***"What will people say?"* – Practices of gendered lateral surveillance in the familial context of women of the Moroccan diaspora in Italy and the Netherlands**

Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication
Erasmus University Rotterdam
Digitalization, Surveillance, and Societies' Master's thesis
Student Name: Hind Serkouh
Student Number: 660710hs
Supervisor: dr. Jason Pridmore

July 1st, 2024
Wordcount: 18373

"What will people say?" **– Practices of gendered lateral surveillance in the familial context of women of the Moroccan diaspora in Italy and the Netherlands**

Abstract

Many Moroccan women of the diaspora experience forms of family surveillance; family members keep track of their activities and associations. This study aims to analyze the intersection between gender and surveillance in an intimate context where cultural precepts and Islam play a central role. To do so, this thesis employs Constructivist Grounded Theory analysis of interviews with Moroccan women of the diaspora to shed light on an existing phenomenon and expand on its contextual nuances rather than creating a new framework. The researcher being a Moroccan woman of the diaspora herself allowed her to establish an unparalleled level of trust and honesty with the interviewees about their shared experiences. While the opportunity to intimately engage with the respondents' experiences was worthwhile, ethical challenges arose around navigating personal trauma as well as the respondents' concern of their families discovering their strategies to resist family surveillance. To navigate these implications, common strategies such pseudonymization were used. Despite contextual distinctions and different family compositions, preliminary findings delineate a certain universality of experiences. All participants acknowledged their gender to be an essential parameter in the monitoring they were subjected to by their families; monitoring was accompanied by specific expectations and rules that were often implicit or difficult to negotiate -- such as those concerning their bodies, their sexuality, freedom of movement, and external perception. Participants who indicated receiving a Moroccan-culture-centered parenting tend to develop 'double lives' in order to circumvent said monitoring and internalize self-surveillance practices to avoid conflict and emotional disappointment. Those who instead received Islamic parenting have noticed lesser scrutiny and greater opportunities for communication and discussion of dynamics of surveillance. All participants identified love and care as the driving sentiment behind the monitoring; similarly, they acknowledged the struggle of the diasporic experience and the challenges of reconciling cultures with somehow clashing values. Ultimately, most participants confirm that they comply with cultural and religious rules to show respect to their families although they may not agree with them. This study introduces a perspective of family surveillance in the context of the Moroccan diaspora in Europe, a topic mostly studied in the context of Western realities. The research offers novel insights into how young women experience interculturality and religious culture while negotiating online and offline monitoring in transnational family life.

Keywords: diasporic identity; everyday practices; family surveillance; gender; Islam; Moroccan culture.

Table of Contents

Abstract 1
1. Introduction 3
2. Theoretical framework 8
    2.1. Addressing the colonial legacy in surveillance studies 8
    2.2. Power and surveillance in everyday practices 9
    2.3. Lateral surveillance and gender 10
    2.4. Family surveillance 12
    2.5. The Moroccan context 13
    2.6. The Muslim experience 16
3. Research design 19
    3.1. Constructivist grounded theory 19
    3.2. Semi-structured interviews 20
    3.3. Ethical considerations 24
4. Findings 27
    4.1. Culture as an aggravating factor on surveillance modes and intensity in the family context 29
    4.2. Gender binaries and intrinsic behavioral expectations through surveillance modes in the family context 33
    4.3. Impact of Islam on surveillance modes and intensity 36
    4.4. Surveillance as a form of care 38
5. Conclusion 41
References 45

1. Introduction

Growing up as a Moroccan girl in a European context, I was always (made) acutely aware of my femininity, of existing as a woman. Femininity, or womanhood, weighed heavily on my reputation and, by extension, that of my family as it could be compromised in the most disparate and mundane ways -- from wearing nail-polish to having a casual relationship to traveling alone. “What will people think?” is a remark that tormented me back then and does now, too. Even if these rules are not written down anywhere, everyone knows what *people* would think and how to act accordingly. Simultaneously, I was also painfully aware of how my male counterparts enjoyed looser rules regarding their physical appearance, their behavior, and what people thought of them. Whenever I would be frustrated enough to ask why there is such a stark difference in the freedoms my brother and I were granted, I would do so already knowing the dreaded justification: “It’s because you’re a *bent*– a girl, a daughter.” Sometimes, it would be completed with “we are Muslims, this is how we do things.”

It was not until I embarked on this Master’s program that I was able to conceptualize these dynamics as a form of lateral surveillance, defined as the social monitoring of day-to-day life and interpersonal relationships (Andrejevic, 2004, p. 481). In a familial context, this can also be referred to as family surveillance (Mols et al., 2023, pp. 469-470). Specifically entering the female body and its instrumentalization (Mernissi, 1987, p. 136), this surveillance mode presents tangible consequences on social dynamics (Marwick, 2012, p. 381); different experiences on the basis of gender are relevant, too, as they exalt social constructs (Scabini & Manzi, 2011, p. 569) that culminate in body policing (Ahmed, 2015, pp. 12-13) and violations of privacy of behavior (Finn et al., 2013, p. 6). However, existing scholarship on the intersection of lateral surveillance and gender is limited in its analytical case studies. The field of surveillance studies is dominated by scholars that prioritize surveillance practices in relation to digitalization, artificial intelligence, or state monitoring. Even recent discussions on family surveillance largely focus on the role of technology in facilitating surveillance dynamics (Mols et al., 2023, pp. 469-470) rather than looking into non-digital ones. In addition to this, studies about this topic are rarely concerned with experiences outside of Europe or North America. Similarly, research often waters down North African realities by relegating them under the ‘Middle Eastern and North African region’ label due to an underappreciation of the complexity of the variety of socio-cultural, economic, and political conditions that affect women across the region (El-Sanabary, 1993, pp. 150-151). Accordingly, this research will explore how women of Moroccan descent born and/or raised in a European context (i.e., the Netherlands and Italy) experience gendered lateral surveillance in the family context. What is of particular interest is addressing how culturally-fueled forms of lateral surveillance coexist with local norms, how they govern mundane life as well as personal perceptions of the self and of the community, how they

govern mundane life as well as personal perceptions of the self and of the community, and to what extent culture and religion separately enable them. Therefore, this thesis will be driven by the following research question: *How do young women (19-35) of the Moroccan diaspora in the Netherlands and Italy experience family surveillance?*

Moroccan women (of the diaspora) are generally overlooked in academic research; this thesis aims at responding to such lack of consideration by analyzing and archiving practices to better comprehend how surveillance in the family context is approached and instrumentalized. Additionally, this thesis will be able to inform how gender impacts dynamics of family surveillance through nuanced understanding as I, the researcher, am continuously immersed in Moroccan culture and social norms. The intersection of culture, religious norms, gender binaries in the context of family surveillance will be explored through the following sub-questions:

1. How do cultural precepts inform Moroccan women of the diaspora's experiences of family surveillance?
2. How does gender influence lateral surveillance in a familial context?
3. How does religion inform Moroccan women of the diaspora's experiences of family surveillance?
4. How do young Moroccan women of the diaspora experience privacy in a familial context?

My scholarship in this field is inspired by understanding of social dynamics such as racism or sexism as forms of surveillance in the manner bodies are monitored, categorized, and even punished (Browne, 2015, p. 9; Shephard, 2016, p. 3). The theoretical assumption underlying this thesis is that surveillance can be non-digital and its dynamics are heavily influenced by individuals' identity as well as their wider context. A complex identity like that of diasporic people is multifaceted and nuanced, yet often misunderstood or oversimplified. In the case of Moroccan women of the diaspora, several tiers of our identity are at play in the way our bodies are monitored, categorized, and punished. Firstly, we are women– and as such, the scrutiny we experience on this basis becomes clear when recognizing the patriarchal society we live in (hooks, 2000, p. 4). Secondly, through our Moroccanness, we are members of a minoritized group that is made visible because of our perceived strangeness in relation to the majority group. At the same time, we are the embodiment of different cultural identities – Moroccanness *and* Dutchness or Italianness. Akeen to the idea of 'Afropean' (Pitts, 2019, p. 1), our diasporic identity here is approached as a quality that may not be necessarily a hyphenated one; we are not half and half, we are whole. Constantly on the verge of being pushed in or out of either identity, we have had to reconcile expectations, behaviors, and socio-cultural principles that may clash with each other. The scrutiny we may receive for our Moroccanness differs from that of our Dutchness or Italianness. Similarly, the way we are expected to present in our femininity is constructed differently when taking into account the previously

mentioned socio-cultural beliefs and expectations. Our Moroccanness may also be intertwined with religion, and specifically Islam– which further complicates our existence as both women and members of a minoritized group in the way Islam is viewed in the West and through Islam's own notions of womanhood, surveillance, and even privacy.

Cho (2013, p. 785) notion of 'intersectionality' together with intersectional feminist tradition (Hill-Collins, 2000, p. 18; hooks, 1991, p. 70; hooks, 2000, pp. 7-8; Mernissi, 1987, p. 15) provide a critical lens through which this study is able to recognize how different components of diasporic identity overlap to shape a convoluted yet distinct experience of surveillance. This thesis is academically relevant thanks to its exploration of how personal identity impacts experiences (and perceptions) of surveillance. Specifically, the lack of research on intersectional identities and specifically that of the group chosen for this study contributes to the innovative findings presented later on. I also consciously decided to not prioritize digital practices of surveillance and instead build on the succinct scholarship that traces the genealogy of surveillance in intrapersonal dynamics based on social power, control, and identity (Browne, 2015, p. 47). In addition to this, my role as researcher cannot be separated from my personal identity as an Italian Moroccan Muslim woman; I point this out because I understand this to be a privileged position that has allowed me to uncover nuances that would be otherwise glossed over if I did not have a shared identity, experiences, and core worldviews as the group I research– but this, too, will be explored later on. The scope of this research is limited to the family setting because this is the first context in which personal identity is constructed and individual behavior is surveyed (and, possibly, corrected or redirected).

The several gaps just highlighted point at the academic relevance of this study, however they are also the basis for its social relevance. The dynamics explored throughout this thesis are quite complex yet extremely delicate. Indeed, conducting field work in the form of semi-structured interviews with Moroccan women of the diaspora residing in the Netherlands and in Italy was a cathartic process. Although emotionally taxing due to the level of personal engagement I have with this topic, it has been an honor for me to archive the experiences of a group that is so often stereotyped. Recounting our experiences, especially when it comes to how we are surveilled on different fronts, is often met with a sort of pity or white-man-saviorism. As informed by hook's (1991, p. 59) approach to pedagogy and knowledge making, I approached writing in this thesis as a practice for healing. In fact, hooks (1991) writes:

> "I came to theory because I was hurting—the pain within me was so intense that I could not go on living. I came to theory desperate, wanting to comprehend—to grasp

> what was happening around and within me. Most importantly, I wanted to make the hurt go away. I saw in theory then a location for healing." (1991, p. 59)

I share the hurt hooks feels, and so did the women I interviewed. Being able to theorize and historicize the restricting dynamics we were living under has been truly liberating; this research has allowed us to shine a light on patriarchal cultural institutions that often lean on the sanctity of religion to justify their invasiveness and conservativeness. In fact, it clarifies that indeed Islam is instrumentalized to justify oppression even though, as detailed later on in the Theoretical Framework, its stances on surveillance and related dynamics are quite emancipatory. Being able to share my findings as well as the theory applied in this study with a (my) community of individuals who lived similar experiences allowed me to find solace in my work. The social relevance of this study is underlined by the necessity to *talk* about the very experience of being a Moroccan woman of the diaspora and how the dynamics presented in this research impact our lives; most importantly, it is necessary to do so in a manner that is not reductive, condemnatory, or attempting to advance a semblance of 'objectivity' or detachment over the topic. In a society that continuously scrutinizes us, objectifies our bodies, and commodifies our necessities (Shephard, 2016, p. 3), a study like this one allows us to understand that some of these dynamics (and their inherent invasiveness or grievance) are structural rather than individual. As further detailed out in the theoretical framework, discussing these topics though can be considered a taboo due to how patriarchal convictions discourage challenging the status quo– even amongst the Moroccan diaspora.

Now that academic and social relevance have been outlined, this research will continue by presenting the Theoretical Framework that informs this research and its findings. I begin by making a note on the colonial legacy within surveillance studies to reiterate my choice to not center digitized practices of surveillance. Rather, surveillance is approached as a *dynamic* or condition that exacerbates notions of power and gender. The chapter will also delve further how power and surveillance manifest in everyday practices– specifically in relation to individual identity. This will ease the introduction to lateral surveillance and specifically surveillance in the family context to also highlight hierarchies and powerplay within the aforementioned setting. Building on the seminal work of Mernissi (1987; 1989), I will then lay out details of the family context– and, evidently, the annexed social hierarchy and gender conceptualizations– in Moroccan culture to begin piecing together how surveillance is embodied through everyday practices. Upon exemplifying how cultural precepts dictate surveillance practices within the family context, I will turn present how religion informs these same notions. By looking into how Islam effectively approached gender binaries as well as the very notion of surveillance (and privacy), then the stark difference between the two will become clear. This dense chapter will be followed by a Methodology section; here, I will present my research design, specifically delving into constructivist

grounded theory and how it was applied on semi-structured interviews. I will then detail out the sampling strategy, the interview guide, and the coding process. In this chapter, I will also discuss ethical considerations on the chosen methodology and further reflect on my positionality. Chapter 4 will be dedicated to presenting the research's Findings, discussing the realities of the studied demographic, and making space for their voices.. Finally, the Conclusion chapter will summarize key findings and lay out clearly an answer for the set research question. Here, I will also review limitations of this thesis and propose ideas for further research.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Addressing the colonial legacy in surveillance studies

This thesis first and foremost seeks to archive practices and experiences of a largely under-researched demographic: African women of the diaspora. Secondly, whilst it still discusses implications within the digital realm, this research focuses on expanding the pool of research in surveillance studies to non-digital practices; this is to acknowledge the legacy of coloniality in this same field. Coloniality and decoloniality in this study must also be understood as markers of time and not of condition– for, as discussed later on, the binaries that govern modern society have been inherited from imperial times. Ogasawara (2019, pp. 726-727), in fact, states that because surveillance studies initially found its inception in Western academic discourses, there is a tendency within the field to gloss over the everyday reality of colonized regions and their singular approach and relation to surveillance. This is because, with the advent of the Internet and the widespread use of electronic (and lately, 'smart') devices, scholars have focused on digital technologies and digital surveillance (Ogasawara, 2019, pp. 726-727). The colonial past specifically has been marginalized and fragmented and colonial populations have been engulfed with Western theorization of their practices. This power asymmetry links to how surveillance already manifests itself through the roles of the watchers and the watched, the former embodied by Western theorists and the latter by colonized individuals. However, these roles are exercised– performed, even– everyday. "The colonial past can provide narratives of people and show how disadvantaged populations have already experienced surveillance", writes Ogasawara (2019, p. 727); she and fellow scholars Sung (2019, p. 733), Arora (2019, p. 3), and Newell (2019, p. 715) amongst others agree that bringing forth colonial experiences is crucial in order to build a state-of-art frame for surveillance studies. Doing so will especially be helpful to expand the conceptualization of surveillance to other realities– ones that are not centered on digital practices or technological artifacts. In this way, we can further concretize the role of power agents in social dynamics and surveillance as a condition that is enhanced to exercise power over others. The basis that grants more or less power is personal and social, too. In her work, Browne (2015, p. 22) composes a genealogy of surveillance studies in which she exemplifies the plantation or the schematics of slave ships during the Transatlantic Slave Trade as some of the first manifestations of surveillance as a power dynamic. In these instances, individuals had been forced into a condition of slavery based on their identity and, evidently, the social hierarchy that placed them at utter disadvantage in comparison to their white counterparts. Furthermore, they were surveilled whilst laboring but also when simply existing, with their every move scrutinized and punished for no reason other than the fact that they were Black. Surveillance in this manner can be understood as a dynamic of control over others that is exacerbated by personal identity and the value this latter one carries. Considering this– and, consequently reframing the primacy historically given to Bentham's notion of the panopticon or any Focauldian consideration of power and

discipline–, allows for the for the acknowledgement of how overshadowed narratives and lived experiences can indeed trace oppressive systems and social struggles to surveillance. Keeping this in mind, surveillance in this thesis will be used to not only analyze interpersonal dynamics but also to conceptualize notions of gender and power through surveillance.

2.2. Power and surveillance in everyday practices

Surveillance studies has largely prioritized certain theoretical frameworks in its conceptualization of surveillance and its practices and contexts. For instance, 'Big Brother' and 'panopticon' are some of the concepts that stand out due their recurrent use in this field's research. Similarly, most surveillance scholars have primarily focused on the power relations inherent to surveillance on an institutional level– particularly on governance entities' ability to 'watch' without interference from the public (Marx, 2015, p. 37; 2015a, p. 735). It must be highlighted that indeed both this field's scholarship and mainstream language (Marx, 2015a, p. 735) tend to link this discipline to state monitoring (Haggerty & Ericson, 2006, p. 3; Lyon, 2001, p. 34), social media practices (Horst et al., 2020, p. 64), or other practices through digital artifacts (Lyon et al., 2012, p. 2). However, 'surveillance' can be detected in everyday practices that are not mediated through technology, too (Andrejevic, 2006, p. 396; Marx, 2015a, p. 735). What is also not emphasized enough in this field is that surveillance in everyday practices more simply translates into "social and spatial configurations and identity formation" (Ball & Haggerty, 2005, p. 133) that govern communities.

Haggerty and Ericson (2000, p. 608) have put forward the notion of 'surveillance assemblage' in order to address the increasing normalization of surveillance systems at an extra-institutional level, too. The surveillance assemblage is a fluid entity; it "cannot be dismantled by prohibiting a particularly unpalatable technology" (Haggerty & Ericson, 2000, p. 609) for it has become intrinsic to our society's governance and structure– as exemplified by the public police force and its existence in pre-technological society. Foucault (1977, p. 304), too, has discussed the importance of surveillance in maintaining the order of things; it is a mechanism that facilitates classification and highlights the arrangements inexplicitly yet universally agreed upon on a collective level to make sense of *everything*. It is ingrained in notions of order, safety, and, arguably, care. The surveillance assemblage is a device that exists beyond its visual and concrete properties; it relies on algorithms and bureaucracy (i.e., passport, medical records, etc.), but also on social constructs and interpersonal dynamics.

It is evident, then, that there is a link between surveillance and power; therefore this relation must be carefully examined in order to understand the rationale behind most surveillance practices. Surveillance is recognized as a key mechanism for the exercise of power as the ability to monitor individuals with the aim to exert control and influence over them. Foucault (1977, p. 304), for instance,

has elaborated on the notion of disciplinary power, which focuses on surveillance's ability to discipline individuals in distinct institutions, namely prisons, hospitals, or classrooms. This type of power is used to create 'docile' bodies (Bartky, 2014, p. 130)– bodies that conform to societal norms through methods of classification, normalization, and observation of existing dynamics and tendencies. In this sense, surveillance is a key tool for the exercise of disciplinary power, as it grants institutions the ability to monitor and regulate individuals' behavior; additionally, they also have the agency to penalize those that do not comply with the rules that derive from said expectations. Foucault (1977, p. 215), though, emphasizes the importance in recognizing that power is not only claimed and exercised by the state and its agents (e.g., police, security officers, etc.); rather, it is dispersed throughout society and operates through everyday practices, too. It is embodied informally through the monitoring of and between members of the same group (Andrejevic, 2004, p. 481; Marwick, 2012, p. 381). Ultimately, power is a dynamic force that exists within and between individuals and their relationships.

Considering this, surveillance in the context of this research must be understood as a set of mechanisms and practices that center on safeguarding distinct power relations– which, as explained in the next sections, are strongly grounded in strict gender binaries. These power relations are exemplified through social hierarchies, spatial configurations, and peer-to-peer monitoring. More broadly, this thesis aims to conceptualize interpersonal interactions in the familial context as surveillance practices. Given the domestic context presented in the research question and related sub-questions, this form of surveillance is identified as lateral surveillance.

2.3. Lateral surveillance and gender

Lateral surveillance is a form of social monitoring that refers to surveillance practices carried in day-to-day life and through interpersonal interactions (Andrejevic, 2004, p. 481). This theoretical concept is the foundation of this thesis as it drives the focus onto practices of interpersonal surveillance not necessarily mediated through digital artifacts and the subsequent impact on social dynamics (Marwick, 2012, p. 383). Whether surveillance finds its symptoms in a quest of care or in one for control (Mols et al., 2023, p. 469; Stoddart, 2012, p. 162) will emerge later on. As similarly observed with the umbrella term 'surveillance', lateral surveillance also tends to be associated to corporate affairs or state-citizen relations; however, Marwick (2012, p. 381) and Andrejevic (2004, p. 481) both identify practices of lateral surveillance in social relationships, amongst which are family, friends, and work colleagues. The central aspect to lateral surveillance is in fact its social and relational nature -- an aspect that further emphasizes that lateral surveillance can be just as invasive and undesired as top-down surveillance. Additionally, surveillance in a social context can be motivated by the most disparate factors, amongst which are reputation or social status (Marwick, 2012, p. 383) generally informed by cultural, political,

and religious precepts (Knott, 2005, pp. 6-7).

Lateral surveillance can be understood as a form of power that operates horizontally as it manifests through individuals monitoring each other's behavior to enforce social norms. Considering this and prioritizing a feminist lens in the analysis of social practices, one may begin to conceptualize patriarchy as a form of surveillance that is perpetuated and maintained through horizontal monitoring. Browne (2015) describes surveillance as "a technology of social control" that "define[s] what is in or out of place" (p. 16); although her definition better matches racialized interactions, it can easily be extended to gender binaries, too. Similarly, Shephard (2016) explains that "surveillance has historically functioned as an oppressive tool to control women's bodies, speech, and activism" (p. 3). The act of *defining* what is out of order, what is acceptable, and what is expectable is in itself a form of identity formation; when the gendered component is factored in, we may start reflecting on *who* seals these definitions, *who* reinforces them materially, and *where* they manifest. In this way, we begin to comprehend surveillance's ever-presence within existing (historical) societal structures.

Magnet and Dubrofsky (2015, p. 23) builds on Foucauldian scholarship in order to highlight the impact of peer-to-peer monitoring in maintaining power structures, particularly in terms of gender. Women are often subjected to surveillance practices that are designed to regulate their behavior and limit their mobility. The gendered aspect of this is detected through both material practices and societal expectations, which aim at regulating and disciplining women's behavior and limiting their agency (Magnet & Dubrofsky, 2015, p. 11). Additionally, the authors note that individuals who engage in lateral surveillance often do so in order to specifically assert their own superiority or moral authority over their peers (Magnet & Dubrofsky, 2015, p. 11)– which ties with a patriarchal society's goal to exclude women from holding power in any form that does not serve it.

Chowdhury (2022) adds onto this by stating that spatial configuration better conveys how patriarchal power is exercised. "A common belief prevalent in our society regarding this demarcation is informed and endorsed by a larger patriarchal discourse that public space is for the men and private space for the women," specifies Chowdhury (2022, p. 182). The 'private space' refers to the home whilst the 'public space' is everything outside the home. In light of this, the author recognizes that every environment will be embedded with this conviction in order to maintain power, domination, and control (Chowdhury, 2022, p. 182). This "symbolic order" (Graham, 1995, p. 21) is indeed maintained through lateral surveillance.

Lateral surveillance manifests itself in various ways. It is found in the assignment of a chaperone to women to ensure that they do not misbehave (Mernissi, 1987, p. 116); it is state-mandated male guardianship that hovers over women when they seek to travel abroad (Mernissi, 1987, p. 116); it is in the parental monitoring of their daughter's sexual behavior or even preferences; it is in the beauty standards

that women ought to abide in order to find employment (Dubrofsky & Magnet, 2015); it is in the policing of their clothes, makeup, and physical constitution (Dubrofsky & Magnet, 2015, p. 11). Undoubtedly, these practices also highlight how the meaning of adjacent notions of autonomy, privacy, and authority shift when factoring gender in their rationale (Browne, 2015, p. 17; Lyon, 2001, p. 34).

Ultimately, acknowledging the role of gender in surveillance studies forces us to reimagine this field and the queries we must pose to ourselves as researchers. Gendering surveillance research is an overdue invitation to approaching surveillance as a practice that is social, embodied, and, as such, with contrasting outcomes. In the words of van der Meulen and Heynen (2016):

> "This perspective also brings longer histories into view, offering a corrective to the more present-centric tendencies that see surveillance as dramatically new. Gendered social practices, subjectivities, bodies, and experiences are also not discrete; gender intersects with a host of other identity forms and social processes, including race, sexuality, ability, and class. Starting from the perspective of gender opens up rich and diverse perspectives for our understanding of practices of surveillance, both building on and challenging foundational concepts and approaches" (p. 5).

In line with this, Abu-Laban (2015, p. 50) argues that a gendered framing to surveillance may expand surveillance studies to not remain just a field to study relations of control, but to also study relations of care and annexed human interdependence. Indeed, this approach easies us into understanding how gender affects individual roles within the family context. We will delve into this in the upcoming section.

2.4. Family surveillance

Mols, Campos, and Pridmore (2023) define family surveillance as the "interpersonal practices of keeping track of the digital and non-digital activities and associations of family members" (p. 480). This definition informs the thesis' aim to explore lateral surveillance as experienced by women whose identity as a daughter is as strong as their personal one. Mols and colleagues (2023, pp. 469-470) argue that family surveillance is not limited to digital practices, but it is built on forms of lateral surveillance, where family members monitor and regulate each other's behavior through everyday practices.

In order to understand the dynamics of family surveillance and the power play in a domestic context, we ought to briefly take a step back from surveillance studies and lean into family sociology scholarship instead. The rise of industrial capitalism in the 19th century is thought to be one of the forces that contributed to the emergence of the modern family nucleus as it led to the emergence of new social hierarchies and living modes. In his scholarship, Parsons (1985, p. 196) highlights how the family,

although changing, did not disintegrate, but was strengthened and specialized in relation to the needs of the economic and professional system. Whilst the husband-father is responsible of the the functional and instrumental activities that concern the survival of the family nucleus (for instance, through labor), the wife-mother continued to be the one that concerns herself with child rearing, family members' internal relationships with each other, and the family's "emotional" and affective state. Starting from these functions, the learning of gender roles by the children takes place within the domestic space, which pushes men towards taking on more technical, managerial or generally authoritative roles, whereas women assume roles of support, maintaining these roles and other traditions, and taking care of the emotional state of the family (Papa, 2013, p. 12).

From being extended, numerous and comprising three generations, the family also became nuclear, smaller in size and with only two generations. This also contributed to the emergence of a private life rather than a more communal one (Papa, 2013, p. 9). Specifically, the shift to a private family space redimensioned the level and intensity of scrutiny each family member was subjected to– in regards to their movements, behaviors, and personal associations (Papa, 2013, p. 10). It is important to note that, as the family caretaker, the wife-mother organically assumed more responsibility to supervise children and their activities. Of course, socio-cultural precepts would further shape normativity, expectations, and deviances in relation to the aforementioned doings. Ultimately, the point made here is that practices of surveillance inevitably emerge in the domestic context; it does so both through social expectations and activities that are not digitally mediated, and it has, of course, largely intensified through the rise of modern technology– namely, parental control softwares or social media (Mols et al., 2023, p. 471). To avoid superfluous digressions and remain focused on this thesis' scope, I will detail out how this surveillance dynamic in the family context concretely entails within Moroccan culture in the upcoming section. Delineating this will help with contextualizing the findings presented later on.

2.5. The Moroccan context

Central to this thesis and framing gendered lateral surveillance in the Moroccan context is Fatima Mernissi's scholarship; the Moroccan sociologist has written greatly about the cultural precepts and religious interpretation that have conditioned Moroccan society to monitor women, their bodies, their voices, and their visibility (1982, p. 189; 1987, p. 135; 1991, p. 139). Mernissi (1987, p. 135), in fact, recognizes patriarchal power as the primary source to perpetuate dynamics of subordination that undermine women's role not only in a border societal context, but also in their own homes. Although the bulk of her scholarship was published between the 1970s and the early 2000s, the realities she reports are still very much alive nowadays. Very little has changed in the collective Moroccan consciousness to

rethink gender binaries and, evidently, the conditions women have to live through and fend off (Mernissi, 1987, p. 89). Ultimately, Mernissi's scholarship highlights the pervasive nature of surveillance in patriarchal societies and its role in maintaining gendered power relations– especially in the domestic setting. She explicates how surveillance is not just a tool of the state or the police, but is embedded in everyday social relations and structures (Mernissi, 1987, p. 137). Mernissi's work remains groundbreaking not only for the taboos that she dares to speak on within a conservative Moroccan context, but also for her emphasis on the intersection of gender and power– and their consequent impact on practices of monitoring of women's bodies and behaviors. This chapter relies on Mernissi's seminal work thanks to its accessibility in terms of language and the evergreenness of its content, as previewed above.

Mernissi (1987, pp. 45, 63) argues that in traditional Islamic societies, women were subjected to constant surveillance and control by men, particularly by male family members. This dynamic (and the related expectations to abide by this monitoring) was often justified as a means of protecting women's honor and, more importantly, that of the family as a whole. This granted virtually undisputed authority over the consequent need to reform, define, or punish any undesirable behavior that would put the family honor at stake. Needless to say, this dynamic maintains a patriarchal system as it keeps (and continues to keep) women in a subordinate position and limits their agency. Cultural precepts dictate that women shall remain pure, act modest, and be acquiescent. Respect is granted when a woman showcases these qualities by the ways she dresses and speaks, the spaces she frequents (as in, whether she is seen in public too much), and the individuals (as in, women) she associates with. I wish to emphasize that whilst these expectations are stereotypically tied to how conservative North-African or Arab societies are, the described behavior is truly but a fragment of a worldwide belief system that oppresses women and thrives over our exploitation and participation in it. In fact, Mernissi (1987, pp. 122, 142-143) points out that whilst male family members have a duty to monitor their female counterparts' behavior, individuals external to the family, such as community members or even strangers, somehow actively attempt to curb 'deviant' behavior and police women's doings.

In her book *Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society* (1987, p. 137-138), Mernissi reiterates that the Moroccan socio-cultural context makes it a standard for women to be monitored– both in public and private spaces. She specifically delineates that this continuous scrutiny actively shapes women's behavior and identity as it reinforces a culture of shame and fear. Ultimately, this leads women to internalize patriarchal norms and participate in policing other women's bodies and behavior, too (Mernissi, 1987, p. 163). Needless to say, women are subjected to greater scrutiny and control than men (Mernissi, 1982, p. 191; 1987, p. 165). Whilst women's 'wrongdoings' have great repercussions on their future prospects (specifically, marriage prospects), men's deviant behavior may be

reprimanded but it is ultimately excused on the basis that 'boys will be boys.' Mernissi (1987, p. 19) also weighs in on the role of Islam in establishing these dynamics as it is a religion fully embedded within the socio-cultural and political belief system in Morocco. Religious precepts have been diluted to prop up the consequences suffered by the constant scrutiny women are subjected to. Specifically, divine commandments have been instrumentalized to justify the intrinsic oppression of womanhood by maintaining that men are divinely expected to care for their female counterparts and that they can still have agency within the restricted limits (Mernissi, 1987, p. 19). However, Mernissi (1987, p. 33) explains that any religious interpretations that reinforced these conclusions are grounded in the previously-existing male-dominated social structure that the advent of Islam meant to balance. This is because, whilst Islamic scholarship assigns different roles and responsibilities on the basis of gender, in its essence Islam is (supposed to be) a mode of liberation from subjugations by humans on other humans to pursue full submission to God instead (Mernissi, 1987, pp. 18-19; 1991). This points at how power relations are monopolized by men to maintain their supremacy in decision-making processes not just in the personal sphere but in the political arena, too (Mernissi, 1987, pp. 24, 139)– as the two continuously interplay with each other.

What further reinforces this belief system is the previously mentioned gendered spatial segregation. The private sphere– generally embodied by the physical family home– is assigned to women, whereas the public sphere– embodied by everything outside the physical family home– is male (Mernissi, 1987, p. 137). In this manner, women's mobility is physically restricted and devinaces in her movements and behavior are rendered even more visible. Additionally, Mernissi (1987, pp. 137, 139, 146-147) notes that this gendered spatial segregation has been used to justify women's exclusion from the public sphere to specifically deny them access to education, political participation, and economic opportunities. Indeed, these are all windows of opportunity for women to gain agency and renegotiate the power and authority men exercise over them. Mernissi's (1987, p. 166) scholarship also points out that gendered spatial segregation is not limited to Moroccan or Muslim societies; rather, it is a global phenomenon. Whilst gendered spatial segregation is often justified by cultural or religious beliefs, she reiterated yet again that it is an essential feature to the Patriarchy (Mernissi, 1987, p. 137).

Mernissi's scholarship (1982, p. 189; 1987, pp. 108, 139) demonstrates how the patriarchal family structure is deeply entrenched in Moroccan culture; indeed, surveillance of womanhood is pushed forth in many respects– many of which are encountered in the socialization processes that take place within the family context and normalize invasiveness and oppression.

2.6. The Muslim experience

The choice to include religion as a component that strongly leaves its mark on the way surveillance dynamics enfold is informed by the awareness that, particularly for Arab communities and Islam, culture is manifested through religious precepts. This section will uncover how gender binaries and the family context are defined by Islam; additionally, it is my responsibility to also discuss Islam's view on surveillance and privacy. As discussed above, patriarchy has been a dominant force in Muslim societies as it found ideal conditions to thrive. In fact, according to Islamic social precepts, men are expected to exhibit characteristics such as strength, courage, and leadership (Mernissi, 1987, p. 46). However, women are not actively encouraged to *not* be strong, courageous, or leaders. On the contrary, men and women are equally required to be self-sufficient and not willingly subjugate themselves (Mernissi, 1987, pp. 18-19). This is *because* Islam recognizes the patriarchal system that preceded its advent and aimed at empowering individuals; primarily on the basis of gender and class, Islam envisions an egalitarian system and community-living. Indeed, Muslim feminist scholars support the idea that divine texts have been manipulated to maintain an oppressive system instead (Mernissi, 1987; 1991). Muslims are not held in higher regard in God's eyes on the basis of their gender but rather that of their piety and righteous actions (Badawi, 1999, p. 7). How each gender is expected to embodied and related duties and rights are detailed out in revelatory sources, namely the Qur'an and hadiths (i.e., prophetic traditions)– however, this is in terms of the duties and rights they are owed as members of a communal society and not strictly for the sake of gender alone.

While Islam granted women distinct rights and protections that did not become the norm worldwide until recently– such as the right to inherit property, the right to choose her spouse, the right to divorce,– these rights are often restricted or undermined by cultural norms and interpretations of religious texts (Mernissi, 1987, p. 33; 1991, p. 20). For instance, the Qur'an allows men to be in charge of their households, giving them the power to make decisions on behalf of their wives and children on the basis of financial and social capital. This has been interpreted by some to mean that men have complete authority over women, including the right to physically discipline them. Mernissi (1987, p. 33) argues that the men who had the privilege to write, preach, and interpret religious texts were products of their own socio-historical setting. This means that the texts are inherently biased towards male perspectives and experiences, and do not necessarily reflect those of their female counterparts. This patriarchal system has created a complex set of rules and expectations regarding women's bodies, which has served to reinforce the power of men over women. Mernissi (1987, p. 114) notes that in traditional Islamic societies, women are expected to cover their bodies in order to protect themselves from the male gaze. The veil, or *hijab*, is seen as a way of maintaining the modesty of women and protecting them from harassment and unwanted attention from men. However, Mernissi (1987, p. 116) argues that this interpretation of the veil is rooted

in patriarchal attitudes that view women as sexual objects that need to be controlled and hidden away. Critical discussion of the *hijab* concretely exemplifies the monitoring the female body is subjected to as it unveils the enmeshment between religious teachings and cultural convictions. In fact, whilst the *hijab* is generally thought of as an element central to womanhood, it is actually mandated to men, too– not necessarily in the form of a veil that covers the head, but through modest clothing (think of a Saudi or Emirati man's clothes). The focus on women's bodies though reinforces the omnipresence of patriarchal practices and how they bleed into the interpretation of religious precepts.

For what explicitly concerns its approach to surveillance, Islam places great value on the individual's privacy. El Guindi (2005, pp. 57-58) states that this is a notion primarily centered on the sanctity of one's family and the house in which the family lives. More broadly, privacy is also related to preserving one's dignity by not divulging compromising information– specifically in regards to sinning, or deviances from aforementioned expectations and behavior (Khan, 2015, p. 91). Existing literature on the topic (El Shamsy, 2015, p. 241; Khan, 2015, p. 95; Reza, 2008, p. 736) widely cites the verses "Do not spy on one another" (The Noble Qur'an, 2024, 49:12) and "Enter not houses other than your own without first announcing your presence and invoking peace upon the household" (The Noble Qur'an, 2024, 24:27) to underline the conviction in preserving each other's privacy by avoiding spying on or monitoring one another. Interestingly, these verses also point at a communal understanding of privacy rendering it a social responsibility rather than a personal one– which is instead the general trend in Western societies (Almutairi, 2019, p. 57; Austin, 2019, p. 54). In other words, it is a communal effort to not invade other individuals' space; moreover, doing so because there is suspicion about misbehavior or deviance is also considered a sin (The Noble Qur'an, 2024, 49:12). At the same time, correcting each other or advising each other on 'better' behavior in a compassionate and respectful manner is also divinely mandated. This is reinforced by verses such as the following: "and among you there should be a group who invite to good and enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong, and these it is that shall be successful" (The Noble Qur'an, 2024, 3:104). However, when considering the patriarchal context we live in and discussed by Mernissi (1987, p. 93), this dynamic unfolds differently due to how men self-righteously assume the role of vigilante to correct others– especially women.

At the same time, surveillance may be equaled to an ambiguous yet invasive set of practices that are ultimately frowned upon. This is specifically related to a parallel understanding of privacy as a condition that should be fostered collectively by not intruding in others' space or affairs in order to allow for full exercise of freedom, agency, and consent. Islamically, privacy is a fundamental right that should be granted and continuously upheld regardless of one's identity markers. More explicitly, men do not hold greater authority over women to monitor their movements or bodies; as Mernissi (1987, p. 116) states, this is a development that finds its incipit in the greater cultural context which which is intrinsically

patriarchal. Whilst divine commandments suggest Muslims should advise each other when they notice misbehavior, this does not imply that individuals shall actively surveil each other with the intention of calling out their misconduct or punishing them. Reviewing the Islamic outlook on surveillance and privacy is necessary to further differentiate between how dynamics of lateral surveillance in the domestic context are informed by culture in contrast to religion. The disparities between the two appear starker when considering the role gender plays and situating these practices within the current patriarchal society.

This theoretical framework sets the basis for the analysis of interviews of women of the Moroccan diaspora; the richness of this chapter is justified by the close interaction of different tiers of identity (i.e., gender, religion) as well as systems of social sorting (i.e., patriarchy, religion) and how they simultaneously govern the experiences of lateral surveillance in the family context. By beginning with an invitation to prioritize underappreciated non-digital forms of surveillance, I build on seminal work of Browne (2015, p. 17), Foucault (1977, pp. 215, 304), Magnet and Dubrofsky (2015, p. 15), and Andrejevic (2004, p. 481) amongst others to paint a vivid and complete picture of the coexistence between gender (or, more broadly, identity), cultural identity, religious identity, power, and surveillance. Mernissi's scholarship has been central in contextualizing how this particular intersection of forces comes alive in Moroccan and Muslim society. In the upcoming chapter, I lay out this thesis' research design and its methodological endeavors.

3. Research design

3.1. Constructivist grounded theory

Constructivist grounded theory (CGT) is the underlying methodological framework that informs this research. Specifically, I borrow from following Strauss' notion of CGT and its operationalization (Charmaz, 2008, p. 132) as it best complements the scope of this thesis. In fact, Strauss (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 5) envision a personally engaged researcher; this criterion is fulfilled by my experience of gendered and family surveillance as a Moroccan Muslim woman. Strauss also advises for a partial literature review beforehand as well as continuous comparison throughout the other analytical stages to verify its relevance (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 14). Accordingly, I have reviewed and reassembled the Theoretical Framework chapter a number of times at different stages of the research to ensure cohesion amongst the different elements of the research. This step was a critical one because the topic and demographic studied here are painfully under-researched. Nonetheless, it was crucial to be able to maintain a focused scope– although there are aspects that have had to be sacrificed for the sake of a cohesive study also in respect to surveillance scholarship. These limitations, though, will be further addressed in the final chapter.

The aforementioned research question and subquestions are also informed by Strauss' advice to base such queries on existing literature (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 14); again, as this latter is quite limited in its exploration of the Moroccan diaspora in the Netherlands and practices of family surveillance, CGT combined with the aforementioned queries built a focused groundwork to do so. The literature presented in the Theoretical Framework chapter addressed different notions in regards to surveillance practices with an effort to provide theoretical assumptions that can be soundly situated in the chosen context– that of women of the Moroccan diaspora in Europe– with the aim of bridging them through this very research.

Finally, Strauss encouraged open coding and axial coding -- which is my chosen methodology for data sorting and analysis of interviews. Concerning this, Strauss envisions blurred boundaries between data gathering and analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 19). To accommodate this, I began the coding process whilst still conducting interviews in order to spotlight patterns in the experiences recounted by the interviewees more easily and edit the Theoretical Framework to maintain a narrow focus.

As CGT is an ambitious methodology, I wish to stress that it has not been employed to develop a new conceptual model but rather to squeeze nuance out of an existing phenomenon. Lateral surveillance and theories of gendered socialization have been elaborated on but seldom with a strict focus on how they interrelate nor how they do so in the familial context. Similarly, the community chosen for my case study provides a fresh insight on a group that is often overlooked in academia as it explores gender binaries in a Moroccan context whilst taking in close consideration the role of religion in these practices. The attention

to nuance is also informed by stereotyped and reductionist views of Moroccan diaspora families– especially in regards to women and their perceived oppressed status on the basis of religion more than culture. Ultimately, CGT is crucial for this thesis' analysis of practices of family surveillance that have not yet been explored by local scholarship. This is further exemplified by the generous focus on how this central concept intersects with gender and religion with the aim to research how strong binaries are manifested in a largely under researched community – which complies with CGT's scope to shed a light on existing phenomena and enrich existing frameworks.

Another reason that exemplifies why CGT is best suited for this thesis is its requirement for the researcher to continuously engage in an exercise of reflection concerning previous findings, the methodological implications of the research, as well as ethical concerns such as the previously positionality and power imbalances between myself and the interviewees. Concerning this latter, I follow Mills and colleagues' (2006, p. 9) advice to reflect critically upon my existing assumptions in order to remain virtually impartial during the initial stages of interviewing (i.e., through the interview guide) up until the analysis. In fact, the authors explain that "the existence of a passion for the area of research can be problematic in itself because it has the potential to blind the researcher to aspects of data" (Mills et al., 2006, p. 10). This will be further discussed in the Positionality and Ethical Considerations sections of this chapter.

3.2. Semi-structured interviews

As grounded theory work is a type of empirical study, CGT is operationalized through semi-structured in-depth one-on-one interviews. This choice is best justified by the following quote by hooks (1991):

> "To me, this theory emerges from the concrete, from my efforts *to make sense of everyday life experiences*, from my efforts to critically intervene in my life and the lives of others. This to me is what makes feminist transformation possible. *Personal testimony*, *personal experience, is such fertile ground for the production of liberatory feminist theory because usually it forms the base of our theory-making*" (p. 70; my emphasis).

As briefly anticipated when discussing the social relevance of this research in the Introduction, talking about the experiences discussed here and being able to situate them within surveillance scholarship has honed the inspiration behind this thesis. Black feminist scholarship encourages a holistic approach to knowledge-making and theory-building processes (Hill-Collins, 2000, p. 289), and I have gladly leaned into these practices to carry out this research. Mills and colleagues (2006, p. 9), too, support the idea of the researcher and informant working together closely to produce knowledge together. Interviews provide an ideal setting to do so– especially when paired with CGT.

I conducted 13 interviews with women of Moroccan descent aged 18-35; seven women identified as Moroccan Dutch whereas the remaining fours identified as Moroccan Italian. Table 1 provides an overview of the respondents. Whilst being Muslim was not a strict criteria, all women do identify as Muslim either through practice or culturally. There were no restrictions in terms of being both born and raised in either Italy or the Netherlands as long as the interview candidates were at least raised in these countries. Similarly, there were no requirements about family composition; nonetheless, at least one parent had to be Moroccan in order to qualify for this study. Ultimately, this helped with maximizing diversity in the sample group (Patton, 1990, p. 56). The age group is informed by Mernissi's work (1987, p. 86) as the Moroccan sociologist continuously reflects on how gendered standards in Moroccan society; specifically, young girls are adultified in the pre-teen years, making so that they are also perceived as 'old' earlier on than their counterparts in other countries. However, formal guidelines for thesis writing advise against interviewing minors due to ethical as well as practical reasons– thus, the decision to raise the age requirement to 18.

To recruit interviewees for this project, I relied on my personal network and on snowball sampling (Noy, 2008, p. 328). Considering the sensitive nature of the research topic, participants are given the option to withdraw their consent at any point of the research. Similarly, sensible details were intentionally pseudonymized or redacted from the transcripts; this choice is informed by the fact that Moroccan diasporic communities are tight-knit (especially in the Netherlands) as well as by the fact that Moroccan names are not common– which concretises the possibility of identification of singular events and the person they are related to. Additionally, in accordance with CGT and to remain faithful to the narratives that have helped me carry out this study, all candidates have had access to their own interview transcripts and were granted the freedom to remove or rephrase parts of it as long as it cohesiveness and relevance with this thesis' scope was maintained.

Candidates signed up through a Google Form that provided preliminary details of the research to anticipate the degree of intimacy required for this research. All interviews took place in Spring 2023. Interviews could only be carried out once respondents completed the consent form– which was assembled with the help of my former supervisor, dr. Anouk Mols. Candidates were given the choice to be interviewed either at Erasmus Univerity's Campus Woudestein in a private setting or in their own homes; this was done to achieve a satisfactory degree of comfort when discussing personal anecdotes or feelings that could be potentially triggering from an emotional standpoint. Three interviews were conducted online due to practical reasons. All interviews were transcribed immediately and shared with the respective individuals. Interviews with Moroccan Dutch women were conducted in English whereas those with Moroccan Italian respondents were conducted in Italian and translated in English by me. Interviewees did not receive any financial compensation for their collaboration.

Table 1: Overview of Interview Respondents

Pseudonym	Age	Ethnic/cultural identity	Religious identity	Profession
Samira	26	Moroccan Dutch; born and raised in the NL by Moroccan parents	Identifies as practicing Muslim	Business consultant
Rasheeda	20	Moroccan Dutch; born and raised in the NL by Moroccan parents	Identifies as practicing Muslim	University student
Souad	25	Moroccan Dutch; born and raised in the NL by Moroccan parents	Identifies as practicing Muslim	Talent manager, youth advisor
Najat	33	Moroccan Dutch; born in Morocco and raised in the NL by Moroccan parents	Does not identify as practicing Muslim but was raised as one	Postdoctoral research associate
Yousra	20	Moroccan Dutch; born and raised in the NL by Moroccan parents	Identifies as practicing Muslim	University student
Maryam	22	Moroccan Dutch; born and raised in the NL by a Moroccan father and a Belgian mother	Identifies as practicing Muslim	University student
Amira	21	Moroccan Dutch; born and raised in the NL by a Moroccan father and a Dutch mother	Identifies as practicing Muslim	University student
Shaheenaz	28	Moroccan Dutch; born and raised in the NL	Identifies as practicing Muslim	Community organizer, NGO

		by Moroccan parents		worker
Selma	26	Moroccan Dutch; born and raised in the NL by a Moroccan father and a Dutch mother	Does not identify as practicing Muslim but was raised as ‘culturally’ Muslim	University student
Kenza	22	Moroccan Italian; born and raised in Italy by Moroccan parents	Identifies as practicing Muslim	University student
Layla	35	Moroccan Italian; born in Morocco and raised in Italy by Moroccan parents	Identifies as practicing Muslim	Business owner
Tamo	21	Moroccan Italian; born and raised in Italy by Moroccan parents	Identifies as practicing Muslim	University student
Jelena	23	Moroccan Italian; born in Morocco and raised in Italy by Moroccan parents	Identifies as practicing Muslim	Nurse

The interview guide (see Appendix A) was assembled with great attention to the literature discussed in the Theoretical Framework and in accordance with the sub-questions presented in the Introduction. At the start of the interview, I clarified that ‘surveillance’ in this study is not approached from a strictly antagonizing standpoint but rather as a mechanism that contributes to negotiation of gender constructs (and related power play). The interview guide included open questions about general experiences of being a daughter or a girl in a Moroccan household, perceived impacts of cultural precepts on parents’ monitoring of respondents’ behavior, perceived impacts of religious principles on said surveillance dynamics, experiences of body policing and other areas subject to scrutiny (e.g., personal associations and movements, sexuality, job and education, social media presence, etc.), and perception and attitude towards privacy. To accommodate the diversity of the respondents’ personal background, interview questions have varied slightly whenever deemed valuable to extrapolate a more nuanced understanding of the candidates’ own experiences. This will be addressed in the limitations presented in the final chapter.

Additionally, preliminary open-coding (Boeije, 2010, p. 149) began whilst still conducting the interviews to be able to refine the interview guide for the aforementioned reason. Following Charmaz's (1996, p. 37) advice to then proceed with line-by-line coding, I was able to minimize the risk of "imputing [my] motives, fears or unresolved personal issues to [my] respondents and to [my] collected data" (p. 37). Coding was conducted through the software Atlas.ti. Upon finalizing the open coding process, I continued with sorting them in different categories (axial coding), and extrapolated the main themes with particular attention to the sub-questions initially posed. Each code was filtered on the basis of relevance in relation to this research and the gaps it aims to fill through the posed RQ and sub-questions (Hutter et al., 2011, p. 233). Coding was ultimately necessary to dissect the data in order and be able to note overarching patterns across the respondents' experiences of surveillance dynamics in their domestic context. This process led to a total of 57 codes, clustered in 12 axial codes, ultimately categorized in 4 main themes (see Appendix B for Codebook). In accordance with CGT, several rounds of coding took place to ensure cohesiveness and consideration of the concepts that compose the research's theoretical framework. Eventually, data saturation was reached when codes of interest were outside the scope of the queries posed earlier on in the research, yet they constituted captivating prompts for future research (these, though, will be discussed fully in the final chapter). The remaining 57 codes were arranged in several groups based on patterns that emerged from similar experiences, statements of relatability, feelings, and anecdotes coherent to experiences of family surveillance as governed by gender binaries, religion, and culture. This process was finalized in 12 axial codes then divided in four overarching themes that emerged through a primary consideration of the posed sub-questions. The themes are Culture as an aggravating factor on surveillance modes, Gender binaries and intrinsic behavioral expectations through surveillance modes, Impact of Islam on surveillance modes and intensity, and Surveillance as a form of care. Each theme will be discussed thoroughly in this chapter and respondents' testimonies will be shared through relevant quotes from interviewees.
Ultimately, Culture as an aggravating factor on surveillance modes, Gender binaries and intrinsic behavioral expectations through surveillance modes, Impact of Islam on surveillance modes and intensity, and Surveillance as a form of care. Each theme will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter 5, in which respondents' testimonies will be shared through relevant quotes from interviewees. In this way, Findings will be situated within existing research and begin formulating answers for the posed queries.

3.3. Ethical considerations

Whilst conducting this research, a number of ethical concerns arose– from a methodological standpoint but from an interpersonal one, too. In academic research, ethics plays a crucial role in ensuring the integrity and credibility of the study, its methodology, and its findings (Dooly et al., 2017, p. 351). Therefore, it was my responsibility to ensure that participants were treated fairly and were granted full

transparency of this thesis' scope. By adhering to ethical principles of fair treatment and honesty, I could safeguard their rights and well-being, maintain their trust, and ultimately produce reliable results (Dooly et al., 2017, p. 352).

As anticipated above, respondents had to compile and sign a consent form in order to participate in this study. I wish to stress yet again the sensitive nature of the topic at hand– ergo, discussing family dynamics, cultural and religious convictions, and share behavior that, in a Western context, may be misunderstood or judged due to its apparent harshness. Consequently, I felt compelled to allow interviewees to withdraw their consent at any point during the interview and beyond it, too. I made it clear that I would not inquire about their reasons if they decided to do so nor would I attempt to convince or coerce them to remain a participant in this study. Upon beginning our interviews, I clarified to the women I was talking to that I was not there to judge them or pity them and that they could choose freely to what degree they decided to open up. I also assured them that they could refuse to answer a question if they deemed it to cross their boundaries. Additionally, if they shared an anecdote and decided later on that they felt uncomfortable having it on record because it was a distinguishable one, they could strike it. To further facilitate this process and ensure that respondents were at ease with information that may at some point be traced back to them, I shared recordings and transcripts of the interview with the respective interviewee. Personal information was pseudonymized and in two cases, ages and professions were also slightly modified to reach full anonymity. In one of these two cases, the interviewee requested I delete her recorded interview, too; I complied as the transcript was already finalized and sensitive information had been redacted. Nevertheless, I was prepared to remove an interview at once in case the revision made by the candidate compromised the integrity of the data or would make it obsolete for the research question and sub-questions posed. Fortunately, this did not happen and I was able to move forth in the scheduled manner. Most women interviewed did express concern about sharing family circumstances or personal anecdotes they deemed unique. It is worthwhile then to note that, upon reading the final pseudonymized and redacted transcript, many respondents were baffled at how plain or average their own narratives with a few strategic changes to sensitive data. Besides personal identity information, I have redacted details such as recreational hobbies mentioned, countries or other physical spaces, and, in one case, a unique speech pattern and recurring exclamations the interviewee explained was indeed traceable to her.

The extent to which my commitment to ensure was informed by my personal experience as a Moroccan woman who has experienced similar circumstances in a similar context. As made clear in the foundational literature of this research, Moroccan culture can be invasive at times and seemingly mundane actions or statements are amplified due to a perceived defiance of the existing social hierarchy– more explicitly, a patriarchal one that strictly judges women's behavior and, in many ways, restricts our freedom of expression, movements, and intimate association. However, my close experience with the

topic at hand presented the risk of a somehow biased analytical process. This was prevented through CGT– more concretely, through an iterative coding process that relied heavily on revisiting the scholarship presented in the Theoretical Framework chapter. Additionally, I would reserve a time for reflexivity after each interview and share with myself findings or experiences that were surprising *because* of a narrowed overview informed by own life.

My role as an engaged researcher is one that blurred boundaries between my presence as a scholar and my presence as a fellow empathetic Moroccan woman willing to lend an ear. I was able to overcome this by prioritizing the formal requirements of the interview; in this way, I was able to redirect any digressions by referring back to the interview guide and by committing to a timeframe (i.e., not exceeding one hour of interviewing). Nonetheless, the level of engagement and relatability I have with the topic at hand remained one of the biggest advantages of this study. This will be further discussed in the statement of positionality below.

4. Findings

Whilst the experiences of family surveillance presented in this section are generally similar, respondents could distinctly identify which aggravating factors played a role in the specific modes and intensity of surveillance they were subjected to. All women interviewed recognized that the scrutiny of their body, behavior, and external impressions had a basis in the Moroccan culture they were raised in. In order to make sense of these experiences, the 12 axial codes (see Appendix B) that emerged in the analysis were clustered in four overarching themes: Culture as an aggravating factor on surveillance modes, which delves into the intersection of culture and its role in the type and intensity of family monitoring; Gender binaries and intrinsic behavioral expectations through surveillance modes, which spotlights differences in surveillance modes observed by respondents on the basis of their gender; Impact of Islam on surveillance modes and intensity, which clarifies the instrumentalization of religion for certain surveillance modes and discusses how privacy takes shape in interviewees' households; and Surveillance as a form of care, which presents the reasoning behind the enactment and compliance to family surveillance as well as forms to circumvent it.

Findings begin by laying out that family monitoring was accompanied by determined expectations or governed by rules that were often implicit. When said rules were questioned or explicitly stated by the parents, they would be related to the family's Moroccan heritage. Interviewees that have lived in an atmosphere in which the parents emulated Moroccan standards of parenting and social dynamics of Moroccan society, have indicated an intensified level of surveillance within the family context. However, this extended beyond the nucleus and includes extended family and even their surrounding Moroccan community. This was further heightened for some respondents as surveillance was a mode to maintain or express Moroccan identity in relation to the surrounding majority culture. More concretely, surveillance would be justified by adopting a "we are not like *them*" attitude in which certain freedoms the Dutch and Italian counterparts enjoyed would be scoffed over– such as dating, drinking, free-mixing, and clothing choices. In households where cultural precepts and Moroccan traditions were prioritized, said expectations or limits were generally difficult to renegotiate or even question. When this was attempted, 'hshouma'– a notion akeen to shame– was leveraged on to indicate that defiant behavior was something to be shamed for or feel ashamed about. Reconciling diasporic identity was a responsibility (or burden) respondents carried unwillingly; this is because the differences of general life experiences between them and their Dutch and Italian peers were made starker by the invasiveness of surveillance they were subjected to.

Within the aforementioned circumstances, findings that concern gender binaries how they played a central role are discussed. Unanimously, interviewees related the intensity and surveillance modes experienced to a general culture of patriarchy that is married to Moroccan culture as well as the

surrounding one. In fact, even outside the family context, these women could identify similar scrutiny concerning their bodies and behavior generally related to womanhood. Respondents indicated feeling an intrinsic sense of responsibility that came with their role of 'daughter' or 'sister,' especially in comparison to their male counterparts (e.g., brothers). They noted double standards in the type of monitoring they were subject of; specifically, the notion of 'freedom' was delineated oftentimes with striking differences in terms of liberties granted to boys in comparison to girls. This not only encompassed their body, behavior, and other expectations, but also parents' reaction to defiance of said expectations. A common response to questioning differences in expectations was, "because you are a girl and he's a boy." Many of the women interviewed confessed leading a 'double life;' essentially, they would behave in the expected way in the presence of their families but secretly disobey the explicit limits put on them. Concrete examples of this were dressing in 'non-approved' clothing, having a secret romantic relationship, sneaking out of the house to attend a party, and partaking in smoking or drinking. Gender played a role in the intensity of surveillance delivered by the respondents' parents, too. In fact, many indicated that mothers would be more keen or would be assigned the responsibility to monitor their daughters and enforce consequences for any defiances. However, mothers have also been praised by several respondents thanks to the freedoms they were able to negotiate on their behalf and the mothers themselves could not enjoy in their own family contexts. This manifested through mothers allowing their daughters to travel alone, experiment with clothing or dating lives, and by minimizing the impact of scrutiny generally received from extended family or community.

As anticipated, findings highlight a crucial role played by religious standards– not solely in defining areas of surveillance but in their justification. Whilst Islam sets standards for believers' behavior, it has been instrumentalized to justify the harshness of the surveillance modes experienced by interviewees. Surprisingly, the women who indicated being raised in a household where religious precepts were prioritized over cultural ones, stated that they were somehow consistently granted opportunities for negotiation of set boundaries and expectations. Surveillance was also more easily complied to or not perceived as invasive as its justifications could be clearly situated within divine commandments rather than a manner of holding onto one's cultural heritage. Similarly, respondents whose parents' religious identity was strong clarified that, when they had defied distinct rules, the parents would discuss why it was wrong but ultimately not shame them or punish them. Additionally, in these households, lateral surveillance at the hand of extended family or community was also given lesser value thanks to religious precepts. Respect of privacy was also indicated as a religious value that would be respected more than in culture-led households.

Finally– all respondents recognized that, whether religiously or culturally informed, the surveillance they were subjected to was an expression of care. The women interviewed indicated

sympathy for their parents' behavior and restrictions ultimately recognizing its collateral positive impact. Specifically, the cultural foundation of such invasive behavior was understood not as a personal one but a generational one. By doing so, interviewees were able to reconcile differences in thoughts; consequently, they found themselves more keen to comply with the monitoring in order to avoid conflict. However, compliance was also understood as a form of respect towards the parental figures and their beliefs. Self-surveillance was indicated as constant and intense with the aim of anticipating what actions could be classified as lack of respect or defiance. Conceptualizing surveillance as a form of care also contributed to other strategies of negotiating boundaries, such as threading the limits of what was allowed and not or initiating finding compromises that would appeal to the parents. Ultimately, whilst respondents' experiences vary due to context as influences by identity markers such as country or tribal affiliation and family composition, a universality of experiences is still detectable as all women meticulously clarified how culture, Islam, gender intersect to govern dynamics of surveillance in their families.

4.1. Culture as an aggravating factor on surveillance modes and intensity in the family context

As anticipated above the codes that fall under this overarching theme (see Appendix B) concern Moroccan culture and traditions used as justification of the interviewees' experience of surveillance. Whilst the pool of interviewees is quite diverse in terms of family composition, tribal affiliation, age, and even spoken idioms, all women identified distinct expectations concerning their actions and bodies. These expectations are fulfilled and continuously kept in check through lateral surveillance (Andrejevic, 2004, p. 481) by family members– primarily parents (Mols et al., 2023, p. 470). All women explained that the surveillance modes and the spheres of surveillance detected can be traced back to the parents' upbringing in a traditional Moroccan context. Consequently, many of the expectations were implicit and interviewed women described feeling blindsided at times due to the level of intensity and detail of surveillance that their Italian and Dutch peers did not encounter. Rasheeda, for instance, reflects on how her "[parents] were brought up like, what, 40, 50 years ago in Morocco at that time-- so, not even in Morocco, but Morocco at *that* time;" she recognizes that "their framework of what it is to be brought up or how to raise a child was very different than whatever frame would have been here now [in the Netherlands]." Similarly, Souad recognizes that one of the biggest obstacles was fulfilling the implicit expectations that monitoring was for:

> "I could sense that something was expected from me, but I couldn't really understand what it was because I'm like, why don't you just say directly to me? And like, why are you making these comments and how should I know how to do things? And like, how do

> I know what can I wear? What can't I wear? I would be told to just dress normally, then I would dress 'normally' but I would be told to change."

This statement highlights a series of incongruences concerning generational differences of context, communication, and convention (as exemplified specifically by being told to 'dress normally'). When talking about this, Najat concluded that "it's just the way they were raised. In a sense, they hadn't been taught differently either." When reflecting on the purpose of said monitoring and the purpose of conventionality, seven out of thirteen interviewees mentioned that it is enforced in order to preserve one's reputation by maintaining a respectable image. Evidently, this reputation was judged and maintained through compliance of continuous scrutiny. Kenza promptly discussed this by indicating that:

> "Reputation is a big thing. So [for instance] your reputation is going to be tarnished because people are going to think that you're a hooker because you're walking with a guy on the street… You're seen as a representative of the community, uhm, as the representative of the faith... So, that's a lot to put on one person, you know?"

Whilst this falls in place within existing scholarship (Mernissi, 1987 p. 102), it is interesting to note that interviewees indicated preservation of *reputation* rather than *honor*, which is instead discussed by Mernissi (1987, p. 102) as a central concept for surveillance within Moroccan communities. Personal reputation, nonetheless, was indicated to have influenced family reputation, too. The term honor, though, may also have been neglected due to a language barrier. Confirming the assumption discussed by Kenza in the example above specifically in relation to reputation and *what people think*, Samira shared an anecdote of a friend with her same heritage:

> "I have a friend, she's my childhood friend. Her mom knows everyone in the neighborhood. [...] I remember one one time she was out with this guy. Like, they were just literally walking in the neighborhood, and this other guy just saw her, went to her brother and shit hit the fan. He was upset that his sister was out with a guy and what that could imply about the two of them. He didn't want people to think badly about his sister and talk about her, but they had already started talking… because that's exactly how he found out!"

Unsurprisingly, the most recurrent sphere of surveillance concerned the women's bodies– specifically their clothing, make-up choices, and movements. Layla, for instance, recounts being scolded for wearing a short skirt and wearing nail polish. Najat, too, recalls being reprimanded for wearing hoop

earrings, low waisted jeans, and cutting her hair short. Souad specifically recalls her father and grandfather refusing to talk to her and her sister because they wore holed-up jeans; their mother had to intervene to explain that the men interpreted their clothing as a sign of disrespect to their authority and urged them to change. Jelena instead reminisced about moments in which her female relatives would be reprimanded for sitting with their legs open or for laying down in the presence of male figures. Indeed, the explanation behind this behavior is that the female body is (overly) sexualized (Mernissi, 1987, p. 116). Although the mentioned items may not seem out of the ordinary in an Italian or Dutch context, they assume a negative connotation in a Moroccan as women's bodies are perceived to be flaunted or tempting. The patriarchal tendencies of Moroccan traditions have been widely explored in the Theoretical Framework. Scholarship indeed recognizes that, in a context in which women are required to blend in as their very existence is perceived as primarily sexual, the aforementioned clothing is received as an affront to principles of modesty and purity. Sexualization is not to be understood in a perverse manner, here; rather, this is the result of a conservative culture that *presumes* that women's choices revolve around enticing men. Yousra's example about wearing a swimsuit succinctly summarizes this reality:

> "We went [on a] swimming trip and then, like, my parents told me, 'this is the last time you're going to go on a swimming trip, this is the last time that you will wear a bikini.' And that was a very traumatizing experience because I [could] not enjoying the swimming, like, all I was thinking about was, 'it's your last time doing this.'"

For the examples mentioned above, the respondents confirmed that their clothing or make-up, for instance, were a manner of self-expression that seldom included the aim of seducing men in their choices. The notion of *'hshouma*,' which translates to shame or shameful in Moroccan Darija was called upon several times. Surveillance of women's bodies could be easily signaled by the exclamation of *'hshouma*!' towards them to indicate that they should feel ashamed or embarrassed for the action they are partaking in. "When something is considered inappropriate, it's '*hshouma'* to do it," briefly explained Souad. All respondents indicated that, upon asking, rarely would a more in-depth explanation be given beyond 'hshouma' or 'it's because you're a girl.'

Kenza shared that, in general, although "the daughter is the core of the family" for the pivotal role she is assigned and the relevance that her every action has, she felt almost "dehumanized" by the manner in which her existence is dissected for the purpose of being made palatable to hypothetical man. In fact, Kenza, like Tamo or Jelena, grew up dreading mundane actions such as getting ready for school or going shopping because they would anticipate the scrutiny concerning the clothing choices. "Sometimes you feel like you have a spotlight on you, and you know, with every movement you do, [...] they're trying to find a mistake," reported Selma. All respondents explained their frustration towards the lack of a thorough

explanation concerning why they were being monitored.

Other spheres of concern from the parental standpoint were their daughters' sexuality, sexual activity, and dating history; scrutiny reserved for these can also be classified as body policing (Ahmed, 2015, pp. 12-13). Tamo, Layla, and Amira explained that these topics were taboo– also a subject that evoked *'hshouma'*– and they were able to discern what type of behavior was deemed respectable by picking up on contextual clues. For instance, Tamo recalled her parents constantly switching channels whenever they were watching a movie and a kissing scene would come up. Selma, who has a Dutch mother, explained that her mom would advise her not to talk about guys or allude to any sort of relationship with them when she would spend time with her father. Amira, who also has a Dutch mother and a Moroccan father, would have her belongings routinely searched for items that would indicate she was in a romantic relationship. She recalled how "[her] romantic life was a big thing for [her] dad;" she specifically explains how "[hiding] it was very, very tough because it [...] manifested in many tiny everyday things, like a text from [her boyfriend] or a photo or going to him after."

Besides personal relationships of this kind, further monitoring took place in regards to drinking, smoking, and partying. Whilst these may be elements of scrutiny in Italian and Dutch households, respondents of Moroccan descent were categorically prohibited from engaging in them because they are associated with promiscuity and lack of self-respect. Shaheenaz, for instance, shared that her mother locked her out of her house when she found out that her daughter went to a school party. Rasheeda, too, recalled not being able to join her friends' sleepovers– although she clarifies that "it was not necessarily because I was a girl, but just because *'we don't do that stuff.'* I'm turning 21 this year and I still cannot sleep over at my friends.'"

Surveillance was perceived as intensified in relation to the diasporic identity most of the interviewees identified with. As briefly touched upon above, being members of a minoritized community came with the responsibility to be good representatives of said demographic in order to avoid scandals or, worse, discrimination. About this, Yousra reported:

> "[Her parents] would always highlight the difference [between being Moroccan and being Dutch]. With no valid arguments, either. It's hard to explain because they wouldn't say, you must do it this way because it's better.' Just 'we are not like them,' you know. [Dutch people] are, like, *barraniyeen*, outsiders."

Eventually, acknowledging the struggles of having to reconcile such different cultures and the strain that this was putting on her freedom, she retaliated:

> "At some point I was mad. I was like, 'you came here to live amongst all these outsiders.' Like, why would you do that if you do not like how they do things?"

Upon asking whether they were familiar with the question "what will people say?", all interviewees had anecdotes about this very sentence. Whilst respondents shared that external opinion did not carry a heavy weight for them, they recognized how people's opinions were routinely and pervasively called upon. Najat specified that this was an exclamation she would hear in regards to "anything [concerning] sexuality":

> "If I were to be seen with someone, like a guy, it'd be like, 'what would people think if they saw you with a guy in the streets?' Like, you cannot say it was for your education because what were you doing?"

Other respondents related to this very example, which ultimately indicates a universality of experience in which lateral surveillance is at the core of social hierarchies and interactions. Everyone also shared disdain towards the question and perplexity about why an individual would be concerned with what strangers might think of them. Mernissi (1987, p. 112) confirms that this is due to the communal nature of Moroccan culture. Generally, cultural precepts were utilized to determine standards of behavior and performance of womanhood (specifically in terms of clothing or physical behavior) and set up consequent boundaries to respect. Whilst parents are evidently the primary figures to maintain dynamics of monitoring, external opinions were taken into account, too. This further exacerbated efforts to reconcile clashing cultures that the respondents' were juggling through their identity as well as dynamically in their lives. Similarly, notions of shame (*'hshouma'*) and reputation are also central to how culture influences surveillance in the family context. This, though, contributed to blurring lines between what is considered accepted behavior and what implies deviant behavior.

4.2. Gender binaries and intrinsic behavioral expectations through surveillance modes in the family context

This thesis was primarily inspired by the understanding that gender binaries are constructs that are facilitated and defined by peer surveillance (Shephard, 2016, p. 3). The women in this study have been able to pinpoint radical differences in experiences of surveillance compared to their male counterparts. The very justification "you are a girl and he is a boy" when they point out double standards in parents' monitoring is striking proof of how patriarchy and surveillance cannot be separated. Candidates were asked to delineate the double standards they have noticed. Samira recalls her brother being able to invite not only friends, but girl friends and girlfriends over to their house even when the parents were present.

However, it would have been unimaginable for her to do the same with her male friends or her boyfriends. As a matter of fact, she was not allowed to date at all and would have to take several precautions whenever going out with her significant other in order to avoid further scrutiny. When listing similar instances in which she had noticed or contested a double standard between the freedoms granted to her in comparison to her brother, Maryam recalled being asked “why are you acting like a guy?,” which further highlights an awareness of differences that exist on the basis of gender. Similarly, Shaheenaz was not allowed to party– but at parties she sneaked in, she would run into her uncles or cousins for whom attending such an event was not seen as an affront to their reputation. Tamo and Jelena both reported that their younger brothers were granted such freedoms from a young age; to this day, though, they still have to tread lightly when they wish to attend an event that runs late at night. However, not all interviewees can relate to the same double standards in the same spheres. Layla, for instance, clarified “[her] parents would not agree with [her brother] having girlfriends or just being in a relationship for the sake of it instead of, like, working towards marriage.” Samira, instead, reflected on the fact that modest clothing is irrelevant for men in general, therefore that is another area where they receive far less scrutiny.

Whilst they do not have to, for instance, provide their live location, they ought to be home by a set time and may receive a few calls asking for updates on their whereabouts. Layla, instead, shared that her parents would routinely smell her breath to figure out whether she had smoked cigarettes; on the contrary, her brothers were allowed to do that freely in the house with no repercussions. Another striking example is that of Amira; she was pregnant with her first child in her late teens and her baby was born out of wedlock. Her father disowned her for this and refuses to have any contact with her or his nephew– however, Amira herself was born out of wedlock, yet she had always been welcomed by her Moroccan family and her father did not face any demeaning consequences for it. She further elaborated on this double standard:

> “I know that [disowning her] definitely something that his entire family holds against him is like, no one's actually in favor of him disowning me because they're all like, ‘you did the exact same, you had a kid when you weren't married, and now she's doing the same, nobody judges her for it. If anything, you set that example.’"

When discussing the reasoning behind the existence of these double standards, interviewees once again mentioned reputation as a major deterrent. Whilst reflecting on this, Shaheenaz concluded that the role of the Moroccan woman within and outside the community is that of representative; “the funny thing is it's not even about whatever you do, it's whatever you're perceived of doing [that] reflects on everyone,” she said.

Interviewees stated with confidence that being a woman severely hindered the “freedoms” they were granted in comparison to men. This led many of the women I talked to conduct a double life. More concretely, respondents indicated that, to circumvent monitoring, they would hide crucial parts of their lives in order to enjoy similar freedoms as their male counterparts. Rasheeda reported on this matter:

> “I have to put a certain persona of myself, just to respect the family because I realize that they have different values and some things that here I would, like, do easily and with no issue [...]”

Souad instead recalled wearing the clothing she was normally forbidden from wearing when her family members were in Morocco whereas Tamo would hang out with her male friends whenever she had to commute to another city for her studies. Kenza, instead, shared that she would hide her smoking paraphernalia outside the house so that she could smoke undisturbed.

It is necessary to note that this experience was widely shared by women who grew up in a culture-led household rather than a religious one. They would often label this dynamic as ‘rebellion’ as they were aware that, no matter how mundane or innocent their actions were, they would be perceived as openly challenging the parents’ authority and the invasiveness of the surveillance they attempted to normalize. This, though, will be further discussed in the final section of this chapter.

Another way in which gender binaries have impacted surveillance dynamics emerged when investigating which parent enforced the aforementioned expectations and rules. Overwhelmingly, candidates responded that it was their mother rather than their father. For instance, Najat recounted the following dynamic between her parents:

> “My mother was really the one-- I think it's always the case of the mother who tries to force some sort of cultural heritage on us. So it was always, like, a discussion within our family. And my father always said at the end, ‘well, listen to your mother.’"

For the exception of the women who have a non-Moroccan mother, interviewees explained that mothers greatly contributed to the invasiveness of enacted surveillance modes and areas. This may be because sharing the same gender makes it easier to discuss ‘hshouma’ topics. However, respondents who have siblings or are the eldest sisters discussed that the monitoring they were subjected to was a form of preemptive monitoring for other siblings, too. About this, Yousra reported:

> "I was the first one to do everything and I had no clue what I was doing. The younger generation has it a little bit easier because they have examples, you know, they can just follow us. You and I, we had to figure everything out ourselves."

Despite the possibility of mothers encouraging and maintaining invasive surveillance modes, some interviewees recognized how lenient their parents were in comparison to the previous generation. Tamo, for instance, says that "they gave [her] a lot of freedom in comparison to what they have experienced, like, especially my mom."

Ultimately, respondents were able to discern how gender constructs contributed to the type of scrutiny they were subjected to; this was particularly facilitated through comparisons drawn with their male counterparts, namely fathers, brothers, and uncles or cousins. Women used the term 'freedom' to indicate the restrictions they would suffer in terms of expressing their personalities, preferences, and activities. To reclaim these freedoms, some of them have conducted a double life– through which they have been able to circumvent restrictions whilst still maintaining a facade of compliance. Mothers have been noted to be the primary enforcers of surveillance tactics and related rules; however, mothers have also been praised by most respondents for the opportunities they were given that previous generations continue to frown upon.

4.3. Impact of Islam on surveillance modes and intensity

Religion was another factor set to be investigated in this research. Whilst stereotypically Islam is thought of a conservative and borderline hegemonic faith and one that oppresses women, respondents have shared an opposite experience. Kenza and Rasheeda both reported that they were raised in an environment that was soundly Muslim– meaning that their parents were properly educated on religious precepts and prioritized these in their parenting. Consequently, these two women exemplified how they would receive clear answers in regards to the monitoring they were subjected to. Rasheeda, for instance, reported questioning why she was not allowed to wear revealing clothing; her parents explained that modesty is a principle that needs to be upheld not because her body is inherently sexual or flawed, but because she would be subjected to sexualing male gaze. Indeed, unwanted attention can be deadly for women; therefore, they clarified that if she wished to do so, she could wear what she wanted in their presence. Kenza, instead, shared an anecdote of her mother finding smoking paraphernalia amongst her belongings:

> "She doesn't want me to do any of that. And she was aware that I did at one point because she found out this way. There's been repercussions, but also no repercussions at all…?

> She just needed to make her voice feel heard in the beginning. And then she was like, 'well, you know what's best and you know what to expect from you.' In general, I think we can summarize by saying that she just knows that so much of her and her beliefs are ingrained in me and she is so confident in her reasoning, that is, backed by Islam that she doesn't have to steer me. She didn't bring up being a girl or being Moroccan at all. Islam only, and, in all honesty, I appreciated that."

Whilst she understandably was upset that her daughter was smoking, she promptly created an opportunity to explain that smoking is frowned upon in Islam because this is a religion that seeks bestow balance and guide its believers away from inhibitions that may be harmful for their bodies and psyche. Kenza specified that her mother's explanation was enriched by telling her that she does not have to fear her as a mother, but she has to fear God. Similarly, she did not have to worry "about hiding from [her] mother, but from God." Kenza initially felt elated that her mother did not throw away her paraphernalia nor that she continued to monitor her behavior. However, she recognized that the explanation she was given was more informative and satisfactory than a plain "we are Muslim and this is how we do things."

In fact, this is the answer other respondents would receive upon questioning set rules and expectations or contesting the role that parents had in these. Layla, for instance, recalls that this explanation was the only one she would receive when her father caught her wearing red nail polish and scolded her for it. It took her years to find out that there are no official rulings about nail polish and that that was another way her body was policed. "At that time, I didn't have any access to the internet and other women around me also were living similar situations or subscribing to the same beliefs," clarified Layla about her inability to fact-check the veracity of the religious justifications she was given.

Interestingly, the women who were met with curt and unfounded justifications about why they could not partake in certain behavior were also the ones whose privacy was not respected. All candidates indicated violations of privacy as having their belongings searched or their personal space invaded with no warning nor remorse. Tamo's mother would routinely search her closet; Souad and Selma would have their phones confiscated; Najat's father would check her browser's search history and read chats between her and her online friends even when she was a young adult. About this, Najat explained that she went as far as "never [writing her] feelings down because knew that everyone was going to read [them]."

In households where religion was the main informant of parents' attitude towards their children's monitoring, respondents clarified that they thought it disrespectful if their parents engaged in such behavior as they would be betrayed. Rasheeda and Maryam expressed gratitude towards their parents' respect for their boundaries and, at least to their knowledge, did not experience this sort of invasiveness.

When discussing this, Rasheeda described:

> “I am really grateful that they have this vision of, ‘you're going to have to think for yourself and choose for yourself and do whatever you please, but we just hope to have given you the right information and the right guidelines to help you do that as smoothly as possible.’ And this is how they showed it!"

When questioned about their understanding of religion being used to monitor their behavior more closely, Samira explained that:

> “Islamic teachings were interpreted by a lot of men. So that's like-- religion is, uhm, read through the lens of men, of Arab men specifically. Uh, so sometimes I think there's cultural things that have seeped through the religion that we commonly hold as true that are not, uhm, but people are not aware of that.”

The impact of patriarchal practices and how they have bled onto religious teachings is particularly relevant to discuss in order to soundly discern which surveillance practices discussed here are inherited from culture and which are indeed Islamically mandated– which is ultimately needed to answer the research question and sub-questions. Whilst respondents have shared clashing experiences when it comes to Islam and its instrumentalization in the realm of family surveillance, they have also demonstrated the ability to distinguish between what expectations and behaviors are effectively religiously dictated and which are not.

4.4. Surveillance as a form of care

When asked whether they understood the reasoning behind the invasive monitoring they were subjected to, respondents unanimously answered that they perceive it as a form of care. However, this conclusion was not an evident one for many interviewees for a considerable amount of time. Samira admitted that she felt infantilized by her parents’ monitoring, especially when her Dutch peers were granted freedom of expression through clothing choices or because their movements were not restricted. However, she explained that, once in her twenties and she had finally engaged in the behavior her parents prohibited her from, she understood right away that the monitoring functions as a form of protection. Now, she says she has adopted an “Imma do me and y'all just got to deal with it” type of attitude which has helped her reclaim her agency and minimize parental authority over her individual behavior.

Other respondents also indicated that parental surveillance delayed common experiences that their non-Moroccan peers were familiar with; however, this was not necessarily a disadvantage as they expressed gratitude towards being able to gain enough personal and worldly awareness before engaging in the same behavior. Jelena, for instance, reports that her parents forbidding her from wearing makeup helped with her self-image in the long run as now she does not feel compelled to comply with beauty standards that require women to look their best in every situation. She explained that she is also more comfortable with her body hair or with not having her nails done all the time. Maryam shared that not being able to pursue romantic relationships in her teen years was a source of shame or feeling of inadequacy as she felt that her peers were ahead of her in terms of socialization. Nevertheless, she now feels empowered in her choices as she believes she would have been too immature to be in a relationship. Similarly, Amira explained:

> "Now that I'm older, I agree with [my father] to a way larger extent than I did back then, because even if you're 15, men are going to stare at you. And wearing clothing that covers your body might help you avoid being stared at, being catcalled, or just being uncomfortable."

It is necessary to point out that respondents also understand that complying to parental surveillance and related expectations is an expression of respect. Souad, Najat, Tamo, and Samira spoke extensively about the fact that there are clear incongruences between Moroccan traditions upheld by their parents and current modern Moroccan customs. Interviewees all shared that they are now able to feel compassion for their parents and understand that their behavior and conditions are a product of their own experiences. "That's how they know to protect us and care for us," commented Tamo. Nevertheless, the contexts in which these two generations grew up differ greatly and they wish parents would take more in consideration their diasporic identity in order to show leniency in the rules and expectations they set.

For what concerns parents perceiving contestation of surveillance modes as a direct contestation to their parental authority, Jelena explains that they probably wish "to be shown the same reverence" they reserved for the generation that preceded them. For this reason, respondents continue to comply with the monitoring as a strategy to avoid conflict or signal disrespect. Samira mentioned that she will dress differently or cover up when around male figures; similarly, Souad confirmed that she "[she doesn't] necessarily mind adhering to certain expectations. Like, when it comes to dressing for family because they think that that's how I show respect, I will do that out of love." Yousra avoids discussing her school life or friendships to not raise suspicions about her double life. Shaheenaz and Kenza avoid smoking. Najat gives up make-up and nail polish when she is around her parents or extended family.

Anticipating what might be a source of conflict and preventing it can be understood by candidates engaging in self-surveillance practices. They indicated that these sacrifices are not burdensome and, on the contrary, have eased up the family life. After all, as Tamo points out, diaspora individuals are accustomed to code switching. Upon understanding that parents have behaved a certain way because that is how they express their love and care, this has almost become second nature. Most importantly, compliance becomes a choice and not an enforcement– which has allowed for a greater sense of agency. This was also linked to having higher chances of success when negotiating boundaries concerning family surveillance. In fact, most women (especially the older ones) still attempt to negotiate boundaries; self-surveillance facilitated finding compromises or threading limits as these would be done in strategic ways not to project carelessness towards parental authority. Najat, for example, reported:

> "I extended those barriers every day, by coming home later and later and like, yeah, so eventually they also didn't really care about it anymore. Or, at least, they commented less about it."

Selma, instead, took up another route and decided to set clear boundaries and avoid discussing certain topics to avoid telling "white lies" unnecessarily to avoid being scolded or further scrutinized. Similarly, most interviewees reported not having social media accounts or nor using them frequently in order to avoid another realm in which they may be policed. Ultimately, surveillance in the family context was understood as an expression of care; although the journey to arrive at this conclusion depended closely on each respondent's unique circumstances and relationship with their parents, they unanimously shared that they do understand what sentiments the monitoring is informed by– although they may still disagree with its execution. Upon gaining this understanding, ways to find compromises, explore limits, and set boundaries became clearer. This was primarily due to self-surveillance, which emerged as a manner to anticipate how their bodies and behavior may be scrutinized. Monitoring, though, is still complied to in order to express respect or avoid conflict.

5. Conclusion

This thesis set to investigate lateral dynamics in the familial context as experienced by Moroccan women of the diaspora. Specifically, I sought to shed a light on the intersection between gender and surveillance whilst taking in consideration how religious and cultural precepts further inform said surveillance modes. I have paid attention to surveillance practices that are not centered on digital artifacts but rather on the interpersonal dynamics within the family. Surveillance was not approached from an antagonizing perspective; instead, it is understood as a process of social sorting that serves greater forces to monitor women's bodies and movements– such patriarchal convictions and practices (Shephard, 2016, pp. 3-4). The theoretical framework assembled for this research discusses how surveillance can be detected through peers watching over each other and legislating upon each other's actions (Andrejevic, 2004, p. 481; Marwick, 2012, p. 381). This understanding pointed at surveillance as a vessel for power in everyday practices (Foucault, 1977, p. 215). The focus on the family context provided a contained setting in which gender binaries and how they inform family compositions and roles could be studied closely. I conducted a constructivist grounded theory analysis of semi-structured interviews taken with women of Moroccan descent from Italy and the Netherlands. This final chapter answers the queries posed in this study– first of which is the following:

1. How do cultural precepts inform Moroccan women of the diaspora's experiences of family surveillance?

Based on the analysis conducted, cultural precepts seem to be the major force that informs the chosen demographic's experience of surveillance. Respondents shared that their appearance and behavior were closely monitored in accordance with Moroccan ideals of womanhood; concretely, principles of modesty, acquiescence, and compliance were prioritized. Body policing (Ahmed, 2015, pp. 12-13) was indicated as the most common way to surveil daughters as their appearance (specifically, though clothing and even mannerism) was reported to be most scrutinized. Seminal work by Mernissi (1987, p. 115) confirms that indeed Moroccan traditions thrive on relegation of women in a private space and their exclusion from public life. Standards for behavior though could be carried out in a successful manner in a transnational context, too. In fact, interviewees expressed frustration with having to reconcile their diaspora identity as they sought to find balance between their cultural heritage and the European context they effectively were raised and lived in. Clashing values between cultures seemed to reinforce parental monitoring as it was, in some cases, seen as a way to preserve Moroccan traditions against family culture. Interviewees were receptive towards the fact that, whilst at times too restrictive, standards of surveillance by their parents were a generational issue rather than a personal one. The stricter expectations, particularly in regards to

dating, clothing choices, and other seemingly mundane activities such as smoking or going out, were difficult to challenge and often reprimanded. When contested, most respondents would receive dismissive answers about the fact that these reinforcements and subsequent surveillance are the norm and ought to be accepted. Another popular response was that these actions had a shameful connotation ('hshouma'). Culture was ultimately instrumentalized to justify said monitoring as women, in Moroccan tradition, are responsible for family reputation. Mernissi (1987, p. 102) advanced that this is due to the collective nature of Moroccan culture; however, the patriarchal aspect of it reigns supreme as women's actions are closely scrutinized and assigned meaning. Feminist surveillance scholarship (Abu-Laban, 2015, p. 50; Dubrofsky & Magnet, 2015, p. 15) further reinforces this idea by calling for a more gendered mainstream approach to surveillance in which the power dynamics enacted should not be divorced by other tiers of identity and socio-cultural realities.

2. How does gender influence lateral surveillance in a familial context?

When zooming in on gender, there are indeed stark differences between surveillance practices reserved for daughters in comparison to their male counterparts. Respondents reported experiencing double standards for what concerns freedoms granted as well as intensity of monitoring. When contested on the basis of gender, surveillance practices would be justified through answers such as 'you're a girl and he's a boy'. This points at an intrinsic but overly implicit understanding of how gender affects individual experience as it is not a satisfactory one. In order to circumvent restrictions from the experienced surveillance practices, many interviewees explained that they would conduct a 'double life'-- complying outwardly with family expectations while secretly rebelling. Mothers were typically responsible for not only enforcing these rules but also overall passing them down as normative practices. Family sociology scholarship (Mernissi, 1987, p. 16; Papa, 2013, pp. 9-12) states that it is indeed an intrinsic role of womanhood to do so due to the responsibility assigned to women in the familial context. Similarly, interviewees who have siblings also discussed their monitoring being a preemptive one for the other children in the household; for some, this dynamic aggravated surveillance modes they perceived they had to 'fight' for their freedom more outwardly whereas their siblings could revel in their sacrifices. Another relevant finding when taking into account Moroccan culture and gender, topics surrounding women's bodies and expectations are considered taboos not to be discussed outside a private setting. Because of the stark differences between experiences of manhood and womanhood, it becomes an inevitable role for mothers to instruct daughters about their expectations and behavior. Nonetheless, many interviewees

recognized that their mothers had been more lenient with them and granted more freedoms for their daughters that they themselves had experienced.

3. How does religion inform Moroccan women of the diaspora's experiences of family surveillance?

Religion is another driving force between the discussed surveillance dynamics. However, this is mostly because Islam has been instrumentalized to justify restrictions and surveillance by assigning a divine connotation to them without clarifying any further. Interestingly, in households where religious values were prioritized over cultural ones, interviewees reported better understanding of family surveillance practices and spheres. Because of a genuinely informed view of surveillance and the reasoning provided, respondents reported an improved atmosphere and more opportunities for negotiation or, at least, clear communication about boundaries. Currently, scholarship that discusses surveillance and privacy from an Islamic perspective is limited (at least in the English language). Future research may benefit from constructing a genealogy that places Islamic precepts within surveillance studies notions in order to draw better parallels between the two fields. Nonetheless, whilst revealing clothing, smoking, drinking, and pursuing intimate relations with the opposite gender were already conventionally frowned upon, interviewees who were able to receive thorough justifications situated in Islamic teaching appreciated being able to fully understand the dangers that some of these behaviors carried. To be chastised and dismissed with a "we are Muslim and this is how we do things" instead seemed to have led to more friction within the family context and less willingness to comply with parental surveillance.

4. How do young Moroccan women of the diaspora experience privacy in a familial context?

When asked about privacy in a broad manner (as it was generally understood as their belongings or personal space), the women indicated having their personal space invaded or their possessions inspected without their knowledge or consent. Consequently, interviewees felt infantilized and their agency being stripped as parents made use of their authority to overcome personal boundaries and intrude in their daughters' belongings and individual space. However, women whose family religious identity was stronger than their cultural one reported no such violations and expressed that their consent was always sought.

Ultimately, how do young women of the Moroccan diaspora in Italy and the Netherlands experience family surveillance? All women interviewed view family surveillance as an expression of care; in fact, despite its invasiveness or weak justifications, they recognized its generational and cultural

roots. Settling on such a conclusion facilitated their compliance to monitoring and related expectations in order to avoid conflict and demonstrate respect for their parents' authority. However, strategies to circumvent these are still sought and women expressed engaging in practices of self-surveillance in order to anticipate monitoring or possible related faux-pas.

This research was limited in its scope through formal criteria of the thesis trajectory as well as its novel perspective. Diasporic realities are overwhelmingly understudied– especially when it comes to North African context and especially when situated in surveillance research. By maintaining a broad perspective, this study could successfully highlight a universality of experience of surveillance in the family context. However, it may be beneficial to further investigate separately how households that prioritize religious precepts over cultural ones experience these dynamics in a more nuanced manner. This is because the sample of this thesis is very small yet quite diverse; diversity in tribal affiliations or family compositions, for instance, could not be thoroughly explored. Similarly, a bigger sample may pinpoint differences amongst diaspora groups, too, depending on the country where they live. Notably, this research took a step back from mainstream trends within surveillance studies to approach this topic from an institutional or technological level. Further research about how gender impacts surveillance is needed; specifically, existing social sorting forces (i.e., the patriarchy) should be studied as incipit for surveillance practices in order to understand how power is exercised to specifically deny agency to distinct groups.

References

Abu-Laban, Y. (2015). Gendering surveillance studies: The empirical and normative promise of feminist methodology. *Surveillance & Society, 13*(1), 44-56. https://doi.org/10.24908/ss.v13i1.5163

Ahmed, S. (2015). Introduction: Sexism - A problem with a name. *new formations: a journal of culture/theory/politics, 86*(1), 5-13.

Almutairi, S. E. (2019). The Islamic and Western cultures and values of privacy. *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights, 16*(1), 51-80. https://doi.org/0.1515/mwjhr-2019-0004

Andrejevic, M. (2004). The work of watching one another: Lateral surveillance, risk, and governance. *Surveillance & Society, 2*(4). https://doi.org/10.24908/ss.v2i4.3359

Andrejevic, M. (2006). The discipline of watching: Detection, risk, and lateral surveillance. *Critical Studies in Media Communication, 23*(5), 391-407. https://doi.org/10.1080/07393180601046147

Arora, P. (2019). Decolonizing privacy studies. *Television & New Media, 20*(4), 366-378. https://doi.org/10.1177/1527476418806092

Austin, L. M. (2019). Re-reading westin. *Theoretical Inquiries in Law*, *20*(1), 53-81.

Badawi, J. A. (1999). *Gender equity in Islam*.

Bartky, S. L. (2014). Foucault, femininity, and the modernization of patriarchal power. In D. T. Meyers (Ed.), *Feminist social thought: A reader* (pp. 92-111). Routledge.

Boeije, H. (2010). *Analysis in qualitative research*. SAGE Publications.

Browne, S. (2015). *Dark matters: On the surveillance of blackness*. Duke University Press.

Charmaz, K. (1996). The search for Meanings — Grounded Theory. In J. A. Smith, R. Harré, & L. Van Langenhove (Eds.), *Rethinking Methods in Psychology* (pp. 27-49). Sage Publications

Charmaz, K. (2008). The legacy of Anselm Strauss in constructivist grounded theory. In N. K. Denzin, J. Salvo, & M. Washington (Eds.), *Studies in Symbolic Interaction* (pp. 127-141). Emerald Group Publishing Limited. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0163-2396(08)32010-9

Cho, S., Crenshaw, K. W., & McCall, L. (2013). Toward a field of intersectionality studies: Theory, applications, and praxis. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 38*(4), 785-810. https://doi.org/10.1086/669608

Chowdhury, P. S. (2022). *The geography of gender: Place, space and contexts*. University of Pennsylvania.

Corbin, J. M., & Strauss, A. (1990). Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria. *Qualitative Sociology, 13*(1), 3-21. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00988593

Dooly, M., Moore, E., & Vallejo, C. (2017). Research ethics. In E. Moore & M. Dooly (Eds.), *Qualitative approaches to research on plurilingual education* (pp. 351-362). Research-publishing.net. https://doi.org/10.14705/rpnet.2017.emmd2016.634

Dubrofsky, R. E., & Magnet, S. A. (Eds.). (2015). *Feminist surveillance studies*. Duke University Press.

El Guindi, F. (2005). Gendered resistance, feminist veiling, Islamic feminism. *The Ahfad Journal, 22*(1), 53-78.

El-Sanabary, N. (1993). Middle East and North Africa. In E. King & M. Hill (Eds.) *Women's education in developing countries: Barriers, benefits, and policies*, 136-74.

El Shamsy, A. (2015). Shame, sin, and virtue: Islamic notions of privacy. In J. E. Grubbs & T. Parkin (Eds.), *Public and Private in Ancient Mediterranean Law and Religion* (pp. 237-253). De Gruyter.

Finn, R. L., Wright, D., & Friedewald, M. (2013). Seven types of privacy. In S. Gutwirth, R. Leenes, P. de Hert, & Y. Poullet (Eds.), *European data protection: Coming of age* (pp. 3-32). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-5170-5_1

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish* (A. M. Sheridan, Trans.). Allen Lane. (Original work published in 1975).

Graham, E. (1995). From space to woman-space. *Feminist Theology, 3*(9), 11-34. https://doi.org/10.1177/096673509500000902

Haggerty, K. D., & Ball, K. (2005). Editorial: Doing Surveillance Studies. *Surveillance & Society*, *3*(2/3), 129-138.

Haggerty, K. D., & Ericson, R. V. (2000). The surveillant assemblage. *British Journal of Sociology, 51*(4), 605-622. https://doi.org/0.1080/00071310020015280

Haggerty, K. D., & Ericson, R. V. (Eds.). (2006). *The new politics of surveillance and visibility*. University of Toronto Press.

Hill-Collins, P. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Routledge.

hooks, b. (1991). Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom. *Journal of Leisure Research, 28*(4), 195-200.

hooks, b. (2000). *Feminism is for everybody: Passionate politics*. Pluto Press.

Horst, H., Pink, S., Kato, F., Zhou, B., Hjorth, L., Ohashi, K., & Sinanan, J. (2020). Friendly social surveillance. In *Digital media practices in households: Kinship through data* (pp. 61-76). Amsterdam University Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9789048542062-005

Hutter, I., Hennink, M., & Bailey, A. (2011). *Qualitative research methods*. SAGE Publications Inc.

Khan, M. Z. K., & Jalil, M. A. (2015). E-surveillance vis-à-vis privacy rights: An analysis of Western and the Shari'ah perspectives. *Editor's Note, 23*(1), 1-20.

Knott, K. (2005). Spatial theory and method for the study of religion. *Temenos-Nordic Journal of Comparative Religion, 41*(2), 11-30.

Lyon, D. (2001). *Surveillance society: Monitoring everyday life*. Open University Press.

Lyon, D., Haggerty, K. D., & Ball, K. (2012). Introducing surveillance studies. In D. Lyon, Haggerty K. D. & Ball K. (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of surveillance studies* (pp. 1-11). Routledge.

Marwick, A. (2012). The public domain: Surveillance in everyday life. *Surveillance & Society, 9*(4), 378-393. http://dx.doi.org/10.24908/ss.v9i4.4342

Marx, G. T. (2015). Coming to terms: The kaleidoscope of privacy and surveillance. In B. C. Newell, T. Timan, & B. J. Koops (Eds.), *Social dimensions of privacy: Interdisciplinary perspectives* (pp. 32-49). Springer. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107280557.003

Marx, G. T. (2015a). Surveillance studies. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences, 23*(2), 733-741. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.64025-4

Mernissi, F. (1982). Virginity and patriarchy. *Women's Studies International Forum, 5*(2), 183-191. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0277-5395(82)90026-7

Mernissi, F. (1987). *Beyond the veil, revised edition: Male-female dynamics in modern Muslim society* (Vol. 423). Indiana University Press.

Mernissi, F. (1991). *The veil and the male elite: A feminist interpretation of women's rights in Islam*. Perseus Books.

Mills, J., Bonner, A., & Francis, K. (2006). Adopting a constructivist approach to grounded theory: Implications for research design. *International Journal of Nursing Practice, 12*(1), 8-13. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1440-172X.2006.00543.x

Mols, A., Campos, J. P., & Pridmore, J. (2023). Family surveillance: Understanding parental monitoring, reciprocal practices, and digital resilience. *Surveillance & Society, 21*(4), 469-484. https://doi.org/10.24908/ss.v21i4.15645

Newell, B. C. (2019). Introduction: Decolonizing surveillance studies. *Surveillance & Society, 17*(5), 714-716. https://doi.org/10.24908/ss.v17i5.13652

Noy, C. (2008). Sampling knowledge: The hermeneutics of snowball sampling in qualitative research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 11*(4), 327-344. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645570701401305

Ogasawara, M. (2019). Mainstreaming colonial experiences in surveillance studies. *Surveillance & Society, 17*(5), 726-729. https://doi.org/10.24908/ss.v17i5.13521

Parsons, T. (1985). *Talcott Parsons on institutions and social evolution: Selected writings*. University of Chicago Press.

Papa, C. (2013). *Identità di genere e maternità. Una ricerca etnografica in Umbria*. Morlacchi Editore.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Pitts, J. (2019). Afropean: Notes from Black Europe. Penguin Books.

Reza, S. (2008). Islam's Fourth Amendment: Search and seizure in Islamic doctrine and Muslim practice. *Georgetown Journal of International Law, 40*(1), 703-725.

Scabini, E., & Manzi, C. (2011). Family processes and identity. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 565-584). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-7988-9_23

Shephard, N. (2016). Big data and sexual surveillance. In K. Ball, K. Haggerty, & D. Lyon (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of surveillance studies* (pp. 138-147). Routledge.

Stoddart, E. (2012). A surveillance of care: Evaluating surveillance ethically. In *Routledge handbook of surveillance studies* (pp. 369-376). Routledge.

Sung, M. (2019). The triad of colonialism, anti-communism, and neo-liberalism: Decolonizing surveillance studies in South Korea. *Surveillance & Society, 17*(5), 730-733. https://doi.org/10.24908/ss.v17i5.13433

The Noble Qur'an. (2024). https://quran.com/

Van der Meulen, E., & Heynen, R. (2016). *Expanding the gaze: Gender and the politics of surveillance*. University of Toronto Press.