Exploring the valued participation of female refugees from Muslim countries within a Dutch emancipation and integration policy context

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Anna Wemmenhove (5786983)

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Social Policy and Public Health

Utrecht University

Supervisor: Dr. Mara Yerkes

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Abstract

Due to shifting goals in Dutch emancipation and integration policies, these two have become inextricably linked, focussing on the emancipation of refugee women from Muslim countries. Emancipation means abandoning presumed traditional gender role patterns in exchange for egalitarian gender role patterns, allowing these women to participate in Dutch society, which equates to participating in paid employment and becoming financially independent. Due to these assumptions about refugee women from Muslim countries and a unilateral focus on labour market participation, what is valued by women themselves regarding participation is often ignored. This case study uses a Capability Approach to gain insight into what female refugees from Muslim countries value in terms of participation in the Netherlands, how this relates to what policies expect from them and how differences between the two can be explained. Secondary analysis of interview data from refugee women who fled from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Somalia is used to investigate their valued participation. Results show that the valued participation of female refugees in the Netherlands is multi-facetted with a strong focus on contributing to the lives of others. Women define societal participation beyond having paid work, the ultimate Dutch policy goal. Differences between policy standards and valued participation of refugee women can explained by looking at factors that underlie valued participation, including egalitarian gender norms and the ability to give back. While both female refugees and emancipation policy focus on the importance of egalitarian gender roles, refugee women take a broader view and find it important that women have the freedom to choose options other than paid work. This stands in contrast to what Dutch emancipation policy requires from women from Muslim backgrounds.

Introduction

For many years, there was little to no attention for the emancipation of non-Western[1] migrant women in the Netherlands (Prins & Saharso, 2008; Roggebrand & Verloo, 2007). Gender equality policy, in the Netherlands known as emancipation policy, focussed particularly on native Dutch women (Prins & Saharso, 2008). However, when the focus of emancipation policy shifted towards women's labour market participation and economic independence in the late 1990's, migrant women became the primary target of emancipation policy, as their labour market participation lagged behind that of native women. Since the labour market participation of Surinamese and Antillean women was above average, policy targeted Turkish, Moroccan, Iraqi, Iranian and Somali women. Because these women are from Islamic countries, they are often assumed to be Muslims and reduced to 'Muslim women' by policymakers (Ghorashi, 2010; Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013; Prins & Saharso, 2008; Roggebrand & Verloo, 2007).

This targeting of 'Muslim women' in emancipation policy is also true for new migrants, including refugees. As emancipation policy shifted, so too did integration policies, shifting their focus from multiculturalism to assimilation and cultural adaptation (Roggebrand & Verloo, 2007; Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2016). Muslim women are now the main targets of integration policy as their religion and cultural heritage are perceived as conflicting with 'progressive' Dutch norms regarding gender equality. These women are seen as passive victims that are oppressed by their culture (Ghorashi, 2010; Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013; Roggebrand & Verloo, 2007).

According to policy makers, Muslim women, including refugees, need to emancipate; they should abandon their oppressing culture and traditional gender role patterns that prevent them from participating in Dutch society. In 2003 the minister of Social Affairs & Employment and the minister of Foreigner's Affairs & Integration jointly launched the nationwide 'Plan to address the Emancipation and Integration of Women and Girls of Ethnic Minorities' (in short: Integration Plan) to enhance minority women and girls' participation in the Dutch society, mainly focussing on labour market participation. Consequently, emancipation and integration policy goals become inextricably linked (Korteweg &

[1] Defined by the WRR the as non-Western countries of origin: Turkey, all African, Latin-American and Asian countries except for Japan, Indonesia and former Soviet countries. Classification is based on a country's prosperity and cultural proximity to the Netherlands. Japan is defined as a Western country regarding its high prosperity levels and Indonesians are Western migrants as the majority of Indonesians in the Netherlands are perceived as (descendants of) Dutch colonials from former Dutch East Indies (Bovens, Bokhorst, Jennissen & Engbersen, 2016).

Triadafilopoulos, 2013; Roggebrand & Verloo, 2007). As the focus of emancipation policy shifts to migrant women, the emancipation of native women is seen as 'finished' and has become a yardstick of excellence against which the emancipation of migrant women is measured. Native women have become 'liberal' role models for 'traditional' migrant women. However, by presenting native women as role models for emancipation, policy makers neglect persisting inequalities between Dutch women and men regarding salary, hours of paid work and the division of household tasks (Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013; Lutz,1997).

Both integration and emancipation policies are aimed at helping Muslim women to emancipate and to improve their labour market participation, yet they do not necessarily correspond with the competencies and wishes of these women themselves. Ghorashi (2010) and Felten (2019) show that top-down emancipation initiatives that focus mainly on the shortcomings of women from Islamic backgrounds and generalize them as victims of traditional gender role patterns in need of help often neglect women's own capabilities and contribute only marginally to actual emancipation.

Differences between what policy makers are attempting to achieve regarding Muslim women's emancipation and participation, and the participation valued by these women themselves have the potential to create failed policies and can even lead to social tensions. Therefore, it is important to understand what female refugees value in terms of participation and the role of integration and emancipation policies in achieving this. This requires a broader view on emancipation, beyond the focus on labour market participation, as has been the main focus in previous research (Bevelander & Groeneveld, 2012).

For these reasons, this research takes a Capability Approach (CA) to evaluating what female refugees from Muslim countries value in relation to participation. The CA prescribes a focus on the real freedoms that individuals have for living a valuable life. Capabilities are an individual's opportunities for achieving a desired outcome (Robeyns, 2003, 2005; Yerkes, et al.,2019). However, individuals do not all have the same opportunities to achieve an outcome as capabilities depend on their resources, contextual and relational factors such as social norms and corresponding gender role patterns and an individual's agency (Robeyns, 2005; Yerkes et al.,2019). Social policies can also play an important role in shaping an individual's capabilities as they set a normative standard (Hobson, 2011;Yerkes et al., 2019). By evaluating the participation valued by female refugees from Muslim countries within the context of Dutch integration and emancipation policies, it is possible to identify their opportunities for pursuing valued beings and doings as newcomers in Dutch society.

Theoretical Framework

Emancipation, gender and gender norms

In order to understand how gender norms implicit and explicit in Dutch emancipation and integration policies shape female participation, it is necessary to define integration and emancipation, especially since the meaning of both concepts has changed over the years. Integration policies in the 1990's shifted their focus from multiculturalism, the recognition of diversity, towards cultural integration and assimilation of immigrants. Consequently, integration policies now require cultural adaptation: newcomers must embrace progressive values regarding gender and sexuality, values presented as inherent to Dutch culture (Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2016). For Muslim women in particular, integration now means emancipation. In the current policy context, emancipation has come to be equated with achieving economic goals: women's labour market participation and economic independence (Outshoorn, 2002; Prins & Saharso, 2008; Roggebrand & Verloo, 2007). However, this has not always been the case. During first-wave feminism from the 1870's-1920's, emancipation meant attaining general women's suffrage. During second-wave feminism in the late 1960's, 1970's and 1980's, emancipation goals of women's movements were multiple and included equal chances in education and employment (Outshoorn, 2002). Pressurized by women's movements, the Dutch government in the 1970's developed emancipation policies to enhance women's' legal and educational position and to inspire a mentality change regarding existing gender role patterns. Economic goals became priority in emancipation policy in the late 1990's (Prins & Saharso, 2008).

The way in which emancipation is defined in policies matters because these ideas, inherent in policy, help to shape gender roles in society (Béland, 2009). Gender roles are the behaviours and attitudes a society expects from each gender. Gender refers to the social, cultural and psychological traits that we link to males and females through particular social contexts. Gender therefore means what society views as acceptable feminine and masculine traits and behaviour (Lindsey, 2015). Gender is not static, it is a social construction: it is constantly created and recreated in social interaction by individuals living up to normative conceptions of gender, or exploring the limits of what is acceptable, and by others assessing their behaviour. Gender, however, is not only something that individuals 'do' (West & Zimmerman, 1987), it is also a social structure that is deeply embedded in our lives, often taken for granted. Individuals unconsciously take on roles based on internalized societal norms, hereby contributing to existing gender relations and power structures. Thus, gender is

a social structure, but the structure is not unchangeable. Although humans are often unconscious of the influence of gender on their daily lives, they can reflexively monitor the intended and unintended consequences of their behaviour and sometimes change the structure (Risman & Davis, 2013).

In the Netherlands, dominant perceptions of gender were changed through the efforts of feminist movements, supported by governmental emancipation policy that focussed on changing traditional gender role patterns. Before second-wave feminism, the ruling perceptions regarding gender were based on difference and inequality: A strict hierarchy between men and women existed. Men and 'masculine' traits were seen as superior, just as women and 'feminine' traits were seen as inferior. Married women had to ask their husbands' permission before signing an employment contract and were perceived as being legally incapacitated (Outshoorn, 2002). There was also a strict task division in the household, reflecting a traditional gender role pattern: men were breadwinners and women were responsible for (child)care and household chores. After second-wave feminism, equality became the new gender norm and gender role patterns have increasingly become more egalitarian; both men and women now can participate in paid labour, household chores and care tasks (Outshoorn, 2002).

Current Dutch emancipation policy is focussed on increasing female labour market participation and economic independence, but egalitarian gender roles remain absent in practice: egalitarian divisions of paid work and unpaid work are not occurring and remain 'gendered' (Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013; Portegijs & Van Den Brakel, 2018).The Netherlands is dominated by the one-and-a-half-earner model, with men in full-time employment and women working part-time, while taking on the majority of household and care tasks (Yerkes & Den Dulk, 2015).

These conceptions of gender, strengthened by policy ideas of emancipation and integration, form the societal context that female refugees from Muslim countries enter into when settling in the Netherlands. Immigrants' ideas however, are influenced by policies and norms from their countries of origin (Berry et al., 1989).

In Islamic countries, traditional gender role patterns still predominate (Mehran, 2003). Men dominate the public life of education, paid labour and politics. A strict task division has traditionally been inspired by cultural and religious inclinations: in Islamic culture, the family is the fundamental unit of society and raising children to become 'committed Muslims' is

seen as the fundamental task for mothers. Men, on the other hand, are assigned the role of breadwinner that has to provide for their family's subsistence, so that their wives can commit themselves to the upbringing of their children. Because men provide for their family's subsistence, women have to obey them. The prevailing gender norms therefore presume inequality (Moghadam, 2004; Korotayev et al., 2015). Efforts of intellectuals and feminist movements have led to emancipation policies that have, to some extent, increased gender equality: women's education and work in traditional jobs such as medicine, teaching and nursing have become undisputed in most Islamic countries (Sidani, 2005). Although emancipation policies are deployed to enhance female participation in education, paid labour and politics, they remain focussed on women as caregivers. Therefore, female labour market participation and political representation remain low and existing gender roles remain mostly unchallenged (Mehran, 2003).

Empirically, there seems to be little support for the idea that migrants' norms greatly differ from norms in their country of settlement. Differences in cultural norms and values are smaller than we assume. Norris and Inglehart (2012) demonstrate that values of immigrants from Muslim countries fall roughly in the middle between dominant values from their country of origin and the dominant values from their country of destination. When it comes to gender equality, migrant norms are more in sync with norms in Western countries than with norms in their country of origin (Arends-Tóth & Van De Vijver, 2009; Norris & Inglehart; 2012). Arends-Tóth and Van De Vijver (2009) find no significant differences in gender norms between immigrants from Muslim countries and their native peers when controlled for age, gender and education level. Regardless of country of origin, people who are young, higher educated and female are more likely to support egalitarian gender norms, than older, lower educated males (Arends-Tóth & Van De Vijver, 2009).

To evaluate how gender norms and gender roles inherent in Dutch emancipation policy shape the valued participation of female refugees, the Capability Approach will be used.

Capability Approach

The Capability Approach (CA), developed by Sen (1992) is a normative framework that can be used to study individual well-being. According to the CA, when evaluating well-being, the focus should not be on people's financial resources, but on the freedoms they have to undertake the actions and activities they want to engage in and to be whom they want to be. These freedoms or 'real opportunities' to achieve certain doings and beings, in CA terms, *functionings*, are an individual's *capabilities*. *Valued functionings* represent doings and beings

that an individual has reason to value (Kurowska, 2018; Yerkes et al.,2019). Being a stay-at-home mom is a *functioning* and the opportunity to be a stay-at-home mom is the corresponding capability (Robeyns, 2003, 2005; Yerkes et al., 2019). In the CA, there is a distinction between *achieved funtionings,* representing an outcome, versus capabilities, the effective possibilities or opportunities for an outcome (Robeyns, 2005).

The CA views an individual's opportunities to achieve a desired outcome to be dependent on their resources, conversion factors and their agency. Resources are the economic, political, cultural and social means that an individual can access (Robeyns, 2003, 2005; Yerkes et al., 2019). These do not determine an individual's well-being, but can be viewed as a resource to enhance (or deteriorate) well-being (Robeyns, 2003). The CA focusses on how resources can be translated into capabilities by individuals who are relationally embedded in personal and social contexts. These relational and contextual factors, known as *conversion factors,* show the process through which individuals with differing freedoms to act convert resources into capabilities (Yerkes et al., 2019). Robeyns (2005) distinguishes three types of conversion factors. Personal conversion factors include characteristics of the individual: age, gender, physical condition and intelligence. Social conversion factors include characteristics of the society the individual is a part of and encompass social norms, societal hierarchies, gender roles and power relations. Environmental conversion factors are, for example, the climate or a geographical location (Robeyns, 2005). Conversion factors on all levels interact and make up an individual's unique capability set: the options from which an individual chooses (Yerkes et al., 2019).

These conversion factors play a large role in translating resources into real opportunities (Robeyns, 2005: Yerkes et al.,2019). According to Robeyns (2003), an individual's choice for pursuing a certain doing or being is highly shaped (or restricted) by social norms and corresponding gender roles. This research will therefore mainly focus on the role of conversion factors in explaining the valued participation of female refugees.

In order to research how policies may influence the valued participation of refugee women, attention needs to be paid to their role within the CA. Social policies can be either resources, as access to a certain policy can help an individual to reach a certain outcome, or conversion factors with normative functions, or can take on the role of both resources and conversion factors (Hobson, 2011; Kurowksa; 2018; Yerkes et al., 2019). Hobson et al. (2011) provide, by looking into working hour regimes, legally contracted working hours, an example of the normative function of policy. These contracts not only reflect the legal working hours, but

also societal expectations: in certain ‘feminized’ sectors of the labour market, part-time contracts are the standard, expressing the social norm that women should work part-time and combine work and care, which can affect women’s capabilities (Hobson, et al., 2011).

Emancipation and integration policies, including the Integration Plan developed by the Dutch government, do not necessarily provide resources enabling ‘Muslim women’ to enter the labour market, but rather create a normative standard of emancipation that they have to meet and bring this standard to their attention (Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013). An audit of emancipation policy between 2011 and 2014 provides evidence for this and states emancipation policy’s main purpose is agenda setting (Auditdienst Rijk, 2014).

Emancipation and integration policies therefore can be seen as what Hobson (2011) calls normative structures that affect an individual’s freedom of choice and can be viewed as conversion factors as they contribute to normative standards regarding gender equality. With the emergence of new policies, these norms can change.

Research Question

This research uses a Capability Approach to analyse what female refugees from Muslim countries value in relation to participation in a Dutch emancipation and integration policy context. In line with the theoretical framework, the following research question and sub-questions are answered:

What do female refugees from Muslim countries in the Netherlands value in relation to participation and how are their capabilities for achieving this valued participation shaped by gender roles and cultural assumptions inherent in Dutch integration and emancipation policies?

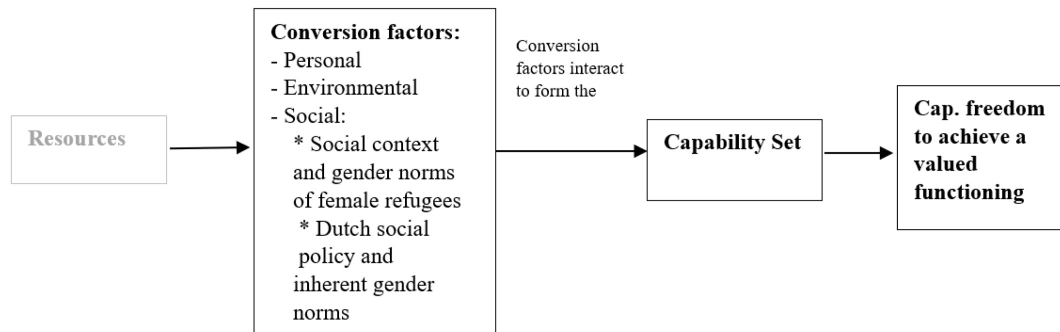
- What is the valued participation of female refugees from Muslim countries?
- To what extent does the valued participation of female refugees match the participation demanded by integration and emancipation policies?
- What explains the variation between female refugees’ concept of valued participation and the normative reference point of participation embedded in emancipation and integration policies?

The term *valued participation* is defined further as the aim is to investigate participation beyond the normative reference point embedded in policy. *Valued participation* in CA terms includes the doings and beings in the Dutch society that a refugee woman has reason to value at any point in her adult life. A Capability lens is combined with a broad view on societal

participation as actively taking part in activities that contribute to society including education, labour, (informal) care and voluntary work (Harbers & Hoeymans, 2013).

Although this research is of a qualitative and explorative of nature and hypotheses are not tested, there are expectations regarding answers to the research question. First, it is expected that female refugees are influenced by gender norms and roles from their countries of origin (Berry et al. 1989). However, the gender norms they adhere to are expected to be not as traditional, but somewhere in the middle between prevailing norms in their country of origin and the country of destination. Their ideas about gender and gender roles are therefore more traditional then those inherent in Dutch emancipation and integration policies (Arends-Tóth & Van De Vijver, 2009; Norris & Inglehart, 2012). From a Dutch policy viewpoint, the more traditional gender norms these women are presumed to adhere to are expected to influence their valued participation in the Netherlands, as gender norms play a large role in shaping an individual's choice for pursuing certain doings and beings (Robeyns, 2003). Below, a graphical model of the analytical framework is depicted.

Figure 1: Analytical framework: capabilities of female refugees



Methods

Research design

This study adopts a qualitative case study strategy. This strategy allows for context-specific, in-depth research that enables to look through the eyes of female refugees from Muslim countries. Case study research designs focus on the complexity and particular nature of a case and can be used to include contextual conditions as they are deemed relevant for the phenomenon under study (Bryman, 2012). A case-study design can be applied to answer 'how' and 'why' questions and is therefore suitable to answer this study's research question

(Baxter & Jack, 2008). Applying the Capability Approach to this case study allows for an assessment of the valued participation of female refugees in relation to their personal and social contexts.

Research population and sample

This research uses secondary data from the qualitative dataset 'Ongekend Bijzonder', collected by Stichting BMP. The dataset is published on DANS (Data Archiving and Networked Services). Ongekend Bijzonder is an oral history project; 248 refugees that fled to the Netherlands between 1970 and 2010 and live in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht were interviewed about their life stories. Stichting BMP selected refugee communities in The Netherlands through purposive sampling. The sampling criteria and the refugee communities selected are displayed in Appendix I. Stichting BMP subsequently recruited participants from these twelve communities by using their professional network. From the 248 interviews, 63 are accessible by registering with DANS.

For the purpose of this research, an additional purposive sample was created by focusing on women from Muslim countries. Muslim countries are defined as countries where the Islam is a state-religion and/or the majority of a country's population identifies as a follower of Islam (Pariona, 2018). This means that from a total of 29 women, 14 women from Chili, Congo, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Former Yugoslavia and Vietnam are excluded and that 15 women from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Somalia are included in the final sample. Table 2 in Appendix I shows the participants' profiles.

Data collection

Oral history interviews were conducted between October 2013 and July 2015 by multiple fieldworkers. The interviews had a semi-structured character, focusing on how refugees have rebuilt their lives in the Netherlands and on their contribution to their current city of residence. Interviews included the following topics: employment, education, leisure, relationships with others and ambitions, as well as life in the country of origin, family, traditions, identity, freedom, safety, the integration process and new experiences in the Netherlands (Azarhoosh, 2017). The data collected by Stichting BMP are deemed suitable for this study due to a focus on participation and because the data contain a great deal of information on gender and gender norms.

Valued participation is an important concept in this study, operationalized by looking at how respondents describe their contribution to their city of residence or how they wish to contribute. Furthermore, conversion factors, the relational and contextual factors wherein an

individual is embedded are operationalized by examining characteristics of individual respondents, including education level and characteristics of the geographical environment in their country of origin (urban versus rural). The characteristics of the respondents' social context are assessed through respondents' description of their socialization related to gender role patterns and their opinion about dominant gender ideas in their country of origin. Appendix II shows a complete code tree.

Data Analysis

This research will be both deductive and inductive, meaning theory-driven codes are used as well as new codes that emerge during the analysis (Bryman, 2012). For the data analysis, a two-phase coding method developed by Charmaz (2006) is applied. This method, originally developed for coding in grounded theory, is chosen because it offers sequential guidelines for coding in qualitative research. The first phase entails *initial coding,* which means sticking closely to the data and applying codes based on the language used in the data. Initial coding gives a first impression of the data and secures openness to what may emerge from the data. In the second phase, *focussed coding*, initial codes are categorized and the most relevant codes are selected and used. At this point, data are re-coded on a conceptual level, introducing codes derived from the theoretical framework (Charmaz, 2006).

Consultations with the supervisor ensured consistent coding and operationalization. Such consultations contribute to reliability by ensuring that the researcher has correctly understood the social world of study, which is important for internal validity. Constant comparison was also practised to ensure a match between the researcher's observations and the developed theoretical ideas. Additionally, the use of memos provided insight into the coding procedures, which increases replicability (Bryman, 2012). Appendix III provides information on ethical considerations and data management.

Results

Multi-facetted participation

Based on the analysis, five forms of valued participation can be distinguished; contributing to the lives of others, political involvement, being a caregiver, paid employment and self-development. The valued participation of female refugees is multi-facetted and consists for each woman of a combination of multiple of the forms mentioned above.

However, one form of is standing out as being valued by most women: contributing to the lives of others. Refugee women (A02, A04, A16, A23, DH04, DH15, DH20, DH29, R06, R17, R50, U33, U34) find participation that adds meaning to the lives of others valuable: "I

wanted to contribute. I've done a lot of voluntary work and I'm still doing it to contribute to my city, because I love it" (R06). Women incorporate this valued participation in their lives in different ways. They help others through their paid work (A16, A23, DH29, R06, U34), through formal and informal voluntary work (A02, A04, DH04, DH15, DH20,R17, R50, U33) and both their paid job and voluntary work (A16, A23, DH29, R06). Their participation is focussed on contributing to the lives of women, the community from their country of origin, immigrants and more specifically refugees, elderly, fellow townspeople or others in general. The reasonings behind contributing to the lives of others are multiple but often related to situations these women have found themselves in: for example having experienced oppression as a woman or being a refugee. When talking about participating in initiatives that help Syrian refugees, DH04 expresses that the subject is close to her "because you're a refugee yourself and you know that those people currently have a hard time (…) So for that reason, there's some sort of connection with people of whom you know that are struggling."

An important meaning behind contributing to the lives of others is being able to give back or contribute to the Dutch society: " maybe that's the reason I'm doing so many things. I'm thinking: I was a refugee. I came here with a suitcase. And with the help of the Dutch society, I've accomplished a lot" (DH29). DH29 contributes to the lives of others through her paid work as a debt counsellor and "side activities": leading a local branch of an international human rights organisation and volunteering for a women's interest organisation. U34 also expresses the desire to give back through helping others: "And then, the idea for (…) [her own non-profit organisation] came out. I want to do something, give back to the society in which I live, the Netherlands".

Some women (D15, DH29) express a desire to be politically active, that is motivated by being able to help others as well: "In politics, you can really make a difference for people" (DH15). These respondents have been or would like to become active in national and municipal politics.

Next to contributing to the lives of others and political involvement there are a few women that express value in being a caregiver, caring for children or other family members. Two women explicitly state that during part of their lives, they wanted to make adjustments in order to spend more time on the valued functioning of being a mother. DH29 made the decision to leave education to become a full-time mother, as she expressed the desire to enjoy motherhood in a safe country: "I did it. It was a conscious decision. Being a mom for the full 100% and being a housewife". When DH04 became pregnant with her first child, she " wanted to be in a calmer job". She started working part-time and put her voluntary work on

hold. Both women felt they had the opportunity to work fewer hours or quit their education as their (then) husbands were working full-time.

Being a caregiver for family members also becomes a valued functioning later in life. Two women over age 40 upon arrival aged 53 (A02) and 64 (A04) during the interviews combine voluntary work with caregiving: "I like helping, especially the elderly and sick. I also help my family. I'm the eldest. Because my mother passed away, I see myself as the mother now" (A04). Being a caregiver is a demanding, but valued functioning:

> She's an old lady now, 75 years. She always has problems and I'll care for her. Three or four times a week, I'll run errands for her, clean her house, shower her, dress her and I'll make a lot of food (…) I do everything for her.

[A02, Iraq]

When asked if she ever gets tired of being a caregiver, A02 answers: "No, she's my mom. I love doing this for her."

Subsequently, there is also a group of women that mainly values participation in paid employment in certain stages of their lives. This form of valued participation is further broken down into three different functionings as women value different aspects of paid employment. Women (A21, DH20) value working in their current employment: "It is a demanding job. But I like it. To me, it's simply a challenge. Yes, I like it" (A21) or wish to make a career at the company they are working for:

> I used to work at (…) as a receptionist in my student days and then they asked me (…) 'Do you want to work as an account manager?'(…) I very much wanted to be the best. I was looking for some kind of acknowledgement for what I'd done in the past four years (…) So you keep going and going there.

[A16, Iran]

Others express a strong desire to start their own business (A19, R17): "My passion lies in the business world. I always wanted to have my own event agency" (A19). Statements like "I networked like crazy, I've been to 'the Zuidas' [a major business area in Amsterdam] and I've been to Google (…) If you're already doing your best, you should go big" (R17) show their drive to make their business successful.

Furthermore, a large group of women (A02, A23, DH15, DH20, DH29, R06, R50) wants to "learn again" (DH29). They value participating in education or a training course in

addition to their education completed in their country of origin or after having finished mandatory education (for women that came to the Netherlands as minors).They mainly value this doing because it enables them to acquire skills or qualifications to work in a specific field: “I’ve taken part in a conference, in order to be able to coach young asylum seekers. I’m in this trajectory to eventually work in this for the municipality” (DH15).

In sum, female refugees value multiple doings and beings with regard to participation that range from being a caregiver to having their own business. Most forms of valued participation centre on contributing to the lives of others. This valued participation is much broader than the participation demanded by Dutch integration and emancipation policies.

Beyond labour market participation and economic independence

When comparing the valued participation of refugee women to the definition of societal participation (Harbers & Hoeymans 2013), it becomes clear there is a high level of participation among them. All women participate in society and most of them do so in multiple ways. These women are by no means a representation of ‘societal participation lacking, isolated at home’ Muslim women who are the main targets of both integration and emancipation policies including the ‘Integration Plan’ (Ghorashi, 2010; Korteweg & Triadafoulopoulos, 2013; Roggebrand & Verloo, 2007). On the contrary: “I live here. And in my opinion, when you live somewhere you have to participate. I do participate” a statement made by A21, is supported by the doings of many women: participation in the Netherlands is self-evident for them. Most women also participate in paid labour (A16, A19, A21, DH04, DH15,DH20, DH29, R06, R50, U34), have been active in paid employment in the Netherlands in the past (A23), or would like to do so in the future (A02, R17).

However, the participation that these women value often goes beyond having paid work in itself. DH04 says that employment in itself is insufficient for contributing to society: “I mean, it’s more like doing voluntary work, building something”. Additionally, when a respondent loses her job as she has been declared completely unfit for work, she mourns losing her job, but mainly her ability to help her clients: “Believe it or not, I did my job with all my heart. I truly understood those people. It’s a shame that I can’t continue” (A23). Being in full-time employment and having a high income are no longer valued when this is not seen to contribute to the lives of others or is even at the expense of others:

> In the beginning, I thought this will be fun, you’ll be helping people to go back to work again

> (…) I had been doing it for a while until I felt that it was more and more about targets and numbers. It was actually about the commercialization of the social security system (…) That we're treating people like this in the Netherlands really bothered me (…) So yeah, I had a job and made money and all but I didn't want to make money at the expense of people, that wouldn't be good (…) I'd feel terrible if people got into trouble because of me (…) So yeah, I eventually left.

[A16, Iran]

Dutch and integration policies are not only put in place to stimulate the societal participation and particularly the labour market participation of 'Muslim women' but also to encourage them to become economically independent (Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013; Roggebrand & Verloo, 2007). Most women do not explicitly mention financial independence as important to them except for two (A16, A23): "A few months prior [to her fleeing to the Netherlands] I participated in a sewing class. I thought: when I'm here, I have to make a living" (A23). Three women (DH04, DH29 before her divorce, U33) are capable of doing what they value as they have 'hard-working husbands' and are not concerned with economic independence. Others (A02, A04, DH20, DH29 after her divorce R06, R17, U34) however might find themselves forced to be economically independent more as they do not have a life partner to lean on financially.

Although the female refugees in this study are convinced they are participating in society and giving back to the Netherlands, only a minority of them is able to meet the normative standard of participation set by Dutch policies. The only women who meet these standards are the ones who prioritize financial independence and having paid work in and of itself (Hobson, 2011; Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013).

The complexity of a female refugee's life and integration and emancipation policies

By comparing the valued participation of female refugees and participation demanded by policies, it becomes clear that these two do not necessarily correspond. Emancipation and integration policies neglect the complexity of being a refugee. R17's story demonstrates this. She has experienced several traumatic events throughout her life: "from '99 until now, my life has revolved around surviving instead of living (…) My life has made me extremely tired. So, what I'd like most, what I'm concerned with is the peace of mind". R17 mentions that she "became very depressed. I've experienced panic attacks, I have many physical problems and currently, I'm in a severe burnout." R17 struggled to complete her education and as she

received social benefits, to fulfill her duty to seek employment. She describes "being completely exhausted."

According to Gerritsen et al. (2006), mental health problems are highly prevalent among refugees in the Netherlands. Previous research shows that many refugees, just as R17 expresses, feel they need to prioritize improving their mental well-being before being able to rebuild their lives in the Netherlands. Refugees need time, space and rest to process their experiences and to regain mental strength. Therefore, being in paid employment may not be prioritized by refugees dealing with mental health problems (Warmerdam & Van Den Tillaart, 2002). Furthermore, refugees that arrive in the Netherlands at an older age also seem to value doings and beings beyond labour market participation. Some had an extensive career in their country of origin and are now orienting towards other doings such as caring for family members or are strongly involved in voluntary work (Van Den Tillaart & Warmerdam, 2004):

> If I was in my own country, I'd be retired now. But here, I was concerned with getting a residence permit and that took me a long time and now, the ones that are retired, especially if they haven't worked many years, receive a lower pension.

[A04, Iran]

Although she actually wants to retire, A04 finds herself forced to be in paid labour as otherwise she cannot make ends meet.

The dominant view on participation in Dutch emancipation and integration policies is strongly focused on achieving economic goals; labour market participation and economic independence of women from Muslim countries (Prins & Saharso, 2008). Because of this, the participation of female refugees is reduced to economic utility. Emancipation and integration policies ignore what female refugees truly value in terms of participation and their capabilities for doing so and focus solely on their productive value to society (Saraceno, 2017; Yerkes et al., 2019). Additionally, by merely focusing on economic goals, policy disregards the complex life situations of female refugees and what intrinsically matters for their well-being: the capabilities to rest, to be in a good mental state, to enjoy one's retirement and to be involved in voluntary or care work instead of paid work (Van Den Tillaart & Warmerdam, 2004; Warmerdam & Van Den Tillaard, 2002;Yerkes et al., 2019).

Valued participation explained

In order to interpret the valued participation of female refugees, their answers are analysed in terms of conversion factors. Conversion factors exist on multiple levels and shape an individual's ability to translate resources into real opportunities for participation. The analysis here is in line with the work of Robeyns (2005) who identifies three levels of conversion factors: personal, environmental, and social, and their interaction.

Personal conversion factors:

At least two conversion factors related to these women appear to shape their views on valued participation, explaining the discrepancy between their valued doings and beings and the definition of participation embedded in integration and emancipation policies.

Firstly, the value that female refugees attach to participation that contributes to the lives of others can be traced back, as some women themselves suggested, to the conversion factor of being a refugee:

> [as refugees] we were homeless, constantly moving, no safety. I was looking for safety (…) For me to be able to live with my own identity, not having to lie or to tell everything without having to be afraid. That's important, a sense of safety, a basic necessity of life (…) So that's why I work at the Social Service in debt relief and help people, because I know what it's like to not have peace of mind. First this needs to be solved. First peace of mind and safety.

[DH29, Iran]

According to Weng and Lee (2015), being a refugee and having been in need of help contributes to having empathy for and identifying with others in similar positions and this in turn explains why many refugees are engaged in voluntary work.

> I have of course an asylum seeker background and I share with many people a certain background of what they've experienced (…) I was able to find my way in the Netherlands. I'd like to use my knowledge to help other asylum seekers, especially minors.

[DH15, Somalia]

As refugees received assistance, for example from resettlement agencies, they feel the need to give back (Weng & Lee, 2015). A23 mentions receiving help from VluchtelingenWerk. Later on, she volunteered for VluchtelingenWerk as 'a refugees' counsellor'.

Secondly, education level plays a role. The female refugees generally have a high level of education; thirteen of the fifteen women have completed tertiary education. The majority of women that fled to the Netherlands as an adult completed higher education in their countries of origin (A02, A04, A21, A23, DH29, U34). One of the two women that completed only high school in her country of origin (U33) had the ambition to continue in education but was prohibited from doing so as she was part of an illegal political movement. However, she was able to complete tertiary education in the Netherlands after receiving her residence permit. Of the women that came to the Netherlands as minors, six out of seven completed higher education (A16, A19, DH04, DH15, R17, R50). DH20 completed an education at a medium level, just as R06, who continued her education as an adult in the Netherlands. Education level matters as it is an important predictor for holding more traditional or progressive values, even more important that other individual background factors including gender or age. Having completed a higher education is associated with holding more egalitarian gender role values (Arends-Tóth & Van De Vijver, 2009).

Environmental conversion factor:

Conversion factors play not only a role on the personal level, but also on a broader, geographical level. A conversion factor that influences the valued participation and that is both social and environmental is place of residence in the country of origin. The large majority of female refugees (A02, A04, A19, A21, A23, DH04, DH15, DH29, R06, R50, U33, U34) was born in an urban environment and lived there until fleeing their country of origin. Places of residence include small urban areas with over 50.000 inhabitants (Bam, Khanaqin), medium-size urban areas (Abadan, Arak), metropolitan areas (Erbil, Najaf, Zahedan) and large metropolitan areas with a population of more than 1.5 million: Bagdad, Basra, Kabul, Mogadishu and Teheran (OECD, 2020).

Urban areas can be viewed as both geographical locations as well as representing “a distinctive mode of human group life” (Wirth, 1938, p.4). According to Wirth (1938), weaker ties of kinship and neighborliness and more superficial and volatile contacts inherent to urban living offer more freedoms and opportunities for emancipation than rural areas. Individuals and especially women have more abilities to pursue their own interests regarding education, vocation, recreation, religion and politics, due to fewer socio-cultural restrictions in cities (Pozarny, 2016; Wirth, 1938). This is endorsed by A04 when talking about Amsterdam, her current place of residence: “In capital cities it’s usually like that, also in Bagdad. More open, more free”.

Additionally, in cities, egalitarian gender norms and attitudes prevail: urban women more often enter the workforce than rural women (Carter et al., 2016). There is another notable effect of urbanism: individuals that grow up in urban areas are likely to maintain 'urban' i.e. more egalitarian attitudes, and therefore an urban place of residence in their country of origin is an important indicator for gender role attitudes later on in the lives of female refugees (Carter et al., 2016).

Social conversion factors:

Female refugees' early socialization with regard to gender roles also matters for their valued participation (Norris & Inglehart, 2012). Dutch emancipation and integration policies assume that the gender role values of immigrants from Islamic countries are inherently traditional upon arrival in the Netherlands (Ghorashi, 2010; Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013). Yet, the majority of the female refugees (A04, A16, A19, A21, A23, DH29, R17, R50, U33, U34) were able to become acquainted with egalitarian gender role values in their upbringing. Women were raised in an environment with egalitarian gender-role patterns: "I grew up in an environment, because of him [her grandfather], where I learnt: there's no difference between men and women. It doesn't matter, you are who you are. My grandfather cooked, did the laundry, did the home-making" (R17). Or respondents had a mother who was a 'progressive role model' and set the example of a woman participating in education and paid work : "My mother was studying continuously. She went up by level. She completed a higher professional education, two actually, also a teacher's degree (…) She was always busy studying or working as a teacher" (U33). It also occurred that women were socialized in a family where at least one parent showed a progressive attitude towards gender role patterns (A23, DH29, U34):

> I've been given the freedom by my father to be myself. My mother was a bit conservative and wanted to protect me, because I was a girl and later, no one would want to marry me (…). Yet, for a girl of my age, of that culture, Iranian culture, I had the freedom to choose what I genuinely wanted to do.

[U34, Iran]

Additionally, women use the terms 'western' (A21, DH29) or 'non-traditional' (R50, U33) to describe their upbringing.

Sometimes, there is more ambiguity in the gender-role socialization. This is especially evident when the father was absent and the mother had to participate in public life: “So I had the main task, it was the role I took on to support my mother and to relieve her with both household chores as well as tasks with my brothers and sisters. I was sort of a second mother” (DH15). Although the mother worked, the daughter was socialized to perform tasks traditionally assigned to women. One respondent only had a traditional gender role pattern as an example. This did not change after the passing of her father: “My uncle stepped in, supported us financially. And my mother cared for us” (A02).

The childhood socialization within the family plays a role in creating equal gender role values among the respondents (Norris & Inglehart, 2012). The traditional gender ideas, norms and rules that prevail in their countries of origin are also conversion factors on the social level. However, these gender norms mainly generate negative feelings and criticism from the respondents. Women consider these gender rules to be restrictive and primarily limiting the freedoms of women. In their countries of origin, women have ‘fewer rights’ (A23, U34) are ‘oppressed’ (DH29, R50) and are ‘second class citizens’ (U34).

The role of agency:

Together, these conversion factors interact to form a capability set from which a refugee woman can choose valued functionings. However, being able to choose presumes having agency (Yerkes et al., 2019). Female refugees not only disagree with the dominant gender norms from their countries of origin, they also show resistance to the inherent strict division between ‘female’ and ‘male’ tasks and behaviours: “many [women] of my generation quit their education because they were married and had a child. But I thought, I’m going to study and I’ll take my child with me”(A21). There is also resistance to the idea that women should obey men (Korotayev et al., 2015: Moghadam, 2004). Respondents challenge the authority of male family members by ‘disobeying their dressing orders’(A19) or by ‘claiming custody of her own children’ (A23).

By showing resistance to traditional gender norms and role patterns, female refugees are ‘doing gender’ (West & Zimmerman, 1987) and prove to be agentic in shaping their own valued participation. Women are able to reflect on their own gender ideas and experiences and on gender norms prevailing in their country of origin, which clash with their own ideas, taking action to achieve a certain outcome (Hvinden & Halvorsen, 2018; Yerkes et al., 2019).The women appear to be acutely aware of their own agency, but realize that other women might not have the same freedoms to act. They therefore believe that women should have the

opportunities to participate in education and work: “Somali girls that want to start their own business must pursue what they’d like to do” (DH20), as well as the opportunities to engage in care tasks and motherhood: “Give the choice. Of course there are women that don’t like it. But give the choice, when a woman likes to be a mother 100%” (DH29). These ideas of female participation are at odds with the norms of current Dutch emancipation and integration policies, which hardly leave other options for participation than paid work (Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013). Some respondents are therefore critical of gender equality in the Netherlands: “Women nowadays have to work, they have no choice” (DH20). “Also in the Netherlands, there’s still a lot of work be done for women” (DH29).

Thus, acceptable forms of participation in Dutch emancipation and integration policies may limit female refugee’s abilities to be agentic and to retain their capabilities for pursuing intrinsically valued participation.

Conclusion and Discussion

This research has explored the participation in the Dutch society that female refugees from Muslim countries have reason to value. Female refugees value a broad range of doings and beings and consider participation in the country where they have taken refuge self-evident. This is at odds with the idea that women from Islamic backgrounds participate in society only to a limited extent, which underpins current Dutch emancipation and integration policies (Ghorashi, 2010; Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013; Roggebrand & Verloo, 2007). It is especially important to refugee women that through their participation, in both paid and voluntary work, they can make a meaningful contribution to others.

As expected at the start of this study, the capabilities of female refugees, the options that they perceive valuable with regard to participation, are not so much influenced by traditional gender roles and norms that predominate in their country of origin (Arend-Tóth & Van De Vijver, 2009; Norris & Inglehart, 2012). On the contrary, women disagree with and actively oppose traditional gender norms from Islamic countries. Their capabilities are rather informed by egalitarian gender ideas that most of them already held in their country of origin. Although gender equality has become policy focus in the Netherlands, marking a normative reference point for emancipation and integration policies, the women in this study are critical of the Dutch gender equality standard and the opportunities women have to engage in valued beings and doings: “When I look at Dutch society, women do not have true freedoms” (R50). The ideas of female refugees are, contrary to expectations neither more traditional than prevailing Dutch gender norms, nor somewhere in between norms from their country of origin

and Dutch norms (Norris & Inglehart, 2012). In fact, refugee women argue for gender equality going beyond the Dutch standard of paid work, giving space to all doings and beings that women value. These ideas fit within choice-feminism, which sees all female choices as empowering and valid (Budgeon, 2015).

The options and perceived alternatives from which female refugees can choose their valued participation are informed by progressive ideas with regard to gender equality and women's freedoms and are strongly oriented towards contributing to the lives of others. This results from conversion factors interacting at the individual, socio-environmental and social level. Based on these perceived alternatives, female refugees actively shape their valued participation, showing agency. However, their valued participation conflicts with what is expected from them and what is societally appreciated in a strong, normative, economically-oriented policy perspective. This might not only affect their freedom of choice, but also their overall well-being in the long term (Hobson, 2011; Yerkes et al.,2019).

One drawback of this research is its inability to explore the religiosity of female refugees due to inconsistent interviewing in the primary study 'Ongekend Bijzonder'. Few respondents were asked about religiosity, while religiosity and religious commitment are important for explaining gender attitudes. Individuals with strong religious commitments are less likely than non-religious individuals to hold egalitarian gender role attitudes. This is particularly true for individuals that identify as Muslim (Röder,2014). As secondary data were used, the researcher was unable to account for interviewer inconsistencies that may occur when multiple interviewers collect data. The primary study is focused on giving refugees the opportunity to narrate their life stories in the most natural way, without multiple interruptions (Azarhoosh, 2017).This benefits the ecological validity, but leads to many questions being asked indirectly, requiring more interpretative work for the secondary researcher. Internal validity was ensured through continuous comparison of coded interview fragments and repeatedly revisiting the data when writing up the results (Bryman, 2012).

Another limitation of this study entails the external validity. Although this research looks into the valued participation of female refugees from Muslim countries, the small sample is not representative of the research population and in fact represents a rather homogenous group of refugee women of whom the majority is higher educated and come from urban areas. Additionally, the women in this study arrived here before 2010, meaning this study is unrepresentative of refugee women fleeing to the Netherlands after this year, including many Syrian women.

Despite these limitations, this study contributes to the understanding of how female refugees from Muslim countries wish to give substance to their participation in the Netherlands, going beyond labour market participation and economic independence. Based on this knowledge, several recommendations for policymaking and future research are given below.

First, when looking at the framing of 'Muslim women', it becomes clear that these women are viewed as passive victims in policy, women who are culturally suppressed and adhere to traditional gender role values, whom inadequately participate in Dutch society (Ghorashi, 2010, Roggebrand & Verloo, 2007). This research shows a different reality, one in which societal participation is high, self-evident, and where egalitarian gender role attitudes prevail. It is therefore advisable for emancipation and integration policymakers to critically review how they frame women from Islamic backgrounds in policy and take this reality of female refugees into account to nuance existing frames. Future research could look into the consequences of current frames for the actual participation of women from Muslim countries and potential barriers these frames create as it was not possible to explore this topic here.

Second, the emancipation of women from Islamic backgrounds should be assessed not solely through labour market participation and economic independence. Limiting emancipation and integration to this solely economically-oriented perspective neglects other beings and doings that refugee women value regarding participation, like caring for family members, being in education or volunteering. It also neglects corresponding capabilities to achieve these outcomes. To counter this and to ensure that what refugee women value is reflected in policy, co-creation is needed; refugee women need to be actively involved in the development and implementation of social policy (Hearne & Murphy, 2019). This can benefit the support for policy initiatives and reduce the risk of failed policies.

Finally, future interventions aimed at increasing societal participation of female refugees could focus on voluntary work and other initiatives through which refugee women can meaningfully contribute. Research by Weng & Lee (2015) shows a great willingness among refugee women to help others and to give back to society.

By applying a Capability Approach, this study shows that female refugees from Muslim countries value multiple doings and beings, in particular those that contribute to the lives of other humans, underpinned by egalitarian gender norms. Their valued participation contrasts with what is required from them in emancipation and integration policies.

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Appendix I: Sampling criteria ‘Ongekend Bijzonder’, selected refugee communities, participants’ profiles

Stichting BMP selected refugee communities for ´Ongekend Bijzonder´ through purposive sampling using the following criteria: 1) Size of a refugee community, 2) Representation of multiple continents, 3) The presence of a refugee community in more than one of the four major cities, 4) Length of residence in the Netherlands, 5) Reason for residence in a certain city, 6) Motives for leaving the home country, 7) Current affairs regarding a refugee community and 8) Contribution to the city of residence. Based on the above selection criteria, the following communities have been chosen to participate in the project:

Table 1: Refugee Communities selected for Ongekend Bijzonder

Amsterdam: Iranians Iraqis ex-Yugoslavs Eritreans	**Den Haag:** Iranians Afghans Congolese Somali
Rotterdam: Iranians ex-Yugoslavs Chileans Iraqis	**Utrecht:** Iranians Afghans Vietnamese Ethiopians

(Stichting BMP, 2016).

Table 2: Participants' Profiles

	County of origin	City of residence in the Netherlands	Year of arrival in the Netherlands	Age upon arrival in the Netherlands	Family situation during the flight	Current family situation	Current employment situation	Reason for flight	Highest level of education attained in country of origin
A02	Iran	Amsterdam	2007	43	Fled together with partner	Widowed	Not in paid employment	War	Tertiary/ higher education
A04	Iran	Amsterdam	1998	47	Fled together with partner	Widowed	Not in paid employment	War	Tertiary/ higher education
A16	Iran	Amsterdam	1985	0	Fled together with one or both parents	Living together with partner	Is a self-employed healer	Political	Not applicable
A19	Iran	Amsterdam	1986	0	Fled together with one or both parents	Single	Is a self-employed event planner	Both political and war	Not applicable
A21	Iran	Amsterdam	1994	33	Fled together with her children	In a long-distance relationship	Is a high-school teacher	Political	Tertiary/ higher education
A23	Iran	Amsterdam	1986	35	Fled together with her children	Widowed with children living away from home	Not in paid employment	Political	Tertiary/ higher education
DH04	Afghani stan	Den Haag	1996	10	Fled together with one or both parents	Married with children living at home	Is an educational counsellor	War	Not applicable
DH15	Somalia	Den Haag	1990	7	Fled together with one or both parents	Married with children living at home	Is a financial advisor	War	Not applicable
DH20	Somalia	Den Haag	1999	12	Fled together with one or both parents	Single	Is a self-employed childminder	War	Not applicable
DH29	Iran	Den Haag	1987	26	Fled together with partner and child (ren)	Single with children living away from home	Is a debt counsellor	Political	Tertiary/ higher education
R06	Iraq	Rotterdam	1993	25	Fled together with partner and child (ren)	Single with children living away from home	Is a freelance instruction actress	War	Secondary education
R17	Iran	Rotterdam	1986	9	Fled together with one or both parents	Single with a child living at home	Not in paid employment	Both political and war	Not applicable

	County of origin	City of residence in the Netherlands	Year of arrival in the Netherlands	Age upon arrival in the Netherlands	Family situation during the flight	Current family situation	Current employment situation	Reason for flight	Highest level of education attained in country of origin
R50	Iraq	Rotterdam	1996	10	Fled together with sisters	Engaged	Is a social worker	War	Not applicable
U33	Iran	Utrecht	1989	23	Fled alone	Married with children living away from home	Not in paid employment	Political	Secondary education
U34	Iran	Utrecht	1985	22	Fled together with Partner	Single with children living away from home	Runs her own non-profit organization	Political	Tertiary/ higher education

Appendix II: Code tree

I. Conversion factor: Place of residence in country of origin

a. Rural

b. Urban

II. Conversion factor: Education level

a. Completed higher education in country of origin

b. Completed secondary education in country of origin

c. Education level attained in the Netherlands

III . Conversion factor: Socialization with regard to gender roles

a. Ambiguous

b. Father egalitarian

c. Father traditional

d. General egalitarian

e. General traditional

f. Mother egalitarian

g. Mother traditional

IV. Gender equality

a. Questions women's freedom and gender equality in the Netherlands

b. Wants to inspire/encourage other ethnic minority women to work and or start their own business

c. Women should have the freedoms to organize their lives how they value (free to choose both paid work and care work)

V. Importance of financial independence

a. Considers financial independence important

b. (Not important) her husband works full-time

VI. (Conversion factor) Opinion about dominant gender ideas in country of origin

a. Agreement and or acceptance

b. Change from agreement to disagreement

c. Disagreement and or resistance

VII. Complexity of a refugee's life is being neglected in the Netherlands

VIII. The Respondent had opportunities in the Netherlands that she didn´t have in her country of origin

IX. The respondent feels that her participation in the Netherlands is hindered

X. The meaning attributed to valued participation by the respondent herself

a. Being able to make a difference for others (through politics)

b. Cares out of love for a family member

c. Giving back or contributing to the Dutch society

d. Has experienced oppression herself because she is a women

e. Helps others because it is in her character or because of personal norms and values

e. Own experiences as a refugee

f. Wants to bring people from different backgrounds together

XI. Thoughts on participation in the Netherlands

a. Considers her own societal participation to be sufficient

b. Having paid work is important, but not the main priority and not at all costs

c. Participation according to the respondent

d. Participation is more than having paid work

e. Participation is self-evident

I. Valued participation

a. Caregiver

i. Caregiver for adult family members, friends, acquaintances

ii. Caring for her children/ motherhood

b. Contributing to the lives of others

i. Others (living in) her place of residence

ii. Asylum seekers or refugees

iii. Community from country of origin

iv. Elderly

v. Immigrants

vi. Others in general

vii. Voluntary contribution to organizing an event without a specific target audience

viii. women

c. Paid employment

i. Having her own business and making her own business successful

ii. To further her career

iii. Working in her current employment

d. Political involvement

e. Self-development or personal growth

i. Getting an education, taking part in trainings or courses

ii. Reaching personal fulfilment

f. Valued Participation is contributing to lives of others and political involvement combined

Appendix III: Research Ethics and Data Management

This section gives an overview of the steps taken in data management in order to take into account the ethical principles for conducting research.

First, informed consent for the use of the data for future research purposes is obtained by the original researchers from Stichting BMP as this is a prerequisite for allowing data publication on DANS. The data are anonymized by the fieldworkers of the original study as this was additional requirement from DANS that has to be met before publication. For additional privacy protection, any information that might reveal the identity of the participants is left out of this study (Lin, 2009).

Furthermore, in order to prevent the research from contributing to stigmatization and negative stereotyping of female refugees from Muslim countries, the language used in this research when presenting these women and their stories has been constantly monitored in order to limit participants' risks of being harmed by this research (Bryman, 2012; Lin, 2009).

The way in which data are stored or shared also contributes to an ethical handling of the data. The verbatim interview transcripts used for this research are obtained by logging into DANS with a personal account are stored as Word Documents on the researchers U-drive only and are analysed solely by using Nvivo software provided by Utrecht University through MyWorkplace. Verbatim interview data will initially not be shared. However, if the supervisor or course coordinator deem this necessary, the data can be viewed by them. Upon completion of this study, all data will be deleted from the researchers U-drive immediately (Lin, 2009).