Finding Your Own Voice

A field study focusing on how young, highly educated Dutch Turkish women participating in Diyanet activities form their voices in discussions of multiculturalism, gender roles in Islam, and political Islam

Dilek Şahin

S1009545

Prof. Chris A.M. Hermans

January 2022

Word count: 19.896

Master Thesis Practical Theology

Faculty Philosophy, Theology and Religious Studies Radboud University Nijmegen

Radboud University

I hereby declare and assure that I, Dilek Şahin, have drafted this thesis independently, that no other sources and/or means other than those mentioned have been used and that the passages of which the text content or meaning originates in other works - including electronic media - have been identified and the sources clearly stated.

Bursa, January 2022

İçindekiler

Acknowledgements

Abstract

The aim of this study is to reveal how young, highly educated Dutch Turkish women participating in Diyanet create their voices in the debates on multiculturalism, political Islam and gender roles in Islam.The main question is how the position on gender role in Islam, multiculturalism, and the definition of Islam and political Islam may be understood in the construction of young Turkish educated Muslim women identities. I conducted interviews of six young Turkish women.

This study revealed that moral religiosity was more dominant in the study group, and integration was the most desired form of multiculturalism. In addition, the thesis reveals that the moderate position, which emphasizes equal value for all, is the most dominant voice against the idea of gender equality and male supremacy in the gender roles in Islam debate.

Introduction

Young, highly, educated, headscarfed Dutch Turkish women participating in Diyanet are at the intersection of many controversial issues. While wearing headscarves and participating in Diyanet affect the voices of these women both in terms of gender roles in Islam and in political Islam debate, their Dutch Turkish identity and their participation in Diyanet, which is also an institution of the Republic of Turkey, keep multicultural discussions on the agenda. However, when the literature is examined, it will be seen that there is a lack of work with these women from an insider perspective.

Therefore, I designed the study with research questions targeting gender roles in Islam, political Islam, and multiculturalism and their intersections. Considering the voices of these women, the areas of their identities that make them controversial in the society they live in, and based on the intersection of their experiences, I determined the framework of the study, accompanied by a main research question and three sub-questions. The main research question is as follows: how may the position on gender roles in Islam, multiculturalism, and the definition of Islam and political Islam is understood in the construction of young Turkish educated Muslim women's identities? The sub-research questions focus more specifically on how these women create their voices in discussions of multiculturalism, gender roles in Islam, and political Islam, respectively.

I designed this work in accordance with Hubert Hermans' Dialogical Self Theory. The Dialogical Self Theory (DST) and the ideas of religious "voice" and "position" can offer new light on how individuals coordinate their many expressed religious perspectives in so-called "I-positions" in the "society of mind" (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). The dialogical self, according to Hermans, is a dynamic multiplicity of I-positions. The following are the main characteristics of DST:

In the most succinct way, the dialogical self can be conceived of as a dynamic multiplicity of I-positions. In this view, the I position emerges from its intrinsic contact with the (social) environment and is bound to particular positions in time and space. As such, the embodied I is able to move from one position to the other in accordance with changes in circumstance and time. In this process of positioning, repositioning, and counter positioning, the I position fluctuates among different and even opposed positions (both within the self and

between the self and perceived or imagined others), and these positions are involved in relationships of relative dominance and social power. As part of sign-mediated social relations, positions can be voiced so that dialogical exchanges among positions can develop. The voices behave like interacting characters in a story or movie, involved in processes of question and answer, agreement and disagreement, conflicts and struggles, negotiations and integration. Each of them has a story to tell about their own experiences, from their own perspective. As different voices, these characters exchange knowledge and information about their respective me's, creating a complex, narratively structured self (Hermans, 2016, pp. 2-3).

The metaphor of "sound" is a potent one in DST. People develop diverse stories about themselves based on different pseudo-I positions when they occupy different positions. The individual's speech is colored by the ideas, values, expectations, and behavior patterns of the many social and cultural groups to which he or she belongs. Other people and cultural groupings seem to have internal voices within themselves (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). In this context, although Hermans' theory includes a wide range of I-positions, I focused on the following: internal I position (one's own unique inner voice), external I position (others within oneself, people with whom one interacts), outside I position (people, groups, and societies in the outside world), and counter I position (a position that conflicts with the I position).

In terms of the thesis's overall structure, I began with a section in which I discussed the parallels and contrasts between myself and the participants, as well as how I positioned myself in this study. I provided an overview of academic research on Islam in the Netherlands in the following section. In the third section, I've added concepts and definitions from my thesis, including multiculturalism, gender roles in Islam, and political Islam. Then, I discussed the study design, which covered the research problem, research strategy, research questions, sampling, sample characteristics, data collection, and data analysis. The fifth portion of the thesis is devoted to the findings; in which I provide the information gathered during the interviews. As a foundation for my study, I expanded on the themes of multiculturalism, gender roles in Islam, and political Islam, examining these topics from internal, external and outside/counter views in accordance with Hubert Hermans' Dialogic Self Theory. In the final section, I discussed my thoughts on these three major points in light of what I discovered in the field. I incorporated the

limitations of the research, directions for future research, and reflection under the same section title.

1. Positioning Myself within the Research

As a Turkish, young, highly educated, woman wearing a headscarf that participates in Diyanet activities and currently lives in the Netherlands, I conducted this empirical research with Turkish, Dutch, young, highly educated, women wearing a headscarf who participate in Diyanet activities. We may appear to be quite similar on the surface, but when our personal traits are carefully explored, we are quite distinct.

The major reason I am not part of the study group is being totally Turkish. I grew up in Turkey till I was 23. I spent the academic year 2017-2018 at Radboud University as part of the Erasmus exchange program. In the Netherlands, I was able to take part in Diyanet events as a religious person because of this remarkable year. I met an imam and a bunch of Muslim girls there. With each meeting, we gained mutual understanding by discussing our cultural, social, and religious differences. This distinction prompted me to do study in this circle, although I was an exchange student. So I moved to Turkey and couldn't wait to return to the Netherlands and see my dream research project realized. So I applied to Radboud University's master's degree in Practical Theology. I started meeting Turkish Dutch Muslim girls again. Given that four of the participants are friends I've known since 2017, I'm confident in my ability to acquire their trust and understanding. At the same time, I assess these activities in the context of religious and social science studies.

In this section, I'll examine the benefits and drawbacks of my particular background. However, I want to underline that I am taking two stances in this research: insider and outsider. Accepting an insider role helped me to get to know the Diyanet Turkish Muslim girls in the Netherlands better. Their lives are similar to mine since they are Muslim, religious, and wear a headscarf. However, I am an outsider because I am new to the Netherlands and am learning how the Turks' lifestyle, culture, and social life differs from ours in Turkey. During our interviews, I identified myself as a professional researcher and used a research methodology based on the social sciences.

It's only fair to highlight some of the downsides of my insider status. I was brought up in a pious family, studied Islamic theology, and worked with Diyanet in Turkey. In this case, I've

always been aware of the need for distance to perform a valid analysis. I was aware of the challenges of objectively assessing one's own past. A social scientist cannot do research without making value judgments. Strong adherence to a particular religious tradition could create difficulties in producing an unbiased analysis of other traditions. In order to avoid these problems, I analyzed the studies of foreign and especially Dutch researchers on Diyanet in the literature search, and with the valuable contributions of my advisor, Professor Chris Hermans' point of view, I was protected from the dangers of this situation as much as possible.

2. Academic Research into Islam in the Netherlands

A cursory review of academic and non-academic literature from 1970–90 reveals the breadth of topics covered in academic and non-academic literature on Muslims in the Netherlands. Social and economic aspects of integration are studied as well as theological differences among ethnic and religious communities. These issues were studied by scholars in law, sociology (particularly religious sociology), theology, and anthropology (Berger, 2015). In the 1980s and beyond, scholars began to pay more attention to the religious practices and organizations of Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands (Custers, 1985; Koningsveld & Shadid, 1992). There are studies focusing on the legal regulations of their religious practices (Shadid, van Koningsveld & Shadid, 1992), their spiritual life (Landman, 1992), their beliefs and rituals (Hoffer, 1992), the experiences of the second generation (Van der Lans & Rooijackers, 1992; Rooijackers, 1992; Brouwer, 1992; Shadid & van Koningsveld, 1992), and their organizational activities (Van Bommel, 1992; Sunier, 1992).

Studies on Muslims flourished as public and political discussions around them arose such as religion and culture (Buitelaar, 2006; Phalet & Wall, 2004), marriage partners' selection (De Koning & Bartels, 2005), Islam as a way of life (Dessing, 2013), architecture of mosques (Roose, 2009), female genital mutilation (Kolfschooten, 2004; J. Smith & Longbottom, 1995), concerns about wearing a headscarf (Hoekstra &Verkuyten, 2015; Moors, 2009), public sphere experience (De Koning, 2016), Muslim adolescents (Roeland, Aupers, Houtman, De Koning & Noomen, 2010) and sociological and psychological issues (Hoffer, 2009; Speelman, 2016; Verkuyten, 2010).

When Turkish Muslim women are examined in the Netherlands, it becomes obvious that they are commonly studied with Moroccan Muslim women. A deeper dive into the research is

warranted given the study's focus on Dutch Turkish Muslim women. Sarah Bracke's (2011) study investigates the change in national identity that occurs in the Netherlands due to "the multicultural debate" and Dutch (secular and sexual) exceptionalism. According to Eva Midden and Sandra Ponzanesi's (2013) work, religion and religious practices are key indicators of Muslim women's agency, both emancipatory and submissive. In their 2015 study, Bianca Brünig and Fenella Fleischmann investigate how religious identity strength, education, interaction with indigenous people, and gender role perspectives influence who veils and who does not. Karin Peters and Mette Sijtsma (2013) conducted a qualitative study on the perceived discrimination faced by Muslim women in the Netherlands when engaging in leisure activities in public settings. Hayden Lutek's (2018) study analyzes how these Dutch Muslim women might retain a dual identity as both Dutch and Muslim. According to Baukje Prins and Sawitri Saharso (2010), after the triumph of new realism, Muslim women are now at the center of both integration and emancipation strategies, with greater policy attention dedicated to their demands and interests. In public debates, immigrant women are commonly characterized as victims or collaborators of oppressive societies. They claim policymakers and practitioners avoided cultural stereotyping by creating culturally sensitive measurements and labelling them in culturally neutral terms.

Melanie Eijberts and Conny Roggeband (2016) study how women's coping mechanisms are influenced by generational status, age, educational level, and ethno nationalism/cultural heritage. Margaretha Van Es (2019) argues that Muslim women's self-representation is part of a politics of belonging and should be examined in light of preexisting preconceptions. Fransje Smits and Wout Ultee (2013) examined changes in Muslim self-identification and mosque attendance among Turkish and Moroccan immigrants to the Netherlands from 1997–2009. Berrin Koyuncu Lorasdaği's (2009a) paper argues that a focus on Muslim women's persecution and cultural differences may mask how the headscarf is utilized as a symbol and weapon of resistance and identity-building in the Netherlands, where an ethno cultural idea of Dutch identity is growing. According to Berrin Koyuncu Lorasdaği (2009b), the headscarf is the major declaration through which the newly growing identity politics of Muslim Dutch students of Turkish descent in Amsterdam is conveyed.

3. Concepts and definitions

I have included concepts and definitions for multiculturalism, gender roles in Islam, and political Islam in this section. The reason I chose these three themes as the focus of my thesis is that Dutch Turkish women who wear headscarves, participate in the Diyanet, and are highly educated are precisely the targets of these three current discussion topics. Dutch Turks are at the core of the multicultural debate owing to their Turkish and Dutch identities, but they also come to mind when discussing gender roles in Islam and political Islam due to their headscarves and involvement in Diyanet.

According to Maliepaard, Lubbers, and Gijsberts (2010), being a Muslim is still associated with a lack of structural and social integration, since Turkish and Moroccan minorities face disadvantages in terms of employment, income, and educational achievement. 9/11, the Gulf War, and the 2004 Madrid outrage shattered the previously friendly environment for diversity. As a result of these instances, the Netherlands' diversity policy was altered. The Netherlands, Europe's most eloquent example of multiculturalism, has already transitioned away from policies directed at certain immigrant groups toward policies directed at individual immigrants (Entzinger, 2003). On the other hand, due to the Dutch concept of pillarization, which permitted the separate establishment of cultural and religious community organizations, ethnic minorities in the Netherlands have had several opportunities to create religious institutions (Buijs and Rath 2006). However, in the Netherlands, being a Muslim continues to be associated with social hardship, prejudice, and shame (Kamans et al. 2009). To track the impact of this transformation on individuals and to offer a voice to this disadvantaged minority, I examined Dutch Turkish women's attitudes toward multiculturalism.

Attitudes on gender roles are one of the primary distinctions between Islam and the West (Norris and Inglehart, 2003). It is discovered a considerable correlation between conventional gender role attitudes and religious involvement among Turkish Muslims in Germany (Diehl, Konig, and Ruckdeschel, 2009). In the light of these studies, I conducted research on how hijab-wearing, highly educated women who frequently attend Diyanet in the Netherlands view gender roles in Islam. Additionally, Norris and Inglehart (2004) claimed that education promotes gender equality by increasing women's chances of entering the labor market. This argument points out that gender role views contribute to the explanation of the association between education and

veiling. With a small sample size, my paper explores the link between the concept of gender equality, education and veiling in the Netherlands.

Finally, in the Netherlands, controversy rages about whether Islam is compatible with secularism, as it does not acknowledge the separation of state and church, which is regarded to be the foundation of Western intellectual and scientific development. In this discussion, I aimed to understand how Dutch Turkish women would prefer to express their voices about laic and moderate positions.

3.1. Multiculturalism

Pim Fortuyn's assassination surprised the public because it was widely believed that the Dutch had no nationalist feelings apart from politically innocuous events such as football matches, skating competitions, and Queen's Day. After only a few years and two politically motivated murders that had a profound impact on society, the majority of the population had rejected the European Constitution (Vertovec& Wessendorf, 2010). Intellectuals emphasized the importance of a Dutch Leitkultur, while the value of cultural diversity and the loyalty of the Muslim population to Dutch society were widely questioned. Undoubtedly, one of the main factors explaining the situation in which the Netherlands has experienced such a profound shift is the changing approaches to the concept of multiculturalism over time (Prins & Saharso, 2010)

Multiculturalism as an ideology entails the inclusion of various cultures in a community, as well as a strong commitment to these cultural distinctions by both majority and minority group members (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Arends-To' the & Van de Vijver, 2003). Berry and Kalin (1995, 2000) outline four fundamental conditions for a multicultural society's long-term viability. To begin, there should be universal support from all groups for the preservation of immigrants' cultures, intercultural engagement, and social participation. Second, there should be fewer cases of prejudice and intolerance among the general population. Finally, various ethnocultural groups should have positive attitudes toward one another. Without criticizing its individual ethnocultural groups, there should eventually be a sense of belonging to society as a whole. The study of the multiculturalism notion typically focuses on how these policies are implemented and, as a result, should be applied (Tiryakian, 2003).

Multiculturalism evolved in the 1970s as an alternative to assimilation and segregation policies used to deal with growing cultural and ethnic disparities. Despite variances in policy

details, the goals of multicultural policies were strikingly similar (Joppke, 1996). In general, programs aim to strengthen minority participation in mainstream society, improve social and economic status, provide equal rights for all groups, and reduce or eliminate prejudice.   The 1970s and 1980s saw the emergence of multiculturalism in countries like Canada, Germany, Sweden and Australia (Berry, 1984; Joppke, 1996). The Netherlands adopted a multicultural policy in the 1980s due to an increase in immigrants after WWII, triggered by events such as former colonial autonomy, 1960s foreign labor employment, and an increase in political and religious asylum seekers (Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004).

In recognizing that Dutch society is culturally varied, Dutch mainstreamers prioritize multiculturalism over the preservation of non-native culture and traditions. Studies conducted in the Netherlands indicated a similar picture (Van de Vijver et al, 2006). Dutch mainstreamers have a neutral or indifferent attitude toward diversity; they reject discrimination and unequal treatment, but also oppose immigrants preserving their cultural heritage (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004). They would prefer that immigrants integrate into the dominant culture (Van Oudenhoven, Prins, &Buunk, 1998). On the other hand, Vasta (2007) argues that patterns of disadvantage cannot be explained just by the low human capital qualities of the initial immigrants. Regardless of diversity, the core reasons for widespread institutional discrimination and the existence of a racist culture must be identified.

The Netherlands created a multicultural policy in response to former colonial and Mediterranean migrant workers (Van den Berg &Bleichrodt, 1996; Vermeulen &Penninx, 2000). 1970s Dutch policies emphasized cultural preservation. Post-colonial repatriates were expected to need housing, but their assimilation into Dutch society would be simple, and migrant labor would only be in the nation for a few years. In the 1980s, it became clear that most guest workers would not return home. The Dutch government did not implement an integrated immigration scheme until the early 1980s. The tragic outcome of a train kidnapping in 1977, in which the Dutch military killed two hostages and six hijackers, convinced the ruling class of the importance of establishing specific initiatives to improve immigrants' economic and social circumstances. This sparked the Dutch minority's policy, which spawned various diversity schemes. It was based on ensuring that every Dutch citizen and resident, regardless of ethnic,

cultural, religious or other differences, were allowed the equal opportunity for personal and social growth. (Minderhedennota, 1983).

Acculturation studies have used Berry's (1980, 1997) famous acculturation model, which consists of four acculturation orientations. These group identities are defined by their culture and their interactions with the wider population. Studies show that successful acculturation occurs when immigrants keep both their own cultural qualities and favorable relationships with other groups in society (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002; Sam & Berry, 2006). Immigrants can only follow this desire if the society they dwell in allows it. Inclusion is fully realized when a culture embraces multiculturalism (Berry, 2001). However, mainstreamers' tolerance for multiculturalism appears to be necessary for assimilation to succeed (Bourhis et al, 1997). Many immigrants will need to balance their heritage culture with their adoptive society. The ethnic culture of immigrants might be maintained or abandoned. These two considerations lead to four cultural identification tendencies (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002; Berry & Sam, 1997; Sam & Berry, 2006).

Berry's (1980, 1997) famous acculturation model has four acculturation orientations. Their culture and excellent contacts with the general population characterize their group identities. The best acculturation occurs when immigrants retain both their cultural traits and positive relationships with other cultures (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002; Sam & Berry, 2006). Immigrants can only do this if their host society allows it. A culture's multiculturalism achieves full integration (Berry, 2001). Tolerance for multiculturalism appears to be required for assimilation (Bourhis et al, 1997). Integration is a term to describe immigrants who want to maintain their old culture while adopting a new one. Marginalization happens when cultural preservation and interpersonal interactions are neglected, or when cultural loss is imposed, as in assimilation. Separation is important if they want to preserve their culture while avoiding outsiders. When the acculturating group desired separation, it is called "Rejection," but when the dominant group imposed separation, it is called "Segregation." Assimilation occurs when people regularly engage with different cultures in order to lose their cultural identity. The dominant group's forced assimilation is referred to as the "Pressure Cooker." Any attempt to merge or separate one's ethnic group must incorporate cultural preservation. Assimilation can be "collective" or "individualistic" (Berry, 1999).

3.2. Gender Roles in Islam

From one perspective, Islam is lauded for historically liberating women in Arabia and elsewhere. Another viewpoint blames the religion or some of its practices and practitioners for women's lower status and inferior legal rights in Islamic countries compared to other parts of the world. Other points of view fall somewhere in the middle of these two extremes. The traditional, modern, and moderate voices that correspond to these perspectives and their key arguments are discussed in this section of the study. I will elaborate each of three positions below.

3.2.1. Traditional Approach:

Scholars who adopt the traditional view of gender roles in Islam state that men are not equal to women and argue that men are superior to women in various aspects. Among these scholars, it is possible to find different views on which subjects and how men have superiority over women. It states in the Qur'an that men and women are individually equal in virtue and religion, and that superiority is only in piety. However, there are narratives in the hadith corpus that women are naturally inferior to men in terms of mind and religion, and that men are superior in mind and virtue (Tuksal, 2000: 174, 216). Another issue that feeds the perception that men are superior to women is the idea that women were created from men; even in the creation of women, the thought of being doomed to men fed the perception that men are superior to women. Another issue that feeds this thought is the two verses in the Qur'an. These are "… husbands should take good care of their wives, with a [the bounties] God has given to some more than others …" (Qur'an, 4: 34) and "… and husbands have a degree [of right] over them …" (Qur'an, 2:228) verses. These verses in question refer to the claim that men are superior to women.

According to scholars who hold the traditional view, as in the case of a nation, unless one of them is given greater authority, there would be chaos in this kingdom. The reason for giving the higher authority to the male parent is stated in the Quran: "...Husbands should take good care of their wives, with a [the bounties] God has given to some more than others and with what they spend out of their own money... "(Quran 4:34). That is the reason that one of the Surahs states that men are one degree higher than women. One of the issues raised by the holders of this view regarding the privileged position of men is the right of marriage to more than one wife. However, this right is subject to two conditions: justice to all wives and the financial capacity of the husband to provide for the maintenance of all dependents in the immediate and extended family.

Thus, according to most Islamic theologians Islam simply permits polygamy but does not encourage it (Saleh, 1972).

3.2.2. Modern Approach and Moderate Approach:

I defined the traditional position above as an acknowledgement of men's superiority over women. Aside from that, I've roughly identified two attitudes. The first is the modern position, which contends that men and women are fully equal. The second approach is the moderate position which rejects the traditional approach to women's roles in Islam and claims that men and women are not equal but have equal value. The reason why I have given them under the same heading is that both stances have their arguments against the traditional position, and although they have very similar origins, there are differences in the destination, which I will address later in this chapter. Those who have a modern or moderate view of Islamic gender roles argue that women had equal or considerably moderate rights from the inception of Islam but that the Qur'an and hadiths were interpreted differently because traditionalists desired to retain male domination.

Scholars whose believe the Qur'an deems men superior to women, citing two verses as proof. According to the interpretation of one passage (Qur'an 4: 34), men are prioritized over women because they are responsible for providing for the family. Another is that if the man annuls the divorce within the waiting period, he will keep his wife, even if other suitors come to her and she wants one of them (Qur'an, 2:228). However, early academics and contemporary theologians believe that both verses prioritize societal difficulties over creation (Akdemir). According to Riffat Hassan, the negative attitudes towards women in Muslim nations are founded in theology (Hassan 1990). Assumptions she challenges include man being the origin of creation, women being by definition temptresses, and women being meant to serve men (Hassan 1990). To the contrary, Beyza Bilgin (2001) argues that the divine narrations regarding women being created from men's ribs should be interpreted differently. Muslim commentators cited the Torah's tale of the creation of woman from a twisted rib for interpreting the Qur'an's creation of man and woman verses (2:35, 4:1). Because a woman is formed from a rib," the hadith states that "straightening her is divorce. A lady being created from a rib bone is mentioned in hadith critiques as an advice offered by referring to an analogy in the previous society. The authors of the aforesaid publications blended this narration with Torah language to create a serious religious decree regarding male dominance over female superiority.

For modern and moderate gender role believers, Islam has already achieved its emancipator objective by freeing Arab women from pre-Islamic oppression. The Qur'an limits spouses to four, but acknowledges the difficulties of treating them fairly and impartially. It also affirms a woman's full legal competence to negotiate marriage and receive her own dowry. When divorce is inevitable, the Quran assures divorced women's comfort by urging kindness toward them. A woman's part of the inheritance is double that of a man because she is cared for by her husband and hence does not require an equal share (Sharif, 1987).

They also discuss the Islamic positions of husband and wife and whether there is equality in this relationship. In Islam, superiority is conveyed with the word "tafdil". The Qur'an mentions 104 words showing supremacy besides tafdil. "But those who return to their Lord as believers with good acts will be rewarded with the greatest ranks." (Quran 20:75). "Then we divided you into races and tribes so you might recognize one another. God honors those who remember Him: He is all-knowing and all-aware." (49:13). In these verses, supremacy is stressed over genealogy, status, fortune, or gender. However, the Qur'an does not specify whether individuals who perform these acts are men or women. The Qur'an often emphasizes that the most excellent person in Allah's eyes (apart from the prophets) is one who possesses flawless faith and good acts. That is, Allah values the most the person who fears disobedience to him. Again, race, tribe, ancestry, and place of residence are not factors in preference (Öz, 2010). On the other hand, Aisha, the Prophet's wife, is given a special place in the hadith. It's interesting to see Aisha depicted as a powerful woman who became involved in political debates. Aisha's prominence in Islamic texts and literature contrasts the non-Muslim world's notion of meek and repressed Muslim women (Spellberg 1994).

Here I've offered moderate and modern alternatives to the traditionalist view. Despite the similarities in their origins and ideas, the modern and moderate perspectives differ significantly, as explained below. While moderates in this issue agree that Quranic regulations enhanced women's status relative to pre-Islamic Arabian norms, they did not promote gender equality. While accepting its equal worth for both genders, the above analysis implies a significant improvement for women. Even though the Quran did not establish exactly the political, economic, and social equality of the sexes, it nevertheless did raise their spiritual equality as members of the community of faith. However, proponents of gender equality in Islam argue that

the Quran, Hadiths, and Sharia rules, which form the conceptual and moral foundation of Islamic institutions, idealize women's equality and complementarity with men. Contrary to the view that men are superior to women, expressions such as "the believing men and the believing women…" are repeated frequently and constantly link men and women together on a basis of personal equality regarding their duties, rights and merits (Kadioğlu, 1994).

3.3. Political Islam

The fact that the political Islam debate takes place in the Netherlands led me to the church-state relationship, which is discussed in Christian culture. Because even though the participants are Muslims, they have to form their discourse in this discussion environment in the Netherlands. Therefore, it would be useful to focus on the issue of political Islam through the church-state debate. In order to understand the relationship between church and state in the Netherlands, it is necessary to look at the historical background of this situation. In this section, I first provide a brief historical overview of the Dutch church-state relation, followed by pillarization, which plays a key role for Muslim minority in this historical context. Then I elaborate the notion of political Islam, which I use in my research.

During the United Provinces Republic (1588–1795), the Reformed Church was the only denomination permitted to be present in a public domain. After this, the 1801 Constitution required that every head of family or independent person of either sexe register with a church denomination at the age of 14. Changing denominations subsequently was permitted. Religious life at the time was characterized by plurality. After the Dutch Kingdom was created in 1814, the religious variety remained. Although the Netherlands could no longer have an established church, the 1814 constitution lacked all the elements of complete separation of religion and state. The 1814–1815 Constitutions prohibit state interference with religious organization. In practice, the crown remained active in church affairs. It inspired the restoration of Catholic hierarchy in the Netherlands in 1848. A new provision was introduced at that time allowing religious processions only with specific permission (Monsma and Soper, 2009). Lobbying for equal government funding for confessional schools further legitimized the idea that distinct social groupings had the right to construct their own institutions (Maussen, 2012).

Despite the Calvinist Church's dominance in administration and education, the Dutch never became uniformly Calvinist throughout the United Provinces Republic. The "Dutch

method" was theorized in the second half of the nineteenth century. Between 1848 and 1972, the religion chapter was untouched. This did not instantly alter the constitutional relationship between the state and religion, but a minor change occurred in 1972. The Constitution's financial relationship between the state and church was eliminated, allowing for a weakening of financial ties and a reduction in public support of churches. The 1917 Constitution included universal suffrage, proportional representation, and guaranteed equitable funding for all schools, which was expanded in the 1920 Primary School Act (Maussen, 2012).

In 1983, a new definition of religious freedom was acted. The constitution now protects freedom of non-religious belief. Article 6 of the 1983 Constitution addresses religion. Article 6 states: "Everyone shall have the freedom to openly display his religion or believe, either individually or collectively, without prejudice to his legal obligation." It is not possible to restrict the ability to exhibit religion or belief. Other clauses establish equal treatment and non-discrimination (Article 1), and educational freedom and equitable support of denominational schools (Article 23). General legislation also provides churches with tax breaks for donations and public funding for historic church repairs and maintenance. The 1848 Constitution authorized religious processions only with special permission, demonstrating that it was not neutral in its management of church-state relations. The 1848 rule prohibiting religious processions reflected a separation in church-state relations that benefitted the Catholic Church because it organized those (Robbers, 2019).

State-church models appear in many forms in the literature on state accommodation of religion. In terms of constitutional frameworks, there are national state-church models. Separatist (USA, France) and established church (England, Norway) systems are widely distinguished in comparative legal studies (Germany, Italy; Ferrari, 2002). In systems of separation, there is no officially recognized state church, and the state does not bear responsibility for religious worship financing (Van den Breemer & Maussen 2012). In this typology, both France and the Netherlands are characterized as "separation systems," despite the fact that the French constitution defines France as a "secular Republic" (Van Bijsterveld, 2005).

Separation of religion and state became the norm for religious entrants to Dutch society, particularly Muslims. However, while the public debated arrivals in the 1970s and 1980s, their faith was not completely ignored. Anglican leader A. J. Verbrugh was among the first to link

Muslim immigration to the concept of separation of church and state (GPV). In the 1970s, a conservative nationalist Christian agenda evolved. He criticized the government's policies regarding new minorities. Theological university degrees were debated in 1978, and Verbrugh stated that his party had always voted against them because they violated the separation of church and state. According to him, the government subsidizing an Islamic educational degree would in fact be subsidized a kind of Arabization of Dutch culture because spiritual and cultural aspects are closely linked over there, whereas Christianity knows much better how to separate those aspects (Rutjes, 2017).

Following suit, the Dutch Social Democratic Party's Minister of the Interior, In Dales, wrote to Parliament about ethnic minorities' integration. "Minorities must realize that a number of fundamental values of Dutch society are non-negotiable, such as democratic rule of law, freedom of speech, individual autonomy, equality of man and woman, and separation of church and state," the minister stated. Although Bolkestein's article and the new minority policy were challenged, the premise that church and state were separate was not questioned (Rutjes, 2017). Concerns that Muslim minorities may not be able to distinguish between the church and the state have pushed the French concept of laicite, which requires a clearer separation between these two groups, to the fore.

The Netherlands evolved from a tolerant Calvinist state to a "pillarised" culture where the Rome-Reformation split was entrenched. Many academics describe the Dutch cultural revolution of the 1960s and early 1970s as an end to the supremacy of prevailing confessional cultural norms. The traditional unbreakable relationship between marriage, sexuality, and reproduction was significantly loosed, causing a severe drop in fertility. Secularization accelerated in belief and practice, undermining church authority (Knippenberg, 2006).

Dutch church-state ties are one example of institutional structures shaped by pillarization (Maussen 2012). In the Netherlands, public policy responses to Muslim immigration are frequently described as determined by 'pillarization' techniques (Lijphart, 1968). They argue that removing these "remnants of pillarization" will make the Dutch model more secular, typically using an idealized or "wishful" (Bertossi, 2011) version of the French model as a point of reference (Cliteur, 2010). Even yet, there was no Islamic "pillar" as there had been Roman Catholic and orthodox Protestant "pillars" in the past. Islamic institutions have been formed in a

chosen manner. For example, there are no Islamic daily and weekly newspapers, hospitals, trade unions, or housing societies. The lack of a Muslim political party is due to the diversity of Muslims in the Netherlands. This diversity is mirrored in the educational and religious spheres. No Muslim schools like Roman Catholic schools. Instead, there are Turkish Muslim, Moroccan Muslim, Pakistani Muslim, etc. schools. Also, size matters. The four pillars each represented around a quarter of the Dutch population; no one had an outright majority. So a coalition was required to govern. A Muslim pillar would be too little. Building mosques or Muslim schools, or sponsoring "cultural" activities, are all local decisions (Knippenberg, 2006).

The Rushdie case and the September 11th attacks were triggers. Immigrants like Moroccans and Turks were "discovered" (Sunier 1999, pp. 76-78). This could explain Pirn Fortuyn's exceptional emergence as a politician in spring 2002 and the success of his political party (Mamadouh 2003). Contrast this with the relatively stable political landscape that defined the heydays of "pillarization". One of the threatened politicians and former members of the WD, Geert Wilders, started his own political party, which wants to get rid of the first article of the Dutch Constitution against discrimination, in order to make a fundamental distinction between the traditional Dutch religions including Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, Judaism and Islam (Knippenberg, 2006).

4. Research Design

In this part of the thesis, I have included the research problem that explains the main goal of the research and the research strategy in which I expressed how I planned this fieldwork. Then, I included research questions about the concepts of multiculturalism, gender roles in Islam, and political Islam, which I based my research on. Then I talked about the sample group and how I reached them. Then I included participant criteria, data collection, data analysis and finally the coding book.

4.1. Research Problem

A combination of family reunification, high birth rates, and increased converts has led to the Muslim community in the Netherlands becoming the country's largest minority religious group. Turkish Muslims are the country's largest and most organized minority Muslim community. Due to this, Turkish Muslims have become a hot topic in Islam, encompassing concerns such as gender roles, multiculturalism and political Islam. The purpose of this research

is to trace how Dutch Turkish Muslim young highly educated women, who are at the core of the debates, construct their own voices. In order to address the issue of political Islam and gender roles in Islam in a more relevant way, I recruited participants from among women who wear headscarves and attend the Diyanet activities regularly. My goal is to understand how they form identities in such a context by identifying repeating themes in their discourses. To conduct the study, I conducted semi-structured interviews with six women who fit the following criteria.

4.2. Research Strategy

I chose to undertake a qualitative analysis of the data gathered during the semi-structured interviews since the research is primarily focused with understanding the identity formation of Dutch Turkish Muslim women. The decision to start semi-structured interviews and arrange the questions as stated in the appendix was predicated on a pilot study that proved the importance of leading and limiting conversations when discussing the topic and allowing essential issues to be addressed. I reviewed and classified the theoretical background material first since my goal was to create a preliminary coding based on the ideas I focused on in my study and then utilise these codes in semi-structured interviews. In order to accomplish this, I selected sub-topics from three key themes: multiculturalism, gender roles in Islam, and political Islam.

4.3. Research Questions

The study is organized around one central research topic and three supporting research questions. The primary study question is how the position on gender role in Islam, multiculturalism, and the definition of Islam and political Islam may be understood in the construction of young Turkish educated Muslim women identities. The three research questions that support and explain this main question are as follows.

1. How do young educated Turkish Muslim women find their voice in the discussion on the role of women in Islam, specifically related to the voice of the Diyanet?
2. How do young educated Turkish Muslim women find their voice in the discussion of multiculturalism in the Netherlands in terms of being a minority in the Netherlands and majority in Turkey specifically related to the voice of the Diyanet?
3. How do young educated Turkish Muslim women find their voice in the discussion of the identification of Islam and political Islam in the Netherlands specifically related to the voice of the Diyanet?

4.4. Sampling

I conducted six interviews with women that lasted approximately 90 minutes each. In addition, for roughly six months prior to the study, I accompanied young women who had engaged in Diyanet activities. The impressions I received at this time were quite useful in the analysis of my work. I communicated with people who work officially in the Diyanet on a regular basis, and thanks to that familiarity, I found some of my participants through the Nijmegen Eyup Sultan Mosque girls' branch WhatsApp group and Instagram posts. In May and June of 2021, I conducted the interviews. Before beginning the interview, I spent some time chatting with the participants, explaining the study's goal and the data security issue. Four of the interviews were conducted in person, while the other two were conducted through Zoom meetings. The interviews were taped and transcribed by me. In accordance with the study's goal, I divided the interview questions into three sections: multiculturalism, political Islam, gender roles in Islam. With the help of the atlast.ti coding tool, I coded the transcribed data using open coding.

4.4.1. Participants

By informing others I met from the Nijmegen Eyup Sultan Mosque, I was able to contact a total of 6 volunteers via the snowball technique. Four of the participants reside in Nijmegen, while the other two reside in Tilburg. In order to reach the participants, I posted an advertisement explaining the work on the Nijmegen Eyup Sultan Mosque girls branch WhatsApp group, the Nijmegen Eyup Sultan Mosque girls branch Instagram page and on my own Instagram account. This text is included in the appendix. I established the following participant criteria to serve the study's goals:

1. Being a Dutch Turk: I have worked with second and third generation Dutch Turks. One participant is from the second generation, while the remaining five are from the third generation. All of the participants were born and raised in the Netherlands, and they received their education there until they started for university degree. While five of the participants completed all of their schooling in the Netherlands, one woman decided to attend university in Turkey, but I interviewed her while she was living in the Netherlands and completing her studies through distance education. All of the participants are fluent in Dutch at a native level. All of the contestants' parents and grandparents are Turkish.

2. Being young: Although I adopt the World Health Organization's definition of young (between the ages of 18 and 65), the participants' ages range from 22 to 27. I prefer to deal with younger women because they have a significant voice in contentious subjects like multiculturalism, political Islam, and gender roles in Islam.

3. Having a high level of education: In accordance with the Dutch educational system, I chose those who were studying or had graduated from WO or HBO.

4. Being a woman: Working with female participants, in my opinion, is a vital step toward making the thesis more relevant to the three primary subjects of debate, particularly in terms of gender roles in Islam.

5. Wearing a headscarf: Because the headscarf is an aspect that reflects Muslim and sometimes foreign identity, I have organized it this manner to provide more data in the areas I wanted to include in the study.

6. Diyanet participation: I introduced the necessity to participate in the Diyanet activities, primarily to bring attention to the continuing political Islam discussions in the Netherlands.

Although I did the interviews in a single session, I maintained in touch with the interviewers to make up for any deficiency when I could not get the answer, I wanted owing to the interview conditions.

4.5. Sample Characteristics

There are six young women taking part in this research. One of the participants is 26 years old and the other five are 25 years old. Two of the participants are second-generation Dutch immigrants, while the other four are third-generation Dutch immigrants. All of the participants are bilingual (Turkish and Dutch), although the majority of them believe their Dutch is superior to their Turkish. One member has HBO-level education, one is a WO-level student, and the remaining four participants have completed WO-level. Two of the participants who finished the WO level have completed their master's degrees, while the third is still working on her master's degree. One of the participants is a student, while the other two participants work part-time and the other participants three work full-time. Headscarves are worn by all of the participants. The age of the participants to wear hijab is 17 for two, 21 for three, and 23 for

one.Four of the participants were directly involved in the Diyanet's girls' branch, while the other two participated in Diyanet's programmes on a regular basis. One of the participants was finishing her university study in Turkey through Diyanet's Turkey education programme, but owing to the pandemic, she moved back to the Netherlands and continues her studies remotely. This participant has met with Diyanet's administration in the Netherlands and has formed a close relationship with them.

4.6. Data Collection

In this fieldwork, there are three main topics that I aim to examine, namely multiculturalism, political Islam and gender roles in Islam. On these three major themes, I gathered material from legal documents, policy statements, and studies of national and international literature. I interviewed six people who matched the standards for the field work that makes up the second portion of the thesis. In addition, I spent around 6 months before starting my thesis participating in Diyanet activities and making female friends that met the participant criteria. My personal experiences and observations from these events also contributed to the thesis.

4.7. Data Analysis

I used a qualitative, descriptive research design to properly investigate this phenomenon. Existing data is supplemented by a case study that includes a literature review and document analysis, as well as interviews with six women. The ability to employ a variety of sources of evidence is a major advantage of the case study design (Evers & Van Staa, 2010). A methodological synergy is what I seek to achieve by merging these many approaches. The interdependence and interplay of the various methodologies are often assumed to result in a rigorous and firm research process. Through the application of many approaches, it is possible to "partially overcome or counteract the shortcomings and biases that emerge from single procedures" (Evers & Van Staa, 2010).

I employed a deductive coding technique using theoretical codes. The scissor-and-sort approach is a fast and efficient way to analyse a transcript (Stewart & Shamdasani, 2015). The raw data was chosen and arranged in accordance with three main concepts generated from the study questions deductively (Van Thiel, 2014). For the purpose of analysing the interviews and literature, the following concepts were chosen as a guideline and starting point: 1)

Multiculturalism; 2) Political Islam; and 3) Gender roles in Islam. Each of the three main themes generated codes that were relevant.

Coding Book			
Concepts	Aspects	Sub-aspects	Definitions
Identity			Identity describes an individual's comprehension of him or herself as a discrete, separate entity. It can be either religious or non-religious.
	Religious		Religious refers to a person who is devoted to a deity that includes religious practices and morality. It can be either practices or moralist.
		Practices	Religious practices refer the customs and way of life that is promoted by that particular religion or faith.
		Moralist	Morality refers to certain codes of conduct put forward by a society or a group (such as a religion), or accepted by an individual for her own behaviour.
	Non-religious		Non-religious refers to a person who does not adhere to a belief that includes religious practices and morals.
Gender roles in Islam			Gender roles in Islam refer to woman and man positions in Islamic context and its prevailing cultural norms, and the interpretation of the Quran and other Islamic texts. [1] There are modern, moderate and traditional positions.
	Modern position		The modern position expresses the view that men and women are socially, financially and culturally equal by

			addressing the need for reinterpretation of the Quran and Sunnah.
	Moderate position		The moderate view is the approach that rejects the traditional approach to the position of women in Islam and claims that men and women are not equal but have equal value.
	Traditional position		The traditional position refers to the view that women are expected to be obedient wives and mothers, who usually remain in the family environment, while men are expected to be the protector and caretaker of the family.
Multiculturalism			The idea of multiculturalism in contemporary political discourse and in political philosophy reflects a debate about how to understand and respond to the challenges associated with cultural diversity based on ethnic, national, and religious differences.[2] It can be integration, assimilation, separation or marginalization in terms of multicultural approach. Regarding identity definition, it can be Turkish majority, Dutch majority, Turkish minority, Dutch minority, Turkish Dutch majority, Turkish Dutch minority.
	Integration		Integration refers to desire to preserve one's original culture while interacting regularly with other groups.
	Assimilation		Assimilation refers to non-dominant groups who do not want to protect their cultural identity and maintain daily contact with people from other cultures.

	Separation		Separation refers to valuing adherence to the original culture and at the same time avoiding interaction (abstract) with others.
	Marginalization		Marginalization refers to a lack of possibility or interest in preserving own culture and lack of interest in relating to others.
	Turkish Majority Position		The Turkish Majority Position refers to a person living in the Netherlands who identifies as Turkish and majority.
	Dutch Majority Position		Dutch Majority Position refers to a person living in the Netherlands who identifies as Dutch and majority.
	Turkish Minority Position		Turkish Minority Position refers to a person living in the Netherlands who identifies as Turkish and minority.
	Dutch Minority Position		Dutch Minority Position refers to a person living in the Netherlands who identifies as Dutch and minority.
	Turkish Dutch Majority Position		Turkish Dutch Majority Position refers to a person living in the Netherlands who identifies as Turkish Dutch and majority.
	Turkish Dutch Minority Position		Turkish Dutch Minority Position refers to a person living in the Netherlands who identifies as Turkish Dutch and minority.
Political Islam			Political Islam refers to the broad concept of modern political movements, ideological trends, and state-directed policies concerned with giving Islam an authoritative status in political life.[3]

Church-state Relation			The term "Church and State" typically refers to the interactions between religious organizations or authorities and secular government. Within political science, it can also refer to the links between religious groups or authorities and the polity in a larger sense.[4] There are two approaches; laicite and moderate view.
	Laicite		Laicite refers to those who embrace religious participation in government affairs, particularly the need for the state to prohibit religious influence over policy-making.
	Moderate view		Moderate view refers to those who argue that the state should not have an official religion, but that all religions can be supported equally by the state.
Dialogical Self Theory			The dialogical self is a psychological concept which describes the mind's ability to imagine the different positions of participants in an internal dialogue, in close connection with external dialogue. Dialogical Self theory includes I- position.
	I- position		I- position refers to a location appropriated by the *I* within an extended field or 'position repertoire'. It can be internal position, external position, outside position and counter position.
		Internal Position	Internal position refers to an I-position with a unique inner voice and personal background.
		External Position	External voice refers to an 'other-in-the-self'; the voice of a teacher, a parent, a partner.

		Outside Position	Outside position refers to persons, groups, organisations in the outside world.
		Counter Position	Counter position refers to an alternate (often conflicting) location appropriated by the I.

The codebook with the main themes and sub-concepts is included above. After the analytical process was completed, each topic received a brief overview of study findings, which was supplemented by excerpts from the interviews. Data from many sources were compared and contrasted to look for patterns, cause-and-effect relationships, and other types of interconnectedness (Van Thiel, 2014).

5. Findings
5.1. Findings concerning general religiosity

In the section where I identified the study participants, I only included those who identified as religious or not. I classified religiousness into two types: practitioners and moralists. During the interview, I inquired if they were religious and what they meant by that. Based on their comments, I will explore the participants' religiosity, their concept of religion, and their understanding of Islam. I also asked them where they learned about religion. The objective of examining this religious source is to better understand the participants' relationship with Diyanet and other religious figures and organizations.

To begin with, all participants identified as religious, while admitting to small shortcomings. However, there are two basic groups of religious definitions: practitioners and moralists. While three of the participants' definitions of religiosity contained aspects that may be understood as moralist and practices, the remaining three simply have a moralist approach. In terms of religiosity, these three people gave examples of people who could not engage in religious practices but met the standards. As a result, a moralistic outlook prevails.

To elaborate on the participants' conceptions of religiosity, participant Erva says, "But I always think of excellent morals and being a person who wants to advance in the most natural and best moral way possible under the circumstances." Participant Emine describes religion as a lifestyle that belongs to this life, incorporating both a moralist and a practical approach. The

moralistic elements in participant Asya's definition of religion are striking; "When I think of a Muslim, I think of her honesty, hard effort, and keeping her word." I would like to characterise it by focusing on what she excels in, whatever this position entails. There are many distinct types of Muslims in the Netherlands, where we dwell. In general, I generally ask a Muslim who does not show in public to live in line with Islamic principles in terms of both appearance and behaviour. But I do not notice it most of the time. Of course, appearances might fool us as humans, yet everyone can be in various stages of religiosity. I try not to evaluate people based on their appearance. "Sena, a participant, defines religiosity as the practice of halal and haram. Following the first requirement of honesty, participant Esma stressed the moral sensibility of Muslims. Participant Zeynep first attributed moral behaviour, but she added that it should be paired with religious behaviour.

When I asked the participants what comes to mind when they hear the word Islam, I discovered results that pointed to a moralist attitude. In this sense, Erva characterised it as decent morality, but Emine stated that living for Allah's sake. Esma stated faith in the only one God, and Zeynep expressed it as love and a way of life, while Asya picked the phrase "life guidance."

When I asked the participants where they ask for religious advice or which source they use, five of them said they go to the Diyanet's staff or the Diyanet's website, and they expressed their trust in the Diyanet in this regard. Asya, on the other hand, expressed why she did not have enough faith in the Diyanet on this topic by relating an encounter she had:

"When my husband and I discuss a topic, or when we have a religious issue, we do not go to the Diyanet and ask a teacher there. During my internship, I had to visit a Diyanet branch one day, and as I was sitting in the waiting area, there were photographs of Atatürk. Every Diyanet branch has a photo or a bust of Atatürk. I did not know much about Turkey's history at the time. I asked the religious authority, "Why is there a picture of Atatürk everywhere?" Having an idol or exaggerating a person is not something we tolerate in our religion. That guy told me that if you are in a room without Atatürk, you will suspect that man. Then I researched Turkey's history. Because of this, I do not seek religious advice from the Diyanet. Because it is a building that adheres to the principle of secularism and because of the Diyanet's history, I do not believe it is proper to consult it. Religion and politics, in my opinion, should not be mixed too much."

While the participants' first answer was usually the Diyanet employees or the website, they also referred to other sources. Two of the participants claimed that they occasionally required the fatwas of Moroccan sheikhs. Diyanet and Milli Gorus, according to one of the attendees, are both references. Nureddin Yıldız, a religious instructor in Turkey, and his website were mentioned by two of the participants as having benefitted them.

5.2. Findings concerning multiculturalism

Concerning the topic of multiculturalism addressed in Chapter 1, I have confined the multiculturalism attitudes in this study to four: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. At the same time, six different voices decide which of the Dutch-Turkish majority-minority dilemmas the participants will take: Turkish Majority, Dutch Majority, Turkish Minority, Dutch Minority, Turkish-Dutch Majority, and finally Turkish-Dutch Minority. The section will offer the participants' responses to the questions about multiculturalism in the context of the preceding classifications. While making these assessments, I will mention the I-position in which these voices are voiced and how the attitude of defining these voices will continue throughout all the episodes. The interview questions are designed to reveal their internal I-positions, their external I positions, as well as their outside and counter-I positions. I have divided the answers I received into categories suitable for these I-positions below.

5.2.1. Integration
5.2.1.1. Internal Position

All of the participants in the study express that they are pro-integration with the internal I position. Erva answered the question of how the Dutch and the Turks lived together in the Netherlands as follows: "I think respect. That is, if both parties respect each other and accept differences in this direction, I think there will be no problems. By respect, I mean respect for differences." Emine emphasized the importance of adapting to Dutch society for future generations:

"My ideal is that our grandchildren will live here, so they can become more integrated now. I don't know if you can fully integrate and live if you want to live as a Muslim, but if we talk about the Diyanet, for example, the imams come from Turkey. But even if imams were trained here, the effect would be very different. In this case, he can teach Islam in a more integrated way. I think you need to protect your Turkish identity, but you are also a part of this

place. So, you will work here, but generally, the Dutch are understanding people. I realized that in most places, we get along by talking."

Emphasizing the importance of mutual understanding, Sena expressed her opinion as follows: "I think the Dutch should respect our headscarf and our religion, but from our point of view, we also need to keep up with their general and moral rules." This is actually a bit of a reciprocal situation. If we pay attention to their sensitive points, this can actually be a very beautiful country." On the other hand, Zeynep refers to the moderate approach of the Dutch towards foreigners, which has been going on for a long time, and states that they have been happy together in this country for years. However, she expressed that he was not very happy with the necessity of adapting to Dutch society: "I think we were already living very happily here with the Dutch. The Netherlands has always been a very open country in terms of immigrants. The Dutch were waiting for foreigners, especially in big cities. They welcomed foreigners with love. Since the refugees arrived, racism has increased, especially recently. So, I would like to change this situation. If it weren't for the recent negative attitudes, I would like to see an end to the hostility towards foreigners. For example, when my grandfather came, they were much more open. My grandfather had no obligation to learn the Dutch language. Now a language certificate has to be obtained. In fact, it is good for someone who comes to a new country to learn that language, but the fact that it is mandatory means pressure. I think the Netherlands should be a little more tolerant. If we look from the point of view of Turks, they should also try to learn Dutch and try to learn about their culture. It may be nice to participate in their cultural activities as long as it does not harm Islam. So, in essence, I would say mutual understanding."

When I asked the participants with internal-I position, "How do you feel as a Turk in the Netherlands?", the answers I received were generally positive. Although they had some negative experiences, most of them reflected the experience of living in the Netherlands in a positive way. Zeynep said that she felt different from society on the subject, but still, it was an experience she was used to. Emine, on the other hand, expressed that the nationalist feelings of the Turks pose some problems, but she still feels positive because the Netherlands offers an environment where she can practice her religion freely and comfortably. While Erva answered this question with a very positive approach, Sena gave the following answer in a little more detail:

"I currently live in a small place in the Netherlands. My dream is always to live in a bigger Dutch city. We also know in the big Dutch cities that there are almost no Dutch people on some streets; they are always Turkish. I would love to live in a place like this. When I was in high school, I was extremely proud of being Turkish. Also, if there are friends around me who know their past and history, I feel very proud. We used to see the Dutch as a bit of a wimp, so to speak. We used to see them as people without courage. Turks are blind. We used to compete with the Dutch in physical education class. I think it's definitely something to be proud of. When I was younger, I was afraid to reveal my Muslim identity through the hijab at school, but I never hesitated with my Turkish identity. Because when you say you are a Muslim, you will be asked more questions. As a teenage girl, I didn't know much either. However, when I said I am Turkish, they could not ask much about Turkishness, so we were more courageous in this area. For example, when there was a national match in the Netherlands, we would go and especially support the opposite side."

Emine and Asya also answered this question in the same line, referring to the fact that Turkish identities are much more accepted by Dutch society than Muslim identities, and stated that they do not have any problems with their ethnic identities.

As another indicator of their attitudes, I asked them in which culture they were raised and in which culture they would like to raise their children. All of the participants stated that they were brought up either completely or mostly in Turkish culture. Most of them got acquainted with the Dutch when they started school life. However, the participants, who expressed that this situation causes a serious conflict, stated that there should not be such a sharp border between their home and social life, and expressed that they would follow a different path to change this situation for their children. A similar theme that attracted attention here was that they paid attention to the border of religion. All of them, without exception, stated that their priority is religion, and it would not be a problem for them to adapt to the Dutch culture as long as it conforms to their religion. For example, let's look at how Erva interpreted the experience of living in these two cultures positively;

"I think that culture is very important. So, I think a child should learn about both cultures. But what I mean by culture is that a person does what he thinks is right and continues these practices. I don't look at the issue because there is a certain behavior in Turkish culture and I

have to do it. If it is true, it is important to do it. For example, hospitality is of great value to me. This is a more prominent value in Turkish culture. That's why I want to give it to my children. So is language. A very important thing for me is that my child can speak Turkish properly in the future. I would like to teach Turkish culture to children. Besides, my parents did not know much about Dutch culture. They couldn't teach it to us, but we have such an advantage. We have both Turkish and Dutch culture as well. That's why we want to give both to our children in the future. I think the culture we have now is not just Turkish culture anymore. This is the culture of foreigners living in the Netherlands, where the two have already come together. This is very noticeable in Turkey due to the cultural difference between the Black Sea and the East. But that is no longer here, so everyone has almost the same foreign culture. "

Asya expresses her attitude towards Dutch culture as follows: "My attitude towards Dutch culture is entirely about taking what I consider good and leaving what I consider bad. For example, I greatly appreciate the honesty of the Dutch and their attention to their work. I take these and try to teach my child. I'll leave the bad parts. I guess this is going to be a bit of a mess in education. "

Zeynep explained her stance on this issue as follows: "I give importance to Islam the most. I want to grow up in the way a person lives in Islam. For example, I teach hospitality and benevolence from Turkish culture, but I can add a lot from Dutch culture to my education. For example, Dutch people are very good at children's education. "They are disciplined. I would like to pass on the discipline and honesty of Dutch culture to my child. But this is also about Islam. It doesn't have to be about culture."

In summary, the participants expressed that they never want to compromise on Islamic rules. Aside from their warm attitude towards Dutch culture, they still prioritize that their children can speak Turkish properly and adapt to general Turkish customs. However, they are willing to incorporate the practices they appreciate in Dutch culture into their own lives.

Regarding multiculturalism, I asked the participants whether they preferred to define themselves as Dutch or Turkish, majority or minority. While one of the participants described herself as a minority, the remaining five defined themselves as a majority. Only one of the participants described herself as Dutch, two as Turkish, and the remaining three as Turkish-Dutch. If we look at the combination of these two groups, one of them defined themselves as the

Dutch majority position, two as the Turkish majority position, two as the Turkish-Dutch majority position, and one as the Turkish-Dutch minority position. For example, Zeynep answered the question on this subject as follows: "I see myself as part of the majority. So, my opinion is as important as anyone else's opinion in the Netherlands."

In addition, all of the participants stated that they do not feel like Turks in Turkey, and they are generally defined as foreigners there. I asked the question what would be their reaction if they were insulted because of their ethnic identity on the bus about where they placed themselves in the majority-minority dilemma, and the girls who defined themselves as the majority stated that this person did not have the right to this and that they saw themselves as first class citizens of this country.

5.2.1.2. External Position

Regarding the external position of multiculturalism, let's start with the attitude of the families of the participants. Their families did not convey the Dutch culture and language to the participants because they themselves mostly did not know it yet. However, they seem to have done their best to integrate their children into the society they live in. For example, the common element that I came across in the stories of starting to wear the hijab was that most of them preferred the hijab despite their families, not because of their family's compulsion. Parents warn that if their children cover their heads, their work and social life in society may be adversely affected. For example, one of them recommended that their daughter not wear black all the time and prefer more colorful clothes.

Separating their circle of friends into those who are Dutch and those who are not will make it possible to make a more accurate explanation. His non-Dutch friends are usually Turks or Moroccans. They express the multiculturalism attitude of this group as integration in line with themselves. In terms of their Dutch friends, bosses, and teachers, they say that some are pro-integration and some are pro-assimilation or separation.

In order to reveal how the participants' friends, describe them in external positions, I asked the participants how their friends introduced them to a third person, and the answers I got were as follows. One participant thinks that they will be defined as only Dutch, one of them thinks that they will be defined as Turkish-Dutch, and the remaining four think that they will be defined as only Turkish.

5.2.1.3. Outside/counter position:

During the interview, I asked about the assimilation discourses of extreme right parties in the Netherlands as the external position of multiculturalism. Erva stated that such extremist rhetoric is expressed by the Dutch, who had yet to meet with a true Muslim, and that she was saddened by the situation. On the other hand, they stated that this attitude does not suit the Netherlands and that this country is beautiful with its differences. Zeynep stated that this situation poses a threat to them in the future as follows: "Of course, this situation scares me. There were elections a couple of months ago. During the elections, I used to say to my wife that far-right parties are growing in the Netherlands. I calculated that if there are 150 deputies, 30 of them are right-wing extremists. This means one out of five people does not want me, does not accept me. For example, if I were on a terrace, it hurts me to know that one of the five people in the room doesn't like me. These things scare me in terms of the future."

On the other hand, Esma expressed that this attitude is especially related to Islamophobia: "I don't think the world drawn by the far-right represents the world we live in. I think 100% of these ideas come from racism, and this group is mostly against Islam and Muslims. I think these ideas are purely out of ignorance. "

One of the outside positions appeared as an assimilation with my question, and I got similar upset reactions from the participants. On the other hand, there is a voice sung by the participants, which is integration. Although this may seem like a weaker sound than assimilation, each participant made this point as well. According to the participants, the Dutch people and sometimes the state itself strive for integration.

5.2.2. Findings on Diyanet in the discussion about multiculturalism

To understand the Diyanet's role in this conversation, I asked the participants where they see the Diyanet as belonging.   Participants used the internal-I position. Four people identified Diyanet as a Turkish institution, while two others identified it as Dutch. While two interviewees agreed that the Diyanet should be Turkish, they stressed the significance of training Diyanet employees in Dutch language and culture. Two other attendees, who claimed Diyanet is Turkish, voiced their disapproval. One of the two attendees stated Diyanet is Dutch and the only relation to Turkey as the imams coming from there. Another participant who shares similar viewpoint stated that she was allowed to meet with administrators since he was educated in Turkey through Diyanet's higher education program:

"I think Diyanet is personally affiliated with the Turkish Religious Affairs Directorate, but I personally know the advisor. He was born, grew up, and studied in Turkey, and actually does not speak Dutch, but they work here. A month ago, we had a meeting with him. At that meeting, it was seen as the President of Religious Affairs of the Netherlands, not as if we had received a task from Turkey or as if we had to do it. The mosques here are also seen as branches of the Dutch Directorate of Religious Affairs. They are thinking about what we can do for Muslims in the Netherlands and how we can contact non-Muslims. In other words, although it is dependent on Turkey, I find it mostly belongs to the Netherlands. It focuses on the Netherlands."

In addition to these questions, I'd want to highlight an important occurrence. In Turkish mosques, imams' wives actively communicate with the girls' branch. The same thing happened to the girls I interviewed. The imam's wife, a theology graduate, taught the girls on occasion. However, the girls in the girls' section stated that they had a conflict with the imam's wife who was Turkish, citing the challenges in applying the discipline-based education model in Turkey to the Netherlands. Some of them even gave this incident as an example while mentioning the fact that Diyanet belongs to the Netherlands.

5.3. Findings concerning gender roles in Islam

Based on the literature on gender roles in Islam, I identified three codes; traditional position, modern position, and moderate position. To put it briefly, I have defined the view that men have a more privileged position in Islam as the traditional position, the view that expresses the equality of men and women as the modern position, and finally, the view that defines men and women as equivalent, even if they are not equal, as the moderate position. I also touched on the different sounds between internal position, external position, outside position, and counter position in order to map who voiced these views according to DST.

5.3.1. Internal position

When I asked the participants whether there is equality between men and women in Islam, I received an answer that would be classified as one modern view and five moderate views. The participant who answered as a modern view said that men and women are not the same, but they are equal, while the other five stated that they are not equal. Their responsibilities may vary, but they are equal or quite similar in terms of rights.

The participant, who advocated the equality of women and men, expressed her opinion that, otherwise, it would cause women to be placed in a regressive position and explained it as follows:

"I think women are oppressed if we think about it like in the old days, because men and women work. I had a bit of a hard time explaining this. I guess I should use an example. For example, if we think that a man should do outside work and a woman should never leave the house, and if this is our main idea, we see it right, then I think the woman will regress. Because in this case, the woman is financially condemned to the man. If you live in the Netherlands and only one person works, it will be difficult. The woman is then oppressed. That sentence we said at the beginning creates some trouble when applied at this time. In fact, then the position of the woman regresses."

Asya mentions that the practices that reflect badly on this issue are mostly caused by culture rather than religion, and expresses her moderate opinion as follows:

"No, women and men are not equal. Religiously, I think men and women have equal rights. It may not always look that way in this society, and from a cultural point of view, it may not look that way at all. Because culture sometimes makes things very confusing. To give an example, the value given to women in ancient Arab culture was quite bad. Every society, every period, has a culture. At that time, that practice was normal. At that time, Islam came and said, stop this bad attitude. That's why the perspective of religion, not society, is very important to me. For example, in this society, it is highly suggested that women work and take part in society equally, but they try to change women on some issues. Every society has a cultural point of view. I don't always think the same with this point of view. I'd rather try to look at everything from a religious point of view."

In order to understand where the participants placed their ideas on gender roles in Islam, I asked the participants what they thought about the idea that women should be protected by men. Only one out of six participants stated that they were completely against the idea of protecting women by men and completely disagreed with this idea. The other five, preferring to act more cautiously in this regard, touched on the content or conditions of the idea of protection and questioned its necessity in today's Netherlands. I observed a correlation between the answers I received here and the answers I received regarding the modern and moderate positions in terms

39

of the codes I determined for gender roles in Islam. Erva stated that the idea that women should be protected brought down the position of women in this period.

The other five respondents admitted that protection exists, but said that it would not be necessary in a place like the Netherlands. For example, Sena mentioned that protection would be necessary depending on the location: Yes, we may need a man, but if I need to give an example from my own family, my mother needs my father most of the time, just as my father needs my mother in many ways. I see it as a state of creation. This is something that comes naturally to me. For example, in our religion, it is obligatory to be accompanied by a man when travelling more than 90 kilometres. I don't pay attention when I go to Istanbul or the Netherlands, but when I need to go to Africa; I am concerned about having a man with me. Similar to this view, Emine expressed the following: I believe that in a country like the Netherlands, a woman can be quite free on her own to a certain extent. For example, a woman defines her boundaries very well. If I look at myself, there was never such a need.

I asked the participants where the idea that men and women are equal in Islam came from. While only one participant advocated the equality of men and women in Islam and displayed a modern position, the remaining five participants in the moderate position emphasized that men and women were not equal but equivalent. Erva, who advocates the equality of men and women in Islam, said that this idea stemmed from both her family and her own upbringing. One of those who defend the fact that women and men are not equal but equivalent in Islam, Zeynep said that those who advocate the equality of men and women in Islam are generally feminists or oppressed women. On the other hand, Sena stated that she got the idea of equality between men and women in Islam from her own family. Asya emphasized that Islam is not far from the idea of equality, but in which areas it is equal, and pointed out that this can be found in Islam, albeit to a limited extent. Esma stated that Western countries advocate the equality of men and women in Islam and that it stems from feminism. Finally, Emine said that in the same way as Asya, gender equality can be found in Islam, but there are some exceptions. In other words, the female participants demonstrated that their ideas are not far from the conception of equality between men and women, but they largely disagree with the idea that women in today's Netherlands should be protected by men.

I asked the participants how they would express their ideas about women in Islam to their classmates. The goal of this question was to see how their discourse changes shape when directed at someone else. For example, Zeynep said that if I say to them that men and women are not equal in Islam, I will get a direct reaction, but I think the Dutch here confuse the concepts of equal and equivalent, because we women are not equal to men. Zeynep also added that most fundamentally, our bodies are completely different from theirs, so I would not say that we are completely equal to them, but that we are equivalent. Erva, who advocates the equality of men and women in Islam, said, "I would say to them that men and women are equal in Islam, and if there is an oppressed woman figure in their minds, I would say that it is due to wrong examples." The emphasis on equality in the discourses of the participants was also striking in Esma's answer: "I would say that whatever is halal or haram for a Muslim man is also valid for a Muslim woman in most matters. There is equality in most of the issues here, as some things that are haram for me are also haram for a Muslim man. I would say that we are equal in most respects, I would say that at present time, Muslim women study and work, and there is no discrimination in this regard. Both Sena and Emine also state that the inferior perception of Muslim women in Dutch society is based on culture rather than religion. Of the participants, only Asya stated that she would directly explain to the Dutch that men and women are not equal in Islam.

I asked the participants how they would express their ideas about gender roles in Islam to their families. All of them said that they had similar ideas with their families and that they would not have any difficulty expressing this. Only Sena said she would talk to her family about treating her more equally with her brother, as she wanted a slightly more equalitarian environment at home.

5.3.2. External position

As an external position on gender roles in Islam, I asked the opinions of their families and friends. Their families generally agree with them. While the parents of the participants in the modern view are also in the modern view, the parents of the participants in the moderate view are also in the moderate view. The participants stated that their parents tried to provide them with equal opportunities as boys, and they are treated equally in their families in terms of opportunities. However, they also expressed differences in some practices. For example, the idea that women should be protected by men was a clearer figure here. While their brothers are less responsible for explaining the reason why they go out to their families, female participants talked

about privileged behaviours that could be explained by religious and sometimes cultural reasons, such as not being allowed to go out late at night and being more responsible for housework.

When I asked her friends' opinions on gender roles in Islam regarding external positions, I came to the conclusion that their Muslim friends generally agreed with the participants. However, I got answers about non-Muslim or Dutch friends that can sometimes be included in the counter position. Here, too, there were participants who evaluated them separately according to their friendship level. If they spent a long time with their Dutch friends, they stated that their Dutch friends adopted a modern or moderate view like them. However, they expressed that they do not have the same opinion about their friends, with whom they have not spent much time yet. Zeynep expressed this situation as follows: "But my friends, whom I have just met at work, think differently. For example, they think that the position of women is low and that the hijab is done by force. Our way of interpreting hijab differs here. For example, for me, hijab is a form of self-protection; but according to a Dutch friend of mine, it is an insulting dress to hide beauty. For example, a colleague of mine asks me every summer, why don't you open up in this heat? Of course, this is not something that was said with bad intentions, but it reveals that our view on the veil is different."

Sena stated that the Dutch have an illusion regarding the veil: "They think that we limit people's approach to us by revealing our Islamic identity because we wear hijab, they think that we deprive ourselves of many things."

Erva told about a very interesting event she lived and expressed how some people around her with whom she was not very close could have wrong ideas about herself: "When we moved here for the first time in 2 years, we greeted the neighbours. Some people asked what we are doing, we said we are fine and so on. We have a neighbour. He even talked to my husband 2-3 months ago. While he was parking the car, my husband said that I am a teacher, I am going to school. I have students and so on. Elderly, a man about 70 years old. He said that when you go to work, your wife stays alone at home, if she needs something, I can take her to the doctor. He is completely well-intentioned. He said he could help if she needed anything. Since he saw me wearing a hijab, he looked at me as if she could neither speak the language nor express herself. Whereas I can drive, I speak Dutch better than that person, my university level is higher than his. Then my husband was surprised and said that my wife has a university degree and now she

works in the Tax Office. Why did you need such a thing? He was also incredibly surprised how this could happen. So, this was an example. So, my husband does not need such a thing. When my husband greets everyone, he is considered as a very normal man. But when my situation is Muslim and wearing a headscarf, I am aware that even though that person has incredibly good intentions, he is still viewed from a unique perspective. So, I feel like I am forcing myself to express myself a little better. So, I am aware that I have internalized it."

Esma, on the other hand, expressed how her friend's reaction changed after wearing the hijab: "The first question she asked me was why did you wear hijab. Someone else asked if you took the hijab under pressure from your father. I was asked questions that contained prejudices, but when they got to know me, they became aware of their own prejudices. The society we live in has many prejudices."

In summary, here I came across an external traditional view (not so close Dutch friends), an external moderate view (Muslim or Dutch close friends and families of participants), and finally an external modern view (Muslim or Dutch close friends and families of participants).

5.3.3. Outside/Counter position

In order to have an outside position on gender roles in Islam, I asked what the society they live in thought about this issue. Since the answers I received mostly include both the outside position and the counter position, I include this information under the same heading. The majority of the answers I received were that the Dutch society had a traditional view, but less than half of them were conscious of this and adopted the modern or moderate view. Now, let me explain these ideas in a little more detail with the participants' own words.

Erva expressed her opinion on this subject as follows: "In other words, I think that more than 50 per cent of Dutch people think that Muslim women are suppressed because they do not know Islam, because they do not know many Muslims, and because the Muslims they know are not very accurate examples. They think Muslim women are not free enough. They think there is pressure on them. So, I think when they see a very veiling woman, they say that this is definitely covered by the force of her father."

Asya stated that they live in a society where Muslim women have to express themselves constantly and that this situation imposes a mission on them: "If you ask in general terms, I think

they don't look very nice. The first thing that comes to their mind is veiling, pressure. This is how they look at us. I think we live in a society where we have to constantly express ourselves. No, there is no pressure; we have to constantly explain that we are doing it of our own free will. I took this as my duty. That's why I think about how I can express myself best. When I was younger, I set a goal for myself: I will study higher and still keep my religion. In this way, I set myself a task and I accomplished it. I studied at very low levels before, I started my education life at a very low level, I got the right to the university by studying more, I wanted to show that headscarved women can do it, Muslim women can do it."

Sena, on the other hand, shared her experience during her school years and displayed a traditional view in both external and outside/counter positions: "I remember that when I decided to wear a headscarf at school, my school principal's view of me suddenly changed very clearly. I was a senior; I failed the class and my classes were not going well and they were thinking of kicking me out. There is a 1-year difference between my sister and me. We were still in the same class because of the failure in this class. Both of us were not well. My sister's grades were really bad, but I only had one weak spot, and even that was the only reason to send me out of school. One day, my sister, my brother, my father went to the school principal. After talking for a while, my father asked me if the reason behind it was because my daughters were veiled, especially since he found my expulsion unreasonable. At that time, the manager was stunned and could not gather his sentences. Even though my classmates changed, I had teachers who remained the same, and they were asking questions such as did your family ask you to wear a headscarf, why did you wear a hijab. I feel this in society in general. For example, when I go to the municipality and a Dutch person is waiting in front of me, the officer who has a warm conversation with him talks to me more seriously.".

When I asked the opinions of the participants about the idea that women should be protected by men, the answers I got were about the internal position. However, I asked them where this idea came from and the answers, I got gave me the ideas of the outside/counter position. While Zeynep expressed the supporters of this idea as extremists who define women as weak beings, Esma stated that this idea stems from culture rather than religion. Asya, who accepted this idea more than other women, stated that she followed this idea as her internal position and that she was taken from her teacher Nurettin Yıldız's books about marriage.

5.3.4. Findings on Diyanet in the discussion about gender roles in Islam

I asked the participants what position the Diyanet assumed in this discussion. Except for Esma, every participant stated that he and Diyanet agreed on this issue. Esma said that Diyanet has assumed a somewhat more traditional position. According to these statements, one person stated that Diyanet assumed a modern position, one assumed a traditional position, and the remaining four assumed a moderate position. For example, Sena expressed her opinion on this subject in the following way: "I think that women and men are seen as equal in the Diyanet, and I even see an attitude of raising the value of women even more. Our head of Religious Affairs is male and our vice president is female, so they are almost at the same level. Maybe a few years later, our head of Religious Affairs may have a woman. But I guess I wouldn't want a woman there. I don't know why, but it seems to me that it is a position that should be reserved for men."

Erva expressed Diyanet's efforts to raise the position of women with an incident that happened to her as follows: "We girls were able to do a lot more. Just like men. In fact, we are very clear about this, we have been given many opportunities. As an idea, I think Diyanet teachers see Muslim women as very valuable. In fact, our teachers were very happy to see the girls who became Muslims and studied here and wanted to encourage this. We even had a teacher who introduced me to other Dutch friends when he saw me somewhere. I felt it and I liked it. In other words, a Muslim would give the message that she is educated but she is with us."

As a participant in the girls' branch, Zeynep said that the Diyanet gives place to women in the administration, but women are not given as many opportunities as men. Emine also stated that women are less active in the administration, but their problems are still listened to. She said that one of the reasons for this is that the Diyanet appoints only male employees in most regions. Asya and Sena also stated that women are more active in the field of service than in management.

5.4. Findings concerning political Islam

Based on the literature reading regarding the political Islam debate, I identified two codes; the secular position and the moderate position and I arranged my questions according to these two positions.

5.4.1. Internal position

Before engaging the participants in the political Islam discussion, I asked what comes to mind when they think of Islam. In this context, while Zeynep answered as life guide, love, lifestyle and Prophet Muhammad, Erva and Emine answered as good morals. While Asya replied as a life guide, Esma said that the first thing that came to her mind when talking about Islam was the words "Muslim" and "Allah". Sena, on the other hand, said that when Islam is mentioned, the first thing that comes to her mind is the Prophet of Islam, the Prophet Muhammad, and secondly, Islamophobia comes to mind because of her experience of living in Europe.

I asked the participants if the headscarf was just a religious symbol for them. Almost all of the participants tend to describe the headscarf as only a religious symbol. Sena and Erva stated that they see the headscarf only as a religious symbol. Esma said that the headscarf symbolizes that someone is Muslim and religious. Jasmine described the hijab as a religious symbol in the first place and thus as a way of making religion visible. Emine, stated that the headscarf is only a religious symbol and expresses a lifestyle. Zeynep, on the other hand, brought that the headscarf can be both a religious and cultural symbol, and we can get an idea about that person's ethnic and cultural identity according to the way they wear the headscarf. Zeynep, also stated that wearing a hijab is a factor that makes it easier for her to become a Muslim. Of course, she defined her main goal as gaining Allah's approval, but she stated that since she wears the hijab, there is no need to tell the Dutch about her Muslim identity, and thus she automatically blocks offers that are not suitable for Islam.

Twenty-twenty-five percent of the Netherlands identify Islam with political Islam, and I asked how it made the participants feel. The answers I received indicate that the participants were afraid and worried about this issue. While some of them found it completely wrong to explain Islam through politics, others said that this caused them to ignore other features of Islam. Erva described this as frightening and feared that it will worsen in the next generation, and lastly, she mentioned that their mission is to change this perception by representing Islam well. Esma, on the other hand, said that she felt mocked when she heard such things, because she is a true believer in this religion. Sena, on the other hand, stated that Islam has political goals, but it is not possible to reduce Islam to this and said; "I cannot say that Islam has nothing to do with politics. Our Prophet also had political goals; but we cannot say that Islam is just that. Political goals are maybe only ten percent of Islam, but there is much more to Islam than that."

Emine, on the other hand, said that this point of view ignores the sincere side of Islam. Asya has already stated that she does not expect Islam to be understood correctly by everyone as follows; "I don't care much for these, Islam came as a strange religion and will leave as a strange religion. Of course, I do, but I don't care too much. I think they wouldn't do this if they knew, this of course saddens me." Zeynep expressed her concerns about the future and said that she was considering emigrating to Turkey if this situation came to a level that would prevent them from practicing Islam.

I asked the participants if they were open to the idea of laic practices from France coming to the Netherlands in order to fully understand their stance on the secular position. Participants are against such strict laic practices coming to the Netherlands, and some of them even consider migrating to regions where they can practice their religion. Zeynep said that religious ideas should not affect the social standing, but that no one has the right to limit a religious person, and she said that it feels like they are being done especially against Islam. Asya said that if such a situation comes, it will be a practice that narrows the social space of Muslim girls and stated that she does not want to send her daughter to formal education if she encounters such a situation. Emine stated that limiting a person from social life just because of the headscarf would be an attack on her freedom. Esma also expressed that this is something that is used against Turks and Muslims. Erva, on the other hand, stated that people with religious values are needed in every position and that this freedom should be provided to people of all religions. Sena stated that she could leave the Netherlands for her daughter when faced with such a situation.

5.4.2. External position

As an external position, I asked the participants what their family and friends thought about the political Islam debate. All of the participants expressed that their family and friends agreed with them. On the other hand, although it was not discussed under this heading, four of the participants stated that their families were warned when the participant started to wear a headscarf. Because they are worried that wearing a headscarf in the Netherlands is a disadvantage for their daughters. One participant stated that he was warned by his family to prefer long and black clothes. This situation expresses the tendency of the external position to stay away from the visible symbols of Islam in the public sphere.

5.4.3. Outside/counter position

In order to reach the outside position in this debate, I asked what the headscarf, which has an important place in the Political Islam debate, means for the Dutch. While the participants mostly defined the headscarf as a religious symbol with the internal position, they tended to define it as restrictive, oppressive and compatible with backwardness in the outside position. Serife thought that the Dutch saw the headscarf as a restriction. She stated that some, but not all, define the headscarf as a factor that hinders freedom. Esma, on the other hand, stated that when the Dutch think of the headscarf, religious and cultural factors may come at the same time. Asya stated that if the person in front of her is not prejudiced about religion, she will see the headscarf as a religious symbol, but if she is prejudiced about religion, she will see the headscarf as a symbol of oppression. Emine, on the other hand, stated that the headscarf is seen as a symbol of backwardness in the eyes of the Dutch. She said that when they see someone wearing a headscarf, they tend to think that their education level is lower. In her dialogue with her neighbor, Erva thought that the first reason she was judged by her neighbor as uneducated and ignorant was the headscarf.

I aimed to reveal the outside position of the participants in this debate by asking what the Dutch think first when they hear the word Islam. The answers I get are the opposite of the internal position, the idea of a religion that is oppressive, normative, associated with terrorism and humiliating women. Accordingly, Esma said that most people would not think of good things because of the perception created by the media. Sena said that terrorism, Israeli-Palestinian incidents, mosques and Erdogan may come to Dutch minds; but she said that the main spiritual feelings of religion would hardly come to mind. Emine also stated that terrorism and women under oppression may come to mind. Zeynep said that a few might describe Islam as a respectful and beloved religion, but most would come up with ideological ideas. Erva said that they can think of a system that devalues women, and all people in general. Asya, on the other hand, expressed that they think of it as a prescriptive and oppressive religion.

I asked the participants why politicians who see Islam as political Islam think this way and how it makes them feel. None of them is happy with this situation, but instead of blaming the other side in this situation, they did self-critic by pointing out that Muslims do not represent Islam well, and they also expressed that this is due to Islam being a more visible religion. For example, Zeynep stated that this situation made her feel bad, but that this situation stemmed from

the confusion of the words Islam and Muslim. She also said that today's Muslims do not live in accordance with Islam and do not represent Islam well. Erva also expressed that this situation stemmed from the position of Muslims in the world. According to her, another reason for this is that Islam is a much more intense religion. Asya said that such politicians have connections with Zionism in some way, otherwise it is not possible to approach any religion with such hateful feelings. Emine said that the reason why the Dutch see Islam as a threat is because Islam is much more visible and is a powerful religion. Sena said that such a fear arose because of the large number of Muslims. Esma stated that this is a problem stemming from the perception created in the media.

5.4.4. Findings on Diyanet in the discussion about political Islam

In this episode, I asked the participants what Diyanet's contribution to the debate on political Islam in the Netherlands is. Erva stated that Diyanet tries to remain silent and neutral. Esma, on the other hand, stated that the Diyanet's response in society, rather than its attitude, would not be enough to create a discourse, adding that;

"Diyanet is not an institution that has a very important place in the Netherlands, not like it is in Turkey. I see that non-Muslims are invited to Iftar in Ramadan, which is of course a very good thing. We see such things. But I'm not sure if this will contribute to a real problem. In order to have a say in this debate, it must have a status in the country and I think Diyanet has no such equivalent in the Netherlands. For example, Diyanet is not well known to the Dutch. It's trying to do something, but it can't do much because its domain is too small."

Emine, on the other hand, stated that the Dutch see the Diyanet as a reflection of Turkey's policy on the Netherlands, but this situation has changed day by day and this situation has improved as the Diyanet has become more Dutch. Asya stated that the Diyanet has not done much in this area and that this is not taken into account by the people. Zeynep, on the other hand, stated that the Diyanet is developing itself gradually, but that it has a lot of shortcomings at this point. She thinks that the reason for this is to stay objective and not make their voices heard in order to exist in the Netherlands.

6. Conclusion and discussion
6.1. Conclusions
       Concerning multiculturalism, I have confined this study's multiculturalism viewpoint to four: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. Meanwhile, six distinct voices select which of the following positions the participants take: Turkish Majority, Dutch Majority, Turkish Minority, Dutch Minority, Turkish-Dutch Majority, and finally Turkish-Dutch Minority. The study's subjects are all pro-internal I integration. I asked participants internal-I questions. Despite some negative encounters, most of them praised Dutch living. The Netherlands, despite the Turks' nationalist beliefs, permits women participants to freely practice her faith. It is a fact that Turkish identities are more accepted by Dutch society than Muslim identities. I also asked them about their upbringing and how they planned to raise their children. All interviewees indicated they were raised in Turkish culture. They mostly met Dutch in school. The participants agreed that there should be a blurring of the lines between home and social life, and that they would solve this for their kids. The religious boundary is also a theme here. They all claimed that they would readily adjust to Dutch culture if it suited their faith. I asked if they think that they are Dutch or Turkish, majority or minority. I asked the participants whether they prefer to identify as Dutch or Turkish, majority or minority. While one person identified as a minority, the rest five identified as a majority. Only one person identified as Dutch only, two as Turkish, and three as Turkish-Dutch. They also said they don't feel like Turks in Turkey and are treated as foreigners. Their parents didn't educate the participants' Dutch culture or language. But they seem to have tried to integrate their kids. For example, most women who started wearing the hijab did so against rather than family pressure. Parents warn their kids that covering their heads may affect their jobs and social life. Their Dutch colleagues, managers, and teachers are divided between pro- and anti-integration. I asked the group where they see the Diyanet fitting in. Four people said Diyanet is Turkish, two said Dutch.

       My question about gender equality got one modern and five moderate responses. Harmful habits are largely caused by culture, not religion, according to participants. Concerning males protecting women, I asked the participants for their views on gender roles in Islam. Surprisingly, only one out of six respondents opposed males defending women. They questioned the necessity of protection in today's Netherlands. A link was found between this and the responses about modern and moderate views on gender roles in Islam. I asked them to explain

Islam's gender roles in Islam to their families. They all said they held similar beliefs and would not hesitate to share them with their family members. However, only one stated that she would discuss equal treatment with her family. On gender roles in Islam, most of her Muslim friends agreed with the participants. On the other hand, non-Muslim and Dutch friends were mentioned as participants ranked them according to their friendship level. I found an external traditional perspective (non-close Dutch friends), an external moderate perspective (close Muslim or Dutch friends and family), and an external modern perspective (Muslim or Dutch close friends and families of participants). I asked the group where the Diyanet stand in this discussion. Everyone but one agreed with Diyanet. She says Diyanet's role has changed. Four out of five felt Diyanet was moderate. Diyanet admits women in administration, but not as many as men, according to a girl's branch member. The concerns of female administrators are not ignored.

According to my research on the political Islam discussion, I defined two codes: laicite and moderate and organized my questions accordingly. I questioned whether the headscarf is only a religious symbol. Almost everyone describes the headscarf as a religious symbol. I asked how it makes the participants feel when 25% of the Netherlands identify Islam with political Islam. The responses I got show participants' fear and concern. I questioned the participants if they are open to the prospect of French laic traditions coming to the Netherlands to better understand their laic viewpoint. Participants oppose stringent laic practices entering the Netherlands, and others are considering moving to areas where they may follow their faith. All participants said their families and friends agreed with them in the political Islam debate. To get an outside perspective on this discussion, I inquired what the headscarf signifies to the Dutch. In the external position, participants tended to characterize the headscarf as confining, repressive, and associated with backwardness. By asking what the Dutch think of first when they hear the word Islam, I hoped to show their outside position. They describe a religion that is oppressive, normative, linked to terrorism, and demeaning women. On the other hand, I asked them how they felt about politicians who see Islam as political Islam. They are not satisfied with the situation, but instead of blaming the other side, they self-criticize by stating that Muslims do not represent Islam well and that this is because Islam is a more visible faith. When I questioned Diyanet's participation in this dispute, no one said it has an active role.

6.2. Discussion

Regarding questions of general religiosity, the participants presented a religiosity model in which the moralist attitude predominates. If I were doing this work in Turkey, I could probably get more practical answers to this question. Based on my personal observations, it did not surprise me that the group of women attending the mosque had a more moralistic attitude. While it is not common for women without headscarves to go to mosques in Turkey, I came across more women without headscarves than women with headscarves at the events held in the mosque girls' branch in the Netherlands. The mosque is in a situation that goes beyond just a place of worship, both with its activities and with the formation of a girls' branch. It is difficult to say that the only motivation for girls who socialize and form friend groups to come to the mosque is religious concerns.

It is necessary to talk about the effects of living in the Netherlands on the prevalence of the aforementioned moralist attitude. During the interviews, there was one thing that all six participants expressed: the need to have a mission. These women not only describe themselves as religious, but also have a good sense of displaying this as Turkish and Muslim. Wearing a headscarf here and always revealing her Muslim identity supports this woman's desire to be a role model. The participants, who felt the need to express and represent themselves correctly at every opportunity, together with their experience of living in the Netherlands, stated that they appreciated many of the moral characteristics of the Dutch. They did not hesitate to say that they were influenced by Dutch culture in terms of core values such as honesty, punctuality, thrift, and respect. Participants also stated that Muslims in the Netherlands are not well represented and that Muslims, the media, and prejudiced and ignorant people have a share in this. In changing this perception, paying attention to moral principles rather than practicing more religion emerges as a more appropriate precaution. In this sense, it can be stated that this attitude seems meaningful.

All of the participants, without exception, stated that they are in favor of integration. Support the idea with previous studies. Although all of the participants had problems from time to time, they stated that they were satisfied with living in the Netherlands with their Turkish identity and tended to evaluate it positively. However, when I asked them about their stories of wearing the hijab, most of them stated that they tended to delay wearing the hijab because they were afraid of the questions that might come from their surroundings. It is possible to say that they are much more afraid of expressing their Muslim identity than they are of expressing their

Turkish identity. Here, religion might be viewed as referring to a more intimate aspect of the individual's life. Additionally, one might observe that being a Muslim in the Netherlands attracts more reactions than being a Turk.

Considering that the participants tend to adapt to Dutch culture as long as it does not harm their Muslim identity, it can be said that they give more importance to their Muslim identity in their lives than to their Turkish identity. As an external position, the attitudes of their families on this issue are that various concessions can be made to their Islamic identity as long as the conditions that will enable their children to integrate into society are provided. According to the participants in the multiculturalism debate, it is possible to find people who are pro-integration and pro-assimilationist outside positions. While the participants describe some of the Dutch people and some attitudes of the state as pro-integration, they also point out that there are serious supporters of assimilation. If we look at those who define themselves as Dutch or Turkish and those who define themselves as a minority or majority, there is no significant connection between these two groups. It is an important finding that the participants do not feel like they are native to Turkey either.

Most of the participants stated that they are in favor of Diyanet's being a more Dutch institution. Considering that all of the participants are pro-integration, their desire for Diyanet to be a more Dutch institution is meaningful. If we evaluate in terms of the answers, I have received regarding gender roles in Islam, it is possible to say that the dominant Islamic identities of the participants are also effective here. They tend to explain the culprit as the idea that Muslim women in society are oppressed, rather than Islam. With regard to the idea of women being protected by men in Islam, they take a more interpretive stance, saying that although they are not completely against this idea, it can change with time and place. They often do not allow this point of view to limit their lives. As a result, the participants' viewpoint is close to the belief that men and women are equal in Islam. I asked them about the concept of gender equality in Islam, and they mostly didn't consider it to be a foreign concept. The attitude of not being too far from the idea of equality is also evident in explaining the status of men and women in Islam to a Dutch person, and often similar statements are made that women and men are equal in Islam.

In the discussion about gender roles in Islam, the attitudes of the friends of the participants are shaped according to the sincerity of the friendship bond. For example, while they

state that their friends with whom they spend more time have similar ideas, they tend to have different opinions than those with whom they spend less time.

In general, the participants stated that the Dutch adopt the traditional position regarding gender roles in Islam and that they think that women are oppressed because of Islam. From their point of view, the Dutch approach them in this way because they think that Muslim women are not free, based on the fact that Muslim women do not have what they define as freedom in their own lives. However, this situation creates an environment where Muslim women need to express themselves constantly and actually triggers many forms of discrimination. As a matter of fact, Muslim women participating in the study describe themselves as being at peace with their Muslim identities, but they always state that they feel the obligation and mission to express them correctly.

Regarding the idea of the protection of women by men in Islam, participants generally stated that this idea stems from extremist interpretations or culture. Only one of them internalized this idea and said that it has a place in religion.

While most participants agreed that Diyanet supports women and acts to promote their position, they claimed that women do not have equal opportunities as men in administration. Of course, trust in the Diyanet is not surprising when they encounter religious problems among the girls who regularly attend the Diyanet. However, it is quite remarkable that even one in six participants does not trust the Diyanet and the way they explain it. The Diyanet, being a branch of a secular state, undoubtedly plays a role in this. It is quite remarkable that two of the six participants regularly consult the Moroccan sheikhs. According to my observations in the Netherlands, it cannot be said that there is close communication between Turkish and Moroccan immigrants. Why Turks from these two groups, who mostly do not even prefer to go to each other's mosques, consult Moroccan sheiks when faced with a religious problem is a question waiting to be explored.

The participants defined the headscarf as a religious symbol, free of external constraints. However, the participants disagreed on whether Islam has political ambitions. The fact that half of the respondents acknowledge that Islam has political purposes without denying the essence of Islam is significant. More than half of the participants said they would leave the Netherlands if it became more laic. This shows how important religious identity and the need to practice one's

54

faith are. Although the participants define the headscarf as a religious symbol, they are aware that the Dutch interpret it differently. This explains their feeling of mission, which I observe in the majority. This also explains why they start wearing the headscarf later in life. The majority of the participants wore the headscarf for the first time during the holidays when they were not in close contact with the Dutch. The participants tended to state that they wore the headscarf voluntarily even there is no such a question to avoid probable interrogation by the Dutch when they first started wearing it. When asked how the Dutch regard Islam, the participants classified it as oppressive, normative, terroristic and demeaning to women. Here again, individuals need to consider themselves as representatives, demonstrating good religious living. I questioned the participants on how the Diyanet influenced the political Islam debate. Diyanet tended to be silent or impartial on this matter, I was told. Others remarked that even if the Diyanet produces a conversation, it will not have a counterpart in society, highlighting the Diyanet's limited sphere of influence. They explained Diyanet's neutrality as a desire to exist in the Netherlands.

6.3. Limitations

First and foremost, the scope of this study was constrained to just six individuals. As a result, even while it provides some context for future research, I feel compelled to point out that this is not a study that can be generalized. On the other hand, this study focuses on how women construct their discourse on multiculturalism, gender roles in Islam, political Islam and their intersections. Other elements are out of the scope of the study. The group of women whose voices I want to be heard in the study represent a very specific part of immigrant women as they are limited to highly educated, young and regular participation in the Diyanet.

6.4. Directions for future research

While conducting the background research for this study, I was struck by the dearth of studies that featured immigrant Muslim women as an insider position. Even if it was a modest contribution, I would be grateful if my thesis brought attention to the issue of working with an insider position in this field. Although the current studies contribute to the understanding of immigrant women, I would like to point out that their conclusions sometimes do not agree with what I have observed in the field, and therefore it is necessary to turn to immigrant women's own statements.

Considering the rise in xenophobia and anti-Muslim hatred in the Netherlands, it is conceivable to conclude that the country still has a problem with tolerance. In this regard, it is

critical to do research that might increase the visibility of Muslim women's views and focus on their integration. The reason why I have included especially headscarved Muslim women in the study is that these women assume the most vulnerable position because they are exposed to the greatest reactions. The data I obtained emphasized this fragility again. It is also important to detail the studies on the discrimination faced with the headscarf and what policies will be adopted to prevent it.

6.5. Reflection

What aided me the most in establishing the theoretical foundation for the thesis is the Dialogical Self Theory. This enables the mapping of several voices within the same person's discourse. Using this theoretical framework, I am able to present the participants' own opinions from the internal I position, the opinions of their family and friends from the external I position, and finally the opinions of people they do not know personally but who have influenced their lives in some way from the outside/counter I position.

While I was designing this research, a few things caught my attention in terms of helping me better understand the environment I felt closest to in the Netherlands, since I am Turkish, Muslim and female. First of all, because I know closely how loyal the Turks are to their national values, I wondered how they could cope with this when interacting with a different nation and its effect on their discourse. Because it is a fact that this situation affects both Turkish women and Dutch people in the Netherlands. The literature offered me four different perspectives in this discussion; these are integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization. These four different views emerged as internal, external or outside/counter positions in interviews.

The second main subject of the study is gender roles in Islam. Since I am a woman, this was a subject that caught my attention in my life in Turkey. However, this discussion has moved to a more meaningful and perhaps problematic area from the perspective of the other in the Netherlands. While addressing this debate, there are two main positions that stand out in the literature review, modern and traditional. However, thanks to the first pilot interview, I realized that I had to start with three positions, and I found that there is data in the literature to support this. Because a group of women stated that they do not advocate the equality of men and women, but that men and women are spiritually equal. Thus, the literature allowed me to use the traditional position, which states that men are superior to women, the modern position, which

states that men and women are equal, and the moderate position, which states that there is equivalence between men and women.

The last point regarding the theoretical plan was the discussion of political Islam. As I have the experience of living in the Netherlands wearing a headscarf and because of the results of the last elections, I found it meaningful to include this discussion in my work. Theoretical research in the Political Islam debate allowed me to identify the laicite, and moderate position, where secular rules were applied a little more flexibly.

This was my first serious and comprehensive study of empirical research. Thanks to this empirical research, I first learned how to extract codes from the theoretical background and create questions to cover these codes. I tried the first set of questions I prepared in the pilot study and it helped me to see my shortcomings in it, and as I pointed out above, I even turned to theoretical readings and made changes to the questions. While continuing these 6 interviews, I was constantly making changes to optimize it. I had to remove some questions or change the format of some questions. Learning that Transcription is a really time-consuming work at the very beginning of my research life also gave me an idea in terms of time management. I coded this research with atlast.ti and gained experience using it. This program provided serious convenience in analyzing and interpreting data.

This research taught me, as a researcher, how hard a work comes into being at every stage, from thesis proposal to editing the bibliography, to do a proper research. At the same time, although I was close to my study group, I paid maximum attention to transfer the data I obtained as it is. Because this work I do directly touches the lives of others. They have shown their trust in me by believing in me and happily including me in their group of friends, often by opening up their homes and their most private areas to me. In order to make their voices heard, I tried to present the data I obtained in accordance with the rules of social sciences. Thanks to this field work, it taught me that these discussions are important in the lives of people who are the subjects of our work, and that I should always do my work with objectivity as much as possible.

Bibliography

Akdemir, S. (1991). Women throughout history and in the Qur'an, *Islamic Studies* Vol.5, 4, 260-270.

Arends-Tóth, J., & Vijver, F. J. V. D. (2003). Multiculturalism and acculturation: views of Dutch and Turkish–Dutch. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 33(2), 249-266.

Berger, M. S. (2015). The Netherlands. In J. Cesari (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of European Islam* (pp. 158–221). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Berry, J. W. (1999). Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies. *Canadian Psychology*, 40(1), 12.

Berry, J. W. (2001). A psychology of immigration. *Journal of social issues,* 57(3), 615-631.

Berry, J. W., & Kalin, R. (1995). Multicultural and ethnic attitudes in Canada: An overview of the 1991 national survey. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement*, 27(3), 301.

Berry, J. W., & Kalin, R. (2000). Multicultural policy and social psychology: The Canadian experience. *In Political Psychology*, 263-284.

Berry, J. W., & Sam, D. L. (1997). Acculturation and adaptation. *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology*, 3(2), 291-326.

Berry, J. W., Berry, J. W., Poortinga, Y. H., Segall, M. H., & Dasen, P. R. (2002). Cross cultural psychology: Research and applications. Cambridge University Press.

Bilgin, B. (2001). Islam'da kadinin rolü Türkiye'de kadin (The role of women in Islam Women in Turkey). Konrad-Adenauer-Vakfi.

Bourhis, R. Y., Moise, L. C., Perreault, S., & Senecal, S. (1997). Towards an interactive acculturation model: A social psychological approach. *International journal of psychology*, 32(6), 369-386.

Bracke, S. (2011). Subjects of debate: Secular and sexual exceptionalism, and Muslim women in the Netherlands. *Feminist review*, 98(1), 28-46.

Breugelmans, S. M., & Van De Vijver, F. J. (2004). Antecedents and components of majority attitudes toward multiculturalism in the Netherlands. *Applied Psychology*, 53(3), 400-422.

Brouwer, L. (1992) 'Binding Religion: Moroccan and Turkish Runaway Girls', in: W.A.R. Shadid and P.S. Van Koningsveld (eds.) *Islam in Dutch Society: Current developments and future prospects*, Kampen: Kok Pharos: 75-89.

Brünig, B., & Fleischmann, F. (2015). Understanding the veiling of Muslim women in the Netherlands. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 54(1), 20-37.

Buijs, F. J., & Rath, J. C. (2006). Muslims in Europe. *The state of research.* IMISCOE Working paper.

Buitelaar, M. (2006). Islam en het dagelijks leven. Religie en cultuur onder Marokkanen. *Amsterdam: Atlas*.

Cliteur, P. (2010) The Secular Outlook. *In Defense of Moral and Political Secularism*. West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Custers, M. (1985). Muslims in the Netherlands: newcomers in an established society. *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, *6*(1), 167–180.

De Koning, M. (2016). Understanding Dutch Islam: Exploring the relationship of Muslims with the state and the public sphere in the Netherlands. In *Muslim Diaspora in the West* (pp. 193-208). Routledge.

De Koning, M., & Bartels, E. (2005). *Over het huwelijk gesproken: partnerkeuze en gedwongen huwelijken onder Marokkaanse Turkse en Hindoestaanse Nederlanders*. The Hague:ACVZ.

Dessing, N. (2013). *Everyday lived Islam in Europe (Ashgate AHRC/ESRC religion and society series)*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Diehl, C., Koenig, M., & Ruckdeschel, K. (2009). Religiosity and gender equality: comparing natives and Muslim migrants in Germany. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32(2), 278-301.

Eijberts, M., &Roggeband, C. (2016). Stuck with the stigma? How Muslim migrant women in the Netherlands deal–individually and collectively–with negative stereotypes. *Ethnicities*, 16(1), 130-153.

Entzinger, H. (2003). The rise and fall of multiculturalism: The case of the Netherlands. *In Toward assimilation and citizenship: Immigrants in liberal nation-states* (pp. 59-86). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Hassan, R. (1990). An Islamic Perspective. *Becker J. Women Religion and Sexuality, Studies in the Impact of Religious Teachings on Women. Geneva: WLC Publications*, 93-128.

Hoekstra, M., & Verkuyten, M. (2015). To be a true Muslim: Online discussions on the headscarf among Moroccan-Dutch women. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *22*(9), 1236-1251.

Hoffer, C. (2009). *Psychische ziekten en problemen onder allochtone Nederlanders: believing en hulpzoekgedrag*. Assen: Van Gorcum.

Hoffer, C. B. M. (1992). The practice of Islamic healing. *Islam in Dutch society: Current developments and future prospects*, 40-53.

Joppke, C. (1996). Multiculturalism and immigration: A comparison of the United States, Germany, and Great Britain. *Theory and society*, 25(4), 449-500.

Kadioğlu, A. (1994). Women's subordination in Turkey: Is Islam really the villain?. *The Middle East Journal*, 645-660.

Kamans, E., Gordijn, E. H., Oldenhuis, H., & Otten, S. (2009). What I think you see is what you get: Influence of prejudice on assimilation to negative meta-stereotypes among Dutch Moroccan teenagers. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 39(5), 842-851.

Knippenberg, H. (2006). The changing relationship between state and church/religion in the Netherlands. *Geo Journal*, 67(4), 317-330.

Koningsveld, P. S. Van, & Shadid, W. A. R. (1992). *Islam in Dutch society : current developments and future prospects*. (W. A. . Shadid &P. . van Koningsveld, Eds.).Kampen: Kok Pharos.

Landman, N. (1992). Sufi orders in The Netherlands. Their role in the institutionalization of Islam. In W. A. R. Shadid & P. S. Van Koningsveld (Eds.), *Islam in Dutch Society:Current Developments and Future Prospects* (pp. 26–40). Kampen: Kok Pharos.

Lijphart, A. (1968). Typologies of democratic systems. *Comparative political studies*, 1(1), 3 44.

Lorasdaği, B. K. (2009a). The headscarf and 'resistance identity-building': A case study on headscarf-wearing in Amsterdam. *In Women's Studies International Forum* (Vol. 32, No. 6, pp. 453-462). Pergamon.

Lorasdaği, B. K. (2009b). The headscarf and emancipation in the Netherlands. *Feminism & Psychology,* 19(3), 328-334.

Lutek, H. (2018). The Dutch inside the 'Moslima'and the 'Moslima'inside the Dutch: Processing the religious experience of Muslim women in the Netherlands. *Societies*, 8(4), 123.

Maliepaard, M., Lubbers, M., & Gijsberts, M. (2010). Generational differences in ethnic and religious attachment and their interrelation. A study among Muslim minorities in the Netherlands. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(3), 451-472.

Maussen, M. (2012). Pillarization and Islam: Church-state traditions and Muslim claims for recognition in the Netherlands. *Comparative European Politics,* 10(3), 337-353.

Midden, E., & Ponzanesi, S. (2013). Digital faiths: An analysis of the online practices of Muslim women in the Netherlands. In *Women's Studies International Forum (Vol. 41, pp. 197-203).* Pergamon.

Minderhedennota, 1983. Tweede Kamer 1982–3, 16102, number 21. The Hague: Ministry of Interior.

Monsma, S. V., & Soper, J. C. (2009). *The challenge of pluralism: Church and state in five democracies. Rowman & Littlefield.*

Moors, A. (2009). The Dutch and the face veil: the politics of discomfort. *Social Anthropology*, 17(4), 393–408.

Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2003). Islamic culture and democracy: Testing the 'clash of civilizations' thesis. *In Human values and social change* (pp. 5-33). Brill.

Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2004). Cultural barriers to women's leadership: A worldwide comparison. Journal of Democracy.

Öz, M. (2010). Tafdil. In *Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (DİA) (C39,369-371). Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı.

Phalet, K., & Wall, J. van der. (2004). *Moslim in Nederland. Religie en migratie: sociaalwetenschappelijke databronnen en literatuur (5 vols.)*. The Hague: SCP.

Prins, B., & Saharso, S. (2010). From toleration to repression: the Dutch backlash against multiculturalism. *In The Multiculturalism Backlash* (pp. 82-101). Routledge.

Robbers, G. (2019, September). State and Church in Germany. In *State and Church in the European Union* (pp. 109-124). Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG.

Roeland, J., Aupers, S., Houtman, D., De Koning, M., & Noomen, I. (2010). The Quest for Religious Purity in New Age, Evangelicalism and Islam Religious renditions of Dutch youth and the Luckmann legacy. In *Annual Review of the Sociology of Religion* (pp. 289–306). Brill.

Rooijackers, M. (1992). Religious identity, integration and subjective well-being among young Turkish Muslims. Islam *in Dutch Society: Current Developments and Future Prospects.* Leiden: Peeters, 67-73.

Roose, E. (2009). *The architectural representation of Islam: Muslim-commissioned Mosque design in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Rutjes, M. (2017). The Making of a Fundamental Value: A History of the Concept of Separation of Church and State in the Netherlands. *Contributions to the History of Concepts*, 12(2), 29-49.

Saleh, S. (1972). Women in Islam: Their status in religious and traditional culture. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, 35-42.

Sam, D. L., & Berry, J. W. (Eds.). (2006). *The Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology.* Cambridge University Press.

Shadid, W. A., & van Koningsveld, P. S. (1992). *Islamic primary schools. Islam in Dutch society: Current developments and future prospects,* 107-122.

Shadid, W. V. K., van Koningsveld, P. S., & Shadid, W. A. R. (1992). Legal adjustments for religious minorities: The case of the ritual slaughtering. *Islam in Dutch society: current developments and future prospects*, Kampen: Kok Pharos, 2-25.

Sharif, R. (1987). Women in Islam. *European Judaism*: *A Journal for the New Europe*, 21(1), 28-33.

Smith, J., & Longbottom, P. (1995). *Visions and discussions on genital mutilation of girls: An international survey*. Amsterdam: Defence for Children International, Section theNetherlands.

Smits, F., & Ultee, W. (2013). Examining trends in Muslim self-identification and mosque attendance among people of Turkish and Moroccan descent in the Netherlands, 1997–2009. *Journal for the scientific study of religion*, 52(3), 596-616.

Speelman, G. (2016). Tolerance of Turkish Muslims in Dutch society. *Exchange*, *45*(2), 154–172.

Spellberg, Denise A. (1994).*Politics, Gender, and the Islamic Past the Legacy of Aicha bint Abu Bahr*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Stewart, D. W., Shamdasani, P. N., & Rook, D. W. (2015). Group dynamics and focus group research. *Focus Groups: Theory and Practice*, 3.

Sunier, T. (1999). Islam and ethnicity among Turks: the changing role of Islam and Muslim organizations. *Islam in Dutch Society: Current Developments and Future Prospects*, 144-163.

Tiryakian, E. A. (2003). Assessing multiculturalism theoretically: E pluribus unum, sic et non. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 5(1), 20-39.

Tuksal, H. Ş. (2000). *Kadın Karşıtı Söylemin İslam Geleneğindeki İzdüşümleri* (Projections of Anti-Women Discourse in the Islamic Tradition), Kitabiyat Yayınları.

Van Bijsterveld, S. C. (2005). The Permissible Scope of Legal Limitations on the Freedom of Religion or Belief in the Netherlands. *Emory Int'l L. Rev.*, 19, 929.

Van Bommel, A. (1992). The history of Muslim umbrella organizations. *Islam in Dutch Society: Current Developments and Future Prospects,* 124-43.

Van De Vijver, F. J., Schalk-Soekar, S., Arends-Tóth, J. V., & Breugelmans, S. M. (2006). Cracks in the wall of multiculturalism? A review of attitudinal studies in the Netherlands. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 8(1), 104-120.

Van den Breemer, R., & Maussen, M. (2012). On the viability of state-church models: Muslim burial and mosque building in France and the Netherlands. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies,* 10(3), 279-298.

Van der Lans, J. M., & Rooijackers, M. (1992). Types of religious belief and unbelief among second generation Turkish migrants. *Islam in Dutch society. Current developments and future prospects,* Kampen, The Netherlands, 56-65.

Van Es, M. A. (2019). Muslim women as 'ambassadors' of Islam: Breaking stereotypes in everyday life. *Identities*, *26*(4), 375-392.

van Kolfschooten, F. (2004). Dutch government cracks down on female circumcision. *The Lancet*, *363*(9420), 1531.

Van Oudenhoven, J. P., Prins, K. S., & Buunk, B. P. (1998). Attitudes of minority and majority members towards adaptation of immigrants. *European journal of social psychology*, 28(6), 995-1013.

Van Staa, A., & Evers, J. (2010). 'Thick analysis': strategy to increase the quality of qualitative data analysis. *Kwalon* , 15 (1).

Van Thiel, S. (2014). *Research methods in public administration and public management: An introduction.* Routledge.

Vasta, E. (2007). From ethnic minorities to ethnic majority policy: Multiculturalism and the shift to assimilationism in the Netherlands. *Ethnic and racial studies,* 30(5), 713-740.

Verkuyten, M. (2010). Assimilation ideology and situational well-being among ethnic minority members. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *46*(2), 269–275.

Vermeulen, H., & Penninx, M. J. A. (2000). *Immigrant integration: the Dutch case*. Amsterdam Het Spinhuis.

Vertovec, S., & Wessendorf, S. (Eds.). (2010). *Multiculturalism backlash: European discourses, policies and practices.* Routledge.

Appendix
1. Interview Questions
What do you think religiousness means, do you consider yourself religious?

If you had a question about religion, which source would you consult?

What does Islam/Muslim mean to you?

How does it feel to be a Muslim woman for you?

What does your family think about the position of women in Islam? Do you agree or disagree?

What do your friends think about the position of women in Islam? Do you agree or disagree?

What does the society you live in think about the position of women in Islam? Do you agree or disagree?

What do you think about the idea that women should be protected by men? Where did you hear this idea been supported?

Do you think men and women are equal in Islam? Where did you hear this idea been supported?

How would you express to your classmates in the school?

How would you express to your family?

Have you ever come across this topic being discussed at your events in the Diyanet? How is Diyanet's approach regarding the position of women in Islam?

Do you think the Diyanet represents women well in terms of communication with women, including them in the organization and their place in the mosque within the Diyanet organization?

Multiculturalism:

What is it like to live in the Netherlands as a Turk?

How did you introduce yourself in the classroom in university (which ethnic concept did you choose)?

Suppose you were subjected to an insult about your Turkish identity from a Dutchman on the bus, would you react, what would that be?

Which culture did your parents raise you in? Do you agree or disagree with the way they did?

How do your friends introduce you to third-person you have never met before, especially about ethnicity? Do you agree or disagree with the way they do?

How do you think you and the Dutch can live most peacefully in the Netherlands?

Far-right parties in the Netherlands say that everyone living in the Netherlands should live like a Dutchman, what is your opinion on this?

Where do you think the Diyanet organization in the Netherlands belongs, the Netherlands or Turkey? How is your reaction to this situation?

So, what do you think the Diyanet has on the Dutch Turks' experience of living in the Netherlands (does it make it easier for them to adapt or keep them Turkish, or both at the same time)? How is your reaction to this situation?

The Intersection of Gender and Multiculturism

Do you think the headscarf is just a religious symbol?

What do you think the headscarf means to the Dutch, what is your reaction to this?

Suppose you were insulted by a Dutchman on the bus about having to return to your country, do you think this has something to do with your headscarf or xenophobia, maybe both at the same time?

Do you think the fact that this debate is taking place in the Netherlands is effective in your opinion on women's rights?

Political Islam:

What comes to mind first when you say Islam? Where did you get this view?

What do you think a Dutchman thinks when it comes to Islam? How is your reaction to this?

Geert Wilders tweeted on February 11, 2019 as follows: 'Islam is no religion but an ideology - totalitarian and violent - like fascism. Let us treat Islam as such and not grant it constitutional protection anymore. Close mosques, Islamic schools and ban the Koran.' Why do you think he prefers such an expression instead of defining Islam like any other religion? How is your reaction to this?

Approximately 20-25% of the parties in the Netherlands identify Islam with political Islam. How does that make you feel? How is your reaction to this?

In France, there is a strict religious-state separation principle (laicite). Do you think this should be applied in the Netherlands?

What role do you think the Diyanet plays in the debate about linking Islam with political concerns? How is your reaction to it?

The intersection of Gender, multiculturalism and Political Islam

How does it feel to be a Dutch Turkish Muslim woman? What are the difficulties you are experiencing? What is your reaction to it?

A significant number of Dutch people think that Muslim women wearing hijab are oppressed. How is your reaction to it?

Why do you think the discrimination you face may have originated from?

What do you think are the most important differences between young women wearing a hijab in the Netherlands and in Turkey? Where do you think these differences come from and what is your reaction to it?

2. The ad I shared in the mosque girl WhatsApp group
The thesis includes a semi-structured questionnaire study to be conducted with 6 girls, and I hope there will be volunteers among you who will want to help me according to the conditions. So, what is my work: Finding your own voice. A qualitative study aiming to reveal how highly educated, veiled young Dutch Turkish women who regularly participate in Diyanet activities construct their own identities on the issues of multiculturalism, gender, Islam and in particular political Islam. Our work is to shed light on your efforts to reconstruct your own identity in daily life, such as Turkish-Dutch, minority-majority, with influences from outside and inside, and your effort to exist with your own voice as a woman in the Netherlands, for example the Dutch's preconceptions about Islam and the value given to women in Islam. focusing on how you respond to their judgments, revealing what you prefer when you are bullied. Believe me, the interview will be in the style of conversation and time will flow like water. Your data will never be shared with third parties except for the purpose of the study.

Who can attend:

1. 20-30 years old

2. University educated or continuing (including HBO)

3. Attending events at Diyanet regularly

4. Born and raised in the Netherlands of Turkish origin

5. Women wearing headscarf

I hope I could express it well. Those who are interested can contact me privately or via this group.