

**The relationship of values and identity in female Muslim students' dress practices at the University of Pretoria**

**MILDE ALBRECHT**

**Dissertation**

**M Cons Sci (Clothing Retail Management)**

**Supervisor: Mrs BM Jacobs**

**Co-supervisor: Dr A Retief**

**August 2012**

**The relationship of values and identity in female Muslim students' dress  
practices at the University of Pretoria**

**by**

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

**Masters in Consumer Science (Clothing Retail Management)**

in the

**Faculty of Natural and Agricultural Science**

**Department of Consumer Science**

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**Supervisor: Mrs BM Jacobs**

**Co-supervisor: Dr A Retief**

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*I would like to dedicate this study to the Muslim lady who narrowly missed throwing a pot of urine on my head from the second storey of a building in the streets of Libya. In that moment I realised that my attire (shorts and tank top) was inappropriate for the cultural context and that I needed to be more respectful of the social expectations of the area. She influenced my decision to conduct a Masters study on Islamic dress and to discover the inherent messages being communicated.*

*I am also dedicating this study to God who provided me with the patience and determination I needed to complete this thesis. With God by my side I absolutely refused to give up before seeing the end-product!*

# DECLARATION

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I, **Milde Albrecht**, hereby declare that the dissertation for the **Masters in Consumer Science: Clothing Retail Management** degree at the University of Pretoria, hereby submitted by me, has not previously been submitted at this or any other university and that this is my own work in design and execution and that all reference material in the dissertation has been duly acknowledged.

**MILDE ALBRECHT**

17 August 2012

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# SUMMARY

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## **The relationship of values and identity in female Muslim students' dress practices at the University of Pretoria**

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**MILDE ALBRECHT**

Supervisor: Mrs BM Jacobs

Co-supervisor: Dr A Retief

Department: Consumer Science

Degree: Masters in Consumer Science: Clothing Retail Management

Western and Eastern societies are known to vary in terms of their important values, identities and dress practices. The Muslim culture is a typical Eastern culture, in which the veil is the most visible symbol of a woman's Islamic identity. Today many Muslims live in Western societies. The non-Muslim cultural context has resulted in Muslim women becoming acculturated to the new context and thereby having adopted new patterns of dress. South Africa is generally considered to be a Western society. South African Muslim women follow a variety of dress practices, and take part in the acculturation process to different degrees in order to adapt to the cultural context.

Islam is the fastest growing religion in the world, but in South Africa Muslims are a minority group. While various international studies have focused on the values and identities that influence Muslim women's dress practices, very few studies have analysed these aspects within a South African context. This research study fills an important contextual gap in existing knowledge on the behaviour of Muslim women in terms of their dress practices, as related to their values and identity. The study makes a contribution to the fields of culture and apparel behaviour research.

Female Muslim students attending a university in Pretoria follow varied dress practices. While some individuals wear traditional Islamic garments, others follow Western fashion trends. These differences in dress can be attributed to the acculturation process. The campus environment is a multicultural context. Female Muslim students must decide to what extent they are willing to adopt the new values, identities and dress practices that surround them. The aim of this study is to explore and describe the relationship between values and identity in the dress practices of female Muslim students attending a university in Pretoria.

The study's literature review includes explanations of different value typologies, identity types and acculturation strategies. All of these concepts are related to dress. A cultural perspective served 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 manifest in dress over time.

The sample consisted of 200 female Muslim students enrolled at the University of Pretoria. Participants were all between 17 and 25 years of age. Non-probability sampling methods were used, including purposive and snowball sampling. Participants were asked to complete a self-administered questionnaire. An exploratory survey research design was followed with a quantitative approach to collect data.

The results of the study revealed that participants could not be divided into three groups according to the different acculturation strategies, but rather into two groups, based on less modest and more modest dress practices. Only slight differences in values and identity were identified between the two groups. While the group who followed less modest dress practices placed more importance on social values, the group following more modest dress practices placed more importance on religious values and found a Muslim identity to be more predominant. All other values and identities were rated as being equally significant to both groups and were also ranked in the same order of importance.

**Keywords: dress, acculturation, values, identity, Muslims, culture**

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# CHAPTER 1

## THE STUDY IN PERSPECTIVE

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### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Western and Eastern societies are known to vary in terms of the way they dress. Key values, identities and dress practices of Western and Eastern cultures differ. Western cultures tend to place greater importance on inner-directed values. These individuals want to be independent and feel the need to express their uniqueness. This is achieved by following Western fashions and creating an identity for themselves that communicates their distinctiveness. Eastern cultures, on the other hand, tend to value outer-directed values. These cultural groups believe in the connectedness of people and put great effort into maintaining social relationships. They are more likely to conform to the dress expectations of the group, enabling them to communicate their collective identity (Markus & Kitayama, 1991:226-227; Storm, 1987:319). The values, identities and dress practices of the Muslim culture seem to be more reflective of a traditional Eastern culture.

Being Muslim represents more than just a religion: it is a way of life. 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). Muslims can therefore be said to form part of a cultural group. The Koran serves as the foundation and guide of the day-to-day lives of its followers (Hassem, 2008:9). Islam must be internally accepted, as well as externally practised. Islam prescribes specific dress practices, along with the values and overall identity that represent its people (Dastoor, Baumanis & Soomro, 2003:59). The veil is the most visible symbol of a woman's Islamic identity since modesty is a characteristic of Islam (Kopp, 2002:66, 69). Muslim societies enforce modest dress codes through social control. In many Middle-Eastern countries, modesty in women's dress is dictated by law. In these countries, women need to cover themselves with traditional Islamic garments to

protect themselves against harassment by other Muslims, or even death (Shirazi, 2000:121).

Today many Muslims are living in Western societies. Muslim women living in these societies have a completely different experience to women living in predominantly Muslim societies (Hassem, 2008:16). Western countries encourage freedom of choice and flexibility in people's dress practices. Many Muslim women, when confronted with such freedom, have adopted new patterns of dress and behaviour to suit the new cultural context (Stimpfl, 2000:177). Muslim women embrace Western standards of beauty as they strive for individualism by creating their own personal dress styles (Shirazi, 2000:119). The practice of veiling has changed in meaning since it has increasingly become part of a consumption culture.

Culture is a way of life. In everyday contexts, groups of people acquire meaning from cultural messages. Culture has been defined in many ways. According to Hofstede (1980:21), culture is the "collective programming of the human mind which distinguishes the members of one group from those of another". 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 behaviour shared by members of a culture. Culture not only includes a set of shared artefacts, but also 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. 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". This definition includes any transformations of the body, as well as body supplements. An individual can transform his or her body with different hairstyles, or by getting a tattoo. Body supplements include body enclosures, attachments to the body, or handheld objects. Such items may include any form of clothing, or accessories worn by an individual (Eicher, Evenson & Lutz, 2000:6). Dress is a form of non-verbal communication in which outside characteristics express inner qualities (Balasescu, 2003:45). When changes in the dress of an individual take place, the values and predominant identities of that individual may also change. This is what links material and non-material culture.

Non-material culture refers to abstract concepts, such as beliefs, values, identity, and behaviour. Rokeach (1973:5) defined values as “enduring beliefs that certain patterns of behaviour or end states are preferable to others”. Identity is a form of self-definition, and refers to all the meanings or characteristics assigned to the self within a certain social situation (Hitlin, 2003:120). Values and identity are both expressive in nature, and individuals are motivated to communicate them to others through their appearances or dress (Kaiser, 1997:290). People are socialised to hold certain values and identities depending on their cultural group and society affiliation. They also strive to dress according to societal and cultural expectations about appropriate appearances. Western and Eastern societies tend to differ in their material and non-material cultural preferences.

Muslims living in Western societies are usually in the minority (Eicher *et al.*, 2000:45), and these individuals usually have to adapt to Western society through the process of acculturation. Although changes in dress can be attributed to a variety of socio-cultural influences, in this study the focus will only be on acculturation. Acculturation occurs when people of two different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, and a change in the cultural patterns of either or both groups takes place. The adoption of new values and the creation of a new identity is a possible result of this contact. Individuals take part in the change process to different degrees (Dastoor *et al.*, 2003:58): while some Muslim women adopt a completely Western appearance, there are those that combine Western garments with their headscarves, in order to create a hybrid identity for themselves. Other Muslim women choose to wear only traditional Islamic garments within a Western context. In South Africa women follow quite a variety of dress practices.

South Africa is generally considered to be a Western society with a strong African influence. It is a multicultural nation, and diversity is encouraged, especially after the demise of the Apartheid regime. Muslims living in South Africa represent a minority group. Muslims who settled in South Africa came from various nations. Despite individuals having different ethnic backgrounds, the Islamic faith binds them together into one cultural community. South African Muslims tend to live in closed communities. In this manner, the Muslim way of life is protected (Hassem, 2008:120-121; Van der Merwe, 1996:80). South African Muslim women follow a variety of dress practices, ranging from traditional Islamic dress to more revealing Western fashions

(Muthal, 2010:3, 86; Kopp, 2002:64). This study explores these variations in dress, as well as the values and identities Muslim women want to communicate through their dress.

## 1.2 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Islam is the fastest growing religion in the world (Sader, 2008:2). Muslims make up 24% of the world population (Kettani, 2010:1), but this number is expected to increase by about 35% in the next 20 years, from 1.6 billion in 2010 to 2.2 billion by 2030. This growth in the Muslim population is predicted to occur at about twice the rate of the non-Muslim population over the next two decades (The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 2011:1). In South Africa Muslims are a minority group (Vahed, 2000:44); the South African Muslim population constituted 1.46% of the total South African population in 2001. The representation of Muslims with regard to the total South African population is expected to continue its slow increase (Kettani, 2010:16-17). Even though Muslims are a minority group in South Africa, the presence of their culture is highly visible. Large mosques are found in every major city, and Muslim women in traditional dress can be seen everywhere (Vahed, 2000:44). In a multicultural nation like South Africa, where people from many cultural backgrounds are living together in a diverse society, it is important to have a heightened understanding of the various cultures within its borders. South Africa has a history of cultural groups being divided and misunderstood. Female Muslim dress is a controversial aspect in Western society and is often misinterpreted (Boulanouar, 2006:140). By having more knowledge of this cultural group, Westerners can perhaps look past the dress and understand the real meanings Muslim women are trying to communicate (Boulanouar, 2006:155). By understanding the behaviour of this group, more insight can be gained regarding their different beliefs and unique dress practices (Rousseau, 2003:398).

Various international studies have focused on the values and identities that influence Muslim women's dress practices. Dwyer (2000) analysed how young British Muslim women negotiated their identities by means of their dress. These women combine Western and Islamic garments to communicate a hybrid identity. Sirin, Bikmen, Mir,

Finec, Zaal and Katsiaficas (2008) asked Muslim American participants to draw identity maps. Their findings indicated that participants were able to incorporate both their Muslim and American identities, either as a coherent whole, or in separate domains of life. Dastoor *et al.* (2003) found that Muslims living in Western societies tend to adopt Western values. Studies linking clothing behaviour to the acculturation levels of participants are those of Rajagopalan and Heitmeyer (2005), as well as Upchurch (2008). Both of these studies, however, focused on Asian-Indian women living in the United States of America (U.S.A.). Other international studies focusing on the values and identities that influence Muslim women's dress practices are those of Secor (2002), Balasescu (2003) and also Kilicbay and Binark (2002).

Very few studies have focused on the values, identities and dress practices of Muslim women living in a South African context. Hassem (2008) explored the role of women's groups in the lives of Muslim women in South Africa. Sader (2008) conducted interviews with four married Muslim couples to determine how these women negotiate their identities. Topics such as race, gender, religion and globalisation were discussed to understand how their identities were constructed. Muthal (2010) conducted interviews to determine how Muslims interpret their social identities within a South African context. No studies have, however, analysed the relationship between dress practices, values and identities of Muslim women living in South Africa. This research study will fill an important contextual gap in existing knowledge on the behaviour of Muslim women in terms of their dress practices as related to their values and identity. The study will further contribute to expanding current literature on this topic, by understanding which values and identities Muslim women are trying to communicate to others and discovering how they are expressing these through their dress practices.

### **1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT**

The Muslim culture has a shared understanding of important values and has a notable group identity most visible through their outward appearances. Even though the Muslim culture dictates collective behaviour and appropriate dress codes for its members, female Muslim students follow varied dress practices. This is especially

the case of Muslim students attending a university in Pretoria. These individuals find themselves interacting with people from other cultures on a daily basis. This cultural contact causes a dilemma for Muslim students: while they have strict behavioural guidelines from their Islamic culture, the Western way of thinking and behaving surrounds them. Female Muslim students have different ways of adapting to an environment dominated by Western values, identities and dress practices. Even though they tend to follow the collective dress practices of their religion, it seems as if these women use a different set of values to create identities for themselves in the university campus context. The modification of their traditional dress practices into more westernised dress, or a combination of Muslim and Western dress, reflects this apparent change in values and identity.

Everyday dress practices (material culture) are a reflection of underlying values and identity (non-material culture). Changes in non-material culture usually accompany the adoption of new dress practices or modifications to old dress practices (material culture). Changes in values and identity most probably accompany changes in Muslim women's dress. The aim of this study is to explore and describe the relationship between the non-material culture (values and identity) and the material culture (dress) of female Muslim students attending a university in Pretoria.

*Which values, identities and acculturation strategies of female Muslim students are reflected in their dress practices?*

#### **1.4 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY**

The overall objective of the study is to understand how values and identity affect female Muslim students' dress practices on campus. Specific objectives of the study are:

1. To explore and describe the **most important values** of female Muslim students as reflected in their dress practices.

2. To explore and describe the **predominant identity** female Muslim students want to communicate with their everyday dress practices.
3. To explore and describe the **different acculturation strategies** female Muslim students use in terms of their dress practices.

## 1.5 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Definitions of important concepts and terms used throughout the study are given below for the sake of comprehensiveness and to increase theoretical validity of the study.

**Values:** “Enduring beliefs that certain patterns of behavior or end states are preferable to others” (Hitlin, 2003:120).

**Political Values:** “Refer to the desire to obtain power or to succeed, exercising influence over others, and gaining recognition”. These values are related to fashionable dress and status symbolism (Kaiser, 1997:301).

**Exploratory Values:** Represent “a desire to investigate new possibilities for the sake of variety and novelty”. Such values relate to experimentation with clothing (Kaiser, 1997:301-302).

**Aesthetic Values:** Refer to the harmony and form of objects. These values emphasise fashion, enjoyment and enhancing personal appearance (Kaiser, 1997:301; Storm, 1987:319).

**Theoretical Values:** “Associated with the discovery of truth or the search for knowledge as potential organizing principles for goals or behavior”. These values relate to the practicality and comfort of dress (Kaiser, 1997:300).

**Social Values:** Linked to conformance in dress. Individuals feel the need for acceptance by others, and therefore dress according to social expectations (Kaiser, 1997:301).

**Religious Values:** Related to modest dress. These individuals are conservative and have a low fashion interest (Kaiser, 1997:301; Storm, 1987:319).

**Economic Values:** Related to satisfying basic needs and avoiding wastefulness in terms of time, money, and energy. Individuals who score high on economic values view objects in terms of their usefulness and functionality (Kaiser, 1997:300).

**Identity:** “The organized set of characteristics an individual perceives as representing or defining the self in a given social situation” (Kaiser, 1997:186).

**Ethnic Identity:** “Refers to one’s identity or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group”. This type of identity derives from one’s cultural heritage (Chattalas & Harper, 2007:353; Phinney & Ong, 2007:274).

**National Identity:** Refers to a common public culture “that unites the members of one national community and distinguishes it from others” (Henderson & McEwen, 2005:175).

**Hybrid Identity:** When individuals “learn to inhabit two identities, to speak two cultural languages, to translate and negotiate between them”. In this manner both ethnic and national identities are combined and permanently present within the individual (Phinney & Ong, 2007:274; Dwyer, 2000:475).

**Dress Practices:** “The total arrangement of all outwardly detectable modifications of the body and all material objects added to it”. This definition includes any transformations of the body, as well as body supplements (Kaiser, 1997:5).

**Acculturation:** “Those phenomena which result when people of different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups” (Dastoor *et al.*, 2003:58).

**Separation Strategy:** When 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).

**Assimilation Strategy:** When individuals increase identification with the national culture at the cost of their ethnic identity (Phinney & Ong, 2007:274).

**Integration Strategy:** When an individual incorporates multiple cultural identities between which he or she must negotiate (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005:1018).

## 1.6 PRESENTATION AND OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

### 1.6.1 Chapter 1: The Study in Perspective

**Chapter 1** sets the context for the study by providing a detailed and comprehensive discussion about the nature and background of the research topic. Important elements of the chapter include: the justification for the research, the research statement, and the overall objective of the study. Finally, this chapter gives an outline of the remaining chapters and summarises their content.

### 1.6.2 Chapter 2: Literature Review

**Chapter 2** contains a comprehensive review of the literature relevant to the research topic. The literature mainly addresses values, typology of values, identity and types of identities. The different acculturation strategies are described, along with their application to Islamic dress practices. The chapter ends with implications the above-mentioned topics have on the study.

### 1.6.3 Chapter 3: Theoretical Perspective

A cultural perspective has been chosen as theoretical perspective for the study. The perspective is discussed and justified in terms of its suitability for the current study. The assumptions of the perspective are given, along with implications the theoretical

perspective has on the study. The schematic conceptual framework is presented. The chapter ends with objectives and sub-objectives formulated for the study.

#### **1.6.4 Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology**

**Chapter 4** covers the study methodology, sampling, design, questionnaire development and statistical analysis.

#### **1.6.5 Chapter 5: Results**

**Chapter 5** presents statistical findings related to the objectives. The findings are presented and discussed according to the objectives and sub-objectives of the study.

#### **1.6.6 Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusions**

**Chapter 6** offers discussions, conclusions and implications derived from the study's findings. In addition, research limitations and future research directions are suggested.

### **1.7 CONCLUSION**

**Chapter 2** focuses on relevant literature, where all the necessary concepts are defined, discussed and directed towards the objectives developed for this study. This indicates how female Muslim students attending a university in Pretoria manage their appearances in the campus environment. The values and identities they want to communicate through their dress are also described.

# CHAPTER 2

## LITERATURE REVIEW

---

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview of the relevant literature, which seeks to provide a background of and a motivation for the research objective discussed in the previous chapter. The literature review represents the following topics: (1) Values; (2) Typologies of values; (3) Identity; and (4) Acculturation and dress practices. This information is then utilised as a foundation in developing specific objectives for the study.

Culture is a context in which symbolic meanings are interpreted and developed. Such symbolic meanings can be communicated through dress and include one's values and identity. Values and identity form part of a person's non-material culture, and dress forms part of material culture (Chattalas & Harper, 2007:352; Momcilovic, 1998:8, 25). These concepts, as well as the interrelationships that exist between values, identities and dress, will now be discussed in more detail.

### 2.2 VALUES

Every cultural group has a value system (Els, 1993:32). Values are deeply held beliefs that certain patterns of behaviour or end states are preferable to others. They are central to a person, determining an individual's goals, and serve as guiding principles in life (Jain, Singh & Rankawat, 2011:13; Hitlin, 2003:119-120, 122). An individual learns values while growing up (Neuliep, 2009:58). They are relatively stable, and are less subject to change during adulthood (Bardi & Schwartz, 2010:1208). Any person only holds a few important values (Hills, 2011:1). These important values are so ingrained within a person that he or she can behave in

accordance with those values without consciously thinking about them (Bardi & Schwartz, 2010:1208). When arranging an individual's values from most to least important, a value system is developed (Pentecost, 1973:2). Ethnic background, age, gender, level of education, religion, and social class cause the differences in importance that individuals place on values (Dastoor *et al.*, 2003:59; Pentecost, 1973:7). Values are an important motivational force when making decisions, influencing one's preferences and choices (Hitlin, 2003:123, 125; Kaiser, 1997:289). Values have a strong influence on behaviour, because people want to behave according to their most important values and express these values to others (Hills, 2011:8; Bardi & Schwartz, 2010:1208-1209). Important values are expressed through dress, since dress is the most tangible way of expressing something abstract, like values (Chattalas & Harper, 2007:352; Dixon, 2007:1; Pentecost, 1973:2).

Values differ markedly across cultures (Hills, 2011:1; Segall, Dasen, Berry & Poortinga, 1990:67-68). By understanding cultural value systems, one can identify the similarities and differences between different cultural groups (Hills, 2011:1; Neuliep, 2009:58). Values can predict behaviour in certain situations and are reflected in people's clothing choices (Neuliep, 2009:47; Chattalas & Harper, 2007:353; Segall *et al.*, 1990:303). In this review, three methods of categorising values are discussed and used to differentiate between the value orientations most often associated with typical Eastern and Western cultures. The first method differentiates between inner-directed and other-directed values. The second method looks at the seven basic values, as developed by Allport, Vernon and Lindzey (1960). The third method includes Schwartz's (1992) ten value types. These three value typologies are summarised in **Table 2.1**. In terms of this study, the combination of the three value typologies is just to clarify the different value theories and to show how they relate and overlap. For the purpose of this study only Allport *et al.*'s (1960) basic values are used to explore female Muslim students' important values.

**TABLE 2.1: COMBINATION OF THREE VALUE TYPOLOGIES**

	INNER-DIRECTED VS. OTHER-DIRECTED VALUES (Triandis, 1989:509-510)	BASIC VALUES (Allport, Vernon, and Lindzey, 1960)	SCHWARTZ'S VALUES (Hitlin, 2003:126)	
TYPICAL WESTERN VALUES	Inner-directed	Political	Power	Openness to change & Self-enhancement
			Achievement	
		Exploratory	Self-direction	
			Stimulation	
		Aesthetic	Hedonism	
	Theoretical			
TYPICAL EASTERN VALUES	Other-directed		Conformity	Conservation & Self-transcendence
			Benevolence	
		Social	Security	
		Religious	Universalism	
			Tradition	
	Economic			

### 2.2.1 Inner vs. Other-directed Values

Some ways of thinking and being are prototypical of Western people. Inner-directed values are most often associated with Western cultures (Kaiser, 1997:473; Markus & Kitayama, 1991:226). Inner-directedness is related to non-conformity or individualism. Triandis's work focuses on individualism and collectivism. According to him, individuals with inner-directed values give greater priority to personal goals, and have less concern for the expectations of others (Neuliep, 2009:40; Triandis, 1989:509-510). In Western cultures, the emphasis tends to be on values that benefit the individual person, rather than the group. The ties between individuals are loose and people only care about themselves and their immediate family (Neuliep, 2009:40; Dastoor *et al.*, 2003:60). These individuals are more likely to experience feelings of loneliness and alienation (Triandis, 1989:509). Western society values consumption and material well-being (Segall *et al.*, 1990:217; Johnson, 1985:113). Such materialism has replaced a religious consciousness in the West (Johnson, 1985:127). Western societies tend to believe that religion is a private matter, and should not be expressed in public (Boulanouar, 2006:150). Western individuals tend to believe they are in control of their own lives (Dixon, 2007:1), and are concerned with achievement, ambition and self-reliance (Triandis, 1989:509). They believe in personal enhancement and fulfilment (Johnson, 1985:120-121) and want to have fun

and an exciting life (Dixon, 2007:1). Inner-directedness is also related to self-expression, creativity, and uniqueness. Western individuals value freedom of choice and personal independence (Neuliep, 2009:40; Chattalas & Harper, 2007:352). They are open to change and want to be modern (Naylor, 1996:3; Segall *et al.*, 1990:222,230). Western fashions express this sentiment for individuality prevalent in Western societies. Western fashions are fast-changing and are equated to keeping up with the times (Frings, 2005:50; Balasescu, 2003:40, 48). Western society blurs the distinction between male and female, as is evident in Western fashions, where both men and women wear suits, T-shirts and jeans, amongst other garments (Rovine, 2009:46-47; Fernea & Fernea, 1986:272).

Non-Western cultures are more inclined to adhere to other-directed values (Markus & Kitayama, 1991:227). Other-directedness is similar to conformity or conventionality. Individuals from non-Western cultures tend to value social-acceptance, as they are sensitive to the expectations of others, and engage in appropriate behaviours, even if these behaviours are not that enjoyable (Kaiser, 1997:473; Triandis, 1989:513). They behave in ways that will benefit the group and that show their commitment to others (Chattalas & Harper, 2007:352). They feel interdependent with their group members, have warm relationships and therefore enjoy much social support (Dixon, 2007:1; Triandis, 1989:509). Group goals are valued more than individual goals (Neuliep, 2009:41). Individuals from non-Western cultures are inclined to value obedience, reliability and harmony (Triandis, 1989:510), want to be well respected and value a sense of security (Dixon, 2007:1; Marsella, 1985:297). Eastern cultures tend to believe in the sharing of material resources, seeing that they want to enhance the well-being of their cultural group (Segall *et al.*, 1990:38,218; Triandis, 1989:509). Non-Western or traditional dress is associated with holding deep meanings, being unchanging and projecting group identity (Rovine, 2009:46). Other-directed values are linked to Muslim dress (Fernea & Fernea, 1986:265). Islam emphasises goodwill and unity for its followers. Muslims value a group culture and care about the well-being of their community (Hassem, 2008:14, 114). Muslim women claim that the wearing of Islamic dress makes them feel like they belong to the wider Muslim community (Sader, 2008:16). Gender differences in Islamic society are evident in their dress practices, considering that great differences exist between male and female clothing styles (Fernea & Fernea, 1986:272).

## 2.2.2 Basic Values

The next value typology is that of Allport *et al.* (1960), who proposed six basic values, including aesthetic, theoretical, economic, political, social and religious values (Momcilovic, 1998:27; Storm, 1987:318-319). These basic values were based on Spranger and Pigors's (1928) six types of men (Jain *et al.*, 2011:15). Spranger and Pigors (1928) suggested that six attitudes are present in all people, but to varying degrees, and with one attitude dominating. Allport *et al.* (1960) developed the "Study of Values" instrument in 1931, which referred to Spranger's attitudes rather as values, and determined the relative importance placed on the value types by different individuals in terms of their personality (Rohan, 2000:259; Pentecost, 1973:11). Creekmore (1963) related clothing behaviour to these basic values and also suggested a seventh value type, namely that of exploratory values (Jain *et al.*, 2011:13; Momcilovic, 1998:27). This seventh value type has also been included in the discussion. Studies using Allport *et al.*'s basic values are mostly correlation studies, aiming to determine relationships between clothing preferences, values and personality (Dixon, 2007:27).

Aesthetic, political, exploratory and theoretical values are closely related to inner-directed values, and are more typical of Western culture. People with dominant *aesthetic values* place great importance on fashion, enjoyment and enhancing personal appearance (Storm, 1987:319). They value the design and expressive quality of an object (Pentecost, 1973:4). *Political values* refer to the desire to obtain power and success. These values are related to fashionable dress and status symbolism. Individuals who place importance on political values follow a dress-for-success ethic and want to impress others by drawing attention to themselves (Kaiser, 1997:301; Storm, 1987:319). *Exploratory values* emphasise novelty and variety. Such individuals want to experiment with different clothing styles (Kaiser, 1997:301-302). *Theoretical values* are related to the practicality and comfort of dress (Kaiser, 1997:300).

Social, religious and economic values are similar to other-directed values, and are generally more representative of Eastern cultures. *Social values* are linked to conformance in dress. Individuals feel the need for acceptance by others, and therefore dress according to social expectations (Kaiser, 1997:301; Momcilovic,

1998:15). They may imitate the dress of their friends and dress appropriately for the occasion (Pentecost, 1973:4). *Religious values* are related to modest dress (Kaiser, 1997:301). Individuals who place importance on this value type tend to be conservative and to have a low fashion interest (Storm, 1987:319). *Economic values* are related to satisfying basic needs and avoiding wastefulness in terms of time, money and energy. Individuals who score high on economic values view objects in terms of their usefulness and functionality (Kaiser, 1997:300). They place great importance on the durability and maintenance requirements of garments (Pentecost, 1973:4).

### 2.2.3 Schwartz's Values

Shalom Schwartz is renowned for his work on values (Neuliep, 2009:58). Schwartz's Value Theory of 1992 is based on the universal requirements of human existence (Bardi & Schwartz, 2010:1208). The three universal requirements of human existence include biological needs, requirements for social interaction, and the demands of maintaining a group (Rohan, 2000:262). Schwartz defined ten value types, each having a different motivational goal. Schwartz termed them 'universal values', as they are recognised across cultures, even though individuals may differ greatly in the importance they attribute to each value (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001:269-270). These values can be rank ordered according to their relative importance to an individual (Neuliep, 2009:58). An important aspect of Schwartz's value theory is the relations among values. Relations between values are portrayed in a circular structure or a motivational continuum. Whereas some values stand in conflict with one another, others are more congruent. Congruent values involve similar types of behaviour to express those values, while contradicting values are expressed by contrasting behaviours (Bardi & Schwartz, 2010:1208).

The ten value types include power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity and security. Each of these values is mutually exclusive, with individuals placing differing importance on each value type. *Power* refers to social status, authority and wealth. *Achievement* includes being successful, ambitious and influential. *Hedonism* is related to pleasure, sensuous gratification, and enjoying life. *Stimulation* refers to having an exciting life, novelty and being daring. *Self-direction* is related to creativity, independence and

choosing one's own goals. *Universalism* includes being broad-minded, having wisdom and a sense of equality. *Benevolence* refers to honesty, helpfulness and loyalty. *Tradition* includes being humble, as well as respecting, being committed to and accepting one's original culture or religion. *Conformity* is similar to self-discipline, honouring one's parents, and complying with social expectations. *Security* involves maintaining the social order, having harmonious relationships, stability and safety (Bardi & Schwartz, 2010:1208).

The ten value types are divided into four categories. The values universalism and benevolence fall in the category of *self-transcendence*. Conformity, tradition and security values form part of the *conservation* category. Hedonism, self-direction and stimulation fall in the *openness to change* category. Achievement and power values are included in the *self-enhancement* category (Hitlin, 2003:126). The values that fall into the categories self-transcendence and conservation are more reflective of Eastern cultures and are more closely related to other-directed values, as well as social, economic and religious values. The values that form part of the categories *openness to change* and *self-enhancement* are more representative of Western cultures, and are linked to inner-directed values, as well as aesthetic, theoretical, exploratory and political values, as indicated in **Table 2.1** (Momcilovic, 1998:13, 78).

Values are a cohesive force within identity. Individuals are committed to the identities that best enable them to express their most important values (Hitlin, 2003:118, 123; Arthur, 2000a:1). Identity is thus produced through a person's value commitments. A change in values will also lead to a change in identity (Hitlin, 2003:121). Values and identity are both expressive in nature, are contextual, and individuals are motivated to communicate them to others by means of their appearances. Values and identity are therefore central to individuals' self-concepts and underpin their dress practices (Kaiser, 1997:290). Identity is, however, linked more closely to behaviour than values (Hitlin, 2003:122). In other words, a person's predominant values will be incorporated in his or her identity and will be visible in his or her dress.

## 2.3 IDENTITY

Identity refers to a self-definition, and can be defined as “the organized set of characteristics an individual perceives as representing or defining the self in a given social situation” (Kaiser, 1997:186, 193). Various meanings are attached to the self by oneself and by others. These meanings or attributes are a way of differentiating oneself from others and announcing group affiliations (Balasescu, 2003:49; Hitlin, 2003:119, 120, 124). Two processes are linked to identity development. An ascribed identity is assigned to an individual by society and includes biological variables, such as gender, age or ethnicity. These are not entirely open to change. An achieved identity is created by an individual and is linked to one’s achievements or roles in one’s career, social life or leisure activities. An individual has more control over these aspects and can make changes to his or her achieved identity (Sader, 2008:8; Kaiser, 1997:187). Identity is not something that individuals automatically have, but rather develops over time (Phinney & Ong, 2007:274). Depending on the context, the development of identity is a process continually being redefined (Dwyer, 2000:475). Different situations call for different identities (Hitlin, 2003:121). Dress is a means of establishing and communicating identity. Clothing announces who we are, as well as who we want to be (Chattalas & Harper, 2007:351; Arthur, 2000a:2). South African Muslim women attach various meanings to their identity and communicate these identities through their dress (Muthal, 2010:3). Three different types of identity will now be discussed, including ethnic, national and hybrid identity. How these identities manifest in dress will also be described.

### 2.3.1 Muslim Ethnic Identity

An ethnic group has a unique cultural identity (Els, 1993:7). Ethnic identity derives from one’s cultural heritage, and refers to a sense of self as a member of an ethnic group (Chattalas & Harper, 2007:353; Phinney & Ong, 2007:274). Ethnicity refers to subgroups within a larger context who have a common ancestry and share a culture, history, language, religion, place of origin, or similar traditions and customs (Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005:84; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001:496). A group with a strong ethnic identity tends to share collectivistic values (Upchurch, 2008:2). Ethnicity is not a choice, but is rather determined at birth or

assigned to one by others (Phinney & Ong, 2007:275). The strength of association to an ethnic group depends on the feelings one has towards that group (Chattalas & Harper, 2007:353). The wearing of ethnic dress can express an ethnic identity (Upchurch, 2008:25). Religion may be central within a certain cultural system; a religion's outward manifestations represent the rules, customs, conventions and rituals of the cultural group. Dress therefore plays an important role in the religious expression of an ethnic group (Arthur, 2000a:1, 3), whereby dress becomes a symbol of being on the right and true path (Arthur, 1999:1).

Religiosity is the main variable contributing towards strong Muslim identification (Muthal, 2010:36; Sirin *et al.*, 2008:274). The veil gives Muslim women a strong ethnic identity (Hassem, 2008:19). To cover the body and conceal it from view is a moral commitment under Islam (Dunkel, Davidson & Qurashi, 2010:57; Kilicbay & Binark, 2002:497). Islam prohibits women from wearing clothing that is transparent or tight-fitting (Boulanouar, 2006:139). The term 'hijab' describes the standard requirements of Islamic clothing for women and literally means 'curtain' or 'barrier' (Dunkel *et al.*, 2010:57). *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, 2000:482), while others believe it refers to a head-covering (Boulanouar, 2006:144). Either way, by wearing *hijab*, a Muslim woman communicates her commitment to Islam (Daly, 2000:137; Shirazi, 2000:125). *Jilbab* is another Islamic garment referring to a full-length loose-fitting dress or draping gown (Boulanouar, 2006:139; Arthur, 2000b:211). The *niqab* is a face veil covering the whole face except the eyes (Dunkel *et al.*, 2010:57). Depending on the country, there are many other terms for Islamic garments, for example in Egypt, the veil and accompanying garments are called the *milayah*. In Iraq, these same garments are referred to as *abbayah*, and in Iran they are called the *chador* (Fernea & Fernea, 1986:266). Muslim women are required to start covering once they reach puberty (Kopp, 2002:75). They are required to cover when outside their homes, in order to hide their beauty (Dunkel *et al.*, 2010:57; Fernea & Fernea, 1986:269). The veil serves as a form of portable seclusion or a 'mobile home' allowing women to maintain a modest appearance when in public (Abu-Lughod, 2002:785; Fernea & Fernea, 1986:271). The veil becomes a permanent sacred space for a woman while she engages in worldly activities (Secor, 2002:7). The wearing of modest dress symbolically separates Muslim women from men. In this

manner, Muslim women are protected against unwanted attention from men and maintain their dignity (Boulanouar, 2006:138; Abu-Lughod, 2002:785). In this way, the influence of sexuality is eliminated in social interactions. Muslims also claim that the separation of women from men through their dress is a means of preserving the social order, as women are deemed unable to control their sexuality (Dunkel *et al.*, 2010:57; Fernea & Fernea, 1986:270). Women are viewed as the maintainers of cultural values and therefore need to be protected from the outside world to prevent the destruction of their faith (Hassem, 2008:12; Dwyer, 2000:477).

### **2.3.2 South African National Identity**

National identity refers to a common public culture that unites the members of one community or society and distinguishes it from others. One may not meet many of the other members that make up the same nation, but a sense of belonging together is still shared. A nation can be described as an 'imagined community'. Nations continue to exist by the consent of the people. In order for people to identify themselves with a nation, they need to have a shared understanding of what that nation represents. Such shared meanings, as well as the political organisation, represent the nation (Henderson & McEwen, 2005:175). Every nation has certain traditions, institutions, languages and ideologies that define the members' nationality (Naylor, 1996:24; Segall *et al.*, 1990:317-318). Cultural diversity is, however, present in all nations, making it more difficult to create a national identity (Bornman, 2005:386; Naylor, 1996:24). Defining a nation according to language, ethnicity or religion, risks excluding new members of the nation. An idea of shared values is useful in creating a sense of national identity amongst multiple cultures, and can serve as a means of inclusion. New arrivals may adopt the values that characterise the nation, and thereby feel as though they belong. Such values can help define the national identity, describing 'who we are as a people and what it is that binds us together'. Specific values are thought to symbolise a certain nation and to unite its people (Henderson & McEwen, 2005:173, 187-188). Vincent (2007:91) maintains that dress also symbolises the character of a nation. Shared values can thus shape the nation's identity and can be expressed through members' dress.

South Africa is a multicultural nation with a collective heritage. After the demise of Apartheid, South Africa was dubbed the 'rainbow nation' signalling the multiple ethnic

groups constituting South Africa's diverse population (Sader, 2008:5; Van der Merwe, 1996:78). South Africa's Constitution supports this diversity by emphasising the enhancement of human rights and freedoms. In South Africa's Bill of Rights, it is guaranteed that South Africans are free to participate in the cultural life of their choice, and that all individuals have the right to enjoy their culture and practice their religion (Bornman, 2005:385; Van der Merwe, 1996:80-81). It is difficult to label South Africans according to one national identity (Vahed, 2000:43). Two main cultural orientations do, however, exist in this nation: an African identity, as well as a Western one (Bornman, 2005:388). South Africans want to live according to Western culture, while retaining their own Afrocentric cultures (Rousseau, 2003:400). These two cultural orientations are evident in South African dress practices. Western fashions are based on change, by focusing attention on different parts of the body (Frings, 2005:50). Fashion is equated to modernity and keeping up with the times (Balasescu, 2003:48). Daly (2000:139) observes that women's Western-styled fashions are typically more tailored and fitted. Suits, T-shirts, and blue jeans are typical Western garments (Rovine, 2009:46-47). Due to long European control over South Africa, Western clothing styles became part of the African existence. South Africans have, however, become excited about the nation they form part of and are embracing their national identity, instead of just imitating the West. One example is T-shirts printed with political figures from South Africa's past. The African aesthetic is thus shaping mainstream fashions, in order to create clothing trends that are unique to this nation (Musangi, 2009:51, 54; Vincent, 2007:86).

### **2.3.3 Hybrid Identity**

In today's mobile world, growing numbers of people are internalising more than one cultural identity (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005:1016). When an ethnic and national identity is combined, a hybrid identity is created (Phinney & Ong, 2007:274; Dwyer, 2000:475). Hybridity refers to cultural overlapping of oppositional ways of thinking and behaving, where both cultures are permanently present within the individual, no matter to what extent (Schumann, 2011:6). This phenomenon is also referred to as biculturalism or multiculturalism. Balancing these two cultural identities is complex and individuals must find a way to negotiate between them (Berry, 2008:27; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005:1016-1017). Dress is a means of communicating a hybrid identity. Individuals learn how far they can deviate from their

culture's rules for appropriate dress, in order to still be accepted by their cultural group. By bending the rules, they consequently learn the limits of acceptable deviation for their cultural group (Naylor, 1996:30, 32).

Some Muslim women want to appear modern, while maintaining their Islamic appearance (Secor, 2002:10). Young educated Muslim women tend to have a modern Islamic appearance (Abu-Lughod, 2002:786). Female Muslim students change their dress practices due to the university experience. Ong (1990) found that female Muslim students in Malaysia conformed to a hybrid dress code. At universities in Singapore, female Muslim students were found to combine a veil with fashionable jeans, pants and skirts. These women want to be properly dressed, while being fashionable at the same time. By combining Western and Islamic garments, they express their new hybrid identity (Stimpfl, 2000:178-180). These juxtapositions of Islamic and Western garments on the same body can have a shocking effect. These garments belong to different worlds and contradict one another. By combining such garments, the boundaries between the Western and Muslim worlds become blurred (Balasescu, 2003:42-43). In South Africa, Muslim women are free to express their identity in any way they please. South Africa is acceptant of Muslim dress, and Muslim women are able to work, study and be part of society, while wearing the clothing of their choice (Hassem, 2008:41). They are even allowed to keep their headscarves on when being photographed for identity documents, passports and driver's licences. South African Muslim women creatively construct their dress to communicate a hybrid identity (Sader, 2008:1, 44, 81; Vahed, 2000:50).

Values, identity and dress are all subject to change due to cultural contact (Kaiser, 1997:290; Ethier & Deaux, 1994:243). This cultural contact may be the result of a change in context, if individuals only moved to a new country later in life. Second and third generation individuals may, however, have lived in a Western country since birth, with no change in context taking place. Such individuals may form part of a minority group in the country they are residing. They have thus experienced cultural contact all their lives and such cultural contact can result in the alteration of a culture as a whole (Chattalas & Harper, 2007:353). The change an individual or ethnic group undergoes may be influenced by the acculturation strategy being followed. Individuals can use different acculturation strategies to alter their dress according to the context in which they find themselves. In this manner, preferred identities and

values can be communicated within a certain context. For the purpose of this study, only acculturation was used as a possible motivation for cultural change. Having used a wider socio-cultural change framework, including international influences rather than just South African influences, may have provided richer results.

## 2.4 ACCULTURATION AND DRESS PRACTICES

Cultural change resulting from adaptation to a new cultural context or cultural contact may be explained by the process of acculturation (Berry & Sam, 1997:293). According to Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936:149), 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. 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). Even though cultural contact is a two-way process, the process is usually uneven, with one society dominating (Segall *et al.*, 1990:292-293). One cultural group will therefore change more than the other, usually the group that is in the minority (Neuliep, 2009:374; Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004:216). This may be the result of challenges being faced regarding traditional values and identities of individuals, leading to the redefinition of these cultural aspects. Such changes are reflected in dress, as traditional forms of clothing are adapted to modern demands (Stimpfl, 2000:169). People will, however, only adopt new values and ideas if they are not too conflicting with their original ones (Segall *et al.*, 1990:314). Acculturation is a multidimensional concept, also incorporating language usage, social activities and religion. Acculturation can occur at the population level or the individual level. Acculturation occurring at the population or group level is usually due to politics playing a role in the change process. Individual acculturation is caused by a change in the values, identity and behaviour of an individual (Jun, Ball & Gentry, 1993:76).

Diversity exists in how people adapt to cultural contexts (Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005:88; Berry & Sam, 1997:293). People find different ways of adjusting to new circumstances in a certain environment (Naylor, 1996:23). Berry (1990) 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 (Neuliep, 2009:377; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). This bi-dimensional model measures the orientation towards both cultural groups separately (Chattaraman, Rudd & Lennon, 2008:828). Acculturation involves an individual's orientation to both his or her ethnic and national cultures (Upchurch, 2008:3; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005:1018). According to Berry (1990), how an individual reacts to these two issues, can result in one of four acculturation strategies, namely separation, assimilation, integration and marginalisation (Berry, 2008:24; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005: 1018). The last strategy has been excluded from this study. This strategy, namely marginalisation, occurs when an individual does not identify with his original culture or the mainstream culture. This is often the result of enforced cultural loss, exclusion, or discrimination (Berry & Sam, 1997:297). Such an individual loses contact with both the original and mainstream cultures, as well as with society at large (Bhatia & Ram, 2001:4). Such an individual is described as being in a state of frustration and instability (Jun *et al.*, 1993:77). 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, 1994:243) and it is therefore only in rare cases that individuals experience no group memberships (Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004:217). For this reason, various studies have excluded the marginalisation acculturation strategy, having rather opted for a tripartite segmentation of participants (Chattaraman *et al.*, 2008; Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005). Participants are thus described as being either ethnic-dominant, mainstream-dominant, or balanced bicultural (Chattaraman *et al.*, 2008:828).

As environments change, cultural groups take on different appearances (Naylor, 1996:23). Clothing behaviour is a function of the social environment (Jain *et al.*, 2011:13). Muslim culture in a Western context is complex (Vahed, 2000:47; Hassem, 2008:11) and the younger generation of Muslims is often exposed to two conflicting cultural environments: an Islamic one at home, and an individualised one outside the home (Sader, 2008:15). A Muslim woman living in a Western society must find her place in the social order, in part by managing her appearance, communicating her preferred identity to others through her dress (Kaiser, 1997:511; Kopp, 2002:66-68). The wearing of Muslim dress in a non-Muslim community depends on personal choice with varying degrees of social conformance (Daly, 1999:157). Various studies have proved that acculturation level is linked to one's clothing preferences

(Chattaraman *et al.*, 2008; Upchurch, 2008; Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005). The varying dress practices followed by Muslim women living in Western societies can be described using the three main acculturative strategies, which include separation, assimilation and integration (Sirin *et al.*, 2008:264).

#### **2.4.1 Separation Strategy**

Within a certain context, individuals may identify strongly with their ethnic identity (Muthal, 2010:88; Phinney & Ong, 2007:274). This strategy is often 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). Individuals who view their ethnic group in a positive light identify more strongly with their ethnic identity (Ethier & Deaux, 1994:244-245). People associate themselves with others who have similar values to their own (Dastoor *et al.*, 2003:57). These individuals prefer limiting their interactions with the dominant culture, and rather having close relationships with people from their original culture, such as their family, neighbours and friends. In this manner, they hold on to their original values, rituals and religion (Neuliep, 2009:379; Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005:87, 89). Individuals with previous group involvement make a greater effort to maintain their ethnic identities, than individuals with no previous group involvement. Other important indicators of whether an ethnic identity will be maintained include home language, ethnic composition of the neighbourhood, and the ethnicity of the friends of an individual (Ethier & Deaux, 1994:243, 249). Individuals who want to maintain their ethnic identity will also wear ethnic dress more often (Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005:87). Unique dress attached to a specific cultural group functions to separate the group members from outsiders, while binding members of the group together (Arthur, 1999:3).

According to Daly (1999:158), the wearing of Muslim dress in a non-Muslim environment is seen as an expression of ethnic pride. Such individuals are not scared to show their Islamic identity in public (Muthal, 2010:86). Muslim women claim that Islamic dress connects them to the wider Islamic community and indicates their acceptance of the Islamic faith (Hassem, 2008:15; Abu-Lughod, 2002:785). People often turn to religion when they are in a state of transition from one society to another (Vahed, 2000:69). Some Muslim women become more observant of Islam, after

having observed the Western way of life, and wish to create a distinction between themselves and the rest of Western society (Kopp, 2002:66-68; Fernea & Fernea, 1986:267). These women view modernity as a sign of conflict to their traditional values (Sader, 2008:3). Such individuals consider the wearing of Western clothing a sign of seduction, a threat to religious purity, as well as a threat to the Islamic culture in general (Hassem, 2008:15; Balasescu, 2003:44). They view fashion as evidence of waste and being contrary to Islamic principles (Kilicbay & Binark, 2002:501). Individuals who have this view resist Western influences by adopting a more Islamic lifestyle, increasing their Islamic dress, and thus preserving their ethnic identity (Sader, 2008:17; Vahed, 2000:60). Their religious beliefs thus outweigh the influence of Western ideals about beauty (Dunkel *et al.*, 2010:57). These individuals maintain strong relationships with the Muslim community in part by attending mosque (Dastoor *et al.*, 2003:58; Kopp, 2002:64), which serves as a social gathering place and takes on great importance for Muslim women living in Western society (Kopp, 2002:70; Vahed, 2000:45). Many South African Muslims consider themselves to be Muslim first and foremost, even though they are third or fourth generation Muslims. 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, 2000:62). Muslim communities in South Africa are very cohesive, where people prefer to associate with others who they perceive as being similar to themselves. Muslims feel that their values and lifestyles are more protected in a closed community. Members of the Muslim community feel the need to protect their community from outside influences, perceived as being harmful to the Islamic way of life (Hassem, 2008:120-121; Van der Merwe, 1996:80). There is a high degree of in-group homogeneity, as Muslims aim to ignore ethnic differences and create a closer Islamic community (Muthal, 2010:85-86).

#### **2.4.2 Assimilation Strategy**

A second acculturative strategy is to increase identification with the national culture at the cost of one's ethnic identity (Muthal, 2010:89; Phinney & Ong, 2007:274). In the face of threats, individuals may develop a negative view of their ethnic identities and move closer to the national identity (Ethier & Deaux, 1994:249). This strategy is called assimilation (Dastoor *et al.*, 2003:58), in which the values and behaviours of the new culture will then be adopted (Jun *et al.*, 1993:77). Such an individual wants

to increase interaction with the dominant culture and blend into the new cultural environment (Neuliep, 2009:378). Such an individual has most likely not had prior group involvement with the ethnic culture, and has been living in the national culture all his/her life. This individual may feel no loyalty towards the ethnic identity, and will therefore rather adopt the national identity (Ethier & Deaux, 1994:245). Individuals who have had previous group involvement with their ethnic culture, and have moved to a new nation may try to fit into the nation at first by discarding their ethnic dress for mainstream dress. As these individuals become more comfortable in the new context, they may increasingly wear their ethnic dress over time (Upchurch, 2008:77; Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005:100).

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 Western society (Sirin *et al.*, 2008:275). Failing to cover their hair indicates a change in tradition, as well as a strong desire to fit into mainstream society (Muthal, 2010:91; Vahed, 2000:47). This may be a way of reducing social anxiety by concealing ethnic and religious differences, and thereby creating an image that is more socially desirable in Western society (Kaiser, 1997:185). Another reason Muslim women may not cover is that they do not feel strongly enough about their religion. Such women claim that they will only start to cover once they feel spiritually 'ready'. Many Muslim women feel it is appropriate to dress in Western clothing without covering the hair, as long as the dress is modest (Kopp, 2002:66, 68, 73; Shirazi, 2000:115).

### **2.4.3 Integration Strategy**

An individual can incorporate multiple cultural identities in his or her mind (Chattaraman *et al.*, 2008:831; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005:1018). Ethnic and national identities can be combined, between which one must negotiate. In this manner, a hybrid identity is developed (Phinney & Ong, 2007:274; Dwyer, 2000:475), in which an individual maintains his or her original culture, while interacting with other cultures on a daily basis (Berry & Sam, 1997:297). The two cultural identities are seen as being compatible with one another and a manner is found to balance them (Berry, 2008:27; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005:1015-1017). This strategy is called the integration strategy (Dastoor *et al.*, 2003:58). Several cultures can

motivate an individual to behave in the most appropriate way as dictated by the social situation (Chattaraman *et al.*, 2008:828; Upchurch, 2008:3). Such an individual may emphasise different cultural identities in different stages of his or her life, depending on the context (Dwyer, 2000:475; Naylor, 1996:28-29). This process is called cultural frame-switching, “culture swapping” or “context-shifting” (Chattaraman *et al.*, 2008:831; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005:1018). Whereas in a private sphere, such as the home, one’s ethnic identity may be emphasised, while one’s national identity may be emphasised in a public domain, such as the school or work environments (Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004:222; Berry & Sam, 1997:297). The individual reacts to different social cues in the environment by shifting between “cultural frames” (Chattaraman *et al.*, 2008:831). Different aspects of one’s identity are prioritised depending on the circumstances. A fusion of cultural influences is the end result (Dwyer, 2000:483). In this manner, individuals become biculturally oriented, as aspects of both cultures are combined and synthesised. This phenomenon is also called pluralism or multiculturalism (Neuliep, 2009:378). This strategy has the most positive outcome for an individual wanting to fit into mainstream society, while still feeling committed to his or her heritage (Phinney & Ong, 2007:274; Bhatia & Ram, 2001:4).

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.*, 2008:259). They strive to maintain their Islamic values and identity while interacting with people from the mainstream culture (Kopp, 2002:65). One example is young British Muslim women who navigate between their dual identities. In this study, a group of women all affirmed their hybrid identities, and the need to negotiate between being British and Muslim (Dwyer, 2000:475-476). These Muslim women were found to experiment with their dress by blending Islamic and Western clothing styles. In this manner, they challenged the meanings of Islamic, as well as Western dress practices. They may wear Western clothing, such as trousers and long skirts that conform to Islamic ideas about appropriate dress, rather than just wearing traditional Islamic garments. These Western garments may then be combined with a veil. In this manner a fused identity is created that is both Islamic and Western. Stereotypes are challenged of what constitutes Western and Islamic dress respectively, and cultural diversity is emphasised (Balasescu, 2003:44; Dwyer, 2000:481-482).

## 2.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter an overview was given about the main concepts used in this study, including values, identity, acculturation and dress. In the next chapter the cultural perspective is explained, along with the assumptions of this perspective. The implications the perspective has on the study are described. The conceptual framework is also given and explained, as well as the objectives of the study.

# **CHAPTER 3**

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE**

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### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical framework, namely the cultural perspective employed for the study. Important concepts that derived from the research statement and conceptual framework are defined and discussed in depth. The chapter concludes with the objectives of the study.

Both material and non-material culture are affected by the acculturation process. Cultural contact causes new dress practices, values and identities to be introduced to individuals, and may result in the adoption thereof. Female Muslim students attending a university in Pretoria are an example of such cultural contact. These women are surrounded by students from other cultural backgrounds on a daily basis. This has resulted in these individuals following varied dress practices, ranging from traditional Islamic dress to typical Western appearances. Very little is known about what these individuals want to communicate through their dress practices.

### **3.2 A CULTURAL APPROACH AS PERSPECTIVE FOR THE STUDY**

The cultural perspective extends over a variety of disciplines in the human sciences, ranging from the humanities to the social sciences. Kaiser (1997) described the cultural perspective as a means of approaching the social psychology of clothing. She used this framework in order to understand how clothing forms part of human behaviour. She further analysed the cultural perspective from a semiotic viewpoint to demonstrate that appearances are symbolic of shared beliefs and values. In this manner, the real meanings behind clothing can be determined, as well as how these meanings have developed over time (Kaiser, 1997:48).

As portrayed in the literature review, culture can be both material and non-material in nature. The cultural perspective recognises the relationship between these two aspects and provides a framework to determine how abstract concepts, such as religious beliefs, values and identity, manifest in dress over time (Kaiser, 1997:33,48-50; Segall *et al.*, 1990:27). The present study focuses on the relationship between the material and non-material aspects of a cultural group, namely female Muslim students attending a university in South Africa. The different values and identities these individuals want to communicate through their dress are explored. The specific dress practices these individuals follow are also described.

The cultural perspective is useful for studying the varying meanings of clothing within a certain context (Kaiser, 1997:48). Every cultural group gives certain meanings to material artefacts and behaviours (Upchurch, 2008:11; Chattalas & Harper, 2007:352). Grebe (2011) used the cultural perspective to analyse the fashion magazine images preferred by young adult black women in South Africa forming part of the Black Diamond consumer group. In Grebe's (2011) study the cultural perspective was used as a valuable tool in determining the preferred identity of black women in South Africa. This group was found to prefer the Euro-African beauty ideal, rather than the Western one. They valued their African identity, which they combined with unique personal qualities. The Black Diamond cultural group differs from Western culture, in that they value different material and non-material cultural aspects. The current study explores female Muslim students' key values and identity in terms of their dress practices.

Culture promotes both continuity and change in meanings (Kaiser, 1997:29). The cultural perspective enables us to see how the meanings of clothing have developed over time (Kaiser, 1997:48). In order to understand the change taking place in a culture, the cultural context must be understood (Naylor, 1996:4). Viljoen (2010) used the cultural perspective as a means of determining the changes taking place in the food practices of a rural black community in South Africa. This group was found to have adapted their traditional food practices in order to pursue more Western-oriented food practices. Viljoen's (2010) study corroborates that both context and cultural contact can result in changes in a cultural group. The present study aims to determine how the campus context, as well as the cultural contact female Muslim

students experience on a daily basis, have affected their values, identities and dress practices.

### 3.2.1 Assumptions

The cultural perspective includes five assumptions as set out by Kaiser (1997). These assumptions are given along with examples to indicate how each assumption is related to the study.

- *Collective values are produced and reproduced through cultural forms* (Kaiser, 1997:49). Cultural forms refer to tangible objects such as dress. This assumption implies that dress represents shared values within a culture (Kaiser, 1997:49). In Islamic culture, dressing modestly is a strongly held value. Muslim women wear Islamic garments in order to communicate their religious faith. The dress conventions of Muslim women across the world have, however, changed over the years (Triandis, 1989:509). Many women have discarded their traditional Islamic garments and have opted for a more Western appearance. In South Africa, Muslim women can be seen following a variety of dress practices (Hassem, 2008:4). According to theory, a change in material culture will lead to a change in non-material culture, and vice versa (Naylor, 1996:21). A change in female Muslim students' core values and identity will lead to a change in their dress practices and vice versa.
- *Cultural beliefs and values tend to be perpetuated when they are represented on a relatively unconscious level* (Kaiser, 1997:49). Beliefs and values may be reflected in everyday objects, such as dress. These objects are interpreted with relative ease due to shared meanings (Kaiser, 1997:51). In predominantly Muslim societies, the meanings of Islamic dress are understood by all members. Shared values and beliefs are so ingrained in an individual that they are not questioned and are accepted as the norm. This is, however, not the case when Muslims find themselves in Western societies surrounded by people from other cultural backgrounds. Such cultural contact often leads to the re-evaluation of one's dress practices and the questioning of one's important values and identities (Kopp, 2002:66-68). On campus female Muslim students are surrounded by students from other cultural groups on a daily basis. They are exposed to values, identities

and dress practices that differ from their own. This cultural contact may result in the redefinition of their important values and identities, as well as the adoption of new forms of dress.

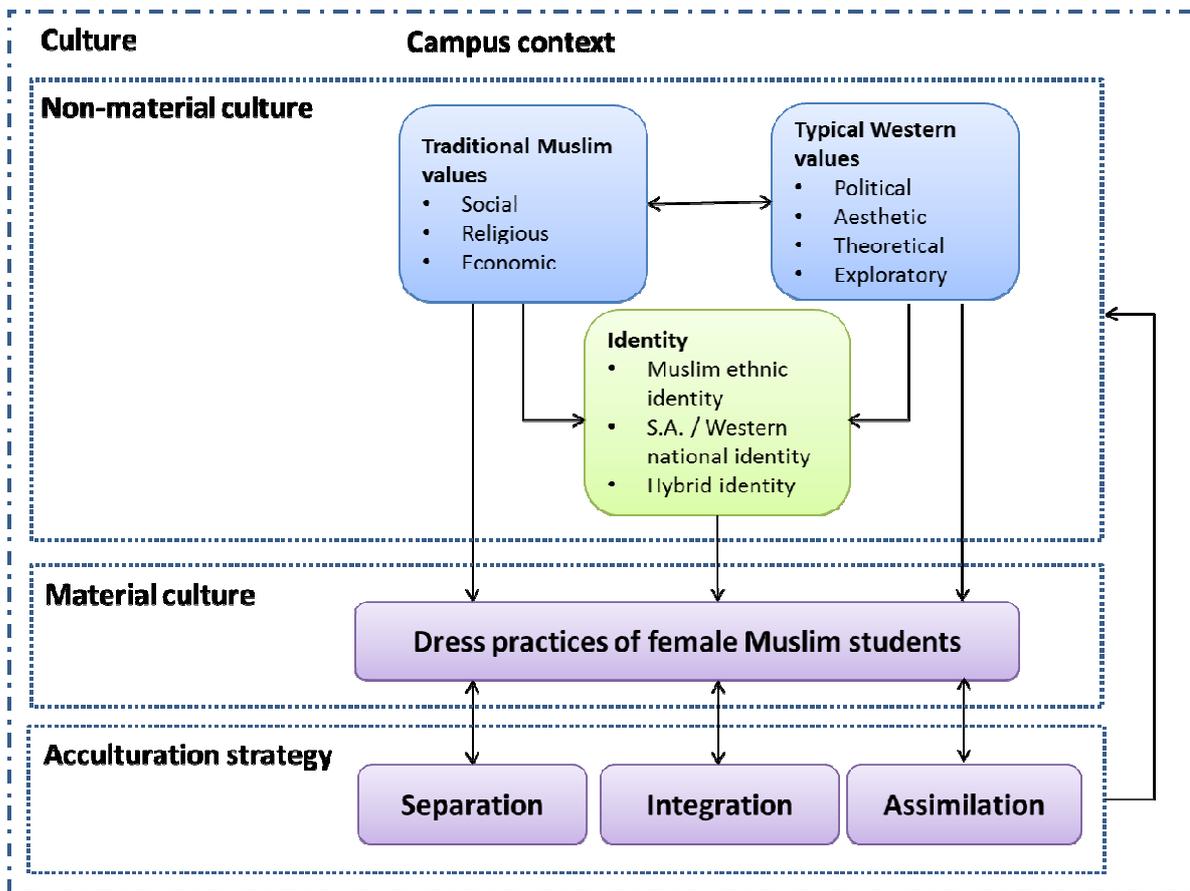
- *People have the potential to transform their own realities by manipulating the objects in their cultural world* (Kaiser, 1997:51). Objects, ideas and images provided by culture can be used in imaginative ways. Different types of dress can be combined to create new appearances. In this manner, cultural conventions are broken or bent (Kaiser, 1997:51). New meanings for dress arise, resulting in the change of a cultural group (Arthur, 2000b:201; Shirazi, 2000:116). Today great variety exists in the degree to which Muslim women cover themselves throughout the world. Muslim women are in the position to choose how they want to present themselves. Some Muslim women feel that the only acceptable form of dress is to cover all but the eyes. Others feel it is suitable to dress in Western clothing without covering the hair as long as the dress is modest (Kopp, 2002:68). There are also those who combine Western garments with traditional Islamic garments, resulting in a hybrid appearance (Boulanouar, 2006:140). Muslim women have different options about appropriate dress forms and are becoming increasingly creative and individualistic in how they dress. Female Muslim students attending university can be seen adhering to a variety of dress practices, ranging from the traditional Islamic appearance, to completely Western appearances depending on the reality they want to create.
- *Culture provides abstract pictures or representations of social life* (Kaiser, 1997:53). A cultural perspective presents a framework for understanding cultural images. This is a means for people to make sense of the world around them (Kaiser, 1997:53). Every culture provides guidelines for appropriate behaviour and forms of dress. When people differ from these guidelines, they may experience identity conflict, or may confuse onlookers as to what their main identity is (Arthur, 1999:2, 4; Marsella, 1985:303). Many Muslim women can be seen moving away from the guidelines for traditional Islamic dress, rather opting for a combined Islamic and Western appearance. These women are deviating from the traditional Islamic image, and are rather creating a new representation of social life in their culture. Such appearances are, however, quite ambiguous to the Western observer, who does not understand this juxtaposition of opposing

forms of dress (Eicher *et al.*, 2000:48). Whereas Islamic dress signifies modesty and religious obligation, Western fashions represent constant change and freedom to express oneself. The campus context is a multicultural environment consisting of students following a variety of dress practices. Female Muslim students who observe these different images may decide to adapt their own appearances to suit the cultural milieu.

- *People use codes to decipher the meanings of cultural representations of social life* (Kaiser, 1997:53). This assumption insinuates that everything is coded and that everyday cultural objects are filled with meaning (Kaiser, 1997:53). Codes refer to the guidelines provided by a culture, which also relates to dress codes, how someone should dress. Dress encodes multiple messages or cues for others to interpret (Dixon, 2007:10). Clothing carries special meanings that are often misunderstood by strangers. This holds true for Islamic dress that is often associated with female restriction and inequality by Westerners (Fernea & Fernea, 1986:265-266). Muslim women living in predominantly Muslim countries may feel oppressed due to modest dress codes being enforced by the community as well as the law. Muslim women living in western societies, on the other hand, are free to dress as they please. Many of these Muslim women being presented with such freedom choose to continue wearing their traditional garments within the Western context. They attach positive meanings to their Islamic garments, and wear it to express their religious faith. Students from other cultural backgrounds trying to analyse the dress of female Muslim students within the campus context, may interpret their appearance codes incorrectly and not understand the real meanings attached to female Muslim dress.

### 3.3 DEVELOPMENT OF A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY

**Figure 3.1** presents the conceptual framework developed for the study.



**FIGURE 3.1: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

In the conceptual framework, the campus context is indicated as the environment for the study. Culture is transformed in the campus context and consists of a material and non-material component. The non-material component underpins the values and identity of an individual. Values are divided into traditional Muslim and typical Western values. Traditional Muslim values were classified in the literature review as consisting of social, religious and economic values. Typical Western values were classified as including political, exploratory, aesthetic and theoretical values. Combined, all of these values shape an individual's identity. Three different types of identity exist, namely, ethnic, national and hybrid identities. People are motivated to communicate their important identities and values to others. These can be expressed through dress. Dress forms part of material culture and includes all the everyday practices a Muslim woman takes part in, in order to modify her appearance. The prevalent dress practices a Muslim woman pursues within the campus context depend on the acculturation strategy she is following. These acculturation strategies include separation, integration and assimilation. Dress, values and identity all

influence each other during the acculturation process. Both material and non-material culture can therefore change, depending on the acculturation strategy being followed.

### **3.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

Four objectives were formulated for the study. These objectives, along with the sub-objectives, are given below.

#### **Objective 1: To explore and describe the most important values of female Muslim students as reflected in their dress practices**

- To determine which traditional Muslim values are important to female Muslim students in terms of their everyday dress practices on campus.
- To determine which typical Western values are important to female Muslim students in terms of their everyday dress practices on campus.

#### **Objective 2: To explore and describe the predominant identity female Muslim students want to communicate with their everyday dress practices**

- To determine the predominance of a Muslim ethnic identity in female Muslim students' everyday dress practices on campus.
- To determine the predominance of a South African national or Western identity in female Muslim students' everyday dress practices on campus.
- To determine the predominance of a hybrid identity in female Muslim students' everyday dress practices on campus.

#### **Objective 3: To explore and describe the different acculturation strategies female Muslim students follow in terms of their dress practices**

- To identify and describe the everyday dress practices of female Muslim students who predominantly follow the separation strategy.
- To identify and describe the everyday dress practices of female Muslim students who predominantly follow the assimilation strategy.
- To identify and describe the everyday dress practices of female Muslim students who predominantly follow the integration strategy.

### **3.5 CONCLUSION**

The primary objective of this chapter was to provide relevant information related to the theoretical perspective employed for the study. The cultural perspective is a valuable tool for analysing the relationship between material and non-material cultural aspects of a specific group. In this study it is of interest to explore and describe the varying dress practices of female Muslim students in South Africa, as well as the important values and identities they are trying to communicate through their dress. The information was used to develop a conceptual framework and a number of objectives. The following chapter explains the research methodology followed in the study.

# CHAPTER 4

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

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### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the research methodology and consists of the following sections: (1) Research design, purpose and approach; (2) Instrument development; (3) Sample, sampling and procedure; (4) Data analysis; (5) Ethical considerations, and (6) Conclusion. How the sample was selected is described, as well as how the data was collected. All methods explained in this chapter enabled the researcher to explore and describe the important values and predominant identities that female Muslim students want to express through their varying dress practices.

### 4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN, PURPOSE AND APPROACH

An exploratory survey research design was followed. Exploratory research is a means of gaining insight into the unknown and looking at new issues (Fouché & De Vos, 2005:106; Walliman, 2005:249). The study aimed to explore and describe the role of values and identity in the dress practices of female Muslim students in a campus context. A quantitative approach was used to collect data about this phenomenon. The intent is the objective measurement of variables where the results appear in numeric form and are eventually converted into statistical language (Fouché & Delport, 2005:74-75). The study is cross-sectional, as data was collected at a certain point in time.

### 4.3 INSTRUMENT DEVELOPMENT

A self-administered questionnaire (**Appendix A**) was developed, based on existing literature and scales. Reliability was enhanced as all constructs were clearly conceptualised in the literature review (Delpont, 2005:163). Literature was used to obtain conceptual and measurement information related to the variables being investigated and accomplishes theoretical validity by eliminating vagueness (Walliman, 2005:295). Variables consisted of: values (political, exploratory, aesthetic, theoretical, social, religious, economic), identity (ethnic, national, hybrid) and acculturation strategies (separation, assimilation, integration). Measurement scales were adapted from existing scales. New items and a picture scale were developed.

Conceptualisation and operationalisation were done to ensure that the instrument measured the concepts the researcher assumed it to measure. Conceptualisation entails the categorisation and labelling of concepts, while operationalisation includes the methods involved in measuring important concepts (De Vos, 2005:28; Walliman, 2005:436). Each measure only indicated one concept, thus enhancing the reliability of the study (Delpont, 2005:163). At least three items were designed for each concept, which further enhanced the content validity of the study, since the reliability of a measuring instrument is increased when multiple indicators of a variable are used by including two or more questions in the questionnaire that measure each aspect of a variable (Delpont, 2005:163). **Table 4.1** summarises the important constructs that were used in the study. The sub-objectives are listed with the relevant categories developed for each sub-objective. Dimensions, indicators and items are specified for each construct. The adapted measuring instruments used to measure the concepts are also indicated in the table.

The instrument consisted of 76 items. The first section included questions addressing general demographic information about the sample. 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 attend classes on campus. Different measuring instruments were combined and adapted to measure each one of the objectives for the study.

Items measuring values were adapted from Allport *et al.*'s (1960) Basic Values, Schwartz's Values, or a combination of these two value typologies (Bardi & Schwartz, 2010; Rasband, 2005; Rohan, 2000; Momcilovic, 1998; Pentecost, 1973). All the questions were adjusted to relate to participants' dress practices. The value constructs were measured using a five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 'not important' = 1 to 'very important' = 5. Likert scales have been successfully used in similar studies (Upchurch, 2008; Pentecost, 1973).

Items measuring participants' predominant identity were adapted from Szapocznik *et al.*'s (1978) Behavioural Acculturation scale. Szapocznik's *et al.*'s (1978) scale measures participants' preferences in language, food, music and social events, amongst others. In previous studies, the scale was modified to include questions related to clothing preferences (Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005:92-93; Upchurch, 2008:44). Items were also adapted from scales that measure ethnic, national and bicultural identities (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Bornman, 2005). All the items were adjusted to relate to the dress practices of students. A 5-point Likert scale was used to measure identity ranging from 'Strongly Disagree' = 1 to 'Strongly Agree' = 5.

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. Preferences for dressing in Western or ethnic dress, or a combination of both, were measured.

Acculturation strategies were measured with a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 'Everyday' = 1, 'Most days', 'Some days', 'Only on Fridays', 'Never' = 5. A self-designed picture scale was included as a second measurement tool to measure the acculturation strategies students follow. Participants were asked to indicate which one of the nine images in the picture scale most represented their dress. The images ranged from a traditional Islamic appearance to a typical Western appearance.

#### **4.3.1 Operationalisation and Conceptualisation**

##### **TABLE 4.1: OPERATIONALISATION AND CONCEPTUALISATION**

OBJECTIVES	SUB-OBJECTIVES	CONSTRUCT	BASIC VALUES	INDICATORS BASIC VALUES	ITEMS	MEASUREMENT SCALES
					When I dress for campus it is important to me that my clothing ...	
<b>OBJECTIVE 1:</b> To explore and describe the <b>most important values</b> of female Muslim students as reflected in their dress practices.	To determine which <b>traditional Muslim values</b> are important to female Muslim students in terms of their everyday dress practices on campus.	Traditional Muslim Values	Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Appropriate for the occasion</b></li> <li>• <b>Similarity to group/ friends</b></li> <li>• <b>Acceptance</b></li> </ul>	6.1 -Is appropriate for campus. 6.2 -Allows me to blend in with other students. 6.3 -Fits in with my friends' clothing. 6.4 -Is accepted by my friends.	<b>5-Point Likert Type Scale</b>  1= 'Not important' 3= 'Neutral' 5= 'Very Important'  <b>Sources</b>  <b>Basic Values</b> (Rasband, 2005) (Pentecost, 1973)  <b>Schwartz's Values</b> (Bardi& Schwartz, 2010) (Rohan, 2000)  <b>Combining Basic Values with Schwartz's Values</b> (Momcilovic, 1998)
			Religious	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Modesty</b> (non-revealing, loose-fitting clothing)</li> <li>• <b>Respect for others</b> (harmony)</li> </ul>	6.5 - Is not revealing. 6.6 -Is not tight-fitting. 6.7 -Shows I respect my parents' wishes as to how I should dress. 6.8 -Shows I respect my religion. 6.9 -Does not offend others. 6.10 -Does not attract attention to myself.	
			Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Fulfilling basic needs</b></li> <li>• <b>Durability</b></li> <li>• <b>Saving time and money</b></li> </ul>	6.11 - Is timeless and will not become out-dated. 6.12 - Can be used for more than one occasion. 6.13 - Will last a long time. 6.14 - Is value for money.	
	To determine which <b>typical Western values</b> are important to female Muslim students in terms of their everyday dress practices on campus.	Western Values	Exploratory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Self-expression</b> (individuality, creativity)</li> <li>• <b>Follow fashion trends</b></li> </ul>	6.15 - Shows my creativity in how I dress. 6.16 - Shows my individuality. 6.17 - Shows I am free to dress how I want. 6.18 - Shows I experiment with different looks. 6.19 - Is in line with fashion trends.	
			Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Status</b> (authority, wealth, expensive clothing, name brands)</li> <li>• <b>Influence over others</b> (success, achievement, ambition)</li> </ul>	6.20 - Is admired by others. 6.21 - Looks expensive. 6.22 - Comes from an impressive brand name. 6.23 - Influences others to wear the same clothing as me.	
			Aesthetics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Enhancing personal appearance</b> (beauty, pleasing appearance)</li> </ul>	6.24 - Makes me feel attractive. 6.25 - Is beautiful. 6.26 - Is eye-catching. 6.27 - Enhances my beauty.	
			Theoretical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Practicality</b> (comfort, sensible)</li> </ul>	6.28 - Is comfortable. 6.29 - Is practical for campus activities. 6.30 - Is easy to move around in while walking to class.	

OBJECTIVES	SUB-OBJECTIVES	CONSTRUCT	IDENTITY	INDICATORS IDENTITY	ITEMS	MEASUREMENT SCALES
					On campus my dress should communicate that ...	

<b>OBJECTIVE 2:</b> To explore and describe the <b>predominant identity</b> female Muslim students want to communicate with their everyday dress practices	To determine the predominance of a <b>Muslim ethnic identity</b> in female Muslim students' everyday dress practices on campus.	Ethnic Identity	Muslim Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Muslim Group Affiliation</b> (ethnic pride, significant others and peers)</li> <li>• <b>Involvement with Muslim culture</b> (customs, traditions, activities, dress)</li> </ul>	<b>5.1</b> - I am dedicated to my Muslim heritage. <b>5.2</b> - I am a Muslim, rather than a South African. <b>5.3</b> - I associate myself with other Muslim students. <b>5.4</b> - I participate in Muslim activities (attend community gatherings, member of Muslim association at UP). <b>5.5</b> - I take part in Muslim customs (religious occasions, Ramadan, Eid, Mosque, prayer sessions). <b>5.6</b> - I dress according to Muslim expectations.	<b>5-Point Likert Type Scale</b>  1= 'Strongly Disagree' 2= 'Disagree' 3= 'Neutral' 4= 'Agree' 5= 'Strongly Agree'  <b>Sources</b>  <b>Behavioural Acculturation Scale</b> (Upchurch, 2008)  <b>Measuring Ethnic Identity</b> (Phinney & Ong, 2007)  <b>Measuring National Identity</b> (Bomman, 2005)  <b>Measuring Bicultural Identity Integration</b> (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005)
	To determine the predominance of a <b>S.A. national/ Western identity</b> in female Muslim students' everyday dress practices on campus.	National Identity	S.A./ Western Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>South African group affiliation</b> (national pride, significant others and peers)</li> <li>• <b>Involvement with South African culture</b> (customs, traditions, activities, dress)</li> </ul>	<b>5.7</b> - I am proud to be a South African. <b>5.8</b> - I am a South African, rather than a Muslim. <b>5.9</b> - I associate myself with students from other cultures, rather than from the Muslim culture. <b>5.10</b> - I participate in South African activities (sport, braai, RAG, member of non-Muslim associations at UP). <b>5.11</b> - I follow South African fashion trends. <b>5.12</b> - I prefer to dress like other South Africans.	
	To determine the predominance of a <b>hybrid identity</b> in female Muslim students' everyday dress practices on campus.	Hybrid Identity	Combination of Muslim and S.A./Western Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Affiliation to both Muslim and South African groups</b> (ethnic and national pride, significant others and peers)</li> <li>• <b>Involved with both Muslim and South African cultures</b> (customs, traditions, activities, dress)</li> </ul>	<b>5.13</b> - I am proud to be a South African Muslim. <b>5.14</b> - I am both a Muslim and a South African. <b>5.15</b> - I associate myself with students from the Muslim culture, as well as those from other cultures. <b>5.16</b> - I participate in both Muslim and South African activities. <b>5.17</b> - I combine South African fashion trends with my Islamic garments. <b>5.18</b> - I alternate between Muslim and Western clothing styles.	

OBJECTIVES	SUB-	CONSTRUCT	DRESS	INDICATORS	ITEMS	MEASUREMENT
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	OBJECTIVES			DRESS	How often do you wear the following clothing items on campus?	SCALES
<b>OBJECTIVE 3:</b> To explore and describe the <b>different acculturation strategies</b> female Muslim students follow in terms of their dress practices	To identify and describe the everyday dress practices of female Muslim students who predominantly follow the <b>separation strategy</b> .	Traditional Islamic Dress	Separation Strategy	<b>Wearing only traditional Muslim garments</b> (style, fit, coverage)	7.1 - Jilbab 7.2 - Niqab 7.3 - Hijab 7.4 - Headscarf	<b>5-Point Likert-Type Scale</b>  1= 'Everyday' 2= 'Most days' 3= 'Some days' 4= 'Only on Fridays' 5= 'Never'  <b>Sources</b>  <b>Clothing Combinations</b> (Dunkel, Davidson & Qurashi, 2010)  <b>Preference for Ethnic or Western Dress</b> (Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005)  <b>Picture Scale:</b> Created by the researcher (see picture scale in <b>Appendix A</b> )
	To identify and describe the everyday dress practices of female Muslim students who predominantly follow the <b>assimilation strategy</b> .	Typical Western Dress	Assimilation Strategy	<b>Wearing only typical Western garments</b> (style, fit, coverage)	7.5 - Tight-fitting jeans 7.6 - ¾ 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	
	To identify and describe the everyday dress practices of female Muslim students who predominantly follow the <b>integration strategy</b> .	Combination of Traditional Islamic and Typical Western Dress	Integration Strategy	<b>Combining Traditional Muslim and Typical Western Garments</b> (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.	

DEMOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONS	
ITEMS	MEASURING INSTRUMENT
Age	Open-ended questions
Length of Stay in S.A.	
Number of Years Being a Muslim	
Average Number of Days per Week on Campus	

### **4.3.2 Pre-testing of the Instrument**

Developing the questionnaire was an extensive process. Items for the questionnaire were adopted from various scales. After all the items had been developed, the researcher conducted a pre-test with a Muslim student. A pilot test helps ensure the reliability of a study by testing the measuring instrument before conducting the final study (Delpont, 2005:162-163). This participant helped determine whether the questions were offensive, relevant to the sample and whether the terms used were accurate. The pilot test also confirmed the face validity of the questionnaire by ensuring that the instrument appeared to measure what it claimed to be measuring (Delpont, 2005:161). Participants would therefore not feel deceived, as the questionnaire was not misleading in any way. After the necessary changes were made, the questionnaire was revised by an expert panel consisting of several lecturers from the Consumer Science Department of the University of Pretoria. The panel gave further insight and suggestions to improve the questionnaire. This further enhanced the external validity of the items by ensuring that all items were properly conceptualised (Walliman, 2005:295). After more changes were made and the questionnaire was finalised, it was handed out to participants.

## **4.4 SAMPLE, SAMPLING AND PROCEDURE**

### **4.4.1 Sample**

The target population consisted of female Muslim students enrolled at the University of Pretoria. In 2010, 354 Muslim women were enrolled at the University of Pretoria (Du Plessis, 2010). This was the overall population from which the sample for the study was selected. Walliman (2005:195) states that, if a population is small, the sample should make up a large portion of the population. The researcher, along with her study leaders, determined that a sufficient sample size for the study was around 200 participants. Participants needed to be between the ages of 18-25 years. The researcher took care to include participants following various dress practices, ranging from a complete Islamic appearance, to those with a more Western appearance. In this manner, participants who dressed according to the various dress practices set

out in the theory were included in the sample. Internal validity was therefore obtained by avoiding bias (Walliman, 2005:295). Participants were only approached on campus grounds, as theory states that people ‘frame-switch’ between different contexts. Within a private context, individuals tend to think and behave differently as opposed to a public context (Chattaraman *et al.*, 2008:831). Individuals therefore may have answered the questionnaire in a different way if they were approached at home. This is a relevant group to study within the South African context, as very little research has been conducted on the values and identity of this group concerning their dress practices.

#### **4.4.2 Sampling Strategy**

Participants for this study were selected on the University of Pretoria’s campus grounds. A non-probability sampling method was used, as some members of the population had little or no chance of being sampled. The sample was therefore not representative of the overall South African population (Strydom, 2005b:201). Purposive sampling was used for the study. Purposive sampling relies completely on the judgement of the researcher and ensures that participants selected have the desired characteristics of the target population (Strydom, 2005b:192). Only female Muslim students on campus were asked to complete the self-administered questionnaire. Another method that was used to ensure an appropriate sample size included the snowball technique. Snowballing involves approaching a few members of the target population and obtaining information about other similar persons who can be included in the sample (Strydom, 2005b:202-203; Walliman, 2005:279). Through purposive sampling, the researcher approached individuals on campus and asked them to take part in the study. Thereafter, participants were asked to refer the researcher to other Muslim students who fit the criteria. Several screening questions were used to ensure that participants fitted the criteria set by the purposive sampling. All participants needed to be female and of the Muslim religion. All participants had to be enrolled at the University of Pretoria. Participants needed to be between the ages of 18 and 25 years old. 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 grass.

#### **4.4.3 Data Collection Procedure**

Self-administered questionnaires were used to collect the data required for this study. The objective of a questionnaire is to obtain information about a phenomenon from individuals who are familiar with a certain topic (Delpont, 2005:166). Self-administered questionnaires were handed out to participants on campus, who completed the questionnaires on their own terms. The researcher was available to assist participants with any problems they might have experienced while filling in the questionnaire. The researcher, however, limited her contribution to the completion of the questionnaire and remained in the background (Delpont, 2005:168). A cover letter accompanied the questionnaire in order to explain the purpose of the study. All necessary information was included in this letter, such as how the participant was selected, the contact details of the researcher, and assurance of anonymity and confidentiality (Delpont, 2005:170). Two hundred questionnaires were completed between October 2011 and March 2012. Each participant received a small incentive when they handed back the completed questionnaire.

#### **4.5 DATA ANALYSIS**

After data were 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. Cronbach's *alpha* ( $\alpha$ ) coefficient was calculated to evaluate the internal consistency of the constructs. Two questionnaires were omitted (164 and 202) due to the researcher being doubtful whether the participants had read all the questions before filling in the questionnaire. In questionnaire 164 the participant was very negative in her responses on the dress questions and answered as if not wearing any clothing at all. In questionnaire 202 the

participant simply selected the same answers throughout the questionnaire. After having omitted these questionnaires, the Cronbach's *alpha* values of all the results were improved. **Appendix B** shows the Cronbach's *alpha* for each of the constructs. Cronbach's *alpha* determines the inter-reliability of items in a scale, by establishing whether items measuring the same construct were consistently answered throughout the questionnaire. The items in the table (**Appendix B**) are arranged according to the construct that they measure. Items that were omitted are indicated, as well as the Cronbach *alphas* before and after these omissions were made. The mean and standard deviation for each construct are also indicated. Cronbach's  $\alpha$  values indicated that reliability for most constructs were high (between 0.64 and 0.86) except for S.A./Western identity ( $\alpha = 0.59$ ), indicating a recommended standard of  $\geq 0.7$  and a good level of internal consistency for almost all constructs (Field & Miles, 2010:583). The means of all constructs ranged from 2.45 ( $M_{\text{Political Values}}$ ) to 4.64 ( $M_{\text{Theoretical Values}}$ ). The standard deviation ranged from 0.53 to 1.10.

#### 4.5.1 Dress practices in terms of acculturation strategies

To divide participants into groups, based on their dress practices associated with the different acculturation strategies, a two-way contingency table analysis was used. All the clothing items were compared 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. Participants were requested to select the image that was the most reflective of the fit and coverage of their clothing. Variables were kept where the variation in response was high.

A cluster analysis was conducted in order to divide the sample into clusters that share common characteristics. The aim of cluster analysis is to divide data into meaningful or useful groups. Cluster analysis is a good starting point before other statistical procedures are applied to data (Tan, Steinbach & Kumar, 2006: 487). "The greater the similarity (or homogeneity) within a group and the greater the difference between groups the better or more distinct the clustering" (Tan *et al.*, 2006: 490). Two items (in accordance with the researcher and study-leaders) most representative of each of the specific acculturation strategies (separation, assimilation or integration) were selected. For the separation strategy: the *Hijab* and headscarf; for the assimilation strategy: tight-fitting jeans and T-shirt; and for the integration strategy:

headscarf with Western garments, headscarf with loose-fitting top and tight pants. Only these items were kept since many of the items did not receive high variation in ratings by the participants. Participants' responses to these six items were again compared with the results of the picture scale image they selected to determine whether they matched. In most cases, the images selected did correspond to the frequency with which the six items were worn as indicated by participants. **Table 4.2** summarises this comparison process.

**TABLE 4.2: DRESS PRACTICES/ ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES**

Dress practice: Acculturation strategy	Selected clothing items or combination of clothing items	Picture scale		
Separation strategy	Hijab  Headscarf	1 	2 	3 
Integration strategy	Headscarf with Western garments  Headscarf with loose-fitting top and tight pants	4 	5 	6 
Assimilation strategy	Tight-fitting jeans  T-shirt	7 	8 	9 

#### 4.5.2 Relationship between values, identity and dress practices

Various statistical procedures were then applied to the data to determine whether there were differences in the importance placed on values and identities between and within the groups, which emerged from the cluster analysis regarding the different dress practices followed by each group.

Independent *t*-tests were calculated to compare the means of the different groups, based on their dress practices, to determine their important values and predominant identity. An independent *t*-test is used to determine if there is a difference between the groups' behaviour by establishing whether group means are different (Field & Miles, 2010:269). The non-parametric counterpart of the independent *t*-test is called the Mann-Whitney U test and was used to test for differences between the groups in terms of their values and identities. Non-parametric tests have fewer assumptions about the type of data they can be used on (Field & Miles, 2010:290-291; 466). The Mann-Whitney U test reported the *p*-value of a construct, as well as the rank sums of the construct. For all the constructs the independent *t*-test and the Mann-Whitney U test yielded the same results, except for the construct "S.A. / Western identity". The Mann-Whitney U test was therefore only reported on in this one instance, as it indicated that the two groups did not differ significantly in the value they placed on this construct, whereas the independent *t*-test showed that the groups differed significantly in terms of this construct.

Levene's test was used to test for homogeneity of variance (Field & Miles, 2010:130). This means that the variability for two or more groups must be the same. A one-way Anova (analysis of variance) is conducted on the deviation scores to ensure that the variances in different groups are equal. Levene's test is significant at  $p \leq .05$  (Field & Miles, 2010:130-132). The F-value and level of significance were reported for each construct to determine whether the groups varied significantly in the level of importance they placed on a construct.

Friedman's Anova is used to determine the magnitude of difference between constructs in terms of how they are scored by a group of participants (Field & Miles, 2010:493). Friedman's test is based on ranked data (Field & Miles, 2010:494). A Friedman test was conducted on each group separately to determine whether there were significant differences between ranked constructs in terms of the median values of each construct. A letter of the alphabet was attributed to each construct. Constructs with the same letters of the alphabet assigned to them did not differ significantly in terms of their median values. Constructs with different letters of the alphabet attributed to them differed significantly in terms of their median values.

## 4.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is important to take ethical aspects into consideration when working with human beings. There are two categories of ethical responsibility. Firstly, the researcher has a responsibility to those people involved in the research study. Secondly, the researcher has a responsibility to be accurate and honest in the reporting of research (Strydom, 2005a:56). While gathering the data, the researcher ensured that participants were not harmed physically or emotionally as a result of taking part in the study. All questions in the questionnaire were pilot-tested to ensure that they were not offensive in any manner. Religion can be a sensitive topic, and some participants may feel uncomfortable being asked about it. Prior to participating, all participants were informed (by the researcher and on the cover page of the questionnaire) about the purpose of the study and what was expected of them. Participation was voluntary and anonymous. Informed consent was obtained from participants by requiring them to provide their signatures on the cover page, confirming that they took part in the study of their own free will. All information provided by them was kept confidential. Participants were allowed to stop participating at any time during the study if they didn't feel like continuing or felt uncomfortable with the nature of the research being conducted. Prior to data collection, the Research Ethics Committee (ResEthics) of the University of Pretoria approved the study. In reporting the findings of the study, the researcher remained objective and steered clear of value judgements. This was achieved by reporting the results in a straightforward manner, and making use of existing literature to validate any interpretations the researcher made of the results. The final report was compiled as accurately as possible (Strydom, 2005a:58-65). The researcher signed a plagiarism form to confirm that the final report is unique and that recognition was given to all sources.

## 4.7 CONCLUSION

The focus of this chapter was to outline the research design and methodology employed for the study. Development of the instrument was described, including how the instrument was tested and where the items originated from. All data collection

methods were described, as well as the criteria that were applied in the selection of participants. Analysis of the data is explained as well as how the reliability and validity of the study was ensured in different ways. The ethical considerations were also described. The results of the study are presented in the next chapter.

# CHAPTER 5

## RESULTS

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### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reports the results of the study, including demographic characteristics of the sample, descriptive statistics as well as results for the inferential statistical calculations. Results are organised and presented according to the objectives formulated for the study. Objectives of the study are answered in this chapter.

### 5.2 DEMOGRAPHICAL PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE

Two hundred (N = 200) usable questionnaires were completed by students attending the University of Pretoria, South Africa. All participants were female and of the Muslim religion. Almost half (48.5%) of the students were between the ages 17 to 19 (see **Table 5.1**) and 46% were between the ages 20 to 22. The remaining 5.5% of the students were 23 to 25 years old. 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 to twice a week.

**TABLE 5.1: SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS**

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
<b>Age (n = 200)</b>		
17-19	97	48.5%
20-22	92	46%
23-25	11	5.5%
<b>Length of Stay in S.A. (n = 200)</b>		
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%
<b>Number of Years Being a Muslim (n = 200)</b>		
Less than or equal to half their life	6	3%
Their whole life	194	97%
<b>Average Number of Days per Week on Campus (n = 200)</b>		
1 – 2 days	4	2%
3 – 4 days	72	36%
5 days	124	62%

### 5.3 DRESS PRACTICES OF GROUPS

A tabular summary is given to indicate the frequency distribution (number of responses) for each question relating to participants' acculturation strategies. The items in each scale were ranked in order of descending percentages. In the following section the reporting of the results is only on the 'Every day' = 1 and 'Most days' = 2 as indicated in the Likert scale. In the last column total percentages for these two statements are given.

### 5.3.1 Descriptive statistics for different acculturation strategies

#### Separation Strategy

**Table 5.2** summarises the results for participants who mostly dress in traditional Islamic garments.

**TABLE 5.2: SEPARATION STRATEGY**

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
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%

Nearly half of the participants (45.5%) reported that they frequently wear a headscarf on campus. A third of the participants (33.5%) often wear a hijab on campus.

#### Assimilation Strategy

**Table 5.3** summarises the results for participants who wear typical Western garments by presenting frequencies and percentages.

**TABLE 5.3: ASSIMILATION STRATEGY**

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
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%

Nearly half of the participants (46%) indicated that they regularly wear a T-shirt to campus. More than a third of the participants (38%) often wear tight-fitting jeans on campus.

## Integration Strategy

**Table 5.4** summarises the results for participants who combine traditional Islamic garments with typical Western garments by presenting frequencies and percentages.

**TABLE 5.4: INTEGRATION STRATEGY**

How often do you wear the following clothing combinations on campus?							
Percentage (Frequency)	n	Everyday 1	Most Days 2	Some Days 3	Only on Fridays 4	Never 5	Total % of importance
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%

Nearly a third of the participants (31%) frequently combine a headscarf with Western garments. A fifth of participants (21.5%) often combine a headscarf with loose-fitting top and tight pants.

## Picture Scale

**Table 5.5** summarises the results obtained from the picture scales by presenting frequencies and percentages.

**TABLE 5.5: 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 (High covering: very modest & loose fitted)	36%
2	26	13		
3	19	9.5		
4	26	13	Combination of Traditional Islamic and Typical Western Dress (Moderate covering)	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		

Over a third of the participants (36%) felt that images 1 to 3 were reflective of the fit and coverage of their clothing. These images included traditional Islamic dress. Few participants (16%) specified that images 4 to 6 portrayed the fit and coverage of their clothing, namely a combination of traditional Islamic and typical Western dress. The biggest group of participants (48%) identified with images 7 to 9. The fit and coverage of clothing in these images is representative of typical Western dress.

### 5.3.2 Dress practices of participants

Results of participants' responses to the six items selected (see **Table 4.2**) were compared with results of their picture scale to determine whether they matched and fitted into one of the three groups, based on the acculturation strategies' dress practices. Using results of the cluster analysis (the image selected on the picture scale with the two corresponding items worn frequently) the participants were initially forced into three groups. The three groups corresponded with the prevalence of the different acculturation strategies on the picture scale, namely separation (pictures 1-3), integration (pictures 4-6) and assimilation (pictures 7-9) dress practices. Cluster analysis, however, indicated that dividing the sample into three groups would not yield satisfactory results, as there were not three groups with clearly distinguished dress practices. This had implications for the sub-objectives of the study, as the researcher assumed that the sample would be divided into three groups, due to current literature (Chattaraman *et al.*, 2008; Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005). These studies indicated that a sample could be divided into three groups based on their level of acculturation. In the current study these acculturation levels were referred to

as separation, assimilation and integration strategies. In the end, dividing the sample in two groups yielded better results, since the differences in dress practices between the two groups were significant. Between these two groups there were two distinguished dress practices: less modest (pictures 7-9) and more modest (pictures 1-6). For this study the two groups were named 'less modest dress practices' (group 1) and 'more modest dress practices' (group 2). Thereafter all statistical analyses were done on these two groups to determine the values most important to each group and the predominant identity of each group.

## 5.4 IMPORTANT VALUES

A tabular summary is given to indicate the frequency distribution and percentages for the values of female Muslim students, namely social, religious, economic, exploratory, political, aesthetic and theoretical values. In the following tables the reporting of results is only on agreement with the statement, which is indicated by the 4-5 on the Likert scale. The items in each scale were ranked in order of descending percentages. In the last column the total percentages for these two statements are given.

### 5.4.1 Descriptive statistics for importance of values

#### Social Values

**Table 5.6** summarises the results for social values by presenting frequencies and percentages of each item used to measure this construct.

**TABLE 5.6: SOCIAL VALUES**

When I dress for campus, it is important to me that my clothing ...							
Percentage (Frequency)	n	Not important 1	2	Neutral 3	4	Very important 5	Total % of importance
Allows me to blend in with other students	200	18% (36)	5% (10)	40% (80)	16% (32)	21% (42)	37%
Is accepted by my friends	200	44.5% (89)	9.5% (19)	26.5% (53)	7.5% (15)	12% (24)	19.5%
Fits in with my friends' clothing	200	37% (74)	10% (20)	38.5% (77)	6.5% (13)	8% (16)	14.5%

More than a third of participants (37%) stated that it was important for them that their clothing allows them to blend in with other students on campus. Nearly a fifth of the participants (19.5%) found it important for their clothing to be accepted by their friends, and for 14.5% it was important that their clothing fits in with their friends' clothing.

### Religious Values

**Table 5.7** summarises the results for religious values by presenting frequencies and percentages of each item used to measure this construct.

**TABLE 5.7: RELIGIOUS VALUES**

When I dress for campus, it is important to me that my clothing ...							
Percentage (Frequency)	n	Not important 1	2	Neutral 3	4	Very important 5	Total % of importance
Is not revealing	200	1.5% (3)	1.5% (3)	10% (20)	15% (30)	72% (144)	87%
Shows I respect my religion	200	0% (0)	1% (2)	12.5% (25)	14.5% (29)	72% (144)	86.5%
Shows I respect my parents' wishes as to how I should dress	200	3% (6)	0.5% (1)	15.5% (31)	21.5% (43)	59.5% (119)	81%
Does not offend others	200	6.5% (13)	1% (2)	15.5% (31)	18.5% (37)	58.5% (117)	77%
Is not tight-fitting	200	2% (4)	2% (4)	32.5% (65)	17% (34)	46.5% (93)	63.5%
Does not attract attention to myself	200	4% (8)	1.5% (3)	40% (80)	20% (40)	34.5% (69)	54.5%

For the majority of participants (87%) it was important that their clothing is not revealing, 86.5% wanted their clothing to show they respect their religion and 81% of the participants wanted their clothing to show they respect their parents' wishes regarding the way they should dress. For many of the participants (77%) it was important that their clothing does not offend others and is not tight-fitting (63.5%). More than half (54.5%) of the participants indicated that they did not want their clothing to attract attention to themselves.

## Economic Values

**Table 5.8** summarises the results for economic values by presenting frequencies and percentages of each item used to measure this construct.

**TABLE 5.8: ECONOMIC VALUES**

When I dress for campus, it is important to me that my clothing ...							
Percentage (Frequency)	n	Not important 1	2	Neutral 3	4	Very important 5	Total % of importance
Will last a long time	200	4% (8)	1.5% (3)	24.5% (49)	20.5% (41)	49.5% (99)	70%
Can be used for more than one occasion	200	4% (8)	2.5% (5)	24% (48)	22% (44)	47.5% (95)	69.5%
Is value for money	200	5% (10)	1% (2)	25% (50)	21.5% (43)	47.5% (95)	69%
Is timeless and will not become outdated	200	11% (22)	2.5% (5)	40.5% (81)	17% (34)	29% (58)	46%

For the majority of participants (70%) it was important that their clothing lasts a long time and for 69.5% of the participants it was important that their clothing can be used for more than one occasion. Most of the participants (69%) indicated that it was important that clothing gives value for money. Nearly half of the participants (46%) wanted their clothing to be timeless and not become outdated.

## Exploratory Values

**Table 5.9** summarises the results for exploratory values by presenting frequencies and percentages of each item used to measure this construct.

**TABLE 5.9: EXPLORATORY VALUES**

When I dress for campus, it is important to me that my clothing ...							
Percentage (Frequency)	n	Not important 1	2	Neutral 3	4	Very important 5	Total % of importance
Shows my individuality	200	3.5% (7)	1.5% (3)	24% (48)	17.5% (35)	53.5% (107)	71%
Shows I am free to dress how I want	200	7% (14)	4% (8)	25% (50)	18.5% (37)	45.5% (91)	64%
Shows my creativity in how I dress	200	7.5% (15)	4% (8)	27.5% (55)	19.5% (39)	41.5% (83)	61%
Shows I experiment with different looks	200	14% (28)	5% (10)	30% (60)	19% (38)	32% (64)	51%
Is in line with fashion trends	200	10.5% (21)	6% (12)	39.5% (79)	18.5% (37)	25.5% (51)	44%

Most participants (71%) found it important that their clothing communicates their individuality and shows that they are free to dress how they want to (64%). For many of the participants (61%) it was important to show their creativity through the way they dress and 51% of the participants found it important to show they experiment with different looks. For nearly half of the participants (44%) it was important that their clothing is in line with fashion trends.

### Political Values

**Table 5.10** summarises the results for political values by presenting frequencies and percentages of each item used to measure this construct.

**TABLE 5.10: POLITICAL VALUES**

When I dress for campus, it is important to me that my clothing ...							
Percentage (Frequency)	n	Not important 1	2	Neutral 3	4	Very important 5	Total % of importance
Is admired by others	200	20% (40)	9% (18)	39% (78)	15% (30)	17% (34)	32%
Looks expensive	200	36% (72)	10.5% (21)	38.5% (77)	5.5% (11)	9.5% (19)	15%
Influences others to wear the same clothing as me	200	40% (80)	9.5% (19)	35.5% (71)	5% (10)	10% (20)	15%
Comes from an impressive brand name	200	50% (100)	11% (22)	31% (62)	3.5% (7)	4.5% (9)	8%

Nearly a third of participants (32%) found it important that their clothing is admired by others. Fewer participants (15%) wanted their clothing to look expensive and an equal number of the participants (15%) wanted their clothing to influence others to dress like them. Few of the participants (8%) found it important that their clothing comes from an impressive brand name.

### Aesthetic Values

**Table 5.11** summarises the results for aesthetic values by presenting frequencies and percentages of each item used to measure this construct.

**TABLE 5.11: AESTHETIC VALUES**

When I dress for campus, it is important to me that my clothing ...							
Percentage (Frequency)	n	Not important 1	2	Neutral 3	4	Very important 5	Total % of importance
Is beautiful	200	6.53% (13)	1.51% (3)	27.64% (55)	24.62% (49)	39.7% (79)	64.32%
Makes me feel attractive	200	12.5% (25)	5% (10)	33.5% (67)	20% (40)	29% (58)	49%
Enhances my beauty	200	13.5% (27)	5% (10)	40% (80)	13% (26)	28.5% (57)	41.5%
Is eye-catching	200	16% (32)	6.5% (13)	50% (100)	10.5% (21)	17% (34)	27.5%

Many of the participants (64.32%) found it important that their clothing is beautiful. For nearly half of the participants (49%) it was important that their clothing makes them feel attractive and 41.5% of the participants wanted their clothing to enhance their appearance. Over a quarter of the participants (27.5%) found it important for their clothing to be eye-catching.

## Theoretical Values

**Table 5.12** summarises the results for theoretical values by presenting frequencies and percentages of each item used to measure this construct.

**TABLE 5.12: THEORETICAL VALUES**

When I dress for campus, it is important to me that my clothing ...							
Percentage (Frequency)	n	Not important 1	2	Neutral 3	4	Very important 5	Total % of importance
Is easy to move around in while walking to class	200	0.5% (1)	0% (0)	7.5% (15)	14% (28)	78% (156)	92%
Is comfortable	200	0.5% (1)	0% (0)	8.5% (17)	16% (32)	75% (150)	91%
Is practical for campus activities	200	1.5% (3)	0.5% (1)	10% (20)	16% (32)	72% (144)	88%

For almost all of the participants (92%) it was important that their clothing should be easy to move around in while walking to class and 91% of the participants indicated it was important that their clothing should be comfortable while 88% wanted their clothing to be practical for campus activities.

### 5.4.2 Inferential statistics for importance of values

Independent *t*-tests were run to determine whether there were significant differences between the means (averages) of the two groups' (following less modest and more modest dress practices) important values. The objective was to explore and describe which values were more important to which group.

## Social Values

**Table 5.13** sums up the results of the independent *t*-test and Levene's test for social values. The mean, standard deviation, standard error of mean, *t*-value, degrees of freedom, *p*-value, *f*-value and significance of each group are presented.

**TABLE 5.13: INDEPENDENT SAMPLE T-TEST: SOCIAL VALUES**

Social values	t-test for equality of Means							Levene's Test for Equality of Variance	
	n	Mean	Std dev	Std. Error Mean	T	df	p-value	F	Sig.
Group 1: Less modest	104	2.91	1.124	0.110	3.94	198	0.0001	1.82	0.1791
Group 2: More modest	96	2.32	0.995	0.101					

An independent sample *t*-test showed that the scores of the less modest group ( $N = 104$ ;  $M = 2.91$ ;  $SD = 1.124$ ) and the more modest group ( $N = 96$ ;  $M = 2.32$ ;  $SD = 0.995$ ) differed significantly ( $t = 3.94$ ,  $p = 0.0001$ ). Because the standard deviations for the two groups were slightly different (1.124 and 0.995), the "equal variances assumed" test was used (Levene's test of equality of variance). The results indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between the mean score of Muslim social values for the less modest and more modest groups ( $t = 3.94$ ,  $p = 0.0001$ ). In other words, the less modest group (2.91) had a statistically significant higher mean score in terms of their Muslim social values than the more modest group (2.32). For the less modest group their social values were more important than for the more modest group.

## Religious Values

**Table 5.14** sums up the results of the *t*-test and Levene's test for religious values. The mean, standard deviation, standard error of mean, *t*-value, degrees of freedom, *p*-value, *f*-value and significance of each group are presented.

**TABLE 5.14: INDEPENDENT SAMPLE T-TEST: RELIGIOUS VALUES**

Religious values	t-test for equality of Means							Levene's Test for Equality of Variance	
	n	Mean	Std dev	Std. Error Mean	T	df	p-value	F	Sig.
Group 1: Less modest	104	4.12	0.591	0.058	-3.37	198	0.0009	0.96	0.3286
Group 2: More modest	96	4.39	0.538	0.055					

An independent sample *t*-test showed that the scores of the less modest group ( $N = 104$ ;  $M = 4.12$ ;  $SD = 0.591$ ) and the more modest group ( $N = 96$ ;  $M = 4.39$ ;  $SD = 0.538$ ) differed significantly ( $t = -3.37$ ,  $p = 0.0009$ ). Because the standard deviations for the two groups are similar (0.591 and 0.538), the "equal variances assumed" test was used (Levene's test of equality of variance). The results indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between the mean score of Muslim religious values for the less modest and more modest groups ( $t = -3.37$ ,  $p = 0.0009$ ). In other words, the less modest group (4.12) had a statistically significant lower mean score in terms of their Muslim religious values than the more modest group (4.39). For the less modest group their religious values were less important than for the more modest group.

### Economic Values

**Table 5.15** sums up the results of the *t*-test and Levene's test for economic values. The mean, standard deviation, standard error of mean, *t*-value, degrees of freedom, *p*-value, *f*-value and significance of each group are presented.

**TABLE 5.15: INDEPENDENT SAMPLE T-TEST: ECONOMIC VALUES**

Economic values	t-test for equality of Means							Levene's Test for Equality of Variance	
	n	Mean	Std dev	Std. Error Mean	T	df	p-value	F	Sig.
Group 1: Less modest	104	3.84	0.925	0.090	-1.47	198	0.1425	0.02	0.9004
Group 2: More modest	96	4.03	0.920	0.093					

An independent sample *t*-test showed that the scores of the less modest group ( $N = 104$ ;  $M = 3.84$ ;  $SD = 0.925$ ) and the more modest group ( $N = 96$ ;  $M = 4.03$ ;  $SD = 0.920$ ) did not differ significantly ( $t = -1.47$ ,  $p = 0.1425$ ). Because the standard

deviations for the two groups are similar (0.925 and 0.920), the "equal variances assumed" test was used (Levene's test of equality of variance). The results indicated that there was no statistically significant difference between the mean score of economic values for the less modest (3.84) and more modest groups (4.03) ( $t = -1.47$ ,  $p = 0.1425$ ). In other words, economic values were equally important to both groups.

## Exploratory Values

**Table 5.16** sums up the results of the  $t$ -test and Levene's test for exploratory values. The mean, standard deviation, standard error of mean,  $t$ -value, degrees of freedom,  $p$ -value,  $f$ -value and significance of each group are presented.

**TABLE 5.16: INDEPENDENT SAMPLE T-TEST: EXPLORATORY VALUES**

Exploratory values	t-test for equality of Means							Levene's Test for Equality of Variance	
	n	Mean	Std dev	Std. Error Mean	t	df	p-value	F	Sig.
Group 1: Less modest	104	3.79	0.891	0.087	0.43	198	0.6657	0.86	0.3545
Group 2: More modest	96	3.74	0.963	0.098					

An independent sample  $t$ -test showed that the scores of the less modest group ( $N = 104$ ;  $M = 3.79$ ;  $SD = 0.891$ ) and the more modest group ( $N = 96$ ;  $M = 3.74$ ;  $SD = 0.963$ ) did not differ significantly ( $t = 0.43$ ,  $p = 0.6657$ ). Because the standard deviations for the two groups are similar (0.891 and 0.963), the "equal variances assumed" test was used (Levene's test of equality of variance). The results indicated that there was no statistically significant difference between the mean score of exploratory values for the less modest (3.79) and more modest groups (3.74) ( $t = 0.43$ ,  $p = 0.6657$ ). Exploratory values were equally important to both groups.

## Political Values

**Table 5.17** sums up the results of the  $t$ -test and Levene's test for political values. The mean, standard deviation, standard error of mean,  $t$ -value, degrees of freedom,  $p$ -value,  $f$ -value and significance of each group are presented.

**TABLE 5.17: INDEPENDENT SAMPLE T-TEST: POLITICAL VALUES**

Political values	t-test for equality of Means							Levene's Test for Equality of Variance	
	n	Mean	Std dev	Std. Error Mean	t	df	p-value	F	Sig.
Group 1: Less modest	104	2.51	0.999	0.098	1.00	198	0.3204	0.01	0.9053
Group 2: More modest	96	2.38	0.976	0.099					

An independent sample *t*-test showed that the scores of the less modest group ( $N = 104$ ;  $M = 2.51$ ;  $SD = 0.999$ ) and the more modest group ( $N = 96$ ;  $M = 2.38$ ;  $SD = 0.976$ ) did not differ significantly ( $t = 1.00$ ,  $p = 0.3204$ ). Because the standard deviations for the two groups are similar (0.999 and 0.976), the "equal variances assumed" test was used (Levene's test of equality of variance). The results indicated that there was no statistically significant difference between the mean score of political values for the less modest (2.51) and more modest groups (2.38) ( $t = 1.00$ ,  $p = 0.3204$ ). In other words, political values were equally important to both groups.

### Aesthetic Values

**Table 5.18** sums up the results of the *t*-test and Levene's test for aesthetic values. The mean, standard deviation, standard error of mean, *t*-value, degrees of freedom, *p*-value, *f*-value and significance of each group are presented.

**Table 5.18: Independent sample t-test: Aesthetic Values**

Aesthetic values	t-test for equality of Means							Levene's Test for Equality of Variance	
	n	Mean	Std dev	Std. Error Mean	T	df	p-value	F	Sig.
Group 1: Less modest	104	3.52	1.031	0.101	0.91	198	0.3663	0.01	0.9030
Group 2: More modest	96	3.38	1.060	0.108					

An independent sample *t*-test showed that the scores of the less modest group ( $N = 104$ ;  $M = 3.52$ ;  $SD = 1.031$ ) and the more modest group ( $N = 96$ ;  $M = 3.38$ ;  $SD = 1.060$ ) did not differ significantly ( $t = 0.91$ ,  $p = 0.3663$ ). Because the standard deviations for the two groups are similar (1.031 and 1.060), the "equal variances assumed" test was used (Levene's test of equality of variance). The results indicated that there was no statistically significant difference between the mean score of

aesthetic values for the less modest (3.52) and more modest groups (3.38) ( $t = 0.91$ ,  $p = 0.3663$ ). Both groups placed equal importance on aesthetic values.

## Theoretical Values

**Table 5.19** sums up the results of the  $t$ -test and Levene's test for theoretical values. The mean, standard deviation, standard error of mean,  $t$ -value, degrees of freedom,  $p$ -value,  $f$ -value and significance of each group are presented.

**TABLE 5.19: INDEPENDENT SAMPLE T-TEST: THEORETICAL VALUES**

Theoretical values	t-test for equality of Means							Levene's Test for Equality of Variance	
	n	Mean	Std dev	Std. Error Mean	t	df	p-value	F	Sig.
Group 1: Less modest	104	4.59	0.706	0.069	-1.13	198	0.2600	2.81	0.0952
Group 2: More modest	96	4.69	0.538	0.054					

An independent sample  $t$ -test showed that the scores of the less modest group ( $N = 104$ ;  $M = 4.59$ ;  $SD = 0.706$ ) and the more modest group ( $N = 96$ ;  $M = 4.69$ ;  $SD = 0.538$ ) did not differ significantly ( $t = -1.13$ ,  $p = 0.2600$ ). Because the standard deviations for the two groups were only slightly different (0.706 and 0.538), the "equal variances assumed" test was used (Levene's test of equality of variance). The results indicated that there was no statistically significant difference between the mean score of theoretical values for the less modest (4.59) and more modest groups (4.69) ( $t = -1.13$ ,  $p = 0.2600$ ). Both groups placed equal importance on theoretical values.

### 5.4.2.1 Friedman test statistics

**Table 5.20** presents the results of the Friedman test for the values construct. The ranking of variables for each group is indicated. The median of each variable is presented, along with the ranking of the variables to demonstrate how variables differed from one another in terms of their importance ratings. The aim was to determine whether there were significant differences in the importance placed on different values in each of the two groups.

**TABLE 5.20: FRIEDMAN TEST STATISTICS: VALUES**

	Friedman test statistics of Medians			
	Variable	Median	Ranking	Different from variable nr
<b>Group 1: Less Modest (n = 104)</b>	1 Theoretical	5	c	2
	2 Religious	4	d	1
	3 Economic	4	d e	
	4 Exploratory	3.8	d e	5
	5 Aesthetic	3.5	e f	4, 6
	6 Social	3	f	5, 7
	7 Political	2.5	g	6
<b>Group 2: More Modest (n = 96)</b>	1 Theoretical	5	h	
	2 Religious	4.42	h i	3
	3 Economic	4.13	i j	2, 4
	4 Exploratory	3.8	j k	3, 5
	5 Aesthetic	3.5	k	4, 6
	6 Social	2.33	m	5
	7 Political	2.25	m	

According to the Friedman test statistics, all values were ranked in the same order of importance for both groups. There were, however, differences between values in terms of the level of importance attributed to each value. For group 1 (less modest) theoretical and religious values differed significantly from one another. Religious, economic and exploratory values received similar importance medians. These values differed significantly from aesthetic values, and aesthetic values differed from social values. Social values differed significantly from political values. The Friedman test indicated that group 2 (more modest) did not differ significantly in the importance they placed on theoretical and religious values. They did, however, differ from economic values. Economic values differed from exploratory values, and exploratory values differed significantly from aesthetic values. The median of aesthetic values differed from social values. Social and political values did not differ significantly from one another.

## 5.5 PREDOMINANT IDENTITY

A tabular summary is given to indicate the frequency distribution and percentages for the predominant identity of female Muslim students, namely, Muslim, S.A. / Western and Hybrid. In the following tables the reporting of the results is only on the agreement with the statement, which is indicated by the 4-5 on the Likert scale. The

items in each scale were ranked in order of descending percentages. In the last column the total percentages for these two statements are given.

### 5.5.1 Descriptive statistics for predominant identity

#### Muslim Identity

**Table 5.21** summarises the results for a Muslim identity by presenting the frequencies and percentages of each item used to measure this construct.

**TABLE 5.21: MUSLIM IDENTITY**

On campus my dress should communicate that ...							
Percentage (Frequency)	n	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Neutral 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5	Total % of agreement
I take part in Muslim customs	200	0.5% (1)	0% (0)	3% (6)	12% (24)	84.5% (169)	96.5%
I am dedicated to my Muslim heritage	200	0% (0)	1% (2)	6.5% (13)	23% (46)	69.5% (139)	92.5%
I associate myself with other Muslim students	200	0% (0)	2% (4)	6.5% (13)	27.5% (55)	64% (128)	91.5%
I am a Muslim, rather than a South African	200	1.5% (3)	6% (12)	19% (38)	16.5% (33)	57% (114)	73.5%
I participate in Muslim activities	200	2% (4)	8.5% (17)	16.5% (33)	32% (64)	41% (82)	73%
I dress according to Muslim expectations	200	2% (4)	9% (18)	32.5% (65)	34% (68)	22.5% (45)	56.5%

The majority of participants (96.5%) indicated that their clothing should communicate their participation in Muslim customs, their dedication to their Muslim heritage (92.5%) and their association with other Muslim students (91.5%). Most of the participants (73.5%) required their dress to show they are Muslim rather than South African and 73% of the participants wanted their dress to communicate their participation in Muslim activities. More than half (56.5%) of the participants wanted their dress to communicate that they dress according to Muslim expectations.

## S.A. or Western Identity

**Table 5.22** summarises the results for a South African or Western identity by presenting the frequencies and percentages of each item used to measure this construct.

**TABLE 5.22: S.A. / WESTERN IDENTITY**

On campus my dress should communicate that ...							
Percentage (Frequency)	n	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Neutral 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5	Total % of agreement
I am proud to be a South African	200	2.5% (5)	1% (2)	10% (20)	29% (58)	57.5% (115)	86.5%
I follow South African fashion trends	200	4% (8)	12.5% (25)	34.5% (69)	39% (78)	10% (20)	49%
I associate myself with students from other cultures, rather than from the Muslim culture	200	5% (10)	16.5% (33)	39% (78)	22.5% (45)	17% (34)	39.5%
I participate in South African activities	200	7.5% (15)	22% (44)	31% (62)	25.5% (51)	14% (28)	39.5%
I prefer to dress like other South Africans	200	11.5% (23)	28.5% (57)	44% (88)	12.5% (25)	3.5% (7)	16%
I am a South African, rather than a Muslim	200	26% (52)	33.5% (67)	34.5% (69)	3.5% (7)	2.5% (5)	6%

The majority of participants (86.5%) indicated that their dress should communicate their pride to be a South African. Nearly half of the participants (49%) stated that they follow South African fashion trends. More than a third of the participants (39.5%) wanted their dress to communicate their association with students from other cultures, rather than from the Muslim culture, and their participation in South African activities. Few participants (16%) preferred to dress like other South Africans. Hardly any participants (6%) required of their dress to communicate that they are a South African rather than a Muslim.

## Combination of Muslim and S.A. or Western Identity

**Table 5.23** summarises the results for a hybrid identity by presenting the frequencies and percentages of each item used to measure this construct.

**TABLE 5.23: COMBINATION OF MUSLIM AND S.A. / WESTERN IDENTITY**

On campus my dress should communicate that ...							
Percentage (Frequency)	n	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Neutral 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5	Total % of agreement
I associate myself with students from the Muslim culture, as well as those from other cultures	200	0% (0)	1.5% (3)	5.5% (11)	27% (54)	66% (132)	93%
I am proud to be a South African Muslim	200	1.5% (3)	0.5% (1)	6% (12)	19.5% (39)	72.5% (145)	92%
I am both a Muslim and a South African	200	1.5% (3)	1% (2)	6.5% (13)	20.5% (41)	70.5% (141)	91%
I participate in both Muslim and South African activities	200	0% (0)	2.5% (5)	15% (30)	34.5% (69)	48% (96)	82.5%
I combine South African fashion trends with my Islamic garments	200	3% (6)	7.5% (15)	17.5% (35)	38.5% (77)	33.5% (67)	72%
I alternate between Muslim and Western clothing styles	200	5.5% (11)	11.5% (23)	29.5% (59)	36.5% (73)	17% (34)	53.5%

The majority of participants (93%) wanted their dress to communicate their association with students from the Muslim culture as well as students from other cultures. Most of the participants (92%) wanted their dress to show their pride in being a South African Muslim and 91% of the participants wanted their dress to indicate that they are both a Muslim and a South African. The majority of participants (82.5%) required of their dress to communicate their participation in both Muslim and South African activities. Many of the participants (72%) indicated that they combine South African fashion trends with their Islamic garments and 53.5% specified that they alternate between Muslim and Western clothing styles.

### 5.5.2 Inferential statistics for predominant identity

Independent *t*-tests were run to find whether there were significant differences between the means (averages) of the less modest dress and more modest dress groups in terms of their predominant identity. The objective was to explore and describe which identity was predominant for which group.

## Muslim Identity

**Table 5.24** sums up the results of the *t*-test and Levene's test for a Muslim identity. The mean, standard deviation, standard error of mean, *t*-value, degrees of freedom, *p*-value, *f*-value and significance of each group are presented.

**TABLE 5.24: INDEPENDENT SAMPLE T-TEST: MUSLIM IDENTITY**

Muslim Identity	t-test for equality of Means							Levene's Test for Equality of Variance	
	n	Mean	Std dev	Std. Error Mean	T	df	p-value	F	Sig.
Group 1: Less modest	104	4.15	0.548	0.053	-4.59	198	0.000	2.10	0.1486
Group 2: More modest	96	4.48	0.449	0.045					

An independent sample *t*-test showed that the scores of the less modest group ( $N = 104$ ;  $M = 4.15$ ;  $SD = 0.548$ ) and the more modest group ( $N = 96$ ;  $M = 4.48$ ;  $SD = 0.449$ ) differed significantly ( $t = -4.59$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ). Because the standard deviations for the two groups were slightly different (0.548 and 0.449), the "equal variances assumed" test was used (Levene's test of equality of variance). The results indicated that there is a statistically significant difference between the mean score of Muslim identity for the less modest and more modest groups ( $t = -4.59$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ). In other words, the more modest group (4.48) had a statistically significant higher mean score in terms of their Muslim identity than the less modest group (4.15). For the more modest group their Muslim identity was more predominant than for the less modest group.

## S.A. or Western Identity

**Table 5.25** sums up the results of the *t*-test and Levene's test for a S.A. or Western identity. The mean, standard deviation, standard error of mean, *t*-value, degrees of freedom, *p*-value, *f*-value and significance of each group are presented.

**TABLE 5.25: INDEPENDENT SAMPLE T-TEST: S.A. / WESTERN IDENTITY**

S.A./ Western Identity	t-test for equality of Means							Levene's Test for Equality of Variance	
	n	Mean	Std dev	Std. Error Mean	T	df	p-value	F	Sig.
Group 1: Less modest	104	3.27	0.507	0.049	2.00	198	0.0464	1.68	0.1964
Group 2: More modest	96	3.11	0.631	0.064					

An independent sample *t*-test showed that the scores of the less modest group ( $N = 104$ ;  $M = 3.27$ ;  $SD = 0.507$ ) and the more modest group ( $N = 96$ ;  $M = 3.11$ ;  $SD = 0.631$ ) differed significantly ( $t = 2.00$ ,  $p = 0.0464$ ). Because the standard deviations for the two groups were only slightly different (0.507 and 0.631), the "equal variances assumed" test was used (Levene's test of equality of variance). The results indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between the mean score of S.A. or Western identity for the less modest and more modest groups ( $t = 2.00$ ,  $p = 0.0464$ ). In other words, the less modest group (3.27) had a statistically significant higher mean score in terms of their S.A. or Western identity than the more modest group (3.11). For the less modest group their S.A. or Western identity was more predominant than for the more modest group.

The results of the Mann-Whitney U test are also included for this construct in **Table 5.26**. The reason for this is that, although the *t*-test indicated a significant difference between group 1 and group 2's preference for a S.A. or Western identity, the Mann-Whitney U test indicated that there was no significant difference. The Mann-Whitney U test provided a *p*-value of 0.1654, which is much higher than the *t*-test's *p*-value of 0.0464. The Mann-Whitney U test is more reliable than the independent *t*-test in this case, as the data was not normally distributed, therefore not meeting one of the assumptions of the parametric *t*-test (Field & Miles, 2010:477). The independent *t*-test reports on the mean values and is therefore more sensitive to extreme values. The Mann-Whitney U test reports the median values and is less affected by outliers, giving a better indication of central tendency (Field & Miles, 2010:23). The Mann-Whitney U test results will be used in this case. There is thus no significant difference between the two groups' preferences for an S.A. or Western identity.

**TABLE 5.26: MANN-WHITNEY U TEST: S.A. / WESTERN IDENTITY**

	Mann-Whitney U test	
	n	p-value
Group 1: Less modest	104	0.1654
Group 2: More modest	96	

**Combination of a Muslim and S.A. or Western Identity**

**Table 5.27** sums up the results of the *t*-test and Levene's test for a combination of a Muslim and S.A. or Western identity. The mean, standard deviation, standard error of mean, *t*-value, degrees of freedom, *p*-value, *f*-value and significance of each group are presented.

**TABLE 5.27: INDEPENDENT SAMPLE T-TEST: COMBINATION OF A MUSLIM AND S.A. / WESTERN IDENTITY**

Combination of a Muslim and S.A. / Western Identity	t-test for equality of Means							Levene's Test for Equality of Variance	
	n	Mean	Std dev	Std. Error Mean	t	df	p-value	F	Sig.
Group 1: Less modest	104	4.24	0.517	0.050	-0.03	198	0.9734	0.06	0.8077
Group 2: More modest	96	4.24	0.558	0.057					

An independent sample *t*-test showed that the scores of the less modest group ( $N = 104$ ;  $M = 4.24$ ;  $SD = 0.517$ ) and the more modest group ( $N = 96$ ;  $M = 4.24$ ;  $SD = 0.558$ ) did not differ significantly ( $t = -0.03$ ,  $p = 0.9734$ ). Because the standard deviations for the two groups were similar (0.517 and 0.558) the "equal variances assumed" test was used (Levene's test of equality of variance). The results indicated that there was not a statistically significant difference between the mean score for the combination of a Muslim and S.A. or Western identity for the less modest and more modest groups ( $t = -0.03$ ,  $p = 0.9734$ ). The less modest group (4.24) and the more modest group (4.24) had identical mean scores in terms of the combination of a Muslim and S.A. or Western identity. For both groups a combination of a Muslim and S.A. or Western identity was equally predominant.

### 5.5.2.1 Friedman test statistics

**Table 5.28** presents the results of the Friedman test for the identity construct. The ranking of variables for each group is indicated. The median of each variable is presented, along with the ranking of the variables to demonstrate how variables differed from one another in terms of their importance ratings. The aim was to determine whether there were significant differences in the importance placed on different identities in each of the two groups.

**TABLE 5.28: FRIEDMAN TEST STATISTICS: IDENTITY**

	Friedman test statistics of Medians			
	Variable	Median	Ranking	Different from variable nr
<b>Group 1: Less Modest (n = 104)</b>	1 Muslim	4.33	A	3
	2 Hybrid	4.17	A	3
	3 S.A.	3.33	B	
<b>Group 2: More Modest (n = 96)</b>	1 Muslim	4.67	A	3
	2 Hybrid	4.33	A	3
	3 S.A.	3.17	B	

For both groups all three identity types were ranked in the same order with the same differences in importance indicated for all variables. A Muslim and hybrid identity did not differ significantly from one another. They did, however, differ significantly from a South African identity in terms of the median values.

## 5.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided an analysis of the survey responses. Characteristics and descriptions of the sample were presented. Statistical methods used for the data analysis in this study included frequency, percentage and mean tabulations. Differences between the two groups (less modest and more modest), in terms of their important values and predominant identities, were determined by the use of an independent *t*-test and the Friedman test. The next chapter will discuss conclusions based on the findings, limitations of the study and implications for future research.

# CHAPTER 6

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

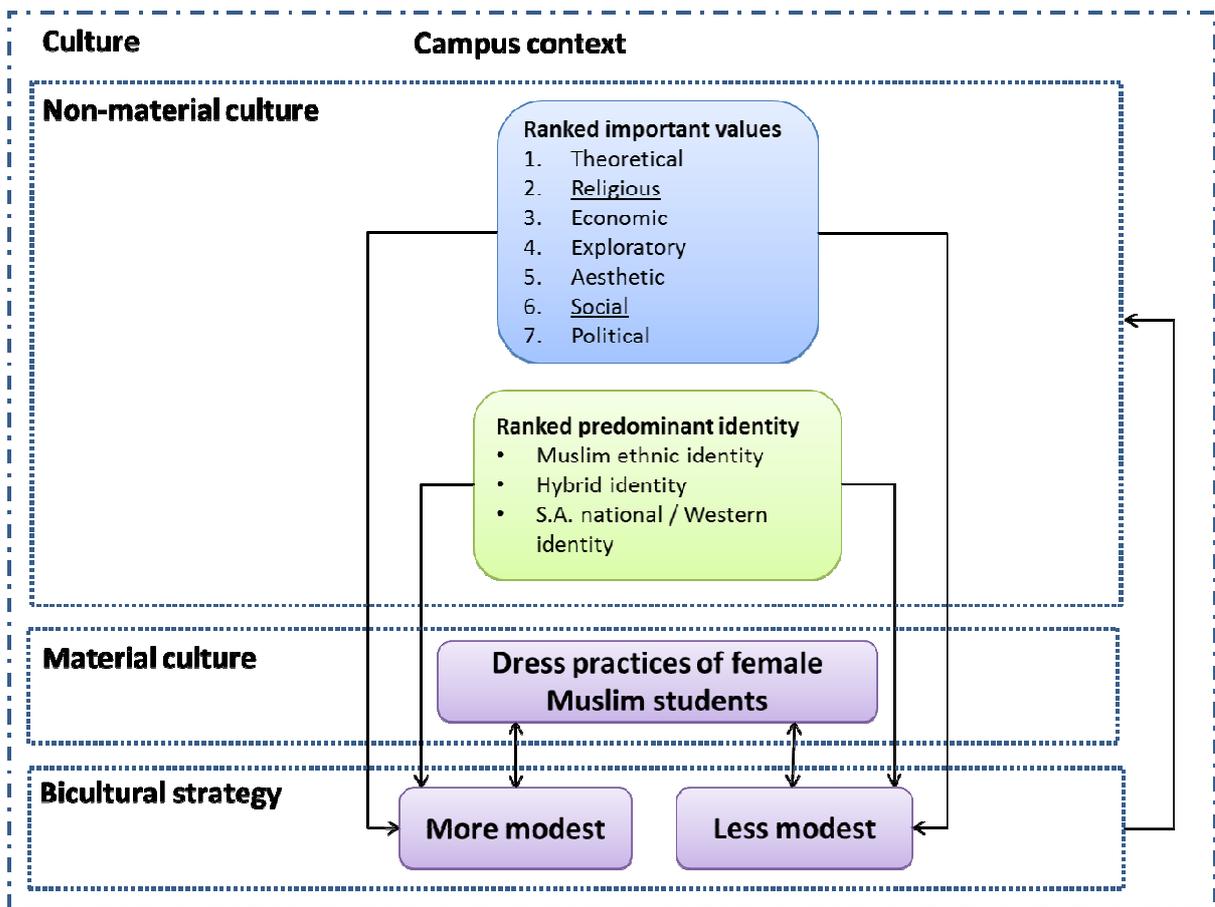
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### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the research results are summarised, discussed and interpreted. Conclusions, implications, limitations and recommendations for future research are also presented.

### 6.2 DISCUSSION

The overall purpose of the study was to explore and describe the important values and predominant identities of female Muslim students as related to their dress practices. The discussion is presented in the same sequence as in the previous chapter. The first focus is on the dress practices of the two groups. Thereafter the important values and predominant identities of the two groups are discussed and interpreted. The results are interpreted according to existing literature as well as the cultural perspective, in order to understand dress practices of the participants in the campus context. The revised conceptual framework for the study is provided below.



**FIGURE 6.1: REVISED CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

### 6.2.1 Dress practices of groups

The objective was to explore and describe the different acculturation strategies female Muslim students follow in terms of their dress practices. Initially three sub-objectives were set to identify and describe the everyday dress practices predominantly followed in terms of the three acculturation strategies. The aim was to categorise participants as following one of the three acculturation strategies, namely, separation, assimilation or integration. According to Chattaraman *et al.* (2008) and Rajagopalan and Heitmeyer (2005), a sample could be divided into three groups based on their level of acculturation. The results of the cluster analysis, however, indicated that the sample could not be divided into three distinct groups. The three groups were supposed to correspond with the prevalence of the different acculturation strategies on the picture scale, namely separation (pictures 1-3), integration (pictures 4-6) and assimilation (pictures 7-9), as well as the list of dress items that included Islamic, Western and a combination of these dress forms. Three

clear groups with distinguished dress practices could not be identified. Two groups fitted this sample better and it was therefore divided into two groups with distinguished differences namely, less modest and more modest.

Some of the results of the study can be used to clarify why the sample could not be categorised according to the three acculturation strategies. Very few participants have discarded the Muslim culture entirely (assimilation strategy), as 92.5% of the participants stated that they were dedicated to their Muslim heritage. The majority of participants (98%) indicated that they were on campus three to five days per week and therefore interacted regularly with students from various cultural backgrounds. They were thus not able to limit their interaction with people from other cultures (separation strategy). It is evident that the majority of participants in the current study followed the integration strategy, according to which individuals maintain their original culture, while interacting with other cultures on a daily basis (Berry & Sam, 1997:297). The results of the study can therefore be better explained in terms of different degrees of biculturalism, rather than referring to acculturation strategies. Biculturalism refers to aspects of two cultures being combined and synthesised within an individual (Neuliep, 2009:378).

The results indicated that the majority of participants (88%) have lived in South Africa for their whole lives and most participants (97%) have been Muslim all their lives. Participants placed importance on their Muslim heritage while being exposed to the Western way of life on a daily basis. Within the campus context participants found a way of balancing these two cultural identities and incorporating both in their dress practices. Various studies have found that young Muslim women tend to become bicultural within a Western context. Sirin *et al.* (2008) focused on Muslim Americans between the ages of 18 and 28 years, concluding that Muslim women were more likely to have an integrated identity. Even though these women placed more importance on their Muslim identity than their American identity, they were able to incorporate both identities into their sense of self. Dwyer (2000) conducted interviews with young British Muslim women who confirmed their commitment to both their Muslim and British identities. They combined both identities in their dress practices in order to communicate a hybrid identity.

In the current study participants indicated that they combined Islamic and Western garments (72%). 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 Islamic and Western dress forms in the campus environment. In this way they show their dedication to both cultural orientations.

Cluster analysis revealed that the sample could effectively be divided into two groups based on participants’ dress practices. Participants forming part of the first group (n = 104) were said to follow less modest dress practices, as they indicated that they wore typical Western garments and identified more with the images in the picture scale where headscarves were absent. Participants forming part of the second group (n = 96) followed more modest dress practices, as they indicated that they wore traditional Islamic garments on a regular basis and also identified with the images in the picture scale with headscarves. The results of the objectives measuring values and identity will now be discussed for each of these two groups.

### **6.2.2 Important values**

The objective was to explore and describe the important values of female Muslim students as reflected in their dress practices. Two sub-objectives were set to determine which traditional Muslim values and which typical Western values were important to female Muslim students in terms of their everyday dress practices on campus. The important values of each of the two groups of participants were identified, compared with one another and rank ordered according to the Friedman test results.

For both groups all values were ranked in the same order of importance according to their median values. Statistical procedures indicated that the more modest group attributed more importance to religious values than the less modest group, while the less modest group placed more importance on social values than the more modest group. Each of the value types will now be discussed in descending order, according to the importance placed on them by both groups.

## Theoretical values

For both groups theoretical values were ranked as the most important value type. The results of the *t*-test revealed no significant difference in the importance the groups placed on this value type. The means were similar at a  $p > 0.0001$  level. Theoretical values are related to the practicality and comfort of dress (Kaiser, 1997:300). Participants indicated that their clothing needed to be easy to move around in while walking to class (92%), comfortable (91%) and practical for campus activities (88%). In **Table 2.1** in the literature review, theoretical values are indicated as forming part of inner-directed values. Inner-directed values are most often associated with Western cultures (Kaiser, 1997:473; Markus & Kitayama, 1991:226). Students enrolled at a university need to walk around a lot, attending classes on different parts of campus. It is therefore understandable that students would want their clothing to be practical for the campus environment. It is likely that female Muslim students may prefer to wear garments that are suitable to Pretoria's climate (which can be mild to very warm) and may discard some of their traditional Islamic garments in order to feel more comfortable while moving around on campus.

Smith, De Klerk & Fletcher (2011) found that professional women in South Africa place the most importance on theoretical values when evaluating clothing. For these individuals the functionality of a garment is the deciding factor, whether the clothing item will be purchased or not. Their dress must be practical and comfortable for the work environment (Smith *et al.*, 2011:44). Whether in the campus environment or the work environment, theoretical values seem to be a significant factor when making clothing decisions. Individuals require their clothing to be practical for the various activities they take part in, as well as to ensure their comfort during a long day's work. Participants in the current study combined Islamic and Western garments in order to create the most functional ensemble for the campus context. These findings are supported by the assumption of the cultural perspective stating that "collective values are produced and reproduced through cultural forms" (Kaiser, 1997:49). A change in non-material culture leads to a change in material culture (Naylor, 1996:21). The campus context may have resulted in female Muslim students placing more importance on theoretical values, and therefore having collectively changed their dress to suit the new environment. According to Triandis (1989:509), the dress conventions of Muslim women across the world have changed over the years. Part of the reason is that the lifestyles of Muslim women have changed drastically (Vahed,

2000:50). Traditionally the place of a Muslim woman was seen as being in the home and she was only supposed to venture outside in the case of an unavoidable need (Vahed, 2000:51). Women were not allowed to study or pursue careers (Sader, 2008:85), but today Muslim women have active lifestyles and hold jobs (Sader, 2008:18). This is the case with female Muslim students who are working toward their careers and need their clothing to enable them to perform their daily activities.

### **Religious values**

Both groups scored religious values as their second most important value. The results of the *t*-test revealed that the more modest group placed slightly more importance on this value type than the less modest group. The difference in means was significant at a  $p < 0.0001$  level. Religious values involve being conservative and adhering to modest dress codes. Such individuals have a low fashion interest (Kaiser, 1997:301; Storm, 1987:319). Participants specified that their clothing should not be revealing (87%), should show their respect for their religion (86.5%), as well as their respect for their parents' wishes as to how they should dress (81%). They further indicated that their dress should not offend others (77%), should not be tight-fitting (63.5%) and should not attract attention to themselves (54.5%). In **Table 2.1**, religious values are indicated as forming part of other-directed values. Non-Western cultures are known to adhere to other-directed values (Markus & Kitayama, 1991:227). This holds true for the Muslim culture where religiosity is the main variable contributing towards strong Muslim identification (Muthal, 2010:36; Sirin *et al.*, 2008:274). It is logical that participants placed great importance on this value type, seeing that all participants identified themselves as being Muslim. The more modest group are, however, more in line with the requirements of the Islamic faith. Islam prohibits women from wearing clothing that is transparent or tight-fitting and requires the body to be covered from view (Dunkel *et al.*, 2010:57; Boulanouar, 2006:139; Kilicbay & Binark, 2002:497). The more modest group tends to wear more traditional Islamic garments than the less modest group, thereby visibly communicating their religious faith within the campus context.

Many Muslims view modernity as a threat to their Islamic way of life. Some Muslim women who are exposed to the dangers of the Western world feel the need to become more acquainted with the teachings of Islam in order to remain on the right path. These women find strength in Islam, which provides guidance for their day-to-

day lives (Vahed, 2000:56, 60, 68). One of the assumptions of the cultural perspective states that “cultural beliefs and values tend to be perpetuated when they are represented on a relatively unconscious level” (Kaiser, 1997:49). Religious values are so ingrained in Muslim individuals that, despite being surrounded by other cultures, they still place great importance on this value type. Various studies have found that Muslim women living in Western societies start to wear Islamic garments much earlier in life. This is a means of setting boundaries between themselves and the Western way of life (Dunkel *et al.*, 2010:57; Sader, 2008:17). Female Muslim students in Pretoria also hold on to their Muslim heritage despite being surrounded by students from other cultures. Having lived in South Africa all their lives has not resulted in them discarding their Muslim faith, as they continue to wear Islamic garments and demonstrate their dedication to their Muslim background in this manner.

### **Economic Values**

The third most important value for both groups was economic values. The results of the *t*-test revealed there were no significant differences in the importance the groups placed on this value type. The means were similar at a  $p > 0.0001$  level. Economic values aim to avoid wastefulness in terms of time, money, and energy (Kaiser, 1997:300). Such individuals place great importance on the durability and maintenance requirements of garments (Pentecost, 1973:4). The results indicated that participants wanted their clothing to last a long time (70%), to be used for more than one occasion (69.5%), to give value for money (69%), and to be timeless (46%). In **Table 2.1**, economic values are shown as forming part of other-directed values. Non-Western cultures tend to hold other-directed values (Markus & Kitayama, 1991:227). All participants in the current study needed to be enrolled at the University of Pretoria in order to take part in the study. University students are known to have a low spending power, as they are still studying and usually do not earn a stable income. For this reason it is understandable that participants would want their clothing to give value for money and to last a long time. Participants therefore scored high on this value type since they wanted their clothing to be timeless and to be worn for more than one occasion.

Jain *et al.* (2011) conducted a study on college students and found them to rate economic values highly. The sample was female and was based in India, with

participants studying either Commerce or Home Science. Participants indicated that economic values greatly influenced their purchasing decisions when buying clothing. Smith *et al.* (2011) also found that professional women in South Africa place great importance on economic values, as they require their clothing to be durable and easy to take care of. They want value for money and are not willing to spend excessively on career wear (Smith *et al.*, 2011:44). These findings are in line with the findings of the current study, where participants also rated economic values highly. It is evident that female Muslim students do not want to waste their time, money or energy when making clothing decisions. They want their clothing to last a long time and not become outdated too quickly.

### **Exploratory values**

Both groups rated exploratory values as being the fourth most important value type. The results of the *t*-test revealed no significant difference in the importance the groups placed on this value type. The means were similar at a  $p > 0.0001$  level. Exploratory values emphasise novelty and variety. Such individuals want to experiment with different clothing styles (Kaiser, 1997:301-302). Participants specified that their clothing should show their individuality (71%) and their freedom to dress how they want (64%). They further indicated that their dress should show their creativity (61%) and their experimentation with different looks (51%). They also wanted their clothing to be in line with fashion trends (44%). In **Table 2.1**, exploratory values form part of inner-directed values. Inner-directed values are most often associated with Western cultures (Kaiser, 1997:473; Markus & Kitayama, 1991:226). The university experience is the most versatile time of life, when students are on a journey of self-discovery. This is a period when individuals want to experiment and find their own style of dress, as opposed to high school where peer pressure is the norm (Jain *et al.*, 2011:14, 17). Participants may place importance on this value as they enjoy trying out new looks in the campus environment, away from their parents' and neighbours' watchful eyes.

Schwartz and Bardi (2001) tested the values of 81 student samples from 54 nations across the world. They found self-directed values to be one of the highest rated values of participants in this study. A possible reason is that students embrace novelty and are open to new ideas and experiences (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001:275-276). Dwyer (2000) found that young British Muslim women challenged the

stereotypes and meanings attached to Islamic and Western clothing by combining these forms of dress in interesting ways. These women created new clothing styles that were modern, yet adhered to Islamic requirements for appropriate dress forms (Dwyer, 2000:481). The cultural perspective states that “people have the potential to transform their own realities by manipulating the objects in their cultural world” (Kaiser, 1997:51). The findings of this study show that female Muslim students merge Islamic and Western clothing styles in unique ways. While some participants are more in line with the dress requirements of Islam, they still incorporate Western garments into their dress practices on campus. The combination of Islamic and Western garments into one outfit has quite a shocking effect, as these dress forms come from contradictory worlds. Western fashions are fast-changing and are associated with individuality (Frings, 2005:50; Balasescu, 2003:40, 48). Islamic dress is associated with holding deep meanings, being unchanging and projecting group identity (Rovine, 2009:46; Fernea & Fernea, 1986:265). Participants have therefore broken these dress conventions and have created new clothing styles for Muslim women.

### **Aesthetic values**

Aesthetic values were rated as the fifth most important value type by both groups and overall received above average ratings. The results of the *t*-test revealed no significant difference in the importance the groups placed on this value type. The means were similar at a  $p > 0.0001$  level. Aesthetic values focus on fashion, enjoyment and enhancing personal appearance (Storm, 1987:319). Participants stated that their clothing should be beautiful (64.32%) and make them feel attractive (49%). Fewer participants required their clothing to enhance their beauty (41.5%) and to be eye-catching (27.5%). As indicated in **Table 2.1** in the literature review, aesthetic values form part of inner-directed values. Inner-directed values are most often associated with Western cultures (Kaiser, 1997:473; Markus & Kitayama, 1991:226). According to Kaiser (1997) gender roles dictate that men need to be physically effective whereas women need to be physically attractive. Women are rewarded for their appearance and therefore take great care to look beautiful (Kaiser, 1997: 89). All participants in the study were female. It is therefore comprehensible that participants rated aesthetic values positively, as they wanted their clothing to enhance their appearance.

From an Islamic point of view, the two functions of clothing are to cover the body and to beautify the appearance. Islam requires its followers to emphasise their beauty and elegance, while not exposing the body (Boulanouar, 2006:138). Muslim women are therefore allowed to wear appealing garments as long as the garments are modest (Sader, 2008:17). Western ideals of beauty are increasingly influencing the rest of the world, with cultural groups becoming more similar in appearance (Dunkel *et al.*, 2010:56). One of the assumptions of the cultural perspective states that “collective values are produced and reproduced through cultural forms” (Kaiser, 1997:49). The importance participants place on aesthetic values is reflected in their dress. The fact that most participants in the current study have adopted Western forms of dress to some degree affirms that they may have been influenced by Western beauty standards, thus resulting in their discarding some Islamic forms of dress. Female Muslim students attending a university in Pretoria are surrounded by Western influences on campus. It is possible that the daily interaction with students from other cultural backgrounds may have influenced participants to adopt Western beauty ideals and to express these aesthetic values through their dress.

### **Social Values**

Social values were rated as the sixth most important value by both groups and received below average importance ratings. The results of the *t*-test disclosed that the less modest group placed slightly more importance on this value type than the more modest group. The difference in means was significant at  $p < 0.0001$  level. Social values involve conformance in dress where individuals feel the need for acceptance by others (Kaiser, 1997:301; Momcilovic, 1998:15). They may emulate the dress of their friends and dress according to social expectations (Pentecost, 1973:4). Few participants found it important for their clothing to enable them to blend in with other students on campus (37%). Not many participants required their clothing to be accepted by their friends (19.5%) or to fit in with their friends’ clothing (14.5%). In **Table 2.1**, social values are indicated as forming part of other-directed values. Non-Western cultures tend to hold other-directed values, including the Muslim culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991:227). A possible reason why the less modest group found social values to be more important is that these individuals feel a greater need to fit into the campus context. They tend to wear more Western garments and appear more similar to other students on campus than the more modest group. Social values did, however, receive low ratings from both groups, with participants placing more

importance on exploratory values. This is an indication that participants are more concerned with expressing their individuality than conforming to the dress practices of others when on campus. These individuals may not be concerned with comparing themselves to others, and may rather prefer to emphasise their uniqueness.

Jain *et al.* (2011) found that college students do not place importance on social values when making clothing decisions. In their study they concluded that college students prefer to dress individualistically rather than to conform to the group. Dixon (2007:36) also states that college students tend to be more self-reliant when making clothing decisions. These findings match the results of the current study where participants also indicated that they do not place importance on social values when getting dressed for campus. The findings contradict the writings of Islam where unity, brotherhood and group culture are emphasised (Hassem, 2008:14,114). According to Sader (2008:16), Muslim women claim that the wearing of Islamic dress makes them feel like they belong to the wider Muslim community. The findings of the current study indicate that participants were not interested in conformance, but rather wanted to express their distinctiveness in the campus environment. They therefore distanced themselves from a traditional Muslim value and adopted the more individualistic values of the West.

### **Political values**

Political values were the lowest scored value type by both groups. The results of the *t*-test revealed no significant difference in the importance the groups placed on this value type. The means were similar at a  $p > 0.0001$  level. Political values are related to fashionable dress and status symbolism. Such individuals value a dress-for-success ethic and want to impress others (Kaiser, 1997:301; Storm, 1987:319). The findings revealed that participants did not require their clothing to be admired by others (32%), to look expensive (15%), to influence others to wear the same clothing as they do (15%), or to come from an impressive brand name (8%). In **Table 2.1**, political values are indicated as forming part of inner-directed values, which are most often associated with Western cultures (Kaiser, 1997:473; Markus & Kitayama, 1991:226). Participants scored economic values much higher than they did political values, indicating that they do not have a high spending power. Participants can most likely not afford to buy impressive brand names or follow all the latest fashion trends.

Participants rather want clothing that will not become out-dated quickly and that gives value for money.

Smith *et al.* (2011) found that professional women in South Africa, with high-earning jobs, scored political values low. This finding contradicted expectations that participants would be concerned with their personal image and status. Participants indicated that they were not interested in buying fashionable clothing that came from expensive brand names, but rather wanted value for their money. They placed more importance on economic values than political values, despite their high spending power (Smith *et al.*, 2011:44). Political values (the equivalent of Schwartz's power and achievement values) have proved to be a low scored value type in many studies, despite the sample's characteristics. Studies focusing on high school students, nurses, teachers and professional women have all found this value type to be rated as less important than most other values, with Schwartz's power value consistently being rated as the least important value (Smith *et al.*, 2011; Hofmann-Towfigh, 2007; Glazer & Beehr, 2002; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). It is evident that individuals either do not relate to this value type or do not like to admit that they place importance on status symbolism and personal image. This holds true for the current study where participants also did not identify with political values.

### **6.2.3 Predominant identity**

The overall objective was to explore and describe the predominant identity female Muslim students want to communicate with their everyday dress practices. The three sub-objectives aimed to determine the predominance of a Muslim ethnic identity, a South African national or Western identity and a hybrid identity in female Muslim students' everyday dress practices on campus. The predominant identities of each of the two groups of participants were identified, compared with one another and rank ordered according to the Friedman test results.

For both groups all identities were ranked in the same order of importance according to their median values. Statistical procedures indicated that the more modest group attributed more importance to a Muslim ethnic identity than the less modest group. Each of the identities will now be discussed in descending order according to the importance placed on them by both groups.

## Muslim ethnic identity

A Muslim ethnic identity was ranked as the most predominant identity by both groups. The results of the *t*-test revealed that the more modest group found this identity to be slightly more predominant than the less modest group. The difference in means were significant at a  $p < 0.0001$  level. Participants indicated that their dress should communicate that they take part in Muslim customs (96.5%), that they are dedicated to their Muslim heritage (92.5%), and that they associate themselves with other Muslim students (91.5%). They also stated that their clothing should communicate that they are Muslim rather than South African (73.5%), that they participate in Muslim activities (73%) and that they dress according to Muslim expectations (56.5%). According to the cultural perspective, “culture provides abstract pictures or representations of social life” (Kaiser, 1997:53). Every culture provides guidelines for appropriate behaviour and forms of dress. “The character of Islam is modesty” (Boulanouar, 2006:138). Islam requires the body to be covered and concealed from view (Dunkel *et al.*, 2010:57; Kilicbay & Binark, 2002:497). The veil gives Muslim women a strong ethnic identity (Hassem, 2008:19). By wearing Islamic garments, a Muslim woman communicates her commitment to Islam (Daly, 2000:137; Shirazi, 2000:125). It is comprehensible that the more modest group would find their Muslim identity to be predominant, as they are more in line with dress requirements of the Islamic faith. These participants communicate their dedication to their religion through their dress on a daily basis in the campus context.

Previous group involvement plays a major role in determining whether an ethnic identity will be maintained in a new context. Factors that influence previous group involvement include the language spoken in the home, the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood and the ethnicity of an individual’s friends (Ethier & Deaux, 1994:243). Ethier and Deaux (1994) found that Hispanic college students in the U.S.A., who had previous group involvement with the Hispanic culture, made the most effort to maintain their ethnic identity within the campus context. These individuals tended to join Hispanic organisations and to have more Hispanic friends on campus. In this manner they found new ways to support their ethnic identity and to maintain group memberships (Ethier & Deaux, 1994:249). According to Hassem (2008) and Van der Merwe (1996), Muslim communities in South Africa are cohesive and Muslim individuals prefer to associate with others who they perceive as being similar to themselves. Such closed communities are a source of support for and

protection of the Muslim way of life (Hassem, 2008:120-121; Van der Merwe, 1996:80). In the current study, the majority of participants indicated that they associated themselves with other Muslim students (91.5%) and that they took part in Muslim activities (73%). This is an indication that participants strived to maintain their ethnic identity within the campus context.

### **Hybrid identity**

A hybrid identity was ranked as the second most predominant identity by both groups. The results of the *t*-test revealed no significant difference in the predominance that the groups placed on this identity. The means were similar at a  $p > 0.0001$  level. Participants required their clothing to communicate their association with students from the Muslim culture, as well as with those from other cultures (93%). They further indicated that their dress should communicate their pride in being a South African Muslim (92%) and that they were both a Muslim and a South African (91%). They also wanted their dress to communicate their participation in both Muslim and South African activities (82.5%), their combination of South African fashion trends with Islamic garments (72%), and their alternation between Muslim and Western clothing styles (53.5%). It is understandable that participants would place importance on a blend of their Muslim and South African identities as most of them have been Muslim all their lives and have also been living in South Africa all their lives. They thus embrace their biculturalism and incorporate both identities in their dress practices. It is possible that these individuals frame-switch between different contexts. Frame-switching is when an individual emphasises different cultural identities in different parts of his or her life, depending on the context (Dwyer, 2000:475; Naylor, 1996:28-29). At home individuals may emphasise their Muslim identity, while on campus they may identify more with their South African or Western identity. This shifting between 'cultural frames' will have an influence on individuals' dress practices, since they behave in the most appropriate way as dictated by the social situation (Chattaraman *et al.*, 2008:828; Upchurch, 2008:3). Participants may therefore increase or decrease their Islamic or Western dress depending on the context.

Sader (2008) conducted interviews with South African Muslim women who were married, educated and held jobs. The study found that participants viewed themselves as being modern Muslims who creatively constructed their identities to

communicate this image of themselves. Vahed (2000) found that South African Muslim women combine designer clothing and jewellery with their Islamic garments. This is a way of communicating their affiliation to both the Western and Muslim worlds and expressing a hybrid identity. According to the cultural perspective, “people have the potential to transform their own realities by manipulating the objects in their cultural world” (Kaiser, 1997:51). Cultural conventions can be broken by combining different dress forms to create new appearances. Different parts of one’s identity can be prioritised depending on the circumstances. A fusion of cultural influences is the end result (Dwyer, 2000:483). The majority of participants in the present study also indicated that they mix Islamic and Western garments, thereby confirming their association with both their ethnic and national identities. Participants are therefore biculturally oriented, as aspects of both cultures are combined and synthesised (Neuliep, 2009:378).

### **South African national or Western identity**

A South African national or Western identity received the lowest scores from both groups. The results of the Mann-Whitney U test revealed no significant difference in the predominance the groups placed on this identity. The medians were similar at a  $p > 0.0001$  level. Participants wanted their clothing to show their pride in being a South African (86.5%). Participants were not as concerned with their dress communicating their adherence to South African fashion trends (49%) or their association with students from other cultures, rather than from the Muslim culture (39.5%). Few participants required their clothing to show their participation in South African activities (39.5%) or their preference to dress like other South Africans (16%). Hardly any participants wanted their dress to communicate that they were South Africans, rather than Muslims (6%). It is evident that participants were not willing to rate their South African identity as being more important than their Muslim identity. Items such as ‘I am a South African, rather than a Muslim’ and ‘I associate myself with students from other cultures, rather than from the Muslim culture’ forced participants to choose between these two identities. Even though participants had been living in South Africa all their lives, they still placed more worth on their Muslim identity. Having been Muslim all their lives therefore had a greater influence than the nation they have been living in.

A religious identity is a higher-order identity that is more significant than the national affiliation of a believer (Sirin *et al.*, 2008:275). Vahed (2000) found that many South African Muslims consider themselves to be Muslim first and foremost, even though they are third or fourth generation Muslims. 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, 2000:62). In South Africa Muslims are a minority group (Vahed, 2000:44). Two main cultural orientations exist in South Africa: an African identity, as well as a Western one (Bornman, 2005:388). It may be that Muslims do not associate strongly with the nation, because they feel they do not fit in with either the African or Western orientations of South Africa. Cultural diversity makes it difficult to create a national identity (Bornman, 2005:386; Naylor, 1996:24). This may be the case with female Muslim students in Pretoria who value their Muslim identity more than their South African identity. These individuals may not share the values and overall identity that represent the nation they are living in.

### **6.3 IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

According to the cultural perspective, “people use codes to decipher the meanings of cultural representations of social life” (Kaiser, 1997:53). Dress encodes multiple messages or cues for others to interpret (Dixon, 2007:10). The aim of the study was to understand the dress codes of female Muslim students by being able to interpret the meanings they are trying to communicate through their clothing choices on campus. The Western world tends to associate Islamic dress with female restriction and inequality. While this may be true of Muslim women living in predominantly Muslim societies, Muslim women living in Western societies have the freedom to choose how they dress. Findings of the study indicated that female Muslim students in Pretoria combined Islamic and Western garments in order to communicate a hybrid identity. In this way they showed their dedication to both their Muslim and South African backgrounds. These findings can enable others to understand the deeper meanings behind female Muslim students’ clothing behaviour.

The study filled a gap in existing research by making a contribution to the fields of culture and apparel behaviour research. While other studies were able to categorise

their participants according to the three acculturation strategies, this did not hold true for the current study, where participants could only be divided into two groups. The study showed that female Muslim students in Pretoria are all bicultural to different degrees. Participants are unwilling to discard their Muslim identity, but also choose to interact with people from other cultures. They place importance on a combination of Western and Islamic values, which they communicate through their clothing choices. The study offers benefits to scholars interested in the social psychology of clothing by showing the meanings people associate with clothing. Symbolic appearances were considered in a larger context of shared values and identities in order to understand how the social meanings of clothing have changed over time (Kaiser, 1997:33, 48). Such social-psychological processes contribute to the change of a culture as a whole and are influenced by the cultural context (Kaiser, 1997:63).

Values, identity and acculturation all influence an individual's purchasing behaviour. Multicultural environments create a demand for understanding different cultural groups' clothing needs and preferences in order to segment the market. If retailers and advertisers have a better understanding of the values, identities and acculturation patterns of cultural groups, they can plan their retail strategies better. Even though Muslims are a minority group in South Africa, their numbers are steadily growing with respect to the rest of the population. This is a niche market with specific clothing needs and preferences. If retailers understand this group's consumption behaviour, they may be able to attract this group's attention, create a loyal customer base and thereby increase their market share. In Elle Magazine (Fashion vs culture, 2011:32-34), an article reported that the South African clothing industry has largely ignored the Muslim market. Many international retailers have realised the need to cater for Muslims, while only a few independent stores in South Africa have done the same. The article clearly states that South African retailers would be wise to take notice of this niche market and to widen their merchandise offering to appeal to Muslim women (Fashion vs culture, 2011:34).

## 6.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Findings were limited to female Muslim students enrolled at the University of Pretoria. These findings can therefore not be generalised to the whole South African Muslim population. Future studies can include male participants in order to identify similarities and differences between male and female values, identities and acculturation patterns. Participants from different age groups can be compared with one another. Future studies can also focus on Muslims from different geographic locations in South Africa. Participants from different cultural backgrounds or religions can be compared in terms of their important values, identities and dress practices. Participants with high levels of education can be compared to those with no tertiary education to determine the influence of education on an individual's values, identity and acculturation.

The study was of a quantitative nature. Future studies should rather 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), when focusing on a cultural group, ethnographic studies would yield the richest results. This method entails the immersion of the researcher in the subculture (Kaiser, 1997:55). 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, as well as the values and identities they are trying to communicate through their clothing choices.

Purposive and snowball sampling was used. Findings can therefore not be generalised to the whole population. Future studies can perhaps make use of probability sampling methods, such as random or cluster sampling. Future studies can also use a larger sample size.

Self-administered questionnaires were used to gather data. People tend to dislike filling in questionnaires and react negatively when approached with a questionnaire. More exciting means of gathering data need to be developed, such as quizzes or more visual questionnaires containing pictures or even projective techniques.

Images 4 to 6 in the picture scale received very low scores. This is a possible indication that they were drawn poorly and were therefore a meagre representation of that segment.

More participants could have formed part of the pilot test. They may have indicated whether the terms used to describe Islamic clothing items (*niqab*, *jilbab*, *hijab*) were known to them. The researcher would then have used different terms to describe these garments in the questionnaire.

The questionnaire did not include any open-ended questions, except for the demographic questions. Some open-ended questions could have provided insight into the reasons participants selected the answers they did.

Only acculturation was used as a framework to understand and explain cultural change. This limited the study to a one-dimensional view of changes in female Muslim students' dress practices. Many other socio-cultural influences e.g. social media, print media and marketing may also play a role in this process. Future studies can focus on the role of other socio-cultural influences.

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.*, 1993:76). 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 cultures. The current study did not recognise this diversity amongst Muslim participants. Future studies should ask participants to specify their ethnic origin.

The present study did not ask participants to specify what generation of South Africans they were and rather asked their length of stay in South Africa. This is limiting because family plays a major role in the socialisation of an individual. During childhood and adolescence the initial conceptions of self are developed (Kaiser, 1997:154). During this time values are learned, new identities are explored and experimentation with dress takes place (Neuliep, 2009:58; Kaiser, 1997:157). Knowing whether the parents or grandparents of an individual also grew up in South Africa would provide further justification for the values, identity and acculturation strategies being followed by individuals.

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 values, identities or dress practices on campus. They may have given socially desirable responses instead of their actual views.

The researcher was an 'outsider' as she 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.

## **6.5 FINAL CONCLUSION**

The results of the study revealed the important values and predominant identities of female Muslim students in Pretoria following different dress practices. It was evident that participants could not be divided into three groups according to the different acculturation strategies, but rather into two groups, based on less modest and more modest dress practices. Only slight differences in values and identity were identified between the two groups. While the group who followed less modest dress practices placed more importance on social values, the group following more modest dress

practices placed more importance on religious values and found a Muslim identity to be predominant. All other values and identities were rated as being equally significant to both groups and were also ranked in the same order of importance.

These results indicate that female Muslim students in Pretoria come from cohesive communities, considering that individuals hold on to their ethnic identity and prefer to associate with others who have the same cultural background. This is a possible reason why there were no great differences in participants' values and identities. Participants also did not differ greatly in their dress practices, with most participants combining Islamic and Western garments to varying degrees into one ensemble. The incorporation of Western dress may be a result of the University experience where participants are surrounded by Western influences. The majority of participants had also been living in South Africa all their lives, which may have contributed to their adoption of some Western ways of life. The fact that participants were unwilling to identify their South African identity as being more important than their Muslim identity proves their dedication to their Muslim heritage. These individuals are unwilling to assimilate into the South African lifestyle, but do integrate some aspects of South African thought and behaviour into their Muslim self and dress practices.

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Please make use of the scales provided to answer the following questions.  
Indicate your answer with an (X).

		Not Important	Neutral	Very Important		
6	When I dress for campus, it is important to me that my clothing ...	1	2	3	4	5
6.1	is appropriate for campus.					
6.2	allows me to blend in with other students.					
6.3	fits in with my friends' clothing.					
6.4	is accepted by my friends.					
6.5	is not revealing.					
6.6	is not tight-fitting.					
6.7	shows I respect my parents' wishes as to how I should dress.					
6.8	shows I respect my religion.					
6.9	does not offend others.					
6.10	does not attract attention to myself.					
6.11	is timeless and will not become out-dated.					
6.12	can be used for more than one occasion.					
6.13	will last a long time.					
6.14	is value for money.					
6.15	shows my creativity in how I dress.					
6.16	shows my individuality.					
6.17	shows I am free to dress how I want.					
6.18	shows I experiment with different looks.					
6.19	is in line with fashion trends.					
6.20	is admired by others.					
6.21	looks expensive.					
6.22	comes from an impressive brand name.					
6.23	influences others to wear the same clothing as me.					
6.24	makes me feel attractive.					
6.25	is beautiful.					
6.26	is eye-catching.					
6.27	enhances my beauty.					
6.28	is comfortable.					
6.29	is practical for campus activities.					
6.30	is easy to move around in while walking to class.					

v6.1	
v6.2	
v6.3	
v6.4	
v6.5	
v6.6	
v6.7	
v6.8	
v6.9	
v6.10	
v6.11	
v6.12	
v6.13	
v6.14	
v6.15	
v6.16	
v6.17	
v6.18	
v6.19	
v6.20	
v6.21	
v6.22	
v6.23	
v6.24	
v6.25	
v6.26	
v6.27	
v6.28	
v6.29	
v6.30	

Please make use of the scales provided to answer the following questions.  
Indicate your answer with an (X).

7	How often do you wear the following clothing items on campus?	Everyday	Most Days	Some Days	Only on Fridays	Never				
7.1	Jilbab						v7.1			
7.2	Niqab						v7.2			
7.3	Hijab						v7.3			
7.4	Headscarf						v7.4			
7.5	Tight-fitting jeans						v7.5			
7.6	3/4 length/ cropped pants						v7.6			
7.7	Leggings						v7.7			
7.8	Shorts						v7.8			
7.9	Knee-length skirt						v7.9			
7.10	Mini skirt						v7.10			
7.11	Tight-fitting top						v7.11			
7.12	T-shirt						v7.12			
7.13	Sleeveless shirt						v7.13			
7.14	Strappy top						v7.14			
7.15	Knee-length dress						v7.15			
7.16	Mini dress						v7.16			
	How often do you wear the following clothing combinations on campus?	Everyday	Most Days	Some Days	Only on Fridays	Never				
7.17	Headscarf with Western garments (jeans, T-shirt)						v7.17			
7.18	Headscarf with tight-fitting pants and a tight shirt.						v7.18			
7.19	Headscarf with loose-fitting top and tight pants.						v7.19			
7.20	Headscarf with tight-fitting top and loose skirt/ pants.						v7.20			
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	v8

**APPENDIX B: RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE**

Construct	Items	Omitted	Correlation with total	Cronbach alpha relation with variable	Cronbach alpha before items were omitted	Final Cronbach alpha	Mean	Standard Deviation
		Items that negatively influenced the consistency of the construct were omitted						
<b>VALUES</b>								
<b>Social Values</b>					0.69	0.77	2.63	1.33
V6_1	Is appropriate for campus	X	0.17	0.77				
V6_2	Allows me to blend in with other students		0.54	0.58				
V6_3	Fits in with my friends' clothing		0.65	0.50				
V6_4	Is accepted by my friends		0.55	0.57				
<b>Religious Values</b>					0.64	0.64	4.25	0.97
V6_5	Is not revealing		0.34	0.60				
V6_6	Is not tight-fitting		0.44	0.56				
V6_7	Shows I respect my parents' wishes as to how I should dress		0.44	0.56				
V6_8	Shows I respect my religion		0.40	0.59				
V6_9	Does not offend others		0.24	0.65				
V6_10	Does not attract attention to myself		0.39	0.59				
<b>Economic Values</b>					0.84	0.84	3.93	1.13
V6_11	Is timeless and will not become out-dated		0.54	0.86				
V6_12	Can be used for more than one occasion		0.69	0.79				
V6_13	Will last a long time		0.79	0.74				
V6_14	Is value for money		0.68	0.79				

Construct	Items	Omitted	Correlation with total	Cronbach <i>alpha</i> relation with variable	Cronbach <i>alpha</i> before items were omitted	Final Cronbach <i>alpha</i>	Mean	Standard Deviation
		Items that negatively influenced the consistency of the construct were omitted						
<b>Exploratory Values</b>					0.81	0.81	3.77	1.22
V6_15	Shows my creativity in how I dress		0.63	0.77				
V6_16	Shows my individuality		0.62	0.77				
V6_17	Shows I am free to dress how I want		0.51	0.80				
V6_18	Shows I experiment with different looks		0.68	0.75				
V6_19	Is in line with fashion trends		0.58	0.78				
<b>Political Values</b>					0.78	0.78	2.45	1.27
V6_20	Is admired by others		0.59	0.72				
V6_21	Looks expensive		0.76	0.64				
V6_22	Comes from an impressive brand name		0.59	0.73				
V6_23	Influences others to wear the same clothing as me		0.43	0.81				
<b>Aesthetic Values</b>					0.86	0.86	3.45	1.25
V6_24	Makes me feel attractive		0.73	0.81				
V6_25	Is beautiful		0.68	0.83				
V6_26	Is eye-catching		0.68	0.83				
V6_27	Enhances my beauty		0.73	0.81				
<b>Theoretical Values</b>					0.86	0.86	4.64	0.71
V6_28	Is comfortable		0.69	0.83				
V6_29	Is practical for campus activities		0.74	0.80				
V6_30	Is easy to move around in while walking to class		0.78	0.76				

Construct	Items	Omitted	Correlation with total	Cronbach <i>alpha</i> relation with variable	Cronbach <i>alpha</i> before items were omitted	Final Cronbach <i>alpha</i>	Mean	Standard Deviation
		Items that negatively influenced the consistency of the construct were omitted						
<b>IDENTITY</b>								
<b>Muslim Identity</b>					0.68	0.68	4.31	0.83
V5_1	I am dedicated to my Muslim heritage		0.47	0.62				
V5_2	I am a Muslim, rather than a South African		0.41	0.64				
V5_3	I associate myself with other Muslim students		0.56	0.59				
V5_4	I participate in Muslim activities		0.42	0.63				
V5_5	I take part in Muslim customs		0.32	0.66				
V5_6	I dress according to Muslim expectations		0.36	0.65				
<b>S.A./ Western Identity</b>					0.59	0.59	3.19	1.00
V5_7	I am proud to be a South African		0.30	0.55				
V5_8	I am a South African, rather than a Muslim		0.27	0.56				
V5_9	I associate myself with students from other cultures, rather than from the Muslim culture		0.33	0.54				
V5_10	I participate in South African activities		0.32	0.54				
V5_11	I follow South African fashion trends		0.43	0.50				
V5_12	I prefer to dress like other South Africans		0.28	0.56				
<b>Hybrid Identity</b>					0.68	0.68	4.24	0.86
V5_13	I am proud to be a South African Muslim		0.48	0.61				
V5_14	I am both a Muslim and a South African		0.55	0.59				
V5_15	I associate myself with students from the Muslim culture, as well as those from other cultures		0.27	0.67				

Construct	Items	Omitted	Correlation with total	Cronbach <i>alpha</i> relation with variable	Cronbach <i>alpha</i> before items were omitted	Final Cronbach <i>alpha</i>	Mean	Standard Deviation
		Items that negatively influenced the consistency of the construct were omitted						
V5_16	I participate in both Muslim and South African activities		0.39	0.64				
V5_17	I combine South African fashion trends with my Islamic garments		0.50	0.60				
V5_18	I alternate between Muslim and Western clothing styles		0.30	0.69				