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The Muslim woman question in Bosnia and Herzegovina: between Islamic tradition and global modernity

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CHAPTER 7

7. Conclusion

7.1. The Bosnian Muslim Woman Question as a Prism for Diverse Perspectives on True Islam and Modernity

In this study I have demonstrated how public debates on the Muslim woman question in Bosnia and Herzegovina served as a central platform for expressing and debating different and often conflicting ideas about religious authenticity, authority, identity, tradition and modernity. I approached these debates, which dominated the Bosnian Muslim public sphere in the first half of the 20th century, as a constitutive part of a larger, global trend of (re)thinking fundamental questions such as: What is true Islam? Who has the authority to speak for Islam? What elements of the past should be preserved as authentic part of religious doctrine? And how should the Muslim future be imagined? This global framework enabled me to show how local discussions in Bosnia both mirrored and contributed to broader global conversations within the Muslim world.

Conceptually, I largely relied on research that approaches Islamic intellectual thought from a global perspective, with a particular focus on the cross-regional exchange of ideas.⁸⁰⁴ This approach to Bosnian debates about the woman question has allowed me to highlight the dynamic interaction between Bosnian Islamic thought and global intellectual currents—primarily its connection with the reformist ideas from the wider Islamic world, dominant European discourses on Muslim women and Islam in general, and modern ideas about the place of woman in society. At the same time, it helped me demonstrate how the local context shaped the understanding of these ideas. Besides my understanding of the woman question as a key field where often conflicting ideas of religious authenticity and authority, as well as tradition modernity and identity have been globally articulated is informed by studies that have demonstrated how issues related to women and gender often serve as a means of expressing broader socio-cultural, religious and ideological concerns.⁸⁰⁵

My interest for Bosnian Muslim discourses about woman question in the first half of the 20th century emerged from a combination of my own personal experiences and academic curiosity. Personal conversations with friends and colleagues have shown me that the

804 Examples of such approaches can be found in the following studies: Jung, *Orientalists, Islamists and the Global Public Sphere*; Nordbruch and Ryad, *Transnational Islam in Interwar Europe*; Aydin, "Globalizing the Intellectual History of the idea of 'Muslim World,'" 159–186; Aydin, *The Idea of the Muslim World*; Kateman, *Muhammad 'Abduh and his Interlocutors*; Dierks, "Mediatizing Violence and Renegotiating Commonality," 105–133; Dierks, "Scripting, Translating, and Narrating Reform," 157–222; Gelvin and Green, eds., *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print*; Ringer, *Islamic Modernism and the Re-Enchantment of the Sacred*.

805 Offen, *The Woman Question in France, 1400–1870*; Clark, "Engendering the Study of Religion," 217–242. Najmabadi, "Veiled Discourse—Unveiled Bodies," 487–518; Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its "New" Women*; Ringer, "Rethinking Religion: Progress and Morality in the Early Twentieth Century Iranian Women's Press," 49–57; Alam, *Women, Islam and Familial Intimacy in Colonial South Asia*.

issue of Muslim woman is often used to portray Islam as inherently rigid, patriarchal religion incompatible with emancipation. As I have shown in this research, Western public discourses and humanities from the late 19th century also spread and reinforced such views. In this perspective all inequalities and examples of discrimination against women in Muslim society have been depicted as expressions of Islamic religious norms, while obvious diversities in everyday lives of Muslim women were attributed to external factors.

Such approaches overlook the important fact that Islamic tradition is significantly characterized by multi-layered and diverse interpretations of Islamic teachings regarding women. Furthermore, dominant Western public discourses often depict conservative interpretations of Islamic heritages as “true Islam,” while other interpretations—particularly those outside the Arab world—are perceived as less authentic. In this perspective Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina is often depicted as some kind of moderate, liberal form of Islam that emerged as a fruit of modernization and secularization process that Bosnia and Herzegovina experienced during 20th century. These narratives imply that Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina is diluted form of authentic Islam found somewhere beyond European context.

My personal experience that I had at the start of this research illustrates well such perspectives. When I mentioned the topic of this study to a renowned expert in religious studies, he suggested that I should concentrate on the Arab world, which he described as a place representing “true Islam.” At that time, I did not respond to this comment. However, this attitude presenting Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina as some kind of anomaly—neither fully European, nor true Islam—only reinforced my conviction that there is a need to research it more thoroughly. It reinforced my view that there is need to show how Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as in other parts of the world, has been shaped through open, continuous and often conflicting debates. Islam is indeed, in the words of Talal Asad, a ‘discursive tradition’, and Bosnia has been intensive part of that discourse.

Treating questions about Muslim women as one of the key sites for global Muslim engagement with the broader issues such as authenticity, authority, tradition and modernity provides unique insight into the dynamic and multivocal nature of Islamic thought. In the Bosnian context, my analysis focused on three dominant intellectual orientations—reformism, conservatism and revivalism—to illustrate the complexity of Muslim interactions with their own religious and cultural heritage and their diverse visions of modernity. My aim here was not to offer normative judgements about these positions but to critically examine these discourses and to foster deeper understanding of the centrality of the Muslim woman question in intra-Muslim debates about tradition, modernity and identity.

7.2. Global and Local Dynamics

Before analysing Bosnian debates, I provided insights into three global and local developments that significantly shaped the evolution of Bosnian debates: (1) the global rise of the ideas of Islamic reformism, (2) the spread of Western discourses that portrayed Muslim women as victims of their religious heritage, and (3) local socio-cultural and political transformations that compelled Bosnian Muslims to (re)think their tradition, and their approaches to modernization.

My exploration of the global context began with an overview of the key ideas of Islamic reformism, as I consider it to be both, driving force and conceptual framework for global intra-Muslim debates on Islamic tradition and modernity, which reached its peak in discussions about the Muslim woman question. These debates were not only globally initiated by Islamic reformism but were also profoundly shaped by its core arguments about the interrelated issues of authenticity, authority, and modernity, as these arguments were further developed, critiqued, or rejected by other intellectual currents. The global reformist ideas of these interrelated issues were of the key importance for the development of the Bosnian Muslim woman question. When Bosnian reformist introduced the Muslim woman question at the beginning of 20th century in local public sphere their arguments were placed within global reformist critique of blind traditionalism and call for independent, free interpretation of Islamic foundations. This demand, closely related to general reformist understanding that only rediscovery of authentic Islamic principles could ensure Muslim progress strongly influenced the further development of Bosnian Muslim debate on the Muslim woman question. It provoked reactions first from conservative circles, and later revivalists that shaped their discourses in response to the main reformists' arguments.

In addition, Muslim public debates—both globally and locally—developed within a socio-political milieu deeply impacted by the West, which positioned the issue of Muslim women at the centre of its civilizational mission and identity narratives. Starting from 19th century essentialized portrayal of Muslim woman as a victim of her own religious heritage—present in both colonial narratives and Western scholarship—was used to argue that only Westernization of the Muslim world can ensure progress of Muslims and emancipation of Muslim women. This study has demonstrated how these positions and arguments compelled Muslims worldwide to place issues related to women at the heart of discourses of socio-religious reforms, as well as cultural and religious resistance.

Furthermore, I gave an insight into the specific local context in which Bosnian Muslim debates developed. This context was characterized not only by constant socio-political and cultural changes but also by the presence of various processes and narratives that positioned the emancipation of Muslim women as a crucial element of modernization

of Bosnian society. The transition from the Ottoman imperial framework to the Austro-Hungarian imperial framework, followed by royalist and socialist Yugoslavia on the one hand created a sense of continued identity crisis in Bosnian Muslim community. On the other hand, it provoked Bosnian Muslims to engage with various socio-political, cultural and religious issues, including Muslim woman question. In this complex local context, the Muslim woman question became a controversial issue within Bosnian Muslim community that reflected the tension between the need for Muslim progress and the preservation of distinct Muslim identity.

7.3. The Bosnian Muslim Debates

In the second part of this research, I analysed Bosnian Muslim debates about the woman question. I focused on the two key issues shaping these debates in the nascent Bosnian Muslim public sphere: education and veiling.

I have shown how Bosnian reformists—both secular intellectuals and religious scholars—placed the issue of Muslim women education as one of the central themes in the public sphere using it as lens to examine broader issues of Muslim decline and the envisioned path to progress. The first decade of the 20th century was marked by almost complete dominance of reformist discourses, particularly about Muslim women education. Bosnian reformists, building on the general principles of global reformism and the concept of scientific domesticity—which was integral to global education movements and to the educational policies of the Austro-Hungarian and later Yugoslav government—advocated women’s education as a fundamental Islamic value and a prerequisite for religious renewal and social progress of Bosnian Muslims.

The almost complete dominance of reformists discourses was closely related to the fact that the conservative members of *‘ulamā’* class expressed a sceptical stance towards public discussions on issues they considered to belong exclusively to the domain of religious scholars. And for them the Muslim woman question was one of these issues. However, in the interwar period, conservative circles in Bosnia and Herzegovina actively entered public debates as a direct response to reformist discourses on Muslim women or more precisely to their public advocacy of unveiling Muslim women. Namely, during the interwar period the reformists began to advocate for face unveiling of Muslim women, using different socio-cultural and religious arguments. Their discourse was grounded in a clear distinction between true Islam—which the reformists interpreted as not mandating this practice—and historical Islam, which they regarded as having been shaped by foreign influences that introduced this custom into Islam. The issue of veiling became closely intertwined with the themes of progress, morality and identity of Bosnian Muslims.

This advocacy of unveiling the faces of Muslim women provoked a strong reaction of conservative scholars, who felt compelled to publicly express their views on the issues related to Muslim women. Their opposition towards unveiling as well as public education of Muslim women (another reformist call) was based on their understanding that traditional practices and institutions related to women are shield and symbol of Muslim morality and identity. In the case of their opposition to education of Muslim women in modern institutions of learning, the conservatives primarily feared that such changes would lead to a decline in morality, social decay and anarchy. It is also clear from these discussions that conservatives regarded changes of traditional customs and practices as leading to the loss of identity of Bosnian Muslims. Analysis of the conservatives' efforts from the inter-war period to preserve the face veil, shows that they were closely tied not only to conservative concerns about the morality of Muslim women but also to their aim of maintaining a clear distinction between Muslims and others in Yugoslav society, resisting assimilation and maintaining separate identity.

During the 1930s, the complexity and controversy around the Muslim woman question was further intensified by the rise of Islamic revivalism, which publicly articulated its vision of the true Muslim women. The widespread poverty of the Muslim population, the large number of widows and unmarried women as a consequence of the First World War, as well as a sceptical stance toward European modernity, undoubtedly shaped the revivalist discourses of this period. The revivalists emphasized, like the reformists, the necessity of progress for Muslims, but they advocated for a distinctively Islamic model of modern education for Muslim women. From this perspective, an image emerged of an educated, active, yet veiled Muslim woman, modelled after the women of the early Islamic community.

7.4. The issue of Authenticity and Authority in Debates about the Muslim Woman Question

While these Bosnian reformist, conservative and revivalist perspectives expressed different views on central themes within the discourse on Muslim woman they shared a common approach to the issue. They all positioned the Muslim woman question as a central site that was used effectively to examine their own tradition and the various constructions of "authentic" (or "true") Islam, and to reflect on broader issues of modernity.

The analysis of Muslim debates in the Bosnian context demonstrates that discussions on the woman question cannot be reduced to mere reactions to Western critiques or to various modernization processes imposed from above. These debates reveal that, although influenced by external factors, they were fundamentally shaped by internal disputes within the Muslim community regarding authentic Islamic tradition and differing understandings

of who holds the authority to interpret that tradition. These debates played an important role in (re)defining religious and cultural authenticity and in creating boundaries between the legitimate interpreters of Islamic tradition and the “internal Other,” that is the Muslims who were portrayed as responsible for the religious-moral and cultural decline of their fellow-Muslims.

The Bosnian reformists claimed that true authenticity could only be achieved through a direct engagement with foundational texts of Islam through the method of *ijtihād*, or independent interpretation and critical reasoning. Here, also, we see that their discourses on the duties and rights of women were much less about the women themselves and more about the authenticity of existing practices, customs and legal regulations in the light of the Qur’ān and, to a lesser extent, the *ḥadīth*. As a result, the reformists blamed what they saw as the backwardness of Bosnian Muslims, and especially Muslim women, on the Bosnian religious scholars’ rigid and irrational imitation of past authorities. Their alleged intellectual and spiritual poverty was depicted by the reformists as the main cause for the spread of irrationalism, ignorance, fatalism, and obscurantism among Bosnian Muslims, particularly Muslim women. Both secular religious educated reformist scholars held the ‘*ulamā*’ responsible for the ossification of Muslim intellectual thought and the consequent overall decline of the entire community.

The ‘*ulamā*’, who made up the larger segment of the conservatives, countered with the argument that reformists lacked the authority to speak on these matters, and by doing so were causing anarchy and the moral decay of the community. This criticism, however, was clearly not only about the qualifications of the reformists, because it was also directed towards members of the Bosnian ‘*ulamā*’ who were reformists. The main issue that rallied the conservatives was, from their perspective, the survival of the Muslim community and morality. In their protection thereof, the conservatives positioned themselves as the legitimate custodians of Islamic knowledge, and defenders of true Islamic norms and moral values. The reformist insistence on a renewed practice of *ijtihād* was interpreted as a sign of complete rejection of accepted Islamic authorities and dogmas.

Another important aspect of Bosnian Muslim discourses was the engagement with Muslim history in general and specifically Bosnian Muslim history. Selective interpretation of Muslim history was one of the fundamental strategies used by different actors to ensure legitimacy to the various constructions of the ideal Muslim woman. It was a particularly prominent strategy in reformist and later revivalist discourses. Both movements invoked early Islamic history and famous female figures to create an image of authentic Muslim women who had a significant impact on the development of Muslim community. However, they profiled that ideal woman differently: in the reformist discourse the Muslim woman from the early Islamic centuries was an educated, pious person that that actively participated in all areas

of life, while in revivalist discourse she was constructed as a veiled woman of outstanding religious education and morality. Therefore, it is not surprising that the reformists focused more on the Abbasid period, while the revivalists concentrated on the early Muslim community. The conservative discourse, on the other hand, held a romanticized image of a secluded, morally uncorrupted Bosnian Muslim women from earlier Ottoman period of Bosnian Muslim history. In doing so, a differentiation was made between the Ottoman heritage—seen as the embodiment of true Islamic values—and the political, social and intellectual reforms in modern Turkey, which were strongly condemned as anti-Islamic.

This brings us to a third significant aspect of the Bosnian Muslim attempts to articulate their view of the authentic Muslim woman: the effort to situate their narratives - in particular those of the reformists and revivalists - within the broader movements and transformations occurring throughout the Muslim world. While Bosnian Muslims were historically tied to the centre of the Ottoman Empire, Bosnian Muslim intellectuals and religious scholars in the first half of the 20th century developed new connections with Islamic movements and discourses in the wider Muslim world. The early 20th century marked a pivotal period in the transformation of Bosnian religious identities, characterized by the adoption of new influences from abroad, and a transition from the Ottoman-centered perspective to a broader emphasis on the unity of Muslims.

7.5. Bosnian Muslim Engagements with Modernity

Bosnian Muslim discourses did not merely construct the image of the authentic Muslim woman, but also of the modern European woman. The discourses of conservatives, reformists and revivalists show a noticeable tendency to compare essentialized representations of Muslim women with those of European women. These comparisons served several purposes. In reformist discourses they generally highlighted a convergence between Islamic and modern European values with the aim to emancipate Bosnian Muslims so that they could reach the level of development of other ethno-religious groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Conversely, in conservative discourses these comparisons were mainly aimed at showing moral and cultural superiority of Islam in relation to modern Europe. The revivalists did a bit of both: they highlighted Islam's superiority, and also present Islam as a source of true emancipation (albeit that this had already been achieved in early Islamic history).

These comparisons highlight the crucial role that idealized representations of women played in establishing external boundaries between Muslims and non-Muslims, as well as in reinforcing civilizational hierarchies. At the same time, these representations provide insight into how Bosnian Muslims in the first half of the 20th century, within their

local historical and social context, understood and navigated the contested concepts of modernity, emancipation, and civilizational progress.

Their analysis has shown that both Bosnian Muslim intellectuals and religious scholars adopted and redefined the globally spread notion that the position of women is measure of civilization. This idea—originating in 18th and 19th century European thought and reinforced by colonial discourses to claim the superiority of Western civilization— shaped global debates on women, modernity and civilization. In Bosnia, it became a central element of local modernization projects. The state-led initiatives under Austro-Hungarian rule, monarchist Yugoslavia, and later socialist Yugoslavia set the emancipation of the Muslim woman as an important part of their civilizational and modernization projects.

Rather than passively accepting or outright rejecting this idea, all major intellectual currents among Bosnian Muslim scholars engaged with it critically. While they acknowledged the premise that women's status was linked to civilizational progress, they reinterpreted and redefined its meaning to align with and to express their own perspectives on modernity, civilization and progress.

These dynamic redefinitions present in discourses about Muslim women question ultimately challenge the notion that Bosnian Muslim intellectuals were either passive recipients or outright rejectionists of European ideas. Instead, their discourses reveal a more complex engagements that cannot be reduced to a simple binary of adoption or rejection.

In the Bosnian Muslim reformist discourse, the notion of the close link between civilizational status and the woman's status was adapted to develop a narrative of an Islamic history of decline and to claim a deep gap between true Islam and its historical realization, with the aim of pointing out the need for socio-religious reform based on the restoration of true Islam. The previous chapters have demonstrated that reformist discourses on the woman question do not counterpose modernity and tradition, but present modernity as inherent in the Islamic religious tradition. The reformist discourses do not understand true modernization as an imitation or mere adoption of the ideas and trends of European modernity but as a rediscovery of true Islamic principles through correct and contextual readings of the past. The distinction that reformist discourse made between true and superficial emancipation should be read as an act of active, critical reflection on European modernity. The discourse on women's education in the Habsburg and Yugoslav periods clearly illustrated the reformists' ambivalence towards modern Europe. The education of women within the state school system, modelled after modern European educational institutions, was promoted as the exclusive way to ensure the true emancipation of Muslim woman, and as the most powerful mechanism that can protect her from negative European social trends. This distinction between positive and negative aspects of European

modernity however in no way takes an anti-Western stance as one can find in conservative, and especially revivalist, discourses, which are characterized by the strong critique of European modernity in the name the preservation of Islamic tradition. However, analysis of conservative and revivalist discourses about the woman question demonstrated that even their ideas cannot be reduced to a mere rejection of modern European ideas. Their discursive constructions of the ideal Muslim woman, as well as their discussions about education, work and the unveiling were deeply rooted in the modern idea that the status of women is an indicator of civilization. It is evident that their discourses drew upon the civilizational framework of European origin, which they reshaped to align with their own perspectives. While European narratives used this concept to reinforce the boundary between the advanced and civilized West and barbaric others, conservative and revivalist discourses did not simply reject this notion. Instead, they actively engaged with it to claim the civilizational superiority of Islam, or its self-sufficiency.

Conservative and revivalist authors in Bosnia and Herzegovina, created a dichotomous image of the world in which Muslim woman as the embodiment of true morality is opposed to the modern European woman portrayed as the embodiment of moral decline. These comparisons of Muslim and modern European woman associated with narratives about the close association between civilizational decline and moral degeneration were to point out that modern Europe could not offer a path to true progress. However, as we have seen one should not assume that there was a general consensus regarding the issue of authentic, Islamic path to progress among critics of the European modernity. As we have seen, the emphasis of the conservative '*ulamā*' on the preservation of established institutions and customs, and especially their resistance to the education of Muslim women, were criticized not only by reformists, but also by revivalist scholars. In this context, particularly important are texts on women's education published during the interwar period in the magazine *El-Hidaje*, which presented female education as a crucial element of the social, cultural, and economic progress of Muslims. The notion of the central place of women in social progress was used to criticize the '*ulamā*' of Bosnia and Herzegovina for neglecting education Muslim women and to call for the establishment Islamic educational institutions that were to provide Muslim women with both modern vocational education and religious education, based on authentic Islamic values. Although *El-Hidaje* magazine has not elaborated any concrete plan for establishing such institutions it reveals an effort to conceptualize modernity in Islamic terms.

The analysis of debates on the woman question reveals how Bosnian intellectuals, through a dynamic dialogue with their own tradition, ideas from the broader Muslim world, and central concepts of European modernity, developed diverse and often conflicting visions of Islamic tradition and modernity.

7.6. Contributions and Future Directions

One of the key contributions of this study is its emphasis on the dialogic relationship between local and global discourses. By situating Bosnian Muslim debates within broader global context, I have demonstrated that Bosnian Muslim were active participant in global conversations about Islamic tradition, modernity, authenticity, and identity.

By analysing these debates which extended beyond the discussions about roles and duties of Muslim women I have shown how the Muslim woman question intersected with larger discourses about tradition, modernity and identity. This study underscores the importance of the Muslim woman question, not only in local context but more broadly, as a platform for negotiating broader socio-cultural, political and religious concerns.

This study of diverse Bosnian Muslim discourses on the status and position of Muslim woman has demonstrated how Islamic tradition in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as elsewhere, is open and encompasses diverse interpretations and perspectives. It has shown that discussions about the woman question among Bosnian Muslim intellectuals and religious scholars involved continuous debates and redefinitions regarding the right to independent, rational thinking of foundations of Islam, disagreements about the principles and values of Islam, qualifications necessary to speak about and for Islam, the relationship between Islam and European modernity, and the authentic path to progress.

It has also demonstrated that these discussion and disagreements about the Muslim woman question cannot be reduced to a conflict between secular educated, often portrayed as Westernized, intellectuals and religious scholars, that is to say *'ulamā'*. The analysis of these debates has shown that Bosnian secular intellectuals primarily developed their arguments by relying on the Islamic tradition and that therefore it is not correct to portray them as Westernized. Furthermore, this study challenges the view of Bosnian religious scholars as a closed or monolithic group, revealing instead deep internal divisions and fragmentations.

I concluded this research with the year 1950, which is generally regarded as the beginning of the withdrawal of Islamic discourse from the public sphere and into the framework of Islamic religious institutions. Looking forward, future research could build on this study to examine the extent to which these topics were kept alive in Bosnian religious publications, how they were addressed, and what kind of resonance they had among Bosnian Muslims in socialist Yugoslavia. It could explore how these discussions, once part of the public sphere, were shifted into the confined settings of Islamic institutions and publications as socio-

political and religious developments in socialist Yugoslavia pushed religious discourses exclusively into the confines of religious institutions.⁸⁰⁶

Following the collapse of the communist regime and the establishment of Bosnia and Herzegovina's independence, issues related to Muslim women again became the prominent part of intra-Muslim public discussions. I believe that a useful direction for future research would be the analysis of these discourses in relation to both contemporary global discourses about Muslim women and Bosnian Muslim discourses from the beginning of the 20th century. This would help trace patterns of continuity and change in Islamic thought in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to examine how these discourses interact with global narratives about Muslim women.

806 Besides the historical studies on issues related to Muslim women in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which I have already referenced in my research, some of the recent studies published in the past years, which approach issues related to Bosnian Muslim women from various disciplines are: Zilka Spahić-Šiljak, *Propitivanje ženskih, feminističkih i muslimanskih identiteta: Postsocijalistički konteksti u Bosni i Hercegovini i na Kosovu* (Sarajevo: Centar za interdisciplinarne postdiplomske studije, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, 2012); Andreja Mesarić, "Muslim Women's Dress Practices in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Localizing Islam through Everyday Lived Practice," in *The Revival of Islam in the Balkans: From Identity to Religiosity*, eds. Arolda Elbasani and Oliver Roy (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 103–121; Andreja Mesarić, "Disrupting Boundaries between Traditional and Transnational Islam: Pious Women's Engagement with Islamic Authority in Bosnia-Herzegovina," *Slavic Review* 79, no. 1 (2020): 7–27; Dženita Karić, "Bosnian Women on Hajj," in *Muslim Women's Pilgrimage to Mecca and Beyond: Reconfiguring Gender, Religion, and Mobility*, eds. Marjo Buitelaar, Manja Stephan-Emmrich, and Viola Thimm (London: Routledge, 2021), 147–165; Adis Duderija, "The Concept of a Religiously Ideal Muslim Woman in Two Treatises on the Customs of Bosnian Muslims," *Hawwa* 21, 3 (2023): 213–230; Jelena Gajić, "Education of Muslim Girls During the Interwar Era and Socialist Transformation in Yugoslavia" (PhD diss., Charles University in Prague, 2024).