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The Influence of Religious Socialization and Partnership Characteristics on the Religious Practice of Veiling

ISH-Arbeitspapier
des Instituts für Soziologie der Leibniz Universität Hannover

01-2015

ISH-Working Paper
Institute of Sociology, Leibniz Universität Hannover

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Abstract

This paper analyzes veiling among Turkish and Moroccan immigrant women in Belgium. As quantitative studies on immigrant religiosity have so far excluded veiling, this study looks at whether individual characteristics of the believer can predict who wears a headscarf. Qualitative studies on veiling have outlined the manifold meaning a headscarf can have. However, quantitative data can additionally reveal which factors influence veiling while controlling for personal characteristics. It is shown that among Moroccan and Turkish women a strong Muslim identity as well as being married is associated with a higher probability of veiling. Moreover, having a co-ethnic partner increases the probability of veiling for Moroccan women. Among Turkish participants, attending Koran lessons as a child is positively and being highly educated is negatively associated with veiling. As veiling is differently predicted among both ethnic groups, the findings are discussed within the context of immigration to Belgium and previous studies.

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Acknowledgements

The data utilized in this publication were made available by the ISPO-K.U.Leuven and the CSCP-K.U.Leuven (principal investigators: Karen Phaet & Marc Swyngedouw). Neither the original collectors of the data nor the Centres bear any responsibility for the analysis or interpretations presented here.

I would like to thank Martina Kroher and Martin Wienhold for their valuable comments on previous versions of this paper as well as Prof. Dr. Christoph Bühler for his remarks on the revised draft.

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1 Introduction

Veiling in terms of covering a woman's hair, is an Islamic practice that has received much attention in Western Europe during the last decade. Within the public it is often portrayed as oppressive and backward thereby suggesting that women who wear a headscarf ascribe to traditional attitudes and subordinate towards men (Farahani 2002, Ternikar 2009, Shirazi and Mishra 2010). This understanding is in contrast to many scientific studies, which have underlined that veiling is a conscious choice of most Muslim women, which is part of their identity building process (Lorasdagī 2009). These mainly qualitative analyses have highlighted that a headscarf can be a liberating piece of cloth that empowers women to live an independent life (Ajrouch 2007, Bullock 2002, Killian 2003). Especially for second generation Muslim immigrants, it often is a marker of their ethnic identity and provides the cultural space necessary to form their identity (Killian 2007, Williams and Vashi 2007). While these analyses stress that a headscarf has manifold meanings, less is known about the factors that influence whether one wears a headscarf or not. Especially within the context of Muslim migration to Western Europe, it is important to better understand who veils and who does not as this might shed light on the integration status of migrants and on how this relates to practicing one's religiosity. Moreover, deepening existing findings on the headscarf will not only straighten existing stereotypes about veiled women, but might in the long-run also facilitate a peaceful co-existence of natives and minorities.

As most research on veiling is qualitative in nature, existing studies mainly describe the reasoning for women to wear a headscarf and stress what veiling means to them. Currently, there is only one study from the Dutch context that looked at veiling from a quantitative point of view, thereby investigating which individual factors are related to veiling. This study found that veiling underlies a complex decision making and is influenced directly and indirectly by education, contact with natives, gender role attitudes and Muslim identity (Brünig and Fleischmann 2015). Without going deeper into the explanations underlying these findings, the study demonstrated that – at least for the Dutch context – veiling can be explained by individual factors of the believer. However, the study focused mainly on socio-economic predictors without considering the vast literature that places Muslim religious practice within the context of upbringing and, to a lesser extent, partnership characteristics. Acculturation studies have shown that Muslim religious practices such as participating in Ramadan or visiting the mosque regularly are influenced by religious socialization processes (see e.g. Güngör et al. 2013, Maliepaard and Lubbers 2013). Nevertheless, these studies have always focused upon male Muslim practices, but have not explicitly included the female religious practice of veiling into their analyses. Yet, Phalet and ter Wal (2004) demonstrated that measures like visiting the mosque are not as valid a measure for religiosity for Muslim women as for men. This challenges previous findings and poses the question to what extent existing insights into immigrant religiosity are actually applicable towards veiling, too. Similarly, studies that looked at the influence of partnership constellations on religious practices hardly consider female practices ex-

plicity. Fleischmann and Phalet (2012) investigated the association between co-ethnic partnership and the religious practices of eating halal or conducting daily prayers. Also, Smits, Ruiter and van Tubergen (2010) only related partnership to sacrificing a sheep and participating in Ramadan. Although both studies found evidence for a positive association between religious practices and co-ethnic partnerships, it remains to be tested whether these findings can be applied to veiling as well.

The aim of the current study is thus twofold. On the one hand, it aims at extending our understanding of veiling by investigating whether partnership characteristics and religious upbringing are related to veiling. On the other hand, it tries to broaden insights into the general relationship between religious socialization, partnership characteristics and Muslim religious practices by focusing on veiling as female religious practice within Islam. These relationships will be analyzed within the context of Belgium, because the country has a big Muslim population consisting of mainly immigrants with Turkish and Moroccan origin. Before the theoretical background and the hypotheses are outlined, a first introduction into Muslim immigrants in Belgium is given.

2 Turkish and Moroccan Immigrants in Belgium

Turkish and Moroccan immigrants arrived in Belgium during the 1960s and 1970s as labor migrants. They mainly resided within the industrial Flemish region and Brussels, but were less dispersed within the francophone Wallonia (Timmermann, Vanderwaren, and Crul 2003). Most of them originated primarily from rural areas within their home countries and were expected to only stay temporarily. However, like in many other Western European countries, many of these new migrants decided to stay, which is why family reunification resulted in more migration during the 1970s and 1980s although labor migration had terminated officially (Timmermann, Vanderwaren, and Crul 2003).

Regarding the incorporation of these new immigrant groups, Belgian integration policy has always tolerated religious and ethnic practices within the private sphere but has usually stressed the relevance of adaptation within the public (Phalet and Swyngedouw 2003). When Belgians were asked about their opinion regarding immigrant integration, most respondents distinguished between expectations regarding public and private life, and were more tolerant regarding migrant practices at home (Phalet and Swyngedouw 2003). In line with this public attitude, policies are banning full-face veiling from public life since 2011, following earlier restrictions within several local districts (Carvalho 2013).

When it comes to the integration status of immigrants in Belgium, many studies have shown that Turkish and Moroccan immigrants lag behind the Belgian majority in terms of their educational achievement, their job status and their employment levels (see e.g. Timmermann, Vanderwaren, and Crul 2003, Smits, Ruiter, and van Tubergen 2010). When

looking at the integration of both groups separately, some differences can be found especially regarding their religiosity. The religious structures of Turkish migrants in Belgium are much more influenced and governed by the Turkish state¹, whereas religious institutions of Moroccan residents are loosely organized and not directly linked to Moroccan culture (Timmermann, Vanderwaren, and Crul 2003). In addition, Turkish migrants in Belgium have a stronger community and are closely connected to other Turks. Phalet and Heath (2010) accentuated that Turkish communities are characterized by stronger family values, stricter parental control and more residential segregation. Moroccans, on the other hand, have a smaller ethnic community and are hence more oriented towards their host society (Lievens 1999, Lesthaeghe and Surkyn 1997). At the same time, Moroccan migration was slightly more motivated by adopting a different kind of lifestyle and by adjusting to a new socio-cultural environment, whereas Turkish migrants were primarily driven by economic considerations (Surkyn and Reniers 1997). This suggests that there are slight differences between Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in Belgium. Nevertheless, most studies on integration find that religious practices are similarly predicted among both groups (see e.g. Fleischmann and Phalet 2012, Maliepaard and Lubbers 2013).

3 Theoretical Background

3.1 Religious Socialization and Veiling

Social integration theory posits that the degree of integration into a social group influences the extent to which they adhere to norms related to this group or setting (Durkheim 1951). As member of a certain group, one fears being sanctioned in case of non-compliance with their group norms (Need and de Graaf 1996). Thus, one decides to comply and follow a group's norms and values. In the migration context, this theory has often been used to predict to what extent integration into the host society influences norms and behavioral patterns of immigrant groups. However, Smits, Ruiters and van Tubergen (2010) emphasized that this theory equally allows for predictions about religious group belonging. Religious behavior and practice can be considered a social phenomenon, which is subject to sanctioning by third parties and can hence be considered a social setting (Ruiters and van Tubergen 2009). Norms and values that have been internalized during childhood have a long lasting effect on people's behavior in adolescence and adulthood (Berger 1967, Durkheim 1912). Consequently, immigrant children who have been socialized into Islam by for instance attending Koran lessons or seeing their parents attending

¹ Like in several other Western European countries with a big Muslim population, the Turkish state also supports its Muslim population abroad. Kortmann and Rosenow-Williams (2013) give a more thorough overview of the relationship between Turkey and Western countries. They show that Turkey sends religious ambassadors to several Western European countries to strengthen the religious practice of Islam beyond the own state boundaries. Similarly, Yanasmayan (2010) demonstrates that Turkish religious organizations are spread within Belgium and act as autonomous, active agents who shape the structures of the Muslim community in Belgium.

religious services regularly might be more likely to cherish religious values and practices throughout their later life. This expectation is strengthened when considering that religious parents often promote religious norms more insistently within secular environments (Kelley and de Graaf 1997), such as in Western European host countries. Therefore, we expect that

H1: Women, who have attended Koran lessons during childhood, are more likely to wear a headscarf.

H2: Women, whose parents have attended religious services regularly during women's childhood, are more likely to wear a headscarf.

Smits, Ruiter and van Tubergen (2010) supported these hypotheses when studying the religious participation among Moroccan and Turkish men in Belgium. If their participants attended Koran lessons during childhood, they were more likely to visit the mosque or participate in Ramadan. Additionally, Maliepaard and Lubbers (2013) showed that religious socialization is especially influential for religious practice (as compared to religious attitudes). Similarly, Ruiter and van Tubergen (2009) as well as Fleischmann and Phalet (2012) confirmed the importance of parental religiosity for the Muslim religious behavior of their children within cross-national studies.

3.2 Religious Identity and Veiling

Closely linked to religious socialization and veiling is the concept of religious identity. Religion is a multi-faceted concept that consists out of different dimensions. Although most scholars agree that religiosity has multiple facets, they disagree about the exact dimensions (Kücükcan 2005). Clayton and Glagged (1974) underlined that religiosity first and foremost refers to the strength of commitment, yet this commitment can be expressed in different ways. They thus stressed that any form of religious attitude or practice has to be rooted in religious commitment. This claim has been supported by ethnographic and quantitative studies that demonstrated that veiling is an important source of identity for the women wearing a headscarf (see e.g. Brünig and Fleischmann 2015, Hopkins and Greenwood 2013). Given that being a Muslim is meaningful especially for second-generation migrants who have to place themselves between two different cultures (Portes and Rumbaut 2001), it is predicted that

H3: The stronger women identify as Muslim, the more likely they are to wear a headscarf.

Moreover, the extent to which an identity is meaningful to the individual is strongly influenced by the context in which one grew up. Güngör, Fleischmann and Phalet (2011) argued that religious socialization during childhood is a strong predictor of religious identification during adulthood. Consequently, it is also hypothesized that religious socialization influences veiling through a stronger Muslim identity.

H4: The more women have been socialized into their religious group, the more likely they are to identify as Muslim and consequently, the more likely they are to wear a headscarf.

3.3 Education and Veiling

Within the literature, it is usually suggested that education and religious practices are negatively associated. Most arguments are based on the scientific worldview theory, which posits that scientific and educational advances make individuals more critical about religious doctrines (Berger 1967, Need and De Graaf 1996). Increasingly, educated individuals start to question fundamentals of religiosity and to detect inconsistencies (Van Tubergen and Sindradottir 2011). Consequently, educated individuals usually are more skeptical about religiosity, its rituals and its practices.

This expectation has been confirmed within several studies on immigrant religiosity. Diehl and König (2009) demonstrated that Turkish immigrants in Germany are less religious if they have more than lower secondary education. Similarly, Phalet, Gijsberts and Haggendoorn (2008) as well as Brünig and Fleischmann (2015) confirmed this finding for several religious practices among Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands. It is therefore expected that

H5: The higher the educational level of females, the lower the probability of veiling.

3.4 Partnership and Veiling

Finally, it is expected that the partnership status and the origin of the partner influence female veiling, too. In general, religiosity is closely tied to conventional family settings given that most religions dictate that sexual interfering is morally forbidden outside the institution of marriage (Katz 2001). This is the same within Islam, where marriage is still considered the legitimate base for men and women to have sexual intercourse (Shannahan 2009). For Muslim believers, it is thus considered the desired and ideal state to end up in marriage (Ali 2000). Although research among immigrant communities shows that immigrant diasporas are more and more deviating from this ideal by also living in partnership or in-law unions (Ali 2000), those who still opt for and cherish the institution of marriage are likely to be more traditional and conservative. In turn, they might also be more religious and more traditional within their practice of religiosity. Hence, it is hypothesized that

H6: Women, who are married, are more likely to wear a headscarf.

When it comes to the ethnic background of the partner, inter-marriage is one of the clearest indicators of social integration as it involves close contact to the out-group and adaptation towards different cultural expectations (Lievens 1998). It is usually observed that those immigrants who are most assimilated, are also the ones who are most likely to

choose a partner from the majority groups (Lievens 1998). On the one hand, assimilated individuals might be less likely to focus on ethnic similarity within a relationship. On the other hand, they might have more contact opportunities to meet natives at work or within the neighborhood. In opposition, people who marry within their group are more likely to stay within their in-group and to adhere to their own cultural norms and expectations (Xuanning, Tora, and Kendall 2001). They might be more attached to their ethnic community, which is why they prefer to have a partner with the same ethnic background. Especially for Muslim women, it is expected that they choose a Muslim husband, because the Koran prescribes that husband and wife should be spiritually equal (Ali 2000, Shannahan 2009). In addition, the parental influence on partner choice is still very pronounced within immigrant communities with parents preferring a co-ethnic partner for their children in order to provide a good fit in terms of values and customs (Lievens 1998). Once this partner has been chosen, ethnically homogenous couples are likely to act based upon their common value expectations as opposed to multi-ethnic couples who will likely compromise between both cultural backgrounds (Hohmann-Marriott and Amato 2008). Consequently, women who marry a man with similar ethnic background are more likely to stay within their ethnic and religious setting and to adhere to the practices and expectations of their ethno-religious group.² Based on these arguments it is expected that

H7: Women, who are in a relationship with a man with similar ethnic background, are more likely to practice their religiosity in terms of veiling.

Previous analyses have both confirmed and disconfirmed this hypothesis. Fleischmann and Phalet (2012) found a positive relationship between religiosity and having a co-ethnic partner for Turkish immigrants in Berlin, but not in Amsterdam, Brussels and Stockholm. However, Smits, Ruiter and van Tubergen (2010) did find a positive association between having a co-ethnic partner and several Muslim religious practices in Belgium.

4 Data and Methods

The hypotheses presented will be tested using a quantitative survey from Belgium. "The Integration of the European Second Generation" (TIES) 2007 data set has been selected, as it contains detailed information about Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in Belgium. It covers an age range of 18 – 37 years and looked at the integration of second generation immigrants as well as their demographics and family background. The Belgian TIES data have been collected in Antwerp and Brussels using Computer-Assisted Personal Interviews (CAPI). The language of the interview was French and Dutch meaning migrant participants

² Ethnic and religious group belonging resemble each other within this study. Out of all participants, only two partners were identified as Christians as opposed to all others who indicated to be Muslim.

had to be proficient enough in their host country language to participate. For more information on the TIES project and data collection, consult Swyngedouw et al. (2008).

The total sample consists of 1717 participants. Out of these, female participants of Moroccan and Turkish descent were selected who self-identified as Muslims. This reduced the sample size of this study to 510 (233 Turkish women, 277 Moroccan women).

4.1 Variables

4.1.1 *Dependent Variable*

The outcome variable is whether one *wears a headscarf* or not. Female participants were asked whether they wear a headscarf when they go outside their house. The variable is hence dummy coded with one indicating that a woman wears a headscarf opposed to zero, which signifies that she does not veil. This variable has more than 10 percent non-responses. It is possible that some women consider this question too sensitive to answer it. As the introduction of this article has shown, there is much controversy about the veil and many Western societies associate it with oppression. It is thus possible that some women see a certain social desirability within this question and prefer not to answer it instead of admitting towards the interviewer that they do (or do not) wear a headscarf.

4.1.2 *Independent Variables*

Religious socialization is measured by two items: Whether one attended Koran lessons during childhood (1 = yes, 0 = no) and the frequency of parental mosque attendance during primary school. The latter was assessed using five answer categories: never, seldom, only on religious holidays, once or twice a month, once a week or more. To include this categorical predictor into our analyses, three dummies have been created. The first dummy assigns a one to participants whose parents attended the mosque seldom or never, the second captures whether parents attended the mosque sometimes (= on holidays, up to twice a month) and the last dummy whether parents visited the mosque often (= once a week or more).

Education was assessed by asking participants for their current highest educational level. Three dummies have been computed out of this variable. Primary and lower secondary education capture a low educational level, whereas higher secondary education forms the middle category. Finally, if participants have a Bachelor, Master or doctoral degree, they were assigned a one on the dummy for tertiary education.

Partnership status is assessed by asking participants for their marital status. Respondents could choose between being married, being single, being widowed, being in a common-law union or being divorced. This variable is included as categorical predictor. Being widowed is excluded as no respondents were in this category. Furthermore, being single and

being in a common-law union have been merged due to too few cases within the common-law union category.

The *origin of the partner* is also measured categorically. Respondents had to indicate if their partner was born in Belgium, in Morocco (for Moroccans) or Turkey (for Turkish), or somewhere else. As only those who are in a relationship answered this question, it has many missing responses. One could either keep these as a separate category within the analysis and thus control for being single, or one could estimate a separate model for only those in a relationship, which tests whether the origin of the partner is related to veiling. Pre-analyses will be conducted to check to what extent those who are in a relationship differ significantly from those who are single. If those who have a partner form a special sub-group on selected measures such as educational background and level of religiosity, separate analyses will be conducted among only those who are in a relationship.

Finally, *Muslim identity* is represented by one variable. Participants were asked how strongly they felt they belong to the group of Muslims. Answers ranged on a five-point scale from "very strong" to "very weak" and were recoded such that higher values stand for a stronger Muslim identity.

4.1.3 Control Variables

During the analyses, it will be controlled for *age* (in years), whether one lives in *Brussels* (=1) or *Antwerp* (=0), and whether one is *Sunni* (=1) or not (=0). Although it was intended to control for more streams within Islam, most respondents self-identified as Sunni Muslims, which is why one can only compare Sunnis to other Muslims. Furthermore, as elaborated on before, the theoretical model will be tested among Turkish and Moroccan participants separately. Therefore, Table 1 summarizes the descriptive statistics for all variables used throughout the analyses by ethnic group.

4.2 Data Analytic Strategy

The analyses will be conducted using stepwise logistic regression. A stepwise procedure is chosen in order to be able to answer the mediation hypotheses. It will thus be compared across models how coefficients change so as to detect possible indirect explanations.

Two analyses will be run and compared, one for Turkish and one for Moroccan participants. When comparing groups using logistic regression one has to keep in mind that each estimate may contain unobserved heterogeneity thus making comparisons difficult (Mood 2010). To account for this bias, the results will be presented in terms of average marginal effects (AME) as these are more suited when it comes to model comparisons and interpretation of results (Mood 2010). For more information on the interpretation of AME's consult e.g. Mood (2010) or Long (1997).

4.3 Pre-analyses

It was argued above that married women are likely to be more conservative in their attitude, which is why they choose marriage in the first place. One could argue that this is not the only difference between married and not-married women. McIrvin Abu-Laban (1991) for instance argued that family and value socialization often go hand in hand, with those in marriage being likely more resistant towards assimilation and new values. It is hence possible that analyzing the relationship between the origin of the partner and veiling while lumping all women despite their relationship status together overlooks that actually married and non-married are two groups who differ substantially with regard to several demographic and socio-structural characteristics. Therefore, it will first of all be tested to what extent married and not-married women differ significantly with regard to selected characteristics.

When comparing married to not married women, it is found that married women are on average five years older [$t(465.66) = -15.12, p < .001$], differ from not married women in terms of education [Cramer's $V = 0.28, p < .001$] and religious socialization [parental mosque visit: Cramer's $V = 0.15, p = 0.03$; attended Koran school: Cramer's $V = 0.12, p = 0.01$]. This supports the presumption that partnership status has a decisive influence on other personal characteristics as well. For this study this pre-analysis implies that a separate regression model will be estimated for assessing the influence of the origin of the partner. This is done to prevent that one is simply controlling for not having a partner while analyzing the relationship between veiling and origin of the partner. Instead, estimating a separate model which assesses origin of the partner among married women only will better take into account that married women in this sample are a specific group.

5 Results

5.1 Descriptive Statistics

As can be seen in Table 1, about 26 percent of Turkish and 52 percent of Moroccan immigrants wear a headscarf. Moreover, the descriptive statistics reveal that both groups identify strongly as Muslim and that most of those who are in a relationship have a partner with the same ethnic background. Three-quarter of the participants attended Koran lessons during their childhood and most of the participants have parents who visited the mosque frequently, with Moroccan parents depicting slightly higher levels of mosque attendance. Both groups consist to two-thirds of Sunni Muslims and when the educational level of both groups is compared, they spread quite equally across the three educational categories.

Table 1 Descriptive statistics of all variables by ethnic group

Variable	Turkish respondents				Moroccan respondents			
	N	Range	Mean/ Proportion	SD	N	Range	Mean/ Proportion	SD
Wearing a headscarf	232	0/1	0.26		275	0/1	0.52	
Age	232	19 - 35	25.16	4.27	275	19 - 37	26.25	5.07
Living in Brussels	232	0/1	0.30		275	0/1	0.36	
Sunni	232	0/1	0.66		274	0/1	0.76	
Education								
- lower secondary/primary	231	0/1	0.15		274	0/1	0.09	
- higher secondary	231	0/1	0.53		274	0/1	0.56	
- tertiary	231	0/1	0.32		274	0/1	0.35	
Attended Koran lessons	219	0/1	0.74		267	0/1	0.69	
Parental mosque attendance								
- never/seldom	210	0/1	0.29		257	0/1	0.19	
- sometimes	210	0/1	0.22		257	0/1	0.15	
- often	210	0/1	0.49		257	0/1	0.67	
Partnership status								
- single/union	231	0/1	0.39		273	0/1	0.42	
- married	231	0/1	0.57		273	0/1	0.49	
- divorced	231	0/1	0.04		273	0/1	0.09	
Origin of partner								
- from Turkey/Morocco	124	0/1	0.81		134	0/1	0.75	
- from Belgium	124	0/1	0.17		134	0/1	0.21	
- from somewhere else	124	0/1	0.02		134	0/1	0.04	
Muslim identity	222	0 - 4	3.40	0.78	269	0 - 4	3.51	0.77

5.2 Predicting the Veiling of Turkish and Moroccan Immigrant Women

Looking at wearing a headscarf for Turkish women, model 1 in Table 2 shows that the probability of wearing a headscarf decreases slightly with increasing education. When comparing respondents with tertiary education to those who have only primary/lower secondary education, the highly educated are less likely to decide to veil. However, when adding religious socialization and the partnership status to the model, this relationship disappears. The relationship between education and veiling is thus fully mediated by the religious upbringing of respondents. Religious socialization itself is positively associated with veiling. Though, it has to be noticed that only attending Koran lessons is related to veiling, while the frequency of parental mosque visit during childhood has no association with whether one wears a headscarf or not. Participants who attended Koran lessons dur-

Table 2 Logistic Regression - Predicting the Veiling for Turkish Participants

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Age	-0.002 (0.007)	-0.017** (0.007)	-0.013* (0.007)
Living in Brussels	-0.274*** (0.073)	-0.155** (0.078)	-0.160** (0.078)
Sunni	0.033 (0.060)	0.027 (0.060)	0.013 (0.060)
Higher secondary education	-0.087 (0.075)	-0.077 (0.076)	-0.119 (0.079)
Tertiary education	-0.186** (0.083)	-0.070 (0.086)	-0.120 (0.089)
Attended Koran lessons		0.384** (0.152)	0.316** (0.151)
Parents visited mosque sometimes		-0.088 (0.096)	-0.090 (0.097)
Parents visited mosque often		0.094 (0.072)	0.094 (0.071)
Married		0.237*** (0.067)	0.222*** (0.067)
Divorced		0.079 (0.177)	0.100 (0.172)
Muslim identity			0.113** (0.047)
LR Chi ²	20.31***	61.42***	66.31***
Log likelihood	-123.19	-90.76	-86.41
Pseudo R ²	0.08	0.25	0.28
Observations	231	209	203

Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1; Average Marginal Effects (standard errors in parentheses); reference: less than secondary education, parents visited mosque seldom/never, single

ing their childhood are 38 percent more likely to wear a headscarf. Moreover, as predicted, being married increases the probability to veil by 24 percent as opposed to those who are single. Finally, in model 3 the Muslim identity of the participants was added to the model. As can be seen in Table 2, if women identify strongly with being Muslim, their probability of wearing a headscarf is higher as opposed to those who have a weak Muslim identity. As expected, this latter relationship partially explains the positive association between veiling and religious upbringing. Finally, Table 3 tests whether the origin of the partner influences wearing a headscarf, too. However, among Turkish participants this is not the case. Only the control variable living in Brussels is significantly related to veiling within this model.

Testing the same model among Moroccan immigrant women, Table 4 demonstrates that results look differently. Neither educational background nor religious socialization is significantly related to veiling among Moroccan women. However, being married has a strong positive association with veiling: Women who are married (as opposed to being single) have a 30 percent higher probability of veiling. Also, having a strong Muslim identity is related positively to veiling for Moroccan women. Strong Muslim believers are 22 percent more likely to veil compared to those who hardly consider their Muslim identity relevant. In a last step, Table 5 tested whether the origin of the partner relates to veiling

Table 3 Logistic Regression - Predicting the Veiling for Married Turkish Participants

	Model 1	Model 2
Age	-0.013 (0.010)	-0.019* (0.011)
Living in Brussels	-0.387*** (0.101)	-0.345***(0.103)
Sunni	0.020 (0.082)	0.025 (0.085)
Origin partner Turkey		-0.065 (0.290)
Origin partner Belgium		-0.274 (0.306)
LR Chi ²	16.34**	18.00**
Log likelihood	-77.78	-71.78
Pseudo R ²	0.10	0.11
Observations	132	123

Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1; Average Marginal Effects (standard errors in parentheses); reference: origin partner else

among Moroccan women. Compared to those who have a partner from somewhere else, those who have a Moroccan partner are significantly more likely to veil.

Table 4 Logistic Regression - Predicting the Veiling for Moroccan Participants

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Age	0.0032 (0.006)	-0.010 (0.008)	-0.004 (0.008)
Living in Brussels	-0.121* (0.063)	-0.040 (0.066)	-0.083 (0.064)
Sunni	0.240*** (0.069)	0.217*** (0.069)	0.230*** (0.067)
Higher secondary education	0.024 (0.107)	0.065 (0.104)	0.064 (0.105)
Tertiary education	-0.016 (0.111)	0.043 (0.110)	0.023 (0.109)
Attended Koran lessons		-0.044 (0.067)	-0.040 (0.065)
Parents visited mosque sometimes		-0.002 (0.103)	-0.009 (0.101)
Parents visited mosque often		-0.005 (0.082)	-0.006 (0.079)
Married		0.303*** (0.075)	0.251*** (0.075)
Divorced		-0.063 (0.127)	-0.072 (0.123)
Muslim identity			0.219*** (0.043)
LR Chi ²	12.62**	33.14***	55.38***
Log likelihood	-182.61	-160.49	-146.34
Pseudo R ²	0.03	0.09	0.16
Observations	273	256	252

Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1; Average Marginal Effects (standard errors in parentheses); reference: less than secondary education, parents visited mosque seldom/never, single

Table 5 Logistic Regression - Predicting the Veiling for Married Moroccan Participants

	Model 1	Model 2
Age	-0.005 (0.010)	-0.014 (0.009)
Living in Brussels	-0.086 (0.093)	-0.034 (0.086)
Sunni	0.227*** (0.085)	0.161** (0.082)
Origin partner Morocco		0.351** (0.161)
Origin partner Belgium		-0.022 (0.178)
LR Chi ²	6.48*	26.81***
Log likelihood	-78.87	-66.48
Pseudo R ²	0.04	0.17
Observations	129	127

Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1; Average Marginal Effects (standard errors in parentheses); reference: origin partner else

In conclusion, several of the hypotheses are confirmed: Hypothesis 3 and 6 are confirmed for both Turkish and Moroccan participants. A strong Muslim identity as well as being married is positively related to wearing a headscarf. Furthermore, when looking at the relationship between religious socialization and veiling, the predicted positive association is present among Turkish respondents, but not for Moroccan women. More specifically, socialization in terms of attending Koran lessons relates positively to the religious practice of veiling, while no such relationship exists for the frequency of parental mosque visit. This is in line with hypothesis 1 – although only for Turkish participants – but shows that no support for hypothesis 2 could be found. Moreover, for Turkish women there is a positive association between education and veiling thereby supporting hypothesis 5. This relationship, however, is fully explained by the religious upbringing of participants. For the same group, the relationship between religious socialization and veiling is partially explained by a strong Muslim identity, which is coherent with hypothesis 4. Hypothesis 7 is only supported for Moroccan women, as for them having a co-ethnic partner is related to a greater likelihood of veiling.

6 Discussion

The aim of this paper was to disentangle the relationship between religious socialization, partnership characteristics and the Muslim religious practice of veiling. On the one hand, this research adds to the literature of veiling by analyzing quantitatively which factors influence whether one wears a headscarf or not. While most ethnographic studies were

able to demonstrate that veiling has several meanings and is complex, most of these studies could not disentangle the relationships between several individual characteristics and veiling. On the other hand, it builds and extends the existing literature on partnership and religious socialization by showing that both aspects are relevant for predicting veiling. Previous analyses within this field have usually focused on Muslim religious practices like praying or eating halal, but have not yet considered the female religious practice of veiling.

The results reveal that partnership and socialization can explain who wears a headscarf, but that veiling is differently predicted among Turkish and Moroccan immigrant women in Belgium. This is in line with some Belgian studies. Phalet and Heath (2010) as well as Timmermann, Vanderwaren and Crul (2003) demonstrated that the Turkish community in Belgium is more coherently organized and more connected than Moroccan immigrants. As the descriptive analyses in Table 1 demonstrate, both ethnic groups depict similar levels of mosque attendance and Koran lesson participation. Nevertheless, it seems that these experiences during childhood have no long lasting effect on the religious behavior of Moroccan women. Why exactly this is the case remains an open question. It might be possible that as Turkish immigrants are more supported by their Turkish kin state and more coherently organized, that this group has a tighter community structure in which children are embedded from the beginning. This strong sense of community might shape experiences of religiosity and might make it easier to transmit religious norms and values. This difference might explain why religious socialization is related to veiling among Turkish, but not among Moroccan participants. Though, the results of this study are also in contrast to previous studies on immigrant religiosity which found a positive relationship between several Muslim religious practices and socialization among both groups (Fleischmann and Phalet 2012, Maliepaard and Lubbers 2013) and also for the variable of parental mosque attendance (Maliepaard and Lubbers 2013). One explanation for this deviation might be the sample selection within these studies. Whereas this study focused exclusively on women and a female religious practice, previous studies looked only at males (Smits, Ruiter, and van Tubergen 2010) or Muslim immigrants in general (Brünig and Fleischmann 2015). Thus, they may have overlooked the particularity of females and the differences between Moroccan and Turkish females.

When it comes to the results regarding partnership, they are mostly in line with the theoretical expectations. Marriage as well as having a co-ethnic partner seems to have a positive influence on the religious practice of veiling. Though, having a co-ethnic partner was only significant among Moroccan participants in this study. This suggests that within co-ethnic partnerships similar ideals prevail which favor religious practices. Given that religious socialization was a strong predictor of veiling among Turkish women, it could be possible that most religious values have already been transmitted during childhood, which is why the partner exerts less influence on religious practicing among these women. Moroccan women on the other hand, are not so much coined by their religious upbringing, but rather need the common ideological basis within a partnership for eventually wearing

a headscarf. Though, this is topic could be researched in more detail in order to find out why exactly different mechanisms seem to be at work among these two ethnic groups.

Finally, a last interesting finding worth discussing is the relationship between education and veiling among Turkish participants. Previous studies have already demonstrated that the relationship between education and veiling is complex (Brünig and Fleischmann 2015). However, while a study from the Dutch context found veiling to be negatively associated with the educational level of the respondent, our study results suggest that this relationship can be explained by the religious education of respondents. Once it was controlled for whether participants attended Koran lessons as a child or not, the negative association of veiling and education disappeared. Furthermore, in this study a relationship between wearing a headscarf and education only existed among Turkish participants. This raises the question to what extent the findings from Brünig and Fleischmann (2015) are subject to similar processes and stresses the need to further investigate the relationship between education and veiling.

Like other studies on veiling, this paper demonstrated that veiling is complex and subject to many inter-related influences. Especially among Turkish participants, the context and values with which they grow up are important for religious behavior in later life. This finding supports conclusions from qualitative studies, which point towards the relevance of socialization (Pfister 2000, Lorasdagı 2009). However, it has to be noticed as well that this study looked at one country only, which is why it would be an interesting topic for future studies to verify these findings within different national contexts and possibly among other Muslim groups. Additionally, it might be interesting to also investigate the influence of host country socialization on religious practices. Due to limited data availability, this was not possible within this study. Another shortcoming of this study is that it does not include more detailed information on the partnership and the values, which are cherished by both partners. It could for example be of interest to what extent the partner expects that one wears a headscarf and how this expectation in turn influences the own religious practice. This might also yield better insights into the group differences which were found with regard to the relationship between origin of the partner and veiling. Furthermore, the presented model seems quite suitable to account for the veiling of Turkish women in Belgium, but is less ideal when it comes to explaining whether Moroccan women wear a headscarf. More effort should be invested in working out the differences between both groups and to work out a model, which more accurately covers relevant predictors of veiling for Moroccan immigrants.

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