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Muslim women's embodied geographies in Hamilton, Aotearoa New Zealand: An intersectional approach

A thesis

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the embodied geographies of a diverse group of Muslim women who live in Hamilton, New Zealand. Given that Islamophobia is on the rise globally, it is important and timely to examine in more depth the complex and multiple ways that Muslim women express, feel and embody their gender, religious, national, migrant and professional identities, simultaneously. Participants' lived experiences show that their identities are co-constructed and subject to change across space and place.

A variety of feminist, emotion and intersectionality theories were used to inform this research on Muslim women's everyday geographies in Hamilton. Between 2015 and 2018, a total of 44 semi-structured interviews were carried out, 11 with key informants and 33 with Muslim women. In addition, 30 emotion maps were drawn, 20 participants engaged in self-directed photography, and numerous participant observations were conducted. These methods provided a rich array of data.

Findings are organised around three spaces: the body; workplaces; and, play places. The first space – the body – foregrounds the importance of the veil and fashion as intersectional expressions of Muslim femininities. A multiplicity of Islam and Western practices occur at the site of the body. Issues that were addressed include why women chose to wear or not wear the hijab, modifying the hijab, modesty and fashion, and the intersection of Muslim and New Zealand national identities. The second space – workplaces – focuses on the intersections of embodied identities, educational credentials and English proficiency, and employment opportunities in education and healthcare services for Muslim women. Finally, the third space – play places – reflect that access and definitions of leisure are shaped through intersections of religion, age, marital status and culture, in relation to the city of Hamilton, and New Zealand as a nation.

Intersectional analyses of Muslim women's experiences demonstrate not only the complex and diverse ways that Muslim women practice their faith but also the

ways that their embodied identities (re)shape the geography of Hamilton. Paying attention to Muslim women's embodied geographies prompts consideration of how their bodies shape feelings and experiences of exclusion and inclusion in different spaces in Hamilton. By demonstrating how Muslim women's bodies resist, conform and subvert gendered, religious and racial geographies in a particular place, I have added to the feminist geographical literature on identities, bodies and space.

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Although my name is written as the author of this thesis, an academic work like this one is a collective endeavour. Many people and scholarly contexts have been involved in making my PhD journey process such a challenging, exciting and rewarding experience.

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	v
List of Figures	ix
List of Tables.....	xi
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Research aim and objectives	3
1.2 Muslim women's bodies matter: Research problem definition	4
1.3 Embodied geographies, emotion and intersectionality	6
1.4 Place and methodology of research.....	10
1.5 Thesis outline.....	12
Chapter 2 Contextualising Muslim women in Hamilton, New Zealand	15
2.1 Muslims in the New Zealand context.....	15
2.2 Hamilton	17
2.3 Summary.....	24
Chapter 3 Identities, emotions and place: Intersectionality as a conceptual framework	25
3.1 Expressing identity within and through the body	26
3.2 Muslim women, their dress codes and bodies in the West	31
3.3 Muslim women and migration	38
3.4 Emotion and affect	46
3.5 Intersectionality and power	56
3.6 Intersectional embodied identities of Muslim women in Hamilton	62
3.7 Summary.....	65
Chapter 4 Methodology	67
4.1 Participant recruitment.....	68
4.2 Semi-structured interviews	76
4.3 Emotion maps of bodies and places.....	78
4.4 Self-directed photography	80
4.5 Data analysis.....	83
4.6 Participants' trust and ethical obligations.....	89

4.7	Summary	92
Chapter 5 Muslim women's bodies: Modesty, fashion and nationality	95	
5.1	Muslim women's diverse accounts of the veil	97
5.1.1	Commitment to Allah	106
5.1.2	The veil as a sign of respect and security	111
5.1.3	A strategic tool.....	113
5.1.4	Muslim women's conflicting emotions around the veil.....	116
5.2	Veil and fashion.....	124
5.3	I am a Kiwi-Muslim woman.....	138
5.4	Summary	150
Chapter 6 Employment experiences of Muslim women within healthcare and education.....	153	
6.1	Visible bodily differences and Muslim women's employment	155
6.2	"Are Muslims terrorists?": Being stigmatised in workplaces	163
6.3	Negotiating stigma and Othering at work	171
6.4	Practising Islam in healthcare and educational institutions.....	179
6.4.1	Modesty at work.....	179
6.4.2	Forbidden alcohol.....	184
6.5	Summary	186
Chapter 7 The place of play: Muslim women's experiences of sport and leisure	189	
7.1	Home and mosque as leisure places	191
7.2	Shopping malls and restaurants	202
7.3	Coffee at night	212
7.4	Issues of transportation and security	217
7.5	"You are weird"! Water activities, sports and choice of clothing	222
7.6	Local organisations promoting Muslim women's access to play	236
7.7	Cultural fusion in Muslim women's leisure spaces.....	242
7.8	Summary	249
Chapter 8 Conclusion.....	251	
8.1	Dynamic embodied geographies of Muslim women.....	253
8.2	Future research.....	263

References	267
Appendix 1 Information sheet.....	293
Appendix 2 Muslim women consent form	296
Appendix 3 Recruitment poster	298
Appendix 4 Muslim women's interview question schedule.....	299
Appendix 5 List of counselling/support services	300
Appendix 6 Muslim women questionnaire	301
Appendix 7 Informants' questionnaire	302
Appendix 8 Ethical approval letter	303
Appendix 9 Thematic coding	304

List of Figures

Figure 2:1 Location of Hamilton in New Zealand.....	18
Figure 2:2 Nationality of Hamilton Refugee Arrivals, 2013-2015	19
Figure 2:3 Locations of mosques in Hamilton.....	21
Figure 2:4 The first building on the Jamila Mosque site	22
Figure 2:5 The second building on the Jamila Mosque site	23
Figure 3:1 Emotion and affect in and around Muslim women's bodies.....	54
Figure 3:2 Conceptual framework: intersectional identities	64
Figure 4:1 Coding an interview	84
Figure 4:2 Word frequency by NVivo.....	85
Figure 4:3 Thematic coding for hijab emotion.....	86
Figure 4:4 Mental map showing data analysis.....	88
Figure 5:1 Numbers of participants who wear a veil.....	97
Figure 5:2 Najmeh's emotion map.....	98
Figure 5:3 Susan's emotion maps of her body.....	99
Figure 5:4 Emotion map drawn by Hassun	100
Figure 5:5 Shohreh's post about her choice to wear the veil.....	110
Figure 5:6 Nurul in the Miss Universe New Zealand beauty pageant show.....	126
Figure 5:7 Nurul's interview with RNZ	127
Figure 5:8 Self-directed photos taken from Hassun's Instagram profile.....	132
Figure 5:9 Hashtags used by Hassun on her Facebook and Instagram.....	133
Figure 5:10 Rima's outfits shown in emotion map and photo	134
Figure 5:11 Razieh and Yasi's outfits.....	135
Figure 5:12 Anjum and Simin at a formal community event in Hamilton	137
Figure 5:13 Mona's expression of her national identity on Facebook	141
Figure 5:14 Shohreh's quote at the 'new wave' exhibition	142
Figure 5:15 Collecting money for refugees' health services.....	143
Figure 5:16 Hassun is collecting money for Palestinians in Gaza	144
Figure 5:17 Yalda and the Breast Cancer Awareness month.....	145
Figure 5:18 Yalda performing Haka.....	148
Figure 6:1 Work affiliations of the respondents	155
Figure 6:2 Reasons for feeling discriminated against	167

Figure 6:3 Where discrimination is most likely to happen in New Zealand.....	168
Figure 6:4 Razieh's emotion map of her workplace.....	175
Figure 7:1 Home as a favourite place for leisure time	193
Figure 7:2 Malaysian Eid celebration and food	195
Figure 7:3 Maldivian Eid decoration and food	196
Figure 7:4 Arabic dinner	197
Figure 7:5 Leisure activities for Muslim girls in the Mosque	200
Figure 7:6 Participants' emotion maps	202
Figure 7:7 Extremists' actions and veil-wearers' fear of getting harassment....	218
Figure 7:8 Elmira's drawing of herself.....	227
Figure 7:9 Elmira's emotion maps of the places that she likes	228
Figure 7:10 Elmira in the locker-room with her teammates.....	231
Figure 7:11 Yalda's swimming suit	233
Figure 7:12 Women-only swimming session for Muslim women in Hamilton ...	236
Figure 7:13 <i>NZ Herald's</i> report on WOWMA's outdoor activities.....	240
Figure 7:14 Yalda enjoys the Holi Festival at the University of Waikato	243
Figure 7:15 Shohreh celebrates Christmas with her non-Muslim friends	243
Figure 7:16 Neda and Rima at Razieh's bachelorette party.....	244
Figure 7:17 Yalda in her Halloween costume.....	245
Figure 7:18 Yalda's leisure spaces and activities	246
Figure 7:19 Yalda dancing at Sky City casino	247
Figure 7:20 Yalda's photos of a summer trip to her country of origin.....	248

List of Tables

Table 2:1 Muslim population in New Zealand	16
Table 4:1 Muslim women research participants: Demographic information	72
Table 4:2 Key-informant information	75

Chapter 1 Introduction

In 2015, the popular news site, *Stuff* reported a rise in harassments against Muslim women in Hamilton. A founder of the Women's Organisation of the Waikato Muslim Association (WOWMA), Aliya Danzeisen, reported on a surge in bullying of Muslim pupils in Hamilton schools and gave a recent example of a 14-year-old Muslim girl receiving taunts from her peers as she walks to class: "Someone should check her backpack for bombs" (Kenny, 2015).

This was not an isolated incident. In 2017, a New Zealand-born Muslim woman, Mehpara Khan, and her friends were at the centre of a widely publicised anti-Muslim attack in the Waikato town of Huntly. The group stopped for a break in Huntly when returning to Auckland from New Plymouth. Suddenly, a woman approached them, using offensive language, ordered the Muslim women to leave and told them they did not belong in New Zealand. Corporate communications consultant Khan recorded the attack on her cell phone. In the video, the abuser throws a beer can at Khan and her friends. The offender was charged with assault with a weapon and offensive language (Shuttleworth, 2017).

In another episode, in Auckland, in 2011, a Saudi Arabian woman student was refused transport on a public bus by a driver because of her Muslim veil, which covered her head and face (Fisher, 2011). In recent years, Muslim people – their bodies, religious symbols and clothing – have become associated with a perceived threat to Western values and security. As the presented incidents illustrate, Islamophobia can be manifested in the form of violent reactions to exclude Muslim women from places and resources, because they are deemed outsiders and/or invaders (Listerborn, 2015).

Muslim women's bodies are contested terrains and subject to regulation and control. It is not only Islam that defines gendered rules regarding women's bodies, but Muslim women, and particularly their veils and hijab,¹ receive much attention

¹ The terms veil and hijab are often used interchangeably. There are, however, some differences. The hijab is more than just a piece of clothing in Islam and refers to a set of Islamic behaviours, covering and attitudes. The veil is known as either face and head covering or "head covering in the West" (Siraj, 2011, p. 716). In my thesis, participants usually use the term hijab, and some use scarf,

from various civil society groups in the West² including politicians, media and academics (Byng, 2010). In this time of ‘war on terror’, the veil is still an issue and acts as a metaphor for either the inferiority of women under Islam or the threat of Islamic fundamentalism (Bullock, 2002).

For instance, President George Bush expressed his sympathy and feelings for the “women of cover” – Afghan women – who, Bush understood, cannot leave their homes and are deprived of many basic human rights including the right to education (Stabile & Kumar, 2005, p. 765). Later, this statement served as one of many justifications for military intervention in Afghanistan, to liberate these “women of cover” (Stabile & Kumar, 2005, p. 756). Subsequently, reports on Afghan women and “women of cover” increased in Western media, especially in the United States and the United Kingdom (Stabile & Kumar, 2005, p. 765).

In the West, hegemonic political debates and media tend to promote stories that reflect the supposed incompatibility of Islam with Western cultures, and particularly focus attention on the ‘problematic’ nature of Muslim women’s veils. Fuelled by the ongoing discourse of the ‘war on terror’, the “common popular knowledge” is that the veil, hijab, burqa and headscarf ultimately mean oppression of women (Abu-lughod, 2002, p. 785). Veiled Muslim women have been labelled as Other in a dichotomous framing of their identity, which is perceived either as oppressed and/or a threat (oppressor) to national identities across Western nations.

Yet, diverse ways of practising hijab by contemporary Muslim women demonstrate that growing numbers of these women reinterpret and develop their reading of the Quranic verses (Mansson McGinty, 2013). Feminist geographers, such as Dwyer (2000), Gökariksel and Secor (2014), and Lewis (2007), produce important scholarship showing the diversity of veil and identities of Muslim women. Their research explores multiple meanings and styles of veils, and

to refer to head covering. I use the terms hijab and veil throughout the thesis to refer to the veiling practices that cover head and not face.

² I recognise that ‘the West’ is a contested term, which emerged from a socio-political discursive process mainly originating in the western part of Europe, and later on, in the US (Sharp & McDowell, 2014).

“alternative identities and femininities beyond the dominant patriarchal rhetoric of the veil” (Mansson McGinty, 2013, p. 687). Nonetheless, gender and racial discourses continue to run through hegemonic media and everyday discussions, which reproduce partial understandings and binary perspectives on Muslim women.

Stereotypical images of Muslim women reduce their many identities to pre-determined and fixed notions of religion and gender. This understanding of Muslim women obscures the realities and diversity of their embodied geographies. This thesis rejects the construction of Muslim women as oppressed and/or oppressors and seeks to understand the many ways in which Muslim women express and embody their religion, gender and ethnicity, and their professional and migrant status. A focus on everyday lived experiences in Hamilton highlights the diverse embodied geographies of inclusion and exclusion.

1.1 Research aim and objectives

The aim of this research is: to understand the intersectional relationship between embodied identities, emotions, place and power for Muslim women in Hamilton, New Zealand. The research is underpinned by three objectives. These are to:

1. Explore the ways in which Muslim women’s embodied identities and emotions are constructed in relation to femininity, modesty, fashion and nationality;
2. Examine the intersections of gender, religion, nationality, migrant status and professionalism of Muslim women in healthcare and educational workplaces;
3. Explore the ways that intersections of gender, religion and nationality shape Muslim women’s understanding and experiences of play (sport and leisure) places.

Pursuing these objectives provides insights into the intersectional identities of Muslim women and the ways in which they negotiate various spaces and places. It clarifies how the emotional geographies of Muslims and the veil work in multiple ways to compound Muslim women’s exclusions and inclusions from space and

place (Alexander & Pain, 2012). My interests here are to explore and explain how embodied identities of gender, religious and nationality are constructed and negotiated across a variety of places and spaces. I inquire how the intersections of Muslim women's identities may include and exclude them from place and spaces. In summary, this research seeks to explore the relationships between Muslim women's identities, power, emotion, spaces and places.

Understanding the relationship between embodied identity, emotion and place provides knowledge about Muslim women's everyday experiences, identity constructions and heterogeneity. It is crucial to shed light on the diversity that exists among Muslim women and their understandings and practices of their religious identities in relation to space and place, for two main reasons.

First, the dearth of information about the variety of Muslim women, their veiling practices and everyday geographies reinforces the stereotypes and clichés of their incompatibility with the West, which portrays Muslim women as oppressed and/or as oppressors. These common understandings not only justify but sometimes also encourage discrimination against, and inequality of, Muslim women. Such partial understandings can lead to unequal access and exclusion of Muslim women from a range of places in the West, including work, sport and leisure spaces (Syed & Pio, 2010; Valentine, Sporton, & Nielsen, 2009; Walseth, 2006). Second, such studies contribute to understanding Muslim women's challenges and opportunities in regard to their multiple embodied identities in various places and spaces.

1.2 Muslim women's bodies matter: Research problem definition

Discourses on the 'war on terror' contribute to the growing construction of fear (Pain, 2009). Political rhetoric dominated by terror has emerged in the West (Hopkins, Kwan, & Aitchison, 2007; Tolia-Kelly, 2006, p. 214). Previous studies suggest that the constant association of Islam with terrorism accelerates discrimination, stereotyping and stigmatisation of Muslim communities (Bullock, 2000; Byng, 2010; Hopkins, 2009a; Yusof, Hassan, Salleh Hassan, & Osman, 2013). The climate created contributes to the prevalence of Islamophobia in West and brings about changes in Muslims' spatial and emotional landscapes, on multiple

scales ranging from local to global communities (Halliday, 2002; Hopkins, 2009a; Jasperse, Ward, & Jose, 2012). This hegemonic view portrays all Muslims and their religion as a homogenous category (Byng, 2010; Yusof et al., 2013). Feminist research shows that the Muslim veil is a significant determinant of Muslim women's identity and social position in the West (Bilge, 2010; Dwyer, 2000).

Veiling, an embodied practice of "covering of hair and sometimes face", plays a crucial role in "colonialist and Orientalist³ representations of Muslim women in the West" (Secor, 2002, p. 5). Western hegemonic discourses and popular media associate Muslim women's various forms of hijab with dichotomous meanings. On the one hand, the veil signals the predominant oppression of and violence against women in Islam (Bullock, 2000). On the other hand, there are constant associations between the veil and violence, which increase feelings of insecurity and fear in and around Muslim women's bodies, including streets, malls and workplaces (Hopkins, 2009b). These discourses and images construct a contradictory position for Muslim women in the West.

Feminist research shows that the pervasive idea in the West is that the veil is a patriarchal tool to oppress women, undermine their power and exclude them from a range of places and spaces. This assumption serves as a justification to discipline and intervene in the personal lives of Muslim women (Abu-lughod, 2002; Listerborn, 2015). Their bodies and clothing have increasingly become a target of political interventions in the West. For example, the governments of Belgium, France and the Netherlands have developed legislation to ban face coverings, niqab and burkas on public transport and in other public places (Dwyer, 2008; Listerborn, 2015).

Cultural and social geographers criticise the dominant understanding of the veil as a tool of women's oppression and argue that Muslim women embody and express

³ Edward Said's (1978) pioneering book, *Orientalism*, shows that the perception of East versus West relates basically to colonial business ventures; trade with the East that enriched and empowered the West (consider for example the East India Trade Company). To that end, Said (1978) argues that popular 'western culture' shaped a contrary space to the west; the East. In this division, "Europe, the West, us" came to symbolise power, knowledge, logic, modernity and superiority. In contrast, the East became associated with mysteries, exoticism, underdevelopment and inferiority (Said, 1978, p. 48). This perspective provides an invitation to the West "to control, and govern the other through its knowledge and superiority" (Said, 1978, p. 48).

their gendered religious and cultural requirements, such as the veil, in diverse ways depending on time and place (Dwyer, 1999; Meer, Dwyer, & Modood, 2010b; Mir, 2009; Mirza, 2013). In their separate studies in divergent environments, Dwyer (1999, 2000) in the United Kingdom, Mirza (2013) in the United States, Gökariksel and Secor (2014) in Turkey and Lewis (2007) examining fashion shops in London, reached a similar conclusion, that is, a restrictive categorisation of Muslim women, as oppressed/oppressor, portrays them as a homogenous group with a pre-determined and fixed identity. They argue that Muslim women's identities are, in reality, multiple and fluid, and change across time and space.

Most geographical and feminist studies on Muslim women stress the importance of the veil in shaping the exclusion and inclusion of Muslim women (Dwyer, 1999, 2008; Göle, 2002; Mansson McGinty, 2013; Meer et al., 2010b). For example, Listerborn (2015) argues that dominant anti-Islam/Muslim discourses associate the veil with Islamic extremism and terrorism. This visible clothing, the veil, is a controversial topic that prompts many discussions among both Muslims and non-Muslims. Feminist geographers' research challenges the hegemonic and prevailing discourses to define all Muslim and migrant women as powerless, oppressed and Other in the West (Nayel, 2017).

1.3 Embodied geographies, emotion and intersectionality

Feminist geographers have shown multiple and diverse ways in which people experience and understand places through their body (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010; Longhurst, 2001). From this perspective, gender is crucial in shaping people's experiences of place (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010). Gorman-Murray (2013) and Longhurst (2001) conceptualise that gendered bodies are both personal and social spaces. Gendered, embodied identities are (re)constructed in dialogue with everyday practices and places, which are informed and inscribed by discourses. Moreover, people experience spaces, places, and social structures in different ways (Winchester & Rofe, 2010). Dwyer (2000, p. 457) argues that there is a crucial need to ground the intersections of identities "within the everyday lives of individuals" in relation to space and place.

Dwyer (1999, 2000) and Bartkowski and Read (2003) show that Muslim women's religious identities, including their veils, are constructed in relation to their other social identities such as nationality and ethnicity. Therefore, it is impossible to grasp and analyse their experiences of oppression based on a one-dimensional framework. Dominant single-axis approaches, however, tend to examine inequality in single social categories such as gender, race or religion, conceptualizing these constructed separately. Such dominant perspectives neglect the challenges and opportunities that Muslim women face in various spaces because of the intersections between different aspects of their identity and the dynamics of place and space.

Geographers and scholars who work on international relations, such as Holland and Solomon (2014); Hopkins (2009a), and Tolia-Kelly (2006) argue that 9/11 and consequent events led to the emergence of specific affect and emotion in and around Muslim women's bodies. Such affectual and emotional geographies have significant roles in both identity construction and the ways Muslims experience various places. Affect is fluid, transferring between bodies and the physical environment (Pile, 2010). It is also a device that can be used to reveal the "trans-human and the inexpressible" factors and processes that construct and underline social life and space (Pile, 2010, p. 11). The concept of emotion focuses on the expression and experience of feelings in and between bodies (Pile, 2010). Nayak (2011) argues that people's sense of concepts such as belonging, citizenship and race are understood through emotions. These feelings are experienced within the body and are constructed socially (Pile, 2010).

Each form of social identity, including gender and race, is constructed mutually and takes its "meaning as a category in relation to another category" (Shields, 2008, p. 302). Social identities are also given meaning through the place. An intersectional and embodied analytical framework unravels the interlocking and complex structures of oppression that emerge on the basis of hierarchical differences such as gender, ethnicity, religion, and race (Hopkins, 2018; Valentine, 2007).

Feminist and post-structuralist research shows that aspects of identity are fluid and formed through intersectionality (Hopkins, 2018; Mirza, 2013; Valentine, 2007). Intersectionality rejects gender as a single analytical category of identity developed in isolation from “race, skin colour, age, ethnicity, culture, history, geographic location, language, and migrant status” (Samuels & Ross-Sheriff, 2008, p. 5). Intersectionality refers to a complex process of interactions and relationships among multiple identity markers of subjects, which are socially constructed (Manuel, 2006; McDowell, 2009).

Geographers and feminists call for further investigation of the lived experiences of Muslims in various places in Western countries. Hopkins (Hopkins, 2009b) argues that research on Muslim communities could advance the understanding of ‘contemporary Islam’. My research is guided broadly by a feminist geography theoretical framework. Identity is a central focus of my study because the sense of identity is felt and influences people’s rights and access to entitlements, spaces and places. It is now widely accepted in feminist theory that identities are “complex, multiple, fluid and continuously (re)produced and performed in a different arena of everyday life” (McDowell, 2009, p. 64). Building on existing work in geographies, including Dwyer (2000), Hopkins (2009b), Longhurst (2001) and McDowell’s (2011; 2009) of identity, I theorise my participants’ many identities, such as gender, religion and nationality, as embodied and multiple.

This research investigates how emotion, in relation to discourses of modesty, fashion and ‘the war on terror’ infuse national and local contexts and influence embodied identities of Muslim women in Hamilton. I also explore how respondents exert their agency to contest and/or reproduce hegemonic regulatory discourses of Muslim women, migrant women, professionalism, modernity and equality in Hamilton, New Zealand.

Similar to other geographers, including Brown (2012) and Hopkins (2018), I argue that intersectionality creates both opportunities and oppression. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 examine the relationships between Muslim women’s intersectional identities, power, emotion and three spaces of the body, at work and play. This research uses a combination of feminist, emotion, and intersectionality theories to understand

participants' embodied and emotional geographies. I draw upon embodied accounts of Muslim women's identities to advance understanding of the diversity of Muslim identities in terms of gender, socio-cultural factors and religion (Dwyer, 1999; Dwyer, Gilbert, & Shah, 2013). Intersectionality is applied to the investigations. Following geographers such as Brown (2012), Hopkins (2017, 2018) and Valentine (2007), and I use intersectionality as a relational conceptualisation of identity.

Making the relationships between Muslim women's intersectional identities, emotions and place explicit in the production of geographical knowledge offer a direct challenge to dominant assumptions about dichotomous categorisations of oppressed and/or oppressor. Such a challenge encourages a more critical understanding of how the gendered and religious bodies of Muslim women, power and places are mutually constituted (Dwyer, 2000, 2008).

A study on the intersectional identities of Muslim women and the emotional geographies of their everyday lives advances understanding of the various entanglements of their many identities in different places (Guiraudon, 2014; Hopkins, 2009a, 2017, 2018). I argue that spatialised and embodied conceptualisations of modesty and fashion are crucial for understanding the relationship between intersectional identity constructions and negotiations for Muslim women in various places and spaces. In this way, possibilities open up to explore "the experiences of Muslims possessing and experiencing a range of different social identities and structural inequalities as well as the interactions between Muslims and people of other religions" (Hopkins, 2009b, p. 215).

Unprecedented advances in communication technologies have accelerated the exchange of ideas and information. The fast-paced flow of information and ideas influences the construction of diverse identities. Embodiment and expression of difference – religion, gender and nationality – does not occur in isolation and on one geographical scale (Dwyer, 2000; Hall, 1992). In this sense, ideas related to embodied difference are produced and maintained through entanglements of discourses and practices in a state of flux and different spatial scales (McDowell, 2009). Human geographers note that Muslims' identities, experiences and

emotions are constructed across many scales. Their transnational and migrant identities connect and disconnect them to and from places at different times (Dwyer, 2000, 2008; Hopkins, 2007b, 2009a; Siraj, 2011).

In this thesis, each empirical chapter focuses on the ways Muslim women's identities are constructed across different spaces. I apply several scales, from the individual body to the globe. My approach to scale is similar to Moore (2008) who understands scale as a category of practice. In this conceptualisation, scales are not only physical sites; they are also social spaces and are produced by and through social activities (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010). Social settings and spatial interactions play a critical role in constructing and redefining scales, and they transform over "times and spaces" (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010, p. 5). Scales are also outcomes of political processes and systems, as power relationships exist within and across each scale (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010; Marston, 2000). Power relations can flow through and across multiple scales (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010). Similar to the concept of emotion, scales are fluid, interlinked and contingent. For this research, I use the notion of geographical scale as an approach to analysing the everyday lives and experiences of Muslim women in various spaces in Hamilton, New Zealand.

1.4 Place and methodology of research

Most studies on the lived experiences of Muslim women have been conducted in large urban areas and in Europe, the United States and the United Kingdom (Dwyer, 2008; Hopkins, 2011; Valentine et al., 2009). In contrast, my study focuses attention on the embodied geographies of Muslim women in Hamilton, New Zealand, which is a post-colonial city. Hamilton is the fourth largest city in New Zealand with a population of 160,000 people in 2013 (Hamilton City Council, 2013). Although Hamilton is one of the biggest cities in New Zealand, it is suburban in character, with relatively dispersed and low-density housing settings (Mace, 2009; Morrison, 2010). The city is located in the Waikato region in the North Island of New Zealand. The Waikato region is one of the leading dairy farming regions in New Zealand, and the city is surrounded by dairy farms (Morrison, 2010). These

spatial characteristics, along with the isolated location of New Zealand, make Hamilton a unique and specific place for studying Muslim women's experiences.

A majority of New Zealanders have a "racially tolerant attitude" (Masgoret, Ward, & Vauclair, 2011, p. 2) and encourage multiculturalism. Nonetheless, New Zealand's social and political climate is not immune from the global wave of Islamophobia. Governmental reports and several incidents show the rise of Islamophobia following 9/11, which contributes to negative public emotions and perspectives on Muslims in New Zealand (Kolig, 2010). For example, a report by the Ministry of Social Development notes that discriminatory attitudes toward "particular immigrant groups" (Masgoret et al., 2011, p. 2) and communities are observable in New Zealand. Jasperse (2011, p. 255) also finds that Muslim immigrants from "predominately Muslim countries" are not as positively perceived as immigrants from non-Muslim countries.

Studies and reports provide evidence that Muslim women are subject to additional prejudice and discrimination compared to Muslim men in New Zealand. Jasperse (2009), drawing on 2007 and 2008 New Zealand Human Rights Commission reports, indicates that the Commission received several complaints from Muslim women about Islamophobic incidents ranging from the subtle to the extreme, including being hit by stones or shot at from moving cars. The pattern and nature of these incidents reflect the fact that Islamophobia is gendered in New Zealand, as in the rest of the world (Jasperse et al., 2012; Zine, 2006). Jasperse et al. (2012) argue that Muslim women who cover are more likely to experience Islamophobia in New Zealand, mostly due to their distinctive style of dress.

Although new technologies and virtual spaces provide Muslim women with opportunities to express their identities and lives, their voices are often missing and neglected in public and political debates about Muslim women (Bilge, 2010). To collect Muslim women's voices, I use feminist methodology not only as a useful approach for displaying diversity among Muslim women but also for providing a space to reflect the voices of Muslim women. Who they are, and what they want and consider important in their lives in different places needs to be heard. Forty-four semi-structured interviews, 30 emotional mappings, self-directed

photography by 20 participants and numerous participant observations, conducted between 2015 and 2018, provide the data for this research.

The research findings help improve understanding of Muslim women's opportunities and challenges in Hamilton, New Zealand. The data of this research add to the literature exploring Muslim women's geographies. This knowledge also assists policymakers in formulating measures that address the daily challenges and issues faced by Muslim women living in urban and semi-urban areas. Furthermore, the emotional geographies and embodied identities of Muslim women in New Zealand are under-studied.

1.5 Thesis outline

In this introductory chapter, I have discussed the reasons that drove my decision to study the lived experiences of Muslim women in various places and spaces. This study aims to deepen understandings about the relationships between embodied identities, emotions, and place for Muslim women in Hamilton, New Zealand.

In chapter 2, I locate my study within the specific everyday contexts of Muslim women in Hamilton, New Zealand to avoid universalising Muslim women's experiences. I provide a snapshot of a Muslim community in New Zealand and the Waikato, examining their population, history, and nationalities. I explain the social, cultural and economic geographies of the Waikato region and specifically Hamilton, the main city in the region.

In chapter 3, I present the major theoretical arguments that frame my research. I focus on feminist geographers' studies, such as Dwyer (1999) and Mirza (2013), on Muslim women's identities in the West, and argue that their identities are diverse, fluid and contingent upon time and place. The core argument of my thesis is that place and identities are mutually constituted. To address this issue, I bring together and critically review three bodies of scholarship: geographies of embodied identity; geographies of emotion and affect; and intersectionality. Following Longhurst (2013), the fluidity and contingency of embodied identities are discussed. Based on Valentine (2007), Hopkins (2017) and Yuval-Davis (2006), I problematise the notion of identity as a fixed and single-dimension category by elaborating intersectional and embodied conceptualisations of identity.

Chapter 4 outlines the research methods. Just like social and cultural geographers, for example, Hopkins (2018) and Rodó-de-Zárate (2014), I apply feminist qualitative methodology. This approach provides researchers with nuanced, contextual and experimental knowledge about the Hamilton geographies of Muslim women. I introduce and reflect on the methods I used to collect data: semi-structured interviews; participant observations; emotion maps; and social media including Facebook and Instagram. The participants and their demographic information are presented in this chapter. I end this chapter by situating myself in the research and reflecting on my positionality.

Chapter 5 aims to understand the relationship between Muslim women's embodied identity in relation to gender discourses of modesty and nationality. Drawing on Dwyer (1999), Meer et al. (2010b), and Gökariksel and Secor (2014), I pay attention to the ways in which respondents challenge and conform to existing gendered and cultural norms about modesty and fashion. The findings reflect the ways that participants embody modesty and fashion as they negotiate their gender, religious, ethnic and national identities in the postcolonial and Western context of Hamilton. I make visible the relations between anti and pro discourses on the veil, modernity and bodies by examining the visible and material articulation of participants' identities by participants. I emphasise the agency of Muslim women throughout this chapter.

Chapter 6 considers workplaces and investigates the relationship between professional, gender and religious aspects of Muslim women's intersectional identities and the service economy sectors in Hamilton. I examine the co-construction of their intersectional embodied identities and employment in education and healthcare spaces, drawing on previous research, such as, McDowell's (2009). The empirical data, in this chapter, demonstrates that Muslim women's disadvantages and advantages in employment spaces are connected and shaped in relation to broader relations of social, political and economic power.

Chapter 7 focuses on spaces of play and Muslim women's experiences of different leisure and sports places. I highlight the relationship between gender, religion, nationality and leisure spaces for Muslim women. Reviewing previous

geographical research on sports and leisure, for example, Valentine, Holloway, and Jayne (2010) and Walseth (2006), I examine the ways in which Muslim women negotiate their gender and religious identities to participate in leisure activities. Like in the rest of the thesis, in this chapter, I discuss with respondents how they re-interpret Islamic teachings and gender-cultural norms while negotiating their embodied performance in different leisure and sports spaces.

To conclude, in chapter 8, I summarise my main findings and revisit the aims and objectives of my thesis. I highlight how the outcome of this research contributes to the existing literature on Muslim women's embodied identities and experiences in the West. I outline the possibilities for how the themes explored in this study may assist in understanding the constitutive relationship between body, identity, power and place. I end by outlining directions for future research.

Chapter 2 Contextualising Muslim women in Hamilton, New Zealand

This chapter provides demographic and contextual information about Muslim communities, Muslim women and organisations in Hamilton, New Zealand. I explain the social and physical geographies of Hamilton and the Waikato region in relation to the Muslim population. In particular, it provides some background information about governmental and non-governmental organisations that offer services to Muslim and migrant women in Hamilton.

As noted in the introduction chapter, Islamophobia and anti-Muslim sentiments are on the rise globally. In this climate, Muslim women are particularly subject to these negative feelings because of their veils, which make them a visible target. Geographers, however, argue that the particularities of each geographical location influence both the nature and extent of anti-Muslim sentiments and Muslims' experiences (Kolig, 2010). I set my study within a framework that takes into account the particularities of Muslim women's experiences in the context of Hamilton, the fourth largest city in New Zealand. I emphasise the claim by geographers that "Place matters in the production of knowledge" (Longhurst & Johnston, 2005, p. 94). For the scope and purposes of this study, I focus on three aspects of place: 1) Muslim population composition in Hamilton, New Zealand; 2) Economic and leisure landscapes of Hamilton; and, 3) Muslim and ethnic women's organisations in Hamilton with particular attention paid to Muslim women's associations.

2.1 Muslims in the New Zealand context

Although New Zealand has traditionally been a bicultural society "rooted in an indigenous Māori and British colonial base" (Stuart & Ward, 2011, p. 257), its population is becoming increasingly diverse. Ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity increases in the country because 40-50,000 new immigrants, from approximately 150 different countries, enter New Zealand each year (Stuart & Ward, 2011).

Muslim Chinese gold miners are known to be the first Muslim settlers in New Zealand (Pratt, 2010). However, it took several years for Muslims to become a distinctive community in this country with their “own forms of organisation and purpose-built mosques” (Pratt, 2010, p. 397). Geographical isolation and the white New Zealand immigration policy before 1974⁴ contributed to the small size of the Muslim population, and particularly Muslim women, in New Zealand compared to other Western countries, including the United Kingdom and the United States of America (Kolig, 2010). Nevertheless, the Muslim population is the most rapidly growing religious group in New Zealand, having increased six-fold between 1991 and 2006. Today, Muslims comprise 1% of the whole country’s population (Ministry of Social Development, 2008). The Muslim community of New Zealand consists of people from different ethnicities, races, nationalities and cultures (Dobson, 2013). Despite growing substantially, the Muslim population remains a small minority in New Zealand.

Table 2:1 Muslim population in New Zealand

Year	Total population	Islam/Muslim population
2013	4,242,048	46,146

Source: Data extracted from Stats NZ

Globally, New Zealand is known as a nation that “is publicly perceived to be culturally tolerant” (Kolig, 2010, pp. 21-22). Studies, reports and news items often reflect that New Zealanders are not only tolerant of ethnic and cultural diversities but also encourage multiculturalism (Jasperse et al., 2012; Masgoret et al., 2011). There are similarities between New Zealand and the rest of the Western world regarding Muslim issues (Kolig, 2010). Based on the New Zealand Human Rights Commission’s reports, the majority of religious abuse and discrimination complaints have been reported by Muslims in New Zealand (Jasperse, 2011; Jasperse et al., 2012). Many of these complaints come from Muslim women

⁴ This was a system that “favoured immigrants”, predominantly white skin, from Europe (Kolig, 2010, p. 20).

because of their religious dress, the veil. It is worth noting that the frequency and extent of such incidents are remarkably low compared to other Western nations such as the United Kingdom and Western Europe. These reports rely on incidents that were filed as complaints and became public, however, many incidents may not be reported.

In contrast to the United Kingdom and many cities in Western Europe, residential segregation is not a characteristic of Muslim communities in New Zealand. Although income and employment rates are lower for Muslims, these figures are not “alarmingly below [the] national average” (Kolig, 2010, p. 25) in New Zealand. These figures vary with gender, ethnicity, race and age. Also, Muslims are not perceived as a threat to national identity in New Zealand as in many other Western nations. This may be explained through the currently small size of the Muslim population and the lack of “massive Muslim immigration”, which in turn, is not significant enough to change the cultural and ethnic composition of New Zealand (Kolig, 2010, p. 11).

Moreover, New Zealand faces a shortage of qualified workers in some industries, including the healthcare and education sectors. It uses a points system to attract overseas workers with the desired skills to help fill these gaps (Immigration New Zealand, 2017). Hence, Muslims who enter the country through this point system have high levels of education and skills (Kolig, 2010). Although this information does not show the lived realities of Muslim women’s situations, it gives a broad picture of Muslims in New Zealand.

2.2 Hamilton

Hamilton is the biggest inland city in New Zealand and is located in the North Island (Pratt, 2010) (see Figure 2:1). Hamilton is part of the Waikato region, where the economy is based on dairy, meat and other food production. New Zealand Immigration (2017b) reports that health and education are the largest employers in the region, followed by business and finance, and wholesale and retail trade sectors. Hamilton has a population of approximately 160,000 people from more than 80 different ethnic backgrounds (Hamilton City Council, 2013).



Figure 2:1 Location of Hamilton in New Zealand

Source: ontheworldmap.com

With regard to sports and recreational spaces, there are 145 parks and gardens and 63 sports area in Hamilton City (Hamilton City Council, 2013). There are many cafes and restaurants, a number of which are ethnic restaurants (including Chinese, Turkish and Indian) a casino and some bars (Hamilton and Waikato Tourism, 2017; Longhurst, Ho, & Johnston, 2008). There are five malls in Hamilton city: Centre Place in the city centre; Te Awa, located in New Zealand's largest shopping centre, The Base; Hamilton Central Shopping Centre in the heart of the city; Dress-Smart; and Chartwell Shopping Centre (Hamilton i-SITE Visitor Information Centre, 2017). Hamilton is within two hours' drive of two of the country's main seaports (Auckland and Tauranga). Hamilton's proximity to Auckland, Tauranga, Coromandel and Raglan facilitate residents' access to beaches and water-related activities such as surfing and kayaking (Hamilton and Waikato Tourism, 2017).

The Hamilton Muslim community was first established in the 1970s (Shepard, 2006). According to New Zealand Statistics, in 2013, 2,445 Muslims lived in Hamilton. These people either were born in New Zealand or entered the country via a number of pathways. Some Muslims come to Hamilton for higher education and/or to work under the Points-Based Skilled Migration System. The Waikato Hospital, the University of Waikato, and the Waikato Institute of Technology attract overseas skilled migrants from various cultures and countries, including skilled Muslim migrants (New Zealand Immigration, 2016a, 2017b). Some Muslims came to Hamilton through the refugee quota (Hamilton City Council, 2015a) (Figure 2:2). The majority of refugees from Afghanistan, Somalia and Syria, are Muslim (Mohamed, 2011; New Zealand Immigration, 2016b, 2017c).

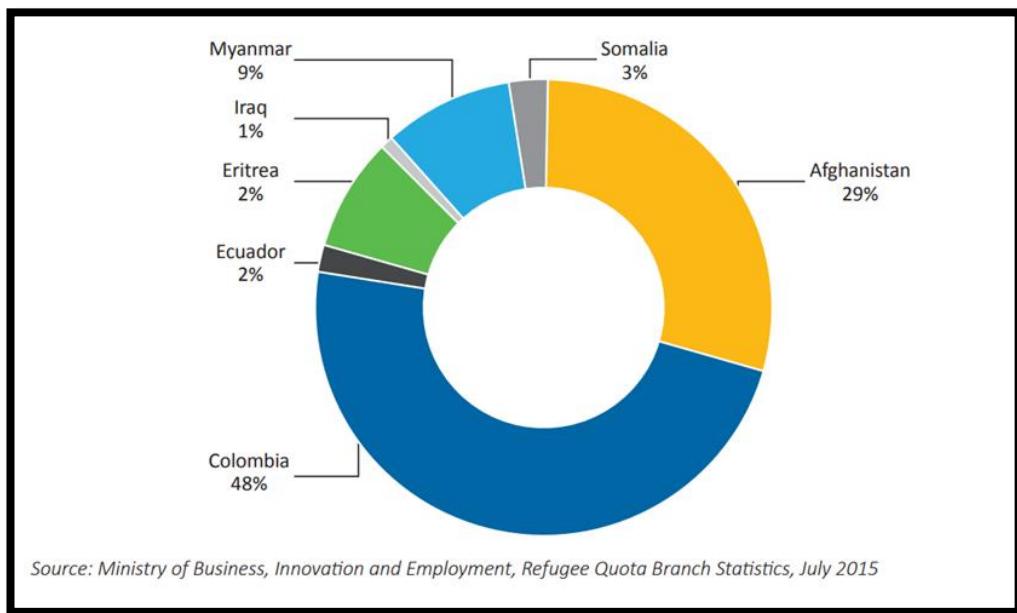


Figure 2:2 Nationality of Hamilton Refugee Arrivals, 2013-2015

Hamilton has several clubs and organisations, both governmental and non-governmental, that are designed to promote the social, physical and cultural wellbeing of different communities in the city (Hamilton City Council, 2013; Johnston & Longhurst, 2013). In my research, I focused mainly on three organisations that work closely with Muslim women's issues in Hamilton: the Women's Organisation of the Waikato Muslim Association (WOWMA); Hamilton's Ethnic Women's Centre (SHAMA); and the New Zealand Red Cross (refugee programme).

For an understanding of WOWMA's structure, it is important to explain briefly the two bigger organisations that WOWMA is part of. WOWMA is a part of the Waikato Muslim Association, which is a charitable organisation registered with the New Zealand Company Office in 1980. The organisation was founded in response to the increasing Muslim population in the region. The Waikato Muslim Association is located at the Hamilton Jamia Mosque and provides services for the Muslim community in Hamilton and the Waikato region, including regular daily and congregational prayers, regular Quran lessons for youth, and community activities. This organisation functions as a regional member of the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand (FIANZ) (Waikato Muslim Association, 2017). FIANZ is registered with the New Zealand government as an Incorporated Society. FIANZ's objectives are to:

1. Provide a unified voice for the New Zealand Muslim community;
2. Provide an internationally recognised Halal certification procedure;
3. Establish and maintain the highest standard of Islamic practice in accordance with the teachings of the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah;
4. Undertake Da'wah, education, welfare and other Islamic activities;
5. Assist in the development, and strengthen the unity, of the Muslim community of New Zealand;
6. Establish and foster a good relationship with Muslim countries and International Muslim organisations and institutions;
7. Promote and explain the message of Islam to the wider New Zealand community (FIANZ, 2017, para. 3).

In 2007, WOWMA was founded at the Hamilton Jamia Mosque. WOWMA is run by Waikato Muslim women and aims to promote Muslim women's connections to traditions and to the people of New Zealand in an Islamically-compliant way. This centre offers and organises early childhood, youth, adult and senior women's programmes, including a summer camp for Muslim girls (Women's Organisation of the Waikato Muslim Association (WOWMA), n.d.).

There are three places of worship for Muslims in Hamilton: the Hamilton Jamia Masjid (mosque); Masjid Al Madeena (an ongoing project and still under construction); and Masjid Khadija Bnt Khowild (see Figure 2:3).

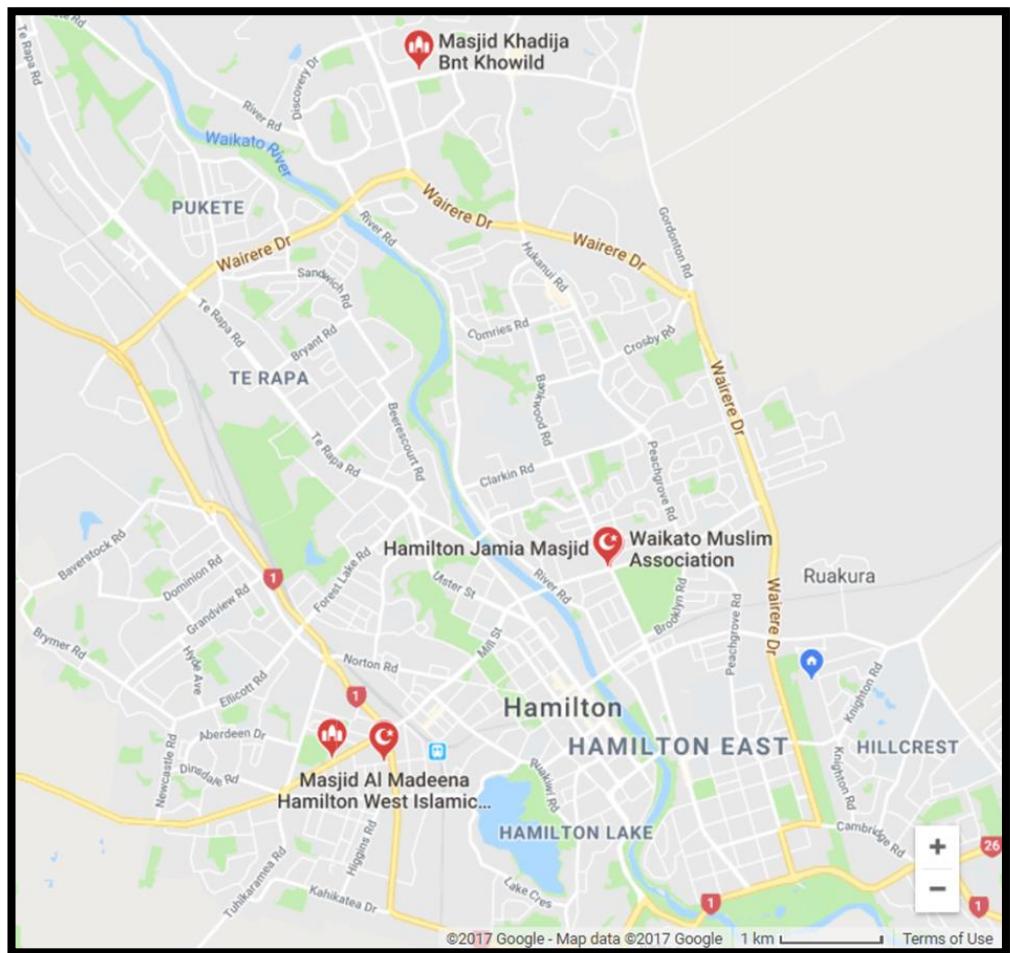


Figure 2:3 Locations of mosques in Hamilton

The Hamilton Jamia Masjid is the most attended and active mosque both in Hamilton and the entire Waikato region. Jamia Mosque is used for multiple purposes by Muslims, including regular daily and congregational prayers and regular Quran lessons for youth. The first building in this site was used as a prayer place in the 1980s and renovated as a mosque in 1997 (see Figure 2:4). This mosque was gutted by fire in an arson attack in 1998. This incident shocked local government and communities in Hamilton and inspired a strong sense of sympathy and community. The city council provided Muslims with a temporary prayer place, and church groups and the Jewish community spearheaded donations for fencing and a security system for the re-built mosque (Shepard, 2016). The arson attack and the Hamilton community's reactions to that revealed that there were conflicting feelings toward Islam and Muslims in Hamilton (see Dunn (2005, 2014) for examples of conflicting feelings regarding Mosques in Sydney).

In 2012, the mosque was extended by purchasing the neighbouring land. The fund for the construction of the new additions was raised primarily from within the local and national Muslim community and aided by a grant from the Islamic Development Bank in Saudi Arabia (Waikato Islamic School of Education; Waikato Muslim Association, 2017). In 2013, a larger building was constructed and added to the mosque complex (see Figure 2:5). This larger building is referred to as a Madrasa (Islamic school) by Muslims and is used mainly for community purposes. The first floor of the new building is used by an Islamic education centre known as the Waikato Islamic School of Education (WISE).

The Islamic integrated early childhood education centre, Iqra Educare, is also located in the new building. This early childhood education centre provides holistic care and education for the children of the community, based on Islamic beliefs and values (Iqra Educare, 2017). This education centre provides a part-time Islamic education programme for Muslim children aged between five and fourteen (Waikato Islamic School of Education). A second floor is a place for Muslim women, and most of their social gatherings, meetings and education sessions are held there.



Figure 2:4 The first building on the Jamila Mosque site
Source: Waikato Muslim Association (2017)



Figure 2:5 The second building on the Jamila Mosque site
Source: Waikato Muslim Association (2018).

The Hamilton Ethnic Women's Centre Trust (SHAMA) is a charitable trust formed in 2002 in response to a lack of appropriate services for addressing the challenges facing ethnic women and their children. It is run by ethnic women and is a growing organisation, which offers culturally appropriate support, advocacy and programmes, providing a source of strength and empowerment for ethnic women in Hamilton. The centre has three types of programmes:

1. Skills-based programmes: English language and conversation; IT and computers; gardening; cooking; and sewing classes.
2. Support programmes: parent support; school holiday programmes; after-school educational support for children from refugee families; legal and domestic violence workshops.
3. Individual support: one-on-one support is provided to ethnic women, children and their families by trained social workers (Shama, 2017, para. 5).

Finally, the New Zealand Red Cross is the primary provider of community refugee resettlement programmes in New Zealand. Within these programmes, the Red Cross supports former refugees in their resettlement processes. Among other programmes, the New Zealand Red Cross helps former refugees to find jobs in

New Zealand and organises English classes and sports activities for these people and their children (New Zealand Red Cross, 2017).

2.3 Summary

This chapter provides information about New Zealand, the Waikato region and Hamilton, and relevant statistics about the Muslim population. Hamilton is an inland city, and its geographical location and road networks make access to many natural, recreational reserves, parks and beaches easy for its inhabitants. Farming is the main industry in the Waikato region. Hamilton is the main city of the Waikato region with an ethnically and religiously diverse population, including Muslims, who comprise a growing minority of the population. This group is expanding through three primary sources: international student migration; skilled migration; and refugees. The statistics show that Muslim women comprise a small section of Hamilton's society. Muslim women in Hamilton form a small community with established organisations that address their religious and cultural needs.

Chapter 3 Identities, emotions and place: Intersectionality as a conceptual framework

A core discussion in this thesis is the mutual relationship between embodied identities, emotions and place for Muslim women in Hamilton, New Zealand. To set out the conceptual framework within which the research is located, I draw on three realms of literature: 1) geographies of embodied identities; 2) geographies of emotion and affect; and, 3) intersectionality. Employing an intersectional framework, I argue that embodied identity is not homogenous among Muslim women nor is it static across time and place. The scholarship reviewed in this chapter frames embodied identities as multiple, diverse and not pre-determined.

Muslim women are often perceived within a binary of oppressed (victim) or a perceived threat to national security (oppressor). The oppressed/oppressor categorisation of Muslim women, which deems them intrinsically incompatible with the West and its liberal, so-called egalitarian culture, is a commonly accepted perspective. Scholars such as Abu-lughod (2002) and Dwyer (2008) argue that a reductionist categorisation of Muslim women contributes to the shaping of their exclusion, Othering and marginalisation in the West. Abu-lughod (2002) notes that in the West, hegemonic anti-Islam discourses often condemn the patriarchal culture of Islam for any forms of oppression experienced by Muslim women, such as their restricted access to and/or exclusion from places and spaces.

Personal narratives and emotions of Muslim women are often missing in definitions of who Muslim women are and what challenges and opportunities they face. There is a need to explore further the experiences of Muslim women in the West to understand the complex ways in which Muslim women's embodied identities contribute to their exclusion from, and inclusion in, spaces and places (Dwyer, 2000; Hopkins, 2017; Mirza, 2013).

In particular, there is a crucial need to draw attention to the fact that Muslim women's identities are as diverse as their challenges and opportunities. It is essential to study Muslim women's experiences while focusing attention on

religion as only one aspect of their identity and to be aware that they are not passive in receiving ideas and guidelines, but active social actors (Read & Bartkowski, 2000). It is also crucial to take into account the dynamics of broader spatial contexts within which Muslim women enact their many identities. Many spatial processes, at global and local levels, influence Muslim women's capacities and capabilities for understanding, interacting and coping with the multiple realities of the world. Some of these spatial processes that contribute to (re)shaping Muslim women's understanding of their identities are globalisation, the plethora of communication technologies, the facilitation of international movements, the rise of the 'war on terror' climate, and advances in women's rights regarding access to the labour market and higher education. Accordingly, this research shows that Muslim women simultaneously hold several identities that each positions them in different ways at different overlapping spatial scales. This positioning shapes how they experience places, marginalisation and opportunities in Hamilton.

This chapter is divided into three sections: embodied identity; emotion and affect; and intersectionality. These concepts guide and structure the analyses used in this thesis. The next section elaborates on the conceptualisations of embodied identity by feminist and social geographers. A review of the geographies of Muslim women follows. Then, the emphasis moves to the importance of migration contexts in constructing identities and the experiences of international migrants. I go on to review the literature on the relationship between affect and emotion, and their influences on power relations and constructions of the embodied identities of Muslim women in the West. The next section introduces the concept of intersectionality. Finally, a summary of the main points is presented.

3.1 Expressing identity within and through the body

Feminist and social geographers argue that the body is an essential element that people use to identify and feel themselves, and through which they experience the world (Longhurst, 2001; McDowell, 2009). Feminist geographer Longhurst (2001) argues that the body is a politicised site that cannot be understood outside of political, cultural, religious and gender discourses. Environment and

infrastructures are necessary for supporting and sustaining bodies (Butler, 2015). On the one hand, the body is constructed and materialised socially and subjected to numerous meanings and emotions depending on its social and physical position/s.

On the other hand, the body is the very first medium through which people differentiate themselves from the physical environment and other people. Bodies are used to connect with and experience a variety of spaces (Longhurst, 2001). In this way, the body as a concept is not just social, it is also physical and psychological.

The body can be understood as a space of resistance, generating – as well as experiencing - emotions (Gorman-Murray, 2013). It is “a primary tool through which all interactions and emotions filter in accessing” (Longhurst et al., 2008, p. 208) and understanding geographies of everyday life. Gorman-Murray (2013, p. 138) argues that the body expands across “multiscalar networks, a very means by and through which individuals experience neighbourhood, workplaces, and cities”. Therefore, this concept carries with it a variety of understandings and meanings, in various disciplines and spaces (Valentine, 1999).

The history, geographical location and particular norms of places play a major role in the extent to which a body can resist, conform to or subvert hegemonic discourses and norms (Longhurst, 2001; Valentine, 1999; Young, 2005). The body is a crucial site reflecting socio-economic, political and sexual meanings (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010). Yuval-Davis (2011, p. 13) contends that “differently embodied signifiers, such as the colour of skin, clothing, accent and modes of behaviour” mark different locations for individuals. Visible embodiments, such as skin colour, clothing, language and gender, are essential and inevitable grounds for categorising people (Blumen, 2007). Gender, race and professionalism discourses have much to do with classifying entire populations and the construction of so-called ‘ideal’ bodies.

Discourses are fundamental forces relating to disciplining and shaping bodies and power (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010). The concept has been interpreted in many

different and complex ways. In linguistics, the term is used to describe passages of writing or speech that are connected. Based on Foucault's (2002) book, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Waitt (2010, p. 218) defines discourses as groups of processes that centre around "the production and circulation of particular knowledge" and that function as systems to "convince people about what exists in the world (meanings) and determine what they say (attitudes) and what they do (practices)" (Waitt, 2010, p. 218). For my research, discourse is conceptualised based on feminist geographers' perspectives and refers to a set of powerful statements, images, religious and cultural values with a common theme of thinking, which mobilises various verbal and non-verbal means to structure social practices, attitudes, embodied practices and meanings based on that thinking (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010; Rose, 2001).

Social discourses are potent forces in disciplining and governing the expression of embodied identities. Their disciplinary power has the "ability to name, to define, and to describe certain people and places both as different from others, and in a way that excludes other definitions" (Gregson & Rose, 2000, p. 439). Considering the connection between discourses and bodies, Valentine (1999) argues that hegemonic discourses in "media, medicine, and consumer culture as well as fashion industries" (1999, p. 330) not only shape and construct people's conceptualisations of bodies but also the assumptions of their embodied needs. These discourses are critical forces that (re)shape standards of so-called desirable and acceptable bodies (McDowell, 2009; Young, 1990). These ideas institutionally shape desirable bodies, comportments and clothing (Wolkowitz, 2002).

Dominant discourses create spatial orderings, within which appropriate and acceptable bodies and practices are maintained through policing, while unacceptable behaviours and bodies are disciplined or excluded through "the shaming of abnormal" (McDowell, 2008, p. 497). Desirable or/and 'normalised' fashion and clothing are designed in accordance with societies' acceptable norms and hegemonic discourses that are contingent upon time and place (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010). Once these prescribed forms are accepted and adopted by the majority, people mould their bodies in alignment with 'proper' decorum and social

norms to maintain their position and increase their social opportunities (Green, 2006; Longhurst, 2001; McDowell, 2009). Dominant discourses attribute specific features as ‘natural’. Discourses intersect, thus, racially and ethnically embodied markers of differences are profoundly gendered (McDowell, 2008).

Geographers such as McDowell (2008) have shown that embodied markers such as race and gender are the fundamental categorical bases for unravelling inequality. For example, in terms of employment, McDowell’s (2008, 2009; 2007) research on bodies in workplaces points out that normative rules, behaviours and expectations, constructed by hegemonic gender and racial discourses, play crucial roles in shaping the structural challenges and inequalities in getting a job. Organisational regulations, norms and images of ideal applicants influence how applicants and workers are composed and practise their many identities (McDowell, 2008).

Feminist geographers have long advocated that identity is embodied, multiple and consists of many aspects (Dwyer, 2000; Dwyer & Crang, 2002; Johnston & Longhurst, 2010; Longhurst, 2001; McDowell, 2008). Multiple identities refer to simultaneously holding several socially constructed dimensions of being, including, but not limited to, gender, religion, and migrant status. Feminist geographers show that embodied identity plays a significant role in the socio-political positioning of people and the ways they experience place (Dwyer, 2000; Dwyer & Crang, 2002; Manuel, 2006).

In the same vein, Holt (2008, p. 261) conceptualises embodied identity as a dynamic material process of becoming that intersects with broader social, cultural and economic relations emerging on the individual to global scales. She further argues that embodied identities are also sites of materialisation, reproduction, and/or transgression of dominant discourses. Holt underscores that embodied identities are (re)constructed in relation to “broader axes of privilege and exclusion in a variety of interconnected cultural, social, political arenas; including, crucially, access to economic capitals” (2008, pp. 237, 241). Gregson and Rose (2000) assert that embodied identities are not only the articulation of power relations but also influence them.

Anthropologist Buitelaar (2006, p. 261) underlines that identity is (re)constructed “dialogically”. Individuals not only listen to discourses, but they act upon them and reproduce them through their narratives. Although individuals are not entirely autonomous during this process, they are able to draw on their agency and modify discourses through practices in accordance with space and place (Holt, 2008). For feminist geographers, people should not be considered as “abstracted subjects” in performing their multiple identities, but agentic social actors (Nelson, 1999, p. 332). People may perform their identities reflexively and show agency depending upon place and space (Nelson, 1999). As such, the extent to which social actors can improvise or reformulate discourses is influenced by, and contingent upon, the spatial context. The main argument of these geographers is that identity is embodied, not just constructed socially, and also influenced by biology and the interplay between social and material aspects.

For Muslim women, gendered and anti-Islam discourses portray their veiled bodies as Other and ‘out of place’, as well as being in opposition to Western norms. As such, women’s embodied identities are social processes that shape experiences and access to places in the West (Dwyer, 2000; Mirza, 2013; Rootham, 2015). Based on my review of the literature, this research focuses on embodied identity constructions and negotiations of Muslims in relation to dominant gendered discourses of modesty, fashion and nationality within the ‘war on terror’ climate. I argue that Muslim women are social actors and, depending on space and place, are able to juggle and synthesise different emotions and identities depending on their situational demands (Bolton & Boyd, 2003).

This thesis also explores the ways gender, religion, race and nationality – for example, wearing the veil, skin colour, accent, and clothing – influence women’s lived experiences and the ways their bodies “are linked to discursive and material spaces” (Longhurst, 2005, p. 252). Therefore, I use the term embodied identity to understand the relationships between identity, body, emotion, power and place. This conceptualisation of Muslim women’s identity also considers the capacity to conform to, resist and subvert cultural norms (Dwyer, 2000). Arguably, such notions of embodied identity do not always reveal how various aspects of identity

come together and are embodied across different places simultaneously. In the next section, I review the work by feminist geographers, and related scholars, who have focused on the veil in the West.

3.2 Muslim women, their dress codes and bodies in the West

As already discussed, Orientalist and anti-Islam discourses portray Muslim women as ‘backward’, and as a perceived security threat. These dominant assumptions contribute to positioning Muslim women, particularly when wearing the veil, as Other (Hoodfar, 1992; Said, 1978). Within this school of thought, the veil, in particular, is taken as a symbol of a lack of inclination to integrate into Western nations, as well as a resistance to modernity and gender equality. Such an essentialist conceptualisation of Muslim women firstly overshadows the complexity of women’s identities, their work, gender, migration status and religious practices (Mirza, 2013). Secondly, such restrictive constructs neglect the fact that Muslim women have multiple social identities, of which religion is just one. Hence, the reality that Muslim women’s identities are multiply constructed and experienced is routinely ignored (Buitelaar, 2006). It is worth noting that the veil is practised diversely among Muslim women, some Muslim women wear *the niqab* or the full-face veil. Most Muslim women wear a veil that covers their hair and necks, which is referred to as hijab and/or headscarves. Hijab and headscarves are practised in various styles and colours, and even sometimes do not cover Muslim women’s hair and neck fully (Dwyer, 2000, 2008).

In their separate studies in different environments, Dwyer (1999, 2000) in the United Kingdom, Mirza (2013) in the United States, Gökariksel and Secor (2014) in Turkey, and Lewis (2007) in London fashion shops argue that Muslim women’s identities are multiple and fluid, and changing across time and space. Most geographical and feminist studies on Muslim women stress the importance of the veil in shaping the exclusion and inclusion of Muslim women (Dwyer, 1999, 2008; Göle, 2002; Mansson McGinty, 2013; Meer et al., 2010b). For example, Listerborn (2015) argues that dominant anti-Islam/Muslims discourses associate the veil with Islamic extremism and terrorism. This visible clothing, the veil, is a controversial topic that prompts many discussions among both Muslims and non-Muslims.

Dwyer (1999, 2000) examines the significance of space in constructing the veil, its styles and associated meanings. In her study on the experiences of a group of young British Muslim girls, Dwyer (1999) observes that veiling styles are worn and negotiated diversely according to spatial characteristics of place. She contends that socio-spatial norms of places such as home, school, and school toilets play determining roles in constructing and reconstructing the embodied identities of her participants. Dwyer (1999) also stresses that young Muslim women are not merely passive recipients of Islamic cultures and social norms, they are social actors who actively interpret, conform to and manipulate such institutions while embodying them.

Further, Dwyer (1999, pp. 7-8) discusses the roles of "historical dynamism" in constructing the veil and argues that colonising powers defined Islam and the veil as backward and oppressive in the colonial times of institutionalisation of the Orientalism. In her research on young British South Asian Muslim women, Dwyer (1999) shows that wearing a veil is not exclusively because of adherence to religious identity for Muslim women. This attire plays an essential role in the discursive construction of Muslim women's sense of religious and cultural identities. During the colonisation era, the veil was worn by Muslim women not only to re-enforce the social meaning of gender but also as a sign of objection to cultural domination of colonised nations (Bullock, 2002; Read & Bartkowski, 2000). While hegemonic discourses and media represent Muslim women and their veils as signs of oppression and the patriarchal culture of Islam, Abu-lughod (2002) explains that the veil used to carry the meaning of high social class and purity. Through her ethnographic research in Egypt, Abu-lughod (2002) argues that definitions of the veil vary not only for each but also for individual Middle Eastern nations and Western countries.

Secor (2002, p. 7) argues that the veil is a "situated embodied practice" and the meanings produced by this piece of clothing should be understood in relation to the broader social context. In her study on the veil and urban spaces in Istanbul, Secor (2002, p. 5) observes that Muslim women reinterpret religion "along secularist lines" and adopt an innovative and flexible approach towards their head

and body covering. As such, she concludes that practice of veiling is a socio-spatial practice that is context-specific. Secor (2002) observes that Muslim women engage with Islamic teachings and text to contest the public's anti-veiling attitudes. Moreover, Muslim women as social actors engage in knowledge production and reinterpretation of Islam in Istanbul, Turkey. These engagements lead to the emergence of novel styles of the veil and dress for Muslim women, which are controversial topics and lead to conflicts not only between secularists and Islamists but also among Muslims themselves (Göle, 2002; Lewis, 2007; Secor, 2002).

The styles of wearing the veil, socio-political and spatial practices have much to do with shaping and reshaping the veil and its related meanings (Siraj, 2011). Siraj (2011) points out that there are various understandings of the veil among Muslim women depending on the entanglement of their embodied identities. Siraj (2011, p. 720) argues that wearing the veil marks a woman's body as "Muslim and sacred" in social spaces. Siraj (2011), however, highlights that wearing the veil is one of the religious requirements that is practised by some Muslim women, but not all of them. As such, there is a great need to expand the scope of research on the other embodied identities of Muslim women, including their professional and national identities, and explore how these are negotiated and expressed in everyday spaces of life (Gale & Hopkins, 2009).

As a cultural phenomenon and a religion, Islam is an institution that regulates and establishes gender roles, modes of behaviours and practices (Brown, 2012). These regulations, however, are socially constructed. As such, they are subjected to being contested and discursively reshaped depending on individuals' identities and place (Buitelaar, 2006). Calhoun (2001) argues that ethnic and religious identities are neither synonymous with tribal identity nor opposite to modernity. Drawing on Hall (1992), Dwyer (2000) argues that ethnic and cultural identities are constructed and reshaped continuously, and broader social contexts contribute to the shaping of the ways these identities are produced. In this thesis, I illustrate the ways in which the religious identities of Muslim women are constructed in places of work, institutional education and leisure spheres.

Scholars, such as, Syed and Pio (2010), and Bartkowski and Read (2003) point to the active role some Muslim women play in interpreting and modifying Islamic cultures and teachings according to broader social contexts. Syed and Pio (2010) observe that Muslim women draw on their agency to interpret and embody Islamic rules in accordance with the spatial orderings and power structures of their workplaces in Australia. Bartkowski and Read (2003) show that some Muslim women refashion meanings of the veil by interpreting it as a submission to their God rather than associating the veil with patriarchy and women's exclusion from a range of places and spaces.

In her research on Muslim women in the United Kingdom, Dwyer (1999, 2000, 2008; 2013) argues against a binary opposition between Western culture and Islamic culture. Dwyer (2002) shows that Muslim women inhabit several identities and occupy several positions, simultaneously. Young British Muslim women negotiate their ethnic, gender and age identities between these spaces in their everyday lives. Her empirical findings show how diasporic Muslim women's bodies become a site in which several cultures, powers and emotions meet, coexist and conflict with each other (Dwyer, 1999, 2000, 2008). Drawing on Hall's (1992) article 'New Ethnicities', Dwyer (2000) argues that young Muslim women's identities are a combination of various cultures and values. In their research, Dwyer and Crang (2002) display the ways that young British South Asian Muslim women actively create fashionable clothing reflecting the possibilities of intersecting Western and Eastern cultures to form alternative cultures. Using the intersectionality concept, this study contributes to the growing scholarship that explores some of the instabilities of stereotypical categorisations of Muslim women as oppressed and/or oppressor beings in the West.

Göle (2002) and Gökariksel and Secor (2014) find that veiling fashions in Turkey complicate post-colonialist and Orientalist conceptualisations of Muslim women. They argue that being religious does not necessarily mean being opposed to being modern, fashionable and politically active. Their research reveals, in detail, how young Muslim women and girls express and incorporate their religious identities with alternative versions of fashion. Findings by Gökariksel and Secor (2014) show

that fashionably veiled women constantly “navigate the multiple social and cultural signification of their clothing, which has been variably associated with politics, aesthetics, fashion, and class status” (2014, p. 180).

Geographers call for incorporating age and intergenerational analyses while studying religious identity and geography (Hopkins, 2009a; Kong, 2010). Bowlby and Evans (2009) argue that embodied identities intersect with spatial characteristics and influence Muslim women’s access to labour markets. In research on the labour market aspirations of first and second generations of Pakistani Muslim workers in Reading and Slough, Bowlby and Evans (2009) found that age, skill, neighbourhood and community social networks, racial and gendered social categories and associated stereotypes are crucial factors that shape Muslim women’s access to the labour markets.

In her pioneering work on young Muslim women in the United Kingdom, Dwyer (1999, 2008) shows how, along with gender relations, the economic power of Muslim women shape their everyday life practices, such as dress styles, going to school and age of marriage. McDowell (2008), drawing on Skeggs (2004), argues that class status is expressed and represented through the body, and is a structural inequality that reflects the location of people across social hierarchies (McDowell, 2008). Class is not constructed solely based on the structural position of people in a society, but it also involves the discursive construction of embodiments such as modes of speech, behaviours, accent and gestures. These embodied markers are used to distinguish acceptable and unacceptable bodies depending on the dominant spatial orderings of place (McDowell, 2008). McDowell (2008) indicates that adornments, such as nail polish, jewellery and clothing, are important embodied signifiers of class position.

Giddens (1991) and Secor (2002) also suggest that dress and adornments are important materials that allow people to signal their gender, ethnicity and religion. Some geographers pay particular attention to clothing and argue that it is a crucial marker for contextualising bodies (Dwyer, 2008; Longhurst, 2001; McDowell, 2009). Johnston and Longhurst (2010) argue that dressing and behaving in a sexual manner become a crucial aspect of women’s identity through pervasive gendered

discourses. Fashion, dress styles, job and leisure activities are critical markers of class status, which, depending on context, position people in inferior or superior categories (McDowell, 2008). Similarly, for Muslim women, the dress is not merely a tool for covering, it is discursively constructed across time and place. Geographers argue that Muslim women's clothing gets its meanings and styles from intersections of their other social positioning and the social, political and historical sites within which it is produced (Dwyer, 1999; Dwyer & Crang, 2002; Secor, 2002). As such, dress and encompassing adornments are situated embodied geographies and have much to do with other aspects of social identity such as gender, ethnicity and religion.

In his insightful review of feminist geographies of religion, Hopkins (2009b) reminds scholars that different people experience their religious identities in complex ways "based on their membership of different social category groups, including those defined by gender as well as other categories such as age, sexuality and disability" (2009b, p. 12). He further argues that emotions are important forces to consider in order to gain more in-depth and individual accounts of how religious people understand and experience their faith. Indicating links and reciprocal influences that exist between global events and the everyday lives of Muslim people, Hopkins (2009a) argues that feminist geographers should employ a range of scales for analysing the experiences of Muslims. Geographers contend that the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and subsequent events such as the bombings in London, Bali, Madrid, and the attack in Nice in 2016, have been reshaping perspectives and imaginations about Muslims and Islam (Hopkins, 2009a; Kong, 2010).

Geopolitical events and international politics are interconnected with local lives, and influence or reshape Muslim individuals' and communities' everyday lives (Hopkins, 2009a). The relationships and connections, as well as the disconnections, with certain nations, regions and territories, influence perceptions and feelings toward religion for Muslims (Hopkins, 2009a). Previous research notes a relationship between the occurrences of terrorist attacks and increases in national surveillance on the lives of local Muslims as a means of counter-terrorism and

targeting radicalisation in the United Kingdom (Warren, 2016). With regard to Muslim women in the West, surveillance is achieved through various actors' gazes, including a majority who are non-Muslims, friends, parents and authorities (Dwyer, 1999; Mir, 2009). For example, Dwyer (2000) reports that Muslim men police young Muslim women as a means of controlling and regulating them to practice appropriate gender roles, maintaining Islamic culture and guarding family honour. Therefore, in research about Muslim women's identities, it is crucial to give particular consideration to global geopolitical and political changes related to Islam and Muslim communities as they connect to the local lives of Muslims (Hopkins, 2009a).

Mirza (2013) argues that the meanings and styles of veiling are produced through the intersection of various cultural forms such as religion and gender with social norms of place. In this regard, the veil and the multiple ways it is worn should be contextualised as "constructed, contested and intersecting social phenomena" (Read & Bartkowski, 2000, p. 397). This study takes up some themes that geographers, such as, Dwyer (1999), Hopkins (2009a) and other feminist scholars, for example, Mirza (2013), Gökariksel and Secor (2014), and Bartkowski and Read (2003) have suggested, specifically the fluidity and intersectional constructions of embodied identities of Muslims in relation to space and place. They make the point that meanings and understandings of Muslim women's bodies, such as the mode of behaviour, skin colour, and clothing, are subject to change by crossing from one place to another.

Today, growing numbers of Muslim women live across the world challenge and reconstruct traditional meanings attached to hijab, veiling practices. Influenced by their contexts and contemporary discourses, these groups of Muslim women reconceptualise and demonstrate individual reading and interpretation of the Quranic verses (Mansson McGinty, 2013). Throughout my thesis, I discuss that how Muslim women's identities cut across national boundaries, and challenge the fixation and essentialist readings of identities in relation to place, religion and ethnicity (Dwyer, 2000; Dwyer & Crang, 2002). I highlight the significant role of the veil in shaping the everyday experiences of Muslim women. My thesis, however,

is also attentive to other embodied and social markers such as race, dress styles, adornments and occupations in studying the everyday experiences of Muslim women in Hamilton. There is a need for further research to explore how these identities intersect with the religious and gender identities of Muslim women and influence their everyday experiences.

As the majority of participants were international migrants or had a migration background, it was crucial for this study to focus attention on the spatial effects of migration and migrant status. Twenty-five out of forty-two respondents in this research were first generation migrants, and seven Muslim women belonged to second or third migrant generations. Only two women had converted to Islam and did not have a migrant background. The migration status of Muslim women's identity has a significant influence on shaping other embodied identities and everyday geographies of Muslims. The next section reviews some important and relevant geographical literature concerning Muslim women's experiences in different migration contexts.

3.3 Muslim women and migration

In her analysis of the life story of a Moroccan Muslim woman in the Netherlands, Buitelaar (2006) argues that Muslim migrant women do not belong to one but to several social categories and groups at the same time. McDowell (2008, p. 493) discusses that in the modern era, transnational migrants are able to maintain their connections with home and "elsewhere" in more intimate and frequent modes compared to the past due to advancements in communication and transportation technologies. Such capacities alter a number of the patterns of social lives, including women's labour market participation, assumptions around racial and gendered divisions, and constructions of bodies and ideas.

When migrants enter receiving countries, they carry with them their cultural practices and values. The practices of their homeland's cultures and values are represented through migrants' bodies in a new social context with divergent dominant social norms and spatial orderings. This subjects migrants to a range of complicated positive, neutral or negative interpretations by the receiving society

(McDowell, 2009). Social geographers argue that migration adds layers to complexity and conflicts in the construction and negotiation of identity (Dwyer, 2000; Munt, 2016; Yeoh & Huang, 2000). Sociologist Anthias (2002) argues that migrants occupy multiple locations in the process and context of migration. She comments that migrants' narratives emphasise that their feelings of belonging to certain social categories, which include ethnicity, religion and culture, vary and are multiple across time and space. Transnational movements of Muslims lead to the formation of "new Muslim identifications" (Dwyer, 2000, p. 481) such as Hijabista.⁵

The receiving societies' hierarchies of social categories define migrants' positions, formally and informally. Social and economic geographers have shown that the dominant spatial orderings of receiving societies construct some migrants with certain embodied attributes as eligible, while also constructing some as 'ineligible' and 'Other' (Batnitzky & McDowell, 2011; McDowell, 2008). In researching economic migrants, McDowell (2008) finds that labour migrants are stratified according to their occupation, gender and race, and as such, they are directed to and selected for particular positions in receiving societies. In this regard, McDowell (2008, p. 495) observes that "the class position" of migrants is often "redefined" while they move between places.

Exploring the relationships between religion and migration has been a significant focus of geographical research (Kong, 2010). A considerable amount of research has been conducted on the marginalisation of Muslims in Western societies due to "their recent migration or the migration of their parents or grandparents, and their membership of particular non-white ethnic groups or other marginalised and stigmatised communities" (Hopkins, 2009a, p. 221). In the West, migrant women from developing countries are perceived as people who are incapable of acting politically and being socially active (Listerborn, 2015; McDowell, 2008). In the case of Muslim migrant women, such perceptions of incapability with regard to social and political activity are enhanced by association with Muslim women's veils,

⁵ "A 'hijabista' is a Muslim woman who dresses 'stylishly' while still adhering to an array of 'modest' apparel that coincides with Islamic dress codes" (Waninger, 2015, p. 2).

which, in the West, are a visual symbol of absence or lack of “commitments to liberal democracy” (Listerborn, 2015, p. 101). Feminist scholars have challenged such perceptions by examining Muslim women’s lived experiences and displaying how they recompose their religious identity in relation to the specific context of the receiving society (Bartkowski & Read, 2003; Mirza, 2013; Read & Bartkowski, 2000).

Dwyer (1999, 2000, 2008) shows the discursive and intersectional processes of the construction of Muslim women’s bodies by the way they dress, although she does not use the term intersectionality. Her findings not only display bodies as a contested site but also emphasise the importance of clothing for migrant Muslim women’s identity construction and experiences. Therefore, I focus attention on the clothing of participants as one form of their social identity and argue that apparel plays a significant role in shaping the geographies of Muslim women in Hamilton.

Evans and Bowlby (2000) studied the job-seeking and employment experiences of migrant Muslim Pakistani women in Reading, Britain. The findings reflect that these women’s employment experiences are linked with intersectional constructions of their gender and racial identities. To analyse and understand these identities, they insist, it is vital to focus attention on “their relationship to a wider diasporic Pakistani/South Asian Islamic culture” (Evans & Bowlby, 2000, p. 461). Mohammad (2013) found that among cultural ties with the ethnic community and country of origin, generational differences are an influential factor in determining the level to which migrants participate in social activities in receiving countries, such as the labour market and higher education.

People, particularly veiled Muslim women, should not be considered as passive recipients of these racial, gendered and anti-veil discourses (Mansson McGinty, 2013). Such people may take an active role in responding, dealing or coping with the impacts of fear (Pain, 2001). For example, Wagner and Peters (2014) explore the ways Moroccan women negotiate leisure both in Morocco and as migrants in the Netherlands. They observe that in a migration context, migrant women often encounter difficulties in engaging in leisure activities. Wagner and Peters (2014)

argue that Moroccan migrant women's religious and racial embodiments construct them as Other in these spaces and as such, it is difficult for them to find spaces in which they feel comfortable. Their findings show that these migrant women recompose their embodied identities to negotiate and balance expectations from "their families and from contextualised religious and cultural circumstances" (Wagner & Peters, 2014, p. 426).

In the context of migration, feminist geographers create new methodologies to explore migrant women's emotional and embodied relations, processes and experiences of places at the scale of the body (Longhurst et al., 2008; Longhurst, Johnston, & Ho, 2009; Mendoza & Morén-Alegret, 2013). For example, Longhurst et al. (2008) and Longhurst et al. (2009) focus on the bodies of migrant women and use cooking as a method or tool for their research. Findings obtained through this embodied approach show the correlation between the cooking of traditional food at home and the shaping of emotions about feeling in/out of place in Hamilton, New Zealand.

Considering the multiplicities of spatial links and complex positionality in Singapore, a big part of migrants' everyday lives requires complex negotiations to define their identity and position vis-à-vis the society and "the larger global space in which they are embedded" (Yeoh & Huang, 2000, p. 414). For these people, intersectional (re)constructions of their social identities put them in varied and sometimes conflicting locations within social hierarchies (Longhurst, 2001). The findings of Yeoh and Soco (2014) reveal that, in the course of migration, migrant women acquire new identities and consumption patterns as well as skills to cope with cultural and political differences and to live within other cultural frameworks. New experiences and knowledge are embodied and taken place when migrant women move across cultural spaces and negotiate their identities. These findings make the point that moving across spaces entails cultural learning, changing value systems and experiencing new leisure activities, such as going out to eat.

Huang and Yeoh (1997) note that diasporic and migrant women in Singapore use "multiple and resourceful ways to exercise their agency" (1997, p. 110). They usually do so through everyday negotiations with their surroundings to redefine

and reform their positions and lives to promote the security of themselves and their families (Huang & Yeoh, 1997). Therefore, people who occupy the same place may experience it in various ways and develop their social relations accordingly. These geographical studies on migration and religion point to the importance of emerging local and transnational spatial networks in the social process of identity constructions (Evans & Bowlby, 2000).

“Gender cultures of origin sites” (Silvey, 2004, p. 498) are, however, important factors in shaping the power hierarchies and social networks of migrant women in receiving societies. Silvey (2005) reveals that for Indonesian Muslim domestic workers, gender roles and everyday experiences in receiving societies are shaped through the intersections of their interpretation of Islam, household hierarchy and migration status. Her findings show that for some migrant women, migration is not a way to greater freedom from gender roles but instead compounds such roles. Similarly, in their research on cosmopolitan identities and Filipino domestic migrant workers, Yeoh and Soco (2014) observe that these women are located in “an interlocking web of gender, race and class relations that entail the performance of gendered and racialised labour in both the home and host countries” (2014, p. 176).

Gale and Hopkins (2009) also point to the significance of migration trajectories, histories and policies in shaping everyday experiences and social ties of Muslims in the United Kingdom. McDowell (2008) argues that migration creates a space with particularly clear spatial characteristics such as “uneven power relations and stratification” (2008, p. 496). Within this fluid and transnational context, fragmented social spaces reflect the cultural realities of migrants here and there (Mendoza & Morén-Alegret, 2013). Migrants enter a social and economic context “within which rules and rituals produce consent” (McDowell, 2008, p. 496). This highlights the importance of analysing the experiences of migrants with a focus on the particularity of context, including regulating migration, nations’ images and media coverage of migrants, and local practices and norms (Mendoza & Morén-Alegret, 2013).

Considering “the spatial implementation of migration policies” (2013, p. 770) is vital while exploring migrants’ experiences, social interactions and ‘sense of place’ in receiving societies (Mendoza & Morén-Alegret, 2013). McDowell (2008) gives an example of migrant women who are employed as domestic workers, nurses and caregivers in United Kingdom labour market. Based on her empirical research, she discusses migration policies in the United Kingdom, which are not gender neutral and are shaped through pervasive assumptions and stereotypes around gender, religion and nationality, which exist both in the countries of origin and in receiving countries. Although these policies and rules and their abstract language are based on explicit criteria, they leak into the everyday lives of societies and influence social interactions between migrants and non-migrants (McDowell, 2008).

Migration studies point to the importance of making distinctions between whether people migrate voluntarily or are forced to leave their countries of birth (Boyle, 2009). ‘Refugee’ is the category used for people who are forced to migrate and leave their homelands (Black, 2009). Refugees make up a sizeable part of contemporary international migration flows (Boyle, 2009). In practice, however, applying this binary of voluntary migration/forced migration is problematic, since many societal processes influence the individual’s capacity for choice. In other words, it is difficult to categorise migrants in a “forced/voluntary migrant/migration” (2009, p. 127) framework, because of the varying degrees of choice, depending on the power structures that shape everyday decision making (Black, 2009). For example, two participants in my study migrated to New Zealand because their husbands decided to do so, and the women came along with their children even though they did not want to. Black (2009) discusses that refugee status is associated with negative stereotypes, as it “denotes a category of people who are victims, poor and in need of assistance, institutionalising a dependence on others” (2009, p. 127). Therefore, refugee status influences how migrants, in general, and migrant women, in particular, experience and are socially positioned within receiving societies.

In her research on refugee women, some with the Muslim faith, in the United Kingdom, Munt (2012) contends that a refugee woman's class status influences her capability for empowerment and flexibility by facilitating or failing to facilitate the access to social resources such as education, information, legal and health entitlements. Munt (2016) asserts that the cultural and racial embodiments of Muslim refugee women play important roles in their everyday interactions with British people and these refugees' experience of prejudice in Brighton. Her findings emphasise the social constructions of race.

Although race is an invention of biological sciences, this notion, however, is also (re)constructed socially and culturally. Within social theories, race is not about people's instincts resulting from their genomes. Instead, the socially constructed race is one form of identity and the basis of a categorical division with particular meanings and attitudes attached to it. Further, it is "a product of contact and communication between groups" (Nayak, 2011, p. 550). Hence, Nayak (2011) draws attention to race and ethnicity as dynamic concepts that are globally and locally materialised. Thus, they are slippery and dynamic concepts that need to be conceptualised within a flexible framework, with the capacity to grasp its changing dynamics (Nayak, 2011).

Except for a few studies (see Dwyer, 2008; Göle, 2002; Read & Bartkowski, 2000), little attention has been paid to the experiences of Muslim women who are educated and less marginalised, or who belong to the 'white' mainstream. There remains a gap in which a study involving participants coming from a range of backgrounds with different ethnicities, migrant status and different nationalities could make a contribution. The current empirical research enables a further understanding of the ways in which intersections of professional and migrant identities influence the everyday experiences, interactions and geographies of Muslim women (Hopkins, 2009a).

In New Zealand, there is little research on everyday experiences and identity construction of Muslim women. There is, however, some insightful research into the daily lives of Muslim migrant women and their spatial experiences. Longhurst et al. (2009) explore the relationship between identity, place and power relations

for migrant women, drawing on migrant (including some Muslim) women's visceral experiences of cooking and eating food in Hamilton. This study is one of the few examples that reflects how everyday mundane practices for migrant women such as preparing and eating food can provoke Othering and racism in and around migrant women's bodies (Longhurst et al., 2008).

Dobson (2012a, 2012b, 2013) investigates Muslim women's identity constructions and negotiations in Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin, New Zealand. She observes that Muslim women construct and negotiate their identities in response to stereotypical and negative images of Islam. Moreover, Dobson (2012a) shows that Muslim women reflexively engage with their ethnic community and broader society's gendered and cultural norms, while negotiating their gender and religious identities.

Kolig (2003, 2010) has researched the conceptualisation of multiculturalism, the social positions and social integration of Muslims in New Zealand against the backdrop of the global rise of Islamophobia and the increasing anti-Muslim sentiments across the West. He argues that vandalism against Muslims' properties (such as mosques), and hate-crimes against Muslims (and particularly against visibly Muslim women) do occur in New Zealand but are rare compared to countries such as Australia and the United Kingdom (Kolig & Kabir, 2008). For example, in August 1998, the Hamilton Jamia Masjid was gutted by an arson attack six months after it opened. This attack reflected the existence of anti-Muslim sentiments in Hamilton. However, the Hamilton Muslim community received a sizable local authority and societal support for rebuilding the mosque (Kolig, 2003; Pratt, 2010).

Jasperse et al. (2012) and Jasperse (2009) explore the relationships between the perceived discrimination against, and wellbeing of, Muslim women in three cities in New Zealand: Auckland; Hamilton; and, Wellington. Jasperse (2009) conducts research from a psychological perspective and observes that the veil as a visible marker increases the probability of facing or perceiving discrimination for Muslim women. Jasperse et al. (2012), however, found that wearing hijab creates positive feelings for Muslim women, such as, feeling protected, confident and connected.

Guerin, Diiriye, Corrigan, and Guerin (2003) conduct psychological experiments to examine the relationship between mental, social and physical health, and sport and leisure engagements, for Somali refugee women in Hamilton. Their findings indicate that these women's low participation in sports in Hamilton correlate with the rural backgrounds of most Somalian women, their culture and religious circumstances shaping transportation issues, and a shortage of appropriate sports arenas that fit with these refugee women's cultural values.

A limitation to the existing research and policies on migrant Muslim women in New Zealand is the tendency to narrowly focus on religious and refugee identities instead of adopting a more critical lens for exploring Muslim women's experiences and constructions of multiple identities through intersectionality. In New Zealand, there are few contextual and place-specific studies on Muslim women's everyday negotiations and identity (re)construction (Dobson, 2012a, 2012b; Longhurst et al., 2009). There are differences in the geography of Muslim women in New Zealand compared to those populations in many European countries, the United Kingdom and the United States in terms of size, and social and demographic compositions. Moreover, the (isolated) geographical location and colonial history of New Zealand are other critical factors that highlight the crucial need for further research on the everyday experiences and identity construction of Muslim women in this particular context. An empirical investigation of the daily experiences, identity and places of Muslim women in the Waikato region, New Zealand, could produce significant knowledge to inform policies dealing with diversity and discrimination among women. Embodied geographies of identity are influenced by emotion and affect, as I discuss in the next section.

3.4 Emotion and affect

During the last decade, scholars in various disciplines, particularly feminist geographers, gender and cultural studies scholars, have shown an upsurge of interest in theorising and empirically exploring emotion and affect. Multiple factors help to explain this upsurge, which includes, but is not limited to, theorising the body as an emerging and discursive process rather than static across spatial contexts, and increasing agreement on the significant role of emotion in

shaping debates and ideas about democracy, life and nations (Thien, 2005). Feminist geographers argue that there exists an intimate and overlapping relationship between emotion and affect (Johnston & Longhurst, 2013). In this section, I explain my understanding of these concepts and why I focus mainly on the emotional geographies of Muslim women in Hamilton.

Affect has a pedigree in psychological studies. The challenge in applying affect as a conceptual framework is to define it or develop a framework to grasp it. It has been theorised in varied ways across different disciplines. Human geographers argue that there are diverse kinds of affect that are relational. The common points in these various conceptualisations are the agreement that affect is a precognitive state with creative potentials that influence embodied engagements and the understanding of people in spatial contexts (Thien, 2005).

Affect is also conceptualised as a type of performative atmosphere, containing the “experiential force” of emotion that frames the ways people act and react in particular spatial settings (Dewsbury, 2009, p. 20). It is also understood as a shaping factor in how people interact with each other and the physical world. Pile (2010) explains that affect is based on existing power distributions across space and has much to do with the quality of life. Affect can be loosely understood as a capacity with creative and dynamic potentials, and encompasses not only emotions but also forces, motivations and human sensibilities (McCormack, 2003; Thien, 2005; Thrift, 2004).

Geographers contend that the spatial context, including objects and humans, shapes and influences how affect is synthesised (Thien, 2005; Thrift, 2004). Research in human geography and international relations has shown that affect is an important dimension in the shaping of identity and the everyday experiences of people (Meer et al., 2010b; Solomon, 2012; Thien, 2005). Holland and Solomon (2014) argue that history and collective experiences and memories of space and events are influential processes in shaping affect. For feminist geographers, in particular, geographies of affect are about focusing attention on relational spaces (Thien, 2005).

Meer et al. (2010b), drawing on Thrift's conceptualisation of affect, underscore that to gain a deeper understanding of the dynamics of societies, scholars need to be aware of the importance of the circulation of affect. Connolly (2005) notes that the way people think is related to and influenced by and through affect. Thrift (2004, p. 70) argues that affective experiences relating to emerging events have the power to influence, redefine and reshape people's values and decisions. Thien (2005) argues that affect has much to do with political moves and it is not "distinct from the wider (public) agenda and desirably so" (2005, p. 450). Rather, it encompasses both emotions and feelings. Affect can be experienced and sensed through bodies, but it is "trans-human", and it "gets beyond individual emotions" (Thien, 2005, p. 450). It is fluid, transferring between bodies and the physical environment (Pile, 2010). In this political perspective on affect, there is "systematic knowledge behind the creation and mobilisation of affect as precisely a means and resource for choreographing our everyday lives in more or less subconscious ways" (Dewsbury, 2009, p. 23).

Affect is "extra-discursive", shaping people's immediate embodied engagements with the physical and spatial attributes of a place, people experience affect in their everyday lives and "biologically" respond through their bodies (Solomon, 2012, p. 908). These experiences are pre-conscious reactions (Holland & Solomon, 2014). Such non-conscious processes make it hard to express affect through language directly. Therefore, affect is a difficult concept to grasp and define clearly, because it focuses on pre-cognitive and non-communicative experiences and senses (Solomon, 2012).

In terms of everyday experiences of space, affect is thus considered as an initially unconscious and non-verbal experience. Theories of affect are useful to unravel spatially constructed embodied actions (Wetherell, 2013). They generate insights into how humans "relate to each other, and the world, being produced by the world in certain ways" (Dewsbury, 2009, p. 22). These theories draw attention to the entanglements of bodies and space as well as the ways in which embodied identities are "combined, assembled, articulated and shifted into new formations, and are worked upon, as well as working on" (Wetherell, 2013, p. 350). Because

affect is difficult to articulate, people often use emotions, and to some extent, self-analysed feelings, to explain their affective experiences (Holland & Solomon, 2014; Solomon, 2012).

Pile (2010) adds that affects can be “known, grasped or made intelligible and the means through which affect might make itself known, via feelings or emotions or representations are thereby rendered opaque” (Pile, 2010, p. 13). Emotions are thus communicative ways to symbolically signal affective experiences and feelings (Dewsbury, 2009). Affects are “the initial components and mediations of experiences by the body and the brain” (Holland & Solomon, 2014, p. 264).

The above arguments point out that affect and emotions are “channelled in some way” since affect encompasses emotions and there are interconnections between the two (Pile, 2010, p. 10). Thien (2005), for example, argues, “affect is used to describe (in both the communicative and literal sense) the motion of emotion” (2005, p. 451). Both affect and emotion are subject to manipulation by power (Pile, 2010). These emotional and affective powers shape people’s everyday spaces and places (Anderson & Smith, 2001). Affect and emotion, however, cannot be bounded. Affect encompasses emotion, but it is not “reducible to [a] personal quality of emotion”; it is somewhat impersonal (McCormack, 2003, p. 500).

Both are fluid; “emotions move” and “affect circulates” not only between people but also among people and things (Pile, 2010, p. 10). The trans-human nature of affect and its interconnectivity with emotions leaves emotions “negatively positioned in opposition to reason, as objectionably soft and implicitly feminised” within a binary division of “masculinist reason and feminist emotion” (Thien, 2005, p. 452). What I argue in this thesis is that separate approaches to affect or emotion are not sufficient to grasp and explain the complex lived experiences of Muslim women in Western societies. Reviewing geographical scholarship on emotion and affect, I understand that these concepts have a role in identity construction and there exist inseparable connections between them. In my opinion, interweaving both concepts - affect and emotion - is a more appropriate analytical and explanatory tool for this research. In this research, I, however, mainly examine emotions that are produced in and around Muslim women because this study

explores individual understandings and experiences at the intersections of religion, nationality, gender, migration and culture in Hamilton.

Researching emotional geographies is about focusing “attention to relationality, intersubjectivity and an always incomplete being” (Bondi 1999 as cited in Thien, 2005, p. 453). Emotion encompasses feelings that are experienced within and between bodies. Thus, feelings are mediated by how people understand and experience space and place (Thien, 2005). Emotional geographies draw from disciplines such as feminist geography, anthropology, gender and cultural studies (Thien, 2005). Davidson, Bondi, and Smith (2007) suggest emotions have power, and that human societies have been built upon the emotional interactions between people and places. Anderson and Smith (2001, p. 8) emphasise that geographers should pay attention to “emotions as ways of knowing, being and doing” since, they underline, emotions contribute to the formation of space. Some geographers emphasise on crucial roles of emotions in human experiences and refer to emotional geographies as “the ways in which our affective experiences of self and others are conceptualised temporally and spatially” (Wood & Smith, 2004, p. 533).

Emotions are complicated, unstable, dynamic and relational and cannot be circumscribed within one social category like gender, place, and ethnicity (Davidson et al., 2007; Pile, 2010). Emotions can be represented and come into existence through embodied performances (Pile, 2010). Emotions are constructed socially through the “intersubjective process of categorising the apparent feelings named by later reflection upon affect” (Holland & Solomon, 2014, p. 264).

Analysing emotions reveals that they have “culture, history, psychology, biology, seasonality, economy and so on” (Smith, Davidson, Cameron, & Bondi, 2016, p. 1). Davidson et al. (2007) explain that emotions are contained by “psycho-social and material boundaries through which embodied persons are differentiated from one another and their surrounding environment” (2007, p. 7). These boundaries, however, are not entirely stable or impermeable (Davidson et al., 2007). The concept of emotion involves limitations in ways that “refuse to grant sensibility and sensations the freedom of a movement and force that exists prior to” (2003,

p. 495) existing values, meanings and norms (McCormack, 2003). This notion is useful in exploring the expression and experience of affective responses in the body (Pile, 2010).

Emotions are experienced within, and between bodies, moreover, they are expressed through embodied reactions such as laughing, goose-bumps, and crying. Therefore, bodies and their respective physical attributes are crucial in constructing and expressing emotions, as we experience the world and other people through our bodies. Intersectional constructions of identities in relation to the surrounding spaces contribute to the (re)shaping of people's feelings, such as fear, joy and sadness (Pain, 2001).

Emotions are critical in (re)shaping "individual meaning-making and social and political formations" (Mansson McGinty, 2013, p. 686). Regarding the relationality of identity, place and emotion, Mendoza and Morén-Alegret (2013) argue that physical attributes and power structures within a place produce a sense of place, which contains "both an interpretative perspective on the environment and an emotional reaction to the environment" (Mendoza & Morén-Alegret, 2013, p. 764). The sense of place is (re)shaped by the movements of various people and their interactions in a specific location. In the processes of identity construction, place, its physical entities and feelings about the place are crucial (Mendoza & Morén-Alegret, 2013). Moreover, Mendoza and Morén-Alegret (2013) argue that emotional links to a place vary among migrants depending on their experiences and social positions, which in turn, leads to varied expressions of a sense of place within a group of immigrants, such as Muslim women in Hamilton.

In this regard, Nayak (2011) argues that people's sense and ideas of concepts such as belonging, citizenship and race are achieved through emotions. In elaborating the concept of race, Nayak (2011) adds that geographies of affect involve potential forces that evoke certain reactions to embodied attributes, which later become the basis of social categories of groups. Power relations are created through embodied reactions to particular objects, smells, events and sounds (Solomon, 2012). The ways in which embodied and spatial differences are formulated,

recognised and felt involve complex intersections of materials, discourses and regulatory frameworks within multiple scales (Anderson, 2005).

Hochschild (1979) points out that emotions and affective experiences should not be investigated in isolation from other social factors such as gender and culture, which construct and are influenced by them. In the same vein, geographers' studies on people's everyday lives show that people's experiences, understandings of place and emotions about people and places are not developed exclusively and in isolation from their social positions, which depend on gender, religion and race (Davidson et al., 2007; Kawale, 2004). These social categories and respective power relations produce emotions that influence and shape the ways social actors experience their embodied identities and express them (Thien, 2005). The context in which embodied identities are performed should be considered in any analysis of how and why individuals feel divergently or similarly across various times and spaces (Pain, 2001).

Nayak (2011) asserts that cultural and racial signs and embodied markers, such as the veil, "are imbued with emotional and affective intensities" (2011, p. 554). The latter influence and produce not only understandings of differences in societies, but also shape attitudes and feelings toward these differences. These attitudes and feelings may be expressed or not, but are experienced and captured by senses such as smell, touch and taste (Longhurst et al., 2009; Nayak, 2011).

Discourses play important roles in how emotional responses are expressed and embodied (Dewsbury, 2009; Holland & Solomon, 2014; Solomon, 2012; Thien, 2005). A two-way relationship occurs between emotion and discourse. On the one hand, emotion shape discourses. On the other hand, dominant discourses influence affect and emotion's constructions and categorisations. Therefore, hegemonic power structures, including dominant anti-Islam and racial discourses, play crucial roles in Muslim women's embodied engagements with the world and feelings in and around their bodies across spaces and places (Frisina & Hawthorne, 2018).

Young (1990) suggests that emotions in and around individuals are shaped within the discourses around gender, ethnicity and religion as categorical distinctions. Discourses are influential and critical in intersubjective processes, through which people name feelings and categorise them into various emotions (Holland & Solomon, 2014). McRobbie (2004, p. 100) asserts that the categorisation of bodies as desirable and undesirable involves practices of violence, which could lead to “legitimising different forms of class antagonism between women” (2004, p. 100). Young (1990) and McDowell (2009) contend that hegemonic gendered and racial discourses lead to the shaping of attitudes and emotions toward the marginalisation of Othered bodies. As such, ways of expressing emotions and feelings are conditioned by cultural discourses and later manipulated by political discourses (Holland & Solomon, 2014).

Young (2005) comments that each person’s body is distinctive, with specific attributes, capabilities, and desires, due to the fact that each is born in “a particular family setting and in [a] particular time and place” (1990, p. 18). Social categorisations of embodied attributes, such as skin colour, body size and shape, and upbringing, are among factors that create varied “affective capacities” for bodies (Tolia-Kelly, 2006, pp. 213,215). This means that each body, based on its “gendered, sexualised, and racialised” categorisations, may provoke and produce manifold feelings depending on space and place (Tolia-Kelly, 2006, pp. 213,215).

Giddens (1991) notes dichotomous classifications and identification of bodies, such as acceptable/unacceptable, legitimate/illegitimate and desirable/undesirable bodies, which produce anxiety, insecurity and self-criticism. For example, after 9/11 a political rhetoric emerged in the Western world, which was dominated by “terror” (Tolia-Kelly, 2006, p. 214). Islamophobia has had degrading and adverse effects on the everyday lives of Muslims, particularly veiled Muslim women in Muslim minority countries (Dunn & Hopkins, 2016). Within this frame, some bodies, including veiled bodies, are marked as signs of special meanings prompting feelings of docility, oppression and horror (Tolia-Kelly, 2006). These marked bodies are created and recognised universally through mass media and political discourses.

In everyday lives, these structures and their effects are materialised and can be sensed within and around bodies. Incidents such as refusing to give a job to a Muslim woman (see Liptak, 2015; Miller, 2015) or hate crimes towards veiled Muslim women (see Adesina & Marocico, 2015; Kenny, 2015) represent the ways that affect and emotion produce friction in and around certain bodies. The feelings around whiteness, being Muslim (as a kind of racial category), the East and the West are lived out and experienced through such emotional and affective registers. Nonetheless, wearing a veil and being a Muslim also produce positive feelings and emotions in and around some bodies. Figure 3:1 is a visualisation of emotion and affect in and around Muslim women's bodies.

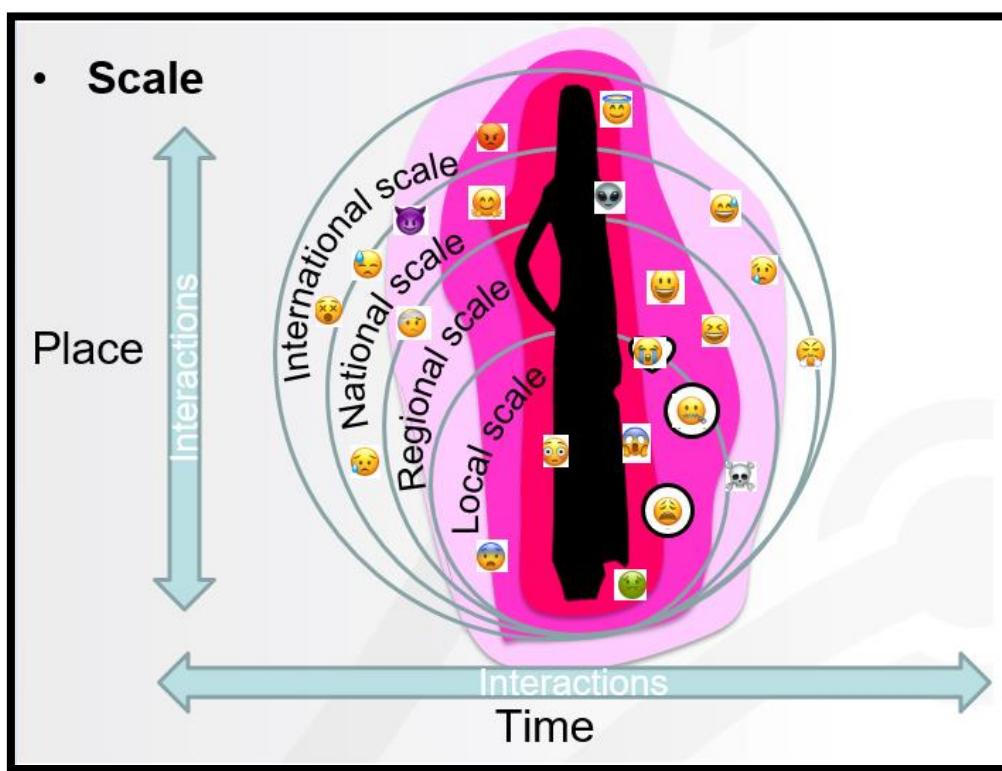


Figure 3:1 Emotion and affect in and around Muslim women's bodies

Place and time are crucial spatial factors that define emotion and affect both in Muslim women's bodies and towards their bodies. Stereotypical images portray Muslim women's religious and cultural values as homogeneous and inherently incompatible with Western values (Bullock, 2000; Byng, 2010; Hebbani & Wills, 2012; Navarro, 2010). Listerborn (2015) observes that local expressions of fear and hatred toward Muslim men and women are interconnected and intertwined with broader spatial, economic and political factors. Muslim women's veils are

construed as signs of gender inequality, passiveness and threats to Western ideals (Listerborn, 2015). These assumptions around Muslim women's veils and religious identity are mapped onto bodies and lead to the construction of their bodies as Other and/or out of place. These bodies are deemed to be 'out of place' in the West because they are considered to disturb the security and/or liberal values of the West (Humphrey, 2007; Young, 1990). In this regard, Green and Singleton (2006) emphasise that concerns around gender and race-motivated violence influence migrant women's perceptions of safety and security in receiving societies.

Geographers' studies have shown that Muslim women's bodies, including their clothing, do not function neutrally in the processes of shaping emotional and embodied experiences (Dwyer, 2008; Meer, Dwyer, & Modood, 2010a). Feminist geographer Listerborn (2015) underlines that veiled Muslim women's bodies are often regarded as unwanted, a source of fear, and/or ugly; thus they are avoided, excluded and marginalised by non-Muslim white women in Malmö, Sweden. These issues relate to the undesirability of certain bodies because they carry meanings that are incompatible with Western cultures, such as the veil (Holland & Solomon, 2014). Based on these arguments, my research explores how the dominant anti-Islam sentiments in the West influence Muslim women's embodied identity constructions and negotiations across different places in Hamilton, New Zealand.

Hopkins (2009b) argues that focusing attention on emotions allows feminist geographers to reveal the ways in which religious people draw on this social identity to feel comfortable or to make decisions about their everyday movements. Incorporating emotion in geographies of religion, he suggests, could contribute to understanding how religion facilitates feelings of love, hate and distrust. Munt (2016) shows how the intersections of migration and fear of racial and gendered safety complicated daily physical movements of Muslim refugee women in Brighton, the United Kingdom.

Kwan's (2008) research in Columbus, Ohio, United States shows that anti-Islam and anti-veil sentiments influence Muslim women's movements. Thinking through

the relationship between emotions and the movement of Muslim women post-9/11, Kwan (2008) observes how fears of encountering racism changed the travel routes and amount of movement of Muslim women after the attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York. The emotions, meaning and significance attached to the veil, as a socio-spatial practice, vary and are reshaped as Muslim women move in different places within a city (Secor, 2002). Focusing attention on Muslim women's bodies, movements and experiences challenges binaries, such as Muslim women/Western culture and public/private spaces (Warren, 2016).

The literature review shows that the embodied geographies of Muslim women are complex and involve multiple spatial processes, which extend across a range of scales, from the body to global. Therefore, there is a need for a flexible conceptual framework, able to examine Muslim women's embodied identities in relation to space and place. The multiple identities and spatial positions of social actors bring forth intersectional constructions of emotion and affect. In the next section, I explain how intersectionality is conceptualised to serve as the analytical framework for this research.

3.5 Intersectionality and power

Intersectionality is a contested concept that draws attention on the ways that socially constructed categories intersect and “create social differences” (Nayel, 2017, p. 80). The concept of intersectionality can be used to understand “how particular identities (e.g., black and female) are tied to particular inequality (i.e. violence against women) in various historical times and geographic places” (Mirza, 2013, p. 6). In this way, intersectionality problematises the understandings of marginalised groups’ experiences, it also problematises studies that research about discrimination and only investigate one ground of discrimination, such as gender or race (Bourabain & Verhaeghe, 2018). For example, research shows that veiled Muslim women with no English proficiency and no professional skills are more likely to experience exclusion and isolation from social life in Australia compared to their counterparts who have such skills (Syed, 2007; Syed & Ali, 2005). Intersectionality sheds light on the interrelationships, and interlocking natures, of inequality and social identities such as gender, religion, and nationality.

Collins (2000) emphasises that “cultural patterns of oppression are not only interrelated but are bound and influenced by the intersectional systems of domination in society” (2000, p. 42), and therefore spatial context must be considered while studying inequalities. Hopkins (2017) contends that it is not practical or possible to study experiences of the oppression and opportunities of marginalised people through an analytical lens that “tends to focus on exclusions occurring along a single categorical axis” (2017, pp. 1-2) of gender or religion. Hopkins (2017) argues that marginalised people, such as women of colour, sit at different and multiple locations across webs of power because of hierarchical conceptualisations and categorisations of their many social identities.

Crenshaw (1991), a legal scholar, who was the first to develop the term intersectionality, remarks that there is not one all-embracing form of oppression, but multiple types of oppression. She argues against employing single categorical approaches for explaining the complex ways in which black women experience discrimination and exclusion because of their multiple social positions. She found that such dominant approaches tend to conceptualise constructions of social categories such as gender and faith separately. Crenshaw (1991) points out the associated risk of the essentialism of such categorisation; she argues that race and other social categories are constructed in interconnected and interdependent ways. Hopkins (2017) adds intersectionality as black feminist theory is about multiple identities and also about “relationality, social context, power relations, complexity, social justice and inequalities” (2017, p. 1). In this way, identities and power structures are interlocked and interrelated processes, which are (re)shaped across multiple “social, cultural and institutional contexts” (Essers & Tedmanson, 2014, p. 355).

Analysis using an intersectionality framework provides a flexible, non-essentialist approach to research individuals’ multiple identity constructions, which can also consider “the effect of hegemonic power and privilege” (Mirza, 2013, p. 13). Just as importantly, an intersectional approach makes space for exploring individual experiences of oppression and opportunities, since there are various forms and understandings of such concepts and experiences (Crenshaw, 1991; Young, 1990).

Geographers have developed the intersectionality concept through commenting on and directly using the concept in place-based research (Brown, 2012; Hopkins, 2017, 2018). Hopkins (2017) is particularly concerned about uses of intersectionality “separated from its social-justice focused origins” (2017, p. 4). Such concerns are echoed about misusing the concept by distancing it from the political ends and critiques that intersectionality was established to address, such as the interconnected marginalisation faced by women of colour. Mahtani (2014) warns that using the concept of intersectionality while ignoring its origin and relationships to black feminism will add to the problems associated with geography as a white, masculinist and colonialist discipline.

Valentine (2007), drawing on Hill Collins’ work, contends that there are interconnections between people’s multiple identities and social positions, and their experiences of inequalities. These constructed spatial positions have much to do with the long-standing structural discrimination and exclusions that exist and are reproduced through disparities of power between and across social categories including race, gender and religion (Valentine, 2007). Thus, it is impossible and limiting to analyse everyday experiences and inequalities by “privileging one system of oppression” (2007, p. 12), such as racism, patriarchy or sexism, over another (Valentine, 2007).

Valentine (2007) notes that the intersections of identities occur in multiple ways depending on time and place. Within intersectionality, gender and other social identities are not conceptualised as static, “naturally given or socially and culturally constructed categories” (Valentine, 2007, p. 13). Instead, intersectional identities emerge along with the ongoing process of “becoming”, which occurs in social “interactions” (Valentine, 2007, p. 13). Intersectionality as “a situated accomplishment” (2007, p. 14) theorises individuals as subjects with the ability to create ways of living their own lives, and the ability to act and think beyond limiting fixed categories, such as being oppressed or being a security threat (Valentine, 2007).

Intersectionality works with social categories, such as race, religion and gender, to shed light on the dynamic nature of these categories across time and space.

Moreover, this notion dissolves social categories by exposing the porous boundaries and interrelationships between these social divisions (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014). A vital point for geographers is to be aware that intersectionality also reveals “privileges of certain identities amidst heteronormativity homophobia” (Brown, 2012, p. 543). Feminists call for more engagement of scholars with intersectionality and claim that intersections lead to the emergence of both privileges and oppression (Brown, 2012; Hopkins, 2018; Manuel, 2006; Mirza, 2013). Arguably, almost all social actors are subject to both privileges and oppression (Brown, 2012). Categorical divisions such as gender, religion and profession are not positioned in a hierachal order in intersectionality theory, but according to the specificity of place (Manuel, 2006; Valentine, 2007). Thus, from an intersectionality standpoint, experiencing and feeling inequalities and privileges cannot be analysed in a linear or additive model.

Valentine (2007) calls for feminist geographers to pay attention to the usefulness of the intersectionality framework. She argues that spatiality and place should be incorporated in intersectional analyses, as spatial specificities are critical means through which intersectional identities and practices are made, experienced and organised. In other words, power structures and dominant spatial orderings play influential roles in determining “the abilities of individuals to actively produce their own lives and the ability to enact some identities or realities rather than others” (Valentine, 2007, p. 19). Within this perspective, individuals (re)compose their identities mutually and in relation to their broader cultural and political space and times (Valentine, 2007). In this way, the multiple social positioning of social actors is shaped through “intersecting relations of race and gender” (Valentine, 2007, p. 13). The relations of power affect these intersections but are also influenced by these intersectional identities (Valentine, 2007).

McDowell (2008) suggests that the ways that embodied identities such as profession and gender are constructed and experienced need to be analysed through the broader “field of relations” (2008, p. 494) within which they are embedded, produced and contested. These social factors and processes are “key dimensions of intersectionality and the production and maintenance of inequality

in the labour market" (McDowell, 2008, p. 498). The intersection of profession, gender and religion is an important focus of the analysis in Chapter 6, which explores the employment experiences of Muslim migrant women in service sectors in Hamilton.

Emphasising the relationships between identity and power relations, Yuval-Davis (2006) underscores that oppressions are (re)constructed via a mixed web of embodied attributes, such as gender, sexuality, nationality, and migration status, which are attached to and influenced by broader social and economic contexts in a society. Yuval-Davis (2011) suggests that intersectional analysis should not only apply to people who experience multiple marginalisations, but also to those experiencing social divisions such as disability and refugee status since intersectionality also shapes advantages and privileges.

Phenomena such as globalisation, mass migration, and the plethora of new information and communication technologies, intensify the complexity and multiplicity of identities, experiences and challenges. The growing interest in and applicability of intersectionality are attributable to the growth in "cross-difference interactions" (Manuel, 2006, p. 179) of cultures, ideas and people. Batnitzky and McDowell (2011) argue that each form of cultural oppression, including social exclusion and isolation, is constructed through intersections of gendered and racial stereotypes. For instance, McDowell (2008, 2009) argues that Othering of migrant workers is shaped by skin colour, accent and nationality, and also by gender and social norms as well as regulatory and institutional frameworks around ethnicity and race.

Among geographers, there is insightful scholarship that engages and reflects the idea of intersectionality without particularly using this concept. For example, in their book, *Space, Place and Sex*, Johnston and Longhurst (2010) enrich understanding of the complex sexual identities and practices constructed through mutual interactions of sexual politics, space and place. Brown (2012) provides a useful overview of the intersections between gender and sexuality. In her useful summary of genderqueer geographies, Johnston (2016) argues that intersections

between diverse sexualities and gender enable geographers to grasp the instability of identities.

Hopkins' research with young Muslim men in Scotland provides insightful empirical data regarding the intersectional construction of Muslim men's identities (Hopkins, 2007a, 2007c). Hopkins (2007b, 2007c) explores the myriad ways in which the religious and national identities of these young men intersect with other social markers such as race and gender. His findings represent the multidimensionality and multiplicity of religious and national identities and the significance of places in shaping expressions and experiences of intersectional identities (Hopkins, 2007b, 2007c, 2009b). Some other social and cultural geographers have focused on the intersections of religion, youth and gender in relation to leisure activities (Valentine et al., 2010), and to fashion (Dwyer & Crang, 2002). Their research reveals how Muslims' understandings of fashion and leisure are shaped through the intersections of their religion, gender, ethnicity and age.

Many scholars have focused on the complex and connected Muslim experiences of privilege and marginalisation in urban areas. Phillips (2010) argues that the residential segregation of Muslim communities should not be seen as a self-segregating act by Muslims. Instead, such spatial conditions for Muslims in Northern towns in the United Kingdom is the outcome of the intersections of desires to live close to their ethnic group, poverty, restricted movement, fear of racism and the feeling of being 'out of place'. She argues that along with poverty, racialised discourses that represent the bodies of Muslims as fearsome and Other contribute to the development of Muslims' fear of racism.

Using intersectionality and agency concepts, Bilge (2010) argues that the ways in which Muslim women experience exclusion and inclusion are not separate from the visual impact of their veils and political situations in relation to Islam and migration. Reviewing the literature on geographies of Muslim women reveals that the veil, in particular, is constructed as a symbol that excludes, includes and marginalises Muslim women based on regulatory structures and discourses around Islam, gender and the secular West (Dwyer, 1999; Mirza, 2013; Secor, 2002).

3.6 Intersectional embodied identities of Muslim women in Hamilton

This section discusses the application of intersectionality in this thesis to explore the relationship between embodied identities, emotion, affect, place and experiences of exclusion and inclusion for Muslim women in Hamilton, New Zealand. This thesis aims to contribute to further understanding of the dynamics between different aspects of identities. Using intersectionality, this study explores the ways in which spaces, places, emotions and power influence understanding and experiencing intersecting social categories such as gender, religion, nationality and ethnicity for Muslim women in Hamilton.

Following Crenshaw (1991) and Hopkins (2017), the current research analyses Muslim women's embodied identities, inequalities and privileges on the basis of constructions and experiences of gender, religious, and national categories. Intersectionality as a framework is also used to unpack social inequality, relationality, complexity and the power relations that exist and have emerged through the everyday embodied identity constructions and negotiations of Muslim women in Hamilton. In this way, intersectionality is used to understand the varied ways in which multiple identities are (re)constructed in relation to space.

Previous research on Muslim women shows that their multiple identities, related to gender, religion, and migration, are co-constructed in relation to one another category and to place (Dwyer, 1999; Mirza, 2013). Using intersectionality, in this study I argue that Muslim women's embodied identity constructions and negotiations depend on spatial factors and on various intersections of their identities and social resources, across times and places. For example, I ask: how does a veiled and educated respondent experience employment processes compared to an educated participant without a veil?

Intersectionality is the “right theoretical framework,” (Yuval-Davis, 2011, pp. 8,9) when it does not reduce people to one or two social categories such as religion, gender or race. I, therefore, attempt to incorporate the notions of intersectionality and embodied identity by suggesting that narratives from Muslim women in Hamilton provide a way to explore the relationship between their embodied

identities and their exclusion and inclusion in a variety of spaces. On the basis that Muslim women do not comprise a single homogeneous category, my focus is on “the variances within” this group of Muslim women rather than on “the variances between” Muslim women and non-Muslim women (Essers & Benschop, 2009, p. 404). Applying intersectionality as an analytical framework, this thesis is an attempt to examine the intersections of power relations, various inequalities, and the complexity and relationality of space in constructing the embodied identities and everyday experiences of Muslim women in Hamilton.

I develop a conceptual framework that combines embodied identities and space (Brown, 2012; Christensen, 2009; Dwyer, 2000; Essers, Benschop, & Doorewaard, 2010; Hopkins, 2017, 2018; Lewis, 2013; McDowell, 2008; Valentine, 2007). This analytical framework allows me to map out the association between structural inequalities, such as prejudices and stereotypical assumptions and embodied attributes that construct daily experiences with regard to Muslim women’s spatial inclusions and exclusions (Batnitzky & McDowell, 2011). Figure 3:2 shows my analytical framework.

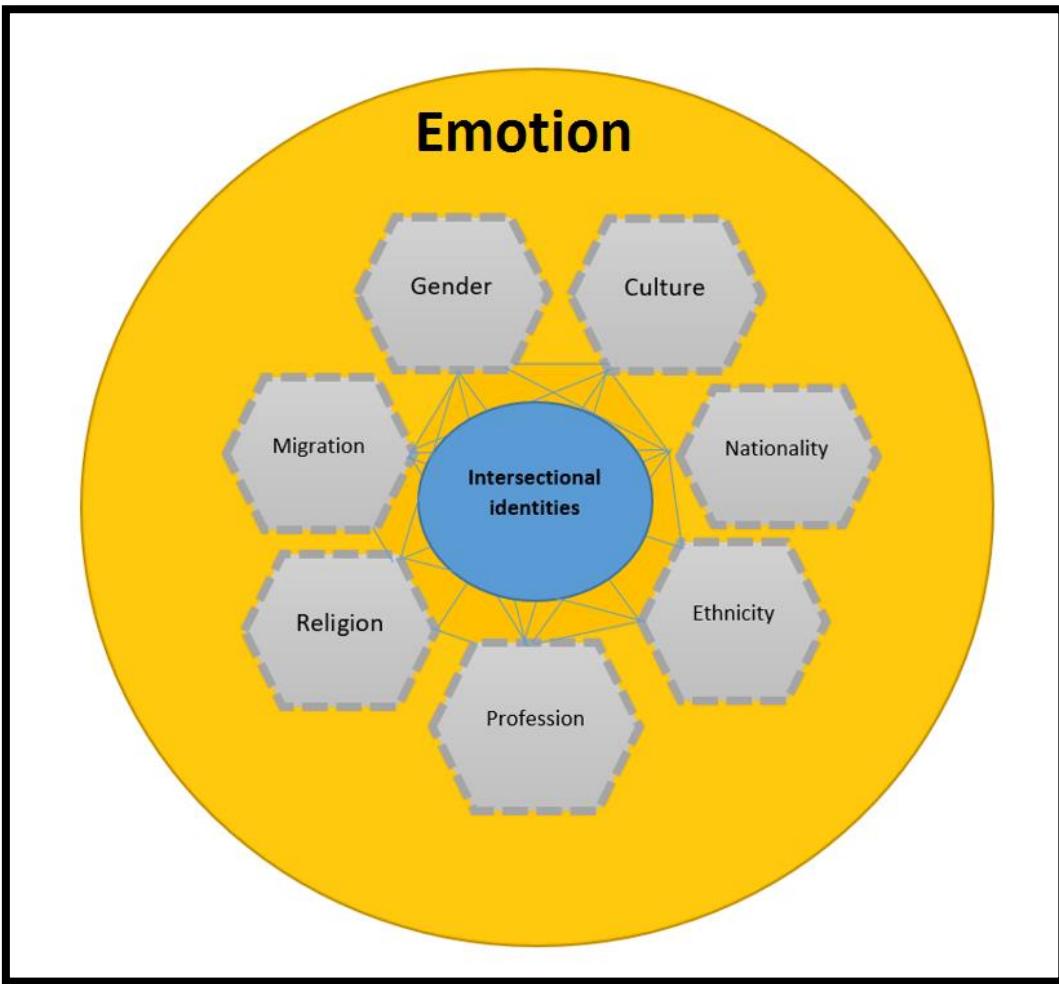


Figure 3:2 Conceptual framework: intersectional identities

Figure 3:2 demonstrates the construction of intersectional identities within emotional geographies. Conceptualising the co-constitution of embodied identities in relation to emotional geographies allows me to analyse the ways in which such multiple axes of differences, power relations, social and local contexts and relationality connect with and shape the varied positions and experiences of Muslim women (Hopkins, 2018). Space, itself, is produced and reproduced through intersections of “a web of cross-cutting power relations” (Secor, 2002, p. 7) which are constructed across a range of scales from the individual body to the local and global environment. The conceptual framework represents interconnected identities, which are porous, fluid and subject to change.

Brown (2012, p. 545) poses the question: “On what basis does one choose which identities to include or exclude” when researching people’s identities using an intersectional lens. Confirming this difficulty in my research, I chose to focus on

the intersectional constructions of religion, migration, profession, culture, clothing and gender in establishing Muslim women's identities. These aspects were recurring themes that emerged from interviews, photos and emotional maps involving the participants. I developed an analytical framework based on these findings.

McDowell (2008) underscores that space and culture need to be combined while exploring the role of "state power, regulatory framework, emotional and embodied labour and thinking about the connections between classes, races, and genders" (2008, p. 493) in expressions of identity. My thesis's intersectional approach takes into consideration the spatial factors and processes that contribute to individual and group differences, including cultural and gendered norms. Considering relationships between space, place and identity construction, I examine the socio-spatial factors and processes that play a role in shaping and reshaping Muslim women's embodied identities and affectual and emotional geographies.

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have outlined some social, cultural and feminist geographers' approaches to embodied identity, intersectionality and the geographies of Muslim women, with regard to migration, affect and emotion. I have argued that all these notions construct the realities of Muslim migrant women's lives in Hamilton and that therefore, they should be considered together. Research on the geographies of Muslim women indicates that Muslim women continue to be pictured as oppressed and as a perceived threat to Western culture (Abu-lughod, 2002; Bullock, 2002; Dwyer, 2000). I have argued that affect and emotion contribute to (re)shaping and influencing Muslim women's embodied identities, experiences and feelings, particularly with regard to the growing fear associated with the 'war on terror'. Social science scholars, including feminist geographers, have shown that Muslim women's identities are multiple, mutually constituted, and context-specific (Dwyer, 1999; Hopkins, 2009a; Mirza, 2013).

I have discussed intersectionality as a process that combines several aspects of embodied identities. I introduced a conceptual framework of intersectionality that examines the co-construction of Muslim women's multiple identities, via gender, religion, nationality, migrant status, and profession. The intersectional conceptualising of embodied identities is about relationality and power relations, which provides room to explore how specific "identification and dis-identification" (2007, p. 18) as well as embodied arrangements are (re)shaped in the varied spatial and temporal spaces of everyday lives (Valentine, 2007). In the next chapter, I focus on the methodological process used in this research.

Chapter 4 Methodology

As reflected in chapter 1, my research aim and objectives are concerned with elucidating Muslim women's embodied experiences in Hamilton. Human geographers insist that it is impossible to separate the everyday experiences of people from social structures, and vice versa. Feminist and post-structuralist schools of thought have made significant contributions to understanding individuals' experiences and the social structures of various societies (Winchester & Rofe, 2010). Feminist geography methodology encourages data collection methods with potentials to explore and reveal the complexities of everyday experiences (Morrison, 2010). These approaches allow researchers to pay attention to power relationships that position people in social hierarchies and influence relationships between people, including the relationships between researchers and researched subjects (Baxter, 2010; Longhurst et al., 2008; Rose, 2001).

Adopting a variety of methods is recognised as a useful strategy to maximise the understanding of everyday life complexities (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010). This study uses qualitative methods inspired by feminist, social and cultural geography. McDowell (2008) argues that qualitative research methods are often used in studies that aim to unravel the connections between social divisions of people, such as race, gender and age, and structural inequalities including market segmentation and harassment. She notes that these methods can unpick the processes that influence such conditions. During the course of my research, I recognised that there are complex and constant variations in feelings, spaces, and places in and around participants' bodies. These complexities and changes led to some conceptual questions, which could not be tackled by a single-axis approach. For example, how do the various intersections of migrant status, gender and religious identities of Muslim women affect the ways they experience a place, such as a primary school in Hamilton?

My goal was to collect voices and experiences of Muslim women that reveal the ways through which they express and practise their faith, gender, nationality, profession and culture. Four interconnected methods: semi-structured interviews; emotion maps; participant observation; and, self-directed photography, were used to explore Muslim women's everyday geographies. These qualitative methods helped me to grasp situated accounts of participants' intersectional identities, including religious, professional, racial and gender (Nayak, 2011).

First, I explain the processes and practices for recruiting the participants and provide information about the respondents. Then, I outline and discuss the procedures, critiques and limitations of each method used in data collection: semi-structured interviews; emotional maps; self-directed photography; and, participant observations. Following this, I explain the methods used for data analysis, identification of themes and research categories. Finally, I reflect on how my embodied identities have influenced the dynamics of research relationships and the production of knowledge.

4.1 Participant recruitment

Participants were recruited in three main ways. First, I was personally introduced to a key-informant via my supervisors' personal connections. In 2014, when I started this study, having just arrived in Hamilton, I was not familiar with the social and cultural geographies of the city. As a new arrival, approaching communities and potential participants through well-known key informants was an effective strategy regarding building trust with the Muslim community in Hamilton. I relied on my supervisors to help me make connections to key people. I also found contact details for other key-informants in Hamilton in *the Hamilton New Settlers Guide 2015*, published by the Hamilton City Council. I emailed the contact people for each Muslim community, and communities that I assumed to have Muslim members, and explained my research aim and processes. I then asked them for a meeting. In meeting with key-informants, I asked them if they could introduce me to other potential participants.

One of these key-informants, Anjum Rahman, is an active member of the local Muslim community in terms of political and social issues related to Muslim women. Anjum introduced me to another key-informant, Maryam, who is the head of a local Muslim women's organisation with a focus on improving the well-being of Muslim women, especially younger ones, in Hamilton. I learnt about the meetings and events related to Muslims and Muslim women through these key informants. I first met Maryam at a gathering of female Muslim students during a potluck and movie night at the Hamilton Jamia Masjid (mosque). I explained my research and expressed my interest in being involved in Hamilton's Muslim community.

Later, Anjum invited me to one of WOWMA's meetings, organised by Muslim women, they were planning a camp for young Muslim female school students, and fundraising for a *madrasa* (Islamic school) at the mosque. At this meeting, I introduced myself to a group of Malaysian Muslim women who planned to make and sell food for fundraising for the madrasa. I volunteered to help in making and selling food. Hence, I began to collaborate with other volunteer workers at the mosque, but I did not ask to interview anyone right away since I was looking to build trust with Muslim women. I also wanted to become more comfortable in these new settings and environments. Women were aware of my research, and they seemed quite comfortable with my presence. They made me feel welcome by talking to me and inviting me to their events and gatherings. During this time, and in all the events and later interviews, I took notes of my observations and had some informal chats. Participating in these events was useful for me regarding recruiting participants and building mutual trust with Muslim women. After two months, I felt comfortable to start interviewing. I first approached women I felt close to and asked them if they would be willing to participate in my research. After reading my Information Sheet, most of them agreed to be interviewed (see Appendix 1).

The second way of recruiting participants was through snowballing. Eight participants introduced me to other women. At the end of each interview, I asked the participants if they could introduce me to another woman. I left my details and research information with them. Once the potential participants had expressed

their interest, I sent an email thanking them for their interest, and attached consent and information sheets, which detailed the research aims, practices and their rights as a research participant. I also assured them of anonymity and confidentiality (see Appendix 2).

The third way in which I recruited participants was by distributing my research flyers (see Appendix 3) in both physical and virtual spaces where I assumed they would be seen by Muslim women. Locations included the Muslim women's prayer room at the University of Waikato and social media such as the Facebook pages of Muslim communities. These flyers advertised for potential participants described the research and provided my contact details. I obtained five participants via flyers posted on the Facebook pages of Muslim communities.

I became involved in voluntary work at SHAMA, an organisation for ethnic women, to become more familiar with minority and ethnic women's lives and challenges in Hamilton. My hope was to recruit Muslim women during my work in this organisation. Unfortunately, I was not successful because no Muslim women participated in our organised activities. I asked my other respondents to take part in SHAMA's sessions, which were informative and interactive workshops. They declined the invitation and pointed to household chores, limited times, transport difficulties and cultural and language barriers as the main reasons for not being willing to attend SHAMA activities.

I eventually succeeded in obtaining 30 interviews with 33 Muslim women; two interviews were conducted jointly and 11 key informant interviews. Using different recruiting approaches helped to create a diverse group of participants (see Table 4:1 and Table 4:2). Most respondents had tertiary-level qualifications, but there were varying degrees of education and employment status. Participants varied in terms of nationality, ethnicity, and marital status. The majority had migrated to New Zealand through different pathways, while four were born in New Zealand. Their age ranged between 19 and 50. Only one was older than 55. Participants identified themselves as New Zealander and Kiwi,⁶ Asian, Kurdish,

⁶ The Kiwi is the national bird of New Zealand. It is also an informal name to refer to people who live in New Zealand.

Malay, Maldivian, Pakistani, Arab, Māori, and Middle Eastern. No one identified themselves as European or Pākēha. Next, I explain the methods I used in this study and reflect on the advantages and disadvantages of each approach.

Table 4:1 Muslim women research participants: Demographic information

No .	Pseudonym	Age	Citizenship	Nationality/Ethnicity (self-identified)	Education	Occupation (self-identified)
1	Simin	25-29	New Zealand	Kurdish	Postgrad. Diploma Rehab	Optometrist/Model/Actress
2	Asi	25-29	Maldives	Asian/Maldivian	PhD	English Language Partners New Zealand, Volunteer Tutor Assistant
3	Najmeh	35-39	Indonesian	Asian	PhD Student	PhD Student
4	Rima	25-29	Malaysia	Malay	Medical Doctor	Medical Doctor
5	Elmira	25-29	Malaysia	Malay	Medical Doctor	Medical Doctor
6	Razieh	25-29	Brunei	Malay	Medical Doctor	Medical Doctor
7	Hassun	19-24	New Zealand	Indian	Postgrad. student in Law & Psychology	Student
8	Neda	19-24	Malaysia	Malay	Undergrad student in Politics & English	Student
9	Asman	35-39	Morocco-New Zealand	Moroccan- Arab	Postgrad. student in Quality Management Systems	Part time Polls & Register Officer, volunteer
10	Marjan	19-24	New Zealand	Pakistani	Postgrad. student in Marketing	Student
11	Nazhat	30-34	New Zealand	Pakistani	Bachelor of Social Sciences (Honours)	Housewife
12	Pari	55-59	New Zealand	Pakistani	Bachelor of Arts	Housewife

13	Hamta	30-34	Saudi Arabia	Arab	Master in computer science	Housewife
14	Shohreh	19-24	New Zealand	Arab (Syria-Iraq-United Arab Emirates)	Bachelor in Law & Political Science	Student
15	Nasim	35-39	New Zealand/Jordan	Arab	Bachelor's degree in Consulting & Psychology	Arabic Teacher
16	Mina	19-24	New Zealand	Arab (Palestine)	-	Dentist
17	Bahar	35-39	Bangladesh/New Zealand	Bangladeshi	Master in International Relations	Homemaker
18	Shahrzad	25-29	Pakistan	Pakistani	PhD Student in Education/MPhil in English Language Teaching	Lecturer in University in Saudi Arabia (before)
19	Farah	40-44	Malaysia	Malay	Doctor/Bachelor Degree/Fellowship	Mum/on leave from work
20	Susan	40-44	Maldives	Asian/Maldivian	PhD in Education	Researcher
21	Goli	35-39	Malaysian/New Zealand	Asian	Grad (ECE) Dip	Teacher
22	Nazi	35-39	Bangladesh/New Zealand	Bengali -Muslim	MBBS, FRCGP	Medical Doctor
23	Yalda	19-24	New Zealander-Jordan	Middle Eastern/Arab	Bachelor of Teaching	Student
24	Tara	25-29	Indonesia	South East Asian	Master in Geography	Student
25	Nahid	29-35	New Zealand	Afghan	Can write and read in Farsi	Housewife
26	Sudabeh	19-24	New Zealand	Afghan-Hazara	High School Diploma (Afghanistan)	Housewife
27	Mona	25-29	New Zealand	Arab	Bachelor of Communication	Interpreter

28	Niki	25-29	Afghanistan	Hazara	level 3 English at Wintec-No formal education in Afghanistan	Student in English course/Housewife
29	Ziba	25-29	Afghanistan	Hazara	Bachelor's degree in Psychology	Student in English course/Interpreter
30	Sima	35-39	Malaysia-New Zealand	Malay	BBA (Hons) Finance/Grad Diploma Teaching	Teacher
31	Delsa	45-49	New Zealand	Māori	Bachelor of Teaching ECE	Early childhood teacher
32	Jahan	45-49	New Zealand	Māori	Degree in Social Sciences	Peer support worker at a drug and addiction retreat
33	Nurul	19-24	New Zealand	Malay	Bachelor in Social Sciences	Student

Table 4:2 Key-informant information

#	Name	Position	Muslim/Non-Muslim	Organisation
1	Anjum Rahman	Strategic manager (mentor) at SHAMA	Muslim	SHAMA
2	Sayed Hosseini	Head of community	Muslim	Afghan Community
3	Ali Abdulghani	Treasurer	Muslim	Afghan Hazara Association-Waikato
4	Gazi Hassan	Head of Community	Muslim	Bangladeshi Community of Waikato INC.
5	Jovi Abellanova	Ethnic Development Advisor Community	Non-Muslim	Development Unit Hamilton City Council
7	Silvana Erenchun Perez	Manager	Non-Muslim	SHAMA
8	Haidee Kalilai	Small Business Adviser	Non-Muslim	Red Cross
9	Mustafa Ababneh	President	Muslim	Waikato Students Muslim Association
10	Afat Xiao	Senior Adviser Refugee & Migrant Support Migrant, Refugee & International Education Team - Head of Community	Non-Muslim	Ministry of Education-Indonesian Society of Hamilton
11	Maryam	Accountant	Muslim	WOWMA

4.2 Semi-structured interviews

Interview is recognised as an excellent method of collecting a diversity of opinions, meanings and experiences (Dunn, 2010). In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with 33 Muslim women who live in Hamilton. This included two Māori-Muslim women who are originally from the Waikato region, but at the time of the interviews, they no longer lived in the region. I travelled to Tauranga and Auckland to interview these Māori participants as I considered their experience would be significant in my study for two reasons. First, it expanded the scope of this study by adding unique forms of intersectional identities and diverse experiences and expression of gender, religion and culture for Muslim women. Second, their insights provided me with other ways of seeing Hamilton as a dynamic space, via their memories of the region, when they used to live there, and their current feelings towards Hamilton.

The semi-structured interviews were conducted in two forms: 28 individual and two joint interviews. I interviewed two participants in the presence of their husbands. This changed the context of the interviews as often their husbands' eagerness to provide their opinions directed the women's talk or motivated them to explain further. Semi-structured interviews (individual and group) are commonly used in studies of Muslim communities about their identities, sense of belonging and social integration (Dwyer, 1999; Hopkins, 2007b, 2011; Mansson McGinty, 2013; Wagner & Peters, 2014). Forty interviews out of forty-four were conducted in English. Four interviews with Afghan participants were conducted in Farsi, which is my native language. These in-depth interviews were used in order to unpack gender and religious power relations within the 'home' and beyond, and to understand participants' everyday choices, including choice of dress, behaviour, consumption and their feelings in different places of Hamilton (Winchester & Rofe, 2010).

I provided all participants with a separate information sheet and consent form prior to the interview, via email, or personally delivered these and answered any questions that they had. Along with the consent form, a short questionnaire was given to participants to gather some background information. The filling in of

these forms usually took 10-15 minutes. I asked the participants if I could audio-record the interviews at the beginning of the session. Participants also were provided with my contact details and those of my supervisors, in case they wished to discuss the research further or they decided to withdraw or erase a part of their interview, which did not happen.

I asked participants to choose where and when they felt was most convenient for interviews. The place influenced both participants' and my behaviours, manners and clothing. Particularly, participants' clothing was different depending on whether we talked in private or public places. To illustrate, Nasim and Hamta wear western-inspired clothes at home, without a veil, yet in public, they both wear abaya⁷ and large scarves. Those participants that I interviewed in their homes seemed to be more comfortable because of the familiarity of the place. My appearance and behaviour also varied based on place. For instance, I wore a veil and long coat whenever I attended meetings and events at the mosque. For almost all the interviews, the first 15 minutes were generally spent introducing my study, and asking several demographic questions. It also involved, sometimes, awkward silence and nervous laughter, either from the participants or from me, to reduce the stress and distance caused by a conversation with an unknown person in a novel situation.

The conversation about everyday topics, and open-ended questions while having food enhanced the trust between the participants and me. After the interview, all but four participants invited me to their place for lunch, dinner, or tea or asked me to join them in going out with their friends. I am certain that this strategy not only created a comfortable environment to talk for the majority of the interviewed women but also prompted them to open up about their personal feelings and histories. Several respondents indicated they shared very personal issues with me that they had not told anyone else before, for example, one participant told me that she had converted from Islam to atheism, but she could not share this with her family and friends because of emotional and security reasons. This and other

⁷ A loose, usually black robe worn by Muslim women, especially in Arabic-speaking regions, "a full-length, sleeveless outer garment worn by some Muslim women" ("abaya," 2010).

incidents showed that such an interview setting gave space and voice to Muslim women to express their thoughts, experiences and emotions (Mendoza & Morén-Alegret, 2013).

Out of 44 interviews, 11 took place at participants' workplaces and universities. Four interviews were carried out in cafes. For 18 interviews, I went to participants' homes, and nine interviews were done in my office at the University of Waikato. All interviews were conducted face to face. Each interview covered four themes for discussion: 1) personal life and activities in private and semi-private spaces such as home and work; 2) the role of Islam in their personal and social life; 3) leisure; and, 4) everyday movements and safety (see Appendix 4). I structured questions around my project's objectives in the interviews. The schedule for both kinds of interviews, however, was flexible to provide opportunities for other issues to arise during discussions. I structured the questions to get information about Muslim women's identities and the way these identities are embodied and negotiated in their everyday experiences in various places (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014).

Participants were very welcoming toward me in their homes. Our conversations were interrupted by their movements around their homes for various reasons, including making a drink, checking on their children (if they were present), and answering the phone. During the interviews, I was offered traditional/ethnic food and drinks at participants' homes. I went to their houses with a gift, as this is a common practice in Muslim culture. When participants came to my office halal refreshments were provided. In every place, whether public or private, I found participants were confident and willing to open up about their personal life, which I associate mainly with the comfortable and easy settings of the interview questions, and my cultural and background similarities with the participants.

4.3 Emotion maps of bodies and places

Before starting the semi-structured interviews, I gave each woman two blank A4 pages on which to draw an 'emotion map'. I explained the emotion map as a participatory research method and showed how I applied this method in my research. Emotion mapping is a drawing method that is used at the beginning of

the interviews. It was created in sociological and medical studies to investigate family relationships and has proved to be effective in presenting “the dynamic experience and emotional repertoires of family life” (Gabb & Singh, 2015, p. 185) of migrants. However, it has also been used to represent emotions and feelings in non-familial settings. In this method, emotions are situated at the centre of the methodological and conceptual enquiry and probe “the materiality, temporality, and emotionality” (Gabb & Singh, 2015, p. 187) of people’s engagements with various places. Some feminist geographers have used this technique to explore the relationships between identity, affect and love in heterosexual couples’ homes and illustrate “where and what kinds of love interactions” occur (Morrison, Johnston, & Longhurst, 2013, p. 517).

On the first piece of blank paper, each participant was encouraged to draw a picture of herself and add some characteristics and personality traits that best represent her. I used this method to understand gendered conceptualisations/images of participants’ bodies (Gabb & Singh, 2015). Along with interviews, these emotion maps were useful to show different aspects of participants’ embodied identities that were considered important by participants in constructing who they are before my questions potentially influenced their feelings. These maps also revealed that social identities, such as gender and religion, create certain roles and attitudes (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014).

On the second page, respondents were asked to draw a map of places in Hamilton they were familiar with. I asked everyone to highlight places where they experienced positive and/or negative feelings. Later, the respondents explained why they had such feelings about those places. By asking these Muslim women to draw such maps, I sought to explore the gendered and socio-spatial attributes of places that contribute to the construction of feelings in and around participants’ bodies. The emotion maps produced by participants reflect a range of different emotions at different times and places, including pleasant, calm, scared, and insecure, among others (Pánek & Benediktsson, 2017). Talking with participants about their maps revealed the ways these emotions were shaped intersectionally

and how they depended on spatial characteristics of places and their various embodied identities (Davidson et al., 2007; Pánek & Benediktsson, 2017).

Emotion maps have the potential to depict different feelings, emotional interactions and everyday activities, as well as gendered-power relationships in different places and spaces in Hamilton, New Zealand (Gabb & Singh, 2015). These maps, as “a mixture of information and interpretation” (2001, p. 227), gave me ideas about the feelings Muslim women have in different spaces according to power relations (Soini, 2001). I believe this technique enabled me to examine the experiences and mixed feelings that people have in one place, over time, and dynamic power relations (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014). Several participants attached both positive and negative feelings to one place, for example, their workplaces. Yasi, a student at the University of Waikato, drew the University and annotated it as generating both positive and negative feelings. She found many good friends and encouraging lecturers at the university, while she suffered stigmatisation in the same place.

All these factors made emotion maps an appropriate technique for studying the intersectional identities of Muslim women and related experiences in different places. Along with interviews, emotion maps of everyday places show how power relations and emotional status (re)shape experiences of oppression and privilege in individuals and groups. Emotion maps, however, must be used with interviews to make them comprehensible and useful in research about intersectionality (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014).

4.4 Self-directed photography

At the end of each interview session, I invited interviewees to take photographs of everyday places, gatherings, and clothes, and then to send these to me via email. Twenty-two Muslim women agreed to take part in this stage. They, however, suggested I use their Facebook and Instagram profiles since it would be more convenient for them, and they posted their photos on those social media regularly.

Photos have the potential to illustrate how participants combine and assemble their embodied geographies and hence modify their appearances in various places.

Self-directed photography allows participants to document knowledge from their point of view (Dodman, 2003; Harper, 2002; Markwell, 2000; Thomas, 2007). It fosters active participant involvement and reduces the input of the researcher. In this thesis, the photographic results are, therefore, assumed to represent what the research participants want to communicate about themselves to their wider society of online friends. Accordingly, self-directed photography reworks the unequal power relations between researchers and respondents. It also allowed me to access those moments and spaces that I could not access via interviews and emotional mapping.

Posted photos from these participants formed a significant data resource for this study, as they offered a new window into the everyday lives of participants. When participants posted photos on these social networking sites, they often accompanied the photos with emoji, texts and geo-referencing. All these attributes were important and useful in analysing and understanding the power relations of the places where photos were taken, and events occurred. When looking at the photos, I focused on places they went to, people, things, activities, clothes, and hashtags (short descriptions next to photos). This provided insights into the embodied and materialistic expressions of the gendered, national and religious identities of participants. Hashtags and emoji reflected the Muslim women's feelings and impressions of the places where the photos were taken. Tracking their photos on social media on a regular basis for three years allowed me to record any (dis)continuities in their embodied expressions relating to different places and times (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014).

However, photos do not always have the ability to indicate the depth of people's feelings all the time, nor do they reflect the spectrum of emotions, including positive feelings such as happiness, joy and excitement. Using their photos from Instagram and Facebook gave me access to their emotional state from their perspectives, but not an in-depth account of feelings. To address this issue, I analysed participants' interviews, emotion maps and photos together.

Discussing appropriate data collection techniques for intersectionality, Hopkins (2018) points out the need to design flexible, exploratory approaches. He argues

that such methods should provide space for participants to reveal aspects of their experiences and beings that “the researcher may not necessarily have considered significant” (Hopkins, 2018, p. 588). My participants gave me the opportunity to conduct virtual participant observation by allowing me to use their posts on Instagram and Facebook for my research instead of taking photos and sending them to me (Boyd, 2008). Along with interviews and participant observation in offline spaces, this online method provided complementary and novel data on the intersections of embodied identities in different places and times (Basnet, Johnston, & Longhurst, 2018; Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014). These data added another layer of complexity of information regarding mutual and intersectional constitutions of embodied identity, emotions and power relations within spaces (Morrison, 2010).

Place and spatial characteristics are critical elements in shaping intersections of embodied identities and defining which identities are important at specific times and in specific activities. The photos obtained from Facebook and/or Instagram, along with qualitative interviews and emotion maps helped me develop a way of understanding the power relationships between embodied identities and places (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014). This online collection of data was particularly useful in eliciting the agency of Muslim women and in destabilising pervasive Islamic and anti-Islamic discourses about the veil and Muslim women (Dwyer & Davies, 2010).

This method, however, led to the emergence of two ethical issues, these are confidentiality and privacy (Madge, 2007). The participants added me to their Facebook and Instagram accounts as a friend, a Muslim community member, and a researcher. This situation blurred my ability to judge which posts were publishable and which were not (Madge, 2007), and thus which posts I could use in my research and which I could not. To protect the privacy of my research participants, I sent them the photos and posts I intended to use in the research and asked for their consent. I edited out any material that they did not want, for any reasons, to be public or published in this thesis.

The second ethical challenge was related to confidentiality and keeping participants anonymous while using materials obtained from their social media

(Madge, 2007). This was a particular challenge considering the position of Muslims in Hamilton. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Muslim community is small in Hamilton, and most of the respondents know each other and are friends, offline and online. Several measures were taken to maintain confidentiality and anonymity, including hiding the names of individuals and places, giving pseudonymous names, blurring faces in images and removing “identifying features such as places, institutions and user names” (Madge, 2007, p. 660). I began the research analysis of the obtained data from the very beginning of the data collection period, which I explain in the next section.

4.5 Data analysis

The process of data analysis happened throughout the research process and developed with assistance from relevant literature. I made use of Braun and Clarke’s (2006) five-stage procedure for thematic analysis. These stages are: 1) Familiarisation with the data; 2) Generating initial codes; 3) Searching for themes; 4) Reviewing themes; and, 5) Defining and naming themes.

The first phase in analysing my empirical data was initiated while transcribing the semi-structured interviews. My aim was to transcribe each interview as soon as possible after conducting it, to recall details and feelings. I made myself familiar with the data by repeatedly reading transcripts, emotional maps, and screenshots. Throughout my research, I regularly looked at the participants’ Facebook and Instagram profiles in an attempt to identify recurrent themes within them. While reading and looking at photographs and emotion maps, I looked for similarities and differences across the data. I sorted selected quotes with similar meanings (Ryan & Bernard, 2003).

In the second phase of analysis, I searched for terms and places appearing across interviews, emotion maps and photographs. Several lists of ideas, concepts and themes were produced at this stage, based on interview transcripts, emotion maps and screenshots from participants’ Facebook and Instagram profiles. I made use of both manual coding of data (see Figure 4:1) and NVivo (see Figure 4:2) as a way to produce initial codes from the data. My theoretical positions as a feminist

geographer and the thesis's aims and objective influenced the creation and development of codes and themes.

A: and who you usually go with?

S: my friends

A: Maldivians?

S: Yes, All Maldivians, I have never been with another group, I would love to but maybe because it is a cultural difference, because the things we would hope to happen or we would hope to get involved, maybe sort of, would not work with the western, so when we go normally, we would just eat and just play, and we would not have drinks, I mean sorts of those kinds of things, we have certain things that we would eat, it is ok seeing other people that drinking and eating, but not for us, we do not have those kinds of gatherings, like in our culture, even in Maldivian community here, we have never never never ever drink, no anyone even think of bringing something, so I am very sure about Maldivian community that none of them are drinking so those kinds of restrictions that sometimes we do not really get involved in other cultures, one of those thing, because it is not it is not, not fine for us, when people get drunk, we get, I particularly get scared when people, when I see people drunk, yeah, that is one the thing that I notice when I was living in York Street that was my first year of doctorate, there were couple of time that I was worried about the people who were living nearby, our neighbors, my neighbors, they sometimes got drunk and they knocked on my door, and then I was scared (changed her tone and emphasis on scare, and feeling), my goodness, that was bit of freaky, and then, I decided to move from there, and I actually do not like to see drunk people, and because I do not know what is going to happen next, and because they do not have control of their own behavior, I would say, so, yeah

Leisure space

Alcohol

A:And what about in Hamilton, which places you usually...

S: I've been in Hamilton garden couple of times, and, yeah, and I love that place, and whenever we go, we usually take pictures, and I've got many pictures in that place, and we have visitors from our countries and family members, relatives, we always go and take pictures there, and they visited all different types of garden there, and different, we particularly loves the flowers, and seen, and flowers in different countries, different types of flowers

Places they like in Hamilton

Figure 4:1 Coding an interview

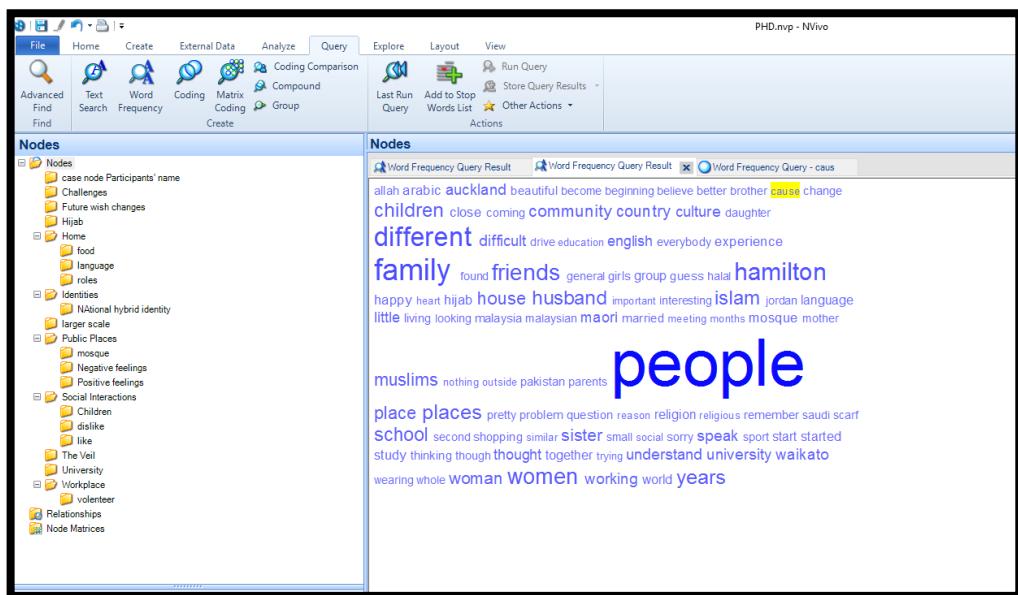


Figure 4:2 Word frequency by NVivo

Although I used Word frequency by NVivo (see Figure 4:2) some codes that only appeared in one interview or topics that did not appear in any conversation were noted and kept for further consideration (McLean, 2014). For example, issues of sexuality and domestic violence appeared in only one interview.

Phase 3 began when all the data were coded, and I started to sort the different codes into initial themes. To do so, I explored the relationship between codes in order to create themes. Mental maps were used to visualise relationships of codes and to sort and organise different codes to candidate themes and sub-themes. Themes were produced from data along with literature reviews, the theoretical orientation of the research and my reflections during the fieldwork (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). I kept a research diary and wrote down my observations, feelings and incidents that seemed related to my research and participants. In this phase, several themes were created including embodied identities, religious identities, positive and negative feelings toward various places, spaces and multi-scalar social and emotional interactions (see Figure 4:3).

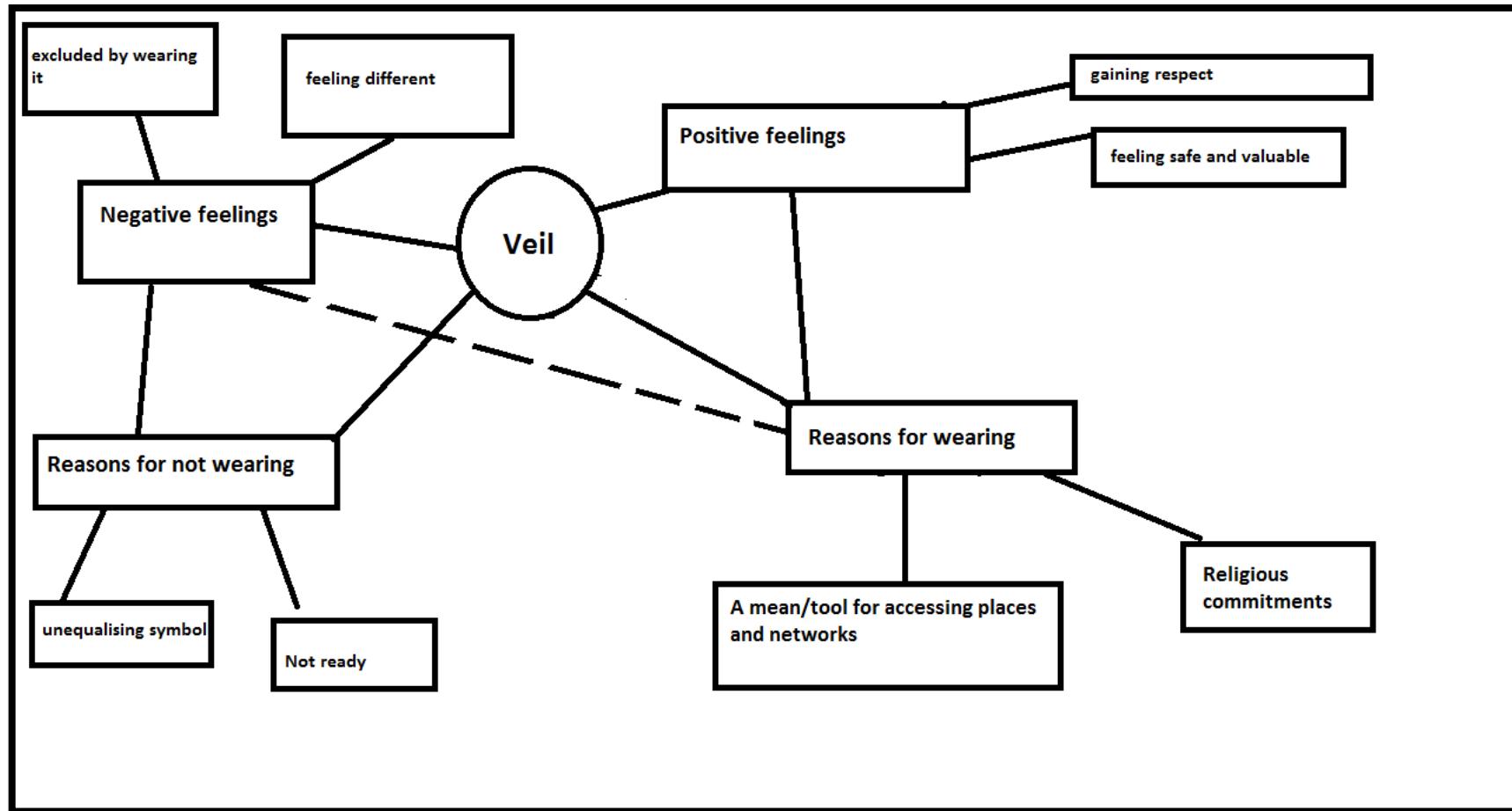


Figure 4:3 Thematic coding for hijab emotion

The fourth phase involved the refinement of the initial themes. Some of the initial themes overlapped, such as clothing, the meaning of the veil, styles of the veil and modesty. Such themes were grouped together based on the spaces and scales that are significant both in the literature on geographies of Muslim women and by respondents in this research (Cope, 2010). The coherency across data in themes was assessed (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A range of spaces/scales emerged, including the body, workplaces (healthcare and education services), and leisure spaces.

The fifth phase further defined the themes and subthemes. I re-read data in each sub-themes and themes to identify “the essence of what each theme is about” (2006, p. 92), and how data support and/or not support each theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Themes and sub-themes were reviewed to avoid repetitions. This stage involved “developing a coding structure” (Cope, 2010, p. 291) and exploring the relationships, connections and disconnections between themes. In this stage, I tried to find out the similarities, differences and relationships as well as the “conceptual links” between themes (Cope, 2010, p. 291). I examined whether or not the themes of this study had been identified in previous research, and whether these findings confirmed or challenged the existing literature. I looked for continuous and discontinuous embodied identities of Muslim women in different places and times in Hamilton. I used both NVivo and mind maps (see Figure 4:4) to visually track and plot the extracts, concepts and themes together (Cope, 2010; Morrison, 2010). Several concepts emerged, particularly embodied identity and intersectionality, and these created strong connections between themes and my research aim and objectives.

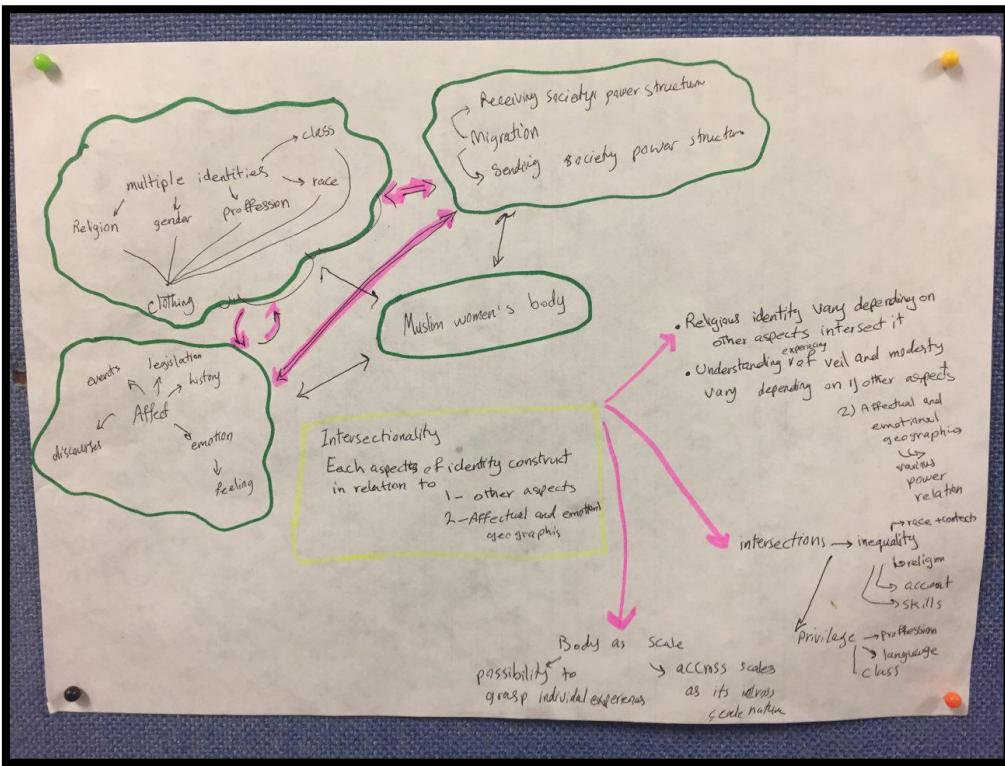


Figure 4:4 Mental map showing data analysis

I made use of guidelines provided by Rose (2001) and focused attention on the social context of collected participants' narratives, text, images and reports. I paid attention to who was talking, making and posting images "in what circumstances" (Rose, 2001, p. 149). Previously, other geographers (Dwyer, 1999; Hopkins, 2011; Listerborn, 2015) showed the relationship between the dominant representations of Islam and Muslim women at the global level with everyday Muslim women's experiences of discrimination and inequalities at the local level. I also wanted to examine whether, in Hamilton, Muslim women's everyday lives adhered to, or departed from, dominant media representations of Islam and Muslims. I compiled a folder of brochures, advertisements, and newspaper clippings related to Muslim women.

I paid careful attention to television programmes, newspapers and other media dealing with Muslim issues both in New Zealand and on the global level. Legal and governmental documents were collected and critically reviewed, as well as, Islamic guidebooks and the archives of local authorities related to Muslim women's issues. The objective behind the media and governmental documents review was to explore the ways that various institutions and practices could lead to either

facilitating better social integration or alternatively creating stereotypes and violence within society (Bradshaw & Stratford, 2010). Using this approach, I aimed to identify the discourses (Waitt, 2010), factors and trends that have been used to make sense of and influence the position and well-being of Muslim women in the Waikato region. In tandem, the relationships and regularity of information and data within the identified discourses and themes were examined. I devoted special attention to discourses and subjects that had previously been absent or marginalised.

4.6 Participants' trust and ethical obligations

Several feminist geographers consider the (re)constructions of emotions relating to both researchers and their researched subjects (Crang, 2003; Longhurst et al., 2008; Morrison, 2010; Valentine, 2002). Some, like Longhurst et al. (2008) and Crang (2003), point out the embodied identities of researchers and participants and conceptualise the body as a tool of research, which plays a crucial role in the production of geographical knowledge. From the early stage of my research, I begin to think about how my embedded identities, such as gender and religion, influenced my position/s in the study.

I critically reflected on some of the ethical dilemmas that I experienced during this study. "Reflexivity is a process of constant, self-conscious scrutiny of the self as a researcher and of the research process" (Dowling, 2010, p. 31). Throughout my research, I kept a research diary in which I recorded my thoughts, ideas and my reflexive observations (Dowling, 2010). Paying particular attention to emotions, clothing and identity, I observed closely how my body and identity as a woman with a Muslim upbringing influenced my research participants and me during the research process.

It was helpful to develop reciprocal conversations in interview sessions by sharing my own experiences of living in Western countries and my background as a woman coming from an Islamic country (Valentine, 2005). My participants and I shared some similarities in terms of social and cultural contexts. This kind of sharing created a space in which research participants did not feel judged or see

themselves as objects under study, therefore, they could talk more confidently. During interviews, I was careful to share my own experiences rather than express my views and opinions. I tried to be a facilitator who prompted talking and kept the content of the talk loosely around the study aim and objectives (Valentine, 2005).

During this research, as some other geographers (Basnet et al., 2018; Kwan, 2008; Morrison, 2010), I became friends with several of the research participants, particularly the younger ones. I suspect some aspect of myself, such as being a young, although young means different things to different people, single woman from Iran (an Islamic country), were crucial factors in constructing feelings of mutual understandings between the younger participants and me, which I consider as seeds of friendship. An important process contributing to the development of these friendships was sharing our memories of childhood and adolescence, as well as personal private stories of life-based on growing up/living in Islamic cultural contexts. The development of these friendships influenced different processes of this study, including data collection and analysis.

During our interview conversations, many participants indicated they were interested in my research and would like to help me by involving me more in their everyday and private lives. They invited me to their gatherings, family dinners and religious ceremonies. These unexpected moments of eating and going out together with participants, their friends and family provided in-depth and useful data regarding the everyday experiences of embodied identities of Muslim women in different spaces (Basnet et al., 2018).

As a friend to some of the participants, they revealed to me some personal feelings, experiences and thoughts on Islam. At times, I had difficulties trying to differentiate what I knew as a researcher and what I knew as a friend (Morrison, 2010). In addition, the issue of confidentiality of participants was critical in my study as I conducted the research within a small community. As a result of these demographic and geographical factors, the majority of participants not only knew each other but were also both online and offline friends. This increased my

concern about keeping the information and identities of the participants confidential and anonymous.

Being a researcher and friend of the participants created challenges as there were moments where the boundaries between research relationships and personal relationships were blurred (Morrison, 2010). For instance, there were some cases of conflicts between different Muslim communities during my study. By then, friendships had been between participants on different sides of the conflict and me. At that time, much of what my Muslim friends talked about over a cup of coffee or a meal was the issues, and the mistakes and inappropriate attitudes of other Muslims. I found myself consciously monitoring what I could say and what I could not say, and reminding myself that I must remain passive as a researcher in this context. That caused me to feel nervous, and I tried to minimise my interactions with Muslim friends.

Narrative and content analysis are unavoidably influenced by the subjective understandings of the researcher on the issues under study (Bryman, 2008). Being a woman and coming from a similar cultural and religious background as my target group, I had assumptions about and affiliations with this target group. Although this similar background often helped me to understand and connect with these Muslim women, no doubt my assumptions affected the direction and content of the study. However, I tried to minimise this by asking different people, particularly my supervisors, who came from different backgrounds, to review my papers and results.

As for every research, my study has some strengths and weaknesses. Although the participants came from diverse backgrounds, they definitely did not represent the full diversity of Muslim women in Hamilton. There were some groups that I could not get any response from, such as Somalian Muslim women. Those who decided to participate may have had different experiences to those who did not participate. I also noticed that some women might have wanted to appear more religious than they actually were, because of the research title. The interview method may have influenced the unfolding mutually constructed relationship between researcher

and researched. Dwyer and Davies (2010) argue that online research and methods change the emotions and interactions between researchers and participants.

I experienced such changes in my research. While some respondents were more confident and relaxed while we talked face to face, there were some who felt more confident to open up online. After the first round of analysis, some gaps in the data appeared and to address these gaps I sent some questions to participants via email or text messaged them via Facebook. One respondent showed that she felt very confident and relaxed about talking with me via text message because she took the opportunity to tell me about the time that she decided to commit suicide. She asked if I saw her as a weak person. I tried to comfort her by saying that as both a researcher and a human being I could relate to such thoughts in hard times, so I understood her and felt empathy.

In another incident, one participant came to my office at the University of Waikato and burst into tears. She told me about the problems she had with her family, and how her mother and sister bullied her. She came to me because she trusted I would not tell others and judge her. I provided her with a list of Counselling/Support Services, which my supervisors advised me to create before starting my fieldwork in case any participant needed professional support (see Appendix 5).

4.7 Summary

This chapter discussed my methodology. I used a combination of methods, informed by post-structuralism and feminist geography, to address the aim and objectives of this study. I used semi-structured interviews, emotion maps, self-directed photography and observation. I explained how this combination allowed me to understand the ways in which structural, emotional and embodied intersections (re)shape inequalities and privileges in the everyday lives of Muslim women in Hamilton. Semi-structured interviews were useful in providing insights into this study's topics of exploring the relationships between embodied identities and constant negotiation of these subjectivities with structural powers in a range of spaces.

Nuanced data, regarding intersectional experiences, were obtained by emotion maps and frequent participant observations both through social networking profiles and through ‘hanging out’ with my research participants (Boyd, 2008). Using these methods together allowed for documentation of the specificity of embodied identities in time and place and of the ways that experiencing and feeling privileged and/or oppressed were constituted through intersections of that embodied identity with other aspects (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014).

One of the biggest challenges in using intersectionality as a framework is that there is no methodological direction (Brown, 2012; McDowell, 2008; Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014). The vagueness, incompleteness and complexity of intersectionality reflect the need for mobile, flexible verbal and visual data collection methods to enable understanding of the dynamics of intersections (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014). I have argued that a combination of emotion maps, thematic analysis of self-directed photography, participant observations, and semi-structured interviews serves as a useful approach to explain and understand the complexity, fluidity and discontinuity of intersectionality.

Chapter 5 Muslim women's bodies: Modesty, fashion and nationality

Pashmina blended with the softest silk,
Its colour of wine so sweet. But so sinful,
Conceal
My loyalty to God.
Proudly, it dances in the wind so freely
But secured are my values, my identity.
However,
'Modern' is the society.
And 'backwards' is I,
The girl in the silk pashmina, wine red scarf.
Nurul Shamsul (2015)

In the above text, Nurul, a young Kiwi-Malay poet and a finalist in Miss Universe New Zealand 2018, articulates her feelings about her scarf and being a Muslim woman living in Hamilton, New Zealand. She points to a persistent perception of the veil, which is deemed 'backwards', oppressive to women and opposed to 'modernity', which is perceived to be liberating. This poem echoes a long-standing problem of Muslim women in the West being seen as Other, with an incompatible culture and religion. As this poem illustrates, the Muslim veil is a contested signifier with divergent meanings across cultures, societies and individuals (Dwyer, 2000). In this chapter, I explore the understandings, experiences and practices of the veil by Muslim women in Hamilton. The chapter aims to analyse the ways in which Muslim women's embodied identities and emotions are constructed in relation to femininity, modesty, fashion, and nationality. I pay particular attention to the ways in which young participants invest in their bodies and create their own fashionable New Zealand identities. Their embodied identities accommodate their religion, gender and nationality together.

The body is an intersectional space that is both social and personal (Longhurst, 2001). Like all bodies, the bodies of Muslim women can be understood as multidimensional spaces that are shaped by different power relations. The core argument is about how the body and place are mutually constructed. The body is an important space of reflection, agency, desires, and insight (Gorman-Murray, 2013). I argue that bodies are both discursive and material, so I explore how

physicality and the clothing of Muslim women's bodies are disciplined and contested through dominant discourses about femininity, modesty, fashion and nationality in Hamilton, New Zealand (Gorman-Murray, 2013).

Clothes are an important aspect of people's embodied identities, particularly in public (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010). In terms of Muslim women's identity, scholars such as Dwyer (2000) and Abu-lughod (2002) assert that the veil is an over-determinant of Muslim women's identity in the West. In most Western literature, veiled Muslim women, along with other women of colour, appear as a homogeneous group representing dependent, oppressed and powerless women (Mohanty, 1988). Secor argues that any analyses of dress must take into account the issues of "spatialised norms of dress" (2002, p. 5), gendered bodies and people's movements. Secor (2002) stresses that there is an immediate and intimate relationship between embodied expressions of the veil, Muslim women's everyday movements and place.

In this chapter, I argue that Muslim women's identities are far more complex than the stereotypes that popular Western culture allows for. Muslim women have agency and are active in adopting and expressing (or not) their gender, religious, and national identities. Using an intersectionality lens, this chapter grapples with the mutual constructions of different forms of embodied identities, which include gender, religion and nationality in relation to each other and to wider relations of power, such as the perceived conflict between modesty and fashion (McDowell, 2009).

In what follows, first I explore the meanings of the veil for different Muslim women, considering their diverse gender, ethnic, and cultural identities. The second section highlights Muslim women's negative feelings and emotions that arise from wearing a veil. The third section focuses on the ways that young Muslim women intersect and negotiate their veil, modesty, fashion and nationality, and create various fashionable-Islamic appearances. I then discuss how participants understand their Muslim and New Zealand identities.

5.1 Muslim women's diverse accounts of the veil

Dwyer (2008) suggests that exploring the meanings of the veil for Muslim women provides an opportunity for understanding how Muslim women “engage with different forms of dress” (2008, p. 142) in different places. I start my analysis by exploring participants’ reasons for wearing the veil. The majority of participants in this study wear a veil as shown in Figure 5:1.

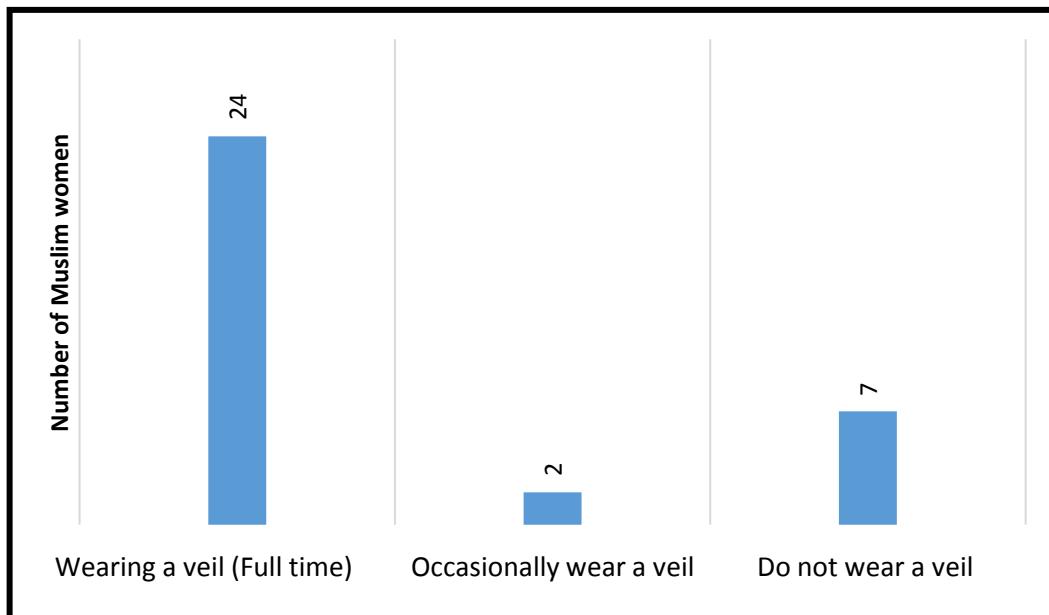


Figure 5:1 Numbers of participants who wear a veil

Almost all respondents indicated that being a Muslim is a central aspect of who they are. They highlighted the key roles of their religion and gender in their emotion maps, in which they were asked to draw how they saw themselves and what their roles were (see Figure 5:2 and Figure 5:3). In these drawings, respondents make clear reference to their gender – in terms of being a good mum, daughter, and wife – and to their religion, either by drawing a veil or by describing themselves as a Muslim. They conform to dominant gendered norms for women. For example, Najmeh (Figure 5:2) draws herself with a veil, a car, a cat, a book, a pot and serving spoon:

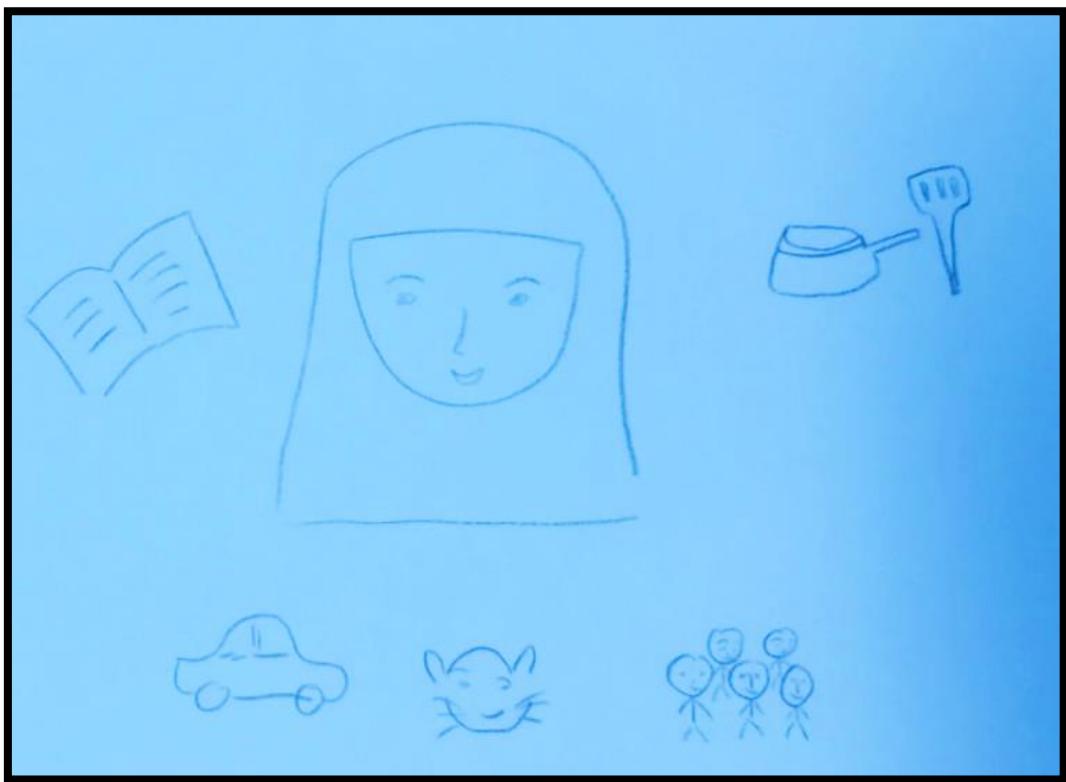


Figure 5:2 Najmeh's emotion map

Najmeh explained each shape in her emotion map. The book signifies her job as a researcher, the cat shows her love of animals particularly cats, and the car reflects her passion for travelling. She pointed to her hijab and said, "This shows I am a Muslim". Najmeh explained that she drew the pot and serving spoon to show her role as a mother who loves cooking for her family. Susan (Figure 5:3) also depicts herself with a scarf:

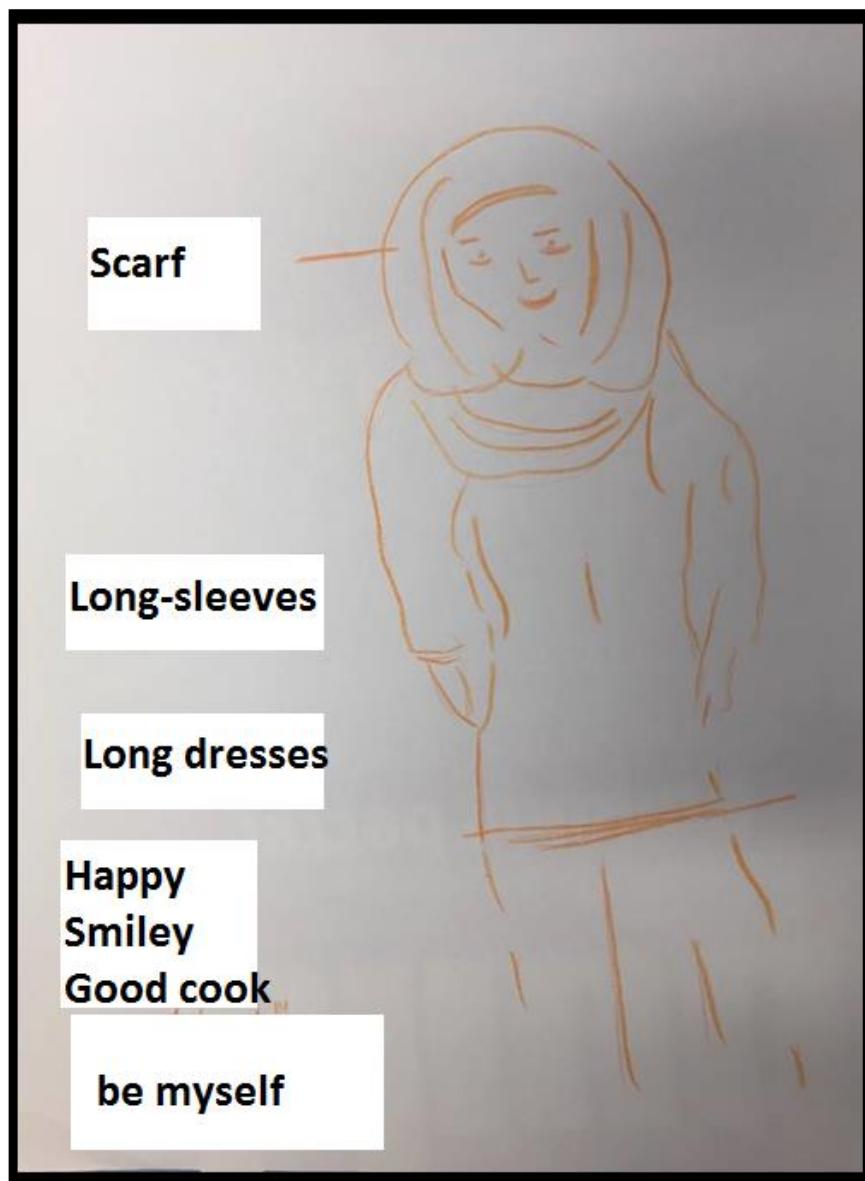


Figure 5:3 Susan's emotion maps of her body

These drawings embody and visualise gendered and religious forms of identities through cooking, emotions and clothing. The emotion maps show that gender and religious identities are not separate from each other. The scarf, in particular, was drawn as an important symbol and piece of clothing that reflects their inseparable religious and gender identities. Consider Hassun's emotion map (Figure 5:4). She is a single woman who expresses her gender identity by drawing herself with a veil and skirt:

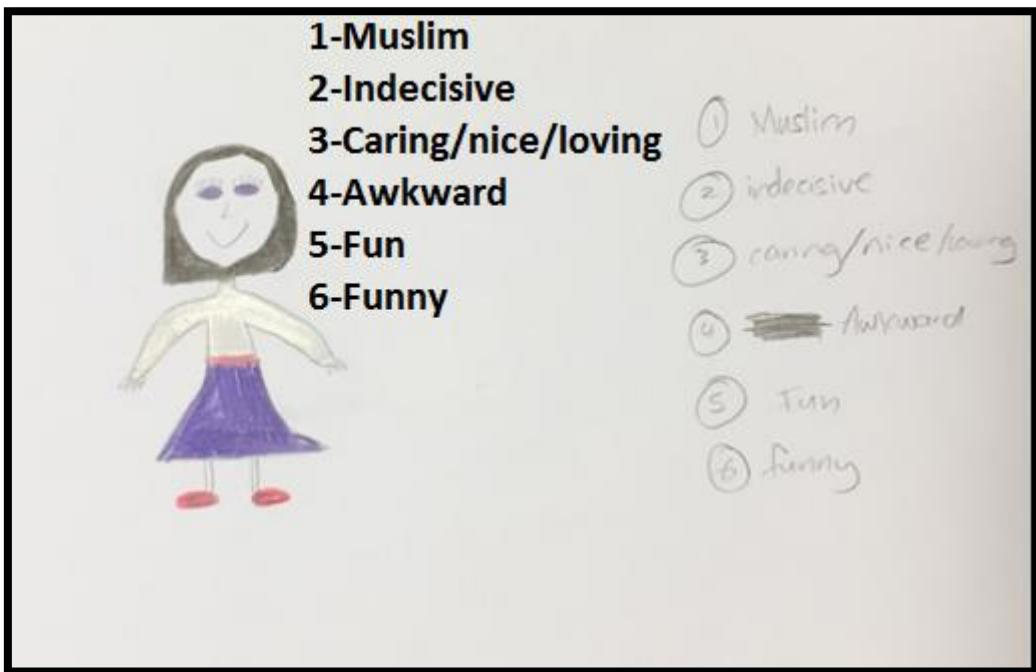


Figure 5:4 Emotion map drawn by Hassun

Women are often seen as the bearers of culture in many societies. For some interviewed Muslim women, their gendered responsibility as a bearer of culture is an important factor that shapes their decision to put on the veil. To illustrate further, consider Nazhat's reasons for wearing a veil:

I didn't wear the scarf for five years. But, now I wear the scarf. When my son was born, then I thought that I should because you know, what if he gets older he will ask me that, you know. If I tell him to do something, like as fasting and praying. I tell him it's compulsory then he says, "well if praying is compulsory, why don't you do that [wearing a veil]. And if do one thing then why you do the other thing. Then he kinda like want to be a good role model now so now I started to do it when he was born, so now I wear a scarf when I go out (Joint interview with Nazhat and Pari, 21 July 2015).

I asked Nazhat if it was important for her to pass on these cultural and religious principles to her son Nazhat replied:

Yeah, because I think that if I didn't feel like doing sometimes before, I have to do it [now] for my son, for my kids. You know,

if I don't, because now he is too young and he doesn't have to pray obviously, but when he gets to the time, so I am gonna to pray more. So, I can get him to do it. You know, so I guess that it is something that I have to do to be a good role model, even though if I don't know it within myself (Joint interview with Nazhat and Pari, 21 July 2015).

For Nazhat, her identity as a mother makes her feel responsible for passing the religious and cultural norms to her son as a Muslim woman. She, thus, tailors her performances in accordance with Islamic culture and principles, so she can influence her son to follow these principles in the future. For Muslim women, such as Nazhat, sustaining their religious ties may be considered more important than "gender equality" (2014, p. 677), egalitarianism, or being accepted within Western societies (Meah, 2014). Feeling such responsibility, however, displays an aspect of the power relationship between genders in Nazhat's family. She anticipates her son will be allowed to use his 'male authority' to question her in future. Participants indicated that their mothers or/and other Muslim women are the ones who ask and expect them to cover their bodies and to wear the veil. One of the interviewed Muslim women, Ziba, explains:

For instance, the group that came with us here [refugee camp in Auckland], there were families with seven and eight-year-old daughters. The mothers combed and braided their daughters' hair beautifully. When they came to Hamilton, they forced the daughters to wear horrible scarfs that do not reveal a hair strand. I asked, "Why you made them do that? Poor them, they would get hot". They [their mothers] replied, "In Afghanistan, they [the girls] would see other women, mothers, aunts, and grandmas wearing hijab and adopt that but their father said here you have to force them to wear a scarf from now. Since nobody wearing hijab, then they will learn from them. You must make them wear it from the young age then" (Individual interview, 7 March 2016).

This example shows that within these Muslim families, women are the ones who teach and pass on the religious obligations and rules to next generations, particularly to other women. According to Ziba, this role is assigned to women, by men, in this community in Hamilton. It also shows “the gendered expectations” of Muslim women are strong for both mothers and their daughters (Dwyer, 2000, p. 447). As such, Muslim women are encouraged by Muslim men and cultural obligations to police one another, in terms of wearing a scarf and behaving within Islamic guidelines. This could be because the women are seen as “guardians of cultural and religious integrity” (2000, p. 447) in this Muslim community (Dwyer, 2000). Such roles are becoming more crucial in the unfamiliar and non-Islamic context of Hamilton.

In addition, this story highlights the significance of place in reconstruction and the importance of different aspects of Muslim women’s identities. These Afghan parents make their young daughters wear scarves, as they are afraid these girls will forget their religious roots in the Western context of Hamilton. This fear stems from the fact that in the non-Islamic context of New Zealand, Muslims are a minority group and practising the hijab is not common. Therefore, the young girls probably would create a different style of life and dress from Islamic norms while growing up within different emotional geographies from those that prevail in Islamic countries. So, their mothers are in charge and are primarily responsible for controlling and policing them to stop their daughters deviating from Islam. These Muslim families rework the Islamic required dress code for their daughters to maintain their religious identity in a different, non-Islamic place.

Time and respective gender discourses, however, play an important role in shaping practices and meanings attached to the veil for Muslim women. The meanings and styles of the veil vary across history and place, and in turn, in different generations (Mohanty, 1988). Consider, for example, Pari’s reason around why her daughter, Marjan, does not wear the veil. Pari is from Pakistan and has lived in Hamilton for more than 20 years. Her daughters Nazhat (born in Pakistan) and Marjan (born in New Zealand) have both been raised in New Zealand.

The modern people they do not listen [to wear a veil]. My daughter [Marjan], you see, she's not listening. My eldest daughter [Nazhat], she wears a veil when she is out, but the youngest one, Marjan, is not listening, you know modern people. In Pakistan, some people, they are very strict about the veil. Some are not. Some modern people, they don't wear, even in television programmes [in Pakistan]. No, they don't wear (Joint interview with Pari and Nazhat, 21 July 2015).

Pari explains that her daughter in New Zealand and modern women in Pakistan do not wear a veil. She makes a correlation between 'being modern' and not wearing the veil, disregarding where a Muslim woman is. This example shows how the cultural and religious understandings of the veil are subjected to change over time. Time and respective dynamic social conditions and values function as important factors in an individual's conceptualisation and interpretation of religious and cultural meanings and practices. Marjan's and her mother's attitudes toward the veil are important and display a critical, inter-generational difference in the interpretation of the veil. Therefore, it is possible that social actors, including these Muslim women, have multiple and varied understandings and experiences of the veil across time and space. Individuals within a family or group, (for example, Muslim women) do not necessarily cohere with those people with whom they are placed in similar categorical distinctions.

Similarly, the respondents' attitudes and experiences of the veil have been constructed through their history, their understanding of Islam, and nationality, in a particular timeframe. That is why Pari conceptualises that modernity influences young women's choices about the veil. This also explains why participants hold diverse reasons for wearing or not wearing the veil and why they do not share one common understanding of the veil despite identifying themselves as Muslim women.

Several participants indicated that their veil constructs them as a recognisable Muslim in society. This visibility produces a sense of responsibility in some

participants as representatives of the Muslim community. Consider, for example, Hamta, a graduate student from Saudi Arabia:

Because I'm wearing hijab, if someone saw me like throwing trash on the sidewalk, they will say, this is how Muslims are, so I don't do this. When I go like in any holiday house, I usually clean everything in the house. So, they would not think about Muslim, "They are not clean, they are not good". I always smile at my neighbours, even if I'm not in the mood. I have to smile because I'm Muslim. I need them to see we are smiling, we are friendly. We are not like very tough (Individual interviews, 17 July 2015).

This visibility creates a sense of responsibility in Hamta as a representative of Muslims. For that, she makes an effort to create a positive image of Muslims and subvert some stereotypes around Muslim people, such as that they are 'tough' and unclean. For Hamta, her hijab provokes emotional experiences, and further, it makes her behave and act in certain ways to create a positive image about Muslims. Recognition and social ties with non-Muslims are articulated by some participants as important factors that facilitate the acceptance of Muslim women in society. Mona explains how she, as a hijab wearing Muslim woman, participates in social activities in order to challenge stereotypes and biased information about Muslim women:

I feel like we're not very present in these kinds of places. I believe volunteer, like getting involved in the community shouldn't be restricted to your Muslim community, cause we see each other all the time. That's not an issue. We see each other in Eid and everything. So, that's what I try to do. When I try to volunteer and give my time, it's like outside the scope of our little [Muslim] community, cause they could see, who we are and what we're really like. People see me, and they're like "Uhm, it's really interesting", and then they talk to me. And I feel like because the media is working to our disadvantage all the time. Then, it is our responsibility to actually show them [non-

Muslims] who we really are. So if I am gonna give up my time, like my bonus time, I rather do in a way that we expose who we are and not hide us away. And because a lot of people who I met when I moved to Hamilton, the first thing they told me was "You are the first Muslim person that we knew. Like that we really, we're not just walking in the street as luck. We found out who you are" and I was like that [is] such a shame. I don't blame anyone for [it] because Hamilton is really small. It's not like, there are not so many of us here, so I don't blame them for not meeting someone like me but if we are here and we are part of this community then we need to [be] part of this community, and they need to see us, you know (Individual interview, 24 February 2016).

This passage shows that Mona feels a responsibility to take part in community activities in Hamilton, and pays what she supposes are her emotional dues to her wider community along with her religious ones (Bolton & Boyd, 2003). She comments that she does voluntary work because the New Zealander aspect of her identity creates such responsibilities in her. There is, however, a political layer infused in her volunteer activities. Mona uses her volunteerism space to be in contact with non-Muslims and subvert the widespread anti-Muslim sentiments promulgated in the media. As indicated by other feminist geographers, Mona's example shows that the body is an influential and important political medium in space and place (Blumen, 2007; Longhurst et al., 2008). Mona proudly wears her veil to signal her commitment to Islam while engaging in different voluntary activities to express her feelings of connection and belonging to New Zealand. She posts photos of herself engaging with various social and political events, supporting cultural diversity and humanitarian causes while wearing colourful veils. In this way, the veil does not work as a patriarchal tool signalling Muslim women's oppression and forced exclusion from various places and spaces. The embodied identities of Mona are lived out through the entanglements of her religion, migrant status and nationality (Solomon, 2012). The intersections of all these identifications create emotions with potential forces that inspire Mona to

consider herself as a Muslim and New Zealand woman who has responsibilities toward both the Muslim community and the wider New Zealand society. She fulfils her intersectional identity responsibilities through volunteer work.

Nationality is an important factor that enables Mona to enact her religious and political identities. Raised in New Zealand, Mona can speak English because she came to New Zealand as a child and went to school and university in this country. Mona also enjoyed privileges such as access to education, information and the skills for using technologies such as the internet (Munt, 2012). These resources empowered her in many ways, such as being able to discuss her decision about wearing a veil, participating in voluntary activities to increase information about Muslims, and subverting stereotypes about Muslim women as backward and oppressed.

5.1.1 Commitment to Allah

In the case of Muslim women who practice veiling in Hamilton, they explicitly wanted to express that they wear hijabs because they choose it and it was not forced upon them. For instance, most of the veiled participants stated that the Quran is the most valid source of information that requires Muslim women to wear the veil (hijab). The basis for this claim is the Quran verses that call Muslim women to display their beauty and adornments and draw their veils over their bosom (Bartkowski & Read, 2003). It is worth mentioning that Islamic rules and the Quran define dress codes for both men and women. The Islamic requirements for modest clothing, however, are different for men and women (Bullock, 2002). Bullock (2002) explains that men, according to traditional Islamic rules, are required to cover themselves from navel to knees with loose clothing, while women need to cover everything except their hands and faces. All but three of those who wear the veil indicated that the veil is a core principle of being a Muslim woman. They consider wearing the veil as complying with Allah's (Muslims' God) orders and being a 'real' Muslim woman. For some participants, the veil is a visual sign of their commitment to their God, showing they are following his orders through their actions (Gökariksel & Secor, 2014). Take, for example, the answer by Farah, a Malay medical doctor:

Hijab means a lot of different things to me. The most important meaning for me is that as someone who proclaims to be a Muslim, I submit to the rules and will of Allah as stated in the Quran. I believe a Muslim is someone who claims to follow the religion of Islam and therefore is a citizen of Islam. Every citizenship has a set of rules/law. I believe in following the rules of Islam since I am a citizen of Islam. It is my identity as a Muslim woman and absolutely essential to me (Personal email correspondence, 26 January 2016).

For Farah, Islam is a feeling of belonging, and she compares her feelings of being a Muslim woman to being a citizen of a country. She conceptualises that each citizen in all societies is obliged to follow that nation's rules and laws, so similar conditions apply for Muslim women. In the same vein, Dwyer (1999) argues that dress is an important marker in "constructions of belonging" (1999, p. 11), and is a crucial element that Muslim women use in (re)creating boundaries to signal their social and cultural identities. Arguably, a discussion could be raised here that in democratic countries rules and laws can be critically questioned and contested by citizens, but some Muslim clergies and Muslim people consider questioning of the Quranic rules as forbidden. Take, for example, Najmeh's reason for wearing the veil. Najmeh is a PhD student from Indonesia. She came to Hamilton almost three years ago with her husband and three sons:

As a believer, wearing hijab is like any other rule that we have to obey in Islam. It is Sami`nā Wa 'Aṭa`nā [we hear, and we obey]. I believe that all the rules that Allah has asked us to obey are just for our own good, so no more debate or questions in doing them (Personal email correspondence, 4 December 2015).

Like many other Muslims, Najmeh believes the holy book, the Quran, contains the actual words of God and therefore does not question these obligations. This group of Muslims contend that there should be a logical reason behind God's orders, even though human beings are unable to understand and figure out the reasons because of the limited knowledge of humankind. The veil is referred to as a part,

but not all, of modesty by some respondents, as shown in Neda's definition of hijab:

Wearing hijab doesn't mean I'm just covering my whole body but also, being modest in all the things I do and what comes out from me (the way I speak etc.) (Personal communication, 04 December 2015).

According to Neda's definition of veiling, wearing a hijab is "disciplinary tactic" (Mansson McGinty, 2013, p. 691) and by doing it, a woman must behave in particular, modest ways. For her, wearing hijab creates a "particular embodied space" (Mansson McGinty, 2013, p. 691) which structures her clothing, behaviours and socialisation. Neda conceptualises the covering of Muslim women as one piece of a modesty puzzle. She argues that to complete this puzzle Muslim women are required to act and talk in accordance with Islamic teachings on modesty. It reflects that modesty is not only the way she covers her body but is also about remaining conscious of her everyday behaviours, for example, what she says, including no swearing, no lying and no lewd speech. Some participants say the veil is a personal choice for them, influenced by their faith and not by their male relatives. For example, Mona says:

I wear my scarf because first and foremost it's part of my faith and I'm fully convinced about that (Individual interview, 24 February 2016).

Similarly, Nasim points to the veil as a personal choice for Muslim women. Nasim is from Jordan and moved to Hamilton seven years ago with her husband and two daughters. While discussing the veil, she asks:

Nasim: I heard in your country [Iran], women are forced to wear a headscarf. Isn't it?

Anoosh: Yes, this is obligatory in Iran for all women, even tourists.

Nasim: *Astaghfirullah*,⁸ that is not right, that is haram [forbidden].

Nasim considers wearing a headscarf as a decision that must be made by women themselves, and forcing women to wear a veil is not acceptable to her. She expresses her dissatisfaction against the ways Islam is interpreted in some countries where laws force women to wear a headscarf. Ten participants pointed out that Muslim women must don the veil based on their will, not by force. Shohreh posted a photo and explains she was not forced to wear hijab as a Muslim woman but that it is her ‘personal’ choice (see Figure 5:5):

⁸ This is an expression of disapproval in Islam.



Figure 5:5 Shohreh's post about her choice to wear the veil

The above examples challenge the pervasive assumptions that the veil is only a patriarchal tool used to exclude and oppress women. These participants express their veiling practice as the personal decision in contrast to the perspective that they wear hijab because they are forced to do so by other people, for example, their parents or husbands (Mansson McGinty, 2013). These women add other interpretations to this practice, they assert that wearing the veil is part of their faith, a commitment to God, and they wear it based on their ‘free’ will. Young (1990) suggests that individual choice is the product of ongoing social and personal processes, which are heterogeneous and historically and spatially contingent. People’s values, personalities, choices and preferences are developed socially within dynamic and ever-changing spaces. In other words, people’s choices about clothes and behaviours do not develop in a vacuum but through discursive formation within societies (Rose, 2001; Young, 1990). In this sense, I argue that parts of Shohreh’s and Mona’s opinions and behaviours are made through “the operations” of those Islamic discourses that represent the image of a ‘proper’ Muslim woman with the veil (Rose, 2001, p. 137).

5.1.2 The veil as a sign of respect and security

Some participants expressed the view that by wearing the veil, they feel empowered. To illustrate, consider Asman’s take on the Islamic veil and ideas about modesty for Muslim women. Asman is from Morocco, and she came to New Zealand after marrying her Malay husband. She holds a postgraduate degree and does part-time voluntary work. Asman contends that Islam gives significant values to Muslim women concerning the veil. She illustrates this point by comparing Muslim women to the Queen of England. She explains:

No one is allowed to touch the queen. Islam treats every Muslim woman like a queen. No one has the right to see her body or touch her but the man who won her heart (Individual interview, 06 June 2015).

As in the case of some of Read and Bartkowski’s (2000) participants, Asman contends that the different Islamic requirements for women and men’s covering

are a source of self-esteem and value for women rather than denigration. Asman conceptualises that Islamic covering and modesty obligations for women are based on valuing and respecting Muslim women, not limiting them. She considers her gendered body as a valuable entity that must be protected and not be touched by men, other than the one ‘who won her heart’ – her husband. For Asman, the practice of veiling evokes feelings of being ‘precious’ and ‘special’. Another illustrative example, in terms of correlating the veil with enhanced women’s values, is provided by Mona:

Besides the religious state, I guess it [the veil] makes sense to me. It sounds logical to me because I found so much more respect for wearing it than not wearing it [laughing]. It didn’t take away anything from my freedom. At the same time, I thought like people spoke to me more respectfully. I respect myself more ... when I go out with my friends, who don’t wear it, I don’t feel like people focus on them on their character. I feel like they just, I think in their mind they’re not really focusing on their intellect (Individual interview, 24 February 2016).

For Mona, wearing hijab is connected to an emotional experience. Wearing the hijab leads to the creation of a particular embodied space for her in which she feels respected (Mansson McGinty, 2013). This quote shows that wearing the veil gives a sense of empowerment to Mona. However, it also reflects the orthodox perspective of a mind/body dualism (Johnston, 1996; Young, 2005). Within this perspective, mind and body are perceived as two separate spaces that function differently and opposite to each other. While the mind is associated with positive concepts like reason, rationality, consciousness, culture and masculinity, the body is connected to negative concepts such as passion, irrationality, non-consciousness, nature and femininity (Young, 1990).

Mona also draws on Islamic teachings that portray women’s bodies as an “object of sexual desire and men as desiring subjects” (Mahmood, 2005, p. 110). As such, Mona understands her female body, or at least her hair, as a means of temptation that distracts attention from her intellect. Therefore, she tries to avoid becoming

a sexual object by covering her body. This statement recalls discourses that correlate women's styles of clothing with sexualisation. For these women, 'proper' covering and modest dressing – de-sexualised women's bodies – is a means of protection and safety against possible sexual assault and rape (Lim & Fanghanel, 2013). There are, however, variances in interpretations of the veil and modesty for participants of my study. Some respondents use the veil as a tool to achieve other goals, including access to resources.

5.1.3 A strategic tool

As revealed in previous research (Dwyer, 2000), some Muslim women in Hamilton explained that they wear the veil as a compromising strategy with their parents and/or establishing a network. For example, Mina explains that in her second year of university, she realised that she could not believe in Islam and the veil anymore. She, however, does not reveal her conversion from Islam and keeps wearing the veil because of her mother. She explains her feelings:

That is a big struggle. It isn't [a] struggle because I am afraid of my mother. It is [a] struggle because I am afraid of hurting her, because religion is a big part of my mother's life, and for her, religious, spiritual well-being is the most important thing in the world. So they [her family] don't know [about her decision]. But they don't need to know that [laughing]. It's probably better if they don't know, but yeah I retain certain things for them
(Individual interview, 28 July 2015).

This example highlights that the veil is an influential piece of clothing that (re)shapes emotional ties between Muslim women and their families. This example resonates with the work of Read and Bartkowski (2000) on veiled and unveiled Muslim women in Austin, Texas. These findings show that there are several negotiations and tensions between Islamic religious edicts and "women's strategic movements" (2000, p. 403) when it comes to Muslim women's deliberate choices to wear the veil in the West (Read & Bartkowski, 2000). In such a climate, not all Muslim women wear the veil to show their submission to their God. Some

Muslim women wear a veil for emotional reasons, for example, creating a peaceful bond with parents or in order to pave their way into various spaces of social life, i.e. participating in the labour market, higher education and so on (Abu-lughod, 2002; Dwyer, 2008; Read & Bartkowski, 2000). Similarly, Mina wears a veil, not because of her commitment to Islam but because she does not want to upset her mother by the way she dresses. Mina wears a veil to keep her mother happy and maintain “an emotionally balanced atmosphere” (Kawale, 2004, p. 569) with her family.

Neda, from South East Asia, is a student at the University of Waikato and has lived in Hamilton for more than two years. She did not wear a headscarf in Malaysia, but in her first year in Hamilton, she started to wear it. She explains it was her personal choice, but also her female Muslim friends encouraged her to practise hijab. Neda indicates that wearing hijab helps her to be recognised as a Muslim woman in Hamilton where Muslims are a minority group. She contends that the veil is a part of being modest but also is a marker that excludes Muslim women from non-Muslim communities. In one of our meetings, Neda explained it was very difficult to find friends and have a social life when she arrived in Hamilton, but by wearing a veil, other Muslim women could recognise and approach her. Neda considers that wearing hijab contributes to connecting to newly arrived Muslim women in Hamilton’s Muslim community.

The Muslim community in Hamilton is similar to other communities in terms of emphasising similarity rather difference among members in order to unite them (Valentine, 2007). The veil as a visual sign of being a Muslim woman, which in turn helps Neda create ties with other Muslim women. This is important to her to overcome isolation and loneliness in Hamilton as a migrant international student. Wearing hijab, however, creates limitations for her mobility and clothing such as going to different places and wearing other clothes, because other Muslims may see her, and pass judgment on her, or even excommunicate her from the Muslim sisterhood circle. Neda removed her headscarf after going back to her country. Her experience in relation to the veil shows this practice was subject to change in various places (Valentine, 2007). Neda negotiated her Muslim identities based on

a negative emotion, that is, the fear of being rejected by certain communities in Hamilton.

The veil can also be worn by Muslim women to secure employment because the customers of certain services demand service from someone with whom they share religious and cultural beliefs. To clarify this point, it is useful to look at Ziba's employment experience and the role that her headscarf plays in securing work (see also chapter 6 on work). She explains:

I am not a religious person, and why I put on a scarf, it is because of the social environment here. If I do not wear a headscarf, women would not accept me in the Afghan community as their interpreter anymore. They would say "we do not like her as our interpreter, she is a bad model for us." It is a kind of forced hijab that I have for myself. But in my home, like others Muslims who pray on time, I am not like that, we [her husband and she] do not have those stuff, but we always participate in religious ceremonies (Individual interview, 7 March 2016).

McDowell (2009) suggests that embodied attributes and clothing are crucial aspects of exchange and marketing in service economies. Ziba's work experience shows that, on the one hand, the intersection of her headscarf and her ability to speak English, Pashto and Farsi creates work opportunities for her. She works as an interpreter for a specific group of Muslim women, who cannot speak English and need assistance when they go to healthcare centres. Intersections of her gendered, nationality and religious aspects of her identity impose restrictions on how she can dress at work. Ziba's employment experience is an example of unwilling religious performance in order to sustain her position and career.

Ziba's employment experience suggests that not all Muslim women have the full agency to choose whether or not to wear a scarf in their workspaces, even in a so-called liberal country like New Zealand. Factors such as the economic conditions of workers, types of jobs and customers, as well as customers' expectations, influence the degree to which Muslim women can contest or/and conform to

Islamic rules (Rootham, 2015). Concerning multiple meanings and feelings associated with the veil, the next section discusses how this piece of cloth produces different experiences and emotions in and around participants' bodies.

5.1.4 Muslim women's conflicting emotions around the veil

It is interesting to note that while the majority of women explicitly expressed their positive attitudes about the veil and modesty, seven participants questioned or criticised the veil as a tool for discrimination against women and a patriarchal interpretation of Islamic teachings. See, for example, Marjan's interpretation on the meaning of hijab:

Personally, hijab is not important to me. This is because I believe an individual's actions should define who they are, not what they are wearing. Also, why is it that women have to alter their appearance and hide from the public, and not men? This is sexism (Personal communication, 9 January 2016).

It is not something that you keep forcing me to do it. Coz I just feel, look because the main purpose of hijab is that the men not get attracted, right? So why do we have to do everything? It's their fault for looking. Why cannot they just not look, why? Why do we have to make all the sacrifice (Individual interview, 17 July 2015)?

Like the participants in Siraj (2011) study who do not wear hijab, Marjan sees hijab as unnecessary and refutes the view that women should cover their bodies to deal with "natural masculine hyper-sexuality" (Read & Bartkowski, 2000, p. 408). The latter idea of hyper-sexuality of men is derived from patriarchal gendered discourses that aim to naturalise differences between men and women, in favour of men. Such interpretations are based on religious scholars' readings and analyses of the meanings of the hijab. They claim their interpretations are extracted from the Quranic verses and Hadiths, which set the fundamental principles and guidelines for the dress code of Muslim women in the Islamic world (Ternikar, 2009). The majority of these scholars, however, were and still are men,

which makes it relevant to question the gender-neutrality of interpretations and religious guidelines related to the veil and dress codes for women. Marjan, like some other Muslim feminists, expresses her stance against these patriarchal readings of gender differences. Thus, she does not agree with the rationale that hijab serves as a remedy for sexual differences between men and women. Marjan also rejects the idea that because men do not have control over their sexuality, women are obliged to bear the responsibility by covering up themselves.

The veiled bodies of Muslim women carry different - and sometimes conflicting - values and meanings in diverse spaces (Abu-lughod, 2002; Read & Bartkowski, 2000). It is important to be aware of the fluid meanings of the veil across bodies and places when attempting to understand different emotions and experiences relating to wearing the veil (Gökarıksel, 2009). Social contexts play a crucial role in (re)constructing meanings and emotions for Muslim women wearing a veil (Rose, 2001). The respondents often pointed to the visible and growing population of Muslim women in Hamilton as a critical spatial factor that contributes to the normalisation of their presence in society. Mina, a dentist, considers this visible presence works against the Othering of hijab wearing Muslim women in Hamilton:

There is a big Muslim community here, so I mean you go to smaller towns in New Zealand, you can get a lot more people staring [at hijab wearers]. Because it's like "Oh my God a Muslim" you know. I remember when I applied for an interview in Wellington. I had to go to Kapiti Coast, which is really, really a tiny town, on the way to Wellington [city]. I was in the food court. Every time I had a bite, I looked up, and some people were staring at me like I was unlawful. I was just eating, and I was like "what's going on? Oh my God, so I am an alien". But, people in Hamilton they don't care, they don't even notice, there are so many Muslims around, it is almost that you can't go anywhere without seeing a Muslim in Hamilton (Individual interview, 28 July 2015).

Tara also points out the co-existence of different cultural and ethnic communities in Hamilton:

I think compared to the South Island, Hamilton is a pretty friendlier place towards Muslim women ... I have a flatmate who used to live in Christchurch. She said that she had so many bad experiences about living there. That's horrible like she worked at The Warehouse⁹ there. Once, one person came up, grabbed her headscarf and took off her scarf and said "what rights do you have to work here, you bloody Muslim" or something like that and yeah that's like horrible ... But come to think about Hamilton, this is quite nice, it is a really nice place to stay. I think because the University of Waikato is in Hamilton, so many students from so many countries come here. Hamilton is a multicultural place. Therefore, people here are more tolerant of the people from other countries, so they are quite acceptable yes. Comparing to small towns, if you go travel to [a] small town, it is very hard for the migrants and foreigners. But I think my experiences in Hamilton are quite nice. Other tutors are nice to me. The students also treat me like other tutors not that my hijab cause them to treat me differently (Individual interview, 05 October 2015).

Mina and Tara both point out that the increasing population of veiled Muslim women in Hamilton contributes to reducing the effect of wearing headscarf as an Othering sign. Mina talks about the pressure she felt while people were staring at her in a food court. Tara correlated the incident involving her friend in Christchurch with a lack of cultural diversity. These incidents led them to believe that Muslim women's veiled bodies were not accepted in smaller cities where Muslim women are not a visible presence. The composition of different

⁹ The Warehouse is the largest retail group operating discount retail department stores selling a broad range of non-grocery and grocery products in New Zealand.

populations, thus, shapes particular contexts that contribute to respondents' feelings of being accepted and seen as 'normal' in Hamilton.

Like Mina and Tara, many participants compared Hamilton with other cities in New Zealand in terms of how veiled Muslim women are treated and looked at in public. According to their own and friends' experiences, 12 participants concluded that Muslim women are less under the gaze of non-Muslims in Hamilton, particularly since the numbers of Muslim dwellers have increased through different means such as the increased arrival of former refugees and international Muslim students. Hence, they feel safer in Hamilton and consider this city a multicultural context in which culturally and religiously diverse performances are tolerated. The visible population of the Muslim community, along with the presence of various ethnic groups, contributes to shaping their perceptions that diversity is accepted in Hamilton's places and spaces. They, thus, conceptually link the visibility of Muslim women with their social acceptance and explain that these issues also reduce the probability of discrimination against these women in places and spaces.

Not all participants consider that the veil is socially accepted in Hamilton and no longer operates as a marker of Othering. Dobson (2013) argues that Muslim minority feelings of 'being at home' are influenced by 'a sense of being accepted' and recognised by non-Muslim New Zealand society. Recognition is a crucial factor in constructing people's identities and shaping their feelings of belonging to a place. The absence of emotional ties and friendship with other communities in a society leads to the construction of feelings of being unwanted and isolated, which in turn creates a feeling of loneliness for most of these women. To illustrate this point, I share Bahar's feelings about wearing hijab in Hamilton. Bahar is from Bangladesh. She came to Hamilton from Sydney along with her family because her husband found a job at the University. Bahar holds a Master's degree and identifies herself as a 'homemaker' and 'full-time mum':

Bahar: I would like to start hijab. My doctor friend, she has started hijab, and she is a great motivation because she is also at a workplace, right? I just [at] home it's easier for me, she goes to work and she is able to maintain her hijab, so I have started,

but I'm ... on and off, I don't feel completely easy about it. But I do really want to do that [wear hijab].

Anoosh: This is challenging you to keep on wearing your hijab.
May I ask why?

Bahar: Uh [thinking] for example, this Kiwi friend of mine. She is a very open lady. Like she loves curry food [chuckling]. She loves coming to my home on our Eid days. She is very open, but even she, when, I started wearing a hijab, she was feeling a bit uneasy with me. [Her friend] still tried to act natural, [she was] still going out and everything, but she wasn't fully comfortable ...I am trying to practice my religion, but there is a bit of uncomfortable and awkwardness that is just there. She didn't admit either that she [is] uncomfortable. But I could feel that because she was asking like "Is this really necessary in your religion and everything?" So, she doesn't ever directly say anything negative. [But] from those statements I understood that she was feeling a bit uncomfortable (Individual interview, 30 July 2015).

This example shows how the body and feelings are constructed dialogically through social interactions. Bahar experiences that she lives at the intersection of different cultural expectation as a Muslim migrant woman in Hamilton. She finds it difficult to follow some of her religious identity in this migration context such as wearing a hijab. She considers by wearing hijab, she produces an embodied space, which subjects her to Othering and exclusion in Hamilton. Previous studies also highlight the point that social actors often do adjust their appearances according to the cultural and social values of their time and place (Buitelaar, 2006; West & Austrin, 2002). For Koskela (1997), feelings are products of people's everyday experiences, memories and their complex interactions with spaces. Bahar's experience indicates the fluid meanings of the veil based on where, and with whom, these Muslim women wear it. Her experiences reflect the conflicting feelings created in her by covering her hair. While Bahar would like to wear hijab, by which she conceptualises she would be a 'proper' Muslim woman, the friend's

reactions created negative feelings in her wearing hijab in Hamilton. Bahar points to her Muslim (doctor) friend as a strong motivation for her to wear hijab, by displaying the possibility of doing so in Hamilton, even in workplaces. She, however, decided not to practise it as she experienced how wearing hijab contributes to Othering. Her non-Muslim New Zealander friend is an important factor in constructing Bahar's interpretation of hijab as a marginalising factor in Hamilton. This Kiwi friend presumably shows the embodied signs of discomfort and uneasiness around the veiled body of Bahar by questioning it. Bahar elaborates further:

Have you seen some Somalian ladies here? Lots of Somalian ladies, with big hijabs. They truly stand out. It feels like they're not really part of this Hamilton city. They just stick with themselves. They don't have many friends [from people from other communities]. They don't speak English. Their dresses are different. Everything is different. So, even that friend of mine who is so open, even when she sees a Somalian lady, she doesn't connect, but she connects with me. She puts me and those Somalian ladies in different categories (Individual interview, 30 July 2015).

Bahar explains that the big hijabs of Somali women make them 'different' and 'out of place' in Hamilton (Gökariksel & Secor, 2014). She also articulates that along with their clothes, Somali women's poor English proficiency and lack of interaction with people of other communities are factors that construct them as 'out of place' in Hamilton. Likewise, Kabir's (2007) study on Muslims' experiences in Australia, Muslim women interviewed for this thesis do not categorise all Muslims in Hamilton under one homogenous category. Bahar consciously distances herself from Somali women by wearing Western inspired clothes, not putting on hijab, and speaking English. Therefore, Bahar's decision about wearing hijab is modified by her choices of being considered as part of Hamilton's majority (Sandikci & Ger, 2010). Bahar claims that not wearing hijab and English proficiency are important

attributes for successful integration into Hamilton, predominantly a white and English-speaking society.

Emotions and feelings, such as fear of being rejected and excluded, contribute to the construction of the hijab's meanings (Mansson McGinty, 2013). This can be seen in Bahar's narrative as she tries to display her body in ways that bring her closer to Hamilton society while distancing her from the Somalian community. This example points to McDowell's discussion on socio-economic class status, she (2009) argues that class is a fluid concept that contains many social, cultural and economic aspects, including modes of speech, behaviour, educational level and income. In this example, Bahar differentiates her social status from those of Somalian women by not wearing hijab, demonstrating her ability to speak English and socialising with a New Zealander.

Abu-lughod (2002) and Siraj (2011) make the crucial point that various styles of veils and coverings exist, each carrying different meanings in different social and temporal contexts. The veil and its styles intersect with other aspects of my participants' identities and create different meanings and emotions in and around them in Hamilton. Some respondents argue that the veil styles of Muslim women correlate to exclusions from, and inclusions into, different spaces in Hamilton. For example, Mina explains:

I remember walking down the street with my friend who wore a niqab.¹⁰ That was different. People stare if you are wearing a niqab. People really stare, but people don't give, I shouldn't curse this research, but they really don't care like if you are wearing a hijab or not. But niqab does tend to get a lot more staring. I used to wear a massive scarf and even then nobody cared (individual interview, 28 July 2015).

Mina points out a critical aspect in terms of Muslim women in Hamilton. Different Muslim women wear diverse styles of veil and dresses to conform to Islamic norms

¹⁰ "The niqab is common in Arabic countries, it covers the head and face, with a slit for the eyes. The niqab is often worn in a combination with *jilbab*, a loose-fit outer garment covering neck to feet" (Petley, Critcher, Hughes, & Rohloff, 2013, p. 165).

of modesty, which vary in different Muslim communities and is closely connected to their cultures and understandings of Islam. This example points to the existence of “different regimes of veil” in a city produced by “specific constellations of power” (Secor, 2002, p. 8).

For example, while Mina’s colourful hijab does not draw people’s attention, the niqab is seen as very ‘out of place’ in Hamilton, because this style of the veil covers the whole body including the face, which makes it distinct and visible considering the norms of clothing in New Zealand. Discourses around security, suicide bombers (who hide the bombs under their clothes) and global media representations of the niqab are also influential in forming public perspectives on this particular method of veiling. Each style carries a different meaning and value for both Muslims and non-Muslims. Although the niqab is associated with a higher level of piety and modesty for some Muslims, wearing it in Hamilton creates strange and awkward encounters (Gökariksel & Secor, 2014).

Here emerges a discursive space between bodies according to different types of covering. Mina’s hijab and her friend’s niqab are both used to cover their hair and connect them to Muslim communities. Each kind of headgear, however, creates different geographies, which, in turn, determine who is an insider and/or an outsider. Although, both the headscarf and the niqab are associated with meanings such as gender inequality and danger, according to Mina’s experience, the niqab tends to grab more attention and create negative feelings in Hamilton. Veiled women who reveal their face while wearing some other Western-inspired styles of clothing, for example, jeans and tops, produce an image of themselves that is deemed to be more ‘transparent’, and therefore more reliable, relatable and familiar for non-Muslim sectors of society (Gökariksel & Secor, 2014).

Previous research has described veiled Muslim women’s bodies as gendered and “religiously raced” (Mirza, 2013, p. 9). Similar to the findings by Munt (2012) in Brighton, United Kingdom, Muslim women in Hamilton regularly point to a lack of knowledge in the wider community about lifestyles, beliefs and variations among contemporary Muslims. They argue that this lack of information, and relying only

on media to know about Muslims leads to generalised and uninformed views about Muslims. For example, Asman explains:

There is a bad reputation about Muslims, for example, once this electrician guy came to fix an electric problem in our house. I offered him some homemade cake and coffee. Because of my hijab, he noticed I am a Muslim. Of course, he asked about ISIS and Muslims, and he said ‘You know, you are a good Muslim, you should apologise for those actions, on behalf of all Muslims. I replied I would do after you apologise for other Christians about what they did to our people during colonisation. They beheaded people and took photos of that and sent it back to their countries (Individual interview, 06 July 2015).

This incident reflects how the association of terrorism and a homogenised Muslim category has led to the shaping of public culture in Hamilton in which all Muslims are responsible for, if not contributing to, terrorist attacks. Thus, there is a crucial need to understand Muslims by investigating their identities and lived experiences beyond these stereotypes and skewed representations. The identity constructions and everyday practices of Muslim women do not occur in isolation. These social processes are not insulated from non-Muslims' practices but are influenced by the dynamics of social, political and economic conditions such as cultural consumption, technological revolutions and structural power (Warren, 2016). The next section presents examples showing how Muslim women are influenced by, and influence, clothing fashion in Hamilton.

5.2 Veil and fashion

To illustrate the diversity of contemporary Muslim women's cultural and religious identities, it is useful to look at their clothes from the perspectives of fashion and the veil. On the one hand, for the majority of Muslim clerics, fashion is mostly associated with modernity and domination by the West. On the other hand, the Orientalist reading of Muslim women understands the veil and veiled body as backward, rural, ugly, and oppressed rather than progressive, fashionable, urban

and free (Said, 1978; Sandikci & Ger, 2010). Thus, from both sides, conservative Islam and Western perspectives, the veil is seen as “inimical to fashion” (Lewis, 2007, p. 424). My findings, however, show the ways Muslim women link the veil and fashion in Hamilton. By the use of fashionable clothes and other materials such as jewellery and accessories, the interviewed women, especially the younger ones, try to inspire some ‘looks’, as “fashion is designed to be looked at” while subverting others (Gökariksel & Secor, 2014, p. 182).

Interpretations of Islam are subject to change across time and place (Lewis, 2007). Although the Quran restrains Muslim women from appearing sexually attractive in the presence of unrelated men, the Quran and hadiths¹¹ encourage Muslim people to look beautiful and clean (Sandikci & Ger, 2010). For example, consider Susan. She explains how she is attentive to herself as a Muslim woman:

I wear long dresses or jacket and pants to cover my body. But, I do care about my look and clothes. I mostly like happy colours, I mean bright colours, and I mean no dark. I do not wear a scarf with dark or so dark colours. I love pink and orange, most of my dresses are pink and orange, otherwise, if I wear a jacket like suit black or blazer like this [she had a dark blue blazer] I would wear bright colours inside, so you would never see me without a light colour, or all in dark, so that's me (Individual interview, 07 July 2015).

Susan’s narrative shows that wearing a headscarf does not mean she does not care about her clothes and look. On the contrary, Susan spends her time, money and energy on dressing to look ‘good’ and to express her pleasurable feelings about fashion. The veil is socially conceptualised as a means to hide femininity and to prevent Muslim women’s bodies from men’s gaze (Dwyer, 1999). In contrast, fashion, including fashionable clothes, pieces of jewellery and make-up are designed to draw attention (Lewis, 2007). Nonetheless, all embodied practices,

¹¹ In Islam, hadiths are the tradition or collection of traditions attributed to the Prophet Muhammad. Hadiths include the Prophet’s sayings, acts, and approval or disapproval of things. Hadiths are revered by Muslims as a major source of religious law and moral guidance ("Hadith," 2017).

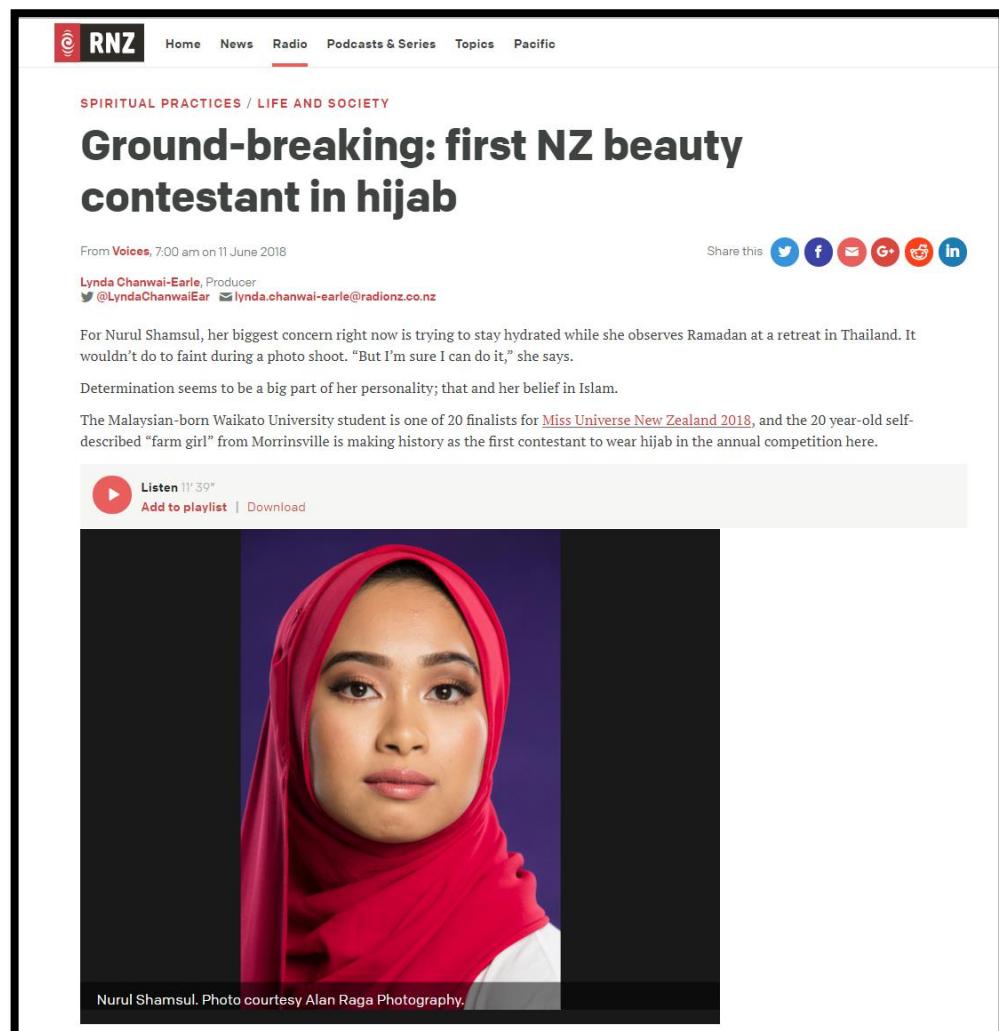
including wearing the veil, are dynamic and subject to time and space. Islamic dress codes for Muslim women are no exception. For example, consider Nurul. She is the first veiled woman in New Zealand to participate in the Miss Universe New Zealand.

Nurul started to wear a veil three years ago, and according to her interview with RNZ,¹² she was fasting while participating in the photo shoot because it was Ramadan. All these behaviours construct Nurul as a practising Muslim woman (see Figure 5:6 and Figure 5:7).



Figure 5:6 Nurul in the Miss Universe New Zealand beauty pageant show

¹² Radio New Zealand (RNZ) is a Crown entity established under the Radio New Zealand Act 1995. RNZ broadcasts provide listeners with independent radio programmes (Chanwai-Earle, 2018).



She describes herself as an Islamic feminist in her blog – so are the beauty pageants at odds with her faith and the Koran's edicts to cover the body and be modest?

"I hope to break those stereotypes, I hope to put a positive light on Islam as well."

Figure 5:7 Nurul's interview with RNZ

Source: (Chanwai-Earle, 2018)

Participating in the Miss Universe New Zealand contest, Nurul explains how she sees the position of a Muslim woman in a pageant competition:

As Muslim women, we need to be modest and we shouldn't be chasing validation or approval from others by trying to look beautiful. But, it was important for me to enter with the

intentions that I wanted to pave a way for girls to look beautiful and fashionable but be modest at the same time. I also made sure that I'm not entering for validation or approval. People might think that it's a contradiction for Muslim girls to be in pageants or fashion photoshoots. But, it's better that there is someone that other Muslim girls can look up to and relate to - if not, the only people these girls are looking at in social media are those that represent Westernised ideals of beauty, which mostly consists of beautiful free hair and the exposure of a beautiful body. I personally have nothing wrong with it, but of course in Islam, women are supposed to cover their hair and to cover their body too. Therefore, I think that it is a contradiction for Muslims to condemn those who are trying to be a role model to other Muslim girls as now they can feel beautiful and confident too (Personal communication, 22 July 2018).

Nurul says that her intention in participating in the pageant competition was not to receive approval from others but to be a fashion role model for other veiled Muslim women. In this way, she displays an agentic effort to open up space for other Muslim women in fashion world (Harris & Hussein, 2018). Nurul tried to create an alternative version of fashionable clothing and 'look' that embraces both fashion criteria and Islamic modesty. Nurul explains that there are conflicting collective emotions around the Miss Universe New Zealand contest as a beauty pageant:

But every contestant will receive backlash. There are still stereotypes around pageantry. However, there are stereotypes around Islam too. I also trended on Twitter and went viral, so I might have received more backlash than others. However, I do feel like the hijab and Miss Universe New Zealand have empowered me as a woman. Both have changed my life, and I don't regret anything.

Nonetheless, I focus more on the positive than the negative comments, and if they were negative, I would turn them around. They were just the typical comments around pageants and Islam. In the end, what people think of me is a reflection of themselves, and if anything, those negative comments make me want to be the best that I can be.

Receiving negative comments refers to the challenging and controversial act of Nurul participating in a beauty pageant as a veiled Muslim woman. These emotional responses to Nurul's participation imply the production of varied emotional reactions to Nurul. From some Muslims' perspectives, participating in these types of shows conflicts with the ideas of modesty and hijab, which require Muslim women to avoid appearing sexy and attracting males' gazes. Non-Muslim perspectives against Miss Universe pageants also question the very nature of such exclusive categorising and disciplining approaches in defining desirable and undesirable bodies for women. The intersection of these emotions influences Nurul's perception about herself and her decision. She conceptualises the negative emotions and comments towards her participation in the show as 'typical comments' and decides to focus on positive comments to empower herself. Her participation in the contest while wearing hijab reflects her emotions of pride in her belief.

Instagram and Facebook are two online spaces in which I explore the relationship between Muslim women's embodied identities and fashion consumption. Calhoun (2001) discusses a variety of ways in which new forms of ethnicities are produced, including mass international migration and the emergence of large-scale communication technologies. These technologies facilitate, particularly the internet and online social media, and accelerate the production and consumption of global commodities and ideas such as fashionable Islamic veils (Frisina & Hawthorne, 2018). Most of the participants in Hamilton are consumers of Western, East Asian and Islamic inspired clothing. The intersection of their religious and ethnic identities is important in shaping the interviewed Muslim women's choices of dress and 'look'. They, however, situate the Western notion of fashion within

their interpretations of Islam and the socio-spatial context of Hamilton. I pay particular attention to Facebook and Instagram profiles of participants to shed light on the relationships between religious modesty, and fashion in the self-representation of these contemporary Muslim women.

Social media dramatically changes clothing fashions and styles in both the Global North and South, including the countries of origin of several of the interviewed women, such as Malaysia, the United Arab Emirates and Indonesia (Calhoun, 2001). Hall (1992) and Rose (2001) argue the visual is a crucial element in (re)construction of culture and identities as well as in creating new ethnicities. For Muslim women in Hamilton, Facebook and Instagram have become prominent spaces in their everyday geographies for posting their photos showing their everyday clothes, leisure activities and their reflections on national or international events. For example, Nurul explains the role of social media in her activities as a Miss Universe New Zealand finalist:

Social media is an important part of the Miss Universe journey. We have to interact with our supporters and sponsors, and we need to get as many people to vote. I try to post every day so that I am 'active' on social media and to let people know what my Miss Universe journey has been like. I use Facebook to make events, to raise awareness and to keep people updated about my life (in the most humble way possible). I think Facebook is great to raise awareness for many causes. This is because people are connected more than ever, and you can even interact with people you have never met or keep in touch with people on the other side of the world. With groups in Facebook, it has helped me be a part of many different types of communities. However, some issues with Facebook could be unwanted comments or messages (personal communications, 22 July 2018).

She uses Facebook to increase awareness about her journey as a Muslim woman participating in a beauty pageant. She explains that Facebook is an enabling platform that facilitates her access to potential supporters and sponsors by

increasing her visibility, which is crucial for her to get more votes. As such, Nurul uses social networking sites including Facebook to amplify her voice in breaking the stereotypes and refusing a binary opposition between hijab and fashion. Through these digital spaces, she shares her identity as a veiled Muslim woman who embodies Islamic modesty and beauty pageant discourses simultaneously.

Like Nurul, several of the interviewed young women use social media not only to connect with friends and family, they also produce images that challenge and confront the incompatibility of hijab and fashion. Their Facebook and Instagram photos can be placed within three categories: 1) fashion and dress styles; 2) lifestyle; and, 3) Islamic fashion activism. The following photos are retrieved from participants' Instagram and Facebook profiles. Hassun is an illustrative example. She is a keen fashion follower and someone who explicitly expresses herself as a Muslim-Kiwi woman. Hassun wears a veil that hides her hair and neck. She combines Western-inspired dress styles with Islamic clothes such as the abaya and veil. The following figures and emotion maps display the ways religion, ethnicity and fashion are intersected within participants' clothing (Lewis, 2007). Hassun often wears make-up, fashionable pieces of jewellery, and paints her nails (see Figure 5:8).



Figure 5:8 Self-directed photos taken from Hassun's Instagram profile

She likes and follows several fashion channels and pages (cosmetics and clothes) via her Instagram and Facebook profiles, and posts photos of herself dressed up ready to go out. Her styles are a fusion of Western, Indian and Islamic fashion. In a way, Hassun wears her hijab and Islamic attire, which often is a long black cardigan similar to an abaya with Western clothes such as skinny-cut trousers, and ballerina or hi-heeled shoes. Wearing an abaya often as a part of her dress could relate to the fact that Hassun lived in Saudi Arabia with her family for some years, and is probably influenced by the dress styles of that country, as well. Her clothes and styles are a reminder of the discussion about the discursive construction of dress style as a part of embodied identities, as highlighted by Gökariksel and Secor (2014).

Most of the time Hassun posts photos of herself when she is in various places such as the gym, the university, recreational areas and restaurants. For most of her photos, Hassun uses hashtags of modesty such as #modestfashion and #instafashion (see Figure 5:9). The hashtags used by Hassun are used by young Muslim women globally and linked to transnational veil and Islamic fashion industries, which have emerged recently and have been growing internationally. These industries try to re-construct the veil as “a fashionable consumption choice” (Sandikci & Ger, 2010, p. 19). Intersecting the veil with fashion and consumerism reworks the meanings attached to covered Muslim women, and disrupts the image of Muslim women as Other in fashion spaces.



Figure 5:9 Hashtags used by Hassun on her Facebook and Instagram

These women's bodies redefine and reconceptualise the assumption that Muslim women's dress is at odds with Western fashion and Muslim women are not allowed to be models or be fashionable. Muslim women such as Nurul and Hassun try to subvert conservative interpretations of Islam as an incompatible religion with the West and respective practices. Their bodies are spaces that reflect myriad possibilities for intersections of Western, Eastern and Islamic cultures and values

(Dwyer, 2000). Each participant wears her veil with other clothes and creates intersectional fashion, which comprises Islamic values, her ethnic culture and Western clothes in a certain way. Consider the following emotion maps and photos of participants (Figure 5:10 and Figure 5:11):



Figure 5:10 Rima's outfits shown in emotion map and photo

These illustrations show how Muslim women play around with their veils to match them with their Western-inspired clothes. In Figure 5:10, photo 1 shows Rima's emotion map of herself and photo 2 is Rima at a beach near Hamilton. Both photos

reveal her taste for fashion and cosmopolitan living, for example, in her emotion map she draws herself with a Hermes bag, high heels and jeans in a crowded city. At the beach, she wears a long floral skirt, tucks her scarf into her shirt and puts a sun hat on top of her scarf. In this way, she covers her hair and body with a mixture of Western and Islamic attire. In her emotion map, however, Rima draws herself without a veil, and she explains, “I am so fashionable”. Thus, it seems that for Rima there is still a conflict between the veil and fashion, and to be considered ‘so fashionable’ she should not wear a veil. In her interview, Rima points to this contradiction that she wants to be more religious, but she does not always wear a headscarf.



Figure 5:11 Razieh and Yasi's outfits

In Figure 5:11, photo 1 shows Razieh and her fiancé. She wears a $\frac{3}{4}$ sleeve shirt tucked into her pants and a white veil with a Louis Vuitton cross-body bag. In Figure 5:11, photo 2, Yalda wears fashionable clothes including tight leggings, revealing her body shape, with high heels. She also matches the colour of her veil with her lipstick. Her tight jeans and her pose are inspired by so-called Western fashion. She expresses her taste in fashion in her emotion map, too. She pays

particular attention to details, and she matches the colour of her t-shirt, veil and lipstick.

These figures show young participants embodying Islamic modesty diversely in accordance with their conceptualisations of modesty, which are linked to their individual life history and ethnicity. The data in this research show that for some Muslim women, developing a fashionable appearance with clothing involves negotiations between their religious guidelines and gender as well as cultural expectations (Dwyer, 2000). For these women, it seems that their veils and clothes do not work as tools to cover their sexed bodies and beauties. In contrast, they work on their bodies to make them attractive (Gökariksel & Secor, 2014).

Their veils are more like identity markers to refer to their religious identities, rather than being used to desexualise their bodies. Similar to Gökariksel and Secor's (2014) findings on their study of Islamic fashion in Turkey, my research participants actively manage their bodies and respective attitudes to represent their multiple embodied identities based on religion, ethnicity and gender. Each of these women considers her body as a project site and maps it with clothes to construct a harmonised visualisation that "has both aesthetic and ethical registers" (Gökariksel & Secor, 2014, p. 178) to her religious obligations.

Three respondents identified themselves as Muslims who respect Islamic values, but they do not wear a veil or cover their bodies entirely. For example, consider Simin. She is an active member of the Muslim community and organises health workshops for Muslim women while at the same time, she identifies herself as a model, actress and Muslim. She explains:

We do believe in this religion. We are sort of strong-minded Muslims, but over all that, this hasn't overtaken our lives. And I think we don't probably live as a typical Muslim family, and I can say we are not very religious, and that's it (Individual interview, 09 June 2015).

For Simin, her Muslim identity is not expressed in a way to influence her clothing. She does not wear a veil or cover her arms and legs. Nor does she when she acts

or performs as a model. Yet, she is an active person in Hamilton's Muslim women community and a close friend of Anjum, a key person in the community (Figure 5:12). Despite not practicing veiling, Simin is accepted by the Muslim community in Hamilton. This is an example of what Dwyer (2000) calls "a self-consciously Islamic identity" (2000, p. 482) by which young Muslim women claim their rights to dress and behave in the way they prefer. They rework the orthodox perception of the hijab which is deemed as inimical to fashion (Lewis, 2007). In my research, 20 Muslim women explicitly say that they consider themselves as free beings who have the right to undertake higher education, work outside the home and choose their partner for marriage (Dwyer, 2000).



Figure 5:12 Anjum and Simin at a formal community event in Hamilton

The interpretations of Islam and gendered modesty are subject to change across time, place and generation (Lewis, 2007). This fact is reflected in the women's

statements that while they donned the veil to avoid looking sexually attractive to the opposite sex based on Islamic teachings, they spend plenty of time and financial resources on their appearance and clothes.

Young participants' appearances and lifestyles place them somewhere between conservative Muslims and the non-Muslim majority in New Zealand. Young respondents draw on discourses that have emerged among Muslim revivalist scholars and Muslim women, who "try to reverse the values ascribed to the opposition between Islam and commerce, tradition and modernity, modesty and fashion" (Lewis, 2007, p. 425). The narrow definition of fashion and beauty are challenged by these women's actions, such as participating in the Miss Universe contest with a veil and modest dress, and wearing a veil with Western-style fashionable dresses, shoes and pieces of jewellery along with the use of hashtags such as #hijabifashion, and #modestfashion (Mears, 2010).

After 9/11, Muslims become viewed as potential security threats, which in turn creates crises and doubts around their citizenship and national identities in the Western nations (Humphrey, 2007). Nonetheless, the Muslim women in Hamilton, who either grew up or were born in New Zealand, identify themselves as Kiwi-Muslim women. In the next section, I explore these women's expressions of their national and religious identities.

5.3 I am a Kiwi-Muslim woman

Similar to the research on Muslims' sense of belonging in Australia (Dunn, Atie, Mapedzahama, Ozalp, & Aydogan, 2015), educated and raised in New Zealand, the second and 1.75 generations¹³ of migrant respondents exhibit stronger inclinations about belonging to New Zealand and its culture compared to their mothers. Mona, Yalda, Mina, Shohreh, Marjan, Nurul and Hassun were either born or grew up in New Zealand and hold New Zealand citizenship. This group of respondents self-identified as Muslim Kiwi, which means for them Islam is an

¹³ Seven participants belonged to the 1.75 migrant generation. This term was used by Rumbaut (2004) to refer to immigrants who arrive in receiving countries in their early childhood (0-5 years of age). Rumbaut (2004, p. 1166) argues that this generation's "experience and adaptive outcomes" are closer to that of the second generation, who were born in the receiving countries.

inseparable aspect of their identities and the ways they express their national identity are entangled with their religion (Warikoo & Bloemraad, 2018). They assert that their Muslim identities coexist peacefully with other aspects of their identities including their national identities as New Zealanders (Mir, 2009). I asked Hassun what it is like to be a Muslim-Kiwi woman in New Zealand:

Uh, I think it's normal. I think people are really different. Yeah, I do consider myself as a Kiwi but never introduce myself, as "I am a Kiwi". I pretty much would say I am a Muslim. Yeah, being Kiwi, I think it's, I know that I'm a Kiwi, so I don't really tell people "look I was born and being brought up here". So I don't openly say to people "Hey, I'm a Kiwi". I think the way you identify yourself really reflects your upbringing and like for me, I was brought up in a family that they are cultural but very religious, the religious cultural.

They've always been involved not only multicultural but interfaith works within New Zealand and stuff. So I've been brought up very balanced. Like I've had a very Kiwi way of life and also very Islamic life and also like a cultural life. So I feel that I just I didn't find myself as just like, a Muslim living in New Zealand. I feel very Kiwi, and I feel very like I embrace my culture and embrace my religion that makes sense? I don't know? We value religion and culture. [But] if culture contradicts with our religion, religion triumphs culture for us (Individual interview, 10 June 2015).

Hassun challenges the dichotomous relationship between Kiwi (Western) and being a Muslim woman (Eastern) by identifying herself as a Muslim-Kiwi woman. She feels that she is a Kiwi, but she indicates that when she needs to identify herself, she would say she is a Muslim and thinks it is so apparent that she is a Kiwi. Feeling that 'it's normal' to be a Kiwi-Muslim and expressing that 'people are different', Hassun connects her identity to the socio-spatial context of New Zealand. Although New Zealand is founded on bicultural laws, multiculturalism is

encouraged by policies, and by New Zealanders (Dobson, 2013; Masgoret et al., 2011). Thus, within this diverse and rather tolerant society, it is ‘normal’ to formulate a Kiwi-Muslim identity, as there are so many other intersectional identities like Kiwi-Indian, Chinese-Indian and so on.

Hassun’s family status is important in how she understands herself as Kiwi-Muslim, and she sees no conflicts while moving between different social spheres. Family plays a significant role in developing social capital, as it is constituted through “family position and its relationship to wider society” (McDowell, 2009, p. 67). Growing up in a family engaged in inter-faith and inter-cultural activities, Hassun acquired skills in accommodating both New Zealand and Muslim values. She, however, indicates her religion is the primary coordinate system of her life. As such, Hassun embodies other cultures and values as long as they are in line with her Islamic values. Such intersectional self-identification was expressed in the interviews with nine participants who belong to the 1.75 and second migrant generations. The fabrication of such a national identity can be seen in Mina. She explains:

I am considering myself as Palestinian-Kiwi, I definitely retain very big parts of both cultures. I wouldn’t call myself Kuwaiti, in any shape or form. I know I grew up there. I was born there. You are not considered Kuwaiti if you are not of Kuwaiti ethnicity. I don’t identify as Kuwaiti because that’s just not something you can do (Individual interview, 28 July 2015).

Mina came to New Zealand with her family while she was a child. Her family went to Kuwait every summer because Mina’s parents wanted Mina and her siblings to learn the Arabic language. Interestingly, Mina feels Palestinian-Kiwi but not Kuwaiti at all because of the different approaches of these two countries in granting citizenship. In New Zealand, Mina has been granted legal citizenship. In contrast, she explains she is not considered as a Kuwaiti although she is an Arab and she was born in Kuwait, an Arab country. The self-identification of Mina as a Kiwi not as Kuwaiti reflects that individuals do not necessarily have a sense of belonging to the places where they were born, and their family lived. Individuals,

however, are able to develop a sense of belonging to their place of residence where they find congruencies of values and culture (Savage, Bagnall, & Longhurst, 2004; Ward, Fagan, McDowell, Perrons, & Ray, 2010).

Mona came to New Zealand with her parents when she was very young. Her father is from Iraq, and her mother is Syrian. She was born in the United Arab Emirates. Therefore she speaks Arabic. She completed parts of her schooling in New Zealand, and then they went back to the UAE for a few years. Mona got married there at the age of seventeen and then came back to New Zealand, and went to university in New Zealand. Mona identifies as Muslim-Kiwi, too. She says:

We [Mona and her family members, her husband and her two sons] are Kiwis, like first and foremost, and Muslims. There is nothing wrong with being Muslim Kiwi. It's not like I'm choosing. It's not either or. It's both. We can get both. That's a two-way road, right (Individual interview, 24 February 2016).

Mona visualises this intersectional identity in the photos on her Facebook profile (see Figure 5:13):



Figure 5:13 Mona's expression of her national identity on Facebook

Mona regularly posts photos on her Facebook profile showing her blended Muslim and New Zealand identities. She uses hashtags of #coexist, #homeiswheretheheartis and #iamwhoiam. Mona argues that religious and national identities are not two distinct paths that she is required to choose between. For her, these aspects of identity are intermeshed with each other and coexist in her. Mona's narrative of her identity indicates that she does not see herself as only Muslim but as a Muslim, Kiwi and a woman who lives in New Zealand. Her body and social activities reflect that in New Zealand, Mona does not necessarily need to choose 'being a Muslim woman' or embracing New Zealand identity. It is important to be aware of the spatial characteristics of New Zealand society in developing such a liberating space for Mona, as a society in which policies generally encourage multiculturalism.

Each young participant develops a particular way to enact her intersectional identity of Kiwi Muslim woman. Participating in social and community work has been recognised as a common way for second and third generations of migrants in the United States to express their national identity (Warikoo & Bloemraad, 2018). Shohreh also identifies herself as a Muslim-Kiwi and engages in social activities to normalise this identity. Figure 5:14 shows her pointing to her quote, which was displayed in an exhibition in the Waikato Museum.



Figure 5:14 Shohreh's quote at the 'new wave' exhibition

Occupying an intersectional location, broader transnational discourses influence these women's identity construction. Regarding Muslims, globalised discourses of

the transnational Muslim community or *Umma* are about constituting a “super-national Muslim identity” (2000, p. 482) through which each Muslim is connected to other Muslims worldwide (Dwyer, 2000). Such connections were made by ten participants, for example in relation to the ongoing conflicts in Gaza. Online spaces, including Facebook and Instagram, should not be understood as separate spaces from the actual world and its power relations and rules (Longhurst, 2013; Wheeler, 2014). These women carry these political and cultural norms from the offline world to their Facebook and Instagram spaces. For example, consider Shohreh and Hassun. Along with their activist performances offline, they actively use Instagram and Facebook spaces to express their support for Muslims who live in war zones.

Figure 5:15 and Figure 5:16 are taken from Shohreh and Hassun’s social media:



Figure 5:15 Collecting money for refugees' health services

Figure 5:15 shows Shohreh and her friends organising a fundraising event to collect money for a medical and humanitarian organisation that provides services for refugees in Syria, Iraq and Lebanon. Such humanitarian activity in the Hamilton Lakes district changes it temporarily from a leisure space to a political and humanitarian space where local Muslim women come together and emotionally connect to another geographical location. This example reveals the changing dynamics of place and its boundaries and shows a way in which place can be in a continuous process of becoming.



Figure 5:16 Hassun is collecting money for Palestinians in Gaza

Figure 5:16 shows how Hassun draws on this aspect of her transnational Muslim identity and raises money for Muslims in Gaza. The majority of interviewees (re)construct a different sense of attachment and dis-attachment to different geographical locations, social groups, and social positions through their bodies (Hopkins, 2007b; Hopkins et al., 2007). They identify themselves within territorial (where they originally came from, and where they reside) and ethnic/cultural realms. The latter sphere is often (re)constructed by finding mutual connections and shared values with certain cultures or ethnic groups, with whom they did not have prior ties before moving to the place they chose to reside in (Savage et al., 2004; Ward et al., 2010). These examples also reflect how places are not only static physical entities but subject to change depending on who occupies them and for what purposes (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010; Mendoza & Morén-Alegret, 2013).

Their posted photos show them engaging with the transnational Muslim community, multiculturalism, human and women rights' discourses (Ali & Sonn, 2017). Their transnational identities as Muslim creates a sense of responsibility in them to help other Muslims who face difficulties in other parts of the world. Here, their veiling is not only a religious practice but also a symbol that gains political

meaning and signals emotional solidarity among Muslims around the globe. Similarly, other studies suggest that, particularly post 9/11, for some contemporary Muslim women the practice of veiling gains significant meaning imbued with “political solidarity and political protest against Islamophobia” (Mansson McGinty, 2013, p. 693).

Göle (2002) argues that contemporary Muslim women are well acquainted with the broader notions of universal modernity, civilisation and democracy. The respondents’ gender identities inform and influence their social activities and orientations in various ways. For example, Yalda works as a volunteer to increase women’s knowledge about breast cancer (Figure 5:17):



Figure 5:17 Yalda and the Breast Cancer Awareness month

Yalda is an undergraduate student. She first came to Hamilton with her family as a child. Her family decided to go back to Jordan when she finished her primary schooling. Yalda holds New Zealand citizenship, and after graduating from high school, she decided to come back to New Zealand for her higher education. Yalda explains her social activities:

At this specific political time, I feel I have much more responsibility as a Muslim woman in New Zealand. I find out I have to present who I am. I feel like I have to act in a really good manner and then avoid talking too much. [Laughed]. I

wonder even though I am a New Zealander, to people here I'm not really a true New Zealander. Oh, I do not like bus stops here; the bus stop is the place where I get most asked about myself.

Very serious questions [about the veil and being Muslim]

(Individual interview, 03 September 2015).

Although Yalda identifies herself as a New Zealander, her appearance subjects her to questions about her identity. This narrative reflects that national identity is a dynamic, fluid and contested concept in New Zealand. The body and clothing play important roles in constructing who is considered a New Zealander. Hopkins (2007b) argues that especially post 9/11, markers of 'Muslimness' often subject Muslims to be engaged in a "constant process of clarifying what they see as the true meaning of their religious faith" (2007b, p. 1129). It also reflects that people often deploy markers, such as clothing, race and/or particular pieces of jewellery, to produce a collective 'we' that signals their national identity. Nonetheless, such ways of national identity proclamation can lead to the process of Othering by excluding and marginalising individuals whose bodies are not included in the dominant definition of national identity (Warikoo & Bloemraad, 2018).

Moreover, young participants' social and political activities expand the meaning of the veil. For them, the veil does not function as a means to oppress and segregate them from social life. This social and political mobilisation of the veil is also reflected in other participants' photos posted on their Instagram and Facebook profiles. Participants (re)construct religious-national identities and form new confluences based on the intersections of their multiple ethnic and cultural heritage, and political and religious orientations. Dwyer and Crang (2002) argue these new confluences have significant consequences regarding issues of multiculturalism and rights to place.

The "historical, social and material conditions" have crucial roles in constructions of identities including embodied expressions of national identity (Ali & Sonn, 2017, p. 4). Four participants assert that they feel connected to Māori culture and value in New Zealand because they find similarities between Māori and Islamic values, for example, respecting older adults and family. As such, these participants prefer

to socialise with Māori people and learn their culture. For instance, Yalda expresses that among all communities in Hamilton, she prefers to interact and socialise with Māori. She says:

The group of people that I can feel comfortable with them the most are the Māori. I feel minorities can understand other minorities. Umm sometimes, for example, some people take their culture for granted. Take Māori culture for granted. They don't believe the importance of karakia [prayer] for example. To them about it's like what the prayer is to us. It's their expression of feeling. So, we do have some similar concepts you could say. So, that's how we feel for them, and they feel for us as well (Individual interview, 03 September 2015).

Yalda points out she is able to understand Māori because they are a minority group, similar to her. This factor, along with similar cultural practices, creates emotional and cultural bonds between Yalda and Māori culture. Māori culture is a significant part of Hamilton's heritage, and 26,217 of the 160,000 total population of Hamilton are Māori or of Māori descent (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Four participants concurred with Yalda that they feel similarities and connections to Māori. These women argue that similarity in cultural values and being considered as minority groups in society are among the factors that construct relationships and emotional connections between these Muslim women and Māori in Hamilton. To strengthen this bond Yalda and her friend Shohreh started to adapt parts of this culture. For instance, Yalda is learning te Reo Māori, and Shohreh is going to Māori students' meetings to learn more about their culture and traditions, including dance. They also post photos on their Facebook and Instagram profiles showing how they embody Māori culture along with their Muslim veils. Figure 5:18 shows Yalda with a temporary Māori moko (tattoo) on her chin while wearing a veil.



Figure 5:18 Yalda performing Haka

Her cultural and embodied identities echo feminist scholars' arguments on the construction of intersectional identities. They exclaim that different aspects of intersectional identities are mutually implicated and (re)shaped not only in relation to each other but also about the context that they are embedded in (Essers & Benschop, 2009; McDowell, 2009; Mirza, 2013). To further explore the similarities and differences between Māori and Islamic teachings, I asked the Māori participants who converted to Islam whether they recognised similarities with Islamic teachings or not. Delsa explains:

They are very different. They have similarities, though. Many sisters are telling me in the mosque, that you shouldn't mix with, with what we call, non-believers. You shouldn't believe in their carvings. So, when you are around them, you are exposing yourself to idols, whereas for us in the Māori world, I know that the carvings are real. When somebody carves them, they put energy into that, put all her characteristics into the piece of work.

So, their memory lasts forever and what, what we do is we respect that, respect that somebody taught a story in this carving that we wouldn't otherwise hear about them. We didn't have words in English, carving told stories, people told stories, we don't write it down. So, those are all we have. They're part of our [Māori] culture. And to ask me to do away with it and walk away from it. It is something I'm not prepared to do this year. The similar thing that, the family is important in Islam, you know your mother is a pivotal point in Islam. We praised our grandmother, as a pivotal point of the family so when our grandmother went, we all went back to own nuclear factors (Individual interview, 23 January 2016).

Delsa agrees that there are similarities between Māori culture and Islamic teachings. She, however, stresses that similarity does not mean sameness, and there are (fundamental) differences between these two cultures that impose challenges on her. She points to different meanings of carvings for her as a Māori woman and for Muslim women in the mosque. Delsa's quote shows that cultural backgrounds and values play important roles in shaping Delsa's and other Muslim women's religious identities. Delsa constructs her religious identity and understands Islam in relation to her Māori culture. She does not leave her cultural values to become a Muslim. Instead, Delsa develops a Muslim identity that brings together her 'own' understanding of Islamic teachings and Māori values. This example shows that Delsa's Māori and Muslim identities are mutually constituted and shape each other. This leads to the emergence of a novel intersectional identity that is Delsa's Māori-Muslim identity.

Dwyer and Crang (2002) and Hall (1992) discuss the processes through which new ethnicities and new confluences emerge. Accelerating international migration of ideas and materials creates spaces for the new confluence of cultures and ethnicities. People with different backgrounds and values have come together, realising both their differences and similarities from each other. These authors argue that a new confluence reformulates the "traditional, fixed, and fixing

cartographies of belonging and cultural identity" (Dwyer & Crang, 2002, p. 414). In these examples, the primary sources of this new confluence are the intersection of religious and ethnic identities within New Zealand's bicultural context. These examples communicate that Muslim women's identities are in a continuous process of reforming and re-interpreting, and depend, to a significant extent, on these women's physical place and social locations in Hamilton society (Wheeler, 2014).

5.4 Summary

In this chapter, I emphasise the body as an important space from which to explore the constructions and intersections of Muslim women's identities, gender, religion, culture and nationality. I described Muslim women's understanding of their veils at the intersection of gender, religion, and nationality. Muslim women's experiences of their bodies are gendered, which concurs with the arguments of feminist geographers (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010). The data show that Muslim women have a variety of understandings and rationales for wearing or not wearing the veil. While some women feel empowered by wearing the veil, other participants recognised the veil as a factor of Othering in Hamilton. Their narratives indicate that each style of the veil carries different meanings, which in turn, produces different emotions in and around the bodies of these women.

In the second section, I explored Muslim women's veils in relation to dominant discourses on femininity, fashion and modesty. The women that I talked to brought these two perceptibly opposing realms together through revisionist interpretations of Islam and Western life and dress styles (Gökariksel & Secor, 2014). The findings show for contemporary Muslim women, alike for the participants of this study, their veils function as complex and contested signifiers, which intersect with Western discourses of young's lifestyles and fashion.

The final section examines how participants combine their religious and New Zealand identities and fabricate new identities as Muslim Kiwi women. I expose the power of religious and national discourses by displaying Muslim women's lived

experiences of intersectional identities in relation to their transnational identity as Muslims and, for some, their national identity as New Zealanders.

The next chapter explores how religious, professional, migrant and gender identities of participants are intersected and modified in their workplaces in Hamilton. I explore the experiences of the Muslim women through the prism of identity, and intersectionality, while focusing attention on racial and gender power relations in the Hamilton education and healthcare institutions.

Chapter 6 Employment experiences of Muslim women within healthcare and education

In this chapter, I explore the employment and work experiences of Muslim women, paying attention to their expressions and enactments of their religion, gender, and professionalism through their bodies. I examine such intersections in the employment experiences of Muslim women in healthcare and educational workplaces. At the core of my argument is the mutual construction of workplaces and Muslim women's embodied identities. Intersectionality is applied to understand the multiple ways embodied identities, that is, gender, race, religion and profession, are mutually constructed and shape each other within workplaces.

Intersectionality not only creates different categories of oppression but also shapes opportunities (Brown, 2012). Using intersectionality, I analyse how Muslim women's multiple embodied identities intersect in relation to dominant spatial orderings of workplaces and influence participants' employment opportunities and disadvantages in education and healthcare services in Hamilton (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013; Essers & Benschop, 2009; McDowell, 2009; McDowell et al., 2007; Mirza, 2013).

The conceptual framework of this chapter is the significance of bodies in contemporary service economies (McDowell, 2009). I argue that the intersections of the religious, gendered, racialised and professional identities of respondents contribute to the shaping of both disadvantages and advantages in Hamilton's service sectors. Their embodied identities place them simultaneously in several social positions with associated resources and constraints (Brown, 2012; Holt, 2008). Feminist geographical research suggests that the workplace is a significant "contested site for the construction of identity" (McDowell, 2009, p. 54), where identities are fluid and embodied, contingent upon time and place. Syed (2007) argues that in the Australian labour market, Muslim women's opportunities and challenges are shaped by the intersections between different aspects of their identity and spatial space. Aligned with previous studies, I argue that the bodies

of my participants carry various meanings as work spaces are subject to multiple power relations (McDowell, 2009; Mirza, 2013; Winker & Degele, 2011).

Influenced by feminist geographers Dwyer and Crang (2002), I emphasise that Muslim women are social actors who actively negotiate their embodied identities within the power dynamics of workplaces. In outlining McDowell (2009), Bolton (2004) and Young's (1990) findings on the embodied identity, emotions and workplace, I discuss how Muslim women in Hamilton learn, maintain and develop individual and collective strategies to tailor their emotions and faith in line with two service institutions. Embodied identities and emotional expressions are reported to be important factors in shaping the advantages and disadvantages that Muslim women face in various contexts of employment (Gorman-Murray, 2013).

Essers and Benschop (2009, p. 404) point out "religion is not left at home; it infuses working life" through religious and gendered practices at work. In Western and post-colonial nations like New Zealand, pervasive racial and gendered discourses play crucial roles in informing organisations' cultures around acceptable appearance and modes of behaviour. Arguably, in the West, social norms are often built in favour of whiteness, heterosexuality and masculinity (Batnitzky & McDowell, 2011; Johnston, 2005; Young, 1990). Such conceptualisations concerning acceptable bodies produce a regulatory framework in the labour market. This framework plays a crucial role in determining people's position, acceptable performance and behaviours at work (Batnitzky & McDowell, 2011; Davidson & Iveson, 2015). In other words, these assumptions are salient factors in determining "who is suitable to do what" (McDowell, 2009, p. 202).

This chapter proceeds by examining the employment experiences of Muslim women in Hamilton's healthcare and education services. In the second section, I discuss how the veil intermeshes with other embodied attributes of the respondents and creates stigma and marginalisation at work. I then discuss how Islam, as an institution, is embodied, gendered and materialised within workspaces. The last section, before the summary, explores the strategies that these Muslim women develop to maintain their place in the labour market.

Throughout the chapter, I show how different emotions are shaped in and around the respondents' bodies in their workspaces.

6.1 Visible bodily differences and Muslim women's employment

For Muslim women, their religious belief is entangled with the way they dress. Therefore, it is misleading if 'religious beliefs' and 'dress and appearance' are considered as two separate factors in shaping Muslim women's employment opportunities. This chapter emphasises on the intersectional construction of employment advantages and disadvantages for Muslim women in healthcare and education institutions in Hamilton. In my target group, 23 of the 34 interviewed women work or have worked in New Zealand's paid labour market. Figure 6:1 provides a snapshot of the respondents' employment situations.

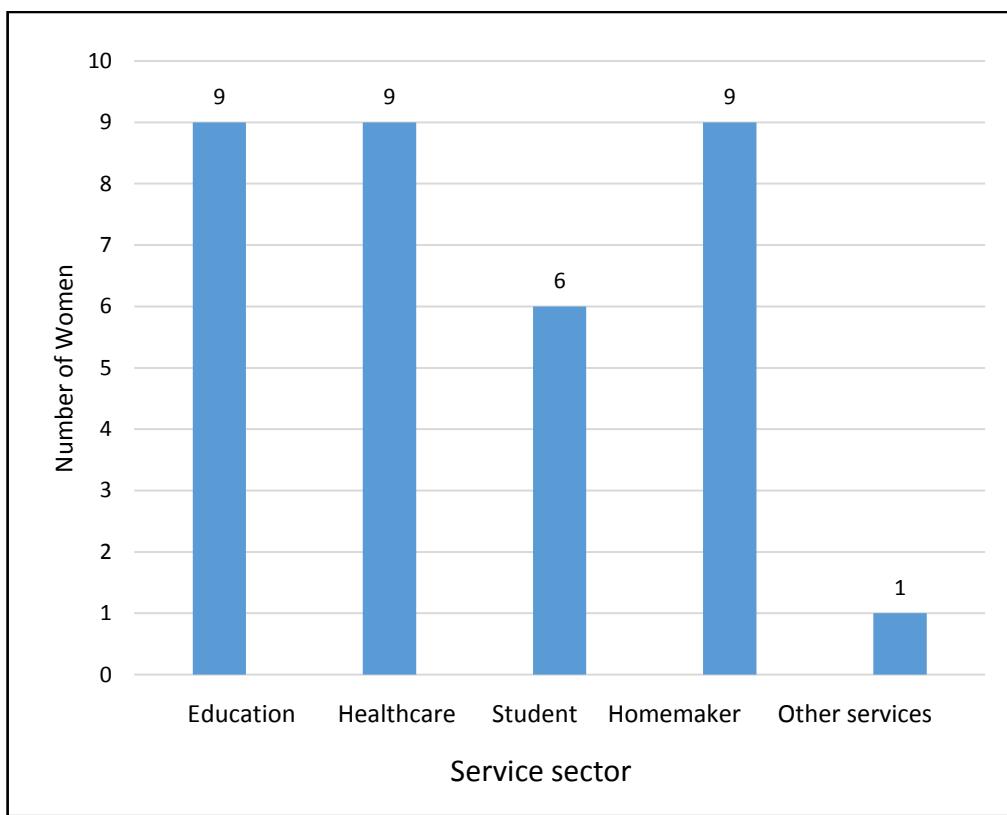


Figure 6:1 Work affiliations of the respondents

Fifteen out of the 34 participants were not undertaking paid employment. I consider both students and homemakers to be in this category. This is the reason that the number of participants not in paid work is considerable compared to the total number of interviewed Muslim women. This categorisation of unemployment in this study does not mean that household care and looking after

children are not considered as work, but that these women are not paid for doing these jobs. Most participants who identified themselves as homemakers explained that either they chose not to do paid work or they could not work because they are migrants and do not have access to any supporting networks in regard to the responsibilities related to caring for children and household chores. For example, consider Nazhat's reasons for not undertaking any paid employment:

I worked for eight months, it was like just temporary office work. Then, I went to Pakistan for one year. I got married, and I came here [Hamilton]. A year later my son was born. I didn't have time when he was born. I guess I just have a problem. I didn't know what I wanna do. It's hard for me to come and decide what I'm gonna do or have a job. That eight months I did that work I found it very hard. So I thought if I had a choice to work or not, I prefer not working. I don't mind to work if I had to for the money And I'm glad I don't have to. With the kids, if you work, you put them in childcare or daycare, and I find it really hard looking after kids and looking after the house and working if I had to. I can't do everything all at once. I just can do one thing at the time (Joint interview with Nazhat and Pari, 21 July 2015).

Nazhat explains that looking after her two young children along with her responsibilities at home restrict her from undertaking paid employment. She, however, asserts that she prefers not to work outside because she finds it challenging. Nazhat indicates that her family's economic situation allows her to choose whether she works and not, and she chose to stay home.

Figure 6:1 shows that 18¹⁴ interviewed Muslim women worked in the education and healthcare sectors in Hamilton. It is not accidental that most of the participants work in education and health institutions. Hamilton's healthcare and education sectors are among the major employers in the city (New Zealand Immigration, 2017b). Currently, New Zealand faces skill shortages in the

¹⁴ Two other participants also work in healthcare and education sectors but are not located in Hamilton.

healthcare and higher education service sectors. The Waikato region's labour market also relies on qualified workers for its long-term economic and social growth in several sectors, including health and higher education services (New Zealand Immigration, 2016a).

Studies on Muslim women's employment experiences in Australia (Syed & Pio, 2010), the United Kingdom and Europe (Essers & Tedmanson, 2014; Listerborn, 2015; Prins, van Stekelenburg, Polletta, & Klandermans, 2013) found that unemployment is a prevailing problem for Muslim women in Western countries. Their findings show that veiled Muslim women are at higher risk of exclusion from the job market based on their ethnic and religious identities, compared to non-veiled women and men. My findings, however, show the veil is not treated the same for different Muslim women in the process of getting a job and working in different positions in these two sectors. Consider, for example, Simin, who is an optometrist and does not wear a hijab. I asked her if she faced any challenges for finding a job. She made the following statement regarding her job prospects:

No, it was very easy for me because my profession is in demand now. About discrimination, I do not know I do not wear a hijab, but, I heard it could make a difference (Individual interview, 09 July 2015).

Simin points out that two factors facilitated her finding a job, her profession as an optometrist is in demand, and she does not wear a hijab. She, however, asserts that her friends who wear a hijab told her that wearing a hijab makes challenges for them while searching and applying for a job. Another eight participants from the medical professions wear headscarves to cover their hair. They all reported that they did not face any discrimination when applying and being interviewed for employment in healthcare sectors. Their hijab, educational and professional credentials intersect with a current skills shortage in healthcare. Therefore, the professional aspect of their identities received more attention and overshadowed their religious identities when they were applying for a job. Consider, for example, Mina's experiences of finding a job:

[For me] It was pretty good, a lot of girls who wear the hijab they told you that they are worried about finding employment, but it was not that much difficult for me to be honest. But, I am a dentist, so it is a lot easier, I guess. I do not know, I did not struggle at all (Individual interview, 28 July 2015).

As discussed in Chapter 3, intersectionality can create both oppression and opportunities depending on the spatial ordering of place. According to official documents, there are not enough qualified New Zealand professionals in healthcare services, including dentists (New Zealand Immigration, 2016a). Mina's experiences reveal that her professional identity within the current skills shortage in healthcare shapes employment opportunities for her as a veiled Muslim woman, even though for 'a lot of girls who wear the hijab' it is difficult to find a job. Simin and Mina both were raised in New Zealand and speak English fluently. It is also of note that the participants who either were born or raised in New Zealand reported they did not face discriminating comments and attitudes when applying for jobs, which could be because of their familiarity with the language and culture (Kabir, 2007).

The skills shortage encourages New Zealand employers in healthcare services to attract and recruit skilled migrants from diverse cultural backgrounds to address the issue (Rogers, 2015). Consequently, there is both inclination and flexibility in employing people from various cultures and backgrounds in healthcare services. Nazi is a general medical practitioner who came to New Zealand with her husband and daughter under the skilled migrant category. Nazi explains the thoughtful manner of her employer toward her decision to wear a veil:

When I did my interview with my current employer, three years ago, in that interview, I asked them that I might intend to start covering myself and would this make it any different for you guys to have a doctor who covers. They said no, we don't find any differences; you would be the same person. So, that made me really happy, because I clarified that issue, even though I

didn't start covering straight away (Individual Interview 28 September 2015).

I speculate that Nazi is conscious of negative connotations associated with the Muslim veil. Therefore, she clarified the intention of wearing a head covering in the future in her job interview. Mina and Nazi's employment experiences reveal how emotions and attitudes towards the hijab result from the intersection of Muslim women's professional and religious identities. To elaborate further the role of such intersection, I share Maryam's discussion about Muslim women's employment experiences. Maryam as a key-informant from the Muslim community, points to the veil as a disadvantaging and discriminatory factor for the employment of many Muslim women in the New Zealand labour market, except in the health industries:

There were several cases that with very good resumes who could not get a job, so many of them went to Australia and took a job there. It is not the case for every sector, like health sector, because there is a dire need in that sector and you can see lots of Muslim women working there. So New Zealand lost a lot of educated Muslims particularly women to Australia as they could find a job there (Individual interview, 9 July 2016).

Maryam points to the visibility of veiled Muslim women working in the healthcare sector and links this to current skill shortages in this sector. The current institutional geography contributes to the emergence of a visible population of Muslim women in healthcare services, in particular. The skills shortage in healthcare, along with the presence of the Waikato Hospital, create employment opportunities for skilled international migrants, including Muslim women, in healthcare workplaces in Hamilton (New Zealand Immigration, 2016a, 2017b).

Maryam, however, indicates that veil wearers' employment opportunities are restricted in some other sectors. Along with Muslim women's clothing and professional identities, their employment experiences are shaped by the patterns of skills shortage in New Zealand's labour market. Syed and Pio (2010) argue that

particularly for Muslim women, the intersection of their religion and gender adds another difficulty to their employment woes.

To elaborate this point, I share Anjum's narrative about persistent discrimination against the veil:

I remember it was a few years ago, I think, this Muslim woman completed her pharmacy degree. As a part of that, she was supposed to go work in a pharmacy like they have to do training of the job. She could not find a single pharmacy to take her, like once she rang them, and they talked to her positively and asked for an interview. Then, when she turned up, they like "oh, that is how you dress" [she wears a veil], and she said yes, they said, "in this job we do not have any opening". And, that is it, she could not complete her degree and went back to Jordan because she was disappointed. Nothing (Individual interview, 10 May 2015).

This example shows that anti-veil discourses could work as exclusionary factors in Hamilton's healthcare services when a Muslim woman applicant's professional skill is not in high demand. Again, the dynamics of the labour market are crucial in subjecting the veil to discrimination in employment processes. Yalda told a similar story that happened to her mother. Yalda's parents came to New Zealand for higher education 18 years ago, when Yalda was around two years old. Yalda said her parents decided to go back after her mother graduated and was refused to get a job because of her hijab. Yalda explains:

My mum couldn't get any job at that time because of the 9/11 incident. You know, she has a master in pharmacy, but no one wanted to hire her. Like they [employers] would put a rule if you wanna got hired take off that from your head. There is actually a time she did take off her hijab (Individual interview, 03 September 2015).

As already discussed, religion is one aspect of participants' intersectional identities. Interviewed Muslim women explained that other aspects of their embodied identities also influence their employment opportunities and disadvantages. For example, consider Goli's experiences when she was searching for a job as a primary school teacher. Goli draws attention to nationality and accent as influential factors in the process of getting a job as a primary school teacher. She is from Malaysia and came to New Zealand in 2006 after marrying her Māori-Samoan husband, after which she was granted New Zealand citizenship. Goli gained a bachelor's degree in early childhood education from a university in New Zealand. She works as a relief¹⁵ teacher in several childcare centres in Hamilton. Goli often wears bright veils and thoroughly covers her hair and neck:

Anoosh: Was it difficult to find a job here?

Goli: It was, for, em, [pause] for a person, not a Kiwi it is very hard because they prefer Kiwis first, it's very, umm, not easy, you have to compete with Kiwis to get the job.

Anoosh: What do you mean by Kiwi? Because you are considered as a Kiwi right now, no?

Goli: No, I do not think so [smile] because the way I talk it's a bit different, some parts of words that they do not really understand, because of the accent (Individual interview, 06 August 2015).

The skills shortage is reported in recruiting teachers at both primary and secondary levels (New Zealand Immigration, 2018). Nevertheless, working as a relief teacher indicates that Goli has been unable to find a permanent teaching position in a primary school in Hamilton. Feminist scholars proclaim that spaces, including workplaces, are gendered, racialised and sexualised spheres (Bhimji, 2009; Dwyer, 1999; Johnston & Longhurst, 2010). In a similar vein, McDowell (2008) suggests

¹⁵ "A teacher who temporarily replaces another teacher who cannot work" ("Relief teacher," 2018).

that migrant workers are treated differently within workspaces depending on their position/s in the social and racial hierarchies of receiving societies. Goli's experience points to the important roles of embodied attributes, such as accent, in shaping employment opportunities, rather than official documents such as permanent residency and educational credentials. To illustrate, I include the processes of finding jobs for Asi. She does not wear a veil. She came to New Zealand to continue her education. Asi gained a PhD in linguistics and currently works at the University of Waikato. I asked her whether it was difficult to find a job, and how her experiences had been in this regard. She replied:

I think it's difficult enough [not] because, I'm, Muslim or because I'm from another country, but because the jobs are very competitive here. Yeah, but also I take that, maybe because of the colour. Though people say, maybe I shouldn't put it on record [chuckling] Yeah, It's okay I am just telling you. They say that they have equal opportunity here and we are not allowed to use words like black and white for people right? But they say it outright at your face, "I'm not looking for black first, now I am looking for a white person for this job". So I was told about three times that they are not looking for a black, they are looking for a white person for a job (Individual interview, 17 June 2015).

Although Asi is aware that it is difficult for anyone to find a job in the very competitive New Zealand labour market, she articulates her skin colour as a factor that works to her disadvantage. Asi points out her migrant, and religious identities have not subjected her to discriminatory attitudes. McDowell (2008) talks about some persistent discourses that attribute specific skills and talents to particular groups as their natural characteristics. She showed in her work that these discourses are influential in terms of determining the (un)suitability of workers for different kinds of employment based on their embodied attributes. Similarly, Asi explains she was refused employment three times, and her skin colour was given as a reason by different employers before she got a job at the University of Waikato. These incidents show that her concerns about her skin colour were

relevant, and some people such as Asi with coloured skin experience this blatant racism because the intersection of her skin colour and profession, as an English teacher, constructs her as an ‘unsuitable’ applicant in English language teaching institution in Hamilton.

The examples in this section reveal the experiences of Muslim women while applying and searching for a job in healthcare and education services. In the following sections, I discuss the work experiences of participants in these services and examine the discursively intersectional constructions of embodied attributes, agency and the social contexts of workplaces.

6.2 “Are Muslims terrorists?”: Being stigmatised in workplaces

In my interviews, observations and personal interactions with Muslim women in Hamilton, respondents point to the significance of the veil, skin colour, and nationality in making them subject to stigmatisation at work. In this section, I discuss how these recurring themes contribute to the construction of these women’s bodies as Other. Dwyer (1999) argues that the veil, in particular, becomes an overdetermined aspect of Muslim women’s identities. Similarly, the Muslim women in my study point to their Muslim veil as a factor that stimulates feelings of Otherness, unease and hesitation around them in the education and healthcare sectors. Considering the Othering discourses around Islam and Muslim women, several participants indicated their veil visually signals their Otherness by placing them in a homogenised group of Muslim women who are perceived as a national security threat with irreconcilably different value systems to the liberal values of the West (Dwyer, 1999; Hoodfar, 1992).

Such one-dimensional perspectives of Islam and veiled Muslim women contribute to perpetuating harmful stereotypes, which subject Muslim women to discriminatory reactions in social spaces, including workplaces. This point is reflected in Ziba’s narrative:

Their [non-Muslim New Zealanders] understanding of a veiled woman is not like “ok she is a Muslim but from Afghanistan, or this is Muslim from Somali”. No, they see all of them as Muslims.

Once I went to the Waikato Hospital, as an interpreter, while the nurse was writing her [patient] name, she asked “religion?” Then I said, “Is it important?” She goes “No it is not important”. I said, “If it is not important why are you writing down there?” Then she asked, “Is she (the patient) a Muslim?”. It was obvious as we both wear scarves; I replied, “Yes, she is a Muslim”. She said, “Are Muslims terrorists”? She exactly said that. I said, “That’s why you write the religion there, to see whether or not we are terrorists?” It is not all Kiwis, no, but some of them. Yes, because they see in TV, they see in Hollywood movies, they’re saying Muslims are terrorists, then. Well, they [Kiwis] think they [Muslims] are terrorists then. They [Kiwis] believe what they see (Individual interview, 7 March 2016).

The Muslim veil gains particular meanings and evokes emotions, for example, in the case of Ziba it produces feelings of stigmatisation and Othering. This visibility prompts intrusive questions about terrorism (Harris & Hussein, 2018). Ziba’s body reflects her culture and religion, by wearing a Muslim veil. Her body extended the spatial interaction between the nurse and her beyond the geographical boundaries of the hospital (Lewis, 2007). The nurse, drawing on pervasive anti-sentiments about Muslims and Islam, positioned all Muslims in one category, and associated them with terrorism (Abu-lughod, 2002; McDowell, 2009; Mohanty, 1988). Ziba’s veiled body is no longer her own but part of “a homogenous collective” identity that is perceived as a threat to the national security (Mirza, 2013, p. 9).

These lines show the crucial role of hegemonic mass media in reproducing the veiled bodies of Muslim women as fear-inducing in the dominant public culture (Hebbani & Wills, 2012; Itaoui & Dunn, 2017; Navarro, 2010; Tolia-Kelly, 2006). Ziba’s experience reflects that the veil and anti-Muslimism discourses lead to the evolution of varied emotional reactions in and around the bodies of Muslim women. In the climate of the ‘war on terror’, religious and political discourses strongly influence the shaping of such emotions and the ways they are embodied.

Again, time and place are crucial spatial factors in determining what discourses become important and how they are lived out by Muslim women and/or non-Muslims (Solomon, 2012). Like Ziba, several respondents blame the media, rather than individuals, for the discriminating attitudes they encounter.

The veil plays a crucial role in shaping the everyday interactions of Muslim women at work. Subtle forms of exclusion are felt by Muslim women. For example, Farah tells how her supervisor at the hospital got confused about how to react when he met Farah as his medical registrar:

One of my consultants, when first I met him, you know, I extended my hand for a handshake, he was like, looked at my hand. He wasn't sure whether to shake my hand or not, then he did shake hand. After one week, I could see that he was not sure how to treat me. He did not talk to me, which was very strange, because he was my supervisor. But eventually, I just realised he is the nicest consultant. The thing was, he wasn't sure how to treat me as a Muslim woman with hijab (Individual interview, 10 August 2015).

Farah's experience reminds me of what Munt (2012) describes as "other more private narratives of exclusion" (2012, p. 562) by migrant Muslim women. This research reflects that the interviewed Muslim women experience exclusion in ways that are not blatant. Analysing the effects post-9/11, Holland and Solomon (2014, p. 270) point to the "beyond understanding" nature of the phenomenon and argue that when facing unknown events, people and place evoke affective experiences. Farah links the consultant's hesitancy and distancing behaviours to her embodied identity as a Muslim woman doctor who wear hijab. In reflecting on Farah's narrative, her supervisor probably found himself in a situation that was unknown to him, as he had not worked with a veiled Muslim woman before and did not know how to engage with her. The experiences of some participants, however, display that the intersection of Farah's hijab with other embodied identities such as profession and accent can change the position of veiled Muslim

women spatially. To illustrate further, I draw on Mina's experiences as a dentist. She talks about her clients' first reaction when seeing her with a headscarf:

Honestly, I would say 99.99% of people don't care [laughter] it is not that they are not racist or anything like that, they literally do not care what you wear. They do not fuss. You can wear whatever you want. But, you do get a few people hmm maybe you feel a little bit that they are hesitant when they first see me because I got a scarf on but then as soon as I start talking to them (in English) they are fine (Individual interview, 28 July 2015).

This passage shows how Mina's scarf meshes with her other embodied attributes and influences patients' emotions and behaviours toward her. Mina explains that her material and cultural differences matter at work and influence social interactions between her and the patients. There are patients who look hesitant about seeing Mina with a scarf, but they seem fine as soon as she starts talking to them in English (McDowell, 1999). In Mina's case, I argue, not only do her expertise and ability to speak fluent English shape her social acceptability by non-Muslim customers, but also Mina's dress style and appearance play an influential role in minimising Othering.

Mina's appearance illustrates intersections of New Zealand, Western, Islamic and Arab cultures. She has fair skin, and at her workplace, Mina often wears Western-inspired clothes such as jeans and fitted jackets. She wears a gauzy white scarf, which she wraps loosely around her face and neck. She usually uses black eyeliner and shapes her eyebrows carefully. The importance of clothes and other embodied attributes, such as language, have been recognised in structuring social interactions and workers' positions in different workplaces (Longhurst, 2001; McDowell, 2009). Mina's ability to speak English, her Western-inspired clothing style and her fair skin change her customers' reactions once Mina starts speaking in English with them; as Mina put it, their hesitation fades away "as soon as I start talking to them (in English) they are fine".

Emphasising the importance of embodied representation within service economies, Wolkowitz (2002) suggests weight, hair, clothes and accent play critical roles in shaping interactions between employees and clients. Statistics New Zealand (2012) reports that race, skin colour, clothing and/or appearance are the most common bases for discrimination in employment contexts. In New Zealand, a Western postcolonial nation, national markers (skin colour and accent) and apparel play crucial roles in forming discrimination, shaping exclusion and inclusion in the labour market (McDowell, 2009). A sample of 17,271 respondents participated in this national survey. The results show that the sample group most likely experience discrimination within employment settings, either while applying for a job or when in the workforce (See Figure 6:2 and Figure 6:3) (Statistics New Zealand, 2012).

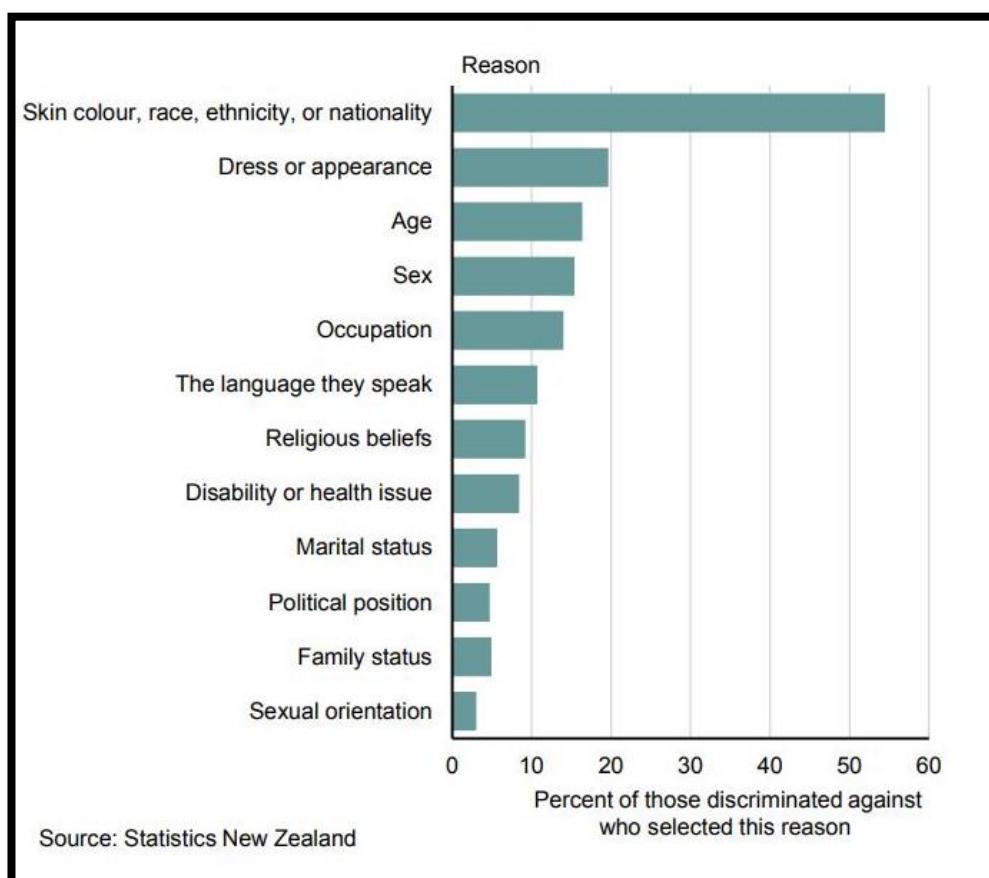


Figure 6:2 Reasons for feeling discriminated against

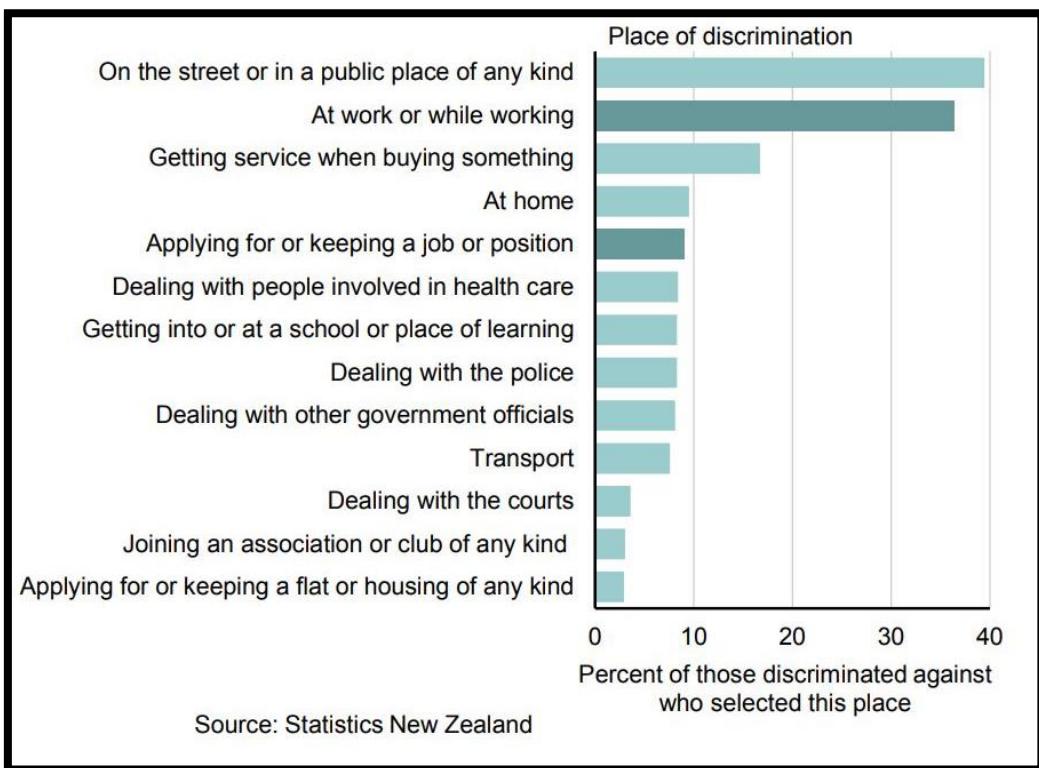


Figure 6:3 Where discrimination is most likely to happen in New Zealand

This national survey shows that appearance and clothes are important factors in shaping people's employment experiences, in particular, veiled Muslim women, considering the associated stereotypes and negative sentiments about Islam. This longitudinal study by Statistics New Zealand (2012) illustrates that forms of identity, for example, culture and dress, are constructed separately from each other. It is, however, impossible to separate experiences of discrimination by skin colour, accent, and clothing. The employment experiences of my respondents show that this categorical approach is reductionist for understanding the complex realities of discrimination and inequalities in employment spaces.

Along with the veil, accent, being a migrant and skin colour are other factors that some respondents point to as differentiating markers in the Hamilton healthcare and education professions (Lewis, Dwyer, Hodkinson, & Waite, 2015; Markova, Paraskevopoulou, Williams, & Shaw, 2016; McDowell et al., 2007). For example, Rima explains that intersections of her skin colour, accent and veil provoked one patient's prejudicial comments. Rima is a general medical practitioner who works at Waikato Hospital. She came to New Zealand 10 years ago from South East Asia and got her medical degree from a New Zealand university. Rima wears a veil with

bright colours, which covers her hair and neck. Rima explains she hardly ever receives judgmental or prejudicial comments from her colleagues at her workplace, but it happens with some patients.

At work, um I could not remember, from my colleagues, I can't remember. I think they all are nice and accepting, and I haven't really encountered such, probably I can't remember. But some of the patients making, I would say, a bit just some comments that I think that I translate it as a prejudice. I think there are people [who] act a bit different to you because you look different. And my accent is different; I look different, I wear different attire, I am covered, my skin is not fair, I am obviously different (Joint interview with Rima, Elmira and Razieh, 13 June 2015).

Such comments, from Rima's patients, point to the existence of discriminatory social and cultural structures embedded in hegemonic cultures within and beyond workplaces. Rima points to her embodied attributes in explaining the reasons for being subject to discrimination at work. Studies show that in interactive services, visually recognisable embodied attributes of people such as skin colour, accent, and clothing often are factors in determining workers' inferior and/or superior social positions and their legitimacy level as members of society. This positioning is constructed discursively in and beyond workspaces (McDowell, 2008; Mirza, 2013; Young, 1990).

Post-colonial scholars discuss a fixed colonising gaze that divides people into the West and the rest (Mohanty, 1988; Said, 1978; Young, 1990). Particularly in interactive service economies, the hegemonic ideal is usually the white body (Batnitzky & McDowell, 2011; McDowell, 2008). For migrant workers, their bodies, accent, skin colour, behaviour, hair and dress are used to position them as inferior compared to "the subject of Western modernity" (McDowell, 2008, p. 499). Considering the post-colonial context of New Zealand, it is relevant to note that migrants from developing countries are seen as 'backward', less legitimate, and not modern compared to white-skinned people, both migrants and natives. This

assumption is still a dominant discourse and contributes to validating the image of legitimate bodies. For example, consider Goli's experience in her workplace, one of the primary schools where she works as a relief teacher. Goli points to her hijab as a factor that plays a vital role in shaping her interactions at work:

When people look at me, wearing hijab, teachers are quite tolerant. I mean they accepted teachers from other countries and another background. But for parents, some of the parents they look at me very strangely, because I mean my backgrounds and identity, wearing a hijab and my skin colour, they do not know me, they think probably, I am a stranger. While parents talk to me, they tend not to look at my face. Usually they tend to avoid talking to me, sometimes they smile but not really friendly, but some parents are good (Individual interview, 6 August 2015).

As Goli's example shows, she feels ignored by her pupils' parents at her workplace (Batnitzky & McDowell, 2011). Goli explains how her hijab and her background (nationality) intersect, and construct how her pupils' parents see her as an outsider, a 'stranger'. Goli's narrative points to the parents' conflicting emotions and respective bodily reactions while interacting with Goli, a veiled woman, and other teachers. These different experiences lead to the shaping of pervasive anti-Muslim discourses that position Goli as Other. Based on these dominant discourses, Goli's hijab constructs her as a Muslim woman whose culture and values threaten national security and liberal values. She is conscious that her pupils' parents treat her differently compared to her Kiwi colleagues.

Goli feels that these parents tend to avoid her or look at her because of her body, wearing hijab, and coming from a different country, which she indicates is apparent because of her accent and skin colour. Previous research shows that factors such as accent, clothing, and skin colour, are crucial in self-identification and also how Muslims are identified and categorised (Nayel, 2017). Young (1990) argues that oppressed or/and minority groups often find themselves facing distancing behaviours such as aversion, stereotyping, avoidance and expressions

of nervousness, which are performed by dominant and majority groups, particularly in public settings (Young, 1990). The parents' exclusionary attitudes toward Goli constitute a kind of subtle marginalisation. These subtle forms of exclusion are often articulated through bodies that "look at you very strange", "tend not to look at your face and avoid you", and "smile but [are] not really friendly".

The examples presented in this section have shown that the bodies of some participants are marked as Other in the education and healthcare services through intersections of their professions, skin colour, accent and the veil. These positionings are constructed through "the operations of numerous binary and categorical distinctions" (McDowell, 2008, p. 499). These structures, understandings and positioning are, however, challenged, altered, coped with and resisted by participants. They have developed coping strategies to deal with stigmatisation and/or discrimination at work (Kloek, Peters, & Sijtsma, 2013). The next section presents some of these strategies.

6.3 Negotiating stigma and Othering at work

Wearing a hijab and having a non-white skin increase the changes of Othering and stigmatisation in workplaces. For example, Rima explains one prejudicial comment that she received from her patient. She says:

One patient said to me: "Must be difficult, isn't it? Being in a foreign country, asking [for] help and getting help from a foreign country, must be difficult for you, isn't it?" He said that probably because of my hijab and my different look and accent. I am like, what is that supposed to mean? I took it as a prejudice. Just receiving comments like that, you feel like this is not nice (Joint interview Rima, with Razieh and Elmira, 13 June 2015).

Rima assumes her hijab and racial identity construct her as a foreigner who came to New Zealand to seek help. The patient associated Rima's body with a particular group, that is, migrant women from the developing countries. Such migrants are often associated with poverty, powerlessness and dependency, which in turn,

position them as inferior (Mirza, 2013; Rootham, 2015; Said, 1978). Consequently, this association between ‘being a non-white migrant’ and ‘being in need’ was used by the patient to trivialise Rima’s skills (McDowell, 1999). The patient’s comments induced particular emotions in Rima, which make her feel her body as ‘different’ and misfit in her workplace. Rima explains she felt hurt by the patient’s comment that conceptualised her as someone who lives in and asks for help from a foreign country. She, however, links her patient’s trivialising remarks to his poor health condition, and tries to justify the patient’s act:

I took it [the patient’s comment] as a prejudice comment but just given his background and his condition, not that well; it is not fair to judge him. But, just receiving those comments, I think it just takes me back and hurt. But I decided to move on, I look obviously different, well, I could understand, every now and again I encounter some prejudice (Joint interview Rima, with Razieh and Elmira, 13 June 2015).

Rima says that receiving prejudicial comments hurts her. She, however, carried on with her task and ‘moved on’. Rima’s reaction also represents a type of “self-surveillance of emotional behaviours” in the workplace (Kawale, 2004, p. 567). Influenced by hegemonic discourses on professional etiquette, Rima decided to conceal her real emotions then and did not discuss the matter with the patient and to keep the working atmosphere calm, both for her patient’s sake and her own (Gorman-Murray, 2013; Kawale, 2004). This reminds me of Valentine and Waite’s (2012) argument that social actors are capable of separating their beliefs/feelings from their performances in daily life to avoid conflict and manage their spaces of coexistence with different people. Farah explains her coping strategies when she faced Othering attitudes from one of her supervisors at work, in the hospital. This supervisor had refused to have any conversations with Farah for a while. She says:

I told my supervisor “at work; we do not really have to like each other, we just need to get along in order to do the job properly”. I knew that we have to step forward. That’s the thing, I do not

feel it [prejudice] personally. In general, I learn to do that: ‘accept’. We just work together, I know there may be something he does not like about me. Instead of crying, “oh, what is it, he does not like me” [mimicking a worried and frustrated tone while making a sad face], no I do not do that. Here is the thing, I think he [her supervisor] never had a Muslim doctor registered to work with him [laughing], especially a Muslim woman with the scarf (Individual interview, 10 August 2015).

Previous research shows that migrant women with colour skin in healthcare services develop everyday strategies for coping with racial and gendered discrimination, which they find themselves unable to address head-on (Batnitzky & McDowell, 2011; McDowell, 2015). Farah associates her colleagues’ excluding attitudes with lack of information about how to deal with a Muslim woman who wears a scarf. In similar ways, both Rima and Farah decide to ‘move on’ and ‘accept’ that they may receive judgmental and/or stigmatising attitudes because of their bodies. This common coping strategy gives these women a feeling of independence from negative emotions such as anger and holding grudges at work (Batnitzky & McDowell, 2011). Reflecting on Farah’s experiences, I argue that the intersection of gender and religion plays a vital role in shaping her consultant’s hesitation about whether or not shake Farah’s hand and talk to her. Considering other research on Muslim women’s experiences of discrimination, I assume that Muslim men’s work and leisure spaces are very different to Farah’s experiences (Bourabain & Verhaeghe, 2018; Oikelome & Healy, 2013).

In their research on young Muslim in Australia, Harris and Hussein (2018) observe that Muslims do not always have a positive experience in their first contact with non-Muslims, however, they try to negotiate, engage and “normalise Islam so their everyday relations became more comfortable” (2018, p. 10). In Farah’s case, she also performed “peer socialisation” (2004, p. 555) that displayed she has trained herself and manipulated her emotions to produce a code of conduct that fits and benefits the organisation and her professional prospects (Erickson, 2004). These processes of manipulating, managing and calibrating one’s feelings are

considered as emotion work (Hochschild, 1979). It is important to note that in interactive workplaces, such as healthcare and education, negotiating and managing emotions are crucial for workers to comply with and reproduce the social etiquettes and standards of the company (Batnitzky & McDowell, 2011; Bolton & Boyd, 2003, p. 290; Hochschild, 1979; McDowell, 2009).

In her emotion map, Razieh indicates that she has both positive and negative feelings towards her workplace (see Figure 6:4). She took another approach to address unpleasant work experiences, she decided to change her workplace when she felt her colleagues ignored her. She explains:

Razieh: I love being a doctor, but I am just at the point of sick being at the hospital, and that's why I have an interview on Monday. [Shouting with joy] so I start my training as a general practitioner in the community. In the Hospital, the people are so nice, everyone is supportive, but [pause].

Elmira: Tell, Razieh, tell, this is confidential.

[Rima approached Razieh and whispered something, and Razieh does not continue] (Joint interview Razieh, Rima with and Elmira, 13 June 2015).

I reassured Razieh that all discussions are confidential and would not reveal the actual names of interviewees, Razieh, however, prefers to not give more details and only asserts:

Well, it's probably me. I think it's just me being sensitive. At times, I feel fully ignored by my colleagues, I feel underappreciated by some of my colleagues. But, I think it's probably me being too emotional, too sensitive and over analysing things. I think it's just me being a woman, a very sensitive woman. But, if I keep it there and just move on and do my work, it's all good. They are all nice, they are all nice, I've never got told off by anyone. Well, I got told off twice. But he called me to apologise after that, twice, and another colleague,

he also called me to apologise for doing that (Joint interview Razieh, Rima with and Elmira, 13 June 2015).

Razieh does not explain why her colleagues told her off and ignored her. Nonetheless, she justifies the situation and says “being emotional, very sensitive and a woman” makes her over analyse the colleagues’ talks. Razieh indicates the right reaction is to “to move on and do her work” instead of getting emotional and sensitive. Arguably, Razieh sees “being an emotional, sensitive woman” as ‘out of place’ within the Hospital and contrary to being a ‘professional’ medical doctor. Feelings of being ignored and underappreciated construct Razieh’s decision to change her workplace and start working in a place where she feels included and appreciated. This example reflects that how emotional geography of workplaces can work as pulling and pushing factors for employees. She expresses her ambivalent feelings towards her workplace in her emotion map (see Figure 6:4). Razieh and some other respondents attached both positive and negative emotions to their workplaces in their emotion maps.

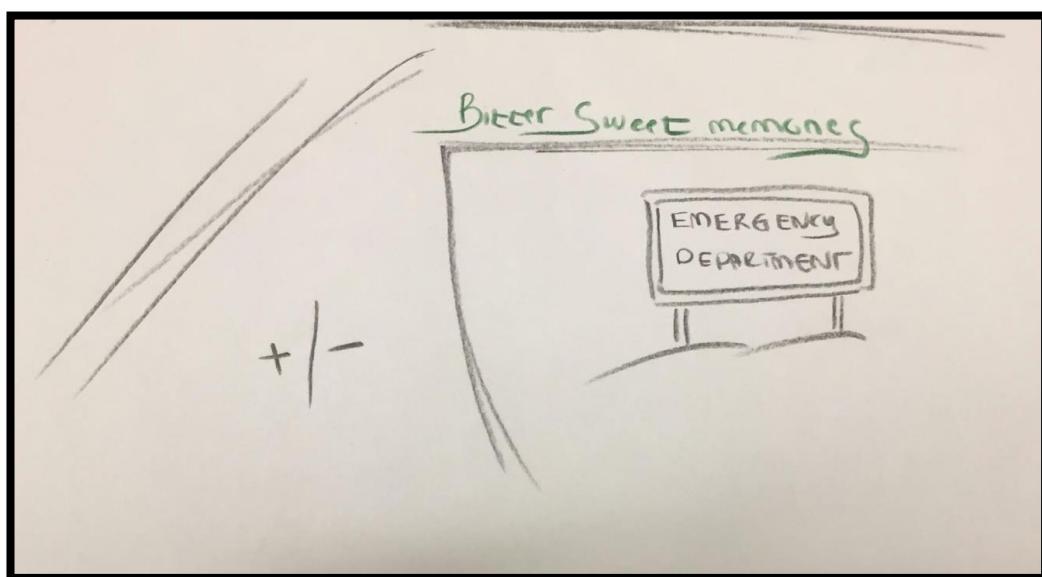


Figure 6:4 Razieh’s emotion map of her workplace

Likewise, Goli and Farah hypothesise that people do not always intend to stigmatise Muslim women with their attitudes. Given the way in which discrimination works, Muslim women may misjudge or misinterpret other (non-Muslim) people’s attitudes toward them because of past trauma or/and the hegemonic culture about Muslim women. Goli says:

Maybe sometimes they [Muslim women] get offended because they feel they look different, that's why they assume that people don't want them because that's how they wear Hijab (Individual interview, 6 August 2015).

Farah also says:

Sometimes we can get a little bit sensitive, as Muslims [laughing]. You know what I mean. Especially the Muslim women because they look different. But I think we [Muslim women] have to see from the other side as well. Obviously, they [non-Muslim people] might not know how to treat you, that's why, they are awkward and funny around you (Individual interview, 10 August 2015).

Goli and Farah think that Muslim women's feelings of being discriminated and/or Othered sometimes link to their hypersensitivity. These feelings cause that Muslim women misjudge the intentions and attitudes of non-Muslims toward themselves. They explain that Othering discourses around the veil and Islam influence Muslim women's perception of their bodies as different. They link Othering and prejudicial attitudes towards Muslim women to a lack of information about Muslim women and over-sensitivity by Muslim women. By giving such common human characteristics to co-workers and clients, the respondents try to make a personal connection to avoid any disputes at work, and act professionally (Hochschild, 2012). These covert forms of coping are important everyday strategies for these women in dealing with the Western culture's oppressive/degrading view of veiled Muslim women, which sees them as a threat to the so-called liberal values of the West (Batnitzky & McDowell, 2011).

This hypersensitivity of Muslim women has its roots in historical and actual events experienced and seen in the lives of Muslim women in the West, who have developed a shared awareness regarding issues associated with being Other or 'out of place'. As a result, these women develop "vigilant personalities" and feel they "need [to] continuously scan [the] situation around them and remain alert"

(2012, p. 563) to potential risks associated with the veil (Munt, 2012). One crucial consequence of associating the veil and Muslim women with negative images and stereotypes is the increasing fear of stigma and reduced self-confidence of Muslim women at work. Susan describes her negative feelings and the anxiety she used to experience before meeting new people in her career as a researcher in educational institutions:

I wrote a journal article about my experiences as a researcher in New Zealand schools. Especially, with what I called it in my paper, 'my alien look'. Alien in the sense that wearing a headscarf and having a dark skin which is completely different from this culture. So, it was during my research [in primary schools], because I was going to visit five schools to collect data from a range of people including parents, teachers, children, principles and students. For the first visit, before I went to the school to talk with people, I had this terrible thinking that I am going to be treated differently. I was thinking that once they see me wearing this headscarf, or once they see my coloured skin or my tiny body they would treat me different because I am different, and I am an 'alien'. So that was in my head and made me nervous. Then, to make things clear, I wrote down all these feelings and thoughts on paper and decided how I am going to deal with those things if something arises. When I went to visit the first school, [I realised that my appearance] did not make a difference, it did not at all (Individual interview, 7 August 2015).

Susan's narrative shows that she expected to be treated differently by the managers, co-workers and pupils' parents for wearing the veil, for her skin colour, and because of the dominant discourses around 'ideal' bodies and discourses about the veil in Western societies (Bullock, 2002; Byng, 2010; Listerborn, 2015).

Susan's narrative reflects the relationship between feeling alienated and her body, for example, wearing a headscarf, 'her small body' and coloured skin (Peleman, 2003). Based on such feelings, Susan expected to be positioned as Other. Such presumptions made her anxious and uncomfortable to go to schools for collecting data. Based on these emotions, Susan created a precautionary plan on how to react if any remarks or actions arose regarding her 'different' body during her meetings. The reactions of people in schools, however, challenged Susan's assumption about the reactions and emotions that her body might prompt in Hamilton's schools.

Eight participants experienced Othering and prejudicial attitudes towards them while applying for or working in education and healthcare services in Hamilton, mostly in forms of subtle marginalisation. Public etiquette dictates that citizens avoid certain behaviours and conversations that draw attention to one's race, sexual orientation, religion and the like, in a public setting (Young, 1990). These feelings of aversion and avoidance are shaped through inextricable combinations of people's conscious and unconscious interactions with spatial structures and pervasive social norms and values that are embedded in the popular culture of post-colonialism (Young, 1990). Anjum highlights this point:

Anoosh: What about law or rules? Can't Muslim women go and complain about those prejudices and discrimination?

Anjum: What I hear from other Muslim women, it is hard to get work especially if you are wearing a headscarf. We heard stories about Waikato Hospital employment and graduates, that is hard if you want to get in socially and wearing a headscarf, but they cannot openly be discriminated against. So I do not know, it really hard to complain to Human Rights case or anything, and especially you have to have one to evidence, and someone who was willing to go through the process, you know. This still does not give you a job, does it? You cannot still force them to get you the job, they might be penalised or to pay some compensation (Individual interview, 10 May 2015).

As an informed person on Muslim women's issues in Hamilton, Anjum points to the inefficiency of top-down policies in addressing intersectional discrimination and stigmatisation against Muslim women in employment. Young (1990) argues that equality discourses have not banished attitudes such as racism, sexism and ableism, but these kinds of mindsets "have gone underground, dwelling in everyday habits and cultural meanings of which people are for the most part unaware" (1990, p. 124). These feelings are inscribed onto bodies, and in the everyday gestures of people, thus, it is problematic and challenging to address subtle forms of marginalisation via policies and law (McDowell, 2009; Young, 1990). Further, Anjum makes a critical point that these women often experience such negative emotions quietly and silently.

6.4 Practising Islam in healthcare and educational institutions

Depending on how one interprets it, Islam is also part of Muslim people's workplaces (Read & Bartkowski, 2000; Zine, 2006). This section provides evidence showing how the religious requirements of Islam are negotiated and practised by Muslim women at work.

6.4.1 Modesty at work

Modesty is an essential value for many practising Muslim women. Like Siraj's (2011) findings, my study shows that conceptualisations and practices of modesty are subjected to re-definition based on place and time. Farah's attitudes are a clear example of how Muslim women use their agency to re-interpret Islam and personalise modesty at work (McDowell, 1999). Farah explains that patients and colleagues:

Never see me as a doctor who has a scarf. It's just you as another doctor. I do describe myself as a Muslim woman who works. At work, it is very important to be professional, and you have to do your work properly. I mean being a Muslim is central, but I think doing things like your job properly, is probably a Muslim's [duty]. And I don't find a problem with touching men that's because it is part of my job, so examining, it's nothing. And my husband

comes to clinics; he dropped me there, he knows that it's a part of the job. It's part of visiting patients [he says] "making sure you do your work properly" (Individual interview, 10 August 2015).

In this passage, Farah explains how she negotiates the intersection of her religious and professional identities at work. She identifies herself as a practising Muslim but recognises restrictions that her religion poses when performing her occupation as a medical doctor. Some Muslims believe that the Islamic faith actively discourages Muslim women from touching unrelated men, *non-Mahram*¹⁶ (Andrews, 2006; Lawrence & Rozmus, 2001). In the Islamic faith,¹⁷ it is highly recommended, but not an obligation, that a healthcare provider should not examine a patient of the opposite sex if there are other doctors of the same sex available to perform the examination (Amir, Tibi, Groutz, Amit, & Azem, 2012; Dhami & Sheikh, 2000; Simpson & Carter, 2008). Farah draws on both professionalism and Islamic discourses to construct her religious and professional identities in her workplace (Buitelaar, 2006). Farah personifies Islam at work and understands being a 'good' Muslim is to properly perform professional duties.

Farah moulds her attitudes according to the principles of appropriate practices in a workspace to develop "professional ethics" (Batnitzky & McDowell, 2011, p. 196). Similarly, in their study about Muslim women's employment in Australia, Syed, Ali, and Winstanley (2005) found that Muslim women do not blindly follow a static orthodox interpretation of Islam. Instead, they make use of their agency and adapt religious interpretations in accordance with their contemporary contexts. In this way, Farah's religious and professional identities are not constructed separately or in opposition to one another, but they are mutually built in ways that enhance each other (Essers & Benschop, 2009).

¹⁶ The plural, Maharim, is used to refer to a man's close female relatives. In Islamic law, Mahram connotes a state of consanguinity precluding marriage ("Mahram," 2003). "Mahram is a general Islamic category used to refer to related and unmarriageable persons from the opposite sex. Considered as Mahram are [in the case of women]: brothers, fathers, uncles, sons and people who have not yet attained the age of puberty. This category is important within Islamic jurisprudence as it is used to delineate the application of certain gender-related rules and practices" (Fadil, 2009, p. 443).

¹⁷ Not all Muslims interpret the same Islamic rules and teachings regarding touching the opposite sex, in the same way.

Farah explains that being Muslim is a central part of her identity, however, “doing your job properly” is an integral part of being a proper Muslim. With this conceptualisation of modesty, Farah does not alienate herself from her religious values to perform her occupation. Instead, Farah negotiates her professional and religious identities and reproduces performances that accommodate the values of both her religion and her profession, concurrently (Rootham, 2015; Wolkowitz, 2002). Such a viewpoint allows her to touch *non-mahram* men for examination in order to perform her tasks as a medical doctor correctly. In this way, she binds her religious, gender and professional identities, conceptually, within Islamic guidelines (Gökariksel & Secor, 2014). However, as already discussed, conceptualisations of modesty are varied across Muslim women.

The intersection of gender and religion could create specific spatial demands for Muslim women at work. For example, Goli points to gender segregation as a modesty issue for some Muslim women:

I am not very strict. But, some [Muslim] women, they are particular about gender segregation [laughing]. Like, my supervisor at the University of Waikato, he is a Kiwi, and he got a student from Saudi, a lady. The student said that I am not really comfortable being in the same room with you, only you and me, I am not really comfortable to be in a room with a man, so she asked him to keep the office door open [laughing] (Individual interview, 6 August 2015).

Chapter 5 illustrates that for Muslim women in this study modesty is not restricted to covering hair. Goli’s narrative illustrates that for some Muslim women modesty is not only about wearing a veil but also about their social interactions with and proximity to men. This example shows that how modesty is contingent on culture, religion and country of origin (Nayel, 2017). The demand for the availability of gender-segregated space at work is made by some participants for various reasons, including prayer rooms and breastfeeding rooms. For example, Tara points to her demand for the availability of a breastfeeding room for women at the University of Waikato. She was three months pregnant at the time of interview. Her

pregnancy made her think about the religious needs of Muslim mothers who are concerned about modesty:

I don't know whether they have a breastfeeding room here [the University of Waikato] or not but it's very general like a breastfeeding woman like they need spaces. Yeah, yeah because you know breastfeeding milk is the best for the baby, and it's like you don't want to expose that [the breast]. I think breastfeeding space is like [an] absolute need, not only for Muslim women but I think for all women, but I am not sure about that, but even at the University, I don't think there is like a breastfeeding room, even for students right? I think that would be friendly for women, I mean like student mothers, they are doing breastfeeding so they can still attend the school and stuff. I think yeah maybe if I am not pregnant I don't think about breastfeeding. I wouldn't even have thought about that (Individual interview, 5 October 2015).

Although her quest for having a breastfeeding room for women does not limit Muslim women such as Tara, as she points out, her religious and cultural backgrounds play important roles in shaping this demand for an actual segregated place for breastfeeding. The role of Tara's religious and cultural identities is reflected in the way by which she articulates her need, "you don't want to expose that" and the meaning of hijab for her. She wrote to me: "hijab means completing my duty as a Muslim woman by covering my awrah¹⁸ for those who are not my mahram" (Individual correspondence, 15 December 2015). For Tara, her request for a segregated breastfeeding room at work originates from the intersection of her religious and gender identities with her workspaces. She stated that if she was not pregnant at that time, she might not have even thought of such a space for herself. This point also highlights that the work challenges and needs of Muslim women are different depending on whether they have, or do not have, children.

¹⁸ Awrah means intimate parts of human body, which for Muslim includes her breasts.

This example shows the fluid and dynamic nature of religious needs and the meanings of modesty for Muslim women across time.

It is important to note that feminist scholars have theorised breastfeeding as an essential aspect of embodied maternity (Boyer, 2014; Longhurst, 2008). There are various moral discourses around breastfeeding; some associate it with “good mothering”, and some represent it as an embodied practice that disturbs the comfort of others in public settings (Boyer, 2014, p. 273). As such, the practice of breastfeeding involves potential issues and conflicts (Longhurst, 2008). For Tara, these moral issues intersect with her religious beliefs about women’s modesty and make her think about how to act as a ‘good Muslim mother’ within workspaces. This feeling, regarding acting like a good mother and needing to follow the requirements for modesty, contributes to constructing the request for a breastfeeding room at the University of Waikato for mothers. For women who conceptualise the act of breastfeeding like Tara, provision of a breastfeeding room may support these women’s ability to combine their work, mothering and religious requirements.

Seven participants point out praying at work as a challenging issue. Two asserted that it is not always easy to find a gendered segregated place for praying at work. Some said they forgot to pray at work because of heavy workloads. For example, Rima explains:

At the Hospital, sometimes I just forget to pray. I just work, work, work, then look at the watch and notice, “Oh sh**, I miss prayer time”. Then, you say to yourself, “Okay, next to prayer time I will pray”. Then, you know, I keep going and going with my tasks, and when looking at my watch oh man I forgot again. Back home, people dare to remind you, or they did not tell you directly, but you could see they were doing it, so automatically, that worked just as a reminder. So you realised that ‘oh this is the prayer time, I have to do this. But here, it is easy to forget as no one does that (Joint interview with Rima, Elmira and Razieh, 13 June 2015).

Rima explains that she sometimes forgets to do her daily prayers at work because of the heavy workloads and non-Islamic context. She compares her workplaces in Hamilton and Malaysia, her home country, and concludes that for her, more than workloads, it is the general non-religious atmosphere that contributes to forgetting prayer times. This example shows that some spatial contexts, such as a workplace in which most people perform prayers, prompt emotions to follow certain guidelines, e.g. do prayers. Rima's narrative communicates that the spatial context of her workplace plays a major role in the ways she enacts her intersectional identities. Alcohol is also mentioned as an exclusionary factor for interviewed Muslim women at work. The next section presents the experiences of participants about alcohol and how this factor excludes them from alcohol-infused businesses and social spaces at work.

6.4.2 Forbidden alcohol

Five respondents raised the issue of alcohol at work. Participants talked about different challenges for Muslim women being around alcohol at work. Islamic guidelines and teachings forbid the consumption of alcohol (Ahmed, Memish, Allegranzi, & Pittet, 2006). Islamic rules contribute to disciplining everyday social interactions and the presence of Muslim women in various spaces of the workplace. To illustrate, consider the negotiations of Elmira as a Muslim woman and as a general medical practitioner at the hospital:

In my daily life, Islam is just how I carry myself in my personal life, it is about how I make a decision. In the hospital, my colleagues are going in a kind of social gathering they go to bars, and they get together for drinks. We [Muslims] kind of like have to think about it, on the one hand, I am a Muslim and trying to be more religious.

On the other hand, I don't want to be reserved in a way that they won't include me anymore in their activities. But I have to make a stand or make a point that, you know, I want or no, I do not want to do all these. We like to get together, but you must make

a stand that no I don't want to do whatever you guys [do] (Joint interview with Elmira, Rima and Razieh, 13 June 2015).

Elmira's understanding of her religious identity suggests how being Muslim is intimately connected to her emotional and embodied experiences at work (Mansson McGinty, 2013). For Elmira, her religion disciplines her professional interactions. This example shows Islam as an institution that disciplines Elmira's socialisation at work. Elmira identifies herself as a Muslim doctor. She displays her loyalty to her religion by covering her hair and avoiding drinking spaces within the workplace. Elmira indicates that she intends to keep her social life at work; however, as a Muslim woman, she does not participate in socialisation involving drinking alcohol. She concludes that as a Muslim woman working in a hospital with Western ideologies, she has to actively choose how and where she socialises with her colleagues.

Elmira explains that she withdraws from workplaces and work-related events that involve alcohol, even though she does not drink and she is not forced to drink. Such an approach operates as a mechanism for creating part of Muslim women's social isolation or/and exclusion from some spaces at work. Such an extreme approach to the presence of alcoholic drinks in the area, however, is based on a deep-seated understanding of a conservative version of Islam, which conceptualises Islamic guidelines as sacred and therefore cannot be re-read or reinterpreted across various times and contexts. Such conceptualisations of rules, traditions or/and cultures can lead to cultural and social divisions in workplaces between Muslim women and non-Muslim workers. Silvana Erenchun Perez, Manager of the SHAMA organisation, Hamilton Ethnic Women's Centre, points to the Muslim issue with alcohol:

On the only occasion that I perceived that issue [cultural clash], when there is one or some Muslims on staff, they try to push the idea that "ok, let's do a party, but there is no alcohol involved or let's do it in a place with no alcohol licensed premises". So I see sometimes that position really upsets other people from a Western value system, or East, I do not know what to tell

[laughter], more liberal people, people who like drinking, I have seen them to be upset. Because [sometimes] they have to agree for whatever reasons, I see them get upset. But, I have not seen them [Muslim people] in the, especially pushy way in general. Quite the opposite, in my perspective Muslim people generally are very respectful of most people's traditions and only want to receive the same respect and let them do their traditions. Only on a few occasions there were alcohol-related issues regarding the party, that was the only time that I have seen that Muslim people stand up and for them, it is really important that there is no alcohol in location (Individual interview, 04 March 2016).

Silvana explains that Muslims' uncompromising attitudes towards alcohol could lead to negative feelings between Muslims and other staff who prefer parties with alcohol. She indicates that she finds Muslims are often respectful of different cultures and values. Nevertheless, Silvana recognises alcohol as a line in the sand for Muslims. These women often feel uncomfortable being around alcohol and socialising with drunk people. Arguably, a case could be made that organising an alcohol-free gathering at work can play an essential role in lifting some constraints that exclude some ethnic women, including Muslim women, from work-related socialisation. However, alcohol-free social activities could be unattractive for people from other nationalities and cultures.

These examples show how workplaces, and social interactions within them, not only shape but also are shaped by the gender, race and religion of Muslim women who work in these spaces (Bhimji, 2009). As respondents' experiences show, their gender, religious and professional identities are (re)constructed through intersectionality to conform both to Islamic teachings and/or to etiquettes of professionalism within service sectors.

6.5 Summary

This chapter shows that Muslim women's opportunities and constraints in getting a job have much to do with the intersections of their embodied identities, for example,

religious and professional identities. Based on the findings, I argue that the spatial characteristics of Hamilton, such as the availability of the Waikato Hospital and the skills shortage in health care institutions, create employment opportunities in healthcare organisations. According to participants' narratives, Muslim women who embody visual signs of race and cultural differences are more likely to face discrimination, particularly if their professional skills are not categorised under skills shortages in different sectors of Hamilton's educational institutions.

The results indicate that inside healthcare and educational institutions, Muslim women's clothing, specifically wearing the veil, their skin-colour, being migrant and having an accent subject them to stigmatisation and spatial exclusion. The Muslim veil, colour-skin and accent influence and change emotions and feelings towards participants in the workplaces. Their experiences show that the participants' gendered and religious identities are subject to reconstruction and/or redefinition upon entering workplaces. Participants enact some of their Islamic religious requirements differently in healthcare and education service sectors than in other spaces, such as home and neighbourhood environments. Gender and religious negotiations of participants within workplaces indicate that religious practices are not fixed but contestable and negotiable, depending on the workplace (Bartkowski & Read, 2003; McDowell, 1999; Syed & Pio, 2010).

Chapters 7 represents the ways that Muslim women negotiate and modify their intersectional identities in play (leisure and sports) places in Hamilton. This chapter elaborates further on issues of culture, gender and religion.

Chapter 7 The place of play: Muslim women's experiences of sport and leisure

This chapter explores the relationship between embodied identities, emotion and power for Muslim women in places of play (leisure and sports). I explore the ways that religion, culture and gender intersect to shape Muslim women's experiences of play (sport and leisure). The concept of intersectionality is used to underline the dynamic and multiple interconnections of identity, emotion, power and experiences of play. This conceptual framework provides alternative ways of understanding how different axes of identities are co-constructed across space and place (Hopkins, 2018).

It is often neglected that identity differences, including religion, gender, and culture, make people understand and experience play diversely (Taylor & Toohey, 2001). Researchers have observed that different women experience and define leisure in multiple ways. Age, religion and culture are among the critical factors that shape leisure spaces and respective activities for women (Ajrouch & Kusow, 2007; Gökarıksel, 2009; Valentine et al., 2010; Valentine et al., 2009; Valentine & Waite, 2012). The leisure needs of minority groups are often overlooked. Similarly, leisure and feminist studies show that Muslim women in Western nations, particularly those who wear a veil, experience unequal access to different places, including leisure spaces (Kloek et al., 2013; Taylor & Toohey, 2001; Wagner & Peters, 2014; Warren, 2016).

In human geography, leisure is viewed as activities that are socially constructed and contingent on time and space (Mansvelt, 2009). These activities may be categorised on the basis of "provision (public, private, voluntary); the nature of the activity (engaging the body actively or passively); their spatiality (locations of engagement); and form of participation (individual, collective, involving production)" (Mansvelt, 2009, p. 180). Leisure, to some extent, may be associated with autonomy in choosing types of activity, times, places and level of mobility. At the same time, leisure activities are subject to temporal and spatial preferences and boundaries linked to "gender, class, race, ethnicity, politics, subculture and

other pertinent communal forms of group identity" (Wagner & Peters, 2014, p. 415).

Place is a crucial factor in shaping people's leisure activities. As social actors, women perform leisure activities in line with their perceived and actual socio-cultural and gendered norms within recreational spaces (Mowl & Towner, 1995). Leisure spaces are gendered and racialized; consequently, unequal power relations exist within these places. Thus, leisure spaces are not only spaces of joy and fun but also contested places (Wagner & Peters, 2014). A substantial number of studies examine issues through perspectives of power, identity (race, ethnicity, religion) and access to leisure places (Kloek et al., 2013; Warren, 2016). Only a few studies explore issues using the intersections of gender, religion and leisure in social spaces (Gökarıksel, 2009; Valentine et al., 2010; Valentine et al., 2009).

Multiple factors interact to restrict and/or facilitate Muslim women's participation in leisure. Gendered and racial discrimination alongside "exclusionary institutional practices" contribute to unequal access to social life (Taylor & Toohey, 2001, p. 86). Such discrimination is shaped both from within Muslim communities, and by non-Muslim communities' customs, values and rules (Taylor & Toohey, 2001; Wagner & Peters, 2014; Zaman, 1997). The ways in which Muslim women mobilise their agency in order to cope with such challenges in non-Islamic countries remains understudied (Kloek et al., 2013). Moreover, there is a dearth of in-depth geographical investigations into how power, identities and place interact to impede and/or facilitate Muslim women's participation and access to the different leisure spaces of cities (Warren, 2016).

The following sections represent the leisure experiences of Muslim women, including streets, malls, shopping, restaurants and beaches, and sports experiences such as ice hockey, swimming and working out at the gym. Firstly, examples are presented showing the ways that Muslim women's homes and the Jamia mosque are used as leisure spaces. In the second section, I examine the ways participants use Hamilton's shopping malls, restaurants and streets as leisure spaces. Then, I explore how participants' religious identities intersect with Hamilton's nightlife. I discuss how transportation in the city and security issues

facilitate or hinder participation in leisure and sports spaces. The chapter proceeds by exploring how these Muslim women negotiate their clothing and religion when they engage in water-related and competitive sports. Then, the WOWMA and the Red Cross's activities are reviewed in terms of addressing Muslim women's challenges in sports and leisure participation. The final section shows how Muslim women's intersectional identities lead to the creation of culturally mixed leisure spaces.

7.1 Home and mosque as leisure places

This section explains how religion and culture intersect in participants' houses and the mosque when Muslim women turn these places into leisure spaces. Mowl and Turner's (1995) findings show religion, ethnicity and nationality are important factors in constructing the meanings, aspirations and spaces of leisure. My findings show a similar trend. Religion, gender, and language influence the settings and spaces of leisure for my participants. Some participants choose to organise their leisure activities in such a way that they feel comfortable in terms of expressing their culture, language and religious dress code (Taylor & Toohey, 2001).

For the majority of participants, it is important to spend their leisure time with friends with whom they share a language. Consider Nasim, for example. She is from Jordan and has lived in New Zealand for almost seven years. She came to New Zealand with her eldest daughter and her husband because her husband decided to work and study in New Zealand. She delivered her second daughter in New Zealand, and at the time of the interview, she was pregnant with her third child. She works as an Arabic teacher for children of Arab migrants/international students. Nasim speaks broken English, and she prefers to talk in Arabic:

I just want to speak with the people, especially Arabic. Especially,
yeah you know the people who you can connect to. Easy to
speak (Individual interview, 24 July 2015).

Taylor and Toohey (2001) observe that Muslim women who live in Australia prefer to participate in leisure spaces where they are able to effectively communicate and feel comfortable. Nasim's leisure pursuit is social gatherings with her friends

with whom she feels comfortable because she does not face a language barrier. Her narratives and emotion map reflect that her gender, religion and culture are important in shaping Nasim's choices of socialisation and her leisure space (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014). Sharing language evokes a feeling of connection for Nasim, and creates a bond between Nasim and other Arabic speaking women. It is not surprising, therefore, that several respondents indicated their home as a place of leisure where they feel comfortable to practice their leisure activities (Wagner & Peters, 2014). Previous geographical research also noted that women's leisure activities tend to be in the home and/or a nearby neighbourhood due to various spatial factors including fear of violence and time constraints, as well as gender relations and norms in a migratory context (Kwan, 1999; Wagner & Peters, 2014). My participants also expressed positive feelings associated with their homes as familiar places that can be used as leisure spaces. Eight participants drew their home as one of the most popular places for them to spend their leisure and free time in Hamilton (see Figure 7:1).

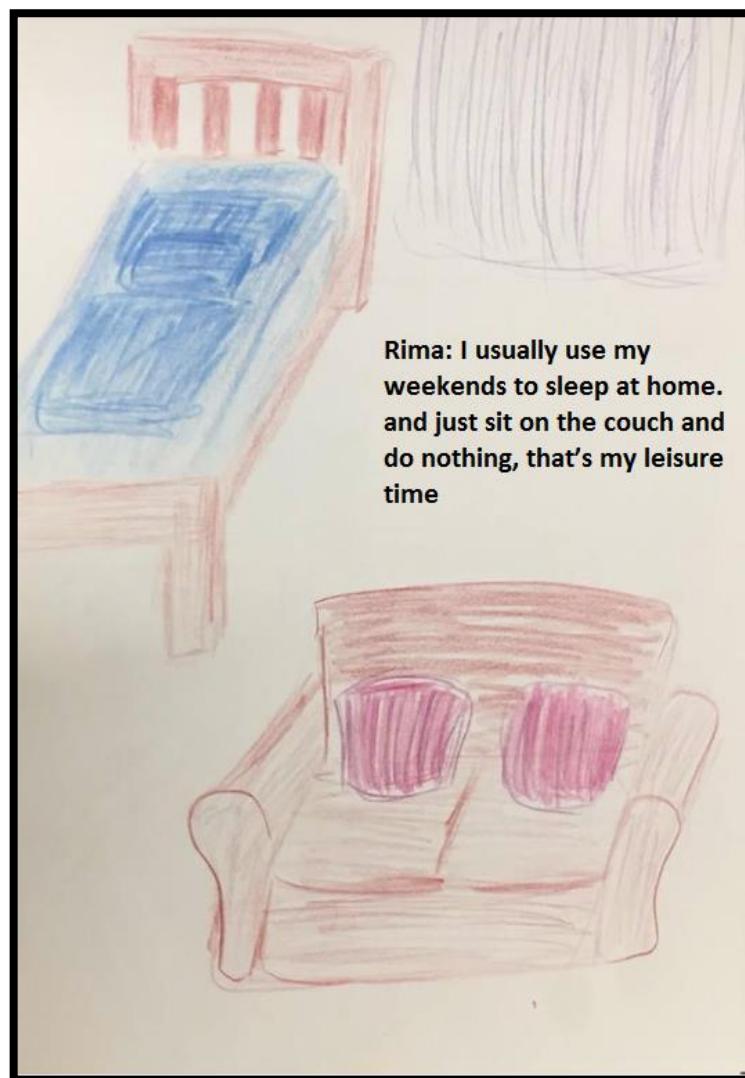


Figure 7:1 Home as a favourite place for leisure time

In Hamilton, Muslim women are a heterogeneous group, and such heterogeneity can be observed in the ways they use their homes as leisure spaces. Islam influences how they create leisure spaces in their homes. Nonetheless, the ways the Muslim women expressed their religious identities are shaped by intersection with other aspects of identities. The intersection of their country of origin's cultural practices, respective gender norms and religion shape participants' leisure spaces, such as their religious feasts and social gatherings, diversely. To illustrate this point, I draw on my observations at gatherings and religious ceremonies during my fieldwork in Hamilton. In Eid al-Fitr¹⁹ 2015, two of my Muslim friends invited me to the Eid celebrations at their homes. One of these women is from Malaysia and the other is from the Maldives. I use my research diary notes to show how different nationalities and cultures influence the settings of this religious celebration and the respective gendered and racial interactions.

My Malaysian host married an Australian (of European descent), so in their Eid celebration, there were a few white European people, both men and women. The Malaysian guests told me that they celebrate Eid for one month in Malaysia, and during that time, they have a tradition called 'the open house', which means a house's door is open to other people. This means people are allowed to come to an open-door house, to eat and socialise during Eid. In New Zealand, because Eid al-Fitr is not a public holiday, they restrict and fit the celebration into three to four consecutive weekends. Malaysians and a few other groups of Muslims, including Pakistani Muslims, came to my host's house. The guests often showed up in groups, they wished each other a blessed Eid, and then ate, socialised and then left the house. Both men and women dressed in their traditional Malaysian clothes and some Muslim women did not wear the veil. Men and women were mixed and there were no gender-segregated spaces. The women, however, were mainly sitting and talking together inside the house. Men were often outside, barbequing foods and talking to each other. Sometimes, they came inside and talked to the women or took photos. The interactions of women and men were relaxed and

¹⁹ Feast of the Breaking of the Fast. Celebrated at the end of Ramadan, the month of fasting. In Muslim-majority areas, businesses are closed and invitations are extended to family, neighbours, and friends to join in the celebrations (*Id al-Fitr*, 2003).

confident. Most of the food was prepared by the host, but some guests also brought a dish or helped in the preparation of food. There was Malaysian food, continental desserts and fast food, like chicken nuggets and chips for children (see Figure 7:2).



Figure 7:2 Malaysian Eid celebration and food

In the evening of the same day, I went to my Maldivian friend's house. At the Maldivian dinner, all hosts and guests were from the Maldives. They decorated

the house with strings of lights and coloured paper. There were two women without a veil. With regard to eating, my host explained that first the men would eat and then the women. All food was Maldivian dishes like Biryani and Maldivian chicken curry; however, there was pizza and sausages for the children. The food prepared for children shows that there is a generational change in diet in both the Maldivian and Malaysian communities. Women cooked the dinner, and after the dinner, they cleaned and washed the dishes. Then all of us, including the children, sat in the large sitting room and played hangman²⁰ together. Except for the dinner and cleaning, women and men mingled together in confident and relaxed ways; they joked and laughed as they were playing the games. These practices reflect the gendered hierarchy and division of household's labour in the culture of this group of Maldivians. Contrary to Malaysians, Maldivians decorated their home for Eid with string lights and coloured wall decals (see Figure 7:3).



Figure 7:3 Maldivian Eid decoration and food

To illustrate further, I share another field observation, where I participated in a dinner party at the home of one of my Arab interviewees, Nasim. She organised this dinner to introduce me to her friends who are from Saudi Arabia and Morocco, all are Arabs and share the language. Their husbands drove them to Nasim's home. Two of them wore black abaya with niqab when they entered the house. Another one wore a black abaya and a black veil but not covering her face. It was a women-

²⁰ This is a guessing game for two or more people. One player or group (host) thinks of a word while another person or group tries to guess the word by asking what letters it contains at a time. If the word does contain the suggested letter, the host fills in the blanks with that letter in the right places. If the letter isn't in the word then the other player adds one element to a hangman's gallows (head, body, left arm, right arm, left leg, right leg).

only space, so they took off their abaya and veils inside the home. They all wore Western-inspired clothes with light make-up, and unlike the stereotype about Arab women, they did not wear many pieces of gold jewellery. In contrast to the cultures of Maldivians and Malaysians, who follow Islamic teachings and Sunnah by eating with their hands²¹, the Arab women ate with a spoon (see Figure 7:4).



Figure 7:4 Arabic dinner

These examples show how individual understandings of Islamic rules are mixed with people's cultural backgrounds and reproduce participants' veiling practices, their choices of food and the ways they socialise with men and women from their communities and other communities. While for Maldivians and Malaysians, talking, playing and socialising are common and acceptable between men and women, such socialisations were not practised by the Arab Muslim women who

²¹ It is recommended for a Muslim to eat with their right hand. This act is known to be the behaviour or tradition of the prophet Muhammad (Sunnah) (Hossain, 2014; Masri, Arokiasamy, & Arumugam, 2017).

participated in this research. These variations in gender relationships within these domestic spaces challenge the generalised idea that Muslim women tend to seek gender-segregated leisure spaces, where they are outside of “direct masculine surveillance” (Wagner & Peters, 2014, p. 418). Intersections of national, ethnic, and religious identities are influential factors in shaping the leisure spaces of participants. More importantly, these examples provide some of the ways that religion, culture and gender intersect and shape leisure spaces, food and party settings, for Muslim women in their homes in Hamilton.

In their research on Muslim women’s leisure and recreational activities in the Netherlands, Kloek et al. (2013) observe that Muslim women create ethnic spaces for their leisure where they feel free from experiencing perceived discrimination based on their cultural and/or religious identities. Taylor and Toohey (2001) argue “feelings of being different and standing out” (2001, p. 97) contribute to the shaping of Muslim women’s preferences of leisure activities and places in Australia. My findings show that participants who came to Hamilton, New Zealand as adults also engage in leisure activities with people who share the same culture, nationality and language. Such spaces create a comfort zone for the participants, allowing them to avoid feelings of fear for being gazed at and judged by non-Muslims, or feeling discomfort around non-Islamic practices such as drinking alcohol (Boogaarts-de Bruin, 2011; Peleman, 2003). For example, Susan explains:

I spend my leisure times with my friends. They are all Maldivians;
I have never been with another group. I would love to but maybe
because it is a cultural difference. Because the things we would
hope to happen or we would hope to get involved in, maybe sort
of, would not work with the Westerners. So when we gather, we
would just eat and just play, and we would not have drinks. We
have certain things that we would eat. So, for these kinds of
restrictions we do not really get involved in other cultures, one
of those things, because it is not, not fine for us, when people
get drunk (Individual interview, 07 August 2015).

Turning to her culture and faith, Susan prefers to spend her leisure time with people from her country of origin. Susan's experience reflects that she feels 'in-place' and comfortable with other Maldivians who share familiar and common values and cultural practices. She explains that her community intentionally chooses to self-exclude, and not to mix with 'Westerners' in recreational spaces in order to develop a sense of comfort and to avoid endangering their religious values. Susan's narrative shows that cultural and religious food constraints work as powerful institutions in designing spaces of leisure (Ajrouch & Kusow, 2007). Nonetheless, avoiding leisure and sports activities with people from other cultures, religion and languages could lead to social isolation and restriction of recreation choices (Taylor & Toohey, 2001).

Agnew (2005, p. 88) argues that sacred places are not single purpose sites, only for "religious veneration" or places for worshipping. Hamilton's Jamia Masjid is an important religious space, which prompts a mix of feelings for the participants. A group of Muslim women in Hamilton, including some of the participants in this research, create spaces within this mosque for their community activities, gatherings and fun. Seven participants explained that they like to be active and socialise in the mosque because they feel content and comfortable to express their religion, and to some extent, their culture in this place. Farah points to the importance of the physical existence of a mosque in Hamilton for Muslims, particularly new migrants:

The thing is they have a mosque and the mosque it should be usable for a lot of people [Muslims], when Muslim people arrive and try to meet their people, Malaysian, Pakistani [laughing], you know Iranians, so they go to the mosque to meet and find people from the same backgrounds (Individual interview, 10 August 2015).

The mosque, in a way, affirms the existence of the Muslim community in Hamilton and gives them a "political representation" by its physical presence (Young, 1990, p. 240); it is an important space, which facilitates community construction and gives visibility and recognition to Muslims in Hamilton (Gökariksel, 2009). Apart

from being a religious place for praying, this mosque offers other leisure and educational services for female Muslims, including English classes for adults, Islamic and Arabic classes for girls and movie nights and potluck meals²² for young Muslim women (see Figure 7:5).



Figure 7:5 Leisure activities for Muslim girls in the Mosque

Cresswell (2010) argues that culture, beliefs, and experiences encode and give values to the physical environment. These categorisations and values inform people's emotions and practices and shape feelings toward places, which in turn contribute to their mobility and use of different spaces. Some of the participants do not go there to pray, but they use the mosque for the offered services. Nahid, for example, sometimes goes to English classes at the mosque, even though she is a Shia Muslim and the mosque is a Sunni one. Nahid does not pray there, and polices her conversations in order to avoid pointing out anything that could raise disagreements between Shia and Sunni. Other organisations in Hamilton such as SHAMA also offer free English classes, but Nahid prefers to go to the mosque. Hence, a mosque, whether Sunni or Shia, signals a space for Muslims. Probably

²² Potluck meal means a meal whereby different people bring different dishes to a social gathering (Harman, 2014).

this place serves as a helpful space for her to articulate a collective religious identity by being with other Muslim women.

Furthermore, the gender dynamics of such activities in the mosque is of note. In this mosque, the Muslim women not only participate in events, classes and prayers; they also fund-raise and self-organise activities for various purposes such as supporting WOWMA's activities for organising Muslim girls-only camps and other leisure activities. I volunteered for two such fundraising initiatives, which were organised by a group of Malaysian Muslim women for the Islamic classes and activities at the mosque. For this purpose, the women prepared Malaysian food at Narivan's home (one of the Malaysian women), and then brought and sold the food to Muslim people who attended the Friday prayer (a significant congregational prayer for Muslims) at the mosque. When cooking the chicken curry, Narivan explained to me that doing these fundraising activities in the mosque produces a feeling of community.

These social and place-making activities for women in the mosque contribute to shaping dynamic social geography in which Muslim women renegotiate their social positions and the spatiality of the place (Warren, 2016). With their activities and visible presence in the mosque, these women help to change the attached gendered meanings of the mosque as a place for men (Bhimji, 2009). By cooking and selling their foods, and organising leisure activities for women by Muslim women, these women not only express their femininity but also rework the conservative interpretations of the mosque as a male-dominated place (Ward et al., 2010). These activities are significant transgressing actions that reproduce new understandings and spaces of gender practices and roles within the mosque (Secor, 2002). These novel ways of expressing their religious identities within the mosque rub against "the dominant spatial orderings" of the mosque as a male domain based on patriarchal interpretations of Islam (Valentine, 2007, p. 19).

For many participants, visiting shopping malls, eating out, and walking in streets and parks are the most common and mundane leisure activities in Hamilton. The next section teases out the ways in which Muslim women who live in Hamilton experience places, including malls, streets and restaurants, as spaces of play.

7.2 Shopping malls and restaurants

Muslim women explain that they often go to shopping malls, coffee shops and restaurants for their leisure and socialising purposes (Collins & Shantz, 2009), as are illustrated by the following emotion maps drawn by Goli and Marjan (see Figure 7:6).

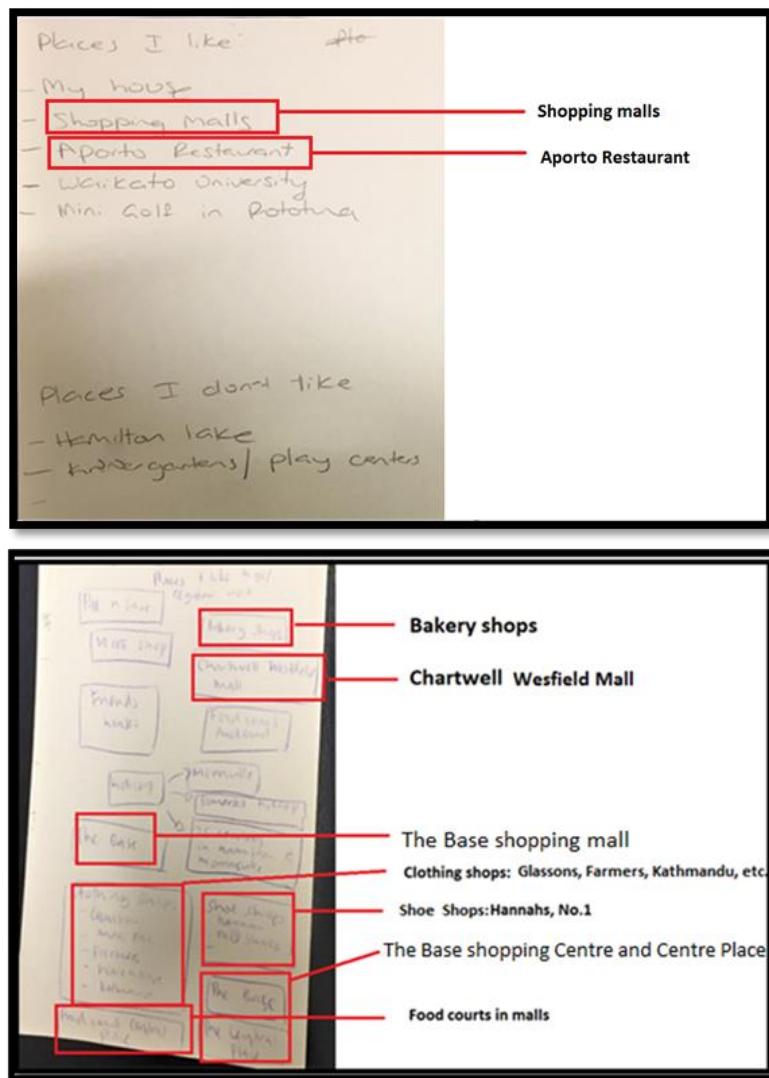


Figure 7:6 Participants' emotion maps

Depending on their age, marital status and family composition, participants explained how they use shopping malls and restaurants for leisure purposes. Single young students, such as Marjan and Neda, explain that shopping malls are among the few available 'cool' places for young people to meet, chat and mingle in Hamilton, especially during wet and cold weather. Marjan explains that Hamilton's shopping malls are leisure places where she goes regularly:

Yeah there's nothing much in Hamilton anyway beside the shopping malls. Yeah, because everything in New Zealand remains cold most of the year so, that's why if it's raining outside we just go shopping (individual interview, 17 July 2015).

Marjan considers shopping malls as leisure places because there are limited options for leisure activities during wet and cold seasons. For Marjan, cold weather and rain reduce her motivation for outdoor activities. Thus, the weather condition creates emotions that contribute to the shaping of Muslim women's choices of leisure spaces. Shopping malls are popular leisure spaces for Muslim mothers too. This group of participants consider shopping malls as appropriate places for families with children. Consider, for example, Nazi, who expresses that:

In Hamilton like, obviously shopping malls, this place [Westfield Mall] we usually come most of the time. The Hamilton Gardens we love it, we go there. Shopping malls, [we] like, especially, because we are [from] overseas, we don't have many places to go. And it is kind of social [activity], you know, a place where we can all [all family members] hang out. And, maybe have some food or do shopping, those sorts of things. So it's sort of the leisure time for us, and especially with having the like grocery stores downstairs [Countdown], it is kind of convenient so we mostly like if we go somewhere, shopping malls [laugh] (Individual interview, 29 August 2015).

Nazi explains that shopping malls, particularly Westfield Mall, can be used as multi-purpose spaces where she and her family can spend time together at the weekends. Nazi explains that the intersection of being a migrant and a mother plays a role in defining appropriate leisure spaces for her. Similarly, the other participants with children point to the multifunctional character of shopping malls, and the availability of a range of different facilities such as supermarkets, coffee shops, clothing shops, theatres, and children's playgrounds. Such diverse facilities in the malls enable them to use these places for multiple purposes such as

spending time with family, doing their weekly grocery shopping, and having lunch or coffee with other parents or friends while their children play in the malls' playgrounds. Westfield Mall, in particular, is a very popular shopping complex for the respondents because of its accessibility by bus, free car parks, and the availability of halal foods.

Nevertheless, several of the interviewed Muslim women pointed out the lack of diversity in urban leisure spaces in Hamilton to accommodate the leisure choices of people of varied ages, cultures, religions and genders. Sixteen of the participants commented that they used to live in bigger cities that had larger Muslim communities than Hamilton. These cities include Sydney, Kuala Lumpur, Dubai and Auckland. One of the issues discussed by participants was around early closing hours for shopping malls and coffee shops in Hamilton. Goli, for example, explains how she is confined in her house after work because of this issue:

At home, I mean back home (Malaysia), our shopping hours are from 9 am to 11 o'clock at night. My leisure time was more about shopping. When we finished our work, we went out for drinking coffee and shopping. These are two main things that I want to do, shopping and go out for dinner. But, here after work, I stay home, yes because not much to do anyway, shops are closed after five. Yes, I wish shopping hours are extended until 10 o'clock (individual interview, 6 August 2015).

This example reveals that Goli's leisure activities are restricted by one institutional aspect of the Hamilton labour market, that is, the relatively early closing times of shopping malls and coffee shops in the evenings. She explains that she stays at home because there are few desirable urban leisure spaces available to her after work. So, not only is being migrant a contributing factor but also the characteristics of the place these migrant women come from shape their emotions towards Hamilton's leisure places.

In their research on physical activity and inactivity in women, Leith and Shaw (1997) identify the family and employment status of women as factors that influence

women's engagement in physical activities, types of selected activities and the time dedicated to these activities. The respondents' narratives, in my study, also reflect the role that factors such as being mothers or being childfree²³ play in shaping leisure spaces and respective activities for Muslim women. Being mothers of young children in a migration context, five migrant respondents expressed mothering as a restricting and transformative factor in their leisure spaces. Mona, a mother with young children, describes her leisure time:

Being a mum of two very young children and having the husband not be home, I'm very restricted. I usually have just a few hours during the day when I can do something that is for me, and usually that's cut by half [laughing] just because of life, you know, the responsibility, simple as that. But if I get the chance, I'm very an active person so horse riding or jogging or, you know, physical things. I like to do that and I'm sure in few years once the kids are older, I'll get more free time (Individual interview, 24 February 2016).

Mona correlates her restricted time for leisure activities with being the mother of two young children. Her husband works full time in Auckland and her parents live in another country, so Mona is the main parent responsible for taking care of the children. Mona's identity as a mother overshadows her interest in engaging in leisure and sports activities (Valentine, 2007). For participants who are mothers, their responsibilities restrict and structure their time. In particular, this restriction was articulated by those migrant Muslim mothers who do not have access to traditional parenting assistance, like grandparents and relatives. Consider Bahar, for example:

Bahar: When I first came to NZ, for a year I didn't really know anyone else. I used to be quite down and depressed because my

²³ This is a contested term that emerged as an alternative to 'childless' women. The latter contains negative connotation in a way that links women without children to the absence or deficiency of motherhood, as if they lack something as women. The term childfree, in contrast, suggests that "childlessness can be an active and fulfilling choice" (Gillespie, 2003, p. 123). As such, I use this term with the latest meaning throughout my thesis.

husband used to go to his job and I was at home with only him [pointing to her son] ... I miss my mum, the support group that I have in Bangladesh, as I didn't know anyone here.

Anoosh: And what about your leisure time?

Bahar: Leisure time? Well, I hardly have that [laughing] unfair to me. No leisure, no weekends, nothing, my leisure. Just if they sleep or my husband [is at home] looking after them, I just watch some TV. Or on weekends, we go out to the shopping malls, that's the leisure. And if our friends have time and we have time, it could be for tea, great pleasure for us, but usually those [friends] do not match. We are free they are not free or even they are free we are not free. Since very difficult to find even friends here to spend time (Individual interview, 30 July 2015).

Bahar's example reveals that her isolated social life and lack of access to social support networks not only influence her social well-being but also her leisure space. Being a migrant and a mother contribute to reducing Bahar's time and ability to participate in leisure spaces. Far from her social support group in Bangladesh, including her mother, Bahar is responsible for looking after the children and doing the household chores. This situation in a migrant context reduces her time for leisure, even for a simple activity like watching TV. Thus, leisure spaces and respective activities are influenced by factors such as being a mother, access to formal or informal assistance with childcare, being a migrant and for some of my participants, their partner's employment status.

To better illustrate the differences between the leisure spaces of these mothers and the childfree women, consider Razieh's leisure activities. She is a medical doctor from Brunei, who has lived by herself in New Zealand for more than 10 years. She became engaged a few years ago, but her partner lives in the United Kingdom. They plan to get married next year. Razieh explains:

Oh, the best way to describe you my leisure is getting ready for my wedding. No I haven't been doing anything for my wedding

but I have been going to spa and facial every two weeks. Yes, I love watching TV series so at the moment I am on season six for the second time for ‘How I met your Mother’. I am also waiting for the new season of “Modern Family” to come, I like scrapbooks. I enjoy Bollywood dancing, I play piano. So, it’s mainly watching TV series (Joint interview with Razieh, Rima and Elmira, 13 June 2015).

This passage shows that Razieh’s leisure activity is diverse. Living by herself and being a medical doctor gives Razieh the time and money to enjoy such a range of leisure activities. Not all Muslim women can afford to spend their leisure time in the way Razieh does. While she enjoys watching popular American TV shows, she likes Bollywood dancing. So, her leisure time is a space in which various Westernised practices such as playing the piano, watching American TV shows meet and coexist with Eastern cultural activities such as Bollywood dancing. The experience of Razieh also disrupts the conceptualising of Muslim women by the dominant Western discourses that represent them as victims of their patriarchal religion, which forces them to remain in the domestic sphere (Warren, 2016). Thirteen participants, including Razieh, had experience of living and travelling abroad by themselves for tourist and education purposes.

Bahar links her feelings of loneliness and sadness to the urban leisure landscape in Hamilton. She is a Bangladeshi married woman and mother of two young children. Bahar and her husband used to live in Sydney, but when her husband got a job at the University of Waikato their family moved to Hamilton.

I didn’t face any problem [when we came to Hamilton], I have to say that. The only thing I felt I was lonely. It’s not as multicultural as of course Sydney. This is a small city, so that shock was there, a very small city. When we came here, and my husband took me out to show [me] the city centre. He was driving around, and I asked: “So where is the city?” He was like “This is it, Bahar!” A number of shops, a number of offices, and so that is it. So, I cried, I remember that day, I came back home

and I cried and my husband was like "why do you cry?" [Chuckling]. I was like, how are we going to live in this small city? Because, not only Sydney was big but Bangladesh too, it is very crowded. The size of the land maybe is small but everything is there. [Chuckling] More people, more shopping malls, more offices, food (Individual interview, 30 July 2015).

Bahar says that she felt shocked and cried once she saw the small size of Hamilton's city centre and the limited number of shops. This presents a different urban reality for these Muslim women relocating from a big city to a small town. This mismatch between leisure choices and urban life makes them feel excluded, which in turn, increases their feelings of isolation and loneliness. Bahar, however, justifies and explains the mismatch through the size and demographic characteristics of Hamilton. She indicates that the small size of the city and its population are factors that limit the expansion of the city centre and its shops. Bahar compares Sydney and Hamilton and concludes that Sydney is a bigger city with a more culturally diverse population. Thus, for her, there is a correlation between the population diversity, the size, demographic structure and availability of urban leisure spaces in a city. The limited number of multifunctional and culturally diverse shopping malls and restaurants does not correspond with the leisure needs and choices of the increasingly diverse population of Hamilton of different ages and cultures.

Age is a critical factor that shapes the leisure demands and spaces of participants. The lack of appropriate recreational activities for young people, particularly young Muslim women, is articulated as a factor associated with feeling bored and restricted in Hamilton. For example when I asked Neda, an undergraduate student from Malaysia, "If you could change anything about Hamilton what would it be?" she said:

Oh, they have to open the mall till 8 or 9 [laughter]! I am just so bored here. They have to have more activities for students here

or something like that because there are not a lot of things to do here (Individual interview, 07 June 2015).

Given that the University of Waikato and the Waikato Institute of Technology are based in Hamilton city, many young adults come to Hamilton for higher education. Nevertheless, Neda, like several other participants in this study, has not found Hamilton a lively and inclusive city for all of the diverse groups of its population in terms of gender, age, and religion. The social lives of cities are developed according to the values and ideas of the dominant group at a particular time. As such, it is the dominant group's values that determine what are deemed acceptable and appropriate infrastructures and social activities in public places. In other words, hegemonic values determine who does what in society, where, when and how (Mowl & Towner, 1995). These ideas and values, as well as the target population of such planning, are dynamic and change over time.

Eating out is a popular activity for the majority of these Muslim women. Restaurants and shopping malls with halal foods are deemed to be appropriate places for family and/or friends to gather. Participants explained that seeing a restaurant menu with halal options produces a welcoming feeling in them. Several respondents, however, indicated that their choices for halal restaurants are limited in Hamilton. Nazhat articulates this issue too. Nazhat is a first generation migrant from Pakistan. She was brought to New Zealand by her parents when she was a child. Nazhat has two children, and she is a homemaker. She explains:

I think, before, they used to get the meat from Auckland. They chopped it and froze it but now you can get it here from the halal butcheries so it's much easier now. I think the most difficult thing is there are only a few halal restaurants and fast food. You know, very few. In Auckland, there's a bit more but big chains like McDonald's and KFC and Pizza Hut, they are not halal. So we really wish they were. Because we love eating out [laughing], it's more easy. I mean in America and in Australia they have like halal McDonalds. It's just a few halal places that I know like Burger Fuel that's halal. Yeah but we wish McDonald's and

Burger King would offer halal options. We like those kinds of stuff but they are not [halal here] (Joint interview with Nazhat and Pari, 21 July 2015).

Limited numbers of halal restaurants and takeaway meals prompted feelings of disappointment in participants that Muslims' religious food requirements are neglected in Hamilton. Bahar also points out that it is difficult to find Halal takeaway food in Hamilton. She says:

Woah! That's a thing, I'm not much of a cook [laughing]. So, in here, the size of the city, that thing is a problem, as well as, finding a halal takeaway, there is no Halal takeaway. We really miss that. Like before coming here I like, I love lasagne. In Sydney I used to find Halal lasagne, in here I can't even think about Halal lasagne, there are halal foods in the shopping malls where we can buy chicken like Nandos, or Kebab shop. Yeah, that shock I got [laughing] (Individual interview, 30 July 2015).

Nazhat and Bahar both link this shortage of halal options in fast food and takeaways restaurants to the size of Hamilton and its small Muslim community. In Western-based societies like Hamilton, the institutional practices and provision structures claim to have been planned and built for 'everybody' (Taylor & Toohey, 2001). This 'everybody', however, comprises people who are recognised as the majority by elites and decision makers. This recognition is developed through historical and discursive processes. It is according to the needs of these recognised groups that decision makers legitimate and formulate facilities, services and infrastructures (Taylor & Toohey, 2001). Nonetheless, food provision by private enterprises does need to be economically viable.

In this way, the needs of people who do not belong to dominant groups are often neglected, disadvantaged and excluded, both consciously and unconsciously (Taylor & Toohey, 2001). The leisure needs and preferences of Muslims as a minority group have not been met in eating places such as KFC, Burger King and McDonald's in Hamilton. Similar to Bahar, other married women with children cite

their domestic responsibilities, such as caring for children, as contributing reasons that restrict their choices and time for leisure, as well as everyday cooking (Warren, 2016). Muslim women students also explain they do not have time to cook every day and limited affordable halal takeaways is an issue for them, too.

Streets and shopping malls are social places where many people with different cultures and values are co-present. Scholars argue that such spaces are often sites of resistance, contestation, opposition, subversion and sometimes points of assembly for unity (Butler, 2015; Kloek et al., 2013). The power relations in these places intersect with ethnic and cultural differences around “social markers such as gender, class, age, sexuality” (Warren, 2016, p. 4) and shape perceptions about eligible bodies in different places and spaces pf a city. Hamta, for example, shared two incidents that happened to her in two different places in Hamilton.

Hamilton is a very nice place. I really like it, a safe place for me.

I haven't noticed any like strange behaviours with anyone. Once, while I was out for a walk [in her neighbourhood], a teenager, he told me to go back to your country and you are not welcome here, but this was only one time. In comparison, I went to a shopping mall and just one of the workers came and talked to me “I'm very proud of you are here. And I am very happy you are wearing your hijab and sitting here and you are proud of what you are. And you are happy to live here with us”. She just said, “I just want to say this feeling to you, just say that you are welcome here”. I was very surprised because of this, like, she just came and talked to me like this (Individual interview, 17 July 2015).

These two different episodes reflect feelings of ownership toward places and spaces. People's bodies position them in societies. Bodies are important in constructing people as 'us' or 'them' in public settings (Itaoui & Dunn, 2017; Kloek et al., 2013). Hamta's veil, a religious marker, is used to construct her as an unwelcomed Other for the teenage boy and as a welcomed migrant/foreigner for

the shop assistant in the shopping mall. Both the shop assistant and the teenage boy use rhetoric of ownership about Hamilton.

Although the woman in the mall welcomed Hamta, this woman also categorised Hamta as an outsider and a migrant who has entered her land. The shop assistant's rhetoric, however, shows that she feels proud that Hamta is living with 'us' in 'our' country while wearing her veil. However, the boy did not like to share his space with Hamta and he said that she does not belong here. This example shows clothing as a significant marker of national identity that signals which bodies are considered as New Zealanders and which bodies are not. In both incidents, Hamta is seen as an outsider in Hamilton, not part of 'normal' society in Hamilton. The next section presents participants' night-life leisure activities and negotiations in Hamilton, where night-life is not structured based on the culturally diverse needs of its current populations (Hoernig & Walton-Roberts, 2009).

7.3 Coffee at night

In this section, the examples provided show how Muslim women negotiate leisure spaces in the evening and night-time, yet comply with Islamic restrictions on alcohol. Most of the Muslim women interviewed said they feel very unsatisfied at not being able to find culturally and religiously appropriate leisure places and restaurants at night in Hamilton. Although drinking alcohol is a common (and often popular) social activity for many young people and adults in New Zealand, the United Kingdom and Australia, this practice is prohibited in Islamic teachings²⁴ (Latham, 2003; Valentine et al., 2010). The lack of alcohol-free leisure spaces during the evening means this Islamic rule restricts leisure spaces for Muslim women. Rima talks about this issue:

I wish there would be more café-like coffee places not like bars,
not bars and clubs, that open till late, like in Wellington. They
have proper coffee places that open until late but none here so
I hope there would be one here, one is enough, but I think more

²⁴ Other religions, however, condemn the use of alcohol including some "Christian denominations and some main religions of South Asia, but it is Islam in particular that forbids the consumption of alcohol" (Valentine et al., 2010, p. 9).

than one would be nice (Joint Interview, Rima, with Elmira and Razieh, 13 June 2015).

Rima expresses her hope for a city that offers diverse and religiously sensitive leisure spaces. Her choices and interests in leisure activities are produced through the intersection of her different forms of identities as a young Malaysian Muslim woman. As a practising Muslim, she does not drink, so she asks for leisure space where alcoholic drinks are not served. It is important to be aware that Islam is more than a religion and more than just a worldview (Read & Bartkowski, 2000). It is a holistic way of life for practising Muslims and gives them guidelines on every aspect of individual and social life including socialisation and clothing (Valentine et al., 2010). Participants assert that they feel unwelcome and excluded from night-time leisure places because of a lack of culturally and religiously appropriate leisure places for Muslims.

Rima's quote shows that Hamilton's nightlife excludes or is not attractive to her, because her tastes and values are different from the dominant group/s. Alcohol plays a crucial role in the economy of nightlife in contemporary cities since it is seen as contributing to urban regeneration and "fostering sociality and community" (Valentine et al., 2010, p. 8). Thus, many businesses in New Zealand find it unprofitable to run leisure activities without alcohol at night-time ("NZ's first alcohol-free bar closes its doors," 2015). This is changing in New Zealand, however, as a result of its changing population, and some non-alcoholic bars are appearing in bigger cities of the country, including Auckland ("Best bars for non-drinkers this Dry July," 2016; Tait, 2015). Latham (2003) argues that alcohol as an agent holds power for generating social relationships in urban areas. In the experiences of Muslim women, however, alcohol does not generate social interactions for them; it creates feelings such as fear, insecurity and discomfort.

For the Muslim women in my study, bars and pubs are not leisure places for generating social connections and fun, rather, they feel uncomfortable and scared in such places. Valentine et al. (2010) also found similar attitudes to alcohol in Muslim research respondents living in the United Kingdom. The majority of the respondents state that alcohol absolutely defines and shapes their leisure. This

shows the different axes of citizens' identities; here religion and culture could transform the meanings and functionality attached to particular social activities and places such as bars and pubs. To illustrate further, consider Farah's experience in an incident with a drunk person:

I do not feel comfortable in gatherings that involve lots of alcohol drinking. When people start to get drunk, that's a time I leave. The people that you know, once they have alcohol, sometimes their personality is changed that's why I get a bit uncomfortable (laughing). I get worried, [chuckling] I get worried because they are not cool. You know, they become weird, they talk about the different thing as well and okay I am not sure how actually to react to that (Individual interview, 10 August 2015).

This passage displays how Farah avoids being in social spaces involving alcohol consumption as she does not enjoy the company of drunk people who lack control over their actions and the ability to follow acceptable social rules. Farah, a medical doctor, claims she lacks knowledge about how to deal with acquaintances when they get drunk. Most of these women not only indicate that they do not drink alcohol but also make it clear that they do not feel comfortable being in the same place where others consume it. These different perspectives and lack of compromise from Muslim women restrict their social lives and socialisation to their own ethnic and/or Muslim community. Such correlations between drinking alcohol and feeling uncomfortable could link to religious and cultural assumptions/teachings in which drunk people are conceptualized as dangerous beings.

Susan is a PhD student from the Maldives and in her early 40s. She is married and has a son. Susan lives in Hamilton on her own. Her son is a student at Otago University, and her husband lives in the Maldives. In responding to the question about the places in Hamilton where she does not like to go for her leisure time, Susan says:

I've never been in a bar, I have never, never, been there, even just to have a coca cola (Individual interview, 7 August 2015).

Susan shows her loyalty to her religion since she constructs her leisure space in accordance with her religion's obligations. Although these places serve non-alcoholic drinks Susan, like many Muslims, does not feel comfortable in such places (Valentine et al., 2010). Susan holds to her faith and avoids going to certain places to prevent feelings of othering and fears associated with being in same places with drunk people. Susan explains:

I particularly get scared when I see people drunk. Yeah, that is one thing that I noticed when I was living on York Street that was my first year of the doctorate. There were a couple of times that I was worried about the people who were living nearby. Our neighbours, they sometimes got drunk and they knocked on my door, and then I was scared. My goodness, that was a bit of freaky, and then, I decided to move out from there, and I actually do not like to see drunk people because I do not know what is going to happen next. And because they do not have control of their own behaviour, I would say so (Individual interview, 7 August 2015).

Susan explains that she feels scared of people who have consumed alcohol because it makes them unpredictable and out of control. She indicates that alcohol has the power to change people in such a way that their behaviours are in opposition to the social expectations of respectable, law-abiding citizens. Susan emphasizes how Muslim parents make sure that their children follow the Islamic culture of abstinence from alcohol by not allowing them to be in places involved with alcohol and gambling:

I have never been in a bar or in the Sky City [casino] and those kinds of night out, it is not us, none of us gets involved in those kinds of things, and we do not allow our kids to go either (Individual interview, 7 August 2015).

Reflecting on Susan's comment, parenting and the gaze of the Muslim community are powerful disciplinary tools to perpetuate a "culture of abstinence" from drinking alcohol and from going to premises involved with alcohol (Valentine et al., 2010, p. 11). Some spaces are deemed to be 'non-Muslim' places. These are typically places in which the activities that take place are against Islamic requirements and values, such as drinking alcohol and gambling (Kloek et al., 2013). This communicates that Islam works as a core factor in shaping and defining other aspects of Susan's intersectional identities, such as her identity as a mother (McDowell, 2009). For Susan, her responsibilities and roles as a mother are also influenced by her ethnic and religious identity.

There have been reforms since the mid-1970s to provide safe and attractive leisure spaces not only for women but also for different cultural groups in New Zealand cities. Therefore, there has been an increase in the number of "hybrid style of eating and drinking" places such as Sushi bars, Indian restaurants and cafes (Latham, 2003, p. 1709). Nonetheless, the alcohol culture has a strong hold on evening leisure in New Zealand. For instance, the participants in my research reported that they could hardly find any attractive leisure spaces to match their cultural values and preferences during the evening and at night. The lack of diverse leisure facilities in the evenings is an important factor that shapes feelings of loneliness in participants. Goli, for example, says:

Here [in Hamilton] after work I stay home. The only places you can go after five are pubs. Because most people enjoy drinking, that's the way they make money. I have never gone to the pubs because it's just not my interest to go to pubs. I do not go to crowded places, because I am not quite comfortable with crowded places (individual interview, 6 August 2015).

Goli's statement shows that licenced premises such as bars do not generate social activities for her. On the contrary, she feels her leisure and social activities are restricted because of the institutional landscapes of leisure spaces in the evening. The participants point to some of the restricting factors such as the availability of mostly alcohol and bars for leisure and socialisation purposes, and the early

closing hours of shopping malls and coffee shops during the evening (Valentine et al., 2010). There is a need to leave home and travel to participate in many leisure and sports activities. The issues of transportation and security for play are discussed in the next section.

7.4 Issues of transportation and security

Along with religious and cultural expectations, fear of violence and difficulties with transportation are dimensions that participants consider when choosing leisure activities (Munt, 2016; Wagner & Peters, 2014). In terms of Muslim women, their hijab, in particular, play a critical role in reproducing emotions towards them. This visible sign connects them to Muslim (and Islam)-related events and issues that occur in other places in the world, such as 'the truck attack'²⁵ (Dwyer, 2000; Hopkins, 2007b). In a gathering in the Jamia mosque, the Muslim girls involved in WOWMA's youth programme told Maryam, a key person in the Muslim community, that they would not participate in a public celebration because of the truck attack that had occurred recently. The reason the girls gave for their decision was that they usually receive more abusive comments on the streets after such events.

A news item published by Stuff.co.nz highlights that the terrorist attacks and political speeches about Islam and Muslims influence the everyday lives of Muslim women in Hamilton. Danzeisen, a key informant in the Muslim community, points to the link between Muslim women's experiences of harassment in Hamilton and the political rhetoric around Islam and terrorism (see Figure 7:7):

²⁵ On 14 July 2016, a man deliberately ploughed a truck into a crowd in Nice celebrating Bastille Day. At least 84 people were killed in the attack that was recognised as an act of Islamic terrorism. The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) claimed the attack ("Nice attack: Truck driver named as France mourns 84 killed in Bastille Day atrocity – as it happened," 2016); "Vicious truck attack kills 84 during France fireworks display" 2016).

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Kiwi Muslims: Suffering stigma for extremists' actions

KATIE KENNY
Last updated 14:55, December 12 2015

With rising global fervour against Isis, Kiwi Muslims are suffering marginalisation and abuse from fellow New Zealanders. This week has been particularly bad.

A founder of the [Women's Organisation of the Waikato Muslim Association \(WOWMA\)](#) Aliya Danzeisen says these interactions are so common the victim doesn't bother reporting it to a teacher.

SIS boss Rebecca Kitteridge on Tuesday revealed a rise in the number of young New Zealand women heading to Iraq and Syria.

Prime Minister John Key said New Zealand women were known to have taken part in "weddings" before heading to Islamic State (IS) stronghold Syria, which suggested they were going as jihadi brides.

Labour leader Andrew Little said he also understood a small number of New Zealand women had gone to Syria, and there were others who were "susceptible".

The young women involved in WOWMA's youth programme told Danzeisen: "Oh great, now we're gonna get more harassment."

Figure 7:7 Extremists' actions and veil-wearers' fear of getting harassment
Source: (Kenny, 2015)

This news item reflects the interconnectivity between political rhetoric at national levels around security, and the construction of emotions in and around Muslim women's bodies in Hamilton (Pain & Smith, 2008). The wider social and political mores and events restrict or facilitate the leisure mobility of Muslim women (Mowl & Towner, 1995; Pain & Smith, 2008). In the news item, the young Muslim women of the Hamilton mosque indicate that discussion about jihadi brides by the National government exposed them to more harassment. This statement displays the power of emotions in shaping Muslim women's experiences and social interactions. The fear around Islamic extremism and terrorism, as noted in the news item, influences Muslim men and women disproportionately since their Islamic dress makes them visible targets (Listerborn, 2015).

These events produce particular discourses, images and rhetoric that play critical roles in constructions of reliable and unreliable, 'us and them' bodies (McDowell,

2008). The experiences of Muslim girls of the Hamilton mosque communicate that terrorist attacks could lead to the singling out of veiled bodies and subjecting them to the public gaze, or worse, expose them to abuse and violence. As a result, these Muslim girls decided to refrain from going out in order to avoid abusive comments and behaviours when terrorist attacks and events associated with Islam occurred. Therefore, these Muslim girls' and women's mobility and access to public leisure places can be restricted periodically, depending on the global climate towards Muslims and Islam.

This news item reflects that although some of these young Muslim women are either born or raised in New Zealand and identify themselves as Kiwi, they face abusive comments such as 'go back to your country' (Kenny, 2015). This example points to the problematic conceptualisation of national identity in Western countries, including New Zealand, based on a perceived binary opposition of Islam as traditional and the West, as modern (Listerborn, 2015).

Travelling at night around the city, without a private car, was considered unsafe by most participants. They claim that security and leisure opportunities decrease after sunset for all women and particularly Muslim women. Security concerns reduce their motivation to go out at night/in the evening. That is because there are not many people on the street after dark. For example, Goli says:

I try not to go out at night-time by myself without a car, because my husband said I am not supposed to go out, walking in streets at nights. Especially, because Hamilton has a high rate of crimes.
[Even] at home at night sometimes I feel scared too, because this area, it's considered as high spots with the gangsters
(Individual interview, 6 August 2015).

Similarly, Marjan points to this exclusionary discourse that intends to use the lack of security as a tool that restricts women from accessing leisure spaces during the evening,

Anoosh: Do you feel safe moving around the city? Are there any places that you don't want to pass by or go to in the city?

Marjan: No, not at all. I guess some like if the night time, in the dark. I guess you never feel completely safe walking alone. Do you understand? Even in New Zealand, It's not one hundred percent safe. Walking around the street alone. I don't know why (individual interview, 17 June 2015).

Their accounts of not feeling safe in the dark and being alone have links to traditional assumptions about outdoor spaces and gender. Several geographers, however, suggest that the presence of women in public spaces is still overshadowed by the traditional binary division between public places for men and private places for women (Johnston, 2005; Pain, 2001; Valentine, 1989). In those assumptions, public places are seen as men's spaces, under their power, and 'good women' are advised to stay at home to remain safe. As such, their feelings around security and anxieties about going out at night are gendered rather than a result of their religion.

Inefficient public transportation was another factor that was mentioned by the respondents as a restricting factor. Transportation is a factor in impeding or facilitating access to play places. Interviewed Muslim women explained how knowing how to drive and owning a private car are important to be able to access social life in Hamilton. Bahar, for example, explains:

I just started driving because if I didn't, that was making my life more difficult you know stuck at home. So the moment I start driving I feel better, much better much. I think I have more freedom. You know, that's another problem when it comes to Hamilton the public transportation is not good (Individual interview, 30 July 2015).

Bahar and seven other participants pointed to the inefficiency of the public transportation services in Hamilton as an obstacle to getting to sports and leisure locations. The fact that they need to travel to other parts of the city to participate in their preferred sports or/and leisure activities highlights the issue of "the separation of functions in urban space" (Young, 1990, p. 246). This separation,

which stands in opposition to mixed land use development, contributes to the reduction of attractiveness, vitality and security in a city. As Bahar points out, inefficient public transportation, along with the separation of functions, also augments reliance on private cars in order to travel for various everyday purposes such as shopping and picking up the kids from school (Hoppenbrouwer & Louw, 2005; Young, 1990).

Along with an inefficient urban transport system, “segregation of land uses” (1995, pp. 104-105) and the sprawling design of Hamilton adversely affect access for these Muslim women who live in the suburbs, not in close proximity to shopping, social services, or leisure facilities (Mowl & Towner, 1995). This type of urban planning increases the need for daily transportation and reliance on private cars. The physical separation of shops, offices, homes and leisure spaces also contributes to the marginalisation of some dwellers, for example, people who are sick or disabled and people who cannot afford a car. According to seven participants, the inefficient public transportation, along with their inability to buy or drive a car, restricts their access to leisure and sports facilities. They correlate these factors with their social isolation. Goli complains about the cost of public transportation in Hamilton. She particularly talks about the cost of buses:

Sometimes when I take my car to the garage for service, I catch the bus, yeah, it's only like once in six months. In terms of taking buses, I do not like to wait, but they are quite expensive, for last time I just travel from Waikato University to Fifth Street about one kilometre it costs me \$2NZD [laughter]. Yeah it is not cheap, the cost doesn't go with the distance it goes by flat rate, not fair, yeah (Individual interview, 6 August 2015).

Participants' narratives show that their fear and lack of interest in going out at night link to the urban life and geography of Hamilton. Hamilton city fails to offer safe night leisure spaces, with diverse and attractive activities for its different residents during the evening. The infrastructures, such as inefficient public transport and a lack of diverse leisure facilities, along with discourses that associate night and insecurity, reduce these women's motivation for going out in

the evening and after dark. Leisure spaces are formed through intersections of gendered, religious and cultural identities. Picnics at beaches, swimming, water and outdoor physical activities are big parts of New Zealand leisure and recreational culture. In the next section, examples provide a snapshot of Muslim women's experiences and challenges in these places.

7.5 “You are weird”! Water activities, sports and choice of clothing

Wagner and Peters (2014) found that the visible religious and cultural adherence of Moroccan Muslim women are influential factors in constructing them as Other in the leisure spaces of the Netherlands. In Hamilton, participants report that their gendered and covered bodies, an intersection of their religion and gender, can make them ‘out of place’ and/or restrict their participation in water sports and leisure activities. For example, consider Najmeh, who wears an Islamic swimming suit in a public pool in Hamilton:

We [Najmeh’s husband and her sons] go to swimming, sometimes in the swimming pool, Water World in Te Rapa. I wear a scarf and everything, yeah. It’s not like an ordinary t-shirt, no, it is an appropriate materials for swimming. They [guards] looked at me and then asked, “why you are wearing things like that” they said, “this is for swimming”, I said “yes”, and they allowed me in. Some boys, screamed at me: “You are weird, funny”! [Laughing] That’s all right. But, people they stared at me, maybe they just checking on me when you not aware. So I go swimming there less and less (Individual interview, 3 June 2015).

This passage shows how Najmeh’s covered body encounters other bodies in the public swimming pool. Her Islamic swimming suit, which covers her from head to toe, is perceived as unusual by people who have not seen such swimsuits, and these people express their wonder, both verbally and through their bodies (Valentine et al., 2009). This example shows that her unfamiliar swimming suit works as a visible element, which constructs Najmeh as a stranger in a swimming

pool and contributes to creating her embodied performance as Other (Kloek et al., 2013). Najmeh's example communicates the point that how dressing differently from the cultural norms of a place provokes emotional reactions between bodies. These produced emotions have power, which creates limitations and constraints that determine to what extent a social actor, like Najmeh, is able to transgress social norms and what are the consequences of such a transgressive act. Feeling that she looks different and/or being seen as a religious and cultural deviant impacted on her enjoyment and reduced Najmeh's motivation for participating in swimming (Taylor & Toohey, 2001).

Najmeh decided to stop going to the Water World Swimming pool. Previous studies on Muslim women's leisure and sports activities show that it is a common tactic for them to avoid and/or change their sports and leisure spaces to prevent possible experience of discrimination (Kloek et al., 2013). However, contrary to previous research (Taylor & Toohey, 2001), only three participants in Hamilton reported that they experienced feelings of Otherness in leisure and sports spaces

For some Muslim women, their religious beliefs and cultural values discipline their bodies and define their dress and attitudes in public places (Gökarıksel, 2009). Intersection of religion and gender is a crucial factor that shapes Muslim women's emotions towards and participation in certain leisure spaces and places. Ziba, for example, explains that she prefers to go with her family members and other nationalities rather than with people coming from the same country, Afghanistan. She explains:

Recreational places, if we go by ourselves [her family] it is all good and we enjoy a lot, if we go with someone, for example when feeling lonely at home by ourselves and saying "let's go by an Afghan family". When going with other Muslim families [sounds she is annoyed], Muslim men would go to the beach by themselves and keep women in a park, close to the beach. Men tell women 'do not go there [at the beach], it is sinful', if they [men] go inside the water they would go with their clothes on, or they would not go at all inside the water, only standing and

leering, [Afghan] women not going at all. We have relations with Afghan community only in [official/cultural] events, like *Moharam*,²⁶ either Eid or something like that, other than that we mostly socialize with the neighbours. Our neighbours are Kiwis and Indians. We socialize with them. Once we invite them for lunch, another time they invite us. For example, when I threw parties for my children's birthday, I won't invite from the Afghan community. I invite my neighbours because my children like them. My children do not like Afghan community now, because they speak English and little by little they are forgetting our own language. They like them [neighbours] more (Individual interview, 7 March 2016).

This example shows how the leisure spaces of Afghan women are policed and disciplined by Afghan men at the beaches. Ziba's narratives reflect that how religion, ethnic and cultural norms are intertwined (Kloek et al., 2013). Disciplining of Afghan women's leisure space and activities at the beach is shaped through intersections of their gender, religion, culture and the spatiality of these places, along with the presence of semi-clad bodies (Warren, 2016). Ziba's narrative reflects a patriarchal gender relation that is articulated through religious rhetoric and restricts Muslim women's leisure space and activities at the beach (Mowl & Towner, 1995). Ziba's experience communicates that in Afghan communities, men use religion and culture as a disciplinary tool to control the presence and access of women to different leisure spaces by defining Islamically appropriate leisure spaces for women (Kloek et al., 2013). Probably, most of these women do not resist such constraints as the men articulate those restrictions based on religion. This example also sheds lights on some ways that these power relations police and structure leisure space and respective racial and gendered interactions (Warren, 2016).

²⁶ "The first month of the year in the Islamic calendar, and an annual celebration in this month commemorating the death of Husayn, grandson of Muhammad, and his retinue. The name comes from Arabic *muḥarram* 'inviolable'" ("Muḥarram," 2005).

Ziba feels marginalised by the gender segregation that is practised within the Afghan community. This, in turn, constructs her decision to spend her leisure time with her neighbours, with whom she feels that she has similar gender values and preferences, although their religions, nationalities and languages are not the same. Ziba explains that her children prefer to spend their leisure time with New Zealanders and Indians since they share a language and to some extent, a culture.

The intersection of gender, culture and religion contributes to the restriction of Muslim women's and girls' participation in outdoor and sports activities (Listerborn, 2015). For example, Haidee is a community worker with the Red Cross and she works on refugee women's issues. In terms of sports participation, Haidee explains:

For girls, it is harder to participate in sports because of the gender issues. Because sometimes, as a girl, you have responsibilities at home as well. Even with my background, I am an Indian, with the girls, you know, straight after school they [the girls] go home and do chores and help their mums. As I observed, it is not a priority for many families to send them [girls] to do sport and to pay the fees. Maybe for boys, their families might consider it, but for girls, it's a bit different. That depends on the family and everything like that, but I see that as being a factor (Individual interview, 4 March 2016).

Haidee elaborates how entanglements of culture and gender create barriers for girls' participation in sports in some families. Islamic culture often advises Muslim women to seek sports places that are not under men's surveillance (Wagner & Peters, 2014). When there are no gender-segregated sports places, girls are the ones who are restrained from participating in sports. Consider Haidee's experience in this regard:

When we did a sports programme for children, we separated boys and girls. We separated the boys and girls for activities but like at lunchtime they would all be

together and they would have lunch together [laughter] but for activities hundred percent separate. But, there was a couple of parents that they weren't quite comfortable and stopped allowing their daughters to participate. I know with swimming that quite numbers of girls are not engaged in swimming, so obviously. They don't participate for whatever reasons sometimes even it's girls-only because the teacher could be male, I'm not sure (Individual interview, 4 March 2016).

Haidee articulates gender as a restricting factor for girls in participating in sports activities in general and in particular in school. She explains it could be because of both religious requirements, that is, restrictions in participating in a co-ed swimming pool, and patriarchal culture, that is "it is not a priority to pay for girls' sports". This shows how Muslim migrant women and girls' participation and/or not participation in sports spaces are influenced by various ways of the intersections of their gender, religion, culture and familial background (Walseth, 2006). Gender-segregated sports places are a common issue for several participants in Hamilton. For instance, consider Hassun. She wishes she could go to the gym on the University of Waikato campus since it is closer to her home and the University. She explains the lack of women-only spaces prevents her from going to this gym.

So I used to play netball my entire high school years. Now, I'm doing boxing for years. Sometimes, I go to a gym which is only for women. It's a bit further like I have to catch the bus and stuff, it's good, but I think I prefer to go to the Uni gym, and that the Uni gym has like a separate area for women, but they don't (Individual interview, 10 June 2015).

Muslim women's individual understandings and conceptualisation of Islam and modesty play crucial roles in defining appropriate bodies and places for sports. There are variances among participants with regard to their understanding of Islam and respective appropriate clothing and activities in leisure and sports places.

Individual choices and interest in sports have influential roles in shaping these Muslim women's choices in sports activities and places. These choices influence these women's interpretations of Islamic teachings and their religious identities. Elmira, for example, is a professional hockey player and explains that this sport is part of her identity. She expresses this part of her identity in her emotion maps (see Figure 7:8 and Figure 7:9).

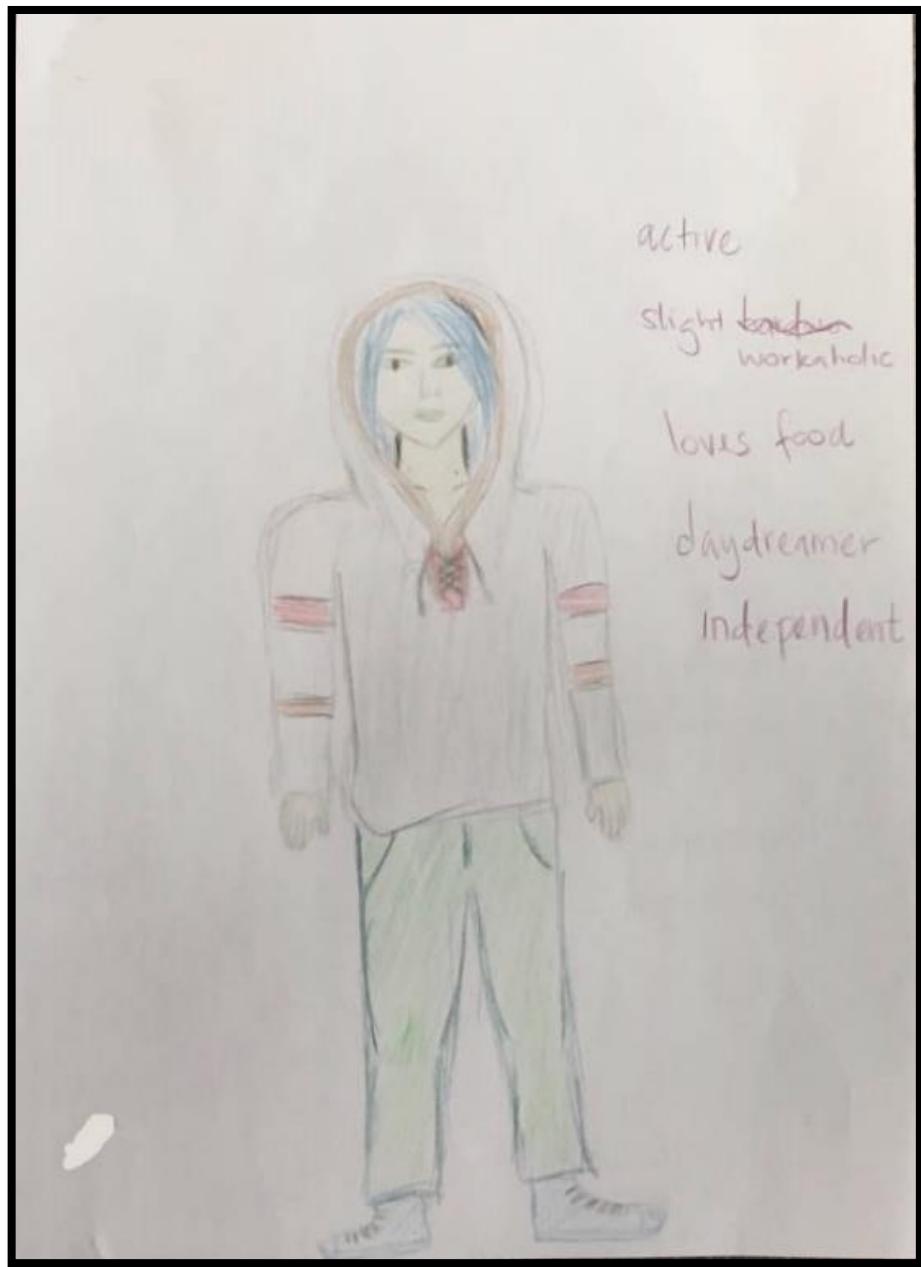


Figure 7:8 Elmira's drawing of herself

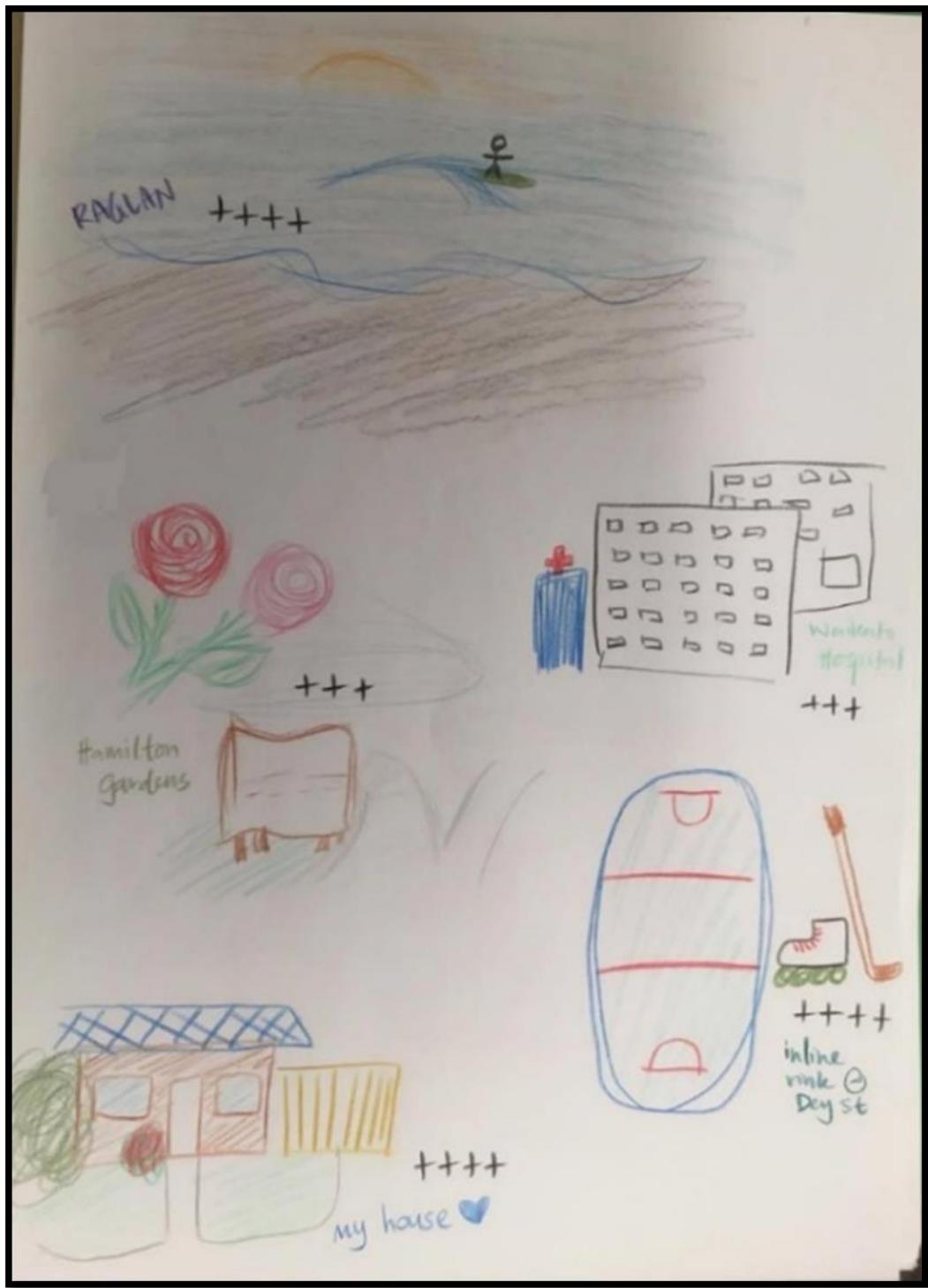


Figure 7:9 Elmira's emotion maps of the places that she likes

In both maps (Figure 7:8 and Figure 7:9), she refers to her passion for ice hockey. In the first figure, I asked her to draw herself as she sees herself. Elmira draws herself in a hockey uniform. The second map shows the places that Elmira likes in New Zealand; one of these places is the hockey stadium where she goes to practice in Auckland at the weekends because there is nowhere for practising ice-hockey in Hamilton. She explains that she started playing hockey at the age of 13 in Indonesia in a girls-only team. Coming to New Zealand, Elmira started to play in both women-only and mixed-gender teams. Elmira describes her experiences as a Muslim woman in a non-Muslim hockey team:

When I play ice hockey, I am on the all-guys team. I am the only girl, I change in the same locker-room as them, but I changed in a different place and came back and put all my gears up. So maybe I just kinda get used to it, I know it isn't right. I know it is not the best way to do it ... I also play on the girls' team. So, when I play on the girls' team it is kind like Okay, you know, even though it is not right as well because it is Muslims and non-Muslims. There are other issues and stuff, when I started in Indonesia it wasn't much of an issue because it was in Indonesia, I took it for granted, but here! I have been thinking ever since I am the only girl left in the team, with all other guys. But, they're quite understanding. For example, after a game, they have drinks but they know I don't drink so they don't, they respect that if I say no. When we go for national for the girls' team when we go to travel to Dunedin or Christchurch, the girls understand that I have to pray five times per day and they don't mind me praying in the same room as them. They don't mind me not eating the same food as them. So, they are quite understanding in that respect. I take my headscarf off when I'm playing hockey because I put my helmet on and get quite hot if you put a lot of stuff under the helmet. You got hot and you might faint but yes, that's basically this. I guess when I get to the point that I think I need to, you know, be strict with the headscarf. I have to be

stricter on myself, and then at that time, I think I would stop playing hockey or stop going to the beach playing body board, hopefully, won't happen in next few years (Joint interview with Elmira, Rima and Razieh, 13 June 2015).

Elmira's experiences in the ice hockey spaces reflect her attempt to manage and negotiate the different aspects of her identity. The athletic and religious aspects of her identities situate her between two different cultural zones with conflicting expectations for her (Walseth, 2006). Although she chose to be active in the sport, Elmira reveals that if she decided to be strict on her hijab and being more religious then she would stop playing hockey. Her conceptualization of an 'ideal' Muslim femininity is a veiled woman who keeps her headscarf on in the presence of unrelated men. Her narrative communicates her apologetic feelings around playing in a mixed gender environment. She articulates that she feels that it is not Islamically appropriate to change her clothes in the same place with unrelated men, even if she changed in a separate room but in the same locker-room (see Figure 7:10). Her accounts of headscarf and sports performances indicate the significance of the role of her body as a medium reflecting the extent to which she commits to Islam as a Muslim woman (Gökarıksel, 2009).



Figure 7:10 Elmira in the locker-room with her teammates

Water-related activities are, however, a big part of New Zealand's leisure and sport (New Zealand Immigration, 2017d). These leisure activities attract some migrant respondents and offer a way for experiencing new leisure activities such as surfing (Yeoh & Soco, 2014). For example, Elmira is from South Asia and she has engaged in some water sports like surfing and body boarding in New Zealand.

[When] I go to the beach, I basically wear shorts and a t-shirt. It doesn't fit [with Islamic teachings]. I don't want to wear a lot of stuff because I don't really know how to swim against currents. So, if I drown with lots of clothes around me, that's my biggest fear as well. When I play in the sea so I try to dress as less clothing as I can. So, if I drown in the sea, I have better chances to go to the surfaces without lots of cloths tiding me (Joint interview with Elmira, Rima and Razieh, 13 June 2015).

To engage in these water-related activities in New Zealand, Elmira acquires and undergoes a set of embodied and religious negotiations and adjustments (Yeoh & Soco, 2014). She explains that it is not easy for her to swim in the sea with a veil

and “so many clothes”. Therefore, she decided to take off her scarf and wear either shorts and a t-shirt or a wetsuit. This example confirms Hopkins’s (2007a) arguments that some aspects of embodied identities might be more or less important at different times and places.

Elmira’s fear of drowning and passion for swimming and surfing intersect and structure her body when she goes swimming and surfing. Elmira feels that she prioritises her leisure over her religious belief while being involved in water activities. Her wetsuit covers her body, but it reveals its curves and shape. Her hood also does not cover all parts of her hair. Spatial characteristics of beaches are important in shaping Elmira’s decision to take off her headscarf. She usually goes with friends who do not pass any judgments about her clothing and these Muslim women choose beaches distant from the Hamilton Muslim community’s gaze or other Muslim acquaintances. Physical attributes together with the power structure of a place enable and restrict Muslim women’s participation in activities (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014; Valentine, 2007).

As discussed earlier, Islamic teachings restrain Muslim women from wearing tight-fitting clothes revealing their bodies’ contours. That is probably why Elmira feels a contradiction between being a ‘good’ Muslim woman and engaging in surfing. She enjoys water-related sports and she continues going to beaches; however, at the same time she feels the ways she dresses for these sports move her away from being a ‘good’ Muslim woman. Elmira feels guilty while enjoying surfing and swimming in the sea. This example shows that when Elmira participates in non-Islamic leisure activities she balances conflicting emotions, while negotiating her cultural and Muslim identities.

Some Muslim women develop strategies through negotiating their dress practices within the requirements of water sports and Islamic teachings in order to participate in water-related activities in mixed-gender places (Gökariksel, 2009; Huisman & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2005). Instagram and Facebook provide valuable data on participants’ embodied negotiations in water-related activities. Figure 7:11 displays Yalda in water leisure spaces:

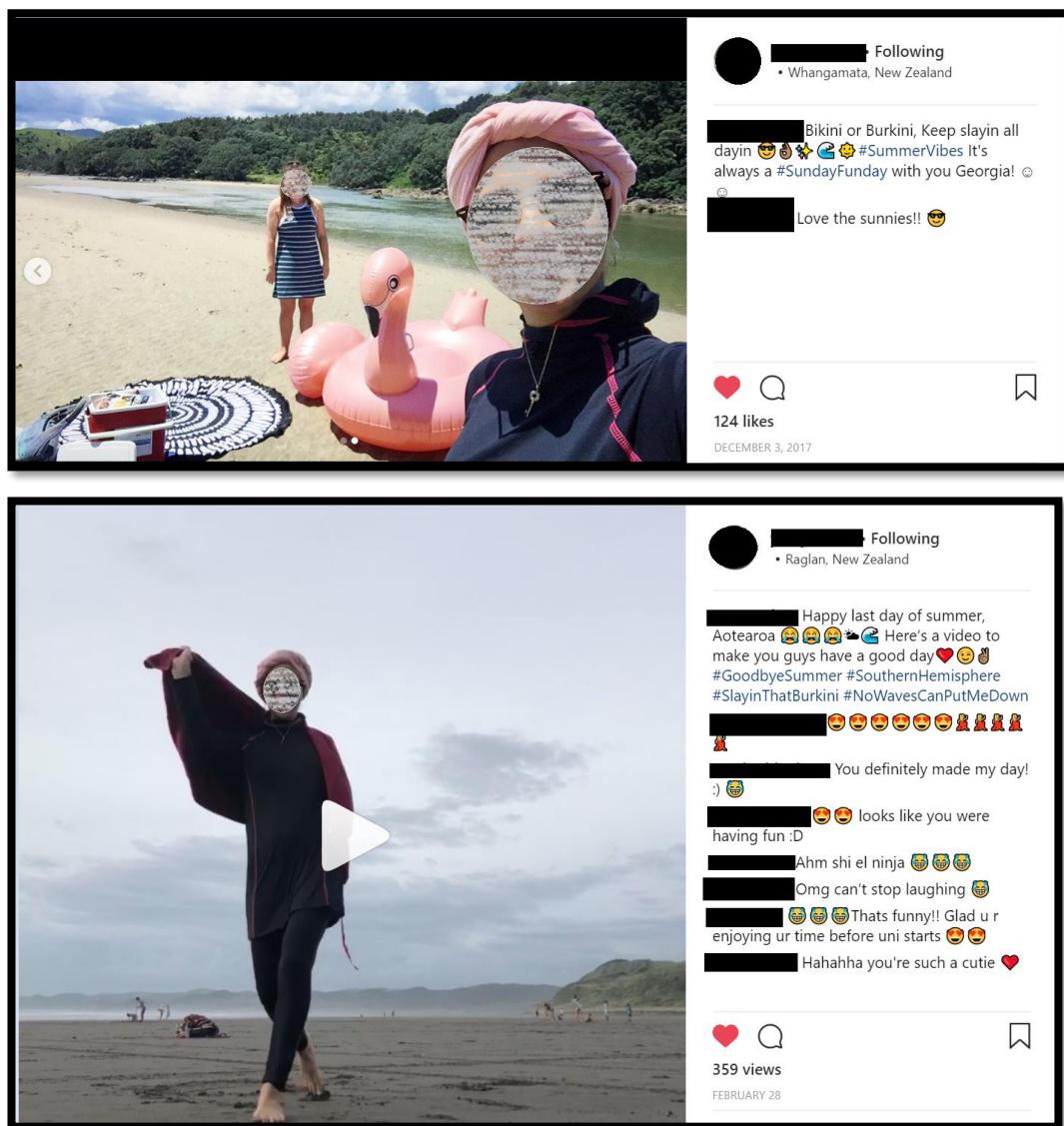


Figure 7:11 Yalda's swimming suit

Yalda's posted photos on her Instagram profile communicate that the veil and commitments to Islam do not stop her participation in mixed-gender and water-related leisure spaces (see Figure 7:11). She negotiates her clothing in a way that meets both her own conceptualizations of Islamic modesty and permits her to participate in water activities, by engaging in individual re-interpretations of Islamic teachings (Hopkins, 2007a). Contrary to Elmira, Yalda explained to me that she does not feel ambivalent about choosing between her Islamic beliefs regarding covering and her selected outdoor leisure activities. Participants' different understandings of Islam at the intersection of their gender, sexuality and dress generate a "different combination of [emotional] and spatial experiences" (2006, p. 856) for Muslim women in water activities (Green & Singleton, 2006).

Acceptable performances and norms are open to redefinition (McDowell, 2008). Similarly, Islamic teachings about appropriate gender and religious embodiments are subjected to reinterpretation by different Muslim women in certain places. To illustrate further, consider Tara, who is a postgraduate student from Indonesia. She is married and lives in Hamilton by herself. Her husband lives in Indonesia. I ask her about her approach to sports:

Anoosh: And about sports places, are you involved in any sports activities?

Tara: Just yoga and pilates

Anoosh: And where?

Tara: At the church, so I am the only person who wears the headscarf because other people wear like sporty, but there are like conditions in the room like people are friendly and just like, especially the instructor is very nice yeah which I really enjoy the exercise too (Individual interview, 5 October 2015).

Tara does not see any conflicts in participating in yoga and pilates with other people from different religions, genders and cultures. Neither does she see her religion's "ideal femininity" as being in conflict with her engaging with yoga and pilates activities in a mixed-gender place that belongs to a Christian church (Walseth, 2006, p. 84). Quranic scripts can be interpreted differently by different people. This could be one explanation for these different performances and approaches of Muslim women to leisure spaces. These women's interpretations of Islam have much to do with their cultural background, time and space (Walseth, 2006). Tara's experience as a veiled woman who engages in mixed-gendered spaces reflects her different perception of Islamic teachings compared to those Muslim women who understand engaging in sport in a mixed-gender space as being in conflict with the Islamic ideal of femininity. These examples reveal that some Muslim women who participate in mixed-gender sports activities and spaces. These women often negotiate their bodies, veil and clothing in line with their own understanding of Islamic teachings.

Some international student Muslim women explain that their access to sports clubs is restricted by the price for membership and hiring sports facilities. As revealed in Neda's interview:

Anoosh: Are you involved in any sports activities?

Neda: Here? [Laughter] No not here, because I have to pay for it and it is not cheap here. Because I planned to go to tennis before at a sports centre, but I had to pay \$200 dollars just to be a member so no. It is expensive (Individual interview, 07 June 2015).

In her home country, Neda is considered an upper middle-class woman who has her own car, wears branded clothes and travels overseas, such as London and Spain, for her holidays. In Hamilton, however, Neda is an international student who does not work or receive any scholarship. Therefore, she cannot afford to pay for sports. This example shows how the socio-economic class of migrants is a spatialized and intersectional concept (McDowell, 2008; Munt, 2012). Some respondents justified the lack of sporting opportunities for Muslim women as being due to the size of Hamilton and of its Muslim community. Consider, for example, Mona. She identifies herself as Kiwi-Arab and used to live in Auckland with her husband and two young children. Mona compares Auckland and Hamilton, in terms of the accessibility of group sports activities for Muslim women:

Auckland is bigger and has a bigger community, therefore; they have female sport all the time. [In Auckland] I joined soccer tournament that is purely female, netball tournaments purely female and swimming days. They have a swimming day where they actually booked up the whole swimming centre and you just pay tuition [and] go in. In Hamilton not as much because of the smaller size of the city so obviously fair enough. But you could still find. We still have groups like WOWMA, and they do organize female-only camps (Individual interview, 24 February 2016).

Accepting the lack of leisure facilities and services for Muslim women based on the small size of Hamilton was common among the participants. They, like Mona, see this lack as meaningful when considering the size of Hamilton and its Muslim population size (Casati, 2018; Kloek et al., 2013). Mona points to WOWMA as a local organisation that provides culturally and religiously appropriate leisure services for Muslim women (see Figure 7:12). In the next section, I elaborate further the activities of local organisations, WOWMA and the Red Cross, in terms of sports and leisure services for Muslim women in Hamilton.



Figure 7:12 Women-only swimming session for Muslim women in Hamilton
(Source: WOWMA Facebook page)

7.6 Local organisations promoting Muslim women's access to play

WOWMA and the Red Cross are recognised as helpful local organisations in Hamilton that promote Muslim girls' and women's participation in leisure and sports activities. WOWMA and Red Cross have recognised the particular demands of Muslim women for gender-segregated sports places in Hamilton, and these

organisations try to address this issue. These two organisations particularly focus attention on Muslim teenagers and children's participation in sports and physical activities. In New Zealand, sport and recreation play important roles in people's lives and their national identity (Sport New Zealand, 2015). Thus, education systems place great emphasis on sports activities and encourage young people to take part in such activities (Dalziel, 2011). Haidee has experience of organising sports activities for refugee women and their children. She explains:

I think in NZ, as a very active society, we are active and encourage our people to be active. So, there is a need to be opportunities for everyone as well to be able to engage and learn. With [refugee] women and going to gyms, I know women do go to the women-only gym. And, one of the gyms last year they could have a session with women for donation, because some women can't afford the membership or it is not a priority. So, they [organisers] said that just to introduce women to the gym like there these spaces we women can go and it's comfortable. We're trying to engage more women in sports because it's so good for well-being and to get women out of isolation but also just improve their health and reduce stress
(Individual interview, 4 March 2016).

This initiative is part of a Red Cross project aiming to integrate refugee women and girls into sport activities. As Haidee points out, religion, culture and various refugee women's histories in terms of sports, whether or not they do sports in their origin countries, are important factors that construct these women's sports spaces, motivation and types of activities in Hamilton. Haidee explains further the ways the Red Cross organise sports programmes for children considering the importance of the intersection of their religion, culture and gender:

We do run some school programmes, and we did the sports programme. It just to be sure young people who are around 13-17 engage in sport in Hamilton. We have clubs to train how to play football or cricket and how you can

keep doing kinds of stuff in Hamilton. For example, join a team. And also knowing how to adjust the programme and environment that children are gonna be in, we did that [segregating boys and girls sports sessions]. Then this year parents changed and let their girls participate, and now we have some girls who joined cricket as well in Hamilton. So, I guess it is important to build trust, especially when families are new [in Hamilton]. This is a new environment, maybe their experience of the past has been in certain ways that understanding that, you know. You can feel comfortable, I think it's just adjustment for people to get things to go. Because you could always be in fear of something, then you always say 'OH, no, no, no', but then if you start if you give an opportunity and someone goes, you realize oh it actually made your daughter very happy. And the benefits of sport is something in NZ that we really emphasize. Because it can help, it is not just sport it can help to build you know personality development and study in school (Individual interview, 4 March 2016).

Haidee points to the significance of building trust with parents about the safety of places and informing them about the benefits of physical activities. She explains this approach could change the unequal situation of Muslim girls in terms of participating in sport and recreational activities. Haidee's experience in working with Muslim families reveals that some of their attitudes and perceptions are subject to change by moving to a new place with a different regime of thinking and different values (Gökarıksel, 2009). Importantly, it shows these parents' assumptions on appropriate sports spaces for their daughters are not fixed and unchangeable, but contestable. Therefore, the availability of organizations such as Red Cross and WOWMA play a positive role in engaging Muslim women, particularly youth, in physical activities. One main aim of these organizations is to facilitate the social inclusion of Muslim women and refugee women into the wider society through sports. I participated in one of the WOWMA meetings, which was

about organising women-only swimming sessions and camps. Members reported many Muslim women and their children expressed their satisfaction and joy that they are able to participate in leisure and sports activities that meet their cultural and religious requirements. For example, consider, Sudabeh. She is from Afghanistan and came to Hamilton two years ago after marrying her husband, who was a former refugee. She says:

I really enjoy the women-only swimming session organised by the Red Cross [and WOWMA]. I like playing in the water. We did not have such fun activities back in Afghanistan. I hope they offer more of these programmes for us (Individual interview, in the presence of Sudabeh's husband, 29 February 2016).

The Red Cross and WOWMA are two local organisations that appeared often in participants' narrative as helpful organisations, which provide culturally and religiously appropriate leisure opportunities for Muslim women and girls in Hamilton. WOWMA's initiatives are successful examples of facilitating Muslim girls' and women's access to sports and recreational spaces. WOWMA is based in Hamilton and has a strong link with the Hamilton Jamia Masjid. On its Facebook page, it introduces itself as follows: "We are a Muslim women's organization in New Zealand which promotes connecting to this beautiful country, its people and its traditions in an Islamically-compliant manner" (WOWMA Facebook page, n.d.). WOWMA deals with young Muslim women's issues in Hamilton society. This organization assists and encourages young Muslim women to create/develop a cultural national identity through outdoor and physical activities. The new identity of Kiwi-Muslim forges their Muslim identification together with New Zealand values, language, history and landscape (Young, 1990). The following *NZ Herald* article displays one of the outdoor programmes, skiing, which is offered by WOWMA to connect young Muslim women 'to the land of the country they were growing up in' (Figure 7:13) (Pepperell, 2011).

NEW ZEALAND

Girls loyal to Islam - and Aotearoa

In the snow at Mt Ruapehu, wearing pink beanies and padded jackets, a group of teenage Muslim girls awkwardly strapping on their skis for the first time barely rates a passing glance.

These girls have gone abseiling, caving, horse riding, canoeing and, most recently, skiing. They've learned bushcraft, swum outdoors for the first time, tried snowboarding and dangled from a flying fox.

Many had missed out on school camps, held back by parents who didn't understand the concept or felt uncomfortable letting their daughters participate.

But this programme, which started about four years ago with the formation of the Women's Organisation of the Waikato Muslim Association, has managed to overcome those issues.

It was set up by older Muslim women including Rahman and Aliya Danzeisen, who felt a strong need to connect their community's youth to the land of the country they were growing up in.

These girls, she says, are part of a significant population of Muslim youth either born in New Zealand or raised here since childhood.

Figure 7:13 NZ Herald's report on WOWMA's outdoor activities

Source:(Pepperell, 2011)

As reflected in this news article (see Figure 7:13), lack of parental approval has been reported in other studies as a restricting factor in Muslim girls' involvement in sports and leisure activities in Western countries (Kloek et al., 2013; Mowl & Towner, 1995; Wagner & Peters, 2014). WOWMA's institutional support enables groups of young Muslim girls and women to access sports and leisure spaces that otherwise would not be accessible because of economic and cultural constraints. Danzeisen, an informant from the Hamilton Muslim community, explains that outdoor activities help young Muslim women to develop their self-confidence and strengthen their connection to New Zealand. It is important to point out that Muslim community groups such as the Islamic Women's Council of New Zealand and WOWMA encourage Muslim women to be social and active citizens. Contrary

to anti-Muslim women assumptions portraying Muslim women as docile and domestic, these organisations, including WOWMA in Hamilton, put effort into bringing together the religious, gender and national identities of young Muslim women through physical activities in New Zealand.

The Muslim girls-only camp with female instructors is a strategy to reach those young women who cannot participate in schools' outdoor/camp programmes because their parents perceive those spaces to be in conflict with Islamic values. This organisation empowers young Muslim women and creates spaces in which these young women are able to engage in sports activities in a way that enables them to thrive in both the religious and 'New Zealander' aspects of their identities simultaneously. Young (1990) suggests that in an ideal society with equal opportunities for all, differences in social groups are identified and recognized rather than differences leading to spatial exclusion minority or/and powerless groups. In this way, organisations such as the Red Cross and WOWMA are important institutions for democratizing the leisure spaces of Hamilton, New Zealand by making these spaces available for different cultural groups.

However, organising women-only activities and finding places for performing such activities are complex tasks because of the different religions, ethnicities and cultures co-existing in Hamilton. Diversity in religion and culture means different values and cultures, which sometimes clash with each other and reduce access to leisure spaces (Kloek et al., 2013). Anjum points to one such struggle:

We had real issues when we wanted to organise camp and things because a lot of campgrounds are held by Christian groups; that is their own zone, and schools or anybody rent from them. But they did not rent to us, one group was like we will rent to you but you are not allowed to put your praying things there or practice your prayers there, [laughing with disappointing sound], and because it is private properties, you know, then we cannot do anything really about that (Individual interview, 10 May 2015).

This example reveals the effect of power relations in shaping Muslim women's access to outdoor activities. The camp owners deem it inappropriate that Muslims pray in a place belonging to Christian people. Mowl and Towner (1995) argue that acceptable or unacceptable activities and clothing are space-sensitive. In other words, certain activities and clothes that are deemed as 'normal' and acceptable could be considered inappropriate and 'out of place' in other spaces and places. The final section is about the intersections of several cultures within a young and second generation of Muslim women's leisure activities.

7.7 Cultural fusion in Muslim women's leisure spaces.

It is argued by Zaman (1997) that for Muslim women, leisure and respective activities are not constructed in a vacuum but in mutual relationships with the wider socio-cultural climate around them. Generational difference is a strong theme identified in this research. The children and next generations of migrants are often involved in the host society's activities through education and later on, employment (Dobson, 2013). The 1.75 and second generations of Muslim women in this study expressed in their interviews and social media that they feel comfortable with socialising in and enjoying leisure spaces beyond their cultural norms. The young participants wear the veil along with fashionable pieces of jewellery while participating in several urban leisure spaces for young people with their Muslim and non-Muslim friends (see Figure 7:14, Figure 7:15 and Figure 7:16).



Figure 7:14 Yalda enjoys the Holi Festival at the University of Waikato



Figure 7:15 Shohreh celebrates Christmas with her non-Muslim friends



Figure 7:16 Neda and Rima at Razieh's bachelorette party

As the above photos show, all of these Muslim women explicitly embody the religious aspect of their identities through wearing colourful veils with leggings, tight jeans, tight t-shirts – all Western-inspired clothes – while engaging with different Western lifestyles and activities such as a bachelorette party, a ball, and a Christmas party. These photos show a snapshot of contemporary Muslim women whom Göle (2002) describes as a contemporary group of Muslims that “blends into modern urban spaces”(2002, p. 174). Leisure spaces of young participants are constructed through intersectionality, in which traces of Christianity, Western norms, consumerism, Islam and their different ethnicities can be observed.

Calhoun (2001) contends that the traditions and customs of a culture are not simply passed to new generations. These cultural forms have been reconceptualised, resisted, “half-forgotten”, and sometimes revitalised (Calhoun, 2001, p. 10). The images of these Muslim women on Facebook and Instagram support these claims by Calhoun. Their photos show that their Muslim identities are neither synonymous with tribal identity nor opposite to all parts of Western (New Zealand) culture (Hall, 1992). The posted pictures of the interviewed young Muslim women suggest that they mobilise the virtual spaces of Facebook and Instagram not only to engage in globalising discourses but also to proliferate and express the identities of contemporary Muslim women. They contest the orthodox

assumptions about Muslim women. As discussed earlier, generational difference is a key factor in constructing new identities and social change for migrants (Dobson, 2013; Dwyer, 2000). The intersections of gender, religion, age, the place of birth and where these women were raised contribute to the understanding of religiously appropriate leisure and leisure spaces for Muslim women (Green & Singleton, 2006). Children and next generations of migrants often do not mind eating New Zealand's culturally diverse food, interacting with people outside of their ethnic and religious communities, and getting involved in other cultures' festival and celebrations (see Figure 7:17):



Figure 7:17 Yalda in her Halloween costume

Figure 7:17 shows Yalda with her friends dressing up for Halloween. Yalda negotiates her headscarf in a way that makes it possible to put on a witch hat. Yalda's religion and her commitments to modesty do not hinder her from celebrating Halloween as a youth festival. Göle (2002) describes a new generation of Muslim women who reflectively adapt contemporary youth and fashion cultures, and map them upon their bodies with their clothes, leisure and work practices. In a similar way, the self-reflection of young participants in my study challenge hegemonic religious and gender discourses that portray modesty, the veil and Western-inspired fashion as contradictory (Gutierrez & Hopkins, 2015). Migration not only shapes the understanding of leisure spaces but also extends leisure activities and places across spatial scales. For example, consider Yalda's emotion map of leisure spaces and activities (see Figure 7:18):



Figure 7:18 Yalda's leisure spaces and activities

Yalda lives in Hamilton with her brother. Her parents and some of her friends live in Jordan, while some other friends live in Hamilton. Because of her migrant identity, Yalda's socialisation and leisure occur in many actual and virtual spaces including malls and restaurants in Hamilton, and also via social media such as

Facebook, Skype and Instagram. Young participants' Instagram and Facebook profiles reflect their culturally intersectional consumption of leisure activities. Most young women in my group of participants regularly post photos of themselves in fashionable clothes engaging in Western activities such as dancing in mixed gender environments, like for example, Yalda (see Figure 7:19):



Figure 7:19 Yalda dancing at Sky City casino

It is interesting that these women post these photos in spaces such as Instagram and Facebook even though they may be subject to criticism from conservative Muslim communities. Yalda also posts photos when she goes back to her country of origin for holidays. Her photos show that it is acceptable to socialise, dance and not wear a veil in a mixed gender environment in her country of origin, which is an Islamic country in the Middle East (see Figure 7:20).



Figure 7:20 Yalda's photos of a summer trip to her country of origin

Yalda's photos reflect that Islamic culture is subject to change, redefinition and mixing with Western culture in Islamic countries. These changes particularly can be seen in the way that young people, including Muslim women, enact their cultural and religious identities within their leisure and fashion activities. The point here is that along with the leisure culture and opportunities in Hamilton, the dynamics and cultural transformations in their countries of origin contribute to how participants conceptualise modest and Islamic leisure pursuits.

By posting photos of their leisure times, participants consciously or unconsciously disturb the dichotomy in the categorisation of Western lifestyles/Islamic lifestyles and form new styles of modest-fashionable lifestyles. Their photos show them in mixed-gender leisure spaces while socialising with female and male friends from a range of religions, cultures and nationalities. Young participants' leisure spaces show transformations in the practising and understanding of Islam by contemporary Muslim women, and challenge those religious and gender discourses that prohibit Muslim women from participating in leisure activities in the company of male friends.

7.8 Summary

In this chapter, I discussed Muslim women's understandings of, and experiences in, play. Respondents' sports and leisure experiences reflect mutual constructions of leisure and sports spaces and women's gender, cultural and religious identities. The findings show that gender, nationality and religion are important axes of difference that meanings and spaces of leisure revolve around (Ward et al., 2010).

The results show that there are differences between Muslim groups in terms of the conceptualisation of leisure and the appropriate Islamic performances of a Muslim woman in leisure spaces (Walseth, 2006). The examples in this chapter suggest that to understand the geographies of leisure and reactions of Muslim women, there is a need to look beyond the dominant perspective of the patriarchal culture associated with Islamic culture and social structures (Warren, 2016). Participating in sports and leisure activities are complex phenomena depending on availability, affordability and accessibility to such facilities.

Data show that in Hamilton, experiences and access to leisure places vary with the degree of religiosity and the culture of Muslim women. Their access to leisure spaces is restricted and/or facilitated by physical, social and cultural factors. In terms of physical factors, inefficient public transportation, segregated land use and dependence on private cars were discussed as factors that restrict respondents' participation in outdoor physical and leisure activities. Respondents' narratives also reveal that different social positions, e.g., being a migrant and a

mother, restrict access to social and leisure spheres and intensify social isolation, while some other positions, such as owning a car and being single, increase both opportunities for and access to different leisure activities (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014).

Chapter 8 Conclusion

This thesis puts forward alternative intersectional geographies of gendered bodies, veil and place. I began this research with the aim of contributing to understanding the intersectional relationships between multiple identities, emotions, place and power for Muslim women in Hamilton, New Zealand. Using different qualitative methods, this research provides knowledge about the ways through which Muslim women experience and negotiate their bodies, workplaces, leisure and sport places at the intersection of gender, religion, migration and nationality in Hamilton. I concentrated on addressing the following three objectives, which were to:

1. Explore the ways in which Muslim women's embodied identities and emotions are constructed in relation to femininity, modesty, fashion and nationality;
2. Examine the intersections of gender, religion, nationality, migrant status and professionalism of Muslim women in healthcare and educational workplaces;
3. Explore the ways that intersections of religion, culture and gender shape Muslim women's experiences of play (sport and leisure) places.

These objectives produced a critical and intersectional understanding of Muslim Women's multiple identities and practices in the postcolonial and Western city of Hamilton. I have argued that Muslim women's geographies are diverse, not homogenous. Paying attention to Muslim women's embodied geographies prompts a consideration of the ways in which their intersectional identities shape their experiences and emotions of exclusions and inclusion in Hamilton.

The thesis demonstrates the "lived experiences of intersectionality" for Muslim women in Hamilton (Valentine, 2007, p. 18). A post-structuralist reading of intersectionality by geographers including Hopkins (2018), McDowell (2009) and Valentine (2007) is used as the theoretical framework for this research. Intersectionality reveals some of the ways that the religious, gender, national and professional identities of Muslim women find expressions and are embodied in Hamilton across three spatial scales of the body, work and play (Hopkins, 2007c,

2009b, 2018). This framework provided the conceptual tools to explore the co-constitution of religion, gender, culture, body, place and emotions for Muslim women. Using intersectionality helped to challenge the dominant static and aspatial conceptualisation of Muslim women's gender and religious identities. Intersectionality made it possible to explore geographies of emotion and intersections of power structures across scales that affect and are influenced by participants' embodied identities and their religious and gender negotiations (Johnston & Longhurst, 2013; Longhurst et al., 2008).

Data were collected from 33 Muslim women in Hamilton, including Muslim migrant and refugee women, international students, New Zealand-born second- and third generation Muslim women and New Zealand-born Māori convert Muslim women. The methods used were informed by post-structuralism and feminist geography. I drew on four methods to collect data: semi-structured interviews, emotion maps, self-directed photography and participant observations. Using flexible schedules and open-ended questions in interviews, I left the definitions open to participants to articulate what faith and modesty mean to Muslim women in Hamilton.

There is little place-specific and grounded research on Muslim women's everyday geographies, which include their identities, emotions, and negotiations. Using feminist data collection methods creates spaces that would enable Muslim women's voices to be heard. These methods provide data showing both collective and individual ways that Muslim women practice their religion, gender and nationality in Hamilton. Moreover, this research provides in-depth and intersectional understanding about how being a Muslim woman is negotiated, lived and practised differently for each participant across the three spaces of the body, work and play in Hamilton, New Zealand. Focusing on their bodies, emotions, work and play, this thesis also tells stories of challenges, enjoyment, disappointments and advantages for Muslim women in Hamilton.

8.1 Dynamic embodied geographies of Muslim women

This research focused on three overlapping and interconnected spaces and places: body, work, and play. Each space and place represents a unique embodied geography of Muslim women and their religious and cultural practices and negotiations in Hamilton. The body is the first medium that people not only recognise themselves within, but through which they also experience and feel the world. Muslim women's intersectional identities, in this thesis, involve the exploration of embodiments of gender, religious and national identities at the crossroads of emotions and power in different spaces. The end result not only reflects the diversity of Muslim women's embodied identities but also the variation in each participant's religious, gender, cultural and national identities across places. The depth and extent of diversity among participants sets my research apart from other studies. Participants are not only from different ethnicities, nationalities, and professions but also from different migration patterns I interviewed international students, skilled migrants and refugees, as well as the first, second and third generations of migrants. Each participant's identity intersects their expression and embodiment of gender, their degree of religiosity, and their culture, generation and nationality.

Chapter 5 analysed the ways in which Muslim women's intersectional identities and emotions are constructed in relation to femininity, modesty, fashion, and nationality. This chapter used the body as the main unit of analysis. My study shows how the veil is worn and used in Hamilton, and how the styles of hijab vary among participants depending on intersections of the degree of religiosity, understanding of modesty and nationality. For participants, Islamic teachings and the Quran are primary sources for interpreting the meanings of the veil and modesty. Participants' narratives reflect that there is not one agreed-upon perspective on how these requirements are understood, translated and then embodied (Bartkowski & Read, 2003). The data demonstrates that the veil is many things to different people. It can be a symbol of modesty, women's intellect, respectability, or a tool for women's oppression.

By wearing and/or not wearing a veil, participants try to adhere to their values, social codes and groups, and to the acceptable social norms of the place they live in (Blumen, 2007; Gökariksel & Secor, 2014). Being a migrant and belonging to a minority group influences Muslim women's decisions on whether to wear or not to wear the veil. According to participants, other spatial factors and processes, such as family expectations and individual levels of religiosity, influence Muslim women's decisions about (not) wearing a veil and the styles of veils. There are extra pressures on migrant Muslim women to maintain and pass their cultural identity to the next generation. Gender is a critical factor in constructing a sense of cultural and religious responsibility of Muslim women. In Hamilton, women use their bodies as a medium to transmit cultural and Islamic values to the next generation of Muslims. These values and cultures, however, are diverse and constructed in relation to nationality and the religious perspectives of parents. The emotional and embodied experiences of participants' veiling suggest that it is not only a "discursive practice" but also "a practice informed by particular personal experiences, emotions, and quests" (Mansson McGinty, 2013, p. 688).

The narratives of participants who wear a veil shared a common assumption of the veil as a religious and gender practice associated with 'higher' modesty for Muslim women. Their revealed emotions towards the veil display that majority of participants feel positive and empowered by wearing it. Amplifying this group of Muslim women's voices could challenge dominant discourses and feelings of the majority that believe veiled Muslim women are all forced to wear the veil and are in need to be enlightened and civilised. There are, however, various ways that participants simultaneously express the religious and other aspects of their identities including nationality, ethnicity, sexuality, age and profession through their clothing, make-up and jewellery. The hair covering styles of Muslim women in Hamilton reflect what Dwyer calls "the dynamics of contemporary veiling practices" (Dwyer, 2008, p. 140). The younger participants, who were either born or raised in New Zealand, do not see being a Muslim woman as contrary to wearing fashionable clothes and, jewellery and make-up. Narratives and self-directed photography of participants reveal the ways through which the young Muslim

women dressed up to express their religion, nationality, ethnicity and their taste for fashion.

Most young Muslim women interviewed in this thesis self-identified themselves as Kiwi-Muslim women. Their photos, social activities and narratives elucidated the ways that their religious and national identities are mutually constituted. They express this intersectional identity through their bodies, such as engaging in volunteering community works and in the ways they show their national and religious identities on social media such as Facebook and Instagram. Results show that for this group of young Kiwi-Muslim women, their religious and national identities are mutually constructed and embodied. These findings contribute to the growing literature that highlights veiling practices as complex, contested and spatialised.

Participants' narrative and emotion maps show that their religious identity as Muslims creates feelings and senses of responsibilities in them that connect them to other geographical locations along with Hamilton. Based on these feelings, the respondents engaged in transnational humanitarian and supportive activities in different places and spaces in Hamilton. For example, some participants' feelings of solidarity with refugees and Palestinians have led to the emergence of rallies, non-governmental organisations and virtual support pages in Hamilton. These actions make and link the place to other spatial scales and transform it into a transnational space in which social interactions and emotional expressions are informed by structural powers embedded both in immediate landscapes and beyond (Dwyer, 2000; Mendoza & Morén-Alegret, 2013). The tendency to maintain transnational religious and cultural ties varied among participants depending on their migration history and conceptualisations of Islam and being a Muslim (Kong, 2010).

Muslim women's bodies are shaped by the spaces they occupy and move through (Hopkins, 2018; Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014; Valentine, 2007). For Muslims who follow orthodox interpretations of Islam, the veil is a main principle of Muslim women's identity. For participants in this research, the veil and modesty can be conceptualised and re-interpreted depending on place and space. As in previous

studies, the findings indicate that oppression experienced by Muslims is not gender-neutral and the Muslim veil, in particular, is a critical factor in producing anti-Muslim/Islam emotions, such as Othering and stigmatising actions toward Muslim women in Hamilton. While for some Muslim women the veil and related religious symbols are associated with love and solidarity, for some other non-Muslim people in Hamilton, these Islamic associations are considered fearful, unclean and troublesome (Listerborn, 2015).

In chapter 6, I examined the intersections of gender, religion and professionalism of Muslim women in healthcare and educational workplaces. Findings in this chapter illustrated the emotional and experiential dimensions of being a Muslim woman in healthcare and education institutions in Hamilton. The employment experiences of participants reflect that not all participants face discrimination, stigmatisation, trivialisation and exclusion when applying for a job. Participants' lived experiences also reveal that the veil is not the only, or even the primary, factor in excluding and marginalising Muslim women from workplaces. Instead, each respondent experienced employment differently depending on the intersections of her gender, religious, and professional identities (Valentine, 2007).

Analyses reveal that the availability of educational and healthcare institutions and specific skills shortages in Hamilton create an employment landscape that privileges certain sets of identities (Valentine & Waite, 2012). For instance, participants reported that veiled Muslim migrant women with professional medical qualifications faced little to no discrimination when apply for a job but it is challenging for other Muslim women who wear a veil and their professional skills are not listed under New Zealand labour market skills shortage. Findings reflected the ways that participants' clothes, accent and skin colours carry strong connotations at work and reveal individual affiliations to particular social groups. Chapter 6 represents evidence that intersectionality creates both privileges and disadvantages in relation to power relations of places (Brown, 2012). Participants experience workplace discrimination depended upon their occupation, English proficiency, clothing, and institutional culture.

The employment experiences of participants highlight the significant point raised by scholars including Dwyer (2000); Syed (2008); Syed and Pio (2010); Yeoh and Huang (2000). They argue that migrant women's experiences in the labour market are (re)constructed through the intersections of gender, religion, and professional skills in conjunction with various spatial contexts. Intersectional analyses of Muslim women's everyday experiences not only shed light on the ways in which they face discrimination, exclusion, trivialisation and isolation but also on the ways through which they feel and experience privilege, power and satisfaction (Brown, 2012; Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014). This chapter also tackled other aspects. The findings demonstrated how the intersection of profession, accent and skin-colour contributes to the emotional geographies of Muslim women and shapes their feelings of inclusion and/or exclusion in healthcare and education institutions in Hamilton. Participants' ethnicity, accents and veils provoke particular emotional and embodied reactions in their patients, clients and colleagues.

This research revealed some ways in which emotional geographies of the 'war on terror' are associated with gendered discourses about femininity, nationality and fashion to influence embodied identity constructions for Muslim women and their everyday experiences in Hamilton (Dwyer, 2000; Hopkins, 2009a, 2009b, 2017, 2018; Meer et al., 2010a). Embodied attributes such as dress styles, skin colour and the country of origin position them at various locations across socially constructed hierarchies. Along with their social positioning, the Muslim women's negotiating skills and intersections of their embodied identities construct their bodies as acceptable or unacceptable in different social spaces such as leisure and workspaces (McDowell, 2009).

This research fills a gap in current geographies of religion and faith identity at work. My study reveals the everyday politics of religious identity negotiations and enactments of Muslim women in their workplaces, using the scale of the body. In chapter 6, I emphasised the importance of the employment landscape, spatial relationships and various forms of Muslim women's religious re-interpretations and practices in healthcare and education institutions in Hamilton. This research contributes to a better understanding of religious identity at work and the ways

Muslim women negotiate and express (or do not express) their religion across workspaces.

Chapter 7 explored Muslim women's diverse understandings and experiences of play (sport and leisure) places. Participants' experiences of play show that conceptualisations of leisure and 'appropriate' places of play for Muslim women are based on the intersection of their gender, religion and culture as well as their generation and the country in which they were raised. These complex intersections where religious and cultural practices are embodied, carry both possibilities and challenges for Muslim women's participation in sports and leisure places.

The geographical location and spatial characteristics of Hamilton offer a range of play activities for participants, for example, proximity to several beaches and recreational areas. However, participants commented on the limited and restricted leisure activities at night in Hamilton because of the entanglements of some spatial issues such as inefficient public transportation, poor security, and lack of alcohol-free leisure facilities at night. These issues evoked some negative emotions in Muslim women about leisure spaces in Hamilton and produced feelings of being excluded from and neglected in nightlife leisure spaces.

For participants, the meanings of leisure and fun had much to do with the culture, religion, age and generation of the interviewed Muslim women. For some respondents, it is crucial to adhere to Islamic rules, such as eating halal food, not drinking alcohol and practising gender segregation within leisure spaces. The leisure activities and spaces of younger respondents reveal that this group of Muslim women create and enjoy fusion forms of play. They participate in Western feasts and leisure activities such as bachelorette parties, Halloween and balls while wearing their hijab. They dance in mixed gender places where alcohol is served such as the Sky City Casino, although they do not drink alcohol. Their sports and leisure activities show that they re-interpret their religion and adopt a flexible understanding of Islam that can co-exist alongside other cultures and religions. Their leisure activities, food and clothing in the spaces of play reveal participants' intersectional identities. These places are important sites where participants'

religion, ethnicity, gender and emotions are embodied and brought to being in relation to both Islamic and wider society's institutions.

The findings show how these women use their agency to create leisure spaces by negotiating their clothing, religious identities and changing the gender character of the mosque as a place for men (Bhimji, 2009; Huisman & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2005). Their activities in the mosque displayed how the identity of a place can be stabilised, de-stabilised and challenged through the embodied identities of the people who occupy, move and act within it (Valentine, 2007). The focus on leisure activities organised by religious organisations, Jamia Masjid and WOWMA, reveals an alternative and different discourse about their structural and material values to both Muslim and non-Muslim residents in Hamilton. The activities organised by Muslim women in the mosque and the Islamic organisation WOWMA challenge the skewed views that consider that these institutions only nurture extremist Muslims (see Dunn, 2005). Instead, these research findings reflect the ways in which such organisations become spaces for support, security and encouraging young Muslim women's integration into Hamilton's wider society (Brown, 2012).

Participants' narratives reflect the practical roles of local organisations, including WOWMA and the Red Cross, in facilitating Muslim women's and girls' participation in outdoor and physical activities. These non-governmental organisations should, then, be considered as spaces with the capacity to improve Muslim women's lives and facilitate women's access to and inclusion in various spaces including leisure places. In this way, these religious organisations promote peaceful coexistence in diversity by encouraging equal access to social resources.

Chapters 6 and 7 especially reflect the diverse ways participants' experienced and expressed the various forms of their embodied identities in work and play places. Their employment and leisure practices and negotiations implicate these Muslim migrant women in (re)shaping the social geographies of Muslims in the leisure and workplaces of Hamilton (McLean, 2014). This project shows emotions as subjective forces that have the power to change spatial orderings and social interactions between Muslim women and other people as well as between Muslim women and physical environments (Anderson & Smith, 2001).

The Muslim migrant respondents' experiences show that access to facilities and social spaces is complicated. Their narratives point to the shifting and fluid nature of constraints to places across time and individuals (Wagner & Peters, 2014). mutual efforts are needed to enable Muslim women's access to places and facilities, both from policymakers and Muslim women. On the one hand, policymakers in immigration institutions, workplaces and city councils should take into account Muslim migrant women's specific religious, cultural and gender needs when formulating rules and measures in relation to creating, organising and distributing facilities and opportunities. On the other hand, Muslim women as social actors should be flexible and develop skills to cope and negotiate with different and new social and cultural institutions and structures in receiving societies.

For some participants, being Muslim is not a primary identification in some spaces, for example at, work and/or in some leisure places. They do not acknowledge and practise all forms of their identities in each place. Displaying these variances in conceptualisation, practice and values of their identities opens up an alternative understanding of the gender and religious identities of Muslim women across time and place. Their narratives indicate connections and disconnections in the way they engage and embody their faith across spaces, which show that religious identity is a spatialised and continuous process. Therefore, their understandings and practices of representing their faith are constructed contextually and socially rather than being a pre-given category that is developed in isolation from the other forms of identity (Valentine, 2007). Thus, this research advocates for taking into account emotional and embodied notions of religion for Muslim women to comprehend more fully the relationships between embodied identities, emotions, place and power.

One of the main contributions of this study is problematising static thinking about the identities of Muslim women across time and place. Exploring the everyday experiences of ordinary Muslim women showed that the differences in and materiality of their bodies are important variables that shaped their feelings of being 'in' and/or 'out' of place. Moreover, their everyday experiences reveal that

racism, discrimination and Islamophobia-related incidents occur in the most mundane places and times in both subtle and blatant forms.

Intersectional analyses show the respondents' ability to actively reproduce and negotiate their embodied identities and emotions depending on space and place (Bolton & Boyd, 2003; Valentine, 2007). Muslim women in Hamilton negotiate their clothing, religion, feelings and emotions in both work and leisure places to overcome and cope with Othering discourses and material constraints. However, the availability of social resources, such as community services, religious and women's organisations, are crucial in helping Muslim women to develop coping strategies and negotiate challenges. Therefore, as Brah (1994, p. 152) puts it, "structure, culture and agency" are (re)constructed mutually and their formations occur in inextricably connected ways across several geographical scales.

My research shows that participants forge and act out their identities not only in relation to discourses but also depending on the physical characteristics of the environment in different places in Hamilton and New Zealand. Their use of veils, as a situated practice, is flexible and contingently shaped about contexts (Gökariksel & Secor, 2014; Secor, 2002). This argument resonates with discussions by feminists that embodied identity is an emergent process with a multifaceted nature, which is individual, social, place-based and discursive (Dwyer, 2000; Johnston & Longhurst, 2010; Wetherell, 2013).

The intersectional examining of everyday experiences of Muslim women show their complex and contested social positions in Hamilton society. The lived experiences of Muslim women show that intersections of varied emotions, infused with anti-Islam and anti-Migrant discourses, lead to the creation of conflicting emotions in and around participants' bodies (Holland & Solomon, 2014; Solomon, 2012). Thus, the women interviewed experienced a range of feelings in and across bodies, work and leisure places, sometimes feeling welcomed and included and sometimes feeling rejected and excluded.

Importantly, this research contributes to the international scholarship exploring the geographies of Islam and Muslim women's identity and emotions in smaller

cities beyond the metropolitan and Eurocentric cities such as London, Brussels and Paris (Mansson McGinty, 2013; McLean, 2014). Using Hamilton as the research area, my work contributes to a growing literature on the importance of understanding experiences of spatialized inequalities in relation to the issues around diversity, gender, Muslim and migrant identities and the emotional geographies of smaller cities (McLean, 2014).

The narratives and experiences of Muslim women in Hamilton show that they do not consider the West and Islam as two irreconcilable and separate cultures. Their embodied identities of being Muslim, New Zealanders and fashionable reveal that some young participants in Hamilton compose their bodies in ways that mean Islamic and Western cultures are forged and expressed in new ways. Particularly, the younger group of Muslim women engaged in political, social and leisure activities that show their links and commitments to Islamic values such as collecting money for Muslim people in war-zone Islamic countries. At the same time, they become involved in activities reflecting so-called Western values of gender equality, democracy and liberty, such as doing voluntary work to increase public knowledge about health-related issues.

Moreover, this research contributes to developing knowledge of the embodied geographies of the veil and Muslim women's embodied identities in Hamilton as a city with a growing population from diverse ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds. Participants' photos, stories and emotion maps reveal specific challenges and opportunities that are created by the geographies of Hamilton. This research data provides stories of Muslim women that are contrary to essentialist images of them in the dominant discourses. Through this, embodied identities of these women have been presented that stand beyond the normative understanding and perceptions of Muslim women in the West, that is, domestic, and anti-Western culture and fashion. The Muslim women interviewed were very diverse, and this diversity has created various Muslim women's communities in Hamilton based on age, ethnicity, and profession.

Findings show spaces are mutually formed and reshaped by the cultures and beliefs of the people who occupy these spaces, and there are many spillovers from

one domain to another (McDowell, 2008; Staines, 1980). The porous and intricate boundaries among these domains are crossed, reshaped and disturbed by several factors and processes including Muslim women's bodies and the intersections of any particular forms of Muslim women's identities with different aspects of spaces (Ali, Malik, Pereira, & Al Ariss, 2016; Staines, 1980).

This in-depth qualitative research adds to the literature aiming to challenge the view of Muslim women as oppressed, domestic and a threat to national security and the equality of genders in the West. Intersectional exploration of Muslim women's experiences shows that their religious identities as Muslim are multiple. Being Muslim is not a fixed identity but rather the evolving result of ongoing temporal and spatial negotiations between individual (private) and public spaces (Brown, 2000).

The findings lay out that Muslim women's identities in Hamilton are constructed from many pieces, including religion, gender, nationality, culture, migration and profession. Each piece or aspect of identity is co-constructed about other aspects and is dependent on place and time. The findings suggest that religion and nationality are more slippery notions than those reflected in policy and scholarship, which conceptualise these issues as a static and non-relational basis for categorisation (Nayak, 2011).

Participants' everyday experiences indicate that they cannot be categorised within a single category of Muslims or a two-dimensional category of Muslim women. Their experiences of gender, religion, nationality and profession categories are not formed in isolation but in intersecting ways whereby each aspect changes and affects the experience of the other aspects (Hopkins, 2018). Their narratives show how a small group of Muslim women can (re)produce alternative accounts of religious, national, culture and migrant identities, which challenge dominant religious and gender discourses.

8.2 Future research

Although research on the geographies of Muslim migrant women is growing (Bhimji, 2009; Meer et al., 2010b; Siraj, 2011; Warren, 2016), I argue that there is

still a crucial need to conduct more empirical research to understand the diversity of identity, experiences, oppression and privileges among these women. Today, the binary understanding of the veil, as a contradiction to modernity and liberation, does not hold steady, and many researchers have tackled and deconstructed such essentialist perspectives of Muslim women as oppressed and oppressor (Dwyer & Crang, 2002; Gökariksel & Secor, 2014; Mansson McGinty, 2013). Gender and racial discourses run through hegemonic media and popular discourses, which reproduce such partial understandings and binary perspectives of Muslim women. Challenging such conceptualisations of Muslim women as oppressed, victims or security threats requires taking into account the crucial role of spatiality and emotions in the construction of people's identities and everyday practices. Therefore, research is needed to explore the intersections of Muslim women's identities, emotions and space, in a variety of contexts, in both urban and rural areas, within the West.

The focus and scope of this research were on the relationships between embodied identities, emotions and power structures in education, employment and leisure spaces. The collected data, however, display lines of inquiry that have not been addressed due to the scope of this research, which calls for further investigations and research in the future. Although I tried to maximise the diversity of respondents, time constraints prevented me from reaching certain groups of Muslim women who live in Hamilton.

Researchers interested in the geographies of faith and Muslim women in the West could benefit from employing the approaches suggested by Hopkins (2009a, 2018). He argues that geographers can contribute to expanding understanding about Muslims and Islam by focusing their attention on research that explores how Muslims of different ages experience, manage and negotiate their intersectional identities in various places such as homes, schools, and workplaces.

Notably, children of refugee Muslim families were reported to face social, emotional and educational challenges at school during the first years of their resettlement in Hamilton. Research on these children's everyday lives, social interactions and emotions will provide valuable knowledge to improve policies

aiming to enhance the wellbeing and inclusion of young refugees coming to an unfamiliar environment with distinct language and culture barriers because of forced migration.

The oldest respondent in my research was 55. Therefore, I did not have the opportunity to include the experiences and stories of elderly Muslim women. How this age group embodies faith and experiences leisure spaces is not presented here. Do they feel included or/and excluded from different spaces in Hamilton? What are their challenges and opportunities as elderly Muslim migrant women living in Hamilton? These questions are some potential research maps for future studies.

I only interviewed two Māori women who had converted to Islam. Thus, this thesis could not provide in-depth data on how intersections of indigeneity, religion, and gender contribute to the construction of embodied identities and their experiences of places. Future research could be conducted to explore the relationship between identity, place, emotion and power structures for indigenous women who have converted to Islam.

Topics related to sexuality and heterosexuality were absent in the majority of interview sessions. Only two participants pointed out these issues. The geographies of Muslims' sexuality and identities and the experiences of gay Muslims are poorly researched and understood. There is little research on how Muslims understand and react to gay and lesbian Muslims; how gay and lesbian Muslims intersect their faith and sexual identities (see Roodsaz & Jansen, 2018); and how a gay or lesbian migrant Muslim may face discrimination and oppression at the intersections of dominant power structures of heterosexuality, Islamophobia and racism. All of these concerns suggest that future research should include participants from a wider range of religions, ages, sexualities and genders while exploring the relationship between embodied geographies of Muslim people, place, emotion and power relations. My concern is that lack of data on the lives and identities of lesbian, gay and transsexual Muslims means that their challenges and issues remain concealed and unnoticed.

Importantly, the intersectional relationships between identity, emotions, power and place mean there is a need for interdisciplinary approaches to study Muslim women's experiences of inequalities and opportunities. The lived experiences of Muslim women in Hamilton show that not only are their religious identities embodied in diverse ways, but also that their understandings and feelings of inequalities and opportunities are different. Thus, to address Muslim women's issues in depth, academics and local organisations should conduct research and projects using intersectional approaches. In this way, opportunities will be created to reach Muslim women's collective and individual experiences of place.

To sum up, this thesis has produced a critical and intersectional understanding of Muslim women's identities in Hamilton, New Zealand. These data provide a counter-understanding to those dominant discourses that construct Muslim women's identities as homogenous and static. The results show multiple and dynamic ways that Muslim women express their gender, religious, national and professional identities in Hamilton. This research contributes to the growing geographical scholarship on the embodied and emotional geographies of Muslim women by teasing out and presenting the intersectional co-constitution between embodied identities, emotions, place and power for Muslim women in Hamilton, New Zealand. This research makes a theoretical and empirical contribution towards feminist, cultural, social, embodied and emotional geographies by providing an explicitly spatialised perspective on contemporary Muslim women's experiences across three spaces of the body, work and play.

I hope the findings of my research challenge and inspire further research about the diversity of Muslim women, their experiences, emotions and feelings, as well as the intersectional and mutual relationship that exists between their embodied identities and places.

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Appendix 1 Information sheet

Information Sheet

Geography Programme School of Social Sciences Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences <i>Te Kura Kete Aronui</i> The University of Waikato Private Bag 3105 Hamilton, New Zealand	PhD Researcher: Anoosh Soltani Phone +64 22 357 9028 Fax +64 7 838 4633 em:as347@students.waikato.nz.ac	 THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO <i>Tū Whare Wānanga o Waikato</i>
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The research - Thank you for taking time to consider this research. I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Waikato. I am doing research on the everyday lives of Muslim women in the Waikato region. My overall aim is to understand how Muslim women feel about their places and spaces - such as home, workplaces, shopping and leisure areas. By doing this research I hope to understand more about Muslim women's capacities, competences, challenges, needs and well-being.

Your involvement – In order to gain an in-depth understanding of Muslim women's lives in the Waikato region, I would like to invite you to participate in an interview. I will ask you questions relating to your everyday life. The questions cover topics related to your feelings about particular places, for example, your: home; family spaces; work places; and leisure areas. Our interview will last about 60 minutes, and be conducted at a place and time that suits you.

At the interview, you will also be invited to another stage of the research. You will be asked if you could take photographs of your everyday spaces and places. These photos may allow you to express some information and feelings that complement and extend the interview. If you decide to take photographs, you may email them to me at any time.

Confidentiality – I will ensure that all written notes and transcripts will be kept in my personal care and stored in a private office at the University. Any information stored on a computer will be accessible only by password that will

be changed regularly. All discussion held within the interview will be treated as private and confidential and will not be shared with anyone outside of the situation. Unless your permission is obtained, your name, photograph, or any other identifying characteristics will not be disclosed in the final report or any other reports produced in the course of this research. Any people who appear in photographs will be digitally enhanced so that they cannot be recognised.

Participants' rights – As a participant of this research you have the right to:

- decline to participate;
- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from any or all parts of the research;
- withdraw from the research up to four weeks after receiving the interview transcript;
- request that any material be erased, changed or added up to four weeks after receiving the interview transcript;
- decline to be audio recorded;
- ask any questions about the research at any time during your participation.

The findings – the results of this project will be used as part of my PhD thesis. Four copies of my thesis will be produced; three hardcopies and one accessible online. The research findings may also be used in conference presentations and journal publications. A transcript of your interview will be sent to you to ensure accuracy of the information.

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of the University of Waikato. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240. If you would like to participate please contact me.

Contact Information:

Anoosh Soltani (Researcher)
email: as347@students.waikato.ac.nz
Cell phone: +64 22 357 9028
Fax : +64(0)78384633
Office:

Lynda Johnston (Chief Supervisor)
Email: lyndaj@waikato.ac.nz
Contact: + 64 7 838 4466 Ext. 8795

Robyn Longhurst (Co-supervisor)
Email: robyn.l@waikato.ac.nz
Contact: + 64 7 838 4466 Ext. 8306

Appendix 2 Muslim women consent form

Geography Programme PhD Researcher: Anoosh Soltani
School of Social Sciences Phone +64 22 357 9028
Faculty of Arts & Social Fax +64 7 838 4633
Sciences em:as347@students.waikato.nz.ac
Te Kura Kete Aronui
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand



Consent Form

I have read and I understand the Information Sheet and am willing to take part in the research project 'The Everyday Lives of Muslim Women in the Waikato Region'. I have had the opportunity to discuss this study and I am satisfied with the answers I have been given. I understand that (please tick where appropriate):

- Taking part in this study is voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time up until three weeks following my involvement in any or all stages of research and to decline to answer any individual questions in the study.
- My participation in this study is confidential. Without prior consent, no material which could identify me, including photographs, will be used in any reports generated from this study.
- If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of the research I can contact the Secretary of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Ethics Committee by email: fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, or by postal address: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

I consent to participate in all or both of the research options, but am aware that I can change my decision at any time by contacting the researcher (please tick where appropriate):

- Interview
- Self-directed Photography

I consent to our conversation being audio-recorded

YES/NO

"I agree to participate in this research and acknowledge receipt of a copy of this Consent Form and the research project Information Sheet."

Participant's name and signature:

Date:

Researcher's name and signature:

Date:

Please fill in the following information if you are interested in being provided with a copy of the interview transcripts for editing and/or a summary of the main findings and/or if you are taking photographs.

Name:

Address:

Contact Information

Anoosh Soltani (Researcher)
email: as347@students.waikato.ac.nz
Cell phone: +64 22 357 9028
Fax: +64(0)78384633

Lynda Johnston (Chief Supervisor)
Email: lyndaj@waikato.ac.nz
Contact: + 64 7 838 4466 Ext. 8795

Robyn Longhurst (Co-supervisor)
Email: robyn.l@waikato.ac.nz
Contact: + 64 7 838 4466 Ext. 8306

Appendix 3 Recruitment poster



The Everyday Spaces and Places of Muslim Women in Hamilton, Waikato, Aotearoa New Zealand

I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Waikato and a new migrant to Hamilton. I am doing research on the everyday spaces and places of Muslim women in the Waikato region. My overall aim is to develop a deeper understanding of where Muslim women may feel 'in' and/or 'out of place'. I'm interested in how you feel about living here.

I invite you to participate in a conversation lasting approximately 60 minutes. The topics relate to how you feel about particular places, for example: your home; family spaces; work places; shopping and leisure areas. Our meeting will be conducted in a time and place that will be convenient to you.

You may request an individual conversation, or bring a friend or family member. The research has been approved by the University of Waikato Research Ethics Committee. I will keep all information confidential.

For a copy of a detailed information sheet, contact

PhD Researcher: Anoosh Soltani

Phone 022 357 9028

Fax (07) 838 4633

Email as347@students.waikato.ac.nz and/or my supervisor

Professor Lynda Johnston

Phone (07) 838 4466 ext 8795

Email lyndaj@waikato.ac.nz



Appendix 4 Muslim women's interview question schedule

Gender identity

Can you please draw yourself and then write on at least 5 things (characteristics or traits) that describe you?

Can you please draw the places in Hamilton (or the Waikato region) that you regularly visit? How do you feel when you are in these places?

Home and community

Tell me about your family (prompt: children-husband-siblings-relatives-close friends)

What are your roles at home?

What language do you speak usually in your home?

Do you belong to any organizations? If so which ones?

What role does Islam play in your daily life? How often do you go to a religious centre such as a mosque?

Leisure

What do you do to have fun?

Are you, or any of your family, involved in any organised sport or recreational activities?

Work

Are you in, or have you had, paid employment in Hamilton or the Waikato region?

What are your experiences of this employment?

Mobility

Describe a typical week for you (prompt: work-childcare-leisure-shopping-medical appointments).

How do you move around the city/region (transport, walking, buses etc.)?

Tell me about your experiences moving around the city. How do you feel in different places?

Aspirational

Do you think Hamilton is a welcoming place for Muslim families, and women in particular?

Does Hamilton meet the needs of Muslim women?

If you could change anything about Hamilton (or the Waikato region), what would it be?

Appendix 5 List of counselling/support services

Organization Name	Contact Number
Women's Refuge New Zealand	0800 REFUGE (733 843)
SHAMA Hamilton Ethnic Women's Centre Trust	07 838 2660
Shakti New Zealand	0800SHAKTI
Safe Homes in NZ everyday	0508 744 633
Relationship Services	0800 RELATE (0800 735 283)
Child, Youth and Family	0508 FAMILY (0508 326 459)

Appendix 6 Muslim women questionnaire

Interview number: (these sheets will be numbered, not named) _____

Age:

19-24	<input type="radio"/>	45-49	<input type="radio"/>
25-29	<input type="radio"/>	50-54	<input type="radio"/>
30-34	<input type="radio"/>	55-59	<input type="radio"/>
35-39	<input type="radio"/>	60-64	<input type="radio"/>
40-44	<input type="radio"/>	65 and over	<input type="radio"/>

Household composition:

Number of adults in the household _____

Number of children in the household (under 18) _____

Nationality:

Ethnicity:

Occupation:

Education:

Employment status of household:

1 worker	<input type="radio"/>	2 workers	<input type="radio"/>
3 workers and more	<input type="radio"/>	No workers	<input type="radio"/>

Income:

Less than \$20,000	<input type="radio"/>	\$20,000-30,000	<input type="radio"/>
\$31,000-40,000	<input type="radio"/>	\$41,000-50,000	<input type="radio"/>
\$51,000-60,000	<input type="radio"/>	\$61,000-70,000	<input type="radio"/>
		More than \$71,000	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix 7 Informants' questionnaire

Responsibilities and Job Description

1. Can you describe your work and area of responsibility? What size population does your organization serve?
2. How long have you been in this position?

Muslim Women's Lives in Waikato

3. A study conducted by Victoria University with 180 Muslim youth shows 64% of these young people either feel discriminated against or have experienced teasing on account of their background. How do you describe the position and situation of Muslim women within Hamilton and Waikato region?
4. In my study, all the participants are educated middle class women, may I ask how do you think socio-economic backgrounds, and ethnic/nationality differences affect Muslim women situation in Hamilton?
5. What are the main challenges for this group, could you give some examples please?
6. Could you please talk about the opportunities available for these Muslim women here?
7. In your opinion, what are the priorities that must be addressed?
8. Does your organization/association work on cases involving violence and discrimination towards Muslim women?
9. How are these women equipped in order to address these issues?
10. How can these women be assisted by the state and law? Are they successful at prosecuting their cases?
11. On bright side, could you talk about positive stories about Muslim women in Hamilton?
12. How a small 'city' like Hamilton can facilitate or restrict connections across ethnic groups?

Future

Can you explain a little bit about what needs to be achieved regarding promoting a good quality of life for Muslim women in the Waikato region?

Appendix 8 Ethical approval letter

5 March 2015

Dear Anoosh

Re: FS2015-03 Affectual and emotional geographies of Muslim women in Hamilton, Waikato, New Zealand

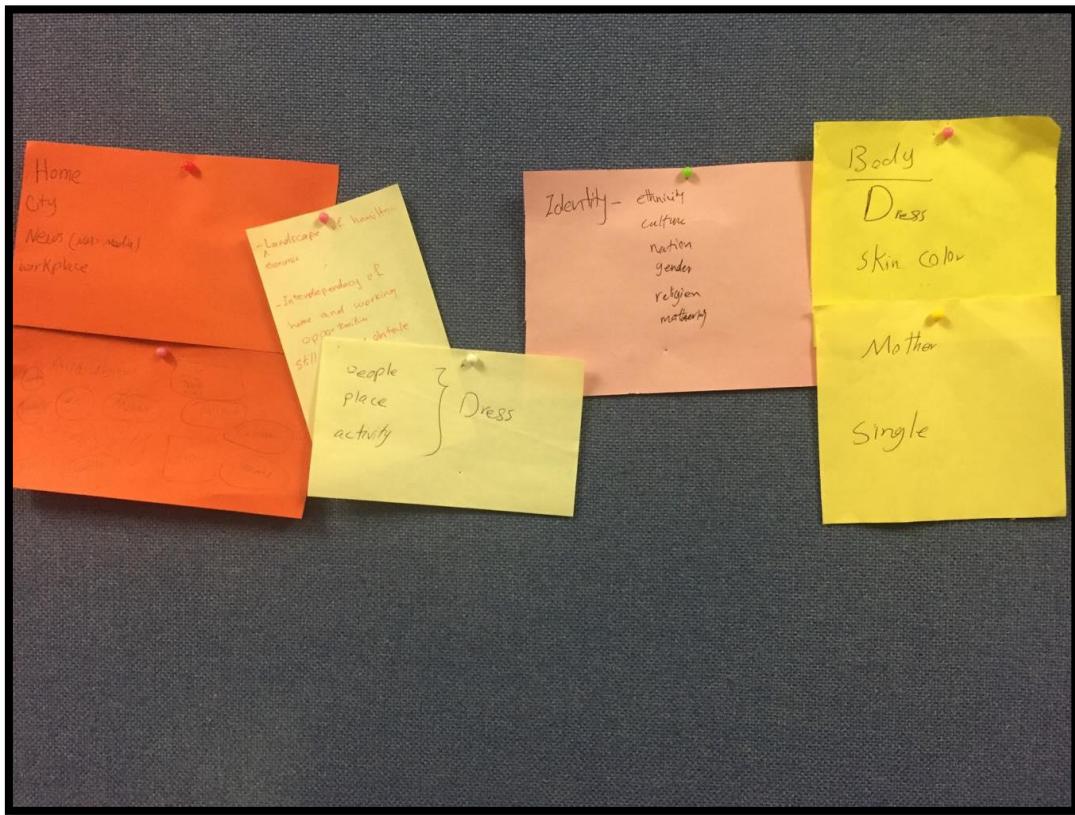
Thank you for submitting a second application to me. Your new approach answers all the questions the committee had and I am very happy to give you formal ethical approval.

I wish you well with your research.

Kind regards,

Ruth Walker
Chair
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee.

Appendix 9 Thematic coding



Organising and relating the research themes