004);

[13] John Esposito, and Dalia Mogahed. *Who Speaks for Islam? What a Billion Muslims Really Think*. (New York: Gallup Pres, 2007), and Amaney Jamal and Mark Tessler, "The Democracy Barometers: Attitudes in the Arab World." *Journal of Democracy* vol. 19, no. 1, (2008): 97-110

of liberal democracy. Two such forms of political behavior, which constitute such challenging forms are the protest and repression potential.[14] In the following, first hypotheses connection Islamic religiosity and indicators of social capital, on the one hand, and protest and repression potentials will be formulated. Secondly, measures of Islamic religiosity, indicators of social capital, protest and repression potentials will be operationalized. Finally, empirical tests of the hypotheses will be carried out with survey date collected in Turkey in 2009 in the last section of the paper.

Religiosity and Social Capital in Turkey

A social setting woven with interpersonal trust and of social and political tolerance are often considered as necessary for the vigor and sustainability of civic or associational activism from Hobbes and Tocqueville to Fukuyama.[15] Political liberty seems to depend upon both interpersonal trust and trust in one's capacity to influence political decisions to the betterment of one's self and society.[16] As an environment in which political liberty and actions based upon such a mindset of individuals, civil society is defined with reference to accountability, interpersonal trust and cooperation that all groups face.[17] In fact, it is the ability to form partnerships, or associability and the vigor of voluntary associations that enriches the content and character of civil society. It was in that sense sociologist Daniel Bell defined civil society by reference to associability as the self-organization of strong and autonomous groups that balance the state.[18] It was another sociologist, Ernest Gellner who further qualified this definition by arguing that it is those groups to which any individual can become a member by his/her free will and exit at whim that constitute the building blocks of civil society.[19]

Departing from these definitions it is plausible to argue that it is interpersonal trust, which paves the way for cooperation between individuals, who come together to form associations through voluntary action of those individuals who possess feelings of socio-political efficacy. It is those who trust others and who assume to have the ability to influence social and political happenings, decisions and events that surround them that develop the necessary social and psychological traits that would enable such individuals to form or participate in organized groups. The voluntary associations so established are then sustained through continued interpersonal trust, and social and political tolerance of the members toward their co-members.[20] Thus human resources that constitute civil society can be listed as interpersonal trust, associability, socio-political tolerance, and political efficacy.

It is not certain how religiosity influences the levels of the above-listed resources that help constitute civil society and render it functional. Turkey has a long history of sectarian intolerance in Islam. The Alevi minority in Anatolia had been treated with suspicion, more or

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[14] Protest and repression potentials are formulated in accord with their usage in Samuel Barnes and Max Kaase,(eds.), *Political Action,* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1979).
[15] Francis Fukuyama, *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*. (London, New York: Penguin Books, 1995): 49 – 57.
[16] Barbara A. Misztal, *Trust in Modern Societies: The Search for the Basis of Social Order*. (Oxford, Cambridge, England: Polity Pres, 1996): 28 - 29.
[17] Chris Hann and Elizabeth Dunn (eds.), *Civil Society: Challenging Western Models*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1996): 20.
[18] Cf. Adam B. Seligman, *The Idea of Civil Society*. (Princeton N. J: Princeton University Press, 1992): 2.
[19] Ernest Gellner,"The Importance of Being Modular" in John A. Hall, *Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison*. (Oxford, Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 1995): 40 – 41.
[20] R. D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2000): 21.

less as a fifth column of Shi'ite Iran by the Ottoman political system. The Alevis had been persecuted and even massacred from time to time. The Sunni clerical establishment had also considered the Alevis as heretics (*Batini*). Although with the secular Republic Alevis seemed to have received a much better treatment, still there occurred several sectarian conflicts between the Sunni and Alevi populations of such cities as Sivas, Kahramanmaraş, Çorum, Erzincan, and Tokat throughout the 1970s. It was only in 1993 that a group of Alevi intellectuals were burnt alive in a hotel in the city of Sivas. Sectarian distrust and intolerance is well documented in Turkey. However, so far as interpersonal trust toward fellow Sunnis are concerned, there is little reason to doubt that we should expect widespread in-group trust toward fellow Sunnis by the majority Sunnis, simultaneously with distrust toward the minority Alevi sect. There is little reason to assume that Sunni orthodoxy has much tolerance toward any deviation from the orthodoxy it represents either for the fellow Sunnis or the non Sunnis. Under the circumstances, it is warranted to predict that as religiosity increases for the Sunni (orthodox) majority in Turkey, levels of interpersonal trust toward fellow wo/men and social tolerance decreases. Similarly, voluntary and individualistic practices of associability would also be expected to suffer from such scarcity of interpersonal trust and social tolerance. Therefore, it is highly unlikely to observe any systematic pattern of increasing propensity for associability among more pious Sunni Muslims in Turkey. Participation in the activities of religious communities, theological seminaries, lectures, debates and the like would increase with higher levels of religiosity. However, such participation in religious associations and their activities may not automatically constitute a civic and individual voluntary act, per se. It seems as if such involvement in religious organizations often is a simple extension of family or small town solidarity, where one who is a member of a lineage network or one who resides in a town becomes a member to religious communities and their organizations by birth. Therefore, it is uncertain whether such a form of associability is dissociated with pressures of social conformity, and thus constitutes a communal or group behavior, or not.

In summary, in this paper it is hypothesized that increases in Sunni (majority orthodox sect of Islam in Turkey) religiosity decreases interpersonal trust in fellow human beings and social tolerance at the individual level, on the one hand, and also curbs associability, except in the specific case of membership in religious organizations. It is further suggested here that the participation of the pious in religious associations is not to be interpreted as voluntary, individualistic involvement, unless there are evidence pointing to such behavior.

Religiosity, Participation, and Democracy

The overall effect of religiosity on political participation has been relatively well studied in the Turkish context. Survey data were used to analyze the relationship between religiosity and political participation from 1997 through 2006.[21] The findings of the Turkish Values Survey of 1996 - 1997, pre-election survey of October 2002, and Turkish socio-political attitudes and orientations survey of 2006 indicate that religiosity erodes protest potential. The overall conclusion of these works may best be summarized as follows: " … data analysis indicates that Islamic values and religiosity seem to play a major role in determining political protest in Turkey, by forestalling rather than fostering it. It is important to note that protest

[21] Ersin Kalaycıoğlu "Unconventional Political Participation in Turkey and Europe: Comparative Perspectives" in Facolta di Scienza Politiche dell'Universita di Pavia (ed.), *Italy and Turkey: Further Insights in Comparative Points of View*, (Pavia: Italy, 1997): 51-70; Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, "Religiosity and Protest Behavior: The Case of Turkey in Comparative Perspective" *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, vol. 9, no. 3, (December 2007): 275 – 291, and Ali Çarkoğlu and Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, *Turkish Democracy Today: Elections, Participation and Stability in an Islamic Society*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007): 57 – 112.

activities are popularly considered in Turkey to be futile acts, with little or no chance of getting a demand satisfied. In contrast, religious interest groups have been quite successful in lobbying governments and the Turkish Grand National Assembly. They have also been quite successful in establishing powerful links with a variety of political parties and influencing the selection of parliamentary deputies and cabinet ministers."[22]

Turkish politics has changed dramatically and went through a major voter re-alignment process in the mid 1990s, and came under the domination of socially conservative and traditional, economically liberal and market oriented, and politically reformist and revanchist ideologies of the right.[23] This new mind-set that dominates the Turkish popular and elite politics simultaneously has produced new opportunities for religious orders and communities, and pious voters. The outcome of this mental shift in Turkey has empowered the formerly marginal pious Sunni communities, religious orders and the pious individuals, who have every right to assume that they have clout on the likeminded political elite that have come to rule Turkey recently. Therefore, it is plausible to suggest the hypothesis that those voters with higher levels of religiosity who are operating in the current environment are to feel more supportive of democracy than the less religious and secular voters. One should expect to find higher levels of conventional participation and lower levels of protest potential among the more religious Muslim population in Turkey.

Independent Variables: Religiosity, Sects, Ideology, Ethnicity and Demographics[24]

Religiosity is measured as an individual level variable in the overwhelmingly Sunni Muslim context of Turkey through a battery of questions pertaining to faith, worship, and other religious practice (see Table 1). A principal components analysis of responses given to the questions listed in Table 1 indicates that religiosity consists of three distinct and separate (linearly independent) dimensions of faith, worship and related practice, and what I have termed as a conservative life style. The latter consists of consuming and participating in the activities of folk religion that permeates Turkish society such as the practice of chanting a poem on the occasion of the birth of the Prophet Mohammed (known as the *Mevlut or Mevlid*),[25] religious wedding (*imam nikahı*), procuring and drinking *zemzem* water from the original sacred well in the *Hicaz*, and the like. Such practices are not the integral part of the core faith of Sunni Islam, though the more religiously conservative individuals and families prefer to practice such rites. Therefore, observations pertaining to such practices should produce a measure of religiosity with robust internal validity.

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[22] Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, "Religiosity and Protest Behavior: The Case of Turkey in Comparative Perspective"…: 289 – 291.

[23] See the following book for a comprehensive analysis of the new mind-set in Turkey: Ali Çarkoğlu and Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, *The Rising Tide of Turkish Conservatism*, (New York, N.Y: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): passim.

[24] The data for the operationalization of the independent and the dependent variables are from the ISSP's Religiosity Survey of 2008 – 2009 in Turkey.

[25] The term mevlut (also *mevlid-i şerif*) refers to the birth or birthday of the Prophet Muhammed, which is celebrated in Turkey as a holy day (*mevlut kandili*). However, at birth of new members of the family and commemorating the dead of the former family members Turks often gather to chant a poem composed by Süleyman Çelebi (death 1422 AD, who also functioned as the imam of the most important mosque of Bursa, Turkey for a time). *Mevlid-i Şerif* by Süleyman Çelebi was composed in Turkish and chanted in Turkish by heart by *hafiz* (a man who has memorized the holy Kur'an by heart; and often in Turkey Süleyman Çelebi's *mevlid* as well), which most families still prefer to use the services of.

Table 1: Religiosity (Principal Components Factor Analysis, Turkey, 2008 - 2009)

Items	Religious Faith (*İtikat*)	Religious Practice (*Muamelat*)	Religious Conservatism
Belief in Life After Death	,825	,042	,069
Belief in Heaven	,885	,005	,148
Belief in Hell	,883	,006	,130
Belief in Religious Miracles	,675	,095	,191
Belief in Resurrection	,733	,053	,068
Have a picture of the *Kabe*	,087	,776	,123
Have a picture of the *Mescid-i Aksa*	,024	,732	,042
Have a picture of *Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi*	-,013	,639	,011
Regularity of Worship	,304	,212	,478
Ever attended a Kur'an Course (*Kur'an Kursu*)	,037	,380	,065
Desirability of religious wedding (*imam nikahı*)	,033	,034	,777
Desirability of chanting a *Mevlut* after birth of a child	,080	,051	,794
Donations to a mosque of religious endowment (*vakıf*)	,229	,185	,667
Having water from the Holy land (*zemzem*) and other holy relics	,041	,644	,135

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Although most of the population of Turkey consists of Sunnis[26] a minority of the population are Alevi.[27] Confessional differences between the Shafi and Hanefi Sunnis do not

[26] There are two major Sunni schools of theology and law that are practiced in Turkey, and they are the majority Hanefi and the minority Shafi schools of law. There are four such schools in Sunni Islam, which are referred to by the name of the scholars and clerics (imam) who established them, and they are the Hanbali, Maliki, Hanefi, and Shafi schools of law. Hanefi school was established by *Imam-ı Hanefi*, an Iranian, whose ideas and interpretations deeply influenced Iranians and Turks, fort he latter were mostly converted to Islam by the former. Turks have spent lengthy periods of time in Iran as they migrated in large numbers through Iran into Anatolia about a millenium ago. Hence, their culture was deeply influenced by the Iranian culture, including religious practices in Iran, which then was dominantly Hanefi – Sunni (see Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300 – 1923*, (New York: Basic Books, 2005): 494). Iran later adopted Shi'ite Islam, the other major sect of Islam in the mid sixteenth century under the reign of ethnically Turkish Safavid dynasty Islam (see Halil Inalcik, *Devlet-i 'Aliyye*, (Istanbul: Iş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2009): 140). Incidentally, the Ottoman sultans, who also were ethnically Turkish came to rule Anatolia continued to practice Hanefi Sunni theology and most of their subjects, who also were ethnically Turkish also followed their leadership and became Hanefi Sunnis. Most Kurds who also live in Turkey have adopted either Shafi Sunni theology or a form of Shi'ism and Alevi faith. A minority among the Turks have also become Alevis (see Paul J. White and Joost Jongerden (eds.) *Turkey's Alevi Enigma*, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003: passim).

[27] Other then the majority Sunnis, Alevi also live in large numbers in several parts of Anatolia and also in the major cities of Turkey, though they are much smaller in size in comparison to the Sunnis. Alevis either constitute a different Muslim sect, that is distinctly different from Sunni or Shi'ite theology, or as some Alevis argue they comprise a completely different religion. However, one may approach the matter Alevi belief system seems to be deeply influenced by the folklore of Anatolia, which includes Islam (mostly Shi'ite Islam for Alevi literally means those who belong to the followers of Prophet Mohammed's son-in-law and the fourth Caliph, Hz. Ali), Christian, pre-Christian beliefs and values, and also Central Asian shamanist values. Alevis therefore constitute a separate religious community within Turkey, which have often been approached by suspicion and hostility by the Sunni majority and the Ottoman state. Several major periods of persecution had occurred in the past targeting the Alevi

seem to have important socio-political consequences, though Sunni – Alevi differences seem to matter. Most Alevis also tend to be secular, which pit them against religious orthodoxy of the Sunni conservatives. Such a confessional divide, when it further augments secular – Sunni pious divisions in society seems to especially matter in voting behavior in national elections.[28] Consequently, a measure of Alevism will thus be incorporated in this study to assess how far the Alevi and Sunni differ in terms of their orientations to civic values, democracy and political participation. An examination of Table 2 hints that about one out of every six respondent (14 percent) of our sample indicated that they pay some reverence to a major Alevi symbol (see Table 2). The measure of Alevi confessional groups will consist of the 14% of the respondents as shown on Table 2, which will be coded as "1" and the Sunnis will be coded as "0", and non-believers (about 2 percent of the sample) will be eliminated from this measure.

Table 2: Alevism (Turkey, 2008 - 2009)

Items	Frequency	Percent of the Total Sample	Valid Percent of the Total Sample
Most important religious figure: Hz. Ali (First Mentioned)	95	6,5	6,5
Most important religious figure: Hz. Ali (Second Mentioned)	53	3,6	3,6
Possesses a painting of Hz. Ali	80	5,5	5,7
Possess a painting of the Twelve Imams (*oniki imam*)	67	4,6	4,8
All of those respondents who appear in any of the above listed categories	206	14,2	14,8

The most concise and accurate way of determining the ideological positions of the individual respondents is by means of registering their own accounts of where they stand on the left – right spectrum. Figure 1 summarizes the distribution of the self-registered positions of our sample during the end of 2008 and the beginning of 2009 (see Fig. 1). The distribution of ideological positions of the Turkish voting age population is considerable skewed to the left (Skewness = -.18, and arithmetic mean = 6.23 out of a maximum of 10). Consequently, about 19 percent place themselves on the left, about 36 percent in the middle, and about 45 percent on the right of the scale. Such a slant toward the right has been continuing since the mid 1990s in the Turkish politics, which is a good indication of the conservative mood in the country.[29]

Figure 1 about here
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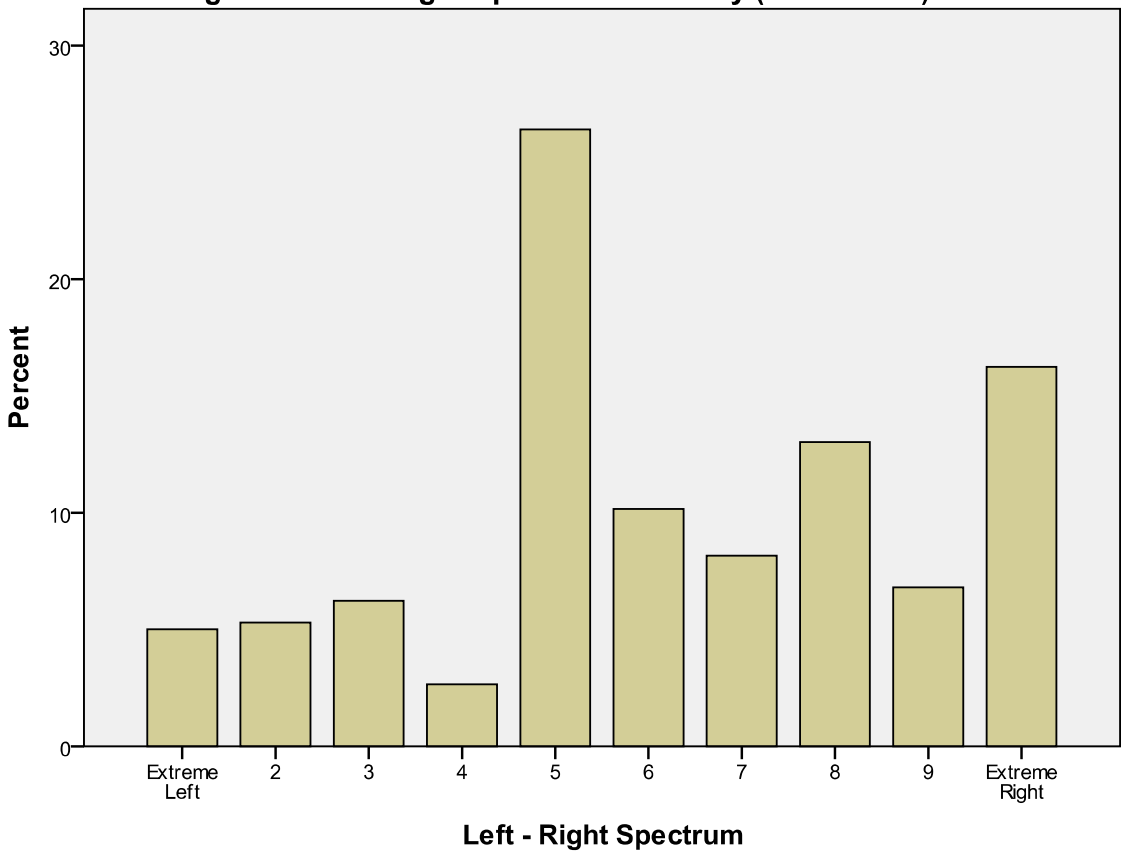
communities, which have been the subject of a major massacres as recently as 1978 - 1980 and 1993. The Turkish Census data do not include any breakdowns in terms of faith, religion, and sects. Therefore, we need to estimate who an Alevi is by requesting answers to several questions in our surveys. The results of such survey items are reported here.

[28] Ali Çarkoğlu and Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, *Turkish Democracy Today: Elections, Participation and Stability in an Islamic Society*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007): 120 – 130, and 190 – 192.

[29] Ali Çarkoğlu and Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, *The Rising Tide of Turkish Conservatism*, (New York, N.Y: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): 3 – 26.

Figure 1: Left - Right Spectrum in Turkey (2008 - 2009)



Ethnic identity of the respondent is measured by reference to the language and / or dialect spoken between the respondent and his / her mother as a young child.[30] The cumulative total of the first and second mentioned languages are added up to estimate the Turkish, Kurdish and other ethnic groups in the country (see Table 3). The measure of ethnicity used is a simple designation of the dialects that indicate Kurdish mother tongue versus the other mother tongue users in the country. Those whose mother tongue is indicative of Kurdish were coded as "1" and Turkish as "0" and the rest are eliminated from the analysis.

Table 3: Mother Tongue as a Marker of Ethnicity (Turkey, 2008 - 2009)

Mother Tongue	Frequency	Percent
Turkish	1172	80,7
Kurdish (Kırmanç and Zaza)	202	13,9
Other	79	5,4
Total (percent)	1453	100,0

[30] Turkish Census does not include any information on mother tongues or other measures of ethnic identity since 1965. Therefore, it is warranted to directly ask the respondents the tongue that they spoke with their mother when they were a young child as an open-ended question, and then code the responses given by the respondents. In the survey the data of which are used in this paper the same open ended question was employed.

Age of the respondent, which is calculated from the question that requested the date of birth of the respondent, is used as another independent variable in the following statistical analysis. The age of the respondent is simply calculated by subtracting the year of birth of the respondent from 2009, the actual year of the interview. Sex of the respondent was coded during the interview, and the males are coded as "1" and females as "0" to indicate the gender of the respondents in the data set. Finally, two different types of measures of formal education are used in the following statistical analysis. One measure of formal education is a simple time spent in obtaining formal education, which is coded in years. The other measure used requested the level of formal education the respondent accomplished, which is coded into five categories as primary education, post – primary to some secondary education, complete secondary education, some tertiary education, and finally complete tertiary education or above. Both measures of formal education were used in the statistical analysis reported below.

Dependent Variables: Interpersonal Trust, Religious Tolerance and Associability, Sharia Rule (*Şeriat Devleti*), Satisfaction with Democracy, and Unconventional Political Participation

This paper aims to unearth the association between religiosity and confessional differences on the values of civil society, democracy and political participation. Six different dependent variables representing civic values, attitudes toward democracy, and political participation are measured and incorporated into the following statistical analysis below.

Interpersonal trust is measured through the responses given to the question "whether people can be trusted, or one almost always cannot be too careful in dealing with others, or not." The responses given to the question by the respondents in early 2009 are presented in Table 4. The results of the table indicates that only about six percent of the respondents register trust in others in interpersonal relations, while more than ninety percent indicate some form of distrust. Turkey seems to have the characteristics of a low trust society.[31]

Table 4: Interpersonal Trust (Turkey, 2008 - 2009)

Items	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
People can always be trusted	21	1,4	1,5
People can be usually trusted	70	4,8	4,9
Usually can't be too careful in dealing with people	576	39,6	40,0
Almost always can't be too careful in dealing with people	772	53,1	53,6
Can't choose	5	,3	
No Response	9	,6	
Total	1453	100,0	

[31] Not only the results in Table 4 of this paper but earlier survey findings using the above mentioned question as well as several others have discovered that less than ten percent of the Turkish respondents systematically register some form of interpersonal trust in social relations (see Ersin Kalaycıoğlu,"Türkiye'de Demokrasi'nin Pekişmesi: Bir Siyasal Kültür Sorunu" in *Prof. Dr. Ergun Özbudun'a Armağan (Essays in Honor of Ergun Özbudun)* (cilt I), (Ankara: Yetkin Publications, 2008) 255 – 258 for a more thorough treatment of the matter.

Research findings also indicated that membership in associations is a relatively scarce property of the Turkish adult population.[32] However, participation in the activities of the religious organizations, even though people may not become members in the official sense of the term is more widespread as the findings of Table 5 indicate. (see Table 5). In general, only about less than ten percent of the respondents declare membership in voluntary associations, while about one out of every three respondent indicates some sort of participation in the activities of the religious communities and their associations (see Table 5). .

Table 5: Religious Associability (Turkey, 2008 - 2009)

Items	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
None	966	66,5	67,4
Less than once a year	88	6,1	6,1
One or two times a year	46	3,2	3,2
A few times a year	62	4,3	4,3
Once a month	42	2,9	2,9
Two three times a month	46	3,2	3,2
Almost once every week	54	3,7	3,8
Once a week	55	3,8	3,8
More than once a week	74	5,1	5,2
No response	20	1,4	
Total	1453	100,0	

Note: The question asked in the ISSP Survey on Religiosity was as follows: How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a religious community or place of worship other than attending services?

Tolerance toward members of other religions, sects of Islam, or the non-believers seem also to be relatively shallow. Tolerance seems to reach its peak when about half of the population shows some tolerance toward mixed (Muslim – non-Muslim) marriages in Turkey. However, even such a level of tolerance rapidly wanes when it comes to voting for a candidate with a different religious/confessional background or freedom of expression of those who one considers to possess extreme views on religion (see Table 6).

Table 6 about here

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[32] Ersin Kalaycıoğlu,"Türkiye'de Demokrasi'nin Pekişmesi: Bir Siyasal Kültür Sorunu" in *Prof. Dr. Ergun Özbudun'a Armağan (Essays in Honor of Ergun Özbudun)* (cilt I), (Ankara: Yetkin Publications, 2008) :260

Table 6: Religious Tolerance (Turkey, 2008 - 2009)

Item	Completely Disagrees (%)	Disagrees (%)	Agrees (%)	Completely Agrees (%)	Missing (%)	Total Observations (n)
Tolerate non-Muslim or someone whose views on religion markedly differ from one's own to marry a relative	36,4	12,5	23,5	24,5	3,1	1453
Tolerate non-Muslim or someone whose views on religion markedly differ from one's own to emerge as a candidate on the list of the party one intends to vote for in one's district	37,1	12,0	23,6	23,1	4,3	1453
Freedom of expression of a perceived religious extremist (delivering a speech to express views)	35,8	22,5	23,8	10,9	7,0	1453
Freedom of expression of a perceived religious extremist (publishing a book to express views)	33,1	21,1	26,8	11,3	7,6	1453

Tolerance toward the main religious faiths in the world seems also to be relatively shallow among the Turkish population as well (see Table 7). The only religious faith that seems to enjoy lots of favorable orientation from the overwhelming majority of Muslims in Turkey is Islam. All other religious faiths seem to be subject to such favorable predisposition in the eyes of small minorities, which vary between a minimum of 14 percent and a maximum of 22 percent (see Table 7).

Table 7: Attitudes toward Major Faiths in the World (Turkey, 2008 - 2009)

Views Concerning:	Very Favorable (%)	Favorable (%)	Neither Favorable nor Unfavorable (%)	Unfavorable (%)	Very Unfavorable (%)	Missing (%)	Total Observations (n)
Christians	10,6	11,3	23,4	13,6	30,4	10,7	1453
Muslims	83,6	8,3	5,4	1,2	,6	,9	1453
Hindus	10,0	9,4	24,6	11,5	30,1	14,4	1453
Buddhists	9,8	8,9	23,6	12,5	31,3	14,0	1453
Jews	10,6	11,3	23,4	13,6	30,4	10,7	1453
Non-believers	7,0	6,7	17,9	9,2	38,0	21,1	1453

When we combine all of the attitudes on religious tolerance to scale a measure of overall religious tolerance we observe that three major traits emerge to define religious tolerance in Turkey (see Table 8). Attitudes concerning tolerance toward major faiths, toward dissenting individuals and toward non-believers load on three different dimensions during a factor analysis run (see Table 8). In the following these three dimensions, which are linearly independent of each other will be incorporated into a multivariate analysis separately.

Another dependent variable to be considered here is the orientation toward Sharia rule in Turkey. The religious law and practices based upon it have their legal status annulled in the aftermath of the Republic in the early 1920s. The most comprehensive change toward secularization occurred with the adoption of a new civil code in 1926 in lieu of the former Ottoman *Mecelle*, which was more or less based upon the Sharia law. Hence, the question concerning the secular nature of the Turkish political regime can be easily reduced to the substance of the laws of the land. If they are based on the religious law (Shariat), it becomes virtually impossible for a country to be considered secular. Hence, the following question concerning whether the respondent desires the establishment of a political rule based upon the Sharia law goes to the very much heart of the matter concerning secularism in Turkey (see Table 9). The results presented in Table 9 indicate that about one out of every ten respondent would rather be ruled by Sharia law in the country.[33]

Table 8: Overall Religious Tolerance (Factor Scores, Turkey, 2008 - 2009)[a]

Items	Dimension		
	Intolerance toward Major Religions	**Intolerance toward Religious Dissent**	**Intolerance toward non-Muslims**
Christians	,878	,042	,153
Hindus	,947	,045	,138
Buddhists	,950	,043	,137
Jews	,929	,052	,125
Non-believers	,780	,023	,210
Muslims	-,031	-,086	-,314
All religions should be respected	,119	-,148	,476
Tolerate non-Muslim or someone whose views on religion markedly differ from one's own to marry a relative	,172	,138	,825
Tolerate non-Muslim or someone whose views on religion markedly differ from one's own to emerge as a candidate on the list of the party one intends to vote for in one's district	,184	,205	,805
Freedom of expression of a religious extremist (delivering a speech to express views)	,031	,937	,108
Freedom of expression of a religious extremist (publishing a book to express views)	,083	,930	,135

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

[33] Research indicates that this figure has not necessarily been very stable. Over the years the same question did find as high as one out of four respondents supporting it. In the recent years we have a relative decline in the number of respondents who respond favorably to this question. The no response category fort his question is relatively high. Some people would rather not answer the question and prefer not to register a response. In that case, we can add the "no response" and "yes" categories and find about 23 percent, which may still be a ballpark figure for those who may be positively oriented toward the Sharia rule in the country. It seems as if about one out of four voters is the upper limit of the size of the population that support a Sharia State (Şeriat Devleti) in Turkey today.

Table 9: Desire Shari'a Rule in Turkey? (2008 - 2009)

Items	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
No	1121	77,1	89,0
Yes	138	9,5	11,0
No Response	194	13,4	100,0
Total	1453	100,0	

The satisfaction with the performance of the respondents were registered through their answers to an eleven point scale where "0" stood for "not satisfied at all" and "10" stood for "very satisfied. " The distribution of responses is presented in Table 10 below. It seems

Table 10: Satisfaction with Democracy (2008 – 2009)

Items	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
0 "Not satisfied at all"	209	14,4	14,4	14,4
1	155	10,7	10,7	25,1
2	145	10,0	10,0	35,0
3	124	8,5	8,5	43,6
4	96	6,6	6,6	50,2
5 "Undecided"	275	18,9	18,9	69,1
6	76	5,2	5,2	74,3
7	110	7,6	7,6	81,9
8	109	7,5	7,5	89,4
9	21	1,4	1,4	90,8
10 "Very Satisfied"	96	6,6	6,6	97,5
No Response / Don't Know	37	2,5	2,5	100,0
Total	1453	100,0	100,0	

There seems to be a major interest in understanding the proclivity of the pious Muslims toward unconventional political participation. Indeed, not a day passes that some international daily or journal makes an allegation about the protest potential in the Muslim countries. To be able to test the nature of the empirical association between religiosity and political participation two different forms of unconventional participation are defined and operationalized in this paper. One form of unconventional political participation is the protest potential, which this paper measures through the responses registered as answers to activities that the respondents committed from petitioning to building occupation (see Table 11). The other form of unconventional participation is repression potential, which in turn is measured by the help of the responses given to questions on activities pertinent to breaking up of official labor strikes to participation in clearing up occupied buildings from the protestors (see Table 11). When these questions are submitted to principal components analysis one dimension that empirically represent protest potential and another that represents repression potential emerges. The factor scores calculated from the factor loadings of each dimension are used in the following analysis as comprising the categories the variables of protest and repression potential.

Table 11: Unconventional Political Participation

Repression Potential Factor[a]

	Repression Potential
Participate in breaking up an unofficial labor strike	,848
Participate in blocking a legal demonstration	,889
Participate in clearing up an occupied building	,879

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Protest Potential Factor[a]

	Protest Potential
Petitioning	,734
Participation in a boycott	,869
Participation in a legal demonstration	,838
Participation in unofficial labor strike	,810
Building occupation	,690

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Findings

When the three dimensions of religiosity, sectarian and ideological differences, age, gender, formal education and ethnicity are correlated with interpersonal trust, religious associability and intolerance, Shari'a rule, satisfaction with the performance of democracy, and finally protest and repression potentials some interesting patters of relationships emerge. First of all, the sectarian differences fail to make any difference in explaining the variance in almost any of the dependent variables, save satisfaction with the performance of democracy in the country, where the Alevis seem to score relatively higher than the Sunnis (see Table 12).

Secondly, ethnicity also seems not to correlate with civic attitudes, performance of democracy and unconventional political participation. The Kurds seem to register a greater desire for Shari'a rule, which may be no more than their piety and alienation from secular image of Turkish nationalism. Support for the Shari'a rule is a definite alternative to the current Republican regime to which a relatively large number of Kurds do not seem to feel much allegiance (see Table 12).

Thirdly, age and gender fail to correlate with any civic attitude, save intolerance for religious dissent, which seems to be quite high among the elderly. Repression potential seems to be a male vocation (see Table 12).

Fourth, among the social background variables, formal education seems to be correlated with all of the dependent variables save interpersonal trust. Formal education tends to depress religious intolerance and religious associability; which seems to indicate that those with little or no formal education tend to participate in the organized activities of the Sufi orders, religious

communities and organizations in Turkey. Formal education also seems to decrease the slant to support the Shari'a rule. However, it seems as if formal education is one of the most important associates of both types of unconventional participation. Those who have had more formal education in Turkey also seem to be less satisfied with the performance of democracy in the country (see Table 12).

Table 12: Correlations: Religiosity, Ethnicity, Social Background, Civic Attitudes, Shari'a Rule, Democracy, and Political Behavior (Turkey, 2008 – 2009)

Variable	Trust	Religious Associability	Religious Intolerance	Intolerance of Religious Dissent	Intolerance of non-Muslims	Shari'a Rule	Satisfied with Performance of Democracy	Participation (Protest Potential)	Participation (Repression Potential)
Religiosity (Faith)	-.01	.03	**.12****	.02	**.19****	.05	**.14****	**-.27****	.02
Religiosity (Worship)	.01	**.20****	.07*	.07*	**.09****	**.18****	**.09****	-.04	.02
Religiosity (Conservat-ism)	-.01	**.17****	**.11****	.09*	**.25****	**.15****	**.22****	**-.15****	-.04
Alevi vs. Sunni	-.01	.02	-.07*	-.03	-.03	.02	**-.07****	.03	.04
Left - Right	.00	**.19****	**.14****	.09*	**.22****	**.20****	**.30****	**-.29****	-.06*
Formal Secular Education (years)	.02	**-.09****	**-.13****	**-11****	**-.26****	**-.11****	**-.18****	**.30****	**.11****
Formal Education (levels)	.01	**-.08****	**-.12****	**-.12****	**-.26****	**-.10****	**-.17****	**.29****	**.11****
Age	-.03	.04	.00	**.13****	.06	.02	.06*	-.08*	-.05
Gender	.01	.02	-.08*	.02	-.01	.01	-.03	.12	**.10****
Ethnicity (Kurds versus Others)	.06	-.01	**-.14****	-.02	-.04	**.10****	-.05	.03	.07*

Note: * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed test).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 1evel (2-tailed test).

Fifth, ideological positions of the respondents also seem to matter in determining their levels of religious tolerance, associability, attitudes toward the Sharia rule, performance of democracy and unconventional participation. It is those on the right who participate in religious meetings of the Sufi orders, communities and their organizations. Again it is those situated in

the right of the left right spectrum who overwhelmingly support the idea of Shari'a rule and show high intolerance to other religions and non-believers. It is again the rightists who are satisfied with the performance of democracy and shun away from protests and repression. Sixth and the final finding seems to be that the more religious the Muslims in Turkey get the more intolerant toward other religions, faiths and non-believers they become. The more pious also tend to be more satisfied with the performance of democracy and less inclined to protest. Two out of three forms of religiosity also seem to be moderately correlated with religious associability. Religiosity seems to have no relationship with interpersonal trust either. It is very clear from our findings that more pious people tend not to participate in either form of unconventional political participation. We again find no evidence that associates religiosity with either protest or repression potential (see Table 12).[34]

Among these variables the support for Shari'a rule is the most critical. It reflects the support for a theocratic form of government, which being totalitarian in nature is a direct contrast to any form of support for a democratic and secular form of political regime that Turkey currently has and may continue to have in the future. Consequently, support for a theocratic state run by Sharia laws is about the idea that "*din ve devlet* (*din wa dawla*)" are inseparable in Islam.[35] Only less than ten percent of our sample seems to directly extend some credibility to that idea. If we include the "no responses" as support for Sharia rule by those who were timid about their support then the total level of support for the Sharia rule increases to about one fourth of the sample. In the following by measuring support for Sharia rule with and without the inclusion of those who register no responses to the related question, we analyze what role religiosity plays as a determinant of attitudes toward the Sharia rule (theocratic state) in Islam.

The measure of the dependent variable desire for Sharia state is a dichotomous variable. Those respondents who registered a desire for Sharia state are recorded as "1" and those who registered the opposite desires are registered as "0" with no response cases treated as timid supporters of the Shari'a state idea in the first application of discriminant analysis, which is used to understand which of the independent variables predicts the categories of the dependent variable the best (see Table 13). In the second application of the discriminant analysis all those who registered either a desire for Shari'a state are recorded as "1" and those who stood against

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[34] For the findings of the previous studies on the relationship between religiosity and unconventional political participation see Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, "Religiosity and protest behaviour: the case of Turkey in comparative perspective," *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, Volume 9, Number 3, (December 2007): 283 – 291.

[35] Earlier in this paper the point that this has become a central theme of political Islam or Islamic revivalist movements in the twentieth century has been made (see footnote 7 of this paper). For a more thorough treat ment of the subject see Behrooz Ghamari – Tabrizi, *Islam and Dissent in Post-Revolutionary Iran: Abdolkarim Soroush, Religious Politics and Democratic Reform*, (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2008): 17 - 35. For a similar debate from the perspective of an Islamist who have turned to what he called "normal life" after a journey among the disciples of Mawdudi, Jamat-e-Islami, and a member of the Hizb ut-Tahrir see Ed Husain, *The Islamist*, (London: Penguin Books, 2007): 129 – 199. It is also interesting to note that he identifies two strands in his experience with Islam. One that is the introvert, faith based moral Islam, which he identified with his early life encounters with a sheikh from Bangladesh, (which he incidentally calles grandfather) and the Sufi Islam of Mevlana Celaleddin-I Rumi and the like, and the other with the militant, radical, activist, politically motivated and oriented Islam of Jamat-e Islami and Hizb ut-Tahrir and other such organizations. In his account Ed Husain see the two strands at a critical struggle and he accounts that the first strand is non-political and theological and moral in content with no serious political consequence. Our findings here seem to extend further credibility not only to such a split among Muslims in turkey, but also corroborate that Islam as faith is not necessarily political, though there is a strand of political activism in Islam, which seems to clash with democracy or democratization. The problem here seems to be that both employ the same discourse to a large extent, and the latter can often attracts the support of the former at the polls. It is the latter who field candidates in elections and vie for political power, which often leads to serious reactions from minority sects and secular voters alike.

the ideas as “0”, with the missing values were calculated as the arithmetic mean and included in the data analysis. The results of the latter discriminate analysis are presented in Table 14.

Table 13: Predicting Desire for Shari’a State (Discriminant Analysis, Turkey, 2008 - 2009)

Eigenvalues

Function	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Canonical Correlation
1	,078[a]	100,0	100,0	,269

a. First 1 canonical discriminant functions were used in the analysis.

Wilks' Lambda

Test of Function(s)	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	,928	79,111	9	,000

Structure Matrix

	Dependent Variable
	Support for the Sharia State*
Left - Right Spectrum	,575
Islam as Life Style	,564
Ethnic identity	,490
Formal education (years)	-,477
Religious practice (Muamelat)	,394
Faith in Religion (Itikat)	,205
Age	,082
Gender	-,060
Alevi vs. Sunni identity	-,043

Pooled within-groups correlations between discriminating variables and standardized canonical discriminant functions

Notes: 79,9% of the original cases correctly predicted.

* Support for the Sharia state was measured with al those respondents registering support fort he idea and all those who decline to register a response are coded as “1” and all those against the idea of Sharia state as “0”.

Table 14 about here

Table 14: Predicting Desire for Sharia State (Discriminant Analysis, Turkey, 2008- 2009)

Eigenvalues

Function	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Canonical Correlation
1	,111[a]	100,0	100,0	,316

a. First 1 canonical discriminant functions were used in the analysis.

Wilks' Lambda

Test of Function(s)	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	,900	98,764	9	,000

Structure Matrix

	Dependent Variable
	Support for the Sharia State**
Left - Right Spectrum	,594
Religious practice (Muamelat)	,539
Islam as Life Style	,494
Ethnic identity	,464
Formal education (years)	-,339
Faith in Religion (Itikat)	,149
Alevi versus Sunni identity	,079
Age	,017
Gender	,007

Pooled within-groups correlations between discriminating variables and standardized canonical discriminant functions.

Notes: 88,9% of the original cases correctly predicted.

**Support for Sharia State is measured as "1" is assigned for those who desired Sharia state, and "0" for those who did not, with those who registered no response eliminated from the analysis

The results of the discriminant analysis as presented in Table 13 indicate that political ideology emerges as the most important and religiosity emerges as the second most important predictor of desires for Shari'a state in Turkey. This model correctly predicted about 80 percent of the original cases by the independent variables incorporated in the discriminant analysis (see Table 13). It is also interesting to note that religiosity as faith as separated from practice and lifestyle shows poor predictive capacity, while those practicing religion as a way of life emerges as the second most important predictor of desire for Shari'a state. The findings presented in Table 14 does not change the role played by religiosity. The results in Table 14 also indicate that political ideology is the most important predictor of desire for Shari'a state in Turkey. It is again those who regularly practice religious rites and lead an Islamic style of life, and not those who only have faith in religion but do not practice that are the better predictors of desire for Shari'a state in Turkey (see Table 14).[36] The findings of the last three tables indicate

[36] We should note here that different treatment of the "no response" category indicated interesting outcomes. When the missing values are included in the analysis by means of the arithmetic mean, either over the elimination of all the missing values or over the treating "no response" as a latent support for the desire for Sharia state in Turkey, the predictive capacity of the model considerably improves to almost ninety percent of the original cases correctly predited by the model. This may best be interpreted that the "no response" category is not homogeneous, let alone being a timid way of registering a desire for Sharia state. The two treatments of the missing values

that a most important consequence of increases in practiced religiosity among the Muslims of Turkey is enhanced support for the re-institution of the Shari'a rule in the country. However, the rise of the right wing ideology in Turkey slightly surpasses the influence of the increases of the practice of religion on the desire for Shari'a rule.

Conclusion

Does Islam co-exist with secularism and democracy? The findings of this paper seem to indicate that general spread of Islamic faith does not seem to either threaten secularism nor does it seem to influence democracy. However, increased practices and spreading of Islamic lifestyle seems to promote religious intolerance and desire for Shari'a state at the same time. Combined such increases in religiosity seems to undermine civic values, on the one hand, and promote demands for Shari'a state (some form of theocratic totalitarianism, on the other. Both of those influences run counter to democracy. Not all forms of religious revival in Islam automatically lead to demands for totalitarian, and anti-secular political practices. Only about ten percent or so of the population systematically report a desire for Sharia rule, which need not be a source of concern for sustainability of democracy and secularism in Turkey per se.

Secondly, we have no evidence that increases in religiosity precipitates unconventional political participation in Turkey either. This paper quite like several others produced since the 1990s indicate that religiosity and protest potential are inversely correlated. As religiosity increases protest potential decreases. Repression potential is either not associated with religiosity at all in Turkey, or the two are only slightly associated. The evidence we have seems to indicate that religiosity functions as a major source of political mobilization, though it tends to flow away from the unconventional channels of participation. Religiously motivated political movements and their political parties tend to use their capabilities to mobilize their followers to participate in the elections, contact members of the Grand National Assembly, lobby public bureaucracy, the cabinet Ministers, and the like rather than organize rallies, boycotts, labor unrest, occupy buildings, and the like. They have indeed been extremely successful at ascending to political power through conventional means. Religious organizations seem to be quite powerful at operating through conventional channels of participation and do not seem to consider unconventional forms of participation as necessary. The latter forms seem to be resorted by the weak or even the downtrodden, more or less as acts of desperation rather than influence or pressure upon the government. Indeed, the reaction of the agents of the state to the perpetrators of unconventional acts of political participation is very harsh and at times brutal. Therefore, conducting acts of unconventional participation often turn out to be quite costly. It seems as if it is a very small or even marginal groups within the Islamist movement that fail to get their say through the conventional channels that turn to violence. Majority of the pious Muslims tend to be quite happy with the performance of democracy in Turkey, and they perceive it as a regime that empowered them rather than threaten their style of living. Hence, we also find some evidence that increasing levels of religiosity tend to increase satisfaction with the performance of democracy in the country.

Thirdly and another finding of this study is the relative dearth of religious tolerance that is associated with increasing levels of religiosity. Such an association seems to indicate that religiosity of the Muslims in Turkey creates a major hindrance to the development of social capital and civil society. Lack of interpersonal trust, though it is unrelated with religiosity, is so

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indicate that at least some of the no response category means no attitude and not latent support for the Sharia state. Therefore, the true level of support of the Sharia state may not be as low as ten percent but it is not as high as twenty five percent either, and most likely somewhere in between in the teens.

widespread in Turkey that when combined with religious intolerance creates a severe constraint in the development of civil society and enrichment of social capital in Turkey. Religiosity breeding on religious intolerance is obviously a major constraint for the development of civil society, which in turn is an impediment to democracy and probably to rule of law as well.

Muslim religiosity in Turkey seems to produce multiple consequences and not all of them are dysfunctional and running in the same direction. Although there is little ground to argue that Islam as a faith undermines democracy and secularism, certain types of Sunni Muslim religiosity seems to hinder consolidation of democracy and civil society as well. The political record of Muslim majority in Turkey is somewhat mixed and leaves little room for generalizations about a dysfunctional association of Islamic faith, democracy and secularism per se.