



Religious Fundamentalism and Quest as Predictors of Moral Foundations Among Iranian Muslims

MEHDI MIKANI 
Department of Psychology
Tarbiat Modares University

SEYEDKAZEM RASOOLZADEH
TABATABAEI 
Department of Psychology
Tarbiat Modares University and Ferdowsi University
of Mashhad

Does religion make us moral? How do individual differences in religious beliefs influence morality? Can we predict differences in moral concerns by certain facets of religiousness? Here, we attempted to answer these hotly debated questions within a novel psychological framework called “moral foundations theory.” We extended past research on the relationship between moral foundations and religiosity that was limited to Christian samples in WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic) societies. Data were collected from 276 Iranian Muslims who completed an online survey measuring religious dimensions and the endorsement of five moral foundations (Care, Fairness, Loyalty, Authority, and Purity). Each of the moral foundations was positively correlated with intrinsic religiosity, religious fundamentalism, and religious activity, while quest religiousness was negatively correlated with binding foundations. However, controlling for general religiosity and demographic variables, we found that religious fundamentalism predicted binding foundations; quest religiousness predicted individualizing foundations; intrinsic religiosity predicted care, authority, and purity.

Keywords: moral foundations, religious fundamentalism, religious quest, Iran.

INTRODUCTION

The association between religion and morality has long been a matter of dispute. Dostoyevsky claimed that “If God does not exist, everything is permitted” (Dostoyevsky 2003). These debates, that rumble on through various psychological journals, provided ample evidence suggesting that religiosity influence the way people approach morality (Graham and Haidt 2010; Graham, Haidt, and Nosek 2009; Haidt 2007; Johnson et al. 2016; Piazza 2012; Piazza and Sousa 2014; van Leeuwen and Park 2009). Most of this research has focused on U.S. Christians, an approach that may neglect the diversity of beliefs and practices among different religions including Islam. Qur’an (the word of God), Sunnah (the way of the prophet according to more reliable sources), and Hadith (sayings or customs of Muhammad and his companions according to less reliable sources) are the main foundation of Islamic religious beliefs, on which some Muslims also rely to address moral issues (Denny 2015). However, Muslims vary on various dimensions of religiousness such as religious fundamentalism, religious quest, religious activity, and intrinsic religiosity. The connection of approaches to morality and individual differences in religiosity can be illuminated by

The data needed to duplicate and replicate the findings in the article will be made available immediately following publication.

Correspondence should be addressed to SeyedKazem Rasoolzadeh Tabatabaei, Tarbiat Modares University and Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Tehran, Iran. E-mail: rasoolza@modares.ac.ir

Haidt and Graham's (2007) moral foundations theory (MFT). The purpose of this study is to examine the association between religious characteristics of Muslims and the endorsement of each of the five moral foundations.

Moral Foundations Theory

Haidt and colleagues (e.g., Graham et al. 2011; Haidt and Graham 2007) proposed that moral intuitions are based on five distinct moral foundations that are evolutionary selected and recurrent in different groups. These foundations are essential tools in the construction of values, institutions, virtues, and evolved psychological mechanisms that have nearly automatic associations to subdue or regulate selfishness and improve social interactions. The foundation of care/harm emphasizes compassion and caring for others and preventing suffering and harm. The fairness/cheating foundation is the base of intuitions that equality, social justice, and reciprocity are virtuous, whereas inequality, treating people unfairly, and cheating are moral violations. The foundation of care and fairness are considered individualizing foundations in the sense that they perform to protect the rights and needs of other individuals. The three remaining foundations are referred to as binding moral foundations because they promote social cohesion by emphasizing duty, respect, and sacrificing self-interests for a system, group, or religious cause. The loyalty/betrayal foundation involves self-sacrifice for the group and vigilance against disloyalty that helps to form alliances. Authority/subversion centers on social order and is associated with obedience to authority and respect for parents and traditions. Purity/degradation emphasizes chastity, controlling desires, and cleanliness helping individuals avoid physical and spiritual contamination (Graham and Haidt 2010).

Moral Foundations and Religion

Haidt and Graham (2007) refer metaphorically to these moral foundations as taste buds (sweet, bitter, salt, etc.). Much like the fact that people from all cultures have the same taste buds yet different tastes in food, people have the same moral foundations all around the world but some foundations are prioritized by certain communities and social institutions. Religiousness is a multidimensional construct (e.g., belief, sacred scriptures, behaviors like service attendance, prayers) that is fundamental to various cultures, therefore, can predict specific preferences in morality. Theorizing by Graham and Haidt (2010) suggests that religion and morality are linked. Religious communities unlike their nonreligious counterparts cherish virtues associated with binding foundations because religious practices, beliefs, and scriptures function to create moral communities, promoting group cohesion and collective well-being (Graham, Haidt, and Nosek 2009). Interestingly, it has been found that some clergy lean toward a promotion of individualizing foundations to bring their congregation together through selfless behaviors and beliefs. Liberal clergy may not need to endorse and promote binding foundations in order to create cohesive moral communities (Djupe and Friesen 2018). In this sense, the foundation of care and fairness can bind people together in some contexts, and the foundation of authority, loyalty, and purity can potentially lead to protecting the rights of individuals.

Morality is a major aspect of Islam; Qur'an, the sacred scripture of Islam, has several verses teaching moral values that must be followed by Muslims. See Table 1 in which we have gathered some of these verses that are related to moral foundations.

Care

Islamic tradition contends that interpersonal relationships require attributes of empathy, mercy, and compassion that develop solidarity and brotherhood among Muslims (Abdullah 2014).

Table 1: Qur'an verses related to moral foundations

Moral Foundations	Qur'an Verse
Care	<p>Show kindness to both [your] parents and near relatives, orphans, and the needy [Women 4: 36].</p> <p>Have you seen someone who rejects religion? That is the person who pushes the orphan aside and does not encourage feeding the needy [Small Kindnesses 107: 1–3].</p>
Fairness	<p>Whenever you speak, be just, although it concerns a close relative [Livestock 6: 152].</p> <p>We have already sent our messengers with clear evidence. We sent down the scripture and balance with them, so people may maintain fairness [Iron 57: 25].</p>
Loyalty	<p>You, who believe, do not betray God and the Messenger, nor knowingly betray your trusts [Booty 8: 27].</p> <p>Who break the covenant of Allah after contracting it and sever that which Allah has ordered to be joined and cause corruption on earth. It is those who are the losers [The Cow 2:27].</p>
Authority	<p>And your Lord has decreed that you not worship except Him, and to parents, good treatment. Whether one or both of them reach old age [while] with you, say not to them [so much as], “uff,” and do not repel them but speak to them a noble word [The Night Journey 17:23].</p> <p>O you who believe! Obey Allah, and obey the Messenger, and those charged with authority among you. If you differ in anything among yourselves, refer it to Allah and His Messenger, if you do believe in Allah and the Last Day: That is best, and most suitable for final determination [Women 4: 59].</p>
Purity	<p>Within it are men who love to purify themselves; and Allah loves those who purify themselves [Repentance 9:108].</p> <p>O those who have faith! When you stand for the sacrament of prayer, wash your faces and your hands up to the elbows, and stroke your heads with wet hands, and wash your feet up to the ankles. If you are ritually unclean, then clean yourselves [The Feast 5:6].</p>

Fairness

There is no other moral or religious principle that is emphasized more than the principles of equity, fairness, and justice in Islamic traditions and the Qur'an. It is partially due to their intrinsic value but primarily because of a reaction to indifference to justice, and problems such as slavery, infanticide, and dreadful status of women in the tribal society of Arabia before Islam (Khadduri 1984).

Loyalty

Many verses and traditions in Islam call Muslims to be loyal to one's country of residence and community, and on the greater level to Allah, Muhammad (his Messenger), and their teachings and values.

Authority

In Islam, the relationship with God is one that includes obedience, appreciation, active service, and complete trust. This can undoubtedly reinforce and nourish Muslims' authority taste in their morality. For some Muslims, the word of God (Qur'an) and the prophet are the primary sources of authority, however, religious and political authority has long been debated among different Islamic sects. For instance, the main ideological disagreement between Sunni and Shi'a is the leadership and religious authority of Muslims following the death of the prophet Muhammad. Other aspects of this foundation, such as respect for the elderly, parents, and traditions, are also encouraged in Islam.

Purity

Spiritual, psychological, physical, and ethical cleanliness and purity are valued in Islam. In the Islamic perspective, purity has two dimensions that are inseparable; internal purity that refers to the cleaning and emptying of the self from pride and extreme love of self and the material world, and external purity that can be seen in ritual acts of cleanliness such as ablution. Furthermore, Allah (the one and only God in Islam), the prophet Muhammad, Qur'an, and Kaaba (House of Allah) are among things that are considered sacred and holy for Muslims.

Considering the repeated references to moral values related to all moral foundations in Islamic doctrine, we hypothesize that general religiosity—the degree to which a person considers oneself religious—may partly explain the endorsement of the five moral foundations in Muslims.

Moral Foundations and Religious Variability

Despite the monolithic nature of religion, there are major aspects, forms, and dimensions of religiosity (Hill 2005; Saroglou 2011). Some forms of religiousness emphasize compassion and justice for individuals, while other forms place more stress on sacrificing individuality to strengthen one's group. Researchers investigating the relationship between facets of religiousness and moral foundations found that conservative dimensions of religiosity, such as religious fundamentalism and intrinsic religious orientation, are positively associated with binding moral foundations (Harnish, Bridges, and Gump 2018; Krull 2016). This finding was in line with the analysis of liberal and conservative church sermons by Graham, Haidt, and Nosek (2009), illustrating that the liberal churches (e.g., Unitarian Universalist) used more words related to individualizing foundations, whereas the conservative churches (e.g., Southern Baptist) used more words relative to binding foundations.

Yet prior research on the relationship between moral foundations and religious dimensions were limited to Christian samples in Western countries (Greenway et al. 2019; Greenway, Schnitker, and Shepherd 2018; Johnson et al. 2016; LaBouff, Humphreys, and Shen 2017;

Yi and Tsang 2020). Thus, there seems to be a call for studies on different religions and non-WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic; Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan 2010) samples from understudied cultures.

Religious Fundamentalism

A style of belief that is characterized by an adherence to a set of religious teachings that contain the basic, fundamental, and inerrant truth about existence and humanity is called religious fundamentalism (Altemeyer and Hunsberger 1992). Moreover, fundamentalists interpret sacred texts as the literal and inarguable word of God aimed to guide humans through life. Recently, religious fundamentalism was found to be positively associated with binding foundations, and negatively associated with individualizing foundations in Christian samples (Greenway, Shepherd, and Schnitker 2019; Yi and Tsang 2020).

However, the fundamentalist approach to religion is a major phenomenon among Muslims compared to Christians (Hunsberger 1996; Koopmans 2015). Some, like Lewis (2018), have argued that Islam is inherently fundamentalist in its present manifestation, and unlike Christianity, there is no modernist or liberal attitude toward the text of Qur'an. Indeed, some Muslims think of the Qur'an as the literal and final word of God, as it mentions, "This day I have perfected for you your religion and completed my favor upon you and have approved for you Islam as religion" (Qur'an 5:3). What about fundamental orientation toward religion in Iranian Muslims? In addition to the mentioned reason for higher fundamental orientation in Muslims, it should be considered that Judaism, Christianity, and Zoroastrianism are the only minorities that are granted freedom for activity in Iran, and Iranian Muslim citizens do not have the right to renounce or change their religious affiliation. Therefore, we hypothesize that, compared to a Christian context, general religiosity (as a degree to which an individual considers oneself to be religious) is more strongly related to religious fundamentalism in Iran. If this hypothesis is true, we should expect that the fundamentalist approach is related to preferences in moral foundations in a similar pattern to general Islamic religiosity.

Religion as Quest

Batson and Ventis (1982) claimed that extrinsic and intrinsic did not capture the full range of religious orientations and presented a third religious orientation acknowledged as quest, that is, open-ended and doubt-oriented form of religiosity that entails skepticism, complexity, and discovery (Batson 1976). The quest religiosity values exploration and uncertainty over unchangeable final answers in facing both religious and existential questions raised by tragedies and contradictions of life. Abdalati (1993:19) identifies Islam as a religion that encourages searching for truth and stated that "the true Muslim believes that Faith is not complete when it is followed blindly or accepted unquestioningly." Indeed, there are several thought-provoking questions in the Qur'an motivating Muslims toward religious quest and inquiry. For instance, "And when they meet those who believe, they say, "We have believed"; but when they are alone with one another, they say, "Do you talk to them about what Allah has revealed to you so they can argue with you about it before your Lord?" "Then will you not reason?" (Qur'an 2:76).

In Iran, there is a famous movement known as "roshanfekrie mazhabi," translated as religious intellectualism, which was formed some decades ago. There are a lot of similarities between the conceptualization of religious intellectualism and quest religiousness. Religious intellectualism attempted to reconcile religion with the modern world, and it is based on concepts such as exploration and questioning religious doctrines, tolerance of different beliefs and ideas, spirituality, political secularism, and human rights (Amini and Rahmani 2016; Jahanbakhsh 2001).

Yet skepticism, uncertainty, and theological perplexities imply atheism or secularism in the contemporary viewpoint of traditional Islamic communities in Iran. Thus, quest-oriented Muslims tend to avoid attending Islamic communities and potentially express disinterest in some of the social and group moral values. Furthermore, Batson and Schoenrade (1991) linked quest orientation with a concern for social justice, leading us to predict that quest religiousness may be negatively associated with binding foundations and positively associated with individualizing foundations. Research on quest religiousness is scarce, but Yi and Tsang (2020) reported a negative relationship between quest orientation and binding foundations in a Western sample.

Intrinsic Religiosity

Intrinsic religiosity is a form of religious orientation that serves as a dominant motive for one's way of life. An intrinsically motivated individual embraces and lives a religious creed, attempting to follow it in all actions and words (Allport and Ross 1967). We expect that intrinsic religiosity would be a positive predictor of moral foundations, especially the binding foundation.

Distinct from intrinsic religiosity, quest orientation integrates complexity, doubt, and incompleteness. Agreeing with the importance of doubt and incompleteness in religious values suggests that religion should not always be the main motive and guiding force in a person's life. Moreover, religious fundamentalism is a style of belief while intrinsic religiosity pertains to motivation and is descriptive of people who internalize beliefs.

Religious Activity

Two major dimensions of religious activity were identified by researchers: Organizational and nonorganizational religious activity. Organizational religious activity consists of public religious services or other group-related religious activities (Scripture study groups, praying as groups, etc.). Nonorganizational religious activity involves private religious activities such as, prayer, fasting, and reading Qur'an or other religious texts. It is noteworthy that all the previously mentioned religious dimensions in this study can be considered subjective, except for religious activity.

Moral Foundations and Political Ideologies

According to the literature, liberal/left-wing unlike the conservative/right-wing party builds moralized issues on individualizing foundations more than binding foundations (Federico et al. 2013; Graham, Haidt, and Nosek 2009). Though this association has been replicated in many nations, we suspect an Iranian sample is sufficiently different. The traditional left-right spectrum is difficult to apply in Iran because currently there are no substantial activities in the left-wing parties. Not long ago, most Iranians were either reformists (left) or principlist (right). However, this has changed after some political events during the last decade. In addition to the absence of institutionalized and autonomous political parties, the unipolar nature of Iran's political system in the past decade convinced us to not include the "Reformist-Principlist" binary in our predictive model. Nonetheless, we investigated the bivariate correlations between political ideology and moral foundations in our sample.

The Present Study

Although there has been some research on the correlation between religious variables and moral foundations in the United States and among Christian-majority samples, little is known about the relationship in non-Western, predominantly Muslim countries. We attempted to fill this

gap by investigating this relationship in Iran—an understudied, non-Western culture, with a majority of 99.4 percent Muslims (Statistical Center of Iran 2011). Although this figure is according to official reports, it might be an overestimation because of some doubts regarding some people's true beliefs. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that religion is a major part of Iranian lives. Thus, in the current research, we examined the association between religious variables (religious fundamentalism, religious quest, intrinsic religiosity, and general religiosity) and moral foundations in Iran.

METHODS

Participants

We recruited 60 participants from each Community Center in different parts of Tehran (North, East, West, South, and Center of Tehran). We approached consenting individuals and gave them the link to our questionnaire made in Google-Form. All participants had to identify as more than 18 years old, Muslim, and Iranian. The data collection process lasted about half a month. The final sample consisted of 276 participants aged between 18 and 65 years ($M = 30.70$, $SD = 11.32$). Of these individuals, 70.9 percent were female and 29.1 percent were male, and 54.1 percent were married while 45.9 percent were not married. For education, 12 percent had a high school diploma or less, 11.2 had an associate's degree, 38.8 percent had a bachelor's degree, 33.3 percent had a master's degree, 4.7 percent had a doctorate degree.

Measures

Moral Foundations

The 30-item moral foundations questionnaire (MFQ; Graham et al. 2011) was used to assess the participants' endorsement of the five moral foundations (care, fairness, authority, loyalty, and purity). It measures each foundation with 15 items asking relevance of moral concerns (e.g., whether or not someone suffered emotionally) and 15 items assessing agreement with moral judgments (e.g., men and women have different roles to play in society). The moral relevance section uses a 6-point scale ranging from 0 (not at all relevant) to 5 (extremely relevant) and the judgment section use a 6-point scale ranging from 0 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The MFQ has five subscales, and high scores on each of them illustrate a high endorsement of that particular moral domain. The Persian translation of this scale was retrieved from <https://moralfoundations.org/>. In this study, Cronbach's alpha for care, fairness, authority, loyalty, and purity were .66, .68, .69, .71, and .80, respectively. These are close to alpha values found in other studies that took place in Turkey and Iran (Yilmaz et al. 2016; Nejat and Hatami 2019). The internal consistency coefficients of MFQ subscales are a bit higher in studies that have taken place in Western countries (Graham et al. 2011; Koleva et al. 2012). Also, Doğruyol, Alper, and Yilmaz (2019) have found that the five-factor model of MFT is stable across WEIRD and non-WEIRD cultures.

Religious Fundamentalism

To assess "the belief that there is one set of religious teachings that clearly contains the fundamental, basic, intrinsic, essential, inerrant truth about humanity and deity," participants completed The Revised Religious Fundamentalism Scale (RRFS; Altemeyer and Hunsberger 2004). The RRFS consists of 12 items, each rated on a 9-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree to 9 = strongly agree). An example item from the measure is "God has given humanity a complete, unyielding guide to happiness and salvation, which must be totally followed." Higher scores on the RRFS indicate a higher fundamentalist approach to religion. Ghorbani et al. (2019) showed

satisfactory psychometric properties of the Persian translation of this questionnaire. The internal consistency coefficient in the current sample was .93. A previous study has reported good internal consistency of this scale in samples from Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Turkey (Moaddel and Karabenick 2018).

Quest Religious Orientation

The 12-item Quest Scale (Batson and Schoenrade 1991) was developed to measure the quest religiousness orientation. This self-report scale identifies three aspects of quest orientation: (1) individual's negative or positive perception of religious doubt (sample item for Doubting: "It might be said that I value my religious doubts and uncertainties."), (2) readiness for existential questions with a tolerance of complexity (sample item for Existential: "God was not very important to me until I began to ask questions about my own life."), and (3) openness to personal change (sample item for openness: "I am constantly questioning my religious beliefs."). Items were rated on a 9-point scale (from 1 = very strongly disagree to 9 = very strongly agree). Ghorbani, Watson, and Saleh Mirhasani (2007) reported satisfactory psychometric properties of the Persian translation of the Quest Scale in the Iranian context. The Cronbach's alpha of the scale was .80 in this study. This scale showed acceptable internal consistency in other Muslim samples including, North African and Turkish immigrants in Belgium, and Pakistanis (Khan, Watson, and Habib 2005; Saroglou and Mathijssen 2007).

Intrinsic Religiosity and Religious Activities

We used the Duke University Religion Index (DUREL; Koenig, Parkerson, and Meador 1997) that has been designed to assess three aspects of religiosity: Organized religious activities (one item; frequency of religious attendance), nonorganizational religious activities (one item; time spent in private religious activities such as prayer), and intrinsic religiosity (three items; in my life, I experience the presence of the Divine [i.e., God]; my religious beliefs are what really lies behind my whole approach to life; I try hard to carry my religion over into all other dealings in life). Intrinsically orientation individuals embrace and internalize a religious belief, and constantly live it in all actions and words. The first two items are rated on a 6-point Likert scale (from 1 = never to 6 = more than once a week/day). However, the last three items are rated on a 5-point Likert scale (from 1 = definitely not true to 5 = definitely true of me). The DUREL has been translated into Persian for use in Iranian populations using the standard translation process and has shown good psychometric characteristics (Hafizi et al. 2013). In this study, we used two subscales: religious activity (the first two items), intrinsic religiosity (the last three items). The internal consistency coefficients were .75 and .80 for the two subscales, respectively.

Political Ideology

A single 1 (*very liberal or progressive/reformist*/"*Eslahtalab*" in Farsi) to 7 (*very conservative/principlist*/"*Osulgara*" in Farsi) Likert-type self-placement question was asked to measure the political orientation of the participants. Higher scores in this item represent more rightist political orientation.

The supplemental appendix contains the items and information about the scales used.

Procedure

After reading a consent screen, participants completed materials online. To be eligible, they must have been (1) at least 18 years of age (2) identified as Muslim. Full ethical review was not required for this study according to the national and institutional guidelines. In addition to completing the questionnaires, consenting participants were asked to provide demographic information (i.e., age, education, and marital status). Participation was voluntarily, therefore participants were not compensated.

RESULTS

Bivariate Analysis

Bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics for study variables are displayed in Table 2. As predicted, general religiosity was positively correlated with religious fundamentalism ($r = .723, p < .001$), and they were both positively correlated with all moral foundations ($p < .001$ for correlations with binding foundations, $p < .05$ for care, and $p < .01$ for fairness). Religious quest was negatively correlated with binding foundations ($p < .001$), but its positive correlations with individualizing foundations were not significant. Intrinsic religiosity and religious activity were also positively correlated with every moral foundation ($p < .001$, except for the correlations between religious activity and individualizing foundations that are less robust; $p < .05$ for care and $p < .01$ for fairness). Political conservatism was positively correlated with only authority ($p < .01$) and purity ($p < .05$).

Regression Analysis

We next ran five hierarchical regression analyses to evaluate the influence of demographic variables, general religiosity, religious fundamentalism, quest religiousness, intrinsic religiosity, and religious activity on each of the five moral foundations. We wished to control for demographic variables and general religiosity, to investigate whether each aspect of religiosity would still predict the moral foundations. As mentioned earlier, we decided to exclude political ideology from our model. In the first step, we included age, gender, education, and general religiosity as predictors, while the different aspects of religiosity were entered in the second step. The results of the five independent hierarchical regression analyses are presented in Table 3.

As can be seen, general religiosity predicted all of the five moral foundations in Step 1 except for care. Age was a significant predictor of the five moral foundations. Gender and education predicted the foundation of care. In Step 2, four religious dimensions were evaluated as the predictors of the moral foundations.

For care, the model was significant ($p < .01$) and accounted for 16.9 percent of the dependent variable's variance. Specifically, there was a positive association for age ($\beta = .249, t = 4.252, p < .001$), gender ($\beta = .143, t = 2.469, p < .05$), quest religiousness ($\beta = .181, t = 2.839, p < .01$), and intrinsic religiosity ($\beta = .331, t = 2.967, p < .01$). However, other religious aspects were not significant predictors of Care.

Regarding fairness, the model was significant ($p < .001$) and was responsible for 11.9 percent of the dependent variable's variance. Specifically, there was a positive association for age ($\beta = .184, t = 3.056, p < .01$) and quest religiousness ($\beta = .209, t = 3.184, p < .01$) but no other religious dimension significantly predicted fairness.

The model for loyalty was also significant ($p < .001$) and accounted for 31.6 percent of variance. There was only a positive association for age ($\beta = .205, t = 3.861, p < .001$) and religious fundamentalism ($\beta = .263, t = 2.563, p < .05$).

For authority, the predictive model was significant ($p < .001$) and was responsible for 48.8 percent of variance. There was only a positive association for age ($\beta = .182, t = 3.974, p < .001$), religious fundamentalism ($\beta = .330, t = 3.719, p < .001$), and intrinsic religiosity ($\beta = .321, t = 3.671, p < .001$).

For purity, the model was significant ($p < .001$) and accounted for 49.5 percent of the dependent variable's variance. Specifically, there was a positive association for age ($\beta = .222, t = 4.862, p < .001$), religious fundamentalism ($\beta = .432, t = 4.897, p < .001$), and intrinsic religiosity ($\beta = .225, t = 2.593, p < .01$). However, other religious aspects were not significant predictors of purity.

In the final models, the highest VIF was 3.978, and the Condition Index (CI) for the last root was 28.930, which are both less than the recommended threshold.

Table 2: Bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics for moral foundations and religious variables

	Moral Foundation					
	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Purity	
	<i>M</i> = 3.891 <i>SD</i> = .632	<i>M</i> = 4.109 <i>SD</i> = .550	<i>M</i> = 3.465 <i>SD</i> = .765	<i>M</i> = 3.125 <i>SD</i> = .880	<i>M</i> = 3.580 <i>SD</i> = .974	
	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	
Political conservatism	-.102	-.085	.108	.203**	.145*	
General religiosity	.147*	.190**	.429***	.523***	.530***	
Religiosity						
Religious fundamentalism	.154*	.208**	.499***	.632***	.645***	
Quest religiousness	.079	.070	-.235***	-.292***	-.283***	
Intrinsic religiosity	.258***	.236***	.494***	.634***	.620***	
Religious activity	.139*	.181**	.462***	.575***	.570***	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 3: Hierarchical regression of moral foundations on religious variables

Variables	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Purity
	$R^2 = .104$ $F(4,270) = 7.794^{***}$	$R^2 = .071$ $F(4,270) = 5.149^{**}$	$R^2 = .240$ $F(4,270) = 21.373^{***}$	$R^2 = .326$ $F(4,270) = 32.595^{***}$	$R^2 = .337$ $F(4,270) = 34.358^{***}$
	B	β	B	β	B
Age	.256*	.177**	.215***	.203***	.229***
Gender	.154*	.094	.036	-.013	-.010
Education	.016*	-.013	-.101	-.092	-.073
GR	.075	.135*	.369***	.475***	.476***
Step 2	$R^2 = .169$ $F(8,266) = 6.744^{***}$	$R^2 = .119$ $F(8,266) = 4.482^{***}$	$R^2 = .316$ $F(8,266) = 15.352^{***}$	$R^2 = .488$ $F(8,266) = 31.631^{***}$	$R^2 = .495$ $F(8,266) = 32.551^{***}$
Age	.249***	.184**	.205***	.182***	.222***
Gender	.143*	.104	-.001	-.073	-.062
Education	.004	-.017	-.041	-.006	.015
GR	-.044	.047	.017	-.049	-.004
RF	.014	.185	.263*	.330***	.432***
Quest	.181**	.209**	-.021	-.041	-.020
Intrinsic	.331**	.094	.177	.321***	.225**
RA	-.103	-.062	.041	.059	.010

Notes: GR = general religiosity; RF = religious fundamentalism; RA = religious activity; Gender = female gender.
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

DISCUSSION

The present study provides support for the influence of religious orientation on the way people approach morality. We examined the relationship between different moral foundations and religious dimensions, including religious fundamentalism, quest religiousness, intrinsic religiosity, and religious activity. We also tested whether differences in religious dimensions can predict different priorities in moral foundations after separating the effect of general religiosity and demographic variables.

First of all, we demonstrated that general religiosity was associated with both individualizing and binding foundations. Religious doctrines emphasize moral norms related to different moral intuitions; therefore, religious orientation plays a central role in guiding moral judgment.

American's political ideology and social attitudes have been divided between the major conservative and liberal viewpoints (Hunter, 1991, 1994). This division has also been true regarding their religious orientations that can be seen in Christian fundamentalist views on the one hand, and the more liberal views on the other. Furthermore, previous studies illustrated that the liberal/conservative bipolar leads people to different judgments when faced with moral transgressions (Graham, Haidt, and Nosek 2009). Liberals stress on violations related to the moral foundations of fairness and care, while conservatives additionally focus on the values and virtues related to foundations of Authority, Loyalty, and Purity. Yet we were concerned that the liberal and conservative political orientation and their consequences might not be attributable to Iran. The inconsistency of our results with other studies both in Western and Eastern countries confirmed that the traditional measurement of Iranians' political ideology has deep flaws. Currently, it is also difficult to assess Iranian's political ideology because of their prevalent confusion regarding political issues. The so-called reformist political ideology is fading away in Iran, and the left-wing political party may need a new name and conceptualization.

Although prior research in the United States demonstrated a negative association between religious fundamentalism and individualizing moral foundations (Harnish, Bridges, and Gump 2018; Yi and Tsang 2020; Greenway, Shepherd, and Schnitker 2019), the results of this study indicated that religious fundamentalism positively associated with each of the five moral foundations. Why were we unable to replicate previous research? It is difficult to answer this question because initially, one might assume that the many teachings in Quran, Sunnah, and Hadith about care and fairness along with binding foundations, may lead to hypothetical moral preference (Bostyn, Sevenhant, and Roets 2018) of fundamentalist Muslims to assume that they strongly endorse all moral foundations. But this should also happen among fundamental Christians, as there is relatively more emphasis on care and fairness in Christian doctrines. Instead, these inconsistent results could be due to varying endorsement of individualizing foundations in Muslims and Christians who are less religious. Furthermore, religious fundamentalism only predicts binding moral foundations after controlling for general religiosity and demographic variables.

As predicted, quest religiousness was found to be negatively correlated with binding foundations. Further, we found that quest religiousness is a positive and significant predictor of care and fairness when general religiosity and demographic variables are controlled. It was found that quest religiousness was related with universal compassion, decreased prejudice and discrimination against minorities (attributes of care and fairness) on both behavioral and self-report measures (Batson, Naifeh, and Pate 1978; Batson et al. 1986; McFarland, 1989, 1990; Batson et al. 1999). These results are also consistent with the findings of Johnson et al. (2016) that by controlling for conservatism and religious commitment, individualizing foundations are predictable by certain approaches to religiousness such as outreaching faith. The disparity of quest religiousness and religious fundamentalism in the prediction of moral foundations can be explained by the opposing belief styles of questing and fundamentalism orientation. In contrast to closed-minded fundamentalists who view religious doubt as negative, open-minded questers value religious doubts and refuse to reduce the complexities of existential questions (Goldfried and Miner 2002). Hence,

unlike fundamentalists, those with a religious-questing perspective may deny embracing some binding moral virtues despite the statements in Qur'an.

Intrinsic religiosity was another facet of religiosity that we examined, which was positively related to all moral foundations. Individuals with intrinsic religiosity live their religion and internalize religious beliefs such as moral values encouraged by religious scriptures, bringing their needs into harmony with the total creed of their faith. After regression analysis, this dimension could predict care, authority, and purity. Our results regarding intrinsic religiosity were partly similar to the findings of a study done by Yi and Tsang (2020) that suggested an association between this dimension and moral foundations. Furthermore, overall religious activity was only associated with all moral foundations when the effect of general religiosity and demographic variables were not separated. Finally, the results also provide further evidence of a role for demographic variables in the endorsement of moral foundations. Age predicted the five moral foundations, consistent with findings from past research done by Friesen (2019) that showed the concerns with each foundation increases with age. Also, partially consistent with previous studies (Graham et al. 2011), female gender was a predictor of the foundation of care, and it had a certain trend toward significance for predicting Fairness.

Theoretical Implications

Our findings demonstrate some discrepancies with prior research that was done on WEIRD samples. Inconsistencies of these results are partly due to the basic differences of Islam and Christianity, for instance, Iranian Muslims have more of a fundamental approach to religion than Christians.

Although doubt and exploration are not appreciated concepts among many traditional Islamic communities, our study illustrated that investigating quest religiousness among Muslims has informative applications for Islamic theoretical frameworks.

Similar to research on Christian samples, our study on an Iranian Muslim sample supports the assumption that religious people are not equally likely to prioritize certain moral foundations.

Limitations and Future Directions

The most important limitation of this study is about the representativeness of the sample. There are many sociocultural disparities between different parts of Iran. We recruited our participants from Tehran and the sample included a large portion of academic participants because there was no compensation. So, one should be cautious in generalizing the results of this study and applying it to populations other than academic Muslims living in Tehran. This line of research will benefit from future replications with samples from other Muslim contexts and higher sample sizes.

A limitation to the current study is that the results of our data analysis cannot determine causality in the connection between religious dimensions and moral foundations. So do religious beliefs drive moral intuitions or do moral intuitions drive religious beliefs? For political attitudes, a recent study has found that ideology predicts moral intuitions (Hatemi, Crabtree, and Smith 2019). So, it might be the same case for religious beliefs. Future research could use priming in order to activate religious beliefs, which has been found to increase religious approach to moral judgments and behaviors (Randolph-Seng and Nielsen 2007). Although Yi and Tsang (2020) attempted to overcome this limitation, it appears that their religious primes may not have been strong enough to provide consistent effects. For a Muslim sample, strong contextual primes such as Qur'an verses about the sovereignty of Allah, Mohammad, and his successors might increase the priority of the foundation of Authority.

Furthermore, do hypothetical moral judgments and values predict moral behavior in real life? According to Bostyn, Sevenhant, and Roets (2018), psychological processes underlying real-life

moral decisions are partly different from the ones underlying decisions in hypothetical moral dilemmas. Of note, moral foundations are not some simple preferences, but rather are moral systems with an “interlocking sets of values, virtues, norms, practices, identities, institutions, technologies, and evolved psychological mechanisms that work together to suppress or regulate selfishness and make social life possible” (Haidt and Kesebir 2010). Thus, activation of the foundations also depends upon other factors related to the psychological needs of an individual.

As far as we know, this is the first study to examine the influence of religious dimensions on moral foundations in a Muslim-majority culture. Future studies may seek to replicate these findings and investigate the presence of these correlations and predictors. Further investigation may also include some scales for religious dimensions specifically designed for Muslim populations.

CONCLUSION

The results of the current research make a useful contribution to our understanding of moral foundation theory and religious variability in an understudied context. We demonstrated that the fundamental approach to Islam is a predictor of prioritizing binding moral values and potentially social cohesion, duty, respect, and maintaining traditions. In contrast, quest religiosity that is a progressive form of religiosity predicts individualizing moral values and potentially empathy, equality, and justice. Further, our model showed that unlike religious activity, intrinsic religiosity has some predictive value. We also provided further evidence for the importance of demographic variables in the endorsement of moral foundations.

APPENDIX

Items used to measure moral foundations and religious dimensions in both English and Persian languages

Moral Foundations

- (1) Whether or not someone suffered emotionally
- (2) Whether or not some people were treated differently than others
- (3) Whether or not someone’s action showed love for his or her country
- (4) Whether or not someone showed a lack of respect for authority
- (5) Whether or not someone violated standards of purity and decency
- (6) Whether or not someone cared for someone weak or vulnerable
- (7) Whether or not someone acted unfairly
- (8) Whether or not someone did something to betray his or her group
- (9) Whether or not someone conformed to the traditions of society
- (10) Whether or not someone did something disgusting
- (11) Whether or not someone was cruel
- (12) Whether or not someone was denied his or her rights
- (13) Whether or not someone showed a lack of loyalty
- (14) Whether or not an action caused chaos or disorder
- (15) Whether or not someone acted in a way that God would approve of
- (16) Compassion for those who are suffering is the most crucial virtue.
- (17) When the government makes laws, the number one principle should be ensuring that everyone is treated fairly.
- (18) I am proud of my country’s history.
- (19) Respect for authority is something all children need to learn.
- (20) People should not do things that are disgusting, even if no one is harmed.
- (21) One of the worst things a person could do is hurt a defenseless animal.

- (22) Justice is the most important requirement for a society.
 (23) People should be loyal to their family members, even when they have done something wrong.
 (24) Men and women each have different roles to play in society.
 (25) I would call some acts wrong on the grounds that they are unnatural.
 (26) It can never be right to kill a human being.
 (27) I think it is morally wrong that rich children inherit a lot of money while poor children inherit nothing.
 (28) It is more important to be a team player than to express oneself.
 (29) If I were a soldier and disagreed with my commanding officer's orders, I would obey anyway because that is my duty.
 (30) Chastity is an important and valuable virtue.

- ۰۱ اینکه دل کسی شکسته شده است یا خیر
 ۰۲ اینکه در حق افراد ظلم شده است یا خیر
 ۰۳ این که عمل فرد نشانگر وطن دوستی او است یا خیر
 ۰۴ این که فرد به بزرگترها بی احترامی کرده است یا خیر
 ۰۵ این که فرد بی عفتی و نابخوبی کرده است یا خیر
 ۰۶ این که فرد نسبت به افراد مظلوم بی تفاوت بوده است یا خیر
 ۰۷ این که فرد عادلانه عمل کرده است یا خیر
 ۰۸ این که فرد مرتکب خیانت شده است یا خیر
 ۰۹ این که فرد مطابق عرف جامعه اش رفتار کرده است یا خیر
 ۰۰۱ این که فرد مرتکب عملی زشت و قبیح شده است یا خیر
 ۰۱۱ این که فرد سنگدلانه عمل کرده است یا خیر
 ۰۲۱ این که حقی ناهق شده است یا خیر
 ۰۳۱ این که فرد نمک نشناس بوده است یا خیر
 ۰۴۱ این که عملی منجر به هرج و مرج یا فتنه شده است یا خیر
 ۰۵۱ این که عملکرد فرد مورد رضای خدا بوده است یا خیر
 ۰۶۱ مهم ترین فضیلت، مهربانی و رحم بر مظلومان است
 ۰۷۱ در تصویب قوانین دولتی، مهم ترین اصل برقراری عدالت است
 ۰۸۱ من به تاریخ کشورم افتخار می کنم
 ۰۹۱ احترام به بزرگ ترها باید به کودکان آموخته شود
 ۰۰۲ مردم نباید شنیع و زشت رفتار کنند
 ۰۱۲ یکی از بدترین کارهایی که افراد می توانند انجام دهند، آسیب رساندن به یک حیوان بی دفاع است
 ۰۲۲ عدالت مهم ترین نیاز جامعه است
 ۰۳۲ فرد باید به خانواده خود وفادار بماند، حتی اگر آن ها مرتکب عملی نادرست شده باشند
 ۰۴۲ نقش مردان و زنان در جامعه باید فرق داشته باشد
 ۰۵۲ کارهای خلاف عرف، ناپسند هستند
 ۰۶۲ کشتن یک انسان در هیچ شرایطی درست نیست
 ۰۷۲ این عادلانه نیست که بعضی بچه ها چون در خانواده ی ثروتمند به دنیا می آیند، همیشه در ناز و نعمت و رفاه هستند
 ۰۸۲ منافع جمعی مهم تر از منافع شخصی است
 ۰۹۲ یک سرباز باید تحت هر شرایطی از مافوق خود پیروی کند چرا که وظیفه سرباز اطاعت مطلق است
 ۰۰۳ عفت و پاکدامنی ارزشی والا و مهم هست

Religious Fundamentalism

- (1) God has given humanity a complete, unfailing guide to happiness and salvation, which must be totally followed.
- (2) No single book of religious teachings contains all the intrinsic, fundamental truths about life.
- (3) The basic cause of evil in this world is Satan, who is still constantly and ferociously fighting against God.
- (4) It is more important to be a good person than to believe in God and the right religion.
- (5) There is a particular set of religious teachings in this world that are so true, you cannot go any "deeper" because they are the basic, bedrock message that God has given humanity.
- (6) When you get right down to it, there are basically only two kinds of people in the world: The Righteous, who will be rewarded by God; and the rest, who will not.
- (7) Scriptures may contain general truths, but they should NOT be considered completely, literally true from beginning to end.
- (8) To lead the best, most meaningful life, one must belong to the one, fundamentally true religion.
- (9) "Satan" is just the name people give to their own bad impulses. There really is no such thing as a diabolical "Prince of Darkness" who tempts us.
- (10) Whenever science and sacred scripture conflict, science is probably right.
- (11) The fundamentals of God's religion should never be tampered with, or compromised with others' beliefs.
- (12) All of the religions in the world have flaws and wrong teachings. There is no perfectly true, right religion.

۰۱. انسان ها برای رسیدن به سعادت و رستگاری، باید به برنامه کامل و بی نقصی که خداوند به آن ها داده است عمل کنند

۰۲. هیچ کتاب دینی به تنهایی شامل تمام واقعیت های اساسی درباره زندگی نیست

۰۳. سرچشمه همه بدی ها در دنیا شیطان است، موجودی که هنوز وحشیانه با خدا مبارزه می کند

۰۴. انسان خوب و پاک بودن، مهم تر از اعتقاد به خداوند و دین واقعی است

۰۵. آموزه های دینی پیام هایی هستند که خداوند در اختیار انسان قرار داده است، پس کاملا درست هستند و

آموزه ای عمیق تر از آنها وجود ندارد

۰۶. اگر سر راست فکر کنی فقط دو نوع آدم در دنیا وجود دارد: افراد درستکار که خداوند به آن ها پاداش می

دهد و باقی افراد که مجازات می شوند

۰۷. قرآن ممکن است حقایق کلی را در بر داشته باشد، ولی نباید فکر کنیم که از اول تا آخر کاملا صحیح است

۰۸. برای رسیدن به بهترین و با معنا ترین زندگی، انسان باید به تنها دین واقعی اعتقاد داشته باشد

۰۹. انسان ها تمایلات بد و شر خود را شیطانی می نامند. اما در واقعیت موجود وسوسه کننده ای به نام "شیطان"

وجود ندارد

۰۱۰. در هر موضوعی که علم و کتاب مقدس (قرآن) اختلاف و ناسازگاری دارند، احتمالا حق با علم است

۰۱۱. اصول دین (اسلام) هرگز نباید به خاطر عقاید دیگران یا نیازمندی های زمان متعادل شود یا تغییر کند

۰۲۱. همه ی دین ها آموزه های نادرست دارند. هیچ دین کاملا درست و بی نقصی وجود ندارد

Quest Religion

- (1) I was not very interested in religion until I began to ask questions about the meaning and purpose of my life.
- (2) I have been driven to ask religious questions out of a growing awareness of the tensions in my world and in my relation to my world.
- (3) My life experiences have led me to rethink my religious convictions.

- (4) God was not very important for me until I began to ask questions about the meaning of my own life.
- (5) It might be said that I value my religious doubts and uncertainties.
- (6) For me, doubting is an important part of what it means to be religious.
- (7) I find religious doubts upsetting.
- (8) Questions are far more central to my religious experience than are answers.
- (9) As I grow and change, I expect my religion also to grow and change.
- (10) I am constantly questioning my religious beliefs.
- (11) I do not expect my religious convictions to change in the next few years.
- (12) There are many religious issues on which my views are still changing.

۱. من به دین علاقه ای نداشتم، تا اینکه برایم سوالاتی راجع به معنا و هدف زندگی ایجاد شد
۲. وقتی با فشارهای زندگی و پیچیدگی رابطه ام با دنیا آشنا شدم، برایم سوالات مذهبی ایجاد شد
۳. تجربیات زندگی باعث شد در اعتقادات مذهبی ام تجدید نظر کنم
۴. خداوند وقتی برایم مهم شد که شروع به پرسیدن سوالاتی درباره معنای زندگی خود کردم
۵. شک کردن به عقاید مذهبی ام برایم ارزشمند است
۶. به نظر من شک داشتن قسمت مهمی از دین دار بودن است
۷. من شک کردن درباره مسائل دینی را ناراحت کننده می دانم
۸. در تجربه مذهبی من سوالات نقش مهم تری از جواب ها دارد
۹. انتظار دارم که با بالا رفتن سن، عقاید مذهبی من نیز رشد و تغییر کند
۱۰. من همواره عقاید مذهبی خود را زیر سوال می برم
۱۱. من انتظار ندارم عقاید مذهبی من در چند سال آینده تغییر کند
۱۲. بسیاری از مسائل دینی وجود دارد، که هنوز عقیده ام راجع به آن ها تغییر می کند

Intrinsic Religiosity

- (1) In my life, I experience the presence of the Divine (i.e., God).
- (2) My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life.
- (3) I try hard to carry my religion over into all other dealings in life.

۱. در زندگی خود حضور خدا را حس میکنم
۲. اعتقادات مذهبی من رویکردم به زندگی را مشخص میکند
۳. من سعی میکنم دین را در تمام مسائل زندگی وارد کنم

Religious Activity

- (1) How often do you attend church or other religious meetings?
- (2) How often do you spend time in private religious activities, such as prayer, meditation, or Qur'an study?

۱. چقدر به مسجد و دیگر اماکن مذهبی میروید؟
۲. چقدر به اعمال مذهبی فردی مثل دعا کردن و نماز خواندن میپردازید؟

REFERENCES

- Abdalati, Hammudah. 1993. *Islam in focus*. Plainfield, IN: American Trust Publications.
- Abdullah, Fatimah. 2014. Virtues and character development in Islamic ethics and positive psychology. *International Journal of Education and Social Science* 1(2):69-77.

- Allport, Gordon W. & Ross, J. Michael. 1967. "Personal religious orientation and prejudice." *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 5(4), 432–443.
- Altemeyer, Bob and Bruce Hunsberger. 1992. Authoritarianism, religious fundamentalism, quest, and prejudice. *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 2(2):113–33.
- Altemeyer, Bob and Bruce Hunsberger. 2004. A revised religious fundamentalism scale: The short and sweet of it. *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 14(1): 47–54.
- Amini, Ansar and Amir H. M. Rahmani. 2016. Moderation movement in Iran; moving between liberalism and religious intellectualism. *Journal of Sociological Research* 7(1): 1–9.
- Batson, Daniel C. 1976. Religion as prosocial: Agent or double agent? *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 15:29–45.
- Batson, Daniel C., Cheryl H. Flink, Patricia A. Schoenrade, Jim Fultz and Virginia Pych. 1986. Religious orientation and overt versus covert racial prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 50: 175–81.
- Batson, Daniel C., Randy B. Floyd, Julie M. Meyer and Alana L. Winner. 1999. "And who is my neighbor?" Intrinsic religion as a source of universal compassion. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 38(4): 445–57.
- Batson, Daniel C., Stephen J. Naifeh and Suzanne Pate. 1978. Social desirability, religious orientation, and racial prejudice. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 17:31–41.
- Batson, Daniel C. and Patricia A. Schoenrade. 1991. Measuring religion as quest: 1) Validity concerns. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 30(4):416–29.
- Batson, Daniel C. and W. Larry Ventis. 1982. *The religious experience: A social-psychological perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bostyn, Dries H., Sybren Sevenhant and Arne Roets. 2018. Of mice, men, and trolleys: Hypothetical judgment versus real-life behavior in trolley-style moral dilemmas. *Psychological Science* 29(7): 1084–93.
- Denny, Frederick. 2015. *An introduction to Islam*. New York: Routledge.
- Djupe, Paul A. & Friesen, Amanda. 2018. "Moralizing to the choir: The moral foundations of American clergy." *Social Science Quarterly*, 99(2), 665–682.
- Doğruyol, Burak, Sinan Alper and Onurcan Yilmaz. 2019. The five-factor model of the moral foundations theory is stable across WEIRD and non-WEIRD cultures. *Personality and Individual Differences* 151: 109547.
- Dostoyevsky, Fyodor. 2003. *The brothers Karamazov*. London: Penguin Books. (original work published 1880).
- Federico, Christopher M., Christopher R. Weber, Damla Ergun and Corrie Hunt. 2013. Mapping the connections between politics and morality: The multiple sociopolitical orientations involved in moral intuition. *Political Psychology* 34(4): 589–610.
- Friesen, Amanda. 2019. Generational change? The effects of family, age, and time on moral foundations. *The Forum* 17(1): 121–40.
- Ghorbani, Nima, Zhuo Job Chen, Fatemeh Rabiee and Paul. J. Watson. 2019. Religious fundamentalism in Iran: Religious and psychological adjustment within a Muslim cultural context. *Archive for the Psychology of Religion* 41(2): 73–88.
- Ghorbani, Nima, Paul. J. Watson and Vahideh Saleh Mirhasani. 2007. Religious commitment in Iran: Correlates and factors of quest and extrinsic religious orientations. *Archive for the Psychology of Religion* 29(1): 245–58.
- Goldfried, Jerry and Maureen Miner. 2002. Quest religion and the problem of limited compassion. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 41(4): 685–95.
- Graham, Jesse and Jonathan Haidt. 2010. Beyond beliefs: Religions bind individuals into moral communities. *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 14(1), 140–50.
- Graham, Jesse, Jonathan Haidt and Brian A. Nosek. 2009. Liberals and conservatives rely on different sets of moral foundations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 96(5): 1029–1046.
- Graham, Jesse, Brian A. Nosek, Jonathan Haidt, Ravi Iyer, Spassena Koleva and Peter H. Ditto. 2011. Mapping the moral domain. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 101(2): 366–385.
- Greenway, Tyler S., Sarah A. Schnitker and Abigail M. Shepherd. 2018. Can prayer increase charitable giving? Examining the effects of intercessory prayer, moral intuitions, and theological orientation on generous behavior. *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 28(1): 3–18.
- Greenway, Tyler S., Joel Jin, Abigail M. Shepherd and Sarah A. Schnitker. 2019. Beyond the liberal–conservative binary: Generosity, religion, and a latent profile analysis of moral foundations in a Christian sample. *American Behavioral Scientist* 63(14): 1938–64.
- Hafizi, Sina, Amir Hossein Memari, Mohammad Pakrah, Farnam Mohebi, Amene Saghadzadeh and Harold G. Koenig. 2013. The Duke University Religion Index (DUREL): Validation and reliability of the Farsi version. *Psychological Reports* 112(1): 151–59.
- Haidt, Jonathan. 2007. The new synthesis in moral psychology. *Science* 316(5827): 998–1002.
- Haidt, Jonathan and Jesse Graham. 2007. When morality opposes justice: Conservatives have moral intuitions that liberals may not recognize. *Social Justice Research* 20(1): 98–116.
- Haidt, Jonathan & Selin Kesebir. 2010. Morality. In Susan. Fiske, Daniel. Gilbert, and Gardner. Lindzey (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (5th ed., pp. 797-832). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

- Harnish, Richard J., K. Robert Bridges and Joshua T. Gump. 2018. Predicting economic, social, and foreign policy conservatism: The role of right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, moral foundations orientation, and religious fundamentalism. *Current Psychology* 37(3): 668–79.
- Hatemi, Peter K., Charles Crabtree and Kevin B. Smith. 2019. Ideology justifies morality: Political beliefs predict moral foundations. *American Journal of Political Science* 63(4): 788–806.
- Henrich, Joseph, Steven J. Heine and Ara Norenzayan. 2010. Most people are not WEIRD. *Nature* 466(7302): 29–29.
- Hill, Thomas E. 2005. Assessing moral rules: Utilitarian and Kantian perspectives. *Philosophical Issues* 15: 158–78.
- Hunsberger, Bruce. 1996. Religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism, and hostility toward homosexuals in non-Christian religious groups. *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 6(1): 39–49.
- Hunter, James Davison 1991. *Culture wars: The struggle to define America: Making sense of the battles over the family, Art, Education, Law, and Politics*. New York: Basic Books.
- Hunter, James Davison. 1994. *Before the shooting begins*. New York City: Simon and Schuster.
- Jahanbakhsh, Forough 2001. *Islam, democracy and religious modernism in Iran, 1953–2000: From Bāzargān to Soroush (Vol. 77)*. Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill.
- Johnson, Kathryn A., Joshua N. Hook, Don E. Davis, Daryl R. Van Tongeren, Steven J. Sandage and Sarah A. Crabtree. 2016. Moral foundation priorities reflect US Christians' individual differences in religiosity. *Personality and Individual Differences* 100: 56–61.
- Khadduri, Majid. 1984. *The Islamic conception of justice*. London: JHU Press.
- Khan, Ziasma H., Paul. J. Watson and Fatima Habib. 2005. Muslim attitudes toward religion, religious orientation and empathy among Pakistanis. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture* 8(1): 49–61.
- Koenig, Harold, George R. Parkerson, Jr. & Keith G. Meador. 1997. Religion index for psychiatric research. 1997. *The American Journal of Psychiatry*. 154, 885–886.
- Koleva, Spassena P., Jesse Graham, Ravi Iyer, Peter H. Ditto and Jonathan Haidt. 2012. Tracing the threads: How five moral concerns (especially Purity) help explain culture war attitudes. *Journal of Research in Personality* 46(2): 184–94.
- Koopmans, Ruud. 2015. Religious fundamentalism and hostility against out-groups: A comparison of Muslims and Christians in Western Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41(1): 33–57.
- Krull, Douglas S. 2016. Religiosity and moral foundations: Differing views about the basis of right and wrong. *Journal of Psychology and Christianity* 35(1): 41–51.
- LaBouff, Jordan P., Matthew Humphreys and Megan Johnson Shen. 2017. Religiosity and group-binding moral concerns. *Archive for the Psychology of Religion* 39(3): 263–82.
- Lewis, Bernard. 2018. *The political language of Islam*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- McFarland, Sam G. 1989. Religious orientations and the targets of discrimination. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 28(3):324–36.
- McFarland, Sam G. 1990. Religiously oriented prejudice in communism and Christianity: The role of Quest. In Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Psychological Association, Atlanta, GA.
- Moaddel, Mansoor and Stuart A. Karabenick. 2018. Religious fundamentalism in eight Muslim-majority countries: Reconceptualization and Assessment. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 57(4): 676–706.
- Nejat, Pegah & Hatami, Javad. 2019. Psychometric properties of the Persian version of moral foundations questionnaire in three Iranian samples. *Social Cognition*, 8(1), 107–124.
- Piazza, Jared. 2012. "If you love me keep my commandments": Religiosity increases preference for rule-based moral arguments. *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 22(4): 285–302.
- Piazza, Jared and Paulo Sousa. 2014. Religiosity, political orientation, and consequentialist moral thinking. *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 5(3): 334–42.
- Randolph-Seng, Brandon and Michael E. Nielsen. 2007. Honesty: One effect of primed religious representations. *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 17(4): 303–15.
- Saroglou, Vassilis. 2011. Believing, bonding, behaving, and belonging: The big four religious dimensions and cultural variation. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 42(8): 1320–40.
- Saroglou, Vassilis and François Mathijssen. 2007. Religion, multiple identities, and acculturation: A study of Muslim immigrants in Belgium. *Archive for the Psychology of Religion* 29(1): 177–98.
- Statistical Center of Iran. 2011. *Selected results of the census of population and housing 2011*. Tehran: Statistical Center of Iran.
- Van Leeuwen, Florian and Justin H. Park. 2009. Perceptions of social dangers, moral foundations, and political orientation. *Personality and Individual Differences* 47(3): 169–73.
- Yi, Daniel and Jo-Ann Tsang. 2020. The relationship between individual differences in religion, religious primes, and the moral foundations. *Archive for the Psychology of Religion* 42(2): 161–93.
- Yilmaz, Onurcan, Mehmet Harma, Hasan G. Baħçekapılı and Sevim Cesur. 2016. Validation of the moral foundations questionnaire in Turkey and its relation to cultural schemas of individualism and collectivism. *Personality and Individual Differences* 99: 149–54.