



Negotiating the Oppression of Discrimination Encountered in Outdoor Leisure: A Study of Muslim Women in the Netherlands

Mette Sijtsma
MSc Thesis Leisure, Tourism and Environment
Supervisors:
Drs. Ir. Karin Peters and Marjolein Kloek, MSc
Wageningen University

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Mette Sijtsma
Studentnr. 860929820010

MSc Thesis Leisure, Tourism and Environment
Coursecode: SAL 80433
Supervisors: Karin Peters & Marjolein Kloek

Wageningen University
Department of Environmental Sciences
Socio Spatial Analysis



Abstract

Since 1879 there have been Muslims living in the Netherlands. Nowadays an estimated 907.000 Muslims are living in the Netherlands, which is equivalent to six percent of the total population. After the events of September 11, 2001, the social climate facing Muslims has deteriorated in the Netherlands. Fifty percent of the Dutch population has a negative view of Muslims and consider the Western and Muslim way of life as opposites that do not go together. Muslims in the Netherlands experience a significant degree of discrimination in settings such as the labour market, education, housing, police and justice, and in public domains. This study was designed (1) to explore whether Muslim women in the Netherlands have been subjected to any discriminatory incidents in outdoor leisure settings, (2) how these discriminatory incidents has affected their leisure behaviour and enjoyment, and (3) analyze their range of negotiation strategies to discrimination in their outdoor leisure. Sixteen qualitative, semi-structured interviews with Muslim women in the age between 26 and 54 provide insight in this. Results indicate that veiled Muslim women do experience a range of discriminatory actions while engaging in outdoor leisure activities. Yet, they rarely perceive discrimination as a factor that affected their leisure behaviour. The results indicate though, that relatively small events can reduce the level of enjoyment the Muslim women derive from outdoor leisure activities. The discrimination experienced by the women was of non-violent nature, and included unpleasant looks, prejudices, disapproval, feeling unwelcome and negative remarks. The Muslim women have been found to employ certain strategies to negotiate the discrimination such as justification, blocking, resigned acceptance, adjustment, feeling sorry, or mild verbal protest.

KEYWORDS: outdoor leisure, discrimination, Muslim women, the Netherlands, negotiation strategies

Acknowledgements

I am proud to present to you my MSc thesis with as its title “Negotiating the oppression of discrimination encountered in outdoor leisure: A study of Muslim women in the Netherlands.” This research examines the affects of discriminatory incidents on the leisure behaviour and enjoyment of Muslim women, and their range of strategies to negotiate the discrimination in their outdoor leisure.

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Chapter 1 Research Outline

“Outdoor recreation issues may be relatively neglected in our national political discourse, but they are not trivial and never will be on our shrunken planet.” (Carroll, 1990, xvii)

The first coming of Muslims in the Netherlands dates back to 1879 (Allen & Nielsen, 2002). Now more than 130 years later, an estimated 907.000 Muslims are living in the Netherlands, which is equivalent to six percent of the population (ibid.). After the events of the September 11, 2001, Muslim communities became the targets of increased hostility across many countries in Europe and the Netherlands was no exception (ibid.). The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia mentioned that there might be a negative impact on attitudes to Islam and Muslims in the fifteen member countries of the European Union and three weeks after 9/11, they reported forty-two incidents of hostile treatment and violence against Muslims in the Netherlands (EUMC, 2001).

These days there is even an ongoing ‘Dutch-Muslim’ cultural war and a related culture of fear (Scroggins, 2005) which is also tangible in Dutch politics. Leading politicians have taken a fiercely negative position on Islam which is defined as a backward religion (Vasta, 2007) and perceived as a threat to the continuation of Dutch identity and culture (Verkuyten & Zaremba, 2005; Van Nieuwkerk, 2004). Consequently, the Islam became the main source of a clash between ‘the Dutch culture’ and ‘the Other’ (Van Nieuwkerk, 2004) and the symbol of problems related to ethnic minorities and immigration (Ter Wal, 2004), something on which the media report frequently. The Dutch media portray Muslims in a negative and stereotypical fashion and present the Islam as a one dimensional religion that is oppressive and fundamentalist and threatens democratic and civil values (Shadid, 1995). In consequence, there is a considerable amount of native Dutch who have a negative view of Muslims (Van Oudenhoven, 2002; Forum, 2010), which has never been more negative than now (Shadid, 2006). More precise, the Dutch majority considers particular practices of Muslims morally wrong and 50 percent of the Dutch consider the Western and Muslim way of life as opposites that do not go together (Gijsberts, 2005). Rijkschroeff, Duyvendak and Pels (2003) explain that the Islam is readily associated with the repression of women, lack of separation between church and state, lack of democratic values and persistence of old-fashioned customs. Western society is often regarded as the ‘civilized’ norm and Muslims need to adapt to ‘Western’ culture. With the result that the Islam as a faith and Muslims as a whole have found themselves under something of a siege in a current climate of Islamophobia (Allen & Nielsen, 2002) and many ordinary Muslims have found themselves on the “wrong side” (Barber, 1995).

Research in the Netherlands shows that Muslims are negatively affected by these often stereotypical and generalized discourses about Muslims and Islam (Boog, Dinsback, Van Donselaar, & Rodrigues, 2009), for example through discrimination by dominant group members and institutions (Smitherman & Van Dijk, 1988). Discriminatory practices and oppressive ideologies typically result in reduced

opportunities and in restricted or blocked access to resources and activities (Becker & Arnold, 1986; Germain, 1992). The literature illustrates that Muslims in the Netherlands do experience a significant degree of discrimination in settings such as the labour market (Forum, 2010; Kruisbergen & Veld, 2002; Reubsaet & Kropman, 1995; Veenman, 1995; Olde Monnikhof & Buis, 2001; Andriessen et al., 2007), education (LBR, 2001; Forum, 2010), housing (Dagevos et al., 2003), police and justice (Boog et al., 2009), gyms (Volkskrant, 2011) and even in public domains (Geldrop & van Heerwaarden, 2003; Komen, 2004; Boog et al., 2009; Forum, 2010). Especially women and girls, who wear for religious reasons a veil, are confronted with discrimination in the labour market and education. Employers, including governmental agencies, refuse to employ veiled women and regularly schools adopt a ban on the veil, although this is in conflict with the Dutch law (LBR, 2001). Considering the fact that Muslims in the Netherlands experience discrimination in several life domains, it is feasible to assume that discriminatory encounters will also occur in leisure activities. Nevertheless, discrimination encountered in leisure settings appears to be underdeveloped in the leisure field (Livengood & Stodolska, 2004; Sharaievska et al., 2010). Given the fact that participation in leisure can produce positive benefits, contributes to a person's quality of life and has an effect on the adjustment of ethnic groups in the new country, it is unfortunate that this phenomenon is underdeveloped (Yu & Berryman, 1996; Rublee & Shaw, 1991; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998; Stodolska & Yi, 2003).

Some researchers contend that "more work elaborating the types and range of discrimination and how they impact leisure choices and constraints should be pursued" (Floyd, 1998, p.7), therefore the purpose of this study was to explore whether Muslim women in the Netherlands encounter any discriminatory actions while engaging in outdoor leisure and explore how these incidents might affect leisure choices and enjoyment. Since it has been shown in the literature that (minority) women can resist and negotiate oppression they face within their leisure activities (Jacobson & Samdahl, 1998; Koca et al., 2009; Livengood & Stodolska, 2004; Peleman, 2003), this study will also examine the range of strategies these Muslim women employ to negotiate the discrimination in their outdoor leisure.

In order to put manageable boundaries on the study, the target population was limited to Muslim women. There has been chosen to research Muslim women, since women and Muslims are particularly vulnerable to discrimination (Feagin, 1991; Gardner, 1980; E-Quality, 2004; LBR, 2001) and women face more intense constraints in their leisure than men (Shaw, 1994; Jackson & Henderson, 1995; Henderson, 1996).

Historical context

Muslims, in general, can be described as an ethno-religious group (Al-Islami, 1964, in Livengood & Stodolska, 2004). Islam is not a religion of one race or class, but rather a doctrine and a way of life of all who desire to follow this faith (ibid.). Islam literally means submission to Allah, the God (Higab, 1983) and is best thought of as a way of life based upon the words of Allah.

According to the census of 1889, there were 49 "Mohammedans" in the Netherlands. These early Muslims were immigrants from the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia), and they lived in The Hague. In the 1950s, the number of Muslims increased

as a result of immigration from Indonesia and after 1960, tens of thousands of Turkish and Moroccan 'guest workers' arrived in the Netherlands to work in the country's industrial sector. In the 1970s and 80s, many of these economic migrants were joined by their families. The idea of an early return to their home country faded into the background and together with their families, the migrant workers sought to establish a place in Dutch society. It was not only economic migration and family reunification which spurred the growth of the Islamic population. From the late 1980s, the number of Muslims increased as a result of a growing influx of political refugees and asylum seekers from the Middle East and East Africa (Forum, 2010).

Nowadays is the Islam the second greatest religion in Europe and third in the Netherlands (Forum, 2010). Of all the Muslims in the Netherlands, 37 percent are of Turkish origin, 36 percent of Moroccan origin, 4 percent of Western origin, and 1 percent is native Dutch. This 1 percent Muslims of native Dutch origin includes both converted native Dutch and "third generation immigrants", that is to say, children whose both parents are born in the Netherlands and whose grandparents are born abroad. The remaining 22 percent are originally from other non-Western countries (ibid.). Nearly 80 percent of Muslims live in urban municipalities and most of them live in the Randstad conurbation. In the two Dutch provinces North Holland and South Holland live the largest population of Muslims, respectively per province 8.3 percent of its total number of inhabitants. Utrecht is the third province with 7 percent (ibid.). Although predicting the make-up of future populations is difficult, De Beer (2007) showed that an increase in the Muslim population of 3-6 percent is realistic based on the assumption that the percentage of Muslims among Western and non-Western migrants will remain unchanged during the coming decades, and that the number of non-Western migrants will increase from 1.7 million to 2.7 million in 2050.

Research objectives and research questions

Taking into account the discriminatory practices faced by Muslims in the Netherlands, and the feasibility that discriminatory encounters will also occur in leisure settings, this research has as its goal making a contribution to leisure studies, through:

- exploring whether Muslim women in the Netherlands have been subjected to any discriminatory incidents in outdoor leisure settings;
- exploring to what extent the perceived discrimination affects the leisure choices and enjoyment of the Muslim women;
- and examining the range of strategies these Muslim women employ to negotiate the oppression of discrimination encountered in outdoor leisure settings.

In order to achieve the goal of this research three research questions have been developed:

- Do Muslim women in the Netherlands face discriminatory actions during their outdoor leisure activities? If so, what form does this discrimination take?
- What is the effect of the discriminatory actions on their leisure choices and on the quality of their leisure experiences?
- What are the different strategies that help the Muslim women to negotiate the experienced discrimination in outdoor leisure settings?

Justifying the research

What is the contribution this research makes in scientific terms?

Outside the Netherlands, several leisure researchers have focused on the effects of perceived discrimination on leisure participation among members of ethnic and racial groups (West, 1989; Floyd et al., 1993; Blahna & Black, 1993; Livengood & Stodolska, 2004; Peleman, 2003). While these researchers often cite discrimination as a source of ethnic differences in leisure patterns, significant theoretical and empirical work in this area remains limited (Floyd, 1998). Floyd continues and argues that more work elaborating the types and range of discrimination and how they impact leisure choices and constraints should be pursued. Also Shaw and Henderson (2005) indicate that an area that might be fruitful for further study is how discrimination not only relates to participation, but how perceptions of discrimination might affect the quality of leisure experiences.

Thus far researches in the Netherlands mainly focused on the marginality and ethnicity factors that explain differences in leisure behaviour and use of public space among minority groups (Hooghiemstra, 1997; Jókövi, 2000; Aizlewood et al., 2006; Te Kloeze, 1998; Edelman, 1999; Han, 2000; Ahmad, 2004). Hardly any research in the field of leisure has taken perceived discrimination as a starting point (Peters, 2008). Hitherto, only Geldrop and van Heerwaarden (2003) and Komen (2004) researched the discriminatory door policy in pubs and discos in the Netherlands. These researches however, focused only on describing the affects of discrimination on the leisure participation and not on the ability of the minority group to negotiate or mediate the discrimination.

This study, written from an interpretative perspective, does take perceived discrimination as a starting point and explores whether Muslim women in the Netherlands experience any discriminatory actions while engaging in outdoor leisure and its impact on their leisure choices and quality of the leisure experience. Moreover, rather than solely describing (changed) leisure behaviour, this research also focuses on the ability of the Muslim women to negotiate the discrimination. In doing so, I shed a new light on the nature of discrimination in leisure settings and contribute to the need to elaborate on the affect of discrimination on leisure choices and on the quality of leisure experiences (Henderson, 1996; Byng, 1998; Floyd, 1998; Shaw & Henderson, 2005).

Structure of the thesis

In chapter two the theoretical framework is discussed with as its core elements discussions on the phenomenon leisure itself; the leisure of ethnic groups in the Netherlands; leisure and discrimination; the public discourse and public spaces and its effect on leisure behaviour and the quality of leisure experiences; leisure constraints theory and strategies to negotiate the discrimination. In chapter three I present the methodology. In chapter four I present the data obtained from the interviews. Consequently in chapter five I discuss the results by confronting these with the theoretical framework and come to a conclusion.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework

“People make leisure, but not under circumstances of their own choosing.”
(Marx, 1985, in Wearing, 1998, p.24)

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework that will be used as a basis for analyzing the research outcomes. It exists of various studies that will be brought forward in an attempt to contribute new empirical insights in leisure studies. The review begins by providing an overview of the leisure theory. Then the chapter shows that the leisure behaviour of different ethnic groups has widely received attention from scholars (see Washburne, 1978; Floyd et al., 1993; Aizlewood et al., 2006; Martin & Mason, 2003; Kay, 2005; Peters, 2008). In this field of study, constraints to leisure participation attracted a lot of attention (see Harrington, 1991; Jackson et al., 1993; Jackson & Henderson, 1995; Shaw, 1994; Wearing, 1992) and especially on ways in which women’s leisure is constrained. Perceived discrimination is seen as one of the constraining factors responsible for actual leisure participation and enjoyment (see West, 1989; Woodard, 1988; Blahna & Black, 1993; Floyd et al., 1993; Livengood & Stodolska, 2004; Feagin, 1991). However, through negotiation strategies people will find ways around constraints and continue to be active. Yet, hardly any research on discrimination encountered in leisure settings and negotiation strategies has been carried out in the Netherlands.

Leisure

Defining leisure is contested within the academic arena, and one overall definition has not been accepted or agreed upon. Leisure is a complex phenomenon and it means different things to different people. Although many people perceive leisure as a luxury and expendable, its significance is reflected in a statement in the 1975 United Nations commissioned report on leisure throughout the world. The report highlighted the growing importance of leisure and recreation in today’s world. It claimed that “People cannot grow on the basis of physical sustenance alone; they need a cultural identity, a sense of social fulfilment, a regeneration of body and spirit which comes from various forms of recreation and leisure and makes their role one of growing importance on the world’s agenda.” Even in difficult and oppressive situations, leisure plays a role in sustaining life (Thomson, 1986).

Numerous terms are used to describe the parts or whole of the phenomenon: for example, recreation, escapism, serious leisure, pastimes, idleness, celebrations, play, amusements, festivals, free time, sports, adventure recreation, and socials. All of these terms label the ways people relax, escape stressful situations, develop physical and mental skills, regenerate, connect with family and friends, and even sustain cultural traditions in an enjoyable fashion. Each of these concepts describes a necessary but not sufficient component of leisure.

Godbey (1999) argued that different perceptions of leisure have varied over time depending on the differences in societal organizations, concepts of, and contingency

upon freedom and space. He proposed four conceptualizations of leisure, namely leisure in terms of time, leisure as activities, leisure as state of existence and leisure as a state of mind. Leisure theorized in terms of time is seen as greater freedom to do what we want (Godbey, 1999). Leisure theorized as an activity is usually in terms of participation in leisure activities. Dumazedier (1960, in Godbey, 1999) argued that participation in leisure activities can be for rest, amusement, gaining knowledge, improving one's skills or volunteering after an individual is free of their obligations. Leisure theorized as a state of existence is an adjective to mean unhurried, tranquil, or without regard to time (Godbey, 1999). Finally, leisure theorized as a state of mind is the result of perceived freedom (Godbey, 1999). Perceived freedom may be demonstrated by an individual's ability to choose participation in productive leisure experiences (Kelly, 1996, in Janssen, 2004). In other words, individuals are free to choose and spend their leisure as they wish. Leisure can also be thought of in terms of Csikszentmihalyi's (1990) concept of flow. Flow is a state of total concentration in which the individual participates in an activity, such as a leisure activity, and ultimately forgets all their worries and thinks of nothing else (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). This state of existence creates gratification and self-consciousness completely disappears (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990).

What all these conceptualizations show is that leisure is a highly subjective phenomenon. Since one overall definition has not been accepted or agreed upon within the academic field and leisure is a subjective phenomenon, this study chose to let the participants decide what they perceive as leisure. For the purpose of this study the focus will be on leisure outdoors, including a range of leisure or sport activities undertaken in natural, rural and urban open space.

Leisure participation of ethnic groups

One of the main subjects in leisure research is the leisure behaviour of various groups of people related to their gender, age, social-economic position and level of education. Although much research has been done on leisure behaviour and the meaning of leisure for participants and non-participants, the leisure behaviour of different ethnic groups has only lately been researched (Stodolska, 2002). Limited leisure research on minorities (Philipp, 1995; Floyd, 1998), particularly on women of colour (Eyler et al., 1998; Henderson, 1996) and of Muslim women in Middle Eastern cultures exists (Arab-Moghaddam et al., 2007).

In her research on leisure in the multicultural society the Netherlands, Peters (2008) showed that there are a few studies in the Netherlands that have been carried out into the leisure patterns of different ethnic groups. For example, one study researched the leisure behaviour of Turks, Moroccans and Surinamese and the effects of the ethnic culture on their leisure patterns. Another study showed that Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans engage in different leisure activities during their free time than native Dutch. Besides, there has been found that Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans participate more in leisure activities nearer to their homes and visit less often nature areas and entertainment parks than native Dutch people. These groups go to urban parks for picnics more often and spend more of their leisure time with their families (Peters, 2008). Chinese people in the Netherlands also find family based leisure activities such as visiting friends the most important of all leisure

activities. Similarly, for Pakistani people who live in the Netherlands family is also the primary source of leisure (ibid.). These abovementioned studies, brought forward by Peters (2008) show that there are differences between the leisure patterns of ethnic groups and native Dutch. The question remains however, what can explain these differences in leisure participation?

Three theoretical explanations have historically been used to account for ethnic variation in leisure studies: the marginality hypothesis, ethnicity or sub cultural hypothesis, and perceived discrimination. Much of the literature developed around the marginality and ethnicity hypotheses. The marginality hypothesis states that the under-representation of some ethnic groups in certain leisure forms result primarily from limited economic resources, which in turn are a function of historical patterns of discrimination. Stated differently, by occupying a subordinate class position, minorities have had limited access to society's major institutions which negatively affects life chances and lifestyles, which is reflected in reduced participation in certain forms of leisure (Washburne, 1978). The ethnicity thesis, in contrast to the marginality theory, does not acknowledge the effects of resource constraints on leisure participation patterns. It argues instead that differences in recreational participation and constraints among ethnic groups can be explained by the existence of a distinct set of sub cultural leisure norms and values and group characteristics such as religion or language (Washburne, 1978). In this view, recreational participation among ethnic groups is the result of specific group interests and is created and directed to meet these needs (ibid.).

In the Netherlands, Jókövi (2000, 2001) discusses the marginality and ethnicity thesis in her study on leisure participation of immigrants. Jókövi concludes that socio-economic factors such as income, age and education have more influence on the leisure participation of immigrants than the ethnic-cultural background. Another study on immigrants in the Netherlands also demonstrates that socio-economic and demographic characteristics are generally much stronger predictors of participation than characteristics associated with cultural processes (Aizlewood et al., 2006). However, most data support the ethnicity perspective which suggests that, regardless of socio-economic position, cultural processes are more important in explaining variations between blacks and whites in leisure participation patterns (Floyd et al., 1993). This thesis is thought to be the most reasonable explanation for differences among ethnic groups in leisure participation patterns (Allison, 1988, in Gailliard, 1998). Even though no direct evidence is provided, Stamps and Stamps (1985, in Gailliard, 1998) conclude that ethnic subcultural patterns are more dominant than social class in determining leisure participation patterns.

Leisure and discrimination

The third and least explored perspective in leisure literature is perceived discrimination. According to Giddens et al. (2009) is perceived discrimination the prejudicial treatment of an individual based on their membership in a certain group or category and involves it excluding or restricting members of one group from opportunities that are available to other groups. Discrimination was also defined by the United Nations (2001) as "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the

recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.” In fact, both sources state that discriminatory behaviour takes many forms, but that they all involve some form of exclusion, rejection or preference. In this study, I will examine if the personal definitions of discrimination of the Muslim women are comparable to these abovementioned definitions.

Since the late 1980s, issues related to the influence of ethnic discrimination on leisure participation and enjoyment has been the subject of a number of empirical investigations. West (1989) observed that African Americans were less frequent users of regional parks partly because of perceptions of prejudice and discrimination. Woodard (1988) examined that African Americans were more constrained in their leisure by fear of discrimination and racial prejudice, and that led them to choose domestic type pursuits. While Woodward focused on metropolitan outings, informal domestic activities, and nightlife activities, his findings highlighted the importance of discrimination as a constraint to leisure participation. Focus group data reported by Blahna and Black (1993) revealed four specific forms of on-site discrimination in outdoor recreation experienced by Hispanic and African American college students in Chicago area parks and forest preserves. Students’ responses most closely associated with on-site experience were discrimination from other recreationists, from managers or staff, differential upkeep and maintenance of park facilities, and fear of possible discrimination and racism. Floyd and colleagues (1993) reported that perceived discrimination among Mexican American tends to be negatively correlated with use of some public recreation facilities in the Southwest U.S. Gobster’s (2002) study of participation at Lincoln Park in Chicago found that discrimination was a problem for some park users. One in seven African Americans reported discrimination and responded to in a range of ways: feelings of discomfort, reduced enjoyment, and anger as well as altered participation (i.e., displacement, non-use). In addition, Peleman (2003) showed in her research that Moroccan women in Belgium can become so demoralized by the continuous racist remarks that they refrain from the most basic outdoor activities. More recently, Livengood and Stodolska (2004) observed that discrimination has affected the leisure of Muslim immigrant’s directly through experiences in leisure-related settings and while engaging in leisure activities, by restricting the range of available leisure options and co-participants, by affecting their willingness to participate in leisure activities, and by restricting their freedom of movement, travelling, timing and location of activities. Feagin (1991) argues that the probability of discrimination increases as one moves from the most private settings, such as with friends at home, to the most public settings, such as on the street. On public streets one has the greatest public exposure to strangers and the least protection against overt discriminatory behaviour, including violence. A key feature of these more public settings is that they often involve contacts with white strangers who react primarily on the basis of one ascribed characteristic. This is the reason why there has been chosen to study discriminatory incidents towards Muslim women outside the house. The range of discrimination can be expressed as avoidance (by the out group), exclusion, physical threats, and blatant attacks (Feagin, 1991).

It becomes clear that a substantial body of research in leisure studies indicates that minorities in the United States experience a significant degree of discrimination while participating in outdoor leisure activities (West, 1989; Woodard, 1988; Blahna & Black, 1993; Floyd et al., 1993; Gobster, 2002; Peleman, 2003; Livengood & Stodolska, 2004). They conclude that discrimination, blatant or subtle, actual or perceived, is one of the main factors that influence leisure participation among ethnic minorities, affect the quality of leisure experiences, and force people to isolate themselves during their leisure engagements (Blahna & Black, 1993; Gobster, 2002; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998; Floyd, 1998; Stodolska & Walker, 2007). Considering that discrimination is one of the main factors that influence leisure participation among ethnic minorities in the United States, and that Muslim in the Netherlands experience discrimination in several life domains, I hypothesize that discriminatory encounters influence the leisure behaviour of Muslim women in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, research also suggests that not all individuals are equally likely to perceive discrimination or even believe that it exists, including when they are a member of a group more likely to be its target (Ellmers & Barretto, 2008). Besides, a number of researchers have shown that believing that one is the target of discrimination can be associated with stress and other negative outcomes (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Deitch et al., 2003).

Although leisure studies indicated that minorities in the US experience discrimination while engaging in outdoor leisure activities, Livengood and Stodolska (2004) argue that discrimination encountered in leisure settings by particularly Muslim people, appears to have been completely overlooked in the literature. Given the fact that treatment received during leisure engagements significantly contributes to a person's quality of life and has an effect on the adjustment of ethnic groups in the new country, it is unfortunate that there is a lack of research about discrimination encountered by Muslims (Ruble & Shaw, 1991; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998). Besides, abovementioned studies have emerged largely from American scholars; hardly any research has been conducted in the Netherlands that has taken perceived discrimination as a starting point. Only Komen (2004) and Geldrop and van Heerwaarden (2003) have researched that some younger members of ethnic groups find themselves in a position in which they cannot enter all the clubs and discos they wish to enter due to discrimination, but they did not focus particularly on Muslim people.

Public discourse and public spaces

Merely reporting on experiences with discrimination in leisure and its effect on participation is irrelevant unless broader issues of underlying power structures are examined (Floyd, 1998). An example of an underlying power structure is the use of labels and names (Fog, 2004), which can be a factor responsible for ethnic minorities' actual participation in leisure activities (West, 1989). Labels are one way to communicate a concept for cognitive and/or emotional identification or nonidentification with a real or imagined community of people (Fog, 2004). It was after the Iranian revolution, the Rushdie affair, and the fall of the Berlin Wall that the labels of 'we' versus 'they' were frequently used by Dutch politicians, commentators, and opinion leaders in association with Islam and Muslim communities throughout the Netherlands (Shadid, 2005). The Dutch politicians and opinion leaders portrayed immigrants as a

threat to security, social cohesion and the welfare system. Besides, politicians claimed that immigrants refuse to integrate and that governments have lost control (Vasta, 2007). As a consequence the Netherlands introduced, since 1998, a number of compulsory programmes for immigrant newcomers in an attempt to ensure newcomers integrate into Dutch society and culture to a much greater degree than in the past (Vasta, 2007). Scheffer (2000, in Entzinger, 2003) suggested that the remedy to the problem was to include 'more obligatory policy efforts to overcome deprivation as well as demanding from the immigrants to adapt to the principles of liberal democracy . . .' (p.78-79). Scheffer and other critics of immigrant integration argued that the Dutch have been benevolent in providing funding and resources to help immigrants integrate while immigrants have not taken the responsibility to integrate. With the consequence that in the public discourse there is a widespread tendency to blame the immigrants (Vasta, 2007) and by representing immigrants, especially Islamic immigrants, as problems and enemies of the nation they delegate the dominant discourse on Islam in the Netherlands (Ghorashi, 2003, in Vasta, 2007).

Research concludes that the media play its part in reproducing directly and indirectly negative stereotypes of ethnic minorities and even play its part in the discrimination in the society (Shadid, 2005; Vasta, 2007). A report of the international journalism association (White & Hayes, 2005, p.9) indicates that the Western media can even feed the fear for the Islam:

"The impact of negative media coverage of Arab and Muslim communities has contributed to much of the fear and uncertainty within the general population."

Thus scholars argue that the media is a powerful instrument for transferring information and these scholars do not doubt about their role in arising and reproducing stereotypes of social groups (Vasta, 2007). Recent publications demonstrate that the news coverage of Western media of issues dealing with ethnic minorities, and especially with Muslims, is far from ideal (Shadid, 2005). Some shortcomings are, among others: the generalizing statements propagated in the news; the simplification of their cultures and, as mentioned before, the division of society in two distinct, 'we' and 'they' groups. Furthermore, the media portray Muslims and their religion as backward, irrational and fanatical in contrast to their own (religious) groups which are characterized as modern, rational and tolerant (Shadid, 2005). Especially immigrant women and Muslim women are often represented as victim and being oppressed in the Western media and in the 'political discourse' (Prins, 2002; Ghorashi, 2003; Van Nieuwkerk, 2004). With attributing these women as victims, the agency and voice of these women has completely removed. For example, the decision of wearing a hijab (headscarf) or niqab (burqa) is not accounted by the women, instead it is stated that they are forced to do so by their husband, family or religion (Schinkel, 2007). In this study I will examine if these stereotypical and dominant discourse on Muslims can be seen back in the responses of the Muslim women to discriminatory encounters.

Moreover, power structures and unwritten rules also exist in public spaces and can consequently exclude ethnic minorities from these spaces (Philipp, 1999). Public

space is variously defined as an area which is in public ownership and is accessible to all people; all things beyond the 'privacy' of the home; spaces not controlled by private interests; and social space in which human beings interact with other members of society outside their family life (Whitten & Thompson, 2005). Yet because public spaces can be used by everyone, they are frequently considered contested spaces; places where opposition, confrontation, resistance and subversion can be played out over 'the right to space' (Mitchell, 1995, 2003). These contestations may involve people from a range of social groups based on gender, age, ethnicity, sexuality, (dis)ability, social class and so on (Valentine, 1996; Malone, 2002). They may centre on the different meanings attached to different spaces, or draw on deeper struggles about social representations, or collective 'myths', about spaces (Cresswell, 1996). Thus, public spaces are imbued with power relations: particular social groups can be encouraged, tolerated, regulated, and sometimes excluded from public space depending on the degree to which they might be deemed 'in' or 'out of place' (Holland et al., 2007). Holland and colleagues (2007) continue and argue that for example drinking, skateboarding or 'hanging out' in public may be constructed as inappropriate because of particular social representations about what sorts of groups, and activities, should be seen out in public. We simply follow these social codes of conduct in order to avoid colliding with other people (Peters et al., 2010). These codes of conduct, however, can also be established to exclude or include certain groups. Research on natural open spaces shows that cultural disposition and behavioural codes are key factors that discourage minority ethnic communities from using those spaces (Morris, 2003). This study will examine if the Muslim women avoid certain public leisure spaces and examine the reason(s) for avoidance.

Leisure constraints and constraints negotiation

Since both empirical examinations of the marginality and ethnicity thesis have been criticized (Philipp, 1995; Floyd, 1998), other new trends began to emerge in the literature on the leisure of ethnic minorities during the late 1980s and early 1990s. As the emphasis has shifted towards a more holistic view of the phenomena, research on leisure constraints has been gaining importance (Stodolska & Jackson, 1998). Like the marginality and ethnicity theory, leisure constraints research also aims to understand factors that influence leisure participation, but focuses more on the 'problematic' aspects of initiating leisure participation (Hinch & Jackson, 2000). Leisure constraints have been defined by Jackson (2000) as "factors that are assumed by researchers and perceived or experienced by individuals to limit the formation of leisure preferences and to inhibit or prohibit participation and enjoyment in leisure" (p.62).

Constraints on leisure have been one of the major concerns of a number of leisure studies (Harrington, 1991; Jackson et al., 1993; Jackson & Henderson, 1995; Shaw, 1994; Wearing, 1992). Perhaps one of the reasons leisure constraints attracted so much attention is because they potentially exert an overwhelming impact on leisure experiences (Shinew et al., 2004). As Tsai and Coleman (1999) noted, "Throughout the process of leisure engagement, people are exposed to various constraints which can affect their leisure preferences, inhibit their desire to undertake new activities, reduce their enjoyment in leisure, and limit their full involvement in leisure" (p.243).

In the leisure literature, a considerable amount of both theoretical and empirical research has focused on ways in which especially women's leisure is constrained. Goodale and Witt (1989, in Koca et al., 2009) suggested that virtually all studies of women and leisure have been studies about barriers. An extreme argument is perhaps the one that suggests that women lives are so oppressed that it is impossible for them to experience any leisure at all. Thus leisure may be a meaningless concept for women (Bella, 1989). Nonetheless, most of the researches on leisure constraints for women do not argue that women have no leisure, but that they have less leisure, or face more intense constraints than men because of their lack of time and their extra responsibilities, which influence their time (Jackson & Henderson, 1995; Shaw, 1994; Alexandris & Carroll, 1997). Early research examining barriers or constraints to leisure identified a wide variety of constraints that women face. Whyte and Shaw (1994) for example, showed in their research that, as a result of fear of violence, female students altering their participation patterns in solitary activities by reducing night participation, participating with other people, and modifying where they participated. These three modifications in participation resulted in a lower level of enjoyment during recreation and leisure activities. Henderson and Allen (1991) illustrated that, because of the ethic of care, women often provide for the needs of others first, thus neglecting their own leisure needs. Yücesoy (2006, in Peters, 2010) argued that Muslim women face multiple constraints, such as limited time, limited social interaction due to prioritizing the needs of other family members (e.g., children, husbands) and limited opportunities (e.g., avoidance of certain leisure areas because they fear for their children's safety). Overall, abovementioned studies show that there is a variety of factors that tend to prevent or change the experience of women's opportunities for leisure experiences.

At the beginning of 1990s the foundations of the concept leisure constraints have been criticized for, particularly relevant to women, its over-emphasis on constraint as an obstacle (Livengood & Stodolska, 2004). The alternative perspective viewed constraints as negotiable, i.e., as factors that shape the realization of leisure goals and benefits but do not necessarily preclude it (Jackson & Scott, 1999). Jackson (2000) referred to this alternative perspective as "constraints negotiation" indicating that people will find ways around constraints if they are motivated and perceive that the benefits of the activity are important. Livengood and Stodolska (2004) explain that in recent years the topic of constraints negotiation attracted more attention than the concept of constraints. As Little (2002) clarifies "this phase of research development led to a progression away from viewing constraints as absolute barriers, toward a conceptualization recognizing a range of negotiation strategies and a range of interactions with constraints" (p.158).

Since it was realized that constraints not need to lead to nonparticipation an increasing number of research studies have explored how people adopt strategies to negotiate existing constraints and continue to be active. For instance, Scott (1991) found that bridge players acquired information about opportunities, managed time and schedules and developed new skills. Kay and Jackson (1991) discovered that when faced with financial constraints, respondents saved money and identified less expensive opportunities. When faced with time constraints, people reduced time spent on household chores and reduced work time. Kay and Jackson (1991) showed that people

often participate in leisure activities despite constraints. Jackson (1993) synthesized existing research and presented a series of propositions that outlined the constraints negotiation process. Their first and most central proposition stated that “participation is dependent not on the absence of constraints . . . but on negotiation through them” (p.4). They proposed behavioural strategies to negotiate constraints such as time management, skill acquisition, and improving finances as well as cognitive strategies such as ignoring the problem or changing one's outlook. In their research on lesbians over the age of sixty, Jacobson and Samdahl (1998) found that some of the lesbian women accommodated to the situation of being discriminated by hiding their sexual identity in public, while other women negotiated a place for themselves in their social world by self-lodging or negotiating an understanding in which their identity had been accepted and affirmed by others. These women established networks of supportive friends in the community, where their sexual orientation was no longer problematic. Peleman (2003) made clear in her research that Moroccan women in Belgium seek spaces in which to spend their leisure time that are not controlled by men. The creation of temporary ethnic spaces is used to broaden the opportunities for these Muslim women to spend their leisure time. The main reasons to seek out these spaces are to escape from restrictions and to be able to be oneself and not to be questioned about wearing a veil or about other cultural and religious signs (Peleman, 2003). Also Bruin (2006, in Peters, 2008) indicated that immigrants used more spaces of their own in order to be in control. They organize ethnic parties, soccer events and other activities and decide on the rules for them such as no drinking alcohol, no mixing of genders and starting early so that the women can return home at a respectable time. The respondents in the study of Sharaievska et al. (2010) indicated that they responded to discrimination by visiting the locations with a group of people or by notifying the police, whereas focus groups participants suggested withdrawal was the most often employed tactic. The American Muslim women in the study of Livengood and Stodolska (2004) also devised a number of negotiation strategies to cope with their fears, anxieties and discrimination. The majority of constraints negotiation techniques employed by their respondents was short term, activity specific, and defensive in nature. Their responses to discrimination acts ranged from withdrawal, turning to faith, avoidance, and resigned acceptance, to mild verbal protest. Others tried to prevent acts of discrimination by being extremely polite, using icebreakers and even educating mainstream population about their culture or religion (Livengood & Stodolska, 2004). Feagin (1991) illustrated that some people in his study choose to respond to discrimination with a polite suggestion, sarcastic remark, or sometimes even aggressive verbal retort. Little (2002) showed that women participating in adventure recreation also managed to negotiate the broad pool of constraints. The key techniques for negotiating participation were prioritizing their adventure recreation activity to allow for unchanged participation, compromising by altering the intensity of the pursuit, substituting an alternative outdoor adventure activity, or anticipating on the chances. In their studies of Native Americans' leisure, Flood and McAvoy (2007, in Sharaievska et al., 2010) and McDonald and McAvoy (1997, in Sharaievska et al., 2010), showed that avoidance of contact with non-Native Americans, and changing the time and place of the visit were among the most popular tactics employed by members of this minority group. The respondents

chose to visit remote areas for picnics, fishing, camping, berry-picking and other traditional leisure activities. Moreover, Koca et al. (2009) illustrated that Turkish women used different negotiation strategies to overcome the constraints they experienced in their physical leisure activities. For lower class women who were coming from traditional families, the most salient negotiation strategies were ignoring negative comments, trying to persuade their families about the benefits of their leisure time physical activity, organizing their time efficiently, and participating in physical activities in the Ladies Locals, which were more affordable places. For middle class working women who were living in modern families, finding time at work and organizing their lives efficiently were the most often used negotiation strategies. Koca et al. (2009) indicated that although the negotiation strategies differed somewhat, the Turkish women were determined to work through constraints to continue their physical activities. Their determination seemed to be based on the benefits they derived from the physical activities. They talked about how physical activity helped to maintain their physical and psychological health and enabled them to take a step back from their busy and stressful lives. On her research about experiences with discrimination in the daily life of African-American Muslim women, Byng (1998) defines this determination to mediate or resist constraints as resistance par excellence. In deciding that discrimination does not affect them, they are deciding that they will not be oppressed by these encounters. This viewpoint could also be applied to the aforementioned studies; in deciding that constraints do not have an affect, one will not be oppressed by the constraints. According to McQuarrie and Jackson (1996) are constraints on leisure ongoing and negotiation exists at all stages of a leisure career, but what all of these aforementioned mentioned authors have shown, in Samdahl and Jekubovich's (1993, in Jackson & Rucks, 1995) words, is that "people are often creative and successful at finding ways to negotiate those constraints."

Conclusion

Research shows that people with different ethnic backgrounds have different leisure patterns. In order to explain differences in the leisure behaviour of different ethnic groups the marginality and ethnicity hypothesis can be adopted. Coming back to the quote of Marx at the beginning of this chapter "People make leisure, but not under circumstances of their own choosing", this theoretical framework has shown that forms of exclusion or rejection, such as ethnic spaces and the dominant discourse on Islam and particularly on Muslim women, can be responsible for people's willingness to engage in leisure pursuits and their participation in leisure. Another form of exclusion, discrimination, the third and least explored perspective in the leisure literature, seemed to be one of the main factors that influence leisure participation among ethnic minorities and affect the quality of leisure experiences. However, a large amount of these studies have been conducted in the United States and the United Kingdom and hardly any research on this has been conducted in the Netherlands. Therefore this study takes discrimination as a starting point and explores whether Muslim women in the Netherlands experience any discriminatory actions while engaging in outdoor leisure and its impact on their leisure choices and quality of the leisure experience. Moreover, several leisure scholars argued that constraints do not need to lead to non participation

and that people will find ways around constraints and continue to be active. Hence, this research also focuses on the ability of the Muslim women to negotiate the discrimination in their outdoor leisure. Taking perceived discrimination within outdoor leisure settings as a starting point, this research can help to support and extend existing knowledge of issues of discrimination, particularly as it applies to leisure settings.

Chapter 3 Methodology

Introduction

According to Hemingway (1999) and Jennings (2001) the methodology is the overall approach to research, and the guiding principle by which data can be gathered and analysed. I will describe in this chapter the chosen research strategy, the methods, the participants, the limitations of the research, and reflect on my role as a researcher.

The historian of science Kuhn (1970) gave paradigm its contemporary meaning when he adopted the word to refer to the set of practices that define a scientific discipline at any particular period of time. Scientific paradigms define the rules and boundaries of what is acceptable knowledge production and research (Tribe, 2006). As Hemingway (1999) states: "A paradigm is at best imprecise, but can be understood as indicating a model of propositions and beliefs, explicit and implicit, held by a community of researchers about the conduct of their work, the structure of what they study, the nature of their findings, how these findings are to be fitted together, and the social meaning(s) of the resulting statements" (p.487).

To explore whether Muslim women have been subjected to any discriminatory incidents while engaging in outdoor leisure, to what extent these experiences affect their leisure choices and enjoyment, and examine the strategies they employ to negotiate the oppression of discrimination, a constructivist approach will be adopted. The interpretive or constructivist paradigm derived from postmodernism (Hemingway, 1999) and within this paradigm emphasis is being placed on the particular, instead of on the universal and based on the notion that social reality is created and sustained through the subjective experience of people involved in communication (Hemingway, 1999). Interpretive researchers look for the complex and varied meanings given to phenomena and experiences by individuals. In this sense the research relies to a large degree on the views and perspectives on a given situation or phenomenon of those being studied (Creswell, 2003). Furthermore, constructivism produces knowledge based on the experience between the knower and the known (Hemmingway, 1999). In other words, the dynamic between participant and the research are linked in the participants' experiences. Since my own positionality as an active actor in the process of doing research is emphasised as something to be aware of (Ateljevic et al., 2005) and to be critical about, I will reflect on my role as a researcher in the final section of this chapter.

Research strategy

In the following section I will describe the research strategy; I will elaborate on the collection of data, the selection and the profile of participants and the ways in which the data will be analysed.

Data collection

To gain more understanding of discrimination encountered by Muslim women in outdoor leisure settings I used as data collection technique semi-structured interviews. All the interviews were individual interviews - conducted between the interviewer and

the participant - and were face-to-face interactions (Jennings, 2001). Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to delve into each research question and participants were able to comment candidly providing rich data. According to Jennings (2001), semi-structured interviews are conversational, but the interviewer has a list of issues that focus the interaction between him or her self and the interviewee. Additionally, semi-structured interviews are “fluid in nature and follow the thinking process of the interviewee” (Jennings, 2001). The use of semi-structured interviews for this thesis served the purpose of gaining the opinions, attitudes and perceptions of reality of Muslim women while at the same time enabling respondents to feel comfortable elaborating their responses. The list of issues discussed was as follows:

- leisure patterns: definition of leisure; leisure perceptions, patterns, and motivations;
- encounters with discriminatory actions in outdoor leisure: definition of discrimination, experiences with discrimination, forms of discrimination;
- the effect of the perceived discrimination on leisure choices and enjoyment;
- responses to discrimination: strategies to negotiate discrimination.

The topic list is “merely used as a guide. The ‘real’ guide to the issues or themes is vested in the interviewees and they end up leading the interview by order of their thoughts and reflections on the topic” (Jennings 2001, p.164). With this topic list (see Appendix 1) I could always ask more about certain issues.

Participants

Due to the summer holiday, the Ramadan, ‘personal circumstances’ of the women and their busy agenda’s it was a kind of challenge to find Muslim women willing to participate in this study. Although problematic sometimes I did find sixteen women who were willing to participate and share their stories.

There are several websites that serve as a place to share information about the Islam and a virtual meeting place for those interested in the Islam. I subscribed to four of these websites, and started to post messages explaining my research and asking if women were willing to participate. As there were no responses to these messages, I decided to take a more pro-active approach. I gathered email addresses visible at websites of several social welfare organizations in Utrecht, and I sent them an email with the question if people were willing to participate in my research or if they want to help me to get in contact with Muslim women residing in Utrecht. Some organizations did not respond to my message and some responded that they found the topic very interesting, but were not willing to cooperate since they receive many requests from students. The first Muslim woman that responded to my message was a woman from a foundation that is committed to the participation of multi-problem families, women, youth and children in Utrecht. After our interview this woman sent me an email with some phone numbers and emails of friends and family of her. Recruiting the other research participants was done through the technique known as snowball sampling; existing research participants recruit future participants from among their acquaintances (Salganik & Heckathorn, 2004). Since it was very difficult to get into contact with Muslim women (e.g. on the street, in the park or in the shopping centre), I chose to apply this sampling technique. Applying this technique I gathered many email addresses and phone numbers of Muslim women residing in Utrecht. Some women

were very surprised when I called and asked if they were willing to participate in the research and said immediately 'no' to involvement. For that reason, I chose to merely send emails to the women so they could take their time reading the purpose of the research and what they could expect. Eventually, out of the thirty emails I found sixteen Muslim women willing to participate in this study.

Profile

In total sixteen Muslim women are involved in the research (see table 3.1). By respecting the anonymity and privacy of research participants' pseudonyms are used in this research. The pseudonyms are chosen in such a way that respondents are able to recognize themselves, while the reader is not able to identify them.

Table 3.1 Profile of the respondents

Pseudonym and age	Country of origin	In the Netherlands	Marital status	Children	Work status	Wearing veil outside the house
Adela (43)	Morocco	19 years	married	3	part-time	never
Aida (28)	Netherlands	28 years	married	2	part-time	always
Abia (35)	Morocco	16 years	married	2	part-time	always
Alya (37)	France	20 years	married	5	full-time	always
Anan (54)	Morocco	28 years	married	4	part-time	always
Dalia (38)	Morocco	25 years	married	3	part-time	always
Fiddah (43)	Netherlands	43 years	divorced	2	full-time	never
Hadil (30)	Morocco	20 years	married	2	part-time	always
Inas (26)	Netherlands	26 years	single	0	part-time	never
Izz (49)	Turkey	20 years	married	2	full-time	never
Kalila (26)	Netherlands	26 years	single	0	student	always
Mouna (45)	Morocco	37 years	divorced	4	full-time	always
Maya (44)	Morocco	24 years	married	2	full-time	always
Rima (38)	Morocco	35 years	married	4	full-time	never
Siham (32)	Morocco	27 years	single	0	unemployed	always
Zahira (28)	Netherlands	28 years	married	0	part-time	always

Almost every respondent had mastered the Dutch language. Every participant of this study resides in Utrecht. For this research there has been chosen for the city Utrecht because Utrecht is the fourth largest city in the Netherlands and the third province when it comes to the population of Muslim (Forum, 2010).

Interview setting

Data collection in the form of semi-structured interviews took place between 4 August 2010 and 3 November 2010. Respondents were contacted in person, by email to schedule the interview sessions. The researcher allowed the participants to choose whether they wanted to be interviewed in their home, in a café or preferred to meet at their work. Six interviews took place in the homes of the participants and the remaining ten interviews took place at their (voluntary) working place.

The length of the interviews ranged from twenty-five minutes up to seventy minutes. Longer interviewees were mainly due to making light conversations. The

interviewees seemed to be more at ease after light conversation had been made. Before delving into the interview questions, I began the interviews by providing an overall aim and description of the study.

Respondents were asked for their permission to record the interview for transcribing purposes and all of them agreed. I choose for voice-recording since recorder interviews can be listened back, and I did not have to rely on my memory or hand written interview notes. In addition, recording an interview gives the opportunity to have a more relaxed and natural way of interviewing as you do not have to write constantly during the interview and are able to just have a casual conversation and look each other in the eyes, an essential element in communication (Veal, 1997).

Although most of the interviews went alright, there were some challenges in this study. First of all, I had the feeling that some respondents were a bit shy and reserved and did not totally open up and share their struggles or experiences. A reason for this reserved attitude could be the sensitivity of the subject. Another reason could be the cultural differences between the researcher and the interviewees. For example, some interviews took place during the Ramadan period and I was not aware of some rules such as taking shoes off and not accepting any food or water, even if the women offer it to you. Later on, an interviewee informed me about these rules and if I would not apply these rules the Muslim women will not open up and share their stories. Furthermore, some respondents were from time to time distracted or they had to interrupt the interview to focus on their child. This was totally understandable of course, but this deterred conversation at times. Also, some respondents seemed to be in a hurry to finish the interview, since they had to go back to work or pick up the children from school. This made me feel that the interview was an inconvenience for the women. Another challenge during the interview process that emerged included focusing the respondents on the study subject and also probing them to elaborate their responses. Due to the rather social nature of the interview setting, I had trouble keeping some respondents on the topic. In a couple of instances the respondent used the interview as a forum to talk about all kinds of things related to discrimination instead of relating their experiences to outdoor leisure. Most of the time I allowed them to share whatever they felt was relevant to the subject. However, it was a real challenge as a beginner researcher to try to steer these respondents back on course. Finally, I found that probing was necessary when conducting the interviews. Many of the respondents had never been asked to reflect specifically on their leisure behaviour. I found it difficult and a challenge to provide examples in these situations without being leading. As a result, I learned a great deal as the researcher throughout the process of interviewing.

Data analysis

I first outlined a detailed report of each interview from the recorded transcriptions. The process of listening to the recorded interviews allowed me to transcribe direct quotations from the interviewees. In qualitative data analysis coding is the starting activity and provides a foundation to discover regularities in the data (Punch, 2005). Although within the literature an accepted definition of coding is not very clear, essentially it is “the specific and concrete activity which starts the analysis” (Punch, 2005). Coding can be done by placing tags, names or labels against the pieces of data.

These markers allow not only for retrieval of data but also allow for summarizing data by pulling together themes and patterns (Punch, 2005). I did use this traditional method of circling and underlining on the interview reports. In order to find themes or patterns I moved the circled or underlined text into a new file. Then I inserted phrases from the responses into categories and identified patterns. The patterns and themes were then documented and summarized with the result chapter of this thesis (chapter four). I also continuously read over the interview reports during the data analysis and tagged insightful quotations to later be incorporated into the results chapter.

Limitations of the study

As in any other research I also came across some difficulties limiting the research. Firstly, other constraints to leisure choices such as marginality and ethnicity constraints were not asked about in this research. Research shows there are several marginal and ethnic leisure constraints that can have an effect on leisure participation patterns of some ethnic groups such as income, age, education, employment, ethnic-cultural background or religion (Washburne, 1978; Floyd et al., 1993; Aizlewood et al., 2006). I chose not to ask respondents about their other leisure constraints, because I expected their responses would have gone beyond the scope of the research topic, thus, complicating the focus. In other words, the objective of this research was to investigate exclusively the affect of discriminatory actions on the leisure choices and enjoyment of Muslim women. Therefore, I did not want to confuse respondents by asking them about other constraints they face in their outdoor leisure choices. However, suspending from doing so presents a limitation to this study as I can not say anything about the relative importance or strength of discrimination as a constraint to their leisure participation because other leisure constraints should then be considered too.

Another limitation of this study is the size and representativeness of the sample. The sixteen respondents do not warrant adequate representation of the extensive Muslim community in Utrecht. First of all, through the snowball sampling technique this study includes only high educated, working, and sufficiently Dutch speaking Muslim women while there is also a large group of vulnerable Muslim women which are low educated, unemployed, and not proficient in Dutch (Gijsberts & Merens, 2004). Since it was not easy to find Muslim women who were available and willing to spare the time to be interviewed, there was no option to be critical about whom to include and exclude from the study. Since field work was conducted during summer time whereby many women were on holiday, the Ramadan right after and due to time constraints I had to give up the search for more participants at a certain moment. Second, this study mainly researched Muslim women with a Moroccan background, while of all the Muslims in the Netherlands the largest group is of Turkish origin. Third, one can be critical about the women who are included in this research. I can imagine that people with a strong opinion about the subject or more negative attitude are responding earlier to my request than people who do not care about the subject of this research. Nevertheless, at this moment I do not consider these points as a severe limitation as the Muslim women in this study also led to valuable insights and new knowledge on discrimination in outdoor leisure settings. Given the diversity of the Muslim community as a whole and in order to gain even a fuller and insightful understanding into the topic under

investigation, it would be recommended for future research to include Muslim women with different social classes' and origins. Another limitation of this research is that the data obtained is in Dutch. The reason for this is that the interviewees felt more comfortable with speaking Dutch. Therefore, I had to translate the relevant parts of the transcribed interviews that I use in the result chapter. Some information or emphasis will possibly be lost during this process as a translation can never express the same overtones as the original sentence. Besides, one can always wonder about the data obtained during interviews, as there is always a chance that people do not tell you the whole story or tell a more positive or negative story.

Reflexivity

As already mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, an important issue within research is being reflexive on one's own role as a researcher. Though, I have to admit the concept of reflexivity is far from easy with limited research experience. To give some insight in my personal entanglement I will reflect upon some experiences during my research with Muslim women.

So, here I am a white, native Dutch, non Muslim, middle class woman, studying at a university. How does this small characterisation of me influence my work? Well, the fact that I am white native Dutch woman has -sometimes- been an issue during this research. As some participants of this study were not white and not native Dutch I experienced some kind of distance. With some participants I experienced they had some problems talking openly about the subject, by giving very short answers for example. I also had the feeling that they were very conscious of what they were saying and that they came across as strong women. It seemed to me that they wanted to illustrate that they are defensible towards discriminatory actions and that we -the discriminating population- can not keep them down. The reason for their detached attitude could be because I am an outsider or because I am part of the population who discriminates. In order to make them feel comfortable I started with light conversations and made clear to them what the goals of the research were. This was to let them know that I held an open attitude towards them and the topic. Sometimes this helped. Still, the question remains in this qualitative study, did the women truly express what they experienced and how they truly felt?

For many participants the topic of the research was the reason to participate in the study. They mentioned that they had a platform to talk about the subject discrimination, and the possibility that through this research more understanding for discrimination within outdoor leisure settings could be reached. However, my ability to do something back to my respondents apart from showing my appreciation bothers me. Giving minority groups a voice is one thing but I find myself powerless to give them a proper follow up in this subject.

Chapter 4 Results

The objective of this chapter is to provide a description of the discrimination experienced by Muslim women and the extent to which it effects their leisure choices and enjoyment. Second, this chapter will focus on their responses to discrimination and on the strategies that they employed to negotiate the discrimination in their outdoor leisure.

Leisure practices

The following overview of respondent's leisure perceptions, practices, and motivations is to provide a starting point into the ways leisure is perceived by the Muslim women.

Leisure was generally defined among respondents as free-time from obligations. This definition of leisure corresponds with Godbey's (1999) conceptualization of leisure in terms of time discussed in chapter two. Kalila, for example, a student in her twenties, defined leisure as:

“Just everything that is not necessary . . . The fact that you are studying or working is because you have to sustain yourself and you have certain obligations. But you practice leisure just because you want to.”

Similarly is Mouna, who has four children and a full-time job, she defined her leisure time as “no responsibility and do what I want to do”. Another common perception of leisure among respondents was Godbey's (1999) conceptualizations of leisure in terms of activities. Respondents defined their leisure as participation in activities such as going to the cinema, the swimming pool with children or friends, walking, sitting in a park, following lectures in the mosque, etcetera. Leisure was also defined by participants in terms of Godbey's (1999) conceptualization of leisure as a state of existence or mind. Siham for example, a single and unemployed woman, defined her leisure as when “you are just busy with yourselves”.

Leisure activities such as walking, sitting or picnicking in the park, going to the cinema/swimming pool, doing sports, or shopping were on a frequent basis undertaken by the participants. Similar to what has been shown in the literature (Livengood & Stodolska, 2004) this research also demonstrated that the Muslim women undertake most of their free time in (family) company. They have different friends and family around them to spend their leisure activities with and for Hadil is “being busy with my children also free time”. Alya, a full-time working mother of five, indicated:

“If I am at home I spend my leisure time with my two youngest daughters and when I am outside the house with my husband. Besides, I walk once in a while with the lady next door.”

The reasons given for visiting the parks and spending time on leisure were related to enjoying leisure time in a relaxing or active way. “For relaxation actually and just not to think about something and being away from all the work and

responsibilities”, said Rima, a full-time working mother of four. Other motivations for leisure found in this study were to recharge the battery and to socially interact. As a result, respondents felt more energetic, satisfied, and relaxed. Comparable to the study of Henderson and Allen (1991), the women in this study, especially women with children and a job, demonstrated that their leisure time was limited due to work commitments and the care of the children. Although limited leisure time, the moments that leisure takes place are very important for these women.

Discriminatory actions in outdoor leisure settings

Results of this study show that the majority of the women define discrimination as a form of exclusion or rejection based upon an ascribed characteristic. As Inas puts it, “People insult you or don’t treat you equal and that people are seen differently based on their ethnicity, culture, religion, etc.” According to Kalila discrimination can be defined as “exclusion based on something. This can be your gender, religion, skin colour, actually everything . . .” Similarly, Hind said that “discrimination is actually that you don’t have access to certain places based on your appearance, religion or race [. . .] for example, because you wear a veil.” Some other respondents defined discrimination as not having any respect for someone’s ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation or general appearance. For example Mouna defined discrimination as “that you don’t have any respect for someone’s race, religion, gender, or general appearance.” These definitions of discrimination correspond with the definition of the United Nations (2001) provided in chapter two.

When enquiring about experiences with discriminatory actions in outdoor leisure settings, a very strong theme that surfaced clearly in the study was the importance of the veil in experiencing discrimination. Veiled Muslim women experienced discrimination in outdoor leisure settings with a much higher frequency than the unveiled Muslim women. Many interviewees remarked that visibly different dress style and the head covering, made their religion known to outsiders and thus made them likely targets of discriminatory actions. A 35-year-old mother of Moroccan background explained this phenomenon very vividly:

“Where I became aware of is that you experience a lot more discrimination when you wear the veil. If you wear the veil people see you immediately as a different person and discriminate you more. You observe that in everything, that is unbelievable. [. . .] Those people put you in the group ‘nothing to do with the outside world’. [. . .] you realize that people just take more distance from you.”

Fiddah is not wearing the veil anymore and indicated that she experienced discrimination when she was veiled, but “now people can’t see from the outside that I am Muslim, so these days’ people just see me as a Dutch woman again.”

The veiled women were more likely to indicate that either they or their friends had been looked at in a strange manner, often with disapproval, prejudices and feeling unwelcome. These findings parallel the results of research on the effects of discrimination on the leisure behaviour of American Muslims conducted by Livengood &

Stodolska (2004). Mouna, who likes to spend her leisure time in the forest, experienced unpleasant looks and the feeling she is not welcome. She said “that is something I feel, I know it is there, but it is hard to explain.” Likewise is Siham, she described the way in which people look at her and her family while they are walking in the forest:

“You can see the people look at you and your family and they think it is the ‘veil family’, and what are they doing here? People just stare at you, you know. And I understand we are a little bit different, so it is acceptable to look at us. However, I think it is rude and disrespectful when people really start to stare at me and my family.”

Also Dalia likes to walk every evening and said:

“It is especially those unpleasant looks people have towards me . . . you know, like “what is she doing?” Sometimes they even shout to me “Go back to your own country” or “Look what she is wearing”, these things you know.”

Dalia continues and remembered one discriminatory incident very clearly:

“One time, when I was doing my daily walk, it was very windy and I saw an old lady walking on the road with her walker. I thought this was a dangerous situation, so I, with my stupid head, approached her and wanted to help her to get off the dangerous road. Then she shouted to me: “Go away, you rabble!” I can tell you that she preferred to be hit by a car rather than being helped by me. I thought where is this hate coming from?”

Maya, who likes to spend most of leisure time with her veiled friends, indicated that they experienced some form of prejudice during their outdoor leisure activities:

“They have certain comments, you know. It is never good enough; if the women stay inside they complain and if we are walking on the street they ask “Is that allowed by your husband?” . . . you know, these kind of things. [. . .] Or people see you are going to picnic and say to you “Don’t leave everything behind”.”

Moreover, Aida, who converted to the Muslim religion, reported that people even started to shout things at her when she was walking with the buggy: “Act normal, you are Dutch . . . so what are you doing? Go to another country.” Aida mentioned that, since she became Muslim, people started to shout things like: “You traitor and defector.” Aida was even threatened:

“People even want to attack me and they provoke fights. Dutch people see me as traitor and turncoat. Especially since Wilders is on television, everybody thinks they can say and do whatever they want.”

The discriminatory experiences of Aida can be explained by Van Nieuwkerk (2004). She illustrated that many Dutch people see Muslims as a homogenous, naturalized category and associate them with foreign immigrants, and when female converts wear the headscarf or veil, Dutch people begin to perceive them as foreigners (Van Nieuwkerk, 2004). Aida was the only woman in this study who expressed to feel threatened during her leisure activities outdoors.

These abovementioned discriminatory acts in the form of unpleasant looks, staring, feeling unwelcome and negative remarks accompanied many of the veiled women in other everyday activities, like shopping, driving a car, travelling with public transport, and at public services. This can explain why it was difficult for the women to evoke discriminatory actions in separation from other aspects of their lives. Many other discriminatory experiences in these other everyday activities were also brought forward by the women. Livengood & Stodolska (2004) already argued that studying discrimination within the leisure phenomena in separation from other aspects of people's lives is tough or would provide an incomplete representation of reality. Moreover, some interviewees also indicated that it was also difficult to point out what exactly can be interpreted as discrimination and what does not.

Five unveiled Muslim women indicated that they did not experience discrimination personally while engaging in leisure activities outdoors. For example Rima, a full-time working mum of four children, mentioned:

“Actually, I never experienced discrimination personally. I grew up in the Netherlands and I have never felt that I was discriminated, however I hear a lot in my environment that discrimination occurs.”

Adela mentioned she does not experience discrimination herself but when she is with her veiled Muslim friends in the park, they do come across discriminatory remarks:

“From the Moroccan culture we are a little bit noisy; we talk very loud when we are together in a group with friends and family. Then some people think we are having a fight or something like that. You notice that other people in the park get annoyed. Basically, they are just annoyed about the loud talking, but immediately they make the link “O, you see . . . Moroccan people again” and start to make their own interpretation. While it is alright to ask us if it can be a bit more quiet. [. . .] Sometimes people ask it, or actually they shout to us: “Can you be quieter, you stupid or bad Moroccan” . . . You know, these kinds of unintelligent comments. Why always “Moroccan” at the end of the sentence?”

Adela as an example, but some other interviewees also expressed that they were being discriminated for their Moroccan identity. This study focused on the religious aspect of the interviewees' identity and is therefore not moving beyond the objective of this study; nevertheless it has to be acknowledged that some discriminatory actions described by the interviewees are experienced as discrimination towards their Moroccan identity. This result parallels the results of research on African-American

Muslim women experiences with the intersection of race, gender, and religious discrimination conducted by Byng (1998). Byng (1998) illustrates that her respondents recognize that they have multiple characteristics that can trigger discriminatory actions. Byng (1998) demonstrates Collins' (1991) theory - the matrix of domination- which allows her to understand the intricacy and complexity of discriminatory encounters for those who have more than one characteristic that might make them a target of discrimination.

Some of the unveiled interviewees argued that perceptions of being discriminated are seen through different lenses and depends on someone's personality. For example Adela, as shown in the above quote, encounters discrimination when surrounded by veiled friends. Though, she said: "It is all about your attitude towards it. If you are looking for discrimination, then you can always find something. It is all about how you position yourself." Also Rima believes that:

"... it depends on your personality. I am just a very social person; I hang around with everybody, I talk with everybody in the bus, I say hello to everybody, I am just a very positive person. [...] Many Moroccan women and youth tend to feel discriminated very quickly and feel like a victim. Fortunately I am not like that. I don't perceive it directly as discrimination."

Fiddah, who converted to the Muslim religion, also considers that perceptions of discrimination depend on "your own attitude" and said:

"I am very open and spontaneous, so I will experience less discrimination than if you are more closed or if you do not speak the language. I am absolutely convinced that this has something to do with it."

What these women show is that not all the interviewees are equally in perceiving discrimination or even in believing that it exists (Ellmers & Barretto, 2008). These unveiled women believe that they are not a target of discrimination because of their social and language qualities. However, the literature also illustrates that believing that one is the target of discrimination is also associated with stress and other negative outcomes (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Deitch et al., 2003) such as the negative societal attitudes towards Muslims (Van Oudenhoven, 2002; Forum, 2010).

Many of the unveiled and veiled women mentioned that the last few years the discrimination in the Netherlands has increased. Twelve of the interviewees mentioned something about the developments in politics and the role of the media in reproducing and maintaining negative stereotypes of ethnic minorities. This role of the media in reproducing negative stereotypes and its role in the discrimination in society is also found in the literature (Shadid, 2005; Vasta, 2007). It is interesting to note the parallel between the women who believe that perceptions of discrimination depend on a person's personality and their attitude towards the role of the media. These women express that the social climate facing Muslims has changed and they believe that the media took a great role in this; still they do not perceive themselves as a victim in this development. They believe that due to the media people are just more aware of the

unpleasant looks, staring and negative remarks that they experience during outdoor leisure activities. As Adela, who never wears the veil, explained this clearly:

“I do believe that the media contribute to your consciousness of the discriminatory remarks. However, you can choose how you interpret and react on these remarks. If you are really focused on discriminatory incidents, then you will experience many.”

Overall, these results suggest that not all the interviewees are equal in perceiving discrimination and thus discriminatory actions are experienced through different lenses. Besides, perceiving that one is a target of discriminatory actions also depends on broader societal structures.

Discrimination and its impact on leisure choices and enjoyment

The majority of the interviewees rarely perceived the experienced discrimination - unpleasant looks, prejudices, disapproval, feeling unwelcome and negative remarks - as a factor that influences the choices they made concerning their outdoor leisure. As Mouna clearly explains:

“These unpleasant looks do not withhold me from doing my walks in the forest . . . nobody keeps me away from anything, if I want to go somewhere I will go.”

Fiddah is also quite explicit about this:

“I will not influence my leisure choices and my pleasure . . . no way, I am really over that! I stay who I am and I am proud of that. And if people have problems with that, than that is there problem and not mine.”

Besides, Zahira also explains that if she wants to go somewhere, she is determinant to go there.

“Discrimination does not withhold me from anything. [. . .] If someone has a problem with me, than that person should leave and not me. [. . .] Of course it is annoying, but I will not scare away.”

However, when asking more, it appears that Zahira does make conscious decisions about her leisure activities. She would not go bowling or ice-skating for example, since: “I don’t feel like answering questions like: ‘Can you skate as well?’” Zahira continues: “People assume we can’t skate or bowl or something like that, and that really annoys me.” Although the majority of the women in this study indicated that discriminatory incidents are not a constraining factor in their outdoor leisure choices, this last quote shows that leisure activities are avoided as they appear to be contested territories. Since Muslim women are confronted with dominant ideologies and power relations (Vasta, 2007), which can bring restrictions and discourage them from leisure activities and

spaces, one can be critical about the relative freedoms in leisure choices illustrated by the majority of the women. Restrictions may not always be consciously recognized (Byng, 1998), yet may affect their outdoor leisure participation.

The few women who indicated that discrimination had an impact on their leisure choices explained that the effect of perceived discrimination was that they were restricted in their freedom of movement, timing and location of activities. For example Dalia, her reason for avoiding certain leisure locations is the fear of violence and therefore she has to plan ahead the location and timing of her outdoor leisure.

“Especially when I am alone, I find that scary. [. . .] My husband doesn’t allow me to walk on my own in the evening, it is just not safe. He advised me to walk during the day. [. . .] I always have to plan ahead. I have to think about my leisure; where shall I go in order to avoid these things. [. . .] I don’t bike anymore for example. Especially if I have to bike near the water and people try to push me off the bike, than I decide not to bike anymore. Then the decision is quite easy. [. . .] or I don’t go to park *Oog in Al* since there are skinheads living. They are really scary.”

Besides, the freedom of her children is influenced by Dalia her fear of violence:

“[. . .] I noticed that due to my own experiences I also limit the leisure freedom of my children. You are just limited by these prejudices. [. . .] For example, they are not allowed to play far from the house, they have to report to me every now and then, and they have cell phones so I can reach always reach them. [. . .] I am just very cautious.”

This result corresponds with the study results of Livengood and Stodolska (2004) who observed that fear of violence affected the leisure of Muslim immigrants by restricting their freedom of movement, travelling, timing and location of activities. Dalia indicated that avoiding leisure spaces was mainly based on expectations of discrimination: “These leisure choices are based on the fear that something can happen with me or my children.” Also Maya, mother of two children, illustrates this vividly:

“. . . especially with my children. We have to consider where, when, with whom, and if it safe over there, you know . . . These things are unconsciously in my head. I am not going to *Griftpark* for example, because I am afraid for physical violence.”

Besides, Hadil explained: “I would not go to *Sterrenwijk*, but that is because of the negative image the media provides about this area. I have not experienced personally anything terrifying over there.” Mouna also indicated that avoidance of leisure spaces was based on expectations of discrimination:

“. . . in *Kanaleneiland* I know everybody so I can just walk there, even when it is dark. But somewhere else in the city . . . than it is different. Then I

don't know who is living there, and especially with a headscarf you are not safe. Sometimes I hear stories from other people that Dutch boys on scooters are screaming at you, you know."

These results, that avoidance of leisure spaces was based on expectations of discrimination, correspond with the findings of West (1989), who states that expectations of discrimination can motivate to modify leisure choices and correspond with the results of Whyte and Shaw (1994) who argues that fear of violence is likely to significantly affect leisure participation of women as they may avoid leisure activities which they consider unsafe. Some women in this study did not experience tangible acts of discrimination, but heard stories from family or friends and were therefore more cautious about their leisure choices and avoided leisure areas which they considered unsafe. Feeling unsafe, or thinking that they would feel unsafe in that public area could be originated by the power relations certain public spaces have. As has been shown by Holland et al. (2007) certain public space are imbued with power relations and can therefore exclude particular social groups depending on the degree to which they might be in or out of place. The social codes of conduct decide what sort of groups and activities should be seen in that area, and these codes of conduct can be a factor that discourages these Muslim women from using those leisure spaces. Therefore, one can carefully conclude that some women in this study avoid certain public leisure spaces due to the power relations of these public leisure spaces.

Kalila chose not to avoid certain public areas and activities only based on fear, but she chose to be more aware of her surroundings and obtained information about the setting before the visit. She explained that she felt uncomfortable when she engaged in leisure activities if she was the only Muslim participant. She explained:

"It is a little bit strange to say, but actually I take discrimination into account. So I choose my leisure activities slightly based on . . . , well, . . . I always check in advance if I would fit in the group or audience before I decide to go there."

Thus by avoiding situations where her difference is accentuated, Kalila is creating a social space that is relatively free from experiences with discrimination.

Many leisure scholars concluded that women face a wide variety of leisure constraints and they operate as a complex phenomenon where some constraints can cause the onset of others (Shaw, 1994; Peleman, 2003; Jackson & Henderson, 1995; Whyte & Shaw, 1994; Livengood & Stodolska, 2004). Besides, Blahna and Black (1993), Gobster (2002), Stodolska and Jackson (1998), West (1989), Sharaievska et al. (2010) and numerous others, found that perceived discrimination is one of the main factors that influence leisure participation among ethnic minorities. Although a few women in this study indicated that discrimination had an impact on their leisure choices, the results of this study can not confirm the findings of these leisure scholars, since discrimination is solely analyzed without including other (marginal or ethnic) leisure constraints that can possibly influence the leisure choices of these Muslim women.

Therefore, I can not say anything about the relative importance or strength of discrimination as a constraint to the leisure behaviour of these Muslim women.

Although I can not say anything about the relative importance or strength of discrimination as a constraint to their leisure choices, I can say something about the level of enjoyment during the leisure activity. Six interviewees indicated that their level of enjoyment decreased at the moment the discriminatory action occurred. As Mouna illustrated:

“Look, you keep a stiff upper lip and you don’t want to feel it, but it has certainly an impact on your enjoyment. [. . .] I enjoy more when I walk in the Moroccan forests, since people don’t stare at me, you know. You are equal over there.”

Besides, Abia showed that:

“. . . suddenly I do not feel like playing soccer with my children anymore. I have the feeling people in the park really look at me and then I just stay on the picnic rug. The kids are having fun, so I stay for them a few more minutes and then we leave . . . while my plan was to stay in the park for a while and play soccer and relax. When we go to the park, then people just stare at you and then I just do not feel comfortable anymore.”

Kalila indicated:

“. . . then I don’t have any fun anymore. It could be that I was in a good mood, but then after the discrimination not anymore. So it has absolutely some influence on my pleasure, yes.”

Others mentioned that discrimination made their leisure activity more volatile, stressed and less worry-free. These examples illustrate that due to the perceived discrimination they did not feel comfortable anymore, the pleasure diminished or it negatively influenced their mood. This result corresponds with the results of research on discrimination at Lincoln Park in Chicago conducted by Gobster (2002). Gobster (2002) illustrated that one in seven African Americans reported discrimination and that the discrimination reduced their level of enjoyment.

Negotiation strategies

Although the interview information does not always indicate a clear distinction between the impact of discrimination on leisure choices and the adopted negotiation strategies, for the readability of the study results there has been chosen to illustrate the negotiation strategies adopted by the Muslim women in a separated section in this chapter.

Consistently with earlier findings (Kay & Jackson, 1991; Koca et al., 2009; Little, 2002; Livengood & Stodolska, 2004), it was only very few women who had passively accepted the experienced discrimination. The majority of the Muslim women in this

study devised a number of strategies to negotiate the perceived discrimination. The strategies to negotiate the discrimination ranged from justification, blocking, resigned acceptance, adjustment, and feeling sorry, to mild verbal protest or confrontation. The negotiation strategies resigned acceptance and mild verbal protest were identified in Livengood and Stodolska (2004) and Feagin (1991). The blocking strategy was found in Gardner (1980, in Feagin, 1991). The negotiation strategies justification, adjustment and feeling sorry were not identified in earlier studies. The other research studies discussed in chapter two, show that people adopt strategies to negotiate constraints and continue with participating in leisure activities despite their constraints.

The majority of the interviewees in this study were trying to justify discrimination by remarking that they somehow understand why the other discriminates. There were justifications found within their own group, while on the other hand reasons for discrimination were located by the other. Statements such as “I understand the discrimination, because some Moroccan boys really screwed up for the good Moroccan people” and “I understand that we stand out with our clothes, veils and long beards”, show that the reason for discrimination was found within their own behavioural and cultural aspects. This justification could be explained by the representation of Islamic people as problems and enemies of the nation (Ghorashi, 2003, in Vasta, 2007) in which the media is a powerful instrument in arising and reproducing stereotypes of Islamic people in the Netherlands (Vasta, 2007). I would argue that the dominant discourse on Muslim people and the negative societal attitudes towards Muslims (Van Oudenhoven, 2002; Forum, 2010) have an influence on how these Muslim women perceive themselves, with the consequence that they are justifying the discrimination by saying that they “somehow understand it”.

Opposite, are the justifications for discrimination originated by the other. For instance, “those people were probably not raised within multiple cultures”, “maybe the other person had a negative experience with immigrants or Moroccan people in the past” or “maybe the person just had a bad day.” These careful justifications show that, even in the face of discrimination, these women maintain their humanity and recognize the humanity of the other (Byng, 1998). A justification mentioned by several of the interviewees is that the discriminating people are just “uneducated people.” The uneducated people are not blamed for their discriminatory actions by the interviewees, but the educated people are blamed for their discriminatory actions, since “they have a good education and a high IQ so they should know better”, said Fiddah. Since some women do not expect to be discriminated by educated people, the discriminatory actions or remarks are painful for the women. As Adela indicates this very clearly:

“I will be more shocked if an educated person discriminates me. Then I would think ‘shame on you’. All the time this person has been on school, but lowers him or herself to this level. Therefore it hurts me more from an educated person. If a person hasn’t been on school, it is limited in what it sees and experiences. They just don’t know any better. Then I can, more or less, understand and accept their behaviour. They don’t trust anything they don’t know, and keep us on a distance.”

There was also a group of women who neither located reasons for discrimination by their own group nor by the other, but attributed the reason for discrimination to a third group, namely the media. As Aida clarifies: "The increased discrimination is also caused by the media [. . .] they play a great role in the negative stereotyping around Muslim people and make us look unreasonable." This result is in line with the literature which argued that the Western media can feed the fear for the Islam and plays its part in the discrimination in the society (Shadid, 2005; White & Hayes, 2005; Vasta, 2007).

Other interviewees indicated that the negative remarks go in one ear and out the other. Alya, and many other women with her, said: "I don't give it the chance to bother me." These interviewees defined the discriminatory experiences as not important or meaningful. As shown in chapter two, this is resistance par excellence (Byng, 1998). In deciding that discrimination does not affect their leisure, these Muslim women are deciding that they will not be oppressed by the discriminatory encounters. Thus, by determining for themselves the power that these discriminatory encounters will have in their life, these Muslim women maintain ownership of their life. Moreover, Gardner (1980, in Feagin, 1991) referred to this as a "blocking" strategy. Also through this blocking strategy they decide that they will not be oppressed by the discriminatory encounters and maintain ownership of their life. Aida illustrates this very vividly:

"I walk where I want to walk and do whatever I want to do . . . well, I am not going to the disco, but that's because of religious considerations. I never think like "I am not going there, because . . ." No way! I don't let my life be determined by such people. [. . .] And since I am not concerned, it doesn't influence my pleasure in leisure. [. . .] Look, if you appeal to discrimination it will definitely influence your mood. But you know . . . I don't care. Why should empty words hurt me? I am happy with myself and with my faith, so nobody can hurt me with his or her words. People can say what they want, but it doesn't change me or my mood. I just do what I want do in my leisure time."

Others adopted the "resigned acceptance" (Feagin, 1991) strategy and indicated that it is part of life. In the beginning of their stay in the Netherlands discrimination used to hurt or upset the veiled women. However, after several years (the minimum stay of the women is sixteen years), getting older, wiser and improved Dutch language skills they feel much stronger and more confident. While they still find the experienced discrimination annoying, they kind of accepted it. Maya, who is living in the Netherlands already for 24 years, commented:

"I experienced a lot of discrimination, even before the events of 11 September. Since I experienced many nasty things in the past, prejudices became a matter-of-course. But that is part of our life; do not let that worry you."

Although some women adopted the resigned acceptance strategy, they indicated that they did not take the discriminatory actions or remarks too serious or they were able to

put it into perspective. Some women argued that “some people have ingrained prejudices and will never change”, while others even prepared themselves for any (possible) remarks or unpleasant looks: “By expecting discriminatory remarks the smack in the face will be less hard”, according to some interviewees. It was also their faith that had helped them to cope with the discrimination. As Mouna commented:

“It is our mission to reach out to other people. Although I am not welcome, you are welcome. [. . .] I am part of this society, and if they don’t like that, that’s up to them. I respect every individual and what another person thinks or says to me is above all their problem and not mine.”

Mouna, and some other women, indicated that thanks to their faith the discrimination did not influence their self-confidence.

Two interviewees indicated that they try to adjust to the Dutch mainstream, meaning that they avoided or modified actions that attract attention and tried to behave how they think they are expected to behave in the Dutch mainstream. This strategy exhibited itself most commonly through talking Dutch with each other or dropping the voice and therefore avoid attracting attention to them self. As example is Abia, she indicated she dropped her voice when sitting in the park:

“When we are in a park we speak in our own language. We always have a lot of fun and we talk a bit loud. Sometimes you look around and then you see who are also sitting there . . . Not that I feel embarrassed for my own group or our loud talking, but I just want to be a good example. So, often I tell the group that we should not talk and laugh so loud since that is disrespectful towards the others in the park.”

One even explained that she tried to behave very well in public spaces, because she thinks that -when she is doing something wrong- being a Muslim or Moroccan counts even more.

Another strategy found in this study is that some interviewees felt sorry for the discriminating person. They think it is really pathetic that the other person is discriminating and that they dispose a short-sighted viewpoint. As Aida described it:

“I believe it is really a shame that the other is seeing you like this [Muslim]. While I am not seeing myself like that, I am Aida! Then I think what a pity and a missed chance for the other person . . . because that person is in fact narrow-minded. [. . .] It says more about them than about me.”

Many expressed that they are proud of who they are, where they believe in and what they do or how they dress. “If people have problems with that than that is their problem and a pity for them. They cause trouble about me, and I think that is really pathetic actually”, said Fiddah. Although some women felt sorry for the discriminating person, they also labelled the other by saying that the discriminating person did not have a “healthy upbringing” or they are “uneducated people”. Thus they respond to

discrimination by labelling the other person in order to deny the stereotype with which they believe they are being labelled.

Almost half of the interviewed Muslim women chose to directly confront the other discriminating person or respond with a verbal counterattack. These women explained that especially when the discrimination is unfair, they will approach the person and enter into a discussion. They made clear that they won't let abuse themselves or get walked over. For example, Fiddah made clear that:

“When I was still wearing my headscarf I always confronted the other; I did not accept the discrimination unquestioningly. Verbally I am really strong, so I can make belittling remarks. Those who play at bowls must look out for rubbers.”

Or Abia, she is also confronting the other “especially when it is unreasonable, then I always approach the other and start the discussion.”

The reason for the women to confront the other was to find -for themselves- an explanation for the discriminatory actions and subsequently to put it aside. But not for every occurrence they get into a discussion, as Mouna explains:

“If someone has a comment I have to respond to that verbally. But when people only stare at me, while I am walking in the forest, I leave it. Sometimes people have a curious glimpse, you can feel that immediately and then I just say goodbye.”

Women who decided not to directly confront the discriminating person, argued that these confrontations were useless. They argued that the discriminating person is just a stupid person, they were afraid of possible counter reactions, or they did not feel empowered enough or because of the brevity of the interaction. As Kalila said:

“When somebody makes an out-of-the-blue remark, I am not capable to react on it. But when the person would stand still and ask a question, I would be very open to talk and discuss.”

This result matches with the research of Livengood and Stodolska (2004), who argued that verbal confrontation is a rather time- and energy-consuming strategy and may sometimes be impossible because of a person's shyness or the brevity of the interaction. Moreover, a great majority of the interviewees expressed that their ability to apply a strategy was not only based on the discriminatory action, but also depended on their mood of the day and on the situation. This result is in line with studies who reveal that people's abilities to use various processes to manage constraints are based not only on the immediate constraint (Jackson et al., 1993; Crawford et al., 1991, Jackson, 1993), but also on antecedent contexts and an individual's stage in the life course (Jackson & Rucks, 1995; Iso-Ahola, 1986, in Little, 2002).

Looking at the negotiation strategies adopted by the interviewees it has to be acknowledged that the one negotiation strategy does not exclude the other strategy

and several strategies overlap with each other. For example, some women were trying to justify the discrimination and simultaneously they felt sorry for the discriminating person or protested verbally. Besides, it would be highly inaccurate to ascribe the portrayed negotiation strategies exclusively to discriminatory acts in outdoor leisure situations. As has been shown earlier in this chapter, discriminatory actions accompanied many of the veiled women in other everyday activities and it was difficult to evoke discriminatory actions in separation from these other aspects of their lives. Therefore, the described negotiation strategies in this chapter could and will also be applied in these other everyday activities and are not exclusively related to outdoor leisure situations.

When looking for relations between the influence of discrimination on leisure choices and enjoyment and the adopted negotiation strategy, an interlinkage can be initiated. The few veiled interviewees who indicated that discrimination affected their leisure choices and enjoyment tried to behave how they think they are expected to behave according to the Dutch mainstream or they adopted the resigned acceptance strategy. For example, Maya illustrated that discrimination has an impact on her leisure since she was restricted in her leisure timing and location. Looking at her responses to discrimination in her outdoor leisure, she adopted the resigned acceptance strategy and indicated that it is part of life. Kalila is another example, she indicated that discrimination made her more aware of her surroundings and obtained information about the setting before the visit. Thereby she is creating a social space that is relatively free from experiences with discrimination. When she is doing her leisure outdoors she is aware of her behaviour, as she thinks that -when she is doing something wrong- being a Muslim or Moroccan counts even more. Contrary, the Muslim women who decided that discrimination does not affect their leisure choices and enjoyment mainly judged the behaviour or incompetence of the other or possessed a verbal counterattack as strategy. For example, Mouna made first of all clear that discrimination does not withhold her from her walks in the forest and when confronted with discrimination Mouna judged the behaviour or incompetence of the discriminating people. Moreover, Fiddah also illustrated that discrimination will not influence her leisure choices and pleasure. She indicated that she is proud of whom she is and if people have problems with that than that is their problem. One can see this approach also in her responses towards the experiences discrimination: she chose to respond with a verbal counterattack. Overall, one can carefully conclude that a few women displayed a tendency to passively accept the discrimination or changed something in their own behaviour. While the majority of the interviewees show a strong self-determination in deciding that they will not be oppressed by the discriminatory encounters and attribute reasons to, or blame, the discriminating person so they can continue with their leisure activities.

Chapter 5 Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter I will discuss the results and come to a conclusion by coming back to the goals of this research, to know:

- exploring whether Muslim women in the Netherlands have been subjected to any discriminatory incidents in outdoor leisure settings;
- exploring to what extent the perceived discrimination affects the leisure choices and enjoyment of the Muslim women;
- and examining the range of strategies these Muslim women employ to negotiate the oppression of discrimination encountered in outdoor leisure settings.

Discrimination and its impact on leisure choices and enjoyment

Out of the interview information it became clear that Muslim women undertake leisure activities such as walking, sitting or picnicking in the park, going to the cinema/swimming pool, doing sports, or shopping, on a frequent basis. Most of these leisure activities they undertake in (family) company. One of the most important reasons to undertake these activities is that the women just want to relax. The interviewees with children and a job seemed to have limited leisure time due to work commitments and the care of the children. Although limited leisure time, the moments that leisure takes place are very important for these women.

It can be concluded from the results of this research that Muslim women in the Netherlands also experience discrimination in outdoor leisure settings. Out of the interview information one theme surfaced particularly namely the importance of the veil in experiencing discrimination. Veiled Muslim women experienced discrimination in outdoor leisure settings with a much higher frequency than the unveiled Muslim women. I would argue that their distinctive religious features can be partially responsible for the fact that visible Muslim women experience more discrimination in outdoor leisure settings than Muslim women without visible religious features; unveiled Muslim women are just less recognizable as Muslim. Although this study focused on discrimination on the religious aspect of the interviewees' identity, some discriminatory encounters described by the women in this study were targeted at their Moroccan identity. Since some interviewees recognize they have more one characteristic that can trigger discriminatory actions, it was complex for the interviewees to identify for which characteristic they have been discriminated for.

The experienced discriminatory actions were of non-violent nature, and included unpleasant looks, prejudices, disapproval, feeling unwelcome and negative remarks. Discriminatory behaviour takes many forms, but they all involve some form of exclusion or rejection (United Nations, 2001). The discriminatory actions accompanied many of the veiled women in other everyday activities, like shopping, driving a car, travelling with public transport, and at public services. The study showed that it was difficult for the women to evoke discriminatory actions in separation from these other life domains and point out what can be interpreted as discrimination. Therefore, one can not state that the described experiences in this study are exclusively encountered in outdoor

leisure settings, but are also encountered in the other life domains. Livengood and Stodolska (2004) already argued that it is unlikely to be successful in attempting to separate interrelated threads of human existence.

Contrary to my hypothesis described chapter two, results show that the majority of the interviewees rarely perceived discrimination as a constraining factor in their outdoor leisure participation. The women in this study showed a strong self-determination by deciding that discrimination does not affect them and that they will not be oppressed by the discriminatory encounters. With the result, that they maintain ownership of their own life (Byng, 1998). However one can ask questions to what extent they maintain ownership of their life. Since Muslim women in the Netherlands are confronted with dominant discourses and power relations (Vasta, 2007) they can experience certain restrictions and can therefore be discouraged to engage in leisure and make them avoid certain leisure activities and spaces. This has been shown by a few veiled women who indicated that they avoided certain leisure areas which they considered unsafe. Feeling unsafe, or thinking that they would feel unsafe in that public area could be originated by the power relations certain public spaces have. As has been shown by Holland et al. (2007) certain public space are imbued with power relations and can therefore exclude particular social groups depending on the degree to which they might be in or out of place. The social codes of conduct decide what sort of groups and activities should be seen in that area, and these codes of conduct can be a factor that discourages these Muslim women from using those leisure spaces. Thus restrictions may not always be consciously recognized by the Muslim women yet they may affect their outdoor leisure choices. Besides, also due to stories from family or friends some interviewees were more precautious about their leisure choices and avoided leisure locations which they considered unsafe. Other veiled women in this study indicated that, due to expectations of discrimination, they were restricted in their freedom of movement, timing and location of leisure activities or they obtained information about the setting before the visit. By avoiding situations where their difference is accentuated they create a social space that is relatively free from possible experiences with discrimination. Given that leisure constraints operate as a complex phenomenon where some constraints can cause the onset of others (Livengood & Stodolska, 2004), it would be highly inaccurate to ascribe (expectations of) discrimination as a single factor that affected the leisure choices of these Muslim women. Besides, I can not say if discrimination is one of the main factors that constraint the leisure choices of these Muslim women as this study excluded other possible constraining factors to leisure. Although I can not say anything about the relative importance of discrimination as a constraining factor in their leisure choices, I can say something about the influence of discrimination on the level of enjoyment during the leisure activity. Out of the interview information one can conclude that relatively minor forms of discrimination can affect the level of the enjoyment these women derive from outdoor leisure activities. The discrimination made them feel uncomfortable, made the activity less worry-free, and it negatively influenced their mood at the moment the discriminatory action occurs. This result is in line with Gobster's study (2002).

Negotiation strategies

Only a few women had passively accepted the experienced discrimination; the majority actively negotiated the discrimination. The women applied several negotiation strategies, such as justification, blocking the discrimination, adjustment to the Dutch mainstream, feeling sorry for the other, and mild verbal protest. Their individual strategies to discrimination must be recognized as complex, since the adopted strategy depended to a large degree on their mood of the day, on the situation and intensity of the discriminatory action and hence their adopted strategy is never the same. Many of the negotiation strategies identified in this study, such as resigned acceptance, adjustment, and mild verbal protest or confrontation were similar to those observed in Livengood and Stodolska (2004). Besides, ignoring the problem or blocking the discrimination was also found in previous studies (Jackson et al., 1993; Gardner, 1980, in Feagin, 1991; Koca et al., 2009). The negotiation strategies justification, adjustment and feeling sorry were not found in previous studies researching discriminatory encounters in outdoor leisure settings. As a result, this study contributes to new knowledge on strategies to negotiate discrimination in outdoor leisure settings.

It has been argued by the unveiled women in this study that the approach to discriminatory encounters in leisure settings and adopted negotiation strategies are seen through different lenses and depends on a person's personality type. While a few interviewees displayed a tendency to passively accept the discrimination or changed something in their own behaviour, the majority of the women, those who decided that discrimination does not affect their leisure choices and enjoyment, showed the ability to negotiate the discrimination from the non-Muslim environment by judging the behaviour or incompetence of the discriminating person in order to deny the stereotype with which they believe they are being labelled. Consequently, the Muslim women were determined to negotiate discrimination and continue to participate in their outdoor leisure activities. This result lends a strong confirmation to the statement of Ellmers and Barretto (2008) that not all individuals are equally in perceiving discrimination or even in believing that it exists. Knowing that the dominant discourse on Islam and the negative societal views towards Muslims in the Netherlands (Van Oudenhoven, 2002; Forum, 2010) shape people's thoughts, feelings and actions (Rojek, 1989, in Little, 2002), there has to be acknowledged that the described perceptions of discrimination and adopted negotiation strategies in this study are not immune to the influences of broader dominant ideologies and power structures which shape the lives of individuals (Livengood & Stodolska, 2004). Knowing this, one may hypothesize that the strong self-determination, which appeared clearly in this study, can be seen to represent a form of resistance against the dominant societal assumptions and beliefs that Muslim women are being oppressed (Rijkschroeff et al., 2003). Thus leisure can also provide these women the opportunity to challenge stereotypes and pathways to resist social construction. However, this is pure conjecture as no Muslim women explicitly said that she used leisure as a space for resistance of dominant social constructions.

Since this study contains Muslim women with various demographic characteristics, a wide range of discriminatory encounters of diverse intensity and different negotiation outcomes, this study showed that the Muslim women are a heterogeneous group characterized by variation in behavioural outcomes. Nevertheless,

the Dutch media often push a highly homogeneous picture of Muslims to the front and fail to illustrate the uniqueness of the individual and complexity of Muslim people (Shadid, 1995; Vasta, 2007).

Results of this study provide an overview of the encounters with discrimination experienced by Muslim women and the techniques they adopted to negotiate the discrimination in their leisure. This study moved beyond the leisure participation framework and focused on how these Muslim women continue to be active. The results of this study have revealed a gap in academic knowledge about experiences of Muslim women with discrimination in outdoor leisure settings in the Netherlands.

Although, this study helped to shed a light on the issues of discrimination in outdoor leisure settings and the constraints negotiation framework, the study had certain clear limitations, among which cultural differences between the researcher and interviewees, the lack of data of other leisure constraints, and inability to reach a large and varied group of Muslim women were the most pressing. In order to diminish these limitations, I would suggest that future studies on similar (sensitive) issues should be accomplished by (in-group) people who have already established strong ties with communities of interest. Moreover, for the future I would also suggest that we do not examine exclusively discrimination as leisure constraint but that we study the complex nature of other leisure constraints (e.g. socio-economic and ethnic-cultural factors) that are related to people's use of outdoor leisure activities and then analyze the strength of discrimination as constraining factor to leisure participation. Besides, it would be interesting to examine to what extent perceptions of discrimination and adopted negotiation strategies vary across several personality types.

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Appendix 1: Interview topic list

Participation

- Definition leisure
- Leisure activities outdoors (where, when, frequency, co-participant)
- Motivation
- Importance

Experiences discrimination in leisure outdoors

- Definition discrimination
- Experiences discrimination during leisure outdoors (what do you see, hear)
- Reason for discrimination
- By whom discriminated
- Feeling afterwards

Negotiation

- Reaction/Response to it. Why
- Important to react. Why

Affect leisure behaviour and enjoyment

- Influence choices in leisure (where, whom, frequency, activities)
- Influence enjoyment. How
- Avoid certain leisure areas. Why

Personal data

- Name
- Age
- Country of origin
- Country origin parents
- Living in neighbourhood
- Number of years living in Netherlands
- Marital status
- Number of children
- Highest completed education level
- Work status
- Wearing the veil outside the house