

RELIGIOUSNESS IN TURKEY: A RESEARCH ON COVERING STYLES OF WOMEN*

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Abstract

This study seeks the answer to this question: Does the style and degree of women's clothing reflect their level of religiousness? I prefer to determine the religiousness of individuals over their preferred clothing styles and the degrees of covering. Using a questionnaire based on a scale I have developed, I analyzed the degree of religiousness of the participants in a multidimensional manner on depending on their clothes preferences. Universe of my research is the general society in Turkey and the special universe is women. I collected my data from 389 women using stratified random sampling technique. We see that there are significant differences between individuals' levels of covering their head and body and the degree and levels of their religiousness. But there is no significant difference in all dimensions of religiousness. I discuss my findings on the style and degree of clothing and their impact on future research on religion.

Keywords: Religiousness, Headscrf (Turban), Hijab, Laicism Secularism.

Türkiye'de Dindarlık: Kadınların Örtünme Stilleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma

Öz

Bu çalışma, şu sorunun cevabını aramaktadır: Kadınların giyinme tarzı ve yoğunluğu dindarlık seviyelerini yansıtıyor mu? Bireylerin dindarlıklarının onların tercih ettikleri giyim tarzları ve örtünme yoğunlukları üzerindeki etkisini ele aldım. Bir anket yardımıyla geliştirdiğim bir ölçeğe dayalı olarak örneklemin dindarlık derecelerini kıyafet tercihlerine bağlı olarak çok boyutlu bir şekilde analiz ettim. Araştırmamın evreni Türkiye'deki genel toplumdur ve özel evreni de kadınlardır. Verilerimi tabakalı rastgele örnekleme tekniğini kullanarak 389

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kadından topladım. Bireylerin başlarını ve vücutlarını örtme düzeyleri ile dindarlık dereceleri arasında önemli farklılıklar olduğunu görüyoruz. Ancak dindarlığın tüm boyutlarında önemli bir fark yoktur. Kıyafet tarzı ve derecesi üzerine elde ettiğim bulgularımı ve gelecekteki din araştırmaları üzerindeki etkileri üzerine tartışıyorum.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dindarlık, Başörtüsü (Türban), Hicap, Laiklik Sekülerizm.

Introduction

Parallel to the secular construction of modern life, discussions of religiousness also emerged and the conflict between secular life and religiousness led to political movements in Muslim countries and caused religious people to become effective in political life. This situation brings the concern that the society is becoming more religious when the signs of being more religious both in the changing structure of government and the society in general are observed.

One of the signs accepted by the community in general is the increase in the number of women changing their clothing style and mainly covering their heads. However, these signs may be misleading and there may not be a direct relationship between religiousness and head cover and clothing style. For example, Göle writes in her book "Modern Mahrem" (Modern Intimate) that women living in conservative family environments, especially young women, use covering to participate in modern life and achieve their freedom. According to her, women can get rid of the oppressive family environment and get into the public space provided they are covered. Covering acts as a contract between these women and their families. Women say to their families, "Yes, let me cover my head, but let me get out of the family". Parents also allow their children to leave the family freely, provided that they are covered (Göle, 2011).

One of the countries where Muslims are the majority and where this issue has caused debate is Turkey. It is said that Turkey is the first country between Muslim countries in the past adapting secular life. But the construction of the secular life in Turkey has been criticized by the opposition and they have tried to change it. For example, in the 1950s, secular life began to decline when the Democratic Party, a nationalist conservative party, came to power. Again, the decline of secular life increased further in the period when the conservative and liberal Motherland party took power following the coup de tait carried out by the military in the 1980s. This decline reached its highest level during the period of the Justice and Development Party, which have been in power for seventeen years. The proportion of women covering their heads showed the highest

increase in this period (See: KONDA, 2007). Although the number of women covering their heads accepted as an indicator of religiousness by public in Turkey, in reality it may not be directly related to religiousness. Therefore, it is important to determine the relation between religiousness and the head cover and the related clothings style in the Turkish society. Therefore, this article aims to investigate how head covering and religiousness are related in Turkey.

One method of determining the level of religiousness is investigating the degree of head cover and clothing style of women although Community-based religiousness surveys are carried out directly through the attitudes of individuals towards religiousness, rather than other tangible-looking variables such as covering (see: Çubuk 2012; Akşit et al. 2012; Kanbir 2014). As an exception, KONDA (2007) published a report on the coverage of women in 2003 and 2007. In this report, the covering patterns of women and theirs age, income, etc. are presented together with the frequency of religiousness. But at the same time, more visible and measurable data are needed for individuals' levels of religiousness. Particularly, the covering characteristics of women are visible elements of religiousness in terms of perceptual catchers. However, the fact that such a study has never been done until now as far as we know puts more responsibilities on this study. The lack of analysis with basic and quantitative data on covering, which elucidates the debate on the religiousness of society, constitutes a serious obstacle to the study of the dimension of religiousness.

Because of the categorical appearance of woman and man's religiousness, the fact that the sample is composed of only women constitutes a limitation to the study. So this work can also be called "Women's religiousness in Turkey". However, one of the distinguishing features of this study is that it has investigated all dimensions of religiousness. Although in many religiousness studies, only one or a few dimensions have been studied. This study is important only because it addresses women in all aspects of religiousness.

The universe of the research is Turkish society and women. The specific universe is the women living in Adana. I conducted the study based on stratified random sampling (categorization of the sample according to the clothing patterns). I collected the data by applying a structured questionnaire to selected individuals. I analyzed the data I collected as descriptive and relational.

1. Theoretical, Conceptual and Empirical Background

What is religiousness? The difficulty of defining religiousness as well as the difficulty of defining religion is a known fact. The psychology and sociology of religion have dwelled on the issue of religiousness and various views have

been put forward to measure religiousness of individuals. Each religion creates different forms of religiousness according to the structure of belief and worship in itself; each individual who believes in any religion also differs when s/he perceives religion and makes it his/her living style (Köse 2002: 109). Saundra (2013) defines traditional religiousness as a person's self-assimilating and fulfilling behaviors that a person directly or indirectly endorses, the widespread teachings of a particular religion or the majority of those members of religion.

According to Himmelfarb (1975), religiousness is the level of occupation of interests, beliefs or activities of a person to whom religion belongs. According to James (1901: 21), religiousness is the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider divine.

As it is seen, as the definitions of religion are various, the definitions of religiousness are very diverse too. Since I have conducted this work through a scale I have developed, I have not dealt with the definitions of religiousness. But I accept that religiousness can also have indispensable features as well as indispensable features of religion. Like Seyhan (2015: 402), I think that religiousness can generally be defined as the individual meaning (meaning) and rituals of life within the rules of a certain religious tradition (belief systems). The concepts in the definition of religion, such as meaning, belief, and ritual, are also included in the definition of all religiousness. The main theme to be discussed in all religious discussions is that the believers live their belief in all dimensions.

Why Is Covering Important?

The leaders of the Republic of Turkey, which was founded after a war of liberation in 1923, have described how women and men should be dressed with a law describing the dress code they produced on the principle of secularism, which is one of the fundamental and unchangeable principles of the constitution in 1934. Following this date, women's covering their heads has been a subject of discussion. The headscarves have become an important subject among the basic parameters of political polarization in the country. The headscarf debate, especially in the 1950s, has been on the country's political agenda. After the 1980s, the headscarf issue has turned into a social movement in Turkey (see: Leuenberger 2017).

Today, it is accepted that the headscarf is the right to citizenship as much as it is religious. These two issues are still popular today. This process shows how important head cover is politically as well as religiously. However,

this study is interested in only religious dimension of head covering, excludes the political dimension of it.

Definition by the Clothes and Fundamentals of Women's Religiousness

In this study, the concept of perceptual catcher is an important issue. Perception refers to the function of forming part and complex stimuli coming from the outside world to our sensory organs, into the meaningful integrations of the mind through the separation and integration feature of the mind, and to match these with the past recorded features (see Saundra and White 2013: 118-128). In this process, symbols and indicators provide our perception. The symbols and indicators that are formed in our minds before, in a perceptual catcher functions cause us to say "that's it" to the objects and events that we encounter. In this study, perceptual catchers for religiousness are stereotypes defined according to the clothes women prefer in their daily lives.

There are religious and social foundations of the problem of covering too. For example, in the Qur'an, which is the religious text of Islam, there are five surahs that are revealed as revelations except for the haram (forbidden by religion), halal terms and acts related to the covering of the woman's body (see the Qur'an).

However, it should be kept in mind that differences of interpretation in the explanations of Islam lead to different perceptions of religion and changes in attitude. A result which can be deduced here is that perception depends on the comment of the perceptioner, interpreters, and those who assume that they regulate their lives. These perceptions can be different in every historical period. The problem of covering / headscarf is an important and seductive indicator for our subject. The most visible symbols of this are shaping our position associated with how it is created, what it is for, what it stands for and what it is being articulated. Therefore, the covering politically denotes re-ownership of Islamic religiousness and life style. Women are the newest actors of contemporary Islamism, while the covering is the most remarkable of symbols (Göle 2009: 2011). It can be seen that all Islamic societies have been influenced by the public appearance of the covered woman. The symbols of covering, Islamization in this way of life, have a spatial and aesthetic appearance to gender identities. The headscarf, on the other hand, invokes the traditional definition of Islamic femininity, which is based on the prevention of women for the participation of values of purity and honour in the public life (Göle 1997: 56).

The terms covering and headscarf (turban) are used interchangeably in order to express the principle of hijab form of Islam. Islamic clothing used today consists of headscarf that usually covers all the hair and shoulders - which are different from the traditional use of the headscarf- a long topcoat that conceals the shape of woman body. (Göle 2009: 20).

“While the traditional covering has remained within the boundaries of traditions, it has been passed down from generation to generation and has been unintentionally adopted by women, the headscarf (turban) is the product of a conscious desire, including the transition from traditional areas to modern spaces and exhibiting a political stance, realized by women” (Kanbir 2014: 78). Here, covering contains a double meaning and criticism. In the first meaning, the ideal covering means a resistance to the use of the body in secular aesthetic and materialist ways, in the second, it reveals the identity of an Islamic woman who relies on covering and hiding some parts of the woman body and thus reminding the sacred, secret, gendered area, private while in the public sphere (Göle 2012: 130). The headscarf expresses Muslim women who adopted disciplinary categories of Islam shaping themselves. But the faith means improvisation, adaptation and invention for them. This is an indication of the self-limitation of one's self to form the self (Göle 2012: 62).

As seen above, in certain societies, the way social phenomena such as religious phenomena, is experienced can be understood through means of symbols representing them. The explanations of "Symbolic Interactors" have important references in this regard (see: Denzin 1992; Poloma 1979). 'Perceptual catchers' can be introduced to approach social phenomena represented by those symbols. This study aimed to find answers to the questions of religiousness and to identify the religious experiences of women who prefer headscarves and/or hijab as a way of life in their daily life.

Looking at the religiousness scales, religiousness is dealt with in a multi-dimensional manner (Hill, 1999). The work of Glock & Stark (1966), Brown & Lowe (1951), Pargament et al. (1990) and Barnes, Doyle & Johnson (1989) are well known. In the Turkish context, we can cite studies of Onay (2003), Yapıcı (2002) and Arslan (2003).

According to the assumption of this study, the religiousness in Turkey is not experienced in every dimensions and the same level. These are the sub-research problems that should be considered. Do women's preferred clothing styles and clothing degree reflect their religiousness? Who is at what level of religiousness? To what extent are religiousness experiences influenced by socio-economic and demographic factors?

2. Methods, Limitations, and Tools

In this study in order to determine the level of religiousness on women wearing headscarf and / or hijab in Turkey, I collected data by a structured questionnaire on the level of religiousness of women as well as their socio-economic and demographic status. The sample was constructed by a stratified random sampling technique (Cochran 1977). I stratified the sample according to their preferred clothing patterns and socio-economic and demographic characteristics. At first stage, these were divided into two groups as “heads uncovered” and “heads covered”. Those whose heads are covered are categorized as those who have a religious reference (headscarves) or traditionally covered. In addition to the headscarves, I classified the sample according to whether the women covered the other parts of the bodies using other religious forms of veiling or not. I tested the level of religiousness of the selected sample with the scales I developed. I explained the religiousness scales under the relevant heading.

As seen in the above statements, it is also a challenge to draw the boundaries of the categories of cover, especially to create categories for women's covering levels. Styles and intensities of women's covering in the research which KONDA carried out in Turkey in 2007 are divided into 4 categories. In this study, five categories were determined as “ideal types” (see: Weber, 2012). These categories also determine the degree and level of covering. In general terms, the symbolic degree of the covering is like this to upper level than the lower level:

Type1. Bareheaded/Secular: Women's heads are not covered, more or less trendy or fashionable without any religious sentiment.

Type2. Traditional covering (such as hand painted, hand embroidered square scarves, e.g. muslin etc.): This is a form of covering that is a reference to rural women, but whose clothing styles are not religious.

Type3. Headscarved: Here, the woman's religiousness is the front-plate, and it is more important to note that the woman's hair is covered in such a way that it can not be seen by others. Other clothing that surrounds the body can be by trend and fashion. For example, a woman wearing jeans acknowledges her religious obligation by covering her head with a headscarf.

Type4. Body veiled: Besides wearing a headscarf, the whole body is covered with a robe-like topcoat. Here, attention is paid to the fact that the head is covered and the body lines are not clear.

Type5. Hijab: Here, the woman wears a second garment, covering her head and body with a black cover when she wears her daily clothes and then goes out of the house. Sometimes covering of the face by a veil accompanies this.

Research Questions and Measuring Tool

In this study, I have tried to answer the questions “what is the level of individuals’ religiousness according to the level of covering?” or “does the style and degree of women's clothing reflect their level of religiousness?” according to these categories of research in this study. In addition to this basic research question, I will try to answer the questions of religiousness in terms of socio-economic and demographic factors.

I used the survey technique to collect data. In the survey, I asked the participants questions about socio-demographic, religious-spiritual beliefs, and religious-spiritual participation. I collected the data from a sample of 389 women (participants) who have different qualities of life in Turkey's Adana province between 15 March and 15 May 2018. I also collected data on independent variables such as demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the participants.

With reference to Glock's (1962) five-dimensional recommendation, I developed a religiousness scale consisting of a total of 72 questions with a 5 point Likert-type questionnaire to determine levels of women's religiousness. I analyzed 72 questions in the questionnaire with factor and item, and obtained six factors indicating five dimensions of religiousness. By combining these factors again, I have calculated "total religiousness scale".

For the scale of religiousness, I conducted the validity and reliability studies of the questionnaire which use my data collection tool. While the item analysis of the responses to the questionnaire, I did not take them into the scales if it was lower than 1.8 and not higher than 4.2 and the standard deviation was less than 1. I did factor analysis of the remaining items according to the Principal Components method. Again, if the anti-image correlation coefficients of items were higher than 0.50, I evaluated the general relations of the items with each other. I decided if the level of the value of Bartlett Sigs Test, Sig. was at 0.05 it was significant, if the level of the scalement and the value of Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) was at 0.80 it was sufficient. In the same way, I did the scale with items the factor loads above 0.20. At this stage, I calculated coefficient of correlation of item-factor scores (r_{jx}) and the coefficients of correlation between factors. I have also determined the reliability of the scales with the help of the Croanbach-Alpha values of the validated items. In this way, I constructed them by computing the reliability and validated scales. So I

created the scalement tool (see DeVellis 2003). I conducted the analysis of my research with the help of independent variables based on this scalement tool.

I did all the inferential analyzes based on mean variance, T and ANOVA tests due to complex sampling (Cochran 1977). I analysed descriptive ratios and participation rates according to both the style and degree of clothing, and demographic characteristics such as income, place of birth, marital status. I also considered the sectarian qualities of the sample.

In my descriptive statistics, I took into account 95 percent confidence intervals for possible bidirectional comparisons. I evaluated the differences between the ratios by observing whether the confidence intervals overlap. I have completed my analysis identifying relationships between religious-spiritual participation and belief variables (consequential, intellectual, etc.) by controlling with multivariate logistic regression models such as Enter and Stepwise for sociodemographic characteristics (gender, place of birth, education, age, marital status, amount of children, employment) (Long and Freese 2001).

Measuring Tool

The participants answered to 72 questions in the questionnaire by choosing between “1 strongly disagree” “2 disagree”, “3 undecided”, “4 agree” and “5 strongly agree” with Likert type answer option. If the expressions are positive and affirmative of religiousness, the point preference is closer from 1 to 5, and in this case I accepted that the sample tends to be religious. I have obtained six factors that show the five dimensions of religiousness by subjecting item and factor analysis to these questions the sample answered. Later, I created “Total Religiousness scale” by combining these factors. I carried out descriptive and relational analyzes with these scales.

Factors Whose Validity and Reliability Have Been Proven are as Follows:

The Ritualistic Factor (Factor 1): According to Glock (1962), all religions, more or less, clearly acknowledge that religious people are in direct contact with the ultimate reality or experience a religious feeling at any time in the ritualistic category. In this study, the correlation of the items with other items was higher than 0.3 and it had high reliability ($\alpha = 0.942$) and 14 items in factor1 called ritualistic test according to this description of Glock (1962).

Table 1: The Ritualistic Factor

	Item content	Mean	Std. Dev.	Pearson's R between item and factor	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
1	I feel emotional when I hear religious rituals like prayer or religious verse, call to prayer.	4.14	1.26	0.822	0.936
2	I need God's guidance in daily activities.	4.02	1.27	0.833	0.935
3	I feel obliged to follow religious rules.	3.95	1.34	0.818	0.936
4	I act in accordance with God's will.	3.98	1.11	0.725	0.938
5	I fast all through the Ramadan each year.	4.06	1.39	0.800	0.936
6	I endeavor to worship and pray.	3.69	1.34	0.749	0.937
7	I try to communicate / tell about Islam.	3.47	1.37	0.778	0.936
8	I make a sacrifice every year.	4.04	1.39	0.681	0.939
9	I apply religious beliefs to solve social problems.	3.56	1.37	0.768	0.936
10	I give alms.	4.10	1.34	0.721	0.938
11	I have to do it without hesitating if Jihad is necessary.	3.45	1.55	0.742	0.938
12	I make all necessary prayers.	3.32	1.35	0.710	0.938
13	I feel a sense of uneasiness when I do not act according to religion.	4.04	1.36	0.599	0.942
14	Individual worship is the most important satisfying aspect of religious life.	4.00	1.22	0.567	0.942
Cronbach's Alpha: 0.942					

The Consequential Factor (Factor 2): In the consequential category in Glock's (1962) proposal, all the secular consequences of religious belief, practice, experience and knowledge of human as an individual are summarized. In this case, all of the religious rules that determine what people should do and which mentality they should have as a result of the influence of religions appear here. The theological meanings of the deeds have a place here. In this study, 8 items in factor2, which is called the consequential, correspond completely to these statements. This factor2 scales the extent of influencing individuals about their religiosity with a high reliability ($\alpha = 0.910$).

Table 2: The Consequential Factor

	Item content	Mean	Std. Deviation	Pearson's R between item and factor	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
1	It is necessary to cultivate a religious generation.	3.1414	1.63027	0.679	0.887
2	Men and women should not shake hands.	2.4704	1.67217	0.443	0.903
3	I would prefer my friends to be religious.	2.7275	1.58042	0.562	0.894
4	It is of utmost importance that the person I marry / get married to be religious.	3.2699	1.61553	0.675	0.889
5	Those who are religious shall rule the government.	2.3316	1.54838	0.435	0.903
6	People should arrange their daily lives according to religious rules.	3.1645	1.55108	0.679	0.894
7	Participation in the activities in the mosque provides respect.	2.8663	1.55902	0.469	0.909
8	The mosque develops social relationships.	3.6632	1.39484	0.540	0.903
Cronbach's Alpha: 0.910					

The Intellectual Factor (Factor 3): The 6 items in the factor 3, which is called “the intellectual” dimension, correspond to the intellectual category of Glock. He (1962) mentions in this category that the individual should know the basic actions and the sacred texts of faith and trust them. Factor 3 scales “the dimension of intellectual” about the individual's religiousness with high reliability ($\alpha = 0.827$).

Table 3: The Intellectual Factor

	Item content	Mean	Std. Deviation	Pearson's R between item and factor	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
1	I am as knowledgeable as necessary to fulfill worship.	3.8458	1.21072	0.705	0.799
2	I have the knowledge to fulfill devotions.	3.8843	1.21396	0.765	0.785
3	I know Turkish meaning of prayers I read.	3.4370	1.39560	0.666	0.808
4	I read the Qur'an or its translation.	3.8972	1.42862	0.765	0.781
5	I know how to read the Arabic Qur'an.	3.3496	1.77791	0.768	0.799
6	During a certain period of my life I went to the Qur'an course.	3.7404	1.66744	0.663	0.824
Cronbach's Alpha: 0.827					

The Experiential Factor (Factor 4): The factor 4 called “the experiential” (worship) still contains four kinds of experience. Glock (1962) mentioned all specific religious practices of members of a religion in the category of piety he called as the dimension of intellectual in his proposal. He described all kinds of ritual, prayer, special sacramental behavior, abstinence and similar worship. This factor also has high reliability ($\alpha = 0.839$).

Table 4: The Experiential Factor

	Item content	Mean	Std. Deviation	Pearson's R between item and factor	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
1	I participate to religious meetings outside the mosque and in the mosque.	2.5784	1.57039	0.780	0.814
2	I participate in religious conversations at home and around.	2.8740	1.60285	0.815	0.792
3	I pray with the congregation.	2.8380	1.58016	0.812	0.782
4	I do the Tarawih prayer	3.2314	1.63655	0.809	0.794
Cronbach's Alpha: 0.839					

The Ideological 1 Ve the Ideological 2 Factors (Factor 5 and 6):

There is another dimension in the suggestion of religiousness scale which Glock developed, the ideological dimension of religiousness. According to Glock (1962), each religion establishes a system of belief principles and expects its members to believe in these principles. In this study, two different sub-dimension scales we can call faith category or secularization-profane have emerged. Factor 5 which consist of four items ($\alpha = 0.745$) and factor 3 which consist of three items ($\alpha = 0.637$) I called "the ideological1" ve "the ideological2" have an acceptable reliability.

However, since these items were inversely proportional to the items of the other scales, while "the total religiousness scale" was being constructed, I reversed the values of the responses to these items and included them in "the total religiousness scale". For example, according to the Likert answer option, item valued one is converted to five, five ise converted to one, two is converted to four, four ise converted to two. The value of three remained constant. Just as in the ideological1 factor, I included the items of the ideological1 factor into the total religiousness scale by they are converted.

Table 5: The Ideological1 Factor

	Item content	Mean	Std. Deviation	Pearson's R between item and factor	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
1	Usefulness of devotion is only psychological.	2.2159	1.47825	0.774	0.644
2	God and nature have the same meaning.	2.0797	1.41105	0.676	0.727
3	The religious rules are boring.	2.0283	1.42030	0.704	0.690
4	Life and death are biological, has no special meaning.	2.0386	1.48222	0.762	0.678
Cronbach's Alpha: 0.745					

Table 6: The Ideological2 Factor

	Items	Mean	Std. Deviation	Pearson's R between item and factor	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
1	There is no need for any religion to get along with people.	3.8766	1.49404	0.802	0.394
2	People who do not believe in a religion can also be happy and peaceful in life.	3.1902	1.57618	0.722	0.586
3	I do not know the prayers read in funeral ceremonies.	3.2365	1.56495	0.712	0.623
Cronbach's Alpha: 0.637					

Finally, I developed a total scale of religiousness by combining the scales I created with all dimensions. My ultimate goal is to explain the

religiosity of women according to the style and degree of their clothing in this study I examined religiosity with in five dimensions and six factors or how women's preferred clothing style and intensity reflect their level of religiosity. Therefore, I obtained the total religiosity scale by combining the average of these six factors. The reliability coefficient ($\alpha = 0.884$) of the Total Religiosity Scale I developed in this way is also quite high. Correlations between factors were over 0.3.

Table 7: "Total Religiosity" Factor

	Factor Items	Mean	Std. Deviation	Pearson's R between item and factor	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
1	factor1	4.0308	1.22856	0.812	0.850
2	factor2	4.0308	1.22856	0.812	0.846
3	factor3	3.8072	1.23370	0.738	0.868
4	factor4	2.8946	1.51171	0.738	0.869
5	factor5. reverse	4.0129	1.26912	0.738	0.868
6	factor6. reverse	2.5013	1.32507	0.649	0.884
Cronbach's Alpha: 0.884					

"The Dependent Variables" of my research are these 6 factors and total religiosity factors that I use to measure religiosity. It should be noted that I developed these factors taking into consideration the propositions recommended by Glock for religiosity scales.

"The Independent Variables" of my research and their frequencies are as follows: Regarding the age of my participants, 31.9% of the participants are between 15-24 ages. As the participants' age groups increase, we observe smaller percentages. According to TUIK' (Turkish Statistical Institute) data, the median age of women in Turkey is 32.4 in 2018. Being 33, the median age of the participants is close to the average in Turkey.

Considering the population in 15 and over age group in Turkey, according to TUIK' data, the ratio of the married women is 63%, while the rate of singles is 27%. Our sample consists of 49.6% married and 44.2% single.

According to the number of children of the participants, 9.8% (n = 38) have single children, 22.9% (n = 89) had two children and 12.6% (n = 49) had three children. The mean rate of children is $x = 2.40$ ($\sigma = 1.29$).

Among the participants of this study, 52.3% was born in the city, 13.4% in the metropolis, 16.2% in the towns and 18% in the villages.

The majority of the participants are high school graduates with 44.7%, followed by 26.2% of university or college graduates and 12.3% of primary school graduates. The mean educational level of the sample is $x = 4.97$ and it is a level between secondary school and high school.

An important part of the sample consists of housewives (27.2%). According to TUIK' data, the female population constitutes 49.8% of Turkey's population. Female employment rate is 27.5%. The employment rate of the sample is 32.9. With this ratio, it can be accepted that the sample reflects the universe.

The average monthly income of the family of the participants is 3821 TL (roughly 700 dollars). The segment with the highest income distribution is between 2501 and 5000 TL (46.4%). The monthly income of 13.9% of the participants earn the minimum wage or below. The upper income group is 2.8%. Eighty two % of the sample ($n=319$) was from the Sunni sect. 9% ($n=35$) were from the Alevi sect and 9% ($n=35$) did not indicate any sects.

Six point nine % of the sample stated that they are members of a cult in Turkey, 90.7% of them stated that they are not members of any cult, 2.3% did not want to answer this question either.

Fifty point one % of the sample was bareheaded (uncovered) and 49.9% was covered. Among the covered participants, Traditional covering constitute 9% of the sample, headscarved is 14.4% and 4.4% of the participants indicated that they wear hijab. According to research of KONDA (2007) the head of the 64.9% of women living in urban areas in Turkey is covered.

3. Findings and Results of Analysing

The results of the study has been classified according religiousness according to sect, religiousness distribution according to cult membership, and total religiousness according to age, marital status, number children, educational level, occupation, birth place, monthly income, sect, cult, and degree of covering.

But what is the relationship between the level and degree of covering and the dimensions of religiousness?

In this study, it was seen that when the data were analyzed in terms of the style and level of covering of the sample, there were significant differences between the style and level of covering of the sample and the level of religiousness preferred by individuals according to the ANOVA test results.

Table 8. Religiosity By Clothing Pattern

Level of covering		ritualistic	consequential	intellectual	experiential	ideologic 1	ideologic2	Total Religiosity
Bareheaded / Secular	Mean	3.44	2.05	3.21	2.18	2.48	3.93	2.71
	n	195	195	195	195	195	195	195
	Std. D.	1.38	1.16	1.281	1.34	1.40	1.11	1.12
Traditional covering	Mean	4.77	3.54	3.97	3.40	1.74	3.48	3.82
	n	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
	Std. D.	0.426	1.29	1.09	1.37	1.19	1.24	0.70
Headscarved	Mean	4.50	3.60	4.51	3.30	1.69	3.58	3.85
	n	56	56	56	56	56	56	56
	Std. D.	0.63	0.98	0.76	1.37	0.87	1.17	.72
Body veiled	Mean	4.65	4.05	4.51	3.67	1.33	2.90	4.13
	n	86	86	86	86	86	86	86
	Std. D.	0.68	1.04	0.73	1.26	.71	1.32	0.72
With hijab	Mean	4.58	4.52	4.41	4.70	1.00	1.23	4.82
	n	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
	Std. D.	0.79	0.71	0.61	0.46	0.00	0.66	0.39
Total	Mean	4.03	2.96	3.80	2.89	1.98	3.49	3.38
	n	389	389	389	389	389	389	389
	Std. D.	1.22	1.44	1.23	1.51	1.26	1.32	1.16
ANOVA		df: 4 F: 29.521 Sig.: .000	df: 4 F: 68.979 Sig.: .000	df: 4 F:31.990 Sig.:.000	df: 4 F: 32.581 Sig.: .000	df: 4 F: 20.163 Sig.: .000	df: 4 F: 28.159 Sig.: .000	df: 4 F: 53.707 Sig.: .000

The evaluation of the data in terms of total religiosity gives information about the level of covering of women and their levels of religiosity. For example, while the total religiosity means of those who are bareheaded/secular is 2.71, traditional covering's 3.82, headscarved ones's 3.85, body veiled ones's 4.13, and hijab ones's 4.82. The overall total religiosity means of the sample is 3.38. In other words, the covering degree is an indicator of the degree of individuals's (women) religiosity. But we cannot say the same in the sub-dimensions of total religiosity. For example, while The religiosity of women who cover in traditional style is high in "the ritualistic" and "the consequential" dimensions, it is low in "the experiential" and

“the ideological2” dimensions. It is now known that religiousness is multidimensional. But the problem is to determine which dimensions and what level of religiousness is experienced.

Regarding “The ideological1” dimension of religiousness, while the mean of those who are bareheaded/secular ones is $\bar{x}=2.48$. However, the mean decreases as the covering degree increases. The mean of traditionally covered ones’s is $\bar{x}=1.74$, headscarved ones’s is $\bar{x}=1.69$, body veiled ones’s is $\bar{x}=1.33$, and the ones with hijab is $\bar{x}= 1.00$. In other words, while the ones with hijab never accept that “the benefits of worship are only psychological, that God and nature have the same meaning, religious rules are boring, life and death are biological and there is no need to search for any special meaning”, the bareheaded ones, towards a more secular life choose the items indicating that dimension of faith is weakening and they think that faith is psychological and no theological meaning should be searched for. The same conclusion also is true for “the ideological2”, the next dimension of religiousness. The bareheaded/secular are more profane than other covered groups. This situation is more evident when the level and degree women's covering is reduced to the category of covered or uncovered:

Table 9. Religiousness By Being Covered or Uncovered

Level of covering		ritualistic	consequential	intellectual	experiential	ideologic 1	ideologic 2	Total Religiousness
1. Uncovered Bareheaded / Secular	Mean	3.44	2.05	3.21	2.18	2.48	3.93	2.71
	N	195	195	195	195	195	195	195
	Std. D.	1.38	1.16	1.28	1.34	1.40	1.11	1.12
2. Covered (traditional covering, Headscarved, Body veiled, with hijab)	Mean	4.62	3.87	4.40	3.60	1.48	3.06	4.06
	n	194	194	194	194	194	194	194
	Std. D.	.64	1.08	0.82	1.31	0.86	1.37	0.74
T test	t	-10,821	-15,926	-10,932	-10,517	8,472	6,860	-13,842
	df	387	387	387	387	387	387	387
	Sig.	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000

“Covered” women are more religious than uncovered ones in each “the ritualistic”, “the consequential”, “the intellectual”, “the experiential” and “the ideological” dimensions of religiousness. This situation is particularly suitable for “total religiousness”. While the mean of Total Religiousness of those who are covered is 4.06, uncovered the ones’s 2.71. In fact, one of the main problems is to determine whether the covering is a “ideal type” or not. In view of the perceptual catchers, the individuals’ covering preference generally constitutes a stereotype. In short, women’s covered and uncovered status creates meaningful differences about their religiousness, which is the answer to my research question. In other words, there is a meaningful difference between the clothing and covering forms preferred by women in their daily lives, and the attitudes and behaviors about their religiousness.

Religiousness According to the Sect

As is known, Muslims are divided into two main groups of sects: Sunni and Alevis. The Sunnis are divided into four groups as Hanafi, Shafi, Maliki and Hambeli. The first two of the four groups (Hanafi and Shafi’i) are orthodox Muslims who are present in Turkey. Alevis continue their existence as heterodox. At the same time they represent the Batini part of Islam. There is also a relationship between the Muslim sectarian interpretation and women’s clothing preferences.

Table 10. Religiousness By Sects

Sects		ritualistic	consequential	intellectual	experiential	ideologic 1	ideologic 2	Total Religiousness
1. Sunni	Mean	4.30	3.26	4.03	3.17	1.73	3.33	3.65
	n	319	319	319	319	319	319	319
	Std. D.	0.97	1.36	1.07	1.45	1.06	1.34	1.01
2. Alawi	Mean	2.54	1.45	2.45	1.71	3.34	4.20	2.08
	n	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
	Std. D.	1.37	0.85	1.31	1.045	1.43	1.05	0.95
T test	t	9.683	7.654	8.078	5.773	-8.156	-3.678	8.776
	df	352	352	352	352	352	352	352
	Sig.	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000

According to the average differences, the religiousness of the Sunnis ($\bar{x}=3.65$) is higher than Alevis' ($\bar{x}=2.08$) and non-sectarian' ($\bar{x}=2.22$) at the level of Total Religiousness. There are significant differences between the sects in terms of the sub-dimensions of religiousness. While the religiousness of the Sunni women are in order of "the ritualistic", "the ideological1", "the intellectual", "the consequential" and "the ideological2", the religiousness of the Alevis are in order of "the ideological1", "the ritualistic", "the intellectual", "the ideological2", "the experiential" and "the consequential". According to the T test results, Sunnis are more religious than Alevis.

The level of religiousness among the Sunni groups according to the state of Hanafi and Shafi'a is as follows:

Table 11. Religiousness Distribution According to Hanafi and Shafi.

Sects		ritualistic	consequential	intellectual	experiential	ideologic 1	ideologic 2	Total Religiousness
Hanafi	Mean	4.26	3.20	4.03	3.23	1.76	3.33	3.62
	n	278	278	278	278	278	278	278
	Std. D.	1.01	1.35	1.08	1.44	1.08	1.34	1.03
Shafi	Mean	4.60	3.60	4.04	2.78	1.51	3.34	3.85
	n	41	41	41	41	41	41	41
	Std. D.	0.62	1.35	0.99	1.45	0.89	1.33	0.85
T test	t	-1.754	-1.500	.182	2.063	.955	-.086	-.924
	df	318	318	318	318	318	318	318
	Sig.	.074	.700	.966	.792	.337	.521	.273

There were no significant differences in religiousness among those who were included in the Hanafi and Shafii sects. According to the means, while "the ritualistic" dimension of religiousness is the highest ($\bar{x}=4.60$), the "the experiential" dimension ($\bar{x}=2.78$) is the lowest in Shafis. But while "the ritualistic" dimension of religiousness is the highest ($\bar{x}=4.26$) and "the consequential" dimension is the lowest in the Hanafi.

Religiousness Distribution of the Sample According to the Cult Membering

One of the important factors of religiousness and its interpretation is the existence of sects. Especially in Muslim societies, sectarian organizations have an important place. In the Encyclopedia of Islam (2011), the cult is defined as the method for reaching the God by mysticism. Here, there is an attempt to obtain a violation of religion in order to cleanse soul from evil by the guidance of a perfect person (shaykh of cult leader). A wide variety of cults in Islamic societies are derived from a wide variety of interpretations of the Quran and Sunnah. In this study, seven types of cults or similar form were determined. According to the data obtained, being a member of a cult is a determinant of a high level of religiousness.

Table 12. Cult Membership and Religiousness

Cult Membership		ritualistic	consequential	intellectual	experiential	ideologic 1	ideologic 2	Total Religiousness
member	Mean	4.48	4.48	4.33	4.44	1.18	1.77	4.55
	n	27	27	27	27	27	27	27
	Std. D.	0.80	0.70	0.62	0.75	0.48	1.25	0.50
not member	Mean	3.97	2.81	3.74	2.73	2.06	3.66	3.26
	n	353	353	353	353	353	353	353
	Std. D.	1.25	1.41	1.26	1.47	1.29	1.21	1.14
T test	t	2,078	6,045	2,378	5,966	-3,514	-7,760	5,793
	df	378	378	378	378	378	378	378
	Sig.	,057	,000	,000	,000	,000	,944	,000

According to the cases of “total religiousness, while the religiousness mean of the members of any cult is 4.55, the religiousness mean of non-members is 3.26. It cannot be denied that the cult membership brings religiousness to the individual, but non-members also are religious, at a level above the general mean of religiousness. The interesting part is that the cult membership makes the individual more religious both at the level of “total religiousness” and at the sub-dimensions of religiousness, but there is one dimension that the relationship of religiousness and cult membership is not absolutely valid for this dimension. In the dimension of “the intellectual” of religiousness, there are some significant differences in terms of cult membership

according to other dimensions. Those who are not members of a cult may have as much religious intellectual (information) as those who are members of one cult at least. According to the results of T-test, there is no significant difference between those who are members and non-religious members at “the ritualistic” sub-dimension of religiousness. Thus, the cult membership provides religious intellectual to the individual, but it also is not effective to other dimensions of religiousness. For example, the cult reinforces “the ideological” in their disciples, but does not give a more “the ritualistic”al dimension.

Total Religiousness According to Independent Variables

Regression analyzes were performed between the independent variables and “total religiousness” scales. The results of the analysis performed according to both enter and stepwise models are as follows:

Table 13. Regression Analysis of “Total Religiousness”

ENTER modeli	B	Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)	6.210	8.513	0.000
Age Groups	0.036	0.027	0.318	0.751
Marital status	-0.073	-0.034	-0.444	0.658
Birth place	0.052	0.035	0.514	0.608
Education level	-0.274	-0.162	-2.081	0.040
Income Groups	-0.079	-0.061	-0.824	0.412
Sect	0-.181	-0.291	-3.740	0.000
Cult Membership	0.105	0.017	0.235	0.815
Degree of covering	0.297	0.298	1.332	0.185
Covered or Uncovered categories	-0.057	-0.022	-0.099	0.921
R= 0.757 R ² = 0.573 df.= 14 F=9.851 Sig.= .000				

STEPWISE Modeli	B	Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)	4.010	5.149	0.000
Degree of covering	0.367	0.369	5.527	0.000
Sect	-0.153	-0.246	-3.529	0.001
Education level	-0.378	-0.224	-3.475	0.001
R= 0.738 R ² = 0.544 df=4 F=36.082 Sig.= .000				

It would be appropriate to mention multicollinearity according to the values in the Enter model. There are medium above R^2 and pointless predictors. So the stepwise model is more suitable to explain the issue.

Although Constant makes a significant difference at a certain level (that the reasons other than independent variables projected, alleged are influential on religiousness), the first of basic variable determinant on the total religious is the covering type / level of the sample. Finally, we can say that there is also a relationship between the data on the covering of individuals and their religiousness. Here we find the answer to our research question. But one detail should be taken into account. The categories of covered or uncovered have no relation to religiousness. There is a relationship between certain types of covering and religiousness. The frequency of this, as previously mentioned, is followed by a line from bareheaded one to hijab one.

One of the important variables explaining the total religiousness is the sect of the sample. Sects are the main determinants of religiousness, considering the previous findings about the sect, we can say that Sunnism in Turkey, compared to Alevism is related to more religious individuals.

In addition, the education level of the sample is the determinant of religiousness. There is also an inverse relationship between education level and religiousness. As the level of education decreases, the level of religiousness increases.

Except for three variables above, the age, the marital status, the income level and cult membership of the sample do not have a significant effect on the religiousness of the sample.

4. Discussion

The way women appear in public is based on religious and political attitudes, and the issue of women's clothing is different from the issue of clothing of each individual who is more religious. In addition to faith and secularism, there are also issues which is based on interpretations and claims to be imposed for every woman feminism argues, I focused on the relationship between women's clothing styles and their religiousness in this study.

In fact, traditional covering refers to religiousness. But, due to it is being within the boundaries of traditions and passed on from generation to generation, and since it was unintentionally acknowledged by women, the headscarf, the body veiled and / or hijab confirms the thesis they are religious-looking, but contain political stance confirms, products of a conscious desire to be taken over by women (Kanbir 2014; Göle 2012).

As in many religious groups, in Islam, ordinary people use religious garments that enter into perceptual capture. For example, the kippe of the Jews, the Muslims' skullcap. Apart from the use of these materials, Muslim

women are considered to be among the religious orders. However, the degrees and characteristics of this covering developed in the process. Here, there is generally a one-way relationship between the level of religiousness and the covering degree of women. For example, as the level of religiousness increases, women are covered. Otherwise the covering of a woman does not increase his religiousness. Or covering women does not make them religious. The question here is that “the covering, which is described as an Islamic style of clothing, is a political sense of ownership” (Göle 2011: 16).

The results of this study have shown that the problem is not woman's covering, but covering in a certain way. This circumstance is valid for type 3, 4, and 5. After this study, to say they are religious by looking at the degree of covering of clothing women's preferred is a reality no longer a prejudice with this study at least in the case of Adana. At the same time, we can conclude that as women prefer more extreme form of covering they move from religiousness to religiosity. In other words, there is a transition from religiousness which is traditional to religiosity which is fundamental.

Another argument about women's covering is the separation of the headscarf, traditional covering, body veil and hijab from each other. Because, in fact, the headscarf and hijab are used as a political status symbol and the discussions are going parallel to the bareheaded and non-bareheaded discussions. After a while, women are brought into two categories, such as covered and uncovered.

Although many different dimensions of religiousness, many religiousness studies have been done in one or several dimensions of it. However, in this study I worked with all dimensions of religiousness. Even though I keep men out of the question and have studied women only, but this study may be considered important because I am trying to treat religiousness with all dimensions. I must say, however, that my work also has some limitations. For example, the items of the questionnaire, which is my data collection tool, may provide a limitation on the determination of the differences between the sects as they have taken into consideration the understanding of Sunni religiousness rather than the understanding of Alevi religiousness. Another limitation is that the sample is limited to 389 people.

Another important limitation is that the fact that I have chosen a subject related to women as a male sociologist (urban / traditional / Sunni / secular man) is likely to have an effect on my approach to women.

5. Conclusion

The patterns of covering of women are determined by their preferences, beliefs and fashion or trend respectively. However, this depends on the character of the covering. As the level and degree of covering of the clothings women preferred increase, the reason for covering is shifting from being their own preferences to being the necessity of their beliefs.

There is also a traditional covering, but according to other forms of covering, such as body veiled and hijab, it is not within the political boundaries but religious boundaries. The style and degree of covering in a particular style (type 3, 4, 5) is a symbolic of re-Islamization. Women are the actors of political Islam with these symbols.

The style and degree of covering symbolize political Islam on the one hand, and on the other hand it is indicative of religiousness. In other words, the style and degree of covering shows the level of religiousness of women. But this does not apply to all dimensions of religiousness.

Those who prefer secular covering form have a low level of religious compared to others.

In general, the reasons for covering become personal preference as to be bareheaded, and faith and family-societal pressures are the determinants as the degree of covering increases. We should also consider the style and degree of covering as an indicator of religiousness.

In terms of total religiousness, Sunnis tend to be more religious than Alevi and unsectarian. Islamic sects are living at different levels to the sub-dimensions of religiousness

There were no significant differences between and Hanafi and Shafis as Sunni groups Although any cult membership makes a individual to be religiousness it is not guaranteed in all dimensions of religiousness.

According to a more in-depth analysis of the indicators of total religiousness and the factors affecting it, it is understood that the style of and degree of covering of individuals is an important indicator of religiousness.

There is an inverse relationship between education level and religiousness. As the level of education decreases, the tendency towards religiousness is increasing.

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