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### ► To cite this version:

Eve Mcpherson, Sandra Mcpherson, Roger Bouchard, Robert Heath Meeks. Some Meanings of the Islamic Call to Prayer: A Combined Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis of Some Turkish Narratives. Narrative Matters 2014: Narrative Knowing/ Récit et Savoir, Sylvie Patron, Brian Schiff, Jun 2014, Paris, France. hal-01111087

**HAL Id: hal-01111087**

**<https://hal.science/hal-01111087>**

Submitted on 2 Feb 2015

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## Some Meanings of the Islamic Call to Prayer: A Combined Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis of Some Turkish Narratives

Eve A. McPherson, PhD  
Assistant Professor of Music  
Kent State University at Trumbull

Sandra B. McPherson, PhD  
*Emerita*, Department of Psychology  
The Fielding Graduate University

Roger Bouchard, MSc, MA  
Graduate Research Assistant  
The Fielding Graduate University

Robert Heath Meeks, MS  
Graduate Research Assistant  
The Fielding Graduate University

### **The origin story of the call to prayer, circa 620 CE:**

*In the days of the Prophet Mohammed, it was deemed important to have a way to call the faithful to prayer. Different suggestions were made including horns and bells and flags, but they were the ways of other religions and were rejected. One follower, a man named Abu b. Zeyd, had a dream in which a messenger with a bell did not offer it but rather provided the recitation of the call to prayer. Abu b. Zeyd went to the Prophet who noted that if God had willed the dream, its message was to be followed. The Prophet then declared that a convert named Bilâl with a beautiful voice would provide the recitation; Bilâl recited the words. Another follower, upon hearing the recited call, then said he had also dreamed it, thus securing that it was a divine communication. From that time forward, the call has been recited in the form given to Abu b. Zeyd. (Adapted from Sırma, İhsan Süreyya. *Ezan ya da Ebedi Kurtuluş Çığır*. [Call to Prayer or the Call to Eternal Salvation]. Ankara: Beyan Yayınları, 2005.)*

Narrative analysis has been viewed as a window that can broaden understanding of only partly conscious aspects of personal identity (Cramer, 1996). Extending that concept, Agnes and McLeod (2004) explored the relationship of story qualities in narrative production from diagnostic and treatment perspectives. They listed as self reflective the incorporation of goals and direction of actions, sensitivity to environmental factors, capacity for change with input, use of selective memory in adaptation, incorporation of cultural imperatives, adoption of others within the self without losing continuity, and a sense of uniqueness. All of these features were seen as readily inserted into stories (p. 6).

Predating their work, the standard narrative approach has been that of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) where a proliferation of analytic methods can be found (Groth-Marnat, 2009). While problems of meeting traditional psychometrics are often cited as reasons to abandon this instrument, its value for idiographic and qualitative assessment remains supported to date (Aranow, Weiss, and Reznikoff, 2001). On such a basis, S. McPherson analyzed TAT protocols for thematic material in a capital murder sample (McPherson, S., Taylor, Fitch, Jones, and Miller, 2009). Beyond the clinic, the use of qualitative, theme-extracting research methods has been receiving increasing support as a means of understanding socio-cultural as well as psychological constructs that are part of human behavior (Aranow, Weiss, and Reznikoff, 2001; Bellak and Abrams, 1997; Hermans, 1999; McLeod 2004; Yzerbyt and Kuppens, 2013).

In this study, clinical psychological techniques of narrative evaluation were applied to call-to-prayer narratives collected as part of ethnomusicological fieldwork. These narratives came from a variety of sources including interviews, scholarly work, and media and were examined for the insights they could provide into the cultural identity of contemporary Turkey and its relationship to its primary religious base. A further question involved whether the extrapolation of clinical methods could be useful for ethno-cultural research.

The call to prayer was identified as a locus for analysis due to the role it has seemingly played in the construction of Turkish cultural and national identity over the last century. During the reign of the Ottoman sultans, roughly 1300-1900, the call to prayer was recited in classical Arabic, the sacred language of Islam. A highly stylized recitation art developed with Istanbul's particular style becoming the preferred model of Turkish call-to-prayer recitation. However, with the establishment of the secular Turkish Republic in 1923, there was an effort to "Turkicize" public sonic space and to maintain control of religious expression. The Arabic-language call to prayer was replaced with a Turkish-language version. Mandated Turkish-language rendition of the call officially began in 1932. In consequence, public protest arose as adherents in this primarily Muslim country bristled at the use of a non-sacred language. Nonetheless, despite this practice's being unpopular, recitation in Turkish was the legal requirement until 1950, when the CHP (the Republican People's Party) lost its parliamentary majority to the DP (the Democratic Party). One of the first actions taken by the DP was to restore the option of Arabic-language recitation. The perhaps predictable outcome has been that while there is a language option, the call is universally recited in Arabic throughout Turkey. Moreover, the call continues to receive public, administrative, and political attention. With the 2002 elections, the majority party of Turkey became Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's AKP (the Justice and Development Party). This party's Islamist roots have engendered ongoing interest in the "public-face" of Islam and over the last decade steps have been taken to aesthetically "repair" the quality of this recitation art. Often citing public complaints surrounding poor voice quality, inadequate knowledge of musical traditions, and malfunctioning amplification systems, the AKP has instituted continued professional training for reciters, competitions, and call-to-prayer centralization (the practice of broadcasting one highly respected muezzin's live recitation to other area mosques). Many of these new programs, along with the complicated Turkish history surrounding the call, have caused narratives to emerge (McPherson, E., 2009).

McAdams' (2006) work in which he identified the redemption story as peculiarly American (though he acknowledged the theme to be found also in the literature of other societies) provided a precedent for looking at the narrative for information about a society's identity. As with individual self-concepts, however, that which is endorsed is not necessarily that which is the only or even dominant characteristic. Complex layers of individual psychology are mirrored in social constructs that are themselves created by the individuals. It would be expected that that a society's themes would likely contain what is actually true for the society, what at least some of its members wish was true, and even some darker truths that are denied or obscured.

Initial focus centered on theme extraction and hero identification using Bellak and Abrams' (1997) approach.<sup>1</sup> That data was then subjected to both qualitative and quantitative assessment. Although those approaches to research have been seen as incompatible (Josselson, Lieblich, and McAdams, 2003; see especially Chapter 14.), there is some current acceptance of their commonalities (Camic, Rhodes, and Yardley, 2003). In this study a moderate approach was used with specification of methods, application of some quantitative analyses, as well as use of open-ended thematic extraction. The hope was to capture what became manifest to the evaluator without predetermination and therefore pre-elimination of important content, while also having potential for measured reliability and therefore stronger validity inferences.

Finally, in the very particular area of the call to prayer, E. McPherson has studied the quality and attributes of the voice even beyond the significance of the message (McPherson, E., 2005, 2008, 2009, 2011). McPherson's research examined the Turkish concept of "the beautiful voice" in call recitation. While the preference for a beautiful voice is pan-Islamic in scope, exactly what constitutes a preferred voice and rendition is culturally bound (Marcus, 2002; McPherson, E., 2005; McPherson, E., 2008; Monts, 1998; Nelson, 1985). Over the course of a year, McPherson investigated the attributes of preferred muezzins' voices in Istanbul, Turkey. Among her methods of investigation were interviews with expert musicians on melodic structure and voice quality, interviews with recitation practitioners on vocal production, archival research on muezzins and the call in Turkey, and spectrographic analysis of the preferred reciters' calls. In this study, that interest in the vocal-timbral aesthetic was also reflected.

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<sup>1</sup> In the clinic, qualities imputed to characters in the story and especially to the hero are usually seen as most likely to reflect projections of values and attributes of the writer (Aranow, Weiss, and Reznikoff, 2001). In this project, those qualities were treated as having relevance for cultural identity.

## METHOD

Data Collection: During the period 2006-2007, E. McPherson collected stories<sup>2</sup> and conducted interviews around the subject of the meaning and the sound quality of the call to prayer in Istanbul with recitation artists and expert listeners (primarily Turkish music scholars and performers), all of whom were informed that the interviews would be part of a published work. These interviews were conducted in Turkish and translated into English by the interviewer with assistance from Buket Koldaş, a research assistant fluent in both English and Turkish. Sources of stories included popular media and scholarly documents, accounts of personal experience, and urban legend material (see, for example, the Neil Armstrong story at the end of this paper).

Clinical Methods Used: Two doctoral students in clinical psychology, experienced in the use of the TAT, systematically extracted Bellak-Abrams (1997) style themes that were then subjected to a qualitative research analysis by S. McPherson based on approaches in Wertz, *et al.* (2011). Raters created the descriptive and interpretive themes they found present in the stories of accounts using the following definitions: Descriptive Level: a “plain restatement of the summarized meaning of the story, a finding of the common trend restated in an abbreviated form and simple words” (p. 95); Interpretive Level: the “general meaning of the story” (p.95) – it was also suggested that restating the interpretive level in an “if-then” form might facilitate its creation.

The hero was identified as the “one who is most spoken of, whose feelings and subjective notions are most discussed, and, in general, the figure with whom the narrator seems to identify himself or herself.” (p. 96) That hero was then characterized in terms of vocation, socioeconomic status (high, average, or low), and Murray/Stein needs and presses (Stein, 1955).<sup>3</sup> The hero was further characterized as to intelligence (high, average, or low), locus of control (whether he was self-agentic or responding primarily to the forces outside of him or herself), quality of interpersonal relationships as to whether they were seen as positive, negative, or neutral, and overall affect (emotional tone) of the hero as to whether it was positive, negative, or neutral.

The stories overall were evaluated using an adaptation of the Westen Social Cognition and Object Relations Scales – Global Rating Method (SCORS-G) (Hilsenroth, Stein, and Pinsker, 2007). Given the religious context and the emphasis on morality messages, the stories were also analyzed applying the Five Sets of Moral Intuitions (Graham, Haidt, and Nosek, 2009). Finally, some of the characteristics of the call that had been identified as important by Turkish sources were listed by E. McPherson and were checked if present or absent in the stories (vocal beauty, *makam*,<sup>4</sup> emotional connection, spiritual connection, cacophony as a negative quality, and other). The entire system was initially applied to three myths that were neither Turkish nor Euro-American and the degree of agreement reviewed. Some further refinement of the wording of definitions took place at this point. The system was then applied to the three entries from the encyclopedia/dictionary sources of stories or narratives. Once again, any lack of agreement was probed and resolved by mutual discussion. It was decided at this juncture that the best way to proceed would be to have the two raters independently process all of the materials and that any inconsistencies between them would be an additional basis for evaluating levels of likely validity as well as shedding light on limitations of this interdisciplinary application. Finally, the content of interviews of indigenous call experts was considered for similarity or difference from story analyses.

## RESULTS

Description of the Data: Twelve stories were obtained from a set of 5 monographs; 12 excerpts were from contemporary newspapers; 10 interviews represented raw data collected as part of a Turkish scholar’s thesis; 3 stories were from Encyclopedia/Dictionary sources. There was one story from a commercial recording’s liner notes. Finally, there were E. McPherson’s 9 interviews of Turkish scholars, musicians, or recitation practitioners which explored their conceptualizations of the call.

Reliability Results: Frequency counts reflecting degree of agreement between raters across the various methods and category systems were compute. (See Appendix for Tables 1 and 2.)

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<sup>2</sup> See the beginning and end of the paper for examples.

<sup>3</sup> Identification of Need (of hero)/Press (on hero) factors failed to reach necessary levels of reliability and was eliminated.

<sup>4</sup> *Makams* are complex modal entities used to construct the melodic content in Turkish art music; traditional Turkish art music is based on both melodic and rhythmic modal entities (*usul*). Because the call to prayer is performed with free rhythm, *makam* is the fundamental structuring musical element of recitation. In general terms, each *makam* is defined by its pitch set (which is microtonal), its characteristic patterns of movement (ascending, descending, or ascending/descending), and its characteristic patterns of ornamentation. Musicians often discuss *makams* in terms of their unique “personalities” and often also refer to them as “composition toolkits” for both improvised and pre-composed musical genres.

As the tables reflect, there were problems achieving reliability for the procedures used. The varying degrees of security represented by the data were incorporated into description and commentary. Aspects of the data that could not be considered legitimate for interpretative purposes were eliminated from consideration. Thus, only the inferences to Profession/Vocation were retained referencing hero identification and description. In the case of Dissertations/Theses and Encyclopedia/Dictionaries, the materials simply did not lend themselves to hero naming and no analysis of hero qualities was conducted. The Westen SCORS-G system was considered reliable if both raters were within 1 point of each other; for purposes of analysis, those ratings were then averaged and used to come to conclusions as to meanings. The Graham Five Sets of Moral Intuitions and Call to Prayer Characteristics showed variations in reliability across categories and samples; both presence and absence of a quality were the basis of computation.

Qualitative Thematic Analysis: Using the themes extracted by both raters, including the descriptive and interpretive statements as defined by Bellak and Abrams (1997), S. McPherson applied a qualitative research approach (influenced by Wertz *et al.*, 2011) to list the basic codes or elements and then to group them into a set of content categories. Table 3 (see Appendix) provides that analysis that reflects frequencies by source for each of the categories. All four sampling sources were included in this phase.

The qualitative thematic analysis was supportive of the presence of a generally and culturally accepted belief system referencing the call to prayer that includes the importance of the beautiful voice and the importance of following what is believed to be a divinely inspired style. There was further articulated the belief that the art that is most pleasing to God and that results in the most power of the call can be found specifically in Istanbul and throughout Turkey. Analyses also supported a fear that modern times involve a loss of past values. (Such a notion is commonly seen in psychological work as the tendency of people to look back and idealize the past over the present.)

The themes respecting language, as opposed to the musicality and stylistic aspects, reflected two aspects. One was a generally held belief that Arabic was Allah's preferred language of communication and that other languages reflect the secular states from which they emanate. Thus, even the generally highly regarded hero of Turkey (Atatürk) did not do well when he attempted to supplant the Arabic language with the Turkish language. Another theme reflected what is probably a somewhat curious construct to many westerners as to the role of government with respect to religion. In the Ottoman legal system, Islamic law was installed as a constituent part. Even during the secular Republican era, handling of this area involved a merging of mosque and state. From a Turkish view, the secular state is intertwined with religion and both informs and defines it.

Identification of the Hero: Table 4 (see Appendix) provides the listing of heroes by source.

The identities of the hero could be seen consistent with the belief that the call may speak to everyone from the most enlightened to the least educated and from the Islamic adherent to those coming from alien traditions. Also reflected were political events, moral issues, and some interesting glimpses into conflicts between the individual and a society with important religious obligations. (An example is found in the story of the nightclub owner where the Islamic injunction against use of alcohol placed the hero in some moral jeopardy that was essentially managed by a variation of "rendering unto Caesar..." along with a defense of necessity wherein making a legal living as long as not personally violating the requirement was acceptable.)

Westen SCORS G Analysis: Westen approached TAT analysis from the standpoint of Object Relations, a modern psychoanalytically based theory. He identified features reflective of different stages of conceptual and emotional development. The Westen SCORS-G system exhibited some reliability in this project.<sup>5</sup>

In the application of any rating scale, there are some individual stylistic differences. Some people tend to avoid using the extreme ratings and thus, in effect, narrow the options within which they operate. Others, probably in the minority, are more comfortable accessing the extremes among the available options. In recognition of such stylistic and relatively subtle differences, agreement was defined as occurring where the raters were within one point. The scale had a 7-point spread. Final calculations of the designated quality across the stories involved either the agreed upon number or the mid-point between the assigned numbers; e.g., a 5 and a 6 obtained from the two raters would be a 5.5. In the case of the monographs and the newspaper sources, a further assessment was conducted: arithmetic means were calculated for each of the four categories and then recomputed, eliminating any entries that represented more than a one point difference. The results of that purging did not significantly affect the mean scores, supporting the use of all of the scores obtained by the averaging process. (See Tables 5, 6, 7, and 8 in the Appendix.)

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<sup>5</sup> Raters initially found it difficult to work with the SCORS-G. The 3 stories in the Encyclopedia/Dictionary category were used to enhance definitional and system rule clarity and therefore were not used in the final analyses.

Inspection of Tables 5-8 allows some statements to be made as to the psychodynamic content of these stories. Each of the categories represents a continuum of the simple to the complex with clinical implications for emotional and relational maturity or the lack thereof. The four factors are defined as follows in Table 9 (paraphrased from Westen, 1993; 2002):

**Complexity of Representation of People:** Reflects a continuum from confusion, egocentricity, and unidimensional view of individuals to one of integrated good and bad features. At the clinical level, severely damaged or deficient character formation results in the need to deal with other people on the basis of stereotypes and good versus evil dichotomization.

**Affective Quality of Representation:** Relationships range from abusive and malevolent to favorable and supportive. At early developmental stages, the infant experiences the caretaker as either totally fulfilling or terrifyingly withholding, reinforcing black/white conceptualization. Maturity leads to relationships built on appreciation of complex emotional potentials and acceptance of uncertainty, but confidence in benevolent outcomes.

**Emotional Investment in Relationships:** Reflects a continuum from focus on selfish needs to one of focus on interdependence, respect, and positive connectedness. The individual is able to “form deep committed relationships in which the other is valued for his/her unique qualities.” (1993, pp. 7-8)

**Understanding of Social Causality:** The story ranges from confused, difficult to follow, somewhat incoherent or non-logical discourse to interactive, feedback based, logically ordered description of behavior in the world. With maturity, there is realization that internal and even unconscious factors are part of the causal sequences.

The overall means across all four factors reflected a general tendency toward moderate or better levels of complexity: These stories were not superficial. They included complex ethical dilemmas, complex actors on the social stage, and references to both highly positive and negative historical events.

The stories were religious and included the miraculous in terms of communication and events. Tension existed not only in the need to see Islam triumph over other ways, but also in the need to resolve national identity and political strivings with beliefs and modes that connect with tradition and provide grounding in a very fundamental sense.

One story was somewhat unique in the sampling in that it incorporated some wry humor: when a terrible voice, greatly amplified, jolted the listener out of bed, he reported his reaction as “God is great and God willing, He hears this man’s voice...” (Tandoğan, 2001)

It is concluded that the adaptations of these clinical factors reasonably allow some inferences to the cultural levels from which the material emanates and which they inform and that issues of identity and fundamental values are represented.

**Graham Moral Foundations:** Graham, *et al.* (2011), building on the perspectives of Moral Foundation Theory, developed scales reflecting 5 qualities. These qualities were defined as Harm (including compassion/identity with those who suffer harm and agreement that killing of defenseless animals or any humans is wrong); Fairness (that government and laws should be non-arbitrary and nondiscriminatory, with equity for all); Ingroup (Country and family or team membership are owed a primary loyalty even over oneself); Authority (that vested authority is to be respected and obeyed); and Purity (that certain identified behaviors are to be followed as virtues and others are to be rejected as disgusting and wrong). (See Appendix Table for results.)

The data reflected similar patterning between rankings of most (1) to least (5) frequently observed story qualities by both raters and the totals (which reflected also those ratings representing only one of the two raters). The totals as ranked for the entire sample showed only minor variation from the evaluations of the individual samples. Therefore, the total ranks were used for conclusory impressions. In descending order of frequency, the following obtained: Ingroup Loyalty, Purity, Authority, Harm, and Fairness. These ranked qualities support the primacy of identification with the social and religious group and conformity to standards that have religious and social foundations. These patterns call for replication and cross-cultural explorations to investigate their implications. Given the definitions involved, some significant Euro-American bias may be present in the assumptions of the Graham theory.

**Call to Prayer Qualities:** A number of particular qualities of the call to prayer, which are known and discussed by recitation practitioners and indigenous listeners and are of particular interest to ethnomusicologists were listed. Raters identified the presence or absence of these qualities in the story content. (See Appendix Table 10 for results.)

Total rankings supported that the most important qualities were the emotional connection and the beauty of the voice delivering the message. Spiritual connection, *makam*, and content came next. The lowest ranking was found for cacophony (negative impact where aspects of delivery interfered with the reception of the message; arguably, this category could be merged with Beauty). These findings supported that while the call is by definition

and origin a primary carrier of a religious message, the stories reflected beliefs that emotional impacts and aesthetic quality are of major importance in determining impact.

Some Final Qualitative Reflections on the Call: E. McPherson conducted a series of interviews with Turkish recitation practitioners and scholars of classical Turkish traditions in which she focused on the concept of the beautiful voice. The respondents endorsed beliefs that the beautiful voice exists, that it is uniquely Turkish, that it facilitates emotional connection, and that it is of particular importance for the function of the call. These assertions were consistent with outcomes of the story analyses and may lend some confidence in results of the procedures applied.

## DISCUSSION

In any set of observations where no controlled experimental design is possible and where reliability presents as a varying quality, conclusions must be tentative. However, research often proceeds from observation to more systematic collection of data in order to yield testable factors and hypotheses. In this interdisciplinary study the methods used and the data itself represent preliminary stages of scientific focus.

Our results allow the statement of certain hypotheses, all of which can lead in the direction of more definitive inquiry:

1. The call to prayer as an integral and significant part of Islamic religious practice has been perceived as of divine origin and inspiration. Its form and substance and the manner of its presentation all have importance in its function of leading the believer and the potential convert to Islam.
2. There is a beauty that is part of recitation. There is a specific and expected musical form of recitation based on *makam*. At least some Turks would endorse that Turkey's way of reciting is of particular aesthetic value (testing that belief would require significant multicultural sampling at the very least). Both the qualitative thematic analysis and the various ratings also supported that the "beautiful voice" and the emotional bridge that melodic setting creates are components of the power of the call.
3. The content of stories about the call includes myths typical of religions (special forms of communication as in dreams along with miraculous transformations that underline important values and moral traditions of the group) and illuminates both historical and contemporary dilemmas of the place of religion, science, and politics in the Turkish state.
4. The content and the characterizations reflect Turkish historical memory and cultural values and often include a sense of the heroic, providing and reinforcing idealized models and some assurance of a special place in the universe. That sense of ethnic identity has been considered to have protective and psychologically healthy implications for the individual as well as for the group (Syed, *et al.*, 2013).
5. Finally, the findings are consistent with observations that "group relevant" experience impacts and shapes, through shared interactions, social identity (see Yzerbyt and Kuppens, 2013).

Implications for the Field of Ethnomusicology: For ethnomusicologists collecting data in the field, collaborative interdisciplinary studies of narrative material can corroborate or contradict the observations made by the field researcher. Utilizing systematic ratings of the stories may have diminished the potential for one researcher-preferred theme to take a more prominent position in relation to other equally important themes. Further, while ethnomusicologists often borrow theories from other disciplines, methodologies typically have not been appropriated. To that end, a study such as this one may provide insight into how other fields derive and apply theoretical constructs and may also deepen understanding of what methodologies do not constructively apply across cultural settings. Ideally, such collaborative projects should include experts indigenous to a particular culture. The indigenous perspective may help to identify issues of particular salience to the investigated community while the non-indigenous perspective may yield insight into universal themes expressed in narrative, particularly when looking at world religions. This type of collaborative scholarship can address problematic issues of *emic vs. etic* viewpoints and interpretations of cultural expressions.

Limitations: The process of translation is known to be hazardous when it comes to the inadvertent inclusion of underlying and even unconsciously mediated material (Bell, 1991; DeCourtivron, 2003.). The interviews could thus have included material that meant one thing to the interviewer but was not entirely so intended by the speakers. Repeated oral tradition expressed through media purveyed narratives certainly cannot be viewed as sources of objective truth. However, the interest in this work was in the intrinsic thematic content and not in the factual representation of identifiable events *per se*. The problem of reliability for data analysis was documented and sets a clear limit on validity of any conclusions.

Interpretation proceeds also on the basis of logical extension from existing theory – and the theory chosen impacts the derivations obtained (see for example the introductory chapter of McClary's [1991] discussion of musicology and narrative paradigms from a gender-based perspective). The sample evaluated was entirely one of

opportunity and cannot be viewed as having the strength of random sampling; therefore, generalizations even to Turkish society must be viewed with extreme caution. Furthermore, given no bases of comparison, any qualities considered likely to reflect Turkish identity may or may not be distinguishing for same and thus would call for further research.

*Tekbir takes pride in presenting this cassette. Neil Armstrong, the famous convert to Islam, heard the sound of the call to prayer on the moon. Tekbir Cassette Production Company searched for this call and found it. It is understood that this divine and pleasing sound that traveled great distances was that of a place in our beautiful country and our beautiful city of Istanbul. It was the Sultan Ahmet Mosque.*

*“Neil Armstrong, would you talk a little to us about the sound of the call to prayer that you heard on the moon?”*

*“It was such a voice that it affected me with such trembling that I can barely explain it. When I returned to earth, I searched for this sound. I went to different Islamic countries. But for a while I could not find this sound. There were those that resembled it, but they were not that voice. At last I decided that it was not possible to find that voice. For that reason I gave up my search. Some time later I came to Turkey. It was here...I heard such a voice from Sultan Ahmet that I was shocked. Yes, yes I immediately remembered. I understood that it was the very voice of the call to prayer that I had heard on the moon...And I decided to become Muslim...And in this way I found Islam, praise be to God. Thus, it is my wish that everyone understands the Muslim way of life.” (Adapted from the liner notes of *En güzel seçkin ezanlar ve kasideler*, Tekbir Kaset, 2000)*



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APPENDIX

**Table 1. Inter-Rater Reliability: Identification and Characteristics of the Hero**

Variable	Monographs		Newspapers		Total	
	(N tot = 11)		(N tot = 12)		(N tot = 23)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Hero	11	100	12	100	23	100
Type Character*	11	100	12	100	23	100
Profession/Vocation	10	99	5	42	15	65
Socioeconomic Status	7	69	7	58	14	61
IQ	5	49	8	92	13	57
Locus of Control	8	79	2	17	10	44
Quality of Relationships	6	59	4	33	10	44
Affect	5	49	8	92	13	57

\* Person, Non-Person, or Super (heroic) Person; all were designated Persons and the category was eliminated as non-useful.

**Table 2 Inter-Rater Reliability: Content Rating Schemes, Total Sample**

Variable	Monograph		Newspaper		Dissertation/Thesis		Dictionary/Encyclopedia		Total	
	(N tot = 12)		(N tot = 12)		(N tot = 10)		(N tot = 3)		(N tot = 36)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Westen SCORS-G</b>										
Affective Quality of Representation	10	83	11	92	8	80	1	33	30	83
Emotional Investment in Relationships	9	75	8	67	4	40	2	67	23	63
Emotional Investment of Values/Moral Standards	11	92	7	58	3	30	1	33	22	61
Social Causality	9	75	11	92	10	100	0	0	30	83
<b>Graham</b>										
Harm	9	75	8	67	5	50	2	67	24	17
Fairness	6	50	8	67	8	80	0	0	22	33
Ingroup	10	83	8	67	4	40	3	100	25	50
Authority	9	75	10	83	4	40	1	33	24	42
Purity	7	60	6	50	8	80	1	33	22	40
<b>Call to Prayer Characteristics*</b>										
Beauty	6	50	9	75	9	90	3	100	27	75
<i>makam</i>	9	75	12	100	8	80	3	100	32	90
Content	11	92	10	83	10	100	1	33	32	90
Emotional Connection	6	50	10	83	5	50	1	33	22	61
Spiritual Connection	9	75	11	92	6	60	3	100	29	56
Cacophony **	12	100	10	83	3	30	3	100	28	78

\* An "other" option existed, but neither rater used same. Therefore, it was dropped from the analysis  
 \*\* Presence of cacophony would constitute a designation of the absence of beautiful tonality as a liability

**Table 3: Qualitative Thematic Analysis**

Categories and Themes		Resources				
		Monographs	Newspapers	Dictionaries/ Encyclopedia	Dissertation/ Theses	Total
		f	f	f	f	f
Category A	The quality, delivery, beautiful voice characteristics are significant and necessary to the power of the Call.					
	Theme 3 - Quality of recitation is important and also deserves recognition.	1	0	0	3	4
	Theme 9 - Traditional beautiful delivery allows the Call to Prayer to effect conversaion.	1	5	0	2	8
	Theme 10 - Ugliness or inadequacy of delivery of the Call to Prayer will turn people away from Islam.	2	2	0	4	8
	Theme 12 - The traditional beautiful voice draws people to Islam.	2	1	0	1	4
	Theme 14 - The beautiful voice is often heard in Istanbul, but also elsewhere in Turkey and it has emotional impact that includes instilling a sense of awe and love. This impact is felt even by the most rational and intelligent scientifically trained individuals.	1	0	0	0	1
	Theme 18 - Beautiful traditional recitation is desired by Allah.	0	1	0	0	1
	Theme 19 - Conflicts between religious obligations and the secular life of an Imam or Muezzin can be resolved by adhering to the traditional and beautiful recitation.	0	1	0	0	1
	Theme 24 - The beautiful voice and traditional delivery can inspire the uneducated to go to school and learn.	0	0	0	1	1
						28/36
Category B	The Call to Prayer is of Divine origin, allows communication between Allah and the people. It is personal and profound.					
	Theme 1 - Call to Prayer is of Divine origin	1	0	1	0	2
	Theme 2 - Allah communicates by dreams to people	2	0	1	0	3
	Theme 6 - The Call to Prayer involves personal comunication	1	0	0	0	1
	Theme 7 - Time can be non-linear and transcended	1	0	0	0	1
	Theme 8 - Space can be transcended	1	1	0	0	2
	Theme 17 - Conversion to Islam leads to spontaneous recitation of the Call to Prayer	?	1	0	0	1
					10/36	
Category C	Interference by government with religion is inappropriate and in the end fails, but that which is divinely given and right is instituted within the law.					
	Theme 5 - Religion should not be under the control of the government	3	1	0	0	4
	Theme 13 - Forcing Turkish as the language of the Call to Prayer increased patriotism, but requires inducements in order to be implemented as was done by Atatürk.	1	0	0	0	1
	Theme 15 - Ataturk's attempt to install the Turkish language still included the importance of the beautiful voice.	1	0	0	0	1
	Theme 20 - Government withholding (by interdict) of the Call to Prayer is a sign of social disorder and will be overturned; it is too severe a punishment.	0	1	0	0	1
	Theme 23 - That which is of Divine origin, as in the Call to Prayer, becomes incorporated into law.	0	0	1	0	1

		Monographs	Newspapers	Dictionaries/ Encyclopedia	Dissertation/ Theses	Total
		f	f	f	f	f
Category D	Modern times have seen the diminishment of the discipline needed to properly recite the Call to Prayer to the detriment of its beauty message and purpose. Introduction of technology has created further deterioration.					
	Theme 4 - Traditional delivery cannot be replaced by technology and even the beautiful voice is diminished by loudspeakers.	2	0	0	2	4
	Theme 25 - Music is a fundamental value in Istanbul. As a result, the ugliness of loudspeaker Calls to Prayer are particularly offensive.	0	0	0	3	3
	Theme 26 - Modern Muezzins do not study and master <i>makam</i> and beautiful voice delivery, and evidently do not care enough, and are not required to work at their recitation.	0	0	0	4	4
	Theme 27 - Poor recitation was punished in the past (and by inference should be in the present).	0	0	0	1	1
						12/36
Category E	The beautiful voice and <i>makam</i> of Turkey are unique and uniquely powerful vehicles of Allah's message. They reflect the fundamental value music has in the Turkish culture.					
	Theme 21 - The Turkish emphasis on the beautiful voices is unique among Muslim states.	0	1	0	1	2
	Theme 22 - Government agencies support for the Call to Prayer and the beautiful voice benefits Turks, non-Turks, and non-Muslims.	0	1	0	0	1
						3/36
Category F	The beautiful voice and <i>makam</i> of Turkey are unique and considered powerful vehicles of Allah's message. They represent the fundamental value of recitation and related musical structures.					
	Theme 11 - Language is also important and Arabic is a necessary component.	1	0	3	0	4
	Theme 13 - Forcing Turkish as a language of the Call to Prayer increases patriotism, but nonetheless requires inducements to accomplish, which was the program of Atatürk.	1	0	0	0	1
						5/36
Category G	Islam is the source of knowledge.					
	Theme 16 - Islam via the Koran has knowledge that answers questions science cannot.	0	1	0	0	1
						1/36

Table 4: Hero Identities		
Source*		
Monographs	Newspapers	Dissertations/Theses**
Muezzins	German tourist woman	Simit seller (uneducated man)
Neil Armstrong, Astronaut	The Narrator	Jewish man
Modern tourist	Famous Romanian model	Muezzin
Protesters of Atatürk's policies	Nightclub owner	
Musical expert	English tourist (male)	
Atatürk, Turkish leader	American tourist (male)	
Polish scientist, freedom fighter	Armenian bath house attendant, uprising leader	
* More than one story had the same designated hero		
** In these sources, only one rater provided a hero		

Table 5 Averaged Westen SCORS-G Monograph Scores				
Factor	1	2	3	4
Story	Affective Quality	Emotional Investment in Relationships	Emotional Investment in Values, Moral Standards	Social Causality
1	6	6	6.5	6
2	3.5	3.5	5	5.5
3	6	5.5	6.5	5
4	5.5	5	5.5	6
5	5	4	4.5	5
6	3	6	6.5	6.5
7	4.5	4.5	5.5	3.5
8	4	3	4	3.5
9	5	5.5	5	6
10	5.5	6.5	6.5	6.5
11	4	1	2.5	3.5
12	4	2	5	5
Mean Values	4.7	4.5	5.2	5.2

Factor	1	2	3	4
Story	Affective Quality	Emotional Investment in Relationships	Emotional Investment in Values, Moral Standards	Social Causality
1	6	3	5	5.5
2	5.5	5	4.5	5
3	6.5	5.5	4.5	6
4	3	4.5	5.5	5.5
5	5	4	5	5
6	5.5	5.5	6.5	5.5
7	5	5	5	4.5
8	4.5	4.5	5	4.5
9	4.5	5	6	6
10	4.5	3.5	5	5
11	5.5	5.5	4.5	5
12	5.5	5.5	5.5	6
<b>Mean Values</b>	5.1	4.7	5.2	5.3

Factor	1	2	3	4
Story	Affective Quality	Emotional Investment in Relationships	Emotional Investment in Values, Moral Standards	Social Causality
1	5	4.5	5	5.5
2	3	4	3.5	5.5
3	4	4	5	6
4	6	5.5	5	5.5
5	3.5	4.5	6.5	5.5
6	3.5	4	6	4.5
7	3.5	4	6	5.5
8	3.5	4	6	6
9	3.5	2	5.5	6
10	3.5	2	6	6
<b>Mean Values</b>	3.9	3.9	5.5	5.6

**Table 8 Averaged Westen SCORS G Encyclopedia/Dictionary Scores**

	1	2	3	4
<b>Story</b>	<b>Affective Quality</b>	<b>Emotional Investment in Relationships</b>	<b>Emotional Investment in Values, Moral Standards</b>	<b>Social Causality</b>
1	6.5	5.5	6	5
2	3.5	2	4.5	-
3	5	6	6.5	5
<b>Mean Values</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4.5</b>	<b>5.6</b>	<b>3.3</b>

**Table 9 - Graham Moral Foundations Ranked Frequency Data \***

Graham Quality	Monographs (N tot = 12)			Newspapers (N tot = 12)			Dissertation/Theses (N tot = 10)			Encyclopedia/Dictionary (N tot = 3)			Total (N tot = 36)	
	#agreed	#present	rank	#agreed	#present	rank	#agreed	#present	rank	#agreed	#present	rank	#present	rank
	Harm	9	3	2	8	1	3	5	1	3	2	1	2	6
Fairness	6	1	5	8	1	3	8	0	4	0	0	4	2	5
Ingroup	10	9	1	8	4	1	4	2	2	3	3	1	18	1
Authority	9	3	3	10	1	3	4	0	4	1	1	2	5	4
Purity	7	6	2	6	3	2	8	6	1	1	0	4	15	2

\*Only both rater agreed entries used for this analysis; # present was basis for rankings

**Table 10: Call to Prayer Qualities Ranked Frequencies Data\***

Quality	Monograph (N tot = 11)			Newspaper (N tot = 12)			Dissertation/Thesis (N tot = 10)			Dictionary/Encyclopedia (N tot = 3)			Total (N tot = 36)	
	#agreed	#present	rank	#agreed	#present	rank	#agreed	#present	rank	#agreed	#present	rank	#present	rank
Beauty	6	4	3	9	8	3	9	8	1	3	0	2	20	2
Makam	9	0	5	12	2	4	8	5	2	3	0	2	7	4
Content	4	4	3	10	0	5	10	0	5	1	1	1	5	5
Emotional Connection	6	6	1	10	10	1	5	5	2	1	0	2	21	1
Spiritual Connection	9	6	1	11	9	2	6	2	4	3	0	2	17	3
Cacophony (negative)	12	2	4	10	0	5	3	0	5	3	0	2	2	6

\*Counts include all categories endorsed by one or both raters or agreed absent by both raters