

MUSLIM, CATHOLIC AND ORTHODOX RELIGIOSITY IN CENTRAL EUROPE IN CONTRAST TO AMERICAN PROTESTANT RELIGIOSITY

Muslimanska, katolička i pravoslavna religioznost u Centralnoj Evropi u poređenju sa religioznošću protestanata u Americi

ABSTRACT Four religious cultural settings, a Slovenian Catholic one, a Bosnian Muslim one, a Serbian Orthodox one and an American Protestant one, are compared on the basis of a variety of measures of religiosity, resulting from a survey carried out on large student samples in 2005. Certain cultural peculiarities of the groups emerge: e.g., the particular Muslim stress on the concept of God as austere judge. These peculiarities, indicative of a more pronouncedly rigid and authentic religiosity do not add up to a qualitatively different religiosity among the Muslims. Nevertheless, clear differences appeared in the structure of religiosity, which are of particular relevance to the two more intensively religious groups: the American Protestants and the Bosnian Muslims. The former group's religiosity is more dependent on social pressure, and its religious practice is more frequent, whereas the latter group's religiosity seems better linked to their personality set-up and integrated in personality. The American Protestants are slightly more inclined to sacrifice their life both for religious purposes and for their country.

KEY WORDS religiosity, cross-cultural, religious orientation, American protestantism, Bosnian Islam, Christianity; Slovenian Catholicism, Serbian Orthodoxy

ABSTRACT Četiri religijska kulturna okruženja, slovenačko katoličko, bosansko muslimansko, srpsko pravoslavno i američko protestantsko su poređena na osnovu više mera religioznosti, a na osnovu anketiranja sprovedenog na većem uzorku studenata 2005. godine. Određene kulturne posebnosti se pojavljuju: na primer, naročito muslimani naglašavaju pojam Boga kao strogog »sudije«. Ove posebnosti svedoče o posvedočenoj rigidnijoj i izvornijoj, ali ne i kvalitativno drugačijoj religioznosti među muslimanima. Ipak, jasne razlike su se pokazale u strukturi religioznosti, naročito kod dve izrazito religiozne grupe: američkim protestantima i bosanskim muslimanima. Religioznost prve grupe više zavisi od socijalnog pritiska i religijska praksa je češća, dok je religioznost druge grupe izgleda bolje povezana (i integrisana) sa crtama ličnosti. Američki protestanti su nešto skloniji da žrtvuju svoj život kako za religijske ciljeve, tako i za svoju zemlju.

KLJUČNE REČI *religioznost, kros-kulturna, religiozna orijentacija, američki protestantizam, bosanski islam, hrišćanstvo, slovenačko katoličanstvo, srpsko pravoslavlje*

Introduction

Recent developments in the world have accentuated the issue of the comparability of Islamic religiosity to Christian religiosity (in particular) and the possibility of integration of Muslims into the Western and/or even modern society. Considering the number of the sweeping statements on Islam in public discourse, empirical scientific studies of Muslim religiosity are scarce (Ghorbani et al., 2000; Haneef Khan & Watson, 2004; Haque 2004). Such studies do not deal with the entirety of Muslim religiosity, and they differ in the types of Muslim groups they study. For instance, Muslim groups outside their autochthonous territory are specific, as they react to the situation of being a foreign minority in a foreign environment.

The aim of this paper is to present the characteristics that underscore the presence and absence of structural difference in the religiosity of Muslims as compared to that of various Christians. The Muslims who are studied here live in their autochthonous territory.

Method

The study is based on a survey of university students in four different cultural settings. Our respondents were undergraduate university students, primarily in the social sciences, living within environments marked by predominance of traditional religions in the population: Maribor, Slovenia (N = 470, Roman Catholic), Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina (N = 439, Muslim), Niš, Serbia (N = 427, Serbian Orthodox) and Auburn, Alabama in USA (N = 450, predominance of Protestant denominations). Therefore, we dealt with very different Christian settings: one in the Southern United States, the other two in Central Europe.

The mean age of students was 20.3 (S.D. = 1.3), and in all samples the average age varied between 20 and 21. In all samples females formed the majority; hence, special purpose was to include a sufficient number of males. The relative share of males varied from 33.9% in the Bosnia and Herzegovina sample to 48.5% in the US sample. In all samples affiliates of the major religion comprised a high percentage: 77.7%, 89.9%, 92.7% and 67.1% (in the case of America all Protestant groups were lumped together), respectively.

The instrument applied was a questionnaire containing varied items, concentrated on religiosity and its possible correlates. The filling out of the questionnaire under controlled circumstances took 40-50 minutes. It was carried out in spring, 2005¹. The questionnaires were translated from the initial Slovene version into the other languages and rechecked. Some wording needed to be adjusted in the case of the Muslim sample, substituting mosque or religious community for church, and paradise for heaven. The instrument was previously tested in Slovenia.

In this analysis only those declaring affiliation with the major group in the respective country will be considered (Catholics in Slovenia, Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Orthodox in Serbia and Protestants in the USA).

The initial instrument comprised a total of 80 different statements (a five-point Likert-type scale was used for most statements) regarding individual religiosity. These statements were subjected to several factor analyses in order to find a solution that provided identical factors in all four observed environments and that would also prove to be fruitful for further analyses. Using the Principal Components procedure with a Promax rotation, we ended up with 18 items, measuring six different dimensions of religiosity. All of these dimensions proved to be stable and were composed of identical items in all four religious environments (see Table 1).

Before further discussion, the issue of *intrinsic religious orientation* needs to be addressed. The motivation behind religious belief and deeds is a well known and widely discussed issue among scholars of religion (e.g. Allport & Ross, 1967; Batson & Schoenrade, 1991a, 1991b; Maltby 1999). Allport (Allport & Ross, 1967) defined intrinsic religious orientation as free from psychologically unhealthy elements, as an orientation that is its own end and that is mature. He summarized the basic distinction between two types of religious motivation emphasizing that »...*the extrinsically motivated individual uses his religion, whereas the intrinsically motivated lives his religion*« (Allport & Ross, 1967, p. 434). However, additional studies have not confirmed that intrinsic religiosity would always be psychologically »healthy«. It was shown that it may also be linked to prejudice (Griffin et al., 1989; McFarland, 1989), to authoritarianism (Kahoe, 1977), to closed mindedness and dogmatism, that might be contaminated by social desirability (Hood & Morris, 1985).

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Table 1: Factor loadings and Cronbach Alphas for six dimensions of religiosity

	Compound sample (N=1,329)	Slovenian Catholic affiliates	Serbian Orthodox affiliates	American Protestant affiliates	Bosnian Muslim affiliates
Image of religious institution					
Dishonest / Honest	.963	.951	.923	.970	.936
Immoral / Morally pure	.939	.887	.915	.952	.921
Dull / Inspiring	.803	.772	.719	.879	.813
Cronbach Alpha	.886	.836	.833	.924	.874
Religious pressures					
Disapproval of parents	.920	.880	.915	.912	.912
Disapproval of ministers, priests	.884	.771	.768	.908	.792
Disapproval of close friends	.864	.720	.930	.876	.883
Cronbach Alpha	.868	.707	.850	.882	.835
Religious sacrifice					
Renounce the use of modern technology	.919	.898	.890	.916	.881
Refuse specific medical interventions	.896	.865	.820	.903	.927
Renounce all or most of your property	.800	.779	.799	.819	.759
Cronbach Alpha	.835	.791	.787	.854	.816
Extrinsic personal orientation					
I pray mainly to gain relief and to receive protection.	.850	.878	.827	.840	.632
What religion offers me most is comfort in times of trouble and sorrow.	.830	.800	.817	.819	.825
Prayer is for peace and happiness.	.817	.795	.746	.696	.838
Cronbach Alpha	.792	.777	.773	.718	.618
Extrinsic social orientation					
I go to church mostly to spend time with my friends.	.885	.929	.863	.830	.792
I go to church mainly because I enjoy seeing people I know there.	.866	.886	.815	.830	.854
I go to church because it helps me to make friends.	.671	.596	.632	.719	.735
Cronbach Alpha	.750	.772	.706	.721	.725
Quest – openness to change					
As I grow and change, I expect my religion to also grow and change.	.820	.840	.821	.799	.829
I expect my religious convictions to change in the next few years.	.802	.826	.820	.786	.757
There are many religious issues on which my views are still changing.	.740	.699	.620	.779	.798
Cronbach Alpha	.692	.711	.626	.711	.694

Many studies have confirmed intrinsicness to be a valid dimension of religiosity, which makes it distinct from extrinsic religiosity (e.g. Allport & Ross, 1967; Gorsuch & Venable, 1983; Gorsuch et. al., 1987; Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989). Using the measure as developed by Gorsuch and McPherson (1989), our study, however, revealed that while intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity do form separate dimensions among American Protestants, they do not function in that way in any other of the three observed samples.

The problem with this particular solution is that the 'personal part' of the extrinsic scale loads together with intrinsic elements. Furthermore, the reversed intrinsic items load on a separate component, indicating a certain variance from the alleged intrinsic dimension. In the Muslim sample we cannot therefore speak of intrinsicness as a separate dimension of religious orientation (unless we change its theoretical meaning radically). The situation is also quite similar within the Catholic and Serbian Orthodox samples: in both these cases extrinsic personal elements load together with pro-worded intrinsic elements. Without entering into this issue further, this result suffices for the conclusion that intrinsicness is not a cross-culturally valid dimension of religious orientation; therefore we did not include it in our further analyses. We did, however, include one statement, which appears to be one of the most central to the intrinsic religious type: '*My whole approach to life is based on religion*' (on a five point Likert-type scale). Hereafter, we shall call this variable the *intrinsic item*.

The *quest dimension* of religious orientation is similarly questionable. Batson defined this as a seeking, doubting and »unfinished« religiosity/religious motivation that would, finally, be linked to the healthy personality type. In Batson's words, quest captures a religious orientation that »involves honestly facing existential questions in all their complexity, while at the same time resisting clear-cut, pat answers« (Batson et al., 1993, p. 166). Quest refers to a number of different aspects of religious orientation such as complexity, doubt, and tentativeness, where individuals are continually questioning existential matters without necessarily anticipating or achieving resolution (James & Wells, 2003). Quest religiosity is so broadly defined that questions have been raised whether it is not more a general inquisitiveness and doubt, than a form of religious orientation (Donahue, 1985; Hood & Morris 1985). Beck et al. (2001, 2004) also indicate its multi-dimensionality, in effect questioning its validity.

The quest orientation scale items were derived from the scale, suggested by Maltby and collaborators (1999). The original 12-item scale yielded a three-factor solution at the compound sample level (See Table 2).

Table 2: Pattern matrix of quest items, compound sample

	Component*		
	1	2	3
I expect my religious convictions to change in the next few years.	.869		
As I grow and change, I expect my religion to also grow and change.	.820		
I am constantly questioning my religious beliefs.	.636		
There are many religious issues on which my views are still changing.	.449		.419
My life experiences have led me to rethink my religious convictions.	.304		
I was not very interested in religion until I began to ask questions about the meaning and purpose of my life.		.809	
I have been driven to ask religious questions out of a growing awareness of the tensions in my world and in my relations to my world.		.789	
God wasn't very important to me until I began to ask questions about the meaning of my own life.		.635	
Questions are more central to my religious experience than are answers.			.677
For me, doubting is an important part of what it means to be religious.			.616
It might be said that I value my religious doubts and uncertainties.			.516
I do not find religious doubts upsetting.		.418	-.511

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.

*Values below .40 were omitted

The three-dimensional structure is not a surprise. In fact it is consistent with the suggestion delivered by Batson and Schoenrade (1991b). They identified three factors, which correspond to our findings: *openness to change*; *readiness to face existential questions*, and *religious doubt*. Not to our surprise, individual national samples yielded somewhat different (although always three-factor) solutions. Nevertheless, the three items that were chosen for our analysis loaded on the same factor in all cases, making it reasonable to use them as a cross-cultural indicator of quest religious orientation. We should bear in mind though, that we are speaking of a specific sub-component of quest orientation – one that we call *quest – openness to change*.

Three extrinsic personal and three extrinsic social items were contained in the respective scales, in line with Kirkpatrick's (1989) suggestion on separating extrinsicness into two scales, which was replicated by Trimble (1997). This separation was proven justified by factor analysis in our study.

The religious pressure scale was composed of items derived from Altemeyer (1988). It indicates the pressure ensuing from various parts of the social structure upon the subject to retain his religious linkage and the costs he would need to pay in case of abandoning his religion.

The religious sacrifice scale was composed of items indicating the degree of willingness to give up certain 'earthly' comforts and goods on religious grounds: refusing medical treatment, renouncing technological instruments or renouncing most of one's property. The three items were derived from the second author's own imagination.

Besides the above described scales and the 'intrinsic statement', five more statements/questions proved to be useful additions to our analysis:

- *The fires of Hell are waiting for adulterers, murderers and other persons who violate God's laws.*
(Five point Likert-type scale; we call this variable *The fires of Hell*)
- *Heaven is my home, and so, I do not worry much about this world.*
(Five point Likert-type scale; we call this variable *Home in heaven*)
- *Are you prepared to sacrifice your life for the sake of your religion?*
(Five point Likert-type scale; we call this variable *Sacrifice of life*)
- *It is possible to harm people by magic spells.*
(Five point Likert-type scale; we call this variable *Magic spells*)
- *How often do you attend religious services performed by your religious institution?*
(1= »Never«... 5 = »Every or almost every day«; we call this *Attendance*)
- *How often do you pray or meditate outside of religious service?*
(1= »Never«... 5 = »Every or almost every day«; we call this variable *Prayer*)

In order to achieve direct comparability with some other items on religiosity, a total score for each of the six dimensions was computed by averaging all items included in each dimension.

Results

We studied whether there were significant differences between the means of the thirteen observed variables among the observed religious groups. Since the Levene's test for equality of variances showed that the equality of variance assumption should be rejected for all the observed variables (in all cases, significance was below .01), the Brown-Forsythe robust F-test was applied to test the null hypothesis (Field 2005, p. 346). As we can see in Table 3, the differences appeared to be significant for all the observed variables.

Table 3: Scale means and Brown-Forsythe robust F-test results for thirteen religious variables, by country confessional samples

	Compound sample (N=1,329)		Slovenian Catholic affiliates (N=343)		Serbian Orthodox affiliates (N=369)		Alabama Protestant Affiliates (N=289)		Bosnian Muslim affiliates (N=328)		F
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Extrinsic social	1.94	.89	1.86	.86	1.59	.74	2.41	.80	2.03	.97	53.4**
Extrinsic personal	3.52	1.08	2.93	1.03	3.56	1.12	3.29	0.81	4.30	0.79	124.2**
Quest – openness	2.62	1.00	2.78	0.95	2.47	0.94	2.96	0.92	2.29	1.08	29.9**
Sacrifice	2.17	1.15	1.72	0.85	1.91	1.03	2.36	1.15	2.78	1.26	63.7**
Religious institution image	3.86	1.11	3.13	0.99	3.82	1.07	4.26	0.97	4.38	0.93	101.7**
Religious pressures	3.41	1.30	2.48	1.01	3.06	1.21	4.33	0.94	3.99	1.13	197.0**
Intrinsic item	2.75	1.33	2.04	1.01	2.23	1.18	3.59	1.11	3.35	1.27	151.0**
The fires of Hell	3.18	1.45	2.67	1.40	3.10	1.43	3.08	1.28	3.89	1.39	45.6**
Home in heaven	2.16	1.25	1.79	1.05	1.65	1.00	3.27	1.06	2.16	1.24	138.8**
Sacrifice of life	2.28	1.48	1.52	1.02	1.65	1.14	3.11	1.39	3.04	1.54	145.3**
Magic spells	2.65	1.47	2.20	1.21	2.86	1.41	1.95	1.29	3.49	1.46	83.2**
Attendance	2.86	1.23	2.53	1.11	2.43	0.85	3.66	1.04	2.96	1.35	115.7**
Prayer	3.26	1.72	2.85	1.69	2.73	1.58	4.43	1.11	3.25	1.62	117.7**

Note: ** p< .001

The above procedure showed that all four population means cannot be considered equal for any of the observed variables. According to the F values, variations among samples are greatest for religious pressures (F=197) and the intrinsic item (F=151), and smallest for the quest dimension (F=30). Before we begin interpreting the actual peaks and lows in (Muslim) religiosity, we must assess which of the observed specific (pairwise) differences are statistically significant and which of them are not. To do that, we shall employ a post-hoc test. Since the Levene's test for equality of variances showed that the equality of variance assumption should be rejected, we shall use Tamhane's T2 procedure, which is considered to be the most conservative for such a case (Field 2005, p. 341).

This test reveals that a great majority, but not all mean differences are statistically significant (considering the classic .05 criterion). We will use these results in further specific interpretations.

Finally, in order to get a clearer picture, we present means for each of the thirteen variables within each of the four observed religious samples graphically (see Graph 1).

The first discernible finding could be quantitative in nature. We are obviously dealing with two more intensively religious (Muslim and Protestant) and two substantially less religious groups (Catholic and Serbian Orthodox). On the other hand, qualitative differences between the four samples are also noticeable, and these are the focus of our further attention.

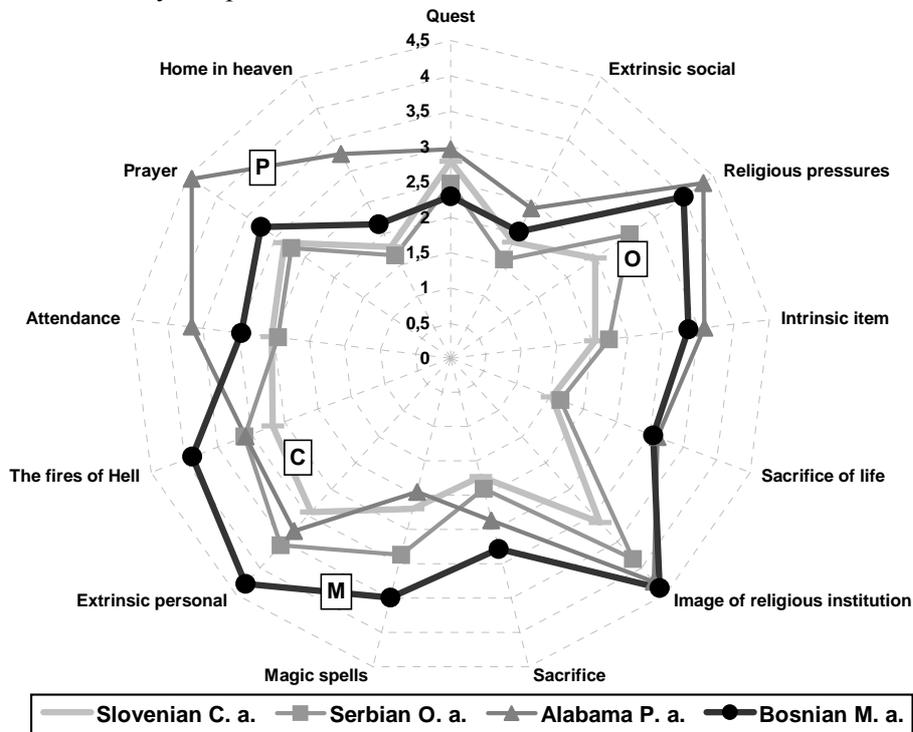
There are four religious variables by which the Muslim sample shows significantly ($p < 0.05$) higher scores than all three Christian samples:

1. Agreement with the statement that "*Fires of hell are waiting for adulterers, murderers and others who violate God's laws*". Muslims attain a peak, by far surpassing all other groups (the mean difference from the closest sample following is .79). God is conceived as a judge in all Abrahamic religions, although the operationalization varies from a benevolent, caring, understanding and mild judge to a stern, mercilessly punishing one. *The fact that »God's stern justice« is part of the worldview most markedly present among Muslims² may be the most theoretically important difference between Muslim belief and empirical Christian belief.* In the *Quran*, God appears as a judgmental, austere and merciless judge. Violators are to receive the harshest of punishments. The last judgment will be a terrifying event, for both individuals and the physical world; e.g. it is stated in the Prophet's words that those who have violated the prescripts of the book shall be destroyed and roasted in flames (84:10-12). The punishments shall be the result of careful

² This is despite the fact that Christianity, too, has apocalyptic Scriptural prophecies, which essentially differ little, except that the *Qurannic* statements are somewhat more »judicial« in their wording.

weighing of individuals' deeds, with no exception or mitigation. Physical changes in the world will be apocalyptic; catastrophes and terror will reign, with mountains disappearing, things turning to dust and a cosmic fire appearing (55:35).

Graph 1: Means for six dimensions of religiosity and six religious statements within four country samples of confessional affiliates



2. *Extrinsic personal orientation* (the mean difference from the closest following sample is .74). This orientation indicates the psychological instrumentality of one's religion. The explanation ought to be sought in both the traumatic recent events and the psychological structure coinciding with this religiosity.
3. *Belief in magic spells* (the mean difference from the closest following sample is .63). This is certainly an extra-doctrinal element of empirical, popular religiosity, although one that could be expected on the basis of lay knowledge of Islam, where magic is known to intermingle with official religiosity. The same goes for the following group, the Serbian Orthodox. The presence of this

element may be considered as a lack of rationalization, within Weber's meaning.

4. *Religious sacrifice* (the mean difference from the closest follower is .42). Religious sacrifice is a phenomenon that may be analyzed within the rational choice perspective, indicating the various »prices« individuals are ready to pay to maintain their membership in a religious group. Sacrifice may be viewed as a cost indicating the perceived benefit of religious commitment (Iannaccone, 1990). Muslims are most prepared to renounce various worldly goods for the sake of their religious adherence; hence they perceive the greatest benefits in their religious attainment, as compared to other (earthly) rewards. This should not be attributed primarily to the relative scarcity of available economic rewards in their environment, but should be taken as an indicator of strength of religious belief, particularly in comparison to the other group of intensive believers, the American Protestants.

On the other hand, compared to Protestants and Catholics, Muslim students show significantly lower scores in the *quest – openness to change* dimension. The scores are also lower in comparison to Serbian Orthodox students, but this difference appears to be statistically insignificant. We may speak of quest as being more allied to Christianity. In spite of the high levels of religiosity found in the US sample, and in contrast to Donahue's (1985) assertion that strong intrinsic orientation correlates negatively with quest and vice versa, we find that quest coincides with high agreement with the intrinsic item in the American Protestant sample. Here, we are confronted with high levels of religiosity in general, but also high levels of quest orientation, which leaves opened the possibility of a closer relationship of quest to the nature of Christianity, or at least contemporary Christianity. The relative absence of the quest dimension among Muslims might, on the other hand, point to a certain immanent religious rigidity associated to Islam. Given the explicit and unambiguous mandatory prescripts of the *Quran*, as compared to the more narrative and sometimes ambiguous meaning of the Gospels, this difference comes as no surprise at this level of observation. In our opinion however, at certain stages of societal modernization, religious belief tenets need to be partly marginalized, which is a phenomenon not existing among the Muslims we observed.

An interesting finding is the relatively low participation of Muslim students in *religious ritual behavior*. While they most intensely seek personal comfort in religion, are most prepared to sacrifice certain (earthly) rewards on behalf of their religion, and even have most favorable image of their religious institution, their Protestant colleagues are nevertheless substantially more engaged in religious activities such as personal prayer and attendance of religious services. One of the explanations of this fact could be that in Islam attendance at the mosque is a duty for

males only. Thus, we would expect Muslim men to be more attendant, than Protestant ones. Our findings do not confirm this point: even when analysis is limited to male respondents only, Protestant religionists still report slightly - though not statistically significantly - higher levels of religious attendance.

This could suggest that religiosity in the Protestant sample is more socially driven. The question then is how do the high levels of personal prayer in the American sample fit into that pattern? An answer could lie in the collective nature of personal prayer. Here we must stress the exact wording of the question at issue, which was: "*How often do you pray or meditate outside of your religious institution?*" This wording allowed respondents to include prayers that were performed at home collectively (e.g., before a meal). We can thus assume that the excess of such Protestant respondent's practice can be partly attributed to collective religious practice at home. On the other hand, this could substantially be linked to social pressures in the religious direction, which have resulted in individual behavioral patterns of high practice.

The thesis of a pronounced social dimension in Protestant religiosity is supported primarily by the fact that as to *religious pressures*, American Protestants significantly surpass all other groups, since religious pressures can be regarded as a distinctly social phenomenon, indicating the controlling influence of social groups and ties upon one's religious commitment. The collective nature of American Protestant religiosity is further confirmed by its having the highest levels in the *extrinsic social* dimension, indicating that American Protestants are most inclined to use their religion for other ends, such as bonding and improving social status.

At this point, we can deal with an interesting issue involving the public image of Islamic religionists and the alleged aggressive, potentially destructive nature of Islam. Following that logic, we would expect Muslim respondents to show highest levels of preparedness to *sacrifice their own lives* for the sake of religion, as well as greater emphasis on the *otherworldly rewards*. Nevertheless, American Protestants have the highest scores on both these dimensions. They slightly - though not statistically significantly - surpass Bosnian Muslims regarding readiness to sacrifice their own lives, while the difference in otherworldly orientation is significant and substantial.

If we combine the pronounced collective nature of Protestant religiosity with its pronounced otherworldly orientation and preparedness to sacrifice one's own life, we could possibly maintain that the destructive potential of religion is slightly more present in American Protestantism than in the Muslim religion. Of course, no generalization in this regard is possible on the grounds of the data presented in this

paper. Nevertheless, we can say that the religiosity of American students in our sample appears to be most suitable for military commitment on religious grounds³.

Conclusion

In our comparative study Bosnian Muslims appear primarily as a group with high levels of religiosity, most often comparable to those of the US Protestant sample. The generally high level of religiosity among Bosnian Muslims may be due to situational circumstances: Muslims in Bosnia (along with the others we did not study) went through an ugly and protracted »identity war« in the 90s, which definitely acted to accentuate and affirm their religious identity and religiosity. It must be noted that in the situation prior to the war and under the Yugoslav socialist state, Muslim religiosity was not the »strongest« and most »intensive«, even though Islam was the religion that had expanded in Yugoslavia, according to demographics. It was the Catholic religion that was considered the most intensive one and the Eastern (Serbian) Orthodox as the one least able to counter trends towards atheism and secularization⁴.

But we are not only dealing with the Muslims surpassing other (Catholic and Orthodox) Central European religionists on all measures of religiosity. On none of these measures do the Bosnian Muslims fail to surpass Slovene Catholics and Serbian Orthodox in the extent of religiosity (except for the issue of experiencing God's wrath, which we have not presented, where the Serbian Orthodox rank first for reasons we do not consider here); Bosnian Muslims, however, are usually close in the observed averages to the American Protestants from our Alabama sample. Moreover, the Bosnian Muslim sample points to the following conclusions:

- their religiosity shows firm affiliations with the doctrine expressed by the statement »*The fires of Hell are waiting for adulterers, murderers and other persons who violate God's laws*«, indicating harsh punishment for violators of God's prescripts as stated by the Prophet; in this respect, they stand out in

³ The Protestant sample also produced the highest mean score for the item: '*I am prepared to die for my nation*', which was not part of the religious sacrifice scale. The difference between Muslims and Protestants was not statistically significant, though.

⁴ Thus, Pantić found in a 1990 general poll of the then Yugoslavia, that among the denominationally identified (itself a degree of religious identification), among the Serbian Orthodox only 39% identified themselves as believers, in comparison to 64% among Catholics and 62% among Muslims (Baćević (ed.) 1991, 172). Flere and Pantić found a similar relationship between the Orthodox and Catholics in 1977 in the multid denominational region of Vojvodina, with regard to belief in God (Flere & Pantić, 1977, p. 43).

comparison to all other groups. This is to be expected, in view of the stress in Islam on apocalyptic visions of the last judgment in the *Quran*, both at the level of human individuals and at the level of the world as a physical entity, all dictated by Muhammed. Although apocalyptic prophesies are present in the *Old* and *New Testaments* as well, the *Qurannic* ones are directly spoken by the Prophet, and our findings confirm that adherents of this religion take them seriously and literally. Such a prophecy, when taken seriously, must have consequences for everyday behavior as a perceived condition for meriting religious identity;

- somewhat to our surprise, we found that quest – openness for change - indicates a pattern in the Bosnian Muslim sample quite different from the three Christian environments. In these latter three, quest was more in line with other religious orientations, suggesting possibly that the acceptability of quest is associated not only with a condition of moderate and lukewarm religiosity in social situations which tolerate irreligiosity (as suggested by Donahue 1985), but also with the Christian religion itself.
- when compared to the also intensively religious American Protestants, they are distinctly more prepared to »pay the price« of their religion and seek psychological comfort in their religion more intensely. This could indicate that their religiosity is more integrated than in the American case. As to this integration, keeping motivation particularly in mind, Muslims are more kin to small groups of the very religious within the two other Central European settings, than to Americans (intrinsicness and personal extrinsicness blending), but not with regard to quest, not even our scale of quest – openness for change, which is definitely not part of their outlook.

It remains to be established to what extent the peaks and lows, and the other variations, are situational in nature, and to what extent they are caused by religious and extra-religious (social and psychological) predictors.

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