ABSTRACT

Religion and Trust: Turkish Case

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I investigate the relationship between religion and trust using the Turkish sample from the World Values Surveys (WVS). This study focuses on a majority Muslim nation that has been institutionally secular and democratic for more than 90 years. I explore the longitudinal relationship between religion and trust from 2001 to 2012, a period of significant social transformation. Over this period, the effects of religion's covariates on trust outcomes are consistent. However, the findings explore mix supports to the existing literature. Namely, the effects of religious affiliation and behavior vary on trust outcomes. I also investigate possible correlations between trust components, and the results do not support the previous findings.

Religion and Trust: Turkish Case by

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A Thesis

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DEDICATION

To my wife Zeynep Yilmaz and my children Kerem Ali and Mehlika Vera

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Marx, Durkheim and Weber all paid close attention to the question of "what holds society together?" While proposing distinct theoretical systems, they all agreed that social cohesion is based on common beliefs shared by members of traditional societies, and becomes based on "social and economic interdependence" in modern societies (Hunter 2010, p.101). Hunter (2010) argues that modern societies, like traditional societies, need a modicum of shared beliefs and ideas to avoid societal breakdown.

This study utilizes the concept of "trust" as a measure of social cohesion to analyze the relationship between religion and social cohesion. The current literature on trust focuses predominantly on Western Judeo-Christian societies. Consequently, we know very little about how trust functions in the other parts of the world. This study fills this gap and offers a comparative perspective for possible differences or similarities between Western societies and a Muslim-majority country. Comparedto other Muslim countries, Turkey is unique not only its geographical position and socio-cultural heritage but also data availability and the variance level within religious measures.

This thesis gauges that trust concept has distinct nature in Turkish society in several ways. First, religion is a significant determinant for trust outcomes and mostly consistent over time periods, but the directions of relationship are various among trust outcomes. Further, the findings illustrate that the present study contradicts with the

existing hypothesis that trust in strangers is positively correlated with political trust (confidence in government, parliament and political parties).

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Trust and Religion

Trust (specifically generalized trust) is recognized as an important component of social cohesion (Delhey and Newton, 2003). Yet some assert that modern societies might have less overall need for trust due to centralized institutional power (Misztal, 2013). On the other hand, the rise of pluralism and individualism might increase the need for trust as a moral value which helps to integrate diverse populations.

A common definition of trust is "the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest and cooperative behavior, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of other members of the community" (Fukuyama, 1995:26). Putnam (1994) suggested that trust is the foundation of social life and a key facilitator of social capital. Similarly, Uslaner (2004) depicts trust as a moral value which fosters social bonds between people. As such, high levels of trust facilitate collective action, civic engagement, and cooperative economic models for nations (Putnam et al., 1993; Fukuyama, 1995). On the other hand, low levels of trust undermine civil engagement, enhance social isolation, and undermine market efficiency (Uslaner and Brown, 2003).

According to previous studies, trust has three distinctive components: generalized or social trust (trust in strangers), particular trust (trust in known people), and institutional trust (confidence in government, parliament, schools etc.) (Sullivan, 2013). These three components of trust are positively correlated in most democratic countries; generalized

trust is most strongly correlated with institutionalized trust (Zmerli and Hooghe, 2013).

These relationships also exist in Arab countries, Egypt, Jordon and Morocco, even though overall levels of trust are much lower (Jamal 2007). Jamal argues low levels of trust in these countries actually might be a good sign for the development of democracy because it is related with the growing number of critical citizen who are not happy with the current social and political status quo.

There are several explanations for why levels of social trust vary dramatically across nations (You, 2005). Putnam (2000) argues that when people become members of civic associations, they naturally develop interpersonal communication which fosters a more trusting environment. Inglehart (1999) found that religious traditions play a significant role for the dissimilarities among nations. For example, Protestant and Confucian cultures produce more trust than Catholic or Muslim societies (Inglehart 1999). La Porta et al (1997) proposed that because Catholicism and Islam are hierarchical religions, they are associated with lower level of generalized trust. In addition, Alesina and La Ferrara (2002) argue that religious similarities enhance a more trusting environment while dissimilarities undermine social cohesion. Quite simply, homogenous communities are more trusting, suggesting that religious pluralism undermines trust in general.Durkheim defined religion as "a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them" (1954, p.47). Religion generates a community bond that keeps community members together and promotes social networks (Leonard and Bellamy, 2010:5). For Durkheim, social solidarity is premised on common beliefs and values, and

in order to prevent anomie, all societies need a common "morality." While he believed traditional religion is weaker in modern settings, Durkheim maintained that shared morality was key to establishing social integration and social order (organic solidarity) in complex societies (Misztal, 2013: 61). Gellner (2000) states religion provides a common language for different groups within society; as such, religions can provide the conceptual foundation of trust in complex societies.

Alesina and Ferrara (2002) suggest that trust is also central to religious activity. In short, religious ritual and belief promote and sustain trust among religious adherents (Inglehart, 1997). This link is explained by demonstrating how religion gives adherents shared values and common purposes (Sullivan, 2013). A vast amount of research finds a positive connection between worship attendance, religious beliefs, and the generalized trust (Smidt, 1999; Welch et al., 2004, Proctor, 2004, Tan and Vogel, 2008, Mencken et al., 2009, Traunmuller, 2010, and Daniels and Von der Ruhr, 2010, Sullivan, 2013). However, the relationship between religion and trust is somewhat complex and mixed (Von der Ruhr, 2010). Welch et al. (2004) noted that the relationship between religious attendance and social trust is not significant when controlling for religious tradition (Sullivan, 2013). Also, Alesina and La Ferrara (2002: p. 220) report insignificant effect of religious affiliation in Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and other religions.

The concept of trust from an Islamic perspective is unclear although there are many Quranic teachings about trust. The Quran (2:186; 3:122; 40:8; 5:1) clearly states that Muslims should place their trust *only* in Allah and be trustworthy. This requires Muslims to be trustworthy themselves but not necessarily trusting of strangers, because humans are understood to be unreliable by their nature.

Turkey's Socio-Political Background

After the establishment of a new Turkish state (1923), Ataturk famously sought to force religion out of the political and public spheres. He saw religion as a barrier to modernization and regulated religious activities and institutions heavily in an attempt to secularize Turkish culture. In addition, Ataturk created an ideology, called Kemalism, which was intended to replace all religion with elements of nationalism and laicism (secularism). To this end, he took control of all major social institutions, making them subordinates to state power. Religious schools became state schools and their educators and curriculum chosen by the government. In this process, ideological, religious, and ethnic diversity within Turkey was spurnedand suppressed in order to create a unified modern, secular, and nationalist society. Ataturk's cultural reorganization is now seen as having fueled many of today's conflicts in Turkey, especially those between religious, secular, Turk, Kurd, and Alawi people.

The new Turkish state established educational unity and promoted Western culture and thinking, to establish the value of secularism in Turkey. Previous studies show that public education had a negative effect on religious belief and practice and a positive relationship with secularization (laicism) (Yilmaz, 2013). Current cultural and political divisions in Turkey --religious vs. laik--, are premised on this educational history.

Before the 1980s, the majority of the population was living in rural areas and was overwhelmingly religious. These rural Muslimsadapted several new forms for resistance to the ruling system. The Imam-preacher high schools, which belong to the state's

educational system, became one of the most important options for religious people, who immigrated to Turkish cities.

These Imam-preacher high schools also produced civilian organizations such as Nation Youth Foundation, (MGV). Students in these schools learn Islamic traditional knowledge such as Quran and the biography of the Prophet Muhammad. Furthermore, civilian organizations such as MGV foster collective resistance to the Kemalist system. In the 1990s, religious schools became increasingly popular and competitive in the nation-wide examination. Today, most of the governing elites such as president and prime minister are graduates from these schools. And after 2011 the government made a policy that makes the national examination condition equal among different type of high schools.

After the 1980s, political Islam experienced a rise within the Welfare Party (RP) which defined itself as an Islamic party. In fact, the party was a part of a religious movement called "MilliGorus" (National Vision). The movement compassesfoundations, civic organizations, mass media, and companies that bolster the ideals of the movement across the nation. The political rise of Islamists has been opposed by the secular part of the society and the military, which fears in the establishment of a religious state (something akin to Iran). The RP came to power in 1997 but was ended by a post-modern coup just 11 months later. Subsequently, the RP was closed as well as previous two Milli Gorus' parties. The soldiers whose wives were wearing headscarves and who prayed in the military bases were dismissed from the military. Some generals in the military said that this coup's effect would remain 1,000 years

(www.worldbulletin.net/).In addition, imam-preacher high schools were shut down and people who graduated from these schools could only pursue degree at Divinity schools.

Just five years later, the Justice and Development Party (AKP), a pro-Milli Gorus faction, came to power. One of the significant reasons for the success of the AKP is the economic crisis of 2001 which was blamed on the administration of coalition parties. Many people lost their business and jobs. As a new party under charismatic leadership of Recep T. Erdogan, the AKP become the only hope for many people.

Opponents of the AKP accused it of carrying out a hidden Islamic agenda because of its Milli Gorus roots. Although the Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, has stated that AKP is not an Islamic Party and re-identified it as a "conservative and democrat party", this explanation has always been met with skepticism, and it is emphasized that in reality, the party has a hidden agenda to bring Turkey into a religious state by secularists. In fact, AKP failed to pass many bills in the first period of legislation because of vetoes from President Ahmet Nejdet Sezer, who identified himself as a true Kemalist.

The strengthening of political Islam has brought forth the question: is Turkey becoming a religious country? Particularly influencing this question is the fact that it took almost two-thirds of the seats in the 2002 election after fifteen months of its establishment. In Turkey today, religion is the main component of political conflict. For instance, the JDP (Justice and Development Party) and the RPP (Republic Public Party) have very similar economic goals but advocate different policies based on religious differences (Koktas 1997).

Still, Turkey is overwhelmingly Muslim (99.8%) yet officially democratic and secular, and one of the fastest developing country. Huntington (1996: 149) defines Turkey as "torn country" that has religious, secular, Eastern and Western characteristics. Within this religiously contentious political environment, how does Islam affect generalized, social, and institutional trust?

Turkish Society and Trust

Several studies indicate that Turkey is among the lowest trusting countries in the world, comparable to Brazil, Peru, and Philippines (Delhey and Newton, 2003; Li and Fung, 2013; Emekci, 2010, Sasaki and Marsh, 2012). Li and Fung (2013) compared 38 countries to analyze age differences in trust. Their findings show that Turkey has the lowest (.05) mean score for generalized trust among these countries while also having the highest mean (2.95) score for trust family members. Moreover, Sasaki (2012) investigated trust in seven countries, Japan, U.S., Germany, Taiwan, Russia, the Czech Republic and Turkey, again finding the lowest trust level (%10.2) in Turkey. The findings of this study illustrate that 86% and 88% of Turkish people think people in general are selfish and would try to take advantage of strangers, respectively. Also, 62% of Turkish people report that their parents teach that you "can't be too careful dealing with people" (Sasaki, 2013).

However, the way this question was asked plays a significant role in explaining this variance. The question contrasts trust with "caution" not "distrust" The WVS 2001 is an exception because the wording for generalized trust is somewhat different than previous and later waves. The survey asked the same question but the second choice was "you need to be careful" in place of "you can't be too careful". Therefore, even though

only five percent of Turkish citizens trust others this does not mean that 95% of people *distrust* each other. Also, Turkish culture places high value on being a "cautious" person and not blindly trusting others. A common proverb in Turkey says "EssegisaglamkazigabaglasonraAllah'aguven" ("put your trust in God, but keep your gun powder dry"). Thus, Turkish people might report high level of caution, but this may not be a sign of societal breakdown or outright hostility.

Based on the previous discussion I expect the following:

H1: Generalized trust will be positively correlated with institutional trust.

H2: Religious affiliation and behavior decrease the likelihood that a person will trust others (generalized trust).

H3: Religious affiliation and behavior decrease the likelihood that a person will trust government and political parties in 2001.

H4: Religious affiliation and behavior increase the likelihood that a person will trust government agencies (institutional trust) in 2007 and 2012.

H5: Religious affiliation and behavior increase the likelihood that a person will trust friends, neighbors and family (particular trust).

H6: Religious affiliation and behavior decrease the likelihood that a person will trust people who they meet first time, from other nations and other religions.

CHAPTER THREE

Data and Methods

In order to test the given hypotheses, longitudinal secondary data analyses were utilized in this paper. The data analyses were derived from the Turkey's World Values Surveys 2001, 2007 and 2012. The WVS is replicated cross-national which is conducted as face-to-face interview based on random probability sampling. The most important reason to use this data set instead of others such as the International Social Survey Program(ISSP) or the European Values Survey (EVS) is the possibility of investigating the existing relationship in different time points. The WVS also enables me to test various religious outcomes and trust components.

Dependent Variables

Generalized trust: Many previous studies on trust have used one standard item "most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people" (Brehm and Rahn 1997; Paxton 2002; Putnam 1995; Smidt 1999; Uslaner 2004; Welch et al. 2004). The WVS asked this question in the same way in 2007 and 2012 "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people", but it is asked differently in 2001 as "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people"?[1] The answer categories are recoded as: 0= most people can be trusted; 1=

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[1]The translation of the question into Turkish language is somewhat different in 2001 WVS Turkish questionnaire: "Do you think most people can be trusted or most peoplecannot be trusted?" I believe this is

cannot be too careful in dealing with people. Only the last wave of the WVS includes several other generalized trust items that are used to make further assessments on generalized trust in Turkey. These items are trust in people who meet for the first time, who from different nationalities and different religions. The survey asked respondents: "I'd like to ask you how much you trust people you meet for the first time, people of another religion and People of another nationality: "Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all?" The responses were recoded as 0= "not very much and not at all" and 1= "completely and somewhat".

Particular trust: The respondents were asked the previous question with same categories to answer how much they trust their families and neighbors, and people they know personally. The categories are recoded in the same manner.

Institutional trust: These variables consist of five different items. Although confidence[2] has different meanings in the Turkish questionnaire, it asked as the same word with "trust in others". Therefore, confidence here has the exact same meaning with "trust". The respondents were asked respectively "how much confidence do you have in parliament, religious organizations, political parties, courts[3], government and army?" The responses are recoded as 0= "not confident" and 1= "confident".

Independent Variables

Religious: Subjective religiosity is the first religious predictor that illustrates self-report of personal religiosity. Respondents were asked "Independently of whether you

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particularly important to understand the sudden drop of generalized trust measure from 2001 (18%) to 2007 (5%).

[2] Confidence was translated to Turkish language as same as trust (guven).

[3] Not asked in 2001 survey.

attend religious services or not, would you say you are: a religious person, not a religious person, an atheist. The response categories recoded as a dummy variable due to very little variance on atheist (less than 1 percent). The categories are 0= "not religious person or atheist" and 1= "a religious person".

Importance of God: The second independent variable intends to measure the level of importance respondents ascribe to god. This measure asked of respondents: "How important is God in your life? Please use this scale to indicate: 10 mean 'very important' and 1 means 'not at all important'." This variable is dichotomized so that involvesonly two categories. Here, 0 = "less than very important," and 1 = "very important."

Importance of Religion: This variable is utilized as religious salience predictor that questions respondents: "Indicate how important religion is in your life. Would you say it is very important, rather important, not very important, or not at all important?" This variable is dummied so that 0 = "less than very important", and 1 = "very important".

Attendance: The last religious measure captured how often respondents reported attending worship services. This outcome is here used to help predict individuals' institutional religious activity. As previous studies indicated that this measure is inherently gender-biased when utilized in the context of Turkish Muslim respondents, as Islamic tradition does not require women to attend mosque services as often as it requires men (Acevedo et al., 2013); only men are included in analyzing the attendance impact. The respondents asked "Apart from funerals, how often do you attend religious services?" The responses were recoded as 4= "daily"; 3= "weekly"; 2= "in special days"; 1= "less often"; and 0= "never".

Control Variables

The six control variables employed in this analysis include respondents' age, gender, education (degree), employment, income, and marital status. The age and education variables are categorical; age has four categories (1=15-29; 2=30-44; 3=45-64; 4=); and education has five categories (0= "no education"; 1= "primary education"; 2= "incomplete secondary"; 3= "some university"; 4= "university degree and higher"), while income is a ten step continuous variable. Gender, employment and marital status are dummy variables 1= "male", "employed" and "married" respectively.

CHAPTER FOUR

Results

Tables 1, 2 and 3 feature the descriptive statistics for all of the variables included in this study within three waves respectively. The descriptive statistics in three waves demonstrate that the means for dependent variables are different from each other within each year and over time. The generalized trust is undoubtedly low and fluctuates over time from 18 percent in 2001, to 5 percent in 2007 and 13 percent in 2012. Also, the highest reported confidence level in all waves is confidence in armed forces by more than 80 percent in each wave with a slight decrease over time. Furthermore, there are considerable increases in confidence in government by over 16 percent and confidence in parliament by over 14 percent. Third, confidence in parties is relatively low compared to other institutional trust items, but increases marginally from 2001 to 2012. Confidence in religious organization and courts has increase slightly in 2012.

Table 3 includes several other general and particularized trust components. The mean scores of particularized trust items trust in family, neighbors and known people are extremelyhigh, over 80 percent. Specifically, there is almost no variance in trust of family members, 99.3 percent. The remaining generalized trust variables show higher levels of trust than actual generalized trust items. The respondents trust people from different nations and religions by 40 and 38 percentages respectively while 23 percent they trust people who meet first time. Most clearly, H1 is not supported because the riseof

confidence in institutions are not consistently linked to generalized trust measures[1]. H1 is not supported.

Religiosity rises from 80 percent to 84 percent gradually, while importance of god and importance of religion decrease steadily from 80 percent to 66 percent[2]. After one percent increase in 2007, a minor decline is observable in mosque attendance of male sample in 2012. The mean score illustrates that almost 2/3 of the Turkish population attend mosque at least once a week.

According to the descriptive statistics, the average Turkish individual is female, married, adult, relatively poor, and has some high school education. From longitudinal perspectives, the mean scores for socioeconomic status indicators, income and education, increase considerable from 2001 to 2012. These results are evidence of Turkey's development within last 12 years.

Table 4 includes six binary logistic regression models that derived from the WVS 2001and illustrates the odds ratios for generalized and institutional trust items. The models for institutional trust components show that religion is significant and the strongest determinant across models except confidence in political parties. Subjective religiosity is a significant and positive predictor for confidence in parliament, confidence in religious organization and confidence in government while importance of God is a significant and positive determinant for only confidence in religious organizations. The most powerful predictor for institutional trust is religious salience. Across models, except

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[1] See Appendix A for the correlation matrixes.

[2] This might seem contradictory, but religiosity is more likely related with identity and political atmosphere unlike religious salience that is more individualistic and ideological. In Turkey, there are evidences for secularization and desecularizan theses. For further information, see Yilmaz, 2013.

for trust of political parties[3], people who report religion is very important to them are over 50 percent more likely to express confidence in social institutions.

The logistic regression results in Table 4 show that religious predictors have a mixed effect on generalized trust. While subjective religiosity increases the likelihood of people trusting strangers by 60 percent, religious salience decreases the likelihood of generalized trust by 25 percent. Also, the male-only regression analyses reveal that, except for confidence in the army, mosque attendance is a significant and positive determinant for all trust outcomes including generalized trust. The findings support H2 partially yet do not support H3.

Table 5 presents the models for the same variables with the addition of confidence in courts, an item on the 2007 WVS. The analyses indicate that religion's influence become more noticeable for the trust models. Without exception, religious salience is significant for all models. While it has positive association with institutional trust items, in the same way as in 2001, the relationship turns out negative in generalized trust. The effect of religious salience rises up enormously from 2001 to 2007. For example, in 2001 65 percent increase in the odds of having confidence in government for people who favor religion is very important becomes 180 percent in 2007, holding other variables constant. Subjective religiosity still significantly predicts confidence in parliament, religious organization and government with the exception of generalized trust. There is considerable shift in the effect of the importance of God measure from the previous wave of the WVS (2001), which is positively associated with the all models excluding generalized trust outcome. The attendance variable illustrates similar characteristic with

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[3] This might be particularly related with 2001 economic crises because all parties in the parliament had been eliminated in the following election in 2002.

the previous wave of the WVS, but it is not significant predictor for confidence in parties'

model additional to army model.

Table 6 reports the odds ratios for institutional trust and generalized trust variables that are obtainedfrom WVS 2012. Although religion remains the strongest predictor of trust components, there are considerable changes in the religious predictors. The first noticeable shift is that religious salience becomes a less influential predictor in this period than subjective religiosity. Religious salience is not significant in the models of confidence in parties, army, courts and even generalized trust. On the other hand, subjective religiosity is positively associated with all institutional trust models, but not significant in generalized trust. The other religious predictor, importance of god, also loses its significant levels in confidence in political parties, army and courts. However, it significantly predicts generalized trust; namely, people who report God is very important in their life are less likely to trust strangers, else being equal.

Table 7 shows binary logistic regression analyses of religion and socio demographic measures on interpersonal trust outcomes. The results indicate that religious respondents are less likely trust people from different nations and religions. However, there is no significant relationship between religiosity's measures and trusting people who one meets for the first time. Religious salience significantly predicts trust in people who one personally knows. Religion is not statistically significant for the remaining models, trust neighbors and trust family.

Education is the most noteworthy control variable across models and time periods. Without exception, education is negatively associated with confidence in parties and government. This negative relationship extends to confidence in parliament in the

2007 data, and to confidence in religious organizations and trust neighbors in 2012. Education has positive effect only for generalized trust in 2001. Also, in Table 4, the odds ratios of employment measure show significant, strong and negative relationships with confidence in parliament, parties and government.

In sum, the current results demonstrate that (1) H1 is not supported across time periods, (2) the models support H2 partially in each time period, (3) except confidence in political parties, the findings for trust in government agencies do not validate H3, (4) H4 is firmly supported, (5) the only trust people who personally known model supports H5 while family and neighbors do not, (6) Last hypothesis is partially supported.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics (TWVS2001)

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev	Minimum	Maximum
Confidence in Parliament	2792	0.4584527	0.4983601	0	1
Confidence in Religious Org.	2798	0.7240886	0.4470522	0	1
Confidence in Parties	2785	0.2854578	0.4517133	0	1
Confidence in Army	2814	0.876688	0.3288534	0	1
Confidence in Government	2812	0.4630156	0.498719	0	1
Generalized trust	2811	0.1874778	0.390364	0	1
Male	2855	0.4945709	0.5000581	0	1
Married	2855	0.7485114	0.4339448	0	1
Age	2855	2.8287215	1.3687939	1	4
Education	2855	1.9071804	1.398568	0	5
Income	2855	2.1134851	1.5669178	0	9
Employment	2855	0.4714536	0.4992719	0	1
Religious	2855	0.8	0.4000701	0	1
Importance of God	2855	0.7940455	0.4044682	0	1
Importance of Religion	2855	0.8010508	0.3992797	0	1
Attendance[a]	1412	2.4851275	1.3901261	0	4

[a] Attendance includes only male sample.

Table 2

Descriptive statistics (TWVS2007)

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev	Minimum	Maximum
Confidence in Parliament	1278	0.600157	0.490058	0	1
Confidence in Religious Org.	1320	0.706818	0.455394	0	1
Confidence in Parties	1292	0.329721	0.470294	0	1
Confidence in Army	1328	0.861446	0.345611	0	1
Confidence in Government	1304	0.627301	0.483709	0	1
Confidence in Courts	1315	0.74981	0.433287	0	1
Generalized trust	1339	0.047797	0.213416	0	1
Male	1346	0.497771	0.500181	0	1
Married	1346	0.662704	0.472963	0	1
Age	1346	1.933135	0.943765	1	4
Education	1346	2.193908	1.495567	0	5
Income	1319	2.386657	2.351315	0	9
Employment	1334	0.589955	0.492026	0	1
Religious	1321	0.820591	0.38384	0	1
Importance of God	1339	0.761763	0.426164	0	1
Importance of Religion	1344	0.75	0.433174	0	1
Attendance[a]	660	2.492424	1.353331	0	4

[a] Attendance includes only male sample.

Table 3

Descriptive statistics (TWVS2014)

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev	Minimum	Maximum
Confidence in Parliament	1248	0.600962	0.489897	0	1
Confidence in Religious Org.	1271	0.778128	0.415669	0	1
Confidence in Parties	1253	0.372706	0.483718	0	1
Confidence in Army	1264	0.803006	0.397885	0	1
Confidence in Government	1260	0.63254	0.482305	0	1
Confidence in Courts	1271	0.781275	0.413545	0	1
Generalized trust	1220	0.127869	0.334081	0	1
Male	1271	0.492526	0.500141	0	1
Married	1271	0.658537	0.474387	0	1
Age	1271	2.111723	0.957414	1	4
Education	1271	2.47915	1.453532	0	5
Income	1251	4.665068	1.877586	0	9
Employment	1237	0.57882	0.493948	0	1
Religious	1259	0.849087	0.358107	0	1
Importance of God	1271	0.675846	0.468242	0	1

(Table continues)

| Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev	Minimum	Maximum
Importance of Religion	1271	0.663257	0.472782	0	1
Trust Family	1265	0.992885	0.084081	0	1
Trust Neighbors	1261	0.872324	0.333862	0	1
Trust Known People	1264	0.81962	0.384656	0	1
Trust First Time Meet	1262	0.232964	0.422887	0	1
Trust Other Religion	1228	0.380293	0.485657	0	1
Trust Other Nation	1227	0.399348	0.489964	0	1
Attendance[a]	626	2.43131	1.253186	0	4

[a] Attendance includes only male sample.
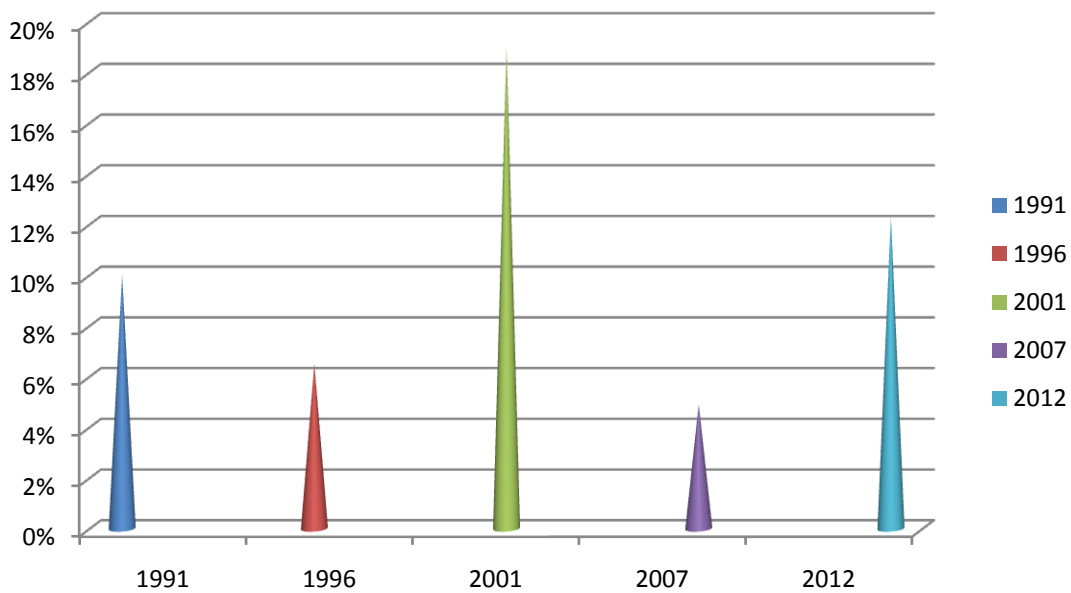
Figure 1. The percentages of Turkish people who think most people can be trusted across time periods (Derived from 1991-2012 WVS).

Table 4

Binary Logistic Regression Odds Ratios for Generalized and Institutional Trust Components (2001 WVS)

Variable	Confidence Parliament		Confidence Religorg.		Confidence Parties		Confidence Army		Confidence Government		Generalized Trust	
Intercept	-0.5698	**	-0.4174		-1.0706	***	0.5156		-0.3900	*	-2.4591	***
Male	0.929		0.887		1.131		0.881		0.868		1.086	
Married	1.234	*	1.058		1.041		0.946		0.993		1.246	
Age	0.988		1.098	*	0.962		1.258	***	1		1.069	
Education	0.97		0.959		0.923	**	1.012		0.86	***	1.193	***
Income	1.026		1.003		1.066		1.14	**	1.21	*	1.176	
Employed	0.8	*	0.854		0.782	*	0.897		0.686	***	1.136	
Religious	1.235	*	1.79	***	1.245		1.195		1.321	**	1.601	**
Importance of god	1.002		1.806	***	1.119		1.339		0.976		0.964	
Importance of religion	1.515	**	1.69	***	1.261		1.679	**	1.652	***	0.751	*
N	2792		2798		2785		2814		2812		2811	
Rsquare	0.03		0.11		0.02		0.04		0.05		0.03	
Attendance[a]	1.147	**	1.281	***	1.193	**	1.071		1.101	*	1.123	*

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

[a] These models include only male sample and were employed separately.

Table 5

Binary Logistic Regression Odds Ratios for Generalized and Institutional Trust Components (2007 WVS)

Variable	Confidence Parliament		Confidence Religorg.		Confidence Parties		Confidence Army		Confidence Government		Confidence Courts		Generalized Trust	
Intercept	-0.8998	*	-1.3942	**	-1.6958	***	-0.138		-0.6843	*	0.1281		-3.1920	***
Male	0.884		0.632		1.009		1.793	**	1.095		1.191		1.093	
Married	1.268		2.217	***	1.07		1.178		1.291		1.144		1.76	
Age	1.047		1.008		1.18	*	1.298	*	0.945		1.147		0.97	
Education	0.835	**	1.102		0.873	*	1.154		0.79	***	0.923		0.998	
Income	1.035		0.87	***	0.974		0.959		0.965		0.993		1.003	
Employed	0.867		0.827		1.188		1.565	*	1.092		0.857		1.108	
Religious	1.664	**	2.54	***	1.363		1.364		1.98	***	1.438	*	2.208	
Importance of god	2.06	***	1.467	*	1.503	*	2.193	***	1.843	**	1.628	**	0.809	
Importance of religion	1.802	**	2.926	***	1.438	*	1.839	**	2.805	***	1.684	**	0.369	**
N	1225		1257		1237		1266		1246		1254		1274	
Rsquare	0.11		0.17		0.06		0.06		0.18		0.07		0.02	
Attendance	1.589	***	2.09	***	1.153		1.149		1.441	***	1.271	*	1.365	*

*p < .05;   **p < .01;   ***p < .001

[a] These models include only male sample and were employed separately.

Table 6

Binary Logistic Regression Odds Ratios for Generalized and Institutional Trust Components (2014 WVS)

Variable	Confidence Parliament	Confidence Religorg.	Confidence Parties	Confidence Army	Confidence Government	Confidence Courts	Generalized Trust
Intercept	-0.1737	-0.2402	-1.2507 **	0.0395	-0.5328	-0.2	-2.9493 ***
male	1.065	0.89	1.624 **	0.686	1.315	0.932	1.629 *
married	1.106	1.146	0.935	1.123	1.281	1.283	0.815
age	0.913	0.96	1.037	1.363 **	0.923	1.243 *	1.214
education	0.86 **	0.886 *	0.893 *	1.074	0.842 **	0.99	1.151
income	1.012	0.997	1.049	0.982	1.014	1.028	1.09
employed	1.335	1.158	0.955	1.699 **	0.976	1.058	0.812
religious	1.613 **	3.974 ***	1.846 **	1.958 **	2.16 ***	2.142 ***	1.268
importance of god	1.351 *	1.577 *	1.274	0.733	2.132 ***	1.25	0.585 **
importance of religion	1.423 **	1.881 ***	0.807	1.197	1.334 *	1.04	0.966
N	1187	1208	1192	1201	1198	1208	1164
Rsquare	0.05	0.11	0.04	0.03	0.1	0.04	0.03
Attendance[a]	1.589 ***	2.09 ***	1.153	1.149	1.803 ***	1.594 **	1.365 *

$*p < .05$; $**p < .01$; $***p < .001$

[a] These models include only male sample and were employed separately.

Table 7

Binary Logistic Regression Odds Ratios for Particularized Trust Components (2014 WVS)

Variable	Trust Another Nation		Trust Another Religion		Trust First Time		Trust Known People		Trust Neighbors		Trust Family	
Intercept	-0.3924		-0.5176		-1.9338	**	1.5474	**	1.816	***	5.5635	**
Male	1.152		1.205		1.284		0.972		1.353		0.778	
Married	0.864		0.836		0.798		0.82		1.037		1.643	
Age	0.993		1.079		1.249	**	1.176		1.317	*	0.583	
Education	1.047		1.099		1.02		0.962		0.847	*	0.685	
Income	1.043		1.016		1.069		0.996		0.999		1.197	
Employed	1.283		1.154		1.007		0.731		1.188		1.233	
Religious	0.696	*	0.61	**	1.03		0.97		1.01		2.549	
Importance of god	0.976		1.026		0.884		0.851		0.694		0.311	
Importance of religion	0.86		0.877		1.008		1.432	*	0.937		2.897	
N	1165		1166		1200		1201		1198		1234	
Rsquare	0.03		0.03		0.03		0.01		0.03		0.02	
Attendance[a]	0.821		0.758	*	0.86		1.22		1.553	*	3.779	

$*p < .05$; $**p < .01$; $***p < .001$

[a] These models include only male sample and were employed separately.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion and Conclusion

This study both contributes to the literature on social cohesion and enhances previous literature by focusing on a predominantly Muslim country. Using the three waves (2001, 2007, and 2012) of the WVS, I have estimated the effect of religion on trust levels of the population in order to find the possible sequence relationship with social cohesion of Turkey. In addition, this study further estimates the longitudinal changes of religions' effect on interpersonal and institutional trust measures. Though Turkey has undergone a great deal of modernization within the last century, findings indicate that religion has a great deal of influence in Turkey's public attitudes that indirectly indicates that the secularization process has not engaged full influence in the nation.

In summary, this research discovers that (1) the positive effect of at least one religious outcome exists on institutional trust models across time periods, (2) religion has both negative and positive effect on generalized trust measures, (3) among particularized trust measures, trust in people who one personally knows is only predicted by religion, (4) education considerably decreases people's confidence in political institutions which works against the effects of religious measures, (5) the positive relationship between generalized trust and political trust is not available in Turkish case.

First, it is important to recognize that this paper endeavors to advance the existing literature on social cohesion by utilizing religion and trust framework through the application of a comparative view with a non-Western, non-Christian nation.

Furthermore, this study is one of the first examinations to research religion and trust in a society that is majority Muslim yet also democratic and connected closely to secular European history.

In addition, in order to understand the low level of generalized trust in Turkey, several explanations should be addressed. First, trust is a complex and an abstract term which may have different meanings across cultures (You, 2005). Considering the traditional collective cultural context of Turkey trust is expensive and risky, and not easily offered to strangers. In other words, caution is the cultural basis of social relationships between strangers, and trust requires at least a modicum of interaction. Second, the questions are somewhat vague; for example, the term "can't be too careful" can be understood in multiple ways.

The current findings reveal mixed effects of religion that are somewhat contradictory. The longitudinal models indicate that religiosity in 2001 and attendance in 2001, 2007 and 2014 are all positive predictors for generalized trust. On the other hand, importance of religion in 2001 and 2007 and importance of God in 2012 are negative determinants of generalized trust. The possible explanation for this phenomenon might be related to various dimensions of religion. , Subjective religiosity (collective identity) and attendance (collective behavior) represent collective dimensions of religion. Subjective religiosity assigns a religious identity (Yilmaz, 2013) which can promote trust among people who hold the same identity[1] (considering more than 99 percent of Turkish people are Muslim).This explanation can also be validated by addressing the trust in other nations and trust in other religions in Table 7. Only subjective religiosity is negatively

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[1] In order to test my assumption, into the generalized trust model in 2001, I add the variable: "How proud of your nationality" and it washes out the positive and significant effect of "religious" variable in. However, the negative effect of religion remains significant. The findings are available upon request.

associated with trust in other nations and trust in other religions. The effect of attendance can be predictable as previous studies indicate that religious participation is a significant "social resource" which leads people to more voluntary associations and civic engagements (Daniels and Von der Ruhr, 2010).

In order to understand the current findings more accurately, Ibn Khaldun's, 14th century Muslim sociologist and historian, theory of trust in traditional Muslim societies needs to be addressed. Ernest Gellner (2000) analyzes Ibn Khaldun's main premise that "anarchy engenders trust, and government destroys it." In other words, to survive in traditional tribal societies, clan members have to trust the member; this was the only way to preventanarchy. However, when tribe members decided to be citizen of a central government, they do not need such a strong solidarity because government is responsible to prevent anarchy. By the time tribe members become citizens and the kinship is going to disappear as it is happened today's modern world. This explains basically how Ibn Khaldun understood the social solidarity in tribal and urban life styles (Ibn Khaldun, 1958: Chapter II). From his theoretical argument, the low level of trust in others and high level confidence in institutions is as expected. This thesis is marked by several limitations in its analysis of religious change in Turkey.

The cross-sectional nature of WVS data is problematic for this study. As these variables were originally conceived in a Western context—with Western religions in mind—many of the religious variables were not appropriate in the context of Islam. Furthermore, the methodological approach of this study only allows answering the question of "what" rather than "how". Finally, this one wave of data set only tells about

the certain points of the time, so that further longitudinal studies will provide more information to understand the correct story of the issue.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX

Correlation Matrix TableIncluded

Table A.1

The Correlation Matrix of Dependent and Independent Variables (2014 TWVS)

Variable	confidparliament	confidrelorg	confidparties	confidarmy	confidgovernment	gentrust	religious	impgod	imprelig
confidparliament	1								
confidrelorg	0.29***	1							
confidparties	0.43***	0.16***	1						
confidarmy	0.21***	0.26***	0.11***	1					
confidgovernment	0.54***	0.31***	0.39***	0.19***	1				
gentrust	0.0164	-0.02	0.05	0.005	0.00857	1			
religious	0.12***	0.28***	0.10**	0.09**	0.18***	-0.00947	1		
impgod	0.13***	0.17***	0.06*	-0.004	0.23***	-10.11**	0.23***	1	
imprelig	-0.00966	-0.00202	-0.03483	-0.00911	-0.01259	-0.0237	-0.0540	0.0198	1

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