

Subjective Meanings attached to Muslim Social Identity in South Africa

By

Saloshni Muthal: 415239

Supervisor: Professor Gillian Finchilescu

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Department of Psychology

University of the Witwatersrand

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale for the Study

“The idea of a Muslim community as a clearly identified social group is not in principle a social fiction, but it is an extremely complex construction” (Tayob, 2002, para.1).

The word ‘Muslim’ is often used in ways that assume that it has been objectified such that one intuitively understand what being Muslim means (Meer, 2008). However, who is a Muslim? Is it someone who attends a mosque? or is it someone who was born to Muslim parents? Or is it someone who belongs to a specific ethnic group? Muslim identification is not clear. There are Muslims who identify themselves as Muslims because they follow orthodox Islamic tenets. However, there are those who do not live according to orthodox Islamic practice but accept the beliefs necessary to be considered Muslim. In addition, there are Muslims who use the label as a signifier of heritage or community affiliation rather than religious belief. Furthermore, some Muslims identify themselves as being Muslim because their parents were Muslim and they were born into this group, and yet they do not practice Islam. Thus, it can be argued that there is no one operationalised definition of Muslim social identity.

It is often easy to view Islam as a monolith and to think of all Muslims as having one social identity based on their religion. However, if one was to do so, one would err in this regard. Muslims in South Africa belong to many different races, classes, cultures and gender groups, and have many different languages and beliefs. Furthermore, history

teaches us that Muslims who settled in South Africa came from many different parts of the world, including India and the Middle East. On immigrating to South Africa, they brought with them the cultures and traditions of that particular geographical area. Thus, Muslims in South Africa may attach multiple and diverse meanings to their Muslim identity, and may interpret their Muslim identity in various ways (Tayob, 2002). The aim of this thesis is to understand how Muslim individuals subjectively represent and understand their Muslim identity.

Finally, Muslims are a minority group in South Africa. As a group, they are fascinating objects of study as contrary to many other nations, they are an established minority in this country, with many Muslim individuals occupying influential positions in the government as well in business. However, Muslims and non-Muslims alike do not exist in a vacuum and the events of the past few years cannot be ignored. Since September, 2001, Muslims as a group have been associated with negative images around violence and terror. Thus, it is vital to understand how these negative representations influence the way that Muslims perceive their social identity in South Africa.

1.2 Why Study Groups and Social Identity?

Man is a social animal thus any discussion around Muslim social identity has to begin with a discussion of groups, their structure, their importance and the way they influence people's behaviour, and people's self definitions. Social identity and group belongingness are integrally intertwined. One's conception of who one is (that is, one's identity) is

largely composed of self-descriptions in terms of the defining characteristics of the social groups that one belongs to (Heaven, 1999). Thus group affiliations help to shape self definitions and consequently social identities. Tajfel and Turner (1986) described a group as consisting of a set of individuals who see themselves as belonging to the same social category and who have some emotional investment in this categorisation of themselves. Furthermore, there is some agreement amongst members regarding how they evaluate the group and their membership in the group. Thus social groups provide meaningful information about the self and the individual's place within that social category and within a larger social hierarchy. Social identities are interpreted according to the cultural meanings and expectations that are associated with that specific identity, thus individuals with similar group identities are likely to share similar social representations (Burke, 2008). Social categories exist before individuals do, and one is born into an already structured social category. For example, at birth, a Muslim child can already be categorized according to religion, gender, race etcetera. In addition, people belong to many groups and each group identity varies in the relative overall importance that it has in the self concept. Furthermore, each of these group memberships describes what it means to be a group member and prescribes one's behaviour as a member of that group (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995). Thus, over the course of one's lifetime, a person will become a member of any number of social categories, the combination of which will make up that person's unique self-concept. For example, being Muslim does not preclude one from being a South African, an Indian or a father, all of which are different role or social category identities that will influence one's interpretation of what it means to be a Muslim.

1.3 Why are Social Representations important?

Lui and Hilton (2005) posited that a group's representation of its history will condition its identity, norms and values, thus defining its social identity and how the group relates to other groups. Urbanization, rapid globalization, migration, the internet and easier access to the media are some of the elements that threaten the stability of social representations of groups and thus social identities. This puts pressure on people to constantly examine and re-examine their different identities against the background of unstable, sometimes conflicting and negative social representations that surround a particular identity (Howarth, 2002). Thus, if we were to ask the question, "What does being Muslim mean to you?" we would have to be cognizant of the current social representations of what it means to be Muslim that exist in the public domain and acknowledge the social realities that are created by these representations. It has been argued that the current Western preoccupation with the Muslim terrorist stereotype has homogenized all Muslims into one religion, one race group, one ethnic group and one nation. As evidenced, for example, by the widespread scrutinization of men with Muslim names, clothing and other stereotypical Muslim physical features at airports (Kinnvall, 2004).

Individuals view themselves in terms of meanings that are imparted by society (Stets & Burke, 2000). When a social group becomes the focus of mass media, possible identities enter the mass domain. In this instance, the freedom of the ingroup, to generate positive and unchallenged social representations is taken away, to be replaced by alternative and sometimes negative possible social identities. Whilst, these identities are open to

contestation, they do become part of that group's social reality (Cinirella, 1998). Since September 2001, Islam has come to the forefront of the media and through it the world's attention. Most often Islam has been represented by images associated with terror and violence as evidenced by the Iraq war, the Madrid bombings, the Bali bombings, angry demonstrations against the Danish cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed and the invasion of Lebanon. There is a dearth of studies in South Africa that explores how the events of 9-11 have affected the social identities of Muslims. However, limited research conducted in the West has indicated that there is a strong anti-Muslim feeling that exists in the west (Verkuyten, 2007).

This is problematic as people are motivated to view their groups in a positive light so as to maximize self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). However, there are contexts when it becomes impossible to ignore negative allusions to one's group. The burden of negative information exists both because of the negative stereotypes that exist and because of the tendency for other people to believe that the negative behaviour of one individual represents the underlying tendencies of the group (Arndt, Greenberg, Schimel, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 2002). People of the Islamic faith feel that there is a strong threat to their religious identity and feel a constant need to respond to the negative events associated with Islam. This puts great pressure on Muslim communities to negotiate and respond to the negative representations and stigmatization of Islam. These events and the representations that come out of them are creating a particular social reality for Muslim people against which they are measuring themselves (Ibrahim, 2007).

In light of these happenings, this thesis also aims to explore the degree to which discrimination, stereotypes and the negative perceptions of Islam have shaped Muslim social identities. In this study, “Muslim identity” is seen to epitomize the set of meanings ascribed by the individual to whatever religious, social, emotional, sexual, gendered, political or personal configuration that he/she understands by his/her Muslimness. Thus, the emphasis is on the manner in which the person, who categorizes him/herself as Muslim, constructs his/her Muslimness and the story that he/she tells about it. Thus, the primary research aim is to understand what does being Muslim mean to those who define themselves as Muslims?

1.4 Aims and Objectives

The primary research aim is to understand what does being Muslim mean to people who identify themselves as Muslims.

The more specific research objectives are:

1. To understand how individuals subjectively represent and understand their Muslim social identity
2. To explore the degree to which discrimination, stereotypes and the negative perceptions of Islam have shaped Muslim social identities.

In the thesis, I shall begin with a brief overview of the theory that informed and anchored the research, the starting point being a discussion of the Social Identity Approach and

Self-Representations Theory. This will be followed by a discussion of our current understanding of Muslim identity. Following that, I will present a brief overview of the chosen methodology, Q methodology. In the Results chapter, I will explore the significant accounts of Muslim identity that came out of the analysis and the Discussion chapter will interpret these accounts in further detail.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 The Nature and Function of Groups

According to Brewer (1991), humans have evolved to live as members of groups and as such are not well-suited to survival outside a group context. Social identity has been described by Tajfel (1981) as *“that part of the individual’s self concept that is derived from one’s knowledge of membership in a social group or groups, together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership”* (as cited in Tajfel, 1982, p.24).

As discussed previously, groups are an important part of our lives and fulfill our needs for belongingness, affiliation and meaning (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002). Group identities prescribe acceptable attitudes and ways of thinking that guides behaviour both directly and indirectly (Hewstone, Rubin & Willis, 2002). Many group processes such as assimilation to norms and intergroup bias is influenced by a need to reduce an individual’s subjective uncertainty about what to say, do, think or feel (Heaven, 1999). Groups ensure loyalty by satisfying the individual’s needs for affiliation and belonging within the group and also by maintaining clear boundaries that differentiate themselves from other groups (Brewer, 1991). Group distinctiveness provides one with a sense of social meaning and allows one to gauge one’s position in the greater world. Furthermore, van Zomeren, Postmes and Spears (2008) argue that social identity fulfils a power dynamic function in that it helps marginalized people who are relatively powerless

individually, to act at a group level. This may ensure more effective results than would be the case if they had to act as individuals.

The content of social categories is created over time and is learned early in one's life as the child identifies with his or her group. In the process, the child assimilates the social values and norms of that group whilst balancing this with conceptions about other groups (Tajfel, 1981). Social identities are transitional and through the course of one's lifetime, one will have numerous social identities. These social identities can range from those associated with very meaningful and clearly differentiated social categories, to those associated with more abstract social categories (Amiot, Sablonniere, Terry, & Smith, 2007).

Group membership alone does not guarantee that one will identify with that group. Individuals may belong to a number of social groups without adopting these classifications as social identities. In a specific situation, an individual may have various bases for self-categorization, thus specific social identities may be activated at some times and not at others (Brewer, 1991). Therefore, whilst recognizing oneself as a group member can produce a psychological connection between the self and the group, there is a huge amount of variability in terms of the degree to which that person will include the ingroup in the self and recognize the characteristics of the ingroup as representing parts of the self (Tropp & Wright, 2001).

One of the reasons for this is that social identities are bound by the context with self-categorisation being a function of both “readiness” of the individual to use a particular category, and the “fit” between category attributes and the realities of that particular situation (Stets & Burke, 2000. p. 224). Thus, one’s self-representation as a group member may vary across social situations (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994) and different representations of self are dependent on the identity that is the most salient in a given social context (Ellemers et al., 2002). Within a certain context or situation, people may look at the world as specific group members (example, as Harry Potter fans), whilst in another context; they may stand apart as distinct from those in the comparative background (example, a Harry Potter fan that prefers to read the book rather than watch the movie, as compared to a Harry Potter fan that hates books).

The entitativity of a group will also moderate how strongly an individual identifies with a group. Campbell (1958), defined entitativity as the degree to which a set of people is seen as a meaningful entity (as cited in Rutchnik, Hamilton, & Sack, 2008). Research has shown that people view entitative groups as more important to their identity and raising the entitativity of a group results in higher importance and commitment (Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy, Eidelson, 2008). Groups that are high in entitativity are perceived to have stronger bonds, lasting duration, common goals and outcome (that is, common fate), high degree of similarity between members and low permeability (that is, it is difficult to leave the group). These are typically ethnic, highly religious and even gender groups. Monotheistic religions such as Islam command such high group identification; because they are groups that are high in entitativity (Verkuyten, 2007).

In sum, an understanding of social identities has to be embedded within an understanding of the nature and function of social groups. One of the most prominent researchers in this area is Henry Tajfel who articulated Social Identity Theory. The crux of the theory is that a person's awareness of self is derived from being a member of a particular social group or groups, coupled with the subjective value and importance assigned to that group membership (Tajfel, 1982). Thus, group membership provides identification for the self, and by belonging to some social categories, whilst being excluded from others, we define our self-concept (Turner et al., 1994).

2.2. The Social Identity Approach

The concept of Muslim social identity will be explored within the framework of the Social Identity Approach and the Social Representations Approach. This section will discuss the social identity approach which had its roots in the work of Henri Tajfel and John Turner in the 1980's and 1990's. This includes Tajfel's *Social Identity Theory (SIT)* and Turner's *Self- Categorisation Theory (SCT)*. The following section is not meant to be an exhaustive overview of these theories. More sophisticated reviews are available (for example, Hornsey, 2008). Rather, the aim is discuss the social identity perspective as it pertains to the current research.

The social identity approach posits that psychological group membership has both a perceptual and a cognitive basis. This means that people's perceptions of themselves and others are structured in terms of abstract social categories, which are internalized into

their self-concept. Social-cognitive processes relating to these forms of self-conception produce group behaviour (Turner, 1982). Tajfel's SIT traditionally focused on explaining prejudice, discrimination and conditions that promote different types of intergroup behaviour, for example, conflict and cooperation. Tajfel believed that individual or personality differences alone were insufficient to explain these large scale collective phenomena, and believed that intergroup behaviour could be best understood by the processes of group identification (Tajfel, 1982). Thus, the basic premise of SIT was that (a.) All individuals strive for a positive self-concept. (b.) Memberships in social groups are associated with negative or positive value connotations. Therefore, social identity may be negative or positive depending on the evaluations of those groups that contribute to an individual's social identity. (c.) The evaluation of one's group is always determined relatively and in comparison to other groups. Positive comparisons promote high self-esteem and negative comparisons promote low self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). People strive to maintain positive self-esteem, and because groups contribute to both one's self-definition and one's self-evaluation, people's affiliation to specific ingroups is one important way in which self-esteem is regulated (Cameron, Duck, Terry, & Lalonde, 2005).

2.2.1. Categorisation and Comparison

Whilst, the emphasis of the original SIT was on intergroup relations, the contemporary evolution of the social identity approach is more influenced by cognitive constructs. SCT was an attempt to go beyond the intergroup focus of SIT to understand intra-group

processes as well. Tajfel described social categorisation as a “*means of systematizing and ordering the social environment particularly with regard to its role as a guide for action, and as a reflection of social values...* [Furthermore] *it also provides a system or orientation which creates and defines the individual’s own place in society*” (as cited in Turner, 1975, p.7).

SCT focuses on the cognitive processes, primarily social categorisation that causes people to identify with groups; to think of themselves and others in group terms and to manifest group behaviours (Hogg & Reid, 2006). Social categorisations are cognitive tools that are used to segment, classify and describe the social environment and by doing so bring order to one’s social world. However, they also allow one to self-reference oneself relative to others and thus define and position one within society (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

The basic premise of the theory is that individuals cognitively represent social categories as prototypes. These have been described by Hogg, Abrams, Otten and Hinkle (2004) as sets of attributes that define a particular group and sets it apart from other groups.

Prototypes are socially constructed to provide distinctiveness from other groups. There is some debate regarding prototypes with some researchers believing that prototypes rarely describe average group members (Hogg et al., 2004). These researchers argue that prototypes describe ideal and sometimes hypothetical in-group members that are very distinct and different from specific out-groups. Others such as Huddy (2001) assert that prototypes can also be the most “typical” group member, that is, an actual person.

However, there is consensus that the prototype is not an objective reality, but rather a subjective sense of the defining attributes of a social category that varies according to the situation. Prototypes specify how people should feel, perceive, think and behave, thus generating stereotypical expectations and encouraging stereotype consistent interpretation of ambiguous behaviours. For example, a Muslim whose self-categorisation as a Muslim is salient will perceive the differences between Muslims and non-Muslims to be larger than differences among Muslims.

Tajfel and Turner (1979) argue that human interaction ranges from being purely interpersonal on one end to being purely intergroup on the other end. A purely interpersonal interaction involves people relating entirely as individuals, with no awareness of social categories, (for example, I am allergic to peanuts, love horror movies, hate sport and like to read) to purely intergroup interaction where one relates entirely as representatives of their groups (for example, a Catholic). In this instance, one's own individual characteristics are superseded by the characteristics of one's group memberships. Activation of a social identity has the effect of depersonalizing the individual self, as individuals begin to perceive themselves as prototypes of a social category, rather than as individuals, and the social group becomes the unit of identification. Furthermore, outgroup members, start viewing individuals as embodiments of the attributes of their specific group (Turner, 1975).

In sum, group representations are based on comparisons within and between groups. Turner (1975) believed that a person will perceive a positive or negative value

connotation of group membership based on social comparison to other groups. People are motivated to represent themselves positively relative to others and they do this in ways that favor the ingroup (Hogg et al., 1995). Thus, category membership creates a context for social identification that provides not only a label, but also a potential network of other persons who share that same membership (that is, other ingroup members). Additionally, the category invokes a set of meanings that characterize group membership ranging from personal attributes to implications for activities consistent with the category. The process of categorisation also provides information to the individual regarding where one's group fits in comparison to other groups, thus, enabling one to evaluate and compare one's position relative to others (Deaux & Martin, 2003).

2.2.2. Social Identity Salience

A key question is how and when do identities become activated? Social identity theorists use the word salience to indicate the activation of an identity in a situation. A salient social identity is one, where group membership is so entrenched psychologically that it influences perception and behaviour such that it reflects the norms and values of the group. Social identity researchers describe salience as being a product of both accessibility and fit (Stets & Burke, 2000).

(a.) Accessibility is the readiness of a given category to become activated in the person. Some categorisations are chronically accessible, for example, one's gender whilst others are situationally accessible (Stets & Burke, 2000). For example, the category of

“hairdressers” is only accessible if one is thinking of a hairdresser or is a hairdresser, whilst one can never forget that one is male or female. Readily accessible social categorisations are the ones that are valued, important and most frequently activated. These categorisations are thus chronically accessible in memory, whilst some categorisations are only salient in the immediate situation, so they are situationally accessible in memory (Hogg et al., 2004).

(b.) Fit refers to the extent to which social categories are perceived to reflect social reality (Hornsey, 2008). Fit has two aspects. (a.) Comparative fit - Individuals may perceive a high level of fit, if within group differences are perceived to be less than between group differences (Turner et al., 1994). To use an earlier example, a Muslim will highly identify with other Muslims when that individual perceives there to be more differences between Muslims and non-Muslims than there are differences between other Muslims. (b.)

Normative fit - A social category is more likely to have high fit if social behaviour and group membership are aligned to the stereotypical expectations of that category. For example, one of the stereotypical images of a Muslim woman is that of a woman who is veiled. Therefore, seeing any woman in a veil is more likely bring to mind the content of this particular stereotype.

Cameron (2004) found that one may belong to many social groups, and yet these memberships are not likely to be of equivalent psychological meaning or enough to direct behaviour in a given situation. Some people are more ready to perceive and act in terms of the category compared to others. Thus, he believed that there are three factors that are

important if one is to commit to a social identity. These factors are *centrality*, *in-group ties* and *in-group affect*.

(a.) *Centrality* refers to the importance of the group identity in people's perceptions of themselves as well as the frequency with which the group comes into the person's mind. For example, some Muslim writers argue that a person is primarily a Muslim before he is a Black, Indian or Colored; therefore it is the Muslim religious social identity that becomes salient before other identities in any given context (Rafudeen, 2002).

(b.) *In-group ties* - An individual's perception of closeness between group members and the individual's subjective evaluation of belonging to that group will determine the level of commitment that the individual feels to that group identity. For example, research has indicated that Muslims who are highly committed to their religious group are likely to identify more strongly with that group when they perceive that it is under threat, compared to less committed or less bonded individuals who are likely to disassociate with the group (Zaal, Salah, & Fine, 2007).

(c.) Finally, *in-group affect* refer to the positive feelings that an individual derives from group membership. Interestingly, research conducted with Muslim women who had been divorced from their husbands according to Muslim personal law; found that they grew closer to their religious Muslim identity, rather than distant from their religious Muslim identity, because they experienced support from their religious leaders (Tayob, 2003)

2.2.3. Multiple Group Identities and Social Identity Complexity

Sirin and Fine (2007) were interested in how Muslim youth negotiated their Muslim and American identities post 9-11 in the United States. Their findings revealed that Muslim males perceived their dual identities to be contradictory which resulted in feelings of anger, frustration and even a sense of hopelessness. The end result was that these youth identified more strongly with their Muslim identity. As a result, they grew closer to their religious beliefs and Muslim culture and became less committed to their American identity.

Individuals often have multiple identities linked to the various groups to which they simultaneously belong. Thus an individual can derive their identity from more than one group (Brewer, 2001). An understanding of multiple identities is important in the context of Muslims in South Africa as they belong to many races and ethnic groups, and therefore it would be interesting to see how this influences their representations of their Muslim social identity.

These multiple in-groups are weaved together into partially overlapping social identities (Roccas et al., 2008), with some identities holding more subjective importance than other identities (Deaux & Martin, 2003). In addition, even identities that appear to be extremely inclusive often have distinctive meanings and people may derive distinctiveness in different ways from the same identity (Vignoles, Chryssochoou, & Breakwell, 2000).

For example, in South Africa, Black Muslims feel that they are the psychological ‘other’ and that they are being marginalized in the larger Muslim community due to them being relative newcomers to Islam, albeit many have been practicing the faith for over a decade

(Sitoto, 2003). Furthermore, Vahed (2000) found that in the Indian Muslim community, Gujarati speaking Muslims are more likely to identify with Gujarati speaking Hindus than non-Gujarati Muslims.

Roccas and Brewer (2002) introduced the social identity complexity construct, which refers to an individual's subjective representation of the inter-relationships among his or her multiple group identities. Identity complexity is concerned with the number of social groups that one identifies with, together with how those different identities are subjectively combined to determine their overall inclusiveness into the individual's self-definition. When the perceived overlap among multiple in-groups is high, one's identity structure is relatively simple, because the various group identities can converge into a single all encompassing identity. For example, research conducted by Goldschmidt (2003) found that whilst South Africans may have multiple identities, there is one overarching identity, which is derived from one's ethnic background, religious affiliation, gender, age or language. When the perceived overlap is partial or minimal, the associated identity construct is more complex and this may lead to a different profile of identification with each group (Miller, Brewer, & Arbuckle, 2009). For example, a Muslim might be very deferential to his religious group but less committed to his ethnic group, if he feels that ethnic rituals and practises compromise his religious views.

In the context of this thesis, an understanding of the structure of multiple social identities is pivotal because representations of one's ingroups have effects not only on the self-concept but also on the nature of relationships between self and others. In addition, at

times, values associated with one social identity may clash with the values of another social identity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). For example, in South Africa, some Muslims feel that there is tension between their South African identity and their Muslim identity. The reason is due to the South African constitution which allows for abortion and same sex marriages. These practices are perceived to be not in keeping with Islamic principles (Vahed, 2000). In this instance, Muslims find it difficult to identify with a national identity that goes against the beliefs of their Muslim religious identity.

2.2.4. Distinctiveness vs. the Need to Belong

According to the social identity approach, when people identify with groups, they begin to view themselves and other group members as exemplars of the group, through the process of depersonalization (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). However, Vignoles and colleagues (2000) argue that distinctiveness is essential to the construction of a meaningful identity. According to SCT, the need for de-individuation is satisfied by identifying oneself with the group as a whole, while the need for distinctiveness is met through distinguishing one's group from other groups. Thus, an individual who belongs to a group that is too large or too inclusive should desire greater distinctiveness of the self from that group identity, whereas too much personal distinctiveness should leave the individual striving to be included into a larger social category (Sheldon & Bettencourt, 2002).

In addition, Brewer (1991) posits that people are motivated to identify with groups that provide an optimal balance between the human need for assimilation, that is, the desire to

feel included within a larger collective and the opposite need for differentiation, that is, the need to differentiate oneself from the collective. Optimal distinctiveness is reached through identification with categories at that level of inclusiveness where the need for differentiation and the need for assimilation are exactly equal (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Interestingly, there are consistent findings to suggest that small groups tend to command higher levels of identification and loyalty than do larger groups. Optimal distinctiveness theory explains this by positing that small groups should command greater loyalty as they satisfy drives for belonging and inclusion without sacrificing one's sense of distinctiveness (Hornsey & Jetten, 2004).

Leonardelli and Brewer (2001) found that members of optimally distinct minority groups identified more strongly with their groups, had higher satisfaction with their groups and also had higher self-esteem compared to members of non-optimally distinct minority groups (as cited in Hewstone et al., 2002). Thus, one could argue that Muslims as a minority group in South Africa should identify very strongly with their Muslim identity as well as derive high self worth and satisfaction with their group membership. However, if the individual experiences their Muslim religious identity as very inclusive and all pervading, then the person may strive for greater distinctiveness from the group.

In sum, it can be seen that understanding the social identity approach and its sub-theories around identity complexity, identity salience, multiple identities and distinctiveness is essential if one is to form a full understanding of the group processes that shape social identities and hence one's self definition.

2.2.5. Limitations of the Social Identity Approach

As with other theory or framework, the social identity approach does have its criticisms. A general criticism of the social identity approach is that the original theory has become too rigid, broad and powerful. This makes it difficult to prove it false as any experimental outcome can be interpreted within its broad overarching framework (Hornsey, 2008).

Furthermore, Howarth (2002) argues that the self-categorization tenet of the social identity approach focuses too much on how we categorize ourselves and less on how others categorize us. This does not take into account that identities can be forced upon one (Cinnirella, 1998). Thus, there is always a struggle between how we have been represented and how that influences our representations of ourselves. This is an important criticism in the context of this study which argues that a meaningful understanding of Muslim social identity requires an understanding of the current social reality that has been created for Muslims since the events of September, 2001 and the subsequent negative representations that surrounds Muslims.

Furthermore, it fails to recognize that the nature and meaning of group membership is often widely debated and rarely agreed on (Huddy, 2002). One could argue that the meaning of what it is to be a Muslim has been wrested from the hands of Muslims. The media and through it outsiders have been imbuing Muslim social identity with their own meanings to the extent that this has created possible social identities that could be

negative or positive. These possible identities may be contested by Muslims but still represent the social reality that one cannot get away from.

Social identity theory has also been criticized for failing to distinguish between social categories and social groups as dynamic entities. This is a criticism against the minimal group paradigm which saw group processes being related to only competition, whereas other researchers believe that entitativity or a sense of group ties emerges through the interdependence of goals, outcomes and needs (Rutchnik et al., 2008). Thus, dynamically constructed groups could behave differently to social categories that have been artificially created.

Furthermore, the emphasis on context has produced research on the consequences of social identity once it has been acquired within a specific setting but has de-emphasized research on the development of identity across time and across situations. This would not be an issue if one took the view that social identity is highly situational and contextually fluid, but if identities have qualities that endure across situations, then it makes sense to identify individual differences in identity acquisition, growth and change. Research of this nature entails going outside of the laboratory.

Individuals belong to many groups simultaneously, however, much of the research on social identity and group processes have been conducted in the context of a single categorization with there being little research on the nature of the relationships among a particular person's many identities (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). This is of particular

importance to the South African context, as Muslims are very diverse and come from a variety of backgrounds. For example, it is very important to understand the inter-relationship between one's religious identity, national identity and ethnic identity as one could argue that this could give rise to a huge amount of complexity.

According to Huddy (2002), social identity studies in the past have not measured subjective identity directly. This has hindered the development of measures of identity. It was this concern that justified the use of Q methodology in this study, which will be discussed further in the Methods chapter.

Finally, social identity research has concentrated on the evaluative implications of ingroup identification to the exclusion of research on why and how social identities develop in the first place (Brewer, 1991). Although group based social identities affect the content of self-representations through the processes of identification and assimilation, social identity theory is primarily concerned with the process by which such self - representations are formed rather than the meaning attached to specific identities (Brewer, 2001). Thus, research within the social identity tradition has been criticized for prioritizing intergroup processes. This is done at the expense of neglecting the content of particular social identities and some have argued that there should be recognition of the psychological meaning of group membership (Cameron & Lalonde, 2001). In the context of this study it is argued that Muslim individuals are not just undifferentiated members of their group, but have various degrees of psychological and emotional investment in their

group membership, and possess beliefs that give shape to the meaning of their identification.

In South Africa, Muslim social identities are being renegotiated as old group identities, which were reinforced by segregation under apartheid, are falling away or changing and new identities are forming (Vahed, 2000). This renegotiation of social identities can also be attributed to increased exposure of Muslims to the media, interaction with other cultures, travel and even through interaction with Muslim migrants from other countries (Rafudeen, 2002). Thus, we need to understand not only how group dynamics influence identities, but we also need to understand the meanings and representations of identities. Therefore, the social identity approach, as a framework alone is insufficient for us to understand social identity

2.3. Social Representations Theory

The basic premise of the social identity approach is that self-definition is provided by belonging to a social category and by assimilating the defining characteristics of the category into the self-concept. Thus, Millward (1995) argues that the focus of research within the social identity paradigm treats social identity as a “black box construct” (p. 304), where the emphasis is less about the content of social identity and more about the form of its manifestation (e.g. group boundaries and stereotyping). In the instances, where the content has been operationalized, it has assumed that the only way to be identified with a group is within the stereotypes associated with that group. This study

argues that there are diverse meanings that individuals ascribe to their identity as they make sense of their identity as Muslims, and thus one needs to go beyond the stereotypes.

This contention is supported by Breakwell (1993) who argued that a shortcoming of social identity theory is that it has focused on inter-group conflict and differentiation whilst ignoring the broader role of identity processes in directing the social construction of what passes for reality. Therefore, social identity theory alone, as a framework does not sufficiently explain the full dynamics of identity processes. A perusal of the social psychology literature, suggests that *Social Representations Theory (SRT)* could be the missing link that pulls it together. Once again, an exhaustive overview of the theory will not be given. Rather, the theory will be explained in the context of the negative social representations that are associated with being a Muslim.

2.3.1. Overview of the Theory

The construct of social representations can be traced back to Emile Durkheim in 1898. However, it has more recently been articulated by Moscovici who defined social representations as “...*a set of concepts, statements and explanations originating in daily life in the course of inter-individual communications, ... the equivalent, in our society, of the myths and belief systems in traditional societies; they might even be said to be the contemporary version of commonsense*” (as cited in Tsoukalas, 2006, p. 961). Thus, for the purposes of this study, social representations are defined as the common understandings that have specific meaning for a group. This study recognizes that these common

understandings can be imposed by outsiders and can be open to contention both within and outside the group. Thus social representations do not have to be consensual.

SRT focuses on describing how people interpret the world and make it meaningful by describing the structure and content of their belief systems (Breakwell, 1993). Social representations provide the framework of interpretation for people's experiences. They make the unfamiliar, familiar and doing so helps one to understand one's world (Potter & Litton, 1985). Doise (1988) argued that the "*self-concept had to be studied as a social representation as it is an important organizing principle of symbolic relationships between social agents*" (p.107). Even Tajfel (1984) believed that social representations constituted an important aspect of the background that affected the collective aspects of social behaviour (as cited in Doise, 1988).

One's identity, in common with other forms of representations is not constructed solely within the individual but emerges through an interaction of the processes of perception, cognition and communication. Furthermore, concepts do not exist independently of each other, but exist in relation to others, which imply some differentiation (Vignoles et al., 2000). For example, if you had to explain the meaning of the word woman, one will need to explain the difference between men and women, women and girls etcetera. In the same vein, the statement 'I am a Muslim' implies that I have something in common with other people who describes themselves as Muslims. However, it also implies that I am different from those who do not describe themselves as Muslims. Thus, Vignoles and colleagues

(2000) argue that one cannot have a sense of who one is, without a sense of who one is not. This process entails comparison to relevant others and thus, distinctiveness from others.

Furthermore, Hogg and Abrams (as cited in Tsoukalas, 2006) posited that social representations are internalized or acquired through the process of self-categorisation and that contextual factors will determine the specific social representation which is engaged as a new frame of reference. The implications of this for Muslim identities are that, each individual may experience representations differently due to different backgrounds, encounters, discourses, social support etcetera. Furthermore, social representations of what it means to be a Muslim may differ from situation to situation. For example, consider the mental representation of a Muslim woman who is covered from head to toe. Due to socialization experiences and religious dictates, a Muslim may interpret this as a sign of piety and devotion to one's religion. However, for non-Muslims, this could imply the subordination and inferiority of women compared to men.

2.3.2. The Nature and Function of Social Representations

Moscovici (1981) posited that the properties of social representations can only be understood by delving into their relationships with social groups (as cited in Potter & Litton, 1985). These researchers further argue that group categories themselves can be understood as social representations that are created to understand the world around us, but in doing so, we convert these social representations into a particular social reality for ourselves and others. It is important to note that different representations compete in their

claims to reality and in doing so, defend, limit and exclude other realities. Often there are multiple and conflicting representations of the same social objects and categories (Howarth, 2006).

This is particularly pertinent to this study as competing understandings of what it means to be Muslim is manifested in everyday talk and the mass media, giving rise to many possible representations of Muslim identity. True or untrue, these representations impose possible identity interpretations that could be contrary to how Muslims see themselves. Research has demonstrated that we use representations to position ourselves, to claim common identities and to defend ourselves against stigmatizing or marginalizing practices (Howarth, 2006). Thus certain negative representations can have important repercussions for the level of categorization chosen by an ingroup (Lui & Hilton, 2005). For example, Muslims who do not want to be associated with the negative representations of their group due to 9-11 may distance themselves from their religious group membership, preferring to identify themselves as Indians, Coloureds or South Africans primarily.

The primary function of social representations is to make the world more understandable. According to SRT, this is accomplished through the socio-cognitive processes of ‘anchoring’ and ‘objectification’, whereby new experiences are assigned to existing representations for familiarization (Chryssides, 2008).

(a.) *Anchoring* involves the naming and classifying of novel encounters, ideas, things or persons. This is done by using what one already knows to try and understand something new (Orfali, 2002). For example, if a new left-wing political party appeared, one would try to understand and interpret what the new party stands for in reference to existing parties.

(b.) *Objectification* solidifies and makes the abstract tangible (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999).

During this process, one would construct the image of an object from the information that one already has. Individuals selectively choose information that is related to their value system. For example, in deciding whether to support the new party, one would need to draw on what one knows about left wing parties and their orientation as well as one's feelings about their political stance. Once the image is structured in one's common sense, it will serve as a means of guiding perceptions, judgments and behaviours.

2.3.3. Negative Social Representations

Research conducted in the West has demonstrated that the current social representations of Muslims, portray people belonging to Islam, or people having certain physical characteristics (such as a beard), as being criminal and threatening (Unkelbach, Forgas, & Denson, 2008). Sometimes categorization is not voluntarily chosen by group themselves, but is forced on them by group outsiders. This categorization can consist of content that is negative or unwanted by the group concerned and that sometimes will attack the morals and values of the group (Liu & Hilton, 2005). In a review of the literature on historical representations, these researchers give the example of Germans who always were very

ashamed when visiting holocaust monuments with Jews and this shame was correlated with lower attachment to their national identity. The strategy employed by these people to avoid this negative identity was to seek a higher level of identification. For example, they chose to identify themselves as Europeans instead of Germans thus denying any association with the negative representation of being German.

From a social identity perspective, social representations preserve social identity, guides behaviour and allows for communication between group members. Furthermore, social representations are created within groups and are determined by the group's values (Jodelet, 1989 as cited in Paez, Echebarria, Valencia, Romo, Juan, & Vergara, 1991)

Social representations can also serve to protect social identities. Howarth (2006) argues that representations are also used to position and reposition identities and to defend one against stigmatizing and marginalizing practices. Therefore, whilst there are certain representations that are marginalizing, one can still create other positive representations of self to counteract the more negative ones.

The activation of a social identity depersonalizes the individual self as people begin to see themselves in a more collective light as exemplars of a social category (Stets & Burke, 2000). By emphasizing one's Muslim identity, one is implicitly or explicitly associated with other Muslims, and by implication laying oneself open to the consequences of the attribution of stereotyped characteristics of Muslims by non-Muslims. There is a great deal of tension between Islam and other religions and Muslims and other western groups. Muslims are increasingly finding themselves the objects of discrimination and prejudice

and have come to be seen as the ‘alien other’. There are Muslim writers who argue that the South African Muslim community is as affected by these events, as their counterparts elsewhere (Tayob, 2002) and Muslims may fear that non-Muslims are judging them based on this terrorist stereotype (Fataar, 2001). Research has demonstrated that even in countries such as Australia, where anti-Muslim stereotypes are not explicitly stated, being exposed to a typical Muslim appearance, for example, Muslim headgear, increased aggressive tendencies, thus demonstrating the presence of implicit negative stereotypes (Unkelbach et al., 2008). Therefore, it is plausible that even within South Africa where explicit anti-Muslim stereotypes do not exist, implicit negative stereotypes fuelled by constant exposure to the media, do exist. Furthermore, knowledge of these stereotypes may be sufficient to lend a particular nuance to one’s understanding of one’s Muslim social identity.

2.3.4. Limitations of Social Representations Theory

SRT is sometimes criticized for not being a real psychological theory, but rather a broad framework for studying social psychological phenomena as it offers little predictable value (Laszlo, 1997). This is because SRT is largely concerned with describing the content of representations and not with predicting what that content will be (Breakwell, 1993). This criticism is not an issue in this research as the objective of this study was not to predict the content of representations but to explore a participant’s own subjectivities that create their particular account of Muslim identity. Furthermore, the suitability of using the SRT as a framework for understanding Muslim social identity was justified on two points. Firstly, an understanding of SRT is particularly pertinent given the negative

representations of Muslims in the media, as well world events that have cast Muslims in a threatening light. Secondly, Jaspars and Fraser (1984) argued that social representations are “*socially shared viewpoints of a reference group... not individually differentiated reactions*” (as cited in Witte, 1994). This resonated particularly within the context of this study as the aim was to understand communal accounts of Muslim identities rather than individual viewpoints. Thus, this framework fit in well with the underlying principles of the chosen methodology, that is Q methodology which is explained in great detail in the Methods section. However, suffice to say, Q methodology makes use of self-referent enquiry and does not impose a priori constructs onto the respondents. This ensures that the researcher is able to tap into the subjective opinions, beliefs and values of a person and still captures the rich diversity of people’s representations of a topic (Baker, Thompson, & Mannion, 2006).

2.4 Muslim Identity

A perusal of the South African psychology journals and a search on the major academic search engines indicate that there is little or no research from a South African perspective on Muslim social identity. Thus, the ensuing discussion is largely driven by what has been learned from research conducted in Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Much of the previous research on Muslim identity has been rooted in the self-categorization paradigm. The strong focus on categorization makes it difficult to explain subjective interpretations of the meaning behind group membership (Kinnvall, 2004). There is a distinction between simply belonging to a social category versus, belonging to a social group and internalizing its meaning. It has been argued that social identity research to date, has focused on the extent to which group boundaries define group membership without exploring the meaning of that group membership (Huddy, 2001). In ascribed group identities, knowledge of the boundaries of that membership may be sufficient to understand the consequences of group membership (Peek, 2005), however, when group identities are acquired, the meanings attached to that identity is influenced by many other factors including, social context, history, ethnicity, race, geographical location and gender. For example, in South Africa, the expression of Muslim social identity has been shown to be influenced by race (Vahed, 2000). Black Muslims, who have converted to Islam, still adhere to Christian practices or tribal practices that do not conflict with their interpretation of the dictates of Islam (Sitoto, 2003). This may be seen as an anathema to Muslims of other race groups. Therefore, it can be argued that these Black Muslims interpret their Muslimness in very different ways compared to Indian or Malay Muslims who more often than not are born into a Muslim family and thus have this Muslim identity since birth.

Meaning is also created over time and influenced by cultural or historical events (Huddy, 2002). For example, Peek (2005) found that post September 2001; Muslim religious identity elements became even more central to the self - concept of second generation

Muslim Americans, as they began to learn more about their faith in order to defend it to outsiders. In South Africa, Gujarati speaking Muslims are more likely to identify with Gujarati speaking Hindus than non-Gujarati Muslims, as most Gujarati speaking people regardless of religion originated from the same region in India (Vahed, 2000). Muslim individuals may also differ in terms of their gender roles, their understanding of different standards for males and females and their degrees of religiosity. This reinforces the argument that these differences will all work in the background, to give rise to different meanings of what it means to be a Muslim?

A discussion of Muslim identity cannot be complete with a discussion on religion. A religious group differs from other groups in that they “*invoke the sacred and the divine to render existence meaningful and to provide prescriptive moral guidance for behavioural choices, sacred rituals and quests, and daily life.*” (Hogg, Adelman, & Blagg, 2009, p.1). For many Muslims, the declaration of faith (Shahada) in front of two witnesses symbolizes one’s belief and commitment to Islam; one is either a Muslim who is committed to Islam or one is not (Verkuyten, 2007). Thus it would seem that the core of religious identity is non-negotiable. There is evidence to indicate that religiosity is the primary variable that contributes to strong Muslim identification in Western countries (Hopkins & Kahani-Hopkins, 2006). In Europe, Muslim religious identity is a given and disassociating oneself from Islam, is not even considered (Verkuyten, 2007). For example, Muslim leaders in the United Kingdom are calling on Muslims to stand together and identify themselves first and foremost as Muslims. This is invoking the Islamic tenet of *Ummah*, which is the belief that all Muslims belong to one worldwide Muslim

community that does not recognize national, ethnic and racial divisions (Hopkins & Kahani-Hopkins, 2006).

In times of uncertainty and change, religion provides stability and order. People look to religion for existential answers and hence religious identities (together with national identities) becomes an affirmation of the traditions, beliefs and value systems of a particular group (Kinnvall, 2004). In this study, it is argued that Muslims as a group live in times of great uncertainty, and greater identification with Islam could provide reassurance and direction that guides behaviour and reduces uncertainty. Religion also offers many non-spiritual benefits for minorities, such South African Muslims. A religious identity may also be the overarching identity that unites conflicting ethnic identities (Peek, 2005). The caveat is that, this is only true if the religious and ethnic identity is compatible, as per identity complexity theory (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Religion may also be used by Muslims, to maintain their social and physical distinctiveness in a pluralist society. For example, religious practices, clothes and places of worship become signifiers of that identity which distinguishes one's group from others and also serves to enhance ingroup cohesion (Verkuyten, 2007).

Peek (2005) found 3 stages of religious identity development among Muslim university students in the US. These were the *ascribed identity*, a *chosen identity* and a *declared identity*. In the *ascribed identity stage*, it was enough that someone was born a Muslim, and one understood the parameters of this identity. During the *chosen identity stage*, students rejected their ethnic, national and cultural identities that were perceived to be un-

Islamic. The *declared identity* stage developed in response to the negative stereotyping and discrimination of Muslims, which occurred after the 9-11 events. Muslims grew closer to Islam and felt compelled to publicly affirm their Muslim identities, in a bid to educate non-Muslims and break down the stereotypes. This study argues that due to the negative representations of Islam, Muslims are more likely to be in the chosen identity and declared identity stages as they learn more about Islam and grow closer to their religion.

In summing up the literature to date, one finds that social identities are more than just labels. They are in fact, meaning systems shared by people within a social category. Since the events of September 11, 2001, adherents of Islam have been brought to the attention of the mass public. The world has repeatedly been exposed to information associating people of Muslim origin with life-threatening events. Devine (as cited in Park, Felix, & Lee, 2007) suggests that repeated exposure to information that associates members of a social group with certain attributes might result in individuals forming automatic attitudes and beliefs about them. Therefore, it can be argued that repeated exposure to negative information about Muslims may influence automatic negative attitudes towards them, giving rise to stigma and stereotypes. Furthermore, this may colour how Muslims see themselves as a group and colour their perception of what it means to be a Muslim.

2.5. Limitations of Previous Research

A general criticism, from a South African context, is that there is very little if any research that has been conducted on Muslim social identity in this country, with most of the literature being “thought pieces”. Previous research has been concerned mostly with first and second generation immigrants living in Europe and the United States. South Africa is unique, in that, its Muslim community dates back to the mid 1600’s, therefore, whilst Muslims are a minority in South Africa, they are an established minority and as such the dynamics could be very different to that found in the West. In addition, Muslims are an influential minority group in this country with many Muslims occupying prominent government posts or being influential in business. Thus, it can be argued that Muslims in South Africa are a minority in terms of size but not so in terms of power.

A further limitation of the literature to date is that many social identity studies have typically been conducted with artificial social groups such as university groups, placed in short term laboratory situations. In these instances, membership to groups are arbitrarily assigned, therefore, participants do not have a vested interest in the group, and as such are not particularly committed to their social identities. In addition, the objects of investigation are also cause for concern, as these are typically university students or females. This is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, it would be interesting to explore how male Muslim identity construction and negotiation differs to that of females. Secondly, social identities are in a constant state of flux and changes over one’s lifetime.

Therefore, further investigation needs to be conducted into the social identities of children, adolescents and older Muslim adults.

A perusal of the research literature in various psychology databases indicates that there is an increase in the literature exploring how Muslims in the West construct and negotiate their identities. This literature focuses mainly on migrants and first and second generation Muslims. The themes are generally stereotypes, marginalization, the construction and negotiation of ethnic, religious and national identities and the management of multiple identities. There is little literature on subjective meanings & understandings that Muslims as a social group attach to their identity, and little research that pertains to the content of Muslim identity. In general, social identity researchers have generally constructed a priori definitions of what it means to belong to particular social categories, and have designed the research and analyzed the results in terms of that definition (Kitzinger & Stainton Rogers, 1985). One could argue that these researchers miss out on the breadth and depth of meaning that lie behind these identities by doing so.

It is surprising that the Muslim identity literature has shown a dearth of research on the effect of negative Muslim stereotypes on Muslim social identity outside of the United States and Europe. Given the importance of the tenet of *Ummah* within the Muslim community, this is a substantial gap in the literature. It is not unfeasible that Muslims in South Africa feel bonded to their Muslim counterparts in the West, and as such vicariously share their experiences. It is also equally feasible that the constant exposure to

Western media that portrays Muslims in a negative light, could have an affect on the way Muslims perceive themselves as well as in the way that they are perceived by others.

Finally, previous research has assumed that social groups have specific shared social representations, and this has resulted in them emphasizing similarity at the expense of variation and difference. In addition, intra-group similarity, which is a natural by-product of certain correlational procedures, is used as evidence of validity. It can be argued that this situation is circular and fails to fully account for the data (Potter & Litton, 1985). These considerations were taken into consideration in the design of the study, and it was for this reason that Q methodology was chosen. This will be discussed in more detail in the Method chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: METHOD

A thorough perusal of the social identity literature indicates that there is no consensual definition of Muslim identity. This does not mean that such definitions or understandings do not exist in the subjectivities of the individuals that belong to these groups. The literature is clear that it does. So, how does one go about measuring these subjectivities? How does one get into the head of the Muslim individual to understand how one makes meaning of one's Muslim identity? It is clear that this cannot be done by forcing a priori definitions onto people. In this chapter, the aims of the study are outlined, the methods which were chosen to extract data from the population under interest are discussed and a brief overview of the chosen methodology is provided.

3.1. Rationale for Q Methodology

As was described in the previous chapter, the term "Muslim" is often linked to religious affiliation ignoring other identity elements (Meer, 2008). The current study argues that being Muslim means more than just an affiliation to a religion. Therefore, it is important to understand what this identity means to Muslims themselves without imposing the researcher's subjectivities and assumptions onto them. This is important as social representations of this group by outsiders could be quite different to the representations that the group members have of themselves. Therefore, a method was required that would hear the voices of Muslims themselves, and bring out the diversity of perspectives,

beliefs and understandings of what it means to be Muslim, without forcing a priori definitions onto them.

On a methodological level, the principles behind this study are as follows. Rather than a purely qualitative discussion on the declaration of identity, a more quantifiable understanding was required, thus a method was needed by which Muslim identity could be expressed as a relatively empirical measure. Previous studies dealing with Muslim identity has generally been driven out of the religious and minority affairs literature with little or no research coming out of the psychological literature. The focus of this research was on studying the subjective meanings of Muslim social identity and not on objectively testing the percentage of people that felt a certain way. In light of these objectives, Q methodology was believed to be the most suitable methodology to research the subjectivity and diversity of meanings attached to Muslim social identity.

3.2 An Overview of Q Methodology

Q Methodology was developed in the 1960's by William Stephenson, after he developed concerns over what he saw as the exclusively positivist leanings of psychological research methodology (as cited in Shemmings, 2006). Q methodology was developed as a means of rigorously examining subjective behavior. Stephenson argued that a *“person’s subjectivity constitutes an actual event which exists in its own right and is measurable on its own terms”* (as cited in Brown, 1999, p.2) and was interested in life as lived from a person’s own perspective (Brown, 1980). Q methodology encompasses a set of

procedures that are used to explore an individual's own subjective understandings, beliefs, attitudes and opinions that quantitative procedures typically overlook (Cross, 2005; Kitzinger, 1999).

Shinebourne & Adams (2007a) argue that Q methodology has many principles in common with the phenomenological method as it attempts to derive meaning through exploring subjective accounts of phenomena from the participant's perspective, identifies broad categories and common themes and it does all of this in the spirit of collaborative engagement with participants. Watts and Stenner (2005a) named this approach *qualiquantological* (p.69), believing that Q methodology is qualitative through its assumptions and research logic and quantitative through the statistical analytical approach utilized. At the same time it uses the mathematical approach of factor analysis to identify underlying patterns in the data (Danielson, 2009).

The multiple advantages of Q methodology are; it is useful in identifying commonalities and differences and can be used for thematic identification and analysis (Shinebourne & Adams, 2007a). Furthermore, it allows the researcher to construct broad categories or dimensions of the topic to be studied and to explore the patterns and relations between and within these dimensions (Shinebourne & Adams, 2007b). The most pertinent benefit of Q methodology to this study is that it allows people to express their subjectivity without confining them to a priori categories (Danielson, 2009). In this manner, it allows the researcher to explore highly complex and socially contested concepts and topics from the perspective of the individuals involved (Watts & Stenner, 2005a). Q methodology

makes it possible for the individual to observe and measure his/her own subjectivity without any norms or objective scales intervening, thus the individual determines what is important, what his values are and what the themes should be. This allows diversity to shine through (Lister & Gardner, 2006).

3.3. Limitations of Scales, Questionnaires and Qualitative Studies

The use of standardized opinion and attitude scales presupposes consistency of item meanings from one subject to another, equivalences of responses, and the belief that the observer can infer a respondent's frame of reference (McKeown, 1984). Scales with predetermined meaning generally reflect the researcher's understandings of the issue and more often than not it is in the researcher's language, or it is in the respondent's language. Furthermore, operational definitions incorporated into attitude questionnaires can never be objective as they always reflect the ideological commitment of the researcher (Kitzinger, 1999). Thus, by using standardized scales, the core element of respondent subjectivity would be lost. Finally, most standardized scales can be lengthy and time consuming. Furthermore, an uncommitted respondent can give superficial and spurious responses and could fill in vague answers on the instrument without thinking, or randomly respond to items on the instrument. Q method is a forced-choice method, thus respondents are forced to consider their attitudes more carefully, which can bring out true feelings in responses (Prasad, 2001).

Finally, one may question why a qualitative study was not chosen. A qualitative study may have been just as effective at uncovering the diversity surrounding Muslim identity, but some measure of empiricalism was needed. Donner (2001) asserts that in Q methodology, even though the participant's perspectives are inherently subjective, the researcher is asking the same question, using the same concepts, to be placed in the same format which allows him to compare these subjective perspectives with more rigor than would be the case with normal qualitative approaches (p. 26).

3.4. The Appropriateness of Q Methodology to this Study

Brown (1999) makes the distinction between facts (information) and opinion (communication), the latter being subjective and requiring self-reference, the former objective and without self-reference. Whilst facts can be proved or disproved, opinions are not subject to proof but are referential to the person who expresses it and only has value and meaning within that person's frame of reference (p. 3). Therefore, this study was not interested in determining the number of people who felt a certain way about their identity. Rather, the focus was on the subjective understandings that these people have about their identity. The aim was to sample the range and diversity of views expressed, not to make claims about the percentage of people expressing them. People will have different understandings and definitions of what it means to be Muslim, and it is these different understandings that are of interest.

One of the strengths of Q methodology is that the pattern or logic that drives the weighting of a particular statement versus another statement does not need to be known in advance. Neither do they have to be mutually exclusive nor completely exhaustive of all the possible statements that could apply (Donner, 2001). They are just assumed to be a sub-set of the possible statements that may apply to the topic at hand, and the participants are acknowledged to be a sub-set of the population at hand, thus Q methodology does not claim generalisability.

Therefore the advantages of using Q methodology in this study is that it allowed the subjective beliefs and perspectives of the respondents to come through untainted by the researcher, and its focus was on eliciting and describing a wide diversity of the different beliefs and perspectives, none of which was defined a priori.

3.5. The 5 Stages of the Q Study

A detailed description of the use and nature of Q methodology is beyond the scope of this study and other, more recent comprehensive reviews are available for that purpose (Brown, 1980; Donner, 2001; Shemmings, 2006; van Exel & de Graaf, 2005; Watts & Stenner, 2005a, Webler, Danielson, & Tuler, 2009). Thus the methodology is described in terms of the research undertaken and is explained as it was used in the study.

The literature often uses the symbol ‘Q’ to distinguish Q methodology from ‘R’ methodology, which is used to describe the more conventional statistical methods in

psychological research (Brown, 1998). Whilst R methodologies are generally interested in measuring a population of people; Q methodology is interested in describing a population of viewpoints (van Exel & de Graaf, 2005). Unlike R methodology, Q does not require large random samples of respondents, as the emphasis in Q methodology is on ensuring representativeness that accesses the full range of diversity behind a given topic (Kitzinger & Stainton Rogers, 1985).

The two main features of Q methodology are the “Q sort” and a “by – person” factor analysis. By sorting a number of statements that are presented to them, and rank ordering the statements relative to each other, respondents are able to reflect on their views, beliefs and perceptions. In doing so, they impose meaning onto the statements (Kitzinger & Stainton Rogers, 1985). The Q sorts are then correlated and factor analyzed, with the factors, revealing a small number of underlying themes. In interpreting the factors, different accounts of the topic are presented by drawing together the commonalities and correlations between the sorts, thus revealing the many nuances surrounding the topic. The five steps involved in a Q study will be discussed further in the sections that follow.

3.5.1 Step 1: Defining the Concourse

The first step in a Q methodology study and therefore in this study was to define the concourse. The *“concourse is the common coinage of societies large and small, and is designed to cover everything from community gossip and public opinion to the esoteric discussions of scientists and philosophers”* (Brown, 1998, p.7). The concourse refers to

the collection of all statements, opinions, beliefs and perspectives about the topic at hand (van Exel & de Graaf, 2005). For this study, the concourse was the collection of statements reflecting the feelings, emotions and attitudes about being a Muslim in South Africa. The concourse for this study was obtained in the following manner.

(a.) In-depth perusal of the academic and popular literature

The aim of this exercise was to collect all the statements, opinions, “facts”, and general sentiment related to Muslim identity that existed in the academic and popular domain, that is, to understand all social representations of Muslim identity that existed in the public domain. Firstly, a thorough search was conducted on the *South African Media Database* which contains newspaper clippings from 1968. For the purposes of study only articles that were published between January 2000 and July 2009 were included in the parameters of the article search. Key words such as Muslim, Islam, minority, ethnic, identity, race, religion, culture and derivatives of these words were used. 56 articles were found. Secondly, all articles published between 1998 and 2008, in the *Annual Review of Islam*, published by the University of Cape Town were perused. Furthermore, all issues of the *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* and *The Muslim World* that were published between 1998 and 2009 were also perused. In addition, all articles in the journal, *Contemporary Islam*, published between 2006 and 2009 were also included in the analysis. Finally, a thorough search was conducted on the psychology journal databases, looking at all relevant publications with the pertinent keywords between 1998-July 2009.

A basic thematic analysis was conducted on all the relevant articles that matched the keywords. The following major themes emerged

- The centrality of Islam
- Living with stereotype, stigma and suspicion
- Women's rights and the equality of women
- Balancing the dictates of Islam with the practical realities of living in a western world

The major themes were congruent with those that emerged out of the in-depth interviews. Relevant statements that encapsulated each of these themes were then included into the concourse.

(b.) In-depth interviews with strategically recruited members of the Muslim community

The aim of these in-depth interviews was to identify aspects of being Muslim which were described by the population as meaningful, and contributing to their sense of Muslim identity. In addition, the objective was to capture the language used by the participants, which as an outsider, this researcher was not privy to. Five in-depth interviews were conducted with three females and two males who identified themselves as Muslim. These interviews were between 60-90 minute duration. There were no strict definitions about what constituted a "Muslim". If subjects stated that they were Muslim, then their input was accepted as valid for the concourse. In addition, these individuals were specifically recruited as they were expected to have different views of the topic.

The five individuals lived in Johannesburg and were married, single, religiously observant, and irreligious, with and without children and ranging in age from 27 years to 47 years old. All five individuals interviewed had a tertiary education and apart from one lady, all were employed in the professional arena. Three females and two males participated in the in-depth interviews. Subjects were interviewed by this researcher at either their homes or place of work. The conversations were tape recorded and later transcribed by this researcher (permission to record was received from all subjects).

Subjects were asked a series of open-ended questions. The topic was, broadly, “what makes you feel Muslim/why are you Muslim?” and the subjects were asked the following questions:

- What makes you Muslim? Why are you Muslim?
- What do you believe in that makes you Muslim?
- What do you DO that makes you Muslim?
- Are you religiously observant and practice Islam? Why/why not?
- Are there any Muslim rituals that you find particularly meaningful or not?
- What role does being Muslim play in your life? (centrality of the Muslim identity)
- Have you experienced any discrimination/negative stereotyping etc?
- What is the status of Muslim women within Islam?
- How easy/difficult is it to balance your Muslim identities with your other identities?

These were the most common themes that emerged from the interviews

- The centrality of religion in their lives
- Stereotype, stigma and suspicion associated with being Muslim
- Gender issues and the equality of women
- Distinctiveness from non-Muslims and from Muslims from different ethnic backgrounds
- Desire to fit in with non-Muslims
- The importance of relationships and family
- Balancing the dictates of Islam with the practical realities of living in a western world
- Negotiating many identities (identity conflict)
- Conflict between ethnicity and religion
- The desire to be unique vs. the desire to be a part of the collective
- Shown tolerance by others and being tolerant of others

Once again, three-four statements that encapsulated these themes were included in the concourse. Thus, these interviews together with the secondary analysis of the popular and academic databases formed the “concourse” of Muslim identity. The caveat is that these opinions and statements are by no means representative of the entire Muslim community. They are only representative of the concourse used in this instance.

3.5.2 Step 2: Development of the Q Set

This step involved the development of the preliminary instrument, piloting of the instrument and refining of the final instrument. The Q set is a collection of heterogeneous items which the participants will sort. Watts and Stenner (2005a) recommend that for psychological studies, the Q set should be comprised of statements, that each makes a different but recognizable assertion about the topic. Q sets can be structured or unstructured (Donner, 2001). This study arrived at a structured Q set based on the themes that were identified as important, and which emerged naturally through the interviews and secondary data analysis. Thus, three-four statements that captured the theme, were included in the concourse.

The aim was to ensure representativeness of the diversity of views that emerged. The statements, perspectives and beliefs provided the concourse of statements for this study. 96 statements were generated through this exercise (refer to Appendix 1) and all were clustered into the identified themes. The concourse was then sent to five other Muslim individuals to check for clarity and face validity (that is, to check that the items are representative of the concourse and will be meaningful to sample). The concourse was also sent to two other researchers not involved in the study to check for clarity. Based on their recommendations, the statements were refined and 26 statements were discarded as they were repetitious and ambiguous. This process reduced the number of statements to 70. At this stage, the statements were piloted with four Muslim individuals. They were asked to provide comments and additional statements to add to the Q set, as well as to

give feedback on statements that were irrelevant, ambiguous, overlapping or which needed to be discarded. The outcome of this was that 60 statements, which constituted the final Q set (refer to Appendix 2). Generally, it is advisable that the number of items in a Q set should range between 40-80 statements (Shinebourne & Adams, 2007b; Shinebourne, 2009; Watts & Stenner, 2005a), as too many more will exhaust the participants and too few may not capture the full breadth of diversity surrounding the topic. In preparation for the sorting task, each statement was randomly numbered and written on a separate card, to ensure that they could be sorted by the participants (refer to Appendix 3).

3.5.3 Step 3: Sample Selection or Selection of the P set

A Q methodological study does not require a large numbers of randomly selected respondents, as the aim is to achieve breadth and diversity around the research topic and not statistical power (Kitzinger & Stainton Rodgers, 1985). Thus it is recommended that the sample should generally comprise of between 60-80 individuals (van Exel & De Graaf, 2005; Watts & Stenner, 2005a). Purposive sampling methods were used to select information rich cases of Muslim adults living in Johannesburg. As in the in-depth interviews and pilot study, the subjects were contacted telephonically and the Q sorts were administered in person either at their homes or place of work between the 01 September and the 14 September 2009. Overall, 45 participants were invited to participate in the study and 5 declined.

Forty people participated in the study, of which 67.5% (N=27) were male and 32.5% (N=13) was female. The mean age of the respondents was 23.8 years with a range of 18 to 55 years. In terms of racial representation, the majority of the respondents were Indian (62.5%), and a further 22.5% were Coloured. In addition, 3% were Black and 10% claimed mixed parentage. More than 75% of the sample had at least a high school education, with 2.5% having a primary school education and 22.5% having some sort of post high-school education including degrees and technical diplomas. Almost half the sample described themselves as modern (45%), with 27.5% describing themselves as conservative and a further 27.5% describing themselves as traditional. This then constituted the final sample.

3.5.4 Step 4: Administering the Q Sort

The data for factor analysis is obtained from the participants' rank ordering of the Q set items, according to a condition of instruction. At the start of the interview, all demographic and some relevant biographical data was captured using a structured questionnaire (refer to Appendix 4). As an initial sort and to familiarize themselves with the statements, participants were asked to read through all the statements carefully, and then sort the randomly ordered deck of statement cards into 3 piles, those that they "agree with", those that they "disagree with", and those statements which they "neither agree nor disagree with". The participants were then asked to rank order the cards according to a condition of instruction which was *"thinking about what being a Muslim means to you personally, sort the statements according to those with which you most agree (+6), to*

The positioning of items was recorded by capturing the numbers associated with each statement onto a data sheet that had a similar grid to the respondent's grid. The sorting task took no more than 15-20 minutes. Once the sorting was completed, respondents were encouraged to elaborate on the most distinguishing statements in their sorts (that is, those statements that were ranked at the extreme ends of their scale; +6 and -6) and this information was used in interpreting the factors in the analysis stage.

3.5.5 Step 5: Analysis and Interpretation of the Data

The Q sort data was analyzed using the freeware program PQMethod which is a statistical software program that was designed at the University of Munich to analyze Q-sort data. Stephenson presented Q methodology as an inversion of conventional factor analysis as persons become the variables of interest rather than test-items/traits (Brown, 1998) and the patterns between respondents, represented by their Q sorts become important. Thus, the "subjects" of a Q study are the Q statements and the "variables" are people's Q sorts, and the intention is to look for patterns across people's Q sorts for each Q statement (Webler et al., 2009, p.7).

The outputs of Q methodology are a by-person correlation and factor analytical procedure, and it is the overall configurations produced by the participants that are inter-correlated and factor analyzed (Watts & Stenner, 2005a, p.80). Correlations between the individuals' sorts indicate the degree of similarity and differences in viewpoints. The PQMethod program offered two factor analytic techniques. This study used Principal

Components Analysis (PCA) and varimax rotation in the factor analysis for a number of reasons. PCA is the most common type of factor analysis and considers both the commonality among Q sorts and specificity of individual sorts. The other method of doing factor analysis, would be to use Centroid Analysis, however Centroid analysis considers only the commonality among Q sorts and ignores specificity of the individual Q sorts (Webler et al., 2009).

After the factor analysis, the researcher needs to rotate the factors to get to the best factor solution. Rotating a factor changes its meaning such that it may become more meaningful (Webler et al., 2009, p.10). There are two major approaches to rotation, that is, varimax rotation and judgmental rotation. Varimax is an algorithm that tends to rotate factors such that individuals become associated with just one factor. Varimax rotation maximizes the amount of variance explained on as few factors as possible (Webler et al., 2009). This results in a simple structure which maximizes the similarities within factors and the differences between factors (Baker, Thompson, Mannion, 2006). In addition, varimax rotation reduces the possibility of any researcher bias or judgment entering into this phase of the analysis. Furthermore, judgmental rotation is not as sensitive as statistically driven factor solutions such as varimax rotation (Brown, 1980).

In addition, PCA gives you eigenvalues for each factor which gives you information regarding how many factors to keep. Eigenvalues are a measure of the relative contribution of a factor to the explanation of total variance in a correlation matrix. Factors greater than one explain more variance than those less than one (Watts &

Stenner, 2005b). Therefore, Donner (2001) recommends that the maximum number of initial factors that one should ideally rotate is those with eigenvalues greater than one.

Factor interpretation is based on the examination of the ranking assigned to each statement in the factor array together with any relevant participant comments from the post-sorting interview. In the Q factor analysis, the participants are factored across the items and they are clustered based on the similarity of their responses (Campbell, 1995). Factor scores rather than the traditional factor pattern/structure coefficients, are used in the interpretation of factors. In Q analysis, there is one factor score that is calculated for each variable on each person factor. These scores provide information as to which items identify and differentiate the factor clusters of people. A factor represents common covariation in perceptions held by those who make up the factor (Webler, et.al, 2009). The Q sorts of the people associated with a particular factor are merged using the factor scores to form one model Q sort for that particular factor. This model Q sort or “factor array” represents the variance that is common to the people associated with the factor (Brown, 1980). The factor scores can be transformed from the Z scores back to the scale of the original Q sort to aid in interpretation. The factor scores can then be used to interpret the factors by identifying which variables are positively or negatively associated with the factor. The analysis procedures will be discussed in more detail in the chapter that follows.

3.6. Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations were taken into account. The study was approved by the University of the Witwatersrand Ethics Committee. Participants were not coerced to participate in the study if they felt uncomfortable with doing so. Consent was obtained from all participants, who were fully informed of the purpose and intentions of the research. They were assured that all information obtained, was going to be kept strictly confidential. They were also told that they could withdraw from the study at any time if they felt uncomfortable with answering the questions, or if they found the questions too intrusive. Finally, the study was conducted with due competence and professionalism.

In summary, the aim of this study was to explore how individuals conceptualise their Muslim identity without forcing a priori definitions onto them. Traditional scales and qualitative methods were rejected in this study in favour of Q methodology. This chapter provided an extensive overview of how Q methodology was implemented in the study.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

In the previous chapter, the process by which the data was extracted was described. It was also pointed out that the results of a Q methodological study are used to describe a population of viewpoints not a population of people (van Exel & de Graaf, 2005). In the previous chapter, an account was given of the process of data collection. In addition, the data processing was described as the grouping of participants according to the degree to which they demonstrated a shared perspective on the topic under research. These groupings are referred to as factors. Each factor's own interpretation of what it means to be a Muslim is determined through the application of weighted composite scores to the data. This process produces a ranking of the different perspectives for each factor and allows for comparisons to be made between the perspectives signified by the factors.

4.1. Correlation and Factor Extraction

The 40 completed Q sorts were correlated producing a 40 x 40 matrix (see Appendix 6, for the correlation matrices of Q sort factor loadings), which was factor analyzed using the principle components method. In order for a factor to be interpretable in Q methodology, it must have at least two sorts that loads significantly on it alone (Stenner & Marshall, 1995) and have eigenvalues (sum of squared loadings) greater than one (Brown, 1980; Donner, 2001). This is the generally accepted way of ensuring factor reliabilities. In addition factors which are less than one generally explain less of the overall study variance than would a single Q sort (Watts & Stenner, 2005b). Furthermore,

Brown (2008) posits that it is important to avoid having a factor defined by one person, since it is impossible to ascertain whether that factor is driven by an individual perspective or from a communal perspective (as cited in Webler et al., 2009).

Ten factors with eigenvalues greater than one emerged through the PCA analysis; however the PQMETHOD programme allows you to rotate up to a maximum of eight factors using varimax rotation. Whilst, there is no agreement on the ideal number of factors to use (Webler et al., 2009), it is recommended that one should preserve as much of the variance as possible by taking as many factors into the factor rotation that would do this (van Exel & de Graaf, 2005). However, an examination of the eigenvalues and variance scores of the unrotated factors showed that the first 4 factors were the most defining accounts of the topic at hand. The eigenvalues of the eight factors are listed below in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Eigenvalues for Unrotated Factors

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7	Factor 8
Eigenvalue sig. > 1.00	16.038	3.0252	2.2299	1.7947	1.5772	1.4323	1.3849	1.1242
% of variance explained	40	8	6	4	4	4	3	3

In order to determine, which factors are the most distinguishing accounts, these eigenvalues were plotted on a graph. The graph of eigenvalues is represented below in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Graph of Factor Eigenvalues

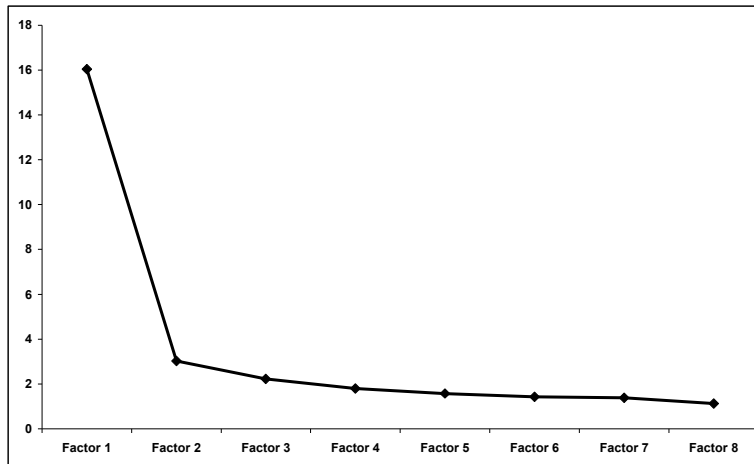
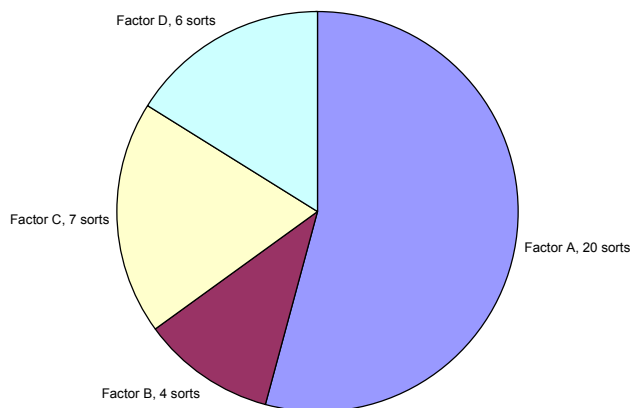


Figure 4.1 clearly illustrates that factors 1, 2, 3 and 4 are the most distinguishing factors, with the difference in the eigenvalues leveling off at factor four, which represents the last significant factor. However as an additional check, individually, a four, five, six, seven and eight factor solution was then rotated to a simple structure according to varimax rotation. Preliminary investigations of the analysis showed that the four factor solution was the most 'robust'. With an eight factor solution, the data became very fragmented and seven Q sorts (18%) did not load onto any of the factors. In the seven factor solution, only one Q sort loaded significantly onto factor seven, and once again, seven Q sorts (18%) did not load onto any of the factors. A standard requirement of Q analysis is that an interpretable factor must not have less than two Q sorts that load significantly on it alone (Watts & Stenner, 2005a), thus a seven factor solution would not have been appropriate. Both five and six factor solutions had six and seven Q sorts respectively that did not load onto any of the factors. In addition, they did not contribute to explaining significantly more of the variance.

Therefore, a four factor solution was decided to be the best, and the four significant factors were then rotated according to varimax rotation. Henceforth, the four significant factors will be referred to as Factors A, B, C and D. This four factor solution accounted for 58% of the variance and 37 Q sorts (93%) loaded significantly and positively onto one of the four factors within this solution. These significantly loading Q sorts are called ‘factor exemplars’, as they exemplify the shared pattern or configuration that is characteristic of that factor (Donnor, 2001). In this study, each factor was examined to identify those Q sorts that loaded significantly and solely onto that factor. Factor loadings express the extent to which each Q sort is associated with each factor. Factor loadings in excess of 0.50 (regardless of whether the direction it is positive or negative) can be considered significant (Brown, 1993). The proportional representation of significant factors with their Q-sorts is presented in Figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.2: Proportional Representation of Significant factor Loadings by Q-sort



Three sorts did not load cleanly onto any factor, as their factor loadings were less than 0.50 for all four factors. Furthermore, all 37 of the participants loaded onto one of the four factors, with no one loading on more than one factor. This suggests a degree of factor independence (Shemmings, 2006). The more a participant loads cleanly onto a single factor, the better that factor represents that participant's subjective perspective of the issue at hand (Donner, 2001). The list of individual Q sort loadings for each factor is presented in Appendix 7.

Although the application of these statistical criteria resulted in a limitation of the range of potential opinions for interpretation, it also brought the definition of the significant factors into sharper focus. The trade off was deemed justifiable within the context of this research since a large number of fragmented individual interpretations of Muslim identity was considered to be less important than identifying a smaller number of more coherent interpretations.

4.2. Factor Interpretation

To facilitate interpretation, QMETHOD provides details for each factor, and shows all the statements which are statistically most different and then compares the rank of those statements in respect of each other. QMETHOD also produces the 'factor' array for each of the 60 statements, by which one can examine how each statement is characterized by each factor in turn. (For the complete factor array and list of statements see appendix 8.

There were four significant accounts of Muslim identity that were expressed by the participants in this study. Interpretation of these accounts relied upon an examination of the factor scores. Therefore, to interpret each of the accounts, one would need to do the following:

(a.) Examine the statements which characterize the factor array. The factor array for each of the 60 statements allows the researcher to examine how each statement is characterized by each factor in turn. Generally, one would use the poles of the distribution, that is, the strongly agree rankings (i.e. +6, +5 and +4) and the strongly disagree rankings (-6, -5, and -4). These are called characterizing statements, and are used to obtain a general understanding of the factor (Van Exel & De Graaf, 2005).

(b.) Examine the normalized factor scores, presented as z scores. These re-express each statement in terms of its distance away from the mean, measured in standard deviations. Statements with z scores that are above 1.5 are typically the exemplars of each factor. When interpreting z-scores, statements need to be considered conjointly, rather than individually, as it is the pattern of the statements as a whole that gives a specific meaning to that factor (Shemmings, 2006).

(c.) In addition, one needs to look at the distinguishing statements for each factor. These are the distinctive statements about each factor that will allow one to compare and contrast the four different accounts of Muslim identity. To understand distinguishing statements, one needs to understand the concept of a *difference score*. Van Exel and de Graaf (2005), define a difference score as the “*magnitude of the difference between a*

statement's score on any two factors that is required for it to be statistically significant.

When a statement's score on two factors exceed this difference score, it is called a distinguishing or distinctive statement'' (p.9). The difference score is illustrated in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: Example: Sample of Difference Scores for Factor A compared to Factors B and C

No	Statement	Factor A	Factor B	Difference
45	I am Muslim because I believe that there is only one God Allah	2.14	0.33	1.81
No	Statement	Factor A	Factor C	Difference
45	I am Muslim because I believe that there is only one God Allah	2.14	1.39	0.75

Shemmings (2006) recommends that the distinguishing statements need to be considered as a whole rather than separately. If there is any confusion or ambiguity in interpreting the distinguishing statements, he recommends looking at proximal statements to investigate the data more carefully. Proximal statements are statements that are ranked closely to the distinguishing statements.

In sum, for each factor, the presentation of the results starts off with the factor array that shows the characterizing and exemplar statements. This is followed by the distinctive statements for that factor that distinguishes it from other factors.

4.3. Factor A

Factor A explained 27% of the study variance after rotation. Twenty participants loaded significantly onto this factor. Eight of them were female and twelve were male. The respondents in this factor exemplified an unequivocally religious interpretation of their Muslim identity, with Islam being inextricably linked to their self-concept and to the way they lived their lives. An analysis of the Factor A array confirms that all the statements that are positively ranked are opinions that support a primarily religious interpretation of what it means to be Muslim, whilst all the negatively ranked statements are those that suggest that one would intentionally shy away from their religion. The characterizing statements and exemplar statements for Factor A is presented below in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Factor Array for Factor A including Significant Normalized Factor Scores

No	Statement	Ranking	Z - Scores
45	I am Muslim because I believe that there is only one God Allah	+6	2.138
15	Islam is not a religion but a way of life	+6	1.880
52	I feel proud of being Muslim	+5	1.684
3	Muslims should live with constant reference to Islam	+5	1.463
13	I am Muslim first and foremost	+5	1.816
16	Muslims should ignore differences and become a community of souls	+4	
17	Islam gives women more progressive rights than the West	+4	
20	Media images of Muslim terrorists tarnishes the dignity of Muslim	+4	
51	Being a Muslim is an important reflection of who I am	+4	
22	I struggle to balance Islamic ways with worldly ways	-4	
44	Family roles are more important than being Muslim or anything else	-4	
47	I do not fit in well with other Muslims	-4	
58	I prefer to be seen as a modern Muslim instead of traditional	-4	
6	Overall being Muslim doesn't affect how I feel about myself	-5	-1.501
7	I am afraid of wearing traditional Muslim clothes in public	-5	-1.549
53	There are important differences between Black Muslims, Indian Muslims and Coloured Muslims	-5	-1.518
31	I feel that I sometimes have to hide my Muslim identity	-6	-1.745
26	The hijab restricts a woman's freedom	-6	-2.124

. * Only z-scores greater than 1.5 and higher are shown.

Religion is integral to the conceptualization of Muslim identity in this factor. Factor A exemplifies a very clear account of identity that is strongly intertwined with a belief in Allah (45: +6) and a belief that Islam is more than a religion. It is a way of life (15: +6). This interpretation of Muslim identity also believes that Muslims should pursue their lives in accordance to the principles of Islam (3: +5). Given the strong religious orientation of this factor, it is not surprising there is a strong rejection of the notion that the hijab restricts a woman's freedom (26: -6). In fact, respondents on this factor believed that women had more progressive rights within Islam compared to women in the West (17: +4).

Their Muslim identity is the overarching identity for respondents defining this factor (13: +5), which is probably the reason they reject the notion of there being differences between Muslims belonging to different race groups (53: -5) and endorse the opinion that Muslims should become one community (16: +4). They also reject the notion that they do not fit in well with other Muslims (47: -4). Furthermore, the centrality of the Muslim identity over that of other identities or roles is demonstrated by the rejection of the idea that family roles are more important than being Muslim (44: -4). Furthermore, they do not support the idea that Muslims should have modern Arabic names (27: -4). There is strong pride in this Muslim identity (52: +5). This is supported by the fact that they would never hide their Muslim identity (31: -6) and are not afraid of publicly demonstrating their Muslimness (7: -5). They strongly believe that images of Muslim terrorists promulgated by the media tarnishes the dignity of Muslims (20: 4). The strength of their Muslim

identity is such that it is integrally linked to how they feel about themselves (6: -5) and being Muslim is an important reflection of who they are (51: +4)

Factor A's interpretation of Muslim identity is distinguished from the other factors by the centrality of the Islamic religion to the respondent's Muslim identity. They are Muslim because they believe in Allah (45: 6) and for them Islam is not just a religion but a way of life (15: +6). This account of Muslim identity is further distinguished from Factors C and D, by the strength of the respondents' negation of the statement that being Muslim doesn't affect how they feel about themselves (6: -5). These distinguishing statements and their rankings are listed in Table 4.4. A full list of all the distinguishing statements for Factor A is provided in the Appendix 9.

Table: 4.4: Distinguishing Statements for Factor A

No	Statement	A		B		C		D	
		RNK	Score	RNK	Score	RNK	Score	RNK	Score
45	I am Muslim because I believe that there is only one God Allah	6	2.14*	0	0.33	5	1.39	3	0.91
15	Islam is not a religion but a way of life	6	1.88	2	0.64	4	1.34	2	0.69
17	Islam gives women more progressive rights than in the West	4	1.23*	6	2.18	-1	-0.37	6	2.45
29	Global events have made Muslims unite and have a common identity	3	0.74	5	1.74	0	-0.19	4	1.31
2	A woman's beauty is for her family members only	2	0.58*	-3	-0.98	-1	-0.44	-2	-0.68
58	I prefer to be seen as a modern Muslim instead of traditional	-4	-1.39	-1	-0.41	1	0.26	-3	-0.87
6	Overall, being Muslim does not affect how I feel about myself	-5	-1.5	-6	-2.07	-3	-0.88	2	0.63

(All statements are significant at $p < .05$; Asterisk () Indicates Significance at $P < .01$)*

4.4 Factor B

Factor B is defined by a relatively small number of four participants, which accounted for 9% of the variance explained after varimax rotation. All were male. Factor B is exemplified by their pride in their Muslim identity and a desire to forge a common identity with other Muslims, probably in reaction to the negative social representations of Muslims in the media. Perhaps, also in reaction to these negative social representations, they also want to be seen as a little distinct from other Muslims.

The characterizing statements and exemplars for factor B is presented below in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Factor Array for Factor B including Significant Normalized Factor Scores

No	Statement	Ranking	Z-scores
17	Islam gives women more progressive rights than the West	+6	2.177
52	I feel proud of being Muslim	+6	1.832
35	A man needs to satisfy his wife's needs first and foremost	+5	1.767
29	Global events have made Muslims unite & have a common identity	+5	1.745
20	Media images of Muslim terrorists tarnishes the dignity of Muslims	+5	
3	Muslims should live their lives with constant reference to Islam	+4	
16	Muslims should ignore differences and become a community of souls	+4	
38	I worry about the negative portrayal of Muslims in the media	+4	
40	All Muslims should live by the teachings of the Quran	+4	
1	I am South African first and foremost	-4	
21	Non-Muslims think all Muslims are alike in their thinking and behaviour	-4	
41	I look to other Muslims to determine what is right and wrong	-4	
53	There are important differences between Black Muslims, Indian Muslims and Coloured Muslims	-4	
12	Sometimes find it difficult to balance Muslim demands with racial demands	-5	
26	The hijab restricts a woman's freedom	-5	
44	Family roles are more important than being Muslim or anything else	-5	
6	Overall, being Muslim does not affect how I feel about myself	-6	-2.073
31	I feel that I sometimes have to hide my Muslim identity	-6	-2.177

* Only z-scores 1.5 and higher are show

Factor B is exemplified by the view that global events have made Muslims unite and have a common identity (29: +5). This view is probably held in reaction to the belief that the media images of Muslim terrorists tarnish their dignity (20: +5) and they worry about the negative representations of Muslims in the media (38: +4). This could be particularly hurtful to them, as they are also exemplified by their pride in their Muslim identity (52: +6) and their strong rejection of any notions of wanting to hide their Muslim identity (31: -6). Furthermore, they disagree strongly with the idea that being Muslim does not affect the way they feel about themselves (6: -6), therefore, one can argue that images of Muslim terrorists are likely to disturb the way that they view themselves. Perhaps, to this end, they strongly believe that Muslims should ignore their differences and become a closer community (16: +4). Probably in reaction to this negativity, they also believe that Muslims should live by the teachings of the Quran (40: +4) and in constant reference to Islam (3: +4).

However, there seems to be some tension between the need to bond with their Muslim community and their need to be seen as a little different from their fellow Muslims. Thus, their need to bond with their Muslim community is highlighted by their opposition of the idea that there are race differences between Muslims (53: -4) and their disagreement with the notion that they struggle to balance Muslim demands with the demands of their race (21: -4). However, their need to be seen as different comes up to the fore when they reject the idea that they look to other Muslims to determine what is right and wrong (41: -

4) and also their disagreement with the statement that non-Muslims think all Muslims are alike in their thinking and behaviour (21: -4).

The respondents who loaded onto Factor B are also exemplified by their belief that Islam allows women more progressive rights than the West (17: +6). Thus they do not believe that the hijab restricts a woman's freedom (26: -5). This account of Muslim identity is also exemplified by a belief that a man should satisfy the needs of his wife first and foremost (35: +5). Despite this factor's concern with the rights of women, these respondents disagree that family roles are more important than being Muslim (44: -5) and they reject the idea that they are South African first and foremost (1: -4).

Factor B's interpretation of Muslim identity is distinct to all other factors in that this interpretation of Muslim identity sees a man's duty as fulfilling the needs of his wife, first and foremost (35: 5). Furthermore, Factor B relative to Factors A, C and D, cannot separate their Muslim identity out of their self-concept. This is evidenced by the strong disagreement with the statement that "overall, being Muslim, doesn't affect how I feel about myself" (6: -6).

The need to be distinct versus the need to belong is also apparent relative to other factors. Factor B, is the only factor that disagrees with the statement that they feel strongly against Muslims that do not follow Islam (34: -3). They are also more likely than the other factors to believe that they do not fit in well with other Muslims (47: +2). The need to belong is apparent, as Factor B is the only factor that endorses Muslims living separate

lives from non-Muslims (39: +3). It is also very clear that Factor B's interpretation of their Muslim identity is affected by the negative representations of Muslims. Factor B is the only factor that agrees somewhat that global events have made Muslims question their identity (54: +1). These distinguishing statements and their rankings are listed below in Table 4.6. A full list of all the distinguishing statements for Factor B is provided in the Appendix 9.

Table 4.6 Distinguishing Statements for Factor B

No	Statement	A		B		C		D	
		RNK	Score	RNK	Score	RNK	Score	RNK	Score
35	A Man needs to satisfy his wife's needs first and foremost	-1	-0.13	5	1.77	1	0.26	4	0.99
39	Important for Muslims to live separate lives from non-Muslims	-3	-0.96	3	0.89*	-4	-1.20	-4	-0.99
47	I donot fit in well with other Muslims	-4	-1.39	2	0.69*	-2	-0.56	-2	-0.62
54	Global events have made Muslims question their identity	-1	-0.26	1	0.52*	-4	-1.13	-2	-0.72
34	Feel strongly against Muslim people who donot follow Islam	1	0.56	-3	-1.06*	0	-0.12	2	0.67
6	Overall, being Muslim doesn't affect	-5	-1.50	-6	-2.07	-3	-0.88	2	0.63

(All statements are significant at $p < .05$; Asterisk () Indicates Significance at $P < .01$)*

4.5 Factor C

Seven respondents loaded onto factor C which accounts for 12% of the study variance. Five females and 2 males made up this factor. Thus, it's not surprising that this account of Muslim identity strongly endorses the belief that women have the same abilities and deserve the same rights as men. This factor is also exemplified by a strong awareness of the negative representations of Muslim. They are countering these perceptions by

wanting to assimilate into the broader society and by minimizing perceived differences between Muslims and non-Muslims. This factor is exemplified by the fact that the Muslim identity is a chosen identity rather than an ascribed identity. The characterizing statements and exemplar statements for Factor A is presented below in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Factor Array for Factor C including Significant Normalized Factor Scores

No	Statement	Ranking	Z-scores
60	Women have the same abilities & deserve same rights as men	+6	2.526
38	I worry about the negative portrayal of Muslims in the media	+6	1.700
20	Media images of M. terrorists tarnishes the dignity of M.	+5	1.627
52	I feel proud of being Muslim	+5	1.594
45	I am Muslim because I believe that there is only one God Allah	+5	
3	Muslims should live with constant reference to Islam	+4	
15	Islam is not a religion but a way of life	+4	
33	Its more important to be kind etc than to be a conventional Muslim	+4	
42	I can easily accept the differences between Muslims and non-Muslims	+4	
21	Non-Muslims think all Muslims are alike in their thinking and behaviour	-4	
39	Important for Muslims to live separate lives from non-Muslims	-4	
49	I prefer to live in a neighbourhood that shares my ethnicity	-4	
54	Global events have made Muslims question their identity	-4	
48	I worry when I travel that I will be viewed with suspicion	-5	
19	I struggle to negotiate my religious identities with other identities	-5	-1.498
53	There are important differences between Black Muslims, Coloured Muslims and Indian Muslims	-5	-1.748
36	I am M. because my parents were Muslim & I was born into it	-6	-1.841
1	I am a South African first & foremost	-6	-1.999

* Only z-scores 1.5 and higher are shown

The Muslim identity is their chosen identity, rather than an ascribed identity. This is evidenced by the strong disagreement with the idea that these respondents are only Muslim because they were born into the religion due to their parents being Muslim (36:- 6). In addition, they are Muslim South Africans rather than South African Muslims or Coloured Muslims/Indian Muslims. This is evidenced by the strong rejection of the

statement *"I am a South African first and foremost"* (1: -6) and the rejection of the idea that there are important ethnic differences between Muslims (53: -5). This interpretation of what it means to be Muslim is closely intertwined with the negative representations of Muslims. Thus, this factor is exemplified by a concern about the negative portrayal of Muslims (38: +6) that is seen to tarnish the dignity of Muslims (20: +5). However, in spite of this, there is a strong pride in this Muslim identity (52: +5). The "chosen" nature of their identity could be the reason for them negating any idea that global events have made them question their identity (54: -4) and for them disagreeing with the statement that they struggle to negotiate their religious identity with their other identities (19: -5).

There is a strong element of religiosity to this identity. Being Muslim is very much linked to being a follower of Islam and a believer in Allah (45: +5). There is a strong belief that one's life should be led in accordance with the tenets of Islam (3: +4 and 15: +4).

However, this is balanced by the view that it is more important to be kind etcetera, than to be a conventional Muslim (33: +4) and they are very tolerant of differences between Muslims and non-Muslims (42: +4). Furthermore, they are against leading separate lives from non-Muslims (39: -4) and in living in neighbourhoods that share their ethnicity (49: -4).

Respondents that loaded onto Factor C believe that women have the same abilities and deserve the same rights as men (60: +6). Seeing that this was the only factor where there were more women than men, and this statement fell 2.5 standard deviations above the mean, it was deemed necessary to delve deeper into the female perspective of what it

means to be a Muslim, in terms of the rights of women? Thus, all statements that alluded to women's rights were investigated and compared across factors. These items are listed with their rankings in Table 4.8 below

Table 4.8: Interpretation of Women's Rights within Islam

No	Statement	A	B	C	D
5	Women's rights are suppressed when chauvinistic males interpret Islam	3	0	3	0
17	Islam gives women more progressive rights than the West	4	6	-1	6
23	Men and women should be kept separate to avoid adultery	2	0	-3	4
26	The hijab restricts a woman's freedom	-6	-5	-3	-6
60	Women have the same abilities and deserve the same rights as men	-1	2	6	-2
32	The hijab allows a woman to interact freely in a man's world	0	-2	-2	-1
9	Women are oppressed but its due to culture not religion	0	1	0	-2

(All statements are significant at $p < .05$; Asterisk () Indicates Significance at $P < .01$)*

Its very interesting that Factor C which is predominantly made up of women, do not see themselves as having more progressive rights than their counterparts in the West (17: -1) whilst Factors B and D in particular who are comprised solely of males strongly agree that this is so. Interestingly Factor C believe that women's rights are suppressed when the dictates of Islam are interpreted by chauvinistic males (5: 3), whilst Factors B and D are neutral on this statement. Furthermore, Factor C relative to the other factors is less likely to negate the statement that the hijab restricts a woman's freedom (26: -3). This is also the only factor that disagrees with the segregation of the sexes (23: -3).

This interpretation of what it means to be a Muslim woman is revealed in more detail when one peruses the distinguishing statements for Factor C. These distinguishing

statements and their rankings are listed in Table 4.9. A full list of all the distinguishing statements for Factor C is provided in the Appendix 9.

Table 4.9 Distinguishing Statements for Factor C

No	Statement	A		B		C		D	
		RNK	Score	RNK	Score	RNK	Score	RNK	Score
60	Women have the same abilities and deserve the same rights as men	-1	-0.44	2	0.53	6	2.53*	-2	-0.64
22	Struggle to balance Islamic ways with worldly ways	-4	-1.27	-2	-0.78	2	0.48*	-1	-0.40
58	I prefer to be seen as a modern Muslim rather than traditional	-4	-1.39	-1	-0.41	1	0.26	-3	-0.87
40	All Muslims should live by the teachings of the Quran	3	0.96	4	1.03	-1	-0.37*	2	0.54
17	Islam gives women more progressive rights than the West	4	1.23	6	2.18	-1	-0.37*	6	2.45
43	All Muslims should follow a purified Islam	3	0.68	3	0.87	-1	-0.42*	3	0.70
23	Men and women should be kept separate to avoid adultery	2	0.58	0	0.05	-3	-0.89*	4	1.44
18	It is easier to be in social settings with other Muslims	0	0.19	1	0.38	-3	-1.10*	0	-0.22
36	I am Muslim because my parents were Muslim and I was born into it	-2	-0.64	0	0.26	-6	-1.84*	1	0.38
1	I am a South African first and foremost	-2	-0.84	-4	-1.18	-6	-2.00*	-3	-0.79

(All statements are significant at $p < .05$; Asterisk () Indicates Significance at $P < .01$)*

Factor C is distinct from other factors in two respects. The first is that in this account of Muslim identity, identity is chosen rather than ascribed (36:-6). The second distinction pertains to what being Muslim means for a woman. There is a strong belief that women are just as capable as men and thus deserves the same rights as men (60: +6). Furthermore, relative to other factors, they would like to be seen as modern rather than as traditional Muslims (58: +1). Perhaps as a result of this, there is a struggle to balance Islamic ways with worldly ways (22: +2) and relative to other factors, there is some disagreement with the statement that Muslims should abide by the teachings of the Quran (40: -1) and that Muslims should follow a purified Islam (43: -1). Furthermore, women that make up Factor C do not believe that they have more progressive rights than their

Western counterparts (17: -1), and are only the factor that does not support segregation of the sexes (23: -3). Perhaps, for this reason, they do not disagree with the statement that it is easier to be in social settings with other Muslims (18: -3).

4.6 Factor D

Six respondents loaded onto Factor D and this factor accounted for 10% of the variance after rotation. The profile of respondents was all male. The individuals who loaded onto Factor D are proud of their identity (52: +6) and unequivocally state that they are Muslims first and foremost (13: +5). Their strong Muslim pride makes it an anathema that they would try to hide their identity (31: -4) or that they would be afraid of publicly demonstrating that they are Muslim (7: -4). The characterizing statements and exemplar statements for Factor D is presented below in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Factor Array for Factor D including Significant Normalized Factor Scores

No	Statement	Ranking	Z-scores
17	Islam gives women more progressive rights than the West	+6	2.452
52	I feel proud of being Muslim	+6	2.404
33	It's more important to be kind etc. than to be conventional	+5	1.953
13	I am a Muslim first and foremost	+5	1.907
59	I have to defend my religion when I am with non-Muslims	+5	1.544
4	Muslim children should go to Muslim schools	+4	
23	Men and women should be kept separate to avoid adultery	+4	
29	Global events have made Muslims unite and have a common identity	+4	
35	A man needs to satisfy his wife's needs first and foremost	+4	
8	Group success is more important than my own personal success	-4	
27	Muslims should have Arabic names that are also modern	-4	
31	I sometimes feel that I have to hide my Muslim identity	-4	
39	Its important for Muslims to live separate lives from non-Muslims	-4	
7	I am afraid of wearing traditional Muslim clothes in public	-5	
53	Muslims donot face discrimination in South Africa	-5	
57	There are important differences between Black Muslims, Indian Muslims and Coloured Muslims	-5	-1.755
49	I prefer to live in a neighbourhood that shares my ethnicity	-6	-1.910
26	The hijab restricts a woman's freedom	-6	-1.966

* Only z-scores 1.5 and higher are shown

This factor is exemplified by a conservative or traditional account of Muslim identity that is not embedded within religion. The exemplar statements for this factor is that Islam gives women more progressive rights than the west (17: +6) and on the polar end, there is a strong negation that the hijab restricts a woman's freedom (26: -6). Furthermore, a man needs to satisfy the needs of his wife first and foremost (35: +4). This factor does not support the idea that Muslims should have modern Arabic names (27: -4) and agree that Muslim children should go to Muslim schools (4: +4). Respondents that loaded onto this factor also believe that men and women should be kept separate to avoid adultery (23: +4). However, one should not take this to mean, that they are endorsing segregation. Rather, this stems from entrenched beliefs about Muslim education and about men and

women that have existed within the Muslim culture for a long time. However, these notions seem to be embedded within a conservative view of what it means to be a Muslim rather than a religious view. This is evidenced by the respondents' strong belief that it's more important to be kind etcetera, than to be a conventional Muslim (33: +5).

Factor D's account of Muslim identity is nuanced by a desire to fit in and not be seen as different. Thus, these respondents are exemplified by their rejection of wanting to live in neighborhoods that share their ethnicity (49: -6) and their rejection of the idea of living separate lives from non- Muslims (39: -4). In addition, they strongly oppose the idea that there are important differences between Muslims belonging to different race groups (57: -5). Their outcomes are not tied to that of the group as evidenced by their disagreeing with the statement that Muslim group success is more important than their own personal success (8: -4).

This account of Muslim identity is also one of continuously striving to defend one's identity. This factor is exemplified by the fact that they believe that they have to continuously defend their religion when they are with non- Muslims (59: +5). They also reject the statement that Muslims are not discriminated against in South Africa (53: -5). This is coupled with their belief that global events have made Muslims unite and seek a common identity (29: +4).

Factor D is distinctive from other factors in that this interpretation of Muslimness is more about leading a good life rather than being a conventional Muslim (33: +5). In addition,

there is a constant struggle with defending Islam when they are with non-Muslims (59: +5). Furthermore, Factor D is the only factor that disagrees with the statement that Muslims should live their lives in constant reference to Islam (3: -1). Perhaps for this reason, relative to other factors, Factor D's account of what it means to be a Muslim includes an agreement with the statement "*I am still struggling to negotiate my religious identities with my other identities*" (19: +3), and a slight agreement with the statement that it is difficult to balance the demands of being Muslim with the demands of one's race (12: +1). It could be for this reason that there is a strong disagreement with the idea of one preferring to live in a neighbourhood that shares one's ethnicity (49: -6). These distinguishing statements and their rankings are listed in Table 4.11 below. A full list of all the distinguishing statements for Factor D is provided in the Appendix 9.

Table 4.11: Distinguishing Statements for Factor D

No	Statement	A		B		C		D	
		RNK	Score	RNK	Score	RNK	Score	RNK	Score
33	Its more important to be kind etc than to be conventional	0	0.09	1	0.50	4	1.19	5	1.95*
59	I have to defend my religion when I am with non-Muslims	0	-0.01	3	0.89	1	0.27	5	1.54
19	Negotiating religious identities with other identities	-3	-1.12	-3	-0.97	-5	-1.50	3	0.89*
12	Sometimes difficult to balance Muslim vs. racial demands	-3	-1.20	-5	-1.25	-2	-0.69	1	0.16*
3	Muslims should live with constant reference to Islam	5	1.49	1	0.47	4	1.14	-1	-0.45*
49	I prefer to live in a neighbourhood that shares my ethnicity	-1	-0.24	-2	-0.68	-4	-1.28	-6	-1.91

(All statements are significant at $p < .05$; Asterisk () Indicates Significance at $P < .01$)*

In summary, the aim of this chapter was to provide a look at each factor individually. The chapter to follow will discuss these factors in detail.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to give voice to the interpretations of identity that are shared by Muslims and to understand how they make sense and meaning of their identity. As was described in the previous chapter, the term “Muslim” is often assumed to be an operationalised construct, something that is intuitively understood. However, it is most often linked to religious affiliation ignoring other identity elements (Meer, 2008). The current study argued that being Muslim means more than just an affiliation to a religion, and thus it is important to understand what this identity term means to Muslims themselves without imposing the researchers subjectivities and assumptions onto them. This is necessary as social representations of this group by outsiders could be quite different to the representations that the group members have of themselves. Going into this research, certain themes emerged out of the public domain and the in-depth interviews, which were used to build the concourse and the eventual Q-Set for this study. In the preceding chapter, the significant results were presented. In this chapter, the significant interpretations or meanings that the participants attached to their identities will be discussed in some detail.

5.1. Factor A: The Overarching Muslim identity Anchored in Islam

This interpretation of Muslim identity is very entrenched in religiosity and Islam. People who loaded onto this factor indicated that their Muslim identity is very prominent in their self-conception and thought. Thus their Muslim religious identity is the overarching identity. For the people who loaded onto Factor A, Islam is not just a religion, but a way of life and they strongly believe that they are Muslim because of their belief in Allah. They also believe that as Muslims they should live their lives according to the tenets of Islam. They strongly believe that they are Muslims first and foremost, and are proud of their Muslim identity, so there is a great deal of satisfaction that is associated with being a Muslim. Furthermore, being Muslim is an important reflection of who they are. This finding is not surprising in the context of current world events. Verkuyten (2007) believes that the strong wave of Muslim identification is probably due to the increased global tensions between Islam and the West. This tension forces Muslims to defend and stress their religion. Peek (2005) found that the events of September 11, 2001 resulted in many Muslims learning more about Islam in response to being questioned about their faith and religious beliefs. This had the effect of strengthening their religious identities.

Respondents that loaded onto Factor A are very aware of the negativity surrounding Muslims which they believe impinges on their dignity. This has made them desire solidarity with their fellow Muslims. Factor A experienced a high degree of in-group homogeneity as evidenced by their desire that Muslims ignore their differences and grow

closer to their Muslim community. In addition, they also felt that they did not fit in very well with other Muslims. This demonstration of strong ingroup ties is supported by other research which has shown that highly committed group members, stress the homogeneity of the ingroup, when they perceive their ingroup as being under threat. In addition, in these situations group members will display even greater affiliation and will emphasize the group's cohesiveness even when there is no hope of improving perceptions of the group's status. (Ellemers et al., 2002).

Factor A is also characterized by a sense of knowing who they are. There is no uncertainty in terms of what is most important to them. This is evidenced by the fact that they are not afraid of publicly showing off their Muslim identity and they experience no conflict in managing their Muslim religious identity with their other identities. In fact, they believe that there are no differences between Muslims of different races. Their Muslim religious identity is their primary identity and even family role identities cannot come before this. In trying to understand this strong wave of identification with their Muslim identity, one needs to acknowledge that the current social representations of Muslims as threatening, violent and terrorists have created a great deal of uncertainty. According to the social identity perspective, group identification is a very effective resolution of self-uncertainty. Self-categorization provides people with a shared identity that prescribes how one should behave, think and act. Identification with groups reduces uncertainty because the self is governed by a prototype that individuals follow (Hogg et al., 2004). Cohesive groups with high entitativity that have clear boundaries, internal homogeneity, social interaction, common goals and a common fate are very effective at

uncertainty reduction. Many religions, including Islam have these properties. Thus, whilst all groups provide belief systems, religious groups go a step further by addressing the nature of existence, invoking sacred rituals and ceremonies and also provide moral direction and rules for how a person should lead their lives. This is what makes them anchors in times of uncertainty (Hogg et al., 2009).

5.2 Factor B: Muslim Identity under Threat

In this account of identity, one's Muslimness is inextricably tied to global events and the negative portrayal of Muslims in the media. These negative social representations of Muslims have become part of the social reality for Factor B respondents. Social identity research has indicated that the impact of social groups on the way that people perceive themselves cannot be fully understood unless one takes into consideration the broader social context in which they function (Ellemers et al., 2002). Factor B demonstrates that being Muslim is inextricably tied to the way that one views oneself and therefore the negative images of Muslims which is believed to be undignified, strike at the heart of the individual's self-concept. According to the social identity perspective, the behaviours and attributes of other group members have implications for the self and people may experience positive and negative feelings as a result of their social identity. Lickel, Schmader, Curtis, Scarnier and Ames (2005) spoke of a 'shared identity' which referred to the degree to which a social association is perceived to reflect a deep and immutable aspect of identity that is common to two or more people and is often used by social

perceivers to make causal inferences about their behaviour. Perceptions of a shared social identity are a source of self-identification and esteem, and individuals are motivated to maintain a positive reputation of their social identities and do not want negative stereotypes about their group confirmed (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Groups based on religion often have high levels of shared identity, which can be potentially problematic for minority religious groups such as Muslims in South Africa. Arndt and colleagues (2002) posited that the burden of negative information is a particular problem for stigmatized and minority groups, because of the tendency for others to believe that the negative behaviour of one individual represents the underlying tendencies of the group as a whole.

Perhaps, in reaction to this, the account of Muslimness given by Factor B demonstrates a struggle between the need to get closer to their fellow Muslims with a need to be seen as a little distinct from other Muslims. This is similar to Brewer's (2001) conceptualization of the needs for distinctiveness and assimilation. Factor B acknowledges that global events have made Muslims unite to form a common identity. Roccas and Brewer (2002) contended that when an identity is threatened, the salience of that ingroup is raised relative to other ingroups that one may belong to, with the result that the threatened ingroup identity may temporarily dominate and memberships in other groups become less important. This would probably be one of the reasons that Factor B seeks reassurance through the strengthening of bonds with other Muslims.

Other research has shown that one of the coping responses of group members who have low commitment to the group and who learn negative information about their group, is to emphasize the heterogeneity within the group, which may assist in giving the perception that the undesirable features of the group does not apply to their individual self and that they are different from other group members (Cameron et al., 2005; Ellemers et al., 2002). Furthermore, for more committed individuals, Hornsey and Jetten (2004) contend that there are a number of the strategies that an individual can utilize to balance the need to belong versus the need to be different. One of these strategies which seems to be relevant to Factor B is that an individual can tailor their self-perception such that he or she sees themselves as loyal but not conformist. These researchers posit that ordinary people view loyalty and conformity as separate constructs. Loyalty might require that individuals place the interests of the group ahead of their self-interest however, unlike conformity it does not require that people deny their own personal values. Thus by seeing oneself as loyal but non-conformist, group members can manage their needs to feel included and differentiated.

5.3. Factor C – Gender Value Differences

Factor C's interpretation of their Muslimness is that of a chosen identity that takes precedence over any other social identities including ethnic identities and the South African identity. This finding is not unique to South African Muslims. The Pew Project (2006; cited in Verkuten, 2007) found that in the United Kingdom and Germany, the majority of Muslims consider themselves primarily as Muslims rather than as nationals of

that country. In their social identity complexity model, Roccas and Brewer (2002) posited that groups vary in terms of the amount of overlap that they share with other groups. Some groups are completely nested within other groups, some are mutually exclusive and some are partially overlapping. These researchers contend that in times of uncertainty identity representations should become less inclusive and less complex. Thus the cognitive representation of Muslim identity that is implied by Factor C more closely relates to Roccas and Brewer's description of a *dominance* identity, which involves the adoption of one primary group identification to which all other potential identities are subordinated. The current rise in Islamophobia is considered as a credible source of threat to the Muslim identity (Tayob, 2002), which could be the reason for the inhibition of the integration of new identities, and the dominance of the Muslim identity.

Factor's C account of Muslim identity is integrally tied to what does being Muslim mean to a female. Interestingly, whilst male dominated accounts of Muslim identity, that is Factors B and D, feel that women have more progressive rights, the mostly female Factor C account does not feel that this is so. Furthermore, whilst the male dominated factors advocate for the separation of the sexes, this factor does not agree with gender segregation. Additionally, this factor believes that the rights of women are suppressed when Islam is interpreted by chauvinistic males. This finding parallels those by Haddad (2008) which demonstrated that men and women do not share the same beliefs when it comes to societal norms of gender roles. This has a lot to do with the traditional view of gender roles within Islam. Men feel that women have many rights within Islam that are more important than equality, such as the right to financial support by husband.

Therefore, women's roles as wives and mothers are valued and women are seen as primarily responsible for maintaining the household and raising their children, not in the workplace competing with men. Wadud (2000) posited that this traditional view of men and women parallels the original community founded by the Prophet at Madinah, which was based on some tenets of the Quran (as cited in Haddad, 2008). Thus Haddad contends that in a bid to preserve Muslim identity and practice, Muslims could go back to this literal interpretation of the Madinah as they see Islam being eroded by Western ways.

5.4 Factor D: Integrating Multiple Identities

This is a more conservative interpretation of Muslim social identity that is not embedded in religion. This account of Muslim identity alludes to a struggle between balancing the dictates of one's religious identity with that of one's racial identity. Furthermore, respondents who loaded onto this factor believe that it is more important to be a good person than a conventional Muslim and they demonstrate a strong desire for them to fit in with the broader society. Brewer (2002) found that participants increased identification with distinctive groups when their sense of distinctiveness was threatened and with inclusive groups when their sense of belonging had been threatened (as cited in Vignoles & Moncaster, 2007). One can argue that Factor D's need for belonging is greater than their need for distinctiveness, such that they are looking for a more inclusive identification which gives rise to their desire to assimilate into the broader society.

Factor D believes that Muslims are discriminated against in South Africa and they find that they have to defend their religion when they are with non-Muslims. According to self-categorisation theory, identification with an ingroup makes the group a central part of one's self concept (Turner et al., 2004), and the centrality of a group's membership is demonstrated in the chronic salience as well as the subjective importance that people invest in their group membership (Cameron, 2004). Thus the more central an identity, the more likely it is that an individual will be sensitive to events that affect the ingroup. Thus, Leach and colleagues (2008) argue that the more central the ingroup, the more likely are people to defend their group from threat, and in this case, from negative social representations. Factor D endorsed the view that Muslim children should go to Muslim schools. This seems to be at odds with the need to be more integrated. One could hypothesize that this desire could be driven by a need to protect their children from any negativity towards Muslims. Overall, this finding is not surprising as Vahed (2000) found that the Indian Muslim community was becoming increasingly more orthodox in their views, with an increasing number electing to move their children from secular to Muslim schools and wanting their children to have only Muslim friends.

Factor D was also exemplified by the belief that there are no ethnic differences between Muslims. On one hand, these findings of ethnic solidarity are somewhat surprising as historically, there have been divisions between Black Muslims and Indian Muslims in South Africa (Sitoto, 2003). However, Peek (2005) posited that a Muslim religious identity may be the umbrella that unites conflicting ethnic identities. This will only be true if the religious and ethnic identity is compatible. Furthermore, the concept of the

Ummah discourages divisions based on ethnicity or nationality, advocating that all Muslims belong to one social category (Hopkins & Kahani-Hopkins, 2006).

5.5. In Summary

This study enabled each individual to voice his or her own interpretation of what it means to be a Muslim in South Africa. The methodology was chosen to ensure that the voice of the respondent came through, without forcing a priori interpretations or meaning on to them. The findings highlighted the complexity of meaning inherent in each of the dominant interpretations of Muslim social identity amongst the sample of people interviewed in this study.

In sum, four main accounts of Muslim identity emerged in this study. The first account (Factor A) was an overarching identification with one's Muslim identity that excluded any other identity from being more salient. Furthermore this account of Muslim identity was anchored in Islam to the extent that Islamic tenets were the foundation by which this account lived their lives. The second account of Muslim identity (factor B) was shadowed by the negative representations of Muslims that have accompanied global events.

Perhaps, because of this, Factor B was facing a tension between their need to belong to their Muslim group, and also a need to be seen as a little distinct from other Muslims.

The third account of Muslim identity (Factor C) alluded to value differences among men women in terms of their interpretation of women's rights and a woman's role within Islam. A comparison of this female dominant account with the male accounts of identity indicated that men believed that women were given many rights within Islam; however

women did not feel that this was so. Finally, the last account of Muslim identity (Factor D) brought forth a more conservative mainstream view of identity that was not anchored in religion. Furthermore, this account of identity pointed to a struggle to balance the dictates of one's religion with that of other identities. Perhaps, for this reason, this factor preferred to lead a good life rather than be a conventional Muslim.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

In this chapter, it is argued that a more complete understanding of Muslim social identity requires an approach to research that is able to advance from merely identifying social-psychological group processes to one which is able to discover meaning and interpretations of Muslim group identity. Looking back, the framework of the social identity approach was useful in anchoring this study and contributed to our understandings of personal and cognitive understandings of group identity. Furthermore, the Social Representations framework allowed us to understand how negative social representations can create possible identities that give a particular nuance to the interpretation specific identities. The use of Q methodology allowed the respondents to describe their social reality in their own terms without imposing any a priori definitions onto them.

The aim of this closing chapter is to evaluate the present study by highlighting its strengths and limitations. It will also provide recommendations for possible future research around Muslim social identity.

6.1. Strengths of the Study

From a methodological point of view, the strengths of the study were that:

Participants were allowed to create their own interpretations of what it means to be a Muslim. All the questions that went into the Q sort came directly out of the interviews as

well as all the communicability that surrounds being a Muslim. In this way, the researcher is satisfied that the voices of the respondents were allowed to emerge. There were no statements added to the Q sort that reflected the researcher's views. In this way, any potential biases were limited. In addition, the Q sort was subjected to scrutinization and piloting before the final study ensuring the content and face validity of the items chosen.

In addition, the Q sort process allowed individuals to reflect on their own understandings of what it means to be a Muslim, as they contemplated which statements they most agreed with and disagreed with. This reflection would not have been possible if a standard questionnaire was used. Therefore, this researcher believes that the responses received were true reflections of the respondent's views rather than being spurious responses.

The further advantage of this qualiquantological study was that its qualitative/quantitative nature provided the researcher with more flexibility and richer data for analysis. The quantitative nature of the analysis allowed for a degree of empiricism that would have been absent had this been a purely qualitative study and the post interview comments around the most distinguishing statements proved invaluable in interpretation. This would not have been possible in a purely quantitative study.

Another advantage is that due to the fact, that the researcher was on hand to oversee the sorting process, any confusion as to the way that a specific individual has sorted the statements, was dealt with immediately.

6.2. Limitations of the Study

Firstly, the interpretations of Muslim identity as indicated in this study are not the only meanings that could exist. They are just assumed to be a sub-set of all the possible statements that may apply to the topic at hand, and the sample was assumed to be just a subset of the population. Therefore, this study does not claim generalisability.

A further limitation of this research was that it was conducted predominantly with Indians and Coloured Muslims. It would have been interesting to have more Black Muslims in the study to understand whether their interpretation of what it means to be a Muslim is substantially different to the accounts in this study.

One could argue that the findings are informed by my own subjective lens, which includes my own values, biases and experiences. However, I have attempted to remain faithful to the participants' interpretations and meanings and in doing so hope that I have ensured that the results and interpretation are at least reliable.

Some further limitations that are related to the methodology need to be elaborated on. Firstly, the presence of the researcher during the sorting interview may have been a confounding influence. Whilst it had the advantage of ensuring that the researcher was on hand to answer any queries, it may have pressurized the respondents to complete the Q sort as "accurately" as possible. Secondly, it could be argued that Q sorts are relatively difficult to grasp and it is a time consuming task; one which is very unusual when

compared to normal scales and measurements. It could be that this affected the respondents in some way, however, no complaints were made and the participants completed the task with relative ease. A further limitation is that generating Q statements for the concourse is a very time-consuming process and it is always up to the researcher's discretion in terms of when to stop. Thus, it could be possible that some important representations were omitted. Finally, whilst every effort was made to minimize any bias from entering into the study, it is impossible to say with total certainty that NO bias entered the process.

6.3. Recommendations for future research

A Q methodological study reveals different viewpoints on an issue, but does not quantify how widely held these viewpoints are in a population. Thus to measure the perspectives of a population, a survey technique would need to be used. However, the outputs of a Q study would be very beneficial in shedding light into exactly what attributes need to be a measured, as a purely quantitative survey without some sort of exploratory research, could miss out on some important attributes that need to be measured.

From the relevant literature, there appears to be little research on Muslim social identity in South Africa. Thus, it is recommended that more needs to be done in the area of minority social identity research in South Africa, as well as Muslim social identity. This was purely an exploratory study and its most useful contribution, I would argue, is the implication that there may be interplay between the extent and meaning of group identity.

However, more in-depth and representative studies are needed to ensure that we arrive at a fuller, deeper understanding of what it means to be a Muslim.

Finally, to this researcher's knowledge, there has been no research to date that has explored how the events of 9-11 and other world events have affected Muslims in South Africa. The illuminating finding in this study was that Muslims as a social group do not recognize boundaries related to race, nationality etcetera. A Muslim is a Muslim. Thus, negative representations of Muslims outside of South Africa are being imposed on Muslim identity interpretations in South Africa. Therefore, the final implication of this research is that more research in this area is needed.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Final Concourse Statements

Negotiating many identities

1. It is more important for others to acknowledge me as a South African first rather than as a Muslim
2. I am a Muslim first and foremost
3. Cultural and ethnic traditions and customs should be rejected in the drive for Islamic authenticity
4. All Muslims should follow a “purified” Islam and reject customary rituals that reflect the cultural experiences of our forebears
5. I would be tolerant and understanding if I found out that a member of my family was marrying someone of a different religion
6. I am still negotiating the importance of my religious identity with that of my other identities, such as being South African, Indian, White, Coloured
7. I am ambiguous about who I am

Conflict between ethnicity and religion

8. I am a person who feels strong ties to my ethnic group
9. I prefer to stay in a neighbourhood made up mostly of people who share my religious/ethnic background
10. There are a number of things within my ethnic group that impedes me being Muslim
11. My ethnic culture affects my interpretation of what it means to be Muslim
12. I feel a common bond with other people of the same race as me, even if they are not Muslim
13. There are important differences between Black Muslims, Indian Muslims and Coloured Muslims
14. I would be tolerant and understanding if I found out that a member of my family was marrying someone of a different race
15. Part of the confusion around Muslim ways stems from what is the Indian or Malay way rather than what is the Muslim way
16. It is sometimes difficult to balance the demands of being Muslim with the demands of being Indian/White/Coloured etc

Relationships and Family

17. I am Muslim because my parents were Muslim and I was born into it
18. Muslims should realize that the answers to their problems lie within their own faith and community rather than in the outside world
19. A woman’s beauty is for her family members only
20. A lot of problems in society would go away if people spent more time building solid relationships with their family
21. I look to my family to guide my actions

22. My sense of who I am is driven by my family background and relationships
23. Social responsibility begins with the family
24. Being a mother, father, brother, sister, daughter or son is more important than being a Muslim or anything else
25. A man needs to satisfy the needs of his wife first and foremost before he does anything else
26. My family is more important to me than anything else

Stereotypes, stigma and suspicion

27. There's always the possibility that at the end of the day , Muslims in South Africa are going to be singled out
28. Global events, including 9-11 have created a need amongst Muslims to unite and have a common identity
29. The media has shaped the Muslim image as angry, violent and fundamentalist
30. Since 9-11, Muslims have been unfairly forced to choose between two exaggerated identities, a peace-loving Muslim who supports the West or a violent Muslim that has declared Jihad on the world
31. The Media has been instrumental in creating an image of the Muslim terrorist which has added to the climate of Islamaphobia, and tarnishes the integrity and dignity of Muslims
32. The events of 9-11 has made Muslims look more inward
33. I worry about the negative images of Muslims that are being portrayed in the media
34. I find that I have defend my religion when I am with non-Muslims

The importance of religion

35. Customs give people structure and routine and festivals allow you to reflect about yourself as part of a larger community
36. In the absence of religion, we would lead very insular lives
37. I find that I, continually, have to defend my religious identity
38. Muslims should live their lives with constant reference to Islam and its principles
39. It is important that Muslims read the Quran more, in order to defend their faith against suspicion and misunderstanding
40. Islam is not just a religion but a way of life that is set out in the Quran to make you a worthy human being
41. I am more spiritual than religious
42. I am Muslim because I believe that there is only one God Allah and that Mohammed is his messenger
43. Driven by 9-11 and the need to defend my religion, I have started to read the Quran more, to understand myself better and why we do the things we do
44. I feel strongly against people who call themselves Muslim but who donot follow the dictates of Islam

Distinctiveness

- 45. Muslims are different but not special or unique
- 46. Muslims are incorrectly perceived by non-Muslims as being homogenous ie. Alike in their thinking and behaviour
- 47. The Muslim community faces the same issues as every other community (e.g. drug addiction, alcohol, gambling etc)
- 48. It is important for Muslims to live separate lives from non-Muslims
- 49. Muslims are different from non-Muslims in that they behave differently, have different values, different beliefs etc.
- 50. All religions may have a moral basis but Islam has the best principles and rules for implementing it
- 51. It is important that Muslim children socialize with other Muslim children who share their beliefs
- 52. There should be separate schools for Muslim children so that they can be taught Islamic values

Desire to fit in

- 53. Muslims should make a conscious effort to assimilate themselves into the South African way of doing things
- 54. It is important that Muslims rise above differences based on language, race and culture and replace these with a more homogenous community of souls
- 55. Muslims are essentially the same as everyone else
- 56. It is better for a country if different racial and ethnic groups adopt and blend into a larger society

Balance

- 57. It is more important to do larger things for God, like being kind and respectful and to hurt nobody, than to be conventional (such as wear a headscarf)
- 58. I believe that is important that Muslims have names that reflect their Arabic roots but that is also modern
- 59. I struggle to balance the ways of Islam and ways of the world
- 60. I have to make constant compromises between wanting to live a good Muslim live but having to work in a Haram environment
- 61. There should be no grey area. All Muslims should live by the teachings in the Quran
- 62. I prefer to be seen as a modern Muslim rather than as a conservative, traditional Muslim

Women and Equality

- 63. The courts should extend the same rights to Muslim women as those enjoyed by women married in terms of the Marriage Act and customary laws
- 64. Muslim marriage should have legal recognition and women and children should have the right to inheritance
- 65. Women are oppressed, but that is culturally, rather than religiously driven
- 66. The rights of Muslim women are only suppressed when Islam is interpreted and enforced by chauvinist men
- 67. Islam gives women more progressive rights than those of Western women and they provide for, and protect the needs of women
- 68. Women have the same capabilities and deserve the same fundamental rights as men
- 69. the hijab is an expression of one's devotion to her faith
- 70. the hijab allows women to interact freely in a man's world and gives her more power
- 71. The hijab restricts a woman's freedom
- 72. Both men and women should dress in ways that are modest and dignified
- 73. A woman, whether single or married is an individual in her own right, with the right own and dispose of her property and earnings
- 74. Covering one's head is liberating in the sense that you are admired for your mind rather than for your body or looks
- 75. Women should protect their modesty at all times
- 76. Men and women should be kept separate so that there is no temptation for adultery et

Collectiveness vs. individuality

- 77. I donot fit in well with other Muslims
- 78. I prefer to spend my free time with other Muslims
- 79. I look to other Muslims to determine what is right and wrong
- 80. I feel a common bond with other Muslims regardless of their race
- 81. Being a Muslim is an important reflection of who I am
- 82. The success of Muslims as a group is more important than my own personal success
- 83. Overall, being a Muslim has very little to do with how I feel about myself
- 84. In general, belonging to the Muslim community is an important part of my self-image
- 85. It is easier to be in social settings with other Muslims as you can more easily identify with other Muslims
- 86. I believe that communal thinking has its benefits

Tolerance

- 87. Discrimination against Muslims is not a problem in South Africa
- 88. In the past, Muslims have been given less than they deserved

- 89. I can easily accept the differences between members of my religious community and members of other religious communities
- 90. It is better to lead a good life rather than a religious life
- 91. It is easier to be Muslim in some areas of the country than other areas of the country
- 92. Children should be tolerant of all religions and should be allowed to make up their own minds when they are old enough
- 93. I am worried when I travel that my appearance or name will be viewed with suspicion
- 94. South Africa is a good place to be, because it is accepting of different religions
- 95. I am afraid of wearing traditional Muslim clothes in public, because of what people may think

Appendix 2: Final Structured Q set

Negotiating many identities

1. I am a South African first and foremost
2. I am a Muslim first and foremost
3. All Muslims should follow a “purified” Islam and reject customary rituals that reflect the cultural experiences of our forebears
4. I would be tolerant and understanding if I found out that a member of my family was marrying someone of a different religion
5. I am still negotiating my religious identity with that of my other identities, such as being South African, Indian, White, Coloured

Conflict between ethnicity and religion

6. I prefer to stay in a neighbourhood made up mostly of people who share my religious/ethnic background
7. There are a number of things within my ethnic group that impedes me being Muslim
8. There are important differences between Black Muslims, Indian Muslims and Coloured Muslims
9. It is sometimes difficult to balance the demands of being Muslim with the demands of being Indian/White/Coloured etc

Relationships and Family

10. I am Muslim because my parents were Muslim and I was born into it
11. A woman’s beauty is for her family members only
12. A lot of problems in society would go away if people spent more time building solid relationships with their family
13. Being a mother, father, brother, sister, daughter or son is more important than being a Muslim or anything else
14. A man needs to satisfy the needs of his wife first and foremost before he does anything else

Stereotypes, stigma and suspicion

15. Global events, including 9-11 have created a need amongst Muslims to unite and have a common identity
16. The Media has been instrumental in creating an image of the Muslim terrorist which has added to the climate of Islamaphobia, and tarnishes the integrity and dignity of Muslims
17. Global events have made Muslims question their identity
18. I worry about the negative images of Muslims that are being portrayed in the media

19. I find that I have defend my religion when I am with non-Muslims

The importance of religion

- 20. Customs give people structure, routine and festivals which allow you to reflect about yourself as part of a larger community
- 21. Muslims should live their lives with constant reference to Islam and its principles
- 22. Islam is not just a religion but a way of life
- 23. I am Muslim because I believe that there is only one God Allah and that Mohammed is his messenger
- 24. I feel strongly against people who call themselves Muslim but who do not follow the dictates of Islam

Distinctiveness

- 25. Muslims are different but not special or unique
- 26. Muslims are incorrectly perceived by non-Muslims as being homogenous ie. Alike in their thinking and behaviour
- 27. The Muslim community faces the same issues as every other community (e.g. drug addiction, alcohol, gambling etc)
- 28. It is important for Muslims to live separate lives from non-Muslims
- 29. Muslims are different from non-Muslims in that they behave differently, have different values, different beliefs etc.
- 30. It is important that Muslim children socialize with other Muslim children who share their beliefs
- 31. Muslim children should go to Muslim school so that they can be taught Islamic values

Desire to fit in

- 32. It is important that Muslims rise above differences based on language, race and culture and replace these with a more homogenous community of souls
- 33. It is better for a country if different religious, racial and ethnic groups adapt and blend into a larger society

Balance

- 34. It is more important to do larger things for God, like being kind and respectful and to hurt nobody, than to be conventional (such as wear a headscarf)
- 35. I believe that is important that Muslims have names that reflect their Arabic roots but that is also modern
- 36. I struggle to balance the ways of Islam and ways of the world
- 37. I have to make constant compromises between wanting to live a good Muslim life but having to work in a non-Muslim environment
- 38. There should be no grey area. All Muslims should live by the teachings in the Quran

39. I prefer to be seen as a modern Muslim rather than as a conservative, traditional Muslim

Women and Equality

40. Women are oppressed, but that is culturally, rather than religiously driven
41. The rights of Muslim women are only suppressed when Islam is interpreted and enforced by chauvinist men
42. Islam gives women more progressive rights than those of Western women and they provide for, and protect the needs of women
43. Women have the same capabilities and deserve the same fundamental rights as men
44. The hijab allows women to interact freely in a man's world and gives her more power
45. The hijab restricts a woman's freedom
46. Men and women should be kept separate so that there is no temptation for adultery etc.

Collectiveness vs. individuality

47. I donot fit in well with other Muslims
48. I look to other Muslims to determine what is right and wrong
49. Being a Muslim is an important reflection of who I am
50. The success of Muslims as a group is more important than my own personal success
51. Overall, being a Muslim has very little to do with how I feel about myself
52. It is easier to be in social settings with other Muslims as you can more easily identify with other Muslims
53. I feel proud of being Muslim
54. I feel that I sometimes have to hide my Muslim identity
55. I think the same as most other Muslims about the important things in life
56. I see myself as a "typical" Muslim

Tolerance

57. I can easily accept the differences between members of my religious community and members of other religious communities
58. I am worried when I travel that my appearance or name will be viewed with suspicion
59. South Africa is a good place to be, because it is accepting of different religions and Muslims donot face discrimination here
60. I am afraid of wearing traditional Muslim clothes in public, because of what people may think

APPENDIX 3: The Complete List of Q Statement Cards

Please note that the Q statements were randomly numbered so that no bias would enter the sorting procedure. As such, the numbers on each statement do not correspond with the numbers of the statements in the theme in Appendix 3.

1

I am a South African first and foremost

19

I am still negotiating my religious identity with that of my other identities, such as being South African, Indian, White, Coloured etc

13

I am a Muslim first and foremost

49

I prefer to stay in a neighbourhood made up mostly of people who share my ethnic background

43

All Muslims should follow a “purified” Islam and reject customary rituals that reflect the cultural experiences of our forebears

37

There are a number of things within my ethnic group that impedes me being Muslim

36

I am Muslim because my parents were Muslim and I was born into it

53

There are important differences between Black Muslims, Indian Muslims and Coloured Muslims

30

I would be supportive if I found out that a member of my family was marrying someone of a different religion

12

It is sometimes difficult to balance the demands of being Muslim with the demands of being Indian/White/Coloured etc

2

A woman's beauty is for her family members only

20

The Media has been instrumental in creating an image of the Muslim terrorist which has added to the climate of Islamaphobia, and tarnishes the integrity and dignity of Muslims

14

A lot of problems in society would go away if people spent more time building solid relationships with their family

54

Global events have made Muslims question their identity

44

Being a mother, father, brother, sister, daughter or son is more important than being a Muslim or anything else

38

I worry about the negative images of Muslims that are being portrayed in the media

35

A man needs to satisfy the needs of his wife first and foremost before he does anything else

59

I find that I have to defend my religion when I am with non-Muslims

29

Global events, including 9-11 have created a need amongst Muslims to unite and have a common identity

11

Customs give people structure and routine which allow you to reflect about yourself as part of a larger community

3

Muslims should live their lives with constant reference to Islam and its principles

21

Muslims are incorrectly perceived by non-Muslims as being all alike in their thinking and behaviour

15

Islam is not just a religion but a way of life

55

The Muslim community faces the same issues as every other community (e.g. drug addiction, alcohol, gambling etc)

45

I am Muslim because I believe that there is only one God, Allah, and that Mohammed is his messenger

39

It is important for Muslims to live separate lives from non-Muslims

34

I feel strongly against people who call themselves Muslim but who do not follow the dictates of Islam

50

Muslims are different from non-Muslims in that they behave differently, have different values, different beliefs etc

28

Muslims are different but not special or unique

10

It is important that Muslim children socialize with other Muslim children who share their beliefs

4

Muslim children should go to Muslim school so that they can be taught Islamic values

22

I struggle to balance the ways of Islam with the ways of the world

16

It is important that Muslims rise above differences based on language, race and culture and replace these with a more homogenous community of souls

56

I have to make constant compromises between wanting to live a good Muslim life but having to work in a non-Muslim environment

46

It is better for a country if different religious, racial and ethnic groups adapt and blend into a larger society

40

There should be no grey area. All Muslims should live by the teachings in the Quran

33

It is more important to do larger things for God, like being kind and respectful and to hurt nobody, than to be conventional (such as wear a headscarf)

58

I prefer to be seen as a modern Muslim rather than as a conservative, traditional Muslim

27

I believe that it is important that Muslims have names that reflect their Arabic roots but that is also modern

9

Women are oppressed, but that is culturally, rather than religiously driven

5

The rights of Muslim women are only suppressed when Islam is interpreted and enforced by chauvinist men

23

Men and women should be kept separate so that there is no temptation for adultery

17

Islam gives women more progressive rights than those of Western women

47

I do not fit in well with other Muslims

60

Women have the same capabilities and deserve the same fundamental rights as men

41

I look to other Muslims to determine what is right and wrong

32

The hijab allows women to interact freely in a man's world and gives her more power

51

Being a Muslim is an important reflection of who I am

26

The hijab restricts a woman's freedom

8

The success of Muslims as a group is more important than my own personal success

6

Overall, being a Muslim has very little to do with how I feel about myself

24

I see myself as a “typical” Muslim

18

It is easier to be in social settings with other Muslims as you can more easily identify with other Muslims

48

I am worried that when I travel, my appearance or name will be viewed with suspicion

52

I feel proud of being Muslim

42

I can easily accept the differences between members of my religious community and members of other religious communities

31

I feel that I sometimes have to hide my Muslim identity

57

South Africa is a good place to be, because Muslims do not face discrimination here

25

I think the same as most other Muslims about the important things in life

7

I am afraid of wearing traditional Muslim clothes in public, because of what people may think

Appendix 4: Structured Cover Questionnaire

Thank you for your participation in this study. All answers will be held in strictest confidence and you will remain anonymous.

Respondent Name: _____

Please complete the following demographic information:

1. Age:

2. Gender:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Female
<input type="checkbox"/>	Male

3. Ethnicity:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Black
<input type="checkbox"/>	Col/Malay
<input type="checkbox"/>	Indian
<input type="checkbox"/>	White
<input type="checkbox"/>	Mixed Parentage

4. Relationship Status:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Single
<input type="checkbox"/>	Married
<input type="checkbox"/>	Divorced
<input type="checkbox"/>	Separated
<input type="checkbox"/>	Living with partner
<input type="checkbox"/>	In relationship but not living with partner

5. Residential Area:

<input type="text"/>

6. Highest Education attained:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Primary school
<input type="checkbox"/>	High School
<input type="checkbox"/>	Technical diploma
<input type="checkbox"/>	Degree

7. Please tick one of the following descriptions as it applies to you

<input type="checkbox"/>	Traditional
<input type="checkbox"/>	Conservative
<input type="checkbox"/>	Modern

Appendix 6: Correlation Matrix between sorts

SORTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
1 R1MODFEM	100	15	21	16	44	24	72	55	34	43	22	29	40	42	21	62	59	46	41	66	17	38	29	43	54	67	43	58	34	57
2 R2CONFEM	15	100	15	38	14	38	17	8	-10	-1	28	-7	14	-8	-4	12	35	32	5	7	10	6	32	16	15	18	11	11	17	7
3 R3CONMAL	21	15	100	19	27	28	29	15	-15	21	27	2	19	22	-4	30	28	35	31	33	0	18	16	20	26	29	38	35	26	26
4 R4CONMAL	16	38	19	100	23	38	18	19	0	12	22	16	20	8	22	31	33	21	21	10	14	14	14	30	24	17	20	25	22	13
5 R5TRAMAL	44	14	27	23	100	30	55	45	41	46	30	41	98	39	45	51	48	47	48	52	19	40	35	44	49	44	48	61	43	68
6 R7CONFEM	24	38	28	38	30	100	30	22	4	26	65	15	29	16	16	30	31	31	19	20	21	38	23	35	15	35	36	25	29	27
7 R8MODFEM	72	17	29	18	55	30	100	71	33	42	40	39	49	40	31	70	75	62	54	72	27	53	51	50	56	75	54	73	57	66
8 R9MODMAL	55	8	15	19	45	22	71	100	26	49	22	35	41	34	34	74	59	46	54	69	20	36	32	44	72	61	53	65	48	54
9 R10TRMAL	34	-10	-15	0	41	4	33	26	100	41	-12	52	42	39	42	33	33	24	20	26	20	28	20	20	32	13	8	31	18	46
10 R12MODMA	43	-1	21	12	46	26	42	49	41	100	20	33	45	44	26	60	43	42	52	54	28	34	22	35	45	43	38	51	42	61
11 R13CONFEM	22	28	27	22	30	65	40	22	-12	20	100	16	29	19	9	28	41	40	14	27	14	40	24	44	27	44	26	36	37	28
12 R14TRMAL	29	-7	2	16	41	15	39	35	52	33	16	100	43	43	48	42	37	24	23	31	26	26	18	26	37	24	23	41	18	40
13 R15TRMAL	40	14	19	20	98	29	49	41	42	45	29	43	100	40	50	45	44	43	43	49	16	37	35	40	44	38	42	57	38	69
14 R16MODMA	42	-8	22	8	39	16	40	34	39	44	19	43	40	100	19	49	46	35	39	45	18	29	32	29	41	40	24	46	40	53
15 R17CONMA	21	-4	-4	22	45	16	31	34	42	26	9	48	50	19	100	30	20	11	13	23	24	15	8	6	19	18	8	27	22	44
16 R18TRAMA	62	12	30	31	51	30	70	74	33	60	28	42	45	49	30	100	69	59	60	73	37	30	28	46	77	66	60	76	67	69
17 R19MODMA	59	35	28	33	48	31	75	59	33	43	41	37	44	46	20	69	100	81	56	57	18	49	46	54	61	67	47	68	49	56
18 R20MODMA	46	32	35	21	47	31	62	46	24	42	40	24	43	35	11	59	81	100	39	52	19	53	42	55	50	60	48	60	46	49
19 R21MODFE	41	5	31	21	48	19	54	54	20	52	14	23	43	39	13	60	56	39	100	48	-1	20	29	34	48	47	53	56	48	52
20 R22TRMAL	66	7	33	10	52	20	72	69	26	54	27	31	49	45	23	73	57	52	48	100	25	27	28	35	70	63	52	78	56	73
21 R23CONMA	17	10	0	14	19	21	27	20	20	28	14	26	16	18	24	37	18	19	-1	25	100	20	23	22	27	22	13	25	15	38
22 R24MODFE	38	6	18	14	40	38	53	36	28	34	40	26	37	29	15	30	49	53	20	27	20	100	49	72	24	46	40	32	30	33
23 R25MODFE	29	32	16	14	35	23	51	32	20	22	24	18	35	32	8	28	46	42	29	28	23	49	100	48	25	34	47	20	26	37
24 R26MODMA	43	16	20	30	44	35	50	44	20	35	44	26	40	29	6	46	54	55	34	35	22	72	48	100	47	52	50	38	26	34
25 R27TRAFE	54	15	26	24	49	15	56	72	32	45	27	37	44	41	19	77	61	50	48	70	27	24	25	47	100	52	53	81	49	63
26 R28MODMA	67	18	29	17	44	35	75	61	13	43	44	24	38	40	18	66	67	60	47	63	22	46	34	52	52	100	44	65	56	48
27 R29MODFE	43	11	38	20	48	36	54	53	8	38	26	23	42	24	8	60	47	48	53	52	13	40	47	50	53	44	100	54	32	52
28 R30TRAMA	58	11	35	25	61	25	73	65	31	51	36	41	57	46	27	76	68	60	56	78	25	32	20	38	81	65	54	100	62	74
29 R31CONFEM	34	17	26	22	43	29	57	48	18	42	37	18	38	40	22	67	49	46	48	56	15	30	26	26	49	56	32	62	100	51
30 R32CONMA	57	7	26	13	68	27	66	54	46	61	28	40	69	53	44	69	56	49	52	73	38	33	37	34	63	48	52	74	51	100
31 R33MODMA	44	-6	26	36	50	20	58	44	33	40	30	62	47	67	29	60	54	38	34	52	38	42	35	38	51	48	31	59	50	58
32 R34CONMA	71	13	19	20	54	18	71	74	32	55	24	41	50	52	24	75	72	49	63	72	17	35	31	44	62	74	54	71	51	61
33 R36TRAMA	30	9	12	37	6	14	23	20	2	6	21	7	2	-10	5	19	35	22	4	16	11	19	26	36	28	22	23	18	3	13
34 R37MODFE	57	9	33	20	47	34	57	51	23	27	27	36	42	34	23	56	47	40	41	46	33	44	30	49	48	55	47	53	33	50
35 R38MODFE	60	5	41	10	45	21	62	52	22	36	24	25	38	29	14	57	44	37	46	54	9	32	41	45	47	47	56	46	32	50
36 R39TRAMA	46	10	45	13	47	26	61	50	21	39	25	22	41	30	21	56	41	47	32	65	23	28	19	19	51	47	53	66	43	59
37 R40TRAMA	42	-18	5	12	33	23	49	48	39	58	30	34	30	34	15	55	41	29	35	56	22	31	3	20	55	34	25	60	53	50
38 R6MODMAL	32	24	14	25	79	30	43	35	44	52	29	38	82	41	43	45	40	37	44	47	35	30	39	41	44	28	37	51	41	65
39 R35CONMA	23	-15	19	19	36	22	43	38	36	34	9	47	33	36	37	48	33	22	27	26	60	23	15	11	34	28	32	40	21	52
40 R11MODMA	25	-18	22	-1	39	2	24	28	40	75	5	32	37	35	18	39	18	21	38	39	25	19	17	20	34	23	25	35	25	56

Appendix 6: Correlation Matrix between sorts continued...

SORTS	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1 R1MODFEM	44	71	30	57	60	46	42	32	23	25
2 R2CONFEM	-6	13	9	9	5	10	-18	24	-15	-18
3 R3CONMAL	26	19	12	33	41	45	5	14	19	22
4 R4CONMAL	36	20	37	20	10	13	12	25	19	-1
5 R5TRAMAL	50	54	6	47	45	47	33	79	36	39
6 R7CONFEM	20	18	14	34	21	26	23	30	22	2
7 R8MODFEM	58	71	23	57	62	61	49	43	43	24
8 R9MODMAL	44	74	20	51	52	50	48	35	38	28
9 R10TRMAL	33	32	2	23	22	21	39	44	36	40
10 R12MODMA	40	55	6	27	36	39	58	52	34	75
11 R13CONFEM	30	24	21	27	24	25	30	29	9	5
12 R14TRMAL	62	41	7	36	25	22	34	38	47	32
13 R15TRMAL	47	50	2	42	38	41	30	82	33	37
14 R16MODMA	67	52	-10	34	29	30	34	41	36	35
15 R17CONMA	29	24	5	23	14	21	15	43	37	18
16 R18TRAMA	60	75	19	56	57	56	55	45	48	39
17 R19MODMA	54	72	35	47	44	41	41	40	33	18
18 R20MODMA	38	49	22	40	37	47	29	37	22	21
19 R21MODFE	34	63	4	41	46	32	35	44	27	38
20 R22TRMAL	52	72	16	46	54	65	56	47	26	39
21 R23CONMA	38	17	11	33	9	23	22	35	60	25
22 R24MODFE	42	35	19	44	32	28	31	30	23	19
23 R25MODFE	35	31	26	30	41	19	3	39	15	17
24 R26MODMA	38	44	36	49	45	19	20	41	11	20
25 R27TRAFE	51	62	28	48	47	51	55	44	34	34
26 R28MODMA	48	74	22	55	47	47	34	28	28	23
27 R29MODFE	31	54	23	47	56	53	25	37	32	25
28 R30TRAMA	59	71	18	53	46	66	60	51	40	35
29 R31CONFEM	50	51	3	33	32	43	53	41	21	25
30 R32CONMA	58	61	13	50	50	59	50	65	52	56
31 R33MODMA	100	56	23	44	37	44	50	40	56	30
32 R34CONMA	56	100	16	53	51	47	43	37	35	35
33 R36TRAMA	23	16	100	49	25	22	15	-1	20	-5
34 R37MODFE	44	53	49	100	56	60	24	35	43	17
35 R38MODFE	37	51	25	56	100	56	35	33	12	37
36 R39TRAMA	44	47	22	60	56	100	40	34	38	28
37 R40TRAMA	50	43	15	24	35	40	100	32	31	37
38 R6MODMAL	40	37	-1	35	33	34	32	100	29	45
39 R35CONMA	56	35	20	43	12	38	31	29	100	29
40 R11MODMA	30	35	-5	17	37	28	37	45	29	100

Appendix 7: Individual Q Sort Loadings for each Factor

Factor Matrix with an X Indicating a Defining Sort				
Loadings				
QSORT	1	2	3	4
1 R1MODFEM	0.7086X	0.0327	0.2086	0.1945
2 R2CONFEM	-0.0033	0.0404	0.6443X	-0.2457
3 R3CONMAL	0.4053X	0.0402	0.2875	-0.1867
4 R4CONMAL	0.0613	-0.0510	0.5184X	0.2340
5 R5TRAMAL	0.3763	0.6785X	0.3761	0.2231
6 R7CONFEM	0.1120	0.1001	0.6758X	0.0902
7 R8MODFEM	0.7456X	0.1120	0.3543	0.2536
8 R9MODMAL	0.7480X	0.0853	0.1420	0.2370
9 R10TRMAL	0.1736	0.4436	-0.0867	0.5427X
10 R12MODMA	0.5376X	0.4821	0.0147	0.2230
11 R13CONFEM	0.2203	0.0474	0.6367X	0.0141
12 R14TRMAL	0.2103	0.2722	0.0696	0.6633X
13 R15TRMAL	0.2993	0.7354X	0.3578	0.2387
14 R16MODMA	0.4424	0.3454	0.0364	0.3192
15 R17CONMA	0.0284	0.4044	0.0975	0.5374X
16 R18TRAMA	0.8042X	0.1599	0.1797	0.3017
17 R19MODMA	0.6523X	0.0732	0.4771	0.1978
18 R20MODMA	0.5548X	0.1349	0.5058	0.0481
19 R21MODFE	0.6455X	0.3418	0.1120	-0.0534
20 R22TRMAL	0.8279X	0.2261	0.0768	0.1257
21 R23CONMA	0.0783	0.0292	0.1771	0.6288X
22 R24MODFE	0.2797	0.0957	0.5427X	0.2571
23 R25MODFE	0.2316	0.1694	0.5531X	0.0947
24 R26MODMA	0.3726	0.0624	0.6199X	0.1573
25 R27TRAFE	0.7401X	0.1297	0.1426	0.2414
26 R28MODMA	0.7245X	0.0032	0.3630	0.1060
27 R29MODFE	0.5985X	0.1349	0.3701	0.0049
28 R30TRAMA	0.7912X	0.2413	0.1762	0.2294
29 R31CONFEM	0.5949X	0.2534	0.2016	0.0490
30 R32CONMA	0.6110X	0.4942	0.1505	0.3564
31 R33MODMA	0.4795	0.1384	0.1969	0.5972X
32 R34CONMA	0.7953X	0.1751	0.1472	0.1952
33 R36TRAMA	0.2198	-0.4721	0.3754	0.3124
34 R37MODFE	0.5382X	-0.0720	0.3739	0.3734
35 R38MODFE	0.6631X	0.1133	0.2187	0.0204
36 R39TRAMA	0.6577X	0.0953	0.1576	0.1657
37 R40TRAMA	0.5788X	0.1624	-0.0970	0.3336
38 R6MODMAL	0.2296	0.7559X	0.3581	0.2432
39 R35CONMA	0.2590	0.0698	0.0493	0.7486X
40 R11MODMA	0.3749	0.5423X	-0.1766	0.1957
% expl.Var.	27	9	12	10

Appendix 8: Complete Factor Array

No.	Statement	No.	Factor Arrays			
			1	2	3	4
1	I am a South African first & foremost	1	-2	-4	-6	-3
2	A woman's beauty is for her family members only	2	2	-3	-1	-2
3	M. should live with constant reference to Islam	3	5	1	4	-1
4	M. children should go to M. schools	4	1	0	0	4
5	Women's rights are suppressed when CM interpret Islam	5	3	0	3	0
6	Overall, being M. doesn't affect how I feel about myself	6	-5	-6	-3	2
7	I am afraid of wearing traditional M. clothes in public	7	-5	-3	-1	-5
8	Group success is more important than my personal success	8	0	-1	-1	-4
9	Women are oppressed, but it's due to culture not religion	9	0	1	0	-2
10	M. child should socialise with M. child with same beliefs	10	1	2	2	1
11	Customs give people structure and routine	11	0	2	1	2
12	Sometimes difficult to balance M. vs. racial demands	12	-3	-5	-2	1
13	I am a Muslim first and foremost	13	5	3	3	5
14	Problems disappear if people spent more time with family	14	3	0	2	0
15	Islam is not a religion but a way of life	15	6	2	4	2
16	M. should ignore differences & become a community of souls	16	4	4	3	0
17	Islam gives women more progressive rights than the West	17	4	6	-1	6
18	It is easier to be in social settings with other Muslims	18	0	1	-3	0
19	Negotiating religious identity with other identities	19	-3	-3	-5	3
20	Media images of M. terrorists tarnishes the dignity of M.	20	4	5	5	0
21	Non M. think all M. are alike in their thinking & behavior	21	1	-4	-4	1
22	Struggle to balance Islamic ways with worldly ways	22	-4	-2	2	-1
23	Men and women should be kept separate to avoid adultery	23	2	0	-3	4
24	I see myself as a "typical" Muslim	24	-1	1	-3	0
25	I think the same as other M. about important things	25	0	-2	-2	0
26	The hijab restricts a woman's freedom	26	-6	-5	-3	-6
27	M. should have Arabic names that are also modern	27	-2	-1	2	-4
28	M. are different but not special or unique	28	-2	-1	0	-1
29	Global events have made M. unite & have a common identity	29	3	5	0	4
30	Would support a family member that marries a non-M.	30	-3	-2	1	0
31	I feel that I sometimes have to hide my M. identity	31	-6	-6	0	-4
32	The hijab allows women to interact freely in a man's world	32	0	-2	-2	-1
33	It's more important to be kind etc. than to be conventional	33	0	1	4	5
34	Feel strongly against M. people who don't follow Islam	34	1	-3	0	2
35	A man needs to satisfy his wife's needs first and foremost	35	-1	5	1	4
36	I am M. because my parents were M. & I was born into it	36	-2	0	-6	1
37	My ethnic group impedes me being M.	37	-3	-1	-2	-2
38	I worry about the negative portrayal of M. in the media	38	2	4	6	3
39	Important for M. to live separate lives from non-M.	39	-3	3	-4	-4
40	All M. should live by the teachings of the Quran	40	3	4	-1	2
41	I look to other Muslims to determine what is right & wrong	41	-2	-4	0	1
42	Easily accept the differences between M. & non-M.	42	1	4	4	2
43	All M. should follow a purified Islam	43	3	3	-1	3
44	Family roles more important than being a M. or anything else	44	-4	-5	-2	-3
45	I am a M. because I believe that there is only one God Allah	45	6	0	5	3
46	It's best for a country if different groups adapt & blend in	46	1	-1	1	-1
47	I don't fit in well with other Muslims	47	-4	2	-2	-2
48	I worry when I travel that I will be viewed with suspicion	48	-1	-2	-5	-3
49	I prefer to live in a neighbourhood that shares my ethnicity	49	-1	-2	-4	-6
50	Muslims are different from non-Muslims	50	2	0	3	-1
51	Being a Muslim is an important reflection of who I am	51	4	3	2	3
52	I feel proud of being Muslim	52	5	6	5	6
53	There are important differences between BM, IM & CM	53	-5	-4	-5	-5
54	Global events have made M. question their identity	54	-1	1	-4	-2
55	The M. community faces the same issues as every other	55	2	2	2	1
56	Compromise bet. desire to live a good M life & non-M work	56	-2	0	0	-3
57	Muslims don't face discrimination in South Africa	57	2	-3	3	-5
58	I prefer to be seen as a modern M. instead of traditional	58	-4	-1	1	-3
59	I have to defend my religion when I am with non-Muslims	59	0	3	1	5
60	Women have the same abilities & deserve same rights as men	60	-1	2	6	-2

Appendix 9: Full list of Distinguishing Statements for Factors A, B, C and D

(All statements are significant at $p < .05$; Asterisk (*) Indicates Significance at $P < .01$)

8.1. Distinguishing Statements for Factor A

No. Statement	No.	Factors							
		1		2		3		4	
		RNK	SCORE	RNK	SCORE	RNK	SCORE	RNK	SCORE
45 I am a M. because I believe that there is only one God Allah	45	6	2.14*	0	0.33	5	1.39	3	0.91
15 Islam is not a religion but a way of life	15	6	1.88	2	0.64	4	1.34	2	0.69
17 Islam gives women more progressive rights than the West	17	4	1.23*	6	2.18	-1	-0.37	6	2.45
29 Global events have made M. unite & have a common identity	29	3	0.74	5	1.74	0	-0.19	4	1.31
2 A woman's beauty is for her family members only	2	2	0.58*	-3	-0.98	-1	-0.44	-2	-0.68
23 Men and women should be kept seperate to avoid adultery	23	2	0.58	0	0.05	-3	-0.89	4	1.44
57 Muslims donot face discrimination in South Africa	57	2	0.57	-3	-0.95	3	1.09	-5	-1.10
8 Group success is more important than my personal success	8	0	0.26*	-1	-0.64	-1	-0.46	-4	-1.08
48 I worry when I travel that I will be viewed with suspicion	48	-1	-0.21	-2	-0.88	-5	-1.40	-3	-0.88
54 Global events have made M. question their identity	54	-1	-0.26	1	0.52	-4	-1.13	-2	-0.72
36 I am M. because my parents were M. & I was born into it	36	-2	-0.64*	0	0.26	-6	-1.84	1	0.38
47 I donot fit in well with other Muslims	47	-4	-1.39*	2	0.69	-2	-0.56	-2	-0.62
58 I prefer to be seen as a modern M. instead of traditional	58	-4	-1.39	-1	-0.41	1	0.26	-3	-0.87
6 Overall, being M. doesnt affect how I feel about myself	6	-5	-1.50	-6	-2.07	-3	-0.88	2	0.63

8.2. Distinguishing Statements for Factor D

No. Statement	No.	Factors							
		A		B		C		D	
		RNK	SCORE	RNK	SCORE	RNK	SCORE	RNK	SCORE
35 A man needs to satisfy his wife's needs first and foremost	35	-1	-0.13	5	1.77	1	0.26	4	0.99
39 Important for M. to live seperate lives from non-M.	39	-3	-0.96	3	0.89*	-4	-1.20	-4	-0.99
59 I have to defend my religion when I am with non-Muslims	59	0	-0.01	3	0.89	1	0.27	5	1.54
47 I donot fit in well with other Muslims	47	-4	-1.39	2	0.69*	-2	-0.56	-2	-0.62
60 Women have the same abilities & deserve same rights as men	60	-1	-0.44	2	0.53*	6	2.53	-2	-0.64
24 I see myself as a "typical" Muslim	24	-1	-0.10	1	0.52	-3	-0.82	0	-0.30
54 Global events have made M. question their identity	54	-1	-0.26	1	0.52*	-4	-1.13	-2	-0.72
3 M. should live with constant reference to Islam	3	5	1.49	1	0.47	4	1.14	-1	-0.45
23 Men and women should be kept seperate to avoid adultery	23	2	0.58	0	0.05	-3	-0.89	4	1.44
34 Feel strongly against M. people who donot follow Islam	34	1	0.56	-3	-1.06*	0	-0.12	2	0.67
6 Overall, being M. doesnt affect how I feel about myself	6	-5	-1.50	-6	-2.07	-3	-0.88	2	0.63

8.3. Distinguishing Statements for Factor C

Both the Factor Q-Sort Value and the Normalized Score are Shown.

		Factors							
		A		B		C		D	
No. Statement	No.	RNK	SCORE	RNK	SCORE	RNK	SCORE	RNK	SCORE
60 Women have the same abilities & deserve same rights as men	60	-1	-0.44	2	0.53	6	2.53*	-2	-0.64
15 Islam is not a religion but a way of life	15	6	1.88	2	0.64	4	1.34	2	0.69
33 It's more important to be kind etc. than to be conventional	33	0	0.09	1	0.50	4	1.19	5	1.95
57 Muslims donot face discrimination in South Africa	57	2	0.57	-3	-0.95	3	1.09	-5	-1.10
27 M. should have Arabic names that are also modern	27	-2	-0.71	-1	-0.55	2	0.71*	-4	-1.01
22 Struggle to balance Islamic ways with worldly ways	22	-4	-1.27	-2	-0.78	2	0.48*	-1	-0.40
58 I prefer to be seen as a modern M. instead of traditional	58	-4	-1.39	-1	-0.41	1	0.26	-3	-0.87
28 M. are different but not special or unique	28	-2	-0.55	-1	-0.36	0	0.25	-1	-0.33
34 Feel strongly against M. people who donot follow Islam	34	1	0.56	-3	-1.06	0	-0.12*	2	0.67
29 Global events have made M. unite & have a common identity	29	3	0.74	5	1.74	0	-0.19*	4	1.31
31 I feel that I sometimes have to hide my M. identity	31	-6	-1.75	-6	-2.18	0	-0.30	-4	-0.92
40 All M. should live by the teachings of the quran	40	3	0.96	4	1.03	-1	-0.37*	2	0.54
17 Islam gives women more progressive rights than the West	17	4	1.23	6	2.18	-1	-0.37*	6	2.45
43 All M. should follow a purified Islam	43	3	0.68	3	0.87	-1	-0.42*	3	0.70
7 I am afraid of wearing traditional M. clothes in public	7	-5	-1.55	-3	-1.03	-1	-0.42	-5	-1.21
6 Overall, being M. doesnt affect how I feel about myself	6	-5	-1.50	-6	-2.07	-3	-0.88*	2	0.63
23 Men and women should be kept seperate to avoid adultery	23	2	0.58	0	0.05	-3	-0.89*	4	1.44
18 It is easier to be in social settings with other Muslims	18	0	0.19	1	0.38	-3	-1.10*	0	-0.22
49 I prefer to live in a neighbourhood that shares my ethnicity	49	-1	-0.24	-2	-0.68	-4	-1.28	-6	-1.91
36 I am M. because my parents were M. & I was born into it	36	-2	-0.64	0	0.26	-6	-1.84*	1	0.38
1 I am a South African first & foremost	1	-2	-0.84	-4	-1.18	-6	-2.00*	-3	-0.79

8.4. Distinguishing statements for Factor D

Both the Factor Q-Sort Value and the Normalized Score are Shown.

		Factors							
		A		B		C		D	
No. Statement	No.	RNK	SCORE	RNK	SCORE	RNK	SCORE	RNK	SCORE
33 It's more important to be kind etc. than to be conventional	33	0	0.09	1	0.50	4	1.19	5	1.95*
59 I have to defend my religion when I am with non-Muslims	59	0	-0.01	3	0.89	1	0.27	5	1.54
23 Men and women should be kept seperate to avoid adultery	23	2	0.58	0	0.05	-3	-0.89	4	1.44*
4 M. children should go to M. schools	4	1	0.52	0	0.20	0	-0.32	4	1.14*
35 A man needs to satisfy his wife's needs first and foremost	35	-1	-0.13	5	1.77	1	0.26	4	0.99
19 Negotiating religious identity with other identities	19	-3	-1.12	-3	-0.97	-5	-1.50	3	0.89*
6 Overall, being M. doesnt affect how I feel about myself	6	-5	-1.50	-6	-2.07	-3	-0.88	2	0.63*
12 Sometimes difficult to balance M. vs. racial demands	12	-3	-1.20	-5	-1.25	-2	-0.69	1	0.16*
20 Media images of M. terrorists tarnishes the dignity of M.	20	4	1.11	5	1.24	5	1.63	0	-0.13*
16 M. should ignore differences & become a community of souls	16	4	1.41	4	1.19	3	0.92	0	-0.27*
3 M. should live with constant reference to Islam	3	5	1.49	1	0.47	4	1.14	-1	-0.45*
31 I feel that I sometimes have to hide my M. identity	31	-6	-1.75	-6	-2.18	0	-0.30	-4	-0.92
49 I prefer to live in a neighbourhood that shares my ethnicity	49	-1	-0.24	-2	-0.68	-4	-1.28	-6	-1.91