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**Difficult Choices: Ethnocultural and Religious Identity, and Attitudes Toward Women
Among South Asian Muslim Canadians**

by

Sobia Farheen Ali

**A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
Through Psychology
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
The Degree of Master of Arts at the
University of Windsor**

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

2007

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Abstract

The purpose of the study was to examine the relation between ethnocultural identity, religious identity, and attitudes toward women. The current study proposed that both ethnocultural and religious identity were related to attitudes toward women. One hundred sixty-three Canadian Muslims of South Asian descent were administered three surveys: 1) the Acculturation Index (Ward & Kennedy, 1994); 2) Psychological Measure of Islamic Religiosity (PMIR) (Abu Raiya, 2006); and 3) Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Factor analysis was conducted on the PMIR resulting in a revised measure. Hypotheses were tested using correlational analyses. Subsequent exploratory analyses were conducted through multiple regressions. The results of the correlations from the study found that ethnic identity and religious identity are multidimensional and are related to each other in various ways, as well as to attitudes toward women. It was also found that certain cultural and religious dimensions predicted attitudes toward women.

Dedication

With all my love and appreciation, this thesis is dedicated to my family without whose support and love I could not have come this far. Words are not enough to express my gratitude for everything you have done.

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the people who aided me in completing this thesis. First, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Shelagh Towson, for her support, guidance, and patience. If it were not for her reassurance, perseverance in editing and guiding, and encouragement I would not have reached this point, nor would I have made it to CPA. I would also like to thank my committee members, Dr. Julie Hakim-Larson and Dr. Pamela Milne for their supportive feedback, suggestions, and insights on issues of culture, religion, and women. Additionally, I would like to thank Dr. Dennis Jackson and Stephanie Gee for their guidance in statistical analysis.

My gratitude is also extended to all those who participated in my study; both those who completed my online survey, as well as friends and family who helped me recruit participants.

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Chapter I

Introduction

Identity is a “set of meanings attached to the self” (Stets & Harrod, 2004, p.156). It is a frame of reference which has within it a system of values, practices, and set of meanings. Identity is not a singular construct within any individual but is comprised of many integrated identities. Barvosa-Carter (1998) argues that identity cannot be viewed as a single frame of reference but rather must be seen as multidimensional. These various identities include ethnocultural and religious identities among others (Keeton, 2002). Ethnocultural identity can be seen as the meanings attached to oneself based upon membership with a particular ethnocultural group. The meanings may be derived from language, behaviours, attitudes and values of the group. Although there may not be one clear definition of ethnocultural identity, self-identification, a sense of belonging, and a feeling of pride in one’s group are central to the concept (Phinney, 1990). Ethnocultural identity has been seen as central to the development of the personal identity of those who are members of an ethnic minority group (Maldonado, 1975 as cited in Phinney, 1989) and as important for psychological health (Phinney, 1990). Ethnocultural identity becomes most salient in situations in which two or more ethnocultural groups exist and is seen by many as being formed through the process of acculturation (Phinney, 1990).

Religious identity, similarly, consists of the meanings attached to oneself based upon membership within a particular religious group. Religious identity is also often seen as the central aspect of identity for many people. Religion serves a psychological need that many other facets of a culture cannot (Cosgel & Minkler, 2004). Every religion usually “provides its followers with a distinct theology and a coherent and stable set of

norms, institutions, traditions, and moral values that provide the basis for an individual to establish and maintain a secure identity” (Cosgel & Minkler, 2004, p.343). Ethnocultural and religious identities intersect and become salient depending upon the context.

Ethnocultural and religious identities intersect and provide a framework of values and attitudes and thus influence the ways in which individuals value the world around them and the attitudes they hold, including their attitudes toward women. Although women form half of the world’s population, the status of women is still lower than that of men. Women are very often viewed and treated unfairly and unjustly, and past research indicates that the basis for and justification of this treatment is an integral part of ethnocultural and religious identity.

Past research also suggests that ethnocultural and religious identity are not static but subject to change with changes in the social context of individuals and groups. One obvious source of change is immigration to a country in which one’s ethnocultural group and religion occupy a minority rather than a dominant status. This is the situation for South Asian Muslims in Canada, the group that is the focus of the proposed study of the relation among ethnocultural and religious identity and sexism among South Asian Muslim Canadians.

South Asians in Canada

According to the 2001 Canadian Census there were 917,075 South Asians in Canada, making them the second largest visible ethnic minority population. Although South Asians reside in all provinces of Canada, the majority live in Ontario (Statistics Canada, 2001). The term South Asian is a “racialized, geographically situated marker” (Hunjan, 2003, p.5). South Asians share “a common experience of colonization, immigration, and racialization” and are often classified as one group despite the diversity

amongst them (Hunjan, 2003, p.5). For the purposes of the current study, the term South Asian will refer to those who trace their families to India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

In Canada, the majority of the South Asian population is educated and economically secure. The reasons for immigration to Canada have been ones of educational or economic attainment, not as a method to flee poverty (Bagley, 1987). South Asians are a diverse group in areas such as religion, nationality, and languages, as well as a group with a surprisingly long history in Canada.

South Asian immigration to North America and other countries began in the 1760's as South Asians migrated as either indentured servants or freemen. The indentured servants went mainly to Fiji, Mauritius, Guyana, Surinam, and Africa; the freemen to Canada, United States, and Australia, though the majority arrived in Canada due to a shared British Empire rule. However, only men were allowed into the country at that time. In the United States, as a result of highly racist legislation toward them, many South Asian men returned to India (Rahman, 2002). In Canada, immigration of South Asians has been affected by four events in Canadian history. First, the discriminatory attitudes toward immigration of people of colour in the early part of the twentieth century prevented high rates of immigration of South Asians to Canada. Second, the advent of the 1966 White Paper on Immigration introduced a system of evaluating potential immigrants with a colour blind emphasis, allowed for the immigration of South Asians into Canada. Third, in 1976, immigration of the independent class or those coming alone was restricted, and the focus on the refugee class and the family reunification class increased, allowing for the immigration of families to Canada. One of the largest

migrations of South Asians occurred in the 1970's with the influx of South Asian descent families who had been expelled from Uganda by Idi Amin (Naidoo, 2003). Finally, in the 1980's and 1990's, the focus shifted again from the family reunification class to entrepreneur class, thus allowing for the immigration of South Asians with entrepreneurial aspirations.

Muslims in Canada

Before discussing the presence of Muslims in Canada, it is important to gain a general understanding of Islam to better understand Muslims and their history. It is important to recognize that, just as people with widely differing interpretations of the Torah or Bible all define themselves as Jewish or Christian, people with very different interpretations of the Qur'an all define themselves as Muslim. People of the Islamic faith come from varying ethnic backgrounds, cultural groups, and traditions. The Muslim community in Canada, and indeed around the globe, is an ethnically and ideologically diverse group.

Just as Christianity includes Catholics and Protestants, with a range of orientations within each of these divisions, Islam encompasses two large divisions, Sunni and Shi'a Islam, each of which includes sub-sects and both of which are seen in the South Asian Muslim population. Today, the world's Muslim population is approximated to be in excess of 1.5 billion (Muslim Population Worldwide, 2001-2006), with the followers of Sunni Islam making up approximately 85% of this total, and Shi'a Muslims comprising approximately 15 percent of the Muslim population.

Shi'a Islam came into being as a result of political manoeuvres after the death of Prophet Muhammad. A caliph, or political and spiritual leader, was to be elected and

Abu-Baker, a close companion of the Prophet, was elected into that position. However, many believed that in his last days, the Prophet had given instruction for Ali, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, to be his successor, and that Ali had been denied this right. Those who accepted the caliphate of Abu-Baker were known as Sunni while those who supported Ali's caliphate became the Shi'atu Ali, or party of Ali, or Shi'a. The division was solidified at the Battle of Karabla when Ali's son, Hussein, and his army were killed by those who followed the reigning caliph. For the Shi'a, Ali was the first Imam, or spiritual leader, who spread the word of the Prophet, followed by many other Imams, all of whom were descendents of the Prophet, including Ali's sons Hasan and Hussein. This line of Imams ended with the twelfth Imam in 873 with the disappearance of Imam Al-Askari (Amin, December 5, 2006).

The division between Catholics and Protestants led to persecution of one side by the other, thousands of deaths, wars, and mass migrations. Similarly, the history of Islam since the division has been marked by wars, death, and migration (Aslan, 2005). These events occurred despite the fact that, just as with Christianity, the doctrinal differences do not seem substantial. Within Islam, for both Sunni and Shi'a Muslims, there exist five pillars: acknowledging the existence of one God and the Prophet Muhammad (*shahada*), praying five times a day (*salat*), fasting during the month of Ramadan (*sawm*), giving to the poor (*zakat*), and making a pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*) at least once in a lifetime. Both Sunni and Shi'a Muslims believe in God, the Prophet Muhammad, the Qur'an or the holy book believed to have been revealed by God to Prophet Muhammad, and the Hadith, or collections of the sayings and actions attributed to the Prophet. Shi'a Muslims place greater emphasis on the teachings of the Imams, whereas the Sunnis place greater

emphasis upon the Hadith. There is high esteem for the caliphates of Abu-Baker, Umar, Usman, and Ali equally within Sunni Islam. Although Shi'a Muslims may respect the other caliphs, their allegiance remains with Ali as he is seen to be the rightful inheritor of the caliphate from the Prophet.

Although Sunnis constitute the vast majority of the world's Muslim population and Shi'a Muslims the second largest group, there exist other Muslim groups and sects, within both Sunni and Shi'a Islam. Wahabbism, a fundamentalist Sunni sect, began with the collaboration of a preacher named Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahab and an ambitious Shaykh named Muhammad ibn Saud in the 18th century in Saudi Arabia and spread as Muslims from all over the world came to Saudi Arabia to take advantage of the country's great oil-based riches. When these people returned to their homelands they took with them the ideology of Wahabbism (Aslan, 2005). Today Wahabbism can be found in varying countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, Afghanistan, Egypt, Palestine, as well as in the West such as the UK, USA, and Canada. The Wahabbi sect resembles fundamentalist groups within Judaism and Christianity in the perception of its adherents that Islam must return to their interpretation of the initial way in which it was practiced and in their refusal to acknowledge any other interpretation as valid. The Wahabbi doctrine, which originates in Saudi Arabia, is what Aslan calls "little more than an overly simplified conception of tawhid" (Aslan, 2005, p.242), or the oneness of God. For Wahhabis this not only means that only God must be the object of religious devotion but that any form of religious devotion which may involve any other entity is *shirk*, or equating someone or something else with God. This includes the intervention of Imams, the celebration of religious holidays, or any devotional acts directed toward the Prophet

Muhammad. Their strict interpretation has led to the implementation of laws in countries where Wahabbism dominates, such as Saudi Arabia, that require men to grow beards and women to cover their bodies, including their faces, in public. For Wahabbi Muslims, the only real Muslims are those who follow their interpretation of Islam.

Ismaili Islam, a sub-sect of Shi'a Islam, came into being in the late 8th century when Ismail, son of Imam Ja'far (the sixth Imam) died before his father, before inheriting the Imamatus, or right to be the Imam, from his father. Ja'far's second son, Musa al-Kazim then became the seventh Imam. Although most Shi'a accepted Musa, some did not approve of the change in designation. They believed that the Imamatus, as a divine appointment, was not subject to human intervention; they also believed that Ismail had not died but had gone into hiding. They declared Ismail to be the seventh and final Imam and thus were called Ismailis (Aslan, 2005).

Muslim Immigration to Canada

In the late 19th century, the first Muslims came to Canada from Lebanon and Syria as traders, settling mainly as merchants in Lake La Biche in northern Alberta (McDonough & Hoofdar, 2004). In the 1871 census of Canada, 13 Muslims were recorded. Muslims continued to come to Canada in small numbers until World War II. Edmonton, Alberta was the site of Canada's first mosque, built in 1938, at a time when the census recorded only 700 Muslims in all of Canada (Mujahid & Egab, 2006). The first Muslims to arrive in Canada were mainly Sunni Muslims, with a few Shi'a. In the early days, both Sunni and Shi'a Muslims prayed in Sunni mosques. Eventually, the Shi'a population grew enough that they were able to build their own mosques, known as imambaras. Ismaili Muslims moved to East Africa from India in the second half of the

19th century and early part of the 20th century (Aga Khan Development Network) and their descendants arrived in Canada in the 1970's, when the governments of Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya expelled them. Today, most major Canadian cities have Jamat Khana, or places of worship (McDonough & Hoodfar, 2004).

Paralleling the proportions of the global Muslim community, the current Canadian South Asian Muslim community consists mainly of Sunni Muslims. It also consists mainly of first generation immigrants, those who come to Canada in adulthood and 1.5 generation immigrants, those who arrived in Canada in childhood or adolescence (Kim, Brenner, Liang, & Asay, 2003). Currently, less than ten percent of Canada's Muslim population was born in Canada (Mujahid & Egab, 2006; Nawaz, 2005). The Muslim population is also one of the youngest populations in Canada with a median age of 28.1 years, compared to the median age for the total Canadian population of 37 years. Approximately 68% of Muslims in Canada are citizens.

According to the 2001 Canadian Census, Canada's Muslim population numbered 579,640. Some estimates place today's number at approximately 750,000. At the present rate of growth, some authors estimate that Islam will be the second largest religion in North America by the year 2015 (Jamal & Badawi, 1993).

South Asian Muslims

Like Christians, Muslims in Canada are a diverse group with members belonging to a variety of ethnic, racial, and cultural backgrounds including South Asian (37%), Arab (21%), West Indian (14%), African, Caucasian, Chinese, and even Latino and Aboriginal (28%) (Carolan, Bagherinia, Juhari, Himelright, & Mouton-Sanders, 2000; Mujahid &

Egab, 2006; Peek, 2005). Thus, South Asian Muslims comprise the largest number of Canadian Muslims.

Hailing mainly from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, South Asian Muslims share common roots. Before the end of 350 years of colonial rule in 1947, the three nations were one country – India. Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, and Zoroastrians all resided within the country albeit not always peacefully. Muslims in India were often the most vocal and active critics of British intentions in India and so were often made the main target of government retaliation. During colonialism the British had employed a common tactic of divide and rule in order to prevent revolt. Although this tactic did not prevent revolt, as attested to by the many years of active struggle for independence in the subcontinent, it did foster ideological divisions among the various religious groups. Such divisions manifested themselves in the demand for a separate Islamic state for Indian Muslims – Pakistan.

After World War II, the British Empire, which was drained economically, granted independence to India and partitioned India into two nations. In 1947, India gained independence and Pakistan came into being. In the largest migration of people in the history of the world, seventeen million people crossed the newly formed borders amongst vicious fighting and violence. Muslims from India crossed into Pakistan, and Hindus and Sikhs who lived in the newly formed Pakistan moved into India (Aslan, 2005). A large number of Muslims resided in the Eastern Indian state of Bengal, a part of which became East Pakistan. However, after political turmoil, East Pakistan separated from West Pakistan in 1971 and became the new country of Bangladesh.

Although millions crossed the border in 1947, many Muslims also remained in India. Today, the Muslim population of India, although a minority, forms approximately 13% of the total Indian population, making them the largest religious minority in India at 142,395,759 Muslims. Approximately 80% of India's Muslims are Sunni, with the remainder being predominantly Shi'a. Pakistan's total population is 165,803,560 people with ninety-seven percent being Muslim, or 160,829,453 Muslims. Of Pakistani Muslims, 77% are Sunni and 20% are Shi'a. Bangladesh's Muslim population, mainly Sunni, makes up 83% of the population with 147,365,269. Therefore, the combined Muslim population of this region is approximately 450,590,481 people. Additionally, surrounding countries such as Sri Lanka have minority Muslim populations (World Factbook).

The South Asian Muslim population in Canada is one of several religious groups within the South Asian population, along with Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis (Zoroastrians), Buddhists, and others. Although not sharing a religion, South Asian Muslims share a common culture with their non-Muslim counterparts. The food, clothing, languages spoken, as well as values of collectivism and non-religious traditions are shared aspects regardless of religion. Thus, illustrating the multidimensional nature of identity, South Asian Muslims belong to a large ethnocultural as well as religious group, sharing an ethnocultural identity with people of different religions and a religious identity with people of different cultures.

How do we understand the role of ethnocultural and religious identity in shaping the attitudes of South Asian Muslim Canadians to the issues that confront them, in particular their attitudes toward the appropriate role of women? The literature suggests that two

important factors are the extent to which they identify with heritage and contact cultures and their particular religious perspective.

Ethnocultural Identity

Acculturation can be defined as a process which “comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups” (Berry & Sam, 1997, p. 293-294). The concept of acculturation recognizes the dynamic nature of the cultural context, a view differing from the traditional view of culture as static. Acculturation involves the adaptation processes of those who have developed their cultural identity in one cultural context and then are exposed to another cultural context. Berry (1997) defines four acculturation strategies as a function of the intersection of two acculturation dimensions: a) how much importance people place on the maintenance of their heritage culture, or what Berry refers to as culture of origin and, b) how much they are in contact with and participate in the contact culture, or what Berry refers to as the dominant culture of the country in which they live. Individuals who value both the maintenance of their heritage culture and contact with and participation in the contact culture have chosen an Integration strategy. The Separation strategy characterizes individuals who value their heritage culture but not the contact culture. Those who choose Assimilation do not wish to maintain their heritage culture but feel it important to participate in the contact culture, and those in the Marginalization strategy category place importance on neither heritage culture nor participation in contact culture (Berry & Sam, 1997).

Of the four, integration has been found to be the preferred strategy among acculturating individuals (e.g., Berry, 1997; Berry & Sam, 1997; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987), as well as leading to the least amount of acculturative stress, the “stress reaction in response to life events that are rooted in the experience of acculturation” (Berry, 1999, p.16). Integration is also the strategy that matches the goals of Canada’s official multiculturalism policy which encourages diversity and equity (Berry, 1999). In contrast, marginalization is considered to cause the most acculturative stress, with assimilation and separation falling in between (Berry, 1999). Each strategy involves not only attitude change but also behavioural changes. These may include, for example, changes in dress, language, or the kind of food eaten. The greatest numbers of behavioural shifts occur as a result of the assimilation strategy and the smallest as a result of separation. With Integration, individuals select which new behaviours to adopt from the contact culture and which behaviours to preserve from the heritage culture. Behavioural dysfunctions and deviances often arise from Marginalization which often is related to a forced loss of the heritage culture and lack of identification with the contact culture (Berry, 1999).

The focus of Berry’s work is on actual behaviour (maintenance of culture of origin, participation in dominant culture). Building on that work, and using the same labels, Ward and Kennedy’s (1994) work focuses on how one thinks of oneself (identification with heritage culture and/or culture of contact). Thus, individuals who identify highly with both contact culture and heritage culture have integrated, those who identify with contact culture only or heritage culture only have assimilated or separated, respectively, and those who identify with neither contact nor heritage culture are referred to as

marginalized. The work of Ward and Kennedy highlights the ethnocultural identity formation process of individuals who are negotiating between two cultures.

Many factors can influence ethnocultural identity formation and maintenance, including the extent to which association with, or exclusion from, the contact culture is voluntary or involuntary. Those who feel forced to associate with the contact culture, or forcibly denied association with the contact culture, may not participate in it, may not identify with it, and may therefore separate or marginalize themselves. People who visibly look different from the majority of the contact culture group may be less likely to assimilate because identification with the contact culture is lacking and the desire to participate is low. For those individuals who reside in a community with many others belonging to their ethnocultural group, there is a high likelihood of heritage culture maintenance, leading to either integration or separation. Such a situation would foster continual identification with heritage culture. Finally, government policies may encourage the adoption of one particular strategy or identity over another (Berry, 1999).

Moise and Bourhis (cited in Berry, 1999) found, in a study conducted on African Canadians in Montreal, that contact culture characteristics especially the attitudes of contact culture members encountered by acculturating individuals, and the vitality of the heritage culture group (i.e. in-group) are the best predictors of acculturation strategy choice. A high level of heritage culture vitality and little discrimination from the contact culture encouraged integration, while a perception of the heritage culture as inefficient and lacking a network, coupled with contact culture acceptance, led to assimilation. The implications of this study are that acculturation strategies, and by extension, ethnocultural identities, are not randomly chosen but are the outcomes of “a network of relation with

measurable features of one's group, and its situation in relation to other groups" (Berry, 1999, p.15). As can be seen in Ward and Kennedy's (1994) work, the extent to which acculturating individuals identify with heritage culture or contact culture, will also influence acculturation strategy and ethnocultural identity.

South Asians and Acculturation

South Asian culture is described as collectivistic (Hofstede, 1984; Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005; Triandis, 1994). A collectivist culture is one in which loyalty is to the in-group, which very often is the family, both immediate and extended. Individuals in such cultures are raised to place others' interests over their own and to have strong ties with the in-group, from which they receive great support in return. Canada's predominant culture, in contrast, is individualistic. Individuals in an individualist culture are expected to place their own interests above those of others and to be self sufficient. Although no culture is absolutely collectivistic or individualistic, having within them elements of both orientations, most cultures do favour one over the other (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). South Asian culture is considered to be mainly collectivistic and Canadian mainly individualistic (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987 as cited in Ghuman, 2000) and is seen as the most important factor in negotiating between cultures (Ghuman, 2000). In his study of Indo-American parents and their children Sethi (1990, as cited in Ghuman, 2000) found that the collectivistic orientation of parents and the individualistic orientation the children were exposed to outside the home were cause for much intergenerational conflict. Similar studies conducted in England documented the same kind of conflict between Muslim parents and their teenage sons (Anwar, 1998 as cited in Ghuman, 2000; Shaw, 1989 as cited in Ghuman, 2000). Therefore, when South Asians of all generations come in contact

with Canadian culture they need to negotiate with both cultures trying to determine with which culture they identify.

According to the research South Asians have employed all four of Berry's acculturation strategies when negotiating the two cultures. Krishnan and Berry (1992) reported that Indian immigrants born in India integrated more than those born in the US, suggesting that integration was more important to first generation immigrants than second generation. However, Aycan and Kanungo (1998) found that although children of first generation Indo-Canadians and their parents both preferred integration, the children scored higher on assimilation whereas their parents scored higher on separation and marginalization. In Ghuman's (1999, as cited in Robinson, 2005) sample, the majority of second generation South Asian immigrants in the UK preferred integration and rejected assimilation, separation, and marginalization. However, this was not so for the Muslims in the sample as they supported integration less than their Hindu and Sikh counterparts and chose instead to emphasize their distinctive religious identity.

Religious Identity

Religion has been defined as "an institutionalized system of attitudes, beliefs, and practices through which people manifest their faith and devotion to an ultimate reality or deity" (Sanchez & Carter, 2005, p.280). Religion is understood to be an important dimension in the construction of an individual's personality. Albelakhi (1998) states that religion "has always held and continues to hold a central place in the determination of human behaviour" (p.10), and Gross (1996) points out that because religion has been a major motivator in human culture, human history and culture cannot be understood without considering religion. Studies have found that during the time of identity

formation in adolescence, religion is one of the most significant matters considered (Sanchez & Carter, 2005). Religion, as an established institution, provides adolescents with meaning enabling them to form an identity (Ahmed, 2003). Religion is seen as an important factor in the formation of identity. Religious identity is seen as the central aspect of an individual's identity. Religion serves a psychological need that many other aspects of a culture cannot (Cosgel & Minkler, 2004). Every religion usually "provides its followers with a distinct theology and a coherent and stable set of norms, institutions, traditions, and moral values that provide the basis for an individual to establish and maintain a secure identity" (Cosgel & Minkler, 2004, p.343).

Religiosity has been defined as "one's degree of adherence to the beliefs, doctrines, and practices of a particular religion" (Sanchez & Carter, 2005, p.280). The concept of religiosity includes both behavioural and attitudinal dimensions regardless of the religion itself. Research has been conducted on the two dimensions, both simultaneously and separately. Religiosity as a behavioural construct means that a religious person is one who is involved in religious activities (e.g., prayer and worship), in religious groups, and/or the pursuit of religious knowledge. From the attitudinal perspective, religiosity involves a commitment to one's religion, in terms of the teachings of the religion and/or the religion's personal importance.

It is important to recognize that it is not one's ethnocultural group per se that determines attitudes but the extent to which one identifies with the values of one's heritage culture and one's contact culture. Similarly, knowing that someone's religious heritage is Christian, Jewish, or Muslim does not inform others of their attitudes. Rather

the extent to which one identifies with their religious heritage, and the way in which they identify, will determine their attitudes.

Religiousness is a multidimensional construct. Allport and Ross (1967) have identified two dimensions of religiousness orientations: extrinsic and intrinsic. Those who identify with an extrinsic orientation use religion for their own purposes. People with an extrinsic orientation may find that religion provides security, a means of being sociable, and of having status. Religion is used for personal means and enhancing the self is the major motivator. Religion is used to protect the self and find comfort. Those who are extrinsically religious would prefer to attend a place of worship to participate in the social events, and to be seen worshipping rather than for the purposes of worship only. Those identifying with an intrinsic religious orientation on the other hand see religion as a main motivator. They are devoted to God and are religious for the sake of their religion. Personal motives, though they may exist, are second to the adherence to religious beliefs and practices. Those who are intrinsically religious see religion as a source of meaning and value in their lives. Research has shown that those who are highly intrinsically religious tend to be more orthodox and place more importance on religion than those who are high extrinsically religious. Those who are high in extrinsic religiosity have been found to be more dogmatic and prejudiced (Batson, 1976).

However, these two dimensions were seen as lacking and so a third dimension of religiosity was introduced by Batson (1993, as cited in Abu Raiya, 2006). This dimension was labelled religious quest as an alternative for those who were neither intrinsically nor extrinsically religious. Those who are experiencing religion as quest have many questions. They are seeking answers which they recognize they may never find. They

may not believe that there exists one truth in religion but they have within their lives a religious presence.

Religion can also be viewed as having committed and consensual dimensions (Allen & Spilka, 1967). Those who are committed religious people approach religion in a way that is discerning, differentiated, open, candid, self-critical, abstract, and relational. Those with a consensual orientation approach religion in a way that is indiscriminate, narrow, guarded, and concrete.

Glock and Stark (1966 as cited in Abu Raiya, 2006) identified five dimensions of Christian religiousness: experiential (emotional and subjective religious experience as a manifestation of personal religiousness), ideological (accepting the belief system of a religion), ritualistic (participation in religious practices and activities), intellectual (knowing what the belief system consists of), and consequential (the ethical consequences of these dimensions and the what is prescribed from them).

Ryan, Rigby, and King (1993) found, in Christian samples, two alternate dimensions of religiousness: introjection (the internalization of religiousness based on pressure from the self or others) and identification (adopting beliefs as personal values).

Additionally, Idler, Musick, Ellison, George, Krause, Ory, Pargament, Powell, Underwood and Williams (2003) found nine dimensions of religiousness among an American sample. These were public religious activities, private religious activities, positive religious coping, negative religious coping, religious intensity, forgiveness, daily spiritual experience, beliefs and values, and giving-to-income ratio.

Hindu religiousness was found to have different dimensions in a study by Tarakeshwar, Pargament, and Mahoney (2003 as cited in Abu Raiya, 2006). They found

four dimensions, or pathways: path of devotion (devotion to the will of God through practices such as prayer, and an aim to become one with God), path of ethical action (choosing to do certain deeds without any attachment to the effects of that deed in an attempt to purify the mind), path to knowledge (dedicating oneself to acquiring knowledge about the transience and futility of worldly things, leading to spiritual liberation), and path of mental concentration (the practice of physiological and psychological restraints to purify the self in an attempt to gain spiritual liberation).

Finally, in a study conducted on a Jewish sample Lazar, Kravetz, Fredrich-Kedem (2002) found five dimensions of religiousness were uncovered which were belief in divine order, ethnic identity, social activity, family activity, and upbringing.

Muslim Religious Identity

The important question, and one that has not been posed often of those of Muslim heritage, is the role their particular religious orientation plays in their attitudes. The influence of Islamic values on one's attitudes toward important issues depends on the content of those values. Further, the meaning of "Muslim identity" and the influence of this identity on attitudes will be very different for someone raised a Muslim but who no longer practices as compared to someone who faithfully follows Islamic religious practices.

In general, the literature indicates that Muslims tend to identify strongly with their religion and thus Islam plays a very important role in the lives of most Muslims (Albelaikhi, 1998; Carolan et al., 2000; Jamal & Badawi, 1993). A plausible explanation of this phenomenon is that Islam is very often described as a way of life. It influences the daily living of Muslims worldwide. As previously noted, Islam includes five pillars of

which only the first, acknowledging the existence of one God and the Prophet Muhammad is attitudinal. The other four pillars encompass overt behaviours: praying five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramadan, giving to the poor, and making a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in a lifetime. Such practices tend to be not only more visible than those of other religions, but they make Islam seem to be more of a daily and ritualized religion than others (Carolan et al., 2000). However, like those born and raised in a Christian sociocultural context, Muslims do vary in the extent to which they define themselves as practising or observant Muslims.

Further, Islamic religiousness, like Christian, Jewish, and Hindu religiousness, is multidimensional phenomenon. Although similar to other religious traditions, Islam is nonetheless distinct and unique and therefore must be examined within its own conceptual framework. Wilde and Joseph (1997) found three dimensions of Islamic religiousness. The first was referred to as the personal help dimension. This dimension viewed religion as helpful and inspirational to the individual. The second factor was referred to as the Muslim worldview dimension in which the applicability of God and Islam was seen in the lives of all people. Finally, the third dimension was the Muslim practices dimension which reflected the extent to which Muslims observed religious practices. Ghorbani, Watson, Framarz, Ghramaleki, Morris and Wood (2000 as cited in Abu Raiya) tested this scale on an Iranian population and found all three dimensions to positively correlate with both intrinsic and extrinsic religiousness.

Abu Raiya (2005, as cited in Abu Raiya, 2006), in a study conducted on Muslims in Israel and America found five dimensions of Islamic religiousness: beliefs (belief in the tenets of Islam such as God, heaven, hell etc), practices (praying, pilgrimage, etc.),

ethical conduct-dos (ethical behaviour to engage in such as being humble, honoring parents, etc.), ethical conduct - don'ts (inappropriate behaviour in which to engage such as eating pork, drinking alcohol), and Islamic universality (viewing every Muslim as a brother or sister). Abu Raiya interpreted high endorsement of each of these dimensions as indicating intrinsic religiousness and found that the majority of the respondents appeared to be intrinsically motivated. As these participants may have been eager to portray Islam in a positive light, and since it has been found that extrinsic religiousness occurs in all religions (Pargament, 2002), it is therefore essential to assess extrinsic religiousness in Muslims. Also, as religious exclusivism has been found to predict potential prejudice (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992), measuring this dimension of religiousness in Muslims becomes important as well.

Based on his previous work, Abu Raiya (2006) thus identified seven dimensions of Muslim religiousness: 1) Islamic Beliefs (e.g., belief in God); 2) Islamic Ethical Conduct and Identification with other Muslims; 3) Islamic Duty, Obligation, and Exclusiveness to Islam; 4) Islamic Fear of God 5) Islamic Coping and Source of Identification of Self; 6) Islamic Doubts and 7) Islamic Conversion.

The first dimension, Islamic Beliefs, reveals the extent to which one adheres to and believes in the basic tenets of Islam. The second dimension, Islamic Ethical Conduct and Identification, indicates the role Islam plays in determining the individual's ethical conduct and feelings of universality, the sense of identity with all other Muslims. The third dimension, Islamic Duty, Obligation, and Exclusiveness reveals the extent to which one feels a sense of duty and obligation to adhere to the tenets of Islam. This particular dimension encompasses religious introjection, or behaviours which are driven by

pressure from others and a desire of the approval of others, and religious identification, or adopting religious beliefs as personal values. It also encompasses a sense of religious exclusivism in which one's own religion is viewed as the absolute and only reality.

The fourth dimension, Islamic Fear of God, reflects a sense of fear of punishment from God for behaving in a manner deemed inappropriate by Islam, or failing to adhere to Islamic beliefs and values, and a feeling of being punished by God in times of crisis. Pargament, Koenig, and Perez (2000) found that people who identified strongly with this dimension appeared to have negative coping mechanisms and so would have a less secure relationship with God, a fragile and gloomy view of the world, and experience religious struggle in finding and keeping significance in life.

The fifth dimension, Islamic Coping and Source of Identification of Self, is the view that Islam provides a way to cope with difficulties and source of self-identification. It has been found that those who use religion as a means to cope with crises in a positive manner have a secure relationship with God, a belief that there is a greater meaning to be found in life, and a feeling of being spiritually connected to others (Pargament, Koenig, & Perez, 2000).

The sixth dimension, Islamic Doubt, indicated the extent to which Muslims struggle with their faith. Struggle with religion is reflected by the doubts, questions, difficulties, and conflicts that an individual may experience when they follow a religion.

Finally, Islamic Conversion is relevant to those who have converted to Islam, or changed themselves from being non-observant Muslims to those who placed great importance on the role of Islam in their lives and see the sacred as being a part of their self identity (Pargament, 1997 as cited in Abu Raiya, 2006).

Although Abu Raiya's (2006) factor analysis indicated that these seven dimensions were distinct, six of the seven correlated positively. The seventh, Islamic Doubt, correlated negatively with the other dimensions. Those who questioned their religion and struggled with its components had relatively low scores on the other dimensions of religious orientation. This negative correlation was especially strong between Islamic Doubt and Islamic Ethical Conduct. In other words, those who strongly adhered to and observed the ethical conduct prescribed by Islam were found to not have doubts or questions about their religion. Also, those who had converted or reverted to Islam and felt that Islam played a vital role in their lifestyle change were found to strongly adhere to the ethical conduct prescribed by Islam. A strong relation was also found between fearing God's punishment for misconduct, a strong conviction and adherence in the basic beliefs of Islam, and a high adherence to the ethical conduct prescribed by Islam.

Although many of these dimensions of religiousness can be found in varying religions, there are some which appear to be exclusive to Islam. The dimension of religious exclusivism, although seen as negative by Christian respondents (Altmeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Pargament, 1997, as cited in Abu Raiya, 2006), has been viewed as positive and desirable by Muslim respondents (Abu Raiya, 2006). Also, the concept of universality, or the sense that all Muslims are brothers and sisters and one's suffering is felt by others, has not appeared as a dimension of religiousness for other religions and appears to be exclusive to Islam. Finally, although both positive religious coping and religious identification reflect positive religiousness in many traditions, they have not been linked within one single dimension in other religious traditions. These support the

notion that Islam, while similar in many ways to other religious traditions, has unique dimensions and characteristics.

However, why are the multiple dimensions important? Different dimensions of religiousness have been associated with different attitudes and behaviours. Religious exclusivism has been found to lead to greater prejudice (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). Allen and Spilka (1967) found a greater sense of consensual religiousness was related to higher levels of prejudice. Batson (1967) found those who are high on extrinsic religiousness are also higher on prejudiced attitudes. Relations between mental health and religiousness dimensions have also been found. Tix and Frazier (2005) found that Catholics with high levels of intrinsic religiousness had high levels of anxiety and depression, yet Protestant intrinsic religiousness was not related to either anxiety or depression. Finally, psychological well being has been linked to intrinsic religiousness (see Pargament, 2002). The relation between religious orientation and acculturation has not been investigated to any great extent. Ghorpade, Lackritz, and Singh (2006) investigated the relation between intrinsic religiousness and identification with contact culture of Christian African American, Asian American, Filipino, and Latino student participants. They found those who scored high on intrinsic religiosity scored low on identification with contact culture and high on alienation from contact culture. A study conducted on missionaries posted overseas found that those who were highly extrinsically religious experienced higher levels of acculturative stress (Navara & James, 2005). As most of the religious orientation research in North America has focused on Christians, and most of the Christians studied have been dominant culture members, the

relation between acculturation and Islamic religiousness dimensions has not received much attention.

The relation between the religiousness of South Asian Muslims, their acculturation processes, and their attitudes toward women has not been addressed. What will be the relation between the dimensions of Islamic religiousness, as described by Abu Raiya (2006), acculturation, and attitudes toward women?

South Asian Muslims, Ethnocultural and Religious Identity

As mentioned previously, Ghuman (1999, as cited in Robinson, 2005) found that the majority of the second generation South Asian immigrants in the UK in his study valued both heritage and contact cultures, rejecting assimilation, separation, and marginalization. However, the Muslim South Asians in this sample supported integration less than their Hindu and Sikh counterparts and chose instead to emphasize their distinctive Muslim identity.

Although sharing a culture, South Asian Muslims appear to have different acculturative experiences than their Hindu and Sikh counterparts, differences that may be explained by both internally driven and externally imposed conditions. Modood, Berthoud, Lakey, Nazroo, Smith, Virdee, Beishon, and Virdee (1997) found that UK Muslims were more likely than Hindus and Sikhs to identify their religion as important in determining the way they live their lives. Anwar (1998) found that although all the UK South Asians in the study identified religion as the main basis for their ethnic identity this sentiment was more common among the Muslims in the study's sample. Modood, Beishon, and Virdee (1994 as cited in Robinson, 2005) found that, overall, religion was more important for first generation than for second generation South Asians. However,

this was not the case for second generation South Asian Muslims, who believed that Islam was central and valuable in their lives. Similarly, Robinson (2005) found that Muslim, Pakistani adolescents in Britain identified more with their religious identity than with their ethnic identity. This sentiment appears to be similar for Muslim youth of other cultural backgrounds. In her study, Ahmed (2003) found that Muslim youth were more religious than their non-Muslim peers and that spirituality was considered to be an asset more often by Muslim youth than their non-Muslim peers. The Muslim youth in Ahmed's study had explored their religious beliefs and values more than non-Muslim youth as well as having committed to their religion more. In Britain, many South Asian Muslims see their cultures and religion as being distinct from the mainstream society. In that country, Pakistani Muslim youth have always had "conflicts of identity" mainly between their religion, Islam, and their citizenship as British nationals (Hussain & Bagguley, 2001, p.416). Such a conflict of identity has become more emphasized since September 11, 2001 (Hussain & Bagguley, 2001).

The differences between Muslim and non-Muslim South Asians on importance placed on the role of religion may in part be explained by the world events which occurred as a result of the tragic events of September 11th, 2001. In the weeks following September 11th, hate crimes against Muslims increased in Canada, the USA, and the UK (Eck, 2001; Helly, 2004; Peek, 2005; Sheridan, 2006). Ethnic profiling of Muslims occurred and the Canadian public's opinion of Muslims became more negative, increasing fear of hate crime victimization among Muslims. Although the situation improved by 2002 and measures were put into place by the government, both federal and municipal, to fight the negative atmosphere (e.g., attempts to create connections between

the Muslim community and municipal authorities), Muslims still felt disillusioned regarding their status as Canadians. Many Muslims felt that their lives had become worse, they feared for their families, felt unaccepted by fellow Canadians, and felt that Canadians thought Muslims were violent people (Helly, 2004). In a study on the religious identity of Muslim youth in the United States, Peek (2005) reported that participants reported feeling more fearful after the attacks. Many of the respondents described how their parents would not allow them to, or did not want them to, attend school for days following the attacks.

As mentioned earlier, one of the factors influencing acculturation is the amount of discrimination faced from the contact culture. All South Asians face discrimination from other Canadians as was demonstrated by a national survey in which Canadians of diverse cultural heritages reported being less comfortable and tolerant of those of South Asian background than of most other ethnic groups (Berry & Kalin, 1993 as cited in Naidoo, 2003). However Muslim South Asians are experiencing discrimination based not only on their ethnic origin but also on their religion.

In today's political climate, Muslims in the West are finding themselves under threat. In this atmosphere of Islamophobia, Muslims are being accused of being a threat to the West and its national security with allegations being thrown at them of poor participation in the contact society. Muslims today find themselves being forced from both sides, those within the contact cultural group and those extreme elements from within the Muslim community, to choose between their faith and the contact culture (Afshar, Aitken, & Franks, 2005). Muslims in the West feel they must choose an identity. Already being accused of not participating in or identifying with the contact culture,

Muslims appear to have the choice of either identifying with the contact culture only or identifying with the heritage culture. Muslims living in the West are being asked to choose without being given the option to retain both, or reject both.

The pressure from both sides can have an impact upon the acculturation of South Asian Muslims. Acculturation can be affected by the amount of control acculturating individuals have over their association with contact culture and heritage culture. Those who voluntarily associate with contact culture are more likely to assimilate or integrate whereas those who are forced to associate with or are forcibly denied association with contact culture can become separated or marginalized. Generally, South Asians are a group which has chosen Canada as a home but have not traditionally felt forced to assimilate to Canadian culture. South Asians began arriving in Canada in the late 1960's. Pursuing higher education was the primary reason for the migration. Those who have arrived in recent years have come in pursuit of economic attainment. Very few have been forced to come to Canada as a result of refugee conditions or otherwise. However, South Asian Muslims, as a result of being Muslim, may feel forced to choose and so may have different acculturation experiences than their non-Muslim counterparts.

However, choosing to associate strongly only with their religious identity can act as a hindrance to the acculturation process in a non-Muslim society. The religious obligations that Muslims have with regard to behaviours such as prayer, fasting, and diet are not only components of everyday life for Muslims but also can shape their cultural goals (Yousif, 1992). Islamic values may not match those of the dominant culture. Yet the issue of acculturation is one of importance to the Muslim community in the West. Yousif (1992) states that the "question of whether Muslim immigrants can or should

adapt to North American's non-Islamic culture and values is one of the greatest issues facing the survival of the Muslim community in Canada" (p.537). In describing his study of a sample of Muslims in Ottawa, Yousif (1992) stated that his study examined whether Muslims in this community were "maintaining their cultures and traditions and practicing Islam as they did in their countries of origin, or whether they are losing their Islamic identity and faith through integration into Canadian society" (p.537). The author implies that integration means the loss of religious identity among Muslims.

However, associating only with contact culture is not an option for many South Asian Muslims (as with their non-Muslim counterparts) as they do place an importance on their heritage culture. Muslim youth must deal with the issue of acculturation. Ahmed (2003) found that, of the eight challenges that Muslim youth stated they faced; acculturation and identity issues were the second most common challenge with 23% of the respondents identifying this particular challenge. Many common practices among those in the West such as alcohol consumption, dating, and premarital sex are forbidden in Islam. Very often Muslims find it difficult to retain their religious values and lifestyle in such a context, yet the continuity of the religion is important to many Muslims (Ahmed, 2003; Zine, 2001). Muslim youth often feel that the North American context within which they live does not support their religious way of life. As Fahlman (1983, as cited in Ahmed, 2003) describes, many of these youth report feeling pressured from their peers and teachers to participate in events, such as school dances, which they feel contradict their religious beliefs. Consequently, these students are often labelled loners or strange. As a result Muslim youth can often feel isolated or alienated, struggling between maintenance of religious beliefs and relating to their non-Muslim peers (Ahmed, 2003).

Even before the attacks of 9/11 it appeared that Islam was a more important part of the identity of British South Asian Muslim youth than it had been for their parents (Samad, 1998). It now appears that Muslim youth have increased in level of religiosity since the horrific attacks of 9/11. Peek (2005) found that after the event of September 11th, 2001, the religious identity of her American participants became stronger. These young Muslims often found themselves in situations in which they had to defend their religion. They therefore felt a strong desire to represent Islam, both through explanations and actions, in a positive manner to counter the negative atmosphere of the time. This in turn increased their levels of religiosity and made religion a more important part of their identity. These increasing levels of religiosity are occurring among the second generation of Muslim immigrants (Afshar, 2005; Peek, 2005). In her CBC News Viewpoint piece, journalist Natasha Fatah (2005) explored how Muslim youth today are undergoing an identity crisis. She reported on a growing trend among Muslim youth, who were born and raised in Canada and Britain, or second generation immigrants, of assuming a highly religious position, more so than their parents.

However, for many South Asian Muslims, their South Asian identity is still an important part of their lives. Many South Asian Muslims in Canada identify and associate with others of their own culture, as opposed to Muslims from other cultures of the world. As one Pakistani man stated, "We worship together, but then the Pakistanis go back to their curries and the Arabs to their Kebabs" (Coward & Goa, 1987, p.77). In many larger cities of Canada, each ethnic group has its own mosque (Coward & Goa, 1987). Thus it can be seen that the question of identity remains open as many South Asian Muslims, especially in a post 9-11 world, identify strongly with their religion. Yet, at the same

time, there are South Asian Muslims for whom their ethnicity is very salient. What is the relation between these two identities and how do they relate to the attitudes of this population?

Attitudes Toward Women

Gender has been defined as socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and characteristics deemed appropriate for men and women, as opposed to sex which is the biological and physiological manifestation of men and women (WHO website). Sex is often considered consistent across cultures and situations whereas gender can have varying manifestations. Consequently, gender roles, or as McGuire (1997) defines as the “social group’s expectations of behaviours, attitudes, and motivations ‘appropriate’ to males and females” (p.121) are also socially constructed. Attitudes toward gender roles refers to the attitudes which people hold about what behaviour is appropriate for men and women and such attitudes are a result of socialization which occur within a particular cultural context. An individual’s culture has an impact upon their attitudes toward women. Gender roles are constructed as people internalize the social group’s expectations or appropriate behaviour for men and women. People then evaluate themselves based upon these expectations (McGuire, 1997).

South Asian Culture and Attitudes Toward Women

South Asian culture is a patriarchal culture in which women are seen as subordinate to men (Abraham, 1999). The countries of South Asia lack state-sponsored resources and services for women forcing women to comply with the patriarchal culture (Ayyub, 2000). In South Asian marriages husbands are seen as authority figures as well as the decision makers and women are expected to be dependent upon men (Farver,

2002). Women who fit into traditional roles of mother, wife, daughter etc. are given more respect than those not fitting into these roles (Ayyub, 2000). South Asian parents living in the West place more restrictions on their daughters than they do their sons as the daughters are seen as responsible for the honour of the family (Ayyub, 2000; Dwyer, 2000; Ghuman, 2005; Shaw, 2000 as cited in Robinson, 2005). Boys on the other hand are often given more freedom than girls. Women growing up in South Asia learn certain behaviours as being appropriate and others as not (Inman, 2001). Appropriate sexual behaviour is monitored more for girls than for boys for reasons of the family's honour. Sexual activity is to be restricted to within the constraints of marriage and any sexual activity outside these constraints is seen as a threat not only to the honour of the family but of the whole community. For such reasons dating is not allowed among many South Asian families and greater emphasis is placed on marriage. As dating is discouraged, arranged marriages become the main path to marriage. Women's status is then defined by her role as a wife and mother and such roles are clearly defined (Rahman, 2002).

In a study conducted in Pakistan it was found that men and women were allotted unique roles and these roles were complementary to each other. The men were considered to be the breadwinners, to manage the family, and to participate in society whereas the women were expected to be homemakers, care for the children, and remain in the home. This study also found that the adjectives coupled with women were mainly negative ones while those attached to men were positive (Williams, Best, Haque, Pandey, & Verma, 1982). In Bangladesh it was found that men found the role of women as homemaker, and mother as most fitting and desirable (Ilyas, 1990). In South Asian culture, women are

encouraged to be obedient as this is seen as a sign of respect to others, including the husband.

In her review of the literature on South Asian women in Canada, Naidoo's (2003) found that first generation South Asian women wished to retain certain traditional aspects of their culture such as the importance of their role as mother, feeling that only the mother of the child could appropriately care for the child. In responding to who they were the women's answers revolved around their family and their roles within their families. However, not all South Asian women living in the West have such positive opinions about the expectations placed upon them. In a qualitative study of British Pakistani Muslim girls, Dwyer (2000) found that many of the girls felt resentful about an added responsibility to perpetuate their heritage culture to future generations. Many of the girls felt they did not have enough knowledge about the culture or religion to pass along. This responsibility is one which is common for many second generation South Asian girls leading to greater restrictions being placed upon them as they are the gatekeepers of culture (Dasgupta, 1998). However, although many gender roles remain distinctive between the genders, there does appear to be more egalitarianism in homes in North American South Asian families than in families in South Asia (Durvasula & Mylvaganam, 1994).

Islam and Attitudes Toward Women

Traditionally, religion has played a very significant function in constructing these gender roles. For centuries religion has defined appropriate behaviours for both men and women, being one of the most influential forces on gender role construction.

Appropriate moral behaviours have been defined by religion, especially for women. Religions have often dictated modesty and forms of dress appropriate for both men and women though the emphasis has been on women (McGuire, 1997). In Islam, modesty in dress has been prescribed for both men and women though the definition of modesty is gender specific. Men are obligated to cover the areas between their navels and knees whereas women are supposed to cover the area between their necks and mid-calves, though this is a point of debate among Muslims. The common Islamic discourse today dictates that the woman is an object of desire and therefore must be covered from head to toe. The veil is said to protect the women from sexual harassment from men, who are prone to do such things due to lack of self control in the presence of the female (Berkta, 1998). Thus, many Muslim women often wear the hijab, or head covering, and other forms of distinctively modest dress, praying in separate areas of mosques, and remaining segregated from men in general.

However, as with other religions, Islam was not created or imposed in a cultural vacuum and in the context of the cultures that predominated in those countries in which Islam initially took root, its teachings are seen by many Muslims as egalitarian. Before the introduction of Islam in the Prophet Muhammad's region, many cultural practices situated women in a subordinate position. The Prophet Muhammad's time initiated many egalitarian reforms. However, following his death, many of the old practices were brought back, many of which can be seen today in most Muslim societies (Aslan, 2005; Mernissi, 1996). Muslim women today may therefore be exposed to what may seem to be discrepant beliefs about women and their role in society: those from the culture which

dictate traditional and subordinate positions, and those of the Qur'an which many say presents an egalitarian view (Abu-Ali, 1999).

However, the interpretation of the Qur'an as egalitarian may in turn be subject to discussion and disagreement. Not all Muslims interpret the Qur'an in such a way. Traditionally, misogynous male interpretations of the Qur'an have led to the subjugation of Muslim women for centuries (Aslan, 2005; Barlas, 2002). For many Muslim men, adherence to the tenets of Islam is very often seen as empowering. For many women, this same adherence is seen as oppressive. Regardless of what the religion of Islam may dictate, in many Muslim countries, including those of South Asia, the interpretation of Islam is such that women find themselves in an unfavourable situation, one in which many of their rights are denied (Afkhani, 1995; Barlas, 2002; Mernissi, 1987; Moghissi, 1999). In these countries, women are expected to be subservient and silent (Mernissi, 1996). They are to be under the guardianship of their fathers and/or brothers before marriage and of their husbands after marriage (Baden, 1992). Such oppression is a result of centuries of misogynous interpretations of the Qur'an and the Hadith.

The Hadith are the Prophetic traditions. In other words, they are written collections of actions and words attributed to the Prophet Muhammad, and the second most important text in Islam, after the Qur'an. Initially, the Hadith were oral anecdotes recalled by those who had spent time with the Prophet. However, as they passed away this knowledge became second hand as the next generation became propagators of the knowledge the previous generation relayed. Subsequently, with the demise of the second generation the Hadith then became the responsibility of the next generation. The passing on of this knowledge continued in such a manner for many generations. Less than two

centuries after the Prophet's death, more than seven hundred thousand Hadith were circulating in the Muslim world, with the majority of them being unauthentic and fabricated by those trying to justify their actions through a connection to the Prophet. In the ninth and tenth century the Hadith were sorted in an attempt to part the reliable ones from the others. However, shortly following the Prophet's death many of the men who took it upon themselves to interpret the Qur'an and the Prophetic words and actions had more of an interest in regaining the financial and social dominance they had lost with the Prophet's egalitarian reforms than with accurately interpreting the text and traditions. Egalitarianism between men and women was one of such reforms, one which the wealthy and powerful men of the time were never comfortable with. With the Prophet's death they saw an opportunity to reintroduce the inequality and subsequently their dominance (Aslan, 2005). Therefore, although many of the Hadith may be accurate, there exist many which have been fabricated. However, today, many Hadith remain unquestioned regardless of their suspect nature.

With regard to the role of religion in determining the relationships between men and women, feminist theorists have generally argued that the world's major religions have been and continue to be used to empower men and oppress women. Traditionally, Western religions have provided men with greater authority, placing women in a subordinate position, very often preventing them from access to positions of power and high socioeconomic status (Anderson & Young, 2004; Gross, 1996; McGuire, 1997). Feminist exploration of religion often reveals that religions deem men to be closer to those things important and so closer to God whereas women are deemed closer to things of lesser value (Anderson & Young, 2004). For example, men in Judaism and Islam are

given the responsibility of religious ritualistic practice and scholarship, placing them in a position of religious authority, therefore closer to God.

Ideas of traditional gender roles have been associated with conservative religious beliefs (Brinkerhoff & MacKie, 1985; Kirkpatrick, 1993; MacFarland, 1989). However, the extent to which religion affects attitudes toward women depends upon the role a religion plays within an individual's life (Burn & Busso, 2005). Those considered to be fundamentalist and conservative tend to have traditional views of the roles of women. Though originally a Christian construct, fundamentalism is today applied to all religions. Fundamentalism includes beliefs that a single truth exists, that secularism is wrong, the ancient scriptures are infallible and to be adhered to, and that a past in which men and women lived in different spheres and in which women were subordinate to men was an ideal time (Anwar, 1999; Hargrove, 1989; Moghissi, 1999).

Within Islam, fundamentalism has been a relatively new phenomenon manifested with the ambivalence seen toward modernity. Fundamentalism within the Islamic world came about not only as a reaction to what was seen as Western influence and modernity, but also a response to what was seen as a deviation from Islam among the Muslim community which was leading to the fall of the Muslim world (Johnstone, 1997). Moghissi (1999) sees Islamic fundamentalism as being anti-feminism. She argues that Muslim fundamentalists see women's roles as centred on the home as mother, wife, and housekeeper only. To many the unveiling of women has been a sign of the degradation of societies. However, Moghissi also argues that those who follow a less fundamentalist ideology, but still conservative, often have similar views about women and their roles. Conservative Muslims believe that Muslim women must observe hijab, or covering of the

hair. Many conservatives take the meaning of the hijab in the traditional sense and insist that women are to remain secluded from the male gaze not only through clothing but through structural barriers as well (Clarke, 2004). Mernissi (1987) declares Muslim female sexuality as a basis for such insistent among Conservative Muslims.

The theory of sexuality most prevalent in Muslim societies is eleventh century Islamic scholar Imam Ghazali's implicit theory of female sexuality, stemming from his interpretation of the Qur'an. Ghazali claims that the woman is the 'hunter' and the man her passive victim. The woman is seen as powerful but whose power is for the destruction of Muslim social order. She is seen as a sexual being using deception, cunning, and intrigue to defeat and destroy men. Mernissi (1987) states that the "whole Muslim organization of social interaction and spatial configuration can be understood in terms of women's *qaid* power (power to deceive and defeat men by cunning and intrigue). The social order then appears as an attempt to subjugate her power and neutralize its disruptive effects" (p. 33). Women are seen as vehicles to *fitna*, or disorder and chaos. Men are seen as weak, not being able to resist the allures of women. Thus, rules of veiling and seclusion to the home are instilled to prevent women from leading men astray with their overpowering sexuality and sexual urges.

Such rules and the related discourse of a chaotic female sexuality can be seen today in recent debates about women and veiling in the West. In a qualitative study conducted by Dwyer (2000) on Pakistani Muslim girls in Britain, it was found that many of the girls felt that those girls who did not dress according to tradition, and rather chose to dress in English ways, were considered to be rebellious and sexually active. Appropriate attire for Muslim women is a topic of controversy and much debate among

Muslims from opinions ranging from absolute opposition to such things as the hijab and veil, or face covering, to adamant support of the interpreted obligatory nature of the veil. A common view propagated among Muslims in Canada sees the hijab as a distinctive marker of Islam in Canada. The hijab is then portrayed by major Islamic organizations as a mark of modesty and moral respectability (Atasoy, 2006).

Ambivalent Sexism

In the common discourse within the Islamic world, men and women are seen as complementary with differing roles. The man is considered to be the provider for the family and the woman is responsible for the domestic sphere. She is seen, Nasr (2002) asserts, as the “real mistress of the household, in which the husband is like a guest” (p. 191). Although allowed to work outside the home, Muslim women are encouraged to stay at home and care for their children as this is seen as more important than working outside the home. She is responsible for the rearing and education of the children, which is seen as the highest of all callings.

Glick and Fiske (1996) claim that placing women in restricted roles regardless of how positive they may seem is sexist, though not in the ways in which sexism is commonly understood. Glick and Fiske state that sexism is comprised of two attitudes: hostile and benevolent. Hostile sexism is the commonly understood concept of sexism. It involves feelings of hostility and prejudice toward women with a belief that women are trying to control men through feminism. Benevolent sexism, on the other hand, is less conspicuous and is defined by Glick and Fiske as “a set of interrelated attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone (for the perceiver) and also tend to elicit

behaviours typically categorized as prosocial...or intimacy seeking..." (p.491). This type of sexism is often accepted by women as it is invisible and works effectively to create inequality for that reason (Glick et al., 2000; Glick & Fiske, 2001). The women who conform to benevolent beliefs receive rewards for their conformity; however their status as women is undercut and their treatment is not equal to that of men (Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997; Masser & Abrams, 1999). Although positive in tone for the perceiver, benevolent sexism is nonetheless seen as troublesome. The foundations of benevolent sexism are based on traditional stereotypes of women and ideas of male dominance. Glick and Fiske point out that there is much evidence for the existence of benevolent sexism within many research areas. Helping behaviour research has shown that females are more likely to elicit help than males (Eagly & Crowley, 1986 as cited in Glick & Fiske, 1996), men and women both are more likely to seek intimacy with female rather than male strangers (Riess & Salzer, 1981 as cited in Glick and Fiske, 1996), and there exist more positive stereotypes of women than men (Eagly & Mladinic, 1993 as cited in Glick & Fiske, 1996; Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto, 1991). Both benevolent and hostile sexism, although different in tone, share the assumptions that women should be restricted to the domestic sphere and that they are inherently the "weaker" sex. Hostile sexism encourages the belief that women are considered to be incapable of agency and therefore unfit for positions of power ("Women are weak"). Benevolent sexism comfortably rationalizes confining women to the domestic roles ("Women need to be provided for"). Both types of sexism operate so as to validate men's power within society. Benevolent sexism can then be used to legitimate hostile sexism, with both being

seen working together, thus leading to ambivalent sexism (“Women are weak therefore men must protect and provide for them”) (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Benevolent and hostile sexism are composed of three components which are seen to lead to men’s ambivalent sexism toward women: paternalism, gender differentiation, and heterosexuality. Each component has a set of beliefs which have hostile and benevolent aspects, therefore which have inherently ambivalent aspects. Paternalism refers to a father’s dealing with his children. Paternalism displays itself in hostile and benevolent sexism as dominative and protective. Those who support dominative paternalism would assume women to be incompetent and in need of a superordinate male. Those advocating protective paternalism would see women as needing protection. As ambivalent sexism would suggest both could exist together as men are dependent on women as mothers, wives, and romantic objects. Women are therefore to be loved and cherished as well as protected (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Gender differentiation occurs in all cultures (Harris, 1991 as cited in Glick & Fiske, 1996). According to Tajfel’s (1982) social identity theory, people tend to differentiate between groups more when the group with which they associate will provide social status. This aids in creating social beliefs that justify status differentiation. Glick and Fiske (1996) argue that gender differentiation then justifies male structural power. As a result only men are seen as having traits which are needed to govern important social institutions. However, as men feel a need for women as their mothers, wives, and romantic objects, they conceive positive attributes of women (Eagly & Mladinic, 1993) in ways that complement their own attributes. The attributes of each are such that they

complement each other; what the man may lack the woman will possess which creates a situation in which the woman is seen as completing the man (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Heterosexuality is seen as one of the most powerful sources of men's ambivalent sexism toward women. For men, as well as women, heterosexual relationships are seen as one of the most intimate relationships (Berscheid, Snyder, & Omoto, 1989, as cited in Glick & Fiske, 1996). As women are very often viewed as gate-keepers of sex the dynamics of heterosexual relationships become such that a more powerful group (men) is in subordination of a less powerful group (women) (Zillman & Weaver, 1989). This can lead to resentment toward women as they are seen to control access to sexual pleasure. Such resentment can lead to attitudes of hostile sexism.

In a study conducted by Glick et al. (2000) involving researchers from around the world, it was found that hostile and benevolent sexism correlated positively across the 19 countries examined, that hostile attitudes predicted ascription of negative traits for women and benevolent attitudes predicted ascription of positive traits for women, that women were more likely than men to reject hostile rather than benevolent attitudes toward women especially when overall sexism was high in their particular country, and the average of hostile and benevolent sexism of a country predicted gender inequality.

The relation between religiosity and ambivalent sexism has not been well investigated. Very few studies have been conducted to examine the issue. Glick, Lameiras, and Castro (2002) investigated the relation between Catholic religiosity and ambivalent sexism with a Spanish sample. They found a positive correlation between level of religiosity and benevolent sexism, but not hostile sexism. Using a sample of predominantly Christian, male and female university students, Burn and Busso (2005)

conducted a study on the relation between religiosity and ambivalent sexism. They found that a deeper religiosity and a stronger adherence to the text were positively correlated to benevolent attitudes toward women. Greater levels of religiosity led to benevolent sexist attitudes as opposed to hostile sexist ones. In a related study on the relation between different types of conservatism and ambivalent sexism Christopher and Mull (2006) found that those who held views which supported the maintenance of social traditions influenced by religious beliefs and strongly opposed those who broke these traditions were high on benevolent sexism.

However, the relation between religiosity and sexism is a complex one as it depends upon not only level of religiosity but also the religion as well as the role of religion in a person's life (Burn & Busso, 2005). Christianity and Islam, being similar religions are also very similar in the ways in which attitudes toward women are manifested. Nonetheless, although there are similarities, Abu Raiya (2006) found that fundamentalism or religious exclusivism, which is the belief that there exists an absolute reality and only one way to approach that reality (Pargament, 1997 in Abu Raiya), were considered to be a positive type of religiosity for Muslim respondents whereas for Christians the same type of religiousness is considered to be negative. However, research is lacking investigating any relation between Islamic religious orientation and ambivalent sexism.

The Current Study

As the values of Islam are so often seen as inconsistent with the values of the West, the levels and type of religiosity may be impacted by the level of identification of South Asian Muslims in Canada with Canadian culture versus their heritage culture. Religiosity

has also been shown to have a relation with attitudes toward women, with most attitudes being benevolently sexist. Muslim women are often seen as oppressed and ill-treated. In the November 14th, 2006 Globe and Mail newspaper, a national survey reported that although most Canadians support the rights of Muslims to practice their religion they feel that in regard to treatment of women Muslims should adapt to Canadian beliefs (Jimenez, 2006). Also, South Asian culture is a patriarchal culture with attitudes toward women supporting patriarchal norms. However, what is the relation between the identification with heritage or contact culture, religiousness, and attitudes toward women? The model proposed presents ethnocultural identity (heritage and contact) as the antecedent variable, dimensions of religiousness as intervening variables, and attitudes toward women (hostile and benevolent sexism) as the outcome variables. With these three concepts in mind (see Figure 1), this study proposes the following hypotheses:

1) Greater identification with heritage culture, South Asian culture, will be related to greater levels of Islamic religiousness as demonstrated by higher scores on six dimensions of Islamic religiousness: (1) Islamic beliefs; 2) Islam as a determinant of ethical conduct and identification with other Muslims; 3) sense of duty and obligation to Islam and exclusiveness of Islam; 4) fear of God's punishment for misconduct; 5) Islam as a coping mechanism and source of identification of self; and 6) the role of Islam in conversion to Islam) and a lower score on a seventh dimension (questioning of Islam).

2) Greater identification with contact culture, Canadian culture, will be related to lower levels of religiousness as demonstrated by lower scores on six dimensions of Islamic religiousness: (1) Islamic beliefs; 2) Islam as a determinant of ethical conduct and identification with other Muslims; 3) sense of duty and obligation to Islam and

exclusiveness of Islam;; 4) fear of God's punishment for misconduct; 5) Islam as a coping mechanism and source of identification of self; and 6) the role of Islam in conversion to Islam) and possibly a higher score on a seventh dimension (questioning of Islam).

3) Greater identification with heritage culture, South Asian culture, will be related to higher levels of both benevolent and hostile sexism.

4) Greater identification with contact culture, Canadian culture, will be related to lower levels of both benevolent and hostile sexism.

The preceding can be predicted with some confidence; however, the following hypotheses are simply exploratory.

5) As the seven dimensions of Islamic religiousness have been found to be correlated, overall high scores on the six positively correlated and a low score on the negatively correlated dimension will be related to high levels of benevolent sexism. However, stronger relations may be seen between particular dimensions and sexism.

6) Greater levels of Islamic Conversion religiousness will be related to higher levels of benevolent sexism.

7) Greater levels of Islamic Ethical Conduct will be related to higher levels of benevolent sexism.

8) Greater levels of Islamic coping will be related to higher levels of benevolent sexism.

Identification with contact
or heritage culture

Islamic religiosity
dimensions

Sexism

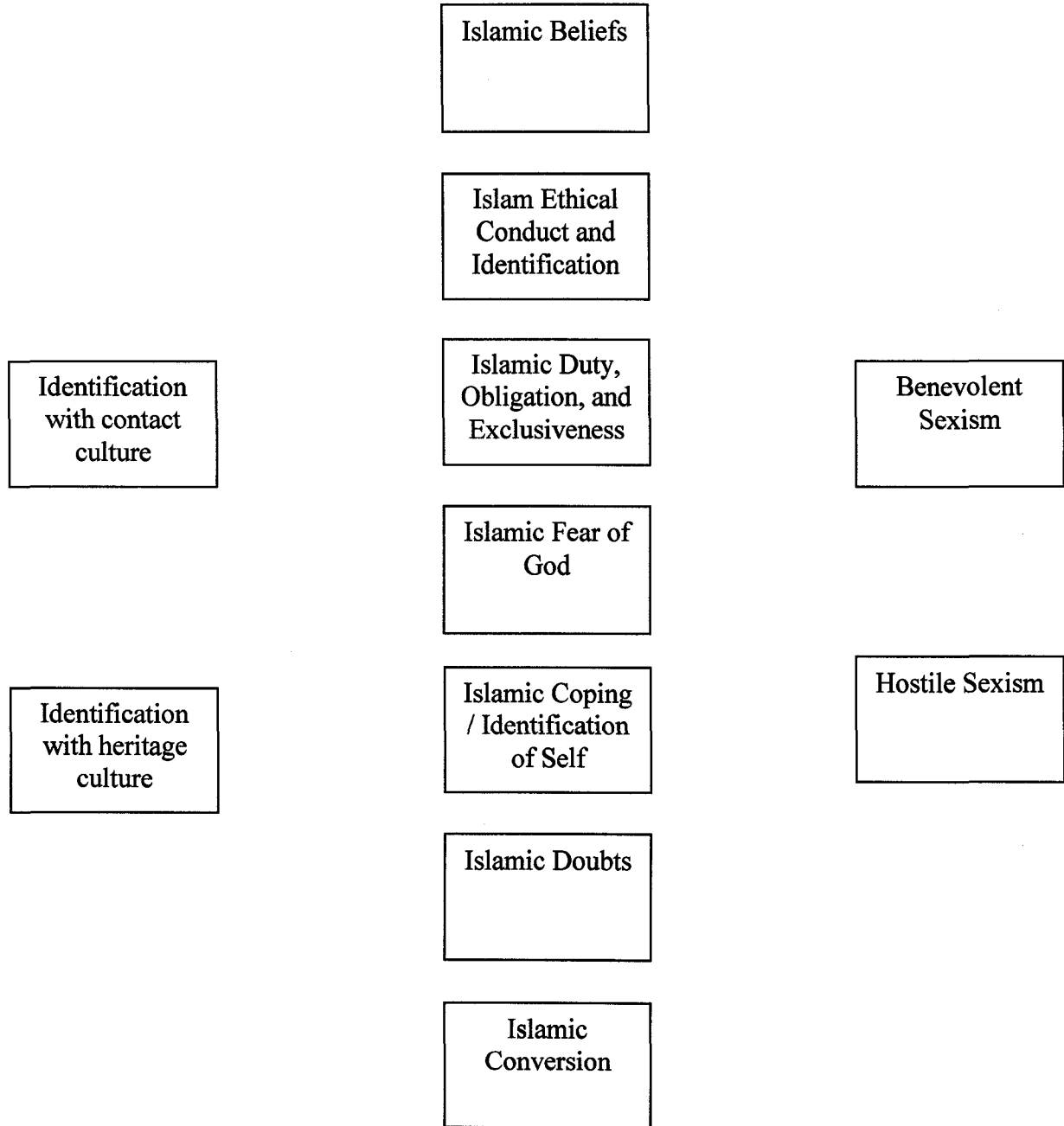


Figure 1. Research model for current study.

Chapter II

Method

Participants

One hundred sixty-three participants from across Canada completed an online survey. They were recruited in three different ways. At the University of Windsor, posters and flyers distributed throughout the campus (Appendix A) provided information about the study and an online address. To access Muslim Canadians of South Asian descent outside Windsor, Muslim friends and acquaintances of the researcher were contacted via email and asked to complete the online survey as well as to ask others to complete the survey, hence utilizing the snowball method. Finally, the researcher emailed 63 Canadian Muslim and South Asian organizations accessible via websites (Appendix B), explained the study's purpose and asked if they would publicize the study on their websites and to their members. Eleven organizations responded positively and subsequently included the study's online address on their website or informed their membership. Because the online survey did not ask respondents to indicate how they became aware of the survey, it was not possible to discern the number of respondents obtained through each of the three recruitment methods. Data were collected between April 10th, 2007 and July 1st, 2007, yielding a total of 167 participants, 84 women, 81 men, and two people who did not indicate their gender.

Participants were required to be Muslim, Canadian citizens or landed immigrants of South Asian descent and at least 18 years of age. South Asia was defined as including the countries of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. Of the 167 people who responded during the specified time limit, the data from four participants were discarded.

One respondent was younger than 18, and one respondent had responded to fewer than 15% of the questions. Two individuals did not specify their gender. As gender was a central component of the research questions, the data from these two respondents were also discarded. The final sample, used in all subsequent analyses, included 163 participants, 84 women and 79 men.

Measures

Participants completed a demographics survey and three scales: Ward and Kennedy's (1994) Acculturation Index, the Psychological Measure of Islamic Religiousness (Abu Raiya, 2006), and the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996). They also answered two questions regarding Islamic dress code.

Demographics Survey (Appendix C). Participants were asked to indicate their gender, age, birth country, ethnicity, the age they arrived in Canada if born outside Canada, and the Islamic sect to which they belonged.

Acculturation Index (AI) (Ward & Kennedy, 1994) (Appendix D). This 42 item self-report measure of two dimensions of acculturation includes two 21-item subscales which measure identification with heritage culture and identification with contact culture. For each of the 42 items, participants answer on a 7 point Likert scale with 0 = not at all similar to 6 = extremely similar (Ward & Rana Deuba, 1999). For each of 21 different aspects of culture (e.g., food, clothing, family life), two questions are asked: "Are your experiences and behaviours similar to those of typical [people from your country of origin]?" (Heritage Culture Subscale) and "Are your experiences and behaviours similar to those of typical [people from the dominant culture]?" (Contact Culture Subscale). In the present study, the two questions to which participants responded were: "Are my

experiences and behaviours similar to those of typical Euro-Canadian people?” (Contact Culture Subscale) and “Are my experiences and behaviours similar to those of typical South Asian people?” (Heritage Culture Subscale). Once completed, these two subscales provide two independent indices of identification with Euro-Canadian and South Asian cultures. These subscales have been found to be highly reliable with Cronbach’s Alphas being .96 for identification with Euro-Canadian culture and .93 for identification with South Asian culture (Glick & Fiske, 1996). In the current study, the Cronbach's Alphas were .93 for women and .92 for men for identification with Euro-Canadian culture, and .87 for women and .93 for men for identification with South Asian culture.

The two subscales may also be scored using a median split with participants scoring either high (above the median) or low (below the median) on each subscale. These scores then allow classification of the participants within the four acculturation strategies: Integration (high on both Euro-Canadian and South Asian); Assimilation (high on Euro-Canadian, low on South Asian); Separation (low on Euro-Canadian, high on South Asian); Marginalization (low on both Euro-Canadian and South Asian) (Ward & Kennedy, 1994).

Psychological Measure of Islamic Religiosity (PMIR) (Abu Raiya, 2006) (Appendix E). This scale was designed to measure religiosity among Muslim participants. Abu Raiya’s factor analysis of 340 responses to his 61-item measure yielded seven subscales: 1) Islamic Beliefs (5 items), 2) Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality (14 items), 3) Islamic Religious Conversion (7 items – completed only by those answering in the affirmative to qualifying question: “In my life, I have changed from a non-religious person to a religious person”), 4) Islamic Positive Religious Coping

and Identification (14 items), 5) Punishing Allah Reappraisal (3 items), 6) Islamic Religious Struggle (6 items), and 7) Islamic Duty, Obligation and Exclusivism (12 items). Abu Raiya (2006) reported that the responses exhibited variability and that his respondents believed the measure was relevant to Muslims. The subscales demonstrated discriminant, convergent, concurrent, and incremental validity. On all but one of the subscales, higher scores indicated greater religiosity, and these subscales were positively correlated. The Islamic Religious Struggle Subscale was scored so that higher scores indicated greater doubts about Islam and was negatively correlated with the other subscales. The internal reliabilities of the subscales were high (Cronbach's Alphas from .77 to .97 with the majority above .80). In the current study, Cronbach's Alphas ranged from .83 to .93 for women and .79 to .93 for men.

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) (Glick & Fiske, 1996) (Appendix F) This is a 22-item self report measure including two 11 item subscales: Hostile Sexism (HS) and Benevolent Sexism (BS). Previous research (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000) indicates that hostile and benevolent sexism subscales are positively correlated and have predictive, convergent, and discriminant validity. Glick et al. (2000) report, based on their administration of these subscales to 15,000 men and women in 19 countries, that the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory reliably measures hostile and benevolent sexism with reliabilities ranging from .68 to .89 for hostile sexism and .53 to .84 for benevolent sexism. In the current study the Cronbach's Alphas were .88 for women and .86 for men for hostile sexism and .78 for women and .58 for men for benevolent sexism.

Islamic Dress Code. As mentioned previously, Islamic dress code for women has made news in recent times. As this has been a contentious issue and one that affects

Muslim women directly, it was seen as important to address the topic. Attitudes toward the dress of Muslim women may be revealing about attitudes toward Muslim women in general. Respondents were asked two questions (Appendix G): 1) Do you (female respondents) or your spouse/girlfriend (male respondents) wear: hijab, niqab, loose fitting clothing, no hijab/uncovered hair, trendy clothing, whatever we/they want, other, not applicable; and 2) Muslim women should wear: hijab, niqab, loose fitting clothing, no hijab/uncovered hair, trendy clothing, whatever we/they want, other. For both questions, participants were asked to choose all relevant answers.

Procedure

Online surveys are becoming a popular means of collecting data in the social sciences (Granello & Wheaton, 2004), and this method was chosen for the present study for a number of reasons. First, this approach increased the possibility of obtaining the participation of a sufficient number of people belonging to a specific ethnic and religious minority group. Second, the privacy provided by this method was ideal for those Muslims who were very conservative. Generally speaking, an online survey provides participants with anonymity as well. Respondents were able to complete the survey at their convenience and in confidentiality.

The online survey was posted using software available through the University of Windsor. Appropriate measures were taken to ensure the integrity of the information collected. As an incentive, participants were informed of a draw for a \$50 book store gift certificate for which they could enter their email address. Email addresses were recorded in a separate database than participants' responses to the survey, thus eliminating any

association to the survey responses. In total, 76 participants submitted their emails for the draw.

Chapter III

*Results*Demographic Profile

As indicated in Table 1, participants ranged in age from 18 to 75 years, with the mean age being 32.53 years ($SD = 12.81$). The mean age of women was 27.58 years ($SD = 8.77$). The mean age of men was 37.87 ($SD = 14.31$). A t-test revealed that this difference was significant; the male respondents in the present study were significantly older than the female respondents, $t(158) = -5.530, p < .001$.

All but three of the 163 participants provided their ethnicity, with almost 90% identifying themselves as South Asian. Almost three-quarters of participants (70.3%) self-identified as Sunni followed by 13.3% who identified themselves as only Muslim without specifying a sect. The remaining participants identified themselves as Shi'a (10.3%), Ismaili (3.0%), Wahabbi (.6%), and other (1.2%) which included Ahmadi, and a combination of Sunni and Shi'a.

Almost three-quarters (73.3%) of the 163 participants were born outside Canada. Generation could only be determined for those who reported the age at which they moved to Canada (if born outside Canada). Of those who provided this age, 68 (41.2%) were first generation (moved to Canada at or after the age of 18), and 50 (30.3%) were 1.5 generation (moved to Canada before the age of 18). Forty of the participants (24.4%) were born in Canada and thus were second generation. Chi square analyses revealed significant differences between men and women for both birth country, $\chi^2(1, N = 161) = 11.72, p < .001$ and generation, $\chi^2(2, N = 158) = 19.62, p < .001$. Significantly more of the men (86.1%) were born outside of Canada than the women (63.1%) $t(158) = -5.53, p <$

.001, and thus 58.2% of the men were first generation and 26.6% were 1.5 generation, compared to 26.2% first generation women and 34.5% 1.5 generation women.

Table 1

Sample Demographics

	Entire Sample	Females	Males
Mean Age (SD)	(N=163) 32.53 (12.81)	(n=84) 27.58 (8.77)	(n = 79) 37.87 (14.31)
Cultural/Ethnic Group (%) (n)	(N = 163)	(n = 84)	(n = 79)
South Asian SA	87.9 (145)	85.7(72)	92.4 (73)
East African SA	7.3 (12)	9.5 (8)	5.1 (4)
Caribbean SA	1.8 (3)	1.2 (1)	2.5 (2)
Other	1.8 (3)	3.6 (3)	
Islamic Sect (%) (n)	(N = 163)	(n = 84)	(n = 79)
Sunni	70.3 (116)	70.2 (59)	72.2 (57)
Shi'a	10.3 (17)	10.7 (9)	10.1 (8)
Ismaili	3.0 (5)	4.8 (4)	1.3 (1)
Wahabbi	.6 (1)	0	1.3 (1)
Just Muslim	13.3 (22)	11.9 (10)	15.2 (12)
Other	1.2 (2)	2.4 (2)	0
Birth Country (%) (n)	(N = 161)	(n = 83)	(n = 78)
Canada	24.2 (40)	35.7 (30)	12.7 (10)
Outside Canada	73.3 (121)	63.1 (53)	86.1 (68)
Generation (%) (n)	(N = 158)	(n = 81)	(n = 77)
First G	41.2 (68)	26.2 (22)	58.2 (46)
1.5 G	30.3 (50)	34.5 (29)	26.6 (21)
Second G	24.2 (40)	35.7 (30)	12.7 (10)

The significant age, origin and generation differences between the men and women in the present study suggest that they may be drawn from different populations, and so the decision was made to conduct separate analyses for men and women.

Preliminary Analyses*Acculturation Index*

Means, standard deviations, ranges and reliabilities for the total sample and for males and females separately are presented in Table 2. Higher scores indicate greater perceived similarity between respondents and typical Euro-Canadian (Contact) or typical South Asian (Heritage) culture.

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, Range, and Reliabilities of Acculturation Index

Acculturation Index	Total Sample (N = 163)	Females (n = 83)	Males (n = 78)
Euro-Canadian Culture			
Mean (0-6) (SD)	3.42 (.98)	3.39 (1.01)	3.45 (1.0)
Range (0-126)	24-117	24-113	7-124
Cronbach's Alpha	.92	.93	.92
South Asian Culture			
Mean (0-6) (SD)	3.71 (.86)	3.64 (.76)	3.81 (.93)
Range (0-126)	39-119	40-117	31-119
Cronbach's Alpha	.91	.87	.93

Analyses of variance indicated no significant differences between women and men on either the Euro-Canadian or the South Asian Identification subscales.

Psychological Measure of Islamic Religiousness

Factor Analysis

In order to determine the extent to which the factor structure of the Psychological Measure of Islamic Religiousness (PMIR) in the present study paralleled that reported by Abu Raiya (2006), all 55 PMIR items answered by all respondents were entered into an exploratory factor analysis using principle components extraction and direct oblimin rotation. (The 6 items answered only by the 56 participants in the present study who had converted to Islam were excluded.) The direct oblimin rotation method was chosen because high subscale intercorrelations were expected.

The initial factor analysis yielded 11 factors with eigenvalues greater than one, which accounted for 75.45% of the variance. However, an examination of the factor loadings revealed that the factors were not conceptually meaningful, with some including single items. Additionally, the scree plot revealed 4 to 5 factors. Thus, a better factor solution was sought by examining both a four-factor and a five-factor solution. The most conceptually meaningful solution proved to be the five-factor solution. The eigenvalues of the five factors ranged from 2.08 to 21.98 and together accounted for 60.47% of the variance. The table found in Appendix H displays the factor loadings of each item with the five factor solution as well as the factor loadings for the Islamic Religious Conversion subscale.

Factor 1 (Appendix H) was labelled Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale – Revised (IEPUSR) because all but one item in Abu Raiya's (2006) Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale loaded onto this factor. Five items from Abu Raiya's Islamic Duty, Obligation and Exclusivism Subscale, and two items from Abu

Raiya's Islamic Religious Struggle Subscale also loaded onto this factor, for a total of 20 items. An examination of these items suggests that they all reflect beliefs about the relationship between ethical behaviour and Islam.

Factor 2, labelled Islamic Duty and Obligation – Revised (IDOR) (Appendix H) included three items from Abu Raiya's Islamic Duty, Obligation and Exclusivism Subscale. However, the item "I go to the masjid because others would disapprove of me if I did not" had a low factor loading (.436) and a weak correlation ($r = .209$) with the remaining items. Therefore, this item was removed from the subscale as well as from all analyses. Two items from Abu Raiya's Islamic Positive Religious Coping and Identification Subscale also loaded on to Factor 2, resulting in 4 items. Examination of these items suggests that they all reflect beliefs about the importance of adhering to duties and obligations seen to be prescribed by Islam.

Factor 3 (Appendix H) was labelled Islamic Beliefs and Rules Subscale (IRBS) and it contained 13 items, 5 of which comprised the entire original Islamic Beliefs Subscale. Four additional items from the original Religious Struggle Subscale were included in the revised subscale. Additionally, two items from the original Islamic Duty, Obligation, and Exclusivism Subscale loaded onto this factor. Both items addressed the practice of fasting during Ramadan. Fasting was also addressed by an additional item from the original Islamic Religious Coping Subscale. Finally, one additional item from the original Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale loaded onto Factor 3. Examination of these items suggests that they all reflect beliefs and adherence to rules about Islam.

Factor 4 (Appendix H), labelled Islamic Positive Religious Coping and Identification Subscale – Revised (IPRCISR), contains 12 items, 11 of which are from Abu Raiya's Islamic Positive Religious Coping and Identification Subscale. The twelfth item comes from Abu Raiya's Islamic Duty, Obligation and Exclusivism Subscale. Examination of these items suggests that they are all ways in which one's religious faith contributes to coping ability.

Factor 5 (Appendix H), labelled Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale (PARS), includes all 3 items in Abu Raiya's Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale and no others. To repeat Abu Raiya's interpretation, this subscale appears to measure the belief that one is being punished by God in times of crisis. Such a belief is considered a negative religious coping method. According to Pargament (2000), negative religious coping reflects an insecure relationship with God and a need to rectify a fragile spirituality.

The 6 items on the Religious Conversion Subscale, completed by 56 respondents, were entered into a separate exploratory factor analysis using principle components extraction and direct oblimin rotation. Only one factor with an eigenvalue greater than one was yielded. The eigenvalue was 4.21, and it accounted for 70.18% of the variance.

Subsequent analyses incorporated the Psychological Measure of Islamic Religiousness-Revised (PMIRR), including the six subscales described above. Scores for each of the six subscales were calculated by adding all the items of the subscale. Higher scores reflected greater support of the content of the subscale.

Table 3 provides means, standard deviations, ranges and reliabilities for the PMIRR subscales, and for the entire sample, for women and for men. As can be seen, the Cronbach's Alphas range from .83 to .93 demonstrating high internal reliabilities.

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges for PMIR-Revised Subscales

PMIRR	Entire Sample (N=163)	Females (n = 84)	Males (n = 79)
IEPUSR (20 items)***			
Mean (SD)	64.01 (21.85)	58.10 (19.06)	70.28 (18.95)
Range (1 – 93)	3 – 94	3 – 94	3 – 94
Cronbach's Alpha	.93	.92	.92
IDO (4 items) ***			
Mean (SD)	9.58 (4.39)	8.11 (4.14)	11.16 (4.16)
Range (0 – 16)	0 – 16	0 – 16	0 – 16
Cronbach's Alpha	.83	.83	.79
IBR (13 items) **			
Mean (SD)	36.84 (7.81)	35.44 (8.20)	38.12 (7.34)
Range (9 – 44)	3 – 44	3 – 44	3 – 44
Cronbach's Alpha	.88	.87	.91
IPRCISR (12 items)			
Mean (SD)	35.50 (9.78)	34.63 (10.08)	36.34 (9.48)
Range (9 – 50)	10 – 50	10 – 50	10 – 50
Cronbach's Alpha	.93	.93	.92
PARS (3 items)			
Mean (SD)	6.23 (2.94)	6.09 (2.73)	6.39 (3.17)
Range (2 – 12)	3 – 12	3 – 12	3 – 12
Cronbach's Alpha	.92	.92	.93
RCS (6 items)			
Mean (SD)	25.23 (4.54)	24.83 (4.74)	24.74 (7.54)
Range (11 – 30)	6 – 30	6 – 30	6 – 30

Cronbach's Alpha	.86	.86	.89
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*** $p < .001$, * $p < .05$

Analyses of variance indicated that women and men differed significantly on three of the PMIRR subscales: Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale - Revised $F(1, 161) = 13.00, p < .001$, Islamic Duty and Obligation $F(1, 161) = 22.10, p < .001$, Islamic Beliefs and Rules $F(1, 161) = 4.57, p < .05$, with men scoring higher on all three (see Table 3).

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Means, standard deviations, ranges and reliabilities for the total sample and for males and females separately are presented in Table 4. Scores could range between 0 and 6 with higher scores indicating greater levels of sexism.

Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations, Ranges, and Reliabilities of Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

ASI	Total Sample N = 163	Females n = 84	Males n = 79
Hostile Sexism***			
Mean (SD)	2.00 (1.01)	1.75 (1.01)	2.26 (.96)
Range (0-6)	0 – 4.82	0 – 4.73	0 – 4.82
Cronbach's Alpha	.88	.88	.86
Benevolent Sexism***			
Mean (SD)	2.81(.90)	2.45 (.92)	3.18 (.73)
Range (0-6)	.64 – 4.64	.64 – 4.64	.82 – 4.55
Cronbach's Alpha	.77	.78	.58

*** $p < .001$, * $p < .05$

Analyses of variance indicated that women and men differed significantly on both Hostile Sexism, $F(1, 161) = 11.07, p < .001$, and Benevolent Sexism, $F(1, 161) = 31.97, p < .001$, with men significantly higher on both subscales (see Table 4).

Hypothesis Tests

Women

It will be recalled that this study proposed eight hypotheses derived from the model pictured in Figure 2 with the revised PMIR. There were too few participants to conduct an appropriate path analysis. Therefore, the figures shown in Figure 2 are the correlations between the variables indicated for the female participants in the present study.

Examination of the correlations indicated in Figure 2 between the South Asian Culture Subscale and the six revised PMIR factors reveals only weak support for the first hypothesis, that greater identification with South Asian culture would be related to greater levels of Islamic religiousness. For the women in the present study, scores on the South Asian Subscale were significantly positively correlated on only two PMIR subscales, Islamic Duty and Obligation ($r = .25$) and Punishing Allah Reappraisal ($r = .31$).

The second hypothesis, that greater identification with Euro-Canadian culture would be related to lower levels of religiousness, was strongly supported for women participants; their Euro-Canadian Culture Identification scores were significantly negatively correlated with five of the six revised PMIR subscales: Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale - Revised ($r = -.35$), Islamic Duty and Obligation ($r = -.22$), Islamic Beliefs and Rules ($r = -.31$), Islamic Positive Coping and Identification

Identification with contact
or heritage culture

Islamic religiousness
dimensions

Sexism

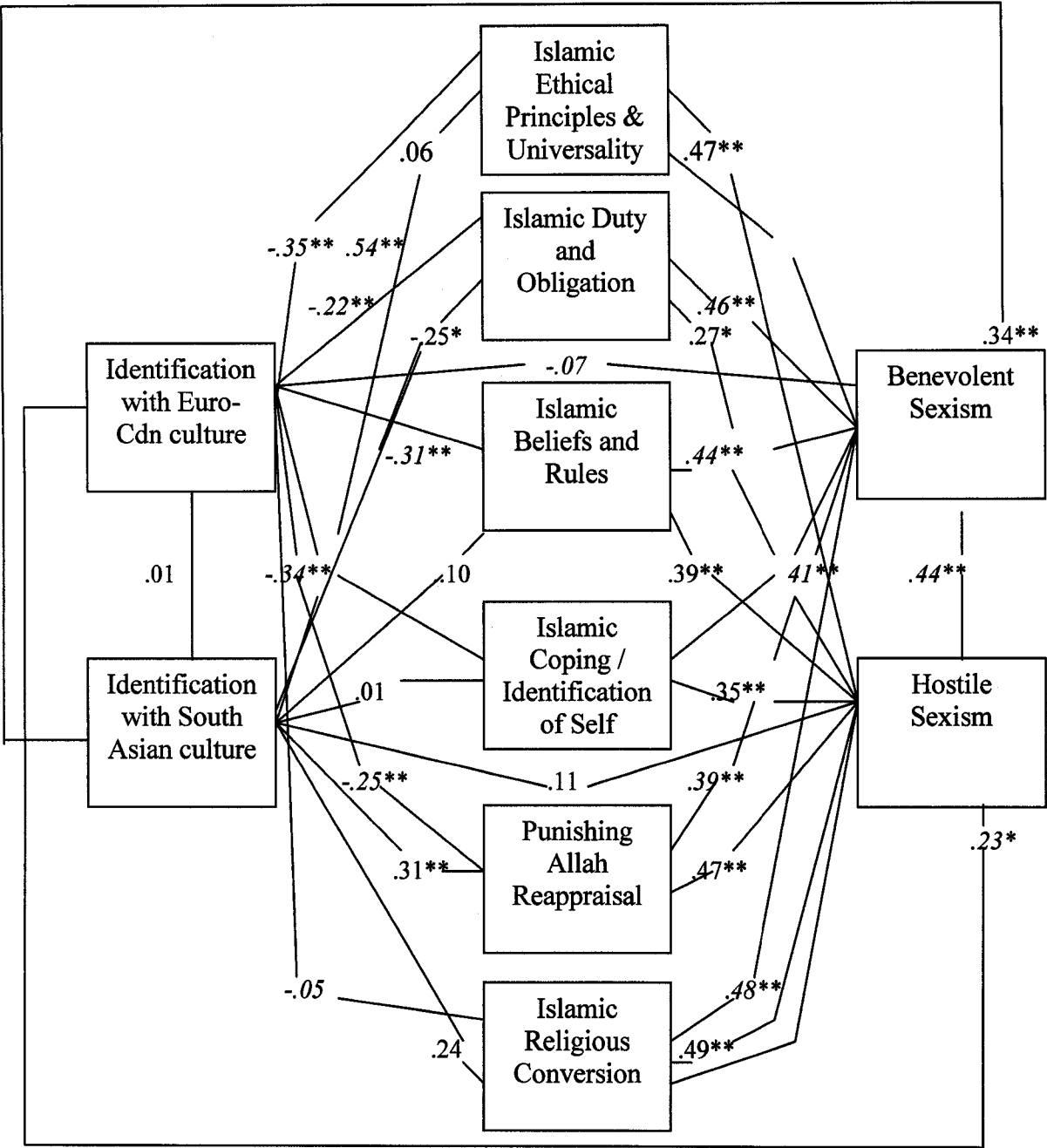


Figure 2: Correlations among research variables – Women

** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Note: Italicized r values are for Identification with Euro-Canadian Culture and Benevolent Sexism correlations, on their respective sides.

Subscale – Revised ($r = -.33$), and Punishing Allah Reappraisal ($r = -.25$).

The third hypothesis, that greater identification with South Asian culture would be related to higher levels of both benevolent and hostile sexism, was partially supported.

The women participants' scores on the South Asian Subscale were significantly positively correlated with the Benevolent Sexism Subscale ($r = .34$) but not with the Hostile Sexism Subscale.

Similarly, the fourth hypothesis, that greater identification with Euro-Canadian culture would be related to lower levels of both benevolent and hostile sexism, was partially supported. The women participants' scores on the Euro-Canadian Subscale were significantly negatively correlated with Hostile Sexism ($r = -.23$) but not with Benevolent Sexism.

The fifth hypothesis, that PMIRR subscale scores would be positively correlated with Benevolent Sexism, was very strongly supported for the women in the present study. Benevolent Sexism scores were significantly positively correlated with all six revised PMIR subscales: Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale - Revised ($r = .53$), Islamic Duty and Obligation ($r = .46$), Islamic Beliefs and Rules ($r = .44$), Islamic Positive Coping and Identification Subscale – Revised ($r = .41$), Punishing Allah Reappraisal ($r = .39$), and Religious Conversion Subscale ($r = .48$). The women who demonstrated high levels of religiousness also demonstrated high levels of benevolent sexism.

Consistent with the results for the fifth hypothesis, the sixth hypothesis, that Benevolent Sexism and Islamic Conversion religiousness would be positively correlated, was also supported, although not as strongly.

The seventh hypothesis stated that greater levels of Islamic Ethical Conduct would be related to higher levels of benevolent sexism. Of all the subscales on the revised PMIR, the Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale – Revised has the highest correlation ($r = .53$). Therefore, the relation between Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality and benevolent sexism was stronger than for other subscales of the revised PMIR.

Finally, the eighth hypothesis stated that greater levels of Islamic coping would be related to higher levels of benevolent sexism. The correlation between the Islamic Positive Coping and Identification Subscale – Revised and benevolent sexism was significant ($r = .41$) and thus supported this hypothesis.

Additionally, it was found that scores on the Hostile Sexism Subscale were significantly positively correlated with the Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale - Revised ($r = .46$), Islamic Duty and Obligation ($r = .27$), Islamic Beliefs and Rules ($r = .39$), Islamic Positive Coping and Identification Subscale – Revised ($r = .36$), Punishing Allah Reappraisal ($r = .47$), and Religious Conversion Subscale ($r = .50$). Therefore, in addition to the proposed hypotheses, it was found that for women higher scores on all the subscales of the revised PMIR were related to higher levels of hostile sexism.

Men

The correlations shown in Figure 3 are the correlations among the variables indicated for the male participants in the present study.

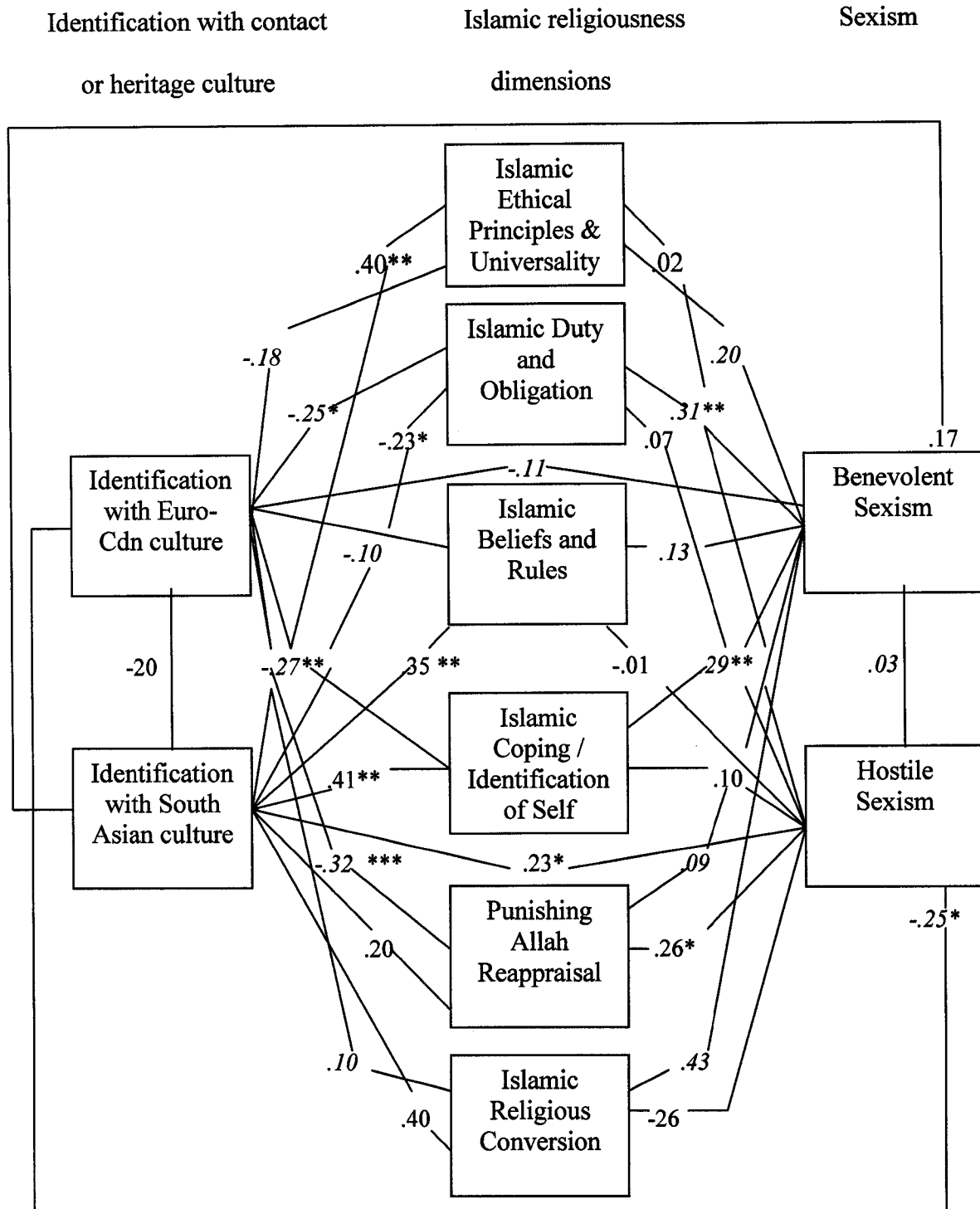


Figure 3: Correlations among research variables – Men

** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Note: Italicized r values are for Identification with Euro-Canadian Culture and Benevolent Sexism correlations, on their respective sides.

The first hypothesis, that South Asian culture identification would be related to all dimensions of religiousness, was strongly supported, with significant positive correlations between South Asian Subscale scores and four of the six subscales of the PMIRR: Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale – Revised ($r = .41$), Islamic Duty and Obligation ($r = .23$), Islamic Beliefs and Rules Subscale ($r = .35$), and Islamic Positive Religious Coping and Identification Subscale - Revised ($r = .41$).

There was similar support for the related second hypothesis; male participants' scores on the Euro-Canadian Subscale were significantly negatively correlated with three of the PMIRR subscales: Islamic Duty and Obligation ($r = -.25$), Islamic Positive Coping and Identification ($r = -.26$), and Punishing Allah Reappraisal ($r = -.32$).

The third hypothesis, that South Asian culture identification would be related to higher levels of both benevolent and hostile sexism, was partially supported as a significant positive correlation existed between South Asian Culture and Hostile Sexism scores ($r = .23$); however, the relation between South Asian Culture and Benevolent Sexism was not significant.

Similarly, the fourth hypothesis, that greater identification with Euro-Canadian culture would be related to lower levels of both benevolent and hostile sexism was also partially supported. A significant negative correlation was found between Euro-Canadian Culture and Hostile Sexism scores ($r = -.25$), but no significant correlation was found between Euro-Canadian Culture and Benevolent Sexism.

The fifth hypothesis stated that all the dimensions of religiousness would be related to high levels of benevolent sexism. Significant positive correlations were found between benevolent sexism, the Islamic Duty and Obligation Subscale ($r = .31$) and the Islamic

Positive Coping and Identification Subscale – Revised ($r = .29$). Therefore, this hypothesis was only partially supported.

The sixth hypothesis, that greater levels of Islamic Conversion religiousness would be related to higher levels of benevolent sexism and the seventh hypothesis, that greater levels of Islamic Ethical Conduct would be related to higher levels of benevolent sexism, were not supported.

Finally the eighth hypothesis, which stated that greater levels of Islamic coping especially would be related to higher levels of benevolent sexism, was partially supported as it was one of the two revised PMIR subscales which was related to benevolent sexism though the correlation was the weaker of the two.

Additionally, hostile sexism was significantly positively correlated with the Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale ($r = .26$). As with women, a relation between religious identity and hostile sexism was not predicted for men.

Exploratory Analyses

Multiple Regressions

Hostile Sexism

One multiple regression assessed the possible roles of acculturation, Islamic religiousness, and gender in predicting hostile sexism. This regression entered the variables of Euro-Canadian Culture, South Asian Culture, Islamic Ethical Principles & Universality Subscale - Revised, Islamic Duty and Obligation, Islamic Beliefs and Rules, Islamic Positive Religious Coping & Identification Subscale – Revised, Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale, and gender as criterion variables. The Religious Conversion Subscale was excluded as only 56 responses were received. Previous literature was not

available to provide support for any particular method of entry. In light of this, the stepwise backward entry method was deemed most appropriate.

Results indicated that the criterion variables accounted for 21.6% of the variance predictors, $R^2 = .216$, $F(8, 148) = 5.10$, $p < .001$. However, only gender, $\beta = .246$, $t(148) = 2.93$, $p < .01$, and the Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale, $\beta = .288$, $t(148) = 3.45$, $p < .001$, were significant predictors. Interpreting the regression results reveals that, for this sample, being male and holding a sense that life problems are a punishment from God predicts hostile sexism.

Given the significance of gender as a predictor variable, two additional regressions were run with hostile sexism as the outcome variable, one for women and one for men. In the regression for women, it was found that these seven predictors (Euro-Canadian Culture, South Asian Culture, Islamic Ethical Principles & Universality Subscale - Revised, Islamic Duty and Obligation, Islamic Beliefs and Rules, Islamic Positive Religious Coping and Identification Subscale – Revised, Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale) accounted for 33.1% of the variance, $R^2 = .331$, $F(7, 72) = 5.08$, $p < .001$. This regression showed that the only significant predictor of hostile sexism for women was the Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale, $\beta = .397$, $t(72) = 3.51$, $p < .001$. The regression correlation matrix showed a positive correlation, $r(78) = .475$.

The regression for men with hostile sexism as the outcome variable found that all seven predictors accounted for 17.4% of the variance, $R^2 = .174$, $F(7, 69) = 2.08$, $p = .05$. This regression found only one significant predictor – identification with South Asian culture, $\beta = .248$, $t(69) = 2.03$, $p < .05$. A positive correlation with hostile sexism was found, $r(75) = .219$.

Therefore, among the women a strong sense that problems in life were punishments from God predicted hostile sexism, whereas in men a strong identification with South Asian culture predicted hostile sexism.

The second regression, with benevolent sexism as the outcome variable, found the criterion variables accounting for 35.5% of the variance, $R^2 = .355$. $F(8, 148) = 10.18$, $p < .001$. The only significant predictor was gender, $\beta = .284$, $t(148) = 3.72$, $p < .001$. Interpretation of the regression reveals that, as with hostile sexism, being male better predicts benevolent sexism, implying men were more likely to be benevolently sexist. Again, as gender was found to be a significant predictor, two additional regression analyses were conducted separately for men and women.

The regression for women with benevolent sexism as the outcome variable showed the seven criterion variables accounted for 43.1% of the variance, $R^2 = .431$, $F(7, 72) = 7.78$, $p < .001$. This regression found two significant predictors – identification with South Asian culture, $\beta = .237$, $t(72) = 2.44$, $p < .05$, and Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale - Revised, $\beta = .512$, $t(72) = 3.20$, $p < .01$, each with a positive correlation, $r(78) = .310$ and $r(78) = .543$, respectively. Therefore, it would appear that, for women, benevolent sexism is predicted by both cultural and religious components.

The regression for men found that all seven predictors accounted for 13.9% of the variance, $R^2 = .139$, $F(7, 69) = 1.59$, $p = .15$. This regression found no significant individual predictors. Thus no single variable significantly predicted benevolent sexism for men.

Acculturation Strategy Profiles

To determine the acculturation strategies utilized by the participants, and to categorize the participants, median splits were conducted on their scores on the Euro-Canadian and South Asian subscales of the Acculturation Index. For women, median scores on the Euro-Canadian and South Asian subscales were 71 and 77, respectively. For men, median scores for the Euro-Canadian and South Asian subscales were 73 and 83, respectively. Median splits yielded the following groups for women: 22.6% Integrated, 26.2% Assimilated, 25% Separated, and 26.2% Marginalized. The male groups were as follows: 19% Integrated, 30.4% Assimilated, 30.4% Separated, and 20.3% Marginalized. Table 5 indicates the means on Euro-Canadian and South Asian subscales for the four female acculturation strategy groups. Table 6 indicates the means on Euro-Canadian and South Asian subscales for the four male acculturation strategy groups.

Analyses of variance compared the means of the four acculturation strategy groups on the Psychological Measure of Islamic Religiousness –Revised and Ambivalent Sexism Inventory subscales.

On the Islamic Positive Coping and Identification Subscale - Revised $F(3, 80) = 3.55, p < .05$, Integrationist women scored significantly lower than did Separationist women, suggesting that women who identified with both Euro-Canadian and South Asian cultures utilized Islam as a positive coping mechanism to a significantly lesser degree than did women who identified with South Asian culture only.

Finally, on the Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale, $F(3, 77) = 2.95, p < .05$, Assimilationists scored significantly lower than did women who chose to Separate. This

Table 5

Analysis of Variance for Acculturation Strategies – Means and Standard Deviations – Women

Subscale	Integration (N = 19)	Assimilation (N = 22)	Separation (N = 21)	Marginalization (N = 22)	F value
Euro-Canadian*** Subscale (21 items)	87.26 _a (12.11)	89.50 _a (11.26)	56.29 _b (11.07)	52.24 _b (15.24)	52.02
South Asian *** Subscale (21 items)	91.16 _a (12.00)	61.95 _b (11.67)	87.71 _{ab} (7.73)	67.68 _b (8.31)	43.10
Islamic Ethical Principles & Universality Subscale – Revised (19 items)	50.79 _a (18.98)	52.77 _a (23.70)	65.77 _a (15.44)	62.41 _a (23.09)	1.98
Islamic Duty and Obligation (4 items)	7.47 _a (4.17)	6.91 _a (4.22)	10.05 _a (4.08)	8.00 _a (3.68)	2.04
Islamic Beliefs * and Rules (13 items)	33.74 _a (8.73)	33.41 _a (9.43)	39.36 _a (4.84)	35.52 _a (7.90)	2.49
Islamic Positive * Religious Coping & Identification Subscale – Revised (12 items)	29.58 _a (8.05)	33.09 _{ab} (11.01)	38.88 _b (8.86)	36.50 _{ab} (10.13)	3.55
Punishing Allah * Reappraisal Subscale (3 items)	6.56 _{ab} (2.96)	4.77 _a (2.45)	7.11 _b (3.03)	6.14 _{ab} (2.14)	2.95
Religious Conversion Subscale (6 items)	22.67 _a (3.21)	25.13 _a (4.16)	26.14 _a (3.59)	24.70 _a (4.32)	.741
Hostile Sexism Subscale (11 items)	1.51 _a (.95)	1.50 _a (1.14)	1.95 _a (.92)	2.00 _a (.95)	1.56
Benevolent Sexism Subscale (11 items)	2.49 _a (.97)	2.19 _a (.90)	2.76 _a (.98)	2.36 _a (.79)	1.50

*** $p < .001$, * $p < .05$

Note: Means in the same row that do not share a subscript are significantly different in the Tukey postTukey post hoc

finding suggests that women who identify with Euro-Canadian culture only are significantly less likely to assume that God is punishing them when they experience hardships than are women who identify with South Asian culture only.

For the men, significant differences were observed between the Assimilation and Separation groups on three revised PMIR subscales: Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale - Revised $F(3, 75) = 2.90, p < .05$, Islamic Duty and Obligation $F(3, 75) = 3.67, p < .05$, and Islamic Positive Coping and Identification Subscale - Revised $F(3, 75) = 2.90, p < .05$. For these PMIR subscales those men who chose Separation scored significantly higher than those men who chose Assimilation, indicating that those men who identified strongly with South Asian culture were significantly more likely than those who identified strongly with Euro-Canadian culture to use Islam to define their ethical principles and to create a sense of community with other Muslims, to feel a sense of devotion to Islamic duties and obligations, and to use Islam as a positive coping mechanism, than did those men who identified with Euro-Canadian culture.

Table 6

Analysis of Variance for Acculturation Strategies – Means and Standard Deviations - Men

Subscale	Integration (N = 15)	Assimilation (N = 24)	Separation (N = 24)	Marginalization (N = 16)	F value
Euro-Canadian*** Subscale (21 items)	88.87 _a (14.32)	87.96 _a (11.00)	52.87 _b (12.19)	62.13 _b (11.30)	46.29
South Asian*** Subscale (21 items)	99.20 _a (12.26)	64.04 _b (12.87)	94.33 _a (8.97)	64.38 _b (11.02)	52.93
Islamic Ethical * Principles & Universality Subscale – Revised (19 items)	74.67 _{ab} (13.33)	61.38 _a (27.04)	77.42 _b (13.90)	68.81 _{ab} (21.22)	2.90
Islamic Duty * and Obligation (4 items)	10.80 _{ab} (3.67)	9.46 _a (4.28)	13.21 _b (3.82)	11.00 _{ab} (3.93)	3.67
Islamic Beliefs and Rules (13 items)	40.07 _a (3.24)	35.17 _a (9.88)	39.57 _a (7.14)	38.56 _a (4.62)	2.06
Islamic Positive * Religious Coping & Identification Subscale – Revised (12 items)	37.47 _{ab} (6.55)	32.21 _a (12.02)	39.88 _b (8.41)	36.19 _{ab} (6.98)	2.90
Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale (3 items)	7.00 _a (3.38)	5.00 _a (2.99)	7.25 _a (3.33)	6.63 _a (2.47)	2.48
Religious Conversion Subscale (6 items)	28.20 _a (3.49)	23.00 _a (9.34)	24.33 _a (.58)	26.00 _a (3.54)	.74
Hostile Sexism Subscale (11 items)	2.24 _a (1.04)	2.01 _a (.87)	2.66 _a (1.08)	2.05 _a (.64)	2.34
Benevolent Sexism Subscale (11 items)	3.38 _a (.60)	2.96 _a (.77)	3.25 _a (.69)	3.22 _a (.81)	1.22

*** $p < .001$, * $p < .05$

Note: Means in the same row that do not share a subscript are significantly different in the Tukey post hoc.

Dress Code

Table 7 displays the response frequencies for the final two questions, the first of which inquired about what the female participants or the male participants' partners wore. The second question asked how the participants felt women should dress. Therefore, one question inquired about behaviour (the responses to which were reported in demographics) whereas the other inquired about attitudes.

Table 7

Dress Code Choices

Clothing	Female (%)		Male (%)	
	What they Wear	What women Should wear	What their partners Wear	What women Should wear
Hijab	29.8	32.1	27.8	46.8
Niqab	0	3.6	3.8	3.8
Loose fitting Clothing	45.2	38.1	35.4	38.0
No head cover	54.8	11.9	24.1	10.1
Trendy clothing	56	15.5	25.3	13.9
Whatever we/they Want	35.7	51.2	31.6	48.1
Other	9.5	9.5	2.5	5.1
Not applicable	2.4		24.1	

To further understand these responses, median splits were conducted on the revised PMIR subscales to categorize participants as high or low on the subscales of religiousness. Cross tabulations were conducted to analyze the level of religiousness on each dimension of those who endorsed each dress type. The majority of women who

wore the hijab and loose fitting clothing were high on all dimensions of religiousness. The only exception was the Religious Conversion Subscale on which one additional loose fitting clothing woman scored low than high. The majority of women who did not wear a head cover scored low on all subscales of religiousness except the Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale. On this particular subscale more women who did not wear the hijab scored high rather than low. The majority of women who stated they wore whatever they chose consistently scored low on the religiousness subscales. The majority of women who stated they wore trendy clothing scored low on four of the religiousness subscales. On two of the religiousness subscales, Beliefs and Rules, and Punishing Allah Reappraisal, these women scored high

The majority of women who felt that women should wear the hijab, niqab, or loose fitting clothing scored high on all subscales of the revised PMIR. The majority of women who said that women should not cover their heads scored low on all subscales of religiousness except the Punishing Allah Reappraisal. It appeared the majority of women who did not cover their heads actually scored high on this particular subscale, and solely this subscale, perhaps suggesting a sense of insecurity with one's faith among many women who do not cover their heads.

The majority of men who stated that their partners wore the hijab, niqab, or loose fitting clothing, and that women should wear the hijab, niqab, or loose fitting clothing scored high on all subscales of religiousness. Tables 8 and 9 provide details.

Table 8
 Dress code and Religiousness Levels - Females

Piece of clothing	Reli. Level	Ethical		Duty		Beliefs		Coping		Punishing		Conversion	
		W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S
Hijab	Low	4	5	5	5	3	3	2	3	9	8	6	6
	High	21	22	20	22	22	24	23	24	16	18	11	12
Niqab	Low	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0
	High	0	2	0	2	0	3	0	2	0	1	0	2
Loose Fitting Clothing	Low	12	10	13	10	14	8	13	7	15	10	12	10
	High	26	22	25	22	24	24	25	25	21	20	11	13
No head Cover	Low	28	5	26	3	24	4	31	5	19	3	11	5
	High	18	5	20	7	22	6	15	5	24	6	7	3
Trendy Clothing	Low	27	6	25	6	23	6	30	8	21	2	11	6
	High	20	7	22	7	24	7	17	5	23	8	8	3
Whatever we want	Low	21	32	19	28	21	28	23	33	16	22	3	5
	High	9	11	11	14	9	15	7	10	13	20	3	2

W = Respondents actually wear
 S = Women *should* wear

Table 9
 Dress code and Religiousness Levels - Males

Piece of clothing	Reli. Level	Ethical		Duty		Beliefs		Coping		Punishing		Conversion	
		W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S
Hijab	Low	5	11	7	9	7	13	4	9	6	11	5	6
	High	17	26	15	28	15	24	18	28	16	26	4	8
Niqab	Low	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	High	2	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	0	1
Loose Fitting Clothing	Low	10	10	7	7	8	8	7	7	9	10	2	3
	High	18	20	21	23	20	22	21	23	19	20	2	4
No head Cover	Low	14	6	10	5	13	6	11	6	8	7	2	0
	High	15	2	9	3	6	2	8	2	11	1	2	1
Trendy Clothing	Low	14	10	12	6	14	9	12	9	11	5	3	2
	High	6	1	8	5	6	2	8	2	9	8	1	0
Whatever we want	Low	18	25	12	19	14	23	16	25	11	20	2	5
	High	7	13	13	19	11	15	9	13	14	18	1	4

W = Partners actually wear
 S = Women *should* wear

Chapter IV

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine the relations among ethnic identity, religious identity, and attitudes toward women. Eight hypotheses were presented to detail possible relations among these variables within the context of a specific model. Specifically, identification with Euro-Canadian culture and identification with South Asian culture were hypothesized to be antecedent variables influencing attitudes toward women primarily through various aspects of religiosity, defined as intervening variables. It was hypothesized that greater identification with South Asian culture would be related to greater levels of religiousness and greater levels of benevolent and hostile sexism; greater identification with Euro-Canadian culture would be related to lower levels of religiousness and lower levels of benevolent and hostile sexism; greater levels of religiousness would be related to high levels of benevolent sexism; having experienced Islamic conversion, greater dependence on Islam to define ethical behaviour, and greater use of Islam as a positive coping mechanism would be related to greater levels of benevolent sexism.

Preliminary analyses of the study sample revealed that the male and female samples were drawn from significantly different populations. These differences reveal interesting characteristics about the men and women who participated in the study. First, the men were on average approximately 10 years older than the women. Additionally, the majority of men were not raised in Canada whereas the majority of women were. For some reason, younger men raised in Canada and older women raised outside Canada were less likely than their opposite sex counterparts to participate in the study.

The revised Psychological Measure of Islamic Religiousness

The factor analysis on the Psychological Measure of Islamic Religiousness revealed factors which were different from the original PMIR. Although many items overlapped on the two versions of the PMIR, with two factors, Punishing Allah Reappraisal and Islamic Religious Conversion, remaining the same, there were some notable differences.

The 11 items of the original Islamic Duty, Obligations, and Exclusivism subscale were divided among four of the revised factors indicating that for this sample, these items measured various dimensions of religious identity, rather than one as they did in the original version of the measure. Four of the original eleven items of the original PMIR reflected the initially intended Islamic duty and obligations. Of those final four, one item poorly related to duty and obligation and was thus removed. The remaining three items measured Islamic duty and obligation, but not exclusivism, among the sample. Four items from the Islamic Duty, Obligations, and Exclusivism appeared to reflect Islamic ethical principles and universality, another two items reflected Islamic beliefs and rules, and finally one other reflected positive religious coping. Additionally, one item from the original Islamic Positive Religious Coping and Identification subscale, "I read the Holy Qur'an because I find it satisfying," reflected Islamic duty and obligation for this population rather than positive religious coping.

The original Islamic Religious Struggle subscale was also divided but only among two revised factors. Two items reflected Islamic ethical principles while the other four reflected Islamic beliefs and rules. This would make sense as many of the questions were simply reversed questions about Islamic beliefs, rules, and ethics. Therefore, the question

“I find myself doubting the existence of Allah” reversed would state “I believe in the existence of Allah” thus reflecting an Islamic belief.

The original Islamic Positive Religious Coping and Identification subscale changed slightly. One item, *“I read the Holy Qur’an because I find it satisfying,”* loaded on the Islamic duty and obligation rather than the positive coping factor for the present study sample. The remaining 11 items formed one factor – Islamic Positive Religious Coping and Identification – Revised. Therefore, this participant sample conceptualized positive religious coping in a similar manner as the original sample population. Additionally, one item from the original Islamic Duty, Obligation and Exclusivism subscale, *“How often do you pray,”* was included in the revised Islamic Positive Coping and Identification subscale. For this sample, prayer frequency seemed to be utilized as a coping mechanism.

All but one item of the original Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality subscale remained within one factor. Therefore, this sample conceptualized these items as related into one factor. However, the revised Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality subscale had 6 additional items; 4 from the original Islamic Duty, Obligation and Exclusivism subscale, and 2 from the Islamic Religious Struggle Subscale. For the current sample, the four items from the original Islamic Duty, Obligation and Exclusivism Subscale reflected ethical principles rather than duties, obligations and exclusivism.

Finally, all the items on the original Islamic Beliefs Subscale remained as one factor. However, 8 other items were also appended to the revised Islamic Beliefs subscale. As the 8 other items reflected Islamic rules more than beliefs, the revised

subscale was labelled Islamic Beliefs and Rules subscale. Four of these additional items came from the original Islamic Religious Struggle subscale. These items questioned beliefs but in a reverse manner such as “*I find myself doubting the existence of afterlife*” and “*I find myself doubting the existence of Allah.*” Two items from the original Islamic Duty, Obligations and Exclusivism subscale, both regarding fasting during Ramadan, were included in this revised factor. Another fasting item, from the original Islamic Religious Coping subscale, was also included in this factor. These items are congruent with the revised factor as they reflect one of the beliefs and rules of Islam – fasting during Ramadan. Finally, one item from the original Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality subscale, “*Islam is the major reason why I do not eat pork,*” reflected the Islamic rule of not eating pork and was included in this factor.

Although similarities did appear between the original and the revised PMIR, the differences were distinct and revealed information specific to this population. The main difference appeared to be that the Canadian sample did not experience as much religious angst as did the international population included in Abu Raiya’s (2006) study.

Also, examination of the new Islamic Beliefs and Rules Subscale suggests that the many aspects of religion which were seen by the international sample as behaviours one must conduct as a reflection of their religiousness were viewed by the Canadian sample as concepts which one must believe as a reflection of their religiousness. Such a difference may indicate that the Canadian population placed greater emphasis on religiousness as reflected in internal beliefs rather than external behaviours.

Hypotheses

For women in the present study, greater identification with South Asian culture was related to greater adherence to two dimensions of religiousness -- Islamic Duties and Obligations, and Punishing Allah Reappraisal. Women for whom South Asian identity was strong more strongly believed that one must go to the mosque to pray, must read the Qur'an, and must pray to please God. These women also believed more strongly that one's problems and crisis situations were a result of punishment from God for previous misdeeds. According to Pargament, Koenig, and Perez (2000), this approach to crisis situations is a negative form of religious coping. Such forms of coping reflect an insecure relationship with God, and a fragile and fateful view of the world. Such a coping method may reflect an attempt to restore a frail sense of spirituality and religious meaning. This may therefore reflect a sense of spiritual insecurity among women who identify strongly as South Asian in a Canadian society.

Men who identified with South Asian culture endorsed four dimensions of religiousness. These men were more likely to base their ethical behaviours and beliefs on Islam and have a sense of universality with the global Muslim population, maintain their Islamic duties and obligations, follow Islamic beliefs and rules, and use Islam as a positive coping mechanism. Although men and women identified equally with South Asian culture, for men this ethnic identification meant greater identification with Islam than for women. Such differences may be a result of the different and well defined roles prescribed for men and women within South Asian culture. Greater adherence to the culture would also imply greater adherence to beliefs about gender-specific roles. However, it is important to remember that the samples of men and women in the current

study were drawn from two significantly different populations. The men were significantly older than the women, and had among them the majority as first generation immigrants (raised outside Canada), whereas majority of women were raised within Canada.

For women, stronger identification with Euro-Canadian culture was related to lower levels of religious identity on five dimensions of religiousness. More strongly Euro-Canadian identified women were less likely to base their ethical behaviour on Islam and less likely to feel a sense of universality with the global Muslim population. Lower adherence to what are seen as Islamic duties and obligations such as going to the mosque or reading the Qur'an were also associated with higher identification with Euro-Canadian culture as well as lower adherence to Islamic rules and lower levels of endorsement of basic Islamic beliefs. The use of Islam as a positive coping mechanism was also negatively correlated with Euro-Canadian identity. Finally, women were more strongly identified with Euro-Canadian culture were less likely to see problems as a punishment from God. Therefore, for women, stronger identification with Euro-Canadian culture was related to less religiousness as measured by the PMIR-Revised. This significant finding, which was as expected, demonstrates that for Muslim women of South Asian descent living in Canada greater adherences to Euro-Canadian behaviours and cognitions meant less importance placed on Islam.

The same relationship between identification with Euro-Canadian culture and religiousness was evident for men. Specifically, a negative correlation was found with three dimensions of religiousness. These men were less likely to endorse adhering to Islamic duties and obligations, to use Islam as a positive coping mechanism and as

identification, and to feel that their problems were a punishment from God. It is interesting to note that as identification with Euro-Canadian culture increased, using Islam as an identifier became less probable. Also, using Islam as a coping mechanism, both positive and negative, became unlikely. Both men and women who identified more with Euro-Canadian culture had lower levels of religiousness and identification with Islam. Given that the male and female samples in the current study were significantly different, these similarities are noteworthy. The negative correlation between Euro-Canadian identification and Islamic religiousness, and the positive correlation between South Asian identification and Islamic religiousness is indeed an interesting finding as it appears to support a commonly held belief mentioned previously that Islam and Western values are incompatible. In regards to sexism, women who identified with South Asian culture were benevolently sexist but not hostile sexist. Identification with South Asian culture could also be expected to predict benevolent sexism as was demonstrated by the regression analysis conducted for women. Glick and Fiske (2000) found, in the United States as well as 19 other nations, that women score lower on hostile sexism than men, but have similar, and sometimes higher, scores on benevolent sexism. As hostile sexism disenfranchises women, benevolent sexism appears to provide positive reinforcement thus appeasing women who may otherwise feel frustrated with patriarchy (Glick & Fiske, 2001). In other words, as hostile sexism punishes women, benevolent sexism appears to reward women, thus explaining a common endorsement of benevolent sexism among women who reside in or adhere to cultures in which hostile sexism is commonplace. South Asian culture is a patriarchal culture in which hostile sexism is high. Women who identify with this culture may be more likely to embrace the advantages they may gain

through benevolent sexism as a self-protective measure, thus resulting in an endorsement of benevolent sexism (Fischer, 2006).

The patriarchal nature of South Asian culture was demonstrated among men as well. It was found that identification with South Asian culture was positively correlated with hostile sexism only. Therefore, as men who identified with South Asian culture endorsed hostile sexism, women who identified with South Asian culture countered by taking a self-protective measure and endorsing benevolent sexism (Fischer, 2006). Not only did being male also increase the likelihood that one would hold hostile sexist attitudes toward women, but among men identification with South Asian culture was also the only significant predictor of hostile sexism. Among this population of men, higher levels of identification with South Asian culture can be expected to predict greater hostile sexist attitudes toward women.

Conversely, men and women who identified with Euro-Canadian culture had low levels of hostile sexism. However, contradictory to the original hypothesis which predicted low levels of benevolent sexism as well, their relation to benevolent sexism was insignificant. Glick and Fiske (2000) found that levels of hostile sexism were lowest among European origin cultures such as the United States, England, Australia, and the Netherlands. Therefore, a greater adherence to this culture would also encourage lower levels of hostile sexism. However, these same European origin cultures endorsed higher levels of benevolent sexism than hostile sexism, possibly explaining lack of a significant negative relation between identification with Euro-Canadian culture and benevolent sexism as benevolent sexism occurs at greater levels than hostile sexism.

Finally, a relation was expected and found between religiousness and benevolent sexism. For women, all dimensions of religiousness were positively related to benevolent sexism. Greater tendencies to base their ethical behaviour on Islam, to feel a sense of global community with the world Muslim population, to adhere to Islamic duties, obligations, rules, and beliefs, to use Islam as a coping mechanism, both positive and negative, and to experience a religious transformation were all related to the greater endorsement of benevolent sexism. As Islam supports the placing of women on a pedestal, it can be expected that those who feel they must base their behaviours on Islam, will base their beliefs on Islam as well. Of all the dimensions of religiousness one particular dimension, Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale – Revised was able to predict benevolent sexism. It appears that those women who utilize religion to define ethical behaviour and provide them with a sense of universality among the global Muslim community could be expected to hold benevolently sexist attitudes.

Similarly for men, religiousness was related to benevolent sexism. For men however, only two dimensions of religiousness were positively correlated with benevolent sexism; the greater importance men placed on completing Islamic duties and obligations and using Islam as a positive religious coping mechanism, the more they endorsed benevolent sexism. This finding supports previous research which has found a positive correlation between Christian religiousness and benevolent sexism, as the major religions of Christianity, Judaism and Islam all perpetuate benevolently sexist attitudes (Burn & Busso, 2005; Christopher & Mull, 2006; Glick, Lameiras, & Castro, 2002). However, the reliability of the benevolent sexism subscale for men was low ($\alpha = .582$), suggesting that benevolent sexism was not assessed appropriately for men.

The current study resulted in one very unusual and unexpected finding which refuted previous literature, as scant as that may be. As previously mentioned, a positive correlation has been found between Christian religiousness and benevolent sexism. However, these studies have not found any relation between Christian religiousness and hostile sexism. The current study, however, found that, for women, all dimensions of Islamic religiousness were positively correlated with hostile sexism. The more women based their ethical behaviour on Islam, felt a sense of global community with the world Muslim population, adhered to Islamic duties, obligations, rules, and beliefs, used Islam as a coping mechanism, both positive and negative, and had experienced a religious transformation, the more they endorsed hostile sexism as well as benevolent sexism. This finding may be explained by the fact that both hostile sexism and religion promote rigid and restrictive roles for women therefore explaining an overlap between the two. Another possible explanation may actually be related to the endorsement of benevolent sexism among this group. Those who endorse benevolent sexism believe that women are dependent upon men and as such may feel a dependency upon men. Cowan, Neighbors, DeLaMoreaux, and Behnke (1998) found that women who had an emotional dependence on men were hostile toward other women.

The greatest correlations between religiousness and hostile sexism among women were found among those who had transformed their lives religiously due to Islam, and those who felt their problems were a punishment from God. Those who had transformed their lives as a result of Islam were those who would have consciously made Islam a central aspect of their lives therefore becoming very aware of the teachings, values, and beliefs of the religion. Such hyper-awareness may lead to a belief that women are to

maintain their specific roles determined by Islam, a belief congruent with hostile sexism. Those who experience conversion within their religion or to another religion increase their devotion to that religion. Therefore, the importance they place on the dictates of the religion will increase and thus they may endorse hostile sexist attitudes.

The belief that problems are a punishment from God and hostile sexism were also highly correlated. The regression analysis conducted for women found this belief to be the only predictor of hostile sexist attitudes toward women. Examining the implications of such a belief provides some insight into this relation. As mentioned previously, Pargament, Koenig, and Perez (2000) suggest that those who believe that crises and problems are a punishment from God for previous misdeeds have an insecure relationship with God and an ominous view of the world. Cowan and Ullman (2006) have proposed and found that a sense of personal inadequacy and perceptions of little control of one's outcomes in women can lead to hostility toward other women. Viewing the world as fragile and God as punisher creates insecurity within the believer which could in turn lead to hostile attitudes toward women. However, although this dimension of religiousness predicted hostile sexism it is important to note that this is a negative aspect of religiousness. Benevolent sexism in contrast was predicted by a positive dimension of religiousness - the belief of basing one's ethical principles on Islam as well as a sense of unity with the global Muslim community.

For men, a sense that one's problems were a punishment from God was the only dimension which was related to high levels of hostile sexism although it was not a significant predictor of hostile sexism among men as it was among women. Feelings of

inadequacy among men may also lead to hostility and animosity toward women resulting in hostile sexist attitudes.

It is important to note that the men scored significantly higher than the women on both hostile and benevolent sexism regardless of their ethnic and religious identification. Such findings are consistent with previous literature (Glick & Fiske, 2000). Such differences may also be explained by once again considering the significant differences between the male and female samples in the current study. The men were significantly older than women, and the majority of men were raised outside Canada, whereas the majority of women were raised in Canada. As Western cultures are usually lower on hostile sexism than South Asian cultures, those raised in a Western culture (the majority of the female sample in this instance) would be expected to hold less hostile sexist attitudes than those raised in South Asian cultures (the majority of the male sample in this instance). Numbers of 1.5 and second generation immigrant men were low. Thus, it cannot be known if exposure to Euro-Canadian culture during one's identity formation years does indeed decrease levels of hostile sexism among South Asian men.

Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that, for women, hostile sexism was predicted by a dimension of religiousness, Punishing Allah Reappraisal, and for men the belief was more likely to emerge from culture, specifically South Asian culture. Again, this may have been a result of the significant differences between the male and female populations. The majority of men in the study sample would have been exposed to a 'purer' version of South Asian culture thus increasing its influence, while the majority of women in the sample would have been exposed to a 'diluted' version, perhaps increasing the emphasis in their households of religion, as the one aspect of South Asian culture that could more

easily be reinforced in a new country. South Asian culture was also a predictor among women but of benevolent sexism. These relations indicate that the attitudes which these women hold of other women emerge from both religious and other aspects of culture.

Significant differences existed between men and women on various dimensions of religiousness. Men and women were significantly different in their endorsement of Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality, Islamic Duty and Obligation, and Islamic Beliefs and Rules. Men based their behaviours on ethical principles more than women. They endorsed greater adherence to Islamic duties, obligations, beliefs, and rules than did women. Men consistently endorsed the dimensions of religiousness more than did women, except for religious conversion on which endorsement was slightly greater for women.

This is incongruent with the literature which has found that Christian women tend to be more religious than Christian men (de Vaus & McAllister, 1987). However, Loewenthal, MacLeod, and Cinnirella (2002) found that Muslim, Jewish and Hindu women were less religious than Muslim, Jewish and Hindu men. It was also reported that South Asian men (Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim) were more religiously enthusiastic and active than women. Loewenthal et al. (2002) only measured religious activity and not necessarily beliefs. Therefore, the general lack of involvement with the mosque among Muslim women may not necessarily reflect low levels of internal religiousness. However, the current study suggests that women may be less religious with regard to both beliefs and attitudes. Again, this finding may be a result of the fact that the women in the current study were significantly younger, by about 10 years, than the men and more likely than the men to have been raised in Canada.

Differences between men and women were also found in the acculturation strategies followed. A greater percentage of women were integrated and marginalized than were men. However, more men were assimilated and separated than were women. It appears that more women identified either with both South Asian and Euro-Canadian culture, or neither. The majority of men on the other hand identified with either South Asian or Euro-Canadian culture.

Among the four acculturation groups it appeared that those who Separated endorsed more religious dimensions than did all other groups for both men and women. Therefore those who identified with South Asian culture mainly were more religious than those who identified with Euro-Canadian culture mainly, both Euro-Canadian and South Asian cultures, or neither culture. This is a recurrent theme throughout this study. Only one exception occurred. For men it appeared that Integrationists felt a stronger sense of being punished by God in times of crisis, perhaps reflecting a spiritual insecurity among those men who identify with both South Asian and Euro-Canadian culture.

Finally, the dress codes of the female participants as well as the male participants' partners were interesting in the comparison between what participants/partners actually wore and what they believed women should be wearing. The majority of women did not wear any head cover; however, very few of them felt that women should leave their heads uncovered. The majority of women also stated that they wore trendy clothing, yet again only a small number stated that women should wear trendy clothing. Nonetheless, the majority of women did support women wearing what they desired. Therefore, it may be assumed that many of these women would support no head cover or trendy clothing if those were a woman's choice. However, when speaking for themselves, only a minority

of women stated they wore whatever they wanted. Perhaps the other answer options fulfilled their answer or it may be that the women felt a dress code of some type was necessary for them. A minority of women covered their heads and no women wore a face veil, though a few felt women should cover their faces. Many women, though a minority, felt that women should wear loose fitting clothing as it may be considered modest.

Although a minority of the male respondents stated that their partners wore the hijab, slightly less than half believed that women should wear the hijab. Many of the men, though a minority, felt women should wear loose fitting clothing. However, for both men and women, the most common response was that they felt that women should wear what they wanted.

An interesting finding from this analysis was that although the majority of women who did not wear a head cover were low on religiousness on most dimensions, on the Punishing Allah Reappraisal more women scored high than low. This may reflect insecurity with their relationship with God as a result of their non-hijabi status and is an interesting subject for further investigation.

The role of the Punishing Allah Reappraisal proved to be an interesting one within the current study. As previously noted, this dimension has been interpreted as reflecting a negative form of religious coping in which one feels an insecure relationship with God (Pargament, Koenig, & Perez, 2000). This dimension of Islamic religiousness was related to a greater identification with South Asian culture among women, hostile sexism for both men and women, endorsement from the majority of non-hijabi women, and negatively related to identification with Euro-Canadian culture among men. Additionally, the regression analysis conducted for the entire population found Punishing

Allah Reappraisal to be one of only two significant predictors of hostile sexism. Therefore, religious insecurity appeared to be high among those women who had high South Asian identification, and those men and women who had hostile sexist attitudes toward women, and was low for those men who were high on Euro-Canadian identification. After gender, it was the only variable which could predict hostile sexism. Those among this population who have a high level of negative religious coping could be expected to have high levels of hostile sexism toward women.

Limitations of the Study

Although this study added to the literature on the topic and therefore increased knowledge, it was subject to limitations which should be addressed in future research. The first limitation could also be defined as an opportunity. This was one of the first studies to utilize Abu Raiya's (2006) Psychological Measure of Religiousness and thus the validity of the measure has not been fully established. The factor analysis conducted for the current study demonstrated that the items of the survey did not all correlate with the dimensions of religiousness as the original measure. Additionally, very few items in this measure were reversed as is often needed. Thus, this study provided additional information useful in the further refinement of Abu-Raiya's scale.

Another limitation was the low reliability ($\alpha = .582$) of the benevolent sexism subscale for men. All correlations therefore with benevolent sexism for men had to be approached with caution. This measure has proved valid and reliable in international samples, so the low reliability was unexpected. For this particular population of men it appears all the items in the benevolent sexism subscale were not measuring the same construct – benevolent sexism.

Another limitation was related to the significant differences between the male and female samples in the current study. Given the age and generational differences between the two samples, comparisons between the genders should be interpreted cautiously. One possible reason for this sample difference is that, since this was an online survey, only those with access to computers and knowledge of the English language were able to participate. Such a method eliminated a certain segment of the population. It may be the case that first generation immigrant women possess less knowledge of computers and the English language than do their male counterparts. This may explain the fact that the majority of male respondents were first generation and only a minority of female respondents were first generation.

Despite its limitations, the results of this study make a concrete contribution to the research on Canadian Muslims of South Asian descent. Previously, no study has investigated the relation among ethnic identity, religious identity, and attitudes toward women among Canadian Muslims of South Asian decent. Therefore, as this study is one of the first of its kind the findings will provide a base for further investigations of the relations of these variables.

By using the Psychological Measure of Islamic Religiousness this study was able to aid in refining the measure. Although this measure will require more usage to develop more validity this study aided in that process. This study also demonstrated that this measure is useful and helpful for research in the area.

The results of this study have implications for South Asian Muslim women. The attitudes which were revealed in the current study and the variables to which they were related provide insight into ways in which individuals of this ethnic and religious

background may respond to women depending upon how they identify themselves – ethnically and religiously. Such information is vital in the study of women's issues in a multicultural and multi-faith country such as Canada. Being aware of attitudes toward women in specific minority groups can only aid in further work with this group of women.

This study also provided interesting insight into the attitudes women hold toward other women. Such findings reiterate the need and importance to study this particular group specifically, and not simply to generalize findings based on other ethnic and religious groups. Canadian Muslims of South Asian descent need to be studied as a population which has characteristics unique to itself.

Future research could investigate relations among ethnic identity, religious identity, and attitudes toward women, among women specifically. Particular relations among the variables occurred among women only. Such relations would require further study to investigate the factors at play in such unusual and interesting relations. The finding that, for women, religiosity correlated positively with hostile sexism toward other women could be further investigated as could the relation between identification with South Asian culture and a sense of spiritual insecurity. Another avenue for research could investigate specific aspects of this study further. For example, the current study found that many participants appeared to feel that Islam and Western values were incongruent. Such a relation warrants further research to investigate the negatively correlated relation between Euro-Canadian and Islamic religiousness, especially in the current political climate. As the current study investigated various relations which resulted in many

conclusions, an in depth investigation of such conclusions would be a productive focus for future research.

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Appendix A

Recruitment Advertisement Poster

Department of Psychology, University of Windsor

CANADIAN
SOUTH ASIAN
MUSLIMS

**age of 18 and above
are needed to volunteer to participate in a study
on the relationship between ethnic identity,
religiousness, and attitudes toward women**

As a participant you will be asked to complete online surveys
which will take approximately 20 minutes.

In appreciation of your time you will be entered into a draw to win
a \$50 gift certificate to Indigo/Chapters.

If you are interested please go to the following website:

<http://www.uwindsor.ca/users/a/ali11/main.nsf/EditShowInTOC/7332FA16F9D74B528525727A007355DA>

Or contact Sobia Ali at ali11@uwindsor.ca or sobia_ali@hotmail.com

**Your help in adding to the knowledge on Muslims in Canada would be
very much appreciated.**

This study has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Research
Ethics Board, University of Windsor.

*Appendix B*Organizations and Listserv Groups Contacted*Organizations*

1. Young Muslims Canada
2. Islamic Society of North America
3. Canadian Council of Muslim Women
4. Sarnia Muslim Association
5. Toronto Progressive Muslim Group
6. Islamic Institute of Toronto
7. Pakistan Canada Cultural Society
8. Pakistan Canada Association of Vancouver, British Columbia
9. Islamic Association of Nova Scotia
10. Fredericton Islamic Association
11. Muslims of Calgary
12. Muslim Council of Montreal: Le Conseil Musulman de Montreal
13. Manitoba Islamic Association
14. Scarborough Muslim Association
15. British Columbia Muslim Association
16. Tamilnadu Muslim Association of Canada
17. Canadian Muslim Civil Liberties Association
18. Islamic Social Services Association of Canada
19. Canadian Islamic Congress
20. Muslim Canadian Council
21. Islamic Institute of Toronto
22. Council of American-Islamic Relations – Canada
23. Muslim Association of Canada

Listserve

1. Toronto Muslim Group
2. TPD Muslims Group
3. Islam-Gatineau Group
4. Toronto Shia Community Group
5. Muslims Up North
6. Canadian Muslim Union
7. BCMuslims – Muslims in British Columbia
8. Ottawa Progressive Muslims
9. Wolfville Muslim Community
10. Al-Fatiha Montreal – LGBTQ Muslims in Montreal, Canada
11. Canadian Muslim Civil Liberties Association Mailing List
12. Muslim Staffing Network
13. United Muslims
14. Windsor Muslims

15. Salaam Toronto Queer Muslim Community
16. New Brunswick Islam Way
17. CAIR-net – Council on American-Islamic Relations
18. PEI Muslims
19. Pacific Islamic Emergence
20. Muslim Community of Quebec
21. Client Logic Toronto Muslim Community
22. Muslim Families of Oakville
23. Manitoba Islamic Information Centre
24. London Salafis
25. Dawa Saskatchewan
26. Ottawa-Pakistan
27. Students of Islamic Knowledge
28. Islamic Discussion for Bangladeshis – London, Ontario
29. Lethbridge Muslim Association
30. Minahj ul Qur'an Vancouver Group
31. Toronto Brothers in Islam
32. Muslim Students' Federation of Canada
33. Muslim Professionals: Waterloo and Wellington
34. Canada Muslims
35. Basirat
36. Pakistani Expatriates in Canada
37. PakCan IT
38. Pakistani Society of Sudbury
39. Indians in Canada
40. Dil Se Desi Group

Appendix C

Background Information Sheet

Please respond to each question as accurately as possible.

1. Age _____
2. Sex: female _____ male _____
3. In what country were you born? _____
4. If you were not born in Canada, at what age did you move to Canada?

5. Which cultural or ethnic group do you identify with?
 - a. South Asian _____
 - b. East African South Asian _____
 - c. Caribbean South Asian _____
 - d. Other _____ (please identify)
6. Which sect of Islam do you identify with?
 - a. Sunni _____
 - b. Shi'a _____
 - c. Ismaili _____
 - d. Wahabbi _____
 - e. Just Muslim _____
 - f. Other _____ (please identify)

Appendix D

Acculturation Index

For each of the following items (e.g. clothing, pace of life) you need to ask yourself two questions regarding your current lifestyle: “Are my experiences and behaviours similar to those of typical Euro-Canadian people?” AND Are my experiences and behaviours similar to those of typical South Asian people?”

Using the 0 to 6 scale below, circle the appropriate number that best answers these two questions:

Are my experiences and behaviours similar to those of typical Euro-Canadian people?

Are my experiences and behaviours similar to those of typical South Asian people?

	not at all similar						extremely similar	
Clothing								
1. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
2. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Pace of life								
3. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
4. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
General knowledge								
5. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
6. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Food								
7. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
8. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Religious beliefs								
9. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
10. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	

Material comfort

11. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Recreational activities

13. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Self-identity

15. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Family life

17. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Accommodation/residence

19. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Values

21. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Friendships

23. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
24. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Communication Styles

25. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
26. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Cultural Activities

27. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
28. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Language

29. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
30. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Employment activities

31. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
32. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Perceptions of South Asian people

33. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
34. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Perceptions of Euro-Canadian people

35. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
36. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Political ideology

37. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
38. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Worldview

39. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
40. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Social customs

41. Euro-Canadian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
42. South Asian people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix E

Psychological Measure of Islamic Religiousness

Original Version

Islamic Beliefs Subscale

Please circle the answer that best indicates your reaction to each the following statements.

1. *I believe in the existence of Allah*

No (0) Uncertain (1) Yes (2)

2. *I believe in the Day of Judgment*

No (0) Uncertain (1) Yes (2)

3. *I believe in the existence of paradise and hell*

No (0) Uncertain (1) Yes (2)

4. *I believe in the existence of the angels, the Jinn, and Satan*

No (0) Uncertain (1) Yes (2)

5. *I believe in all the prophets that Allah sent and in the sacred texts that were revealed to them*

No (0) Uncertain (1) Yes (2)

Islamic Ethical Principles & Universality Subscale

To the best of your ability and please circle the answer that best indicates your reaction to each the following statements.

1. *Islam is the major reason why I am a humble person*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

2. *Islam is the major reason why I honour my parents*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

3. *Islam is the major reason why I help my relatives and neighbours*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

4. *Islam is the major reason why I help the needy and the orphans*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

5. *Islam is the major reason why I am a tolerant person*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

6. *Islam is the major reason why I do not to eat pork*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

7. *Islam is the major reason why I do not to drink alcohol*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

8. *Islam is the major reason why I do not have sex before marriage or outside marriage*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

9. *Islam is the major reason why I do not consider committing suicide*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

10. *Islam is the major reason why I do not engage in gossip*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

11. *I consider every Muslim in the world as my brother or sister*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

12. *I identify with the suffering of every Muslim in the world*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

13. *One of my major sources of pride is being a Muslim*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

14. *I believe that brotherhood and sisterhood is one the basic tenets of Islam*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

Islamic Religious Conversion Subscale

Please answer yes or no to the following statement

In my life, I have changed from a non-religious person to a religious person

No (0)

Yes (1)

If your answer to the above statement is yes, please circle the answer that best indicates your reaction to each of the following statements.

1. *Becoming more involved in Islam was a turning point in my life*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

2. *Islam has moved from the outside to the very center of my life*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

3. *At one point in my life, I realized that Islam is the solution to all of my problems*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

4. *All at once, I felt that my life has no meaning without Islam*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

5. *All at once, I felt that I am on the wrong path and that I should follow the path of Allah*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

6. *In comparison to the way I used to be, Islam touches every aspect of my life*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

Islamic Positive Religious Coping & Identification Subscale

Please circle the answer that best indicates your reaction to each the following statements.

1. *Except in prayers, how often do you read or listen to the Holy Qur'an?*

Never (0) A few times in my life (1) A few times a year (2)

A few times a month (3) About once or twice a week (4)

Once a day or more (5)

2. *Except in prayers, how often do you engage in d'iker or tasbih?*

Never (0) A few times in my life (1) A few times a year (2)

A few times a month (3) About once or twice a week (4)

Once a day or more (5)

3. *When I face a problem in life, I look for a stronger connection with Allah*

I do not do this at all (1) I do this a little (2)

I do this a medium amount (3) I do this a lot (4)

4. *When I face a problem in life, I consider that a test from Allah to deepen my belief*

I do not do this at all (1) I do this a little (2)

I do this a medium amount (3) I do this a lot (4)

5. *When I face a problem in life, I seek Allah's love and care*

I do not do this at all (1) I do this a little (2)

I do this a medium amount (3) I do this a lot (4)

6. *When I face a problem in life, I read the Holy Qur'an to find consolation*

I do not do this at all (1) I do this a little (2)

I do this a medium amount (3) I do this a lot (4)

7. *When I face a problem in life, I ask for Allah's forgiveness*

I do not do this at all (1) I do this a little (2)

I do this a medium amount (3) I do this a lot (4)

8. *When I face a problem in life, I remind myself that Allah commanded me to be patient*

I do not do this at all (1) I do this a little (2)

I do this a medium amount (3) I do this a lot (4)

9. *When I face a problem in life, I do what I can and put the rest in Allah's hands*

I do not do this at all (1) I do this a little (2)

I do this a medium amount (3) I do this a lot (4)

10. *I pray because I enjoy it*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)

Not applicable

11. *I pray because I find it satisfying*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)

Not applicable

12. *I read the Holy Qur'an because I feel that Allah is talking to me when I do that*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)

Not applicable

13. *I read the Holy Qur'an because I find it satisfying*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)

Not applicable

14. *I fast in Ramadan because when I fast I feel close to Allah*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)

Not applicable

Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale

Please circle the answer that best indicates your reaction to each the following statements.

1. *When I face a problem in life, I believe that I am being punished by Allah for bad actions I did*

I do not do this at all (1) I do this a little (2)
 I do this a medium amount (3) I do this a lot (4)

2. *I face a problem in life, I wonder what I did for Allah to punish me*

I do not do this at all (1) I do this a little (2)
 I do this a medium amount (3) I do this a lot (4)

3. *When I face a problem in life, I feel punished by Allah for my lack of devotion*

I do not do this at all (1) I do this a little (2)
 I do this a medium amount (3) I do this a lot (4)

Islamic Religious Struggle Subscale

Please circle the answer that best indicates your reaction to each the following statements.

1. *I find myself doubting the existence of Allah*

Never (0) Rarely (1) Sometimes (2) Often (3) Very often (4)

2. *I find some aspects of Islam to be unfair*

Never (0) Rarely (1) Sometimes (2) Often (3) Very often (4)

3. *I find myself doubting the existence of afterlife*

Never (0) Rarely (1) Sometimes (2) Often (3) Very often (4)

4. *I think that Islam does not fit the modern time*

Never (0) Rarely (1) Sometimes (2) Often (3) Very often (4)

5. *I doubt that the Holy Qur'an is the exact words of Allah*

Never (0) Rarely (1) Sometimes (2) Often (3) Very often (4)

6. *I feel that Islam makes people intolerant*

Never (0) Rarely (1) Sometimes (2) Often (3) Very often (4)

Islamic Duty, Obligation & Exclusivism Subscale

Please circle the answer that best indicates your reaction to each the following statements.

1. *How often do you pray?*

Never (0)

A few times a year (1)

Several times a month (2)

Several times a week (3)

Most of the times the 5 daily prayers (4)

Five times a day or more (5)

2. *How often do you fast?*

Never (0)

Few times in life (1)

Few days of the month of Ramadan each year (2)

Half to all the month of Ramadan each year (3)

The whole month of Ramadan each year (4)

Other religious days or sunnah fasts in addition to Ramadan (5)

3. *How often do you go to the masjid?*

Never (0)

A few times in my life (1)

A few times a year (2)

A few times a month (3)

About once or twice a week (4)

Once a day or more (5)

4. *I fast in Ramadan because I would feel bad if I did not*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)

Not applicable

5. *I pray because if I do not, Allah will disapprove of me*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)

Not applicable

6. *I read the Holy Qur'an because I would feel guilty if I did not*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)

Not applicable

7. *I go to the masjid because one is supposed to go to the masjid*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)

Not applicable

8. *I go to the masjid because others would disapprove of me if I did not*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)

Not applicable

9. *Islam is Allah's complete, unfailing guide to happiness and salvation, which must be totally followed*

Very strongly disagree (-4) Strongly disagree (-3) Moderately disagree (-2)

Slightly disagree (-1) Slightly agree (1) Moderately agree (2)

Strongly agree (3) Very strongly agree (4)

10. *Of all the people on this earth, Muslims have a special relationship with Allah because they believe the most in His revealed truths and try the hardest to follow His laws.*

Very strongly disagree (-4)	Strongly disagree (-3)	Moderately disagree (-2)
Slightly disagree (-1)	Slightly agree (1)	Moderately agree (2)
Strongly agree (3)	Very strongly agree (4)	

11. *It is more important to be a good person than to believe in Allah and the right religion*

Very strongly disagree (4)	Strongly disagree (3)	Moderately disagree (2)
Slightly disagree (1)	Slightly agree (-1)	Moderately agree (-2)
Strongly agree (-3)	Very strongly agree (-4)	

12. *Islam is the best way to worship Allah, and should never be compromised*

Very strongly disagree (-4)	Strongly disagree (-3)	Moderately disagree (-2)
Slightly disagree (-1)	Slightly agree (1)	Moderately agree (2)
Strongly agree (3)	Very strongly agree (4)	

Global Religiousness

Please circle the answer that best indicates your reaction to each the following statements.

1. *How do you describe your religiousness?*

Very low (1)	Low (2)	average (3)	High (4)	Very high (5)
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2. *How do you describe your spirituality?*

Very low (1)	Low (2)	average (3)	High (4)	Very high (5)
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Appendix F

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

The statements on this page concern women, men and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement by using the following scale: 0 = disagree strongly; 1 = disagree somewhat; 2 = disagree slightly; 3 = agree slightly; 4 = agree somewhat; 5 = agree strongly.

1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightly	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

2. Many women are actually seeking special favours, such as hiring policies that favour them over men, under the guise of asking for “equality.”

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightly	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

3. In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightly	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightly	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

5. Women are too easily offended.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightly	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

6. People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightly	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

7. Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightly	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightly	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightly	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightly	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

11. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightly	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

12. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightly	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

13. Men are complete without women.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightl y	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightl y	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

15. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightl y	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightl y	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightl y	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

18. There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightl y	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

19. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightl y	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightl y	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

21. Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightl y	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

22. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly	somewhat	slightl y	slightly	slightly	somewhat	strongly

Appendix G

Dress Code Questions

Please check all relevant responses.

1) Do you (female respondents) or your spouse/girlfriend (male respondents) wear:

Hijab _____

Niqab _____

Loose fitting clothing _____

No hijab/uncovered hair _____

Trendy clothing _____

Whatever we/they want _____

Other _____

Not applicable _____

2) Muslim women should wear:

Hijab _____

Niqab _____

Loose fitting clothing _____

No hijab/uncovered hair _____

Trendy clothing _____

Whatever we/they want _____

Other _____

*Appendix H*Factor Loadings of Revised PMIR

Table 10

Factor loading values of Psychological Measure of Islamic Religiousness - Revised

	Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale – Revised	Islamic Duty and Obligation Subscale	Islamic Beliefs and Rules Subscale	Islamic Positive Religious Coping & Id Subscale	Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale	Islamic Religious Conversion Subscale
Islam is the major reason why I am a humble person	<u>.867</u>	.160	-.448	-.446	-.176	-
Islam is the major reason why I honour my parents	<u>.857</u>	.228	-.461	-.399	-.184	-
Islam is the major reason why I help my relatives and neighbors	<u>.893</u>	.236	-.370	-.425	-.133	-
Islam is the major reason why I help the needy and the orphans	<u>.868</u>	.254	-.398	-.393	-.195	-
Islam is the major reason why I am a tolerant person	<u>.836</u>	.245	-.448	-.389	-.118	-

	Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale – Revised	Islamic Duty and Obligation Subscale	Islamic Beliefs and Rules Subscale	Islamic Positive Religious Coping & Id Subscale	Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale	Islamic Religious Conversion Subscale
Islam is the major reason why I do not to drink alcohol	<u>.625</u>	.209	-.582	-.380	-.302	-
Islam is the major reason why I do not have sex before marriage or outside marriage	<u>.684</u>	.186	-.554	-.404	-.235	-
Islam is the major reason why I do not consider committing suicide	<u>.687</u>	.116	-.529	-.431	-.296	-
Islam is the major reason why I do not engage in gossip	<u>.808</u>	.279	-.394	-.530	-.140	-
I consider every Muslim in the world as my brother or sister	<u>.781</u>	.252	-.274	-.438	-.215	-
I identify with the suffering of every Muslim in the world	<u>.688</u>	.197	-.267	-.343	-.267	-
One of my major sources of pride is being a Muslim	<u>.684</u>	.040	-.434	-.494	-.287	-
I believe that brotherhood and sisterhood is one the basic tenets of Islam	<u>.650</u>	.129	-.350	-.463	-.206	-

	Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale – Revised	Islamic Duty and Obligation Subscale	Islamic Beliefs and Rules Subscale	Islamic Positive Religious Coping & Id Subscale	Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale	Islamic Religious Conversion Subscale
I find some aspects of Islam to be unfair	-.698	-.312	.465	.589	.231	-
I think that Islam does not fit the modern time	-.627	-.164	.540	.575	.174	-
It is more important to be a good person than to believe in Allah and the right religion	.518	<u>.137</u>	-.354	-.292	-.266	-
How often do you go to the masjid?	.571	<u>.523</u>	-.306	-.430	.061	-
Islam is Allah’s complete, unyielding guide to happiness and salvation, which must be totally followed	.692	<u>.311</u>	-.583	-.561	-.170	-
Muslims have a special relationship with Allah because they believe the most in His revealed truths and try the hardest to follow His laws.	.543	<u>.423</u>	-.463	-.467	-.119	-

	Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale – Revised	Islamic Duty and Obligation Subscale	Islamic Beliefs and Rules Subscale	Islamic Positive Religious Coping & Id Subscale	Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale	Islamic Religious Conversion Subscale
Islam is the best way to worship Allah, and should never be compromised	.634	<u>.368</u>	-.558	-.438	-.209	-
I go to the masjid because one is supposed to go to the masjid	.336	<u>.741</u>	-.121	-.251	-.247	-
I read the Holy Qura'n because I would feel guilty if I did not	.371	<u>.712</u>	-.304	-.354	-.350	-
I pray because if I do not, Allah will disapprove of me	.434	<u>.640</u>	-.378	-.382	-.367	-
I read the Holy Qura'n because I find it satisfying	.422	.619	-.452	<u>-.591</u>	-.197	-
I believe in the existence of Allah	.229	-.078	<u>-.643</u>	-.313	-.135	-
I believe in the Day of Judgment	.449	.159	<u>-.909</u>	-.373	-.242	-
I believe in the existence of paradise and hell	.498	.209	<u>-.867</u>	-.377	-.244	-

	Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale – Revised	Islamic Duty and Obligation Subscale	Islamic Beliefs and Rules Subscale	Islamic Positive Religious Coping & Id Subscale	Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale	Islamic Religious Conversion Subscale
I believe in the existence of the angels, the Jinn, and Satan	.558	.111	<u>-.879</u>	-.429	-.209	-
I believe in all the prophets that Allah sent and in the sacred texts that were revealed to them	.369	.119	<u>-.865</u>	-.401	-.198	-
Islam is the major reason why I do not to eat pork	<u>.494</u>	.066	-.596	-.203	-.186	-
I find myself doubting the existence of Allah	-.470	-.121	.613	.586	.122	-
I find myself doubting the existence of afterlife	-.579	-.158	.696	.546	.167	-
I doubt that the Holy Qur'an is the exact words of Allah	-.551	-.233	.739	.455	.177	-
I feel that Islam makes people intolerant	-.507	-.131	.509	.424	.335	-
How often do you fast?	.489	<u>.413</u>	-.616	-.445	-.101	-

	Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale – Revised	Islamic Duty and Obligation Subscale	Islamic Beliefs and Rules Subscale	Islamic Positive Religious Coping & Id Subscale	Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale	Islamic Religious Conversion Subscale
I fast in Ramadan because when I fast I feel close to Allah	.426	.487	-.579	<u>-.497</u>	-.165	-
I fast in Ramadan because I would feel bad if I did not	.273	<u>.479</u>	-.498	-.116	-.108	-
Except in prayers, how often do you read or listen to the Holy Qur'an?	.582	.380	-.348	<u>-.635</u>	-.027	-
When I face a problem in life, I look for a stronger connection with Allah	.407	-.018	-.476	<u>-.746</u>	-.284	-
When I face a problem in life, I consider that a test from Allah to deepen my belief	.580	.169	-.455	<u>-.746</u>	-.303	-
When I face a problem in life, I seek Allah's love and care	.548	.063	-.503	<u>-.809</u>	-.268	-

	Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale – Revised	Islamic Duty and Obligation Subscale	Islamic Beliefs and Rules Subscale	Islamic Positive Religious Coping & Id Subscale	Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale	Islamic Religious Conversion Subscale
When I face a problem in life, I read the Holy Qura'n to find consolation	.449	.378	-.271	<u>-.727</u>	-.116	-
When I face a problem in life, I ask for Allah's forgiveness	.469	.221	-.398	<u>-.729</u>	-.279	-
When I face a problem in life, I remind myself that Allah commanded me to be patient	.494	.213	-.246	<u>-.780</u>	-.131	-
When I face a problem in life, I do what I can and put the rest in Allah's hands	.503	.003	-.332	<u>-.773</u>	-.195	-
I pray because I enjoy it	.194	.349	-.282	<u>-.599</u>	.060	-
I pray because I find it satisfying	.284	.397	-.478	<u>-.641</u>	-.145	-
I read the Holy Qur'an because I feel that Allah is talking to me when I do that	.468	.635	-.378	<u>-.621</u>	-.382	-
How often do you pray?	.625	<u>.368</u>	-.432	<u>-.671</u>	-.069	-

	Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale – Revised	Islamic Duty and Obligation Subscale	Islamic Beliefs and Rules Subscale	Islamic Positive Religious Coping & Id Subscale	Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale	Islamic Religious Conversion Subscale
Except in prayers, how often do you engage in d'iker or tasbih?	.493	.155	-.283	<u>-.608</u>	.037	-
When I face a problem in life, I believe that I am being punished by Allah for bad actions I did	.288	.257	-.214	-.235	<u>-.901</u>	-
I face a problem in life, I wonder what I did for Allah to punish me	.157	.202	-.141	-.126	<u>-.918</u>	-
When I face a problem in life, I feel punished by Allah for my lack of devotion	.251	.261	-.234	-.120	<u>-.888</u>	-
Becoming more involved in Islam was a turning point in my life	-	-	-	-	-	<u>.808</u>
Islam has moved from the outside to the very center of my life	-	-	-	-	-	<u>.904</u>

	Islamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale – Revised	Islamic Duty and Obligation Subscale	Islamic Beliefs and Rules Subscale	Islamic Positive Religious Coping & Id Subscale	Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale	Islamic Religious Conversion Subscale
At one point in my life, I realized that Islam is the solution to all of my problems	-	-	-	-	-	<u>.896</u>
All at once, I felt that my life has no meaning without Islam	-	-	-	-	-	<u>.688</u>
All at once, I felt that I am on the wrong path and that I should follow the path of Allah	-	-	-	-	-	<u>.810</u>
In comparison to the way I used to be, Islam touches every aspect of my life	-	-	-	-	-	<u>.899</u>

Appendix I

Psychological Measure of Islamic ReligiousnessRevised VersionIslamic Ethical Principles and Universality Subscale – Revised

Please circle the answer that best indicates your reaction to each the following statements.

1. *Islam is the major reason why I am a humble person*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

2. *Islam is the major reason why I honour my parents*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

3. *Islam is the major reason why I help my relatives and neighbours*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

4. *Islam is the major reason why I help the needy and the orphans*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

5. *Islam is the major reason why I am a tolerant person*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

6. *Islam is the major reason why I do not to drink alcohol*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

7. *Islam is the major reason why I do not have sex before marriage or outside marriage*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

8. *Islam is the major reason why I do not consider committing suicide*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

9. *Islam is the major reason why I do not engage in gossip*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

10. *I consider every Muslim in the world as my brother or sister*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

11. *I identify with the suffering of every Muslim in the world*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

12. *One of my major sources of pride is being a Muslim*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

13. *I believe that brotherhood and sisterhood is one the basic tenets of Islam*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

14. *I find some aspects of Islam to be unfair*

Never (0) Rarely (1) Sometimes (2) Often (3) Very often (4)

15. *I think that Islam does not fit the modern time*

Never (0) Rarely (1) Sometimes (2) Often (3) Very often (4)

16. *It is more important to be a good person than to believe in Allah and the right religion*

Very strongly disagree (4) Strongly disagree (3) Moderately disagree (2)

Slightly disagree (1) Slightly agree (-1) Moderately agree (-2)

Strongly agree (-3) Very strongly agree (-4)

17. *How often do you go to the masjid?*

Never (0)

A few times in my life (1)

A few times a year (2)

A few times a month (3)

About once or twice a week (4)

Once a day or more (5)

18. *Islam is Allah's complete, unfailing guide to happiness and salvation, which must be totally followed*

Very strongly disagree (-4) Strongly disagree (-3) Moderately disagree (-2)

Slightly disagree (-1) Slightly agree (1) Moderately agree (2)

Strongly agree (3) Very strongly agree (4)

19. *Of all the people on this earth, Muslims have a special relationship with Allah because they believe the most in His revealed truths and try the hardest to follow His laws.*

Very strongly disagree (-4) Strongly disagree (-3) Moderately disagree (-2)
 Slightly disagree (-1) Slightly agree (1) Moderately agree (2)
 Strongly agree (3) Very strongly agree (4)

20. *Islam is the best way to worship Allah, and should never be compromised*

Very strongly disagree (-4) Strongly disagree (-3) Moderately disagree (-2)
 Slightly disagree (-1) Slightly agree (1) Moderately agree (2)
 Strongly agree (3) Very strongly agree (4)

Islamic Duty and Obligation Subscale

Please circle the answer that best indicates your reaction to each the following statements.

1. *I go to the masjid because one is supposed to go to the masjid*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)
 Not applicable (0)

2. *I read the Holy Qur'an because I would feel guilty if I did not*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)
 Not applicable (0)

3. *I pray because if I do not, Allah will disapprove of me*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)
 Not applicable (0)

4. *I read the Holy Qur'an because I find it satisfying*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)
 Not applicable (0)

Islamic Beliefs and Rules Subscale

Please circle the answer that best indicates your reaction to each the following statements.

1. *I believe in the existence of Allah*

No (0) Uncertain (1) Yes (2)

2. *I believe in the Day of Judgment*

No (0) Uncertain (1) Yes (2)

3. *I believe in the existence of paradise and hell*

No (0) Uncertain (1) Yes (2)

4. *I believe in the existence of the angels, the Jinn, and Satan*

No (0) Uncertain (1) Yes (2)

5. *I believe in all the prophets that Allah sent and in the sacred texts that were revealed to them*

No (0) Uncertain (1) Yes (2)

6. *Islam is the major reason why I do not to eat pork*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

7. *I find myself doubting the existence of Allah*

Never (0) Rarely (1) Sometimes (2) Often (3) Very often (4)

8. *I find myself doubting the existence of afterlife*

Never (0) Rarely (1) Sometimes (2) Often (3) Very often (4)

9. *I doubt that the Holy Qur'an is the exact words of Allah*

Never (0) Rarely (1) Sometimes (2) Often (3) Very often (4)

10. *I feel that Islam makes people intolerant*

Never (0) Rarely (1) Sometimes (2) Often (3) Very often (4)

11. *How often do you fast?*

Never (0)

Few times in life (1)

Few days of the month of Ramadan each year (2)

Half to all the month of Ramadan each year (3)

The whole month of Ramadan each year (4)

Other religious days or sunnah fasts in addition to Ramadan (5)

12. *I fast in Ramadan because when I fast I feel close to Allah*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)

Not applicable (0)

13. *I fast in Ramadan because I would feel bad if I did not*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)

Not applicable (0)

Islamic Positive Religious Coping & Identification Subscale

Please circle the answer that best indicates your reaction to each the following statements.

1. *Except in prayers, how often do you read or listen to the Holy Qur'an?*

Never (0) A few times in my life (1) A few times a year (2)

A few times a month (3) About once or twice a week (4)

Once a day or more (5)

2. *When I face a problem in life, I look for a stronger connection with Allah*

I do not do this at all (1)

I do this a little (2)

I do this a medium amount (3)

I do this a lot (4)

3. When I face a problem in life, I consider that a test from Allah to deepen my belief

I do not do this at all (1)

I do this a little (2)

I do this a medium amount (3)

I do this a lot (4)

4. When I face a problem in life, I seek Allah's love and care

I do not do this at all (1)

I do this a little (2)

I do this a medium amount (3)

I do this a lot (4)

5. When I face a problem in life, I read the Holy Qur'an to find consolation

I do not do this at all (1)

I do this a little (2)

I do this a medium amount (3)

I do this a lot (4)

6. When I face a problem in life, I ask for Allah's forgiveness

I do not do this at all (1)

I do this a little (2)

I do this a medium amount (3)

I do this a lot (4)

7. When I face a problem in life, I remind myself that Allah commanded me to be patient

I do not do this at all (1)

I do this a little (2)

I do this a medium amount (3)

I do this a lot (4)

8. When I face a problem in life, I do what I can and put the rest in Allah's hands

I do not do this at all (1)

I do this a little (2)

I do this a medium amount (3)

I do this a lot (4)

9. I pray because I enjoy it

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)

Not applicable

10. *I pray because I find it satisfying*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)

Not applicable

11. *I read the Holy Qur'an because I feel that Allah is talking to me when I do that*

Not at all true (1) Usually not true (2) Usually true (3) Very true (4)

Not applicable

12. *How often do you pray?*

Never (0)

A few times a year (1)

Several times a month (2)

Several times a week (3)

Most of the times the 5 daily prayers (4)

Five times a day or more (5)

Punishing Allah Reappraisal Subscale

Please circle the answer that best indicates your reaction to each the following statements.

1. *When I face a problem in life, I believe that I am being punished by Allah for bad actions I did*

I do not do this at all (1)

I do this a little (2)

I do this a medium amount (3)

I do this a lot (4)

2. *I face a problem in life, I wonder what I did for Allah to punish me*

I do not do this at all (1)

I do this a little (2)

I do this a medium amount (3)

I do this a lot (4)

3. *When I face a problem in life, I feel punished by Allah for my lack of devotion*

I do not do this at all (1)

I do this a little (2)

I do this a medium amount (3)

I do this a lot (4)

Islamic Religious Conversion Subscale

Please answer yes or no to the following statement

In my life, I have changed from a non-religious person to a religious person

No (0)

Yes (1)

If your answer to the above statement is yes, please circle the answer that best indicates your reaction to each of the following statements.

1. *Becoming more involved in Islam was a turning point in my life*

Strongly disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Neutral (3)

Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

2. *Islam has moved from the outside to the very center of my life*

Strongly disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Neutral (3)

Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

3. *At one point in my life, I realized that Islam is the solution to all of my problems*

Strongly disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Neutral (3)

Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

4. *All at once, I felt that my life has no meaning without Islam*

Strongly disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Neutral (3)

Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

5. *All at once, I felt that I am on the wrong path and that I should follow the path of Allah*

Strongly disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Neutral (3)

Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

6. *In comparison to the way I used to be, Islam touches every aspect of my life*

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4)

Strongly agree (5)

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