Elite and popular religiosity among Dutch-Turkish muslims in the Netherlands

Gürlesin, O.F.

Citation
Gürlesin, O. F. (2018, November 28). *Elite and popular religiosity among Dutch-Turkish muslims in the Netherlands*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/67237

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)
License: Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden
Downloaded from: https://hdl.handle.net/1887/67237

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page

Universiteit Leiden

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/67237 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Gürlesin, O.F.
Title: Elite and popular religiosity among Dutch-Turkish muslims in the Netherlands
Issue Date: 2018-11-28

4. Research Methodology

4.1. *Introduction*

For the identification of a theoretical framework and for the analysis of the data, this study takes the general principles of a structural-functionalist approach into consideration, which is one of the dominant paradigms of social theory. As the name suggests, structural functionalists are interested in the 'functional' analysis of social structures. In other words, they are interested in analysing the consequences of certain social structures for other social structures, as well as in analysing the consequences of such structures for the wider society (Ritzer, 2007).

In this model, religion has reciprocal relations with other elements of the social structure, and therefore a change in the structural elements of society will be reflected in that society's religion and religious phenomena, or vice versa, a change in the position of religion may cause certain changes in that society. According to this approach, religion has functions in every social layer of a society and corresponds with various social functions and roles within these different layers (Cunningham, 1999, p. 42).

In addition, this study uses Weber's interpretive sociology to gain an understanding of the meaning of the religious action of Muslims in a changing context. Such an interpretation of meaning is essential for the compilation of a social phenomenology. This approach therefore prevents us from hastily making generalizations. We also fundamentally avoid commenting on the truth or falsehood of the Turkish religious experience under investigation. This is a general principle of the scientific study of religion, rooted in Durkheim's thesis that religion is likely to transform in parallel with changes in society (2001, p. 326). In various parts of his book *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Durkheim discusses that religion responds to the specific social and intellectual circumstances of a community, and makes the point that, correspondingly, no manifestation of religion should be seen as fake or false (2001, p. 4). This is important to keep in mind, as the majority of empirical social scientific research into religion is vulnerable to criticism regarding hidden normativity in the construction of measuring instruments.

In line with these general principles in the study of religion, we seek to capture the role of elite and popular religiosity in the lives of Dutch-Turkish Muslims. So, by adhering to these approaches, I will try to reconstruct Weber's conception of 'elite and popular religion' by considering Muslim religious experience.

This study is designed on the basis of deductive reasoning, which tends to move from the general to the specific. The validity of deductions depends on the validity of a premise or premises (prior statements, findings or conditions). In the theoretical chapter, we therefore began with a study of the concepts of high and popular culture in relation to the societal foundation of socio-cultural differentiation and religiosity. We then examined interpretations of elite and popular religiosity and of their general characteristics in the scientific study of religion. Finally, we discussed how these concepts can be understood in the case of Muslim societies, by considering Turkish Muslim religious experience and its foundations in authoritative theological Muslim texts.

The design of our study is characterized by a 'mixed-methods' approach, which fuses quantitative and qualitative methods into a single research project. Within a four-year period (2010 - 2013), the project started with qualitative research, so that the results of this qualitative research could inform aspects of the quantitative approach. The qualitative data collection included participant observation, informal interviews

and specially designed questionnaires. The application of the questionnaire started in November 2012 and lasted until April 2013. Although filling in the questionnaires took 5 months of research, my extensive fieldwork lasted at least 4 years.

Based on the theoretical framework and the participant observation processes, several hypotheses were developed. Factor analysis was then applied to measure whether elite and popular religiosity and their sub-components had reached statistical significance. In accordance with this, the categories of elite and popular religiosity in this study have been based not only on theoretical foundations, but also on statistical foundations. Data collected from the fieldwork were tested against the hypothesis developed in this study, and compared to the theoretical framework, in order to reach solid conclusions.

In the following part, I will present the research questions, the research design, the methodology and the data collection process.

4.2. *Objectives, Research questions and Hypothesis*

I now present the objectives of my study, my research questions and my hypothesis regarding the subject matters of this research.

4.2.1. *Objective*

To contribute to the body of knowledge about the characteristics of elite and popular religiosity among Dutch-Turkish Muslims who live in the Dutch plural society.

4.2.2. *Research Questions and Hypotheses*

RQ$_1$: What forms and motivations characterize elite and popular religiosity, what are the patterns in the relationship between elite and popular religiosity, and how does this relate to the socio-economic status of Dutch-Turkish Muslims living in the Netherlands?

It is necessary to explore the following sub-questions in order to be in a position to answer our main research question:

RQ$_1$a: How can the relationship between religion and culture be characterized, and how do we understand popular and elite religiosity in our research setting? (Chapter 2, ‘Theoretical Background’)

RQ_1b: What are the characteristics of elite and popular religiosity in the context of Turkish - and possibly also Dutch - society, and how do these characteristics relate to the socio-economic status of (Dutch-) Turkish Muslims? (Chapter 3, 'Theoretical and Socio-psychological Foundations')

The exploration of these two sub-questions is described in chapters 2 and 3. As a result of our literature review, we have added additional research questions in order to achieve an even more articulated response to our main research question.

The following sub-questions and hypothesis were explored by way of a survey, and by means of an analysis of the data collected:

RQ_1c: What are the characteristics of elite and popular religiosity among Dutch-Turkish Muslims living in the Netherlands? (Chapter 5)

RQ_1d: What are the patterns in the relationship between elite and popular religiosity?

H_1: Elite and popular forms of religiosity are negatively correlated with each another.

RQ_1e: How are elite and popular religiosity recognizable in the Dutch-Turkish research population, and how is this phenomenon socially located? (Chapters 5 - 6)

H_2: Turkish Muslim minorities living in the Netherlands predominantly experience popular religiosity.

H_3: First-generation respondents experience popular religiosity to a larger degree than second-generation respondents.

H_4: High level of elite religiosity significantly increases with education. High level of popular religiosity significantly decreases with education.

H_5: High level of elite religiosity significantly increases with economic status. High level of popular religiosity significantly decreases with economic status.

In our research, we have formulated a number of expectations with regard to these research questions. Because of the exploratory nature of our research, we explicitly describe them as expectations rather than hypotheses. These are:

E_1: The experience level of popular religiosity is higher among Muslim women than among Muslim men.

E_2: Respondents who are middle-aged (36-55) or older (56 and above) experience popular religiosity to a larger degree than young respondents (18-35).

E_3: Respondents who identify themselves as 'more religious than most' predominantly experience popular religiosity.

E_4: Respondents who state that they acquire much of their religious knowledge through television programmes, experience a high level of popular religiosity.

E_5: Respondents who state that they acquire much of their religious knowledge through their family experience a high level of popular religiosity.

In light of our literature review, we expect a relationship between socio-psychological attitudes and religiosity, and for this reason we formulate the following secondary research question and hypotheses:

RQ_2: What are the socio-psychological differences in behaviour and attitudes among Dutch-Turkish Muslims who experience elite and popular religiosity, respectively?

H_6: Respondents motivated by elite religiosity are more open to interaction with Christians than respondents motivated by popular religiosity.

H_7: Men motivated by popular religiosity tend to have more negative attitudes towards women and more traditional ideas about gender, than men motivated by elite religiosity.

H_8: Respondents motivated by popular religiosity have a more prejudiced attitude towards other nations than respondents motivated by elite religiosity.

H_9: Respondents motivated by popular religiosity have a more hostile attitude towards others[41] than respondents motivated by elite religiosity.

H_{10}: Respondents motivated by elite religiosity feel more comfortable with modernity than respondents motivated by popular religiosity.

---

[41] "Others" was conceptualised as any person other than the respondent. See items 87, 88, 89 in Table 39 in the Appendices, which were designed to test this hypothesis.

H_{11}: Respondents motivated by elite religiosity exhibit less conservative in-group[42] attitudes than respondents motivated by popular religiosity.

The hypotheses and expectations listed above will be tested statistically in the next chapter. I now turn to the clarification of the design of the questionnaire.

4.3. *Design and Procedure of the Research: Mixed Methods Approach*

The mixed-methods approach has become a very popular methodological approach in a variety of disciplines and fields, particularly in the social and behavioural sciences (Teddlie, & Tashakkori (2003). A basic premise of mixed-methods approaches is that the use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches can emphasise the strengths and diminish the weaknesses of these single approaches within a study (Andrew & Halcomb, 2006). A commonly used definition of the mixed-methods approach states that:

> Mixed methods research is a research design with philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry. As a methodology, it involves philosophical assumptions that guide the direction of the collection and analysis of data and the mixture of qualitative and quantitative data in a single study or series of studies. Its central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007, p. 5).

Several reasons have been adduced to support the use of a mixed-methods approach. For example, Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003) claim that a mixed-methods design offers the opportunity to present a greater diversity of views. Given the complex nature of the issues explored within our cross-cultural context, a mixed-methods approach was chosen since it would allow a deeper penetration into issues when language and communication barriers might hamper the research process. As defined by Greene et al (1989), we use the rationale of complementarity for using a mixed-methods approach. This rationale allows us to explore distinct aspects of a religious phenomenon. We believe that a mixed-methods approach draws upon the strengths of quantitative approaches (i.e., large sample size, prediction, and generalizability) and qualitative approaches (i.e., description, depth, and contextual findings), while minimizing the weaknesses inherent in single-method paradigms. The data drawn from

[42] Here, 'in-group' means a group to which a person belongs, and which is felt to be an integral part of his/her personal identity.

the qualitative interviews can, we claim, elaborate, enhance, and ultimately even help explain the correlations demonstrated in the quantitative study. This means that the methods are complementary and, when mixed, produce a more comprehensive picture than one of the two methods could provide on its own.

Scholars have identified various possible forms of mixed-methods design and have even devised a classification based on a basic typology in the field of evaluation (Greene et al., 1989). In this study, we have based our method on the first and second types. (1) complementarity seeks to use the results of one method to elaborate on the results of another method; (2) development seeks to use the results of one method to help develop or inform another method.[43] This design is the *sequential exploratory design* in which the collection of qualitative data is followed by a second stage of quantitative data collection (see Figure 1). This design is typically used to develop quantitative instruments when the variables are not known (Swanson & Holton, 2005, p. 320). In the following section we will provide more detailed information on how the qualitative side of this study was informed by the development of the quantitative part.

4.3.1. *Qualitative Data Collection: Participant Observation*

The use of a mixed-methods design resulted in an approach that initially included qualitative instruments and strategies. In the introductory chapter, I discussed the insider position that I took on for this part of the research, and the possible advantages and disadvantages of this positionality. Here I will continue to outline the ways in which I collected qualitative data.

One problem that I faced during field work was the problem of hindrances to the observation of Muslim women, being a male participant observer. Other male scholars who conducted research in Muslim communities have reported similar difficulties, because the female sphere is often separated from the male sphere. This makes it difficult to participate in events for Muslim women and to gather information on the use of concepts by insiders and the meanings attributed to the practices. In order to collect the necessary data relevant to women's lives, I received the support of my wife who took on the role of a female assistant, willing to act as observer and take notes in the field. She carefully gathered observations in the field and we compared and

[43] For a brief sketch of the other two types, see section 1.7. 'Methodology of the Thesis'.

discussed our observations on a regular basis. These discussions were very useful for setting up the theoretical framework of this study, and for developing hypotheses and items during the development of the research questionnaire. Simultaneously, her work in the field provided an important contribution to the interpretation that will be presented in the discussion section, in which the research results will be evaluated.

During the research phase, we took on several volunteer tasks in various Turkish organizations and institutions, such as SEVA (Sociaal Educatief Kunst- en Volksacademie) and Diyanet. These volunteer tasks made it possible for us to collect data while we were working in the community. In general, we were expected to teach the basic values of Turkish culture, and the concepts of Islamic faith. By taking on this teaching role, we were able to meet parents and have fruitful discussions about cultural and religious issues, and their expectations of these institutions.

One of the volunteer tasks I took on in 2012 concerned Qurʾān weekend schools in *Ahi Evran*, one of the four Diyanet mosques in The Hague. The ages of the students who took part in the Qurʾān classes ranged from 13 to 18. There was no fixed time in the year to organize Qurʾān lessons, which caused the educational level of the students to vary considerably. There was no school class system and children of different ages sat together in a single room. The instruction during the lessons consisted first and foremost in the memorization of the Arabic alphabet using *elifbâ cüzü*, followed by reading qur'anic sections of *Amme cüzü*, i.e., from Surah 78 to the end of the Qurʾān. These were the popular Diyanet teaching tools. The main goal of these lessons was to teach the pupils to read the Qurʾān aloud fluently in Arabic, and to instruct them in the memorization of short sections of the Qurʾān, without pondering on the meaning of the passages (*ayah*) or sections (*surah*). Thus, the focus of attention was on the exoteric knowledge of Islam. When I questioned this method and the curriculum, wanting to concentrate more on the meaning of the verses, both the administrators and the parents of the students responded negatively. The administrators feared that the institution would lose students. And many of the parent's main expectations revolved around teaching the children to memorize the *surahs* as soon as possible, and instructing them in reading the Qurʾān fluently in Arabic. So, I didn't have much time to teach the meaning of the Qurʾān, and the intrinsic side of religious practices.

In addition, the books we read in that short period were books on ablution (i.e., books that instruct students on how to perform the requirements for prayer such as the

ghusl [the full-body ritual purification] and the *wudu* [washing parts of the body]). This literature was therefore mainly focused on the legal (*fiqh*) aspects of praying. Many of these publications were produced by the Dutch Islamic Foundation (*Islamitische Stichting Nederland*; this is the Dutch branch of Diyanet), clearly with a view to children growing up in Turkey. It was almost impossible to find a Dutch source that was more relevant to the pupils in our class and that would point them towards the spirit of Islam.

In addition to these classes, my wife and I conducted weekly conversations with members of the Turkish community. During these conversations we spoke with Dutch-Turkish Muslims about the problems of Muslim communities in the Netherlands. The most important questions during these meetings were how a Muslim community can practise its religion and culture and make a contribution to Dutch society. These conversations provided valuable insights that were used in the course of the research to improve the elite and popular religiosity scale and to analyse the Turkish Muslim society in the Netherlands.

A relevant illustration concerns the weekly meetings I had with young people (18-25 years old) at SEVA (Social-Educational Art and Folk Academy, The Hague) in 2011. These meetings lasted almost a year. The majority of these young people had no basic religious knowledge. Their expectations and most of their questions revolved around the general rules of worship. Similar attitudes were observed by my wife in the women's meetings. In the month of Ramadan, Muslim men and women aspire to read the complete Qurʾān (a practice called *hatim indirmek*). The month of Ramadan consists of 30 days and during this period a *qāri* (reader of the Quran) reads 20 pages of the Qurʾān aloud every day, with the audience following the reader. My wife guided one of these Qurʾān readings for women. At the very least, she wanted to expand on the lectures by offering an explanation of the literal meaning of the passages, whereas usually these lectures consisted only of reading the Qurʾān aloud in Arabic. The reading of the Arabic already took 45 minutes, while it took at least half an hour to sketch the literal meaning of what had been read. Although the majority of women were opposed to this novel approach, my assistant (my spouse) insisted that this teaching method be tested. After a few days, many of the women began to excuse themselves and left immediately after the Arabic reading. Those who left were mostly

older women, and usually housewives. However, many of the younger women stayed on to attend the lessons.

I had regular discussions with my wife, in her role as a female assistant, on how the women's meetings were going. When we grouped the questions asked by the men and women, we could see that they were all particularly interested in the material and extrinsic aspects of religiosity. The themes related to popular religiosity were therefore dominant, both among the men and women. These observations were incorporated in the questionnaire with the following item:

> 54. When I pray, I mostly try to understand the meaning of chapters and prayers.
> (In this example, 'Agree' or 'Completely agree' would represent elite religiosity).

One of the important topics that came up during the women's meetings was the sharing and expressing of religious experiences. Most women felt free to tell others about divine signs they had seen in their dreams. This was also true for the men. It was completely acceptable that someone would publicly say that he had seen the prophet Muḥammad in his dream, and that the prophet had pointed out something to him. In spiritual forms of the Islamic tradition, it has often been claimed that such religious experiences are private and should be concealed. Although some were aware of this tradition and tried to keep such religious experiences hidden, many frequently referred to their religious experiences in order to explain the reasons for their actions. Inspired by these observations, we tried to measure this aspect of religiosity by formulating items 59, 62, 63 relating to elite and popular Islamic religious experience:

> 59. If I experience the presence of the Divine (i.e., guidance of God or the Prophet) I prefer to keep it to myself.
>
> 62. I think that it is important to tell about special gifts from God (i.e., peace, mercy, or prosperity) to family or friends.
>
> 63. If I feel the guidance of the Prophet in my dreams I prefer to share it with my family or friends.

One of the most significant religious experiences we had was a 3-week *ʿumrah* visit with a group of Dutch-Turkish Muslims in early 2013. This gave us the opportunity to collect information as a 'complete participant'. The *ʿumrah* visit is like a rehearsal for the *ḥajj*, one of the five pillars of Islam.[44] Many of the rituals performed during *ʿumrah*

[44] In the terminology of Islam, *ʿumrah* means a visit to the *Kaʿbah*. It differs from *hajj* in two respects. In the first place, *ḥajj* can only be performed at a fixed time, whereas *ʿumrah* may be

are exactly the same as those for the *ḥajj*. On this journey, a female research assistant accompanied the women while I accompanied the men. Because we were both competent in Islamic studies, the *ʿumrah* visitors regularly asked us questions and shared their experiences with us. During this visit we had the opportunity to observe some differences between private (individual) and communal worship. These observations were also incorporated in the questionnaire with the following items 52, 56, 58:

> 52. It is more important to me to spend periods of time in public religious ritual than in private religious thought and meditation.
>
> 56. The prayers I say when I am alone don't carry the same meaning and personal emotion as the prayers I say during services.
>
> 58. When I recall my experiences with religion I most readily remember the impressive formal rites and rituals (circumambulation of the *Kaʿbah – ṣalāt al-ʿīd*).

Furthermore, I tried to attend Friday prayers and sermons in different mosques as much as possible, observing the practices of the communities during this prayer. When I attended a public meeting, I noted how many people were present, with an estimate of age and gender distribution, etc. When listening to the *khutbah* (Friday sermon) in the mosques, I noted down which verses were referred to and which issues were addressed.

In this way, we had many opportunities to observe various forms and motives that are characteristic of elite and popular religiosity, and to establish how such religiosity relates to the socio-economic status of Dutch-Turkish Muslims in the Netherlands. These observations were very useful for determining the theoretical framework of this study, and for developing hypotheses such as 'Turkish Muslim minorities living in the Netherlands predominantly experience popular religiosity' and 'first-generation respondents experience popular religiosity to a larger degree than second-generation respondents'. These observations were equally useful for formulating many items included in the research questionnaire, and they simultaneously provided important contributions to the interpretation that will be presented in the discussion section.

---

carried out at any time. Secondly, going to *ʿarafāt* and gathering there is omitted in the case of *ʿumrah*, while it is an essential part of *ḥajj*.

4.3.2. *Quantitative Data Collection: Questionnaires*

Data were collected in two ways: by means of a paper survey and by means of a modern web-based approach

4.3.2.1. *Paper-based Survey*

Paper-based surveys have been the traditional method of gathering responses for many decades. In recent years, this method has given way to web-based approaches. However, for people without access to information technology, paper continues to be the most feasible alternative, as paper surveys require little to no special technological skill and can be completed by hand. For this reason, we used paper-based surveys mainly to reach older respondents who had less familiarity with the Internet. 500 questionnaires were distributed, mainly at three locations (Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague), of which 435 were returned. The questionnaires were distributed in various Turkish Islamic centres, mosques, Islamic schools, Islamic organizations and secular societies such as coffeehouses, sports clubs, and a number of other cultural organizations. A few were also given to friends and acquaintances. Some of the collected forms were not included in the statistical analysis because only a few questions had been answered. The quantitative analysis therefore comprises 388 questionnaires, of which 219 were filled in by male respondents and 169 by female respondents. 40 percent of the statistical data was collected through the paper-based survey, compared to 60 percent through the online survey (see Appendix three: Paper-based questionnaire).

4.3.2.2. *Internet-Mediated Research (IMR)*

Since 2011, web 2.0 systems are clearly becoming dominant. Examples include Survey Monkey, Google Docs, Survey Tool and Free Online Surveys. These are similar in that they all provide users with the ability to create, send, and analyse online survey results on-demand. These online software packages offer the possibility to quickly create a questionnaire and gather data, to present the results in a graphical format, and to easily import the data into a statistical analysis package. Moreover, researchers can create a variety of question types including multiple choice, Likert scale, short answers and open responses (Cheruvallil & Shakkour, 2015; Knezek & Christensen, 2013).

Early studies yielded promising results, indicating that the quality of IMR data was at least comparable to that of data collected offline. Such research also showed that IMR samples are in many ways more diverse than traditional offline samples (see Arnett, 2008). Other recent studies have reached parallel conclusions. For example, Hewson and Charlton (2005) managed the Multidimensional Health Locus of Control (MHLC) Scale (Wallston & Wallston, 1981), both in web-based and pen-and-paper modes; the internet data was found to be at least as good as the offline data, taking into account scale reliabilities and factor structures. Other studies have provided similar support for IMR questionnaires (e.g. Brock, Barry & Lawrence, 2012) and experiments (e.g. Linnman, Carlbring & Ahman, 2006). Only a few studies have reported a lack of equivalence (e.g. Barbeite & Weiss, 2004), and in these cases it is often uncertain whether the online or offline data is superior.

In this study, the larger part of the data (60 %) was collected using one of these modern web-based approaches, Google Docs (see Appendix four: Web-based questionnaire). The survey designed with Google Docs was embedded in an email and sent to addresses randomly collected from social networks such as Facebook, LinkedIn and Twitter. Some websites that are mainly used by Turkish citizens embedded the survey link in their forum page at our request.[45] We also sent thousands of messages to the collected Facebook addresses on a random basis. Facebook offers the possibility to send sixty messages per day. I used my own and my wife's Facebook account for three months, so I sent about a hundred messages per day. I asked respondents to share the survey link with their environment as well.

In addition, some Facebook groups with hundreds of members shared the survey link at our request. For example, the Europe Islamic University of Applied Sciences[46] shared our survey link on the main page of their website, allowing us to reach nearly 5000 members simultaneously. At the end of that day, we received more than fifty newly filled-in questionnaires. It is also worth mentioning that the questionnaire was shared by Facebook groups with different social and cultural backgrounds.

---

[45]For example:
http://forums.hababam.nl/showthread.php?t=156462&s=76324f76fe0cf2ad97e3ce0afd84a0f
d

[46] The website of the Europe Islamic University of Applied Sciences can be found via this link: https://eiu-edu.nl/

4.3.2.3. *Problems Encountered*

One of the problems we encountered with regard to the quantitative data collection was the language of the questionnaire. Initially, the questionnaire was meant to be designed in two languages: Turkish and Dutch. The reason for this was that some second-generation Muslims understand Dutch better than Turkish. Prior to the finalization of the questionnaires, a pilot study was carried out with an early version of the questionnaire. Forty respondents participated in this pilot to determine whether the questions were well understood. Twenty-two respondents completed the questionnaire in Turkish and eighteen in Dutch. The data from the pilot study proved to be inconsistent. In other words, when translated to Dutch, it effectively became a different questionnaire which yielded very different results, thus making it inoperable. The pilot also showed that the questionnaire contained too many questions and that completing it took more time than expected. Therefore, some questions had to be replaced by more relevant ones.

After discussing this problematic issue, we decided not to use a questionnaire in two separate languages. Instead, we designed a semi-translated questionnaire to solve the problem. Turkish was chosen as the main language and Dutch was made the secondary language. In addition, during the course of the pilot study, respondents were encouraged to communicate their views on the clarity and relevance of the items. In light of conversations with respondents, some questions were modified or rephrased to give respondents a better understanding of the questions. I tried to make the Turkish wording as plain and as a clear as possible. Moreover, I added some explanations in Dutch. Some words and phrases were also translated in Dutch (in parentheses). For example:

> 7. Medeni Haliniz? (Burgerlijke staat?): Hiç evlenmemiş (nooit getrouwd), Evli (getrouwd), Boşanmış (gescheiden), Nişanlı (verloofd), Evli değilim Birlikte yaşıyorum samenwonend).[47]

Regarding experiential dimension:

> 27. Mucizevi (*wonderbaarlijk*) olaylarla karşılaşma.[48]

In order to make the questionnaire shorter because of the time efficiency issue, I had to exclude two scales related to the consequential dimension. These scales

[47] In English: 7. Marital status? : never married, married, divorced, engaged, cohabiting.

[48] In English: 27. A miraculous (*wonderbaarlijk*) event

measured the respondent's attitudes towards Turkish people and Dutch people. As a result, the number of items was reduced from 133 to 99. Following these changes, we carried out a second pilot to evaluate the reliability of the new questionnaire. The data coming from this pilot showed that the new, semi-translated questionnaire became operable.

4.4. *Quantitative Research Instruments*

Measuring instruments were developed by operationalisation of the concepts we identified in our study of elite and popular religiosity (see previous chapters). Theoretical concepts cannot be applied directly to empirical reality and must therefore be operationalised, i.e., converted into empirical items and variables (Van der Ven, 1993, 2005). For this study, specific measuring instruments were built by considering previous studies in the field. The items were generally selected from previous studies. Compatibility with previously published scales of religious orientation was a criterion guiding item selection. Items were translated from English to Turkish and partly to Dutch. These were then checked[49] for equivalence of meaning and subsequently transformed to adapt the measuring instrument to our research context and conceptual framework.

In this section, we discuss our measuring instruments according to four groups: (1) population characteristics (1), general religiosity (2), elite and popular religiosity (3) and measurements for the consequential dimension (4). We indicate the sources of these instruments and refer to the appendices at the end of this dissertation, where these sources can be consulted in detail.

4.4.1. *Demographic Inquiry*

The first section of the questionnaire contains 12 items that relate to population characteristics: gender, age, educational level, income, residence, language and group affiliations.

---

[49] I am very grateful to Ahmet Kaya and Muslim Aydın (who is an official translator from Turkish to Dutch) for helping me with this conversion. Ahmet Kaya is currently a PhD Student at Radboud University Nijmegen. Muslim Aydın is currently a PhD candidate at Leiden University.

4.4.2. *General Religiosity Scale (GRS)*

The second part of the questionnaire was designed to provide information under the five dimensions of religion as conceptualized by Glock (1962). These are the ideological, ritualistic, experiential, intellectual, and consequential dimensions. These concepts are considered horizontal dimensions because they indicate inter-dimensional aspects of religiosity (Hökelekli, 2005). The scale used for this part of the questionnaire does not address the intra-dimensional aspects of the five dimensions, as is customary in most studies that have been completed on Christianity (Cardwell, 1971; Clayton, 1968; Faulkner, 1969; Lehman, 1968) and Islam (Altınlı, 2011; Atalay, 2005; Ayten, 2009; Kafalı, 2005; Köktaş, 1993; Serajzadeh, 1998; Şahin, 2001; Yapıcı, 2004; Yıldız, 2006). In other words, it does not measure the difference between elite and popular religiosity, but between high and low religiosity. This *general religiosity scale* (GRS) was developed using older versions of Glock's scale (1962). The result of this part of the survey was used, first of all, to exclude respondents who experience low level religiosity, because they are unable to assist us in our search for the forms and motives of different aspects of high religiosity. Clearly, elite and popular forms, as well as elite and popular motives, are all manifestations of a strong religious affiliation. Therefore, it is pointless for our analysis to include respondents who score low on religious affiliation. For example, with the elite and popular religiosity scale we want to measure motives that lie behind certain religious practices. If the respondents are not performing any religious rituals then it would be pointless to ask them about the motivation lying behind them. Likewise, with the elite and popular religiosity scale we want to measure certain forms of religious experience. If the respondents are not reporting any forms of religious experience in the experiential dimension, such as experiences of angels or guiding spirits for instance, then it would be meaningless to measure the form of their religious experience. Secondly, using this adapted older version of Glock and Stark's scale gives us the opportunity to evaluate whether it is a sufficient tool to understand complex characteristics of the religiosity of individuals. In this way, there are possibilities to make some comparisons between the conclusions drawn about Turkish religiosity based on the application of our newly developed elite and popular religiosity scale, and the conclusions drawn based on the continued use of the older version of Glock and Stark's scale in Turkish sociology of religion, without taking into account intra-dimensional aspects of variables.

I refer to this part of the questionnaire as the *general religiosity scale* (GRS). Sample items are:

> 14. 'The Oneness of God' in the ideological dimension.
>
> 19. 'Observance of the five daily prayers' in the ritualistic dimension.
>
> 25. 'Experience of angels or guiding spirits' in the experiential dimension.
>
> 33. 'Which of the following rules is not one of the pillars of faith (īmān)?' in the intellectual dimension.
>
> 38. 'Religion is something I have never personally felt compelled to consider' in the consequential dimension.

Scoring of the GRS

This scale consists of 25 items. The respondents were asked to answer on 5-point Likert scales and multiple-choice scales.

With regard to the ideological dimension, respondents were asked about their degree of faith. 1 referred to 'non-believing' and 5 referred to 'very believing'.

With regard to the ritualistic dimension, respondents were asked about the frequency of their prayers. 1 referred to 'never' and 5 referred to 'very often'.

With regard to the experiential dimension, respondents were asked about their experience level of certain religious experiences. 1 referred to 'never' and 5 referred to 'very often'.

With regard to the intellectual dimension, respondents were asked to fill in a multiple-choice scale consisting of 5 questions. Among the various options was the correct answer. 1 referred to 'incorrect answer' and 5 referred to 'correct answer' (other answers were 'not sure' and 'no idea', recoded as 1).

Finally, with regard to the consequential dimension, respondents were asked to mark the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with several statements in order to measure the degree of influence of religion on their daily lives. In these questions, 1 referred to 'minimum impact' and 5 referred to 'maximum impact'.

The method used to distinguish between participants with high and low experiences of religiosity was as follows: to divide the variable into two categories - an upper and a lower half - we used the median of its frequency distribution. The lower half represents low religiosity and the upper half represents high religiosity.

4.4.3. *The Elite and Popular Religiosity Scales (E&PRS)*

The third part of the questionnaire are the Elite and Popular Religiosity Scales (E&PRS), which were specially developed with a view to surveying Turkish Muslim communities in this study. This section sets the present study apart from most others. These scales were designed to highlight the intra-dimensional aspects of various variables: not the difference between high and low religiosity, but the difference between elite and popular religiosity. One of the reasons for using the general religiosity scale, as explained above, was to identify respondents who experience high religiosity and to eliminate respondents who experience low religiosity from our analysis. Since the Elite and Popular Religiosity Scales were designed to measure the forms and motives of religious belief, practices, experiences and knowledge, they can only be relevantly applied to respondents with high religiosity. In other words, these scales, given their characteristics, can only function if a certain degree of religiosity is experienced.

Our initial method, consisting of participant observation and literature study, was generally useful for the design of this new questionnaire, to the extent that it enabled us to obtain a quantitative picture of Muslim religiosity and its sociological manifestations. We discuss the two scales separately. In chapter 3 some explanation has already been given about the development of these elite and popular religiosity scales. The following table presents the proposed characteristics of elite and popular religiosity determined on the basis of participant observation and literature review.

Table 5 - *Characteristics of elite and popular religiosity*

Components	Characteristics of Elite (Spiritual) Religiosity	Characteristics of Popular Religiosity
Ideological	Reflective and dynamic process of faith	Uncritical and stable stereotypical beliefs
Ritualistic	Intrinsic, ultimate and personal motivations for performance of rituals	Extrinsic, instrumental and institutional characteristics of rituals
Intellectual	Esoteric and differentiated religious knowledge	Exoteric and undifferentiated religious knowledge
Experiential	Experiential inessentiality and privacy	Experiential desirability and shareability
Consequential	Tolerant and unprejudiced	Intolerant and prejudiced

Scoring of E&PRS

The Elite and Popular Religiosity Scale contains two separate scales designed to measure two distinct religious orientations: 11 items aim to measure elite religiosity, while another 11 aims to measure popular religiosity. The respondents were asked to answer on a 5-point Likert scale (5 referred to 'strongly agree'; 1 to 'strongly disagree'; and 3 to 'no idea'). 3 items were worded reversely, 3 items negatively, and 16 positively. The purpose of wording items positively, negatively and reversely within the same scale is to avoid an *acquiescence, affirmation*, or *agreement bias*. These interchangeable terms refer to a respondent's tendency to agree with items regardless of their content (DeVellis, 2016). Reversely worded items were reversely scored before the measurements on the full scale and the two subscales were computed.

Another scoring issue related to validity concerns how - and whether - individuals should be assigned religious orientation type labels, based on their elite religiosity and popular religiosity scores. In order to make meaningful distinctions, this study temporarily excluded individuals who tended towards agreement on both scales - both the elite and popular religiosity scales - and those who tended towards disagreement

on both scales. So, this study generally took those individuals into account who tended towards agreement on only one of the scales (Elite or Popular). However, the groups that showed agreement, respectively disagreement, on both scales cannot be ignored if we are to understand the complex interrelationships between elite and popular religiosity, and they will therefore be addressed in the discussion section (see 6.2.2. Multi-voiced-ness of Religious Identity).

4.4.4. *Scales to Measure the Consequential Dimension*

The consequential dimension is conceptualized here as the impact of religious belief, practice, experience, and knowledge on the daily lives of individuals. The consequential dimension was designed to cover a wide range of life issues, including gender issues, sectarian issues, and attitudes towards modernity and Christianity. This study benefited from previous studies developed for the surveying of Christian believers. For this research project, these previously developed scales were translated into Turkish and then adapted for Muslim religious experience. Attitudes towards other religions (i.e., Christianity) were measured by means of a set of 5 items, selected from Seyfarth et al. (1984). The instrument measuring attitudes towards women contained 4 items, selected from Postovoit (1990). Attitudes towards race were measured by means of 4 items, and were investigated using the inventory developed by Hadlock (1988), Jackson (1994) and Massey (1998). The instrument measuring attitudes towards others contained 3 items, selected from Wichern (1984). Attitudes towards modernity were measured by means of 3 items, and in-group attitudes by means of 4 items, in both cases using McCullough & Worthington (1995).

The following table presents these tools and their reliability results:

Table 6 - *Reliability analysis (attitude scales)*

Attitude Scales	*Reliability*	*Items*	*n*	*Selected from*
Attitudes towards other religions (Christianity)	α = .87	5	*893*	*Attitudes Towards Evangelism Scale* (Seyfarth et al., 1984)
Attitudes towards women	α = .71	4	*893*	*Attitudes Towards Christian Women Scale* (Postovoit, 1990)
Attitudes towards race	α = .77	4	*893*	*Religious Status Inventory* (Hadlock, 1988; Jackson, 1994; Massey, 1998)
Attitudes towards others	α = .76	3	*893*	*Spiritual Leadership Qualities Inventory* (Wichern, 1984)
Attitudes towards modernity	α = .86	3	*893*	*Religious Values Scale* (McCullough & Worthington, 1995)
In-group attitudes	α = .81	4	*561*	*Religious Values Scale* (McCullough & Worthington, 1995)

Scoring of the Consequential Dimension

These tools consist of 23 items. The respondents were asked to answer on a 5-point Likert scale (5 referred to 'completely agree' and 1 to 'completely disagree'). 8 items were phased negatively and 15 were phased positively. Positively phased items were scored as 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 and negatively phased items were reversely scored as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

4.4.5. *General Overview*

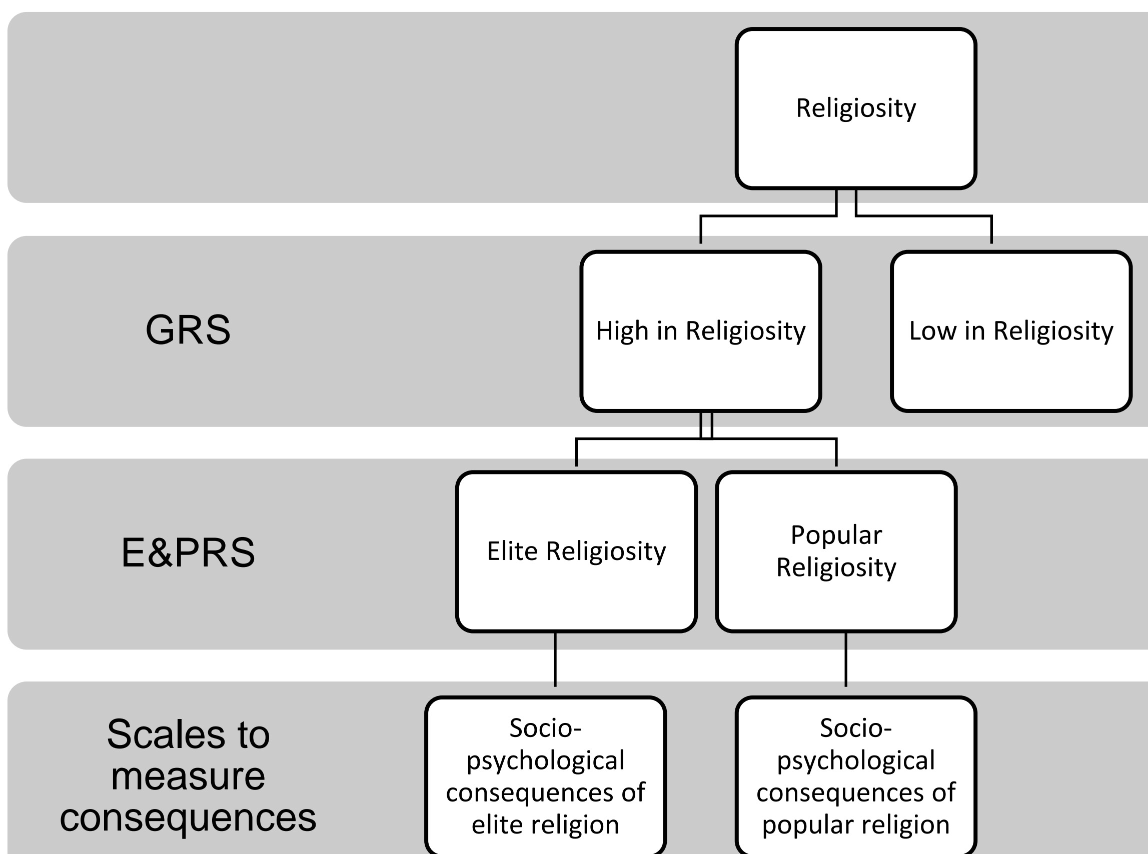
In summary, the E&PRS was not designed to distinguish between individuals high in religiosity and individuals low in religiosity. Our concept of elite and popular religion provides a very different construct. The elite and popular religiosity scale is primarily designed to distinguish different ways of being religious among those who, by some other criteria, may be described as religious. Or, to put it in another way, this scale is intended to distinguish between the different characteristics of those who are, in one sense or another, religious.

Based on our qualitative observation, adherents of both types of religiosity (elite and popular) show a strong religious commitment. The different types of religious

belief, rituals, experience, knowledge and consequences may occur due to the variety in socio-economic and cultural differentiation. Elite and popular religion could be seen as a form of differentiation and specialization of religious services relevant to different lay markets. However, based on our previous observations in the field, we expect to find more than two types of attitudes towards religious beliefs. In addition to distinctly elite and popular attitudes, an ambivalent attitude is obviously possible. This would mean: experiencing elite religiosity on one dimension and popular religiosity on another dimension. There could be another important aspect that needs to be further explored. This is the simultaneity of elite and popular religiosity, which means that the two types of religiosity are experienced at the same time.

All these scales therefore try to measure the following categories of religiosity:

Figure 4 - *Categorization of religiosity*



4.5. *Reliability Analysis*

The GRS, the E&PRS, and the scales for measuring the consequential dimension appear to be sufficiently reliable for research purposes.

Two-week test-retest reliabilities show that internal consistencies for the GRS are excellent (α = .96). Internal consistencies for the ERS are invariably lower, with Cronbach's alphas most typically in the middle (α = .74) Internal consistencies for the PRS are invariably higher, with Cronbach's alphas most typically in the low (α = .81) (*N* = 40).

Table 7 - *Reliability analysis - (religiosity scales)*

Religiosity Scale	*Reliability*	*Items*	*n*	*Based on*
General Religiosity Scale (GRS)	α = .94	25	1165	Glock and Stark (1969)
Elite Religiosity Scale (ERS)	α = .82	11	*893*	*Age Universal I5-E Scale* (Gorsuch & Venable, 1983); *Committed Consensual Measures* (Spilka & Allen, 1967); *Quest Scale* (Batson & Ventis, 1982); *Religious Orientation Scale* (Allport & Ross, 1967)
Popular Religiosity Scale (PRS)	α = .84	11	*893*	*Age Universal I-E Scale* (Gorsuch & Venable, 1983)*; Committed Consensual Measures* (Spilka & Allen, 1967); *Quest Scale* (Batson & Ventis, 1982)*; Religious Orientation Scale* (Allport & Ross, 1967)

Internal consistency estimates of reliability were calculated by using a sample of more than 1165 Dutch- Turkish Muslims living in the Netherlands. The coefficient alphas for the General Religiosity Scale (GRS) equal (α = .94) (n of items 25) (*N* = 1165). The coefficient alphas for the Elite Religiosity Scale (ERS) equal (α = .77) (n of items = 14) (*N* = 893). An item analysis indicated that three items were not performing well within the measurement (i.e., were decreasing the overall alpha coefficient). After exclusion of these three items (numbers 40, 55, and 66), Cronbach's

alpha increased to level (α = .82) (n of items = 11). The coefficient alphas for the Popular Religiosity Scale (PRS) equal (α = .79) (n of items = 14) (*N* = 893). An item analysis indicated that three items were not performing well within the measurement. After exclusion of these three items (numbers 39, 43, and 68), Cronbach's alpha increased to level (α = .84) (n of items = 11).

4.6. *Method of Data Analysis*

The data from the completed questionnaires were entered and analysed in the program SPSS 23.0 (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). A variety of statistical research techniques were utilized in the estimation of the data. The primary statistical methods were tabulation of frequencies and percentages, and computation of mean, median, standard deviation and range. The findings of the General Religiosity Scale were presented based on these basic techniques.

In addition, we performed the following types of analysis: factor analysis, an analysis of Variance = ANOVA, correlation analysis, and T tests. Factor analysis (more properly called exploratory factor analysis) is concerned with whether the covariances or correlations between a set of observed variables can be explained in terms of a smaller number of unobservable constructs, known as *latent variables* or *common factors*. 'Explanation' here means that the correlation between each pair of measured (manifest) variables arises because of their mutual association with the common factors (Çokluk, Şekercioğlu & Büyüköztürk, 2010; Landau & Everitt, 2004). Factor analysis was performed on the General Religiosity Scale (GRS), the Elite Religiosity Scale (ERS), the Popular Religiosity Scale (PRS), and the scales for the consequential dimension. We always started with a free factor solution (Eigenvalue ≥ 1.00) and moved on to a forced factor solution for statistical reasons if the interpretability of the outcome of the free factor solution required this. For admission to a factor an item had to meet the following criteria: factor loading ≥ .30; the item clearly had to belong to one factor, the criterion being a factor loading of ≥ .15 compared to its loading on other factors. The factor analyses are included in an appendix to this study, but the factor loadings between –.30 and .30 are not shown in the table (see: Appendix one: Factor Analysis). Once the number of factors had been determined, we needed to label them. The choice of label concerns the *indicator variables*; i.e., the variables within the factor that have the highest loadings. The

common features of variables loading onto that factor, which are based on the personal judgement of this study's researcher, were also taken into account. The method of identification was based on the perceived interpretability and meaningfulness of the factors. Factor analyses were used to explore the following subquestions, which are part of our first research question, '*RQ1c*: What are the characteristics of elite and popular religiosity among Dutch-Turkish Muslims living in the Netherlands?' and '*RQ1d*: What are the patterns in the relationship between elite and popular religiosity?'.

The correlations between elite and popular religiosity, '*RQ1d*: What are the patterns in the relationship between elite and popular religiosity?', and the social location of both types of religiosity, '*RQ1e*: How are elite and popular religiosity recognizable in the Dutch-Turkish research population, and how is this phenomenon socially located?' were investigated by calculating the Pearson's correlation coefficient and by means of variance analysis (ANOVA). These are research topics that range under our first research question. Pearson correlation is used to measure the strength of the linear relationship between two variables. The value of the correlation provides information both about the nature and the strength of the relationship. Pearson correlation ranges between -1.0 and 1.0. The closer the value of the correlation is to 1, the stronger the relationship between the two variables. A one-way ANOVA, on the other hand, is the analysis of the variance of values (of a dependent variable) by comparing them against another set of values (the independent variable). It is a test of the hypothesis that the mean of the tested variable is equal to that of the factor (Griffith, 2010, p. 234).

An independent samples t-test, also called a between-subjects t-test, is used when a researcher wants to determine if the mean value on a given target variable for one group differs from the mean value on the target variable for a different group. A significant t-test specifies that the two groups have different means. An independent samples t-test was used to test our second research question '*RQ2*: What are the socio-psychological differences in behaviour and attitudes among Dutch-Turkish Muslims who experience elite and popular religiosity, respectively?', for the comparison of some socio-psychological attitudes of respondents who experience elite and popular religiosity.