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10. AMONG NEW BELIEVERS

Religion, Gender, and National Identity in the Netherlands

EVA MIDDEN

The perceived struggle between so-called Western secular values and non-Western Islamic extremism is one of the most divisive political issues in contemporary Western Europe. The influx of refugees from Africa and the Middle East and violent attacks in Paris and Brussels have fueled harsh debates about the possibility of integration and about the centrality of values such as "emancipation" and "freedom" to national identity. Amid this heated sociopolitical context, there is a growing number of women converting to Islam across Europe.[1] As religion is generally not registered, there is no exact information on the number of converts, but it is estimated that there are approximately seventeen thousand in the Netherlands alone.[2] These converts occupy a controversial position in European societies, as they are often born and raised in Europe and have voluntarily chosen a religion that is heavily scrutinized in public debates. Women who convert to Islam are often confronted with questions about both national identity (are they still "French," "English," or "Dutch"?) and emancipation (are they making conscious and freely willed choices?).

In this chapter, I analyze the Dutch television show *Van Hagelslag naar Halal* (*From Dutch Chocolate Sprinkles to Halal*) to demonstrate what popular representations of women converts can teach us about the gendered entanglements of religion and national identity in the Netherlands. On this show, a group of Dutch converts to Islam and their mothers travel to Jordan, to work on their strained relationships and to develop mutual understandings. Their conversations are staged by the producers, so while the program does not necessarily accurately represent the women's opinions and experiences, it is an important example of how religion (especially Islam) is represented in the Netherlands' mainstream media. By enforcing the narrative arc of "turning away from," the TV show *Dutch Sprinkles* demonstrates how in/exclusion from the Dutch national body increasingly hinges upon Islam's supposedly fundamental incompatibility with Dutch culture and values—especially the value of "emancipation." In converting to Islam, converts are represented as having lost their emancipated "Dutchness." Drawing attention to (and deconstructing) this relationship will make it possible to produce alternative theories about the gendered politics of emancipation and their relationship to religion, secularism, and national belonging.

From Dutch Chocolate Sprinkles to Halal through Critical Discourse Analysis

In the television program *From Dutch Chocolate Sprinkles to Halal*, three young Dutch women who have converted to Islam travel to Jordan with their mothers. According to the website of the broadcasting organization, conversion has serious consequences for family relations: converts often feel rejected and misunderstood and parents are worried about the future of their children. Since the conversions, the mothers and daughters in the show find it difficult to communicate with each other, and they fight about many issues. While to a certain extent these fights and misunderstandings are related to the new daily practices of the daughters, such as prayer and eating halal food, their staged discussions also reflect larger sociopolitical issues that are currently at stake in the Netherlands. Throughout the program, the women talk about their personal experiences and relations while they visit various sights and people in Jordan. The end goal of the show is for the mothers to be present when their daughters pronounce their love for Allah at the Abu Darweesh mosque in Amman.[3]

The show was presented by Arie Boomsma, a famous Dutch television host with a Christian background, who is known for his television work on charged societal issues and for breaking certain taboos. Prior to *Dutch Sprinkles*, he made

De Roze Wildernis (*The Pink Wilderness*), for which he traveled to Argentina with four gay boys and their fathers with a similar intention of improving strained parent-child relationships but in relation to the boys' sexualities. The first episode of *Dutch Sprinkles* was aired in 2015 and had approximately 420,000 viewers, which is rather average in the Netherlands.[4] But while the show was not extremely popular, it addressed a theme that was highly contested in the Netherlands at the time. There was also a good deal of public discussion after the first episode, including reports by several online media outlets in which viewers criticized the show, as they "could not understand" the choices of the converted women.[5]

I draw upon Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to investigate the assumptions behind the show's representations of gender, national identity, and religion/secularism. The use of CDA, particularly the work of Norman Fairclough, is helpful for its emphasis on the power relations that underlie social relations. Particularly relevant is Fairclough's perspective on "common sense," which he defines as "an implicit philosophy in the practical activities of social life, backgrounded and taken for granted."[6] Dominant ideologies become common sense through processes of naturalization and standardization, whereupon they often invisibilize and sustain unequal power relations in discourse. This insight is crucial as I consider the ideologies that inform and underlie the commonsense standpoints and arguments advanced in *Dutch Sprinkles*.

Turning to and Turning From: The Gendered Politics of Conversion

Recent scholarship on conversion to Islam challenges popular understandings of the intentions and processes behind conversions as well as their varied impact on converts' identities. Contrary to what many believe, people do not only convert for a possible romantic partner but also because an independent search brought them to Islam. Moreover, while it is often believed that changes related to the conversion to Islam are radical and instantaneous, more recent scholars refer to conversion as a process, even though there are differing options as to how to understand this process.[7] In this vein, Oskar Verkaaik argues that scholars should not approach conversion as a "turning from and to," as Lewis Rambo defines it; converts do turn to something new, but they do not always reject something old. Conversion is very often a bricolage, in which old and new practices of faith are brought together. Understood as such, converts may be much more flexible than they are often given credit for, and regularly alternate between phases of faith and doubt.[8]

This nuanced conception of conversion is largely absent in *Dutch Sprinkles*, which primarily advances a "turning from and to" perspective on conversion wherein "old" identities are rejected and lost as "new" identities are embraced. This approach is rhetorically and gastronomically gestured toward in the show's title, as Dutch chocolate sprinkles are cast aside in favor of halal food, even though halal-observant Muslims have no religious imperative to stop eating chocolate. By extension, the converts' acts of "turning to" Islam are framed as acts of "turning from" not only their families but also the Dutch nation and its core values. The sections that follow are oriented around several of the key value-laden terms and debates that emerge throughout the show and shape this overarching perspective.

Dutchness as Secular

Dutch Sprinkles primarily emphasizes the perspectives and feelings of the mothers who have supposedly been "turned away" from. These mothers repeatedly define their concerns as a matter of not only personal but also Dutch national identity. To this end, they often frame their critiques of Islam and their daughters' practices as more general critiques of religion and its encroachment upon the secular values and spaces that they perceive as foundational to Dutchness. This emphasis underscores the grand finale visit to the mosque in Amman that the show has presumably been building toward all season, where the mothers are invited to join their daughters in prayer. This trip is framed as not only about mother-daughter support or tourism but about the mothers' willingness to engage, or reconcile themselves with, their daughters' religion. Religion is cast as something undesirable that the mothers have been forced to deal with, either positively or negatively, because of their daughter's choices. Several of the mothers will only attend reluctantly, if at all. Their hesitancy, and the reconciliatory framework more generally, resonates with Dutch debates about religion in the public sphere, where it is often argued that people do not want to "encounter" (or be bothered with) other people's faiths, especially Islam.

Mother Ingrid's comments about a visit to the mosque demonstrate how valuing secularism and a secular/religion binary is a vehicle for critiquing Islam and expressing concerns about its incompatibility with Dutch national identity. Ingrid begins more neutrally: "I am not a visitor of houses for prayer. I am not religious, I do not have any affection for any religion, so I do not really have any reasons to go to a mosque."[9] Ingrid proceeds to establish fundamental incompatibilities between Dutch culture and Islam. For example, when the mothers are asked at the end of the show to join their daughters at the mosque, she says, “When I cannot walk in as Ingrid, and cannot walk out as Ingrid, I am not going to do it. I am very attached to my own identity, I just am a Dutch woman, and I do not wear a headscarf.”[10] Here, Ingrid makes connections between her personal (gendered, national) identity and its incompatibility with Muslim practices: as a Dutch woman she does not wear a headscarf. She claims not to have a problem with the headscarf itself, but she does describe it as something that is incompatible with her particular identity. A few minutes later, she adds, “This is my daughter’s faith, even though I respect her wishes and happiness. If they would ask me in the Netherlands to go to a Reformed Church, wear a hat, and a long dress with flowers, I would also not do it. . . . I will not wear a headscarf for anyone.”[11] Hence, Ingrid suggests that it is not just Islam she wants to distance herself from but any form of religion that tells her how to dress and behave. To an extent, Ingrid’s standpoint can be viewed as a more general secular resistance against all religious institutions, a perspective that dissolves the specificity of Islam. Ingrid’s defense, however, reflects a fairly common critique of Islam, as it is often considered the faith that challenges secular values the most. As Verkaaik explains, the desire for freedom and individualism in the Netherlands is for a large part defined as antireligious, and this antireligious attitude now turns against the “religion of migrants”: Islam. Secularism, therefore, defines both the Dutch self and religious intolerance toward the Muslim Other.[12]

Emancipation and Loss

The mothers in the show consistently express the fear that their daughters will lose aspects of their identities through adherence to Islam, while their daughters explain that converting to Islam—and honoring modesty laws more specifically—is not about becoming another person but about being a better person. The fear of “identity loss” therefore becomes an affective and ideological framework for the mothers (and also arguably the show’s producers) to link their daughters’ newfound Muslim practices with broader national political debates and issues. When referencing their daughters’ supposed “identity loss,” the mothers generally do not invoke previously held religious identities but the intertwined gender and national identities that Islam presumably threatens. According to Karin van Nieuwkerk, the image of the Muslim woman without rights is ingrained in Dutch people’s perceptions of Islam and at the same time explicitly opposed to a Dutch self-image of being liberal, free, and emancipated.[13] The values of emancipation and equality are linked to a European Dutch secularism, while Islam is equated with oppression and gender inequality, and therefore incompatible with Dutchness.

Unsurprisingly, the converts' clothing and approach to modesty emerge as a touchstone for conversations about "identity loss" and "emancipation." For example, in episode 2, heated conversations emerge around the hijab or headscarf, one of the most prominent symbols of Islam that is often stereotyped in the Netherlands as both "non-Dutch" and a "sign of oppression."[14] Exemplifying these views, two mothers explicitly express fear that their daughters will "lose their identity" by wearing headscarves.[15] Nour's mother, Petra, says she is afraid that when her daughter starts wearing a headscarf, she will not be allowed to express her opinion anymore.[16] In Petra's eyes, the headscarf is inherently oppressive; it therefore follows that her daughter cannot be emancipated (i.e., free to express her ideas) while wearing one. These concerns are further linked to "Dutchness"; because emancipation is considered to be a central Dutch value, Nour's mother believes that her daughter risks losing part of her Dutch national identity. Ingrid adds that she feels shame when she walks next to her daughter, who is wearing a headscarf. She explains that the headscarf is not something she wants to be associated with.[17] In both examples, the headscarf is viewed as a symbol that represents values that are in tension—and even incompatible—with the mothers' Dutch values. In contrast, Nour talks about the headscarf in very practical terms, describing it as something that protects her from harassment and makes men more inclined to listen to her as a person rather than look at her appearance. Unlike her mother, Nour does not make a connection between the headscarf and her national identity, nor does she describe it as limiting her freedom of expression but as enabling it.

Questions of "emancipation" and "loss" return in episode 4 when the mothers and daughters discuss Islam's rules and rituals. Several of the mothers do not understand why Dutch girls, who presumably enjoy great freedom, would choose the restrictions of Islam. In response, Nour explains that what the Dutch generally consider to be "freedom" does not feel like freedom to her: "I have always been bothered by the pressures of society. Going out is not pleasurable for me. I find it very negative and banal. When I am in Amsterdam, it makes me sad. I do not see it as freedom that women have to be naked all the time. I see freedom as something else and I find that difficult in the Netherlands."[18] The fact that women in the West can show nudity is not freedom to Nour; she wants a different kind of freedom. Lorena expresses similar views in episode 5, asking, "What is the value of wearing a miniskirt?"[19] Hence, Lorena also tries to point out that different women might want or value different things, and that what is important for some women might not be for others.[20]

The connection between conversion and loss, therefore, hinges in large part on a particular, secular European interpretation of women's emancipation. By choosing a faith that is considered to be particularly at odds with secularism, the converts are automatically understood to have lost or given up their "emancipated" status and values. This binary can be complicated by pointing to the emancipatory and even *self-identified* feminist struggles of some religious Muslim women, for whom emancipation is not necessarily secular in character and for whom religion is often an important source of inspiration in the struggle for emancipation.[21] In some cases, Muslim women also explicitly redefine what emancipation means by focusing more on sexual difference and less on equality as sameness, or by shifting attention away from the individual by recognizing women's positions within the family.[22] In other words, gender oppression can mean different things to different women, but emancipation can also be defined in different ways (i.e., having the choice to do what you want or being equal to). Some Muslim women in the Netherlands indicate that for them, emancipation has to take place in cooperation with their husbands and children, that emancipation also entails other things than merely paid work, and that they are not prepared to give up their religion in exchange for emancipation.[23]

The converts in *Dutch Sprinkles*, however, are given little opportunity to expound upon these or other experiences and perspectives. The prescribed narrative of "turning away" frames them through their deviation from the secular norm and largely prevents more complex and multifaceted perspectives on religion and gender from coming to the fore. They are mostly confronted with challenging questions about "why" they do certain things, wherein they must explain how their faith relates to the secular norm. These concerns dovetail with Saba Mahmood's famous assertion that religious women's experiences and strategies should not be simply interpreted as either resistance or submission. Rather, scholars should redefine the concept of agency and adjust it to a situation in which "the subject's own desires and socially prescribed performances cannot be easily presumed and where submission to certain forms of (external) authority is a condition for achieving the subject's potentiality."[24] This sense of religion as a means of "achieving potentiality" is at times gestured toward in the Dutch converts' explanations to their mothers. As in the modesty-related conversations, the daughters attempt to frame their conversions as a means of improving their lives, not turning away from them. This outlook, and the fundamental difference between the mothers' and daughters' perspectives, emerges in a conversation between Nour and a Jordanian woman who tells Nour, "I don't think you should ever stop being who you are. You were a beautiful person before. Why should you stop?"[25] This affects Nour's mother, Petra, who is afraid that Nour will become a different person. But both Nour and the Jordanian woman also explain that their faith is not about being a *different person* but about becoming a *better version of yourself*.[26] Converting to Islam, Nour explains, enriched her life. The Islamic faith provides her with strength and hope. When given the opportunity, the other daughters also state that their conversions reflect what they always believed or have felt coming for a long time rather than sudden or radical transformations.

Religion as Culture

As the mothers repeatedly frame the Islamic religion as fundamentally at odds with Dutch national culture, they often read their daughters' religious practices through a flattened, monolithic conception of both Islam and the "East." In one exemplary exchange, Petra says she is afraid that her daughter, Nour, might want to wear a burqa in the future, and Nour responds that such an interpretation of Islam does not fit the cultures she lives in and identifies with. Nour describes herself as part of both Dutch and Moroccan cultures, as her boyfriend is Moroccan, and says that the burqa and niqab are too far removed from both cultures.[27] In a letter to her mother, Nour again attenuates the difference between national culture and religion when she says: "You have many questions about faith, but most of the time they are actually about culture. When you for example ask me why certain women are oppressed, I cannot give any answers to you, because I do not know those countries and cultures. You can better ask me whether I am oppressed, so that I can talk about myself."[28] Nour not only states that there are differences between Muslim women's positions in different countries, but she also requests that her mother see her as the individual she always has been and still is. Public discourse on Islam arguably shapes this conversation: one could say that Nour is asking her mother to look at how she practices Islam rather than adhere to generic Dutch public discourses on Islamic practices. In light of the previously identified cultural emphasis on emancipation, it is also worth noting that Nour suggests that her mother is not letting her speak for herself, so Nour is reclaiming her individual agency by asking (or challenging) her mother to "ask me . . . whether I am oppressed."

The conflation of religion, nationality, and culture that Nour struggles to address—and find her place within—dovetails with research on the societal pressures faced by many European converts to Islam as they attempt to navigate prescribed relationships between religion and secularism, culture and nationalism. As Tina Jensen argues, converts to Islam in Denmark often describe themselves as "being squeezed between two sides," or "split between national culture and the culture of Muslims."[29] They do not feel they fully belong to the Muslim community because they are still seen as Danish, and they feel, and are treated as if, they lost their Danish identity after conversion to Islam.

These converts, it should be noted, can reify troubling European prejudices and racism when faced with these pressures; Esra Özyürek argues that because of the marginalization of Islam and Muslims, German converts to Islam often dissociate themselves from Muslim *migrants* and deliberately present themselves as *German* Muslims, or even denationalized and detraditionalized Muslims. However, Özyürek also observes that converts' renegotiation of various identities can, in Fatima El-Tayeb's terms, "queer ethnicity" by building communities based on the shared experience of multiple contradictory positionalities.[30] This multivalent perspective on identity and community is gestured toward in Nour's assertion that she (together with her boyfriend) affiliates with both Moroccan and Dutch cultures. But it is mostly impossible to read the *Dutch Sprinkles* converts' choices and experiences as "queering ethnicity," since the televised narratives about their conversion are structured as a "turning away from" the Netherlands and a "taking a step backward" from the enlightened secular present. Asking the converts questions about "how" they have dealt with conversion, or what they believe they have gained from their conversion, would make their perspectives and opinions more visible.

Islam and Conversion through a Secular Gaze

Dutch Sprinkles frames and interprets the converts' experiences not only in relation to secular Dutch nationals but also in relation to Muslims from Jordan during their trip. While the purpose of the trip was purportedly to bring the women closer together through the process of getting to know other Muslim women and families, the Dutch visitors and program viewers are also confronted with what is arguably an Orientalist perspective on the Middle East and Islam. The image of the Orient is probably the deepest and most recurring image of Europe's Other. As Edward Said famously observed, "European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self."[31] Jordan is cast as a place for the Dutch Europeans' self-discovery and exploration as well as for observing the "authentic home" of the Muslim faith that the mothers find so unnerving. On the trip, differences between Western Europe and the Middle East, urban and rural, secular and religious, are often flattened and framed temporally as matters of "progress."

A gendered Orientalist perspective on Jordanian Muslim women emerges through the visit that the program organizes to "Jordanian families in the countryside." Although the Dutch women praise these families' hospitality, their contact is also difficult because of language issues and cultural differences. It is not entirely clear whether the program producers intentionally obfuscate the differences between culture and religion and the varieties of Islam in different geographical regions, but through the staged visits to these specific families, Islam is associated with "backwardness" and misogyny. These stereotypes emerge through the Dutch mothers' questions and declarations about Islam's "harmful practices." For example, during their visit with a Jordanian family, Nour's mother proclaims, "The men seem to decide everything and the women are in the kitchen and do not even come to see us. I see oppression here."[32] She compares the lives of these Jordanian women to life in prison and expresses fear for her daughter's future. To the Dutch mothers, the rural Muslim Jordanian women are emblematic of the "backwardness" of Islam and the Orient.[33] To the converted daughters, however, the visit seems out of place. They do not identify with these Jordanian families, their faith, or their practices, and they wonder aloud why they should engage with them. They do not, however, differentiate themselves from the Jordanian families in a derogatory way. The daughters explain on several occasions that for them, Islam is something else; they do not experience Islam as something that limits them but as something that enriches their lives.

The Dutch women later meet with Jordanian women again, but this time in the city of Amman, where each mother-daughter pair is connected with an "independent Muslim woman from Amman."[34] These women are highly educated, have careers, do not wear headscarves, and seem to have a more liberal interpretation of Islam than the Dutch converts, whose mothers were very excited about meeting the women from Amman. During a group discussion, Ingrid says she found the meeting very refreshing: "The woman called herself a liberal Muslim, . . . did not pray five times a day. . . . I loved to hear this, and I told her I love her, this was completely my style, this is also a possibility!"[35] One of the Dutch converted daughters, Lorena, says that her mother also loved the Jordanian woman from Amman: "My mother was completely . . . yes. . . . She would have loved to take Arouk home. . . . Thank you, Arouk [*she says cynically*]."[36] After the visit, the Dutch mothers state that they would like to see a bit more flexibility in how their daughters practice their faith, but the daughters are very clear about the fact that they want to practice how they see fit. In a discussion at the end of the episode, the show's presenter asks the daughters if the fact that they were not born as Muslims makes them more insecure about their faith, suggesting that this is the reason why they are stricter practitioners.[37] The daughters fiercely disagree for several reasons. Nour argues that for her, conversion was actually a very slow process and she is still thinking about how to deal with issues like veiling. Lorena argues that the Qur'an forbids certain things for a reason and that is why she follows these restrictions. When the presenter asks them whether faith is a set of rules or something in their hearts, Saroya says that she follows the rules with love. For her, there is no opposition between the "set of rules" and her heart.

How can we understand these two different meetings with Jordanian people? One could argue that by bringing the women in contact with both more conservative families from the countryside and more liberal women from the city, the program viewers are presented with different interpretations of Islam and hence not just the prejudiced understanding of Islam that I touched upon. However, when we look at the various meetings from the perspective of the converted daughters, another argument emerges. In neither of these meetings is the viewer encouraged to identify with the converts. When they visit the countryside, the converts' choices are questioned through what could be called an Orientalist perspective on Islam. Why would they want to live a life in which they will never be equal or free anymore? When they meet the "liberal Muslim women" from the city, the converts are questioned again. This time, they are represented as rigid and insecure because of their conversion. For the first time in the program, the topic of debate was not Islam and how it relates to other aspects of their identity but conversion itself and how this process influenced the way the daughters practice and experience their faith. Hence, conversion itself is presented as inherently conservative.

The daughters strongly disagree with this representation and talk about their conversion much more in relation to hope and strength. They also describe the strict regulations of the Qur'an as helpful to them rather than restrictive. Hence, almost never during the show is the converted women's faith discussed in positive terms or as something that the women themselves can endow with meaning. Moreover, only rarely during the show are the viewers encouraged to identify with the converted women; the gaze is always a voyeuristic gaze, through which they are subjected to control and curiosity.[38] The viewer, in turn, does not get to see the converted women as active agents who consciously give new meaning to their lives.

Conversion in the Netherlands

The religion/secularism divide in the Netherlands produces specific ideas about what it means to be Dutch, and gender plays a crucial role in these processes of identity formation and in/exclusion from the national body. It is often assumed that gender emancipation is inextricably linked to both secularism and Dutch national identity, while religion is viewed as a threat to emancipation and therefore Dutchness.

When we look at how the TV show *From Dutch Chocolate Sprinkles to Halal* framed and organized the trip to Jordan and the discussions, several things stand out. First, throughout the show, conversion to Islam is presented and discussed as something through which people, in this case the three girls, turn away from something and thus lose something. Rather than focusing on what the women gain from their conversion, or how they practically negotiate their new positions in society, the converts are scrutinized for choosing a religion that makes them "turn away" from old identities, most of all when it comes to gender. Second, on several occasions the show approaches Islam more as a culture than a religion, or at least the differences between culture and religion are conflated. Finally, the gaze in this show is a voyeuristic one. The converted women are subjected to control and curiosity; never does the viewer get to identify with these women. Asking the converts questions about how they dealt with conversion, or to describe their desires in life and what they believe they have gained from converting, would show a deeper interest in these women's choices. Instead they have to repeatedly explain themselves to the non-Muslim program makers and by extension to an intended, presumably non-Muslim Dutch audience.

Untangling debates about national identity and emancipation makes it possible to understand how secularism and religion are defined as each other's opposites. The anxieties and fears that played a role throughout the TV show were mainly focused on the convert's futures as Muslim women (i.e., the assumption that Muslim women cannot be emancipated) and the idea that the converts supposedly lost a part of their identity (i.e., by becoming Muslim, they became less Dutch). In this context, the choice for Islam is seen as a choice for not only a specific religion but also a specific gender regime, one that is considered incompatible with Dutch values. One could say that explicitly choosing Islam makes them challengers of the secular values that are considered such an important part of Dutch identity. By extension, it would be interesting to investigate to what extent people respond differently to men who convert to Islam. Further research is also needed on the relationship between religion/

secularism, emancipation, and national identity in different national contexts, but from the analysis given here it becomes clear that in order to understand the divide between religion and secularism in the Dutch context, emancipation is a key concept that helps us understand how the dichotomy is produced and what its effects are.

NOTES

1 See, for example, Karin van Nieuwkerk, "Gender, Conversion, and Islam: A Comparison of Online and Offline Conversion Narratives," in *Women Embracing Islam: Gender and Conversion in the West*, ed. Karin van Nieuwkerk (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 95–120.

2 "Aantal Bekeerlingen in Nederland en België (Statistiek)," *Stichting Bekeerling* (blog), accessed July 24, 2020, http://www.stichtingbekeerling.nl/aantal-bekeerlingen-in-nederland-en-belgie/.

3 *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, accessed July 24, 2020, http://www.npo.nl/van-hagelslag-naar-halal/POMS_S_KRO_2466706.

4 "*Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, het Nieuwe Programma van Arie Boomsma, Is Dinsdag van Start Gegaan Met 420.000 Kijkers," NU.nl, November 25, 2018, https://www.nu.nl/media/4171435/420000-kijkers-nieuw-programma-arie-boomsma.html.

5 Kirsten Zijderveld, "Onbegrip Voor Bekeerde Moslima's Bij 'Van Hagelslag naar Halal,'" Linda.nl, November 25, 2015, https://www.lindanieuws.nl/nieuws/fragmentgemist/onbegrip-voor-bekeerde-moslimas-bij-van-hagelslag-naar-halal/.

6 Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power* (London: Longman, 2001), 70.

7 See, for example, Anna Mansson McGinty, *Becoming Muslim: Western Women's Conversions to Islam* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Nieuwkerk, "Gender, Conversion, and Islam"; Najem V. Vroon, "Sisters in Islam: Women's Conversion and the Politics of Belonging; A Dutch Case Study" (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 2014).

8 Oskar Verkaaik, *Ritueel Burgerschap: Een Essay over Nationalisme en Secularisme in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 132.

9 *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, episode 6, min. 1.

10 *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, episode 6, min. 12.

11 *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, episode 6, min. 13.

12 Verkaaik, *Ritueel Burgerschap*.

13 Karin van Nieuwkerk, "Veils and Wooden Clogs Do Not Go Together," *Ethnos* 69, no. 2 (2004): 229–46.

14 Nieuwkerk, "Veils and Wooden Clogs," 235.

15 E.g., *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, episode 2, min. 18.

16 *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, episode 2, min. 22.

17 *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, episode 2, min. 22.

18 *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, episode 4, min. 28.

19 *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, episode 5, min. 14.

20 See also Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

21 Eva Midden, “Rethinking Dutchness: Learning from the Intersections between Religion, Gender and National Identity after Conversion to Islam,” *Social Compass* 65, no. 5 (2018): 684–700.

22 Eva Midden and Sandra Ponzanesi, “Digital Faiths: An Analysis of Online Practices of Muslim Women in the Netherlands,” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 1, pt. 3 (2013): 197–204.

23 Eva Midden, “The Arena of Religion: Malala and Contemporary Feminism,” in *Doing Gender in Media, Art and Culture*, ed. Rosemarie Buikema and Liedeke Plate (London: Routledge, 2018), 24–36.

24 Mahmood, *Politics of Piety*, 31.

25 *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, episode 5, min. 19.

26 *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, episode 5, min. 21.

27 *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, episode 6, min. 8.

28 *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, episode 6, min. 9.

29 Tina G. Jensen, “To Be ‘Danish,’ Becoming ‘Muslim’: Contestations of National Identity?,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34, no. 3 (2008): 400.

30 Esra Özyürek, *Being German, Becoming Muslim: Race, Religion, and Conversion in the New Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015); Fatima El-Tayeb, *European Others: Queering Ethnicity in Postnational Europe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

31 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

32 *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, episode 4, min. 10.

33 Meyda Yeğenoğlu, , “Sartorial Fabric-ations: Enlightenment and Western Feminism,” in *Postcolonialism, Feminism and Religious Discourse*, ed. Laura E. Donaldson and Kwok Pui-Lan (New York: Routledge, 2002), 83.

34 *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, episode 5, min. 10.

35 *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, episode 5, min. 24.

36 *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, episode 5, min. 23.

37 *Van Hagelslag naar Halal*, episode 5, min. 25.

38 Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” in *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*, ed. Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 833–44.