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Islam and Deviance in Türkiye

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Abstract

The goal of the present study is to explore the link between Islam and deviance using a sample of 1,596 young adults from a public university in Türkiye by employing multivariate statistical analyses. The core independent variables are importance of Islam and political identity (Islamic, nationalist, social democrat/Ataturkist, apolitic, and other). The dependent variables are life-time deviance (an index), cheating on exams, skipping school, cigarette use, alcohol use, carrying a weapon, beating up/hurting someone seriously, and internet crime. The findings indicate that Islam has inverse impacts on various deviant acts, and its effect is stronger for substance use than non-ascetic/secular deviant acts, independent of the control variables (age, gender, monthly total family income, deviant friends, failed courses, high certainty of punishment, high risk seeking, and high matemal control). In other words, importance of Islam is associated negatively with life-time deviance, cheating on exams, skipping school, cigarette use, alcohol use, carrying a weapon, beating up/hurting someone seriously, and internet crime. Islamic political identity, compared to social democratic/Ataturkist political identity, is negatively associated with life-time deviance, cheating on exams, cigarette use, alcohol use, and internet crime. In sum, religion is negatively related with deviant acts.

Key words: Religion, Islam, Deviance/Crime, Türkiye

INTRODUCTION

Although Islam is one of the most important religions in the world in terms of the size of its followers, there have been comparatively very few studies on the relationship between Islam and deviance/delinquency (for exceptions, see Abu-Rayya et al., 2016; Ozbay, 2016; Sahin and Unlu, 2020; Stark, 2001; Jang, Foertsch, Johnson, Ozbay, & Demirel, 2023; Unlu and Sahin, 2015). Likewise, the study of Islam and deviance/delinquency is almost absent in Türkiye which is a unique country in the world in the sense that it is a secular-Islamic one and its blending of Eastern and Western cultures (e.g., Ozbay, 2007; Ozbay, 2016; Roberts, Gunes, and Seward, 2011; Sahin and Unlu, 2020; Stark, 2001; Unlu and Sahin, 2015).

There have been a great number of tests of the relationship between religion (e.g., Christianity) and various deviant acts in the studies of western criminology. Most tests have emphasized that the greater the religion, the lesser the deviance/delinquency or substance use (e.g., Baier and Wright, 2001; Chitwood et al., 2008; Dew et al., 2008; Johnson, 2001; Johnson, et al., 2000; Kelly et al., 2015; Yeung et al., 2009; Yonker et al., 2012). However, the number of studies on Islam and deviance/delinquency have been very few, and some findings were nonsignificant or weak, contradictory (positive) or unexpected (e.g., Junger and Polder, 1993; Ozbay, 2007; Roberts et al., 2011; Sahin and Unlu, 2020; Stark, 2001; Jang et al., 2023).

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The aim of this study is to explore the relationship between Islam and deviant acts by using a sample of young adults (N= 1,596) at a state university in Türkiye by employing linear and logistic regression analyses. We try to answer whether Islam prevents individuals from various deviant acts. Also, in line with an ascetic thesis, is Islam more likely to deter substance use (alcohol and cigarette use) than non-ascetic deviant acts?

According to some important micro-level criminological theories (e.g., social learning, social bonding or general strain theories), religion prevents individuals from deviance/delinquency. For example, according to the rationality of the social bonding theory (Hirschi, 1969), individuals who attach, commit, involve or believe in religious faith or practices will be less likely to be engaged in deviance/delinquency. Or, according to the social learning theory (Akers, 1998), religious attitudes will act as a "definition unfavorable" to deviance/delinquency, greater engagement in religious practices with other individuals will act as "differential association" which leads to conforming rather than non-conforming friends/adults. Relatedly, religious practices expose individuals to conforming acts and role models and "differential social reinforcement" for conforming rather than non-conforming acts. According to general strain theory (Agnew, 2006), religion prevents individuals from deviant/delinquent adaptations to strains (Akers et al., 2008).

Sociological studies on the influence of religion on deviance/crime started at the- beginning of the 20th century and were pursued up until now (Baier and Wright, 2001). The relationship between religion and deviance/delinquency has been one of the most debated and studied topics in western criminology since Hirschi and Stark's controversial study (1969). Although some previous studies did not find a relationship between religion and deviance/delinquency (e.g., Burkett and White, 1974; Hirschi, 1969; Hirschi and Stark, 1969), most studies tend to find a negative relationship between religion and deviance/delinquency or substance use (Baier and Wright, 2001; Chitwood et al., 2008; Dew et al., 2008; Ellis et al., 2009; Evans et al., 1995; Johnson 2001; Johnson et al., 2000; Kelly et al., 2015; Stark, 1996; Welch et al., 2006; Yeung et al., 2009; Yonker et al., 2012). For example, according to more recent meta analysis (n = 62 studies), religious engagement (e.g., church attendance and religiosity) and some measures of delinquency (e.g., non-drugdelinquency, illicit drug use, and use of alcohol) are negatively correlated, varying from -.16 to -.22 (Kelly et al., 2015).

Also, some scholars argue that the impact of religion on deviance/delinquency is relatively stronger for ascetic deviance (e.g., substance use) than non-ascetic/secular deviance (e.g., Baier and Wright, 2001; Middleton and Putney, 1962; O'Connor, 2004; Miller and Vuolo, 2018).

Nevertheless, given that almost all tests of the relationship between religion and deviance/delinquency have used Christianity as a measure of religion in the world, we do not know much about the relationship between Islam and deviance/delinquency in Türkiye or the Middle East. There have been very few studies on this relationship (e.g., Abu-Rayya et al., 2016; Groves et al., 1987; Helal and Coston, 1991; Junger and Polder, 1993; Ozbay, 2007; Ozbay, 2016; Roberts et al., 2011; Sahin and Unlu, 2020; Serajzadeh 2001–2002; Souryal, 1987; Stark, 2001; Jang, et al., 2023). However, there have been a few *individual* studies on the relationship between Islam and deviance/delinquency (e.g., Abu-Rayya et al., 2016; Demirel, 2020; Junger and Polder, 1993; Ozbay, 2007; Ozbay, 2016; Roberts et al., 2011; Sahin and Unlu, 2020; Stark, 2001; Jang, et al., 2023, Unlu and Sahin, 2015). While some individual studies tend to show that greater religious involvement is related inversely with deviance, delinquency or substance use (Abu-Rayya et al., 2016; Demirel, 2020; Ozbay, 2016; Sahin and Unlu, 2020; Stark, 2001; Jang, et al., 2023, Unlu and

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Sahin, 2015), some others tend to indicate nonsignificant or weak, contradictory (positive) or unexpected relationships (e.g., Junger and Polder, 1993; Ozbay 2007; Roberts et al., 2011; Sahin and Unlu, 2020; Stark 2001).

Moreover, from "the anti-ascetic thesis" point of view, religion has a stronger deterrent role on victimless kinds of deviance/delinquency (Burkett and White, 1974). According to the research in the western world (e.g., Baier and Wright, 2001; Middleton and Putney, 1962; O'Connor, 2004; Miller and Vuolo, 2018), religion has more influence on ascetic rather than non-ascetic/secular deviance/delinquency. Given that Islam strongly forbids alcohol use, it is important that the thesis needs to be tested in the context of the Turkish society (for an exception, see Ozbay, 2016). In one Turkish study, statistical analyses imply that religious measures appear to have more influence on substance use than violence (Ozbay, 2016). So, this finding requires further confirmation by some new research.

Islam, except for holy war in the name of God, forbids any kinds of deviant/delinquent acts, including property crime, violence against persons, use of any kind of substance (alcohol, illicit drug use), damaging someone's property (Karaman, 2017; Martı, 2020). According to some interpretations of Islam, cigarette use was viewed as "mekruh" (not approved) or even "haram" (unlawful, Martı, 2020, p. 47). Also, according to Koran (Kurtz, 2012; Martı, 2020), "Whoever kills a person [unjustly]..., it is as though he has killed all mankind." In short, Islam is against such deviant/delinquent acts as violence, substance use, or any unjust acts.

Türkiye is a unique country where it blends western and eastern cultures and/or western secularism and Islamic culture (for Islam in Türkiye, see Ozbay, 2016). Although the country adapts Islam as its official religion, its criminal law is based on western/European law. Turkish criminal law forbids any types of deviance/delinquency against persons (violence), property crime, illicit drug use, and internet crime as well as some others. In line with the extant criminological literature, Islamic doctrine, and common sense, it is hypothesized that Islam will have a negative impact on deviance/delinquency, and its effect will be stronger for ascetic deviance (e.g., substance use/alcohol and cigarette use) than non-ascetic/secular deviance/delinquency (e.g., violence, cheating on exams, and internet crime).

Research Method

Data for the study came from a sample of two and four year university students ($N=\sim1,596$) at a Turkish state university in the year of 2020. An online/web type of survey was used in order to obtain responses to the survey items. Students were informed about the confidential, voluntary, and anonymous nature of the survey. Also, an ethical permission from the university's authorities was obtained.

Measurements

Dependent variables

Eight dependent variables were used: Life-time deviance index, cheating on exams, skipping school, cigarette use, alcohol use, carrying a weapon, beating up/hurting someone seriously, and internet crime. While these deviant acts also were measured as a frequency of these acts, there were not enough cases for each dependent variables as well as some others. As a result of this, the analyses were restricted only to *prevalence* measures. Also, only those deviants acts with enough

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cases were included in the analyses (the deviant measures were mostly obtained from Enzmann et al.'s study (2017).

The life-time deviance index (Cronbach's alpha= .71) included 11 items that included such acts as cheating on exams, skipping school, cigarette use, alcohol use, use of illicit drugs (marijuana, heroin, cocaine), grafitti (wall, train, subway, or bus), stealing (shop, department store), carrying a weapon (stick, knife, gun or chain), group fight (stadium, street or else), beating up/hurting someone seriously, and internet crime (illegally downloading music, films from the Internet). The response options were "yes" (2) and "no" (1).

Because the students in the study reported a few cases regarding some deviant acts (e.g., use of illicit drugs, grafitti, stealing; for similar findings, see Ozbay, 2008, p. 75), they were not used as dependent variables. Cheating on exams, skipping school, cigarette use, alcohol use, carrying a weapon, beating up/hurting someone seriously, and internet crime all had enough cases and were measured by asking "Have you ever done...?" The response categories were "yes" (1) and "no" (0).

Independent Variables

Two religious measures were used as independent variables in this study. These were importance of Islam and Islamic political identity. Importance of Islam was measured by asking "How important is it for you to be able to live according to Islamic religion in your daily life?" It was an interval variable, and the response options ranged from 0 (not important) to 100 (very important).

Islamic political identity was measured by asking "In the following, which political identity do you identify with most closely?" The response categories were Islamic, nationalist, social-democratic/Ataturkist, apolitic, and other. Identifying with social-democratic/Ataturkist (or secular) was used as the reference category (0).

The study used some demographic and theoretical control variables from major micro-level deviance/delinguency theories. Age was an interval variable and corresponded to time in year. Gender referred to biological one, female (1) and male (0, the reference category). Family income corresponded to the incomes coming from all family members' monthly earnings. Deviant friends, from differential association/social learning theory, was measured by asking "Has any of your school friends punished by school authorities for any reason?" Those individual whose school friends got punished were treated as having deviant friends (1), those whose friends did not get punished as the base category (0). Failed courses was measured by asking "How many courses have you failed up until now?" Certainty of punishment, coming from deterrence theory, was measured by "If you commit any crimes, what would be the possibility of getting arrested and detained?" The original response categories (ranged from 0-100) were recoded as "low certainty of punishment" (the reference category, 0) and high certainty of punishment (1). Risk-taking included four items (from self-control theory): "I like to test myself every now and then by doing something a little risky;" "Sometimes I will take a risk just for the fun of it;" "I sometimes find it exciting to do things that might get me into trouble;" "Excitement and adventure are more important to me than security." The responses were coded as strongly disagree (1), disagree somewhat (2), agree somewhat (3), and strongly agree (4). A risk taking index was created and later recoded as "low" and "high" risk taking categories on the basis of those who were median and below median values (low risk seeking, the base category) and those who were above median values (high risk seeking). Maternal control, from social bonding theory, covered two items: "My mother or the person in her role generally knew where I was when I was away from home" and "My mother or the person in her role generally knew

whom I was with when I was away from home." The response options were: strongly disagree (1), somewhat disagree (2), somewhat agree (3), and strongly agree (4). A maternal control index was developed and later divided into "low" and "high" family control categories according to median and below median values (low maternal control, the reference category) and those who were above median values (high maternal control, the above questions for maternal control and risk-taking were received from Grasmick et al., 1996). Table 1 shows the independent and dependent variables used and their descriptive statistics in the present study.

Table 1. Variables and Descriptive Statistics Used*

Dependent Variables	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Life-time	11	22	14	2
deviance index				
Cheating on exams	0	1	-	-
Skipping school	0	1	-	-
Cigarette use	0	1	-	-
Alcohol use	0	1	-	-
Carrying a weapon	0	1	-	-
Beating up/hurting someone seriously	0	1	-	-
Internet crime	0	1	-	-
Focal Independent Variables				
Importance of Islam	0	100	79	27
Islamic political identity	0	1	-	-
Islam	0	1	-	-
Nationalist	0	1	-	-
Social	0	0	-	-
democrat				
Apolitic	0	1	-	-
Other	0	1	-	-
Control Variables				
Age	18	53	22	37
Gender (female)	0	1	-	-
Monthly total family income	200	67,000	4,184	4305
Having deviant friends	0	1	-	-
Failed courses	0	5	2	2
High certainty of Punishment	0	1	-	-
High risk seeking	0	1	-	-
High maternal control	Ö	1	-	-

^{*} Depending on specific variables, sample sizes varied from a low of 1,843 to a high of 2,717.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Bivariate Analysis: Correlations

According to the correlation analysis, both importance of Islam and Islamic political identity (in comparison to social democratic/Ataturkist or secular identity) are negatively correlated with

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deviance index, cheating on exams, skipping school, cigarette use, alcohol use, carrying a gun etc., beating up/hurting someone seriously, and internet crime (Table 2). Importance of Islam has the greatest negative impact on alcohol use (r=-.42), followed by deviance index (-.36), internet crime (r=-.22), and others. Islamic political identity (in comparison to social democratic/Ataturkist or secular identity) has the highest negative influence on alcohol use (r=-.27), followed by deviance index (-.22), cigarette use (r=-.17), and others. This shows that Islam has relatively more deterrent role on substance use than other types of deviant acts.

Table 2. Correlation Analysis

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1.Dev. index																				
2.Cheating	.51 **																			
3.Skip. sch.	.60 **	.33 **																		
4.Cig. use	.60 **	.17 **	.30 **																	
5.Alcoh. use	.63 **	.16 **	.26 **	.40 **																
6.Carry. gun	.58 **	.14 **	.20 **	.23 **	.27 **															
7.Beating	.53 **	.14 **	.18 **	.20 **	.27 **	.41 **														
8.Internet crime	.53 **	.20 **	.22 **	.17 **	.24 **	.26 **	.19 **													
9.lmp. Islam	- .36 **	- .11 **	- .17 **	- .20 **	- .42 **	- .16 **	- .15 **	- .22 **												
10.Islamic pol. ident.	- .22 **	- .05 *	- .10 **	- .17 **	27	- .09 **	- .08 **	- .13 **	.33 **											
11.Nation. pol. ident.	.10 **	.03	.04	.10 **	.05 *	.10 **	.08 **	00	.07 **	- .25 **										
12.Apolitic	- .09 *	03	02	- .05 *	- .08 **	- .09 **	- .05 *	01	01	- .40 **	- .32 **									
13.Other	.15 **	.05 *	.07 **	.08 **	.09 **	.09 **	.10 **	.12 **	- .12 **	- .17 **	- .13 **	- .21 **								
14.Age	.15 **	01	.03	.08 **	.19 **	.13 **	.11 **	.13 **	04	.03	00	- .08 **	.06 *							
15.Female	- .32 **	04	- .16 **	- .17 **	- .22 **	- .30 **	- .22 **	- .26 **	.07 **	02	- .06 *	.14 **	- .14 **	- .23 **						
16.lncome	.20 **	.10 **	.14 **	.10 **	.18 **	.11 **	.10 *	.17 **	- .11 **	- .10 **	.07 *	02	.03	.19 **	- .07 **					
17.Deviant friends	.34 **	.17 **	.21 **	.19 **	.18 **	.22 **	.22 **	.19 **	- .09 **	- .08 **	.07 **	- .06 *	.04	- .09 **	- .10 **	.07 **				
18.Fail. courses	.18 **	.03	.14	.16 **	.14 **	.10 **	.09 **	.10 **	- .07 **	04	.04	01	01	.09 **	- .13 **	.02	.06 *			
19.High cert. pun.	- .25 **	- .11 **	- .12 **	- .11 **	- .16 **	- .18 **	- .16 **	- .17 **	.13 **	.04	- .06 *	.10 **	04	.02	.16 **	- .05 *	- .13 **	02		
20.High risk taking	.35 **	.18 **	.22 **	.18 **	.21 **	.23	.20 **	.14 **	- .15 **	- .09 **	.06	03	01	03	- .10 **	.04	.18 **	.05 *	- .27 **	
21.High mat. contr.	- .20 **	- .08 **	- .12 **	- .15 **	- .11 **	- .16 **	- .09 **	- .10 **	.12 **	.02	02	.04	04	- .05 *	.16 **	01	- .10 **	- .06 **	.18 **	- .16 **

^{*} Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (two-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed).

Multivariate Analyses: OLS and Logistic Regression

Both importance of Islam and Islamic political identity have negative impacts on most deviant acts in the study. Stated specifically, an increase in importance of Islam is less likely to be related to general deviance (e.g., deviance index), cheating on exams, skipping school, cigarette use, alcohol use, carrying gun etc., beating someone seriously, and internet crime (Table 3).

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Table 3. Multivariate Statistical Analyses: OLS and Binary Logistic Regression

	Deviance ind. (n=1,547)	Cheating (n= 1,590)	Skipping sch. (n= 1,595)	Cigarette use (n= 1,595)	Alcohol use (n=1,596)	Carrying gun etc. (n= 1,595)	Beating (n=1,592)	Internet crime (n= 1,595)
Indepen dent Variable s	Beta	Exp(B)	Exp (B)	Exp (B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp (B)
Religiou s Variable s								
Importa nce of Islam Political	20***	.994**	.991***	.991***	.974***	.994**	.989***	.989***
identity ^a								
Islamic	11***	1.377*	.964	.497***	.121***	.719	1.473	.604**
National ist	.02	1.340	1.153	1.180	.481***	1.382	2.998***	.890
Apolitic	05	1.253	1.182	.725*	.336***	.753	1.800*	1.235
Other	.05*	1.780**	1.621*	1.146	.446***	1.153	2.523***	1.536*
Control Variable s								
Age	.09***	.980	.991	1.029*	1.117***	1.058***	1.081***	1.060***
Gender ^a (female)	19***	1.070	.589***	.630***	.432***	.272***	.383***	.384***
Family income	.12***	1.000***	1.000***	1.000	1.000***	1.000**	1.000*	1.000***
Deviant ^a friends	.22***	2.033***	1.859***	1.793***	1.857***	2.398***	3.481***	1.932***
Number of failed courses	.10***	1.033	1.141***	1.127***	1.153***	1.036	1.077	1.080**
High certainty of punish.	10***	.780**	.885	.880	.716**	.746*	.589**	.581***
High risk seeking ^a	.22***	1.844***	2.157***	1.562***	1.869***	3.470***	3.611***	1.453***
High materna I control ^a	05*	.967	.792*	.754**	.981	.613***	.920	.934
Constan t	13.793	.706	.998	.357	745	-2.673	-4.764	-1.779
R ²	.41***							
Cox & Snell		.076***	.132***	.139***	.315***	.182***	.132***	.154***

Likewise, having Islamic political identity (compared to social democratic/Ataturkist or secular identity) is less likely to be associated with general deviance (e.g., deviance index), cheating on exams, cigarette use, alcohol use, and internet crime. In short, Islam has a deterrent role on deviant acts. Importance of Islam has the most consistent and strongest effects on deviant acts rather than Islamic identity.

^{*} $p \le .10$, ** $p \le .05$, *** $p \le .01$. Significant predictors were bolded.

a Reference categories were social democratic/Ataturkist, male, not having deviant friends, low certainty of punishment, low risk seeking, and low maternal control.

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CONCLUSION

Although there have been a great number of studies on religion and deviance/delinquency in the western world (e.g., the United States), the relationship between Islam and deviance has been one of the least studied topics both in the world and in Turkish criminology. In the present study, the relationship between Islam and deviance (both ascetic and non-ascetic deviant acts) is explored by using a sample of university students in Türkiye by employing bivariate and multivariate statistical analyses. The findings support both the negative relationship between Islam and deviance as well as the ascetic thesis.

The one of the aims of the present study is to investigate whether Islam has a negative influence on deviance or not in the secular-Islamic context of Türkiye. According to the bivariate analysis (e.g., correlation analysis), Islamic measures (e.g., importance of Islam and Islamic political identity) are correlated inversely with deviant acts (general deviance/deviance index, cheating on exams, skipping school, cigarette use, alcohol use, carrying gun etc., beating someone, and internet crime) which is inline with the existing research in the western world (e.g., Baier and Wright, 2001; Chitwood et al., 2008; Dew et al., 2008; Johnson, 2001; Johnson et al., 2000; Kelly et al., 2015; Yeung et al., 2009; Yonker et al., 2012) and in Türkiye (e.g., Demirel, 2020; Ozbay, 2016; Sahin and Unlu, 2020; Stark, 2001; Jang, et al., 2023, Unlu and Sahin, 2015). In line with the logic or thesis of the above micro-level sociological theories of deviance/delinquency (e.g., social bonding, social learning or general strain theory), we interpret this negative relationship, for example, as a result of "definition unfavorable" to deviance/delinquency. Stated in religious terms, Islamic rules mostly coverthe fundamental ethical code which lead Muslim people in their daily lives. These rules involve moral excellence, human dignity, piety, justice, honor, equity, and virtue (Ihsanoglu, 2011) which prevent deviant acts.

Also, the second of the aims of the present study is to explore whether Islam has greater influence on ascetic deviance (e.g., alcohol and cigarette use) than non-ascetic/secular deviance (e.g., violence, cheating on exams, and internet crime). Islamic measures have relatively stronger impacts on substance use (cigarette and alcohol use) than other types of deviant acts which is line with ascetic/anti-ascetic thesis in the criminological literature (e.g., Baier and Wright, 2001; Middleton and Putney, 1962; O'Connor, 2004; Miller and Vuolo, 2018; Jang, et al., 2023).

Although the Islamic measures on deviant acts do not appear to be strong in terms of the outcomes of linear regression analysis (beta weight is -.20 at most), we think that more religion based educational (especially in preliminary schools) and criminal justice policies (e.g., in prison) may help to reduce deviant/delinquent acts in Türkiye to some extent. Also, our findings imply that Islamic belief has some deterrent role on deviance (e.g., violence) among *ordinary* Turkish people which is in contradiction with Islamofobic views in the west. Nowadays, Islam is more and more viewed as the origin of terrorism, intolerance or extremism especially after the 9/11 attacks in the United States (e.g., Islamofobia). Likewise, there has been a serious confusion to differentiate between non-extreme Islam or Muslims and extremist Islam or Muslims in the western world (Ihsanoglu, 2011).

The present study indicates that while the youth who are of greater age, have high family income, have deviant friends, have greater number of failed courses, and have high risk seeking tendency are more likely to be involved in deviant acts; the youth who were female, perceiving high certainty of punishment, and having high maternal (virtual) control are less likely to be engaged in deviant acts. Almost all of these associations are in the expected directions which are in line with

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theses or findings in the criminological literature. However, unlike the most findings or theses of criminological theories developed in the western criminology (e.g., Ellis and McDonald, 2001), an increase in family monthly income is associated positively with deviant acts.

It is worth mentioning that the study contains some limitations. First and foremost, because the study's design is cross-sectional, it includes the limitation of this design (e.g., not having a past criminal act as a control variable in the models). Also, religious measures are limited only to importance of Islam and Islamic identity (e.g., not included Islamic practices). Furthermore, due to the nature of the data, it is not possible to test *current* or *frequency* of deviant acts (or in terms of *kinds* of deviance, like property deviance).

In spite of all these deficiencies, given that there have been very few individual studies on Islam and deviant behavior in the World or the Middle East or Türkiye, the study fills a very important gap in the criminology literature. Future studies should be conducted whether Islam's effect on deviance varies according to gender, social class, age, and rural-urban etc.

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