VU Research Portal

Moroccan girls and youth literature in the Netherlands: a way to broaden the boundaries?

Bartels, E.A.C.

published in

Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs
2003

DOI (link to publisher)

[10.1080/13602000305941](https://doi.org/10.1080/13602000305941)

document version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication in VU Research Portal](#)

citation for published version (APA)

Bartels, E. A. C. (2003). Moroccan girls and youth literature in the Netherlands: a way to broaden the boundaries? *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 23(1), 147-163. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602000305941>

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

E-mail address:

vuresearchportal.ub@vu.nl

This article was downloaded by: [Vrije Universiteit, Library]

On: 27 May 2011

Access details: Access Details: [subscription number 907218003]

Publisher Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK

Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713433220>

Moroccan Girls and Youth Literature in the Netherlands: A Way to Broaden the Boundaries? 1

Edien Bartels

Online publication date: 04 August 2010

To cite this Article Bartels, Edien(2003) 'Moroccan Girls and Youth Literature in the Netherlands: A Way to Broaden the Boundaries? 1', Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, 23: 1, 147 — 162

To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/13602000305941

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13602000305941>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.informaworld.com/terms-and-conditions-of-access.pdf>

This article may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Moroccan Girls and Youth Literature in the Netherlands: A Way to Broaden the Boundaries?¹

EDIEN BARTELS

Introduction

The Netherlands has an abundance of libraries spread throughout the country. Most of them have a special youth department. Many children and young people regularly go to the library for books. Immigrant children, especially those living in cities, are no exception to this. Youth literature is also seen as a specialisation in Dutch literature. The arrival of immigrants in the 1960s and their families in the 1970s created a small flow of immigrant youth literature in the 1980s that was written in Dutch by immigrant women especially for Moroccan young people.² In the 1990s, a Moroccan magazine named *CHEBBA*, written by Moroccan girls in Dutch, was started for Moroccan girls. This creation of their 'own' Moroccan youth literature is very noteworthy.³

Moroccans in the Netherlands can be characterised as an ethnic minority group of immigrants. Ethnic minority groups are groups whose members see themselves as being different from the people of the majority in society and are seen by this majority as different based on cultural characteristics that are considered to be socially relevant. In this article, I intend to show how the development and content, the discourse used in their 'own' Moroccan youth literature, play a role in the process of identity formation of Moroccans as an ethnic immigrant group in the Dutch society.

I will first present a discussion of the position of Moroccans as an ethnic group in the Netherlands. Thereafter, I will describe the development of Moroccan youth literature, giving special attention to the books of one Moroccan woman writer, Zohra Zarouali, and to the magazine *CHEBBA*. This is followed by the results of anthropological research into identity formation among Moroccan young people participating in a homework assistance programme at a Moroccan mosque in Gouda, a small city in the western part of the Netherlands. Finally, I will compare the description of the Moroccan youth literature discussed with the results of the anthropological research into identity formation.

Moroccans in the Netherlands

Moroccans in the Netherlands can be characterised as an ethnic group of immigrants. Ethnic identity in this sense is not a psychological concept that points to characteristics of a personality or a manifestation of a person's selfhood. Here it is a matter of social or group identity, a cultural construction through which a group of people indicate how they see themselves. In this identity construction, they also cope with how others see them. It involves an interaction between the two: how people see themselves and how other people see them. It therefore concerns self-identification and projected identity. Because of this interaction, identity is a dynamic concept; it is continually being redefined and created in relation to others.

At the same time, within the continually changing identity that is projected on to them, people try to find an identity for themselves or to achieve a feeling of continuity in their lives. Roosens⁴ calls this search for continuity in connection with ethnic identity the search for origin, common ancestors or the same cultural tradition. For immigrants, as an ethnic group, the feeling for or the awareness of continuity with the past is problematic—identification with the past, with one's origins, often means setting up boundaries. But an awareness of continuity with the past is not the only problem. So also is the awareness of continuity in the future. Parents have to be successful in keeping their children as Moroccans and this requires not only setting up, but also maintaining boundaries. What does maintaining boundaries mean? Moroccan parents focus these boundaries on the question of girls. They are very strict with respect to the reputation of their daughters and the choice of spouses for their children, particularly for their daughters: the parents will only accept a Moroccan husband.

The Basis of Ethnic Identity

Reysoo,⁵ Lutz⁶ and De Koning⁷ have established that Islam has become more important to Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands since the end of the 1980s. Reysoo shows that the so-called headscarf affairs are connected to this increased importance. Lutz sees this shift primarily in connection with the ethnic minority policy of the Dutch government. De Koning connects the increasing importance being given to Islam by Moroccans to the family reunions among Moroccan immigrants, which come about much later than the reunions among other immigrants from the Mediterranean region. With the arrival of a spouse and children, the first generation is again given the responsibility for family—and with this responsibility comes a reflection on one's own cultural heritage. Kemper⁸ makes it clear that Moroccan working-class immigrants of the first generation (first arrival immigrants) profile themselves as Moroccans with the help of their religious identity. The essential question this raises is: why do they choose to orient themselves according to their religious beliefs and not, for instance, to their language or nationality? This question must be placed within the social relationships that Moroccan immigrants build for themselves to survive as an ethnic group.

In Morocco, a range of languages is spoken. The largest group of Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands are from the Rif area of northern Morocco and their mother tongue is Tamazight. Moroccan Arabic is known and even spoken by many, but the written language that Moroccans use is classical Arabic. For Moroccans in the Netherlands, the linguistic background is therefore very diverse and complex. The same is true for the political situation: in Morocco there are sharp political divides that continue to affect the relationship between people in the Netherlands.

Religion, on the other hand, is in general a superior 'ethnic marker'⁹ and Islam especially so. Islam, the last revealed religion, like most other religions offers the opportunity to know the difference between Good and Evil.¹⁰ People who are or become Muslim, people who recognise Good, are part of the *ummah*, the community of Muslim believers. The familiar saying—Muslims everywhere in the world are a part of the *ummah*—provides a history and a place in the present amid the world's other major religions which transcend local differences in politics, differences of an ethnic and social nature (among Moroccans in the Netherlands, for example, between Berbers and Arabs, between city dwellers and country people) and, finally, give the group a supranational legitimacy.

The use of Islam as an ethnic marker requires the development of Islam in the Netherlands. This makes it essential that the next generation is 'made' Muslim. Parents also bear a religious obligation to give their children a religious upbringing. But a religious upbringing in an immigrant diaspora community raises problems. It cannot be done in the same way children are brought up now in Moroccan society or at the time when the first generation were children. So the question is: are those immigrant parents successful in bringing up their children as Muslims and what are the central 'new' themes or problems in this construction of Islamic identity that they pass on to their children living in the diaspora? Research conducted among Turkish and Moroccan young people in Rotterdam makes it clear that the second generation, boys and girls, sees itself as Muslim.¹¹ So parents have been successful in passing their religious feelings and knowledge on to their children. Next, we have to investigate the central issues in this (new) construction of Islam.¹² Because we are focusing on the question of girls as boundary markers, we will start with Moroccan youth literature in the Netherlands written by Moroccans especially for girls,¹³ and we will investigate the discourse central in this literature with special attention to Islam. Then we will compare these with the central issues in identity formation of Moroccan girls.

Dutch Youth Literature and Immigrants¹⁴

In 1984, the book *Literature in Morocco and other Arab Countries* was published in a new series called *Immigrants Orientation Reading Material*. The purpose of the book was to give attention 'to literature and other cultural expressions, in the widest sense of the word, from language areas from which immigrants in the Netherlands have come'. Youth literature is given special attention in the book. In the chapter 'Reading Is a Luxury: The Fairy Tale World of the Arabic Children's Book', Lourina de Voogd¹⁵ discusses the development of children's literature in the Arab world. She identifies three tendencies. The first is the category of stories or fairy tales translated or adapted from a European book. Examples of this are the fairy tales of Hans Christian Andersen, the Brothers Grimm and comic books such as Tintin and Lucky Luke. The second category encompasses the stories from Arabian culture. This pertains to editions of *A Thousand and One Nights* and of stories about the Prophet Mohammed. The third category pertains to recent books written by writers of children's literature. These include a Palestinian publisher and Tunisian publishers. But this area is still undergoing rapid development. Especially for older young people, there is hardly any literature with which they can identify. Morocco is a country that has to import schoolbooks. There is no culture of children's books in the country.

The reason for this absence should be clear. Morocco still has a high percentage of population that is illiterate and many children do not go to school at all. Much of secondary and university education was until recently given in French. Primary school children are taught to read and write in classical Arabic. The Berbers have no written tradition. Particularly for illiterate Berber families from the country, reading is not a self-evident activity. Their situation is characterised by what is called an oral literary tradition. Many stories, songs and poems are told and recited, especially by parents and women. This oral literary tradition is passed on from generation to generation. Today, this form of transfer is disappearing at an increasing rate, particularly as a result of the influence of television and radio.¹⁶

Most Moroccans in the Netherlands come from the Rif regions, a mountainous area in the northern part of Morocco where many Berbers live. Many of them came to the

Netherlands as illiterate or poorly educated immigrant workers. Also, the women that have joined their husbands in the context of bringing the family together usually have a very low level of education. It is the second generation that, through their education in the Netherlands, has been able to enjoy the culture of reading, as it exists for large groups in the Netherlands.

Research conducted among successful Turkish and Moroccan young people that have had an upper general secondary education (HAVO) or pre-university education (VWO) shows that for these young people reading has been an important development activity.¹⁷ These successful young people distinguish themselves from young people that have a lower level of education—particularly by their reading habits and visits to the library. It appears that reading can be seen as an activity that precedes and supports success and that this can be adopted and propagated within a single generation.¹⁸

Moreover, not only reading but also writing in the area of Dutch literature has been adopted within a single generation by Moroccans in the Netherlands. This development of Dutch literature by Arab writers is strongly supported by an organisation such as El Hizjra, which began on a small scale in an old shop in the Amsterdam Pijp, a working-class district, and is now housed in the Amsterdam business centre. It organises a national literary writing competition each year for Dutch Arab young people who are fifteen years old and older.¹⁹ This is their attempt to develop Arabic Dutch literature.

Since the literary writing competition that El Hizjra organises is for young people who are fifteen years old and older, it cannot be called a competition in youth literature. This raises the question of what separates youth literature from adult literature. In addition to the special form of language it uses and the harmony that exists between form and content, which constitutes literature, Eiselin²⁰ looks for something that uniquely characterises youth literature's capacity to provide something that young people can identify with. Literature for adults requires this capacity to a much lesser extent.

Engagement has not always been a given part of youth literature. Eiselin²¹ even says that it used to be taboo. This notwithstanding, 'problem books' are popular among young people. There are shifts occurring in the types of problems that are receiving attention. 'Divorce is now a little out of fashion.' On the other hand, Eiselin shows how young people currently like to read about 'relationships, incest and maltreatment'.²² The tone taken in youth literature has changed over the years. Youth literature written in the 1960s often focused on establishing norms and giving examples. The 'problem books' of today tend to provide insight into current conditions, call for the reader's understanding and give warnings with respect to human emotions, human relationships and social problems. The moral of the story is no longer explicitly stated.

The question for Moroccan youth literature is then: what are the central issues? What is the main discourse? Do Moroccan young people identify with this literature and what problems are discussed? The possibility for this identification and self-recognition is, in any case, offered to older Moroccan girls in the books of Zohra Zarouali, the most well-known Moroccan writer, and in *CHEBBA* magazine.

The Books of Zohra Zarouali

Zohra Zarouali was born in 1969 in Morocco. In 1976 she came to the Netherlands to join her family here. After taking her MBO–Social Services diploma, she worked for the

magazine *El Mihzan* and in a hostel for runaway girls. In 1991, she published a book containing interviews with Moroccan children: *Als je het mij vraagt* (*If You Ask Me*). Her most well-known book, *Amel*, was published in 1989. *Amel en Faisal* appeared in 1993.²³ Her third book, *Sanae*, dates from 1997. Her latest book, *Een doel voor ogen* (*A Goal in Sight*) was published in 2000. These books clearly meet a need. Moroccan girls ask for them every day in libraries. Her first book, *Amel*, is very popular and is checked out often.²⁴ There are also discussions about this book that take place between Moroccan girls. Libraries located in city districts where many Moroccan families live have several copies of these books on the shelves that can be checked out.

To designate the books of Zohra Zarouali as youth literature, a look should also be taken at the language and style that Zohra Zarouali uses. Is it of a type that qualifies as literature? Comments on her style are generally mildly critical. 'Zarouali's writing style is a little wooden',²⁵ a style reminiscent of the popular romantic novel.²⁶ Another reviewer²⁷ states that the books of Zarouali are written 'fairly impotently'. Her style has been described as 'fiercely realistic' and as such reminds the reviewer²⁸ of the work *Blauwe Plekken* (*Bruises*) by Anke de Vries from 1992.²⁹

I would characterise her style more as being 'concrete'. The description of 'fiercely realistic' and the comparison with *Blauwe Plekken* (*Bruises*) by Anke de Vries can actually only be used to describe the maltreatment of the father of the protagonist in the book *Amel*. In the subsequent books, maltreatment plays no part of the story. In them, the parent only plays a small role or is very cooperative. A wide range of details from daily life are described very concretely and thoroughly—clothes, the furnishing in the house, the neighbourhood where people live, the things that they do, etc.

The reviews also include the characterisation of 'emancipation'. De Vos³⁰ writes that the books of Zarouali are 'more interesting on an emancipatory level than a literary level'. Eiselin³¹ even compares the protagonist, Amel, from the book of the same name, to Joop ter Heul in the rebellion against her husband Leo van Dil, the protagonist of *Cissy van Marxveldt* from 1923, in one of the first 'emancipation' Dutch youth books. This comparison actually only rings true with respect to the inner state of mind of Amel: she is in love with a Dutch boy. In her behaviour, Amel does not go against the wishes of her parents. She decides to end the relationship with the Dutch boy and to marry a Moroccan Muslim man. Within this framework, she does choose a man of her own choice and not the person that her father has put forward. What has been called 'emancipation' in the discussions of Dutch reviewers actually points to the fact that she moves on the edges of the ethnic minority. The protagonists in the books of Zohra Zarouali do what they want to, but actually they remain within the boundaries that are set. The engagement in the books by Zohra Zarouali deals primarily with this theme. Also, in the accounts of lectures and discussions that Zarouali holds in libraries and the interviews that she gives, this returns.³² Zarouali does say that for girls living in a situation as second generation immigrant girls, a break with parents achieves nothing. Her message is more that Moroccan girls should take the freedom to find their own way and to make a choice without rejecting their background. Their problem is more the lack of an orientation rather than a lack of emancipation. The break that immigration presents is not healed in a single generation. As she declares on the website:

It was not my decision to come to the Netherlands. I had no family and no friends. Perhaps I started to write out of loneliness. I do feel as though I am missing something, but I do not know what. Many girls want to return to

Morocco. They choose a profession that they can practise there. I regret that I did not do just that. But sometimes I also think: 'what would I do in Morocco?' I don't want to be forced to sit at home because there is no work for me to do. Besides, I don't even speak good Moroccan.³³

For this reason, the religion of Islam is very important. It provides a bridge and a stable orientation. 'Except for fasting during Ramadan, I don't actually participate in it. I also do not go to the mosque. But Islam is the only way to hold on a little to your culture. To the Dutch, I am a Moroccan. To Moroccans, I am Dutch. Islam is the only thing I have. Here I have nothing'.³⁴

Content Development

Is there a development of content evident in the four books that Zohra Zarouali has written? A description of this requires an analysis from an approach that is called *inclusive criticism* in literary theory.³⁵ This concerns not reading the texts from one's own background, but rather from 'the cultural context of the text itself'.³⁶ I will answer this question about content development on the basis of my knowledge of the background of and experience with Moroccan immigrant families.

In the development of the content of the four books, a shift can be seen. From a Moroccan schoolgirl with Dutch friends who finds herself in conflict with her parents—she falls in love with a Dutch boy, her parents threaten to marry her off against her will and she then chooses a solution that is acceptable to her family by marrying her cousin—the story line moves to an independent Moroccan woman who, being well educated, chooses to enter a marriage against her parents' will that ends in a divorce and a long period as a single parent. In the fourth book, the protagonist, a student who lives independently in a small apartment in a strange city and goes out with a man she doesn't know, chooses nonetheless to reject the man she loves in order to concentrate on her studies. The power and influence of the parents disappear in the books. The personal choices and independence of the protagonist are increasingly emphasised. The struggle of the protagonist is not a feminist struggle against the dominance of men, but more a struggle in the search of self. Men do not stand in conflict with women, but are seen more as weak, while it is the women who play the strong role. Men are even depicted as victims of strong women and of themselves; they cannot decide between their mothers and sisters, on the one side, and their wives, on the other. Men are also sometimes presented as immature and still irresponsible in relationships.

In the books, a range of Moroccan customs—such as remaining a virgin until marriage, not marrying a Dutchman, consenting to the choice of the parents—lead to conflicts, but the protagonists do not break their ties with their parents in order to go their own way entirely. In the third book, the parents play only a minor role and the story focuses more on man–woman conflicts in which men, especially, can still learn a lot from women. The focus of the conflicts also changes from conflicts within family relationships, between parents and children in the book *Amel*, to more personal conflicts in the choice of love partners in the book *Amel en Faisal*, and on to identity conflicts surrounding questions such as 'what do you want to do with your life?', 'how do you want to fashion your life?', 'where do you belong, in Morocco or in the Netherlands?' in the book *Sanae*, and questions of self-identity that focus on the

difference between reason and feeling 'why do you do that when that's not what you want?' The end of the various books is always positive. The protagonist makes practical choices and notices that the choices were the right ones.

It is worthy to note that in her books Zarouali does not choose either Moroccan or Dutch society. In the three books, the conflict of the second generation 'between two cultures' plays a role in the background, but it does not dominate. The second generation is not uprooted, but does search for a new way to live, something Moroccan and something Dutch. Her books occupy an area on the boundaries between both cultures. *Amel* and *Amel en Faisal*³⁷ focus on conflicts surrounding the marriage partner. In *Sanae*³⁸ the protagonist lives for a time as a single divorced mother and even travels through Morocco on her own, leaving her child behind. In *Een doel voor ogen* (*A Goal in Sight*),³⁹ the protagonist rejects the Moroccan boy that she is in love with in order to avoid a conflict with her parents. She lives as an unmarried girl with a girlfriend in a separate house and every now and then goes out with a boy that she doesn't know. In the books, there is criticism of Dutch prejudices with respect to foreigners and especially with respect to Moroccans. But Moroccan customs such as deflowering and the virginity cloth elicit criticism. In the fourth book, *Een doel voor ogen* (*A Goal in Sight*) the protagonist distances herself also from customs that play a role among Moroccan immigrants: status consumption, competition and strong social control. The total picture is one of strong girls/women who find themselves faced with problems but solve them and make the right choices in accordance with Islam and their own background. The undertone is one of understanding for the almost inescapable conflicts. It is clear that as the books progress, the possibilities for girls and women expand considerably.

CHEBBA Magazine

Written for and by Moroccan girls, *CHEBBA* magazine is published four times a year by CHEBBA, a part of the Urban (Amsterdam) Youth Work. *CHEBBA* is distributed free of charge; only the postage has to be paid. The magazine has an attractive appearance, using a wide range of colours and nice photographs. Up to the summer of 2002, ten issues had been published. *CHEBBA* was set up as an information magazine for Moroccan girls by the Moroccan Girls Centre in Amsterdam. This centre, now closed, was set up to bring Moroccan girls together and give them a place in the Amsterdam youth work. The magazine has several more or less repeating subjects, e.g. interviews with successful Moroccan women such as the deputy headmistress of a primary school, a tram driver and a beautician. The interviewed women appear to function as role models. The consistent message is that girls must continue to go to school and, as one of the editors in issue six said: 'go as far as you can'.⁴⁰

The subjects are wide ranging. There is sometimes a question and answer column, a story about a city in or a trip to Morocco, an informative discussion of subjects such as paranormal phenomena, choosing a partner (arranged marriage or marrying a non-Muslim), dealing with parents, the new king of Morocco, knowledge about and the devotion to Islam, the relationship between religion, parents and daughters. The personal contributions from readers, such as poems, are given a clear place and are also pointed out. *CHEBBA* issue number six is an 'extra thick special on literature' in which the winners of the El Hizjra Literature Award 2000 are given a chance to talk and interviews are held with the Moroccan Dutch writers Abdelkader Benali and Hans

Sahar. *CHEBBA* organises excursions, parties, and discussion gatherings on culture, religion and love. Written accounts of these are given, accompanied by many photographs.

The target group of *CHEBBA* magazine is: all Dutch Moroccan girls. That seems difficult because of the differences between Moroccan girls. Nevertheless, they succeed. For all Moroccan girls it clearly offers possibilities for identification. The subjects are not always thoroughly discussed, so girls with a low level of education have no problems. On the other side, the choice of subjects and the direction of the discussion are well thought out. So it is attractive for girls with a relatively high level of education—MBO, MAVO, HAVO, VWO. The ‘extra thick literature special’ mentioned above is an example of this. Probably the exceptions in this are the girls rejecting their Moroccan migrant situation and the runaway girls. *CHEBBA* offers them no possibilities for identification. It is difficult to reach them.⁴¹

For Dutch people who spend a lot of time with Moroccans and Moroccan girls, the contents are probably not surprising, but in general they are very enthusiastic: ‘Finally a magazine especially for those girls’, is the comment. The design and presentation are refreshing and the tone is pleasantly self-confident. Time and again it is brought to the fore that girls should make choices and should fight for the opportunity to make them and continue to strive. The importance of self-awareness is also pointed out. With this emphasis, the magazine seems to fit in well with the process of modernisation that is occurring in western societies and in the context of which young people see themselves increasingly faced with making choices. But the choices themselves are noteworthy. A choice ‘against’ something is rarely made. Opposite views are also not discussed. There is also a lack of comparisons. That does not mean that everything is presented in a positive light. Dramatic events are written about, events such as unmarried girls becoming pregnant in a Moroccan village and the reaction of the family to this event. But no judgement is made. In the discussions of these problems, *CHEBBA* can certainly be said to be engaged, but it never rejects. There is always something to learn from the problems presented. Actually the past, even the subjects and points that have caused problems, is included as a starting point to build up something new. There is also no opposition to parents, but rather the opposite: parents are included. The contents are primarily aimed at the progress towards desired combinations without offending anyone.

Emancipation concepts known in the Netherlands such as *girrrl* and *empowerment* are used every now and then, but not in a struggle against injustice. Instead, they are used in a struggle to improve the situation with others, primarily girls and women. In this sense, *CHEBBA* magazine is clearly searching: ‘what do we want in this society and how do we want it?’ Little is established, except its Moroccan origin and Islam. How these are given expression is left open and therefore the subject of the search. This gives individuals personal responsibility. But even though individuals and choices are given priority, *CHEBBA* does not exude individualism. The subjects are serious and the message ‘do your best and go far’ is placed at the forefront. Entertainment is certainly allowed, but with several people and preferably via education. The so-called hedonistic individualism that set the tone in Dutch magazines for young people is not present.⁴² There are always other people that have to be taken into consideration, especially the parents. The choices that these girls make or are presented with are not determined by the parents, but are sought out within the boundaries that parents set and fall within the scope of the highest possible social position in Dutch society. Within these boundaries, there appear to be plenty of possibilities for Moroccan girls.

Comments of Moroccan Girls Concerning this Youth Literature

To find out how Moroccan girls view the girls' question, we have to ask ourselves how they view this youth literature. To answer this question, I have made a study of a homework assistance programme for Moroccan young people at a mosque in Gouda.⁴³ The choice fell on this group of Moroccan young people because anthropological research was carried out among them by myself and by my students, the girls and the boys who participate in the homework assistance programme and among their parents. For those unfamiliar with it, homework assistance given at a mosque probably seems strange. For this reason, I will briefly describe the project. After that, I will let the girls talk about the books of Zohra Zarouali and *CHEBBA* magazine.

At about three pm, the area in and around the Moroccan mosque Nour in Gouda is teeming with young people, both boys and girls. Girls with and without headscarves enter and leave the mosque. Boys are fewer in number, but noticeably present. These young people have come to the mosque for help with their homework. Such a phenomenon is apparently quite rare in many Muslim communities. Usually young people visit the mosque less often than adults do and women in Morocco do not visit the mosque at all.⁴⁴

It is a well-known problem that, among Muslim immigrants, girls are often taken out of school when they reach puberty. However, at this mosque teenage girls are welcomed, supported and assisted with their homework and general school careers, helped in conflicts with their parents and encouraged to spend their free time together at, for instance, parties, dances and on excursions. Girls also learn to cope with questions about wearing the headscarf or the ban on wearing them, or incidents at school, as well as with issues of sexuality and virginity, and with the apparent differences between gender-based relationships in the home and at school.

Boys have other problems and often leave school early without earning a diploma and, as a result, have few opportunities on the job market. At the mosque, the boys are helped with their homework, encouraged to participate in sports activities and reminded of their responsibility as students and to their family, and encouraged to take responsibility for how they spend their free time.

This assistance is offered not only to Moroccan young people. Several Turkish, Iraqi, Moluccan and a few Dutch children have also found the mosque to be a welcoming place. The main criterion for a young person's participation is not nationality or the father's link with the mosque, but whether or not they benefit from it. Young people with problems are given priority. As stated by the chairman of the mosque: 'A mosque has a social responsibility to bear. We start with the child'.⁴⁵

The assistance is provided by Dutch and Moroccan professionals and volunteers. The professionals work for a foundation for youth assistance, but the collaboration with external partners was initiated by the mosque's council, which requested assistance for its young people. The children that take part in the homework assistance programme rarely have to repeat a school year and there are some years in which all final year students pass their examinations. After passing their examinations, instead of hoisting their schoolbags up the flagpole, as is the tradition in the Netherlands, they hang them on the minaret at the mosque.

This homework assistance programme and school career support has been so successful that over the last ten years it has grown from a few secondary school children to approximately 130 participants, aged 11–20 and includes boys and girls from the final year of primary school.

'The books of Zohra Zarouali are very popular among the girls. They devour them', says an employee of the homework assistance programme. The girls clearly express their enthusiasm for this literature. They find the books a lot of fun to read. They also make comments about their contents. The reality of their lives is different from the one presented in the books. In Moroccan families, things are not like what is described. Nevertheless, the girls appreciate these stories a lot. They say that the stories of Zohra Zarouali tell about the questions that a Moroccan girl can come up against in the future and the problems they can be faced with. That is why they see these books as being about their future and about the path that they must choose. 'It is just the same as Islam', says Fatima, 'because Islam says that you have to choose your own path'.⁴⁶

All the girls think *CHEBBA* is a wonderful magazine. It clearly reflects the problems they are confronted with and the dilemmas they must face. It is a mirror of sorts. All of them are reflected in it. The girls say that their reality is just as it is described in *CHEBBA*. This is not the case when newspapers and the television write or tell something about Moroccan girls. The media present an untrue picture of them, say the girls. In *CHEBBA*, religious faith is also given a clear position. They like this fact because their religious faith is very important to them. The girls also appreciate the orientation towards parents. Sometimes young people are given the chance to ask questions that they have. The subjects handled in *CHEBBA* vary widely and they like that. That does not mean that they always agree with what is said. For instance, an article about a Moroccan girl that was married to a Surinamese who converted to Islam elicited a lot of discussion. This should be no problem—the man was Muslim, after all—but according to the girls it was not really accepted.⁴⁷

From the comments of the girls, it becomes clear what the key points for them are in the books of Zohra Zarouali and in *CHEBBA* magazine, how they identify with them and in which areas engagement plays a part. If girls can identify with and recognise themselves in this literature of 'their own' and at the same time say that the reality is otherwise, then it is logical to press on with this. The last question for this article, therefore, concerns the social reality. In other words: how do Moroccan girls handle the problems that they are faced with? Do they, like the protagonists in the books of Zohra Zarouali and as is put forth in *CHEBBA*, choose to remain within the boundaries or do they try to broaden these borders and perhaps even to cross them?

Identity Formation

Anthropological research by Teunissen⁴⁸ conducted among Moroccan girls taking part in the homework assistance programme at the mosque Nour in Gouda shows that the girls can be typified very differently. She makes a distinction between so-called educationally motivated girls and recreation-minded girls. The educationally motivated girls are focused on schooling, doing their homework and in their behaviour remain close to their parents. The so-called recreation-minded girls often go against the wishes of their parents and try to have fun, also with boys. Their focus is not directly aimed at school and homework, but more directly on a fun environment of which boys are a part.

The educationally motivated girls at the mosque Nour in Gouda are focused on their studies in order to achieve something in life and say they are inspired by their religious faith.⁴⁹ With such comments, the girls connect themselves with the idea that self-development is a central notion in Islam. Study, that is, reading, is an activity that is highly appreciated within Islam. A good person is considered to have good sense with much

aqel, which means wisdom, understanding and control. The rearing of children is also a point of focus in order to instil considerable *aqel* in them. The road to *aqel* runs via *qraya*, or study/learning.⁵⁰ From Islam, they therefore find a legitimization for their focus on school. They experience their religious faith also as support for studying hard and doing their very best. Through their efforts in school and their good achievements, these girls demonstrate responsibility. These girls enjoy the trust of their parents and are given considerable freedom. The dedication to education therefore broadens the latitude given to girls. In this sense, they are different from the girls that Davis and Davis⁵¹ classify on the basis of their research in Zawiya, a provincial city in Morocco. In Morocco, the express orientation towards making progress and Islam does not play a role as it does in the Netherlands. Girls who are focused on school and learning are more typically traditional girls. But they are given no extra latitude by their parents. On the contrary, they maintain the segregation of the sexes as much as possible.⁵²

For the recreation-minded girls the situation is very different. They refuse to conform and do not really devote themselves to their schoolwork. Their parents often have little trust in these girls and demonstrate a tendency to limit the freedom of their daughters, which often leads to family conflicts.

Teunissen makes yet another distinction with respect to the type of girl that takes part in the homework assistance programme at the mosque Nour, focusing on her attitude with respect to religion, Islam. She makes a distinction between girls with a 'conscious faith', girls with a 'personal faith' and girls who 'reject the faith'.⁵³ The girls that hold the 'conscious faith' wear a headscarf and see their faith as a direction to follow. They try to obey the rules that are set by Islam. They read the Qur'an and take Arabic lessons at the mosque. The girls with a 'conscious faith' that Teunissen identifies are also strongly focused on education and achieving something in Dutch society. Islam is the true central denominator, as it were, from which the girls take their identity and through which they also seek their path in Dutch society. Their home base remains the Moroccan community. Islam offers them the possibility of going beyond the traditional role of women, to join Dutch society and to go as far as they can in society with respect to education and a profession. They are also given the space and freedom for this by their parents. It is clear that the two categories that Teunissen identifies, the educationally motivated girls and the 'conscious faith' girls, correspond and overlap.

The girls with a 'personal faith' say that they cannot comply with all the rules of Islam. They place greater emphasis on the instinctive aspect of their faith, believing with the heart.⁵⁴ They are still searching and are flexible in their interpretations of their religion. These girls are trusted by their parents and also have a reasonable amount of freedom, but they give less priority to their education than the girls with a 'conscious faith'. In this group there are educationally motivated girls and recreation-minded girls, with the understanding that the latter limit themselves to the boundaries their parents set for them.

The girls who 'reject the faith' have many problems with their parents. According to the standards of their parents, they are much too free and that is seen as being 'too Dutch'. This group consists mainly of recreation-minded girls who give priority to making plans, try to go out and make contacts with boys. Through their conduct they cause concern, sow the seeds of doubt about their behaviour and acquire a bad reputation. From the Moroccan community, it is these girls who 'reject the faith' that run the highest risk of violating the group boundaries. Sometimes they do just that.⁵⁵

Conclusion

At the start of this article, I stated that Moroccans, as an ethnic group, set social boundaries. To keep the group intact, the second generation has to remain within these boundaries. But the second generation grows up in Dutch society and, in contrast to the first generation, has its origins here. This first generation still contemplates going back to the home country. The second generation more often sees a future for itself in the Netherlands. If they want to hold their own in Dutch society, then they will regularly be faced with situations in which they come up against these social boundaries. These boundaries are not hard and fast. What are the boundaries, how do they handle them and what choices do they make as a result? It is primarily the question of girls and their behaviour around which these boundaries are formed. But the results of anthropological research on identity formation among Moroccan girls in Gouda show a process of redefinition. Many Moroccan immigrants wish to profile themselves on the basis of Islam. For their youngsters, the parents redefine Islam and have chosen as a central issue the themes of study and learning, especially for their daughters.

But how is the development and content, the discourse in their 'own' Moroccan youth literature, related to the identity formation of Moroccan girls as members of an ethnic immigrant group within Dutch society? In the first place, it is noteworthy that within one generation Moroccans have passed a turning point with respect to reading and creating literature. From a highly illiterate group, they have become a literate one that is also very active in producing Dutch literature not only for young people but also for adults.⁵⁶ We can see this as a silent revolution. Secondly, we have seen the creation of Moroccan youth literature of their 'own', especially literature for girls. In the books of Zohra Zarouali girls and women do not stand in conflict with men but are seen as strong. The men play the weak role. It is the discourse of the strong women standing on their choices and looking for their independence. These books also deal with the boundaries that are set for girls. Her protagonists, respectively, Amel, Sanae and Bahar, explore the ethnic boundaries but in the end do not cross over them. The boundaries are enlarged. Although the descriptions of the situations are not really Moroccan according to the Moroccan girls, they can identify with the protagonists and the problems with which they are faced. They expect to come up against such problems themselves. It is interesting that the expansion of the boundaries in the books of Zohra Zarouali is not explicitly sought in Islam, but more often in the goal and function within society, such as studies, a good job and the search for one's own life. *CHEBBA* magazine is less concrete and has a much broader range of subjects. But here as well, the intention is to broaden the boundaries and to involve the parents in this expansion. Religion is given an express role in this. Studies and personal development are given a high priority.

In the end, the development of their 'own' youth literature in relation to the social reality is important. This social reality is more complex than the reality portrayed in such literature. Still, anthropological research has shown that Moroccan girls create patterns when developing their identity that, in any case, can be recognised in 'their own' youth literature. But in contrast to their 'own' youth literature, in reality it does not always end as positively and the girls sometimes choose to leave the Moroccan community. Nevertheless, the role of their 'own' literature in the process of identity formation is clear. This literature provides a discourse that girls can identify with. At the same time this literature shows them a way to express themselves and enables them to broaden the boundaries.

NOTES

1. My appreciation to Lenie Brouwer, Martijn de Koning and Tanja van Zuilen for their remarks on an earlier version of this article.
2. Up until now no equivalent youth literature for Turkish young people has been published. The book *Filiz* is written by the Dutch writer Geertje Gort. The book *De bevroren waterval* is a translation of *The Frozen Waterfall* written by the English author Gaye Hicyilmaz, who is known by the Turkish name of her husband.
3. A-Tarik.nl is a new magazine for Moroccan young people. It is published by Dutch and Moroccans and was released in the last week of February 2001 (Trouw, 26 February 2001).
4. E. Roosens, 'The Primordial Nature of Origins in Immigrant Ethnicity', in *The Anthropology of Ethnicity: Beyond Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, eds H. Vermeulen and C. Grovers, Amsterdam: Spinhuis, 1994.
5. F. Reysoo, 'Symbool en antisymbool van culturele identiteit: De hoofddoekjesaffaire in Frankrijk' ('Symbol and Anti-symbol of Cultural Identity: The Headscarf Affair in France'), *Focaal (Focalised)*, Vol. 17/18, 1992, pp. 43–61.
6. H. Lutz, 'Doeken des aanstoots: Een beschouwing over hoofddoeken en genderverhoudingen in de multiculturele samenleving' ('Scarves of Confrontation: A Consideration of Headscarves and Gender Relationships in a Multicultural Society'), in *Praten in het donker: Multiculturalisme en anti-racisme in feministisch perspectief (Talking in the Dark: Multiculturalism and Anti-racism from a Feministic Perspective)*, eds G. Wekker and R. Braidoti, Kampen: Kok Agora, 1996, pp. 119–149.
7. M. de Koning, 'Onderzoeksvoorstel', research proposal, unpublished, Department of CA/SNWS, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, 2001.
8. F. Kemper, *Religiositeit, etniciteit en welbevinden bij mannen van de eerste generatie Marokkaanse moslimimmigranten (Religious Devotion, Ethnicity and Well-Being among Men from the First Generation of Moroccan Muslim Immigrants)*, Nijmegen: Uitgeverij KU, 1996.
9. *Ibid.*
10. The alternative name for the *Qur'an* is *al-Furqan*. *Farq* means 'difference' (between Good and Evil).
11. K. Phalet, C. van Lotringen and H. Entzinger, *Islam in de multiculturele samenleving: Opvattingen van jongeren in Rotterdam (Islam in a Multicultural Society: Opinions of Young People in Rotterdam)*, Utrecht: Universiteit van Utrecht, European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations, 2000.
12. For Muslims the expression 'construction' of Islam is a contradiction. They oppose it because, for them, there exists only one Islam, the Islam of the Revelation, the Islam for everywhere and always. Every child born from a Muslim father is a Muslim. 'Construction' here means the realisation of Islam in the context of new circumstances.
13. Adult Moroccan writers often say that they do not write special immigrant literature, but that readers and reviewers label them as doing so. They have also often lived much longer in the Netherlands than all the time they have ever spent in Morocco. This concerns the difference between youth literature and adult literature as discussed in the paragraph on youth literature in this article.
14. Intercultural youth literature is typified as youth literature in which persons from different cultures play a role. M. Sanders, C. Mathijssen and H. Hume, *Vijftig Wereldboeken (Fifty Books of the World)*, Zutphen: Thieme, 1998. If we take a look at Dutch youth literature and immigrants, we can see three groups. (Sanders, Mathijssen, and Hume also give three groups, in a different way.) There are books and stories that focus on the place of immigrant children in Dutch society, there are books that tell about their countries of origin, and there are books that are based on the immigrant young people themselves. In the first group of books, which target Dutch young people, the subject is the place of immigrant children in society and they make it clear how damaging discrimination can be and how children can help to combat this discrimination. The central message is that, although immigrant children are perhaps different and can have a range of problems, they are not any less as a result and you can have a lot of fun with them. See, for examples of this, Anke de Vries, *Kladwerk (Messy Work)*, Rotterdam: Lemniscaat, 1990; Gaye Hicyilmaz, *De bevroren waterval (The Frozen Waterfall)*, Amsterdam: Querido, 1995; Anke de Vries, *Memo zwijgt (Memo Falls Silent)*, Rotterdam: Lemniscaat, 1996; Nicole Boumaaza, *Aan de andere kant van het water (The Other Side of the Water)*, Houten: Van Holkema & Warendorf, 1989; Geertje Gort, *Filiz (Filiz)*, Den Haag: Leopold, 1982. The second group predominantly concerns descriptions of life in the countries of origin. For Morocco, e.g. Francis Temple, *Dochter van de*

- Bedoeïenen (Daughter of the Bedouin)*, Rotterdam: Lemniscaat, 1997; Anton van der Kolk, *Amira, Princes van Marokko (Amira, Princess of Morocco)*, Den Haag: Van Goor, 1997; for Algeria, e.g. Hakim Traïdia, Karim Traïdia and Martien van Vuure, *De Zandkroon (The Crown of Sand)*, Amsterdam: Bulaaq, 1997; for Suriname, e.g. Henk Barnard, *Kon hesi baka (Come Quick Back)*, Houten: Van Holkema & Warendorf, 1976; for Pakistan, e.g. Suzanne Fisher Staples, *Shabanu (Shabanu)*, Rotterdam: Lemniscaat, 1990. The third group of books targets immigrant young people themselves. They are particularly meant to hold a mirror up to these young people or to act as a sounding board for problems that arise in their situation as immigrants. This literature is mostly written by immigrants themselves. This category includes the books written by Zohra Zarouali (below).
15. L. de Voogd, 'Lezen een luxe; de sprookjeswereld van het Arabische kinderboek' ('Reading Is a Luxury, the Fairy Tale World of the Arabic Children's Book'), in *Literatuur in Marokko en andere Arabische landen: Een verkenning vanaf de 19e eeuw tot heden (Literature in Morocco and Other Arab Countries: An Exploration from the 19th Century Up to the Present)*, The Hague: Nederlands Bibliotheek en Lektuur Centrum, 1984, pp. 40–45.
 16. F. van Houwelingen, 'De symbolische drempel: Veertig jaar Franstalige Algerijnse schrijfsters' ('The Symbolic Threshold: Forty Years of French Algerian Women Writers'), *Lover (Foliage)*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1998, pp. 4–11.
 17. M. Crul, *De sleutel tot succes: Over hulp, keuzes en kansen in de schoolloopbanen van Turkse en Marokkaanse jongeren van de tweede generatie (The Key to Success: About Help, Choices and Opportunities in the School Careers of Turkish and Moroccan Young People of the Second Generation)*, Amsterdam: Spinhuis, 2000.
 18. 'Reading habits among ethnic minority children are not different from those of native Dutch children. The avid readers read everything they come across.' Judith Eiselin makes this statement in 'Ontluikende geletterdheid: De boekvoorkeur van allochtone kinderen' ('Awakening Literacy: The Books Ethnic Minority Children Like to Read'), *NRC/Handelsblad*, 27 September 1996, after visiting children's book shops, libraries, the Stichting Lezen (Reading Foundation, a national platform to promote reading) and the Centre for Educational Services in Rotterdam. There apparently is no special type of book preferred among ethnic minority children. They usually choose to read the same books that native Dutch children choose to read. It is however clear that the books by Zohra Zarouali are very popular among Moroccan girls as A. van Overbeeke writes in 'Maagd zijn tot je trouwt is mooi' ('Remaining a Virgin until Marriage Is Beautiful'), *NRC/Handelsblad*, 10 November 1994.
 19. The past award-winning stories and thoughts were published in the following collection: *Stemmen onder water (Voices Under Water)*, El Hizra Literature Award 1992–1994; *En de woorden stroomden (And the Words were Flooding)*, El Hizra Literature Award 1995; *Een zee van verlangen (A Flood of Desire)*, El Hizra Literature Award 1996; *Uit het hart (From the Heart)*, El Hizra Literature Awards 1997; *Smurfen en Shahada (Smurfs and Shahada)*, El Hizra Literature Award 1998; *Koorddansers (High Wire Walkers)*, El Hizra Literature Award 1999.
 20. J. Eiselin, 'Echtscheiding ligt er een beetje uit' ('Divorce Is Out of Fashion'), *NRC/Handelsblad*, 29 September 1995.
 21. *Ibid.*
 22. *Ibid.*
 23. Unpublished interview with Zohra Zarouali by A. van Overbeeke, M. Sanders, C. Mathijssen and H. Hume, *Vijftig Wereldboeken (Fifty Books of the World)*, *op. cit.*
 24. A. van Overbeeke, 'Maagd zijn tot je trouwt is mooi' ('Remaining a Virgin until Marriage Is Beautiful'), *op. cit.*
 25. J. Eiselin, 'Toch herkenning' ('Recognition'), *NRC/Handelsblad*, 8 September 2000.
 26. Judith Eiselin, 'Ontluikende geletterdheid' ('Awakening Literacy'), *op. cit.*
 27. M. de Vos, 'Volwassenen in kinderkleren' ('Adults in Children's Clothes'), *NRC/Handelsblad*, 24 March 1995.
 28. J. Eiselin, 'Echtscheiding ligt er een beetje uit' ('Divorce Is Out of Fashion'), *op. cit.*
 29. Also, *Een doel voor ogen (A Goal in Sight)* is currently on the final examination list of MAVO 4 at an Amsterdam school for secondary education.
 30. M. de Vos, 'Volwassenen in kinderkleren' ('Adults in Children's Clothes'), *op. cit.*
 31. J. Eiselin, 'Toch herkenning' ('Recognition'), *op. cit.*
 32. A. van Overbeeke, 'Maagd zijn tot je trouwt is mooi' ('Remaining a Virgin until Marriage Is Beautiful'), *op. cit.*; see also online <www.koopman.demon.nl/body_marokkaans_meisje_in_nederland.html>.

33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. F. van Houwelingen, 'De symbolische drempel' ('The Symbolic Threshold'), *op. cit.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. Zohra Zarouali, *Amel*, Houten: Van Holkema and Warendorf, 1989; and Zohra Zarouali, *Amel en Faisal*, Houten: Van Holkema & Warendorf, 1993.
38. Zohra Zarouali, *Sanae*, Houten: Van Holkema & Warendorf, 1996.
39. Zohra Zarouali, *Een doel voor ogen (A Goal in Sight)*, Houten: Van Holkema & Warendorf, 2000.
40. Kawtar Kartoubi, 'Rennen in Marrakech' ('Running in Marrakech'), *CHEBBA*, Vol. 6, 2000, p. 2.
41. Information: Dr L. Brouwer.
42. It is difficult to compare *CHEBBA* magazine with a Dutch magazine for young people such as *Tina*, *Break*, *Yes* or *Hitkrant* because it is a magazine made for and by young people and is expressly meant to give Moroccan girls their own voice.
43. The population of Gouda numbers 70,000. About 7000 are Moroccans. That is a higher percentage than the total immigrant population in the Netherlands, which is about six percent.
44. F. Mernissi, *Beyond the Veil: Male—Female Dynamics in a Modern Muslim Society*, London: Schenkman, 1995, and E. Bartels, 'Plichten en de rituele praktijk' ('Obligations and Ritual Practices'), in *In het huis van de Islam (In the House of Islam)*, ed. H. Driessen, Nijmegen: SUN, 1997, pp. 125–141.
45. Chairman of mosque Nour, H. Hadji, during a study visit of students from the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam April 1999.
46. Fatima is one of the girls who assists the homework assistance programme in mosque Nour
47. According to a discussion between the girls who work in the homework assistance programme in mosque Nour.
48. B. Teunissen, 'Marokkaanse meisjes over huiswerkbegeleiding, religie en identiteit: De hulpverleningsmethodiek van Stichting Woonhuis en moskee Nour te Gouda' ('Moroccan Girls on Homework Assistance, Religion and Identity: The Assistance Method of Stichting Woonhuis and the Nour Mosque in Gouda'), MA thesis in Ethnic Studies and Minority Problems, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, 1997.
49. *Ibid.*
50. E. Bartels, "'Dutch Islam": Young People, Learning and Integration', *Current Sociology*, Vol. 48, No. 4, 2000, pp. 59–73. *Aqel* and *qara* are Moroccan—Arabic words. In classical Arabic those words are known as '*aqel* and *qara*'a.
51. S. Davis and D. Davis, *Adolescence in a Moroccan Town: Making Social Sense*, New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1989.
52. Davis and Davis (*ibid.*, p. 122) show that boys and girls in Zawiya, a provincial city in Morocco, do not identify with Islam. With a changing economy and the modernisation of the society, another family pattern is also developing in Morocco. The nuclear family, particularly in the urban areas, is increasingly becoming accepted. Young people, including girls, are going to school longer. The traditional segregation of the sexes can as a result no longer be maintained. In primary and secondary education boys and girls sit together in the classroom and in the phase before marriage there are contacts between members of the opposite sex. From their parents and social environment, young people are being given the message that they should avoid one another. Young people also react differently to these new challenges. There are the more traditional girls that still remain indoors and behave as much as possible as their mothers always have, while the more adventurous girls seek contact with boys and pay much less attention to rules concerning *cherif* (honour) and *heshma* (shame). See also: E. Diepenmaat, 'Scholing en schooluitval: Een onderzoek naar invloeden op de schoolloopbaan van meisjes in het voortgezet onderwijs in Azrou, Marokko' ('Schooling and School Leavers: A Study into the Influences on the School Career of Girls in Secondary Education in Azrou, Morocco'), MA thesis in Cultural Anthropology, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, 1993.
53. Of the approximately 80 girls that participated in the homework assistance programme, Brenda Teunissen interviewed 24 intensively. Of these 24, she classifies four girls as having a 'conscious faith', 16 girls as having a 'personal faith' and four as 'rejecting the faith'. The other girls in the homework assistance programme (80–24) were involved in this research via the anthropological method of participant observation. B. Teunissen, 'Marokkaanse meisjes over huiswerkbegeleiding, religie en identiteit: De hulpverleningsmethodiek van Stichting Woonhuis en moskee Nour te Gouda' ('Moroccan Girls on Homework Assistance, Religion and Identity: The Assistance Method of Stichting Woonhuis and the Nour Mosque in Gouda'), *op. cit.*, p. 36.

54. C. Dominicus-Groot, 'Geloven met je hart' ('Believing with your Heart'), *LOVA Bulletin*, Summer 2001, pp. 28–34.
55. L. Brouwer, *Meiden met lef: Marokkaanse en Turkse weggloopsters (Girls who Dare: Moroccan and Turkish Runaways)*, Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1997.
56. Writers as Khalid Boudou, Said El Haji, Abdelkader Benali and Hans Sahar.