

FEMALE MUSLIM STUDENTS' DRESS PRACTICES IN A SOUTH AFRICAN CAMPUS CONTEXT

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OPSOMMING

Suid-Afrikaanse vroulike Muslim-studente volg 'n verskeidenheid van kleding-praktyke. Terwyl party individue baie tradisionele Islamitiese drag dra, volg ander Westerse modes. Hierdie verskille in klere kan aan die akkulturasieproses toegeskryf word. Die kampusomgewing het 'n multi-kulturele konteks. Vroulike Muslim-studente word omring deur nuwe waardes, identiteite en nuwe kledingpraktyke. Die doel van die studie was om die akkulturasie strategieë wat deur vroulike Muslim-studente (wat aan die Universiteit van Pretoria studeer) toegepas word in hul kledinggebruike te verken en te beskryf. 'n Kulturele perspektief is as teoretiese raamwerk gebruik.

Die navorsingsontwerp was 'n verkennende ondersoek. Data is met 'n gestruktureerde vraelys ingesamel. Die vraelys is gebaseer op bestaande skale en relevante literatuur om die akkulturasie praktyke van vroulike Muslim-studente aan die hand van hul kledingpraktyke te analiseer. Die akkulturasie praktyke is deur middel van 'n 5-punt Likert-tipe skaal gemeet en 'n 'prent' skaal is met die samewerking van 'n senior Muslim-student in die Departement Verbruikerswetenskap ontwikkel. Hierdie skaal het nege beelde van klere ingesluit wat verskil het in terme van pas en mate waartoe die liggaam bedek word. Die teikenpopulasie was ingeskrewe vroulike Muslim-studente aan die Universiteit van Pretoria. In 2011 was daar 354 vroulike Muslim studente ingeskryf by die Universiteit van Pretoria. 'n Totaal van 200 voltooide vraelyste wat deur vroulike Muslim-studente tussen die ouderdomme van 17 en 25 jaar voltooi is, is geanaliseer (n=200).

Die oorkoepelende doel van hierdie studie was om die verskillende akkulturasie strategieë wat deur vroulike Muslim-studente se kledingpraktyke gereflekteer word, te ondersoek en te beskryf. Die resultate het daarop gedui dat die respondente nie in drie groepe verdeel kon word na aanleiding van die akkulturasie strategieë wat hulle volg soos aanvanklik verwag is nie. Die respondente kon wel in twee groepe verdeel word, namens dié wat minder kuise kledingpraktyke volg teenoor dié met meer kuise, tradisionele kledingpraktyke.

Die studie het aangetoon dat vroulike Muslim-studente verskillende grade van 'n bi-kulturele identiteit aanvaar. Hierdie studie maak 'n bydrae tot kulturele navorsing en kledinggedragnavorsing in Suid-Afrika. Die feit dat die respondente slegs in twee groepe verdeel kon word op grond van die akkulturasie praktyke wat hulle toepas, dui daarop dat die respondente in hierdie studie onwillig is om Muslim herkoms, en gevolglik hul tradisionele klere drag, te negeer. Hulle verkies om in wisselwerking te tree met ander kultuurgroepe soos tipies van 'n Suid-Afrikaanse universiteitskampus, en kombineer hul tradisionele drag met elemente van Westerse drag om hul bi-kulturele identiteit te kommunikeer. Sodoende verbeeld hulle beide hul Muslim en Suid-Afrikaanse identiteite.

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INTRODUCTION

In many predominantly Muslim countries, modesty in women's dress is dictated by law or society and women are forced to cover themselves with traditional Islamic garments (Shirazi, 2000:121). However, today due to globalisation many Muslims are living in societies dominated by other cultural practices. Muslim women living in these societies are encouraged to express freedom of choice and to have more flexibility in their dress practices. Many Muslim women confronted with such freedom, have embraced the beauty standards of the mainstream culture by adopting new dress styles (Shirazi, 2000:119; Stimpfl, 2000:177).

In South Africa Muslims are a minority group (Vahed, 2000). South Africa is generally considered to be a multi-cultural nation that encourages diversity. Due to long European control over South Africa, typical Western clothing such as T-shirts, jeans and suits became part of the African existence (Vincent, 2007). South African Muslim women follow a variety of dress practices, ranging from traditional Islamic dress to more revealing Western styles (Muthal, 2010:3, 86). This variety in dress practices may be the result of the process of acculturation. Acculturation occurs when people of different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, and a change in the cultural patterns of either or both groups takes place. This cultural contact may lead to the adoption of new values, the creation of a new identity, as well as changes in dress practices (Dastoor, Baumanis, & Soomro, 2003:58).

Students interact with people from other cultural backgrounds on a daily basis in the campus context. Female Muslim students will have different ways of adapting to an environment dominated by other ways of thinking and behaving. This article explores and describes the different acculturation strategies female Muslim students, attending the University of Pretoria follow in terms of their dress practices. This study formed part of a bigger study where the influence of values and identity was also investigated. This study will only focus on the data related to Muslim students' acculturation strategies as reflected in their dress practices. The objectives of the study were to identify and describe the everyday dress practices of female Muslim students who predominantly follow a) the separation strategy; b) the assimilation strategy and c) the integration strategy.

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THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH MODEL

Defining culture and the cultural perspective

Culture refers to the lifestyle of a group of people, including the religious, political and economic behaviour of group members (Boonzaier & Sharp, 1988:3-4). A culture is made up of different ethnic groups that share a common ancestry, history, language, religion, place of origin, traditions or customs (Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005; Phinney *et al.*, 2001). Religion may play a central role within a culture and therefore its various ethnic groups. Religion "signifies a bond between humanity and some greater-than-human power". Individuals are committed to this supernatural power and carry out rituals to show respect and dedication to the higher power (Hill, Pargament, Hood, McCullough, Swyers, Larson, & Zinnbauer, 2000:56). Religion influences the values of a culture and provides rules for appropriate behaviour of group members. Religion therefore influences the behaviour of ethnic groups and encourages religious expression (Hill *et al.*, 2000).

South Africa is called the 'Rainbow Nation' as a result of its variety of cultures, ethnic groups and religious orientations (Khan, 2013). Being Muslim represents more than just a religion: it is a way of life. Islam prescribes specific dress practices, values, customs and the overall identity of its followers (Dastoor *et al.*, 2003:59). The Muslim community can therefore be referred to as a culture. In South Africa, the Muslim culture consists of various ethnic groups, namely Indian, Malay and African Muslims (Hassan, 2011:167). South African Indian Muslims tend to reside in Kwazulu-Natal and Gauteng and originated predominantly from India. South African Malay Muslims reside predominantly in the Western Cape and have their roots in South-East Asia and North Africa (Hassan, 2011:170). African Muslims are dispersed across Kwazulu-Natal, Gauteng and the Western Cape and originated from African countries including the Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi and Mozambique (Vahed & Jeppie, 2005:263).

Ferraro (2001:22) defines culture as "everything that people have, think and do as members of a society". This definition refers to all the material possessions, ideas, values, as well as the beha-

viour shared by members of a culture. Culture thus includes a set of shared artefacts and understandings, and can be classified according to its material and non-material nature (Kaiser, 1997:351-352). Material culture includes all man-made artefacts, including dress (Eicher et al., 2000:6). According to Kaiser (1997:5), dress refers to the "total arrangement of all outwardly detectable modifications of the body and all material objects added to it". Non-material culture refers to abstract concepts, such as beliefs, values, identity and behaviour. Individuals are motivated to communicate their non-material culture to others through their appearances or dress (Kaiser, 1997:290). Modesty in dress is central to the Islamic faith. The veil is the most visible symbol of a woman's Islamic identity (Kopp, 2002). Religion's outward manifestations therefore represent the rules, customs, conventions and rituals of a culture (Arthur, 2000:1, 3).

The Cultural perspective was adopted as the theoretical framework for the study. This perspective recognises the relationship between the material and non-material aspects of culture and provides a framework to determine how abstract concepts such as religious beliefs, manifest in dress over time (Kaiser, 1997:33, 48-50; Segall et al., 1990:27). Both material and non-material culture are affected by the acculturation process. Cultural contact causes new dress practices to be introduced to individuals, and may result in the adoption thereof. In order to understand the change taking place in a culture, the cultural context must be understood (Naylor, 1996:4). The Cultural perspective is useful for studying the varying meanings of clothing within a certain context (Kaiser, 1997: 48), for instance the campus context. The present study aims to determine how the campus context along with the cultural contact female Muslim students experience on a daily basis, affected their dress practices.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Acculturation

Cultural change resulting from cultural contact is referred to as acculturation (Berry & Sam, 1997:293). Redfield et al. (1936) define acculturation from a socio-cultural perspective, as the occurrence when people of different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, and a change in the cultural patterns of either or both groups takes place. During this process new cultural values may be adopted, resulting in a new identity or a change in dress conventions

(Muthal, 2010:5; Dastoor et al., 2003:58). Diversity exists in how people adapt to cultural contexts (Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005; Berry & Sam, 1997:293). Berry et al. (2002:351-352) proposed a framework of the two central issues of the acculturation process: the degree to which an individual adopts the mainstream culture and the degree to which the original culture is maintained. According to Berry et al. (2002:353) how an individual reacts to these two issues can result in one of four acculturation strategies, namely separation, assimilation, integration and marginalisation. The last strategy has been excluded from this study. Marginalisation occurs when an individual does not identify with the original culture or the mainstream culture (Berry & Sam, 1997:297). Such an individual is described as being in a state of frustration and instability (Jun et al., 1993). Identifying with others who share similar attributes is however, an important part of self-definition. People have the need to be a member of a group (Ethier & Deaux, 1994). It is therefore only in rare cases that individuals experience no group memberships (Van De Vijver & Phalet, 2004). For this reason, various studies have excluded the marginalisation strategy, having rather opted for a tripartite segmentation of participants (Chattaraman et al., 2008; Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005). The varying dress practices followed by Muslim women living in predominantly non-Muslim environments will now be described using three acculturation strategies namely, separation, assimilation and integration (Sirin et al., 2008).

Acculturation strategies

Separation Within a certain context, individuals may identify strongly with their ethnic identity (Muthal, 2010:88; Phinney & Ong, 2007). This strategy is referred to as the separation strategy, as members of a minority culture choose to hold on to their ethnic identity, rather than adopting the national identity of the country they are living in (Dastoor et al., 2003:58). These individuals prefer limiting their interaction with the dominant culture, and rather having close relationships with people from their original culture. In this manner, they hold on to their original values, rituals and religion (Neuliep, 2009:379; Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005). Many South African Muslims consider themselves to be Muslim first and foremost, even though they are third or fourth generation South Africans. These individuals view South Africa simply as the place where they were born and where they grew up, without feeling any deeper attachments to the nation (Vahed, 2000).

Individuals who want to maintain their ethnic identity tend to wear ethnic dress more often (Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005). This is the case with some Muslim women living in predominantly non-Muslim environments who increase their Islamic dress in order to create a distinction between themselves and the mainstream culture (Kopp, 2002; Fernea & Fernea, 1995:267). Islam prohibits women from wearing clothing that is transparent or tight-fitting (Boulanouar, 2006). Muslim girls attending high schools in the Western Cape were found to wear loose-fitting clothing while taking part in sport in order to adhere to their beliefs about modesty (Essa, 2011:191). The term 'hijab' describes the standard requirements of Islamic clothing for women and literally means 'curtain' or 'barrier' (Dunkel *et al.*, 2010). Hijab has differing meanings in terms of the type of covering it includes. Some Muslims feel hijab refers to a head-covering accompanied by loose-fitting clothing (Hassem, 2008:8; Dwyer, 2000), while others believe it only refers to a head-covering (Boulanouar, 2006). In South Africa, the variety of dress forms hijab refers to also range from loose-fitting clothing accompanied by a headscarf (Lee, 2002) to only a headscarf (Essa, 2011:191; Aziz, 2010:165). Either way, by wearing hijab, a Muslim woman communicates her commitment to Islam (Daly, 2000:137; Shirazi, 2000:125).

Integration An individual can incorporate multiple cultural identities within his or her mind (Chattaraman *et al.*, 2008; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). Ethnic and national identities can be combined between which one must negotiate. In this manner, a hybrid identity is developed (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Dwyer, 2000). Such an individual maintains his or her original culture, while interacting with other cultures on a daily basis (Berry & Sam, 1997:297). This strategy is called the integration strategy (Dastoor *et al.*, 2003:58). This strategy has the most positive outcomes for an individual wanting to fit into mainstream society, while still feeling committed to his or her heritage (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Bhatia & Ram, 2001). Some Muslims are at ease with their various identities, and find a way to balance being Muslim in a non-Muslim environment (Sader, 2008:50; Sirin *et al.*, 2008). They want to maintain their Islamic values and identity while interacting with people from the mainstream culture (Kopp, 2002). Sader (2008:50) found that South African Muslim women viewed themselves as being modern and creatively constructed their identities in order to communicate this image of

themselves. According to Vahed (2000) South African Muslim women also aim to be modern by combining designer clothing and jewellery with their Islamic garments. In this manner, they communicate a hybrid identity within the South African context.

Assimilation A third acculturation strategy is to increase identification with the mainstream culture at the cost of one's ethnic identity (Muthal, 2010:89; Phinney & Ong, 2007). In the face of threats, individuals may develop a negative view of their ethnic identities and move closer to the national identity (Ethier & Deaux, 1994). This strategy is called assimilation (Dastoor *et al.*, 2003:58), where the values and behaviours of the mainstream culture are adopted (Jun *et al.*, 1993). Such an individual wants to increase interaction with the dominant culture and blend into the cultural environment (Neuliep, 2009:378). Not all Muslim women feel obliged to use dress to signal their Muslim identity or faith in Islam (Daly, 1999:157). Some Muslim women do not cover their hair when in public, making it easier for them to blend into predominantly non-Muslim environments (Sirin *et al.*, 2008). This may be a way of reducing social anxiety by concealing cultural differences, and thereby creating an image that is more socially desirable in predominantly non-Muslim environments (Kaiser, 1997:185). Another reason Muslim women do not cover their hair is that they do not feel strong enough in their religion. These women claim that they will only start to cover their hair once they feel spiritually "ready". Many Muslim women feel it is appropriate to wear typical Western garments without covering their hair as long as the clothing is modest (Kopp, 2002; Shirazi, 2000:115). Davids (2003) conducted interviews with South African Muslim women and found that most of the participants didn't wear headscarves and never wore the loose-fitting garments they associate with hijab except to try it on. One participant was quoted as saying "I have worn them [headscarves] and I don't feel that it's me. And I feel very angry when I have to wear one because I feel like it's an absolute lie" (Davids, 2003:5). Their everyday dress practices can be linked to an assimilation strategy as the participants tended to blend into South African society, having discarded traditional Islamic garments in their day-to-day lives.

Conceptual Framework

In the conceptual framework (Figure 1), the campus context is indicated as the environment for the study. Culture is transformed in the

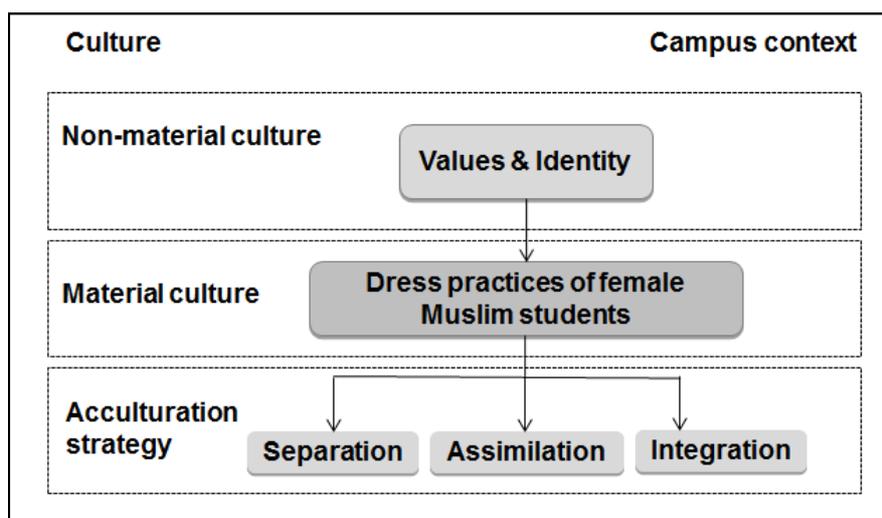


FIGURE 1: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

campus context and consists of a material and non-material component. The non-material component includes abstract ideas such as values and identity. All the dress practices a Muslim woman takes part in form part of material culture. Individuals are motivated to communicate internal aspects to others and may express them through their dress. The prevalent dress practice a Muslim woman pursues within the campus context depends on the acculturation strategy she is following. These acculturation strategies include separation, integration and assimilation as depicted in Figure 1.

METHODOLOGY

An exploratory survey research design was followed. The study was cross-sectional, as data was collected at a certain point in time, October 2011-March 2012. The study aimed to explore and describe the acculturation strategies female Muslim students follow in a campus context regarding their dress practices.

Sample and sampling

The target population consisted of female Muslim students enrolled at the University of Pretoria. In 2011, 354 Muslim women were enrolled (Du Plessis, 2011). This was the overall population from which the sample for the study was drawn. Non-probability sampling methods i.e. purposive and snowball sampling were used. Self-administered questionnaires were handed out to participants who were purposively selected on campus. Several screening questions were used to ensure participants fit the required criteria (see Table 1). All participants needed to be female and Muslim. All

participants needed to be enrolled at the University of Pretoria. Participants needed to be between the ages of 17 and 25 years old. Participation in the study was voluntary. After completing the question-naire, participants were asked to refer the researcher to other individuals who fit the criteria. This snowballing method ensured that an appropriate sample size was realised. The questionnaires were not distributed during religious holidays of the Islamic calendar, such as Eid and Ramadan. Questionnaires were also not distributed on Fridays as this is a holy day for Muslims, and might have caused participants to respond differently than they would have on other days of the week. External validity was therefore assured by avoiding extraneous factors that could cause unnoticed effects on the outcome of the study (Walliman, 2005:295).

Care was taken to find participants in different areas on campus. While some participants were found in the prayer room on campus, others were encountered in the library and the coffee shop or sitting on the lawns in between classes. The participants tended to stay in groups on campus, making it easy for the researcher to find several participants at a time to complete questionnaires. These groups of participants varied in their dress, from a complete Western appearance to a traditional Islamic appearance. In this manner, the researcher included participants following various dress practices. Participants who dressed according to the various dress practices set out in the theory (Dunkel *et al.*, 2010; Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005) were therefore included in the sample. A total of 200 completed questionnaires of female Muslim students, between 17 and 25 years of

8	Which image is the most reflective of the fit and coverage of your clothing? Choose only 1 option.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
									

FIGURE 2: PICTURE SCALE

age, enrolled at the University of Pretoria were analysed (n=200).

Instrument development

The questionnaire consisted of three parts: a demographic part, an acculturation Likert scale and a picture scale.

The demographic profile These questions were all open-ended and related to participants' age, length of stay in South Africa, number of years being a Muslim and the average number of days per week they spend time on campus.

The acculturation scale This scale was developed based on existing scales (Dunkel *et al.*, 2010; Traylor & Joseph, 1984) and relevant literature to obtain conceptual and measurement information related to the variables being investigated. This accomplished theoretical validity by eliminating vagueness (Walliman, 2005:295).

Items adapted from Dunkel *et al.* (2010) and Rajagopalan and Heitmeyer (2005) were used to measure acculturation strategies in terms of the dress practices followed by students. The items included traditional Islamic garments or typical Western garments or a combination of both. Acculturation strategies were measured with a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 'Everyday' = 1, 'Most days', 'Some days', 'Only on Fridays', 'Never' = 5. Participants needed to indicate how often they wore clothing items such as hijab, tight-fitting jeans and T-shirts, as well as certain clothing combinations.

Picture scale A self-designed picture scale (Figure 2) was developed by the researcher as a

second measurement tool to measure the acculturation strategies students follow in terms of their dress practices. The images in the picture scale depict women in clothing that range from very modest (covering the entire body and loose-fitted) to not modest at all (little coverage of arms and legs combined with tight-fitted clothing). The images ranged from a traditional Islamic appearance = 1 to a typical Western appearance = 9. Participants were asked to indicate which one of the nine images in the picture scale most represented their everyday dress. During the development of the scale, an interview was conducted with a female Muslim student to ensure the pictures were reflective of the different dress practices followed by female Muslim students on campus. Literature also supports the different silhouettes found in the picture scale (Vahed, 2000; Davids, 2003; Lee, 2002; Wahl, 2014:39, 99-101).

Data analysis

After data was collected, SAS software (version 9.3) was used to perform the initial statistical analysis. Descriptive analyses, including frequencies, percentages, means and standard deviations were calculated for the data related to demographic information and general items pertaining to the variables. To divide participants into groups, based on their dress practices associated with the different acculturation strategies, a two-way contingency table analysis was used. This was followed up with a cluster analysis in order to divide the sample into clusters that share common characteristics in terms of everyday dress practices.

TABLE 1: SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Age (n=200)		
17-19	97	48,5%
20-22	92	46%
23-25	11	5,5%
Length of Stay in S.A. (n=200)		
Less than or equal to half their life	17	8,5%
More than half their life, but less than their whole life	7	3,5%
Their whole life	176	88%
Number of years being a Muslim (n=200)		
Less than or equal to half their life	6	3%
Their whole life	194	97%
Average number of days per week on campus (n=200)		
1 – 2 days	4	2%
3 – 4 days	72	36%
5 days	124	62%

RESULTS

The results are organised in terms of the sample characteristics and acculturation strategies followed by female Muslim students in table format to disclose the content of the questions.

Sample characteristics

All participants were female and Muslim (Table 1). Almost half (48,5%) of the participants were between the ages 17 to 19 and 46% were between the ages 20 to 22. The majority of participants (88%) indicated that they have been living in South Africa their whole life. While 8,5% of the participants have lived in South Africa for less than or equal to half their life, 3,5% have been living in South Africa for more than half their life but for shorter than their whole life. Almost all of the participants (97%) have been a Muslim for their whole life. The other 3% indicated that they have been a Muslim for less than or equal to half their life. It can be assumed that this 3% of participants are Muslim converts. Most participants (62%) indicated that they are on campus for the whole week (five days) while 36% of the participants indicated that they are on campus three to four days per week. Only 2% of the participants are on campus once or twice a week.

Dress practices in terms of acculturation strategies followed by female Muslim students

In this study the prevalent dress practices of female Muslim students were central to the acculturation strategy followed by them within a campus context. These acculturation strategies

were divided according to literature into separation, integration and assimilation strategies. Table 2 presents the acculturation strategies with the conferring items used in the questionnaire to measure each acculturation strategy. In the following section the reporting of the results is only on the 'Everyday'=1 and 'Most days'=2 of the Likert scale as it was imperative to establish which clothing items were worn regularly or customarily by female Muslim students. Only the two items, per acculturation strategy, that were selected most by participants were included in Table 3. These two items were viewed as representative of each acculturation strategy as these items had the highest frequency rating. In the last column the total percentages for the two statements are given. The items in each category of the scale i.e. separation, integration and assimilation were ranked in order of descending percentages.

The separation strategy This strategy followed by female Muslim students was measured by the use of items that enquired how often they wear traditional Muslim clothing items as indicated in Table 2. The two items (a headscarf and a hijab) were most frequently worn by participants who mostly dress according to the separation strategy or wear traditional Islamic garments (Table 3). Less than half of the participants (45,5%) reported that they frequently (Most days to Everyday) wear a headscarf on campus. A third (33,5%) of the participants frequently wears a hijab on campus.

The integration strategy This strategy followed by female Muslim students was measured by the use of items that enquired how often they combine traditional Islamic garments

TABLE 2: ITEMS USED IN QUESTIONNAIRE TO MEASURE DRESS PRACTICES AS A REFLECTION OF ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES

Construct	Acculturation Strategy	Dress Indicators	Items
			How often do you wear the following clothing items on campus?
Traditional Islamic Dress	Separation Strategy	Wearing only traditional Muslim garments (style, fit, coverage)	7.1 - Jilbab
			7.2 - Niqab
			7.3 - Hijab
			7.4 - Headscarf
Typical Western Dress	Assimilation Strategy	Wearing only typical Western garments (style, fit, coverage)	7.5 - Tight-fitting jeans
			7.6 - $\frac{3}{4}$ length/ cropped pants
			7.7 - Leggings
			7.8 - Shorts
			7.9 - Knee-length skirt
			7.10 - Mini skirt
			7.11 - Tight-fitting top
			7.12 - T-shirt
			7.13 - Sleeveless shirt
			7.14 - Strappy top
			7.15 - Knee-length dress
			7.16 - Mini dress
Combination of Traditional Islamic and Typical Western Dress	Integration Strategy	Combining Traditional Muslim and Typical Western Garments (style, fit, coverage)	7.17 - Headscarf combined with Western garments, such as jeans or T-shirts.
			7.18 - Headscarf combined with tight-fitting pants and a tight shirt.
			7.19 - Headscarf combined with loose-fitting top and tight pants.
			7.20 - Headscarf combined with tight-fitting top and loose skirt or pants.

with typical Western garments (see Table 2). The two items (combination of headscarf with Western garments and combination of headscarf with loose-fitting top and a tight pair of pants) that were most frequently selected by participants who typically combine Islamic and Western garments are displayed in Table 3. Almost a third (31%) of the participants frequently combines a headscarf with Western garments. Less than a quarter of the participants (21,5%) often combine a headscarf with a loose-fitting top and a tight pair of pants.

The assimilation strategy This strategy followed by female Muslim students was investigated by the use of items that enquired how often they wear typical Western garments (see Table 2). The two items (T-shirt and jeans with a tighter fit) received the highest ratings from participants who regularly wear typical Western garments on campus (Table 3). Fewer than half of the participants (46%) indicated that they regularly wear a T-shirt on campus and 38% of the participants often wear tight-fitting jeans on campus.

The results of the picture scale are summarised

in Table 4. Preferences for dressing in more revealing Western fashions or more modest Islamic wear, or a combination of both, were measured with a nine point picture scale. Participants were requested to select the image that was the most reflective of the fit and coverage of their everyday dress practices. These dress practices were representative of the three acculturation strategies.

More than a third (36%) of the participants felt that images 1 to 3 were reflective of the fit and coverage of their clothing and consequently their everyday dress practices. These images reflected traditional Islamic dress in terms of being very modest, covering the entire body and being loose-fitted, and related to participants following a separation strategy. Few participants (16%) indicated that images 4 to 6 portrayed the fit and coverage of their clothing, namely a combination of traditional Islamic and typical Western dress, and related to participants following an integration strategy. Just less than half of the participants (48%) identified with images 7 to 9. The tighter fit and less coverage of clothing in these images were more representative of typical Western dress styles

TABLE 3: IMPORTANCE RATINGS OF CLOTHING ITEMS REPRESENTING THE THREE ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES

How often do you wear the following clothing items on campus?							
Percentage (Frequency)	n	Everyday 1	Most Days 2	Some Days 3	Only on Fridays 4	Never 5	Total of importance
Separation strategy							
Headscarf	200	41,5% (83)	4% (8)	33% (66)	10,5% (21)	11% (22)	45,5%
Hijab	200	28,5% (57)	5% (10)	25% (50)	12% (24)	29,5% (59)	33,5%
Integration strategy							
Headscarf with Western garments	200	16,5% (33)	14,5% (29)	39% (78)	6% (12)	24% (48)	31%
Headscarf with loose-fitting top and tight pants	200	5% (10)	16,5% (33)	33,5% (67)	5,5% (11)	39,5% (79)	21,5%
Assimilation strategy							
T-shirt	200	13,5% (27)	32,5% (65)	34% (68)	0,5% (1)	19,5% (39)	46%
Tight-fitting jeans	200	10,5% (21)	27,5% (55)	40,5% (81)	0,5% (1)	21% (42)	38%

TABLE 4: IMPORTANCE RATINGS OF DRESS PRACTICES AS MEASURED IN A PICTURE SCALE

Which image is the most reflective of the fit and coverage of your clothing?				
Image	Frequency (n=200)	Percentage %	Construct	Importance Rating (sum) %
1	27	13,5	Traditional Islamic Dress (Highly covered: very modest & loose-fitted)	36%
2	26	13		
3	19	9,5		
4	26	13	Combination of Traditional Islamic and Typical Western Dress (Moderately covered)	16%
5	3	1,5		
6	3	1,5		
7	60	30	Typical Western Dress (Less covered: not modest & tight-fitted)	48%
8	25	12,5		
9	11	5,5		

and related to female Muslim students following an assimilation strategy.

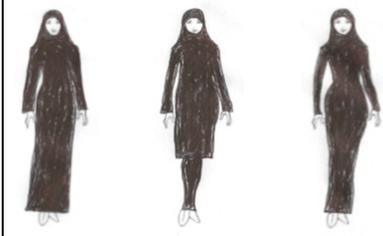
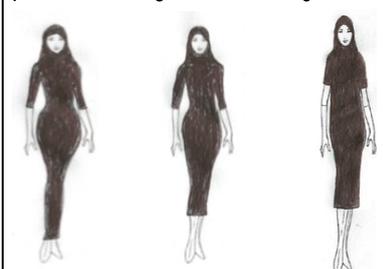
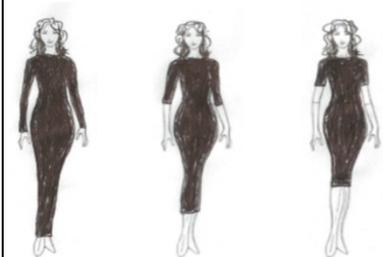
The majority of participants (97%) stated that they have been a Muslim their whole life. Modesty in dress is strongly prescribed by the Islamic faith. This may be the reason why more than a third of the participants preferred the images reflecting traditional Islamic dress with modest coverage and a loose-fit. The majority of participants (88%) also lived in South Africa their whole life thereby having been exposed to other cultures. Although very few participants have discarded the Muslim culture entirely, 48% of the participants selected typical Western dress (less modest and tight-fitted), suggesting an assimilation strategy is being followed. A possible reason why so few participants

selected the images representing an integration strategy is that the juxtapositions of traditional Islamic and revealing Western garments on the same body have a shocking effect. These garments belong to different worlds and contradict one another (Balasescu, 2003). Even though some participants' dress practices within the campus context may be reflective of images 4 to 6 in the picture scale, they may be unwilling to admit to following these dress practices.

Dividing the sample into groups based on dress practices

A cluster analysis was conducted to divide the sample into three groups representing the three acculturation strategies that share common characteristics in terms of their everyday dress

TABLE 5: COMPARISON PROCESS OF CLOTHING ITEMS/ COMBINATIONS WITH PICTURE SCALE IMAGES REPRESENTING DIFFERENT ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES

Acculturation strategy	Selected clothing items or combination of clothing items	Picture scale
Separation strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hijab • Headscarf 	1 2 3 
Integration strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Headscarf with Western garments • Headscarf with loose-fitting top and tight pants 	4 5 6 
Assimilation strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tight-fitting jeans • T-shirt 	7 8 9 

practices. The aim of cluster analysis is to form homogeneous groups according to shared cases or observations (Burns & Burns, 2009). Groups are identified according to alike or similar characteristics that describe the class, i.e. clothing items mostly worn, and then assigned into labelled clusters (Mooi & Sarstedt, 2011).

At first, dress practices were established as the characteristic to be used in dividing the sample into groups, representative of the three acculturation strategies. A two-way contingency table analysis was initially used to compare participants' responses to the clothing items most frequently worn per acculturation strategy with the images selected by participants on the picture scale. The picture scale included nine images that varied in terms of the fit and coverage of garments also representative of the three acculturation strategies. The images selected did correspond to the frequency of the

clothing items or clothing combinations most often worn. Using the match between the image selected on the picture scale and the two corresponding clothing items most frequently worn per acculturation strategy, the criterion to describe each cluster were selected. The two clothing items most frequently worn and the conferring images of the picture scale, representative of the three acculturation strategies are indicated in Table 5.

The *k*-means clustering procedure was employed to form three clusters. The *k*-means procedure is used when the number of clusters is known prior to analysis (Burns & Burns, 2009) as in this case three groups were established according to the acculturation strategies (e.g., *separation strategy*; *integration strategy*; *assimilation strategy*). To ensure that clusters are "conceptually distinguishable" an independent *t*-test or ANOVA is calculated (Mooi & Sarstedt, 2011). The Kruskal-Wallis test, the non-para-

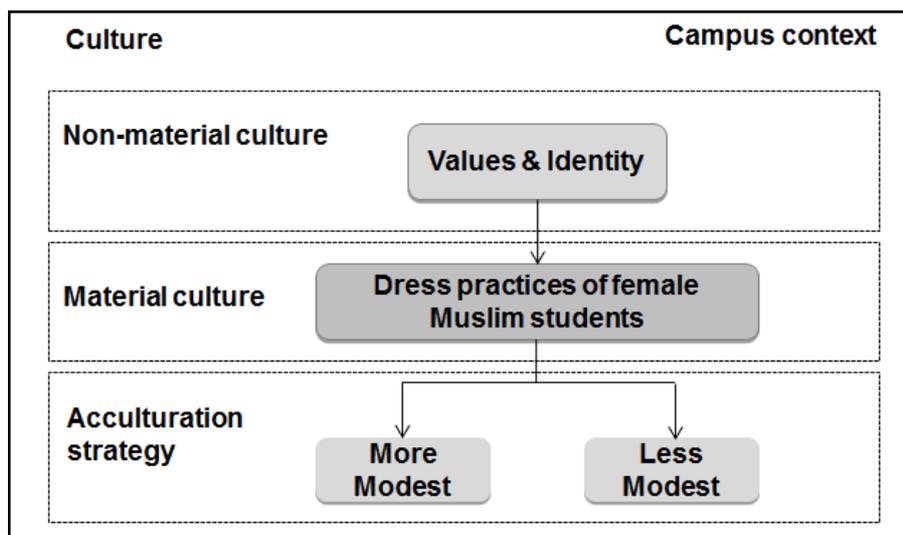


FIGURE 3: ADAPTED CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

metric equivalent of the one-way ANOVA, was calculated on the three clusters because of the ordinal scale measurement (Field & Miles, 2010). The Kruskal-Wallis test indicated that dividing the sample into three groups would not yield satisfactory results, as the means of the three groups did not differ significantly at $p < 0,05$. The dress practices between the three groups were in other words not clearly distinguished. Distinct clusters should concurrently demonstrate high similarity among items within the group and exhibit high difference between items of the other groups (Tan *et al.*, 2006:490). Dividing the sample in two groups yielded better results, as the Kruskal-Wallis test indicated a significant difference between the means of the two groups at $p < 0,05$. The two groups that emerged were consequently labelled *less modest dress practices* ($n=104$) and *more modest dress practices* ($n=96$). The *less modest dress practices* group's items exhibited high differentiation from the items of the *more modest dress practices* group indicating a "conceptually distinguishable" group (Mooi & Sarstedt, 2011).

The fact that the sample could not be divided into three groups had implications for the sub-objectives of the study. Current literature indicated that a sample could be divided into three groups based on their level of acculturation (Chattaraman *et al.*, 2008; Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005). The conceptual framework for the study was therefore revised as shown in Figure 3.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The overall purpose of the study was to explore and describe the different acculturation strategies female Muslim students follow in terms of their dress practices. The results of the cluster analysis revealed that the sample could not be divided into three distinct groups, based on the acculturation strategies i.e. separation, assimilation and integration, as initially anticipated. Cluster analysis indicated that dividing the sample into two groups yielded better results, since the two groups identified had distinguished dress practices which were statistically significant. The two groups were named those participants with *more modest dress practices* and those with *less modest dress practices*. Participants forming part of the *more modest dress practices* group ($n=96$) followed more modest dress practices, as they indicated that they wear traditional Islamic garments on a regular basis and also identified with the images in the picture scale with headscarves. Participants forming part of the *less modest dress practices* group ($n=104$) followed less modest dress practices, as they wear typical Western garments on a regular basis and identified more with the images in the picture scale excluding headscarves.

The results of the sample characteristics (Table 1) might be used to clarify why the sample could not be categorised according to the three acculturation strategies. The majority of participants (98%) indicated that they are on campus three to five days per week and therefore interact regularly with students from various cultural backgrounds. Although, they are

not able to limit their interaction with people from other cultures on campus it is evident that the majority of participants still maintain their Muslim culture. Similarly, the majority of participants (88%) had been living in South Africa all their lives, which may have contributed to their adoption of some forms of Western dress. It is evident that the participants placed great importance on their Muslim background and tradition and want to adhere to Islam's prescribed dress practices while at the same time integrating some aspects of South African thought and behaviour into their Muslim self. Likewise, within the campus context participants found a way of balancing their Muslim and South African identities and incorporating both in their dress practices. This indicates that many participants follow an integration strategy as participants combined traditional Islamic and typical Western garments to varying degrees into one ensemble. This finding is in line with the assumption of the cultural perspective stating that "people have the potential to transform their own realities by manipulating the objects in their cultural world" (Kaiser, 1997:51). Female Muslim students find imaginative ways of combining traditional Islamic and typical Western dress forms within the campus environment.

The incorporation of typical Western garments may be the result of the campus experience, as well as having lived in South Africa for most of their life, and therefore having been surrounded by and exposed to other cultures. The results of the study can better be explained in terms of different degrees of cultural pluralism, rather than referring to the acculturation strategies as initially expected. Cultural pluralism, also referred to as biculturalism entails aspects of different cultures being combined and synthesised within an individual and is the result of the interaction of individuals in a culturally heterogeneous environment (Bisin & Verdier, 2000; Neuliep, 2009:378). Various studies have found that young Muslim women tend to become bicultural within a context where they are in the minority (Sirin *et al.*, 2008; Dwyer, 2000). Sirin *et al.* (2008) focused on Muslim Americans between the ages of 18 and 28 years, while Dwyer (2000) conducted interviews with young British Muslim women. Both of these studies concluded that Muslim women were more likely to have an integrated cultural identity. Even though these women placed more importance on their Muslim culture than the mainstream culture, they were able to incorporate both into their sense of self.

CONCLUSION

The results provided new insights of how female Muslim students' management of their appearance and dress in a campus context underlie the process of acculturation. The results of this study were inconsistent with those of previous studies about acculturation strategies followed in dress practices. While other studies were able to categorise their participants according to the three acculturation strategies (separation, integration and assimilation), this did not hold true for the current study, where participants could only be divided into two groups based on less modest and more modest dress practices. The study showed that female Muslim students attending a university in Pretoria are bicultural to different degrees. Participants were unwilling to discard their Muslim heritage and subsequently dress, however they chose to interact with people from other cultures in a South African campus context and combined traditional Islamic and typical Western garments in order to communicate their biculturalism. In this way they showed their dedication to both their Muslim and South African backgrounds. This study contributes to the existing literature of how continuous contact with other cultures manifests in a group's cultural patterns such as dress practices. By focusing on female students' use of dress, to show their affiliation with their heritage as well as their adaptation to a cultural context, new insight was gained into acculturation strategies. The study offers benefits to scholars interested in the social aspects of clothing by showing how people manipulate their appearances and cultural forms to create a specific reality and to adapt to a cultural context.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This study was limited to a particular context, the campus of the University of Pretoria as well as limited to the enrolled female Muslim students. Future research could therefore focus on including male participants in order to identify similarities and differences between male and female dress practices. Participants from different campuses around South Africa can also be included for comparison. The study was of a quantitative nature. Future research could make use of qualitative methods in order to gain deeper insights about why participants selected the answers they did. Interviews can be conducted with individuals or focus groups. Participants can be asked to examine images and in this manner the researcher can obtain individual interpretations of cultural forms (Kaiser, 1997:

55). According to Kaiser (1997:55), when focusing on a cultural group, ethnographic studies would yield the richest results. This method entails the immersion of the researcher in the subculture. The researcher observes participants and describes their behaviour in order to create a cultural portrait of the group (Fouché, 2005:271). This method of research would provide the full picture of the motives behind female Islamic dress practices.

In the study only dress was used to measure participants' level of acculturation. Acculturation is, however, a multidimensional concept incorporating identity, language, religion and social activities (Jun *et al.*, 1993). It is very limiting to base an individual's level of acculturation solely on his or her dress practices. Future studies should include a combination of variables in order to measure an individual's level of acculturation. The Muslim population is not a homogeneous group. Muslims come from different ethnic backgrounds, including Malay, Indian or African subcultures. The current study did not recognise this diversity amongst Muslim participants. Future studies should ask participants to specify their ethnic origin.

The present study only included basic clothing items and only referred minimally to the fit of garments. Future studies can measure the colour, fit, style and trim preferences of participants in order to provide a more detailed summary of their clothing requirements. Once participants knew they were the subject of the study, they may have felt the need to protect their Muslim heritage, and may not have been truthful about their real dress practices on campus. They may have given socially desirable responses instead of their actual views. The researcher was an 'outsider' and did not share the same religious and cultural background as the participants. The researcher may therefore have missed some important aspects that play a pivotal role in the dress practices of participants.

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