

The Role of Religiosity and Scriptural Interpretation on Ambivalent Sexist Attitude

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ABSTRACT

The current study was initiated on the basis of previous research providing contradictory findings with regards to the relationship between religiosity and ambivalent sexism in the literature. The current study was the first experimental research on the related topic, hypothesizing that manipulation of Qur'anic verses' interpretation (simply, by providing different interpretations of verses translated and interpreted by scholars with distinct perspectives) would influence participants' sexism related attitudes. For that purpose, participants were allocated to three different conditions and each group was provided with a distinctive interpretation of a Qur'anic verse. The control group received an egalitarian inducing version [33:35] whereas the benevolent and hostile sexism inducing groups received different interpretations of the same verse [4:34]. It was expected that ambivalent sexism scores would vary based on what was induced. Also, parental religiosity (mother and father), participants' religiosity and scriptural literalism were included as control variables. Findings revealed the effectiveness of the interpretation provided for the control group. Additionally, men scored higher than women for all conditions and hostile sexism for men was induced successfully however none of the sexism types were induced in women. The findings of the study are discussed in light of the literature.

Keywords: Ambivalent sexism, Islam, Religiosity, Qur'anic interpretation.

ÖZ

Bu çalışma, literatürde bulunan çelişkili cinsiyetçilik ve dindarlık arasındaki ilişkiyi inceleyen araştırmaları temel alarak başlatılmıştır. Geçmiş çalışmalardan elde edilen önerilerden yola çıkılarak, bu çalışmanın amacı belirlenmiştir. Bu çalışma konuyla ilgili ilk deneysel araştırma olup Kur'an ayetlerinin meallerinin manipüle edilmesinin (basitçe, farklı görüşteki çalışmacılar tarafından çevrilen ve yorumlanan ayetlerin sunulması) katılımcıların cinsiyet ayrımına dair tutumlarını etkileyebileceği hipotezi öne sürülmüştür. Bu amaçla, katılımcılar üç farklı koşula ayrılmış ve her gruba Kur'an ayetlerinin farklı bir meali (yorumlaması) sunulmuştur. Kontrol grubuna eşitlikçi tutum uyandırıcı versiyonu [33:35] sunulurken, korumacı ve düşmanca cinsiyetçiliğin uyarıldığı gruplara ise aynı ayetlerin [4:34] farklı versiyonları sunulmuştur. Çelişkili cinsiyetçilik puanlarının uyarıcılara paralel olarak manipüle edilmesi beklenen çalışmada, ebeveyn dindarlığı ve (anne ve baba), katılımcıların dindarlığı ve kutsal kitapların değişmezliği, kontrol değişkenler olarak analize dâhil edilmiştir. Bulgular, kontrol grubu için sunulan mealin etkinliğini ortaya koymuştur. Buna ek olarak, erkekler tüm koşullarda kadınlardan daha yüksek puanlar elde etmiştir, ayrıca erkekler için düşmanca cinsiyetçilik başarılı bir şekilde uyarılmıştır, ancak kadınlar için cinsiyetçilik türlerinin hiçbiri başarılı bir şekilde uyarılamamıştır. Bu çalışmada, konuyla ilgili olan literatür ışığında, kontrol değişkenlerine dair ilave tartışmalar yapılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çelişkili cinsiyetçilik, İslam, Dindarlık, Kur'ânî yorum,

To my parents and brothers

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

<i>EI</i>	Egalitarianism- inducement
<i>BSI</i>	Benevolent Sexism-inducement
<i>HSI</i>	Hostile Sexism-inducement
<i>M</i>	Mean Score
MANCOVA	Multiple Analysis of Covariance
<i>n</i>	Sample size
<i>p</i>	Probability
<i>r</i>	Pearson's Correlation Coefficient
<i>SD</i>	Standard Deviation
<i>t</i>	Critical Value
η^2	Eta-squared (a measure of the size of an effect)

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Gender Role Ideology

Gender role ideology is described as normative attitudes about expected roles of women and men in human societies, which are built based on biological sex (Harris & Firestone, 1998; Philips, 2001). In other words, sex differences in new-borns are the essential criteria for assigning gender and gender roles (Philips, 2001). Accordingly, these roles are shaped by social and psychological compounds rather than biological factors. Attitudes related to gender roles, actually regulate the assigning of expected social roles for women and men in a given society (Lindsey, 2016; Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2016). As a consequence, people's occupational decisions and their expected roles as parents, partners or laborers as well as many other prospects in their life are influenced (Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2016). There are three different types of gender role ideology; egalitarian, traditional and transitional (Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2016).

1.1.2 Egalitarian, Traditional and Transitional Gender Ideology

According to an egalitarian ideology, roles assigned to people should not be separated based on gender and equality in holding roles at work as well house environment must be emphasized (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004). However, traditional ideology holds the view that the roles assigned for men and women differ in terms of gender, such that domestic works, taking care of children or family are most likely to be the responsibility of women whereas breadwinning or dealing with financial issues are the

assigned roles for men. Transitional ideology on the other hand falls somewhere between egalitarian and traditional ideology and it might vary from case to case (Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2016). For instance; a husband may support his wife's career but still does not see himself responsible for any domestic roles.

Gender role ideologies, although attributable to a biological account, are mostly shaped by personal interest and exposure (Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2016; Vespa, 2009). Personal interest is explained as when gender ideology is built by a person's own goals in life. For instance, when gender inequality is beneficial for people, they won't hesitate to believe in traditional gender roles (Brooks & Bolzendahl 2004; Fan & Marini, 2000; Davis, 2007). In line with that, life course theory (Elder, 1998) argues that decisive encounters and roles can shape people's lives, one of the key factors for gender ideology construction is encountering new roles (Elder, 1998; Vespa, 2009). Through experiencing changeable life circumstances, the gender ideology of an individual may change parallel to gendered expectations (Liao & Gai, 1995; Vespa, 2009). Thus men generally tend to endorse more of a traditional ideology due the advantage gained from the status quo in which domestic and familial tasks are assigned to women mostly. Therefore, having egalitarian ideology might bring loss of power and resources in such a situation (Cunningham et al., 2005; Fan & Marini, 2000; Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2016). On the other hand, the case might be the other way around, such that supporting an egalitarian ideology might be used as a tool to achieve one's goals (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004; Mason & Lu, 1988). This actually explains why women in comparison to men are more inclined to hold egalitarian attitude since it is a supporting ideology providing benefit such as equal wage (Davis & Robinson, 1991).

Despite the fact that personal interest-based approach is preferred more when studying gender ideology (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004; Cunningham et al., 2005; Davis 2007; Fan & Marini, 2000; Liao & Gai 1995), explanations involving exposure are used as well, according to these approaches, gender ideology can be shaped by exposure to some factors that are part of socialization process. These factors are listed as family, the media, education and religion (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004). Family being an affective source for socialization process, can influence gender view through role modelling or home environment such as mother's education level or parents' gender ideology type (Banaszak & Plutzer 1993; Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2016) or gender ideology may be influenced depending on what type of ideology is transmitted through religion, media and education. Based on this, more egalitarian ideology supportive religion, media or education would engrain more egalitarian ideology for society (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2016; Vespa, 2009).

As a consequence, gender ideology plays a key role in influencing family processes such as sharing household work, quality of relationship of couples, occupations, child care and wife abuse as well as in educational accomplishments and expectations (Atkinson et al., 2005; Corrigan & Konrad 2007; Cunningham et al., 2005; Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Davis et al., 2007; Gaunt, 2006; Mickelson et al., 2006). Additionally, when people have traditional ideology, educational accomplishments and expectations change in a way that places women especially in a disadvantaged position (Davis & Greenstein, 2009). In line with this, attitudes supporting traditional gender foster sexism toward both men and women, a topic which is covered in the next section (Silvan-Ferrero & Lopez, 2007).

1.2 Ambivalent Sexism

Generally, sexism is described as negative judgments towards women which functions to support traditional gender ideology, which constrains women to a lower status and power in comparison to men, in a given society (Glick & Fiske, 1997). Sexism has always been thought to include only negative judgments towards women. However, this was understood to be inaccurate after Glick and Fiske (1996) suggested that traditional gender ideology can actually be linked to seemingly positive judgments of women too. They further suggested that sexism is essentially ambivalent, that is contradictory, enveloping both negative (hostile) and positive (benevolent) attitudes toward women.

1.2.1 Hostile and Benevolent Sexism

Patriarchy has been found to be universal in almost every society (Harris, 1991). Consequently, this fact shapes the relationship between women and men in terms of structural power (Glick & Fiske, 1997). Inequality in structural power was found to be related to antagonism toward women (Glick et al, 2016). Thus, women who are perceived as contravening traditional roles or denouncing male dominancy are exposed to sexism which is overtly antagonistic (Glick et al, 2016). In that sense, males in patriarchal societies hold negative beliefs toward women (believed to be subordinate group) who challenge the patriarchy by believing that ‘‘women’s aim is to gain control over men’’ and these attitudes or actions exhibited by men is called hostile sexism. Furthermore, the finding can be justified by prejudice theories mooted by Allport, (1954) and Tajfel, (1969), in which definition of prejudice has been stated as a type of antipathy based on imprecise rationalization and generalization.

However, the relationship between dominant and subordinate groups is not always hostile as noted by Jackman (1994); sometimes dominant groups, in order to legitimize their actions, may believe that the relationship with the subordinate group is actually benevolent. Because having hostile attitudes or actions alone would be more likely to evoke confrontation and rebellion among oppressed groups, benevolent attitudes provide an alternative way of arbitrating a discriminative system individually rather than confronting the whole system (Jackman, 1994). To illustrate it with an example outside of gender system; exploiting middle eastern countries for petrol and then claiming to be resolving the internal conflict and even reward the oppressed groups that can get along with colonialist. A similar scenario exists between males and females as well due to their intimate relations with each other (Fiske & Stevens, 1993) such as female partners are treated well and showed more love if they approve traditional gender roles in a given society. Another factor that plays a critical role in this scenario is sexual production which make men necessarily dependent on women as mothers or wives (Fiske & Stevens, 1993). Thus, women cannot be seen in only a hostile manner (Guttentag & Secord, 1983). As a consequence, Glick and Fiske, (1996) came up with a new terminology; ambivalent sexism which is a combination of both hostile and benevolent sexism.

Hostile sexism aims to maintain males' supremacy over females. This type of sexism can be displayed overtly to those women disregarding traditional gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Women disobeying traditional gender roles are seen as danger to the dominancy of males in a given society. People with hostile sexist attitudes openly hold women in a lower status or even display acts of violence and sexual harassment against women (Begany & Milburn, 2002).

On the other hand, *benevolent sexism* is another form of ambivalent sexism, which tends to be articulated in a positive way. Women, in exchange for obedience of traditional gender roles, are provided protection and love by men. In this fashion of sexism, women are perceived as angelic, beautiful but also fragile and therefore should be protected by men (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Cross & Overall, 2018). Benevolent sexism can be observed in three forms; heterosexuality, paternalism and gender differentiation (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Heterosexuality can be counted as the most prominent source of interdependency between men and women since both group of gender believe accomplishing a genuine happiness is actually sexual romantic affair (Berscheid & Peplau, 1983). Paternalism is to see women as subordinate group in need of a superior protection and monitoring (Glick & Fiske, 2001) and lastly gender differentiation supports women inferiority and emphasize biological sex differences in order to justify some certain roles or characteristics assigned women (caregiver, nurturing, delicate etc.) (Glick & Fiske, 2001) As a consequence, in both forms of sexism women are oppressed but in a different way. Benevolent sexism does however gain more social acceptance, and may lead women to give priority to family, children or intimate relationships rather than academic achievement or their career (Chen et al., 2009).

The benevolent type of sexism is advocated by both men and women. In a cross cultural study conducted by Glick and Fiske, (2001b) it was revealed that men and women had consistent high scores in benevolent sexism across different countries. However, men are more inclined to hostile sexism than women are. Consequently, ambivalent sexism has been found to be related with ideologies justifying system which aids hierarchy and gender inequality (Connelly & Heesacker, 2012; Cikara et al. 2009; Sibley et al., 2007).

Similar to gender role ideology a number of factors have been found to influence ambivalent sexism including the socialization process, intergenerational family transmission, the media, education, female or male labor force participation rate, ethnicity and religion to name a few (Banerjee, & Lintern, 2000; Beal, 1994; Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Cha & Thébaud, 2009; Cunningham, 2001; Frable, 1989; Golden, Julia & Jacoby, 2018; Vespa, 2009; Whitehead, 2012; Wohlwend, 2009). The focus of this research however is religiosity.

1.3 The Role of Religiosity in Predicting Gender Role Ideology

Religion is defined as a comprehensive belief system which influences attitudes, values and behaviors (Mohklis, 2009). Religion can also affect the principal part of social structures as well as people's attitudes and behaviors in a given society (Saeed, Ahmed & Mukhtar, 2001). Being religious is defined as a construct combination of systematized symbols, beliefs and practices, enabling nearness to a supernatural 'God' (Matthews, 1996).

The effect of religion has reduced after the industrial and secular revolutions, thus it is not as effective as before at the societal level, yet religion can still be a part of family structure which is the essential core of the socialization process (Sherkat, 2003). Ruether (1974) claims, most ideas regarding gender roles within a family are obtained from religion therefore religion should be considered as the most crucial factor in shaping attitudes about the role of women. The importance of family and religion is emphasized with other studies as well, for instance D'Antonio (1980) and Lampe (1981) indicate in their studies that family has the determinant role in exposing their children to socialization agents such as attending religious services together (e.g., Church) and other influences. In line with that, both religion and family are regarded

as interactive institutions that may bring conservatism to bear, thus greater involvement of conservatism lead to traditionalism in women (McMurry, 1978) and similar results have been found in a more recent study where correlation between gender traditionalism and Protestant conservatism was analyzed (Bartkowski & Hempel, 2009) Based on the above findings, it is understood that religiosity influences gender ideology and the role of family in retiling beliefs derived from religion to children during socialization.

In the field of social psychology religiosity has been shown to be correlated with prejudice in both a positive and negative linear direction (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005; Hall, Matz, & Wood, 2010). The reason for differing results is that religiosity is divided into two forms as extrinsic and intrinsic (Allport & Ross, 1967). Intrinsically religious people believe in their religion and its teachings by internalizing them and accord their life based on teachings whereas extrinsically religious ones use religion as a tool to achieve purposes that are not related to religion (Allport, 1966; Allport & Ross, 1967). Recent studies using the Religious Orientation Scale (Allport & Ross, 1967) indicate extrinsic religiosity to be correlated with prejudice, particularly racism, positively whereas intrinsic religiosity was found to be negatively correlated with racism (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005; Hall, Matz, & Wood, 2010).

The connection between religiosity and traditional gender ideology is complicated and the lack of a causality can be implicated. However, it is clear based on findings that as religious practices increase so does traditional gender ideology indicating a positive correlation between the two (Bang et al., 2005; Bartkowski, 2000; Davidman, 1991; Denton, 2004; Hertel & Hughes, 1987). Similarly, related studies' findings showed

links between traditional gender-role attitudes and conservative religiosity (Denton 2004; Hunsberger, Owusu, & Duck, 1999; Jensen, 1993; Kirkpatrick, 1993).

1.3.1 Religiosity and Ambivalent Sexism

Although, it has long been argued that religion may have a key role in affecting gender inequalities (Abouchedid & Nasser 2007; Bang et al., 2005; Hertel & Hughes 1987; Peek et al., 1991), there are only a limited number of studies concentrating on the direct relationship between religiosity and ambivalent sexism.

Research carried out by Glick, Lameiras and Castro (2002), in Spain, aimed to investigate whether there is a relationship between educational level and Catholic religiosity level to ambivalent sexism. Single item of religiosity was used which measured whether participants were non-practicing or practicing Christians or not Christian at all. Catholic religiosity was found to be a predictor of benevolent sexism however not hostile sexism. Since the study was a correlational one, findings was not able to draw causal link but correlational link between subcomponent of ambivalent sexism, benevolent sexism and religiosity. An alternative reason given for why Catholic religiosity is linked with benevolent sexism for both women and men was the Church's ideology being the most important factor influencing attitudes. Since religious agents conveying hostile sexism ideology cannot be tolerated, churches particularly in western, developed countries strategically have emphasized benevolent ideology more, in order to justify traditional gender roles (Glick et al., 2000). Additionally, the higher level of education was correlated with lower level of sexism.

Another correlational study by Burns and Busso (2005) checked whether intrinsic vs. extrinsic religiosity and scriptural literalism were correlated with ambivalent sexism

in a sample of U.S. undergraduate students. According to the authors, scriptural literalism is the extent to which scriptures are interpreted and understood by a person literally, that is believing scriptures to be Godly writings and considering them to be the ultimate truth. Results of the study showed that both scriptural literalism and religiosity (extrinsic and intrinsic) were positively correlated with benevolent sexism, however no correlation was found between hostile sexism. In the study using a revised version of the Religious Orientation Scale (Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989), intrinsic religiosity particularly predicted the subscale of benevolent sexism that is 'protective paternalism'. This finding was attributed to passages emphasizing protective paternalism in the scriptures as Allport (1966) indicated people with intrinsic religiosity internalizes the teachings of their religion. On the other hand, extrinsic religiosity explained a significant proportion of the two subscales of benevolent sexism, namely complementary gender differentiation and heterosexual intimacy. An alternative explanation of this finding was similar to the study mentioned earlier (Glick, Lameiras & Castro (2002), that it might be religious communities promoting norms related to gender ideologies.

Similarly, a study by Mikołajczak and Pietrzak (2014) aimed to investigate the relationship between ambivalent sexism and Catholic religiosity in a sample of long distance train passengers in Poland, Warsaw, mainly consisting of Catholic participants (159 out of 180). Greater level of Catholic religiosity was found to be correlated with higher level of benevolent sexism. No correlation was found with hostile sexism and religiosity similar to previous studies on the subject. The findings of the studies mentioned thus far, include Christian participants especially Catholics and revealed that Catholic religiosity is mostly linked with benevolent sexism in both

men and women. Research conducted by Gaunt (2012) analyzed the link between Jewish religiosity and ambivalent sexism and found Jewish religiosity to be correlated with benevolent sexism for men and women, after controlling for age, marital status and education. The study particularly focusing on benevolent sexism due to the emphasis made by Judaism on heterosexual intimacy and gender complimentary, also analyzed the correlation between hostile sexism and Jewish religiosity. Findings revealed a negative relationship especially for men unlike other studies where Christian participants took part. However, that unique finding has not been found to be the case in studies where Muslim participants took part.

In a study by Taşdemir and Sakallı-Uğurlu (2010), the role of Islamic religiosity and ambivalent sexism was investigated in Turkey. Researchers expected a positive correlation for the hostile form of sexism and religiosity for men. Furthermore, they based this expectation on Hofstede's (1980) findings indicating a high power gap in terms of hierarchy in Turkey, and also to findings revealing male dominance and authority across the country (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982; Sunar, 2002). Additionally, the high level and prevalence of ambivalent sexism (Glick et al. 2000) and patriarchy level in Turkey (Sakallı, 2001) were emphasised. Considering all of these aspects, the findings of the study showed Muslim religiosity to be significantly associated with hostile sexism for men after controlling for benevolent sexism and like other studies (Burns & Busso, 2005; Gaunt, 2012; Glick, Lameiras & Castro, 2002; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014) benevolent sexism was found to be correlated with religiosity for both men and women. They furtherly postulated alternative insights for the finding that men's religiosity was associated with hostile sexism. According to Taşdemir and Sakallı-Uğurlu (2010), it might be because of the perception of seeing men as the responsible

ones as well as dominators in Turkey, they might freely express their hostile attitudes in comparison to men in western countries, highlighting a social desirability effect. It was also suggested that this perception might emerge from interpretations of the holy scripture of Islam, the Qur'an, pointing out a specific surah (section of the Qur'an) named An-Nisa [4,34] where men are referred to as protectors and dominators over women.

Similarly, a study by Shahzad, Shafiq and Sajid (2015) was conducted on a total of 375 faculty members of certain universities in Pakistan, unlike other studies (Burns & Busso, 2005; Gaunt, 2012; Glick, Lameiras & Castro, 2002; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014) findings revealed that when a within gender comparison was made males significantly showed a higher mean level for hostile sexism. Prevalence of patriarchal ideology was attributed as a main reason for differing results since causality cannot be analyzed. Similar to how Taşdemir and Sakallı-Uğurlu (2010) explained, however they additionally suggested that men might intentionally construe certain verbs in the Qur'an to justify hostility toward women.

1.4 Islam and Traditional Gender Ideology

Islam is the fastest growing religion in the world followed by 1.5 billion individuals identifying themselves as Muslims (Ağilkaya-Şahin, 2015). Islam is considered to be the latest Abrahamic religion for human beings. The terminology of Islam means 'submission' and its followers, so called Muslims, are the submitters in this case (Esposito, 1998; Peters, 2009). Islam is authorized on comprising the Qur'an which is believed to be the ultimate revelation delivered to humanity through the last messenger of God (Allah). The Qur'an's verses that are revealed to the Prophet Muhammed in different time orders, had been combined by the caliphate Osman in order to preserve

its uniqueness and content to be most accurate source for Muslims who are obligated to follow ultimate norms and principles appointed by Allah through the Qur'an (Lazar, 2015).

When one turns to the writings of Islam and gender roles, it can be seen that in Islam the relationship between men and women is affected by scriptures and cultural traditions (Peacock, 1981). In most chapters of the Qur'an, regarding gender relations, women and men are considered to be equal (Rizal & Amin, 2017). Furthermore, the Qur'an does not mention the roles of women specifically but in practice gender roles are somehow manifested based on various cultural expectations or rights of men and women (Sidani, 2005). This might be why women are prohibited from particular rights due to the male dominancy in interpretations (Wadud, 1999; Scott, 2009). However as said, the Qur'an does contain various verses that support gender equality, such as "*I shall not lose sight of the labor of any of you who labors in my way, be it man or woman; each of you is equal to the other (3:195)*" and similarly "*The sole basis for superiority of any person over another is piety and righteousness not gender, color, or nationality*" (49:13). As can be seen, the emphasis in the Qur'an is given onto the degree of faith rather than identities such as gender, nationality or ethnicity.

However, the concept of custody (men as protector of women) might be a factor creating the basis for specific gender roles offered by the Qur'an. For instance, the Qur'an contains verses that can be considered as benevolent, such as (4:34) stating men to be governors and protectors in the family. To some scholars this is interpreted as placing men into a leadership position in the family and to some it implies that men and women have biologically differing qualities so men's physical advantage is the

reason (Altorki, 1986). One of the main reasons why this dichotomy might occur is due to the interpretation of the verses, in line with this issue, Sidani (2005) indicated that gender roles are affected by strict interpretations, asserted by some scholars in certain countries (for example; Saudi Arabia), in a senseless attempt to justify predominant cultural norms of inequality. This shall be covered next.

1.5 The role of Scriptural Interpretation of the Qur'an

One of the key variables of this study was scriptural interpretation which is particularly relevant for the Qur'an. The Qur'anic grammar is nontrivial and requires expertise. It has special rhyming features and requires a high level of grammar even for native Arabic speakers (Al-Tarawneh, 2016; Stewart, 2000). Thus, there are numerous interpretations of Qur'anic verses which are the so called 'Tafsirs' and these are indeed subject to the mufassirs' (Islamic scholars expertise in interpretation of verses) own biases or prejudices (Hashim, 1999). Additionally, the meaning behind a lot of words in the Qur'an is context-dependent. For example, the same verb might mean something different even within the Qur'an, largely dependent on context and Arabic diacritics (Al-Tarawneh, 2016). The Qur'anic verse interpretation is therefore so divisive that it leads to diversity among Islamic denominations (Sunni, Shia, Sunni Sufism, etc.) on the approach they used for interpretation (Bauer, 2014).

Since not all Muslims are native Arabic speakers (which on its own, is not a sufficient criteria), understanding of the original meaning behind verses becomes much more challenging when translated into a different language. Of course, languages are not equivalent to each other either based on vocabulary or language rules which is why the semantic meaning of verses or words might be missing (Abukari, 2014; Al-Tarawneh, 2016; Ghafournia, 2017).

For instance, there are some interpretations in the English literally translated version of the Qur'an for chapter 4 verse 34, which include the word 'beating/strike' (Qorchi, 2017) whereas many other versions do not contain the same word. The original word '*daraba*' has been translated as to 'go away' by other scholars (Bakhtiar, 2006; Haddad, 2000; Qorchi, 2017). Bakhtiar (2006), further argues that the translated versions involving the word 'beating/strike' contradicts the other verses in the Qur'an [2:231] which mainly cover the divorce process in which men are advised to treat women well even after divorce.

A similar uncertainty in interpretations exist in Turkish versions too, for instance, the word 'beating' can also be seen on the official website of the religious affairs administration in Turkey, however it also contains a long explanation pointing out that the meaning of this word varies from scholar to scholar and provides hadiths contradicting wife beating. Such examples clearly indicate the problem of translation and interpretation. Therefore, men themselves might actually misinterpret verses in the Qur'an or be manipulated by other references, consequently, rationalizing unequal treatment of women as well as violence toward women (Shafiq & Jabeen, 2015).

In this respect, the reason for differing results between studies conducted on Muslim and Christian religiosity might be due to the interpretation of the verses and conveying the subjective thoughts of the interpreter to the followers. As it was analyzed, most studies conducted on Catholic religiosity has been linked with benevolent sexism and alternatively attributing the findings to the revised version of scriptures and the strategy of the Church since hostile sexism is totally rejected in most societies (Burn & Busso, 2005; Glick, Lameiras & Castro, 2002; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014). On

the other hand, in studies conducted with Muslim participants (Taşdemir & Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2010; Shahzad, Shafiq & Sajid, 2015) it has been revealed that religiosity in men correlates with hostile sexism asserting misinterpretation or abuse of the Qur'an's verses.

1.6 Current Study

Based on the literature in the previous section, the current study aimed to assess the role of perception of the Qur'anic interpretations, by experimentally providing different interpretations of verses of the Qur'an related to gender in order to assess whether it would affect ambivalent sexist attitudes of participants.

Additionally, previous studies have found that education is positively linked with gender equality (Huber & Spitze, 1981; Mason & Lu, 1988; Powell & Steelman, 1982). As Rhodebeck (1996) claims education leads to an awareness which aids to stand against gender stereotypes and provides a different point of view in interpretations of traditional gender roles. It is not only that personal educational but parental educational level also play key role in enlightening ideology. Mothers' education level and concomitant employment creates a more egalitarian household structure for the children (Harris & Firestone, 1998). Mothers having a higher level of education is not only positively correlated with egalitarian attitudes in children but also with less traditional gender ideology in children (Myers & Booth, 2002). Additionally, children are more likely to support egalitarianism when both mothers and fathers hold egalitarian points of view (Myers & Booth, 2002). For these reasons, parental education level was assessed in order to control it in the statistical analyses.

Furthermore, since Burns and Busso (2005) found that scriptural literalism was an important factor correlating with benevolent sexism along with intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity. Scriptural literalism is the extent to which people understands or interprets the scriptures literally. Burns and Busso (2005) also argues that numerous passages in holy scriptures are evocative of benevolent sexism and members interpreting these scriptures literally, are likely to be influenced since scriptures are believed to be the word of God thus cannot be falsified. Hoffmann and Bartkowski (2008) suggested literalism plays a decisive role in forming cultural actions and social ideologies, especially for Christian Protestants who are conservative. In line with that another study found an association between traditional gender ideology and biblical literalism which is the notion that Biblical texts should be taken literally (Hempel & Bartkowski, 2008). Based on these findings, scriptural literalism was also assessed in order to be controlled for. Accordingly, the hypotheses in the current study were as follow;

- i. Participants receiving the ‘egalitarian version’ of the verse interpretation will score lower on ambivalent sexist attitude scale in comparison to the groups receiving the benevolent or hostile version of interpretations while controlling for participant and parental religiosity levels, parental education levels and participant’s scriptural literalism levels.
- ii. Participants with ‘benevolent version’ of manipulation will score higher on benevolent sexism subscale while controlling for participant and parental religiosity levels, parental education levels and participant’s scriptural literalism levels.
- iii. Participants with ‘hostile version’ of manipulation will score higher on hostile sexism subscale while controlling for participant and parental religiosity levels, parental education levels and scriptural literalism levels.

- iv. It was expected that men in comparison to women would score higher in ambivalent sexism and its subcomponents. No specific hypothesis was made with regards to the interaction between gender and experimental condition.

Chapter 2

METHOD

2.1 Participants

The current study's participants were recruited using convenience and snowball sampling technique via social media platforms (Facebook, Instagram) and Microsoft teams. After a total of 365 participants completed the online survey, the data was extracted to form the target sample of the study. For the purpose of the study, participants who were not Muslim, who did not specify their gender as either male or female and under the age of 18 and above 25 were not included in the data pool. Minimum sample size, after running a g-power analyses, was found to be 111 and after all the extractions, a total of 212 data were obtained (154 (72.6%) Female and 58 (27.4%) Male). All of these participants stated their religion to be Islam. All of the participants were between the ages of 18-25 years. They were all native Turkish speaking from either Turkey or the north of Cyprus. Out of the participants, 167 (78.8%) indicated their ethnicity as Turkish, 28 (13.2%) as Kurdish, 14(6.6 %) as Arab, 1 (0.5%) as Laz and the remaining 2(0.9%) as other. When denomination they belong to was asked, 106 (50%) of the participants responded to the question as 'Hanafi', 27 (12.7%) as 'Shafii', 21 (9.9%) as 'Alevi' and 11 (5.2%) as 'other', the remaining 47(22.2%) participants answered as 'I don't know'.

2.2 Design

In the current study, an online experimental questionnaire was designed in order to test

the hypotheses of the study using google survey forms. In accordance with this purpose, three different conditions, each including a manipulation, were created. An egalitarian attitude-inducing text for the control group, benevolent and hostile sexism attitude-inducing texts for the experimental groups were picked among the Qur'anic verses that are gender specific. Three different link addresses were combined under one link address; this way each click to the link address was randomly directed to a different condition of the study. After receiving the experimental manipulations participants received the remaining scales and the items in all scales were provided in a random order to eliminate any potential order effects (accomplished by activating the 'shuffle order of questions' option on the google survey forms).

2.3 Materials

2.3.1 Demographic Questionnaire

The proposed study included a demographic questionnaire that had a total of ten items regarding the background information of the participants (see Appendix A). The total question package, aiming to control other variables, comprised of items measuring participants' gender, age, ethnicity, education level, languages spoken, religion and religious denominations. Moreover, participants' mothers' and fathers' religion, religiosity level, and education level were also asked. In the same questionnaire, questions related to the Qur'an were included such as whether they had read the Qur'an, (if so) how many times they had read it as well as, which sources they used for interpretation of the Qur'an.

2.3.2 The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI)

Participants' level of ambivalent sexism which was the dependent variable of the study was measured by using ASI (see Appendix B). ASI involves a total of 22 – items which uses a Likert Scale ranging from 1 – 5 going from 'disagree strongly' to 'agree

strongly', respectively. The ASI is a questionnaire and contains two subscales thus scores are broken down into a benevolent sexism (BS) and hostile sexism score (HS). An example item measuring Hostile sexism comprised 'Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist', whereas an example item for benevolent sexism comprised, 'Men are incomplete without women'. The scale allows participants to rate how much they agree or disagree with the statements (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The current study used the Turkish version of the scale translated by Sakallı-Uğurlu (2002) and the Cronbach's alfa for the ASI-tr version was $\alpha = .89$ for the current study.

2.3.3 Religiosity Scale

A shorter version of the religiosity scale which was developed by Mutlu (1989) with a total of 5 questions was used to measure to what extent participants adopt the religion of Islam and how Islam is effective in their daily lives (see Appendix A). It uses a 5 point Likert scale ranging from 1= strongly disagree to 5= strongly agree. Cronbach's alpha score for this scale was reported as $\alpha = .77$ in the current study. The scale was provided as a part of demographic questionnaire.

2.3.4 Hogge and Friedman's (1967) Scriptural Literalism Scale

This 16-item index measures to what extent people believe verses in holy scriptures should be interpreted literally, in other words believing verses are ultimate truth and be perceived as they are. The scale of the current study uses a 5-point scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Cronbach's alpha score for the Scriptural Literalism Scale was $\alpha = .80$ for the current study. The Turkish translated version was used in the present study. The scale was translated and back translated to Turkish. This variable was measured in order to control for the influence of participants' existing scriptural literalism level (see Appendix C).

2.3.5 Experimental conditions

Participants were randomly allocated to one of three different conditions when they clicked on the provided link, an egalitarianism-inducing version (EI) which includes a verse's [33:35] interpretation from the Qur'an that explains equality of men and women. Benevolent sexism-inducing version (BSI) including an interpretation of a verse [4:34] from the Qur'an by which it is believed to be inducing the benevolent sexist attitude of participants and lastly hostile sexism-inducing version (HSI) including the same verse (4:34) as used in (BSI) however with a different interpretation expected to be inducing hostile sexist attitudes of the participants. There were three questions as manipulation checks under all three different versions of the manipulations. All verses have been obtained from the Qur'an and the interpretations have been obtained from the Turkish Republic's Religious Affairs (Diyanet İşleri) website and published and verified interpretations (see Appendix D1, D2, D3)

2.3.6 Manipulation Checks

After reading the specific verses allocated, manipulation checks were administered to check after, in order to see whether manipulations worked successfully in inducing either *egalitarian*, *benevolent* or *hostile sexism*. These items were as follows; according to the verse above 'Women and men are equal', 'Women are superior to men' and 'Men are superior to women' for egalitarian and hostile sexism-inducing conditions and were as follows; according to the verse above 'Women and men are equal', 'Women cannot be superior to men because they need to be protected by men' and 'Men are superior to women' for benevolent sexism-inducing condition. Participants rated these items on a 5 point Likert scale ranging from 1= strongly disagree to 5= strongly agree.

2.3.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval was received by research and ethics committee in Eastern Mediterranean University. Participants all received the same informed consent forms (See Appendix F). However, two different versions of the debrief form were created for the current study (See Appendices E1, E2). Particularly, for the hostile sexism manipulation, a specific debriefing form containing a hadith (Buhârî, “Nikâh”, 93) condemning abuse against women was provided along with various interpretations in order to ensure participants ended the study knowing that the same verse has been interpreted differently by other Islamic scholars that excludes the word ‘beating’. In both versions of the debriefing form, the current study’s aim was clarified and the participants were informed that the study was not intended to denigrate any religion.

2.4 Procedure

A link created by using a free online survey tool developed by Google was shared in different departmental social media pages of Eastern Mediterranean University (e.g., Facebook or Instagram). Additionally, some lecturers, in the Psychology department in EMU, were kindly asked to share the survey link in their online classes which were given to non-psychology department students on Microsoft Teams during the Covid-19 pandemic. Before the online questionnaire was initiated, in the start page, participants were kindly asked to fill the online survey in a silent room with an aim to eliminate distractibility as much as possible. Once participants agreed on proceeding by accepting terms in *Informed Consent*, the manipulation conditions (one of three different interpretation of the verses) were programmed to appear randomly and then they would fill the questions on manipulation check after reading the Qur’anic verse in the allocated condition, and then the procedure followed with ambivalent sexism inventory, the scriptural literalism scale and demographic questionnaire including

short version of the religiosity scale respectively. Finally, after thanking participants once again for taking part in the current study, they were told to freely direct their questions or concerns to the research supervisors as well as the researcher, using the contact details provided in the debrief form at any time they would wish to have further explanation regarding the experiment. Lastly, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS – Version 25) was used in order to conduct all the analyses related to the current study.

Chapter 3

RESULTS

3.1 Descriptive Analyses

3.1.1 Gender Difference on Religiosity and Scriptural Literalism

In order to test, whether female and male participants would differ in terms of religiosity and scriptural literalism level, a *t*-test was run. Results showed no significant difference between men ($M = 3.44, SD = .81$) and women ($M = 3.63, SD = .88$) on religiosity level, $t(210) = 1.40, p = .16$. Also no significant difference was found between men ($M = 3.45, SD = .61$) and women ($M = 3.59, SD = .76$) on scriptural literalism $t(210) = 1.36, p = .176$. Further analyses between genders on ambivalent sexism was run as part of MANCOVA and can be seen below.

3.1.2 Differences between Religious Denominations

In order to compare mean differences between denominations, a between-subjects ANOVA analyses was used with an aim to identify whether denominations would differ in terms of any kind of sexism. Although the current study was not designed to specifically analyze denominations, it was still important to check the effect of confounding variables.

First of all, ambivalent sexism level of the denominations was tested and results showed no difference among denominations, $F(4, 207) = 2.30, p = .06$. A majority of the participants identified themselves as either Hanafi, Shafii or Alevi as mentioned before, thus, those particular denominations were emphasized in the analyses. Post hoc

results demonstrated no difference between Hanafi ($M=2.62$, $SD=.77$), Shafii ($M=2.93$, $SD=.77$) nor between Alevi ($M=2.61$, $SD=.88$) participants. Additionally, those indicated their denominations as other ($M=2.88$, $SD=.76$) showed no significant difference with any of the denominations.

The same analyses were conducted for benevolent and hostile sexism level too and there was also no significant difference for any of the subscales of ambivalent sexism. The result for benevolent and hostile were as follows; $F(4, 207) = 1.85$, $p = .119$ and $F(4, 207) = 1.70$, $p = .152$. For, benevolent and hostile sexism results, no difference was found between any of the denominations as well as those who did not know their denominations (those who selected ‘‘I don’t know’’ section). Since all the participants identifying themselves being part of a denominations or without had no difference in terms of sexism, it was not required to control this variable as they match the criteria of the current study. Check for Table 1 for detailed results.

Table 1: Mean and standard deviations for religious denominations

Variables	Hanafi	Shafii	Alevi	Other	Don’t know
	$M (SD)$	$M (SD)$	$M (SD)$	$M (SD)$	$M (SD)$
AS	2.62 (.78)	2.93 (.77)	2.62 (.87)	2.88 (.75)	2.43 (.55)
BS	2.63 (.87)	2.98 (.80)	2.76(1.02)	2.67 (.84)	2.48 (.60)
HS	2.62(.90)	2.90(1.04)	2.47(1.05)	2.60 (.92)	2.39 (.78)

Note: Scores ranged from 1(low) to 5(high) for all variables

3.1.2 Differences between Ethnicities

Several ANOVAs were conducted for the analyses of mean comparison between ethnicities. As was mentioned in the method section Turkish participants outnumbered participants from other ethnicities, however to ensure it did not play a role, analyses

were conducted for control purposes. Results indicated no significant difference in terms of ambivalent sexism $F(4, 207) = 1.36, p = .249$, benevolent sexism $F(4, 207) = .75, p = .558$ and hostile sexism $F(4, 207) = 1.39, p = .240$ between ethnicities. Mean and standard deviations for the ethnicities in terms of ambivalent, benevolent and hostile sexism were as follows; Excluding ‘‘Laz’’ ($N=1$) and ‘‘Other’’ ($N=2$). Turkish participants ($N=167$) had ($M=2.59, SD=.74$), ($M=2.63, SD=.85$), ($M=2.55, SD=.89$), Kurdish ($N=28$) participants had ($M=2.78, SD=.77$), ($M=2.81, SD=.75$) and ($M=2.76, SD=1.01$) and Lastly Arab participants had ($N=14$), ($M=2.85, SD=.81$), ($M=2.79, SD=.90$) and ($M=2.92, SD=1.00$) respectively.

3.1.3 Manipulation Checks

In order to find out to what extent manipulations were effective, a between-subjects ANOVA was conducted. For the manipulation check question 1 where it says ‘*women and men are equal based on the above verse*’, participants in Egalitarianism-inducing condition ($N=72, M=4.81, SD=.52$) scored higher in comparison to Benevolent Sexism-inducing condition ($N=70, M=2.50, SD=1.42$) and Hostile Sexism-inducing condition ($N=70, M=1.74, SD=1.16$), $F(2, 209) = 124.33, p < .001, \eta^2 = .54$. On the other hand, participants in Hostile Sexism-inducing condition obtained the highest score ($M=4.23, SD=1.23$) for the item where it says ‘*men are superior to women based on the verse above*’ when compared with the control condition (Egalitarianism-inducing condition; $M=1.18, SD=.61$).

Furthermore, for the Benevolent Sexism-inducing condition the item ‘*men are superior to women based on the verse above*’ was modified as ‘*women and men can’t be equal because women ought to be protected by men*’ and after a within-subjects ANOVA test, findings showed that participants in Benevolent Sexism-inducing condition

obtained the highest score for the question where it says ‘*women and men can’t be equal because women ought to be protected by men*’ ($M=3.13, SD=1.46$), in contrast with the both items follow as ‘*women and men are equal based on the above verse*’ ($M=2.50, SD=1.42$) and ‘*women are superior to men based on the verse above*’ ($M=2.39, SD=1.57$), according to Greenhouse-Geisser, $F(1.59, 109.65) = 4.97, p = .014, \eta^2 = .07$. Additionally, within-subjects ANOVA tests were conducted for egalitarian and hostile sexism-inducing conditions too. The result for the egalitarian condition showed a significant main effect of manipulation, based on Greenhouse-Geisser, $F(1.68, 119.40) = 728.61, p < .001, \eta^2 = .91$ and a similar result was found for the hostile condition as well, Greenhouse-Geisser, $F(1.76, 121.61) = 80.78, p < .001, \eta^2 = .54$. See below table for detailed information.

Table 2: Within-subjects comparison for conditions

Conditions	Men > Women		
	Men = Women	Men protects Women(BSI)	Women > Men
	<i>MS(SD)</i>	<i>MS(SD)</i>	<i>MS(SD)</i>
EI	4.81 (.52)***	1.26 (.71)	1.18 (.54)
HSI	1.74 (1.16)	4.23 (1.23)***	1.70(1.26)
BSI	2.50 (1.42)	3.13 (1.46)*	2.39 (1.57)

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$, scores ranged from 1(low) to 5(high) for all variable

3.1.4 Other Descriptive Analyses

As part of the demographic variables participants were asked some other questions related to the Qur’an. They were asked if they have read the Qur’an or not. 61.7 % of the female participants answered the question as ‘yes’ and 79.3 % of male participants as ‘yes’. Further questions were asked for the Qur’an readers, indicating whether they have read the whole Qur’an and how many times have they read it. Results showed

that 65.3 % of the female Qur'an readers answered the question as 'no' whereas this percentage was 54.3% for males. Regardless of whether they have read it all or not, 55.8 % of the females have read the Qur'an between 1-5 times, 13.7% between 5-10 times and 30.5% more than 10 times. On the other hand, 69.6% of males between 1-5 times, 6.5% between 5-10 and 23.9% more than 10 times.

Relatedly, they were asked whether they have seen the verses provided as part of experimental manipulation. 62.1% of females indicated that they have not seen the verse provided before whereas this percentage was 74 for males in the current study. Additionally, those who have seen the verses were asked whether they have seen the verses as they stand or differently, out of 40 female participants, 60% of females have seen the verse as it is and out of 22 male participants, 54.5% indicated as it is. Participants were lastly asked to rate the degree of accuracy for the verses provided, in order to find out to what extent to they believe that the verse provided would be true. Based on a *t*-test result, female participants rated the accuracy of the verses lower ($M = 2.99$, $SD = 1.27$) in comparison to male participants ($M = 3.60$, $SD = 1.14$), $t(210) = -3.20$, $p = .002$. See Table 3 for the sources they consult for interpretations.

Table 3: Sources participants consult for interpretation of Qur'anic verses

		Imams & Scholars of Islam	Religious Culture Teacher	Religious Texts	Family Members	Friends	Internet	On my own
Men	Yes	63 %	65.2%	52.2%	65.2%	19.6%	37%	41.3%
	No	37%	34.8%	47.8%	34.8%	80.4%	63%	58.7%
Women	Yes	52.1%	57.4%	68.1%	56.4%	19.1%	35.7%	44.2%
	No	47.9%	42.6%	31.9%	43.6%	80.9%	64.3%	55.8%

3.2 Correlational Analyses

A Pearson correlation analyses was conducted to find out whether parental education level would be correlated with participants' religiosity level, ambivalent sexism and its subscales benevolent and hostile sexism. The analyses were not conducted for participants' educational level since they were all university students. However, results demonstrated no correlation neither for fathers' education level nor for mothers' educational level in terms of sexism and religiosity level. Due to the reason that no correlation was found, parental education was dropped from further analyses.

Another correlational test was conducted to check whether parental religiosity level would be linked with any type of sexism and participants' religiosity level. Parental religiosity level both for mother and father were correlated with ambivalent, hostile, benevolent sexism and participants' religiosity level. Findings revealed a positive relationship between mothers' religiosity level and participants' religiosity, also with ambivalent sexism, benevolent sexism and hostile sexism. On the other hand, fathers' religiosity also showed a positive relationship with participants' religiosity, ambivalent sexism, benevolent sexism and lastly a marginal relationship was found with hostile sexism. Details can be seen in Table 4.

Links between religiosity level and scriptural literalism, *AS*, *BS*, *HS* were assessed as well. Islamic religiosity level was positively linked with all of the study variables except for hostile sexism. There was a positive correlation between religiosity and scriptural literalism ($r = .73, N=212, p < .001$), a positive correlation with ($r = .17, N=212, p = .010$) ambivalent sexism, a positive correlation with benevolent sexism ($r = .23, N=212, p = .001$) and no correlation with hostile sexism ($r = .07, N=212, p = .338$).

Furthermore, separate correlations were conducted for men and women between religiosity and benevolent and hostile sexism. Results revealed that women's religiosity was positively associated with benevolent sexism but not with hostile sexism whereas men's religiosity was positively associated with both benevolent and hostile sexism. The same analyze was conducted for scriptural literalism too, it was found that scriptural literalism for women in the study was positively correlated with benevolent sexism only whereas scriptural literalism was positively correlated with hostile sexism.

Table 4: Pearson's correlational values for parental religiosity and other variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Mother religiosity	-					
2. Father religiosity	.504**	-				
3. Participant religiosity	.329**	.295**	-			
4. Ambivalent Sexism	.254**	.165**	.170*	-		
5. Benevolent Sexism	.263**	.226**	.230**	.836**	-	
6. Hostile Sexism	.172*	.132	.066	.863**	.444**	-

Note: *. Correlation is significant at 0.05 level, **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

Table 5 includes separate Pearson's correlational covariate values for female and male participants in the study. In other words, relationship between female religiosity and other variables ambivalent sexism, benevolent sexism, hostile sexism and scriptural religiosity was assessed separately. Correlations for women were displayed above the diagonal whereas correlations for men were displayed below the diagonal.

Table 5: Pearson's correlational values for female and male participants

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Participant religiosity	---	.200*	.259**	.076	.767**
2. Ambivalent Sexism	.381**	---	.868**	.843**	.135
3. Benevolent Sexism	.284*	.726**	---	.463**	.164*
4. Hostile Sexism	.292*	.783**	.140	---	.063
5. Scriptural Literalism	.614**	.257	.023	.349*	---

Note: *. Correlation is significant at 0.05 level, **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

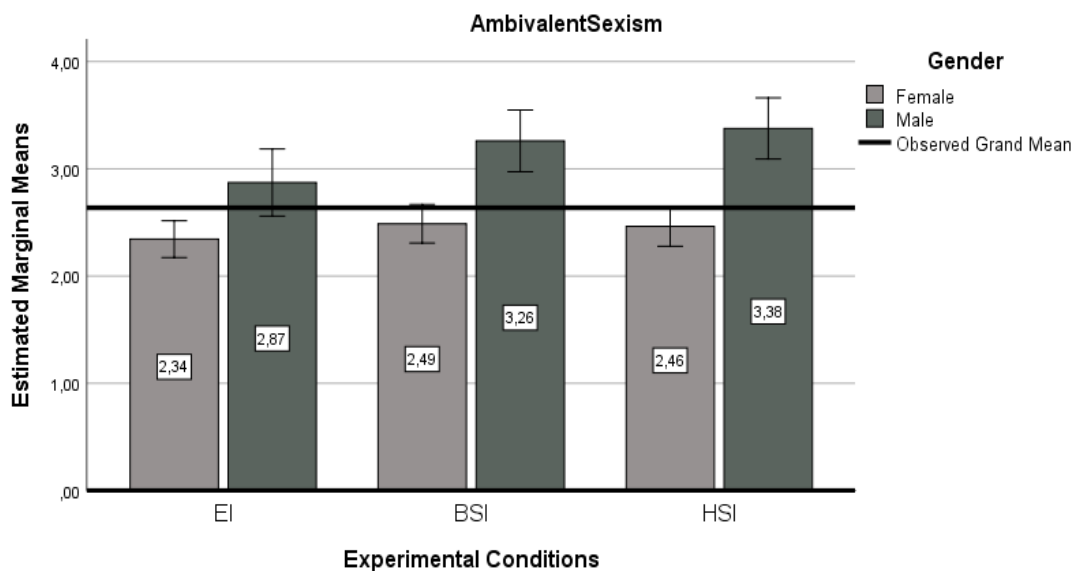
3.3 MANCOVA

A 3 (Condition: EI vs. BSI vs. HSI) x 2 (Gender: Female vs. Male) between-subjects MANCOVA was conducted to determine whether there was a statistically significant effect of condition and gender on the dependent measures, ambivalent sexism, benevolent sexism and hostile sexism while controlling for both participants' and their parents' (mother/ father) religiosity level and scriptural literalism.

3.3.1 Ambivalent Sexism

After running a MANCOVA analyses, results indicated a significant main effect of gender on ambivalent sexism when religiosity of participants and parents and participants' scriptural literalism level were controlled $F(1, 202) = 51.63, p < .001, \eta^2 = .20$. Bonferroni post hoc test revealed that males in the current study had significantly higher scores ($M = 3.17, SD = .09$) on ambivalent sexism in comparison to females ($M = 2.43, SD = .05$). It was further checked whether a significant main effect of conditions would be found since we expected participants in EI condition would be more egalitarian inclined consequently obtain lowest score for ambivalent sexism.

A main significant effect of experimentally manipulated conditions (*EI*, *BSI*, *HSI*) was found on ambivalent sexism while controlling for religiosity and scriptural literalism $F(2, 202) = 3.64, p = .028, \eta^2 = .04$. Mean results obtained from Bonferroni test revealed that participants in *EI* condition had the lowest mean score ($M = 2.60, SD = .09$) on ambivalent sexism scale when compared with participants in *HSI* condition ($M = 2.92, SD = .09, p = .037$) and when compared with participants in *BSI* condition the difference was at a marginal level ($M = 2.88, SD = .09, p = .081$). Furthermore, results indicated no statistically significant difference between *BSI* condition ($M = 2.88, SD = .09$) and *HSI* condition ($M = 2.92, SD = .09$) on ambivalent sexism scores. Moreover, no significant interaction effect of gender and experimentally manipulated conditions was found on ambivalent sexism $F(2, 202) = 1.16, p = .315$. Also no effect for any of the covariates was found. It can be seen in Figure 1 that both average score of male and female in *EI* is the lowest.



Covariates were evaluated at the following values: Scriptural = 3.55, ReligiosityLevel = 3.57, Mother R. = 3.68, Father R. = 3.18

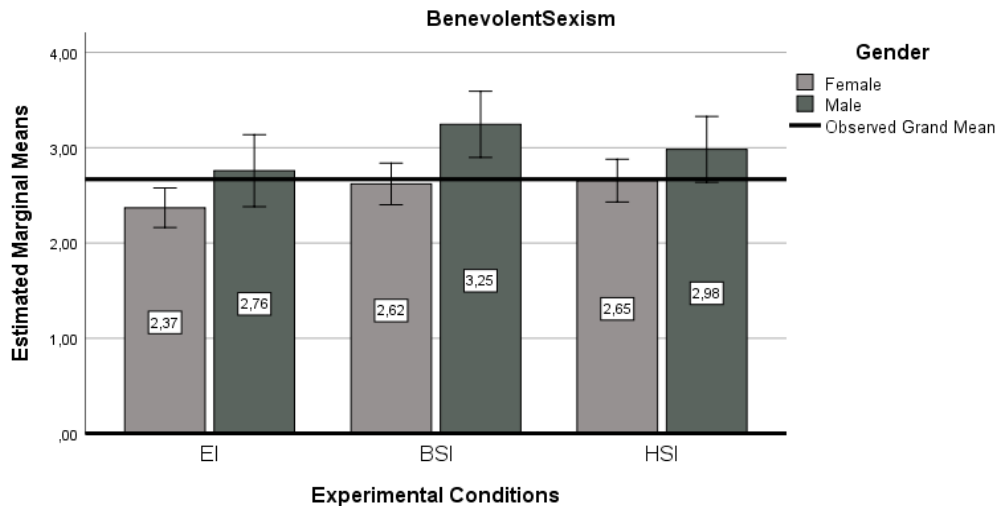
Figure 1: Gender and condition on ambivalent sexism

3.3.2 Benevolent Sexism

Similar to what was found for ambivalent sexism, a main significant effect of gender, while participants' and their parents' religiosity and scriptural literalism level were controlled, was also found here $F(1, 202) = 13.00, p < .001, \eta^2 = .06$. Pairwise comparison using the Bonferroni test, demonstrated a significant difference between males and females. Males obtained a higher score ($M = 2.99, SD = .11$) than females ($M = 2.54, SD = .06$) on benevolent sexism subscale.

Additionally, the same main effect of the experimental conditions was also found for this analyses. According to the findings, there was a main effect of experimental conditions; egalitarianism-inducement, benevolent sexism-inducement and hostile-sexism inducement conditions (*EI, BSI, HSI*), on benevolent sexism while controlling for the covariates; participant and parental religiosity, participant's scriptural literalism, $F(2, 202) = 3.09, p = .048, \eta^2 = .03$. Participants assigned to group *EI* ($M = 2.56, SD = .11$) scored less than participants in *BSI* ($M = 2.93, SD = .10, p = .047$) but not less than participants in *HSI* ($M = 2.83, SD = .10, p = .189$) groups for benevolent sexism. It was seen that, participants in benevolent sexism inducing group had the highest score obtained however with a no statistically significant difference with hostile sexism ($p = .149$).

Lastly, no interaction effect between gender and condition was detected on benevolent sexism $F(2, 202) = .58, p = .556$. Unlike the first analysis conducted for ambivalent sexism, a significant effect for the covariate religiosity level was detected on benevolent sexism, $F(1, 202) = 6.39, p = .012, \eta^2 = .03$. See figure 2 for mean scores.



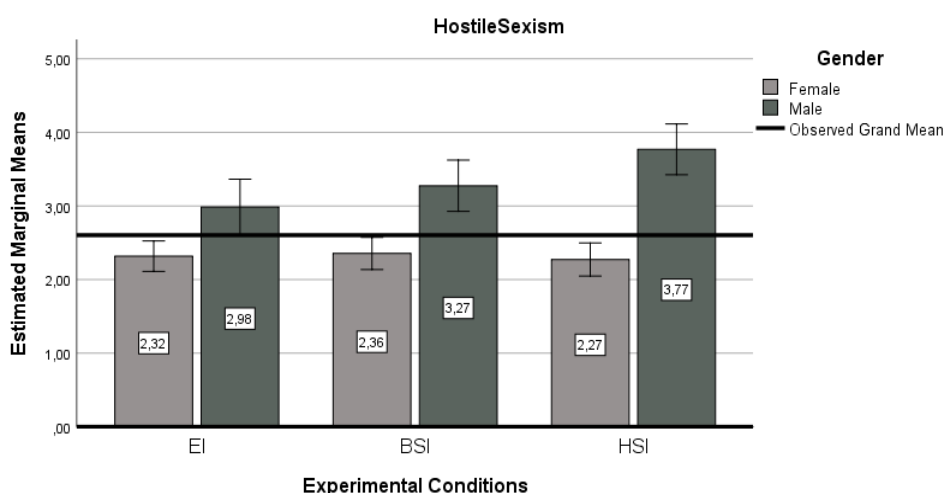
Covariates are evaluated at the following values: Scriptural = 3,55, ReligiosityLevel = 3,57, Mother R.= 3,68, Father R. = 3,18

Figure 2: Gender and condition on benevolent sexism

3.3.3 Hostile Sexism

Another result obtained after a MANCOVA showed a significant main effect of gender with a larger effect size was found while parents' and participants' religiosity and scriptural literalism level were controlled $F(1, 202) = 68.32, p < .001, \eta^2 = .25$. Bonferroni pairwise comparison showed a significant difference between male and female participants in the study, once again with men having a higher score ($M = 3.34, SD = .11$) in contrast to women ($M = 2.32, SD = .06$). Also, a similar main effect of the experimental conditions was found on hostile sexism as well $F(1, 202) = 3.09, p = .048, \eta^2 = .03$. Participants in *HSI* group had the highest score ($M = 3.02, SD = .10$) on hostile sexism scale with no significant difference ($p = .485$) between *BSI* group ($M = 2.82, SD = .10$) but a significant difference with *EI* ($M = 2.65, SD = .11, p = .043$) group. Also there was no difference ($p = .807$) between *EI* and *BSI* conditions in terms of hostile sexism. Unlike other dependent variables, hostile sexism was effected by both gender and the experimental conditions, such that, there was a significant interaction between gender and experimental conditions on hostile sexism $F(1, 202) = 3.89, p =$

.022, $\eta^2 = .04$. For detailed assessment, a Bonferroni pairwise comparison was run. Results indicated a significant difference between men and women in every experimental conditions. Men in egalitarianism-inducing group scored higher ($M= 2.98$, $SD= .19$) on hostile sexism scale ($p = .003$) compared to women ($M= 2.32$, $SD= .10$). Men in benevolent sexism-inducing group also had higher score ($M= 3.28$, $SD= .17$) when compared with women ($M= 2.35$, $SD= .11$) on the hostile sexism scale ($p = .003$). Lastly, another difference found between both genders was again in the hostile sexism-inducing condition ($p = .003$) whereby men ($M= 3.78$, $SD= .17$), women ($M= 2.26$, $SD= .11$). When different conditions for men were compared, a statistically significant difference ($p= .009$) was found between men in *EI* ($M= 2.98$, $SD= .19$) and men in *HSI* ($M= 3.78$, $SD= .17$) but not with men in *BSI* condition ($M= 3.28$, $SD= .17$). Also no difference was detected between men in *BSI* condition ($M= 3.28$, $SD= .17$) and men in *EI* condition ($M= 2.98$, $SD= .19$). Same analyze, however, showed no difference for any of the conditions for women participants. No covariate effect was found for hostile sexism. See Figure 3 for a bar graph.



Covariates were evaluated at the following values: Scriptural = 3,55, ReligiosityLevel = 3,57, Mother R.= 3,68, Father R. = 3,18

Figure 3: Interaction effect of gender and experimental conditions on hostile sexism

Chapter 4

DISCUSSION

The main aim of the current study was to examine the role of scriptural interpretations on ambivalent sexism. In other words, to what extent would interpreters' understanding of Qur'anic verses, that is their interpretation, be effective in shaping the attitudes of Muslims about ambivalent sexism. Although previous research has consistently implicated the role of religion and religious texts in relation to sexism (e.g., Burns & Busso, 2005; Gaunt, 2012; Glick, Lameiras & Castro, 2002; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014; Shahzad, Shafiq & Sajid, 2015; Taşdemir & Sakallı, 2010), the current study was the first one to apply an experimental approach to the subject and to experimentally manipulate interpretations of the verses of the Qur'an in an attempt to establish a causal link to contemporary sexist ideology, i.e. ambivalent sexism. The current study included only Turkish speaking participants which exacerbates common issues with interpreting the Qur'an. Because the Qur'an is originally in Arabic, Turkish speaking scholars have to first translate the verses carefully to be able to interpret verses later comprehensively, as understanding of the verses varies as a result of different translations of the same text (Bakhtiar, 2006; Haddad, 2000; Qorchi, 2017).

Deriving from this uncertainty, it was predicted that providing different interpretations and translations of the Qur'anic verses which are all authentic and obtained from different interpreters and scholars based in Turkey, would have an influence on gender

related attitudes. Thus, as the first hypothesis indicated participants who received the verse (33:35) in which equality of gender is highlighted, would score lower on ambivalent sexism in comparison to other groups when religiosity of both participants and their parents as well as participant's scriptural literalism were controlled, was partially supported. Although findings revealed the lowest mean score for participants in egalitarianism-induced *EI* group, the difference between benevolent sexism-induced group was at a marginal level thus not statistically significant however participants in *EI* condition had lower levels of sexism compared to participants in *HSI* condition. This finding can be interpreted as Qur'anic verses emphasizing egalitarianism can be effective in shaping gender related attitudes of Muslims to a certain extent and this affect can be seen in both females and males although the main effect of condition was not significant for females alone, total average mean of both gender was at the lowest level in comparison to females and males in *BSI* and *HSI* conditions for ambivalent sexism. Therefore, this phase as the control condition of the study showed that manipulations could actually be successful for males and to a certain extent for females.

In order to test whether, through manipulations, specific subcategories of ambivalent sexism could be induced with certain interpretation of verses, different interpretations of the same passages (4:34) was used in the study. To analyze hypothesis 2, which claimed benevolent sexist interpretation would create more benevolent sexist ideology, a more clement version was provided in which protective feature of men was highlighted and excluded the word 'to beat /strike' translated from original word '*daraba*' which means 'strike' to some scholars (translators) and 'get away' to some as mentioned and discussed by several scholars (Abukari, 2014; Al-Tarawneh, 2016;

Bakhtiar, 2006; Ghafournia, 2017; Haddad, 2000; Qorchi, 2017). Results obtained demonstrated highest mean level on benevolent sexism for both male and females in *BSI* condition. However, this did not reach significance between participants in *BSI* and *HSI* conditions. Although, main effect of conditions was not found between *BSI* and *HSI* condition, a significant gender effect was found such that men in the *BSI* condition had the highest score for benevolent sexism in comparison to men in *HSI* condition also compared to women in all 3 conditions. This result suggests when parental and participant religiosity and scriptural literalism were controlled, verses emphasizing protective paternalism (as part of benevolent sexism) could actually influence men's gender related attitudes to a certain extent more than it influences women.

Different interpretation of the same verse (4:34) but this time including the word 'to beat/strike' and with more emphasis on superiority of men was used to test hypothesis 3 which stated hostile sexist interpretation would lead to more hostile sexist ideologies. Results revealed the only significant interaction effect between condition and gender. A main effect of gender and conditions were also found as well as a unique finding in comparison to ambivalent and benevolent sexism results in that male participants in *HSI* condition had significantly higher scores compared to male participants in *BSI* and *EI* condition. The finding suggests men to be the main determinant variable of the interaction effect such that hostile sexism can be induced for men not women through interpretations of gender related verses of Qur'an which contain certain words that are inimical to gender equality since a significant gender difference was found both for benevolent sexism and hostile sexism.

As predicted in the fourth hypothesis men were found to score higher on hostile sexism whereas men and women did not score equally on benevolent sexism in *BSI* condition, instead, men scored higher on benevolent sexism. Also women in the *BSI* condition obtained almost similar scores with women in *HSI* condition when benevolent-sexism was induced. This finding suggests that for women, neither of the certain subcategories of ambivalent sexism, benevolent or hostile sexism, can be induced through Qur'anic verse interpretations. However, when men are the matter of discussion, findings showed the opposite. A possible explanation for why benevolent and hostile sexism manipulation did not work on women as successfully as it worked for men, although a manipulation effect was seen for females to a certain extent but not reaching significance level in control condition, was identified with regards to the meaning of the text. It could be that verse (4:34) seems likely to be appealing for men more, in other words, most of the passages, in the verse, specifically advise men on the gender role and the relation with women. Therefore, women might not accommodate themselves with the verse as much as men did.

Studies regarding ambivalent sexism demonstrate that men and women usually score equally on benevolent sexism and women were not associated with hostile sexism but men were (Glick et al., 2002; Sakallı, 2001). Similar results have been observed when Islamic religiosity is included as a factor to ambivalent sexism (Shahzad, Shafiq & Sajid, 2015; Taşdemir & Sakallı, 2010). Although the current study revealed no significant effect of Qur'anic interpretation for women, correlational analyses conducted in the current study showed a positive correlation between women's religiosity and benevolent sexism. Additionally, religiosity variable was found to be the only covariate variable with a significant main effect for benevolent sexism in

comparison to the other covariates (religiosity of mother and father and scriptural literalism). This particular finding is common with the related studies in the literature (Burns & Busso, 2005; Gaunt, 2012; Glick, Lameiras & Castro, 2002; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014; Shahzad, Shafiq & Sajid, 2015; Taşdemir & Sakallı, 2010). It can be concluded based on the finding above that religiosity alone is a significant factor that associates with benevolent sexism for women however the effect of benevolent sexism related attitudes can't be enhanced through interpretation of Qur'anic verses for women. The finding, as aforementioned, is understandable due to the reason that interpretation used in *BSI* condition might not be addressing women affectively since most passages in 4:34 aim to deliver the message to men. Also women were not found to be reporting hostile sexism for their own gender in the related studies mentioned above, thus inducing hostile sexism for women merely with a Qur'anic verse interpretation does not seem possible since there is no suitable ground for the effect.

On the other hand, why hostile sexism-inducement was successful in changing men's attitudes could be that the version used in *HSI* condition contained the word 'to beat' which is a salient and clear word which might be effective in triggering hostility. Because the same verse containing the word 'get away' was not as effective as inducing hostile sexism for men since men in *BSI* condition had higher mean than men in *HSI* condition for benevolent sexism, the difference was not significant between two groups. Another alternative explanation for why benevolent sexism-inducement was not as effective as hostile sexism could be that benevolent sexism is more complex than hostile sexism, since there are three subcategories of benevolent sexism named as heterosexuality, paternalism and gender differentiation whereas hostile sexism is simply hatred toward women (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Thus, the interpretation of the

verse used for *BSI* condition might not be comprehending all of the subscales of benevolent sexism and might not be relevant for both gender groups equally since men internalized it more.

In line with this, Shahzad, Shafiq and Sajid, (2015) concluded in their study which took place in Pakistan, that prevalence of patriarchal ideology to be possible explanation for the finding where men scored higher on hostile sexism. Therefore, men attempt to deduce misinterpretation of Qur'anic verses to legitimize their hostility towards women. In this case, men in the current study might actually internalized the hostile version of the interpretation and enhanced the already existing attitudes on hostile sexism.

Similarly, Taşdemir and Sakallı-Uğurlu (2010) suggested that religious men in Turkey attempt to preserve their dominancy based on a study (Jost & Hundady, 2005), after they found that as religiosity of men in Turkey increases so does their positive evaluation of traditional women increases and vice versa. They also suggested that patriarchy is prevalent in Turkey, which is a factor found to be positively correlated with ambivalent sexism (Sakallı, 2001). Based on the finding by Çukur et al. (2004), that religious people are more inclined in approving traditional gender roles as well as differences of status, Taşdemir and Sakallı-Uğurlu (2010) argued that religious men are perceived as protectors and dominators and in their study, they showed interpretation of the Qur'an (4:34) as a possible factor creating this perception. As it was demonstrated in the current study, using different interpretations of this particular verse (4:34), traditional gender related attitudes could be enhanced especially for men since they scored higher in both types of sexism in comparison to women. In the light

of these findings, a conclusion can be drawn that interpretation of gender related Qur'anic verses might not merely cause sexism for men, instead can corroborate already existing attitudes since studies (Shahzad et al., 2015; Taşdemir & Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2010) refer to patriarchy as a factor contributing to hostile sexism.

When covariates of the current study were analyzed separately, religiosity, as mentioned earlier, was positively correlated with benevolent sexism and hostile sexism for men whereas for benevolent sexism only for women. Inconsistent with the findings conducted with Catholic Christian and Jewish participants (Burns & Busso, 2005; Gaunt, 2012; Glick, Lameiras & Castro, 2002; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014). The study conducted by Glick, Lameiras and Castro (2002), men's religiosity was not correlated with hostile sexism and it was found that as educational level increases any type of sexism decreases. Based on this particular finding, the current study included parental educational level because participants were all either undergraduate or newly graduates. However, neither mothers' nor fathers' educational level showed a correlation with sexism or religiosity level of the participants. Also inconsistent with Myers and Booth (2002) findings that parental education level especially mothers' education had a negative relationship with traditional gender attitudes for children. The inconsistency could be stemming from the strong patriarchal structure of Turkey (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982; Sakallı, 2001) so that parental education might not overcome the societal structure. Also results might have differed if participants' educational level could be analyzed. All participants in the current study were university students between the age range of 18 to 25 years old due to the reason that manipulations would be more effective. This was discussed under the implications and intervention in detail.

The current study included parental religiosity as a control variable. When a separate correlational analysis was conducted for parental religiosity, mothers' religiosity was positively correlated with benevolent and hostile sexism, on the other hand fathers' religiosity level, with weaker relationship, was correlated with benevolent sexism and hostile sexism at a marginal level so both sexism types was correlated with both parental religiosities but with a stronger association with mothers' religiosity. Also parental religiosity was associated with participants' religiosity. In line with this, Schwartz and Lindley (2005) suggests that children with secure attachment style tend to hold similar beliefs with their parents, it was found that participants in the study were more religious when their parents were religious too (although attachment style was not assessed). Relatedly, Kağıtçıbaşı and Sunar (1992), found significant interdependence between family members as well as parental control in Turkey where Muslims are majority. Thus, participants in the current study might adopt parallel beliefs as their parents especially mothers since it was reported that 65.2% of men and 56.4% of women consult their family members for interpretation of Qur'anic verses. However, this finding requires an in-depth analysis on this subject since parental religiosity was only included for control in the current study.

Scriptural literalism as being another control variable was analyzed separately too as part of the correlational analysis. Findings revealed scriptural literalism to be correlated with hostile sexism for men and benevolent sexism for women. Partially consistent with the study by Burn and Busso (2005), where religiosity and scriptural literacy was correlated with benevolent sexism only. In their study, intrinsic religiosity (religious people truly believing scriptures of their religion) was particularly associated with 'protective paternalism' which is the subscale of benevolent sexism.

They attributed this finding to revised and modernized version of the scriptures where passages promoting benevolent sexism especially protective paternalism similar to what another study suggested as an alternative explanation for benevolent sexism in their study where religious communities were attributed as reason (Glick, Lameiras & Castro, 2002). Recall that scriptural literalism is to consider the passages in the scriptures to be word of God and should be taken literally. Accordingly, 79.3% of the male participants identified themselves as the Qur'an readers and the percentage was 61.7% for women and when they were asked to what extent what they had read was true after the manipulations, men with higher mean score believed the verses to be true more than women. Additionally, a higher percentage of both men and women reported that they haven't read the whole Qur'an and a large percentage of participants reported that they had not seen the interpretations provided. These statistics show that men internalized the verses more and that they could rely on the verses that many of them have never seen before, plus despite the fact that many of them have not read the whole Qur'an.

Based on the findings above, it might be said that men are more inclined to adopt interpretation of Qur'anic verses blindly without an elaborative research or they just corroborate their attitudes consciously or unconsciously by using any source (i.e., it does not have to be authentic) to justify their dominancy over women. In relation to that, Sidani (2005) stated attitudes are influenced by conservative interpretations made by male scholars with an effort aiming to justify their advantaged status and hence dominant cultural norms.

Another demographic statistic obtained from the current study showed that 63% of men consult Imams or Islamic scholars, 65.2% to religious teachers whereas 37% to the internet and 41.3% study interpretations on their own. As it can be seen, most of the participants prefer third parties for consultation instead of doing their own research either by comparing other versions of interpretation or using internet where they can find vast amount of information and comparisons for a more objective research. As Hashim (1999) stated that scholars' own biases and prejudices can lead to misinterpretations. So as most men stated their references as being imams or teachers of religion, therefore this can be problematic if they constantly consult the same references. Another issue as mentioned, most of them haven't read the whole Qur'an, in line with this, Al-Tarawneh (2016) states that the Qur'an is not a book to be read and understood literally, the real message behind a lot of words are largely dependent on the context thus the same word might be referring to something else within Qur'an, however this critical aspect of the interpretation of the Qur'an is seemingly ignored.

Deriving from that, if the word 'beating wives' involved in interpretation used for hostile sexism inducement, is actually a misinterpretation or mistranslation, it could lead religious men in patriarchal cultures to abuse it as a mean for justification since current study's findings suggest that men seem to be cherry-picking among verses without reading the whole Qur'an to gain a better understanding. Because, most scholars advocate the egalitarian side of the Qur'an rather than the discriminative side (Arat, 2000; Mashhour, 2005; Mirza, 2008; Rizal & Amin, 2017; Sidani, 2005). If focusing on discrimination could lead to sexism, it can also be likely to lead to violence. Studies have already shown that ambivalent sexism could foster attitudes related to partner violence (Sakallı-Uğurlu et al., 2007; Yamawaki et al., 2009). It

would not be surprising that hostile sexism which was found to be endorsed by men (Glick et al., 2002) and religious men (Taşdemir & Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2010) in Turkey, can lead to aggression toward women as well as partner violence. Having these kinds of interpretations can add to an already existing patriarchal culture and may foster aggression and further inequality.

4.1 Limitations

Despite the fact that the current study found the effectiveness of Qur'anic interpretations in shaping attitudes, it contains some limitations. As previously discussed, the interpretation used for benevolent-sexism inducement condition (4:34) could not be inclusive of all benevolent sexism subscales as finding passages involving all subscales was not possible and we did not want to create fictitious verses as it might be unethical to deceive participants on such a sensitive topic.

Another limitation of the current study was that parental religiosity was measured with a single item with a 5 point Likert scale and was based on participants' perceptions however this variable was only included as a covariate. Also, variables like ethnicity and Islamic denominations were included as well but the number of groups were not equal, as the Turkish participants outnumbered other ethnicities and Hanafi outnumbered other denominations so a healthy comparison could not be made between them. This inequality of groups existed for gender too which may have influenced the results thus more precise results could be obtained if numbers were equal or close to equal however no violation of Levene's test was found for gender for any of the sexism scales meaning variances were equal. Having an equal number of male participants could enable us to make generalizations easier.

Also, only participants between the age of 18-25 were included out of 365 participants for the manipulation to work more efficiently. Therefore, having a broader age range would have affected results differently also effect of participants' education could be analyzed more comprehensively. It is also important to state that the study took place online during the COVID-19 quarantine period, therefore the participants might have been under some form of stress, however due to the fact that the study assessed attitudes regarding sexism and not mental health related variables, it is not believed to have played a role in the results.

4.2 Implications and Intervention

The current study as being the first experimental one on the subject revealed that Qur'anic verse interpretation or misinterpretation can affect gender related attitudes particularly for men. Consequently, interpretations or translations can lead to hostile sexism which may lay the foundations for violence against women. The study showed that even reading 4 or 5 verses could enhance hostile sexist attitudes so reading similar misinterpretations over and over and/or consulting scholars who hold parallel views to such misinterpretations could potentially lead to worse consequences. However, it should be noted that an interpretation cannot straightforwardly be referred as a misinterpretation since all scholars interpret Qur'anic verses based on their own standpoint and knowledge. Therefore, it would also be wrong to refer an interpretation as misinterpretation just because it is inimical to one's (reader) point of view. That is why, factors like critical thinking, rationality and coherence among verses should be taken into consideration while evaluating interpretations.

It is therefore advised that religious institutions or services should encourage people especially men to look for various versions of interpretations of Qur'an rather than

sticking to one. Additionally, readers of the Qur'an should be offered alternative interpretations to the same verse or at least be informed that there are alternative ways of interpreting the same verse. Also, scholars who have expertise in holy scripture translations, should translate the verse more meticulously considering factors like societal structure and culture. The idea of understanding the Qur'an as a whole rather than picking verses should be encouraged, in this way readers can at least compare and find any contradictions if there had been a translation mistake or a verse that contradicts the main message.

Although the current study had mostly university students take part, an effect of hostile sexism was still obtained which means that education was not effective in reducing sexism levels for men, and might be explained by the fact that these men are from a patriarchal culture. According to the impressionable years hypothesis people are vulnerable to adjustments in their attitude more especially during late adolescence and early adulthood, and the vulnerability decreases in later periods by usually remaining low (Krosnick & Alwin, 1989). This finding supports the importance of education especially between the age of 18-25 years. Relatedly, it was found in the study conducted in Turkey, religiosity increases as age increases. Also participants between the ages of 16-18 years were found to be least interested in religion however after the age 18 interest in religion increases and it reaches a maximum level between the ages of 51-65 years old (Acar, Yıldırım & Ergene, 1996). Therefore, educational institutes must systematically impose the egalitarianism if necessary through Qur'an for religious people especially to those who endorse hostile sexism.

As also discussed, parental religiosity is a factor associated with children's sexism level and important interdependence was found between parents and children in Turkey where a majority of people identify themselves as Muslims (Kağıtçıbaşı & Sunar, 1992; Hortaçsu, Cesur & Oral, 1993). Therefore, parents as well should be encouraged in reading more egalitarian version of interpretations since Islam is considered to be religion of peace and Qur'an its ultimate source (Esposito,1998; Peters, 2009) and religion is stated to be an essential core for socialization process at the family level (Sherkat, 2003). In line with that, a study demonstrated a reduction in gendered attitudes at a significant level after egalitarianism supportive books were provided (Flerx, Fidler, & Rogers, 1976). Future research should also check if manipulating the translated and interpreted verses of the Torah and the Bible, if possible in a country where impact of patriarcal culture is at lesser level, would show similar effects on participants' gender related attitudes.

The current research sheds light on the negative consequences of divisiveness in interpreting texts of holy books on sexist ideology. Creating awareness of these deleterious effects will bring us closer to gender equality.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Demographic Questionnaire

Değerli katılımcı, lütfen aşağıdaki anketi olabildiğince doğru bir şekilde doldurunuz. Lütfen doldurduğunuz bilgilerin tamamen gizli tutulacağından emin olunuz.

1. Lütfen cinsiyetinizi "X" ile belirtiniz.

Erkek Kadın Diğer Cevap vermemeyi tercih ederim

2. Lütfen yaşınızı aşağıda belirtiniz.

3. Lütfen etnik kökeninizi aşağıda belirtiniz.

4. Lütfen eğitim seviyenizi aşağıda belirtiniz.

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5. Lütfen ileri düzeyde konuşabildiğiniz dilleri aşağıda belirtiniz.

6. Kendini ait hissettiğiniz herhangi bir dini inanç var mıdır?

Evet Hayır

6a. Eğer varsa hangisidir? Lütfen aşağıda belirtiniz.

_____ (Örn. İslam, Hristiyanlık, Yahudilik vs...)

6b. Eğer dini vecibeleri (şartları) yerine getiren bir Müslüman iseniz, lütfen aşağıda, kendinizi tanımladığınız MEZHEBİ belirtiniz.

_____ (Örn. Şafii, Hanefi, Alevi vs...)

7. Lütfen varsa ebeveyn(ler)inizin dini inançlarını aşağıda belirtiniz.

ANNE

BABA

8. Lütfen ebeveynlerinizin dindarlık seviyesini aşağıda 1'den 5' e kadar olan aralıkta numaralandırınız.

Anne az dindar 1 2 3 4 5 çok dindar

Baba az dindar 1 2 3 4 5 çok dindar

9. Lütfen ebeveyn veya ebeveynlerinizin eğitim seviyesini aşağıda belirtiniz.

ANNE

İlköğretim Okulu Lise Üniversite Y. Lisans (Master) Doktora Hiç biri

BABA

İlköğretim Okulu Lise Üniversite Y. Lisans (Master) Doktora Hiç biri

10. Daha önce Kur'an-ı Kerimi okudunuz mu?

Evet

Hayır

10a. Eğer cevabınız 'EVET' ise aşağıdaki soruları bu doğrultuda cevaplayınız;

- Kaç defa okudunuz? _____
- Tümünü mü okudunuz? Evet Hayır

10b. Kur'an-ı yorumlarken hangi kaynaklardan yararlandınız? Birden fazla işaretleyebilirsiniz

İmamlar ve Din Âlimleri Aile fertleri İnternet Dini Kitaplar

Din kültürü Öğretmenleri Arkadaşlar TV programları

Kendim okuyup yorumladım Diğer

Lütfen aşağıda bulunan ifadeleri düşüncelerinize uygunluk derecelerine göre numaralandırınız.

1- Dini konular ile ilgilenirim.

1 **2** **3** **4** **5**
Hiç katılmıyorum katılmıyorum nötr katılıyorum kesinlikle katılıyorum

2- Kur'an Allah'ın emirlerini iletir.

1 **2** **3** **4** **5**
Hiç katılmıyorum katılmıyorum nötr katılıyorum kesinlikle katılıyorum

3- Günlük hayatta her türlü kararımı Kur'an da belirtilen esaslara göre veririm.

1 **2** **3** **4** **5**
Hiç katılmıyorum katılmıyorum nötr katılıyorum kesinlikle katılıyorum

4- Kıyamet günü vardır.

1 **2** **3** **4** **5**
Hiç katılmıyorum katılmıyorum nötr katılıyorum kesinlikle katılıyorum

5- Cennet ve cehennem vardır.

1 **2** **3** **4** **5**
Hiç katılmıyorum katılmıyorum nötr katılıyorum kesinlikle katılıyorum

Appendix B: The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI)

1. Ne kadar başarılı olursa olsun bir kadının sevgisine sahip olmadıkça bir erkek gerçek anlamda bütün bir insan olamaz.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Gerçekte birçok kadın "eşitlik" arıyoruz maskesi altında işe alınmalarda kendilerinin kayırılması gibi özel muameleler ararlar.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Bir felaket durumunda kadınlar erkeklerden önce kurtarılmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Birçok kadın masum söz veya davranışları cinsel ayrımcılık olarak yorumlamaktadır.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Kadınlar çok çabuk alınırlar.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Karşı cinsten biri ile romantik ilişki olmaksızın insanlar hayatta gerçekten mutlu olamazlar.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Feministler gerçekte kadınların erkeklerden daha fazla güce sahip olmalarını istemektedirler.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Birçok kadın erkeklerin kendileri için yaptıklarına tamamen minnettar olmamaktadırlar.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Kadınlar erkekler tarafından el üstünde tutulmalı ve korunmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Birçok kadın çok az erkekte olan bir saflığa sahiptir.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Kadınlar erkekler üzerinde kontrolü sağlayarak güç kazanmak hevesindedirler.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Her erkeğin hayatında hayran olduğu bir kadın olmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Erkekler kadınsız eksiktirler.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Kadınlar işyerlerindeki problemleri abartmaktadırlar.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Bir kadın bir erkeğin bağlılığını kazandıktan sonra genellikle o erkeğe sıkı bir yular takmaya çalışır.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Adaletli bir yarışmada kadınlar erkeklere karşı kaybettikleri zaman tipik olarak kendilerinin ayrımcılığa maruz kaldıklarından yakınırırlar.	1	2	3	4	5
17. İyi bir kadın erkeği tarafından yüceltilmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Erkeklerle cinsel yönden yaklaşılabılır olduklarına dair şakalar yapıp sonrasında, tekliflerini reddetmekten zevk alan birçok kadın vardır.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Kadınlar erkeklerden daha fazla ahlaki duyarlılığa sahip olma eğilimindedirler.	1	2	3	4	5
20. Erkekler hayatlarındaki kadın için mali yardım sağlamak amacıyla kendi rahatlarından gönüllü olarak feragat etmelidirler.	1	2	3	4	5
21. Feministler erkeklere makul olmayan istekler sunmaktadırlar.	1	2	3	4	5
22. Kadınlar erkeklerden daha ince bir kültür anlayışına ve zevkine sahiptirler.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix C: Scriptural Literalism Scale

Aşağıdaki ifadelerin her biri için, kişisel deneyimlerinizi en iyi şekilde tanımlayan seçeneği ne kadar katılıp veya katılmadığınız derecesine göre daire içine alınız.

Ayet = Kur'an'ın içerisinde bulunan her bir cümleye verilen ad; Kur'an'da 6236 ayet vardır.

	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Nötr	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum
1. Yaşam, ayetlerde önerilenden farklı bir şekilde ortaya çıkmıştır. (R)	1	2	3	4	5
2. Tanrı tarafından bire bir söylenen sözler ayetlerde bulunabilir.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Ayetler, Tanrı'nın yaşamımız için gerekli kurallarını içerir.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Ayetler, insanoğlunun hayal gücünün ürünüdür. (R)	1	2	3	4	5
5. Ayetler, ilahi bir ilham ile yazılmış (vahiyle) yazıtlar olarak sayılmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Ayetler dini gerçekleri içerir.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Ayetler, dini gerçeklerden daha çok, güzel yazıtlar olarak görülmelidir.(R)	1	2	3	4	5
8. Ayetlerde geçen Yaradılış rivayeti gerçektir.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Ayetlerde yer alan alıntılar doğrudur.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Ayetlerin öğretilerine güvenebiliriz.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Ayetlerdeki yazıtların çoğu, kelimesi kelimesine alınmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Ayetlerde bildirilen mucizeler gerçekten de meydana gelmiştir.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Ayetler nihai (esas) gerçeklerdir.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Ayetler gelecekteki olayları doğru bir şekilde tahmin eder.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Ayetler bir takım rivayetlerden ibarettir. (R)	1	2	3	4	5
16. Tarihi, ayetlerden daha doğru açıklayan kaynaklar vardır. (R)	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix D: Egalitarianism-Inducement Condition

Lütfen aşağıda bulunan Kur-an ayetinin tefsirini (Çeviri/Yorumlama) okuduktan sonra aşağıda bulunan ölçek ve soruları kendi düşünceniz ışığında doldurunuz.

33:35 - Şüphesiz Müslüman erkekler ve Müslüman kadınlar, itaatkâr erkekler ve itaatkâr kadınlar, sadık erkekler ve sadık kadınlar, sabırlı erkekler ve sabırlı kadınlar, (Allah'tan) saygıyla korkan erkekler ve saygıyla korkan kadınlar, sadaka veren ve oruç tutan erkekler ve kadınlar, (Allah'ı) çokça zikreden erkekler ve çokça zikreden kadınlar. İşte bunlar için Allah, hem bir bağışlanma hem de büyük bir ecir hazırlamıştır. Erkek ve kadın Allah katında, hem kullukta hem de her türlü hayır ve hizmetlerinden dolayı alacakları mükâfatta eşittir. Hiçbir ayrıcalık ve haksızlık söz konusu değildir.

1- Bu ayetten anlaşıldığı üzere sizce İslam'da;

Kadın ve erkek eşittir.

1 2 3 4 5
Hiç katılmıyorum kesinlikle katılıyorum

Erkek kadından üstündür.

1 2 3 4 5
Hiç katılmıyorum kesinlikle katılıyorum

Kadın erkekten üstündür.

1 2 3 4 5
Hiç katılmıyorum kesinlikle katılıyorum

2- Bu ayeti daha önce hiç okudunuz mu?

Evet Hayır

2a- Cevabınız 'Evet' ise yukarıdaki şekliyle mi yoksa farklı şekilde mi okudunuz?

Bu şekilde Farklı şekilde

3- Bu ayetin sizce doğruluk derecesi nedir?

1 2 3 4 5
Hiç doğru değil çok doğrudur

Appendix E: Benevolent Sexism-Inducement Condition

Lütfen aşağıda bulunan Kur-an ayetinin tefsirini (Çeviri/Yorumlama) okuduktan sonra aşağıda bulunan ölçek ve soruları kendi düşünceniz ışığında doldurunuz.

4:34 - Erkekler kadınları gözetirler. Zira Allah her birine farklı yetenekler ve özellikler vermiştir. Nitekim erkekler evin geçiminden sorumludur. Erdemli kadınlar, (Tanrı'nın yasına) boyun eğer ve Allah'ın korumasını emrettiği (onur ve iffetlerini) tek başlarına bile olsalar korurlar. İffetlerinden endişe duyduğunuz kadınlara öğüt verin, yataklarınızı ayırın ve nihayet onları çıkarın. Size itaat ederlerse onlara karşı bir yol aramayın. Allah Yücedir, Büyüktür.

1- Bu ayetten anlaşıldığı üzere sizce İslam'da;
Kadın ve erkek eşittir.

1 2 3 4 5
Hiç katılmıyorum kesinlikle katılıyorum

Kadınlar ve erkekler eşit olamaz, çünkü kadınlar, erkekler tarafından korunmaya muhtaçtır.

1 2 3 4 5
Hiç katılmıyorum kesinlikle katılıyorum

Kadın erkekten üstündür.

1 2 3 4 5
Hiç katılmıyorum kesinlikle katılıyorum

2- Bu ayeti daha önce hiç okudunuz mu?

Evet Hayır

2a- Cevabınız 'Evet' ise yukarıdaki şekliyle mi yoksa farklı şekilde mi okudunuz?

Bu şekilde Farklı şekilde

3- Bu ayetin sizce doğruluk derecesi nedir?

1 2 3 4 5
Hiç doğru değil çok doğrudur

Appendix F: Hostile Sexism-Inducement Condition

Lütfen aşağıda bulunan Kur-an ayetinin tefsirini (Çeviri/Yorumlama) okuduktan sonra aşağıda bulunan ölçek ve soruları kendi düşünceniz ışığında doldurunuz.

4:34 -Allah'ın insanlardan bir kısmını diğerlerine üstün kılmasına bağlı olarak ve mallarından harcama yapmaları sebebiyle erkekler kadınların yöneticisi ve koruyucusudurlar. Sâliha kadınlar Allah'a itaatkârdırlar. Allah'ın korumasına uygun olarak, kimsenin görmediği durumlarda da kendilerini korurlar. (Evlilik hukukuna) başkaldırmasından endişe ettiğiniz kadınlara öğüt verin, onları yataklarda yalnız bırakın ve onları dövün. Eğer size itaat ederlerse artık onların aleyhine başka bir yol aramayın; çünkü Allah yücedir, büyüktür.

1- Bu ayetten anlaşıldığı üzere sizce İslam'da;
Kadın ve erkek eşittir.

1 2 3 4 5
Hiç katılmıyorum kesinlikle katılıyorum

Erkek kadından üstündür.

1 2 3 4 5
Hiç katılmıyorum kesinlikle katılıyorum

Kadın erkekten üstündür.

1 2 3 4 5
Hiç katılmıyorum kesinlikle katılıyorum

2- Bu ayeti daha önce hiç okudunuz mu?

Evet Hayır

2a- Cevabınız 'Evet' ise yukarıdaki şekliyle mi yoksa farklı şekilde mi okudunuz?

Bu şekilde Farklı şekilde

3- Bu ayetin sizce doğruluk derecesi nedir?

1 2 3 4 5
Hiç doğru değil çok doğrudur

Appendix G: Debriefing Form for *EI* and *BSI* conditions

Psikoloji Bölümü
Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi
Gazimağusa, Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti
Tel: +(90) 392 630 1389 Fax: +(90) 392 630 2475
Web: <http://brahms.emu.edu.tr/psychology>

Katılımcı Bilgilendirme Formu

'Dindarlığın ve Dini Kitapların Yorumlamasının Çelişik Duygulu Cinsiyetçi Tutumundaki Rollerini' başlıklı araştırmaya katıldığınız için çok teşekkür ederiz. Lütfen araştırmanın amacını daha detaylı açıklayan bilgileri okumak için birkaç dakikanızı ayırınız. Herhangi bir sorunuz varsa, lütfen iletişim bilgileri aşağıda belirtilen araştırmacılara, sormaktan çekinmeyiniz.

Dindarlığın ve Kur'an'ın tefsirinin (yorumlamalı çeviri) cinsiyetçi tutumlar üzerinde ne denli etkili olduklarını bulmayı amaçlayan bu araştırma da geçmiş çalışmalardan esinlenilmiştir. Bu bağlamda yapılmış bazı benzer çalışmaların bulguları genel olarak Müslümanlığı 'düşmanca cinsiyetçilik' ile bağdaştırırken, Hristiyanlığı 'korumacı cinsiyetçilik' ile bağdaştırmıştır (Glick, Lameiras & Castro,2002; Burns & Busso,2005; Taşdemir & Sakallı, 2010; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014; Shahzad, Shafiq & Sajid, 2015). Her iki dinin kutsal kitaplarında da cinsiyetçilik üzerine kısmi benzerlikler olmasına rağmen, bu farklı bulguların nedenlerinden birinin kutsal kitapları farklı 'yorumlama/aktarım' olduğu düşünülmektedir.

Bu çalışmada farklı tefsirlerin kullanılması sadece yorumlamanın tutumları ne denli etkileyebileceğinin bilgisini elde etmek için yapılmıştır. Çalışmada herhangi bir dini kötüleme amacı kesinlikle güdülmemektedir.

Bu anketi doldurduktan sonra herhangi bir sıkıntı veya rahatsızlık hisseder veya çalışmayla ilgili herhangi bir sorunuz olursa, araştırmacılardan Prof. Dr. Şenel Hüsnu Raman (shenelhusnu.raman@emu.edu.tr), Yrd. Doç. Dr. Deniz Atalar (deniz.atalar@emu.edu.tr) ve Hasan Sağnıç, (hasan.sagnic@emu.edu.tr) ile iletişime geçebilirsiniz. Araştırmaya ayırdığınız zaman ve yaptığınız değerli katkılarınızdan dolayı tekrardan teşekkür ediyoruz.

Appendix H: Debriefing Form for *HSI* condition

Psikoloji Bölümü
Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi
Gazimağusa, Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti
Tel: +(90) 392 630 1389 Fax: +(90) 392 630 2475
Web: <http://brahms.emu.edu.tr/psychology>

Katılımcı Bilgilendirme Formu

‘Dindarlığın ve Dini Kitapların Yorumlamasının Çelişik Duygulu Cinsiyetçi Tutumundaki Roller’ başlıklı araştırmaya katıldığınız için çok teşekkür ederiz. Lütfen araştırmanın amacını daha detaylı açıklayan bilgileri okumak için birkaç dakikanızı ayırınız. Herhangi bir sorunuz varsa, lütfen iletişim bilgileri aşağıda belirtilen araştırmacılara, sormaktan çekinmeyiniz.

Dindarlığın ve Kur’an’ın tefsirinin (yorumlamalı çeviri) cinsiyetçi tutumlar üzerinde ne denli etkili olduklarını bulmayı amaçlayan bu araştırma da geçmiş çalışmalardan esinlenilmiştir. Bu bağlamda yapılmış bazı benzer çalışmaların bulguları genel olarak Müslümanlığı ‘düşmanca cinsiyetçilik’ ile bağdaştırırken, Hristiyanlığı ‘korumacı cinsiyetçilik’ ile bağdaştırmıştır (Glick, Lameiras & Castro,2002; Burns & Busso,2005; Taşdemir & Sakallı, 2010; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014; Shahzad, Shafiq & Sajid, 2015). Her iki dinin kutsal kitaplarında da cinsiyetçilik üzerine kısmi benzerlikler olmasına rağmen, bu farklı bulguların nedenlerinden birinin kutsal kitapları farklı ‘yorumlama/aktarım’ olduğu düşünülmektedir.

Size T.C Diyanet İşleri resmi sitesinden alınmış olan, Kur’an’ın bir ayet tefsiri/yorumlaması (4:34) sunulmuştur. Aşağıda görebileceğiniz bu ayet tefsirinin içerisinde ‘(kadınları) onları dövün.’ ibaresi geçmektedir. Aslında tefsirciler arasında da ikileme yol açan bu ayet kimi tefsirciler tarafından dövmek olarak yorumlanırken kimileri ‘dövmek’ kelimesinin geçmediğini iddia etmektedir. Bu sorun bir dilde kullanılan bir misalin başka bir dilde farklı bir şeyi çağrıştırmamasından kaynaklanıp çevirilerde orijinalliği yansıtmamanın çetrefilli olduğunun göstergesidir. Arka sayfada, Tefsircilerin, ‘dövme’ eyleminin geçmediği aynı ayet hakkındaki yorumlamalarını görebilirsiniz.

Ayrıca tefsirlerin haricinde, dövme eylemini reddeden sağlam ve sahih olan bir hadiste; İslam dini Peygamberi kadınların dövülmesini menetmekte, eşlerini dövenlere

“hayırsız” demektir, bu davranışla aynı yuvayı ve yatağı paylaşmanın bağdaşmazlığına, insanî ve ahlâkî olmadığına dikkat çekmektedir (Buhârî, “Nikâh”, 93).

Bu çalışmada farklı tefsirlerin kullanılması sadece yorumlamanın tutumları ne denli etkileyebileceğinin bilgisini elde etmek için yapılmıştır. Çalışmada herhangi bir dini kötüleme amacı kesinlikle güdülmemektedir.

4:34 -Allah’ın insanlardan bir kısmını diğerlerine üstün kılmasına bağlı olarak ve mallarından harcama yapmaları sebebiyle erkekler kadınların yöneticisi ve koruyucusudurlar. Sâliha kadınlar Allah’a itaatkârdırlar. Allah’ın korumasına uygun olarak, kimsenin görmediği durumlarda da kendilerini korurlar. **(Evlilik hukukuna) başkaldırmasından endişe ettiğiniz kadınlara öğüt verin, onları yataklarda yalnız bırakın ve onları dövün.** Eğer size itaat ederlerse artık onların aleyhine başka bir yol aramayın; çünkü Allah yücedir, büyüktür.

Aşağıda dövmek kelimesinin geçmediği bazı alıntılar bulabilirsiniz;

-İffetlerinden endişe duyduğunuz kadınlara öğüt verin, yataklarınızı ayırın ve nihayet onları çıkarın (Yüksel, 2000)

-Sadakatsizlik ve iffetsizliklerinden korktuğunuz kadınlara önce öğüt verin, sonra onları yataklarında yalnız bırakın ve nihayet onları evden çıkarın/buldukları yerden başka yere gönderin! (Öztürk,1994)

-Serkeşliklerinden endişe ettiğiniz kadınlara gelince, onlara önce nasihat ediniz, sonra yattıkları yatakta yalnız bırakınız; yine de itaat etmezlerse onları geçici olarak evden uzaklaştırınız. (Bayraklı,2017)

Bu anketi doldurduktan sonra herhangi bir sıkıntı veya rahatsızlık hisseder veya çalışmayla ilgili herhangi bir sorunuz olursa, araştırmacılardan Prof. Dr. Şenel Hüsnu Raman (shenelhusnu.raman@emu.edu.tr), Yrd. Doç. Dr. Deniz Atalar (deniz.atalar@emu.edu.tr) ve Hasan Sağnıç, (hasan.sagnic@emu.edu.tr) ile iletişime geçebilirsiniz. Araştırmaya ayırdığınız zaman ve yaptığınız değerli katkılarınızdan dolayı tekrardan teşekkür ediyoruz.

Appendix I: EMU's Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Board Approval Letter

 <p>Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi "Erdem, Bilgi, Gelişim"</p>	<p>Eastern Mediterranean University "Virtue, Knowledge, Advancement"</p>	<p>99628, Gazimağusa, KUZZEY KIBRIS / Famagusta, North Cyprus, via Mersin-10 TURKEY Tel: (+90) 392 630 1995 Faks/Fax: (+90) 392 630 2919 E-mail: bayek@emu.edu.tr</p>
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Etik Kurulu / Ethics Committee

Sayı: ETK00-2020-0030

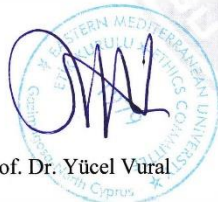
22.01.2020

Konu: Your application for ethical approval.

Re: Hasan Adar Sağmıç (18500141)

Faculty of Arts & Sciences.

EMU's Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Board (BAYEK) has approved the decision of the Ethics Board of Psychology (date: **06.12.2019**, issue: **20/03**) granting Hasan Adar Sağmıç from the Faculty of Art & Sciences to pursue with his/her MA thesis work titled "**The Role of Religiosity and Scriptural Interpretation on Ambivalent Sexist Attitude**" supervised by Prof. Dr. Şenel Hüsnü Raman and Assist. Prof. Dr. Deniz Atalar.



Prof. Dr. Yücel Vural

Chair, Board of Scientific Research and Publication Ethics - EMU

YV/ns.

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