

The Impact of Islam on Child-Rearing Values in Turkey

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Abstract

The connection between child rearing values and religion is examined by using data from the World Values Survey (WVS) Wave 6, Turkey 2011 (n = 1605). This relationship has been studied in the United States and other western Christian societies with regard to the importance given to autonomy (thinking independently) versus heteronomy (being obedient to authority) in children. Previous studies have found evidence that high level of religiosity is associated with a stronger level of heteronomy values whereas low level of religiosity is associated with a stronger level of autonomy values. As for Turkey, where Islam is massively dominant, results indicate that this association is no different than other Western and non-Muslim society. Self-reported religiosity, importance given to religion, and high level of mosque attendance are inversely correlated with autonomy values, namely independence and imagination. On the other hand, religious people are more likely to consider heteronomy values like obedience and respect as important child qualities in their children. Moreover, the relationships between religious predictors and child-rearing traits are robust across education levels and household income.

Keywords: Islam and child-rearing values, Turkey, religion, parenting, autonomy/heteronomy values

1. Introduction

Not only is parenthood just a biological phenomenon but also it has social and cultural aspects. Viewed from its biological perspective, parenthood might be affiliated with a couple of terms like reproduction, fertility, fecundity, or regeneration. This role of parenthood has important consequences for children such as the transmission of genetic information and inclinations that may have developmental consequences. However, when we focus on its social side just as we do in this study, the meaning of parenthood changes to a great extent. In a sense, parenthood carries certain rights, responsibilities, obligations, and associated expectations regarding the child-rearing. As a term "child-rearing" is very general and the literature on this topic includes a lot of different concepts, including parental norms, parenting styles, and distinct parenting practices. Another concept employed in the literature on child-rearing is the concept of parental values. Scholars define values as fundamental to other intellectual development processes and as essential standards that guide behavioral choices (Alwin & Felson, 2010).

Therefore, parental values, namely affirmations about what is "good" or "desirable", are those standards that help behaviors to shape with respect to children. Within the context of parental values little research has been done about the interdependence of religion and child rearing practices (Alwin & Felson, 2010). Previous studies proved that some religious groups were more traditional than others in their orientations to children (e.g., Ellison & Sherkat, 1993a; Ellison & Sherkat 1993b; Alwin 1986). In these studies, mostly conducted in the United States, researchers compared Catholics with Protestants or Conservative Protestants with other Americans. They concluded that some child qualities such as obedience and independence are more likely to be emphasized by certain religious groups. Though the vast majority of works on this topic have been centered in the United States, some other non-Western societies were also examined in terms of parental values.

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For example, Ispa (2002) analyzed if Russians' values changed after ten years of the collapse of USSR, Itoh and Taylor (1981) made a comparison of child-rearing expectations between Japanese and American parents, and Shek and Chan (1999) studied Hong Kong Chinese parents' attitudes of the ideal child. More recently, Acevedo, Ellison, and Yilmaz (2015) revealed how parental religiosity influenced the way of parents raising their children in Turkey. The present study extends previous research by strengthening the literature by focusing on the links between religion and child-rearing values in Turkey. The objective of this study is to consider how self-reported religiosity, importance given to religion, and religious attendance shape the parental role on the outcomes of child development. First, previous studies dealing with child-rearing values, religion and social class will be reviewed. Then key points will be identified on child-rearing from Islamic sacred writings and other sources. Next, relevant hypotheses will be analyzed using data from a major nationwide survey of Turkish adults, a subsample drawn from the broader World Values Survey project, completed in 2011. After the major results of the analyses and their significance on religion and child rearing for the literature are discussed, limitations will be identified.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Conceptual Background

The values that parents desired to see in their children have been focused on by social investigators for nearly a century (Stark & Robinson, 2005). A primary concern here, is the contrast between autonomy versus obedience, or, the contrast between "thinking for oneself" versus "obeying" adult authority (Alwin, 1996a; Alwin, 1996b). Some prominent scholars as old as those from 1950s and others who have just recently published their papers have called these traits differently. Kohn's (1959, 1969) distinction was between self-direction and conformity, Alwin's (1986) distinction was between autonomy and obedience, Ellison and Sherkat's (1993b) distinction was between intellectual autonomy and obedience, Lenski's (1961) and Acevedo et al.'s (2015) distinction was between intellectual autonomy and intellectual heteronomy. Also, Fjellvang (2011) outlines that these value dimensions were compared in terms of self-orientation/achievement versus collectivity orientation/ascription by Parsons (1966), individualism versus collectivism by Triandis (1995), self-direction versus restrictive conformity by Schwartz (1994), and secular-rational authority/self-expression values versus traditional authority by Inglehart (1997). In short, regardless of the terminology used, this contrast has been written widely for years.

Alwin (2001) highlights four important reasons for studying this dimension. First, this contrast is linked to social development in Western industrialized societies, which have increasingly required independent thought and action. Moreover, modern social and economic systems require and reward independent and creative individuals (Acevedo et al., 2015). Second, this set of distinctions is also developmentally consistent, since it is often believed that children pass through a phase of "obedience" to a relatively "autonomy" as they mature intellectually, emotionally, and socially. As children grow up, they become more prone to demonstrate independence of thought. Third, the contrast between the emphases on "autonomy" versus "obedience" is also relevant to social stratification. Previous research on class differences in childrearing orientations in the United States revealed that working class was more permissive in child-rearing than the middle class. Finally, parental values have also historically been linked to gender. Socialization processes of the child were believed to be different depending on gender and it is claimed that if the adult roles of men and women converge, sex-based differences in child-rearing patterns will diminish.

Furthermore, Johnson, Radesky, and Zuckerman (2013) examine this topic in terms of cross-cultural differences. Parenting behaviors are influenced by cultural norms and shaped by expectations of adult behaviors that are valued by a particular society. Generally, the United States, Europe, and other Western cultures give priority to autonomy. In these countries, parents praise their children frequently, favor verbal feedback over physical contact, and promote independent behaviors in order to raise self-confident and individualistic children. Also, children are encouraged to think critically, question their surroundings, and distinguish themselves from others. On the contrary, other societies, such as Asian, African, and Latin American cultures tend to value interdependence such as collective achievement, sharing, and teamwork. These values often are expressed in parental expectations that children obey authority, share their possessions, and place the family's and community's needs before their own. For example, in the United States, parents bronze their baby's first pair of shoes since they believe his or her independent steps without the help of the parent symbolize pride. However, a Japanese tradition, "Hesono O," involves keeping the dried umbilical cord at home which is a sign of interdependence and is believed to bridge a close relationship between mother and child in the future (Johnson et al., 2013). The child qualities parents expect to see in children have been investigated by sociologists at least since Robert and Helen Lynd (1929) studied social class and parental values in Middletown (Alwin, 1988).

Three decades later, Melvin Kohn (1959) began publishing his important work on class and parental values for children. Over the years, much of the research on child-rearing values in the United States and other Western societies has centered on social class differences (Kohn, 1969; Wright & Wright, 1976). Particularly, researchers have looked for to explain whether parents from poor and working-class backgrounds tend to emphasize obedience to authority, whereas parents from middle-class and professional backgrounds are more prone to encourage creativity, independence, and initiative in children. For example, Kohn (1969) found that parents with high education and jobs that require self-directed work valued autonomy in children more.

However, they emphasize obedience less than those with less education and jobs that require strict conformity to rules and authority. By looking from a different perspective Gerhard Lenski (1961) expanded the possible factors explaining adult values for children and included religion and religious values. Lenski's "Religious Factor (1961)" is probably the most influential work on the role of religion in shaping social orientations and economic behavior in American society. He theorized that different value orientations of Catholics and Protestants showed themselves in a variety of economic and family contexts, so his research devoted considerable attention to examining the presence of these differences in several aspects of family life, including kinship relationships, orientations toward child rearing, and fertility behavior. With regard to child rearing, Lenski's research suggested that Detroit Catholics were more traditional than Protestants in their orientations on children and held values that put more emphasis on obedience to authority and less on personal autonomy or self-direction than their Protestant counterparts.

Catholics were reportedly more likely than Protestants to use physical punishment, less likely to encourage a future orientation in their children, and more likely to expect obedience from them (Stark & Robinson, 2005). In studies comparing Conservative Protestants with Mainline Protestants, investigators have documented the distinctiveness of Conservative Protestants regarding family values and child-rearing practices (Bartkowski & Ellison, 1995; Darnell & Sherkat, 1997; Ellison & Sherkat, 1993a; Ellison & Sherkat, 1993b; Wilcox, 1998; Wilcox, 2002). Ellison and Sherkat (1993a), for example, assert that Conservative Protestants value obedience at the expense of autonomy. Conservative Protestants today tend to argue that human institutions and relationships are shaped by principles of hierarchy and authority, with God as the ultimate authority.

Families, like other institutions, are characterized by specific patterns of authority relations that should remain unchallenged. Conservative Protestant writers stress that the Bible commands children to honor and obey parental authority (Exodus 20:12; Ephesians 6:2; Colossians 3:20; 1 Timothy 3:4- 5), under threat of divine punishment (Exodus 21:15-17; Deuteronomy 21:18-21, 27:16; Proverbs 29:15, 30:17). Parents are warned to teach their religious values to their children, and are regarded strictly accountable to God for any deviation from these hierarchical childrearing principles (Deuteronomy 6:6-7; Proverbs 22:6; Ephesians 6:4) (Ellison & Sherkat, 1993a). Another similar Ellison and Sherkat's study (1993b) argues that obedience is the first step toward Conservative Protestant's worldly success and eternal salvation. Therefore, it is anticipated that Conservative Protestant parents will emphasize obedience in the training of children and dismiss the intellectual autonomy.

2.2. Turkey's Unique Circumstances

It is worth to examine the links between religion and child-rearing values in Turkey, because there are some factors that make the country a unique one. First, Turkey is located at the heart of Eurasia where European, Caucasian, Middle Eastern and Central Asian countries meet. Due to this strategic location astride two continents, Turkey's culture has a unique blend of Eastern and Western traditions (Akgunduz, 2010). Second, as an important non-Christian and non-Western society, the Turkish population is overwhelmingly Muslim. This creates an opportunity to explore the potential role of religious factors of Islam which is another major world faith. Third, Turkey is distinct in the Muslim world in that it is characterized by both a strong Islamic heritage and a historical legacy of state-sponsored secularization, which began in the 1920s under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, founder of modern Turkish Republic (Acevedo et al., 2015). According to Turkish Constitution of 1924, the article that says "the religion of state is Islam" was nullified in 1928. Current constitution of 1982 guarantees that state affairs are being executed without any impact of religious influences.

In sum, Turkey is a democratic, secular, unitary, and constitutional republic whose political system was established in 1923 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, following the fall of the Ottoman State in the aftermath of World War I. Despite the fact that 99 % of the population is Muslim, the state is completely secular. The religion of the state is not mentioned in the constitution at all, and all regulations and legislation are similar to the non-Muslim European countries (Akgunduz, 2010).

2.3. Islamic Theology and Child Rearing

As mentioned above the impact of religious factors on the role of shaping child-rearing values have been neglected (Acevedo et al., 2015). For example, Bornstein's (2002) nearly 2300 page-long "Handbook of Parenting" contains over eighty review chapters written mostly by developmental psychologists but pays almost no attention to religion. Tamis-LeMonda and Cabrera's (2002) "Handbook of Father Involvement" has twenty-two chapters particularly devoted to various aspects of the role of fathers in childhood. However, the authors mentioned religion only once. It is obvious that explaining the relevance of religion to the study of variation in child rearing practices is essential (as cited in Alwin & Felson, 2010). This is a major limitation in the comparative literature that examines parental values and desired child traits from an Islamic context. Nonetheless, there are several informative studies that have focused on Muslim parent-child socialization processes. Recent works have conceptualized socialization processes of Muslim families within the framework of collective and interdependent cultures, where individualism is overlooked and disregarded at the cost of welfare of the family and society (Acevedo et al., 2015).

Although parents in Western cultures may often value autonomy and independence in their children, many of the studies (e.g., Dwairy, 2002; Dwairy & VanSickle, 1996; Kagitcibasi, 1970, 1996, 2005; Rudy & Grusec, 2006; Triandis, 1995) have found that Muslim parents often think that autonomy and individualism have threatening consequences for the collective values of the society (Acevedo et al., 2015). Before proceeding we should have a general idea of what Islamic teaching covers on childrearing issues. In addition, we should keep in mind that there are two primary sources for this teaching. One of them is Qur'an and the other one is Sunnah or Hadith (practices and traditions of Prophet Muhammed). For Muslims, the Qur'an is the unchanging word of Allah that has been faithfully transmitted from the time of the Prophet, up until the present day. This theological inerrancy is the basic concept of Islamic teaching. Acceptance of the Qur'an as the word of Allah is obligatory and whoever denies even one "letter" of it is an unbeliever (Dutton, 2012). Furthermore, the Qur'an is unconditional and a divinely revealed document that presents an illuminative prescription of salvation for every aspect of a Muslim's life, therefore it is expected that this theological doctrine affects behaviors of the followers who hold such enthusiastic views (Acevedo et al., 2015). A secondary source of Islamic instruction is the hadith which is a record of sayings or a description of prophet Muhammed's deeds.

The followers who saw and heard the actions or verbal remarks of Prophet Muhammed transferred these statements to other authoritative individuals in a logical and chronological order. Six Muslim scholars, Imam Bukhari, Muslim b. al-Hajjaj, Abu Dawood, al-Tirmidhi, al-Nasa'i, and Ibn Majah who lived in the ninth century compiled these deeds, actions and sayings. These books referred as "Kutub al-Sittah" which means "six books" and as well as other records together form the so-called hadith literature. Several of these collections acquired so much prestige that they became "sacrosanct" in the eyes of the Muslims (Juynboll, 1983). Hadiths often clarify ambiguities in Islamic social life and offer guide Muslims on legal, ethical, and social matters where Qur'anic verification is unavailable (Acevedo et al., 2015). Below, we call attention to some excerpts from Qur'an and Hadiths in order to illustrate the connection between religious point of view and childrearing habits due to their importance to the Muslims and being the primary sources of Islamic teaching:

Thy Lord hath decreed that ye worship none but Him, and that ye be kind to parents. Whether one or both of them attain old age in thy life, say not to them a word of contempt, nor repel them, but address them in terms of honor. And, out of kindness, lower to them the wing of humility, and say: "My Lord! Bestow on them thy Mercy even as they cherished me in childhood. (17: 23-24) We have enjoined on man kindness to his parents: In pain did his mother bear him, and in pain did she give him birth. The carrying of the (child) to his weaning is (a period of) thirty months. At length, when he reaches the age of full strength and attains forty years, he says, "O my Lord! Grant me that I may be grateful for Thy favor which Thou has bestowed upon me, and upon both my parents, and that I may work righteousness such as Thou mayest approve; and be gracious to me in my issue. Truly have I turned to Thee and truly do I bow (to Thee) in Islam." (46: 15) And we have enjoined on man (to be good) to his parents: in travail upon travail did his mother bear him, and in years twain was his weaning: (hear the command), "Show gratitude to me and to thy parents: to me is (thy final) Goal. (31:14)

It is clear from the lines that child's obedience, rather than independence is valued. In Turkey, family interdependence occurs, first, child's dependence on parents and then, in old age, the parents' dependence on the adult offspring. This mutually beneficial relationship enables Turkish people to support intimacy among family members rather individuality. Though this relationship declines from urban to rural parts of the country, it still may persist due to strong cultural traditions. Usually parents expect to see their children obey them instead of deciding independently and carrying the responsibility of their decisions (Kagitcibasi, 1989, 1996). There are many verses from the Qur'an that encourage Muslims to unite and hold "the rope of Allah" and refrain from individualism (e.g., 3:103).

Being second only to Qur'an, hadiths are indicating that prophet Muhammed implies absolute and unconditional submission to the will of Allah and encourages his followers and other Muslims to unite and never behave and decide by his own.

Abu Darda said, The Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings of Allah be on him, said: "There are not three people, either in the town or in the desert, among whom prayer is not said in congregation but the devil will surely overcome them; so stick to the congregation for the wolf eats the one that has strayed away from the flock." (Abu Dawud 4: 23). It was narrated from Abu Hurairah that the Prophet said: "Whoever rebels against obedience and splits away from the Jama'ah (main body of the Muslims) and dies (in that state) has died a death of Jahiliyyah (in a state of ignorance)." (Muslim b. al-Hajjaj, 53:1848). Ibn Abbas narrated that the Messenger of Allah said: "Allah's Hand is with the Jama'ah." and whoever deviates, he deviates to the Fire (Tirmidhi 2167).

3. Hypothesis

Taken as a whole, the mentioned passages above reinforce several central tenets of the Islam. Therefore, religiosity is expected to influence the valuation of specific child qualities as they relate to the theological expectations of the faith. Specifically, levels of religiosity will be predicted to be positively correlated with the valuation of heteronomy such as obedience and respect. Conversely, we hypothesize that there is an inverse relationship between religiosity and measures of autonomy such as independence and imagination. As mentioned above, while grouping the parental values, different terms that give basically the same meaning have been used in the past. According to Kagitcibasi (1996), an individualistic interpretation of autonomy implies two different, but related, meaning dimensions. One of these has to do with interpersonal separateness-relatedness, or the degree of distancing of the self from others. This may be called the interpersonal distance dimension. The other has to do with independent versus dependent functioning, which may be labeled the "agency" dimension. The terms "autonomous" versus "heteronymous" morality used by Piaget (1948) in the study of moral development reflect this second meaning. Autonomous morality means "subject to one's own law"; heteronymous morality means "subject to another's law". We will follow Piaget's work in the present study to name the values. Therefore, the term heteronomy (e.g., obedience, respect) and autonomy (e.g., independence, imagination) will be used henceforth.

Overall, following formally stated hypotheses are to be tested in this study:

Hypothesis 1a: Self-identification as "religious" will be associated with a greater level of support for heteronomy (obedience and respect) in children.

Hypothesis 1b: Greater self-reported importance given to religion will be associated with greater support for heteronomy (obedience and respect) in children.

Hypothesis 1c: High frequency of attendance to mosque will be associated with greater support for heteronomy (obedience and respect) in children.

Hypothesis 2a: Self-identification as "religious" will be associated with weaker support for autonomy (independence and imagination) in children.

Hypothesis 2b: Greater self-reported importance given to religion will be associated with a weaker level of support for autonomy (independence and imagination) in children.

Hypothesis 2c: High frequency of attendance to mosque will be associated with a weaker level of support for autonomy (independence and imagination) in children.

4. Data and Measures

4.1. Data

The analysis is based on the 2011 wave of the World Values Survey (WVS). The WVS provides data on societies across the world and allows statistical comparisons of respondent's attitudes and beliefs related to social issues. For this study, a subsample of Turkish adults, from the 2011 wave of the WVS (n = 1,605) is used. All analyses were conducted using STATA software, Version 13.

4.2. Dependent Variable

In order to measure valuation of child qualities respondents were asked the question: "Here is a list of qualities which children can be encouraged to learn at home. Which, if any, do you consider to be especially important?" -There are 11 qualities in 2011 WVS dataset respectively: Independence, Hard work, Feeling of Responsibility, Imagination, Tolerance and Respect, Saving Money, Determination and Perseverance, Religious Faith, Unselfishness, Obedience, and Self-Expression. Respondents were asked not to choose more than five qualities.

Obedience and respect to others on one hand (as heteronomy values), and independence and, imagination on the other (as autonomy values) are analyzed for the present study.

4.3. Independent Variables

First, we will measure subjective religiosity by way of an item that asks, "Independently of whether you go to religious services or not, would you say you are a religious person, not a religious person, or a convinced atheist?" Due to very small number of self-reported atheists in the sample (Turkey is a nearly 99% Muslim country), we made a dichotomous variable with "a religious person" and "a non-religious person" by converting the three original responses (0 = not a religious person/a convinced atheist, 1 = a religious person).

Our second religiosity predictor, religious importance is measured by way of a Likert-type scale item that asks the respondent, "For each of the following aspects, indicate how important it is in your life." Responses for the importance of "religion" are recoded with a higher score denoting greater importance placed on religion (0 = not at all important, 1 = not very important, 2 = rather important, 3 = very important). Last but not least important measure of religiosity is attendance. For this item, respondents were asked "Apart from weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services these days?" Responses for the frequency of "attendance" are recoded with a higher score denoting greater frequency (0= Never, practically never, 1= Less often, 2= Once a year, 3= Only on special holy days, 4=Once a month, 5=Once a week, 6=More than once a week). An important point to mention is that female attendance is far lower than males and this is clearly reflected in the WVS dataset. However, here we must consider how the concept of "religious services" is understood.

In some Muslim communities, women are not expected to attend mosque and their absence is not considered a sign of negligence in matters of faith. Muslim group prayer involves ritual prostrations and touching shoulders each other in close proximity. That aspect of prayer, combined with concern that women's presence might distract men, leads to a tradition that women who do attend mosque typically pray behind an enclosed section of the mosque, which is not visible to men. In some places such a separate section does not exist in mosques, and in such locations women are often discouraged or even banned from attending mosque and are encouraged to pray at home instead. Because of this kind of specific interpretation of Islam that dictates particular cultural norms in Turkish society, we may not consider a Muslim woman's absence from the mosque a sign of lack of piety (Fish 2011). With that in mind, first, we included mosque attendance in the models to see the sole effect of attendance as a whole for both genders. Second, interaction terms between gender and the three religious measures are added, representing effects of religiosity that vary by gender. Stated in another way, religious predictors; (1) subjective religiosity, (2) religious importance and (3) mosque attendance are to be interacted with males and included in the last models.

4.4. Control Variables

We include individual-level control variables to assess the estimated net effects of religious predictors. Age is an interval variable ranging from 18 to 86. We will control for gender by way of a dummy variable with "female" serving as the reference category (0 = female, 1 = male). We control for marital status by including a two dummy variables that are coded and identifies respondents as either married or, other marital status, with never married serving as the reference category. Number of children is measured by asking, "How many children do you have?" Categories denote actual numbers of children with a range starting at none (=0) through 8 or more (=8). Two items are included as controls for socioeconomic status. Educational level was ascertained by asking, "What is the highest educational level you have attained?" Response categories ranged from 0 to 8 and were used as an interval level variable. (No formal education=0, incomplete primary school=1, complete primary school=2, incomplete secondary school: technical/vocational type=3, complete secondary school: technical/ vocational type=4, incomplete secondary school: university-preparatory type=5, complete secondary school: university-preparatory type=6, some university-level education, without degree=7, university - level education, with degree=8). Finally, the family income variable was ascertained with the question: "Here is a scale of incomes. We would like to know in what group your household is counting all wages, salaries, pensions and other incomes that come in before taxes and other deductions." We will keep the original 10-point-interval scale provided and include the income variable as an interval scale with a higher score reflecting a higher family income (range = 0-9).

5. Results

Logistic regressions models are estimated and the effects of religious factors and relevant covariates on measures of heteronomy and autonomy are calculated below. Findings are based on weighted data with several of the key sample characteristics shown as Table 1.

Obedience is valued by 33.46% of the respondents and respect to other people is mentioned by 61.37%. Respondents who emphasize imagination in children make up 28.91%, whereas 36.45% of them mention independence as a desirable child characteristic.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Key Variables (n = 1,605)

Child Qualities	Weighted N	Percentage	Mean	St. Deviation
Obedience	537	33.46		
Respect	985	61.37		
Independence	585	36.45		
Imagination	464	28.91		
Independent Variables				
Subjective Religiosity	1314	83.43		
Religious Importance	(0-3)	1600	2.55	0.73
Very important	1,054	65.88		
Attendance	(0-6)	1580	2.82	2.13
At least once a week (Male)	413	52.90		
At least once a week (Female)	97	11.75		
Age	(18-86)	1605	38.44	14.54
Male	780	48.60		
Married	1043	64.98		
Single	435	27.10		
Other Marital	127	7.92		
Resident Children	(0-8)	1605	1.61	1.70
Socioeconomic Status				
Education	(0-8)	1605	4.41	2.49
Family Income	(0-9)	1571	4.68	1.91

Another point to mention is that, by examining percentages and measures of central tendency for religion items, we see a very high level of overall religiosity in Turkey. Respondents who call themselves religious are 83.43% of the sample. Similarly, the mean for religious salience is 2.55 over 3, and 65.88% of the respondents mention that religion is very important for them. Nearly 53% of males reported that they attend mosques at least once a week.

5.1 Heteronomy Values

Looking at Model 1 of Table 2, which examines the sole effect of self-reported religiosity on valuing obedience, we found that there is an association between religiosity and choosing obedience ($b = .404, p < .05$). When compared with non-religious people, religious people are more likely to value obedience. However, as we look at the estimated net effects of religious importance and mosque attendance on valuing obedience in Model 2 and Model 3, we find that the results are not significant. ($b = .065, ns$; $b = .041, ns$ respectively). In Model 4, when subjective religiosity, religious importance, and mosque attendance are considered together and entered into the model, the relationship between being a religious person and choosing obedience is still strong ($b = .370, p < .05$).

Turning to "respect to others", the second measure of heteronomy, in Table 3, self-reported religiosity is a significant predictor for emphasizing obedience ($b = .241, p < .10$). However, religious importance and mosque attendance do not explain the valuation of respect of the respondents ($b = .008, ns$; $b = -.0032, ns$ respectively). When subjective religiosity, religious importance, and mosque attendance are considered together and entered into Model 4, the effect of being a religious person on choosing obedience is marginally significant ($b = .266, p < .10$).

Table 2: Logit Coefficients in Five Logistic Regression Models Predicting "Obedience" as Important Child Quality (Weighted N=1525).

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Sub. Religiosity	0.404*			0.370*	0.536*
Importance		0.065		0.004	0.037
Attendance			0.041	0.024	-0.029
Male x Sub. Religiosity					-0.376
Male x Importance					-0.090
Male x Attendance					0.127*
Age	0.00608	0.005	0.005	0.006	0.006
Male	-0.0457	-0.058	-0.135	-0.094	0.066
Married	-0.097	-0.086	-0.097	-0.102	-0.104
Other Marital	-0.271	-0.265	-0.279	-0.280	-0.280
Children	-0.0172	-0.012	-0.015	-0.020	-0.023
Education	-0.0199	-0.024	-0.025	-0.019	-0.017
Income	-0.079**	-0.076**	-0.075**	-0.078**	-0.079**
Likelihood ratio χ^2	19.71	13.76	15.16	20.44	25.43
-2 log likelihood	-961.289	-964.267	-963.564	-960.925	-958.430
df	8	8	8	10	13

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, †p < .10

Table 3: Logit Coefficients in Five Logistic Regression Models Predicting "Respect" as Important Child Quality (Weighted N=1525).

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Sub. Religiosity	0.241†			0.266†	0.366†
Importance		0.008		-0.016	0.009
Attendance			-0.0032	-0.014	-0.018
Male x Sub. Religiosity				-0.191	
Male x Importance					-0.054
Male x Attendance					0.016
Age	-0.002	-0.002	-0.002	-0.002	-0.002
Male	0.008	0.0009	0.007	0.036	0.277
Married	0.015	0.0206	0.213	0.017	0.018
Other Marital	0.080	0.083	0.085	0.086	0.087
Children	0.121**	0.125**	0.125**	0.123**	0.122**
Education	0.052†	0.047†	0.047†	0.051†	0.055
Income	-0.034	-0.032	-0.032	-0.035	0.225
Likelihood ratio χ^2	14.92	12.14	12.14	15.25	15.87
-2 log likelihood	-1010.227	-1011.613	-1011.613	-1010.061	-1009.751
df	8	8	8	10	13

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, †p < .10

5.2. Autonomy Values

Looking at the estimated net effects of subjective religiosity on attitudes toward autonomy value of independence in Table 4, we found that being religious significantly decreases the probability of valuing independence as important child quality ($b = -.527, p < .001$). When considering the estimated net effects of religious importance and mosque attendance on predicting the impact of valuing independence in Model 2 and Model 3, we concluded that the results are significant. ($b = -.359, p < .001$; $b = -.118, p < .001$ respectively). In other words, people who give much importance to religion and have high level of mosque attendance are less likely to value independence. When all religious factors are included in Model 4, results are still robust ($b = -.305, p < .05$; $b = -.272, p < .001$; $b = -.081, p < .01$ respectively).

Table 5 which indicates the effects of religious factors on imagination tells us that sole impact of religiosity is a significant predictor ($b = -.312$, $p < .05$). However, neither religious salience nor mosque attendance has an association to choosing imagination as an important child quality ($b = -.116$, ns; $b = -.004$, ns respectively). When all religious factors are included in Model4, results are still significant ($b = -.292$, $p < .10$). Stated in another way, people who are more religious are less likely to see imagination on their children.

Overall, the results tend to indicate that self-reported religiosity has a consistent relationship with valuing heteronomy in children, supporting Hypothesis 1a. Respondents who declared being religious are more likely to see obedience and respect in their children. However, results for other religious predictors indicate that there is no association between importance given to religion and choosing heteronomy values. Also we cannot say that people who have a high level of mosque attendance tend to value obedience and respect. Therefore, we found no evidence for Hypothesis 1b and 1c.

Table 4: Logit Coefficients in Five Logistic Regression Models Predicting "Independence" as Important Child Quality (Weighted N=1525).

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Sub. Religiosity	-0.527***			-0.305*	-0.356
Importance		-0.359***		-0.272***	-0.389***
Attendance			-0.118***	-0.081**	-0.071†
Male x Sub. Religiosity					0.101
Male x Importance					0.231
Male x Attendance					-0.032
Age	-0.0003	-0.0003	-0.00009	-0.0005	-0.0008
Male	0.053	0.074	0.291*	0.216†	-0.350
Married	-0.217	-0.238	-0.202	-0.213	-0.215
Other Marital	-0.363	-0.367	-0.327	-0.334	-0.333
Children	-0.072	-0.062	-0.066	-0.049	-0.046
Education	0.049†	0.044	0.053†	0.037	0.034
Income	0.067*	0.065*	0.060*	-0.064* 0.064*	
Likelihood ratio χ^2	62.78	71.36	66.72	85.36	87.82
-2 log likelihood	-962.749	-958.456	-960.778	-951.456	-950.228
df	8	8	8	10	13

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, † $p < .10$

Table 5: Logit Coefficients in Five Logistic Regression Models Predicting "Imagination" as Important Child Quality (Weighted N=1525).

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Sub. Religiosity	-0.312*			-0.292†	-0.322
Importance		-0.116		-0.088	0.044
Attendance			-0.004	0.016	0.032
Male x Sub. Religiosity				0.077	
Male x Importance				-0.240	
Male x Attendance					-0.022
Age	-0.006	-0.006	-0.006	-0.006	-0.006
Male	0.114	0.124	0.132	0.085	0.684
Married	-0.104	-0.113	-0.108	-0.111	-0.110
Other Marital	0.117	0.114	0.114	0.112	0.107
Children	-0.076	-0.076	-0.082	-0.074	-0.076
Education	-0.011	-0.010	-0.005	0.013	-0.010
Income	0.136***	0.134***	0.133***	0.137***	0.137***
Likelihood ratio χ^2	45.94	43.82	41.81	47.14	49.60
-2 log likelihood	-885.033	-886.098	-887.099	-884.437	-883.206
df	8	8	8	10	13

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, † $p < .10$

Turning to autonomy values, we see that self-reported religiosity is inversely correlated with both independence and imagination. Stated another way, people responding that they are religious, tend to devalue independence and imagination. These consistent results across multiple models, lead us to accept Hypothesis 2a. People who respond that religion is an important aspect in their life are less likely to emphasize independence in their children. However, importance given to religion does not explain the other autonomy value, namely imagination. Thus, we conclude that there is partial evidence for Hypothesis 2b. As for the last religious predictor, mosque attendance, we conclude that people, who attend mosques more frequently, are less likely to choose independence. However, as for value of imagination, no clue was found in terms of association between imagination and mosque attendance. In sum, Hypothesis 2c is partially supported in terms of autonomy traits.

Finally, before coming to the conclusion, a word on interaction terms at the last models (Model 5) of the tables is in order. The coefficient of the interaction term is the difference in the effect of self-reported religiosity, religious importance and mosque attendance between women and men. For example, the coefficient of attendance is no longer a general effect, but the effect of attendance for women, when male=0. Having said that, we see that in full statistical models including all controls and religious covariates, there is a marginally significant effect from mosque attendance on measures of only obedience. Although the interaction term indicates that there are significant gender differences in the impact of attendance on obedience ($b=.127, p < .05$), the coefficient of attendance in Model 5 which represents the effect of attendance for women is not significant ($b=-.029, ns$). In other words, we cannot conclude that impact of female mosque attendance is different than impact of male attendance on obedience.

Moreover, it is worth mentioning the robustness and significance of income and education across all models on both heteronomy and autonomy. Specifically, across all models, higher levels of education are significantly associated with valuing respect (Table 3) and partially associated with valuing independence (Table 4). People who have relatively higher income prefer independence (Table 4) and imagination (Table 5) whereas lower levels of income are associated with obedience (Table 2).

6. Discussions and Conclusion

Present study strengthens the literature in terms of child-rearing values and builds upon previous works by focusing on a non-Christian country. Assertive doctrinal quotations were highlighted and impacts of subjective religiosity, religious salience, and mosque attendance on the attitudes that shape desired child traits were evaluated. To our knowledge, this study is the second and most up-to-date one that analyzes Turkish Muslims' child-rearing values. Also it is unique in terms of using mosque attendance. In a similar study, Acevedo et al. (2015) examined Islam and child-rearing values in Turkey by using 2001 WVS data and using "obedience" and "good manners" as heteronomy values, "independence" and "imagination" as autonomy values without including mosque attendance as a primary religious predictor. Instead, they used doctrinal orthodoxy that measures belief in God, life after death, hell, soul, and heaven. However, they carried out a supplementary analysis that is not presented but may be available on request. In this ancillary work, authors took into account mosque attendance only for Turkish males and concluded that there is a nominal but statistically significant effect from male mosque attendance on measures of autonomy.

According to their study, a one-unit increase in mosque attendance for males is associated with 11% lower odds of choosing independence as an important child quality and 7% lower odds of choosing imagination as an important child quality. That is to say, males who attend religious services at mosques more than once a week are 11% more likely to devalue independence and 7% more likely to devalue imagination than males who attend religious ceremonies at mosques only once a week. Among Turkish males, mosque attendance was not a significant predictor of valuing heteronomy (obedience or good manners). Similar to Acevedo et al.'s study (2015), our analysis revealed that there is a strong effect from mosque attendance on measures of independence. We also concluded that a one-unit increase in mosque attendance of males is associated with 10.3% higher odds of choosing obedience as an important child quality. Another point Acevedo et al. (2015) emphasize is that religious importance is the most robust predictor of child-rearing values. They conclude that importance given to Islam is associated with increased odds of Turkish parents valuing obedience to authority and good manners, but inversely associated with an emphasis on independence and imagination. However, our findings suggest that self-reported religiosity is the most robust predictor of child-rearing values. Specifically, in this study, overall religiosity is positively associated with valuing obedience to authority and respect, but inversely associated with an emphasis on independence and imagination. Furthermore, religious patterns were robust and consistent across age, gender, education, and household income in 2001. In our study, we had similar findings though results are somewhat mixed. It is also clear that results of this study are parallel to the studies showing associations with heightened religiosity and traditional parental preferences.

This suggests the presence of important closeness between Islam and other non-Islamic faiths that also support traditional parental values. Particularly, Ellison and Sherkat (1993a), and Wilcox (1998) drew attention to trends among devout Christian evangelicals and members of other sectarian denominations. Acevedo et al.'s (2015) findings indicate that religious Muslims significantly value obedience to authority and good manners as important child qualities, and they are less likely to support intellectual independence and imagination. These studies have shown a remarkable preference for heteronomy and dislike for autonomy among members of religious groups who are more pious. Also it is noteworthy to remind again that there are similarities between the interpretations of Qur'an and Biblical statements. Both religions' sacred books are strict, rigid and authoritative in their messages. The present study has some limitations. First, measurement of key variables is restricted due to the data of WVS. The WVS contains only a small number of religious indicators, and in a relatively religious society such as Turkey, these items have limited dispersion. These items are useful, but cannot shed light on all potentially important facets of religion which is a complex and multidimensional area (Acevedo et al., 2015). Some key questions for measuring religion are missing in 2011 though respondents were asked in the previous wave. For example, belief in

Heaven, life after death, or belief that people have a soul was not asked in 2011. Also no country-specific questions were directed at Turkish people. According to the data, this survey was conducted between June and August of 2011, which coincide the sacred three months for Muslims. In these months which include Ramadan, Muslims tend to fast, pray, and attend mosques more often than other periods of the year. Therefore, the question "Apart from weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services these days?" is not an appropriate one to measure an overall attendance. In addition, child-rearing orientations are assessed using single-item measures. Though this is a limitation as well, there are examples of studies that used single items. For instance, Ellison and Sherkat (1993a) used single items on General Social Survey (GSS) to gauge religious factors such as biblical literalism or attitudes regarding the punishment of sinners. Moreover, they believe that measuring most of their key concepts, these items have strong "face validity" and allow them to examine their hypotheses sufficiently. According to Acevedo et al. (2015), this usage of single item enables investigators to compare their findings with those conducted earlier either in the United States or other Western nations. Nonetheless, the use of multi-item indicators could increase the reliability and validity of measures of both independent and dependent variables in our study.

Another limitation for the study is the lack of questions related to the key demographic variables. WVS doesn't ask the ethnic origin of the respondent, so we do not have any idea about ethnic minorities such as Kurdish, Arabic, Azerbaijani, Armenian, or Caucasian people in Turkey. Also an Islamic sect known as Atavism is widespread in some regions of Turkey. Unfortunately, we are unable to consider their uniqueness, if any, on child rearing values since WVS doesn't include any related data. Similarly, we cannot control for urban and rural population and unveil its distinctiveness. Despite these limitations, this study adds to the study of Muslim religiosity and approaches of parents towards children in Turkey, a predominantly Muslim country. Potential links between religious values and measures of heteronomy and autonomy have been examined. Findings indicate a significant association between Muslim religiosity and the valuation of traditional child qualities. Moreover, these findings are consistent with previous research showing the influence of religion on both heteronomy and autonomy (e.g., Acevedo et al., 2015; Ellison & Sherkat 1993a, Ellison & Sherkat, 1993b; Alwin 1986; Wilcox, 1998). According to the results of present study, we say that Islam is no different than Christianity. Regardless of being a Muslim or a Christian, those people who have lower levels of religiosity have greater desires for autonomy values in their children. This ambition tends to fade away at the expense of heteronomy values as the religiosity of people declines.

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