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Pious Women in the Secular

Turkish-Dutch and Turkish Veiled Students in Higher Education

Deniz Batum Ünsal

Design/lay-out
Promotie In Zicht, Arnhem

Print
Ipskamp Printing, Enschede

This research was partly financed
by the Huygens Scholarship Programme

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Pious Women in the Secular

Turkish-Dutch and Turkish Veiled Students in Higher Education

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen
op gezag van de rector magnificus prof. dr. J.H.J.M. van Krieken,
volgens besluit van het college van decanen
in het openbaar te verdedigen
op maandag 1 mei 2017
om 14.00 uur precies

door

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Acknowledgments

This study would not have been possible without the help and support of a number of people. Willy Jansen, thank you for welcoming me to the Institute for Gender Studies and sharing your wisdom. Thank you for contributing to my academic growth, a gift that will stay with me forever. I feel so lucky for everything I have learned from you. Veronica Vasterling, thank you for your interest in my work. Thank you for helping me in dealing with difficult theoretical concepts. Mieke Verloo, thank you for your academic support, guidance and encouragement. I highly appreciate that you have taken time to endorse me and help out in your busy schedule. Claudia Krops, thank you for your never-ending help in dealing with all the bureaucracy and making life easier. It was always a pleasure to be around you. Ria Janssen, thank you for your happy presence. I have come to know a warm, caring and kind person in you.

Ria van Ooijen, Jeannette van Mierlo and Carla van Rooy, thank you for being a part of my times at the Institute. Stefan Dudink, Liedeke Plate and Geertje Mak thank you for having been wise people to be around. It was always a pleasure to get bits and pieces of your expertise.

Sincere thanks to Judith Samson, who has been a great colleague, and a great friend. Many thanks also to other PhD colleagues in no particular order, Rahil, Sasinee, Anneke, Iris, Sanne, Marieke, Azza, Anny and Louis. We have shared many moments together.

Sincere thanks go to my parents, Mükerrem and Enver Batum for encouraging me to go on this journey, and for the endless understanding and support they have shown and the love they have given when things got tough. Heartfelt thanks to my husband Erdem Ünsal, who joined me half-way through the journey, and encouraged me when I lost hope in myself. I couldn't have a better partner to share my life with. Thanks for everything. Lara Ünsal, in the last quarter of this journey you have given me renewed energy and inspiration. Words cannot describe how much I'm looking forward to your arrival. What a blessing you already are! I want to thank my aunt Simin Batum-Marsden, who along with Jimmy, Sinan and Brendan has provided me a home away from home in the Netherlands. Thank you for always being there for me, and for the many fun stay-overs at your place.

I want to also thank the people who have shared my joy and woes back home over the internet; Petek, Bahar, Zeynep, Gamze, Zekiye and others. I want to also thank the many friends I made in the Netherlands: Cristina, Nina, Vicent, Olha and many others. You all have been the best part of my Dutch life.

Last but not least, I want to thank my respondents, bright young women who have opened their world to me.

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1 Introduction

Background

In both Turkey and the Netherlands, Muslim women who express their piety through veiling are in an awkward predicament and subject to controversies regarding their gender position. Living a pious life in secular modernity creates tensions, especially when veiled women make claims to the public sphere. This thesis is about the negotiation of gender issues in the everyday lives of second generation Turkish-Dutch veiled students in higher education, which will be compared with their counterparts in Turkey when applicable. As practicing Muslims who have decided to express their piety by wearing a veil in public, these women have to face conflicting discourses pertaining to religious observance in secular society. As students of higher education, they have to combine this piety with expectations of schooling, social contact outside the home and prospects of work. In this thesis, I want to see how they negotiate a pious life within a secular environment of school, work and leisure, paying attention to gender issues. Their experiences will be discussed in comparison with veiled Turkish students in Turkish higher education in the context of ideas about work and use of leisure spaces, as this makes further manifest how the diaspora context of the Netherlands structures the experiences of the Turkish-Dutch.

Veiled students in the Netherlands and Turkey are faced with different social, political and gender discourses in their respective countries, however, they share a similar fate in that piety and gender intersect in their lives in a way which affects their whole experience. Ideas about the intersection of Muslim piety and gender vary widely. While one line of argument is that women are liberated through Islam as the arrival of Islam has corrected pre-Islamic gender inequalities, (Barlas, 2002) on the other end of the continuum, it is argued that Islam is inherently patriarchal and laden with gendered power hierarchies (Mernissi, 1991). As Islam encompasses a wide geography and many different cultures, with different religious interpretations, local practices and national contexts with specific histories, analyses of gender issues in Islam need to be undertaken in local settings.

My main objective in this study is to understand how doing gender materializes in the day-to-day lives of veiled students in higher education in the Netherlands. Within the plethora of conflicting opinions on veiling and women's status, how do the students experience and express gender in their lives? To show how veiled Turkish-Dutch students in higher education negotiate gender issues, I have chosen different domains of life: belonging in school, combining aspirations for work and career with those for motherhood and family life, bodily manners in social contact outside the family, disciplinary techniques for becoming a religious person and leisure oriented use of spaces and spatial mobility. In all these domains, the contested gender norms and the students' experience and reactions will be discussed.

By choosing veiled women in higher education, I wanted to do justice to the increasing complexity within the Muslim women population which is almost always referred to as a homogenous group. The reason I picked veiled university students as a group to study was their unique and curious position as being highly educated and pious at the same time, which posed a challenge to some predominant notions such as: 1) education has a secularizing effect on people, and 2) that pious Muslim women are not interested in the domains of education and/or work in the secular sphere.

Students in tertiary education could be expected to feel more integrated in Dutch secular society than other groups of migrant women through their long education in the Dutch or Turkish-secular system and through their preparedness for the labour market. Moreover, given their level of education, one may expect an ability to reflect on, and put into words, any conflicts between their wish for pious expressions and the demands of a secular society. Rather than focusing on the explanations and meanings of the veil, or on their other religious practices, beliefs or religious ideas, I explore experiences and discourses of veiled women related to gender issues in this study. The topic of this research is not religion as such, but how religious ideas shape gender notions and practices.

What makes this study most pertinent is the increasingly negative atmosphere within which Muslim immigrant subjectivity is perceived in the Netherlands. Since 9/11, Muslim immigrants have been ostracised in political discourse as Others of the European subject, especially based on gender and sexuality issues (Bracke, 2011), problematising veils of the immigrant Muslim women and the subjugated status of which the veil is seen as a symptom and a symbol more than ever before (Gustavsson, van der Noll and Sundberg, 2016). This othering in terms of gender and sexuality was exacerbated after the influx of Muslim refugees fleeing the Islamic State. The current situation of polarisation might be exemplified by the Cologne New Year's Eve sexual attacks on German and other European women, by Muslim refugees, and its protest by right wing groups in Germany.

In Turkey, meanwhile, the political climate is changing in a historically unprecedented way, from the days when strict secularism did not allow veils of pious women in the public sphere of universities and public offices, to a post-secular society that accommodates freedom of religious expression (Göle, 2012), while at the same time bringing about considerable gender conservatisms (Arat, 2010; Bu ra, 2014; Dedeo lu, 2012). Taking into consideration that, not that long ago, veiling was strictly forbidden in public offices and educational contexts, it remains important to be seen what will be changed for Turkish veiled women in their life choices and practices. In what follows, I will define the way this thesis addresses veiling and set the background of my respondents and the different social expectations regarding gender issues and characteristics of each country with which they are faced.

Contextualising the Veil

Although contemporarily the veil is associated with Islamic practice, in its origin it is a symbol of elite social status in the Middle Eastern and Mediterranean societies of pre-Islamic Iran, Byzantine and ancient Greco-Roman empires (Hoodfar, 2003). Etymologically, the word veil originates from the Latin *uelum* (or *velum*), meaning a sail, cloth or standard (Skeat, 1972). The literature shows that women's head-coverings are not only limited to Muslims but are also practiced in Hasidic Judaism as well as Catholic Christianity (Feder, 2013).

Here, I will theoretically contextualise the clothing praxis of veiling and then define the manner in which it is employed in this thesis. There has been much controversy around the meaning and justification of the veil. While it is generally believed that veiling is a religious obligation for practicing Muslim women (Bullock, 2002), both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars argue the Qur'an has been misinterpreted and that veiling was not intended to refer to head-covering, but to refer to modesty in covering one's body (Barazangi, 2004; Wadud, 1999). Nevertheless, the veil is an object that is laden with context-based meanings in a given setting and it must be considered within its contemporary social and political conjuncture. Throughout time and varied geographies, veiling has come to mean different things: as a vernacular dress practice (El Guindi, 1999), as a constituent of reactionary identity (Göle, 2003; Ahmed, 2011; Zuhur, 1992), as an element of women's empowerment (MacLeod, 1992; El Guindi, 1981), as a feature of women's mobility and preservation of virtue in the public sphere (Secor, 2002; White, 2002), as a critique of Western colonialism (Hessini, 1994; Winter, 2008), as a resistance against the temptations of secular environments (Carvalho, 2013), as constituting subjective transformation (Brenner, 1996), as a constituent of conversion (van Nieuwkerk, 2004), for developing social approval (Hopkins and Greenwood, 2013), and also as a symbol of unjust gender relations and women's subjugation (Mernissi, 1991). It has also been identified as a practice denoting racial and cultural difference (Al-Saji, 2010). The former Dutch MP Ayaan Hirsi Ali wrote a script for the film *Submission*, in which the imagery of a transparent veil was used to denote Muslim women as exotic victims of their religion. The film was criticised for such Orientalist imagery and the submissive portrayal of Muslim women (See Moors, 2005).

In the context of this thesis the veil is taken to manifest explicitly practiced Muslim religiosity as all our respondents are self-identified observant Muslims who adhere to the idea that covering one's head is an aspect and feature of daily worship for women. Therefore, veiling is defined as an ethical practice denoting Muslim gender normativity. More than a mere feminine dress-code, it underscores the expected behaviour towards others. In Islam, the socio-ethical concepts of *mahrem* and *namahrem* organise spatial and interactive relations between the sexes.

"*Mahrem* literally refers to intimacy, domesticity, secrecy, women's space, what is forbidden to a foreigner's gaze; it also means a man's family" (Göle, 1996:7). For a woman, *mahrem* are blood relatives, such as "father, brother, son, father's brother, mother's brother, brother's son, sister's son, and suckling brother", with whom she can spend time unveiled (El Guindi, 1999: 98). *Namahrem* pertains to men who are not blood relatives; sexual relations are possible with them and thus there is the need to veil. These two concepts pertain to gendered boundary maintenance and determine the practice of veiling. The term *hijab,* used in literature to refer to veiling, therefore also refers to Islamic notions of sanctity and privacy (El Guindi, 1999: 46).

Within this thesis, veiling refers to the adoption of a headscarf to cover one's hair, mostly accompanied with a loose-fitting, modest dress. Although there is a wide range of veiling in the world, Turkish-Dutch and Turkish students in higher education practice only one kind. This entails wearing a bonnet that keeps the hair in place, and on top of the bonnet a headscarf is worn. This headdress is accompanied by loose fitting clothing, but not necessarily always an overcoat. Therefore, within the text, veil is alternately used with headscarf. In fieldwork, I have not come across any students who practiced the *burqa*, which has been a controversial dress in the Netherlands. The *burqa* is partially banned in the Netherlands in schools, universities and government building, and only a few hundred Muslim women, mostly Dutch-born converts, wear it.

Social Background: The Netherlands

Turkish migration to the Netherlands started in the 1960s due to shortage of labour in the country (Abadan-Unat, 2002). Turkish-Dutch are a large immigrant group, characterised by socioeconomic disadvantage (Gijsbert and Dagevos, 2010), and highly identified as Muslims, even for the second-generation (Verkuyten and Yildiz, 2009; Maliepaard, Gijsberts and Lubbers, 2012; Fleischmann and Phalet, 2012). They are known to favour integration to Dutch culture in public domains, but to keep culturally separate in private domains (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2003; Phalet and Schönpflug, 2001). Statistics show that 20% of all Turkish-Dutch second-generation women veil as they believe Islam requires them to do so (Maliepaard and Gijsberts, 2012: 77).

Although there are no figures about the number of veiled, first generation female Turkish immigrants who arrived to the Netherlands, it is known that these women's appearance was not so much marked by their headscarves as by their ethnic and rural style of dress (Ünal, 2013: 4). The immigrant women of the time were not singled out as "Muslim" subjects, but rather their manifest differences

were attributed to their ethnic identities. However, in time, a conscious and learned Muslim identity manifested in the Netherlands, as it did in Turkey (Koyuncu-Lorasdağı, 2013), which replaced what is often called the traditional and habitual headscarf wearing with the modern "new veiling" with its slightly different aesthetics (Göle, 1996). Arising out of traditional religiosity, veiling became a manifestation of the modern Islamic female subject. A recent study has found that for second generation Muslims in the Netherlands, there is a positive relation between a strong Muslim identity and veiling, and that education strengthens the positive relation between religious identification and veiling (Brünig and Fleischmann, 2015).

Initially, the Netherlands adopted a policy of multiculturalism, in which various ethnic and cultural groups were encouraged to retain their identities, and the government endorsed cultural diversity. It was believed that these groups would be emancipated in time within their own distinctions. However, over the years, the Netherlands adopted "the most repressive variant of civic integration" (Joppke, 2007a: 19) due to failures associated with multiculturalism. Popular was the idea that it was the immigrants' cultural distinctions and religion that prevented them from successfully integrating into the Dutch lifestyle and workforce, and which therefore needed to be obliterated. Moreover, due to the political conjuncture in the world after 9/11, the murder of Theo van Gogh[1] by an Islamist fanatic and the IS inspired terrorist attacks, a growing anti-Islam sentiment arose in the Netherlands. While previously immigrants were addressed through their ethnic identities as Turks or Moroccans, they increasingly became perceived as "Muslims", referring solely to their religious distinction. Within the context of anti-Islam sentiments, veiling challenged national self-understandings and political debates around it became highly gendered (Lettinga and Saharso, 2014; Roggeband and Lettinga, 2014).

In the last ten years, Turkish-Dutch women, along with other Muslim immigrants as a group, have become the primary target of policies of integration and emancipation in the Netherlands. Turkish-Dutch women are poorly represented in the Dutch work force (Keizer and Keuzenkamp, 2011), as well as in higher education, compared to other minority groups (Wolff and Pásztor, 2010). Studies show that labour participation for Turkish-Dutch women of working age is at 47%, but only 28% of these women are economically independent (Merens, Hartgers and van den Brakel, 2012:12-13, 56, 64).[2] Moreover, Turkish-Dutch women have been also identified as the least engaged group in Dutch social life (Merens and Hermans, 2009: 128).

1 Theo Van Gogh was a Dutch filmmaker famous for the short film *Submission*. The film criticised the treatment of women in Islam and was received with much controversy.

2 However, when they work, more immigrant women work full time compared to the part-time working Dutch (Bevelander and Groeneveld, 2007:13).

The many social problems of immigrant integration have been recognised as problems caused by the Islamic cultural background of immigrants, and gender issues have been at the forefront of this culturalist discourse. It was believed that the various problems associated with the lack of integration stemmed from Islamic culture and its distinction from Dutch culture in the area of gender and sexuality issues. Muslim women have come to be known as the "unemancipated Other" of Dutch women (Ghorashi, 2010). While policy initiatives were undertaken to empower migrant women, these were limited in recognizing the agency of Muslim women as individuals and rather addressed them through their roles within their community. For example, migrant women were seen as the key to solving problems of integration due to their roles in the family as mothers (Roggeband and Verloo, 2007). Similarly, while highly educated Muslim women continue to have difficulties in accessing jobs due to structural problems, this fact was undermined by the argument that there is the more pressing problem that some migrant women cannot even leave their homes (Ghorashi, 2010). As emancipation is culturalised in this way, it works to obliterate Muslim women's agency and emancipation (van den Berg and Schinkel, 2009), as well as not structurally addressing the various problems of immigrant integration.

While there are many studies on immigrant integration, educational standing of second generation immigrants and the various experiences of "Muslim women" in the Netherlands (e.g. Iranian refugees or Indonesian immigrants), little attention has been paid to the particular experiences of Turkish-Dutch second generation women who are not only highly educated, but also self-identify as "practicing Muslims", manifesting this by wearing the Islamic veil in a hostile, anti-Islamic context. This group of women occupies a social position at the highest educational level with prospects for a good career and expectations of public participation, but who, by veiling, willingly mark their gender, ethnic, religious and minority status. Piety of practicing Muslim women has an intersecting and intertwined relationship with gender, due to the impact of Islamic gender norms that may conflict with the secular/Christian environment in the Netherlands, and historical secular policies in Turkey (White, 2003). As gender has become pivotal in the integration issues of immigrants, and because gender related issues have become increasingly problematised, it is important to look at how gender norms intersecting with piety operate in the experiences of this group at the highest educational level. It remains important to see how such norms are negotiated, executed and appropriated in the lives of second-generation Turkish-Dutch who live in secular society. It is in this highly contingent context, in which "gender and sexuality have become central markers in the distinction between acceptable and unacceptable ways of being European" (Petzen, 2012: 98), that our discussion of gender is situated.

Social Background: Turkey

The social context of Turkey presents a puzzling experience in terms of veiling and gender issues. An analysis of veiled students from Turkey should be preceded by a short historical account. When the Turkish Republic emerged in 1923, it wanted to do away with its Ottoman past through an extensive modernisation project. Accordingly, rules and regulations based on Islamic law were to be abandoned. Gender was one of the most important areas in which Turkey wanted to distinguish itself from its Ottoman past. What has been called "state feminism" was adopted as a government policy with a view to modernising the country through changing women's public roles in education and work (White, 2003). Turkish women were granted the right to vote as early as 1930, as well as benefitting from many reforms to better their social and economic standing. However, the gains of state feminism were only enjoyed by middle and higher classes of urban women and did not extend to rural peasant women living in patriarchal contexts who could not simply leave their homes, become educated and contribute to the Republic's professional life (White, 2003: 146). This, along with the fact that women's roles and rights within the private sphere had not been challenged, led to Turkish women being "emancipated but unliberated" (Kandiyoti, 1987).

In line with Turkish modernisation, women were encouraged to unveil and adopt Western style clothing. Throughout Turkey's history, the religious-secular debate has been central in its social and political life, particularly pertaining to the role and status of women, as well as how they appeared. Veils of women have been a key domain in which the religious vs. secular struggle has taken place. Therefore, although veiling has been ever present as a local practice, it has gained different meanings throughout Turkey's history:

> [i]n the 1920s and 1930s [unveiling]. . was a question of civilization . . . the sign of western modernization while veiling was the sign of the rejected Ottoman past. In the 1940s and 1950s, it was associated with rural Turkey and singled out as a matter of underdevelopment, poverty, and tradition. In the 1960s and 1970s, it reappeared as an urban public issue . . . though the number of women who demanded to cover their heads in the public institutions was negligible. In the 1980s and 1990s, it became a matter of public confrontation with the state authorities as well as the secular sections of the civil society (Saktanber and Çorbacıoğlu, 2008: 519).

The 1980s saw an Islamic resurgence in Turkey, in which more and more religious claims appeared in the public sphere. Veiling had become highly politicized and perceived as reactionary within the discourse of secular modernity (Özyürek,

2006; Çınar, 2008). Manifest religious expression in the way of veils for women, or beards for men, in public offices or schools were forbidden. In the realm of higher education, when veiled students started to emerge in Turkey, they disrupted the "visual imaginary of secularism" (Cindoğlu and Zencirci, 2008: 795) and the secular elite shunned them. Veiled students who were being denied entry to universities protested with sit-ins. This continued into the present decade.

With the rise to power of Islamic political parties in the last decade, Turkey has moved to what is called the post-secular period (Göle, 2012; Walton, 2013), within which religious expressions are easily maintained in public. Since then, veiling has appeared in the public sphere in unprecedented ways. The first policy initiatives came in 2008 to allow veiled women entry into universities, however the Constitutional Court overruled this. By late 2010, individual universities were free to allow veiled students if they wanted to, backed by the ruling government. By late 2013, a new legislation was passed that allowed veiled women opportunities in the public (See Bottoni, 2014). They were able to attend universities, as well as being able to work in public offices with the exception of the post of judges. Currently, veiling in universities is no longer contested. The present picture is that veiled students can enter the university premises and attend lectures and classes with their veils on.

Turkey thus shares with the Netherlands a common veiling of women, and in particular veiling of university students, which is contested, but in different ways and to differing degrees. In Turkey, the veiling debate is highly politicized. This makes it interesting to comparatively understand how the young women I question deal with this in their sense of belonging, their ideas about a future home and career and in their social relations with others.

Theoretical Framework

Gender

In what follows, I will introduce the theoretical concept of gender and then discuss how it is used in the context of this thesis. The concept of gender is based on Simone de Beauvoir's claim that "one is not born, but becomes a woman" (Andermahr, Lovell and Wolkowitz, 1997: 237). In social sciences gender was introduced as an "analytical category to draw a line of demarcation between biological sex differences and the way these are used to inform behaviours and competencies, which are then assigned as either 'masculine' or 'feminine'" (Pilcher and Whelehan, 2004:56). In other words, gender is a social construct. While sex refers to the biological domain, it was predominantly argued that gender is the result of the social processes and cultural formations that define, produce and reproduce the specific meanings of femininities and masculinities. As gender is

produced socially and culturally, the specific meanings and limits of gender are particular to each cultural group, and also show variations within the group and over time. Notions of femininity or masculinity can be different in various places or historical periods. Moreover, the biological versus cultural dichotomy has been criticized as being too simplistic as various studies argued that body and cultural notions continuously influence and inform each other (Butler, 1988; Gatens, 1996).

People are socialised into certain gender roles by a process of "doing gender" (West and Zimmerman, 1987). "Doing gender means creating differences between girls and boys and women and men, differences that are not natural, essential, or biological" (West and Zimmerman, 1987: 137). When a female baby is born and she is dressed in pink, gender is being done through dressing her in a way that is associated with "femininity" which is a construct that does not reflect any natural or biological origins. Female babies being dressed in pink, as opposed to blue, is a socio-culturally produced and appropriated construct, put in place through continuous repetition. As "doing gender" refers to the reproduction of gender through interaction and reiteration, the ways in which people do gender varies and is highly based on cultural context (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Butler, 1990). People learn how gender is done through gendered socialization. This is defined as the "process through which individuals learn the gender norms of their society and come to develop an internal gender identity" (Ryle, 2011:120). Females and males are socialised differently to comply with different gender roles, traits and inclinations attributed to their biological sex. For example, traditionally the profession of nursing is associated with femininity as females are expected to take on nurturing and caring gender roles. It is not often that male children aspire to become nurses or nannies, given that they are socialised to believe that these professions are suited for females. Gendered socialization has extensive effects. For example, women working in traditionally male domains (such as engineering or IT) often encounter the "glass ceiling", an invisible barrier which inhibits their workplace progress and delimits their chances of reaching managerial positions (Ridgeway, 2001). It is argued that the primary reason for the glass ceiling phenomenon is gendered socialization: the beliefs that women do not have the so-called male traits of competitiveness or assertiveness in order to be successful leaders (Oakley, 2000).

The above shows that three different levels of gender can be distinguished: the cultural level of the notions and beliefs that convey the ideal content of proper femininity or masculinity, e.g. ideas about women's purity; the second level of the social-structural organisation of gender, e.g. the division of labour or educational careers; and the third level of incorporating these ideas and practices into an identity of oneself as woman or man (See Scott, 1996). All three levels will be taken into account in this thesis.

In gender studies, early accounts of power identified “patriarchy” as a tradition and ideology in which the man had absolute power and dominated over the woman in all aspects of life. For example, the Middle East has been traditionally recognised as a place where the existent patriarchal ideology undermined the chances of education and work opportunities for women in the region (Fernea, 2000). Consequently, men have significantly more economic, social and political power than women.

There is a distinct relationship between gender and power. According to Scott, “gender is a primary field within which or by means of which power is articulated” (Scott, 1996: 169). Various scholars have shown that social relations of inequality are based on gender difference (Ferree, Lorber, and Hess 1999; Lorber, 1994; Ridgeway, 1997). Oftentimes, dominant codes of gender, in a given culture, set the rules of the gender game with a certain hierarchical power. Subjects occupy places that have different relationships to dominant power.

Those who express gender identities that deviate from the dominant norms, or those who do gender differently, often encounter strong opposition. The notion of widely prevalent “hegemonic masculinity” (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) marginalises the subject positions of men who do not have the so-called necessary traits or inclinations to be identified and accepted as masculine in the face of power. Gendered power, however, is highly context-dependent. For example, homosexuality is criminalised in some parts of the world, whereas in other places homosexuals have gained the right to marry and raise families. Homosexual individuals have therefore differential relations to power depending on where they are in the world. In a similar way, women have to deal with different femininities, which may entail different power positions, as some forms of femininity are dominant compared to others. In this research, therefore, gender will be understood to be of a multiple, changing and locally specific nature, articulating power and difference.

Gender, Religion and Immigrant Status

There is an intrinsic relationship between gender, religion and immigrant status. In literature, international migration is considered a theologizing experience; immigrants usually become more religious (Smith, 1978; Williams, 1988). Religiosity becomes intertwined with ethnic identity (Cadge and Ecklund, 2007). However, in time religiosity is argued to follow the same acculturation options as ethnicity with regards to second generations (Diehl, Koenig and Ruckdeschel, 2009). Religiosity either diminishes to the status of merely “symbolic” (Gans, 1994), or it reactively becomes stronger (Rumbaut, 2008). Due to a hostile or critical cultural environment, immigrants might try to consolidate their religious identities and stick to their religious values (Verkuyten and Yildiz, 2010). These outcomes depend,

in part, on the existent individual levels of religiosity of the second generation, shaped by their family background and the quality and character of socialisation in the host country.

Gender also intersects with religion in a specific way in immigrant subjectivity. Gender's central role in the religious identity constructions of immigrants and its power in organizing life events such as family formation, ethnical and sexual freedoms, or choices regarding work are well documented (Alumkal, 1999; Cadge and Ecklund, 2007; Demant and Pels, 2006; Sinke, 2006). It has been well established that strong religiosity has a correlation with less egalitarian attitudes to gender roles, even after controlling for other factors such as education (Inglehart and Norris, 2003: 670). Immigrant women are expected to be the guardians of cultural and religious integrity with a view to future generations (Dwyer, 2000). Therefore, they often negotiate their identities around notions of appropriate or respectable femininities shaped by expectations of their families and social circles (Bartkowski and Ghazal Read, 2003; Archer, 2005).

Studies have found a negative relationship between acculturation and high levels of religiosity in second-generation immigrants in Europe (Saroglou and Mathijsen, 2007) That is to say that second generations tend to maintain gender attitudes and behaviour equally traditional as that of the first generation (Diehl, Koenig and Ruckdeschel, 2009). For immigrants who are practicing Muslims, gender-role beliefs that are dictated by religion are often more pronounced and binding, as "diasporic identities are always configured through gender" (Dwyer, 2000:475). In European contexts, with policies that encourage double income households and gender egalitarianism, immigrant gender traditionalism is problematised.

Groenewald argues that, for the majority of second-generation Turkish-Dutch, "Islamic norms and values remain important in domestic life (e.g. child-raising and partner choice)" (2008: 114). Only a handful of studies have focused on gender in second generation Turkish-Dutch pertaining to attitudes and gender-role behaviour (Phalet, van Lotringen and Entzinger, 2000; Huschek, de Valk and Liefbroer, 2011; Spierings, 2015; van de Vijver, 2007), marriage patterns (de Valk, 2008; de Valk and Liefbroer, 2007; Kalmijn and van Tubergen, 2007), and organization of work and family plans (Lutz, 1994; Hendriks, Lensvelt -Mulders, and van Ewijk, 2015).

Van de Vijver (2007) found that in comparison with first generation migrants, second generation immigrants held less traditional views on gender-role beliefs, but this did not necessarily translate as actual behaviour in sharing of tasks. Huschek, de Valk and Liefbroer (2011) compared Turkish minorities across Europe and stated that traditional gender-role attitudes are strong among the second generation due to their religious socialization and by the migration experience itself, however, this varied by gender, educational level and acculturation.

Immigrant status also contributes to the experiences of the respondents. In their intersectional identities, the respondents are not only marked by gender and religiosity as defined and put into place by their veiling, but also they are marked by immigrant status. No matter how long they have lived in the Netherlands, how competent they are in the Dutch language, or how much Dutch social capital they might possess, their identities are marked by the negatively perceived immigrant status, making it hard to feel belonging to the Netherlands.

Although invaluable, existing research does not attend to the highly educated and highly religious women among the immigrants. The combination of higher education and strong religiosity is often regarded as paradoxical. This study aims to add to this discussion by exploring attitudes to gender in the particular group of highly educated Turkish-Dutch women characterised with high levels of religiosity whose acculturation is regarded as the most problematic.

Gender and Agency

The philosophical concept of "agency" is used to refer to the capabilities of actors to act in the world in the face of structures of power. Sociological studies have shown that individuals can negotiate agency in the face of strong social structures (Giddens, 1984), as well as persistent and commonplace cultural traditions and habits (Bourdieu, 1977). In gender studies, the notion of agency has been a critical concept in thinking of gender in relation to power. "Capability for agency varies with women's relations to the structural rules and resources because agency is developed within overlapping economic, social, cultural, and legal systems" (Be pınar, 2010: 524). Gender scholars have maintained different understandings of agency (see Butler, 1990; McNay, 2000). Most importantly, agency debates have been central in studies on practicing religious women, driven by the wish to understand how and why women submit to religions, which are perceived to be at odds with their own liberties. Hekman argues that, as early feminist works maintained that patriarchy was a dominant social structure, agency was a concept that negotiated and accounted for individual action in the face of the structural patriarchal power (1995). Poststructuralist theories maintained that previous notions about the strength of structures were misguided, and agency became a notion that helps us to understand women as actors, rather than subjects who are solely subjected to power. It was to be located "within those operations that resist the dominating and subjectivating modes of power" (Mahmood, 2005: 14), conceptualised in terms of subversion and resignification of social norms.

The dominant understanding of agency pertains to that of liberal feminism's idea that agency equals autonomy. This paradigm presupposes that actions should be self-determined, characterised by freewill (Nussbaum, 1999). Therefore, within any kind of structure in which people cannot act autonomously, it is suggested

that people lack agency and thus are not emancipated. In line with this definition of agency, liberal feminist accounts seem to be puzzled by women in conservative religions with the "tacit assumption...[that] religious women are oppressed or are operating with a false consciousness" (Avishai, 2008:411). This pertains, in particular, to analyses of agency and emancipation in the case of Muslim women engaging with religion. It has been thought that pious and feminist subjectivities are inherently at odds. In recent years, this line of thinking has come under severe criticisms, due to its failure to satisfactorily explain pious women's agency.

There have been various criticisms on several grounds: Phillips has argued that by putting autonomy in the centre of feminist politics "we come to regard anything that is *not* a result of autonomous choice as thereby a failure" (Phillips, 2001: 257). Parekh points to another aspect of autonomy that is problematical by saying that "we should avoid the mistaken conclusion that those who do not share our beliefs about their well-being are all misguided victims of indoctrination" (1999: 73). In the same vein, Bracke warns about ethnocentric false consciousness, the frame through which pious Muslim women are considered as an Other of the autonomous Eurocentric subject: "an exhausted mode of thinking about agency and subjectivity", which "serves as a technology of gender and ethnicity (drawing on Teresa de Lauretis' understanding of 'technology') through which (a lack of) agency and (deficient) subjectivity are differentially ascribed to certain subject positions" (Bracke, 2008: 61). It has been recently argued that "the tendency to focus on the tension between empowerment and oppression in the lives of conservative religious women results in a narrow analysis of how gender and religion intersect as institutions" (Irby, 2014: 1270).

Various reasons were given in literature about why women were attracted to religion, given that religions impose limits to their actions. Firstly, the "comply but" argument stated that despite experiencing restrictions, women are empowered or liberated from their religion (Bartkowski and Read, 2003; Chen, 2005; Chong, 2006). Secondly, the "noncompliance" argument theorised that women never blindly adhere to religious prescriptions, but they adapt their religion to their lives' realities by subversion and part compliance (Chen, 2005; Gallagher, 2003, 2004; Hartman, 2003). The third strand of theory argued that women's compliance and participation is strategic; they use religion for other gains such as economic, political or domestic opportunities (Chen, 2005; Gallagher, 2007; Jansen, 1993). Lastly, the "doing religion" paradigm emerged which argues that women comply with and participate in conservative religions for the sake of religious ends only, rather than any other gains (Avishai, 2008; Bracke, 2008; Mahmood, 2005; Jacobsen, 2011), with a view to "doing religion", "as a mode of conduct and being" (Avishai, 2008:412).

A seminal work on pious Muslim women's agency is *The Politics of Piety*, by Saba Mahmood (2005), which is a work on the Egyptian mosque movement. Mahmood

challenges the "agency as resistance" paradigm, and proposes to think about agency "as a modality of action" (ibid: 157). Theoretically in the same vein, Bracke and Fadil (2012) argue that the question of whether the headscarf is oppressive or emancipatory is wrong in itself due to the fact that it employs the "autonomy" framework of liberal feminism, equating agency with autonomy and emancipation. Mahmood's main premise is that individual autonomy and self-realization are two different things. She shows in her research that the women in the piety movement do not strive for autonomy, but instead they are interested in cultivating piety as a means to Islamic self-realization. Thus, they are "active agents, applying corporeal techniques and spiritual exercises in a project of ethical formation" (Vintges, 2012: 292). Therefore, as opposed to being preoccupied with autonomy versus oppression, pietist women strive for "practicing through 'self-techniques' an 'ethical formation' that engages their entire way of life" (ibid: 284). In Mahmood's work, she contrasts western liberalism's model of the freely choosing, autonomous self with the Egyptian women who strive for Islamic self-realization, arguing that agency can be identified "not only in those acts that resist norms and prescriptive structures, but also in the multiple ways in which one *inhabits* norms" (Mahmood, 2005: 15). Therefore, their understanding of emancipation is significantly different than that of liberal feminists. A similar example of cultivating piety and agency as self-realization can be recognised in Hoyt's research on Mormon women who understand acts of submission to be necessary to become goddesses in heaven after death (2007).

In this study, agency is placed at the forefront by looking at views of educated women themselves as actors, keeping in mind the different fields in which they can act. The above-described theoretical framework of agency will be further elaborated in the chapter on social contact in which I discuss the issue of handshaking.

Gender, Discourse and Disciplinary Power

Discourse, in French philosopher Michel Foucault's thinking, refers to "an entity of sequences of signs in that they are enouncements (enoncés)" (Foucault, 1969: 141). Enouncements refer to abstract constructs of statements, which then constitute knowledges. We might talk about gender discourses, medical discourses or political discourses to name a few examples. Discourse refers to the ways in which representation and knowledge construction are formalised and determined in a given field, cultural practice or in a specific time in history. Discursive practices and formations create a hierarchical order according to which people have varying degrees of power in the face of dominant discourses. Discourses are often intertwined and can change over time and one individual can be placed differently and simultaneously on various axes of power. For example, if we look at the life of Alan Turing, the pioneering computer scientist who invented the

computer, we can see how both gender, legal and medical discourses have changed in Britain. Turing was a national hero since it was thanks to his invention that the Allies could defeat the Nazis in the Second World War. However, in 1952, he was prosecuted for being a homosexual and penalised with chemical castration. Even his status as a national hero couldn't save him from such treatment. In 2009, the British prime minister apologised to the public for the appalling way in which he was treated and Queen Elizabeth II gave him a posthumous pardon in 2013. Turing's striking example shows how dominant discourses can have very serious effects on people's lives, and how they can also change through time, even in a given place.

Discourses on gender, whether upheld and maintained by nations, communities or student groups, have the capacity to constitute subjectivities in a particular way. The dominant gender discourses are reinforced by existing power structures of institutions and belief systems. The institutionalised forms of gendered discourses maintained by a certain group in power have consequences for the people living under them. For example, both in Saudi Arabia and Vatican City, women cannot vote in elections. The gendered discourses upheld by the ruling elite in these two states strictly undermine their female citizens' right to express political choices.

Michel Foucault's concept of disciplinary power is helpful in understanding how certain institutions construct, maintain and continue forms of gendered practices, beliefs and behaviours. How such discourses come into being is through the exercise of power through discipline, which regulates people's behaviours. Power is not equal to discipline; rather discipline is one of the ways in which power can be exercised. Foucault argued that the individual is an effect of power (1980). Power is embedded through disciplinary techniques. Disciplinary techniques "operate in myriad ways to instigate regimes of 'truth' and 'normality' that normalise human agents into conformity with prioritised social ideals" (Munro, 2003: 82). Foucault terms institutions, such as prisons, hospitals, asylums, schools and army barracks, disciplinary institutions, referring to the notion that such institutions exercise power upon individuals to shape them in a specific way. Gender is one of the important areas in which disciplinary techniques are executed to shape and form people in line with prioritised social ideals.

In the fifth chapter, I look at the subtle disciplinary techniques used by and on women living in a pious dorm. Theoretically, it is linked to the question of how institutionalised forms of power have the ability to determine the ways people do gender through mechanisms of disciplinary power. In the chapter, I show how the dorm works as a disciplinary institution, exercising its power through micro-practices in order to discursively produce gendered subjects. However, I also underline that the subjection in the dorm is voluntary and by no means do the dorm members lack agency, as they are committed to religious self-realization through these micro-practices.

Research Questions

This thesis seeks to gain insight into how doing gender materializes in the everyday lives of veiled Turkish students in higher education. The main question this study attempts to answer is “How do the veiled Turkish students negotiate gender issues in the Netherlands”? This was then taken to focus on various domains.

1) “How do students experience, express and appropriate feelings of belonging when they veil in a Dutch educational context?”
2) “How do veiled practicing Muslim students in higher education think about employment in The Netherlands and Turkey?”
3) “How do veiled practicing Muslim students negotiate agency in social contact in the Netherlands?”
4) “How are gender norms experienced by students living in a disciplinary religious dorm in the Netherlands?”
5) “How do veiled practicing Muslim students move, and how do they use spaces for leisure in the Netherlands and Turkey?”

Methodology

Research groups

The research group for this thesis consists of twenty-eight Turkish-Dutch and thirty Turkish female students between the ages of 19 to 25. These students were chosen for this study based on the shared characteristics of being 1) observant Muslims, who adhere to the practice of veiling as they believe Islam requires them to do so, and for being 2) students in higher education. The group of veiled, highly educated women are particularly chosen as oftentimes there are prevalent notions regarding Muslim women as being uneducated and uninterested in life outside the family domain.

In the Netherlands, they were the children and grandchildren of immigrant Turks who came to the Netherlands in the 1960s and 1970s. The majority of these respondents were born and raised in the Netherlands. However, there were also others who were born in Turkey, but came to the Netherlands at young ages. What is striking is that during their life course, they have travelled back and forth many times and spent extensive time in Turkey, sometimes up to 4 years.

The respondents in both countries were mostly initially contacted in university premises (but also bus stops and train stations) approached and asked whether they would like to participate in this study. Later on, by snowball effect, their interested friends and relatives were also reached. They were identified by the distinctive appearance of their veils, usually a bonnet and a headscarf over it.

Especially in the Netherlands, this style easily distinguishes Turkish-Dutch women from Moroccan-Dutch women who wear their veils more tightly.

The Turkish-Dutch respondents came from all over the Netherlands, living in disperse areas such as Zaandam, Leiden or Deventer. However, they were mostly students of University of Amsterdam, Vrije University Amsterdam, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Utrecht University, Radboud University in Nijmegen, HAN in Nijmegen and Arnhem, Hogeschool Utrecht and other, smaller vocational schools.

In Turkey, respondents mostly resided and studied in İstanbul, regardless of their origins. As İstanbul receives immense amounts of internal migration as the economic centre of Turkey, even if they were originally from Anatolian towns, most students migrated to İstanbul with their families. In İstanbul, they studied at public universities such as Boğaziçi University, Marmara University, İstanbul University or at smaller private universities such as Fatih University, Kültür University, Doğuş University, Bahçeşehir University, Bilgi University. Outside of İstanbul, one respondent studied at Kocaeli University and three studied in Ankara University. However, all respondents were met and interviewed in İstanbul.

Approach

As a research paradigm, this study adopts the constructivist approach of social research, which maintains that "reality is socially constructed" (Mertens, 2005:12). As opposed to the positivist tradition which sees reality as an objective out-there reality existing in the world, the constructivist approach has the intention of understanding the socially constructed world of human experience, relying upon the "participants' views of the situation being studied" (Creswell, 2003:8). According to Charmaz, the "social constructionist approach encourages *innovation*; researchers can develop new understandings and novel theoretical interpretations of studied life" (Charmaz, 2008: 398). Accordingly, a grounded theory approach is adopted, and qualitative methods of data collection are employed including participant observation, semi-structured in-depth interviews and naturally occurring informal focus groups.

Referring to both the generated theory and the method of generating it, grounded theory is a bottom-up approach in which theory is discovered and built by being fully grounded in the analysed data. The method "begins with inductive strategies for collecting and analysing qualitative data for the purpose of developing middle-range theories" (Charmaz, 2008: 397). To put it simply, data is collected and analysed, which emerges into codes, and then into concepts and categories. Simultaneously, more data is collected and analysed, satiating existing concepts as well as discovering new concepts. Eventually, theories are built based on categories.

In light of the recent studies on grounded theory methodology, issues pertaining to reflexivity are also considered in this study. To consider reflexivity means to accept that "all knowledge is affected by the social conditions under which it is produced and that it is grounded in both the social location and the social biography of the observer and the observed" (Mann and Kelley, 1997: 392). The effects of the interaction between the researcher and the researched, and the understanding that this interaction has implications for the construction of the data, must be acknowledged. During this research, my position as an unveiled woman, sharing the same ethnicity as my respondents in higher education, but not the same observant religious worldview, necessarily informed the research process, as well as the processing of the data, which I will further discuss in the next section on ethical issues.

Methods

Participant observation is central to the anthropological fieldwork experience, through the immersion it provides for the study of the culture at hand. It can be defined as "a method in which an observer takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions and events of the people being studied as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their culture" (DeWalt and DeWalt, 1998: 260). It allows for the generation of some contextual data, which is not available otherwise, as it provides a certain perspective into the lives of the informants that can be significantly different from the picture they paint in their individual interviews, as you get to observe them in interactions with other people in various situations. Further inquiries can then be made about such encounters in later interviews. For this study, participant observation has been undertaken both in the Netherlands and Turkey at several locations: universities, living places of the respondents, as well as in city centres, parks and other places of socialization where respondents spent time, most notably in Nijmegen, Amsterdam and İstanbul.

Within participant observation, small talk took an important place, especially in the social events I attended such as bake sales of Turkish-Dutch institutions, Eid dinners hosted by Muslim organisations, women-only engagement parties and charity festivals located in mosques and cultural centres. Not only is small talk useful for establishing and expanding one's research network, but also to access information that is otherwise difficult to get (Driessen and Jansen, 2013). Through small talk, I was able to gather contextual information in the field that respondents did not care to share in formal interview settings. Through small talk, I came into contact with new respondents, as well as being able to develop a feeling for the experiences of the respondents.

Interviews were the most important method of data collection. Fifty-eight semi-structured, in-depth interviews were executed for this study. These involved

having a set of open-ended questions that were addressed to the respondent, centring on understanding how gender is done in this group in various chosen domains such as social contact, paid work, education and other life choices. This set of questions served as a frame in which, depending on the conversation, many different follow up questions could be asked. I conducted twenty-eight interviews in the Netherlands and thirty in Turkey, ranging from one to two hours. When time was limited, or when some issues needed to be clarified, I conducted follow up interviews. Moreover, four respondents became primary respondents who were followed over a longer period of time, as I was able to spend extended amounts of time with them.

Especially in gender studies, interviewing is crucial as it allows for the opportunity to hear the voices of usually marginalised groups (Hesse-Biber, 2007). Moreover, feminists argue that women should interview women in order to create meaningful research that depends on mutuality and empathy (Oakley, 1981). In my case, being a Turkish woman and speaking the same language worked to my greatest advantage in eliciting delicate information, especially given the fact that for pious women social interaction with men is more distanced than with women. The interviews always started with a brief introduction of myself and the aim of the research, a guarantee of anonymity and a request for permission, and continued with getting to know the respondent through introductory questions. While I initially had a set of questions pertaining to doing gender in different domains, the interview process was an interactive discussion in which not all of my questions were answered at all times. Rather, new issues emerged that were brought forward by the respondents. Ample opportunity was given to the respondents to develop their own lines of thought. If this led to my general questions being insufficiently answered or when something remained unclear, follow up interviews were organised. The data emerged through the dialogue between the respondents and me as the researcher.

In the Netherlands, the interviews were mostly conducted in Dutch university settings; empty classrooms, a quiet corner in the cafeteria or the garden, but also in private homes and dorms. In Turkey, most interviews took place in commercial cafes in shopping centres or on the high street. On some occasions in which interviews would take place outdoors in a cafe or park, respondents' friends came along which sometimes turned the interview into an informal focus group discussion.

Moreover, on top of the 58 interviews with research respondents, other interviews were done with two Turkish-Dutch males and five unveiled females in the Netherlands, in order to get a sense of the Dutch education environment and the lives of the second generation. Similarly, two interviews were done with unveiled female university students in Turkey. Although these interviews were

done with outsiders to my research group, they helped me understand the general immigrant habitus and the religious field of the Turkish-Dutch, and the educational habitus in Turkey where it intersects with piety. Moreover, small talk was executed with family members or friends of the respondents in various settings.

Ethical Reflections

In this research, in which I was engaged with veiled pious Islamic women, me being a Turkish, non-veiled young woman in higher education had both positive and negative sides. In the Dutch context, on the positive side, the Turkish-Dutch respondents were interested to meet me as someone coming from İstanbul, Turkey. Almost all respondents were interested in Turkey, and wanted to talk to me in detail about life in Turkey, the differences between the Netherlands and Turkey, and what opportunities there could be for them in Turkey. There was a great interest in learning more about Turkey, as some respondents were entertaining ideas about returning to live there. They were curious about day-to-day life in Turkey and how to get jobs.

Also, in the Netherlands, there was an element of “helping” a fellow Turk. One respondent sent a group e-mail to her twenty or so friends, asking them to help me with my project by agreeing to become respondents. In the e-mail, she introduced me as a “Turkish friend” who needed help in finding veiled women to interview. Having recruited some respondents to meet this way, I also received e-mails from others who thought I could help them with a plethora of questions on Turkey.

My status as a PhD student also gave me an advantage. Some of the respondents were much younger and at the start of their academic life. They were interested in learning more about academic life, and saw me as an opportunity to have access to insider information. Others expressed interest in talking to me because I was a learned person. One young Turkish-Dutch woman communicated her positive stance by saying that she would love to talk to someone who is “well read”, expressing that science is very important for her and something to be respected.

My affiliation with Radboud University was regarded positively. As Turkish-Dutch pious youth, they were interested in talking to me about their issues in higher education, in Dutch society in general and as practicing Muslims in a European context. They appreciated the study and said that Turkish-Dutch youth’s problems needed to be addressed in the Dutch context, especially referring to the low levels of education within the Turkish community, and the socially disadvantaged situation of the community in general.

The most sensitive area of restraint between the respondents and me was on the topic of practicing religion. In the Netherlands, even though I’m unveiled,

some of the respondents simply assumed that I did the praying rituals they do. There was some curiosity about whether I came from a religious background or not, and what my motives were for conducting such a study. In some instances, there were questions about whether my mother was veiled, or if my parents did the praying rituals. I do not come from a practicing religion background, and my relation to Islam is limited to a cultural knowledge. It was “a delicate balancing act between building trust and gaining acceptance while not misrepresenting my own position” as a non-practicing, cultural Muslim (Klatch, 1987: 18). When asked, I openly talked about my background and how the practicing of religion plays out in my own life. However, my identity as a researcher was not affected a great deal, as, in time, we built mutual trust and understanding. My respondents communicated openly with me, and explained some religious concepts, which they assumed I would not be familiar with, as they got to understand that my religious knowledge was limited.

On the negative side, in certain instances, my affiliation with a Dutch gender institute raised some suspicion amongst my respondents in the Netherlands. Some respondents wanted to talk to me in detail about what gender constituted in this context. They were sometimes curious about the gender institute being oriented to research about sexualities, and wanted to know if the institute focused on matters of homosexuality. Therefore sometimes I did not go into detail about the institute when it wasn’t specifically asked, and rather emphasised my affiliation with Radboud University’s Social Sciences Faculty instead, which encompasses the gender institute.

In Turkey, my affiliation with a Dutch university was perceived positively as my respondents valued academic studies, although some of the women I approached didn’t agree to become respondents as will be explained in the following paragraph.

In Turkey, my PhD position and learned status was met with respect. Respondents were especially interested in the fact that this study was being conducted at a Dutch university. Many of the respondents expressed interest in studying abroad. They asked me about the various ways in which they could get scholarships.

The topic of practicing religion, however, was far more sensitive in Turkey. Here, respondents did not assume I was a practicing Muslim like their Turkish-Dutch counterparts did. Because I did not veil, I was immediately identified as a secularist. Due to the on-going tensions between the religious and secularist worldviews in Turkey, it was slightly more difficult to build rapport, and also to recruit respondents. Some of the women corresponded with me through e-mail, agreeing to meet for an interview. Later, they said they were worried and changed their minds. In total, five students in Turkey refused to meet me and become respondents, although I could interview their friends. There was more anxiety about talking openly about their identity as veiled pious women, as I was seen as an outsider to the pious

culture. There was a worry that the information they provided could be used to undermine their religion. Some Turkish respondents were from universities that, at the time, adhered to strict clothing regulations of prohibiting the veil on campus grounds, while others came from liberal universities where their identity as practicing Muslims was accommodated relatively easily. This also affected the extent to which they were comfortable in expressing themselves, as understandably they didn't want to jeopardise their educational careers despite the fact their anonymity was promised.

Another ethical issue that needed to be taken into consideration was confidentiality. The Turkish-Dutch community is quite closely knit and, in particular in smaller towns, people know each other. I therefore guaranteed anonymity by omitting some of the identifying features of respondents from verbatim quotes, or changed them slightly, provided this had no direct effect on the argument being made. Pseudonyms are used for respondents. In certain cases, when respondents gave me confidential information off the record, this was honoured and not shared in writing.

Outline

The chapters in this thesis each deal with one domain in which veiled Turkish-Dutch and Turkish students negotiate gender issues. Some chapters discuss specific Dutch examples in which gender issues come to the fore, others take a comparative perspective. Those chapters which have been published or accepted for publication, were included in the published version, which leads to some minor repetition in the description of methods.

The second chapter discusses the ways in which Muslim Turkish-Dutch veiled students in Dutch higher education have dealt with issues of belonging during their educational careers. As the veil is a marker of ethnic identity and Muslim gendered subjectivity, in the Dutch context it can undermine feelings of belonging to the education environment, subsequently negatively affecting scholarly success and scholarly achievement. This chapter shows the range of experiences students have felt regarding belonging as veiled women in education, as well as showing the variety of strategies the respondents undertake to accommodate veiling during their educational career. The chapter argues that through strategic acts --such as early veiling, carefully picking their attire, or sticking with fellow Muslims--, respondents negotiate a complex combination of being veiled with being a student in the Dutch context.

The third chapter discusses notions of paid work comparatively for practicing Muslim, veiled Turkish-Dutch and Turkish higher education students. There is a general idea that Muslim women are usually inclined to be homemakers, as in

Islam, there are distinct gender roles along with notions of spatial gendered segregation. Given that, it becomes important to look into how highly educated women imagine a life in which paid work is practiced. As they constitute the best-prepared group of women for a future in work, it remains important to see how they think about negotiating work aspirations with the gendered expectations of them in the family sphere. The chapter shows the differing Turkish-Dutch and Turkish notions of paid work in the face of relevant gender discourses in each country.

The fourth chapter deals with the practices related to social contact between the sexes for practicing Muslims. As handshaking is a problematic issue in normative gendered Muslim social conduct, it becomes important to understand how the respondents deal with this in their everyday lives. Within this context, the commitment to piety is at odds with the necessities of proper social conduct in the secular world. The debate is contextualised through the framework of agency. The chapter manifests how Turkish-Dutch veiled women exert and negotiate agency in everyday situations where they engage with others.

The fifth chapter discusses life in a Turkish-owned student dorm with religious affiliations in the Netherlands by closely looking at the gender norms operating in the dorm. It shows how this space has implications for its residents through a Foucauldian understanding of disciplinary power. The chapter considers how, through the disciplinary gaze, residents are made into gendered subjectivities.

The sixth chapter discusses leisurely use of space, given dominant gendered ideas regarding constraints on Muslim women's access and use of leisure spaces comparatively for the Turkish-Dutch and Turkish respondents. It is argued that ideas of embodied integrity govern their mobility and use of leisurely spaces, such as Islamic ethical ideas, social conventions and notions of safety and security. The chapter shows that although their movement and use of leisurely space might be subject to certain parameters of propriety and gendered ideas, nevertheless these women cannot be characterised by fixity. This section considers how the respondents act in the face of different local constructs of gendered notions of mobility and how they creatively construct alternative spaces of leisure.

2 Belonging uncertainty: negotiating islamic identity in school[3]

3 A shorter version of this chapter is under publication in an edited book by Yeditepe University Press, İstanbul.

Introduction

A Turkish-Dutch cleaning lady who worked at a university spoke of a young veiled woman whom she would see every morning around the toilets on the ground floor. This student arrives with her headscarf on, enters the toilet, unveils, styles her hair and leaves, possibly spending the whole day unveiled at the university. While this story is a singular event, it raises questions about the complexities of social belonging in an educational environment when one's difference is highly manifest. This chapter discusses how second-generation practicing Muslim Turkish-Dutch veiled students in Dutch higher education[4] have dealt with issues of belonging to their immediate Dutch contexts during their educational careers. In immigration contexts, whether immigrants feel they belong to their host communities and contexts is deemed highly important for their overall well-being and success. This group is chosen for study firstly, due to the significant underachievement of Turkish-Dutch women in higher education and, secondly due to the pronounced anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim stance prevalent in the Netherlands in recent years. Looking at the various social contingencies encountered by respondents, this chapter reviews their experiences of belonging and shows the various strategies they develop to curb the negative effects of non-belonging.

While a small number of Turkish-Dutch have been successful against the odds (Schnell, Keskiner and Crul, 2013: 125), Turkish-Dutch women are still poorly represented in higher education, also reflected in low participation in the Dutch work force (Keizer and Keuzenkamp, 2011:18-20; 47).[5] The headscarf, practiced by some pious female students is argued to be a tangible handicap in their education (Gerritsen and de Graaf, 2011). Moreover, dropping out has been common amongst the Turkish-Dutch (Crul and Schneider, 2009:1508; Heath, Rothon and Kilpi, 2008:217).

While such underachievement is widely attributed to conservative religious adherence and subsequent gender norms, research has shown some structural impediments to Turkish-Dutch youth's educational possibilities. The highly stratified Dutch system, with its early tracking, presents a disadvantage for migrant students whose families lack cultural capital (Pásztor, 2012: 705). Teacher discrimination has also been a problem as they tend to under-advise Turkish-Dutch girls for the

4 Turkish-Dutch second generation female population in 2012 is estimated to be 94,523 (24%) of all 392,923 Turkish-Dutch people. Of all these females, 22,722 (24%) are between the ages of 20 to 30 (CBS, 2013a). Statistics show that 20% of all Turkish-Dutch second-generation women veil (Maliepaard and Gijsberts, 2012: 77).

5 Higher education in the Netherlands comprises of professional colleges (HBO's) and universities. In the school year 2011-12, of all 219,844 women enrolled in HBO, 158,776 (72%) were autochthonous and only 5,808 (2.7%) were Turkish-Dutch. For universities, these figures are respectively 126,481 women; of which 87,586 (69.3%) are autochthonous and 2,131 (1.7%) is Turkish-Dutch. (CBS, 2013b).

next step in education and invest less in them because they think that they are likely to get married at early ages (Pásztor, 2010: 66-67).

Turkish-Dutch women are generally present in large numbers in lower educational tracks, and not in more prestigious institutions such as research universities (Pásztor 2012:708). It is also known that veiled women are not hired for some representative jobs (Nievers and Andriessen, 2010: 15-22; 61), as well as having difficulty securing places in compulsory internships (Gerritsen, 2012:99). Policymakers in the Netherlands desire to increase Turkish-Dutch women's participation in higher education and subsequent access to higher paying jobs, so information about how veiling may affect this is welcome.

Veiling pertains to gender. Hamzeh (2011) argues that veiling is a genderizing discourse that puts the woman in a position to negotiate being a Muslim in a Western society with not only anti-Islam sentiments, but also with "specific forms of ethno-religious and racialised discrimination levelled at Muslim women" which is termed *hijab*ophobia (Zine, 2006: 240 in Hamzeh, 2011). In line with this, such discrimination should be seen as a gender issue that hinders women's opportunities. Stereotypes regarding the veiled, such as a supposed disinterest in academic life, might be harmful for their progress, especially since teacher recommendations are influential on a student's advance into higher education. Indeed, studies have shown that "teachers can be affected by certain stereotypes which portray immigrant girls as less independent, more likely to drop out of school to get married and therefore less deserving of their attention" (Pásztor 2010: 66), and that Turkish-Dutch women are more likely to be under-advised by their teachers than their male counterparts (Crul and Heering, 2008). As feelings of belonging to one's context are important for success and achievement (Walton and Cohen, 2007; Cohen and Garcia, 2008), starting to wear a veil, and thus flagging one's Muslim identity and differentiating oneself from the majority of the class, can possibly be a handicap for academic success. Being a migrant also complicates belonging to the host community, as underrepresented students often suffer from prejudiced attitudes (Cabrera et al., 1999; Harper and Hurtado, 2007). Uncertainty of the individual about which group to identify with, or of the onlookers about how to identify the individual can cause persistent academic underperformance. Inversely, people can turn to their own ethnic or religious group for a positive sense of self, as group membership (i.e. racial, ethnic or religious) is crucial for feelings of belonging.

To understand the repercussions of veiling in terms of belonging by those involved, this chapter attempts to answer the question of "How do students experience, express and appropriate feelings of belonging when they veil in the Dutch educational context?" This chapter draws on 28 in-depth interviews with veiled students in higher professional and university education. We asked them to

recount in retrospect their experiences with veiling throughout their school career. Interview data is coded and analysed using “grounded theory” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Identity, Belonging and Success

In “academic and professional settings, members of socially stigmatized groups are more uncertain of the quality of their social bonds and thus more sensitive to issues of social belonging” which is termed as “belonging uncertainty” (Walton and Cohen, 2007). Such uncertainty is often based on the need to combine ill-matching social identities. Minority groups can experience “belonging uncertainty” due to their different religious, ethnic or other identity, whether imposed on them or self-defined.[6]

Such identities, and how they are expressed, perceived, experienced and reacted to, are of crucial importance for achievement. The uncertainty around whether one is an accepted and valued member of a school class is an important factor as school success does not only refer to school attainment, but also to school adjustment; “the sense of belonging or the affective attachment of students to the school environment” (Andriessen and Phalet, 2002: 24). Therefore, when social identities undermine belonging, they affect achievement negatively (Hausmann, Schofield and Woods, 2007; Locks et al., 2008).[7] Inextricably, migrant students then might develop a pronounced belonging to their own ethnic or religious group at the expense of distance from the majority group.

Various studies have underlined the connection between veiling and negative Muslim stereotyping (Read and Bartkowski, 2000; Hoodfar, 1997), particularly in education (Zine, 2006). While statistical data exists on Turkish-Dutch females’ academic participation, veiled students’ experiences are largely unexplored. Our study builds on the above literature with a view to extending knowledge on Turkish-Dutch veiled second-generation by drawing a picture of the types of social contingencies[8] they encountered regarding the veil. Our aim is to gain insight into the emotive aspects of veiled Muslim student’s experiences in higher education

6 Social identities differ both in terms of their value and their status as ascribed or avowed. Ascribed identities are given at birth, while avowed identities are adopted and internalized. For example, if someone values being a Muslim, and considers it important to their self-definition, this becomes an avowed social identity, resulting in feelings of belonging to other Muslims as a group, while it can be a stigmatized, ascribed identity for another person.

7 Moreover, a 2011 study showed that when a social-belonging intervention was made, both academic and health outcomes of minority students improved (Walton and Cohen, 2011).

8 Social contingencies are “possible judgements, stereotypes, opportunities, restrictions, and treatments that are tied to one’s social identity in a given setting” (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008:615).

and the ways they negotiated belonging in their educational settings when they veiled.

Feelings of Belonging

Let me start by an excerpt from Emel's interview to set the background for a portrayal of how belonging operates. Emel, a 21-year old student of public relations, voiced her concerns about how she did not want to be perceived in a certain way:

> If you are normal like everyone else; like easy to talk to, open to others, then they behave the same way to you. But they expect it (the normal behaviour) from you. They might wonder "This woman is veiled, is she like everyone else? Is she active and talkative?" And they might step back a bit. When you show that to them, when you make the first step, then you will be treated like everyone else. When I veiled the question on their mind was: is she the same person?

When Emel started veiling, she was concerned about how people would perceive her. It was important for her that she wouldn't confirm the commonly held notion of veiled women in Dutch society as distant and aloof. Here, Emel suffers from what social identification theories regard as stereotype threat; "a fear of confirming a negative stereotype about one's group" (Cohen and Garcia, 2008:365). As seen in Emel's account, the veil results in the presupposition of a certain behavioural framework in which the veiled person is expected to be introvert and standoffish. She goes on to normalize; being active and talkative are associated with normal social behaviour, the opposite of what she construes as stereotypical of the veiled. What is striking here is that such a presupposition has been ingrained in her as well. She does not challenge the stereotype, rather aims to overcome it through her actions. According to Emel, this is notably based on the behaviour of first generation women, who stayed rather isolated from the Dutch public space. In this context, young veiled women are too careful in not coming across as such. Such a stereotype threat further brings about another concern on her part; to set a good example. Emel continues: "In a way, the things I do are seen as representative. I like to show that we are active and friendly and that we aren't all that different". From clothing to behaviour, young women like Emel negotiate stereotype threats and position themselves accordingly in overcoming "belonging uncertainty".

In the Netherlands, the presence of minority groups differs considerably between schools, as well as between levels of education. In particular, at primary level, and in large urban conglomerates, schools in certain neighbourhoods may

even show a reversal with the majority of the students being of minority origin (the so called "black schools"). At university level, minority groups are hardly represented. The type of school attended and the composition of the class, in particular the presence of other Muslim classmates, emerge as important determinants of experiences pertaining to belonging. As a result, experiences of belonging may differ widely. In what follows, I will show the varying experiences students have encountered during different levels of schooling, and discuss the strategies they develop to curb "belonging uncertainty".

Early Veiling

Leyla, a 20 year-old student of public relations took up veiling at middle school during school term:

> Dutch girls from class, not really friends but acquaintances... they wouldn't ask me directly, but I would hear them say "did she just get engaged? Why did she veil?" They weren't openly mocking me, but unfortunately I'd hear they were gossiping.

Leyla remembers being upset and annoyed with the rumours going on in the classroom when she started veiling. However, she was able to brush off such negativity due to the support network of fellow Turkish-Dutch friends in her Amsterdam school, which had the second highest number of Turkish-Dutch in the country.

Taliha, a 20-year old student of management, started veiling when she turned twelve. Taliha grew up in a small closely-knit Turkish community in the small town of Kampen. In their social context, characterized by religious participation, veiling was viewed as a developmental marker; it marked the end of childhood and beginning of young adulthood, working as a rite of passage from which they derived positive feelings. As she was recounting her experience of veiling with gusto, the emotional charge of the conversation changed when the subject came to its perception by classmates.

> I was going to a normal Christian school. I was the only one veiled. Maybe there were a few in the school before me, I do not know. I mean they were not scared of me or something. But occasionally it happens. Someone says something. But like maybe two per cent of the people. Just like those kinds of people are everywhere, they can be in the classroom too.

Taliha had been, on occasion, subject to unpleasant remarks in her Christian school, such as when someone said she had a *theedoekje* (dish rag) on her head. In

fact, she had anticipated this criticism long before. Her veiling at the age of twelve was a strategic action: she veiled right before she was about to start at the new secondary school, entering a new context with new students. She wanted to establish herself already as a veiled girl in the new context. A similar concern is reported by 20 year-old business student Rana:

> I started to veil at around age thirteen. When I finished primary school, and moved on to secondary. This is for most people the same, because you are afraid of attracting the attention of the other students if you do so later. There is some kind of a pressure on us kids. You are really different from everyone else. This is not an easy thing when you are little. But when you grow up you do not care as much anymore. You gain confidence. But when you are little... Otherwise you have to worry about hearing some nasty comments from Dutch students, or experiencing being cast out from the group, or there will be tons of questions. If you veil later, the ones that know you from before, they ask questions which are annoying. So at the end of primary school, we decided to veil right away with friends, so that we do not have to veil in the middle of the school year. So everyone will meet us as veiled.

Expecting various questions and negative attention, Rana anticipated a social discomfort associated with manifesting such a visible marker of difference in school where the majority was ethnic Dutch. These youngsters worried about being singled out as "different" and fitting into the mainstream Dutch school context due to their manifest social identity as Muslims. Therefore, one strategy in curbing "belonging uncertainty" that the respondents adopted was to veil at the onset of middle school and meet other students as veiled when they knew that they would be veiling later on.

Evidently, the strategic timing of veiling is one approach in negotiating the "belonging uncertainty" that is felt in this context. Questions from fellow Dutch students regarding the veil are often experienced as obtrusive and uncomfortable. Thus, as Rana argues, girls veil early on with a view to avoiding being subject to too many questions and remarks. As early as age twelve or thirteen, these youngsters are able to feel their difference, develop a group consciousness on the basis of belonging and strategize for ways of dealing with "belonging uncertainty". In what follows, other trajectories of veiling will be shown.

Veiling during high school

Teachers' feedback and attitudes can also contribute to ambiguity in belonging. Berna, a 22 year-old studying to become a speech therapist, veiled at 17 during high school. She primarily received questions from her surprised class teacher

who asked to talk to Berna's father about the issue: "She asked whether my family pressured me, why all of a sudden I did this, or whether I got engaged. It took her a while to get used to the idea that I'm still the same person and not retreating from everything." While some classmates also asked about her veiling, Berna received the most prominent reaction from her teacher. Berna's teacher was highly concerned with her educational progress upon her veiling. Although this didn't create an emphasized feeling of "belonging uncertainty", Berna resented her teacher's inquiries and the presumption that veiling would undermine her classroom participation.

Emel, a 21-year old student of public relations, recalls an instance in which she came to question her teacher's attitude:

> We were discussing 9/11, terrorists, America... When the teacher said terrorist, he looked at me. Maybe on purpose, maybe not. I am the only veiled one in class. And I make myself noticeable. Classmates always say that I am very open and outspoken. So I said to the teacher, "Why are you looking at me when we talk about this?" And he said "Oh I'm sorry. I didn't realize." So, we shouldn't relate everything to discrimination. My teacher was like "I didn't do it on purpose. I was just looking that way." But there's no need to be coy about this. Sometimes some teachers say you will not manage the degree. You will not graduate. How shall I say ...., they feel a certain aversion to you. They might say "This is too difficult for you. Go do something else." Yes, they exist too, but perhaps one out of ten teachers.

Dominant social discourses outside class can intensify "belonging uncertainty" as some topics discussed, work to engage minority identities. Given recent aligning of Islam and terrorism, a single gaze of the teacher was enough to engage Emel's identity as a Muslim, questioning her teacher's intent on whether or not he was implying something. Emel was quick to confront her teacher as her identification as a practicing Muslim renders her oversensitive to discrimination. Emel's identification as a practicing Muslim creates a certain a feeling of uncertainty in whether she is being discriminated against. This example shows the unsettling mode which these women feel with regards to belonging, as another respondent argued: "I'm always apprehensive that someone will make an Islam-related derogatory remark." As seen in this example, the recent political context and its social implications for Muslims render students vulnerable to issues of belonging, leaving them with questioning attitudes and a general distrust in whether or not they are being accepted. Teacher's attitudes and feedback become crucial in this context as they have the potential to strengthen or attenuate "belonging uncertainty".

Upper ranks of education

"Belonging uncertainty" was experienced most fervently in the higher ranks of the educational ladder. As there are not a substantial amount of minority students in these ranks, minority status comes forth as a significant disadvantage. Yeliz, a 23 year-old student of pharmaceutics, said she had a very hard time as she felt marginalized as the only veiled woman and Turkish person, coupled with the unfortunate lack of friendships and feelings of solidarity among the students. She recounts times where she went home crying: "If it wasn't for the support of my family, I could have left the degree. If you ask something about an exam, the classmates say: 'You should have studied. I can't tell you that'. It's unbelievable how there is no solidarity." Yeliz experienced "belonging uncertainty" intensely as she perceived her environment at the faculty as hostile and highly competitive and was disheartened with the lack of other Turks around.
Yeliz recalled an encounter with a professor:

> There is in particular one professor who openly doesn't like foreigners. Such a shame... I went to talk to him after an exam, and asked for a re-sit because he usually allows it. People say like "My grandmother passed away, so I could not perform" and things like that. I said to him "I will be honest with you. It went really bad, and I would like to try again." His demeanour, the way he talked was so condescending. I tried to not take it personal, and just endure it. When I was leaving he said "If you had blue eyes, I could do something for you." I left, and I couldn't even realize at that point what he meant. Then I was telling all this to a friend and it dawned on me. You know Dutch people have blue eyes, and I don't. It was just infuriating.

Yeliz argued that she encountered blatant discrimination due to being a foreigner and not having blue eyes. She recounted another instance with the same professor who scolded minority people when they were late for class, saying immigrants are always late and asking "Is your train coming from Morocco?" Although such incidents seriously undermined feelings of belonging, she made a conscious effort to brush them off: "I concentrated on my studies and tried not to think about anything else. My motivation was to show that as a Muslim, I could be successful too."

Born and raised in the Netherlands, and educated at a Catholic school, later Yeliz finished high school in a boarding school in Turkey. She cherished this time spent in Turkey immensely: "Because there are mountains of differences between Turkish culture and the culture here, I did not want to come back from Turkey what so ever". In the end, she was convinced by her teacher in Turkey that she would be better off with a Dutch university degree and returned. Yeliz had a tendency to praise Turkey. Yeliz was convinced that her solid cultural and moral

framework was thanks to this time as a young adult, and reported feeling sorry for fellow Turkish-Dutch who did not have this experience and “did not know the right way of living”. The manner in which she alluded to the cultural differences between the two countries made apparent that Yeliz had little identification with the Netherlands, had a very high regard for Turkey and was strongly identified with her religious-Turkish background. For Yeliz, being a Muslim-Turk was highly salient and invested with much emotional meaning. What Yeliz lacks in the immediate context of her school, however, she develops in out of school relationships. All of her intimate friendships are with fellow Muslim Turks. She works as a volunteer tutor in a Turkish organization through which she has developed friendships with many Muslim-Turks which helps to develop a supportive social circle and intimate friendships, as such networks provide one with a positive view of one’s group.

Cemre, a 21-year-old student of law, is another respondent who experienced “belonging uncertainty” more acutely than others due to her unique status:

> Initially I was not feeling different in school because of the veil. But later on I became a student at VWO, college prep school, which was the highest level I could go to. It is more special than other types of secondary schooling, much more difficult. So, there they would be quite surprised that a veiled girl made it there. It is as if you cannot be veiled and hardworking and bright at the same time. There, I was motivated to show people that I will be successful as a Muslim.

Cemre’s identity as a Muslim-Turk only became distinctive when she moved from a school with a high density of Turkish and other minorities to a majority Dutch school. The relative size of a minority group will influence the level of consciousness about their minority identity (Kinket and Verkuyten, 1997:342), so when she was in class with many other Turks and Moroccans, her identity as Muslim was not an issue. It only became so when Cemre became an exception in secondary school. Cemre resented being singled out due to her veil in her new school, especially because she lived in cosmopolitan Amsterdam where ethnic and religious diversity was widespread. Evidently, stereotypical perceptions regarding the veiled also extended to her academic capabilities, as her success was met with some surprise. Cemre said she felt the same thing continued in law school, but nevertheless she was determined to finish. She knew some veiled lawyers, one of them being her older sister. Her sister had been a practicing lawyer for the last five years and she was able to attend Dutch courts with no problems. Cemre said “perhaps it will be a bit more difficult, but it is not impossible to practice law as a veiled woman.”

The above shows that an extreme underrepresentation of minority students significantly raises feelings of “belonging uncertainty”. However, although both

Yeliz and Cemre felt acute "belonging uncertainty" in the higher tracks of schooling, where minority students were scarce, they managed not to give in to these feelings and worked diligently for success. While "belonging uncertainty" may undermine achievement and might be a cause of dropping out, the fact that Yeliz and Cemre were resilient in the face of the setbacks they encountered shows that it can also increase the fighting spirit and ambition among some. They both argued that "succeeding as a Muslim-Turk" motivated them in achieving academic success. Indeed, their sense of belonging to a religious and ethnic group with a strong sense of identity worked for them as a protective factor rendering them resilient against discrimination. They were able to negotiate the feelings of "belonging uncertainty" through their commitment and desire for success, but, as elsewhere in the women's movement, the success of some does not mean there are not still many hindrances to many more women making it.

Negotiating Strategies: Public inauguration

Apart from veiling early on at age twelve, there are several other strategies respondents adopt regarding veiling. For example, when some respondents veiled abruptly in the middle of the school year, they resorted to establishing their newly adopted social identity in public through speeches. Changing their look and adopting an often stigmatized social identity in a Dutch context was a big adjustment for which they felt the need to stage.

Berna was the only veiled one in her school where not many immigrants attended and when the principal came to check on her whether things were fine regarding being veiled, she appreciated his concern. However, she was feeling slightly uneasy as she argued she was getting curious looks from some students like "what is she doing here?" Berna felt the need to explain herself to her classmates. After a month, she decided to give a class presentation for clarity: "I said to the teacher 'I will publicly address this issue once and for all'. I wanted to do that so I wouldn't keep getting asked all the time." She also thought that some students were curious about why she had done it, but they were too shy to ask and she wanted to address them. In a self-assured manner, she took the stage to openly discuss her veiling.

In a slightly different way, in the middle of the school year Emel decided to veil for the first time in class on a day on which she was to give a presentation first thing in the morning. She could have picked any other day, but she chose the day she was supposed to stand up at the board and present. Emel was slightly nervous about the reception of her veiling, but she had the support of friends surrounding her on stage. "One other veiled Turkish friend, one Moroccan friend and a Dutch friend" accompanied her on stage, reminiscent of a public inauguration. She said:

“So I had my nice outfit on, and I was so excited when doing the presentation. Like how it will be received… When I was finished, everybody was like ‘You look good.’”

Donning the veil raised doubts about their belonging from both themselves and their teachers, but these outspoken women immediately took the issue into their own hands by openly publicising their adoption of the veil through a class presentation and demanding a stage and respect for their newly adopted social identity.

Moreover, veiled students sometimes find themselves singled out and as the centre of attention due to their religious difference within class discussions. A 23 year-old student of social sciences, Zehra, explains how she feels obliged to explain Islam to classmates:

> The last two years I am the only Turk in class. Before I always had Turkish friends in class. When the subject comes to Islam, they all turn to me. Islam is often the subject lately. I always try to explain as much as I can. Remember there was a film called *Fitna* some years ago. At that time there was a lot of questions about Islam. And the teacher actually asked “Do you want to tell us?” I said “sure, fine what would you like to know in particular?” He said “Well you choose.” I said: “I want to talk about how the Muslims look at the world.” He said “OK.” There were 14 in class, probably 12 of them atheists. So I tried to rationally argue for the existence of God, with proofs. They really liked it. Well two people openly mocked me; you know cynical questions…two atheists. So I gave everyone documents. Just in case they feel like reading. After the seminar, they came to me and we discussed for almost two more hours with some.

In such instances, the respondents find themselves as a spokesperson for their culture and religion as, in the last couple of years, Islam occupies a central role in current affairs discussions. They become the centre of attention in class due to their social identity. Here, we see that Zehra turns her exceptional status into an advantage by using the opportunities she is given to say more about her religion.

Attention to attire

One of the ways in which respondents strategize with regards to belonging is attention given to their attire. To diminish the separating effect of the veil, they often consciously put together their outfits in a way that will not be deemed too foreign by the Dutch. Emel clearly remembers every detail of her outfit on her first day of veiling in school:

> When I was 15 years old, in the middle of the school year, I thought it was time. So I picked a rather small, black scarf from a Moroccan seller in the market, thinking; "well you are in school, running up and down, get something that will be easy to put on." The next day I prepared this outfit for my first ever veiled day in school. I had baggy jeans on, you know like rap style, sneakers, a blue tunic, and a chic blue jacket and the veil. My brother teased me saying "hey you are all in black…" And I said "no, see I have some blues on too."

The careful planning of the outfit's colour and style, as well as ensuring flexibility of movement, attests to the importance she attributes to presenting herself with the veil for the first time. Having blue eyes and a pale complexion, Emel said she had often been mistaken for an autochthonous Dutch in school. Thus, on a visual level, carrying such a prominent marker of difference would be new to her. She was careful to blend black with vibrant colours, as evident in the exchange with her brother, since black has negative connotations of austerity and association with the *burqa*, which has been controversial in the Dutch vernacular. Many respondents were wary of dressing up in black. "Black is seen scary and off-putting" argues Zehra who wished all her fellow veiled friends would dress up in cheerful outfits.

Emel said:

> Everybody was like "You look good; it is good that you kept your old sporty clothing style. It is good that you do not go for long dresses…" So people care a lot about what you wear with the veil. That you go for colours. There was only one Dutch friend who said "Emel, you looked much better without the veil," but that is all.

Although Emel was slightly nervous of how her veiling would be received, she reports almost exclusively positive feedback. While this was a big change in terms of her social identity, Emel didn't suffer too much due to the fact that, in her multicultural classroom, veiling was already common practice. Still, Emel underlined her deliberate choice of vibrant blue colours in her outfit as she internalized the need to not come across as unfamiliar. She was praised by her Dutch peers due to her choice of a sporty and colourful clothing style which works as a mediating factor in curbing "belonging uncertainty" as more traditional clothing, like long dresses, is seen by classmates as foreign. "The rap style", as she puts it, with baggy jeans and sneakers, with its connotations of belonging to the contemporary urban cultural context, showed her adaptation to the Dutch scene. Another respondent, Yeliz, also received some affirmations regarding her clothing

that “it was not like other veiled women’s”. Asked to elaborate, she argued that Dutch people were generally used to seeing veiled women in the traditional item of clothing called *basma*, a long dress with elaborate patterns. She argued that as she was shopping for clothes from the same high street shops as her fellow classmates, and not wearing the folkloric *basma*, her dress sense was received well. Distancing oneself from the visual manifestation of the stereotypical Muslim woman was important.

Zeynep, a 22 year-old student of psychology was also wary of clothing choices: “I shop from the same high street shops as them like H&M etc... That way the things I wear are not so different from classmates, so they can relate to me.” Just like Emel, Zeynep also paid attention to the ways in which her peers perceived her sense of dress. Using mainstream clothing available to Dutch consumers on the high street, she adapted these to her style by combining it with more modest elements, for example, by wearing a t-shirt underneath a low-cut blouse. For these students, adopting attire closely connected with the Dutch context was a clear strategy to express and claim belonging.

Developing a parallel belonging

The ultimate strategy for easing “belonging uncertainty” in the face of the Dutch group was to develop parallel feelings of belonging with other Turkish-Dutch women. My respondents’ primary relationships were almost always with fellow Turkish-Dutch females. In educational contexts, they tended to stick together. In cases where other Turkish-Dutch were not present, they tended to befriend Moroccans or other Muslims with whom they perceived shared cultural similarities. Only two respondents cited ethnic Dutch women as close friends with whom they regularly socialized, such as going to the movies or to cafes together. The Turkish-Dutch women interviewed for this study strongly identified with other Turkish-Dutch women whom they know from school or ethnic networks. The emphasis on collectivism is evident from the way they address the posed questions regarding their personal experiences.

When Taliha was asked about the beginning of her veiling, she said: “We used to go to the mosque at the weekends all together, and there we had older sisters, who taught us *elifba* (Arabic alphabet).” Taliha uttered “we” repeatedly when asked about the commencement of her veiling, and Rana argued that the “negative pressure” is felt by “us kids” referring to the other veiled Turkish-Dutch. Similarly, Yeliz used “us Turks” when asked about her individual experiences in school. Such answers, which speak in the name of their peer group, using the subject “we” instead of “I”, attest to a strong identification with fellow veiled Turkish-Dutch.

Buitelaar defines the use of such "collective voices" in the construction of identity as self-essentialising, arguing it to be "a rhetorical performance to invoke a positive 'imagined community'" (Anderson, 1983) which "may serve the group interests of collectivities that are caught in asymmetrical societal power relations" (Buitelaar, 2006: 260-261). Faced with being different in the school context, these respondents' friendships within the respective Turkish communities cultivate parallel feelings of belonging; they derive strength and legitimacy from each other and create a group consciousness.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to look at feelings of belonging as experienced and expressed by the Turkish-Dutch, veiled women in higher education. Several aspects render their experiences of belonging important. Firstly, practicing Muslim identity is negatively viewed in Dutch society in recent years, rendering these students as highly marked for their difference. Secondly, Muslim women are often not seen as agentic subjects as Dutch women are, but rather as victims of their culture. All of these discourses might have negative effects on the students in the education context, which is an important area where these students' integration into majority Dutch society can be established. Moreover, Turkish-Dutch women are highly criticized for not participating in education and paid labour and it remains to be seen whether they are accepted and welcome in these settings.

This study finds that students experience different levels of "belonging uncertainty", depending on their level of schooling and the structure of their immediate schooling environment such as whether it is populated with multi-ethnic or solely autochthonous students.

It is shown that before higher education, students who went to "black schools" did not feel "belonging uncertainty" as much as some of the others who went to majority Dutch schools, since they had more Turkish-Dutch or other Muslim peers around regardless of ethnicity. Therefore, whether or not a student will feel "belonging uncertainty" will differ from one school to another, as how the school is populated differs from one neighbourhood to another. In contexts where minority students are rampant, students have an easier time dealing with negative social contingencies and negotiating "belonging uncertainty" as they feel represented in the general school population.

As students have gone higher in the educational ladder, they report feeling "belonging uncertainty" more acutely since the Turkish-Dutch, or other non-Dutch groups, were not represented widely. Oftentimes, being the only veiled student in class, or in the whole school, resulted in an increased awareness of being different.

In such settings, teacher's reactions have also affected their feelings of belonging, questioning the quality of their bonds to their educational setting. "Belonging uncertainty" was felt very much at the very top of the educational ladder, in institutions that are predominantly attended by natives. The respondents devised some strategies for alleviating "belonging uncertainty". Veiling early on, around age twelve, and establishing themselves as veiled students in the new school worked to curb unwanted questions. Making public speeches and establishing their new identity also worked as a strategy for undermining "belonging uncertainty". Another strategy was paying attention to their attire in order not to come across as too foreign. Moreover, by sticking together and cultivating their friendships through their ethnic networks and with other Muslims, they were preoccupied with developing parallel feelings of belonging to their own group in order to curb the negative effects of "belonging uncertainty".

3 Perceptions of work by pious muslim students: a comparison between the Netherlands and Turkey[9]

9 This chapter has been published as: Batum, D.S. (2015). Perceptions of work by pious Muslim students: a comparison between the Netherlands and Turkey. *Journal of Gender Studies* 25 (6) 641-54 (*http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2015.1087307*).

Introduction

This chapter discusses notions of paid work comparatively for veiled, practicing Muslim Turkish-Dutch higher education students with their counterparts in Turkey. Understanding ideas on paid work remains important for these groups as womanhood is primarily defined and reproduced through the notion of "home" in Turkish culture (Bora 2005: 21). Historically there have been prevalent gender roles for Muslim women as wives and mothers and not workers along with distinct notions of spatial gendered segregation (Abu-Lughod, 1993; Ahmed, 1992; Jansen, 2004; Siraj, 2012). Moreover, discussing these women's predicaments is crucial due to the alarmingly low employment of their mothers and grandmothers in both settings (Keizer and Keuzenkamp, 2011, İlkkaracan, 2012). As students in higher education, the respondents in this study constitute the best-prepared group of women for a future in working life. All of these notions contribute to the importance of looking into how these groups imagine a life in which paid work is practiced. This chapter aims to manifest the gendered discourses that frame discussions of paid work for the Turkish-Dutch and Turkish veiled students of higher education.

In the context of this chapter, the veil is taken to establish these women's status as practicing Muslims[10], whose day-to-day practices and lifestyles are informed by a religious worldview and Islamic precepts. The precarious nature of the relationship between veiling and work renders this study interesting. The veil is a symbol of a specific type of religiosity, connected to notions about women's seclusion, moral geographies and gendered segregation of spaces (Thompson, 2003). All that contributes to making women's movement in the public sphere of work problematical. Moreover, by the outside communities, veil stigmatizes women rendering them unfit and undesirable for work (Kabir and Evans, 2002). Therefore, the veil might work to classify women as outside the world of work.

For veiled women in both countries, paid work has been precarious. While in the Netherlands anti-Muslim discourses (see Korteweg and Triadafilopoulos, 2013; Vasta, 2007) have kept veiled women out of labour[11] and resulted in them facing discrimination in the job market (Andriessen et al., 2007: 215), in Turkey the clash between expression of Islamic piety and secularism principle have limited veiled women's entry into the sphere of work.[12] Such tensions have been blamed for

10 The respondents in this study are all self-identified as conscious, practicing Muslims.

11 For a similar debate in the UK see Ward, 2006.

12 After the Turkish Republic was established in 1923, Turkish women were encouraged to unveil and participate in the public sphere through the country's modernisation project (Arat, 1999). While some argue that individuals have the right to veil within the discourse of freedom of religious expression, others see veiling in public institutions of education and work as symbolic of the backwards lifestyle of pre-republican times. In line with this, starting with 1980s veiled university students were forbidden to enter university premises, which led to protests (Cindoğlu and Zencirci,

keeping veiled women out of work except in low skill jobs (Güveli, 2011: 173). Veils have been a hindrance in their career development in the event that they are employed (Cindoğlu, 2010). Currently, as Turkey is rapidly becoming a post-secular society (Göle, 2012), the conditions regarding veiled women's education and work are becoming more favourable.[13] In late 2013 new legislation allowed veiled women to work in public offices (See Bottoni, 2014).

Immigrant Dutch Muslims have often been perceived as inferior Others who resist integration to Dutch society (Buijs, 2009). This Othering was often framed as a gender and sexuality issue, as Islamic culture was deemed to be against women's and gay rights, and practicing Muslim women's veils have been perceived to attest to this.[14] Somewhat similarly, in Turkey veiling was seen as a civilizational issue. Through Turkish modernisation, veiling came to be associated with uneducated, rural and traditional women of lower classes (Çınar, 2008), as opposed to the unveiled "daughters of the republic" who embodied the progressive republican ideals (White, 2003). Thus, veiled women were seen as outside the imaginary of modern republican Turkey.

In the Netherlands women's work is characterized by a net labour participation rate of 70% (2011, women 15-64 years), but many women work part-time, averaging only 26.4 hours/week as a result of which even many working women are not financially independent --defined as earning less than 70% of the net minimum wage--. Labour participation is lower for Turkish-Dutch women, 47%, but they work more often full-time. Yet, only 28% of these women are economically independent (Merens, Hartgers and van den Brakel, 2012: 12-13, 56 and 64).[15] Moreover, in the recent economic crisis the risk of unemployment for educated Turkish-Dutch has become five times higher than for the Dutch and their unemployment has sharply risen from about 11% in 2011 to 20% in 2012 (FORUM, 2012: 1-3).

Women's labour participation is low in Turkey, at only 26% (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2009 in İlkkaracan, 2012: 2) due to various structural and cultural forces.[16] Indeed, Turkey has one of the largest gaps in the world in employment between

2008). For more on the historical chronicles of veiling in Turkey see Bottoni, 2013; Göle, 2003; Müftüler-Bac, 1999; Saktanber and Çorbacıoğlu, 2008; Turam, 2008.

13 By 2010, the veiling ban in Turkish universities had been mostly lifted. (Head, 2010).

14 In a poll conducted in 2006, 92% of autochthon respondents believed that Muslim men dominated Muslim women, while 43% believed that Islamic women who wear a headscarf do not adjust to our society, and 74% believed that most Muslims have no respect for homosexuals in 2005 (Gijsberts and Lubbers, 2009 :272–3).

15 Turkish-Dutch women have been also identified as the least engaged group in Dutch social life (Merens and Hermans, 2009: 128). However, when they work, more immigrant women work full time compared to the part-time working Dutch (Bevelander and Groeneveld, 2007: 13).

16 Urbanization (İlkkaracan, 2012), lower education levels of women (Gündüz-Hoşgör and Smits, 2008), lack of effective childcare solutions (Acar, 2008), as well as unequal division of household labour (Dedeoğlu, 2010) and socially conservative beliefs about women's work (Göksel, 2013) have all been cited as reasons for women's low labour participation.

sexes and women's roles as wives and mothers have a highly significant impact on this (İlkkaracan, 2012: 3). Due to the public/private distinction inherent in Islam, often times pious women's lagging in employment has been attributed to their Islamic background, manifest through their veils and subsequent norms of women's voluntary or forced orientation to their families and the culture of homemaking that is argued to underpin it.

Considering the uneasy relation between paid work and veiling in both contexts, this qualitative study aims to answer the question of "How do practicing Muslim students in higher education think about employment?" Interviews were held with 28 Turkish-Dutch and 30 Turkish women in higher education, recruited through the snowball sampling method. Participant observation was also done on various locales, throughout which "small talk" was invaluable for getting contextual information (Driessen and Jansen, 2013). Respondents' names are changed to protect their privacy. Data from interview transcripts and field notes were coded and analysed using the grounded theory method (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). An intersectional approach (Withaeckx and Coene, 2013) is adopted which recognises the various power relations playing out in individual lives differently based on their various social identities, especially gender and religion.

Gender, Work and Muslim Women

Women globally face persistent gender gaps at work (Morton et al., 2014). "In modern societies, men are often still the main breadwinners and have more power in the family system" (Kulik and Tsoref, 2010: 264), leaving women with housekeeping and childcare. Even when families aspire to equality, this never translates to an equal division of housework (van Hooff, 2011). The common social norms against women's employment are one of the biggest disadvantages for women, alongside structural constrains.

Historically prevalent in Islam has been the complementary gender system inspired by classical Islamic law (see Esposito, 1982).[17] It can be argued that from a roles perspective, in Islam there is "unbounded femininity" (Sunderland, 2004), which refers to the notion that women are free from the pressure to excel at school or work.[18] Accordingly, research has shown that marriages can result negatively in Muslim women's predicament in paid work (Dale and Ahmed, 2011).

17 This maintains that women's duties pertain to housework and child-rearing while the men are to provide for the family. Motherhood is an important component of Muslim femininity (Siraj, 2012).

18 "The flip-side of these 'freedoms' is that women are denied access to careers or promotions and remain financially dependent on a male breadwinner" (Charlebois, 2012: 202).

Moreover, women are also disadvantaged due to gender biases in hiring and perceived job performances. This is further strengthened in the case of veiling women, as often times their labour capacities are not recognised by employers (Syed and Pio, 2010; Frégosi and Kosulu, 2013).

Current studies warn against an essentialist account of patriarchy in the Muslim world and its absolute negative effect on Muslim women's work (Spierings, 2014; Kongar et al., 2014). Research has shown how participation in education and paid work has contributed to the development of alternative gender roles for young Muslims (Ahmad, 2001; Bagguley and Hussain, 2008). These suggest that there is a multitude of factors influencing their employment and that Muslims hold different ideas regarding work on a continuum between traditional and egalitarian positions in different contexts and settings (Piela, 2011; Predelli, 2004). The *needs, opportunities and values* framework (Spierings, Smits and Verloo, 2010) conceptualises the intricate complexity of different attributes influencing women's work.[19] Such a framework acknowledges the many aspects around women's work, and considers patriarchy as solely one of the elements constituting values.

Moreover, a theoretical framework on women's employment that differentiates between the ideas of Muslim women according to their strictness in considering Islamic precepts is needed. Based on research with first generation Muslim women in Norway, Predelli (2004) developed a framework that characterizes four analytical categories of gender relations focusing on family and work; 1) sameness-oriented modernists, 2) society-oriented Islamists[20], 3) family-oriented Islamists, and 4) culture-oriented traditionalists.[21] Similarly Piela (2011) has come up with a framework based on Muslim women's orientation to work outside the household or staying at home or balancing the two; analytically differentiating 1) traditionalists, 2) egalitarians, and 3) holists.[22] This chapter aims to build on this literature by inquiring about notions of work and considering the differences between the Turkish-Dutch and Turkish respondents.

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19 The various components of this framework are as follows: 1) *The context*. Women's direct environment, the specific context of household, community, or the country has an influence. In women's immediate environment, the inherent social norms, geographic proximity or availability of labour opportunities all have an effect. 2) *Differing micro-level effects* such as being married or single, household income, or dependents at home are also embedded in the context. 3) *Needs*; such as economic and physical; *Opportunities*; such as availability of accessible jobs and women's human capital; *Values* which entail whether it is appropriate for women to work or not, or in which professions and posts. These might entail societal norms as well as ideas of women themselves. Values can interfere with micro-level effects' influence on work.

20 Please note that the term Islamist is used by Predelli in the original text, and does not reflect my own judgement.

21 In this model, women are categorized according to their support for gender segregation and the interchangeability of gender roles based on levels of participation in home and/or society.

22 Holists argue that both working and staying at home are equally valid and Islamically acceptable, while egalitarians more fervently support work outside and traditionalists support being oriented towards one's household.

Turkey is characterized with relatively traditional and distinct gender roles and religious women are more likely to endorse traditional gender-role beliefs (Taşdemir and Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2010). Turkish-Dutch women even in the second generation are highly identified with Islam (Groenewald, 2008; Verkuyten and Yildiz, 2009). They manifest traditional gender-role attitudes due to their religious socialisation by their families or ethnic organisations (Batum and Jansen, 2013; Huschek, de Valk and Liefbroer, 2011), but at the same time have to deal with a secular environment. Given the intricate relationship between work, piety and gender culture, the object of the chapter is to add to the knowledge on Muslim women and work based on a careful analysis of the construction of work, where it intersects with piety and notions of a faith-based Muslim femininity.

Dutiful Workers

As higher education is expected to prepare women for work and increase their chances in the labour market, this section will discuss the students' views on paid work. When asked if she would rather work or become a housewife, Deren (Turkish-Dutch, 20), an economy student said: "You can do both. In fact, you should do both. Have a family and earn money to support your family." The field data shows that both in the Netherlands and Turkey, students consider the ideal situation as working as well as raising one's family at the same time. Indeed, there were no women in our group of Turkish respondents who argued against working, and only one in our Turkish-Dutch group. Only a handful of respondents' mothers had work experience. Deren's mother worked as a factory worker before she was diagnosed with an illness and retired early. In the past, Deren also worked in the same factory on occasion when she had free time.

Several respondents argued for the religious duty of women to work and produce wealth and resources for the community. Often times they cited Qur'anic verses and referred to Prophet Muhammad's teachings in support of their notions about women joining paid labour. Turkish Canan (19), a student of agriculture said: "It doesn't say anywhere in the Qur'an that employment is strictly for men. I base my understanding of work on this fact." Pelin (Turkish, 20) who studies English literature pointed to a specific verse, which mentions women's earnings: "It is clearly stated in the Nisa surah[23] that both men and women will have a share of what they earn. So there is direct reference to women's earnings, meaning that there is nothing wrong with women working for pay." They believed that idleness

23 'Unto men a fortune from that which they have earned, and unto women a fortune from that which they have earned' (Quran 4:32) (Pickthall, 2001: 75).

is discouraged in Islam, and working was seen as *ibadet* -- an act of worship. When asked about the low levels of employment, it was generally argued that Muslim women's limitations to work does not originate from Islam itself but from local culture and the erroneous interpretations of the Qur'an. Turkish-Dutch Efsun (21, pedagogy student) is the only exception that did not consider working to be highly important. She said: "I cannot know now but maybe my husband will not want that I work after marriage. And if there is no financial necessity, maybe I will not have to work. I don't think it's absolutely necessary if not for financial reasons." Contrary to many others who would only be interested in partners who will support their ideas of paid work, Efsun said she would take into account her future husband's wish in whether to work or not.

The notion of moral duty to work was also widely noted. In both settings, respondents highlighted the Islamic necessity of gaining *sevap* (spiritual credence) through serving other people and attaining great virtues by way of paid or unpaid work, which entailed doing selfless good deeds.[24] Turkish-Dutch Gamze (22, communications student) said: "When you ask why it's important to work first thing is how I can be of service? How can I contribute to my society?" In the Dutch context, this takes shape in the form of working within the immediate Turkish-Dutch community, as strikingly almost all of our Turkish-Dutch respondents volunteer at some point in such ethnic educational institutions for children. Turkish-Dutch Aycan (23, PR) who teaches a class to ten year-olds in a community centre argues that learned members of the community like herself "have a mission to make things better in the community". While males also take part in such centres (mostly in administrative tasks), it is predominantly the community's women who take on the pedagogical roles. The discourse of the moral obligation to care for the community reflects a gendered disposition as we see that women's caring roles in the family extend into the community.

The same notions are also relevant in Turkey. Turkish Nuray (20, psychology student) was volunteering as a counsellor at an NGO that helped the poor women from the squatter areas of İstanbul. She justified this work by saying "I have the skills and I want to do my small part in this life." The preoccupation with making things better guides the respondents' altruistic activities. Turkish Reyhan (21) who is a health-care student working for a children's charity said that "it is the greatest *sevap* to help the needy." As shown, women become "'moral subjects' through work in the public space, whether paid or unpaid, because they define work as service to community" (Aldıkaçtı Marshall and Sabhlok, 2009: 406). Altruism, and gaining *sevap* through moral work is a prominent attribute characterizing their notions of work.

24 For the same phenomenon in Algerian context see Jansen, 2004.

Moreover, there was also a specific concern in the Netherlands. Negative feelings about the predicament of their ethnic group motivated the respondents to be successful and attain higher roles than their parents' generation. Turkish-Dutch Yeliz (23, pharmaceutical science) explains:

> We have been infamously known as swindlers in this country – abusing the social system, taking advantage of unemployment benefits... this is the fault of the uneducated older generation; we do not want to be associated with such things.

Not working had often been associated with the first generation, which they wanted to distinguish themselves from. To prove to the Dutch community that veiled Muslim women can be successful was a common theme and the primary reason given for why they wanted to engage in paid labour.

In their discourses there is a continuous focus on the importance of being a working woman who does not stay at home looking after the children, as they recognize that higher education and reputable jobs provide a counter- argument to the idea that Muslim women are backwards. Cemre (Turkish-Dutch, 21) a law student whose mother works as a hairdresser argues: "because of the idea that the veiled usually stay home, it's important that educated Turks like me get good jobs and have a good name for the community." Accordingly, they express dissatisfaction with some of the women from their community who do not work, and only seem to be preoccupied with how to find a good husband. Turkish-Dutch Bahar (21, sociology) said: "Many of them have children so early, and they sit at home, become housewives who watch silly soap operas on Turkish TV", resenting her peers for choosing to be housewives and not working. As shown, in their discourses respondents in both settings show a keen interest in taking up paid work. However, despite such positive ideas about work and the dutiful workers discourse the respondents foster, in reality there is a more complex picture.

Career choices and family concerns

In what follows, the differences in the way work is conceptualised in the two countries will be shown. In the Netherlands, stronger ideology of male as provider and woman as homemaker circumscribes notions of work, whereas in Turkey the more severe economic realities necessitate a less gender-specific understanding of paid work. Apart from the dedication to engage in paid work, the respondents also voice their desire to get married, with active plans of being a mother in both countries. However, the extent to which motherhood was perceived to determine choices about paid work differed.

Dutch case of prioritising family life

Yeliz (Turkish-Dutch, 23) wanted to become a doctor from a young age as she was impressed with the idea of helping sick people. She did her preparatory schooling accordingly to be able to attend medicine faculty. However, later she applied to become a pharmacist upon discussing it with a friend of her parents, a doctor, who argued that being a doctor was too difficult and that being a pharmacist is so much more a proper job for a woman. She said: “He basically asked me, ‘my child, do you want a normal family life’? And I said yes.” Yeliz was easily convinced that doing night shifts and working long hours would conflict with her roles as a wife and mother, saying: “of course you have to consider this as a woman.”

While Yeliz is adamant on the necessity of Turkish-Dutch women to work, she argued for prioritising family life at the expense of a promising career as a doctor. Ewing argues that “people construct a series of self-representations that are based on selected cultural concepts of person and selected ‘chains’ of personal memories. Each self-concept is experienced as whole and continuous, with its own history and memories that emerge in a specific context, to be replaced by another self-representation when the context changes” (Ewing, 1990: 253). In her narrative Yeliz is subsequently weaving together different aspects of her particular subjectivity, articulating different notions and contexts of what it entails to be a Turkish-Dutch woman. What seems to be an eradication of her prior commitment to being a doctor, in effect is a reconsideration of what this entails in another context, namely roles within the household. She then considers the issue of paid work from a different angle, highlighting the importance of complying with one’s roles within the family as wife and mother that seems to significantly structure decisions regarding paid work.

Similarly, Turkish-Dutch Dilan (21, pedagogy) wanted to work as a kindergarten teacher as she perceived this as a job which will enable her to have an easy-going home life, as the hours of work are good in this line of work. However, there was also another incentive:

> I want to work, but at the same time I don’t want to be only a career woman. I don’t want my life to revolve around work. I’m also looking forward to being a mother. I want to raise my own children in the best way, teaching them our values, our religion. I thought being an educator would allow me that.

The kind of work preferred by Dilan was something conceptualised as the opposite of being a “career-woman” which entailed long working hours and constant prioritisation of work at the expense of one’s children and home life. As the training she receives in child development is primarily planned to be used in raising her own children, this seems to affirm this profession’s association with

"mothering" (Burgess and Carter, 1992). Moreover, Dilan also emphasized that people within the community "have a lot of respect for you" when they hear you will be a teacher. Being a teacher is a reputable profession and a gender-appropriate job as it takes place in a decent environment and primarily deals with children. In this instance, this profession is perceived as ideal for her not only because of the feminine characteristic of this work but also because it's sanctioned by the community[25] as a wholesome profession. Here, the specific gender conservatism of the Turkish-Dutch community must be accounted for. According to Cohen, "people construct community symbolically, making it a resource and repository of meaning, and a referent of their identity" (Cohen, 1985: 118). Moreover, the idea of a community is especially prominent when its distinctive collective identity is under threat (ibid). The distinct gendered understandings and sexual mores of the Turkish-Dutch are what is employed as a significant frame of reference to reposition and re-value themselves vis-à-vis the Dutch. The decency of the job, its benefit to the community and its links to the core values of the community establish self-worth in a context where this is being challenged by Dutch society at large.

Gaye (Turkish-Dutch, 23, business studies) student was interning in a Turkish-owned company in Utrecht as part of her degree and hoped for a permanent position there. While a few of her peers were applying to well-known corporate firms for internships, Gaye opted for this small company, as she would ideally work in a less demanding and relaxed atmosphere. She was engaged to be married, and had discussed their future with her fiancé. She said:

> It will be both of us working, but we agreed that I would have a simpler job because I will take care of the children and run the household. Working is important but certain things have to be prioritised. Family is very important for me. As a woman, I want to make sure everything is fully taken care of in my house. As much as I want to work, my work shouldn't rule my life in a way that my children and family suffers from it.

The gendered understanding of duties pertaining to the household as a mother and wife are perceived as fundamentally important as Gaye makes a point of noting that her paid work shouldn't undermine her roles in the family. "A simpler job" is seen as the answer to having a work-life balance as the centrality and sanctity of motherhood, and the notion of keeping her household in order are hierarchically more important than employment.

25 It should also be noted here that when the respondents refer to Turkish-Dutch community in this instance, they exclude some integrated Turks who "don't live by their religion" (*dinini ya amayan*).

Aycan had decided on working part time: "I want children. That is why I might have a part-time job. I have seen many do it, and it is easier. That way you can work; do something meaningful, make some money and you still raise a family." For a balanced work-life situation Aycan envisioned working part-time as the only one among the interviewed Turkish-Dutch students. Part-time work climate is closely connected to women's roles as mothers and it is highly integrated in Dutch working culture (Visser, 2002). As part-time work is very popular in the Netherlands it is remarkable that not more Turkish-Dutch students mentioned it. Aycan's mother also worked: she is a Dutch language teacher for elder immigrants in a local community centre.

As exemplified, the respondents have a high regard for taking care of one's family and motherhood as much as they value a working life. While they underline that working is crucial, a strong and persistent motherhood discourse accompanies discussions related to work, bringing up the highly gendered role expectations within the household. The legitimacy of the role as a wife and mother therefore might work to undermine more challenging career aspirations. The importance of the motherhood discourse coupled with the notions of gender-appropriate jobs attest to the gender conservatisms of the Turkish-Dutch community.

There are also structural constraints that the Turkish-Dutch encounter within the education system that leads to disadvantages in labour market participation. In the highly stratified education system, Turkish-Dutch women are generally present in large numbers in lower educational tracks, and not in more prestigious institutions such as research universities (Pásztor, 2012), since they are often channeled to the least selective school types early on (Pásztor, 2009). This is because the early tracking Dutch system presents a disadvantage for migrant students whose families lack cultural capital and language skills (Pásztor, 2012: 705), limiting the availability of options for these students.

Teacher prejudices also play a part. Some respondents argued that some of their teachers openly said they shouldn't aspire to some professions since they will be too difficult for them to achieve. Emel (Turkish-Dutch, 21, PR) said: "Some people, even some of the teachers, they think we will not amount to much. I want to show them that we won't all be cleaning ladies." In this system, teachers have a gatekeeper role and their advice matters in how students continue with higher education. Teacher prejudices therefore have a significant effect as sometimes they tend to under-advise Turkish-Dutch girls for the next step in education and invest less in them because they think that they are likely to get married at early ages (Pásztor, 2010). Therefore, it remains hard for these respondents to challenge stereotypes of Muslim women as homemakers and low-level workers, as the very access to more sophisticated careers are already out of their reach. One instance during fieldwork illustrated this fact. As noted earlier, most respondents worked for ethnic organisations for children. These women in higher education often took

the role of "mentors" for some unrelated children in their communities, and talked to their teachers when the child's parents could not communicate sufficiently. During our interview Yeliz answered a phone call that she said was important. Later, rolling her eyes she explained that she was trying to get one child into a better position in school, and as she knows the system she was more capable of telling his teacher what they want. Like many others, Yeliz was working as a mediator between the school and the child's family with a view to obliterate the disadvantage Turkish-Dutch students have.

The more ambitious nature of Turkish students

For Turkish respondents, having financial independency emerged as the primary motivation in aspirations of work. The need of women to be financially secure emerged as a more urgent matter in Turkey compared to the Netherlands, and in general they were interested in substantial careers although motherhood was still desired.

Fidan (Turkish, 19), a law student said: "The reason I ended up choosing law is because I thought this was a dependable degree. Even if you can't be a lawyer due to the veil, you can still be a legal advisor. I imagine that there are ways to make good money." A law degree is considered highly practical in terms of making a good living, as it's a sought after and well-respected profession. Although up until very recently Turkish courts didn't allow veiled lawyers, veiled women found ways to get around this sometimes by working behind the scenes.

Mevlide (Turkish, 20) chose business studies due to the possibility of higher wages: "I went in the direction of business with the idea that you can make a good living. Also I thought that there will be the possibility of getting a job in the conservative firms." Just like a law degree, a degree in business was deemed lucrative. Her choice therefore was made with future job opportunities in mind. Her mother worked as a tea lady in an office, Mevlide hoped for an internship there. Similarly, Aysun (Turkish, 19), who originally wanted to study Arabic language decided to study accounting instead as Arabic would result in a very limited area of work. Her mother owns a small boutique and Aysun helps her in the weekends. Peri (Turkish, 20) was studying to be a computer engineer. She said:

> When I was choosing my degree I took into account the fact that being an engineer is a reputable profession, and I took into account what I would earn. When I chose my discipline I didn't really think whether I can practice it with the veil, but rather I thought that I should get a degree that is important.

The above data shows that Turkish veiled students predominantly favoured professions that they deemed more reliable in terms of employment and associated with higher wages.

In the Netherlands, wages weren't mentioned as a point of concern in choosing professions in the same way, although some Turkish-Dutch respondents refrained from getting into professions where they knew they wouldn't be hired due to appearances (i.e. a bank teller). Some even didn't consider how likely it is that they will be hired. When a PR student was asked whether or not she thought it would be easy to find employment due to her veil, she said: "I didn't particularly worry about that. I thought all these people are getting jobs and getting by, I will be fine. God will help me." Turkish-Dutch respondents generally enjoyed higher life standards compared to in Turkey. In a group discussion, those with more extensive knowledge of Turkey told others that if you have little money, life in Turkey is much more difficult than in the Netherlands. When the issue of returning to Turkey came up, almost always it was concluded that the higher standard of life in the Netherlands was too good to leave behind. Turkish-Dutch were less worried about their financial wellbeing compared to respondents in Turkey.

The more ambitious nature of Turkish respondents compared to the Turkish-Dutch is also evident in their discourses on the importance of doing post-graduate degrees. In the Turkish context, there was an extraordinary interest in continuing with higher degrees after university.[26] Raziye (Turkish, 19) envisioned going to the US in the future to pursue a PhD degree in history, while Edibe (Turkish, 20) planned on applying for a PhD in sociology in England after doing MA degrees. Another respondent, Billur (Turkish, 23) is a Master's student in Business Administration in a private university. Many others talked about being interested in pursuing MA degrees in Turkey. Moreover, Turkish students also did not talk of working part-time.

Not being dependent on men was another concern in Turkey. Higher wages were deemed necessary in order to secure this independence. This was often motivated by the economic difficulties endured by other women. Turkish Ferhan (21, computer engineering) argued:

> I saw in my cousin's marriage that when it fell apart she ended up in a very weak position because she had no income. Sometimes the marriages don't work, and then women become very poor. They should be able to have their own income in the first place.

Although in Turkey respondents seemed to care more strongly about their economic emancipation, nevertheless a women's financial position was often still discussed in relation to their marital situation, as seen above. The consciousness of

26 Ten out of thirty respondents argued they were interested in continuing studies whereas only three Turkish-Dutch did so.

Turkish respondents regarding this pertained to the higher levels of divorces encountered in their social networks compared to the few in the Netherlands. Two of our Turkish respondents in higher education had already divorced, while none of the Turkish-Dutch had such a history. As divorce rates have been rising in Turkey (Aydıner Boylu and Öztop, 2013: 209), Turkish respondents acknowledge women's need to be financially self-standing more fervently than do the Turkish-Dutch.

Despite the more reputable professions Turkish respondents go for, and their claims to making a living, women's income being conceptualised as a contingency resource attests to the strength and dominance of gender roles, and the male's duty as a primary provider still being highly relevant and applicable in this context as well. Also the different social security systems of the countries might have a role in this. Turkish social security is significantly weak (Elveren, 2008) while a much stronger social security net exists in the Netherlands (Alessie and Kapteyn, 2001).[27] Turkish-Dutch women can benefit from this system extensively when they are unemployed or registered as single head of households.

Notions of marriage

There was a remarkable difference between the two groups about whether they prioritised work or marriage. For the Turkish-Dutch there was urgency in marriage. The respondents feel a compulsion to get married as they are aware of the fact that older single and childless women are socially stigmatized. Nesrin (Turkish-Dutch, 20, communications student) explains: "My aunt got married at 31, and people were thinking that she's *evde kalmış* (spinster). Now I'm worried that people see you like that." Within the community, the age of 31 was considered late for marriage. *Evde kalmış* reads as "one who has stayed at home", a derogatory word denoting an unmarried woman past the common marriage age. Respondents would despair being viewed as such as it is seen as humiliating, unfortunate and as being a failure. Aycan explains: "Because you are single people make you feel like there's something wrong with you. The neighbours… like everyone. They say things like 'When will you get married?'… 'Hurry up for a baby.' These kind of remarks." The marriage plight was internalized so much that young women felt slightly sorry if others were single and not dating.[28] Marriage and children are often seen as a status symbol within the community.

27 Some respondents' families received unemployment benefits or rent subsidies from the social security system, as well as the study subsidies they received themselves.

28 Some of the respondents were slightly concerned about my status as an unmarried Turkish woman in her late twenties. They would often ask prying questions about why I still hadn't married. One respondent even insisted that I should ask around my relatives and friends for a suitor, as she liked me so much she wanted to see me married. On occasion, it was joked that my status as an educated woman would make it harder for me to get married, as it was humorously argued that "Turkish men don't want too smart women."

Participating in close-knit communities in the Netherlands reinforces such pressure to get married and have children. İkbal (Turkish-Dutch, 22, human resources) explains: “Especially the older people, they think of marriage as an achievement. But also young people do too. If you couldn’t get married yet, it’s like being unsuccessful.” Since marriages work implicitly as a prerequisite for social acceptance and an indicator of social achievement, often times they cloud women’s educational successes and work decisions. Due to the exhausting pressures from the community in the Dutch context respondents almost always think of their paid work in relation to their future identities as wives and mothers.

For the Turkish students marriage seems to be placed secondary to education and given a lesser meaning with the increasing ambition they have for careers. This is sometimes framed as a development discourse. Simay (Turkish, 19, law student) argued: “For our country to develop, we need to play our part. Not only raising decent children, but to contribute to the economic development of our country.” Like Simay, other respondents also underlined the need of Turkey to catch up with more developed countries and for which, it was crucial that women needed to work actively. Such a discourse was evocative of the idea of selfless women working for the betterment of the community, and it worked to justify the active role women wanted to take in paid work. Billur also raised the point of economic difficulties: “Our mother’s job was to take care of the family so they relied on men. It shouldn’t be the case now in 2010s. In these times it is a huge financial difficulty for the man.” Contemporary times called for a change in the understanding that women should work only inside home and financially depend on men. Turkish respondents viewed this change as a natural consequence of financial necessities.

Moreover, it was also pointed out that with the changing social and economic realities, even conservative men want their spouses to work. Didem (Turkish, aged 22, food engineering) said: “These days, I think that men and women have to each take care of themselves financially. What I see amongst young people is even the religious men prefer wives who make a living.” As the cost of living is high and traditional ideas about women’s confinement to the household are undergoing a change for the new generations, attitudes toward working women are changing. For all these reasons, having reputable careers became important for our Turkish respondents.

Rather than talking about working part-time as the Turkish-Dutch who were inspired by their environment, Turkish respondents often talked about hiring help to deal with household responsibilities and raising children. In the Netherlands, this could also be an option for career women. Yet, it is so costly that it is seldom thought of.

There are exceptional women who go against the expectations. Meral (Turkish-Dutch, 21, international commerce) was determined not to get married:

> In the future, I definitely do not see myself as a housewife like my mother. My parents are very supportive, and we planned together that I start my own business with their help, possibly an import-export business. As for marriage, it can be dismissed. It's not the only option for a woman, and definitely not something I want for myself. I want to focus on my career and make a living.

Wanting to have her own business, Meral had decided at an early age that she didn't want to get married and would rather put the emphasis on her career. Rana also argued that marriage is not her priority: "Maybe in the future I change my mind, but I can say that it's definitely not my priority. It's not my goal in life." Rana's mother who is a hairdresser is also one of the few working mothers. Eren (Turkish-Dutch, 25, theology student) also had decided not to marry, arguing that upon marriage, you cannot prioritize your career as much as when you're single as children overtake one's life and other goals become secondary. Interestingly, these women were so determined to have careers that they saw marriage as an impediment for work. Despite the widespread encouragement for marriage, some exceptional women do not deem it necessary. Although these arguments do not mean that they will never get married, these exceptional women distance themselves from the compulsion of the community to get married, instead putting emphasis on realising themselves in their careers.

In both contexts, veiled students are clearly determined to find work after their studies, yet this prospect is mediated differently when connected with the role of mother and housekeeper. Whereas the Turkish-Dutch feel very much pressured into marriage and give priority to their caring role, and adapt their educational choices or ideas about part-time or less demanding jobs accordingly, in the eyes of the Turkish respondents a well paying job takes first place.

Discussion and Conclusion

Ideas on work decisions are important to discuss, as they are active processes of constructing gender. As "doing gender" (West and Zimmerman, 1987) refers to the reproduction of gender through interaction, "undoing gender" (Deutsch, 2007) refers to situations of transgression where people do not follow traditional gender scripts. This study confronted the prevalent notion that women living under Islam are to be wives and mothers which orients them towards the household, by looking into actual notions of paid work in the Turkish-Dutch and Turkish groups of highly educated practicing Muslim respondents. The data shows that respondents in both settings have a keen interest in taking up paid work. They are inspired by ethical

ideas arising from Islam, especially the idea of contributing to society as well as considerations of making a living. In the Dutch context particularly, they are motivated to join paid work to counterbalance negative Dutch opinions on the Turkish-Dutch group. This chapter thus points out how these groups of women strive towards undoing gender norms through challenging predominant Islamic traditional beliefs about a women's place.

While both groups are interested in both paid work and raising families, more Turkish-Dutch respondents perceived paid work through the lens of their expected gendered roles as wife and mother, since predominantly being a wife and a mother is a desired and sought after social position within the Turkish-Dutch community. In their ideas, their future identities as wife and mother occupied a central place around which their work would be planned accordingly. It is often the case that there are highly gendered expectations on immigrant women to be the guardians of cultural and religious integrity of their communities with a view to future generations (Blunt, 2005; Dwyer, 2000; Ehrkamp, 2013). This study also affirmed this as it showed the highly underlined emphasis on the Turkish-Dutch respondents to follow rather traditional, gendered paths in balancing their work and home lives, and choosing rather gendered occupations. As argued, a major factor in this is the conservative ideas within their immediate community in the Turkish-Dutch setting. They were scrutinized in the eyes of the community as they lived in smaller towns or neighbourhoods where all Turkish-Dutch knew each other. Moreover, also structural constraints on their education meant that their choices in labour participation were limited compared to the Turkish respondents.

In comparison, in their discourses Turkish respondents prioritized their career goals more fervently than they did their home lives. Göle's 1987 fieldwork with Turkish veiled university students showed that these students didn't view their education as a means to a professional life (Göle, 1996: 99-105). My field data shows that this is no longer the case as Turkish respondents have painstakingly considered their future employment in choosing their paths of education. Turkish respondents deemed it important to have prestigious positions that would allow them to have a good quality of life, and they did not take into account gendered roles as housewives and mothers greatly. They placed more emphasis on women's need to be financially independent than did the Turkish-Dutch. Although Turkish respondents were interested in raising families, they generally did not experience such a strong compulsion regarding marriage, as did the Turkish-Dutch. As they lived in contexts significantly different to Turkish-Dutch, they did not experience societal pressures for marriage in the same way. The financially less stable life conditions in Turkey and discourses of individual financial freedom compared to the Netherlands resulted in differing conceptualisations of paid work which rendered it more urgent.

Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the “dutiful worker” discourse identified in this chapter is a rather recent phenomenon. The arguments by respondents regarding complete dedication to paid work do not necessarily mean that they will never become only housewives, but nevertheless the chapter contributes to the literature by showcasing the nuances in the way these two groups think about and approach the issue of paid work.

4 Handshaking in the secular: understanding agency of veiled Turkish-Dutch muslim students[29]

29 Published as: Batum, D. (2016). Handshaking in the Secular: Understanding Agency of Veiled Turkish-Dutch Muslim Students. *Géneros. Multidisciplinary Journal of Gender Studies*, *5*(2) 962-85 http://dx.doi.org/10.17583/generos.2016.1679

Introduction

In 2006, Dutch Immigration and Integration Minister Rita Verdonk came together with fifty Dutch imams in their graduation ceremony from an integration course. Minister Verdonk encouraged such initiatives, arguing for the need to constitute a bridge between Dutch society and Islam. However, the event took a turn for the worse when some of the imams refused to shake her hand based on their religious convictions of not touching unfamiliar women. The minister was appalled. Considering the handshake as a matter of common courtesy, Verdonk voiced her disappointment. "I am a woman and minister. I stand here as a minister" (Volkskrant, April 26, 2006). This incident was quickly noted by the media, as in November 2004 an imam from Tilburg had also refused to shake Verdonk's hand. These incidents were considered by many as an illustration of "the multicultural drama" painted by Paul Scheffer in the daily NRC of January 29, 2000. He had argued that the Dutch tradition to strive for social equality and integration was not applied to the immigrant population and thus was leading to an ethnic, culturally different underclass. His critiques of the Dutch laissez-faire mentality and the heightened debates on multiculturalism very much influenced Minister Verdonk's policies of integration. For many, the handshake incidents illustrated the failure of this integration policy and raised the question of to what extent Muslim piety can be accommodated in the secular-liberal[30] order in the Netherlands.

In recent years, Europe has faced a multicultural challenge of dealing with incorporating immigrant religious practices and multicultural sensibilities into daily life, bringing into debate the accommodation of the religious in the secular.[31] The Verdonk incident is one of the many situations of gendered conflict in Europe, such as the infamous veil debates in France and Germany (Scott, 2007; Joppke, 2007b), the question of accommodating Muslims in mixed-sex physical education in Britain (Benn and Dagkas, 2006), or whether Dutch public money should be available for hymen repair for Muslim women (Saharso, 2003). Overall, in conceptions of the civilisational fault lines between Western autochthonous people and its Muslim others, the most fervent issues were the ones pertaining to normative gender equality and sexual freedoms.

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30 I borrow the term secular-liberal from Jacobsen (2011) who refers to Asad's formulation of liberal as a "discursive space" allowing a common moral and political language to discuss issues; a discursive space to which ideas such as individual autonomy, rule of law, freedom, limitation of state power and religious tolerance are central (See Asad, 2009:25).

31 Asad argues that the secular, as a formation of modernity has evolved in time to eradicate political problems arising out of religious wars, urging us to see the secular as not the opposition of religion, but rather as a form of governmentality (pertaining to ideas, sensibilities and institutions) which regulates religious practice in the name of a particular understanding of the truly human (Asad, 2003:17).

This chapter discusses the issue of handshaking in the case of second generation veiled Turkish-Dutch Muslim women[32] who are in higher education, asking "what is the way in which the respondents approach and appropriate the issue of the handshake, and how can their agency be accounted for regarding the handshake?" In this chapter, I focus on how these respondents navigate within the secular-liberal order with their distinct ideas and practices to live ethically according to their religious ethical norms, and show how they resolve the embodied practice of handshaking. On a more theoretical level, this helps us to discuss their agency.

While Foucault's theorization of ethical self-formation is extensively used by feminist studies on gender and the body, Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" allows a more nuanced reading through its incorporation of the social into the body (McNay, 1999: 103). The body is a social space in which expressions pertaining to ethnicity, religion and so on can be invoked and enunciated. Due to this aspect, in answering my research question, I utilise the Bourdesian conceptual tool of habitus, and its accompanying concept of capital. To put it simply, habitus refers to the distinctions, sensibilities, tastes and dispositions people have due to their particular class and other positions. An agent's habitus depends on different kinds of capital; the embodied forms of cultural capital that she/he brings from childhood, the human capital gained through training and skills and social capital gained through group membership and participation in social structures as well as economic capital.[33] While the handshake issue has been framed in scholarship as pertaining to Foucauldian ethical self-formation (see Mahmood, 2005), I bring the discussion further to theorise on the handshake in the case of my respondents with special attention to the social dimension of the body and the wider social contexts in which it operates.

As I will show, due to their specific habitus, the second generation veiled Turkish-Dutch respondents practice the handshake in a way which helps them to maximize their capital differently in the different contexts. This tells us that their agency cannot be solely theorised through their preoccupation with ethical self-realization, as also a liberal notion of agency through conscious choice and deliberate action is at work in their lives. The complex nature of the second generation Turkish-Dutch women's subjectivity formation through the intertwinement of the practices of secular-liberal and Muslim normativities are presented.

32 Turks are an immigrant group in the Netherlands. Even in the second generation, Turkish-Dutch are highly religiously active and perceive themselves as practicing Muslims (Maliepaard and Gijsberts, 2012).

33 Three essential forms of capital are economic, cultural and social (Bourdieu, 2008: 281). Cultural and social capitals are the intangible forms, giving the agent privilege and status. Moreover, there is symbolic capital, which is the symbolic power and recognition granted to the agent in the eyes of others due to the agent's certain dispositions.

This chapter is written as part of a broader study on gender issues of practicing Turkish-Dutch veiled students in Dutch higher education. It is based on two years of fieldwork, combining methods of semi-structured in-depth interviews, participant observation and informal focus groups. As part of a wider study, interviews were done with 28 Turkish-Dutch and 30 Turkish respondents. The seven in-depth interviews with Turkish-Dutch respondents from which I cite in this chapter were all conducted in Turkish by the author. Respondents' names are changed to protect their confidentiality. Data in the form of interview transcripts and field notes were coded and analysed using the grounded theory method (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Theorizing Handshaking and Agency

The handshake issue is theoretically situated in the wider context of agency debates in gender studies. Underlying this debate is the feminist difficulty with understanding why pious women are attracted to conservative religions, which seem to be at odds with their own interests leading to divergent approaches (Midden, 2012; van den Brandt, 2014). Liberal feminism conceptualises agency as autonomy and connects religious attachment to lack of autonomy. Accordingly, this view of agency presupposes that actions should be self-determined and characterized by free-will (Nussbaum, 1999: 70). It also presupposes that free choices are always good choices. Such a view has been challenged on grounds of a postcolonial ethnocentrism that frames pious Muslim women as the Other of an autonomous Eurocentric subject.

Another line of theory, which from here on I will call the "doing religion" paradigm (Avishai, 2008), put forth the idea that women comply with and participate in conservative religions for the sake of religious ends only, rather than any other gains (Avishai, 2008; Bracke, 2008; Mahmood, 2005; Jacobsen, 2011), with a view to "doing religion"; "as a mode of conduct and being" (Avishai, 2008:412).

Mahmood argues for the need to redefine agency, challenging feminist theory to attend to different meanings of agency "whose operations escape the logic of resistance and subversion of norms" (2005: 167) and proposes to think about agency "as a modality of action" (ibid: 157). Mahmood's main contribution is her argument that individual autonomy and self-realization are two different things. In her work on Egyptian pietists, she argues that the women in the piety movement do not strive for autonomy, but instead aim for self-realization in their endeavour of cultivating piety. Thus, they are agents who are engaged in ethical formation through the application of corporeal techniques and spiritual exercises. Therefore, rather than being preoccupied with autonomy versus oppression, pietist women

strive for "practicing through 'self-techniques' an 'ethical formation' that engages their entire way of life" (ibid: 284). Mahmood contrasts western liberalism's model of the freely choosing, autonomous self with the women she studied who strive for cultivating piety. Therefore, agency can be identified "not only in those acts that resist norms and prescriptive structures, but also in the multiple ways in which one *inhabits* norms" (Mahmood, 2005: 15).

Mahmood's analysis draws on Foucauldian ethics according to which individuals constitute themselves as moral subjects by their own actions. She demonstrates certain practices of the pietists as "self- techniques" which result in their ethical formation. These are "techniques which permit individuals to perform, by their own means, a certain number of operations on their own bodies, on their own souls, on their own thoughts, on their own conduct, and this in such a way that they transform themselves, modify themselves, and reach a certain state of perfection, of happiness, of purity, of supernatural power, and so on" (Foucault, 2007: 154). Within the "doing religion" paradigm, the analysis of handshaking is framed by Foucauldian ethical formation.

While I adopt Mahmood's formulation of agency as self-realization, clearly the cultural context of my respondents is significantly different. As will be shown, the respondents tap into different sources for justifying and making sense of their practices within a coherent subjectivity. Sometimes they strive for self-realization, and sometimes they strive for autonomy. They have a particular way of approaching the handshake issue contingent on its context and framed by their specific habitus.

Non-handshaking as Cultural Capital[34]

How do the respondents view the handshake and its place in their pious lives? Ay egül explains why handshaking is problematic:

> The thing is you need to live a certain way as a Muslim woman. You know there are things you can do, and there are things you just don't do. That is how it is ordained (by God). You are not to touch, you are to lower your gaze with stranger men, and you try not to attract their attention. You just learn these things when you are growing up, and you learn to implement them... You know that you need to live by these to feel you are a good Muslim. You know this is the right way to live, so it doesn't feel like a burden. You know that paying attention to such things is important to protect yourself and others. That is why handshaking is an issue for many Muslim women. It is not something that has a place in our culture.

34 Cultural capital consists of three subforms: the embodied state as learned dispositions from childhood, the objectified state as in cultural artifacts and the institutional state in the form of cultural institutions as well as certificates obtained.

Ayşegül alludes to the principle of boundary maintenance in Islam by referring to "the need to live a certain way". She contextualizes the handshake within the prescription of legitimate conduct between women and men which she states is ordained by God, arguing that "things you can do and don't do" are clearly delineated such as non-touching, lowering the gaze and refraining from attracting men's attention. For practicing Muslims, boundary maintenance with the opposite sex is of utmost importance, organized through the social concepts of *mahrem* and *namahrem*[35]. Touching *namahrem* is forbidden. In this understanding, it is literally the female body which establishes distinction between *mahrem* and *namahrem*, defining the interior versus exterior realms of privacy. Both non-handshaking and veiling pertain to this boundary maintenance, working as practices of ethical self-formation and setting the limits of behaviour within Muslim gender normativity.

Similarly, 23 year-old student of pharmaceutics, Yeliz underlines the same notion: "From a young age, I have known that some things are supposed to be in a certain way. That you ought to behave a certain way with men" when referring to legitimate conduct between sexes. In the context of relations with the *namahrem*, modesty is to be worked on by curbing and controlling the desires of the body. Therefore, modesty is the ethical substance of this formation which inhibits the handshake; the aspect of the ethical formation that one needs to work on continuously by behaving properly vis-a-vis *namahrem* males. Such an understanding of Muslim moral conduct is an aspect of their cultural capital which, as Yeliz states, "from a young age" was instilled. The embodied dispositions of bodily comportment, ways of moving and acting in the world vis-*à*-vis *namahrem* males are acquired by individual respondents as part of their cultural capital as they observe and learn the particularities of Islamic gendered socialization from their families and their religious contexts as "systematic cultural apprenticeship" (Thorpe, 2010:193). Bourdieu argues for the importance of early experiences of primary socialization in the way habitus becomes embodied. Drawing on the work of developmental psychologists in construction of gender identities, he argues that "primary social experiences have a disproportionate weight" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 134). This is evident in the story of Efsun, a 21 year-old student of pedagogy:

> I was in a classroom with only girls in the Islamic primary school, so when I moved on to junior high it was a bit difficult to adjust to the mixed sex setting. I did not feel so comfortable. You had to constantly mind your veil, and the way you act. You are in close proximity with males.

35 Mahrem refers to those to whom one is related by blood, while namahrem refers to anyone else.

The idea of bodily discipline and gender segregation asserted by religious socialization inhibits direct interaction between the sexes, creating a highly gendered division of the social space.[36] Therefore, when the single-sex space becomes a mixed-sex space in junior high school, Efsun is faced with some adjustment difficulties. The painstaking care she takes in her bodily comportment when she has to share a space in close proximity with males is "charged with a host of social meanings and values" (Bourdieu, 1977:87). Through her religious socialization, her particular body has become the vehicle through which the social structure is enacted and this religious habitus is reproduced as she pays attention to the ways in which she acts.

The following excerpt exemplifies such boundary maintenance. Tugba is a 21 year-old student of accounting. As she became older and donned the veil, she had to mark the boundaries in her interaction with male Dutch friends more strictly:

> The thing is, fellow Turks know the culture, and Dutchmen don't. They do not know where to draw the line with a woman. Sometimes with Dutch male friends, they do these jokes with their hands you know. They are too touchy-feely. Like poking ... Just the other day one of them poked me jokingly. And I gestured to stop him abruptly. He was then asking: "Are you bothered? Shall I not touch you?" And I obviously said to him "well, actually it is better if you don't". But they really don't think it's too strange. After all, they know it's a different culture.

As touching *namahrem* is frowned upon, when telling this incident, Tugba lowered her voice as if she wanted to prevent other people hearing about her transgression. As a devout Muslim, she was conscious of keeping her distance with *namahrem* males and did not shy away from warning her friends about the boundaries they should respect. As with other respondents, she was painstakingly cautious in her interactions with males with regard to modesty, especially with the Dutch friends whom she perceived as too careless in keeping boundaries. Who to shake hands with is an intricate question, and so is the response to other forms of touching. In line with Muslim ethical formation, abstaining from bodily contact with *namahrem* males, keeping bodily distance and retreating from a male's touch, in the handshake or otherwise, is a learned disposition from childhood. It is a self-technique, and as such, a means of self-realization in line with their religious upbringing and part of their cultural capital.

As non-handshaking and bodily boundary maintenance is part of their cultural capital, this is something they have in common with Turkish men, and in

36 For a discussion on gendered religious socialization in Turkish-Dutch dorms see Batum and Jansen, 2013.

particular with men from their religious communities. Efsun referred to this when she said:

> Some Turks who are distant to religion, they also extend their hands to me. They are not too conscious. But others who know their religion well, they know that it is inappropriate so they don't do it. They know that it is inappropriate both for me and for them. They don't extend their hand because first they have respect for you, and second that it is religiously improper. When a Dutchman comes, you can extend your hand more easily to him, but with a Turk it is a different story. Something different happens. How can I say... for example, a Dutchman from my class I can easily shake his hand, or he can shake mine. But it doesn't work like that with a Turk. Since both of you know what is appropriate and what isn't, you withdraw yourself... But in fact, both are *namahrem*.

Efsun acknowledges non-handshaking with the *namahrem* as a self-technique. However, she makes a distinction between Dutchmen and Turkish-Dutchmen. While she feels more secure in extending her hand at Dutchmen, she is more hesitant to touch Turkish-Dutch males, based on the shared knowledge regarding the precept of non-touching. She distinguishes further between religious and non-religious. As religiously-minded men are more aware of the precept of non-touching, they do not attempt to shake hands out of "respect" for the woman in question. They are equipped with the right knowledge to play the game of social interaction within their community. Non-religious Turkish-Dutch males, however, should know the rules, but do not always behave accordingly. Therefore, handshaking is not only contingent on the context of the relationship but also on one's ethnic background and/or religious orientation. Shared knowledge on religiously appropriate behaviour arising from embodied cultural capital works to complicate interaction within the community, also evident in the following account.

Aycan lives in a small town where her parents are well known in the Turkish religious community, as her father gives religious lessons and her mother does social work for the community. She said:

> I'm more careful in my interaction with Turkish-Dutch males, more so if I know them from the religious community. Actually, just the other day we discussed this with other veiled friends. It is a bit strange, but true. With other Turkish males who are distant from religion, I am more relaxed. For example, at the classroom I would go sit by one of the non-religious Turkish guys more easily. They think this girl is too religious, so they are not interested in me, and I obviously am not interested in them, so it is more relaxed. With the

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> religious ones from the community however, there is this sensitivity. I will probably get married to one of them, so you are extra careful in your behaviour. You think “OK, let’s be more careful”. How can I say, there is more respect, more consideration. And it is mutual. They also try to refrain from looking at me in the eye. They wouldn’t be too forward.

Aycan also talks about how shared notions of the precept of bodily distance, of non-touching and avoiding the gaze, frame the interaction between her and her male peers in the Turkish community. What is striking here, however, is that she applies these self-techniques more strictly with religious men based on the idea that one of these men will be her future husband. With other Turkish males, the perceived impossibility of forming a union due to religious differences, and thus lack of any romantic interest, results in a more relaxed interaction. The opposite of this is identified as “respect”. Both Efsun and Aycan argue that religious Turkish men have “respect” for them therefore they wouldn’t be forward, which manifests itself in their shying away from bodily contact and timorous behaviour.

In this economy of gendered social interaction, non-handshaking has symbolic value pertaining to respect and modesty. Both men and women acknowledge that respect and consideration for each other entails non-contact and social distance, as they have been raised with the same values of modesty in gendered interaction. Religious socialization has trained them in these body techniques that enhance their cultural capital. Non-handshaking, like other disciplined bodily comportment, is a valuable and sought after feature of the respondents’ cultural capital; one which attests to their prestige as pious, respectable women and defines them as marriage-material. They know that failure to show such modesty will have social consequences. The respondents are able to manoeuvre easily in their handshaking by evaluating whether or not it will be deemed proper, based on the ethnic and religious background of the person they interact with. Only in specific cases it will lead to loss of capital to shake hands. With people who are not familiar with such cultural values, they can interact more freely.

In this section, I showed how non-handshaking works to give the respondents “religious merit” (Jansen, 2004: 1) and is employed as a self-technique in their endeavour of pious self-realization. The students are agentic in building cultural capital valued by relevant others who are seen as potential marriage partners. Here, my analysis is in line with the “doing religion” (Avishai, 2008) paradigm in that the respondents exerted agency in the form of sticking with the non-touching precept for religious ends. The respondents are committed to their piety as a mode of conduct and conceptualise the handshake within this understanding. However, I also show that the kind of self-realization the respondents strive for is motivated by certain socially determined rules. As the respondents strictly do not handshake

with pious Muslim males and are less concerned with handshaking with Dutchmen or Turkish-Dutch secular men (although both are *namahrem* males), this attests to the strength of shared notions of cultural capital regarding the handshake. In what follows, I look at other ways of how the respondents' agency regarding the handshake can be accounted for.

Handshaking as Act of Social Capital

In this section, I will present how my respondents manage the relationship between the self-technique of non-handshaking with the requirements of living in the secular-liberal order. Despite the centrality of non-touching to Muslim ethical formation, in practice it will be shown non-handshaking is rarely adhered to as respondents act in adaptive ways in their Dutch milieu to maximize their economic, social and symbolic gains. I will then discuss how their agency can be accounted for accordingly.

Although non-touching is part of my respondents' habitus, in some contexts and situations, handshaking becomes a strategic act in their habitus, pertaining to their Dutch social capital.[37] Therefore, habitus is not eternally fixed. While it includes durable qualities, at the same time, it also presents a "permanent capacity for invention" (Bourdieu, 2004: 63). Bourdieu argues that the habitus "predisposes individuals in generative and creative ways to develop strategies that maximize profits either economic or symbolic which unconsciously improves or maintains their social or economic position" (Bourdieu, 2000: 5 in France, Bottrel and Haddon, 2013:15). As new experiences are encountered, an individual's habitus is either reinforced or gets modified by these experiences in various ways which benefit them (Bourdieu, 1992: 133). As respondents move between Turkish and Dutch social fields, what gives them symbolic power changes regarding handshaking.

Efsun, the pedagogy student, explains why she doesn't refrain from handshaking in the Dutch social field:

> Especially if you are new in an internship or a job, you have to establish yourself there. Since it is very important to introduce yourself, we can barely keep ourselves from shaking hands. And we often don't. But it is a difficult subject. You have to extend your hand and introduce yourself. Maybe if you do not do that, you will be left behind in the job, they will think you are not up to it or something. So even though it is wrong practice, I will do it.

37 "Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or in other words, to membership in a group - which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word" (Bourdieu, 2008: 286).

Efsun's social environment consisted mainly of Turkish people. It wasn't until she was doing a work placement that she engaged more with autochthonous Dutch people. Efsun considers the handshake as "wrong practice" in the Islamic sense. Indeed, she was one of the few respondents who were slightly irritated with having to discuss the topic of the handshake. However, the fact that not shaking hands could diminish her chances in the competitive job market of the Netherlands affected her behaviour. To establish herself as a competent professional she feels compelled to shake hands with men in her Dutch milieu, as Efsun felt that shaking hands was one of the requirements of professional competency. This decision was based on the argument that otherwise "she would be left behind in the job", directly referring to her concerns of economic capital.

In this instance, when asked about the handshake, Efsun answered with a "we", speaking also in the name of fellow second generation veiled women. This is due to the tacit agreement that handshaking, although a transgression, is a prevalently practiced and accepted one within the group of veiled second generation women. As Le Renard has argued in her work on Saudi Arabian young women's transgressions in pious clothing "transgressions have a public aspect that makes them transformative: They spread among young women and contribute to shifting the boundaries of behaviours acceptable in public for young women" (Le Renard, 2013: 110).

Yeliz was very much aware of the impact of the social context on her choices regarding the handshake:

> If I want Turks in the Netherlands to have a good standing, if I want to represent them in a positive manner, I have to give up on some things, to secure other things in the future such as a good job. Therefore, I do not adhere to a strict rule of not handshaking for example. Yes, it might be wrong in the truly Islamic sense, but overall it is not more important than my future, which I have to prioritize. And for them, shaking hands is a way of socializing. In this context, we as Turks have to keep up with Dutch lifestyle, and fit in. In my school, my teacher used to shake my hand, and then he asked me about it. He asked "well I am doing it, but is it offensive to you"? And I explained to him that in theory it is wrong, but it is not such an issue if he wants to shake my hand. In time, when you get familiar with people, you can let the people know that you prefer not to do it, but it is not crucial.

Despite the acknowledgment that in Islamic understanding handshaking is indeed wrong, Yeliz approaches the practice in a matter-of-fact way. Here, as in the case of Efsun, the handshake is detached from its understanding in a pious universe and considered for its social and economic importance in the secular-liberal Dutch

framework. Yeliz emphasizes the need to fit into the Dutch lifestyle. The handshake allows my respondents to be in harmony with Dutch social practices, and thus to creatively change their habitus and maximize their profits in fields other than the spiritual/cultural by building up their social capital. The concerns of "representing Turks in a positive manner" or "Turks having a good standing and having a good job" are in essence concerns about upward mobility and being acceptable as partner in Dutch social (labour) networks. As she considers the handshake as a practice embedded in Dutch social life, she argues for being flexible and accommodating rather than strictly keeping with modesty. A certain bargaining takes place in her thinking between strict observation of piety and economic emancipation, in which the latter is found to be more important in the long run. Yeliz has a feel for the game in the field of proper Dutch social interaction between individuals, and plays according to the rules for her own social gains which, in the long run, will also be materially rewarding. In this context, the flexibility in shaking hands of the *namahrem* is closely connected to practical reasons of upward mobility.

Zeynep, a student of psychology (22) makes a similar point:

> It is something in their culture. Living here we have to adapt to their ways. If we live here, we have to respect their ways. It is the proper and kind way of introductions. I had received an award some time ago in school. Imagine that when the man is giving me the award, I will say to him: "I can't shake your hand, it's against my religion." Of course you don't do it. You don't do it because firstly it will be rude. You don't want to refuse this older man who has no idea, who is only being kind. But also because you need to be on good terms with such people. If we will go to their schools, and go to their jobs to make a living in this country, we have to adapt to these things.

In this account, Zeynep affirms the handshake as a cultural element of Dutch social interaction, which is to be respected. It pertains to kindness in greetings, as "greetings are an important part of the communicative competence necessary for being a member" of a community (Duranti, 1997:63). Therefore, Zeynep also conceptualises the handshake in the field of appropriate Dutch social interaction and not in the Islamic pious universe of gendered interaction. In this context the handshake is a social obligation, refusing to do so is rude rather than an ethical choice of self-making. Indeed, the occasions of handshaking are positively seen as instances in which they are valued and welcome. As another respondent said: "If they extend their hand to me, they make an effort to get to know me, I have to meet them halfway. So of course I will shake hands." Ultimately, Zeynep underlines the practical aspect of the handshake, which then is employed to turn such hospitality to economic capital in the long run. Upward mobility by "going to their

schools and their jobs" necessitates complying with the prevalent social norm of handshaking.

Some consider knowing when to shake hands to be as crucial as knowing the language for full social participation. Nilay, who studies business economics, likened it to speaking Dutch without an accent:

> For example, if you are to apply for a job in a company, you are better off if you have no accent. They will expect this. They will also expect you to be socially comfortable. Someone extrovert, who can handshake. Maybe it is something more difficult with the accent, but you need to do the handshake. You need to be socially confident. I believe that none of my veiled friends will refuse to shake hands.

Lack of a detectable accent pertains to social capital as it indicates proficiency and belonging in the Dutch social context. Just as having an accent complicates belonging to Dutch society and renders the person less desirable in institutional settings, the respondent argues that the refusal of the handshake will work in a similar way. In this respondent's discourse of social capabilities, the handshake goes together with desired qualities of being outgoing and confident in social situations.

These examples show the intricate link between complying with Dutch norms of sociability and upward mobility. Respondents acknowledged the embeddedness of the handshake in Dutch culture as an act that testifies to social competence and adeptness as a member of the Dutch social and professional community. As such, it is an act that solidifies their social network and builds their social capital. In work or internship contexts, respondents establish themselves through proper introductions and handshakes as social capital is based on mutual knowledge and recognition (Bourdieu, 2008: 286). Handshaking has symbolic value in that it indicates that they know how to navigate the Dutch social sphere proficiently and belong to this prestigious group.

By using the symbolic power of the handshake, the Turkish-Dutch students expect that they will be granted recognition in the eyes of the Dutch as members of Dutch society. This recognition is then expressed by inclusion in their social network and ultimately transferrable into economic capital. Bourdieu argues for the "multiplier effect" (2008:286) of the influence of such social capital on economic capital which is at the root of all the other types of capital [38] (ibid: 288). In other words, membership in the group of handshaking, competent Dutch professionals

38 "So it has to be posited simultaneously that economic capital is at the root of all the other types of capital and that these transformed, disguised forms of economic capital, never entirely reducible to that definition, produce their most specific effects only to the extent that they conceal (not least from their possessors) the fact that economic capital is at their root, in other words – but only in the last analysis – at the root of their effects" (Bourdieu, 2008: 288).

and the good relationships cultivated with these professionals grant respondents the social capital necessary to make greater claims on economic capital.

How is the worth of cultural capital balanced against that of social and economic capital? Such a balancing act is considered by Aycan, a 23 year-old student of public relations:

> When someone wants to shake my hand I think to myself: Is there more good involved in it rather than bad? I mean if I shake their hand maybe something good will come out of it. That person's prejudice will diminish. Maybe he will have a better view of Muslim women, maybe they won't think of us as antisocial and passive types. So that they will know we are approachable. So overall I can afford a sin and shake his hand. This is how I go about everything, judging for myself whether I should do something or not. Only if they are close friends or acquaintances so I know it won't be rude, I tell them I prefer not to touch. I make a gesture.

Like others, Aycan is well aware of the significance of handshaking as a social norm in the Netherlands and is highly concerned with how others view Muslim women. Her assessment regarding whether to shake someone's hand is contingent on its repercussions in the views of the Dutch. Although she considers handshaking a "sin", it is a sin worthy of committing as she thinks it changes the negative ideas the Dutch have about Muslim women's social skills. Although Aycan does not refer explicitly to the economic capital gains in her discourse as do the others, she does consider the social power it gives her; it may change the views others have of her and Muslim women in general and allow them to be considered as adept members of the Dutch social community rather than "antisocial and passive." When people with whom she has a more casual relationship extend their hand, however, Aycan responds by putting her hand on her chest, a gesture that informs the other person that she prefers not to shake hands.

As seen in these accounts, although handshaking is considered a transgression of pious conduct, at the same time, these women are significantly flexible on this practice. I have shown the discrepancy between Islamic ethical formation and the rules of Dutch socialization. While ideally veiled Muslim students would not shake hands with *namahrem* men in line with their ethical self-formation, worldly concerns such as securing a job or maintaining a positive image of Muslim women circumscribed this behaviour. The handshake is viewed in a continuum of maintaining good relations with colleagues, bosses or teachers, returning kindness or hospitality, showing a professional attitude and knowledge of Dutch social norms which are ultimately concerns related to their emancipation, social standing and economic participation in the Netherlands rather than piety.

The respondents are preoccupied with Islamic ethical self-formation, but as shown here, piety alone does not guide their actions. Regardless of their commitment to an Islamic ethical formation and the consequent religious prescriptions they live by, they rarely refuse to shake hands. Despite scriptural prescriptions, self-determined decision making is at work in their handshaking behaviour as they are clearly concerned with fitting into the secular-liberal order. Respondents are able to judge in every instance whether handshaking will be for their benefit or not, and they will act accordingly through conscious choice and deliberate action. They autonomously determine how they will act and, in this respect, they show themselves to be agents in the liberal feminist conception of agency as autonomy.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, I attempted to answer the question "what is the way in which my respondents approach and appropriate the issue of the handshake, and how can their agency be accounted for regarding the handshake?" As gender relations lie at the heart of the reproduction of the nation (or cultural group) (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 47), prevalent norms of gendered interaction become highly important as they determine to what extent agents are included in the imaginary of the nation/group. That is why the different ways of gendered interaction become important for how the respondents feel and claim belonging to the Turkish-Dutch and Dutch groups. I contend that Muslim ethical practices, how they are executed or not executed, should always be contextually analysed through their social meanings in a given setting. Only then do they become meaningful. Therefore, I have undertaken to look at the habitus of non-handshaking by veiled Muslim students, with its distinct understanding of gendered interaction. Moreover, I wanted to contribute to the agency discussions in the case of Muslim women. Agency is complex and multi-layered and should be theorised differently in different settings.

Two conflicting cultural norms regarding the handshake (avoiding handshaking for ethical reasons vs. handshaking to establish proper social interaction) were identified, both equally valued and recognized. In this chapter, I set out to show how veiled Muslim students dealt with the conflict in practice and how this can be related to two diverse ways of theorizing agency.

In the first section, I have shown how respondents refrain from handshaking in line with their religious convictions as part of their cultural capital of religious socialization. As such, their ethical concerns of self-realization in the pious universe confirmed the arguments of the "doing religion" paradigm (Avishai, 2008). The respondents' discourse regarding the handshake was based on concerns related to pious conduct. Non-handshaking had the symbolic power to give the agent prestige

and esteem in the pious universe. This was most evident in the way they distinguish between Turkish-Dutch religious men, who are in the know about pious conduct and the precept of non-touching and who are potential marriage partners, and secular Turkish-Dutch or Dutch men. This upholds Mahmood's notion of "agency as self-realization" (2005).

In the second section, I have shown how they negotiate the non-touching precept in the Dutch social field. In fact, they seldom refuse to shake hands in this field. Here, handshaking was seen as an important means to gain social capital, providing them with individual and communal benefits. This social capital in turn worked to generate economic capital. Their handshaking behaviour was tied to concerns of upward mobility.

In terms of agency, this means that both notions of agency, of pious self-realization and of autonomous rational decision-making, were involved. By negotiating when and where to shake hands and by deciding which type of capital is more interesting to them in which specific context, they show that they can successfully combine these different types of agency. Their agency is not limited to constructing a pious self but can also be read within liberal feminism's paradigm of agency as autonomy. Moreover, rather than being two different things, as Mahmood stated, I find that there are cross-overs. The Turkish Dutch students not only sought self-realization as pious Muslims but also as Dutch professionals, and they were not only autonomous in their rational decision-making on what was effective to their career, but also on what would construct them as a pious woman.

5 Migrant living spaces: religiosity and gender in a disciplinary institution[39]

39 Published as: Batum, D.S. and W. Jansen (2013). Migrant Living Spaces: Religiosity and Gender in a Disciplinary Institution. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*. 34 (4): 321-339.

Introduction

This chapter focuses on a dorm for Turkish-Dutch practicing Muslim female students in a university town in the Netherlands. What is special in this dorm is that piety, practicing of day-to-day religion, is observed in the dorm, as it is owned and operated by a religious association. Joining this dorm does not only mean renting a physical living space, but entails adopting a particular framework of piety as certain rules and regulations apply. Mostly women whose families have been long-time members of the association join the dorm, but other trajectories are also possible. When non-members join the dorm, they are expected to adapt to the dorm's norms. The dorm is thus a social institution with governing norms, especially pertaining to piety and gender.

Turkish-Dutch second-generation women are a minority group in the Netherlands who are meagerly represented in both higher education and the work force. This fact is widely attributed to conservative religious adherence and subsequent gender norms. Given this fact, in this chapter, I will look closely at the gender norms operating in the dorm.

In the Netherlands, policymakers expected that with time, immigrant Turkish Muslims would lose their religious and cultural characteristics. However, this has not been the case. Second-generation Turkish youth to this day by and large keep in line with such characteristics; they are predominantly religious (Phalet, van Lotringen and Entzinger, 2000). Subsequently, conservative gender norms and practices are still pertinent.

Gender is a complex web of collectively shared and constituted beliefs, norms, recurrent practices and enduring discourses that has implications on lives of people.

Various social institutions influence how people are gendered such as institutions of religion, law and health. Such institutions have gender discourses, setting discursive and behavioural norms regarding gender. Conceptualising this living space as an establishment of a larger religious body, I inquire about the implications this framework has for gender. In other words, in this chapter, I will answer the question: how does the dorm function as an institution that informs gender as performed by the students?

Data was gathered through multiple methods of semi-structured interviews, participant observation and informal focus groups. I look at life in the dorm through the Foucauldian framework of disciplinary power.

This chapter shows the strength of a religious dorm that functions as an institution of disciplinary power in structuring the life of its Turkish-Dutch members. I show how through various disciplinary techniques of power members are made into pious subjects, especially focusing on implications for issues of gender. Dorm members are subject to capillary power; "power that reaches into

individuals so deeply that it makes them who they are" (Alford, 2000: 125). As I will show, however, by no means do these participants lack agency in the face of this power. Rather, they are agentic subjects; they are actively supportive of their subjection with a view to Islamic self-development. From curfew rules and managing relations with the opposite sex to how to dress, I show how members encounter the sanctions imposed on them as necessary tools of cultivating pious womanhood. In other words, I present the discursive production of the gendered pious subjects in the dorm, whose commitment to religious development is characterised by docility.

Religion, Immigration and Gender

Several studies have focused on Muslim women in immigration contexts in Europe and North America (van Nieuwkerk, 2006; Joseph and Najmabadi, 2007; Tarlo, 2007; Williams and Vashi, 2007; Dwyer, 2008; Korteweg, 2008; Byng, 2010, Shirazi and Mishra, 2010; Christiansen, 2011). For immigrants, religiosity and gender have been identified as important factors of identity formation (Cadge and Ecklund, 2007). In immigration contexts for practitioners of Islam, it has been argued that "religious identity is something of great concern to Muslim women and to have quite a different quality and expression as compared with Muslim men" (Bouma and Brace-Govan, 2000: 169). This chapter aims to contribute to this literature at the intersection of gender, immigration and conservative religion, by looking at gender at a Turkish-Dutch dorm that belongs to a religious association, for second-generation women.

Women's participation in conservative religious institutions has for some time intrigued gender scholars. Four strands of theories emerged in literature explaining women's participation. First, the "comply but" argument which stated that despite experiencing restrictions, women are empowered by or liberated from their religion (Bartkowski and Ghazal Read, 2003; Chen, 2005; Chong, 2006 in Avishai, 2008).

Second, the "non-compliance" argument theorised that women never blindly adhere to religious prescriptions, but they adapt their religion to their lives' realities by subversion and partly complying (Gallagher, 2003; 2004; Hartman, 2003 in Avishai, 2008; Chen, 2005). The third strand of theory argued that women's compliance and participation is strategic; they use religion for other gains such as economic, political or domestic opportunities (Chen, 2005; Gallagher 2007 in Avishai 2008). The fourth line of theory argued that women comply with and participate in conservative religions for the sake of religious ends only rather than any other gains (Mahmood, 2005; Avishai, 2008).

This study builds on this literature by showing how the respondents' participation in a disciplinary religious institution is primarily geared towards 'doing religion' – "as a mode of conduct and being" (Avishai, 2008: 412). As I will illustrate, the dorm facilitates doing religion with a view to Islamic self-development, which has been the primary concern of my respondents. Moreover, their participation also can be read as strategic, as in the face of Dutch and secular Turkish discourses of identity, the pious dorm and the existence of pious fellows constitute a political gain, enabling a way of being and existing in a pious universe. On a side note, I also acknowledge that the dorm is part of a financially powerful network which also supports its members in future concerns such as looking for jobs. As I have chosen to address how gender is informed by participating in the dorm I contribute to the literature on women's participation in religious institutions with the emphasis on the formation of gendered pious subjects in an immigration context. Islamic student dorms in Turkey have been studied with some important findings regarding gender issues (Çarkoğlu and Toprak, 2006; Turam, 2007). I build on this literature in the Turkish-Dutch case.

Gender theorists argue that modern discourses of gender "constitute subjectivities in a process of domination and social control" (Fuss, 1991; Butler, 1993; 2004; Warner, 1993; Wilchins, 2004 in Green, 2010: 317, Eng, Halberstam and Munoz, 2005). The dorm has a certain discourse on gender; a social configuration of all the beliefs and practices about the right way of "doing gender" (West and Zimmerman, 1987). This has a prominent influence on the members, as discourses have the capacity to constitute identities (Frank, 1998). My aim is to look closely at this gender discourse, with a view to spelling out how it shapes gendered subjects.

My analysis draws upon the Foucauldian understanding of disciplinary power. Foucault (1980) argued that the individual is an effect of power. Discipline is a technology of power; a "type of power, a modality for its exercise" (Foucault, 1977: 215), operating by way of micropractices that emerged in modern disciplinary institutions. Disciplinary techniques "operate in myriad ways to instigate regimes of 'truth' and 'normality' that normalise human agents into conformity with prioritised social ideals" (Munro, 2003: 82). As the dorm has clearly stated rules and regulations, I will show the disciplinary nature of the dorm by looking analytically at various aspects of life in the dorm. I will contribute to the literature by showing how these rules in the dorm work to discursively produce gendered subjects. Key to my argument is that the subjection in the dorm is voluntary and by no means lacks the agency of the dorm members, as the members are committed to doing religion.

Turkish-Dutch Dorms

Various Islamic-Turkish associations operate in the Netherlands (see Shadid and van Koningsveld, 1992; Sunier, 1996; Rath et al., 2001; Schiffauer, 2007; Yükleyen, 2009; 2010). They “function as ethnic interest groups, claiming for their members not only religious, but also political, social, and economic rights” (Nuhoğlu-Sosyal, 1997: 509). Furthermore, each association has its own various education centres catering to different age groups. Dorms usually operate in cities and towns in which universities and vocational schools are present, and they are single sex.

The dorm I have come to know is a semi-detached house in a quiet residential neighbourhood, not far away from a prominent university. The large communal living room is decorated in light beige colours, with a state-of-the-art TV and audio set. The utterly clean and spacious room has a few calligraphy pieces in Arabic alphabet scattered around. On the walls, landscape nature photography adds to the room’s serenity. Notices on the walls are reminders of the institutional nature of this place, such as “We shall keep the room tidy” and “Please remember to turn off the TV”. On the table is an Istanbul-based conservative newspaper.

These dorms are a common phenomenon amongst the religious Turkish-Dutch community as the conservative answer to the Dutch *kamers* (student’s rooms). In the Netherlands most students move away from the family home to live independently in rented rooms, preferably in houses with several others. Such rooms often have been described by my Turkish-Dutch respondents as “not suitable” places to live. One exchange student from Turkey told in detail the kind of difficulties she had encountered as a practicing Muslim when renting a *kamer*. Her problems stemmed from her strong willingness to observe religious codes; it was difficult to veil and wear her long dresses indoors, since she was sharing shower, toilet and communal areas with five other people of mixed sex, as well as her painstaking care in sharing the fridge since she did not want her food to be exposed to pork products. *Kamers* are deemed unsuitable due to the differences in lifestyle; *kamers* are often rented in settings which are mixed-sex and thus go against the gender segregation in Islamic sense, and where one is confronted with parties where alcohol is consumed, as well as the different dietary rules by fellow house-mates.

Most dorm members have a long-standing history with the association, through their parents since childhood. Elif, twenty-year-old student of international commerce is a current dorm resident who has been engaged with the association since she was attending the Qur’an courses at the age of twelve:

> I had been going when I was around twelve to the boarding Qur’an courses at the weekends. I could not wait to go there at the end of the week. I loved my older sisters very much, and I could not wait to be grown up like them and be

> veiled like them. I am so thankful that I have been in this community, and the schools. They have given me such a strong faith, they have taught me so much.

Like her, many others also followed Qur'an courses by the association as children, at weekend boarding schools or during the summer holidays. Also, there are *dershane's*, (classrooms) which work mainly as after-school centres in which primary and secondary schoolchildren are helped with their homework by volunteer youngsters of the association. These *dershane's* are also open at the weekend as a centre to get together. Furthermore, there are *kampen* (summer camps) in which a more intensive religious education takes places. Evidently, the dorm is not a singular and temporary institution, but it is innately connected to a network of other institutions of the association. Participation is a lifelong engagement as long as one is willing to do so.

Methods

This chapter is written as part of a research on second-generation Turkish-Dutch veiled female students in higher education. By selecting academic women, I want to do justice to the "heightened awareness of inner diversity of the category 'migrant women'" (Bilge and Denis, 2010: 3). To answer the question of "how does the dorm function as an institution that informs gender as lived by the students" and to arrive at a complete understanding of how gender is constituted in life at the dorm the research methodology entails multiple methods of semi-structured interviews, participant observation and informal focus groups. The research is based on two years of fieldwork.

The main method of data collection was semi-structured interviews. These were held with four primary respondents who are current members and two previous members of the main dorm studied in which currently eight women live, as well as six residents of other dorms of the association and also six students from other such associations, including two students who have dropped out from the associations and consequently the dorms. Furthermore, 14 practicing, veiled students who are not members of any associations have been interviewed. Students are from various academic disciplines and vocational schools. They are between the ages of 20 to 30, and only two are married. They have been contacted mainly through snowball sampling method and met in university campuses. For background information, two Turkish-Dutch secular women, one Turkish-Dutch secular man and one Dutch local politician who do not practice Islam and associate with any religious associations also have been interviewed. Also, interviews have been done with veiled students in Turkey of whom two participated in the associations and one who dropped out of a dorm.

Participant observation has been employed in several settings: on three occasions at the dorm, at afternoon gatherings for tea, in six outings in town and walks in the park as well as two times for dinner with different combinations of respondents. Informal focus groups spontaneously occurred during these encounters.

Constituting the Dorm-girl: Micropractices of Disciplinary Power

Here I take a closer look at the workings of the dorm. Foucault argues disciplinary power to have some distinct characteristics and a certain way of working. Through distinct rules, regulations and sanctions regarding various elements in the dorm, a certain gendered pious subject is produced. Guided by Foucault's framework of disciplinary power as theorised in his seminal work Discipline and Punish (1977), in this section, I will present the disciplinary nature of this institution and show how these work to constitute the dorm members as gendered pious subjects.

Hierarchy-Power Relations

In the dorm, a variety of members with different ranks have a hierarchical relation. Foucault argues discipline to be "an art of rank, a technique for the transformation of arrangements" (Foucault, 1977: 146). There are the younger members and the older members who are in charge of the younger ones. A tacit understanding is that older members are obliged to look after and be somewhat responsible for the younger ones. There is also one resident supervisor, one of the older students who is in charge of everyone and with keeping things running. Here, the ranking is based on seniority.

There are also religious teachers who come for special *sohbet* (chat) hours which consist not only of religious education but also general discussion about everything. These teachers are called *hoca's* (literally meaning religious teacher in Turkish). They are respectable opinion leaders, and they are often deemed as having the correct Islamic answers to all kind of questions about life. *Sohbet's* are held at least once a week. In *sohbet* sessions, *hoca* gives some religious information, and after that, members can ask questions and advice. Attending to these *sohbets* is required for dorm members.

Supervisors work like mentors who take care of students' studies as well as personal lives. They are in charge of the organisation of the household, assign cleaning and cooking duties as well as keep an eye on the activities of the youngsters. The supervisor is not an outright authority figure as is the teacher, rather an older sister who is friendly and whom younger members can relate to easily. The relationship is described as "amiable and lenient" by a younger member.

After the supervisor, older students are second in rank. Discipline "individualises bodies by a location that does not give them a fixed position, but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relations" (Foucault, 1977: 146). There is no clear-cut distinction about who is considered as more responsible, but it is roughly based on willingness and internalisation of these roles vis-*à*-vis other members. The older members assist with the younger ones, help with assignments and give education-related guidance when needed. As with the *hoca* and the supervisor, they are respected and addressed as *abla* (big sister).

There is a strong sense of community, and members value the opinions of their superiors. One respondent said: "You can trust the sisters to tell you from right or wrong. And they really take care of you and support you". As seen here, these figures have a certain influence on the members which is deemed positive by them. "Discipline 'makes' individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise" (Foucault, 1977: 170). The older sisters are the loci of power in this institution and function as the smooth link between the official association and the younger members. Moreover, both supervisor and *hoca* are the embodied delegates of disciplinary power of the association. However, the relations of power exercised in the dorm is not strictly topdown, but as Foucault argues modern disciplinary power to be, it is rather diffuse and broad. Despite supervisor being the ultimate responsible person, power is exercised through various figures.

Organising of Time

Time is highly structured in the dorm, as activities run on a timetable as an aspect of the dorm's disciplinary nature: "Power is articulated directly onto time; it assures its control and guarantees its use" (Foucault, 1977: 160). Organisation of time in the dorm is in line with the Foucauldian disciplinary understanding of an ever-expanding use of time. Moreover, students keep time in unison which manifests as a disciplinary normalising tool. All activities are collectively planned ahead. These include meal times, times of prayer rituals, *sohbet* sessions, study hours as well as leisure times which are scheduled for both weekdays and weekends. Residents are expected to keep to these schedules.

Meals are always eaten together in the dorm. Students have breakfast before they leave for their classes. They gather back at the dorm after classes for a snack time at around 4 o'clock. Ones who have afternoon classes cannot make it. Finally, they have dinner together around 8 o'clock. While they might miss some meal times due to other preoccupations, all members are expected to be present for dinner. The dinner time also works as the curfew, which I will come back to.

There are also prayer ritual times at which members get together to pray, which I will further discuss. They encourage each other in doing the rituals.

Weekly *sohbet* sessions are another time slot dedicated to religious and spiritual growth, at which members are expected to be present. After dinner and during the day, there are study hours. Depending on individual workloads, dorm members help each other out with their studies. Often members who have seniority help out younger students. It is commonplace to ask for help from others. Younger students benefit immensely from this arrangement, as they make use of the knowledge of others who have taken the same courses.

Lastly, leisure times are also scheduled, including the weekends. On a weekend, if members do not have other obligations such as tutoring someone or appointed cleaning duties, in their leisure time members can go home to visit their parents or go into the city with their friends. The dorm exercises a vast amount of influence on how its members will organise and execute their time and obliges members to live accordingly. The organisation of time is geared towards no redundancy as discipline "arranges a positive economy; it poses the principle of a theoretically ever-growing use of time: exhaustion rather than use; it is a question of extracting, from time, ever more available moments and from each moment, ever more useful forces" (Foucault, 1977: 154).

The predetermined nature of time in the dorm is with a view to two important factors that are at stake. Academic achievement comes from dedicated continuous hard work, which the dorm circumscribes through its assigned study hours, as well as the possibility it presents in providing live-in mentors. One respondent who did not live in the dorm argued that the dorm pays attention to the academic excellence of its members, choosing them based on their academic abilities and what they can bring to the association, and that they would not bother with students who do not seem bright and hardworking. "The administrative and economic techniques of control reveal a social time of a serial, orientated, cumulative type: the discovery of an evolution in terms of 'progress'" (Foucault, 1977: 160). Such a progress is achieved through the controlled nature of students' productivity.

Second, managing of time in the dorm is not only with a view to academic productivity but also serves the pious nature of the dorm. Time in the dorm is divided taking into consideration the pious acts of rituals and religious chat sessions. Piety in the dorm entails the regular practice of rituals scattered throughout the day which I will discuss next. In this disciplinary institution, all activities including both religious and mundane follow a sequence as "precision and application are, with regularity, the fundamental virtues of disciplinary time" (Foucault, 1977: 151). Indeed, the regularity of prayer rituals are said to advance the conduct of the believer. The disciplinary nature of the dorm works to "analyse space, break up and rearrange activities" and it "must also be understood as a machinery for adding up and capitalising time" (Foucault, 1977: 157).

Namaz Rituals

One of the most defining characteristics of the dorm is the attention paid to piety; the ritual performance of religion, in line with contemporary movements of Islam the world over (Tong and Turner, 2008). Accordingly practicing of the formal prayer ritual, *namaz* is carried out in the dorm. It is of great importance as one of the five pillars of Islam.

Namaz is executed by sequences of movements accompanied by recitations which follow a certain order. In *namaz*, the "worshipper executes a fixed sequence of movements (standing, prostrating, kneeling, sitting), each accompanied by a fixed Arabic recitation" (Bowen, 1989: 600). *Namaz* happens five times a day and is of major importance for practitioners of Islam.

In the dorm, skipping *namaz* is frowned upon. Members encourage each other to do it, which entails even waking each other up at as early as 5 a.m. for the early morning prayers. As the regular practice is perceived as having a positive effect in all aspects of one's life, it is commended as a necessary constituent of Islamic self-development. "By punctually carrying out these duties one would increase one's power of reason (aqi) and the ability to control one's behavior" (Siegel, 1969: 115-19 in Bowen 1989: 602). When members are in the dorm, *namaz* is carried out in the special prayer room, *mescid*. At their universities, students usually execute *namaz* in a special room allocated often inside a student church or a meditation room. In the dorm, they queue in front of the bathroom to wash themselves according to the rules of ablution, put their headscarves on and gather in the *mescid*.

Religious exercises have been cited by Foucault as prime examples of disciplinary subjection, with a view to "gradual acquisition of knowledge and good behaviour" (Foucault, 1977: 162). *Namaz* I argue is a disciplinary technique imposed on the docile bodies of the dorm members, both through its characteristic as a bodily practice, as well as its social prominence in the dorm. It is the quintessential disciplinary technique on the docile body, as it has a hold over the very movements of the body in a given time frame. Foucault argues disciplinary techniques to render "possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assured the constant subjection and imposed upon them a relation of docility-utility" (Foucault, 1977: 137). Such docility is at work in *namaz*. Beyza said:

> It is not like a very strict rule that you have to do *namaz*. It should not be misunderstood. If you are someone who does not do it, then fine. But the right thing is to do it of course. And the sisters encourage you, since they want to teach us to make the best of ourselves. Our sisters sometimes woke us up to do the *namaz* by caressing our hair gently. It is not in any way by force.

The dorm has a stake in the execution of *namaz* as religious rituals serve a certain purpose. They create collective emotions and operate as “social glue of communities” (Barbalet, 1998). In the dorm, *namaz* becomes a symbolic performance, an inherent signifier of a collective religious lifestyle; its repetition works to distinguish the cultural specificity of this place. The dorm asserts its pious nature through *namaz*, constituting itself as a culturally distinct place compared to other student housings. Thus, while *namaz* can sometimes be dismissed by many lay Muslim practitioners, living in the dorm significantly structures this ritual. A student who left the dorm explains: “It is like you are not really forced, but it is expected of you and you know it. And when everyone gets up to do it, you feel like you are obligated. You feel uneasy”. Members are subjected to *namaz* and expected to join in. Living in close proximity in shared rooms, dorm members easily monitor who does it or not. With the command to execute this bodily ritual, the dorm imposes *namaz* as a normalising act. It works as a tool of the dorm’s disciplinary power in producing pious subjects.

Food

Meals are always shared in the dorm. Sharing meals is a moment to express and reinforce collective and individual identities. In Dutch *kamers*, students cook their own food, buy their own groceries or eat at the university restaurant. But in this dorm, the rent of 275 Euros a month also includes the food expenses. Therefore, the way in which food is prepared, shared and the manner of eating in the dorm are all extensions of its normalising nature.

One afternoon around 4 o’clock, a table had been prepared for tea and snacks in the dorm. “Snacks” turned out, indeed, to be an elaborate table of Turkish items. Toasted bread, jam, butter, some *halal* cheese, olives and tomatoes were prepared. While the packaging of the jam and cheese indicated their Turkish origin, tea was not prepared in the time-consuming Turkish style, but with a teabag. This was a distinctly “student” table in which packaged groceries were haphazardly brought together. The students had expressed in their selection of food to both adhere to their Turkish background as well as to their hectic student life. The timing of the meals was, however, strictly Turkish, as dinner is eaten later at 8 o’clock. During the tea, it was decided that one evening Beyza would cook a *halal* version of Nasi Goreng, a popular Indonesian recipe adapted to Dutch taste. As it was noted in another context: “The ways in which food is produced, handled, cooked, served, and eaten, inform not only about the shifting boundaries between self and other, but also about the shifting notions of the self” (Jansen, 1997: 88). The foods consumed illustrate the complex identity.

Tennur was enthusiastic when talking about the lively dinners at the dorm; thanks to them “no one had to sit and eat alone in front of their computer like in

kamers". The community spirit of the dinners was cherished and worked to establish the positively perceived "friendly" Turkish nature of this dorm as opposed to the individualistic nature of *kamers*.

Also the table manners indicated the multicultural complexity. Despite the large dining table in their kitchen, the members gathered in the living room, set the food Turkish style on the low coffee table, creating a cosy atmosphere of sharing food while watching TV. On one side of the table was a sofa where three people could sit, but everyone sat on the floor. The interviewer (Deniz Batum) was kindly ushered to the table, and she knelt down in one corner. One of the young women said: "You do not have to sit on the floor. If you want, you can sit on the sofa". As the only person at the table that did not live in the dorm, not a member of the religious association, and, also unveiled, the interviewer was singled out as the one who should rather not sit on the floor. Here, sitting on the floor to eat was a signifier of a certain belonging; a consciously executed performance of a religious-Turkish identity, that did not involve in this member's eyes, a secular Turkish visitor. Members of this association deliberately sit on the floor when they get together, although they also have Western style dinner tables. Through this authentic form, a cultural socialisation is executed, and it works as a normalising tool inherent to pious Turkish identity. The ways in which the institution prescribes the preparation and consumption of the food as well as the sitting arrangements are all micropractices with a view to normalising pious subjecthood.

Curfew

Even if everyone could not make it to the afternoon tea, for dinner at eight o'clock, everyone was obliged to be present. One has to have a legitimate reason, such as attending an education-related event to miss dinner, and this has to be reported beforehand. The dinner thus marked the hour at which young women had to be home, and it worked as the curfew.

Primary reason with regards to the curfew is the association of night-time with polluting activities, and, hence, unfit for pious women (Tong and Turner, 2008; Kömeçoğlu, 2009), which is a widely held notion in religious socialisation. Moreover, one respondent who no longer was living in the dorm argued that the curfew works as a means to limit members' exposure to the outside 'un-Islamic world'. The dorm safeguards its cultural distinction as a disciplinary place where young women do not stay out late, do not socialise extensively with the out group and rather focus on their studies. Indeed, "discipline sometimes requires enclosure, the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself. It is the protected place of disciplinary monotony" (Foucault, 1977: 141). Gathering dorm members indoors in the evening works as such a tool of disciplinary normalisation.

There is a gender component to this normalisation. Important to note here is that while the curfew principle is also at work in the male dorms, its practice is more relaxed compared to female dorms. As "being pious involves practices that avoid sexual pollution in various forms" (Tong and Turner, 2008: 44), as a place of unmarried young women, the dorm assumes a certain responsibility. Elif explains:

> Obviously there are certain rules about what you can and cannot do. You can come in as late as 10 o'clock provided that you inform the dorm of where you will be. Young people should not be coming here because their parents cannot deal with them at home. If you cannot live with the rules of this place, you should not come. This is not a place where people can take off as they please. These rules are for their well-being.

The fact that you cannot take off as you please or return late with no notice was one of the most insisted upon rules stated to newcomers. More than everything else, the curfew strongly holds in place the dorm's cultural distinction as a place where members are obligated to live a certain way, keeping in line with the Islamic notions of sexual purity. Discipline prescribes certain behaviour as desired and to be followed and as having sanctions: "The perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenises, excludes. In short, it normalizes" (Foucault, 1977: 183). The prescription and the strict inspection of the curfew work to normalise members' behaviour and its non-observance is subject to being dismissed. Gathering at the dorm at dinner time and sitting down to eat together becomes a tool of organising subjects in a certain way that differentiates them along a spectrum of compliance. For Foucault, classification of individuals is essential to normalisation, and I see its repercussions in the dorm. Elif tells a story about a former member - Aylin, and her problems with the curfew:

> Aylin was perpetually having problems with the elders because she was always late. Actually she did not respect the rules. I told her many times that she was acting wrong. I mean everyone is living by the rules. You cannot use the dorm to sneak off with your boyfriend. She is not the only one who has a boyfriend; she has to act like everyone else. If there are no rules, what kind of a place will this be? The feeling was that she was a bad influence on the youngsters.

Elif 's adherence to the normalising rule of the curfew is striking in the above quote. Such barriers to the outside are easily accepted and internalised by members who have more willingness for Islamic self-development through norms of the dorm. Members who have less interest in doing so have problems and often end up

falling out of the dorm. Elif showed a keen interest in keeping with the rules and also making sure others followed suit. She was actively preoccupied with correcting Aylin's behavior with regards to keeping up with the curfew. Members are often motivated to correct each other's behaviour since it reflects on them positively. For Elif, the constitution of this place as morally normative was important, thus she often took on the role of an informer. As members shared bedrooms, they got little to no privacy and this enabled being subject to social control by their peers. Supervisors are adamant on members keeping up with the curfew, and assign members to keep an eye on each other regarding each other's whereabouts. What I want to point out here is not only is the disciplinary power imposed on the "docile bodies" (Foucault, 1977: 136) by the dorm itself, but I also want to draw attention to the way in which members relate to this power. Disciplinary power is dispersed to the members rather than being imposed on them top-down; it is extended to the members in the way they are preoccupied with what each other is doing, as evident in Elif 's involvement with Aylin.

When it was publicly known that Aylin had a boyfriend, this resulted in a stricter control on her in terms of keeping up with the curfew. Elif goes on to say that Aylin's attempts of skipping dinner were widely noted by the supervisors. Since she did not have a legitimate reason such as a part-time job, or an evening class, she was obliged to be home like everyone else. In the end, Aylin chose to leave the dorm, as both parties were not happy with the situation. As nearly all members like Elif "do religion", they are committed to the prescriptions of Islamic self-development pronounced in the dorm such as the curfew. Disciplinary power effectively operates in the dorm because it has the support of obliging members. With such prescriptions, the dorm delineates the gendered subjects it aims to create, by framing what is normative behaviour. Subjects are made as they internalise and painstakingly execute what disciplinary power entails.

Gender Relations

Regarding gender relations, the dorm has clearly delineated disciplinary norms. This is due to gender relations being a "critical aspect of acts of piety because the female body and female sexuality are potentially dangerous dimensions of the everyday world" (Tong and Turner, 2008: 44). Managing dating and friendships with males is thus experienced uneasily by dorm members. Even though getting married is deemed positive especially for older members, dating openly for prolonged periods of time is discouraged and sexual intimacy before marriage is strictly forbidden for women and men alike. Dating is perceived as having a negative effect on one's Islamic self-development.

Aylin's way of bending the curfew rules was regarded as a behaviour that deviated from the mainstream code of conduct regarding the opposite sex in the

dorm. Some of the girls who had boyfriends could only see them on their designated free time and kept a low profile regarding their relationships in the dorm. Still, as Elif remarked, Aylin was not the only one who had a boyfriend, but she was the only one who actually did not shy away from breaking curfew rules for it. Intimacy with the opposite sex was frowned upon not only because it affects self-development but also because it impaired women's reputation.

Moreover, reputation does not pertain only to the individual, but it is also attributed to the community one is in. Since Aylin's deviation from the norms rendered her unwanted and unacceptable, she had a poor reputation as "gossip material". Thus, members of the dorm were afraid of being closely associated with Aylin since becoming part of this gossip material would render them undesirable in the eyes of the community. Gossip worked in a way "as a method of social control to keep women and older girls at, or near, home" (Gardner, 2005: 210). The exhausting concept of reputation, thus, has far-fetched implications that indicate who can communicate with whom under which circumstances. In this institution, the perception regarding good reputation is a significant disciplinary norm. For youngsters like Tennur, who did not grow up religious but religiously socialized at a later time in their life in the association, interaction with the opposite sex has gone through a palpable change. Tennur explains:

> Dutch guys can be really friendly. They can hit you jokingly, cuddle, kiss... They do everything. I grew up with them, went to school with them and had close friendships. Obviously when I donned the headscarf things got different, I grew more distant. In school when they attempted to hit or cuddle or something I would say 'Don't do it'. It is against my convictions. My one close friend was baffled. He'd say 'We've always been like this'. Later he got used to it. Actually these days we only talk online. We do different things, we live differently so [. . .].

Tennur's change of behaviour towards her male friend was marked by her involvement in the dorm and consequent adoption of the veil. As she explained matter-of-factly, what she considered appropriate behaviour had significantly changed. This was based on the norms of the dorm which strongly upheld sexual propriety and modesty which entailed limited bodily contact. Barriers to intimacy with the opposite sex, just like the curfew, work as a practice for maintaining good reputation as "public spaces and the encounters therein are perceived to have a contaminating and precarious influence" (Kömeço lu, 2009: 112). The prescriptions regarding good reputation are subjected to the docile bodies of dorm members, and as disciplinary norms, they obtain "holds upon it at the level of the mechanism itself - movements, gestures, attitudes, rapidity: an infinitesimal power over the

active body" (Foucault, 1977: 137). As in Elif 's acceptance and internalisation of the curfew, Tennur obliges with and willingly reconsiders her interaction with the opposite sex and distances herself bodily.

On one afternoon in the dorm, on a TV channel catering to European-Turks, we come across images of a mixed-sex crowd in a disco. The young women on TV are striking in strapless tops and short skirts. The voice-over says: "Young Turks having fun in Stuttgart". A young member utters: "What a pity [. . .] I feel pity for them" upon realising that the dancing young people on TV are Turkish. She has a certain conviction in her expression that what we are seeing on TV is improper. Her pity does not entail downright disapproval or criticism, but rather benevolent compassion that these youngsters did not know any better. However, her discourse is clear, being in a nightclub in a context where alcohol is consumed and sexes socialise in a relaxed manner is not fitting for Turkish youngsters; especially the women. Some members in our company nod without hesitation.

The docile bodies of the dorm are produced through delineating the contexts in which subjects can interact, especially with the opposite sex. Partying and nightlife is associated and identified with Dutch youth and perceived as something that Turkish youth should not strive for. As seen in the above example, members reiterate their position in the face of such confrontations. By being in the same space, members create a group culture and produce a gender ideology in their discussions of what is appropriate in interaction with the opposite sex and what is not. Apart from people who drop out such as Aylin, members believe the commanding disciplinary norms in the dorm regarding gender to be a necessary and legitimate part of Islamic self-development.

Clothing and Veiling

Veiling stands out as a tacit rule as of the eight students living in the dorm, all but two younger women were veiled. Unveiled women are referred to as open women. Apart from the veil, clothing styles also reflect modesty as mostly loose garments which do not reveal the body form are preferred. Thus, veiling and modest clothing style are a normalising regulation in the dorm.

Tennur joined the dorm as an open woman, as was her mother. During her time in the dorm, she was socialised into wearing the veil:

> My sisters in the dorm have paid a lot of attention to me, they taught me everything. They were talking extensively about the prominence and necessity of the veil. At first I was hesitant. I was thinking I will live Islamic but not do the veil. It is difficult. However, at some point they made me understand why we should do it, and I adopted it.

Veiling is not a prerequisite for joining the dorm; however, as seen in the above example, members are strongly encouraged to do so. After two years of living there, Tennur donned the veil. She makes a point of saying that there was not a forceful imperative for her to veil straightaway, but rather a persistent expression about how veiling is the correct behaviour with a view to Islamic self-development. In Tennur's example, veiling manifests the internalisation and embodiment of the disciplinary norms regarding piety facilitated by religious socialisation.

Embodiment through practices is a crucial aspect in the continuation of institutions (Martin, 2004). Since the dorm distinguishes its distinct cultural elements from mainstream society through veiling in case of attire, veiling remains pertinent. Veiling here is the tangible practice of one's discursive formation in this institution; as the manifest part of one's Islamic self-development. The veil, thus, is instrumental in this institution: it is a disciplinary norm which attests to a certain belonging to the dorm.

This belonging also manifests in the way dorm members agree about clothing styles. At a tea party in the dorm, two famous Turkish women in Diaspora are in focus. Elif talks in a passionate manner about a column she read in a Dutch newspaper about a Belgian-Turkish pop star, Hadise, famous for her overtly sexy outlook. She says the columnist was praising Hadise for her Western appearance and saying: "We would like to see more Turkish women like that". When asked what this means she said: "It means they want Turkish girls to be 'opened up' (from the veils)" [shrugging her shoulders]. This was uttered with an audible and visible mixture of emotions: of resentment, indifference and discontent at the same time. Another woman who was talked about was the winner of the Utrecht beauty pageant who is Turkish-Dutch. As the winner, she was recently all over the newspapers wearing a swimming suit. An older dorm member said: "Oh, she is not really pretty. They just made her win because she is Turkish". In a wearisome manner, she said to the others: "They want Turkish girls to have more courage to open up". Others agreed.

The respondents were passionately preoccupied with evaluating the perception of these fellow Turkish women by the majority Dutch society. By discussing the clothing of famous Turkish women on TV, dorm members constantly were working at negotiating and constituting a shared identity. "Clothes give a sense of continuity and constancy to identities", they "serve to identify those who belong and to differentiate them from those who do not belong" (Jansen, 1998: 77). They agreed and affirmed each other on their perspectives, referring to themselves as a group, as "we" when confronted with these open women. This is also evident on many occasions when a respondent is asked personally on gender issues; it is commonplace to answer with a "we and speak for the group. This is defined as self-essentialising; "a rhetorical performance to invoke a positive 'imagined community' (see Anderson,

1983)" which "may serve the group interests of collectivities that are caught in asymmetrical societal power relations" (Buitelaar, 2006: 260). Through such self-essentialising, the dorm classifies and differentiates its members from other Turkish-Dutch with regards to modesty in clothing. The utterance of a collective "we" in the dorm when prescribing the correct manner of modesty thus works as a normalising tool.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, I set out to answer the question of "how does the dorm function as an institution that informs gender as lived by the students?" By closely looking at life in the dorm, I conclude that the dorm not only informs gender, rather the dorm discursively creates and forms gendered pious subjects. I have found that constitution of these gendered pious subjects is a product of the interplay between the agentic subjects and the disciplinary institution. Various disciplinary techniques are prescribed, and these are voluntarily and ardently exercised by the members. The dorm not only provides accommodation, but it also provides a moral and behavioural framework guided by a pious way of life. Through disciplinary rules and regulations, it works at normalisation of its members. The dorm is such an all-encompassing institution of disciplinary power that it has the ability to produce gendered pious members in a certain way.

As a religious institution, which for many students from pious homes works as a home away from home with regards to keeping with Islamic prescriptions, the dorm is significantly preoccupied with how gender issues are dealt with. Actively supportive of its members' academic participation in Dutch higher education, the dorm works at striking a balance between the pious universe and the requirements of academic and social excellence of its members in the Dutch vernacular. It does so by implementing strict rules and regulations. As seen here, in this institution, gender ideology is embodied in everyday life; ideas are not separated from practice. The dorm is a model of and presents a model for a particular gender culture; it circumscribes gendered Islamic behaviour - what to wear, how to behave, how to interact with whom and so on, with high stakes in their execution. The dorm brings clear-cut answers to problems that may arise for pious women from mixing of the sexes in public life. Concealing of the body form, the curfew, the rules of interaction with the opposite sex are all clearly pointed out as guiding principles, and members act within the framework painstakingly delineated by the dorm. Thus, the dorm works to reproduce individuals that are fully in line with its gender ideology. I have shown the various disciplinary techniques at work in the dorm.

I have also shown how such prescriptions are received. Especially important to note here has been how peer surveillance works effectively in assuring the continuation of the dorm's disciplinary power. Also, I have noted how the members collectively negotiate and affirm gendered discourses of the correct way of living. These attest to the success of the disciplinary power operating in the dorm, as well as its dispersed and broad nature. Members share the same notions of the true Islamic way of living, and through discussions, they reinforce the attempted normalisation of the dorm.

Having outlined the disciplinary nature of the dorm, I wanted to highlight that at the face of this disciplinary power, the dorm members are by no means powerless. On the contrary, as I have shown, the members are voluntarily subjected to this power, based on their commitment to Islamic self-development. Members agree to live with such a strict framework because they think it is good for them, as they have internalised the prescribed rules and regulations. Members who are not able to internalise these fall out of the association, losing the support of a powerful network.

The main predicament this chapter wanted to raise is not only the mere existence of religious gender norms and the gendered structures, but also to point to the formation and strengthening of these through the influence of the dorm. I want to stress the importance of how the dorm has come to be a focal point of power, and this is why dorm's gender practices matter. Gender practices and norms become significant due to their legitimisation by the association. In other words, religious gender norms become all the more binding and stringent when people are held accountable by an institution of disciplinary power rather than personal ethical convictions. The existing religious gender ideology and norms are further reinforced, as they shift from being ethical personal values and choices into almost law-like regulations that are binding for all members.

5

6 Claiming leisure space: differences between Turkish-Dutch and Turkish students

Introduction

This chapter explores leisurely use of spaces by veiled, practicing Muslim Turkish students of higher education in respectively the Netherlands and Turkey. Often times, practicing Muslim women have been characterized by fixity and lack of movement (Abu Lughod, 1985; Ahmed, 1992), predominantly due to gendered distinctions of (male) public and (female) private domains inherent in Islam (Thompson, 2003) and negative notions about women's spatial mobility and its perceived relation to their sexual impurity (Silvey, 2000). As the veil is historically seen as symptomatic of the upholding of such norms and gendered spatial segregation (El Guindi, 1999), it remains important to see how veiled young woman contemporarily make use of spaces, and how they move around, for leisure. This is especially important as leisure empowers women (Henderson and Gibson, 2013). The concept of moral geographies, "the idea that certain people, things and practices belong in certain spaces, places and landscapes and not in others" (Creswell, 2005:128), defines the possibilities and impossibilities of leisurely use of space. This chapter will inquire about the moral geographies of leisure spaces for Turkish-Dutch and Turkish veiled students.

Leisure is an especially contested area. While young Muslim women might be expected to extend the scope of their spatial mobility for work or school, leisure is rather arbitrary. Young women might experience more constraints in leisure, as it is a less controlled space.

Leisure activities benefit women in many ways. It empowers them and improves their well-being and quality of life. Inhabiting public leisure spaces allows a transgression of women's spatial association with home and induces them to think of themselves in ways other than their familial roles. In diaspora settings, participation in leisure is also important as it accelerates integration of immigrants to host countries (Rublee and Shaw, 1991). Moreover, as leisure is a venue for creating and expressing individual and social identity (Williams, 2002), looking into leisurely use of spaces helps us to understand the ways in which gendered subjectivities are constructed and produced. It also tells us how these women exercise their agency in spatial mobility.

The chapter attempts to answer the question of "How do Turkish-Dutch and Turkish veiled students in higher education negotiate norms of gender and religion in their use of space in their free time"? With the veil being a genderizing discourse and a manifestation of practicing religiosity, the chapter seeks to show how gender and religion are interwoven in the negotiation of acceptable versus unacceptable spaces of leisure.

This chapter draws on semi-structured interviews held with 28 Turkish-Dutch and 30 Turkish women in higher education, which were then coded and analysed

using the grounded theory method (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Respondents were recruited through the snowball sampling method and their names were changed to protect their privacy. Also, participant observation has been done in both countries in the context of universities, as well as in students' homes, living spaces and leisure spaces both indoors (such as dinner parties) and outdoors (restaurants, ice-cream parlours in city centres and urban parks).

On gender and leisurely use of space

Spatial use has been considered a binary by various cultures and ideological systems. These ascribe a higher value to the "public" realm where the activities of men take place, versus the "private" (or domestic) realm, which is deemed the space of the activities of women (Rosaldo, 1974). Therefore, as with other binaries (such as mobility versus immobility), the use of space reflects and reinforces hierarchical power relations, and public leisure space is perceived primarily as a male domain. Spaces are defined through "continuous, dialectical struggles of power and resistance among and between the diversity of landscape providers, users and mediators" (Aitchison, MacLeod and Shaw, 2000: 19). Use of space and mobility might reflect hierarchical power relations.

One axe of power negotiated in space is gender. Gendered power relations vary over space and they work to influence and solidify local understandings of what it means to be feminine or masculine, as those in power are the ones who determine the production and the use of space (Bourdieu, 1979; 1989). Spaces are discursively constituted by locally acceptable ways of doing gender. For example, pervasive Christian fundamentalist dogma about homosexuality has devastating effects on the lives of gays and lesbians in the Bible Belt region in the USA (Barton, 2010), while the gay-friendly atmosphere of an inner-city district in Australia has attracted a growing number of gays and lesbians going there to live, work and spend leisure time (Ruting, 2008).

Leisure spaces are important sites in which gender is both construed and reproduced. Oftentimes, leisure spaces manifest the continuation of existing gendered inequalities in public and private spheres, as studies have shown that women often experience more constraints on accessing and using leisure spaces. The reasons for this are diverse; cultural constraints (Arab-Moghaddam, Henderson and Sheikholeslami, 2007), economic constraints (Massey, 1994), the discourse of fear (Valentine, 1989), sexualised and racialised violence (Day, 1999), child-rearing or homemaking obligations (Alexandris and Carroll, 1997). A growing body of feminist work is concerned with questions of how different groups of women have access to enjoying leisure spaces (Scraton and Watson, 1998). For example, Skeggs

has shown how in Manchester, white working-class English women experience some shopping spaces in wealthy districts (“posh shops”) as unwelcoming (1997). Women’s difficulties in enjoying leisure spaces in turn reproduce women’s place-based identities, inhibit their personal growth and negatively influence their well-being and empowerment through leisure.

Muslim women and leisure spaces

Muslim women are often perceived to be more restricted in accessing and moving through leisure spaces due to Islamic notions of gendered segregation, and cultural notions of respectability, alongside the more universal safety discourses that concern women globally (Green and Singleton, 2006). Moreover, especially in diaspora settings, they might also be excluded from certain leisure spaces, or they might exclude themselves due to perceived discrimination. For example, Kloek, Peters, Sijtsma have shown how Muslim women stopped participating in some leisure activities when they perceived discrimination, especially when they were “typically Dutch” pastimes such as ice-skating (2013). Other studies show how Muslims in Europe sometimes create temporary ethnic spaces for leisure, controlling elements such as the consumption of alcohol (Peleman, 2003; Boogaarts-de Bruin, 2011).

A visible social identity marker such as the veil might further complicate the use of leisurely spaces. This can pertain to structural issues such as access difficulties due to dress codes or lack of single-sex activity spaces (Verma and Darby, 1994; Peleman, 2003), or on grounds of feelings of fitting in (Secor, 2002; Gökarıksel, 2007). In a study about perceived discrimination in leisure amongst Moroccan immigrants, Kloek, Peters and Sijtsma have shown that veiled respondents experienced discrimination more severely than the non-veiled (2013). Given the intricate relationship between veiling and spatial use, this chapter looks into the ways the respondents inhabit leisurely spaces.

Turkish-Dutch and Turkish approaches to leisure

For Turkish women, leisure is often structured around care responsibilities as well as social and cultural structures. Kulakaç et al. (2006) show that leisure activities are often sacrificed to the needs of the children and the family.

Turkish use of leisurely space is traditionally highly gendered. As the home is the dominant domain of Turkish femininity (Bora, 2005), it has been common for women to gather at each other’s home for leisure, whilst the men spend leisurely time with other men at coffeehouses (Lindisfarne, 2002). This distinction can also be seen in the Netherlands, especially in the first generation; Turkish-Dutch women do visit each other at home (Ünlü Yücesoy, 2006), while men meet at all-male Turkish coffeehouses that are open late into the night.

Studies show that the Turkish-Dutch (along with Moroccans) participate less in leisure time activities outside the home (such as visiting bars, restaurants and cultural activities) than the native Dutch (van den Broek and Keuzenkamp, 2008). Jókövi has shown that second generation Turkish-Dutch visit mainstream cafes in city centres and recreational areas more than the first generation, but still less so than the native Dutch or other immigrant groups (2000). However, they frequently visit urban parks. Peters, Elands and Buijs (2010) have shown how urban parks are helpful in social cohesion as parks are spaces of leisure where different ethnicities mingle. Their participation in sports activities for leisure is also low (Lagendijk and van der Gugten, 1996).

Similarly, studies in Turkey have shown leisure activities to be mostly based at home, involving visiting friends and relatives (Aslan and Aslan, 2012). Participation in sports as a leisure activity is rare for Turkish women. Koca et al. argue that socioeconomic status and stricter adherence to Islam are the main reasons for the differences between Turkish women and Western women in doing leisurely sporting activities (2009).

Delineating Moral Geographies

One afternoon Turkish-Dutch Leyla (20 year-old, student of Public Relations) decides to go to the park on her own for *tefekkür*-- a kind of spiritual contemplation of the sacred. Having packed her sandwich, she sits on a bench, enjoying the beautiful view of nature. It is a sunny bright day and there is no one in sight. She says:

> I was in such a good mood. I was feeling great and so thankful. I wanted to go into *tefekkür* and just be alone with myself away from the worldly matters. In no longer than five minutes, a couple came and sat down on the grass a bit further away from me. At first I tried to avoid them, but they were in my sight. They started getting intimate, kissing and rolling around in the grass, giggling. Immediately I felt so down. Incredibly down that I packed everything and took off. They ruined it for me. So much for *tefekkür!*

In this instance, Leyla was free in her decision to go to the park for contemplation, but others disturbed her use of this space. She was very upset at the sight of this couple as she considered this encounter as an obstacle in the way of her spiritual reflection. *Tefekkür* in this case entailed focusing on her inner world, reflecting on the beauty around her and giving thanks. However, the sacred nature of the moment and place was spoiled abruptly upon the sight of the couple getting intimate. As a pious practicing Muslim, she was brought up with the notion that

intimacy between the sexes belonged to the private spheres of married life and she did not appreciate that it intruded into the public sphere. “There is a time and place for everything. I do not have to see this”, she said in a disappointed tone. The couple’s kissing worked to disrupt this neutral space as one in which she could sit and ponder about the sacred, instead reminding her of the fact that this was a “space of the other” (de Certeau, 1984:37) coded with values and tacit rules significantly different and foreign to her own.

As this example suggests, my respondent’s perception of, and access to, places was marked by how these places were coded by others and themselves in terms of propriety. Subsequently, some respondents voiced a reluctance to visit certain places. Turkish Nuray (20 year-old, student of psychology), living in İstanbul, talks about the city’s entertainment hub, İstiklal Avenue in the district of Taksim:

> There are actually places where I prefer not to go. For example, I go to İstiklal. But after dark, it becomes a different place. There are many bars, and heavy drinking. The way I see it, the youth visiting those bars have lost themselves in this lifestyle. I feel sorry for them. Thank goodness I don’t need those things. I like to visit İstiklal during the day for shopping, going to cafes, but not when it gets dark and the night life starts.

Taksim and its main pedestrian boulevard, İstiklal Avenue is one of the most exciting places in İstanbul, which is busy and alive almost 24 hours a day. It is the primary entertainment hub, catering to people of all income groups with its many bars, discos, film theatres, gallery spaces, clothing shops, pastry shops and restaurants. It is estimated that, on a busy day, it receives approximately 1.5 million visitors both locals and tourists (Arslanlı, Ünlükara and Dökmeci, 2011:1067). Historically, the area has been a melting pot of the different religions and cultures of İstanbul. Strikingly, the liveliest street in İstanbul, İstiklal, is one of the most controversial places frequented by the respondent, and the uneasiness of the place varies with the time of the day. When asked where in the area she goes, Nuray cites some of the popular eateries on the main İstiklal Avenue and some art galleries she visits from time to time, but also makes the careful point that “I don’t go too much into the streets of the bars”. There are several side streets off the main avenue crowded with bars and restaurants where alcohol is abundant. She disapproves the drinking culture and avoids these spaces as much as possible. Fidan (Turkish, 19 year-old, student of law) makes a similar distinction: “On İstiklal, I don’t visit the places where alcohol is consumed. For example, sometimes after classes classmates go together to Nevizade. They also invite me out of courtesy, I think they know I wouldn’t come, but they still ask just to be nice.” The narrow pedestrian street called Nevizade, off İstiklal Avenue, is completely avoided as there is nothing but

restaurants and bars on either side, with tables outside from mid-day until late after midnight. Nevizade characterizes Turkish drinking culture; one can enjoy the pavement beer cafes starting from early afternoon, which makes them more popular with university students. Towards the evening the street gets busier as there are also various authentic restaurants where one can enjoy long meals accompanied by alcoholic drinks. There are also some dancing halls open late into the night. While this particular respondent defines Nevizade as outside her delineation of moral geographies, she considers Starbucks or Gloria Jean's coffee, both imports from the West, as comfortable and decent places as they do not serve alcohol on their premises. The abundance and consumption of alcohol informs the moral geography and limits these women's spatial mobility. It influences how pious women selectively moved around in this area.

This also coincides with accounts of Turkish-Dutch respondents who choose not to visit the university-owned cafes for socialization, as they are places where alcohol is served. Turkish-Dutch Dilan (21 year-old, student of pedagogy) said: "I don't like to be in the main cafe, because there they hold parties and alcohol is sold. I eat in the canteen but that's different. On Thursdays they have student night. Especially in the evening, the cafe literally becomes a bar, and I don't want to be associated with this place". The cafe is the central place where student parties and cultural events are held. As alcoholic drinks are available throughout the day, Dilan wants to distance herself from this space which she equates with the drinking culture of students. She avoids going there altogether. Similarly, Efsun (Turkish-Dutch, 21 year-old, student of pedagogy) argued she finds the cafe in her university "intimidating" as she believes drinking makes people vulgar and sexual boundaries are dismissed. In her university, the main dining hall becomes the place for partying late in the day. Some respondents also avoided Dutch pavement cafes that served alcohol, while some others did not mind being there to have coffee. Others have also noted how little the second-generation Turkish Dutch use mainstream Dutch cafes (van Broek and Keuzenkamp, 2008).

There are other factors structuring moral geographies. Turkish Manolya (20 year-old, student of biology) argues:

> I like quieter places than Taksim. Of course, if there is a need I can go to Taksim. But generally I don't like the hustle and bustle. There is every kind of people. Some kind of people who are very foreign to me. It's just that it doesn't sit well with me. We hear especially in the night they appear all made up. Also it's dirty with garbage everywhere. I like spending time in Capitol. It's close to my home and everything here is easier. It's much more clean and decent. You have a choice of shops. You have a choice of restaurants. I don't need to go anywhere else.

Urged to explain what she meant by "kind of people who are very foreign to me", it turned out that Manolya refers to the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex (LGBTI) minority, especially the more visible transsexuals who mostly live around the area and can be seen in groups. Not only the presence of alcohol, but also of an LGBTI body of sexual minorities, who are more visible and commonplace in Taksim in comparison to other districts, structures this space as inappropriate for leisure activities for her. Instead, Manolya likes to spend her leisure time in Capitol mall, which she defines as quiet, decent and clean; the polar opposite of Taksim. The mall is situated in a neighbourhood favoured by Islamic families, and with its physical proximity, it operates as a safe haven where leisure and shopping needs can be met.

While the respondents cannot avoid İstiklal altogether as it is a cultural and commercial centre, nevertheless they move around it selectively. The avenue is perceived as a contingent space which can have a defiling effect if one is not careful. While the main avenue is a legitimate space, respondents are careful not to venture into side streets.

Similarly, some Turkish-Dutch students prefer not to socialise and spend their leisurely time at the university cafes as these are places where alcohol is served, as research has shown how having been seen in a drinking context tarnished the prestige of young women (Bradby, 2007). In both countries, alcohol and sexuality are aspects that work as boundary markers; they structure and divide spaces according to their constructs of moral geographies. At the same time, they create a self-imposed limit to pious women's use of leisurely space.

Night-time

In both contexts, night time emerged as the space in which the respondents' use of public space were particularly constrained. Curfews were in place in dwellings of Turkish-Dutch students (Batum and Jansen, 2013). In general, it was uncommon for respondents in both contexts to be out late into the night. One reason given was the fear of crime associated with night time. Respondents believed that their movement at night time in public spaces would render them susceptible to be targeted by criminals. Turkish-Dutch respondents argued that they wouldn't venture to the town centre at night, which can be compared with the above argument of Manolya who regarded Taksim as an improper place to visit at night time. Night time was perceived as the realm of drunks and other ill-fated people who could harm them.

However, more important was the tacit rule that being out at night tarnished the prestige of pious, unmarried women. The respondents made references to the

ubiquitous idea of night-time being inappropriate for women.[40] Turkish-Dutch Nurten (22 years-old, student of speech theraphy) worded this as “it is not deemed pleasant”. Tennur (20 years-old, student of psychology) argued that if she was seen by some people from the Turkish-Dutch community downtown at night “there will be things said”. Turkish Ruhsar (21 years-old, student of computer engineering) highlighted her own propriety by saying: “Obviously you aren’t going to a bar. Then what business do you have outside?”

However, the worries about night time did not mean that none of them ever stepped out. Night-time outings were more common in Turkey than in the Netherlands. Manolya enjoyed going to the sea-side district of Fenerbahçe, to enjoy the tea houses with her friends on occasion. Gonca (Turkish, 22 years-old, student of English language education) lived by a small neighbourhood mall which was within walking distance and went to the cinema by herself. Mehtap (Turkish, 24 years-old, journalism student) argued that the only defining factor in her outings was alcohol consumption. “I will go to dinners with my friends, but I will make sure that there will be no drinking involved.” She would pick restaurants that did not serve alcohol.

As for the Turkish-Dutch, their night time activities outside the home revolved around events such as bridal parties, weddings or family dinners in Turkish eateries. In both contexts, their movement at night time was often pre-mediated: arranging of known taxi drivers, one of the women driving everyone or getting male relatives to pick them up from places.

One alternative night time leisure spaces was the home. Peri (20 years-old, student of computer engineering) and friends gathered at the İstanbul home of their friend Bade. Bade was originally from out of town, and had rented an apartment with her cousin. Every Thursday, they would gather at her place to watch their favourite series on TV. They shared food and tea while chatting over the series. Similarly, the Turkish-Dutch arranged dinners and get-togethers in student housings.

Time is an important aspect of structuring my respondents’ leisurely use of spaces. While the various Dutch town centres, or İstiklal Avenue in İstanbul, are acceptable spaces of leisure during daytime, as day turns into night, they constitute negative moral geographies.

40 For an account of Turkish-Dutch youth’s nightlife experiences see Boogaarts, 2008. She states that Turkish-Dutch parties are held in regular Dutch night clubs on spesific nights, and that many parents allowed their daughters to go to these parties, under the supervision of an older sister, aunt or brother. However, my respondents whose religious identities are salient did not mention going to such mixed-sex parties.

Belonging and leisurely spaces

Respondents' use of leisure spaces was influenced by perceptions of whether or not they felt entitled to certain places. My respondents experienced places differently in terms of feelings of belonging and fitting in. While some places felt accommodating to them, other places were deemed socially uncomfortable to be in.

Turkish-Dutch Yeliz (23 years-old, student of pharmaceutical science) wanted to meet up at the terrace cafe in the centre of the small town in which she lives. She picked a table and we sat down and ordered coffee. She said "You know this is not the friendliest place, but I come anyway." When asked what she meant she said "they do not want veiled women sitting at their terrace, probably because it will scare off other customers." It was mid-day in the working week and we were the only patrons on the terrace. It was breezy in the early fall and we were sitting outside. A short while after we had had our drinks, the waitress came back from inside asking if we wanted to order more. Yeliz said no. When the waitress left, Yeliz turned to me and said "See? I told you. We are being politely sent off." She went on to say that most of her friends didn't want to go there, as they deemed the terrace cafe to be unwelcoming. She said: "If you are a bunch of veiled girls sitting here, you get looks. But I come here because there isn't too much choice, but also because I'm not bothered by it". Although it could be argued that she was being oversensitive, I have also felt a heightened visibility when I was with veiled women. Walking around, especially in smaller Dutch towns, with veiled respondents, my feeling was that more people were looking at us compared to when I was with unveiled women.

On other occasions similarly, some respondents hesitated sitting down at cafes because they deemed it too Dutch. In a mid-sized city, it was my first time visiting and two respondents and I were going to have lunch. When I suggested going to a nice cafe I saw on the way, one of them chuckled saying "that place is for *kaaskoppen.*"[41] They both felt out of place in a cafe populated with the native Dutch, and worried about what they could eat there as they wanted to live up to the Islamic prescription to eat *halal* food. Instead, they suggested to grab *döner* sandwiches and go to the park. There was also a distinction in *döner* places: some places sold *halal* meat, while the others did not. The young women knew which place in town sold *halal* meat and shopped there confidently. It was a nice sunny day and when we went to the local park, they met with several other friends. As Peters (2010) argued, parks provide an alternative leisure space for Turkish-Dutch and other non-Western immigrant groups, as they are experienced as easily accessible spaces. Parks were spaces in which social identities could be negotiated in unhindered ways as will be discussed shortly.

41 Cheesehead. A mildly derogatory term used to refer to a native Dutch person.

The element of social distance is also an issue for Turkey, which is manifested in the tug of war between practicing Muslims and secularists on the level of identity politics (See Navaro-Yasin, 1999). Even though this has become less pronounced due to the rising Islamic political power in the last few years, in some instances and locales, social distance based on religious vs. secularist identity is still present. Dicle (22 years-old, student of sociology) explains:

> I like going to seaside cafes in Beşiktaş or Ortaköy. There no one is interested in the other. It's a laid back atmosphere. For example, I don't like going to places in Nişantaşı where everyone thinks they're better than you. There, they look down on you because you are veiled. Whenever I go there, I always have the feeling people in these posh cafes think I'm ignorant, or stupid or something.

Nişantaşı is one of the most expensive neighbourhoods to live in and is home to not only the finest restaurants, cafes and shops, but also the most expensive hospitals. It can be argued that Nişantaşı epitomizes the elite of İstanbul, which has historically been linked to a secularist identity. Even though Dicle has the economic capital to visit these "posh" places, she feels that she attracts scornful looks as a veiled woman in this context as Nişantaşı belongs to the secularist elite. Dicle, however, belongs to the new religious elite who has acquired economic and political power in the recent past in Turkey, termed the "counter-elite" by Göle (1997). As she belongs to the counter-elite with her veil, she feels her social identity to be disapproved and unwelcome in the context of this neighbourhood. Her disinclination to visit this neighbourhood is explained through the idea that she perceives the secular elite to hold onto: that the veil is something that defines lack of reason and intellect. These encounters, however, are not limited to İstanbul. Ece (Turkish, 20 years-old, student of economy) explains that in Eskişehir, Anatolia, she had an argument with an older lady who said to her: "Daughter, why do you do the veil? You are so young. You shouldn't be bothered with these things. You should mind your schooling instead". Turkish-Dutch Kiraz (20 years-old, student of social work) made a somewhat similar argument regarding the difference in the ways she experiences the very close-by towns of Nijmegen and Arnhem. "Arnhem people, the Dutch ladies, they look down on you. In Nijmegen, people are more down to earth. I feel so much more comfortable." In this context, Nijmegen was often considered as a more left-wing oriented town that was more immigrant-friendly than Arnhem. These examples suggest that place-based constructs of what are accepted and welcome in a given context, shape ideas about where to spend leisurely time.

Different spaces of leisure

In what follows, I discuss the leisure spaces that were most commonly cited by respondents in the Netherlands and Turkey respectively, and look further into what makes these spaces fit for the respondents.

Parks in the Netherlands

For the Turkish-Dutch respondents, parks were a preferred space of leisure and socialization, and they enabled a series of uses in which their social identities were negotiated. On one occasion, Taliha (20 years-old, student of management) and I were sitting down at a local park. We saw two young Turkish-Dutch couples (with one of the women veiled) who seemed to be on a double date. Looking attentively, Taliha scrutinized the couples and said: “The guys are locals. I don’t know the girls. They must be from another town.” She further explained that when the Turkish-Dutch youth date, they generally chose to meet up in neighbouring towns where they were not known within the local community to avoid gossip. Gossip “functions to clarify cultural and normative boundaries for the society as a whole” (Awwad, 2001: 45), and can have disastrous effects on the prestige of the youth, especially the women. There is more social control on young women than on men, and the shame associated with dating is more of a burden for the women than men. That is why these couples came to this park, which is almost empty on a mid-day to have some privacy away from the prying eyes of the community. The park is used as a space to escape from the social control administered within the community.

In another instance, Nilay (21 years-old, student of business economics) and I sat down at an ice-cream cafe, conducting an interview. Half an hour into the interview, two Turkish-Dutch women, who had recently migrated to the Netherlands as marriage migrants, entered the shop. Nilay, when she saw them approaching, asked whether we could continue with the interview later when they were gone, and invited them to our table unwillingly. She said “I have to invite them”; as in smaller towns all Turkish-Dutch knew each other, it would have been rude not to ask them to join us. The interview was interrupted. An hour later, as they did not leave, Nilay asked me if I wanted to have a tour of the town as an excuse and we left. Later, she explained that she did not want to conduct the interview with them present as it entails discussing personal views she did not want them to hear, and said we could go to the park to continue in private. The park was therefore a free space that could become a place of flexibility and negotiation; used to momentarily escape from the confines of the Turkish-Dutch community, as well as from a hegemonic Dutchness which dominated the various cafes in the city centre. The park as a space of nature, neither carried meanings as

belonging to a native Dutch world, nor as a place of Turkish-Dutch or other immigrant habitus as some ethnically populated neighbourhoods often are (See Zorlu and Mulder, 2008). As mentioned earlier, parks also became socializing and eating spaces for respondents as they brought their *döner* sandwiches to have a picnic, as well as a meditative space for *tefekkür*. It was open and unhindered space that could be negotiated to fit the needs of individuals that gained a different meaning in every instance.

Shopping malls

For Turkish respondents, shopping malls[42] are the most common places visited for leisure activities. Malls, as products of global capitalism, have become common in Turkey following the economic liberalization policies of the post-1980 era (Tokatlı and Boyacı, 1998) and bolstered a growing consumerism. Leisurely shopping and browsing in malls is a common pastime (Erkip, 2005). Women use malls as leisure spaces as they are deemed safe: “In the controlled mall space, it is much easier than the street, particularly at nighttime” (Erkip, 2005: 102). Turkish respondent Gonca (22 years-old, student of English language education), like Manolya, mentioned Capitol mall as her favourite place for leisure, even though she lived at a distance. She had good friends living in the area of Capitol, and she came to join them regularly, every other weekend. They spent time in the various cafes in the mall, saw a film in the cinema or window-shopped. In one study, Capitol was compared with Akmerkez, a mall which was identified as secular due to the lack of veiled women’s presence and, in part, due to its location in a highly Westernized and upper class neighbourhood (Gökarıksel, 2007). However, today such distinctions are no longer in place as strongly; as the new religious elite gained more wealth, spaces previously known to be highly secular became welcoming to Islamic consumers. Islamic consumers appeared with their distinct choices in fashion (See Sandıkçı and Ger, 2007; Gökarıksel and Secor, 2010). Islamic fashion stores which catered to veiled women have penetrated into previously unimagined urban spaces. One example is the shop catering to veiled women on Bağdat Avenue, a highly Westernized and upper class centre featuring world-renowned shops. Bağdat Avenue is one of the most exclusive shopping centers and experiences the highest of İstanbul’s land prices (Arslanlı, Ünlükara and Dökmeci, 2011). Moreover, this place is recognized as the home of the secular elite as, over the years, demonstrations against the rise of Islamic politics have taken place here.

Filiz (19 years-old, student of nutrition sciences), who resides in the district of Başakşehir, also mentioned the local shopping mall as a space in which she mostly

42 It is estimated that there are 93 shopping malls in İstanbul, as of November 2014. (Wikipedia, 2014). (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_shopping_malls_in_Istanbul)

socializes, does her shopping and spends leisure time. The relatively new settlement of Başakşehir can be argued as the quintessential home of the new religious elite, as it appeared in İstanbul's landscape as "the first urban project of political Islam" (Çavdar, 2011). What distinguishes this space is not only the visibility of an Islamic lifestyle, but its characteristic as a distinctly middle and upper-middle class space with gated communities. Billur (22 years-old, MBA student) who lives in Başakşehir said: "In my spare time, I like shopping. What I'm after is usually the most interesting fashion. Boutiques that sell hand-made, one-off pieces. Sometimes, I have to visit two malls in one day because everywhere they have different designs." [43] Amongst the religious elite veiling fashion consumption has become a leisure activity; consequently, various brands emerged, whether in the mass market, or through independent boutiques specializing in designer pieces. The boutiques frequented by Billur have created an avid following as women come to visit from as far as the town of Bursa (approx. 230 km). However, Islamic fashion consumption is not the only reason to spend leisure time in malls. Malls are also chosen because they provide conveniences, as Mehtap argues: "You can do you grocery shopping, drink coffee or eat lunch". They are preferred because they are self-contained spaces offering various leisure options, as well as being safe and clean. The use of malls reflected both the growing consumerism amongst the urban religious elite, as well as the preferences for safety and convenience.

Moreover, malls are family spaces. Malls often offer children's play areas, or special toyshops in which various activities are organized for children. The nature of malls as child-friendly family spaces also contributes to their acceptability as proper leisure spaces for women.

Eating out

Eating out for leisure is common in both groups. While Turkey provided a plethora of choices, for the Turkish-Dutch the options were rather limited. In the Netherlands, one of the places the respondents frequented and wanted to meet for lunch or coffee was La Place, a restaurant/cafe chain that is integrated into V&D, one of the most prevalent department stores in the country. As opposed to the exclusivity of terrace cafes, the fact that La Place cafes were often situated in department stores, or in shopping areas on the high street, made them more suitable for women and for mixed ethnicities. La Place restaurants were more accessible and gave a more welcoming feel. The choice of food, in terms of being able to find vegetarian (hence, *halal*) food, the fact that it is self-service, as well as

43 These designs refer to modest clothing that are matched with veils; in the form of ankle length dresses, skirts worn with loose fitting blouses, or trousers worn with loose fitting tunics on top. Such increased attention to fashion consumption amongst veiled women is also seen in the Netherlands (See Moors, 2013).

the relaxed atmosphere of this place made it a favourite choice. However, some respondents are so religiously concerned that they even avoid La Place and similar types of eating places. Nesrin (20 years-old, student of communication) explains:

> I think we are a bit more conservative than Moroccans. I know that they go at the weekend to eat at Bagels & Beans.[44] I don't usually go to such places to eat. But some of my less observant friends do. Even if you want to have a cheesecake, the gelatine of it might be a problem. You have to constantly ask, or you have to revise the menu before going. You just feel a bit out of place. Somehow veiled Moroccans girls, they do not feel out of place.

Here, she makes a connection between being conservative and observant and avoiding places that serve food that might be potentially impure. She argues that going to such places entails painstakingly considering whether the food she wants to have is *halal* or not, which leads to feeling out of place over time. Being strictly observant therefore limits the possibilities of enjoying such venues, and might result in not going altogether. However, whenever a Turkish owned eatery was opened, the respondents were very eager to try it. Whether in Amsterdam, Den Haag or Rotterdam, the respondents would plan day trips to go there and eat as a leisure activity.

Other spaces

In Turkey, women are not in the habit of going to the mosques for their prayers (Erkip, 2009), except for special occasions (Avcı, 2012:194). In contrast, Turkish-Dutch women used mosques more significantly, not only for praying, but also as places to socialise as these mosques also operate as cultural centres in the Netherlands. Many events are held in the mosques and courses are offered such as calligraphy or *ebru*[45] art courses, and *saz*[46] lessons. There are even conferences held on various subjects. In this context, mosques operate not only as places of worship, but also as leisure spaces.

Another leisure space is the events of women-only parties which can take place both during the day and in the evening, starting around 18:00 at the earliest. These are held in various regular clubs, event halls or neighbourhood centres (*buurtcentrum*), rented by Turkish groups to hold Turkish women's parties where women enjoy dancing to Turkish music by paying entry fees,[47] which might also

44 Trendy cafe chain present in central shopping areas all over the Netherlands, offering a choice of artisan coffee drinks, bagels with various vegetarian options and desserts.

45 The historical Turkish art of paper marbling, using water tanks and oil based ink.

46 A stringed musical instrument similar to guitar, which is common in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria.

47 At one particular day-time party between 16:00- 22:00 at a neighbourhood centre, admittence of

include snacks. Turkish DJs are booked for these events; there are some women DJs who have a following amongst Turkish-Dutch women, but also some parties might feature male DJs or musicians. Individuals can also organize such parties as celebrations of their *kına*, henna night, which is a bridal party for women.

Turkey and the Netherlands: differences in enjoying leisure spaces

Some of our Turkish-Dutch respondents have a working knowledge of both countries as they have spent significant amounts of time in both. In this section, I will discuss their different perceptions of, and use of, space for leisure in the two countries. Several aspects have been identified; differing perceptions of safety, security, social prestige and transport availabilities. Gamze (22 years-old, student of communication) was born and raised in the Netherlands, although she went back to Turkey for some years as a teenager when her family migrated back there. However, they all returned to the Netherlands as her parents decided that Gamze and her siblings would be better off with university degrees from the Netherlands. She says:

> There are differences between the two countries to live as a woman. Maybe not in İstanbul, or maybe not everywhere in İstanbul, but in some other places, it is definitely more difficult to go around as a woman. I know from my own experience, but also from what I know from my cousins. One of my female cousins lives by herself in a big city in Anatolia and she does fine. But, especially in smaller places, it is difficult to be a single woman. For example, if you enter a shop with your husband, the shopkeeper would address your spouse, but not you. Such things don't happen here (the Netherlands). Obliviously then, also visiting places are a lot easier as it doesn't matter to people what your gender is.

As evident in her account, some locales in Turkey were thought to have inherently more conservative ideas about women's access to leisure spaces circumscribed by notions of sexual purity. In smaller towns of Anatolia, it was deemed that single, unaccompanied women were under the threat of losing social prestige if they were to freely move around. Turkish-Dutch İkbal (22 years-old, student of human resources) said that in the town of Konya, where she comes from it was uncommon for her young female relatives to use the cafes like they did in the Netherlands. Rather, these places were for the leisure use of men or families. This was contrasted by both the urban culture of İstanbul, as well as the Netherlands, in which the sexes mixed more freely in leisure spaces. Elsewhere, women were painstakingly

smaller children was free, while children above 10 were charged at €3 each and adults charged at €7. At another party, from 18:00 to midnight in a Hengelo club, entry fee was €10, while children of all ages were charged €5.

careful in their spatial mobility for leisure according to local constructs of proper movement.

Moreover, prevalent is the idea that women's mobility makes them vulnerable to male exploitation. Eren (25 years-old, student of theology) was born in the Netherlands, but her large family returned to Turkey when she was five. She migrated back to the Netherlands aged fifteen. Although she had forgotten the Dutch language, she became extremely diligent in her schooling, and made her way up into the Dutch education system. She won an award for outstanding performance among latecomer students. She explains:

> The Netherlands is a very safe country. It is very easy to travel as a woman. Getting to places is much easier than it is in Turkey. Maybe it has to do with being a smaller country but still it is way easier. The public transport in Turkey is much more difficult to use, but the public transport in the Netherlands is very reliable. Overall, in the Netherlands you feel much safer. No one is going to hassle you for being a woman. For example, in Turkey, I would never go by myself to another city by car. But here I can. Just the other day, we were a few (female) friends, and we took the family car and we went to Scheveningen for a day trip. We had so much fun. Actually we were talking about this with my mother. She said that if we were in Turkey and we had taken the car to go to another town, she would be constantly worrying about me, or she wouldn't allow me to go in the first place. It's not just that, but also with the trains. You never really feel like you can get in danger.

For Eren, mobility is closely associated with considerations regarding personal safety. Accordingly, the ease and capability of travel as a woman necessitated a safe context. By saying "No one is going to hassle you for being a woman", she points out to the widely accepted notion amongst our respondents that some places and spaces are more fit for women's travel than others due to the prevalent gender regimes operating in those places. The Netherlands is said to allow our respondents more freedom and ease of movement compared to Turkey, not only due to a widespread and well-connected public transport, but also due to ideas about their bodily integrity. In Turkey, it is believed that, women who move around are vulnerable to violence by men. As Eren exemplifies with her story about the car trip, women's possibilities of moving around are greater in the Netherlands, as this context is perceived to be more women-friendly and less threatening.

Like Eren, Zeynep (22 years-old, student of psychology) had lived in Turkey as a teenager, staying with grandparents for three years as the family wanted her to grow up within Turkish culture. In the end however, due to her strong desire to reunite with her parents, she returned. She argues that even though she misses

Turkey, she prefers the convenience of life in the Netherlands. While she has nostalgic ideas about Turkey as "her roots", she said: "But if I have to think about everyday life, and how things work, and getting around, things are obviously easier in the Netherlands. I personally feel safer in the Netherlands". Being well versed in the social dynamics of both countries, like others she perceived the Netherlands to be safer for a woman to move around than Turkey. The highly developed public transport in the Netherlands was recognized as one of the reasons why this is so. In contrast, in Turkey, cultural notions such as negative ideas about women's mobility and their susceptibility for being targets of male violence, affect the ways in which women move around for leisure.

International Travel for Leisure

Despite the dominant notion that Muslim women are restricted in their travelling behaviour, the respondents are able to travel internationally for both important life events and leisure purposes. This is more the case for the Turkish-Dutch, as the Turkish are faced with more difficulties or higher costs when obtaining visas, but, nevertheless, some travelled for education[48] or leisure. The Turkish-Dutch were internationally more mobile as they benefited from the economic and symbolic capital of holding Dutch passports.

One of the ways in which they travelled internationally for leisure was using the ethnic and religious organization's networks of which, the respondents and their families were members. Various Turkish ethno-religious organizations operate within the Netherlands (Ivanescu, 2013; Yükleyen, 2012). There were some internalization efforts within these, which enabled young members to travel abroad, not only for exchange years or study trips, but also for leisure.

Other ways of travel were possible with the local student groups in their universities that catered to Turkish-Dutch students, such as SV Anatolia in Amsterdam's Vrije University, or Rotterdam's Mozaik. With these groups, some respondents joined weekly tours, day trips or weekend breaks to European capitals such as London or Paris. As members of such a group, Meral (21 years-old, student of international commerce), and her unveiled best friend, wanted to join to a trip to Paris. She had worried initially that she would not be allowed to go, but the fact

48 Bahar (21 years-old, student of sociology) went to stay at a boarding school in England for a two-week period. Interestingly, while her mobility was limited in her local town with the fear for her safety and reputation, she was granted the social capital of mobility in the form of travelling to a foreign country for education. The fact that the English school is a recognized educational institution that upholds the same values and norms adopted by the ethnic organization enabled her international mobility.

that a Turkish student club organized it made it much easier. She said: “Some of the people going, they were children of people my family knew, so it was all good”. Although practicing Muslim religious identity did not necessarily define such student groups, shared norms and values and the cultural and social familiarity rendered such groups acceptable and legitimate. However, she argued that some of her friends could never go since their families would oppose to this. Overall, while gendered discourses informed and shaped the respondents’ practices of travel, nevertheless, they were sometimes able to travel for leisure and therefore cannot be characterized by fixity.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, the question of “how do Turkish-Dutch and Turkish veiled students of higher education negotiate norms of gender and religion in making use of leisure spaces?” was tackled. The chapter attempted to show the relationship between local constructs of gender norms, gendered power regimes and using spaces for leisure. The chapter primarily shows that a specific understanding of Islamic moral geographies and embodied integrity governs the respondents’ use of spaces for leisure in both countries. However, by no means can they be characterized by fixity and powerlessness.

In both Turkey and the Netherlands, use of spaces for leisure are mapped according to issues of propriety, most importantly differentiated by use of alcohol, sexual divergences and the night-time economy. As scholars of women’s spatial mobility and use of space argued, women negotiate their movement within the city based on notions of respectability and safety (Scraton and Watson, 1998). The issue of respectability was also reflected in my findings: in both countries, the respondents painstakingly paid attention to respectability. They moved around selectively; avoiding spaces deemed improper, such as Taksim in İstanbul, or university bars in the Netherlands, due to the association of these places with drinking alcohol. Night time was associated with improper activities, and they were less likely to inhabit public spaces and move around at night time as it was deemed to damage their sexual and bodily integrity, as is also the case for pious Muslim women in Beirut (Deeb and Harb, 2013). It was shown that going out for leisure pursuits at night time was deemed neither respectable nor safe for pious Muslim women in the public sphere.

My findings are in line with the dominant idea that women’s fear of crime limits their movement in the night-time (Valentine, Holloway and Jayne, 2010). However, added to that was the notion of social control exerted on women, especially by the Turkish-Dutch community. To deal with these, women created

safe spaces for leisure, as in the example of Turkish women's parties in the Netherlands, or in the example of opting for the relative safety of shopping malls in Turkey or choosing to stay indoors. Therefore, embodied integrity pertained to ethical Islamic behaviours (i.e. abstinence of alcohol), social conventions of Turkish constructs of propriety as well as more universal notions of safety and security.

Their use of spaces for leisure was also affected by discourses of belonging. My finding was similar to Peters and de Haan, who argued that in Utrecht use of public space was divided along ethnic, racial, gendered and classed lines, with certain groups claiming certain places (such as non-natives using parks and middle class white Dutch using Muntplein) (2011). My respondents were careful about how and where they ate, as the ways in which food is consumed is also a function of drawing boundaries (Jansen, 1997: 87). As evidenced, the respondents were hesitant to invade the spaces dominated by the native Dutch and secular Turks, as they feared discrimination or perceived the space as unfit for their moral behaviour. Instead, they claimed other spaces in which they could negotiate dominant understandings of what is permissible and pleasant, such as parks, Turkish eateries, cultural centres, conservative neighbourhoods or Islamic fashion shops which they could claim as their own. Although less apparent than in the Netherlands, such demarcation lines are also in place in Turkey, with conservative groups choosing to carve out their own living and leisure spaces as in Başakşehir's gated communities or the Capitol mall. Saktanber has noted a similar segregation in Ankara (Saktanber, 2002). I have shown the differences in choosing spaces of leisure between the Netherlands and Turkey, respectively parks and shopping malls. These are also reliant upon structural factors, as the non-natives in the Netherlands experience city centres as exclusive spaces (Peters and de Haan, 2011; Komen and Schram 2005) and green areas are scarce in İstanbul (Bolen et al., 2007).

I have shown how the dominant gender regimes of the Netherlands and Turkey are also reflected in the way women enjoy spaces of leisure. As noted elsewhere, Turkish-Dutch second generation women are faced with more conservative ideas pertaining to their labour participation compared to their peers in Turkey (Batum, 2015). However, this is not reflected in their possibilities of access to leisure spaces. Contrary to the idea that Turkish-Dutch women are not allowed to go to places, actually they enjoy more mobility for leisure than they would have in Turkey due to ideas about the Netherlands being more women-friendly and safer. The ease and availability of modes of transport affects movement for leisure in the Netherlands. Negative ideas on women's mobility are associated rather with conservative small towns in Turkey; this is not reflected in the leisure-induced mobility of respondents in İstanbul or in the Netherlands. The chapter evidences how these women are able to travel between cities. International travel is also possible as Turkish-Dutch have passports, which makes travel much easier and affordable than it is for Turks.

Therefore, while Turkish women would be thought of as having more power in accessing and enjoying leisure spaces due to their dominant position of having social and cultural capital in Turkey, in effect, their access to leisure spaces is diminished due to local constructs of gendered power relations and structural factors around mobility.

7 Conclusion

Conclusion

The present study contributes to the growing literature on pious Muslim women's participation in a secular world by looking into gender in the lives of veiled Turkish-Dutch and Turkish students of higher education. The veil has been the subject of too many studies on women from Muslim countries of the Middle East and North Africa and Muslim women in the diaspora. These studies mainly pertain to the implications and meanings of the veil and consider the veiling practice in the face of modernizing reforms, clothing styles and socio-cultural changes in these regions. In this current study, the veil is rather taken as a proxy, denoting the wearer's subjectivity as a practicing Muslim as declared by herself in a secular context. Therefore, this thesis is not about the veil itself, but, rather, it is about the veiled women's trajectories with regard to gender issues in the different domains of life.

In this research, I studied the negotiations of gender issues in the domains of education, work aspirations, social contact, living arrangements and use of leisure spaces for pious, veiled students of higher education in the Netherlands and compared it to experiences of Turkish students where applicable. A faith-based Muslim subjectivity is believed to be a highly gendered construct, with its normative behavioural roots in Islamic family law with strong adherence to spatial segregation of sexes and distinct social roles of women and men. Whether such understanding is still relevant and applicable in the lives of young practicing Muslim woman today remains especially important, as these women are students in higher education, living in secular contexts. It is particularly important in the context of the neoliberal era, with its attention to the powerful discourses of individualism and self-liberation. Equipped with education, they are deemed the best-prepared group of women in both the Netherlands and Turkey for a future in paid work and participation in social and public life. Such information takes on a renewed importance given the highly charged debates in the Netherlands regarding the integration of Muslim immigrants, as well as the social and political tensions around secularist versus pious lifestyles in Turkey.

This research theoretically contributes to the literature by examining how doing gender works intricately in the respondents' lives by showing how certain gender norms are lived and negotiated. It does so by describing and identifying gendered discourse and behaviour, revealing how it is often place-based and context-based in the two countries.

The study shows the various ways in which respondents' lives are delineated through discursive rules of Islamic conduct that work as disciplining structures. These range from what to wear and whom to socialise with to choices such as where to work.

The study also explores the agency of the respondents, showing to what extent they individually have the capacity to influence and work out certain Islamic gendered ideas that others subject them to. In various areas of life, they continuously carry out negotiations between rules of Islamic conduct and the behaviours, actions, as well as appearances, expected of them in their daily lives in the secular.

Education Context

In the context of the Netherlands, the veil as a marker of social identity not only pertains to a pious Muslim subjectivity, but also to an immigrant gender identity. It is a genderizing discourse; one that might severely undermine one's belonging to their Dutch social context. How veiled students feel belonging in their Dutch educational context is very important since feelings of belonging positively influence academic success, given that the Turkish-Dutch are often criticised for their educational predicaments. Thus, when veiled women do not feel belonging to their environment and experience negative social contingencies, this should be regarded as a gender issue that hinders the opportunities of veiled women.

In the second chapter, I have shown that veiled young women do feel belonging uncertainty in a Dutch education context, however, there are variations in how this is felt. The chapter shows that belonging uncertainty in a Dutch education context is felt differently based on where the individual student is in the education system, as well as the immediate geographical context in terms of its homogeneity of the number of autochthonous or migrant population. The respondents experienced less belonging uncertainty when their Turkish-Dutch group, or other Muslims, were represented in their particular schooling environment, and were able to deal with social contingencies more easily. However, when this is not the case, students felt belonging uncertainty more severely. In contexts where the majority of students were autochthonous, veils were deemed more foreign and students faced more difficulties in negotiating their belonging to the Dutch education context. Often, teachers' negative reactions towards the veil also complicated their belonging.

Faced with the difficulties of establishing belonging, the respondents have developed intricate strategies for coping. Veiling at an early age was one strategy. Some of the girls veiled at around age twelve, when they moved on from primary school to junior high school. It was deemed that by veiling at later ages and in the middle of school year, they risked receiving too many questions and evoking curiosity. Therefore, they resorted to establishing themselves as veiled girls at that age in their new schools, and meeting new schoolmates this way. One other strategy was painstakingly organizing their attire in order to not come across as too foreign to their classmates; choosing colourful clothing and shopping from the same brands as Dutch classmates. Others, especially when they veiled at later ages, delivered public speeches and announced their veiling in this way. Lastly,

they predominantly socialised with other Turkish-Dutch or Muslim students and developed a parallel belonging to their own ethnic/religious group.

Work Aspirations

Traditionally, the prescribed gender roles for Muslim women have been that of mothers and wives, but not workers. Often, it is argued that gender segregation is the culprit, which becomes more underlined in the case of pious women who are practicing Muslims. However, as women in higher education, the respondents for this study constitute the best-prepared group of women for a future in paid work. Therefore, from a doing gender perspective, looking at their discourses regarding paid work offers us an insight into whether they are more likely to uphold and reproduce dominant ideas about women's traditional gendered roles in the family, or whether they are more inclined to undo such prescribed gender roles by taking up paid work.

The third chapter exemplifies the idea that both the Turkish-Dutch and Turkish groups of highly-educated, practicing Muslim respondents have a keen interest in taking up paid work. Apart from practical ideas about financial well-being, ethical notions about the importance of working are noted. Working is considered a spiritual duty for the betterment of society, especially in the Turkish-Dutch context where the community is highly disadvantaged. Another motivation for work pertains to the poor image of the Turkish-Dutch in Dutch society. Respondents want to achieve better social and financial standing through paid work as they are tired of the stigmatization of their community. In Turkey, harsh economic realities and constant instability make it very urgent for respondents to take up paid work, as is reflected in their discourses of being the best. The neoliberal emphasis on individualism and self-liberation can be traced in their discussions of the necessity for employment.

However, local constructs of what future work entails differ in the two settings. The priority of women's care roles in the private sphere is more underlined in the discourses of the Turkish-Dutch. Accordingly, as their future identities as wife and mother occupy a more central role in their ideas, paid work is planned around this central role. The chapter shows the pressures women feel in their community in terms of being compelled to get married and start families. Failure to do so is regarded negatively as a woman's success is measured by her ability to get married, as well as the notion within the conservative circles that dating is illicit when it does not result in marriage. They experience difficulties in dating under the watchful eyes of the community. The findings confirm the general notion that in immigrant communities, women tend to be thought of as the guardians of the cultural and religious integrity of their communities with a view to future generations (Blunt, 2005; Dwyer, 2000; Ehrkamp, 2013). Therefore, the

Turkish-Dutch often follow more gender role congruent occupations, such as teaching, with the idea that this enables them to have easier home lives.

Contrastingly, Turkish respondents prioritized their career goals more fervently, disregarding the notion of women's traditional roles within the family. While Nilüfer Göle's 1987 fieldwork with Turkish veiled university students showed that these students did not view their education as a means to a professional life, my findings showed that, for these women, paid work was crucial. In choosing their educational paths, the Turkish respondents in this study painstakingly thought about future employment options. They were keen on being financially self-sufficient and did not necessarily think about women's care duties to the extent that the Turkish-Dutch did, although they expressed interest in raising families.

Due to their different context of living in more dispersed cities, Turkish respondents did not experience societal pressures for marriage in the same way as the Turkish-Dutch. Moreover, discourses of individual financial freedom and the financially unstable nature of Turkey resulted in differing conceptualisations of paid work, which rendered it more urgent. The "dutiful worker" discourse identified in this section was similar in the Netherlands and Turkey, but there were some differences in the way these two groups think about and approach the issue of paid work.

Social contact

The fourth chapter looks into the topic of social contact, through the example of handshaking. In line with Muslim ethical conduct, gendered interaction is delineated through its proper and improper forms. Given that practicing Muslims often refrain from touching unfamiliar persons of the other sex, in the fourth chapter, I look at how the respondents negotiate handshaking in the secular context of the Netherlands. This is all the more important as handshaking becomes an important aspect of proper social interaction. Moreover, in this chapter, I attempt to theorize the complex framework of agency in the case of my respondents through the handshake debate. The chapter identifies two conflicting cultural norms about the handshake that are equally accepted and valued. These two conflicting norms enable us to theorize agency in two ways in the case of these students.

The first part of the chapter explains how refraining from the handshake works in line with their religious convictions as part of their cultural capital of religious socialization. Accordingly, in line with Saba Mahmood's notion of "agency as self-realization" (2005), the respondents' ethical concerns of pious self-realization, confirmed the arguments of the "doing religion" paradigm (Avishai, 2008). In the field of piety, non-handshaking had the symbolic power to give the agent prestige and esteem, which is further exemplified by the respondents'

abstinence from shaking the hands of fellow Turkish-Dutch religious men who are in the know about pious conduct and who are possible future marriage partners, as opposed to handshaking more freely with secular Turkish men or Dutch men who are not agents in the piety field.

The second part of the chapter shows how the respondents negotiate the non-touching precept in the Dutch social field. In the Dutch context, handshaking proves to be an important aspect of properly establishing yourself as an agent, especially in first time introductions. In the secular field, respondents seldom refuse to shake hands, as it is considered an important means to gain social capital, providing them with individual and communal benefits, which further translates into economic benefits and upward mobility. Therefore, they tap into their agency in rational decision-making in their autonomous decisions of handshaking with men in the secular field, which corresponds to the liberal feminist understanding of autonomous agency (Nussbaum, 1999).

Having shown that these respondents actively negotiate when and where to shake hands and by deciding which type of capital is more relevant in a specific context, from an agency perspective, I can argue that their agency is not limited to constructing a pious self, but can also be read within liberal feminism's paradigm of agency as autonomy. In their intersectional identities, these two agentic positions are not necessarily oppositional, as Mahmood states, but rather they exist side by side in the case of the respondents for this study.

Living Arrangements

In the fifth chapter, I looked at how gender is constituted at a dorm owned by a Muslim Turkish association through disciplining techniques. The chapter shows that life in the dorm is governed by a set of practices that are voluntarily and ardently exercised by the members. The disciplinary techniques provide a moral and behavioural framework guided by a pious way of life, which organizes all activities such as studying, praying or socialising, as well as managing of time. What is significant is that through disciplining techniques, the dorm is preoccupied with how gender issues are dealt with. The gender ideology of this institution is embodied in everyday practices in terms of gendered Islamic behaviour; what to wear, how to behave, how to interact with whom. Practices such as concealing of the body form, the curfew and the rules of interaction with the opposite sex are all clearly pointed out as guiding principles for members, which in turn work to reproduce individuals that who fully in line with its gender ideology.

The chapter shows how members collectively negotiate and affirm gendered discourses of a correct way of living. It is shown how this works effectively, both through the reinforcing discussions held amongst the members, as well as the peer surveillance system. The chapter also shows that, faced with this disciplinary

power, the dorm members are by no means powerless. Rather, they voluntarily subject themselves to this power, with the notion that it is good for them based on their commitment to Islamic self-development. The aim of this chapter was not to present the mere existence of religious gender norms and gendered structures, but to point to the formation and strengthening of these through the influence of the dorm, which becomes a focal point of power. For the members, religious norms become all the more binding when they are enforced by a powerful institution such as the dorm.

Use of leisure spaces

Leisure spaces contribute to the creation and expression of social identities. Use of leisure spaces reflects how particular individuals and groups do gender, and how, in leisure spaces, gendered subjectivities are constructed, maintained and reproduced. In the sixth chapter, I looked into how the Turkish-Dutch and Turkish respondents do gender through using leisure spaces, and accounted for the differences between the two groups.

The dominant idea regarding veiled pious Muslim women is that they are characterized by powerlessness and fixity, and have a very limited range of motion, especially with regard to accessing and using spaces of leisure. The chapter shows that, while a specific understanding of embodied integrity governs their mobility and use of leisure spaces, they can by no means be characterized by fixity and powerlessness. It is shown that, both in the Netherlands and Turkey, use of leisure spaces is mapped according to issues of propriety, primarily differentiated by use of alcohol, sexual divergences and the night-time economy. This sometimes resulted in avoiding certain places (university bars in the Dutch context and drinking hubs in İstanbul), or moving around them selectively, as well as taking painstaking care in using leisure spaces at night time. Using such spaces especially at night time is perceived as damaging to these pious womens' sexual and bodily integrity, as Deeb and Harb have shown for Beirut (2013), also noting for the Dutch context the social control exerted on the community's women. My findings also confirm the prevalent idea that women's fear of crime limits their movement in the night time (Valentine, Holloway and Jayne, 2010). In response, women resort to creating safe spaces for leisure, as in the example of Turkish women's parties in the Netherlands, or in the example of opting for the relative safety of shopping malls in Turkey or choosing to stay indoors. Thus, the notion of embodied integrity was governed by ethical Islamic behaviours (i.e. particular attention to alcohol), social conventions of Turkish constructs of propriety, as well as more universal notions of female safety and security.

Discourses of belonging also affected use of leisure spaces. Sometimes, the respondents feared discrimination or perceived themselves as unfit for certain

places dominated by the native Dutch or secular Turks, in line with the finding of Peters and de Haan regarding the division of Utrecht's public space along ethnic, racial, gendered and classed lines (2011). Such divisions also applied to restaurants or eateries, as the ways in which food is consumed is also a function of drawing boundaries (Jansen, 1997). Accordingly, respondents negotiated belonging and claimed other places for leisure. I have shown how, in the Netherlands, the respondents claimed parks, as they experience city centres as exclusive spaces (Peters and de Haan, 2011; Komen and Schram 2005). In Turkey, they claimed malls as convenient and comfortable leisure spaces, as well as carving out conservative living and leisure spaces, as in the Başakşehir example.

Use of leisure spaces is dependent on people's opportunities of mobility and movement. What also contributes to the respondents' use of leisure spaces are the dominant gender regimes of the Netherlands and Turkey with regards to women's mobility. The data showed that, contrary to the idea that Turkish-Dutch women are not allowed to go places, they have more mobility than they would have in Turkey due to the women-friendly spaces and ideas about the Netherlands being safer. While negative ideas about women's mobility and use of leisure spaces is associated with conservative small towns in Turkey, this is not reflected in the mobility of respondents in İstanbul or the whole of the Netherlands. One striking finding the chapter manifests is that while Turkish women would be thought of as having more power, thus more mobility, due to their dominant position of having social and cultural capital in Turkey, in effect, their mobility-induced power is diminished due to local constructs and structural factors around mobility.

In conclusion, in all the studied domains of education, work, social interaction, living arrangements and leisure, respondents are engaged in a construction of a gender identity and a religiously pious identity, through multiple ways at different levels. These identities are constituted through the constant changing outcome of the interaction of norms and ideologies on the one hand and practices and lived experiences of everyday reality on the other hand.

The respondents are highly skilled in acting in ways and manners in accordance with what is necessary in a particular situation, accommodating the exigencies of different identities as student, prospective participant in the Dutch economy, pious woman, dutiful member of the Muslim community and family. Identities are constantly negotiated and reworked. Neither the fact that they study, nor the fact that they wear a veil is sufficient to establish themselves as a career woman or as a pious woman. Such identities are always in a process of continual creation. Accordingly, the many norms regulations in the respondents' lives are constantly adjusted and adapted to their immediate circumstances and needs. For example, in order to land a job in the Netherlands, a pious student might shake hands of the opposite sex, challenging the not-handshaking norms of a pious

female identity. At the same time, by landing a job, they challenge the predominant notion of the Muslim female as a non-worker. The constellation of identities are not given, they are works in progress.

The comparison I have undertaken between the Turkish-Dutch and Turkish respondents manifests both similarities and differences. While the respondents in both settings hold similar views on issues and adopt similar ethical values, in practice there are differences in how these views and values play out in everyday lives. Often times, these depend on the structural differences between the two locales. However, there are also unexpected outcomes: while the Netherlands is regarded as a more women-friendly setting in comparison to Turkey, and that the respondents are spatially more mobile in Dutch settings, it turns out that respondents in Turkey are more oriented to life outside the home sphere and more oriented towards using their education in high level jobs.

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Summary in English

In this thesis I looked at the lives of Turkish-Dutch Muslim college and university students who actively practice their religion, manifest by the visible marker of the headscarf, with a focus on gender. In both popular imagination and even some scholarly studies, veiled Muslim women tend to be seen as a homogeneous group characterized by leading traditional lives. What distinguishes the subjects of this study however was that they were exceptional in the sense that they were students in higher education, as well as immigrants in the country of study. Both of these two axes of identity rendered their experiences interesting and unique.

If "doing gender" (West and Zimmerman, 1987) refers to the social construction of the binary of gender, then it is interesting to know how this specific group of young women does gender. For practitioners of Islam there are several distinctly underlined ways of gendered normative behaviour based on Islamic family law: a robust understanding of spatial segregation of sexes and well-defined social roles for women and men. In other words, there are certain "correct" ways of doing gender for Muslim women and men alike. Thus, an analysis of practicing Muslim gendered subjectivities cannot help but look at how much the subjects are aligned with or distant from the dominant Islamic norms for proper behaviour. In line with this, for this study I looked at how veiled Turkish-Dutch students negotiated norms such as the precept of not touching strangers of the opposite sex, or those on sexual segregation or the use of public space for leisure. Moreover, they also have to negotiate their piety in the secular context of the Netherlands. Being students in higher education they actively have to deal with the various demands made on them in secular society: expectations of schooling, social contact outside the home and prospects of work.

How do Turkish-Dutch students dress, behave, act and engage with others in a certain way as to socially and culturally establish themselves as pious Muslim women? I attempted to trace in real life situations what this particular gendered position entailed "doing" to produce and reproduce itself and separate itself from the others. Apart from the piety aspect, this doing of gender was further problematized by another axe of identity: ethnicity. Since the research context was primarily the Netherlands, how they did gender was also intimately connected to a migrant status, which distinguished itself from the mainstream Dutch ways of doing gender. Furthermore, at several instances I compared their experiences with that of similar women in Turkey who were also veiled and in higher education. I did so whenever such a comparison would lead to a better understanding of the contextual aspect of gender construction. In what follows, I summarize the main arguments of the five chapters.

In the context of the Netherlands, the veil has become a symbol of Muslim women's backwardness. It is intricately tied to a negatively perceived immigrant status. The veil epitomizes Muslim women's gendered and ethnic subjectivity as the non-agentic other of the emancipated Dutch women. Coupled with this is the criticism that Turkish-Dutch women are not represented in everyday life in the Netherlands in education or paid work. Due to the notion that education contexts can be spaces where the Turkish-Dutch veiled women integrate into the wider Dutch society, and consequentially might continue into paid work, their schooling experiences are of importance. As the veil works as a marker of a negatively perceived gendered immigrant identity, for students it might undermine their feelings of belonging to their school environments, in turn negatively affecting their success and scholarly achievement.

The chapter addresses how respondents experienced and negotiated belonging to their education contexts. The chapter looked into the schooling experiences of respondents, retrospectively in all ranks of study. I have investigated how the veil influences feelings of belonging in a Dutch classroom context. The concept of "belonging uncertainty" (Walton and Cohen, 2007), refers to the idea that socially stigmatised groups (i.e. immigrants) might be uncertain about whether they are accepted and welcome in their environments. Belonging uncertainty in turn negatively affects performance of such individuals. Through various examples, I show that "belonging uncertainty" is felt in the education context, albeit differently by different respondents depending on various factors such as level of education and composition of the said classroom (in particular whether or not there are other immigrants or other Muslims present in the immediate environment). Respondents suffered the most when they went to predominantly white schools, as opposed to "black schools" with many immigrants present. When other immigrants and especially veiled Muslims are present, respondents had an easier time cultivating feelings of belonging to their education context, as they felt represented. In terms of higher education, suffering from "belonging uncertainty" became more acute as people moved higher up on the educational ladder and into more prestigious disciplines of study. Migrants often come together at the lower ends of the tertiary education field in the Netherlands, such as vocational colleges instead of research universities. Therefore, at these lower levels they are more widely represented, which results in less "belonging uncertainty".

Our research showed that respondents execute certain strategies in order to curb "belonging uncertainty". One strategy was to start veiling early when they start secondary school. Respondents usually anticipate sticking out in the Dutch education context, therefore they start veiling as early as aged twelve, before they move into higher grades. Other strategies were dressing up more like their autochthonous peers to look familiar, and giving public speeches in order to

establishing their new identity in classrooms. Most importantly, they cultivate friendships with similar people: other veiled students, Muslims or other immigrants. By sticking together they develop parallel feelings of belonging to their own group, with a view to curbing “belonging uncertainty”.

This study also looked into ideas pertaining to paid work, which is an important area of the construction of gender. The prevalent notion in Islam is that women should be first and foremost wives and mothers, which undermines their trajectories in paid work. Therefore it remains important to investigate this phenomenon for this group of women who are both practicing Muslims and highly educated. Their education makes them the best-prepared group of women for a future in paid work. Moreover, as ideas about paid labour for women are culturally specific, it is interesting to compare the Netherlands and Turkey to find out how cultural context is involved. Our exploration of the notions of paid work for Turkish-Dutch and Turkish veiled women in higher education shows that respondents in both settings are interested in taking up paid work. In their ideas, they challenge Islamic traditional beliefs about a women’s place. Apart from financial concerns, one idea is the ethical concern that as good Muslims they should contribute to society by way of working. Particular to the Dutch context, is the idea that Turkish-Dutch women should work in Dutch society to counterbalance negative Dutch opinions on the Turkish-Dutch group.

However, there was a difference in the way work was understood. For the Turkish-Dutch respondents, the expected gender roles as wives and mothers were highly important and thus these roles significantly shaped how they approached paid work. This is based on the fact that within the Turkish-Dutch community such roles are highly prominent and mark status for women. The close scrutiny of the community on young women and conservative ideas also influenced this. Also the Dutch context favouring and enabling part-time work for mothers and fathers came into play here. Thus, they followed more traditionally feminine paths and gendered occupations, which would allow them to easily balance work and home lives. In comparison, in their ideas on work Turkish respondents were more adamant. The data shows that Turkish respondents have carefully considered their employment possibilities when choosing their paths of study, and did not take into account gendered roles as did the Turkish-Dutch. Financial independence and autonomy were sought after more strongly. They did not live in close-knit and conservative communities. Marriages were not urgent for the Turkish respondents, as they didn’t experience a strong compulsion in the way the Turkish-Dutch did. Therefore, gendered roles in family did not shape their ideas on work as fervently. It should also be noted that the difference between the two groups was also based on a structural difference; while Turkish-Dutch had structural difficulties in

achieving prestigious fields of study (i.e. hard sciences or engineering), for the Turkish respondents it was relatively easier.

Normative gender relations entail strict segregation of the sexes for practicing Muslims. Taking this into account, I have investigated how the respondents carry out social contact in the secular through the example of the handshake. As Muslims normatively have to refrain from shaking hands of the opposite sex to whom they are not related by blood, it remains important to see how the respondents negotiate and manage the handshake issue in their everyday lives. This also allows us to discuss their agency. The handshake issue, with its distinct understanding of boundaries of behaviour for practicing Muslims, contributes to the general discussion of agency of practicing Muslim women. I have identified two conflicting cultural norms regarding the handshake: 1) avoiding handshaking for ethical reasons, 2) handshaking to establish proper social interaction. Both norms are equally valued and recognized. As such, these can be related to two diverse ways of theorizing agency.

Regarding the first, agents who want to adhere to the first norm do not shake the hands of men who are not related to them by blood as an ethical concern of self-realization. Non-handshaking works as part of their cultural capital in the pious universe. It works to give the agent prestige and esteem in the pious universe. This is evident in the way they distinguish between Turkish-Dutch or Dutch men. It is relatively easier for them to shake hands with Dutch or non-religious Turkish men. Turkish-Dutch men are in the know about pious conduct and the precept of non-touching, as well as being potential marriage partners. Therefore, it is more important not to shake hands with them. Through these norms of non-handshaking, they confirm Mahmood's notion of "agency as self-realization" (2005). For their religious self-realization, they execute their agency and simply refuse to shake hands or are very selective in their handshaking.

Regarding the second norm, that the establishment of proper social interaction requires an introductory handshake, I have shown how in the Dutch social field, the interviewed students seldom refuse to shake hands. In education or work contexts, proper introductions are deemed important. Through positive social behaviour, which also includes handshaking, respondents gain benefits. It is an important means to gain social, and in turn economic capital closely connected to concerns of upward mobility. Especially because the Turkish-Dutch students realize that handshaking is a sensitive issue in the Netherlands. Therefore, agents execute autonomous rational decision-making in their decisions of whether to shake hands or not. When they know it will be good for them, they decide for themselves and execute handshakes.

In terms of agency, both agency as self-realization and agency as autonomous rational decision-making are at work in their lives, depending on the context and the type of relationship. They negotiate and carefully consider each interaction, showing that they can successfully combine these different types of agency. It is argued that for these practicing Muslim women, construction of agency is not limited to concerns of a pious self, but also can be read within liberal feminism's paradigm of agency as autonomy. Furthermore, there are cross-overs between these types of agency rather than Mahmood's understanding of them as two different things. The students in question did not solely concern themselves with self-realization as pious Muslims, but also as professionals in the Dutch social order. They decided not only autonomously in their rational decision-making on what was effective to their career, but also on what would construct them as a pious woman, as evident in their examples of negotiating the issue of the handshake.

To find out how gender is constructed through every day practices, life in a Turkish-Dutch religious dorm was closely studied. The dorm is home to female Turkish-Dutch students, who are members of a religious organization. This dorm does not only offer accommodation, but also a moral and behavioral framework for the students living in it by a set of guiding principles. It is a disciplinary institution; one in which life is governed by definitive rules and regulations. The chapter shows how the dorm not only informs gender, but also how it discursively creates and forms gendered pious subjects through its various disciplinary techniques. It represents a model for a particular gender culture, circumscribing gendered Islamic behavior such as what to wear, how to behave, and how to interact with whom.

There are some everyday practices operating in the dorm, which work to manage and uphold a certain pious way of life: the dominant ideas around how piety should be executed in people's lives are not separated from practice. These also instill a certain gender culture. Some examples of these are: careful organization of time, strict curfews, doing the *namaz* rituals, eating together as a rule, regulating contact with the other sex and implicitly imposing a dress code. Time is highly structured in the dorm. Apart from certain prayer times and dinner times, there are certain time frames for even studying and socializing. Keeping time in unison is one of the ways in which this institution exercises its power on its members. Curfews are another way of organization of time, which also draws the boundaries of acceptable versus unacceptable behavior for the dorm members. The widely held belief that nighttime is unfit for a woman is also exercised by the dorm; the gender culture of the dorm maintains that members have to be in before the curfew unless they have a very good reason. The curfew also works to limit

members' exposure to life outside the dorm. Therefore, the curfew works to make sure that the dorm keeps its cultural distinction as a place for wholesome, pious women who do not socialize extensively with the out-group. The dorm members also come together to pray. *Namaz*, the prayers, are executed in a certain order. While members say that they are not obliged to do them, it is also noted that there is a certain encouragement for doing the rituals together. Another way in which the dorm exercises its discipline is the shared meals. Students always gather together for breakfast, afternoon teatime and dinners. Sharing of meals contributes to the collective identity of this place. The rent they pay also covers the costs of their meals. Managing the relations with boys is another disciplinary measure. Interaction with the opposite sex is subject to certain rules such as non-touching and lowering one's gaze as they potentially might have a contaminating influence. Dorm members experience dating uneasily, as freely mixing of the sexes is considered negative for Islamic self-development and frowned upon. Moreover, such encounters also tarnish women's reputation. Therefore, dorm members are painstakingly careful about how they negotiate interaction with the opposite sex. Veiling and modest clothing are also subject to disciplinary power, as modesty of one's attire is considered to have a positive influence for Islamic self-development. As most of the women living in the dorm are veiled, there is a tacit rule regarding its propriety. Moreover, clothing regimens also work to instill a collective identity. All of these disciplinary techniques contribute to the way subjects are formed in the dorm. The power of this institution makes members into who they are as pious women, fully in line with its gender ideology, through these disciplinary micro-practices.

Having said that, it should also be noted that members are by no means powerless in the face of the dorm. Rather, they are active agents who decide to follow the disciplinary measures of the dorm, thinking it is good for their Islamic self-development as well as their academic success. Constitution of the gendered subjectivities of dorm members is by way of interplay between the subjects and the disciplinary institution. In this chapter, I showed how gender is constructed for dorm members by way of disciplinary techniques as well as showing how gender norms become more binding when they are set in place by a powerful institution.

Finally, I looked at how the respondents make use of spaces for leisure, comparatively between the Netherlands and Turkey. Looking into the use of leisurely spaces helps us to understand the ways in which gendered subjectivities are formed. Muslim women have been homogeneously characterized by fixity in literature, due to dominant ideas inherent in Islam that women's mobility is polluting for them and blurs the necessary distinction between the private and public domains (Abu Lughod, 1985; Ahmed, 1992). Also, leisure space is a less controlled space than

school or work, so women might experience more constraints in that area. Moreover, the veil might further problematize the use of spaces for leisure as a manifest social identity marker. The veil might work to exclude women from some spaces due to perceived discrimination or it might cause access difficulties due to lack of single-sex facilities.

Leisure spaces reflect the predominant hierarchical power relations elsewhere. Who uses which space for leisure, for how long, in what ways and so on are defined by the existing power relations and gendered inequalities in public and private spheres. Feminist works have shown that it is mostly women who have experienced more constraints on accessing leisure spaces. Some of the reasons cited for this are: cultural and economic constraints, the discourse of fear, sexualised and racialized violence, and child-rearing and homemaking obligations. The difficulties women face in accessing and enjoying leisure spaces in turn work to solidify their place-based identities, inhibit their personal growth as well as be counterproductive to their well-being and empowerment through leisure.

The concept of "moral geographies" is helpful in understanding how pious Muslim women negotiate their use of leisure spaces. Moral geographies pertain to the delineation of the boundaries of spaces one occupies, based on their moral values. For example, it is shown in this chapter how the consumption of alcohol, the presence of alternative sexualities, or perception of time space influences the moral geography and delimits the use of leisurely spaces for respondents. For the Turkish-Dutch Muslim students, university cafes are sometimes avoided when they turn into bars where alcohol is consumed after hours. Similarly, for the Turkish respondents

İstanbul Avenue in İstanbul often defines the limits of moral geographies due to abundant consumption of alcohol. Some prefer visiting the avenue only during the day, as they believe night-time to be polluting. Further, some negotiate their movement in this avenue, by staying away from the side streets where pubs, bars and dancing halls (and thus alcohol consumption) are present, and rather to stick to the more mainstream areas. Some others try to avoid these areas, as they feel uneasy by the existence of LGBTI individuals living in the premises. Night-time similarly regulates the respondents' leisurely use of spaces, and thus time space is also a constituent of moral geographies. Respondents are wary of being out and about at night-time not only because of fear of crime, but also because of the fact that visiting places of leisure at night-time tarnishes the prestige of women as night-time is associated with polluting activities. Gossip works to delimit their movement in night-time. Therefore, night-time comes across as an important aspect structuring the leisurely use of spaces.

What also structured and shaped respondents' use of leisurely spaces is whether or not they felt entitled to places. Feelings of belonging or non-belonging

to a certain space on grounds of ethnicity, or on grounds of the marked difference of the veil determined use of leisurely spaces. As shown, some respondents were wary of going to some cafes and eateries, arguing they were "too Dutch". Rather, they enjoyed parks as neutral spaces for leisure, away from the hegemonic Dutchness, which characterizes the town centre. Parks are devoid of an ethnic character, and are very popular with immigrants in the Netherlands as literature on the subject also confirms. Similarly, in Turkey, some neighbourhoods such as Nişantaşı did not feel welcoming to the respondents, as these spaces were the realms of the secularist elite. They did not feel entitled based on their manifest religious marker, the veil. Turkish respondents cited shopping malls as a common leisure space. What made malls popular is that they are convenient, clean and safe self-contained leisure spaces. The use of malls reflected both the growing consumerism as well as the demand for safety in leisure spaces.

In conclusion, in all the studied domains of education, work, social interaction, living arrangements and leisure, respondents are engaged in a construction of a gender identity and a religiously pious identity, through multiple ways at different levels. These identities are constituted through the constant changing outcome of the interaction of norms and ideologies on the one hand and practices and lived experiences of everyday reality on the other hand.

The respondents are highly skilled in acting in ways and manners in accordance with what is necessary in a particular situation, accommodating the exigencies of different identities as student, prospective participant in the Dutch economy, pious woman, dutiful member of the Muslim community and family. Identities are constantly negotiated and reworked. Neither the fact that they study, nor the fact that they wear a veil is sufficient to establish themselves as a career woman or as a pious woman. Such identities are always in a process of continual creation. Accordingly, the many norms regulations in the respondents' lives are constantly adjusted and adapted to their immediate circumstances and needs. For example, in order to land a job in the Netherlands, a pious student might shake hands of the opposite sex, challenging the not-handshaking norms of a pious female identity. At the same time, by landing a job, they challenge the predominant notion of the Muslim female as a non-worker. The constellation of identities are not given, they are works in progress.

The comparison I have undertaken between the Turkish-Dutch and Turkish respondents manifests both similarities and differences. While the respondents in both settings hold similar views on issues and adopt similar ethical values, in practice there are differences in how these views and values play out in everyday lives. Often times, these depend on the structural differences between the two locales. However, there are also unexpected outcomes: while the Netherlands is regarded as a more women-friendly setting in comparison to Turkey, and that the

respondents are spatially more mobile in Dutch settings, it turns out that respondents in Turkey are more oriented to life outside the home sphere and more oriented towards using their education in high level jobs.

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

In dit proefschrift focus ik op de levens van Turks-Nederlandse moslimstudenten uit het hoger onderwijs die op een actieve wijze hun religie beoefenen, zichtbaar door het dragen van een hoofddoek, met een focus op gender. In zowel de volksverbeelding als sommige wetenschappelijke studies worden moslima's die een hoofddoek dragen gezien als een homogene groep die gekarakteriseerd wordt door hun traditionele levensstijl. Wat de participanten van dit onderzoek onderscheidt, is dat ze uitzonderlijk zijn in die zin dat ze een opleiding volgen in het hoger onderwijs en bovendien immigranten zijn in het land waar ze studeren. Beide facetten van deze identiteit maken hun ervaringen uniek.

Als "*doing gender*" (West en Zimmerman, 1987) verwijst naar de sociale constructie van een binair gender, dan is het intrigerend om te begrijpen hoe deze groep jonge vrouwen gender 'doen'. Voor praktiserende moslims zijn er verschillende, duidelijk afgebakende vormen van gendernormatief gedrag, gebaseerd op het islamitisch familierecht: een robuust begrip van ruimtelijke segregatie tussen beide geslachten en duidelijk omlijnde sociale rollen voor mannen en vrouwen. Met andere woorden, er zijn 'correcte' vormen om gender te doen, voor zowel mannen als vrouwen binnen de islam. Bijgevolg kan een analyse van de gendersubjectiviteit van praktiserende moslims niet anders dan nagaan in welke mate de participanten al dan niet navolging geven aan de dominante normen over gepast gedrag binnen de islam. In diezelfde lijn onderzocht ik hoe gesluierde Turks-Nederlandse studenten omgingen met de bestaande normen, zoals het voorschrift om geen vreemdelingen van het andere geslacht aan te raken, of de voorschriften omtrent seksuele segregatie of het gebruik van de openbare ruimte voor vrijetijdsbesteding. Bovendien moeten ze hun vroomheid plaatsen binnen de seculaire context van Nederland. Als studenten in het hoger onderwijs, moeten ze actief omgaan met verschillende vereisten die een seculaire samenleving stelt: verwachting omtrent scholing, buitenhuiselijk sociaal contact en vooruitzichten op een loopbaan.

Hoe kleden Turks-Nederlandse studenten zich, hoe gedragen ze zich en hoe gaan ze om met anderen, tegelijkertijd zich sociaal en cultureel opstellend als vrome moslimvrouwen? Ik tracht via werkelijke situaties te achterhalen wat deze specifieke genderpositie inhoudt en wat men doet om het maatschappelijk beeld te construeren en te bevestigen en zichzelf te onderscheiden van anderen. Behalve dit aspect, dat kuisheid centraal stelt, is het doen van gender verder geproblematiseerd door het bestaan van een de ander aspect binnen hun identiteit: etniciteit. Aangezien het onderzoek focust op participanten in Nederland, is hoe ze gender doen ook sterk verbonden met hun migrantenstatus, wat hen onderscheidt van de gangbare manier waarop gender gedaan wordt in Nederland. Om dit verschil beter in kaart te brengen, heb ik op verschillende momenten de ervaringen van de

participanten vergeleken met de ervaringen van vrouwen in Turkije die een hoofddoek dragen en een opleiding in het hoger onderwijs volgden, telkens met als doel om de invloed van de context van deze genderconstructie beter te begrijpen. In wat volgt, vat ik de hoofdargumenten van de vijf hoofdstukken samen.

Binnen de Nederlandse context is de hoofddoek een symbool geworden van de achtergesteldheid van een moslima. Het is intrinsiek verbonden met het negatieve beeld dat heerst over immigranten. De hoofddoek belichaamt hun gendergebonden en etnische subjectiviteit als een *non-agentic* tegenhanger van de geëmancipeerde Nederlandse vrouw. Gekoppeld hieraan is de kritiek dat Turks-Nederlandse vrouwen ondervertegenwoordigd zijn in het onderwijs of op de arbeidsmarkt binnen de Nederlandse samenleving. Aangezien de idee heerst dat de onderwijscontext een plaats biedt waar gesluierde Turks-Nederlandse vrouwen kunnen integreren in de bredere Nederlandse samenleving en zich een weg naar de arbeidsmarkt zouden kunnen banen, is hun ervaring met onderwijs van groot belang. Omdat de sluier fungeert als een symbool voor een negatief beoordeelde genderspecifieke immigrantenstatus, kan het de identificatie van de studenten met de schoolse omgeving ondermijnen en zo hun succes en prestaties op educatief vlak belemmeren.

Het hoofdstuk richt zich op hoe respondenten het gevoel van erbij horen in de onderwijsomgeving tot stand brengen en ervaren. Het hoofdstuk verdiept zich in de onderwijservaring van de respondenten, retrospectief op alle niveaus van hun studie. Ik heb onderzocht hoe de sluier het gevoel van thuishoren binnen de context van een Nederlandse klas beïnvloedt. Het concept *"belonging uncertainty"* (Walton and Cohen, 2007), verwijst naar de opvatting dat sociaal gestigmatiseerde groepen (zoals immigranten) onzeker kunnen zijn of ze al dan niet geaccepteerd zullen worden en zich welkom zullen voelen in hun omgeving. *Belonging uncertainty*, dat wil zeggen het onzeker zijn of men er wel bij hoort, heeft op zijn beurt een negatieve invloed op de prestatie van deze individuen. Door middel van verschillende voorbeelden, laat ik zien dat er een grote mate van *belonging uncertainty* gevoeld wordt binnen de onderwijscontext, al varieert de manier waarop tussen de verschillende respondenten. De mate van het zich niet thuis voelen is afhankelijk van een aantal factoren, zoals het niveau van onderwijs en de samenstelling van de groep (meer bepaald of er al dan niet andere immigranten of moslims aanwezig zijn in de klas). Respondenten die naar school gingen in hoofdzakelijk "witte scholen" bleken zich minder welkom te voelen en minder goed te presteren dan respondenten die naar een zogenaamde "zwarte school" gingen waar veel immigranten aanwezig waren. Als andere immigranten en meer specifiek gesluierde moslima's aanwezig waren, bleken respondenten gemakkelijker gevoelens van verbondenheid met hun onderwijscontext te ervaren, omdat ze zich vertegenwoordigd voelden.

Binnen het hoger onderwijs komt *belonging uncertainty* vaak acuter voor naarmate men zich hoger op de onderwijsladder bevindt en gekozen heeft voor meer prestigieuze studiedisciplines. Kinderen van migranten gaan vaker naar de lagere vormen van tertiair onderwijs in Nederland, zoals beroepsgerichte opleidingen in plaats van onderzoeksuniversiteiten. Daar waar ze beter vertegenwoordigd zijn zien we een vermindering van de ervaren *belonging uncertainty*.

Ons onderzoek toont aan dat respondenten bepaalde strategieën hanteren om de mate waarin ze *belonging uncertainty* ervaren, in toom te houden. Een strategie is om vervroegd, vanaf het begin van de middelbare school, te starten met het dragen van een hoofddoek. De respondenten anticipeerden dat ze hoe dan ook zouden opvallen binnen de Nederlandse onderwijscontext en begonnen daarom een hoofddoek te dragen vanaf het twaalfde levensjaar, nog voor ze aan het secundair onderwijs beginnen. Andere strategieën die ook gebruikelijk blijken, zijn het dragen van kleding die meer vergelijkbaar is met die van hun autochtone leeftijdsgenoten om er vertrouwd uit te zien en het geven van openbare spreekbeurten om hun nieuwe identiteit een plaats te geven binnen de klas. Belangrijker nog, ze cultiveren vooral vriendschappen met vergelijkbare mensen: andere gesluierde studenten, moslims of andere immigranten. Door deze groepsvorming ontwikkelden ze parallelle gevoelens van samenhorigheid binnen hun eigen groep, op die manier de waargenomen *belonging uncertainty* beteugelend.

Dit onderzoek verdiept zich verder in de ideeën rond betaald werk, een belangrijk onderwerp binnen de constructie van gender. De heersende opvatting in de islam is dat eerst en vooral de rollen van echtgenote en moeder vervuld moeten worden, wat voor vrouwen de gerichtheid op de arbeidsmarkt bemoeilijkt. Het blijft dus belangrijk om dit fenomeen te onderzoeken binnen de groep van hoog opgeleide, praktiserende moslima's. Hun opleiding maakt van hen de best voorbereide groep van vrouwen op toekomstig betaald werk. Bovendien, omdat de ideeën over betaald werk voor vrouwen cultuurspecifiek zijn, is het interessant om Nederlandse en Turkse vrouwen te vergelijken om te bepalen in hoeverre de culturele context van belang is. Ons onderzoek over de opvattingen over betaald werk van Turks-Nederlandse en Turkse gesluierde vrouwen binnen het hoger onderwijs toont aan dat respondenten in beide culturele settings interesse tonen in het uitoefenen van een betaalde baan. Met die gedachtegang dagen ze de islamitische traditie uit wat betreft de plaats van vrouwen in de samenleving. Behalve financiële redenen, speelt ook de ethische bezorgdheid dat ze, als goede moslims, horen bij te dragen aan de maatschappij door te werken. Specifiek voor de Nederlandse context is de opvatting dat Turks-Nederlandse vrouwen horen te werken in Nederland om zo tegenwicht te bieden aan de negatieve Nederlandse opinies over de Turks-Nederlandse bevolkingsgroep.

Er is echter ook een andere manier waarop werk werd geïnterpreteerd. Voor de Turks-Nederlandse respondenten, blijven de genderrollen als echtgenote en moeder belangrijk omdat deze een prominente en hoge status hebben binnen de Turks-Nederlandse samenleving, en dus beïnvloeden deze rollen in grote mate de manier waarop betaald werk werd benaderd. De kritisch, conservatieve blik van de gemeenschap op jonge vrouwen beïnvloedt dit ook. Daardoor bewandelen de respondenten eerder het traditionele levenspad en beoefenen ze beroepen die genderspecifiek zijn, of die in deeltijd gedaan kunnen worden, wat hen in staat stelt om hun loopbaan te combineren met hun huiselijke verantwoordelijkheden. Ze maken daarbij gebruik van het feit dat in Nederland deeltijd werk aangemoedigd en mogelijk gemaakt wordt voor zowel moeders als vaders. Turkse respondenten zijn in vergelijking meer vastberaden wat betreft hun ideeën over betaald werk; de data tonen aan dat Turkse respondenten hun opties binnen de arbeidsmarkt zorgvuldig overwegen bij het kiezen van hun studierichting en dat ze hun genderrollen als echtgenote en moeder minder mee laten wegen, iets wat de Turks-Nederlandse respondenten opvallend vaker doen. Financiële onafhankelijkheid en autonomie spelen sterker bij de Turkse respondenten. Ze ervaarden minder de druk van een gesloten, conservatieve gemeenschap. Ook trouwen bleek minder dringend voor de Turkse respondenten, aangezien zij hier geen druk toe voelen vanuit hun gemeenschap op de manier dat Turks-Nederlandse respondenten dit wel ervaren. Hierdoor worden hun ideeën over hun toekomstige loopbaan niet zo sterk gevormd door de op familie gerichte genderrollen. Verder moet ook vermeld worden dat de verschillen tussen de twee groepen deels gebaseerd zijn op een structureel verschil; waar Turks-Nederlandse respondenten structurele moeilijkheden ervaren om te participeren in meer prestigieuze studiegebieden (zoals exacte en technische wetenschappen), blijken Turkse respondenten dit in vergelijking makkelijker te vinden.

Normatieve gender relaties houden een strikte scheiding in van de seksen bij praktiserende moslims. In het licht hiervan heb ik onderzocht hoe respondenten sociaal contact maken in een seculiere omgeving, met als voorbeeld de in de Nederlandse media veel besproken handdruk. Aangezien praktiserende moslims volgens de normen af zouden moeten zien van het schudden van handen met een persoon van het andere geslacht met wie ze geen bloedband hebben, blijft het belangrijk hoe respondenten met deze situatie omgaan in alledaagse situaties waar het geven van een hand heel gewoon is. Dit laat ons ook toe om hun *agency* te bespreken. Het handdrukprobleem, met zijn duidelijk afgebakende regels voor hoe moslims zich horen te gedragen in het aanraken van anderen, is interessant in de context van de algemene discussie over *agency* bij praktiserende moslimvrouwen. Ik heb twee conflicterende culturele normen geïdentificeerd die spelen

bij de handdruk: 1) om ethische redenen dient een handdruk met niet-verwanten vermeden te worden 2) om gepaste sociale interactie tot stand te brengen dient men een hand te geven. Beide normen worden in gelijke mate naar waarde geschat en erkend en kunnen worden gerelateerd aan twee verschillende theorieën omtrent *agency* van moslimvrouwen.

Een eerste theorie stelt dat *agents* die de eerste norm gehoorzamen, en dus geen hand geven aan mannen die geen familie zijn, dit doen vanuit een ethische keuze als vorm van zelfrealisatie. Het niet schudden van de hand werkt als een deel van hun cultureel kapitaal dat hen binnen het universum van vroomheid voorziet van status en prestige. Dit wordt duidelijk in de manier waarop zij een onderscheid maken tussen Turks-Nederlandse en Nederlandse mannen. Het is makkelijker voor deze vrouwen om de hand te schudden van Nederlandse of niet-religieuze Turkse mannen. Religieuze Turks-Nederlandse mannen zijn op de hoogte van de kuisheidsnormen, het voorschrift om fysiek contact te vermijden en het zijn bovendien potentiële huwelijkskandidaten. Het is bijgevolg belangrijker hen de hand niet te schudden. Het navolgen van de norm om geen hand te geven bevestigt Mahmood's notie over *"agency as self-realization"* (2005). Voor hun religieuze zelfrealisatie, voeren ze hun *agency* uit door het weigeren of selectief geven van een handdruk.

Wat betreft de tweede norm, dat het tot stand brengen van gepaste sociale interactie een begroetende handdruk vereist, toon ik aan dat binnen de Nederlandse sociale omgeving, de geïnterviewde studenten zelden weigeren iemand een hand te geven. In onderwijs- of professionele contexten worden gepaste begroetingen belangrijk geacht. Door positief sociaal gedrag, inclusief de handdruk, verkrijgen respondenten voordelen. Het is een effectief middel om sociaal en bijgevolg ook economisch kapitaal te verwerven in de Nederlandse samenleving, wat sterk verbonden is met opwaartse mobiliteit. Bovendien realiseren Turks-Nederlandse studenten zich dat de handdruk een gevoelig onderwerp is in Nederland. Hieruit blijkt dat deze vrouwen *agency* tonen door autonoom rationele beslissingen te nemen over het al dan niet schudden van iemands hand. Wanneer ze weten dat dit voor hen een positieve invloed zal hebben, besluiten ze zelfstandig en verlenen ze een handdruk.

Er is dus zowel sprake van *agency* als religieuze zelfrealisatie en *agency* als autonome rationele beslissing, afhankelijk van de context en het type relatie. Ze analyseren en overwegen hun acties bij elke interactie, wat aantoont dat ze beide types van *agency* succesvol kunnen combineren. Er wordt gesteld dat voor deze praktiserende moslimvrouwen de constructie van *agency* niet beperkt is tot het bewaken van de fysieke segregatie in het belang van de religieuze identiteit, maar ook kan gezien worden in het licht van het liberaal feminisme en het bijpassende paradigma van *agency* als autonomie. Verder zijn er ook overlappingen tussen

beide variëteiten van *agency*, in tegenstelling tot in Mahmoods interpretatie waarbij beiden als duidelijk onderscheiden vormen werden geportretteerd. De studenten in het onderzoek zijn niet enkel bezorgd om zelfrealisatie als vrome moslimvrouw, maar ook om hun zelfrealisatie als professioneel iemand in de Nederlandse sociale orde. Ze beslissen niet alleen autonoom en rationeel over hoe ze zichzelf kunnen opbouwen als godsdienstige moslimvrouw maar ook over wat positief is voor hun loopbaan.

Om na te gaan hoe gender geconstrueerd wordt door alledaagse praktijken, bestudeerde ik het leven in een Turks-Nederlandse religieuze woonvorm, te weten een studentenhuis voor vrouwen behorende tot de Turks-Nederlandse gemeenschap. Het studentenhuis is opgezet door een religieuze organisatie en biedt niet enkel accommodatie, maar ook een *framework* voor de moraliteit en het gedrag van de bewoners door uit te gaan van een aantal leidende gedragsprincipes. Het is een disciplinerend instituut waar het leven wordt gestuurd door regels en structuren. Het hoofdstuk toont hoe in dit studentenhuis gender geconstrueerd wordt, bijvoorbeeld hoe bij de bewoners het idee van vrouwelijke kuisheid ingeslepen wordt, door middel van verschillende disciplinerende technieken. Het biedt een model van een specifieke gendergebonden cultuur, waarbij islamitisch gedrag in detail wordt omschreven, door middel van voorschriften voor kleding, studie, samenzijn, gedrag en interactie.

Er zijn een aantal alledaagse gebruiken in het studentenhuis die een kuise levensstijl verzekeren; de dominante ideeën over hoe kuisheid zich manifesteert in het leven van mensen is niet onderscheiden van de praktijk. Een complex van praktijken prenten een zekere gendercultuur in. Zo is er een strikt tijdsschema: behalve vaste uren voor het bidden en het avondmaal, wordt er ook tijd toebedeeld aan studie en socialiseren. De dagschema's van de bewoners gelijk laten lopen is één van de vele technieken van het instituut om macht uit te oefenen op zijn leden. De avondklok is een ander voorbeeld van tijdsorganisatie, waar ook de lijn wordt getrokken tussen acceptabel en onacceptabel gedrag voor de inwonende studenten. Het wijdverspreid geloof dat vrouwen 's nachts niet wakker of buiten horen te zijn, wordt ook onderstreept door de instelling; alle leden dienen voor het ingaan van de avondklok terug te zijn, tenzij ze daarvoor een heel goede reden hebben. De avondklok dient ook om de leden af te schermen van het leven buitenshuis, zodat het studentenhuis zich kan onderscheiden als een plaats voor achtbare, kuise vrouwen die niet verregaand socialiseren met de buitenwereld. De leden komen ook samen om te bidden. *Namaz*, de gebeden, worden uitgevoerd in een bepaalde volgorde. Hoewel leden zeggen dat ze niet verplicht zijn de gebeden uit te voeren, is er opgemerkt dat er sprake is van een zekere aanmoediging om de rituelen samen uit te voeren. Ook de gedeelde maaltijden, die inbegrepen zijn in de huur,

zijn een manier om te disciplineren. Studenten verzamelen steevast bij het ontbijt, het vieruurtje en de avondmaaltijd. Het gezamenlijk eten draagt bij aan de collectieve identiteit van de groep in het studentenhuis. Een andere disciplinerende maatregel heeft als doel om de relaties met jongens te controleren. Interactie met het andere geslacht moet volgens bepaalde regels verlopen, zoals het afzien van fysiek contact en het naar beneden kijken om de blik van de ander te ontwijken, aangezien die uitlokkend zou kunnen zijn. Daten wordt door de leden als ongemakkelijk ervaren, aangezien vrijelijk mixen van beide geslachten wordt gezien als negatief voor islamitische zelfontwikkeling en bijgevolg ook niet wordt goedgekeurd door de gemeenschap. Bovendien brengen zulke ontmoetingen schade toe aan de reputatie van de vrouw in kwestie. Om dat te vermijden zijn de leden van het studentenhuis voorzichtig in het omgaan met het andere geslacht. Het dragen van een hoofddoek en bescheiden kledij vallen ook binnen de disciplinaire macht, gezien een ingetogen klederdracht gezien wordt als een positieve invloed hebbend op de islamitische zelfontwikkeling. Omdat de meeste vrouwen in dit studentenhuis een hoofddoek dragen, voelen nieuwe studenten dit als een impliciete regel. Bovendien dragen de kledingvoorschriften bij tot de collectieve identiteit. Al deze disciplinaire technieken stimuleren de manier waarop de bewoners worden gevormd binnen dit studentenhuis. De macht van dit instituut maakt leden tot wie ze zijn als kuise vrouwen, volledig in lijn met de genderideologie, door het gebruik van deze micropraktijken.

Ondanks het voorgaande moet ook gesteld worden dat leden niet machteloos zijn tegenover deze disciplinaire macht. Ze zijn eerder actieve *agents*, die zelf beslissen om de disciplinaire regels van dit studentenhuis te volgen, omdat het volgens hen zowel aan hun islamitische zelfontwikkeling als hun academisch succes bijdraagt. De vorming van de specifieke gendersubjectiviteiten van de bewoners is een samenspel tussen de leden en het instituut. In dit hoofdstuk toon ik aan hoe door middel van een complex van alledaagse regels en praktijken gender wordt geconstrueerd voor de Turks-Nederlandse vrouwen die hier wonen, alsook hoe gendernormen meer bindend worden en daardoor als vanzelfsprekend nageleefd worden binnen de context van een machtige disciplinerende instelling.

Tenslotte bespreek ik hoe de respondenten gebruik maakten van de openbare ruimte voor vrijetijdsbesteding, vergelijkend tussen Nederland en Turkije. Onderzoek naar het ruimtegebruik voor vrijetijdsbesteding helpt ons om te begrijpen op welke wijzen gendersubjectiviteiten worden gevormd. Moslimvrouwen worden in de literatuur op een homogene manier gekarakteriseerd als niet mobiel, vanwege het dominante idee inherent aan de islam dat mobiliteit vervuilend is voor vrouwen en omdat het de noodzakelijke scheiding tussen private en publieke domeinen doet vervagen (Abu Lughod, 1985; Ahmed, 1992). Bovendien is ruimte

voor vrijetijdsbesteding een minder controleerbare ruimte dan de school of de werkplaats, zodat vrouwen meer beperkingen zouden ervaren op deze plekken. Daar komt nog bij dat de hoofddoek de problematiek rond vrijetijdsbesteding versterkt. Als zichtbaar symbool van een andere sociale identiteit kan ze aanleiding zijn voor discriminatie en zo gesluierde vrouwen uitsluiten van sommige plaatsen. Of gesluierde vrouwen ervaren bepaalde plaatsen als minder toegankelijk door het tekort aan geslachtsspecifieke faciliteiten.

Ruimtes voor vrijetijdsbesteding reflecteren de heersende hiërarchische machtsrelaties. Wie welke plaats in haar of zijn vrije tijd gebruikt, hoe lang en op welke manier, wordt gedefinieerd door de bestaande machtsrelaties en genderongelijkheid in de publieke en private sfeer. Feministisch onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat vooral vrouwen beperkingen ervaren bij de toegankelijkheid van ruimtes bestemd voor vrijetijdsbesteding. Enkele redenen die hiervoor worden aangevoerd zijn: culturele en economische beperkingen, angstgevoel, seksistisch en racistisch geweld en ouderlijke en huishoudelijke verplichtingen. De moeilijkheden die vrouwen ervaren bij de toegankelijkheid van openbare plaatsen bestemd voor vrijetijdsbesteding werken op hun beurt als een versterking van hun plaatsgebonden identiteit, ze beperken hun persoonlijke groei en zijn desastreus voor hun welzijn en empowerment via vrijetijdsbesteding.

Het concept *"moral geographies"* helpt ons te begrijpen hoe kuise moslimvrouwen beslissen welke ruimtes voor vrijetijdsbesteding ze gebruiken. *Moral geographies* hebben betrekking op de begrenzingen van ruimtes die men gebruikt, gebaseerd op morele waarden. Zo is bijvoorbeeld aangetoond in dit hoofdstuk hoe de consumptie van alcohol, de aanwezigheid van alternatieve seksuele geaardheden of de perceptie van tijdruimtelijke variabelen, de *moral geography* van respondenten beïnvloeden. Turks-Nederlandse moslimstudenten vermijden soms universiteitscafés, indien ze fungeren als gelegenheid waar alcohol wordt geconsumeerd na de werkuren. Bij Turkse respondenten is Istiklal Avenue in Istanbul vergelijkbaar, in die zin dat het een grens vormt in hun *moral geography* gezien de overmatige consumptie van alcohol aldaar. Sommigen kiezen ervoor om de boulevard enkel overdag te bezoeken, aangezien ze nachtelijke uren zien als verderfelijk. Anderen beperken hun bewegingsvrijheid in deze straat door weg te blijven van de zijstraten waar zich discotheken en cafés bevinden (en dus alcoholconsumptie welig tiert). Enkelen proberen ook bepaalde plaatsen te vermijden waar veel leden van de LGBT-gemeenschap komen omdat ze zich daarbij ongemakkelijk voelen. Nachtelijke uren reguleren op een soortgelijke manier het gebruik van ruimtes voor vrijetijdsbesteding door de respondenten en dus is ook het tijdruimtelijke aspect bepalend voor de *moral geographies*. De respondenten zijn behoedzaam wat betreft het zich naar buiten begeven tijdens de nacht, niet enkel vanwege de heersende angst voor criminaliteit, maar ook omdat dit hun reputatie aantast, aangezien vrijetijdsbesteding

's nachts wordt gezien als een 'vervuilende' activiteit. Roddelen is een manier om nachtelijke beweging te controleren. Aldus blijkt de nacht een belangrijk structurerend aspect bij het bepalen van het ruimtegebruik voor vrijetijdsbesteding.

Een ander element dat het gebruik van ruimtes voor vrijetijdsbesteding structureert, is of de respondent al dan niet het gevoel heeft recht te hebben op bepaalde plaatsen. Het gevoel hebben dat men ergens al dan niet thuishoort, wordt mede bepaald door de eigen etniciteit en het dragen van een hoofddoek. Zoals gezegd zijn sommige respondenten op hun hoede voor bepaalde cafés en eetgelegenheden, waarbij men argumenteert dat deze plekken "te Nederlands" zijn. Ze genieten liever van parken als neutrale ruimtes voor vrijetijdsbesteding, weg van de Nederlandse hegemonie, iets wat het stadscentrum karakteriseert. Parken zijn ontdaan van een etnisch karakter, en zijn erg populair bij immigranten in Nederland, zoals ook de literatuur bevestigt. Evenzo blijken sommige buurten in Turkije, zoals Nisantasi, niet aantrekkelijk te lijken voor de Turkse respondenten, aangezien deze ruimtes typisch gebied zijn voor de seculaire elite. Zij voelen zich er niet thuis vanwege hun hoofddoek, die een duidelijk religieus symbool vormt voor de buitenwereld. Turkse respondenten vermelden winkelcentra als gebruikelijke plaatsen voor vrijetijdsbesteding. Winkelcentra blijken populair omdat ze makkelijk toegankelijke, nette en veilige op zichzelf staande plaatsen zijn. Het gebruik van winkelcentra verwijst zowel naar een groeiende consumptie als een verhoogde veiligheidswens in plaatsen bestemd voor vrijetijdsbesteding.

Concluderend: binnen de onderzochte domeinen, zijnde onderwijs, loopbaanperspectieven, sociale interactie, woongemeenschap en vrijetijdsbesteding, blijken de respondenten actief bezig met het construeren van een genderidentiteit en een religieuze identiteit, door middel van verschillende praktijken en op verschillende niveaus. Deze identiteiten zijn de steeds veranderende uitkomst van de interactie tussen enerzijds de religieuze en culturele normen en ideologieën en anderzijds de gedragingen, gebruiken en ervaringen in de alledaagse realiteit.

De respondenten zijn in staat om zich op diverse manieren te gedragen in overeenstemming met wat nodig is in een bepaalde situatie, om zo de vereisten voor de identiteit van student, en toekomstig lid van de Nederlandse economie, te combineren met de identiteit van de kuise vrouw, een plichtsbewust lid van de moslimgemeenschap en –familie. Deze identiteiten worden telkens opnieuw samengesteld en herwerkt. Noch het feit dat ze studeren, noch het feit dat ze een sluier dragen is voldoende om zichzelf te vestigen als een carrièrevrouw, dan wel als een vrome vrouw. Beide identiteiten bevinden zich in een constant proces van voortdurende opbouw en heropbouw. Bijgevolg worden de vele normen in het leven van de respondenten constant geherinterpreteerd en aangepast aan hun onmiddellijke omstandigheden en noden. Zo kan het bijvoorbeeld noodzakelijk

zijn voor een vrome studente om de hand te schudden van een persoon van het andere geslacht om een baan te verkrijgen in Nederland. Tegelijkertijd dagen ze de predominante notie van de zorgende en verantwoordelijke moslimvrouw uit, juist door het verkrijgen van die baan. De samenstelling van de identiteiten zijn geen gegeven, maar eerder in voortdurende opbouw.

De vergelijking die ik maak tussen de Turks-Nederlandse en de Turkse respondenten, leverde zowel gelijkenissen als verschillen op. Hoewel de respondenten in beide situaties vergelijkbare ideeën hebben over verschillende kwesties en vergelijkbare ethische waarden hanteren, blijkt er in de praktijk een verschil in hoe deze denkbeelden en waarden zich vertalen naar het dagelijkse leven. Vaak zijn deze afhankelijk van de structurele verschillen tussen beide landen. Toch zijn er ook enkele onverwachte uitkomsten: hoewel Nederland in vergelijking met Turkije gezien wordt als een meer vrouwvriendelijke omgeving, en de respondenten er op ruimtelijk vlak meer mobiel zijn, blijkt dat de Turkse respondenten zich sterker oriënteren op het buitenhuiselijke leven en zich ertoe richten hun onderwijs te gebruiken als opstap naar betaalde banen op hoog niveau.

Curriculum Vitae

Deniz Batum is born in 1982, in İstanbul Turkey. She received her BA in Media and Communication Systems from İstanbul Bilgi University. She worked as an editor in magazine publishing. She has moved to the Netherlands to do a Research MA in Cultural Analysis at the University of Amsterdam in 2005. Later on, she was admitted to Radboud University's Institute for Gender Studies for her PhD on a Huygens Scholarship. Her PhD is on gender practices of veiled second generation Turkish-Dutch students. Her dissertation looks at various domains such as work, school, living spaces and social spaces of everyday life and how gender operates and is negotiated in these domains by young pious Muslim women who are following higher education. Her work has been published in *Journal of Intercultural Studies, Journal of Gender Studies, GÉNEROS –Multidisciplinary Journal of Gender Studies* as well as in an edited book by Yeditepe University Press, İstanbul. She has presented her findings at various international conferences. She has also taught courses on feminism and gender at Radboud University, Nijmegen. Currently she works as a freelance editor and translator.