Summary
The Mediating Role of Authoritarianism and System Justification in the Relationship between Religiosity and Political Trust

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People have expectations from political systems and their institutions. The level of trust in the political system is influenced by whether these expectations are fulfilled. As the level of political trust increases, positive attitudes towards authorities and institutions increase, which expands the field of work and authority for political leaders (Citrin, 1974; Hetherington, 1998). The collapse of political trust leads to opposition to government policies, increased social insecurity, withdrawal from political activities, sometimes illegal activities, and negative evaluation of both parliament and political leaders (Citrin 1974; Levi 1998, Hetherington 1998). When the prominence of political trust is taken into consideration, the factors associated with the variable of the political trust come into question.

When studies in Turkey are reviewed, apart from Çoymak's (2009) and Göregenli's (2005) work, there is no other study dealing with the issue of political trust with the viewpoint of social psychology. Therefore, the aim of the present study is to investigate the relationship between political trust and the variables such as religiosity, authoritarianism and system justification. It is important to understand the relation between religiosity and political trust level in Turkey because the Justice and Development Party has ruled the country by highlighting their conservative political programme since 2002 and where it holds the importance of religiosity in its conservative identity (Doğanay, 2007). The current study also investigates the relationship of political trust with authority and a tendency of justifying. The literature suggests that religiosity is associated with variables such as authoritarianism (e.g., Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Ji & Ibrahim, 2007) and justification of the system (e.g., Ercan, 2009). Therefore, in the current study, we investigated whether authoritarianism and system justification play a mediating role in the relationship between religiosity and political trust in order to better understand the relation between these two related factors with political trust.

In literature, four religious orientations stand out. These include the intrinsic orientation (Allport & Ross, 1967), extrinsic orientation (Allport & Ross, 1967), quest orientation (Batson, 1976), and fundamentalist orientation (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). Turkey has been gradually becoming more religious, and society is divided into secularists and religious people (Çarkoğlu & Toprak, 2006). The "quest orientation" approaches religion and social order with a questioning point of view and has a positive relationship with secularism (see Hichy et al., 2014), while "fundamentalist religiosity" advocates that religion and religious authorities are unquestionable (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). Therefore, the relationship between political trust and these two approaches is particularly intriguing.

On the one hand, according to Batson (1976), people with quest religious orientation live with a critical perspective. They are questioning their religion as it is in other areas of social order and life. On the other hand, for fundamental religious individuals, who are not open to debate about their beliefs and regard religious rules above all rules, religious rules are well-defined and immutable (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Blogowska, Saroglou & Lambert, 2013). Considering the conservative practices of the AKP (Justice and Development Party) such as allocation of the highest state budget to the Presidency of Religious Affairs and increasing numbers of imam-hatip schools, secondary level Islamic schools (Çelikkan, 3 November 2016; Kolcu, 15 June 2015), it is expected that the level of political trust of the participants will increase with their level of fundamentalism and, conversely, decrease with their level of quest religiousness (Hypothesis 1a).

Authoritarian personality characteristics also have an effect on an individual's political attitudes and candidate preferences (Janowitz & Marvick, 1953). Ac-

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cording to the research (e.g., Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992), authoritarian individuals tend to support the present and conservative right-wing powers. Given that the current ruling party in Turkey is a conservative and right-wing party, it is expected that the level of political trust for participants will increase as increasing in their level of authoritarian personality (Hypothesis 1b). According to Canetti-Nisim and Beit-Hallahmi (2007), while authoritarian individuals support non-democratic attitudes regardless of their religiosity, non-authoritarian religious people do not support these attitudes. Taking this information into account, it is possible that authoritarianism plays a mediating role in anticipated relationships between religious orientations and political trust. Therefore, we expected that the more participants' level of fundamentalism increases, the more they increase the level of authoritarianism, which turns into an increase in their level of political trust (Hypothesis 2a). However, as the participants' level of quest religiosity increases, the level of authoritarianism will decrease, which turns into a decrease in their level of political trust (Hypothesis 2b)

According to Toorn, Tyler, and Jost (2011), system justification plays an active role in trusting and obeying political authorities as to the most important factor. According to Henry and Saul (2006), political elements can be approved even if they contradict the interests of the individual because of the tendency to increase system justification. In light of this information, in the study, it is expected that the participants' levels of political trust in the current political power will increase as a function of their higher levels of system justification (Hypothesis 1c).

Previous research suggests a relationship between the system justification and religiosity as well (e.g., Ercan, 2009; Karaçay, 2011; Rankin, Jost & Wakslak, 2009). Hence, the system justification may play a mediating role in the relationship between religiosity and political trust level. In other words, the more participants' level of fundamentalism increases, the more they will show a high level of system justification, resulting in an increase in their level of political trust (Hypothesis 2c). However, the more participants' quest religiosity increases, the more they will show a low-level of system justification, resulting in a decrease in their level of political trust (Hypothesis 2d).

Authoritarianism is one of the system-justifying ideologies (Jost & Hunyady, 2005). Therefore, in this study, a positive relationship between system justification and authoritarianism is also expected. In other words, it is assumed that the level of system justification will increase as the level of authoritarianism of participants increases (Hypothesis 1d).

Method

Participants

Three hundred nine people (177 women and 132 men) participated in the study. The average age of the participants was 30.07 ($SD = 9.76$) years old, ranging from 18 to 65.

Materials

Political trust scale. The scale developed by Çoymak and Gheorghiu (2007; as cited in Çoymak 2009) is comprised of 19 items. The scale was a Likert scale and responses on each item ranged from (1) "strongly disagree" to (7) "strongly agree". The scale includes three subscales as "Satisfaction of Fiduciary and Moral Expectations", "Sense of Honesty" and "Competence". The Cronbach's alpha for the entire scale was .92. Similarly, the Cronbach's alpha was .92 for this study which suggests a high internal consistency and reliability of the scale. High scores show higher levels of political trust.

Muslim Religious Orientation Scale - Revised (MROS-R). The scale developed by Ercan (2009) consists of 21 items. The items are assessed on 7-point scales ranging from (1) "Not at all true of me" to (7) "It's very true of me". The scale includes four sub-factors as "Intrinsic Religious Orientation", "Extrinsic Religious Orientation", "Fundamentalist Religious Orientation" and "Quest Religious Orientation". Only quest orientation (I question the rules of my religion and I practice them according to my own understanding) and fundamentalist orientation (I try to follow all the rules that are defined by my religion) were used in this study. The Cronbach's alpha was found in original study as .73 for quest orientation, .81 for fundamentalist orientation. The Cronbach's alpha coefficients in current study were found as .75 and .83 for quest orientation and fundamentalist orientation, respectively.

Right-wing Authoritarianism Scale. The scale was developed by Altemeyer (1996) and was adapted into Turkish by Güldü (2011). It consists of 18 items which are assessed on a 9-point scale ranging from (1) "strongly disagree" to (9) "strongly agree". The Cronbach's alpha coefficient in original study was .85. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient for this study was .90..

System Justification Scale. The scale was developed by Kay and Jost (2003). It was adapted into Turkish by Yıldırım (2010) to measure how people justify the system. The Cronbach's alpha was found .67 in Yıldırım's study. The Cronbach's alpha was .81 in this study.

Procedure

The data were collected in April and May of 2014, while AKP was in power as to date, the party is still a

ruling party in Turkey. The data were collected via an online questionnaire website or by direct access to the participants themselves after obtaining the approval of the Ethics Committee of the University of Ankara. The scales took about 15-20 minutes to be filled by the participants.

Results

Correlation among the study's variables

We performed several Pearson's correlation analyses to determine the correlations between the political trust, religious orientations, authoritarianism, and system justification variables. Correlation coefficients revealed that the political trust was significantly and positively correlated with fundamentalism, authoritarianism, and system justification variables; while it was negatively correlated with quest orientation.

Moreover, fundamentalism was negatively related to quest orientation, while it was positively related to both authoritarianism and system justification. Quest orientation was negatively correlated with both authoritarianism and system justification. Finally, authoritarianism was positively correlated with system justification.

Mediation Analyses

In order to understand the mediating role of authoritarianism and system justifications on the relationship between political trust and the types of religious orientations (quest orientation and fundamentalist orientation) path analysis using Amos 21.0 was conducted. Results of path analysis revealed that the model fit the data well $[(\chi^2(2, N = 309) = .73, p = .70, \chi^2/df = .36, GFI = 1.00, CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00]$.

As can be seen in Figure 1, fundamentalist orientation ($\beta = .61, p = .001$) and quest orientation ($\beta = -.33, p = .001$) have a significant effect on authoritarianism. In addition, fundamentalist orientation ($\beta = .32, p = .001$) and quest orientation ($\beta = -.12, p = .01$) have a significant effect on system justification. The model accounted for 54 % of variance in authoritarianism and 22% of variance in system justification. Authoritarianism ($\beta = .11, p = .01$) and system justification ($\beta = .52, p < .001$) have a significant effect on political trust an 47% of variance is accounted for.

In order to analyze the mediator role of authoritarianism and system justification between political trust and religious orientations, Bootstrapping techniques was used (Shrout ve Bolger, 2002). The analysis indicated that the association between fundamentalist orientation and political trust was mediated by authoritarianism ($B = .06, S.H. = .03, $%95 GA [.02, .11], $p = .01$) and system justification ($B = .17, S.H. = .03, $%95 GA [.11, .23], $p =$

.00). Accordingly, the association between quest orientation and political trust was mediated by authoritarianism ($B = -.04, S.H. = .02, $%95 GA [-.07, -.01], $p = .01$) and system justification ($B = -.06, S.H. = .03, $%95 GA [-.12, -.01], $p = .02$).

Discussion

The results showed that as the level of fundamentalism increases, the level of political trust increases. The religious fundamentalists who favor practicing religion dogmatically and without questioning tend to be conservative and closed to new ideas (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). The results sound that a high level of trust in a political context that AKP politicians govern the Turkish legislature, bases on religious discourse and legislations (e.g., the rapid increase in the number of imam-hatip schools) that fundamental religious people would support, is increased by the fundamentalism.

We found that there is a negative relationship between the level of quest religiosity and the level of political trust. People with quest religious orientation are individuals who can approach politics by questioning (e.g., Batson & Schoenrade, 1991a). This may help them become aware of the possible flaws in the political system and lower their level of trust. Our results proposed that there is a positive relationship between political trust and authoritarianism. The authoritarian individuals who tend to subordinate to authority can also support the existing power such as the political authority, and its legislations without questioning (see Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson & Sanford, 1950; Altemeyer, 1988). This subordination makes it difficult for them to notice the shortcomings of the politicians and the political practices, and as a result, it may increase the levels of political trust.

Political trust has a positive correlation with the justification of the system. Those who justify the system are the ones who validate the existing system by ignoring the flaws or finding excuses for the disruptions (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost & Hunyady, 2005). Since the trust in the general system and the trust in the political system are not considered to be independent entities, it can be understood that as the level of system justification increases, the political trust level increases as well.

There appears to be a positive relationship between the variables of authoritarianism and the system justification. Authoritarian individuals do not criticize the rules set by the authority; on the contrary, they believe that critics should be punished (Altemeyer, 1996). Hence, they perceive the existing system as legitimate and approve of the existing situation. (Jost & Banaji, 1994). It can be concluded that hypotheses 1a, 1b, 1c, and 1d are confirmed in the findings presented so far.

Findings show that authoritarianism is mediated through the relationship between fundamentalist religiosity and political trust. According to Altemeyer and Hunsberger (1992), fundamentalists are not open-minded and critical about their beliefs. Similarly, authoritarian individuals tend to be traditional, conservative, and religious (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). Given the common characteristics of these groups, it can be understood that as the level of fundamentalism increases, the level of authoritarianism also increases.

Authoritarianism also mediates the relationship between quest religiosity and political trust. This finding can be understood by the tendency of people with quest religious orientation to question and adopt a critical approach (Batson, 1976) while the tendency of authoritarian people to have a rigid cognitive style (Adorno et al., 1950).

The results suggest that, like authoritarianism variable, the system justification variable also mediates the relationship between fundamentalist religiosity and political trust. Fundamental religious individuals have difficulty in trusting those who are not similar to themselves (Daniels & Ruhr, 2010). This feature may cause them to legitimize the existing system and find the political order justified and reliable.

Justification of the system also has an intermediary role in the relationship between quest religiosity and political trust. It may be possible that people with quest religious orientation do not accept the current system in Turkey as it is and criticize it. This may reduce their level of system justification and, in turn, their level of political trust. It can be concluded that the result of the mediator variable analysis confirms hypotheses 2a, 2b, 2c, and 2d.