

# Islamisation in Policy Documents

A digital historical research on migration and integration policies in  
the Netherlands between 1994 and 2006





Master's Thesis

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The artwork on the cover is part of a photoseries that captures the Dutch landscapes through the windows of mosques. 'New Dutch Views is a symbolic portret of his double cultural background which shows that a new Western-Islamic identity is developing.'<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "New Dutch Views," Fotomuseum Den Haag, March 22, 2019, <http://www.fotomuseumdenhaag.nl/nl/tentoonstellingen/new-dutch-views>.

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CDA - Christen-Democratisch Appèl (Dutch Christian democratic party)

CMO - Contactorgaan Moslims en Overheid (Contact institution Muslims and Government)

CU - ChristenUnie, CU (Dutch Christian democratic party)

D66 - Democraten 66, D66 (Dutch social liberal party)

GL - Groenlinks (Dutch green party)

LPF - Lijst Pim Fortuyn (former Dutch right-wing populist party)

PvdA - Partij van de Arbeid (Dutch labour party)

RPF - Reformatorische Politieke Federatie (former Dutch Protestant Christian party)

VVD - Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (Dutch liberal party)

WRR - Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid (Scientific Council for Government Policy)

## Introduction

In 1991, Frits Bolkestein who was the parliamentary leader of the *Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie*, VVD (Dutch liberal party) claimed that immigrants had a negative impact on Dutch society, especially immigrants of Muslim background. Bolkestein presumed that Islamic values were incompatible with western values and called for 'stronger policies to pressure immigrants to integrate into Dutch society and to accept its norms and values'.<sup>2</sup> With his statements Frits Bolkestein criticized the then current integration policy of multiculturalism. So far, migrants were encouraged to maintain their own cultural identity. His claims caused controversy because, until then, criticism of social and cultural problems related to immigration had been associated with radical right views.<sup>3</sup> However, a series of influential events in the following years changed the political landscape drastically and in the early 2000s, Bolkestein's views were more widely shared in the public debate. Both left-wing and right-wing politicians stated that the multicultural society and the integration of immigrants had failed.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, an increasing number of politicians claimed that Islamic norms and values were incompatible with Dutch norms and values. The problem with this claim is that it assigns a singular identity to both Muslims and non-Muslim 'Dutch'; it simplifies their identities, whereas both communities are pluralistic. The claim above is an example of islamisation, a concept that will be explained in more detail below.

This change from a relatively tolerant attitude to a much less tolerant one towards, in particular, immigrants with a Muslim background was caused by a range of influential events. The rise of Pim Fortuyn and his huge electoral success followed by his murder in 2002, played an important role in the public debate. September 11, 2001, had a huge

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<sup>2</sup> Conny Roggeband and Rens Vliegthart, "Divergent Framing: The Public Debate on Migration in the Dutch Parliament and Media, 1995–2004," *West European Politics* 30, no. 3 (May 2007): 524.

<sup>3</sup> Leo Lucassen and Jan Lucassen, "The Strange Death of Dutch Tolerance: The Timing and Nature of the Pessimist Turn in the Dutch Migration Debate," *The Journal of Modern History* 87 (2015): 96; Roggeband and Vliegthart, "Divergent Framing: The Public Debate on Migration in the Dutch Parliament and Media, 1995–2004," 524.

<sup>4</sup> Han Entzinger, "Changing the Rules While the Game Is on: From Multiculturalism to Assimilation in the Netherlands," in *Migration, Citizenship, Ethnos: Incorporation Regimes in Germany, Western Europe and North America*, ed. Michel Bodemann and Gökce Yurdakul (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), 121–44; Roggeband and Vliegthart, "Divergent Framing: The Public Debate on Migration in the Dutch Parliament and Media, 1995–2004"; Erik Snel and Peter Scholten, "Integratie: Van Gastarbeiders Tot Het Multicultureel Drama," in *Moderniteit En Overheidsbeleid. Hardnekkige Beleidsproblemen En Hun Oorzaken*, ed. Maarten Arentsen and Willem Trommel (Bussum: Uitgeverij Cotingo, 2005), 155–83.

impact on the world. This confrontation with terrorism by Muslim fundamentalists had a great impact on people's views worldwide towards Muslims and linked Islam with extreme violence. The murder of film producer Theo van Gogh in 2004 by a Muslim fundamentalist caused a lot of protest and violent reactions towards Muslim immigrants and reinforced the growing perception that Muslims were reluctant to integrate and accept national values.<sup>5</sup> Instead of only being identified with the failure of integration, Islam was also identified with extremist violence, as a result of these events.<sup>6</sup>

The majority of Muslims in the Netherlands is of Turkish and Moroccan background. In the 1960s the first Turkish and Moroccan migrant workers came to the Netherlands and because many of them stayed, a process of family reunification started around the mid 1970s. According to scholars Ruud Peters and Sipco Vellenga, the migration and integration debates focus almost exclusively on Islam, while Muslims only constitute about 60 percent of all immigrants of non-Western origin.<sup>7</sup> This is remarkable, because many Dutch people, having a Turkish or Moroccan background, identify themselves as Muslim, but many hardly practice their religion in the sense of rituals such as prayers and mosque visits. Islam is part of their background and identity, but they are often not strictly religious.<sup>8</sup> Muslims are referred to in different ways in the Netherlands. When the term Muslim(s) is used in this study it refers to communities that are largely of migrant background, but also second and third generation Muslims of migrant background are included. Furthermore, Muslims that consider Islam as part of their cultural background, but do not identify with other aspects of Islam are included. In order to indicate a community that is as inclusive as possible and to align with the use of language in the public and scholarly debates, the term Muslims is used in this study.

A significant amount of research has been conducted on the changing attitudes in the public debate in the period 1994 – 2006, towards immigrants, on criticism of Islam and on the changing course of integration policies. Less research, however, has been done

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<sup>5</sup> Roggeband and Vliegthart, "Divergent Framing: The Public Debate on Migration in the Dutch Parliament and Media, 1995–2004," 525.

<sup>6</sup> Ruud Peters and Sipco Vellenga, "Contested Tolerance: Public Discourse in the Netherlands on Muslim Migrants," in *Konfliktfeld Islam in Europa*, ed. Monika Wohlrab-Sahr and Levent Tezcan, vol. 17, *Soziale Welt* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2007), 229.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 223.

<sup>8</sup> Dick Douwes, Martijn de Koning, and Welmoet Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press Salomé, 2005), 13,14.

on the contents of migration and integration policy documents with regard to Muslims during that period.

This study focuses on the contents of the integration policy documents that were developed in that period and on finding answers to the central question: To what extent did Dutch parliamentary policy documents contribute to the 'islamisation' of the migration and integration debates in the Netherlands in the period 1994-2006?

In the public debate islamisation is mostly defined as the increasing influence of Islamic religion, culture and law in society or even the process of transforming society to the Islamic religion, law and culture.<sup>9</sup> In this study, however, the definition of islamisation is not based on this first meaning of islamisation but on the meaning of the islamisation of the public debate. The public debate takes place in different spaces, for example in mass media, public gatherings and parliament, but also on the street.<sup>10</sup> Scholars Conny Roggeband and Rens Vliegthart argue that within these spaces, different actors define how to look at specific issues and problems, but also which issues and problems require our attention. The two most central spaces are the media area and political area.<sup>11</sup> The focus in this study is therefore on the media and political areas of the public debate.

The definition of islamisation that is adhered to in this research is based on three aspects. The first aspect is identifying Muslims mainly through their religion<sup>12</sup>, the second

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<sup>9</sup> Pim Fortuyn, *Tegen de Islamisering van Onze Cultuur. Nederlandse Identiteit Als Fundament*. (Amsterdam: Bruna, 1997); Frits Bolkestein, "Integratie van Minderheden Moet Met Lef Worden Aangepakt," *De Volkskrant*, September 12, 1991; Cherribi Oussama, "The Growing Islamization of Europe," in *Modernizing Islam. Religion in the Public Sphere in Europe and the Middle East*, ed. John L. Esposito and François Burgat (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 193–214; John L. Esposito, "Introduction: Modernizing Islam and Re-Islamization in Global Perspective," in *Modernizing Islam: Religion in the Public Sphere in Europe and the Middle East*, ed. John L. Esposito and François Burgat (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 1–14; Geert Wilders, De paus heeft volkomen gelijk, *de Volkskrant*, October 7, 2006, <https://www.volkskrant.nl/gs-bc5024962>; Bat Ye'or, *Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis* (Vancouver: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2005).

<sup>10</sup> Roggeband and Vliegthart, "Divergent Framing: The Public Debate on Migration in the Dutch Parliament and Media, 1995–2004," 525.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Sipco J. Vellenga, "Huntington in Holland: The Public Debate on Muslim Immigrants in the Netherlands," *Nordic Journal of Religion and Society* 21, no. 1 (2008): 21–41; Peters and Vellenga, "Contested Tolerance"; Thijl Sunier, "Interests, Identities, and the Public Sphere: Representing Islam in the Netherlands since the 1980s," in *European Muslims and the Secular State*, ed. Jocelyne Cesari and Sean McLoughlin (London, New York: Routledge, 2016), 85–98; Jan Rath and Thijl Sunier, "Angst Voor de Islam in Nederland," in *Kritiek. Jaarboek Voor Socialistische Discussie En Analyse*, ed. Wim Bot, Marcel van der Linden, and Robert Went (Utrecht: Stichting Toestanden, 1993), 53–62.

is identifying Islam as a problem<sup>13</sup> and the third is generalising Muslims<sup>14</sup>. In the first chapter the concept of islamisation will be explained in detail. Furthermore, other key theoretical concepts and the methodology will be treated in chapter one.

This study attempts to complement the discourse on migration and integration in the Netherlands in the period 1994-2006. An overview of the relevant research of this discourse will be discussed in chapter two.

In order to answer the central question, it is important to describe the context in which the islamisation of the migration and integration debates took place. In the third chapter, this context is exposed by discussing developments and incidents that may have contributed to the islamisation of the debates. The question that will be answered in this chapter is: What developments and incidents have influenced the public debate with regard to migration and integration of Muslims?

Additionally, it is important to analyse the contents of migration and integration policy documents concerning migrants. Two methodological approaches will be used to analyse the contents of the policies: close reading and distant reading. Close reading is the precise study of selected texts and distant reading the algorithmic analysis of a series of texts.<sup>15</sup> The exact functioning of these approaches will be explained in the method section of chapter one. Four questions are important in relation to the contents of these policies. The first two questions are: How often did the government and policymakers refer to Muslims in migration and integration policy documents in the period 1994-2006? What were the themes related to Muslims in migration and integration policy documents in the period under regard? These two questions will be addressed in the fourth chapter, which focuses on the distant reading analysis of the research.

The third and fourth question concerning the contents of the policies are: In which ways did the government and policymakers refer to migrants of Muslim background in

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<sup>13</sup> Martijn de Koning, "'You Need to Present a Counter-Message' The Racialisation of Dutch Muslims and Anti-Islamophobia Initiatives," *Journal of Muslims in Europe* 5, no. 2 (2016): 170–89; Sunier, "Interests, Identities, and the Public Sphere: Representing Islam in the Netherlands since the 1980s"; Rath and Sunier, "Angst Voor de Islam in Nederland."

<sup>14</sup> Peters and Vellenga, "Contested Tolerance"; de Koning, "'You Need to Present a Counter-Message' The Racialisation of Dutch Muslims and Anti-Islamophobia Initiatives"; Sunier, "Interests, Identities, and the Public Sphere: Representing Islam in the Netherlands since the 1980s"; Rath and Sunier, "Angst Voor de Islam in Nederland."

<sup>15</sup> Maurice Erb, Simon Ganahl, and Patrick Kilian, "Distant Reading and Discourse Analysis," *Le Foucauldien* 2, no. 1 (2016): 3.



migration and integration policy documents in the period 1994-2006? To what extent did the government and policymakers create or conduct specific policies for migrants of Muslim background in the period under regard? These questions will be addressed in the fifth chapter, which contains the close reading analysis.

### Periodisation

The research covers integration policy between 1994 and 2006. The choice for the demarcation is based on, on the one hand, the formation of a new coalition of *Partij van de Arbeid*, PvdA (Dutch labour party), *Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie*, VVD (Dutch liberal party) and *Democraten 66*, D66 (Dutch social liberal party) in 1994, the so-called 'purple' coalition, and on the other hand, the fall of the cabinet of *Christen-Democratisch Appèl*, CDA (Dutch Christian democratic party), VVD and D66 in 2006. In 1994, the CDA, who were in favour of 'pillarisation' and multiculturalism, lost their place in the coalition after seventeen years in cabinet. Pillarisation means that each religious or ideological community was allowed to set up their own institutions, partly paid for by the state.<sup>16</sup> Under the new coalition, of PvdA, VVD and D66, a transformation took place from respecting cultural diversity to promoting social participation. Minorities policies became integration policy. Culture was considered a private affair and the focus was no longer on the community but on the individual.<sup>17</sup> After eight years opposition, the CDA came back in 2003 and instead of a multiculturalist policy they now promoted assimilation.<sup>18</sup> The cabinet of CDA, VVD and D66 fell in 2006, after a term of three years. The reason for the fall of the cabinet was the departure of the Democrats. During their term, illegal immigration was tackled and both family reunification and asylum seeker policy became stricter. In short, between 1994 and 2006 important changes regarding the attitudes towards the goals of migration and integration policies took place. This period is therefore central to this research.

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<sup>16</sup> Entzinger, "Changing the Rules While the Game Is on: From Multiculturalism to Assimilation in the Netherlands," 3.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 9,10.

# 1. Theory and Method

In this chapter the main theory and method are discussed and defined. The first subchapter focuses on the theoretical concepts and the second on the method.

## 1.1 Theoretical concepts

The theoretical concepts that are central to this research are: islamisation, policy framework, multiculturalism, assimilation, *allochtoon* and minority. Islamisation is the main concept and will therefore be treated first. Policy frameworks can be seen as glasses through which integration policies were viewed and evaluated. It is therefore important to expose the kind of policy frameworks that were central in the period 1994-2006. Additionally, the concepts multiculturalism and assimilation, in this research, refer to integration strategies and are extensively used concepts in the policies of the period under regard. Finally, *allochtoon* and minority are important concepts, because they define certain communities that are the focus of integration policies.

As mentioned in the introduction, the definition of islamisation that is adhered to in this study is based on identifying Muslims mainly through their religion, identifying Islam as a problem and generalising Muslims. These aspects are explained in detail below.

Scholar Sipco Vellenga argues that in the public debate immigrant cultures were ‘increasingly identified through their religion’<sup>19</sup>, especially through Islam. He said that the way of life of immigrants was mainly seen as a product of their Islamic religion. Immigrants’ efforts to build a life that consisted of aspects of their original culture combined with aspects of the Dutch culture were neglected.<sup>20</sup> Vellenga called this phenomenon the ‘islamisation’ of the public debate.<sup>21</sup> The position of migrants is the result of a complicated interaction of political, economic, cultural, social and ideological aspects.<sup>22</sup> However, most attention was directed to Islam as an explanation for the position of Muslims.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, according to Thijl Sunier, the islamisation of the public debate led to the ‘narrowed’ perception that “when one wants to know what goes on in

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<sup>19</sup> Vellenga, “Huntington in Holland: The Public Debate on Muslim Immigrants in the Netherlands,” 29.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Rath and Sunier, “Angst Voor de Islam in Nederland,” 56.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

the head of a Muslim, then one should study Islam".<sup>24</sup> Ruud Peters and Vellenga remark another development. Moroccan and Turkish migrants were less and less identified with the rural cultures of the Moroccan Rif and Anatolia, which were the areas where the largest part of the Muslim migrants originated from. Instead the migrants were increasingly identified with Islamic culture.<sup>25</sup> Peters and Vellenga further argue that at the end of the 1990s 'talking about integration had become talking about Islam'<sup>26</sup>. This had not been the case until then.

According to Jan Rath and Thijl Sunier, in the public discourse certain communities or 'categories' of people are problematised in Dutch society. The presence of these communities, so it is presumed, disrupts the normal functioning of society.<sup>27</sup> Rath and Sunier argue that one of these communities is the Muslim community.<sup>28</sup> As a result of the criticism and focus on Islam in the public debate in the 1990s, a certain image of Islam became established. Islam was increasingly seen as the dominant factor in the perceived social and behavioural problems of Muslims.<sup>29</sup> Aspects that repeatedly occur in the problematised image of Islam are, first of all, the claim that Islam is an impediment to the emancipation of women and homosexuals. Secondly, it is assumed that Islam is undemocratic, because it does not acknowledge a separation between church and state.<sup>30</sup> According to Martijn de Koning, islamisation is 'the identification of Islam as a problem, which threatens the secular Judeo-Christian traditions of Dutch society.'<sup>31</sup> He argues that this stems from the ideal vision that the identity of Dutch society is based on secular freedoms and that these freedoms should be defended against 'not-modern' and 'anti-modern' religions.<sup>32</sup> Women wearing headscarves, mosques, or other visible expressions

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<sup>24</sup> Sunier, "Interests, Identities, and the Public Sphere: Representing Islam in the Netherlands since the 1980s," 89,90.

<sup>25</sup> Peters and Vellenga, "Contested Tolerance," 228.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>27</sup> Rath and Sunier, "Angst Voor de Islam in Nederland," 56.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>29</sup> Sunier, "Interests, Identities, and the Public Sphere: Representing Islam in the Netherlands since the 1980s," 89.

<sup>30</sup> Peters and Vellenga, "Contested Tolerance," 229.

<sup>31</sup> de Koning, "'You Need to Present a Counter-Message' The Racialisation of Dutch Muslims and Anti-Islamophobia Initiatives," 188.

<sup>32</sup> Willem Schinkel and Friso Van Houdt, "The Double Helix of Cultural Assimilationism and Neo-Liberalism: Citizenship in Contemporary Governmentality," *The British Journal of Sociology* 61, no. 4 (n.d.): 696–715; de Koning, "'You Need to Present a Counter-Message' The Racialisation of Dutch Muslims and Anti-Islamophobia Initiatives," 178.

of the Islamic religion were seen as strongly opposing the identity of Dutch society.<sup>33</sup> This ideal was strongly emphasized in the late 1990s and politicians like Pim Fortuyn stressed that Islam was incompatible with democracy and Dutch identity. De Koning argues that islamisation transformed Muslims, who are a religiously diverse community, into a separate and exceptional community of people who are problematised in the public debate.<sup>34</sup> This statement relates to the next aspect of islamisation, as it involves generalising Muslims as well as problematising them.

According to Rath and Sunier, concepts like minorities, *allochtonen* and Muslims, as well as minority culture and Muslim culture are used interchangeably as if they are the same.<sup>35</sup> Rath and Sunier argue that this is problematic, because firstly, members of ethnic minorities include also for example numerous Hindu's and Christians and secondly, not all Muslims in the Netherlands are seen as ethnic minorities.<sup>36</sup> Sunier argues that in the public debate and in government policies, migrants initially were referred to as 'Turks', or 'Moroccans'.<sup>37</sup> In the 1990s, however, migrants were increasingly generalised as 'Muslims'.<sup>38</sup> People with completely different backgrounds were bundled together under 'Muslim culture'.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, according to Peters and Vellenga, around forty percent of the migrants from non-Western countries, who did not come from Muslim countries, were ignored.<sup>40</sup>

Sunier argues that the two islamisation aspects 'identifying Muslims mainly through their religion' and 'identifying Islam as a problem' were not found explicitly in official documents.<sup>41</sup> He continues by stating that these ideas were, however, propagated in newspapers and magazines and that they had a great deal of influence on political practice.<sup>42</sup> It is certain that islamisation takes place in the public debate, the question is

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<sup>33</sup> de Koning, "'You Need to Present a Counter-Message' The Racialisation of Dutch Muslims and Anti-Islamophobia Initiatives," 178.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 179.

<sup>35</sup> Rath and Sunier, "Angst Voor de Islam in Nederland," 56.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Sunier, "Interests, Identities, and the Public Sphere: Representing Islam in the Netherlands since the 1980s," 90.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Rath and Sunier, "Angst Voor de Islam in Nederland," 55.

<sup>40</sup> Peters and Vellenga, "Contested Tolerance," 228.

<sup>41</sup> Sunier, "Interests, Identities, and the Public Sphere: Representing Islam in the Netherlands since the 1980s," 90.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

whether there is also islamisation in policy documents. That will be investigated in this study.

Besides islamisation, policy framework is one of the key concepts used in this study. Erik Snel and Peter Scholten argue that integration is a complex problem because it is constantly changing character. However, they add that it is not the problem that is changing character, but the normative perception, through which the problem is viewed and interpreted, is changing. Snel and Scholten call this phenomenon shifting policy frameworks.<sup>43</sup> They define policy framework as the whole of normative perceptions from which politicians and policymakers view the reality of a particular policy field.<sup>44</sup> Snel and Scholten state that 'it is precisely because of certain problem perceptions or 'frameworks', that certain factual developments are emphasised in the public debate and government policies.'<sup>45</sup> 'Facts' that do not correspond to the prevailing problem perceptions or 'frameworks' are often not visible or even neglected.<sup>46</sup> The policy framework thus largely determines the interpretation of the problem and the possible solutions, and thereby, serves as a base for the making and executing of policies.<sup>47</sup> The same definition of policy framework will be referred to in this research.

In addition to the difference between actual developments and problem perceptions, the lack of continuity in the policy frameworks also made the integration problem a persistent policy controversy.<sup>48</sup> The effect of constantly changing frameworks, was confusion and disagreement about the perceived problem and the policy perspective that had to be chosen. Another consequence of the fast changing of policy frameworks was that certain conclusions were drawn that said that the chosen policies had failed. This can be explained by the fact that policies, based on one framework, can have consequences that are perceived as undesirable in another framework.<sup>49</sup> Politicians, policymakers and the public constantly changed their opinion on solutions to the integration issue, but also on the nature of the problem. Moreover, integration is itself an

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<sup>43</sup> Snel and Scholten, "Integratie: Van Gastarbeiders Tot Het Multicultureel Drama," 155,156.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 156.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 156.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 167.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

‘essentially contested concept’<sup>50</sup>, meaning that it is a concept that everyone has their own interpretation of, based on their normative view.

Snel and Scholten divide the history of Dutch integration policies from the 1960s until mid-2000s in four successive policy frameworks: return thinking (1960s and 1970s), integration while retaining one’s own culture (1980s), socio-economic participation (1990s) and socio-cultural adjustment (after 2000).<sup>51</sup> For the analysis of the policy documents the two last policy frameworks are central in this research. The two first policy frameworks will be mentioned and briefly discussed, because they had a big influence on the successive policy frameworks and because developments are not limited to one framework.

In contrast to the policy frameworks, the public debate focuses mainly on social and cultural issues. Within the debate two opposite positions were dominant: multiculturalism and assimilation. Han Entzinger defines multiculturalism in the sense of policy measures. He states that multiculturalist policies aim at a successful collaboration between institutional integration and preservation of the original cultural identity. Respect for cultural diversity is often portrayed as a characteristic of multiculturalism.<sup>52</sup> Entzinger argues that in the 1980s the term multiculturalist was not commonly used, but that it can be called multiculturalist in hindsight.<sup>53</sup> Although Entzinger draws a line between multiculturalist minorities policies and pillarisation. Under the system of pillarisation in the Netherlands, different religious and ideological communities had their own institutional arrangements, largely paid for by the government and policymakers. Within such a system the state could remain neutral, because it was obliged to treat all communities the same.<sup>54</sup> Since the late 1960s pillarisation started to crumble, partly as a result of secularisation and collective schooling. However, the majority of the policymakers believed that this would still work for immigrants, because they were perceived as fundamentally different. Multiculturalist policies thus use ethnicity as a basis for differential policy making.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 167–72.

<sup>52</sup> Entzinger, “Changing the Rules While the Game Is on: From Multiculturalism to Assimilation in the Netherlands,” 6,11.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 4.

Assimilation is also defined in terms of policy in this study. According to John Schuster assimilation is defined as the 'social process in which people with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds adapt to the dominant society and culture.'<sup>56</sup> In migration research and politics, assimilation is used by some to indicate the total process of inclusion of immigrants. By others it is used to indicate the final stage of the assimilative process. In the 1970s and 1980s the term assimilation was controversial because it was associated with the pressure of national states on immigrants to give up their own culture and completely adapt to the dominant culture. For a while the term was barely used in scholarly and political literature.<sup>57</sup> However, in the early 2000s the term had gained popularity and was extensively used. Schuster states that assimilation refers to a continuously process of nation building, the aspiration for cultural and racial homogeneity and the rejection of everything that is not covered by this. Additionally, he says that assimilation or non-assimilation is a matter of the construction of differences and commonalities between immigrants and the dominant population.<sup>58</sup> In 2010, twenty years after the work of Schuster, Frans Verhagen gives a definition of assimilation based on the definition by the sociologist Robert Ezra Park. He argues that the essence of assimilation is that it is a process of mutual influencing, that he calls interpenetration, and mixing, in which different communities acquire each other's memories, sentiments and attitudes. By sharing their experiences and history they achieve a common cooperative society.<sup>59</sup> Verhagen thus emphasizes the mutual influence that immigrants and the dominant population have on each other: a smaller community becomes part of a bigger community and in the process transforms to a new community. Like Schuster he does mention the negative connotation that assimilation has got and he claims that the new term for the same process is integration.<sup>60</sup>

Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, different terms were used to refer to immigrants: around the mid 1990s the term immigrants was used, in the late 1990s *allochtonen*, in the

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<sup>56</sup> John Schuster, *Poortwachters over Immigranten : Het Debat over Immigratie in Het Naoorlogse Groot-Brittannië En Nederland* (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1999), 236.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 237,238.

<sup>59</sup> Frans Verhagen, *Hoezo Mislukt? De Nuchtere Feiten over de Integratie in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Nieuw Amsterdam Uitgevers, 2010), 205.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

early 2000s ethnic minorities and after 2006 ‘newcomers’.<sup>61</sup> For this research it is important to define the two concepts *allochtoon* and minority, because these concepts were used extensively in the public debate and policy documents in the period under regard.

*Allochtoon* is translated to immigrant in English, however, it has a different meaning. Multiple scholars have conducted research into the concept *allochtoon* and its counterpart *autochtoon*, such as Hilda Verweij-Jonker, Dvora Yanow, Marleen van der Haar, Sanne Boersma and Willem Schinkel, to name just a few.<sup>62</sup> The concept *allochtoon* categorizes people as ‘of foreign origin’, in contrast to *autochtoon*, that categorizes people as ‘native’ or ‘indigenous’.<sup>63</sup> Within the category *allochtoon*, a distinction is made between western and non-western people. This categorising takes place in policies, politics, debates, and more in general in discourses about belonging, migration and integration. The category *allochtoon* is not consistent, because both people that are perceived as being culturally different, because of birthplace and kinship, and people that have at least one parent born outside the Netherlands, are categorised as *allochtoon*.<sup>64</sup> Even though *allochtoon* does not exclusively relate to Muslims, they have become ‘typical *allochtonen*’ in the Netherlands.<sup>65</sup>

In the new millennium the term *allochtoon* was replaced with ethnic minorities. Raymond Grew states that minority is a loaded concept and that the meaning given to it

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<sup>61</sup> A. Oosterwaal, “Polarisatie in de Nederlandse samenleving en politiek: het integratiebeleid,” *Mens en Maatschappij* 84, no. 4 (2009): 378.

<sup>62</sup> Carlo van Praag, Boudewijn Surie, and Hans van Amersfoort, *Allochtonen in Nederland. Beschouwingen over de: Grepatrieerden, Ambonezen, Surinamers, Antillianen, buitenlandse werknemers, Chinezen, vluchtelingen, buitenlandse studenten in onze samenleving.*, ed. Hilda. Verwey-Jonker ([S’-Gravenhage]: [Staatsuitgeverij], 1971); Marleen van der Haar and Dvora Yanow, “Allochtoon Als Metafoor En Categorie. Over de Handelingsimplicaties van Beleidstaal,” *Beleid En Maatschappij* 38 (2011): 160–78; Dvora Yanow and Marleen van der Haar, “People out of Place: Allochthony and Autochthony in the Netherlands’ Identity Discourse — Metaphors and Categories in Action,” *Journal of International Relations and Development* 16, no. 2 (2013): 227–61; Sanne Boersma and Willem Schinkel, “Imagining Society: Logics of Visualization in Images of Immigrant Integration,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 33, no. 6 (2015): 1043–62.

<sup>63</sup> Yanow and Haar, “People out of Place”; Haar and Yanow, “Allochtoon Als Metafoor En Categorie. Over de Handelingsimplicaties van Beleidstaal”; Boersma and Schinkel, “Imagining Society”; de Koning, “‘You Need to Present a Counter-Message’ The Racialisation of Dutch Muslims and Anti-Islamophobia Initiatives.”

<sup>64</sup> de Koning, “‘You Need to Present a Counter-Message’ The Racialisation of Dutch Muslims and Anti-Islamophobia Initiatives,” 177.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.



is always culture-bound.<sup>66</sup> Grew further argues that ‘the construction of a minority often starts from the claim that the society as a whole shares values and loyalties that others, who are nevertheless part of the polity, do not.’<sup>67</sup> This means that a community, that is considered to be a minority, must be an essential part of the larger society, but at the same time be excluded of its socio-political core. Subsequently, the minority lacks access to status and power that is considered normal.<sup>68</sup> The significance of the minority status depends on the characteristic(s) that are perceived as distinctive. In the case of migrants, and specifically migrants of Muslim background, the characteristic that plays a central role is religion. Religion even overshadows other minority characteristics, such as race, ethnicity and region. Grew argues that the concept of minority is ambivalent. It is negative because it ‘identifies a group in terms of its vulnerability in relation to a majority that threatens to oppress or reject it.’<sup>69</sup> By contrast it is positive because of its ‘recognition of a group’s cultural or moral value, which must be affirmed, or recognized, or protected.’<sup>70</sup>

## 1.2 Method

This research is based in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). A prominent scholar in the field of CDA is Teun van Dijk. According to van Dijk, CDA is discourse analytical research that focuses on how ‘social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.’<sup>71</sup> Van Dijk argues that CDA is not a specific method to do discourse analysis, but that in CDA different methods of cross-discipline discourse studies, or other relevant methods in the humanities and social sciences, can be used.<sup>72</sup> Three other important scholars in CDA are Norman Fairclough, Jane Mulderrig and Ruth Wodak. They argue that CDA sees discourse as a social practice: discourse is both socially shaped and socially constitutive in the way

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<sup>66</sup> Raymond Grew, “Introduction,” in *The Construction of Minorities: Cases for Comparison across Time and around the World*, ed. André Burguière and Raymond Grew (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 1,2.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Teun A. van Dijk, “Critical Discourse Analysis,” in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, ed. Deborah Tannen, Heidi Ehernberger Hamilton, and Deborah Schiffrin (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 466.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

that it is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, but also constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, identities and relationships between people.<sup>73</sup>

Fairclough argues that there are three properties that CDA usually meets. Firstly, besides analysis of discourse, CDA is a form of interdisciplinary analysis of relations between discourse and other aspects of social processes. Secondly, CDA is not solely a commentary on discourse, but it involves some form of analysis of text. Finally, CDA is both descriptive and normative, because it addresses social wrongs in discourse and possibly provides ways of mitigating them.<sup>74</sup>

The sources will be analysed using a close reading and distant reading method. The traditional method in literary criticism is the close reading of texts, which is the precise study of selected texts.<sup>75</sup> This method was developed in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Distant reading, or the algorithmic analysis of series of texts, is a relatively new method. Historian Franco Moretti invented the concept and introduced the distant reading method at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>76</sup> In 2005 he published a book, *Graphs, Maps and Trees*, in which he invites 'to count, to graph and to map or, in other words, to visualize texts', instead of the traditional close reading of texts.<sup>77</sup>

Scholars Stefan Jänicke, Greta Franzini, Muhammad Faisal Cheema and Gerik Scheuermann argue that through close reading, the development and interaction of individuals, events and ideas are analysed, as well as words and phrases, text structure and style, and argument patterns. The aim of distant reading, contrarily, is to create an abstract view 'by shifting from observing textual content to visualizing global features of a single or of multiple text(s)'.<sup>78</sup> Moretti states that the trouble with close reading is that it depends on an extremely small canon and if you want to look beyond the canon, close reading will not suffice.<sup>79</sup> He argues that distant reading allows the researcher to focus on

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<sup>73</sup> Norman Fairclough, Jane Mulderrig, and Ruth Wodak, "Critical Discourse Analysis," in *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2011), 357,358.

<sup>74</sup> Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 10,11.

<sup>75</sup> Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," *Culture: Critical Concepts in Sociology* 1 (1973): 173–96.

<sup>76</sup> Stefan Jänicke et al., "On Close and Distant Reading in Digital Humanities: A Survey and Future Challenges," 2015, 2.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>79</sup> Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading* (Verso Books, 2013), 48.

parts that are much smaller or larger than the text, for example devices, themes or genres.<sup>80</sup>

Humanities' scholars and computer scientists do not seem to have a lot in common, according to Jänicke et al. They state that, while sharing similar logical and analytical methods, they have different goals: 'computer scientists tend towards problem solving, humanities scholars towards knowledge acquisition and dissemination.'<sup>81</sup> Nevertheless, they add that the digital age created a platform that brought these two areas together: the digital humanities.<sup>82</sup> New digital methods have made it possible to analyse large amounts of text. In this study this relatively new field of research has also been included.

According to Jänicke et al., the method and intention of distant reading is controversial in the humanities.<sup>83</sup> Common criticism on Moretti is that he does not report on the digital practice and algorithms he uses in his research.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, Maurice Erb, Simon Ganahl and Patrick Kilian state that even though Moretti claims to oppose close reading, his key achievements lie in the close reading of the diagrams and visualisations.<sup>85</sup> Nonetheless, Moretti's ideas have been used in many works in the digital humanities. Jänicke et al. argue that because of the importance for literary scholars to have direct access to the source text, distant reading is often combined with close reading.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, scholars Katharina Coles and Julie Gonnering Lein argue that visualisations of distant reading cannot replace close reading, but rather direct the reader to parts of the text that possibly require more investigation<sup>87</sup>, which is exactly the approach that has been used in this study.

In this study a top down approach is being used, in which the connection between close and distant reading is achieved by zooming. This means that first, through the visualisation of distant reading results, a structural overview of possible continuities, changes and developments in policy documents regarding migration and integration of

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>81</sup> Jänicke et al., "On Close and Distant Reading in Digital Humanities: A Survey and Future Challenges," 15.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Katherine Coles and Julie Gonnering Lein, "Solitary Mind, Collaborative Mind: Close Reading and Interdisciplinary Research," in *Proceedings of the Digital Humanities* (Digital Humanities 2013, Lincoln, 2013).

<sup>84</sup> Erb, Ganahl, and Kilian, "Distant Reading and Discourse Analysis," 5.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Jänicke et al., "On Close and Distant Reading in Digital Humanities: A Survey and Future Challenges," 10.

<sup>87</sup> Coles and Lein, "Solitary Mind, Collaborative Mind."

Muslims is shown. Then by zooming in, the close reading of specific texts is enabled and policies, or initiatives involving these communities are analysed.

### *Selection of primary sources*

The sources that were used for this research are policy documents regarding migration and integration of Muslims, from the period of 1994-2006, from the Second Chamber and the United Assembly. The United Assembly consists of the First and Second Chamber. Documents included are chamber pieces, chamber questions with answers, and acts. Chamber pieces are documents that were exchanged between the Dutch government and Dutch parliament. Chamber questions with answers are written questions from chamber members directed at the government, which means a responsible minister or state secretary. The questions and answers are published as the so-called *Aanhangsels bij de Handelingen*: appendixes to the acts. Acts are the official verbatim reports from the plenary meetings of the First and Second Chamber.<sup>88</sup> Documents that were not taken into account are schedules and chamber questions without answers.

The documents have been obtained from two government archives: the current archive, *Officiële Bekendmakingen*<sup>89</sup>, which includes parliamentary documents from 1995 onwards, and the previous archive, *Staten-Generaal Digitaal*<sup>90</sup>, which contains parliamentary documents from the period 1814 until 1995.

A pre-selection was made to include only the documents that relate to migration and integration. The details of the pre-selection are explained in chapter 4. From this corpus of documents related to migration and integration, the sources for the distant reading approach were selected based on the keywords *islam\** and *moslim\**, respectively *Islam\** and *Muslim\**. The reason for the use of these keywords is that policy documents, regarding Muslims, would in most cases include, at least once, a reference to either Islam or Muslim. Furthermore, the use of the typography symbol '\*' ensures that all different forms of Islam and Muslim are included in the search, for example *islamitisch*, *islamisme*, *moslimgemeenschap*, *moslimjongeren*, and *moslimorganisaties* (respectively Islamic, Islamism, Muslim community, Muslim youth and Muslim organisations).

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<sup>88</sup> "Zoeken in de Parlementaire Documenten | Overheid.NL," accessed July 8, 2018, <https://www.overheid.nl/help/officiële-bekendmakingen/zoeken-in-de-parlementaire-documenten/>.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> "Staten-Generaal Digitaal," accessed July 8, 2018, <https://www.statengeneraaldigitaal.nl/>.

When the double documents were filtered out, which included both the keyword Islam and Muslim, the total number of documents that related to migration and integration and also encompassed a reference to Islam or Muslim was 378. From this number, 369 documents originate from the archive *Officiële Bekendmakingen*, for the period 1995-2006, and 9 documents from the archive *Staten-Generaal Digitaal*, for the year 1994.

The distant reading analysis is based on two aspects: trends<sup>91</sup> and corpus collocates<sup>92</sup>. Trends is a visualisation that shows the frequencies of terms across documents in a corpus. In this research the frequency of the keywords Islam and Muslim are represented per year, because this provides a clear overview of continuation, or change in the number of references of keywords over the entire research period. However, the focus on frequencies of keywords result into too large amounts of data to research in depth, and therefore, the next step must be the analysis of keywords and their collocates. Collocates are words that tend to co-occur with the keyword.<sup>93</sup> According to scholars Douglas Biber, Susan Conrad and Randi Reppen, 'there is a strong tendency for each collocate of a word to be associated with a single sense or meaning'<sup>94</sup>. Investigating the most common collocates of a keyword can thus be an effective method to begin analysing the meaning and use of the keyword.

For the distant reading approaches an online data analysis tool is used: *Voyant Tools*.<sup>95</sup> *Voyant Tools* is a text analysis and visualisation tool created by Stéfán Sinclair and Geoffrey Rockwell. Multiple scholars argue that this is an excellent online tool that can handle large amounts of texts, it is easy to use (compared to complicated programming tools) and it is specialised in analysing word frequencies and co-occurrence of words.<sup>96</sup> The tool *OutWit Hub pro*<sup>97</sup>, a digital data and media collecting and organizing tool is used for *Voyant Tools* to read and analyse the 378 documents. This tool makes it possible to

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<sup>91</sup> "Trends - Voyant Tools Help," accessed July 19, 2018, <https://voyant-tools.org/docs/#!/guide/trends>.

<sup>92</sup> "Corpus Collocates - Voyant Tools Help," accessed July 8, 2018, <https://voyant-tools.org/docs/#!/guide/corpuscollocates>.

<sup>93</sup> Matthew L. Jockers, *Macroanalysis: Digital Methods and Literary History* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 121.

<sup>94</sup> Douglas Biber, Susan Conrad, and Randi Reppen, *Corpus Linguistics: Investigating Language Structure and Use* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 35,36.

<sup>95</sup> "Voyant Tools," accessed July 8, 2018, <https://voyant-tools.org/>.

<sup>96</sup> See for example: Jockers, *Macroanalysis*, 15,18; Megan E. Welsh, "Review of Voyant Tools," *Collaborative Librarianship* 6, no. 2 (2014): 96-97.

<sup>97</sup> "OutWit Hub - Find, Grab and Organize All Kinds of Data and Media from Online Sources.," accessed July 8, 2018, <https://www.outwit.com/products/hub/>.

retrieve all the text from the policy documents in order for *Voyant Tools* to read it, which will be further referred to as text scraping. In the fourth chapter distant reading, text scraping and online data analysis are explained in more detail.

The close reading approach is based on the thorough analysis of a selection of documents. Scholars Viktor Mayer-Schönberger and Kenneth Cukier argue that purposeful creating a sample that is representative of a whole results in huge errors and that the key to avoid such errors is to strive for random sampling.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, statisticians have shown that random samples provide more precise results, than for example increasing the sample size.<sup>99</sup> Mayer-Schönberger and Cukier do, however, argue that even though random sampling has been successful and leading in large scale modern measurement, it is only 'a second-best alternative to collecting and analysing the full dataset.'<sup>100</sup> Nonetheless, the number of 378 documents is too much to analyse within the allotted timeframe of the research. Therefore, the decision was made to apply random sampling in the close reading approach.

One document was selected for each year, using random sampling, except for the years 2004 and 2006. The number of documents from 2004 and 2006, with a reference to Islam, Muslim or both, almost doubled compared to the other years. Therefore, two documents from these years were analysed, instead of one. Thus, the total amount of documents that were analysed by close reading was fifteen. The exact functioning of random sampling will be explained in chapter 5.

The results of the distant reading and close reading method have been compared and combined and together they embody the basis of this study.

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<sup>98</sup> Viktor Mayer-Schönberger and Kenneth Cukier, *Big Data: A Revolution That Will Transform How We Live, Work, and Think* (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013), 60.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 64.

## 2. Historiography

In recent decades, a lot has been written on migration and integration, on the response of governments towards immigrants, on the public debate concerning immigration and integration, on integration policies and specifically on all subjects in relation to Muslims. This chapter provides an overview of scholarly research on these topics.

In 1999 John Schuster published a comparative study on the responses and actions of Dutch and British governments towards post-war immigrants.<sup>101</sup> Post-war immigration changed the structure of the population of the Netherlands completely. Schuster shows that while in the 1950s the Netherlands encouraged its inhabitants to emigrate to countries such as Canada and Australia, in the 1970s it became a migrant country itself, where immigrants settled indefinitely.<sup>102</sup> Schuster further argues that as a result of this post-war influx of immigrants, the Netherlands has become so ethnically and culturally diverse, that we can speak of a multi-ethnic and multicultural society.<sup>103</sup>

Before Schuster's work, research on the government's response to immigration was limited. Research has shown that Dutch immigration policies have long been shaped from the belief that the Netherlands is not an immigration country.<sup>104</sup> Additionally, political and economic developments of the 1970s and 1980s have had an impact on immigration restrictions.<sup>105</sup> Other authors argue that the Netherlands has always been a migrant country and that the percentage of immigrants in the twentieth century has constantly been around three percent.<sup>106</sup>

In addition to Schuster, there are a number of other scholars who have conducted research in the 1990s on the government's response to the arrival of immigrants and its policies regarding immigrants. Leo Lucassen and Willem Willems have done research on

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<sup>101</sup> Schuster, *Poortwachters over Immigranten : Het Debat over Immigratie in Het Naoorlogse Groot-Brittannië En Nederland*.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Hans van Amersfoort, Philip Muus, and Rinus Penninx, "International Migration, the Economic Crisis and the State: An Analysis of Mediterranean Migration to Western Europe," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 7, no. 2 (1984): 238–68; Hans van Amersfoort and Boudewijn Surie, "Reluctant Hosts: Immigration into Dutch Society 1970–1985," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 10, no. 2 (1987): 169–85.

<sup>105</sup> Amersfoort, Muus, and Penninx, "International Migration, the Economic Crisis and the State: An Analysis of Mediterranean Migration to Western Europe"; Amersfoort and Surie, "Reluctant Hosts: Immigration into Dutch Society 1970–1985."

<sup>106</sup> Leo Lucassen and Jan Lucassen, *Winnaars En Verliezers : Een Nuchtere Balans van Vijfhonderd Jaar Immigratie* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2011).

Dutch policies towards gypsies.<sup>107</sup> Additionally, Eric Heijs and Philip Muus have also written about immigration policies in the Netherlands.<sup>108</sup> Heijs has written about the different ways in which immigrants could acquire Dutch citizenship, and Muus has placed the Dutch immigration policies in a European perspective.

At the same time, studies regarding the integration of immigrants of Muslim background and the development of Islamic institutions in the Netherlands started to grow. Nico Landman has conducted research on the institutionalisation of the Islam in the Netherlands. In his book, *van Mat tot Minaret* (from Prayer Rug to Minaret), he describes the history of Islamic organisations in the Netherlands. For his research he analysed the organisation structure and activities of various Islamic organisations. Moreover, he exposes the role of the government and churches in the establishment and functioning of these organisations.<sup>109</sup> In 1990, Ruud Strijp wrote an article on scholarly publications concerning Islam and Muslims in the Netherlands in 1990. He claimed that the focus of the research was too much on the institutional aspects of Islam and on Islamic organisations.<sup>110</sup> Mieke Maliepaard and Fenella Fleischmann argue that a lot has changed since 1990. In addition to scholars from religion- and Islamic studies, sociologists and anthropologists have also started researching this field. Maliepaard and Fleischmann add that, in the studies of minorities, more and more questions about religious backgrounds are being included by the Social and Cultural Planning Bureau.<sup>111</sup>

During the 1990s, the focus of the migration debates shifted to predominantly Muslims. Additionally, Muslims were not observed separately from the Islamic religion. Dick Douwes, Martijn de Koning and Welmoet Boender did research on how the different Muslim communities came to the Netherlands and how Islam became part of Dutch

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<sup>107</sup> Leo Lucassen, *"En Men Noemde Hen Zigeuners": De Geschiedenis van Kaldarasch, Ursari, Lowara En Sinti in Nederland, 1750-1944* (Amsterdam/Den Haag: Stichting beheer IISG/SDU, 1990); Willem Hendrik Willems and Leo Lucassen, *Ongewenste Vreemdelingen: Buitenlandse Zigeuners En de Nederlandse Overheid: 1969-1989* (Den Haag: SDU, 1990).

<sup>108</sup> Eric Johannes Maria Heijs, *Van Vreemdeling Tot Nederlander: De Verlening van Het Nederlanderschap Aan Vreemdelingen (1813-1992)* (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1995); Philip Jan Muus, *Internationale Migratie Naar Europa: Een Analyse van Internationale Migratie, Migratiebeleid En Mogelijkheden Tot Sturing van Immigratie, Met Bijzondere Aandacht Voor de Europese Gemeenschap En Nederland* (Amsterdam: SUA, 1993).

<sup>109</sup> Nico Landman, *Van Mat Tot Minaret: De Institutionaliserings van de Islam in Nederland* (Amsterdam: VU uitgeverij, 1992).

<sup>110</sup> Ruud Strijp, "Witte Vlekken Op de Landkaart. Recente Publicaties over Islam En Moslims in Nederland," *Migrantenstudies* 6 (1990): 19-36.

<sup>111</sup> Mieke Maliepaard and Fenella Fleischmann, "Van Migrantenstudies Naar Moslimstudies? Een Beschouwing Op Het Migratieonderzoek in Het Nederlands Taalgebied," *Migrantenstudies* 2 (2011): 156.



society. They argued that, in the public debate, Muslims' way of life is often associated with their religious background. Hence, social, political and economic aspects are almost neglected.<sup>112</sup> This argument relates to an aspect of islamisation as discussed in the previous chapter: Sipco Vellenga, Ruud Peters, Jan Rath and Thijl Sunier also argue that Muslims are mainly identified through their religion in the public debate.<sup>113</sup> However, Douwes, de Koning and Boender do not call this phenomenon islamisation. One of their main arguments is that they do not consider religion and worldview to be an explanation for everything. Instead, they emphasize the role of religious and other values in migration and integration and how this role is constantly changing.<sup>114</sup> Mieke Maliepaard and Fenella Fleischmann agree with this argument.<sup>115</sup> Douwes, de Koning and Boender add that Islam needs to be regarded as a variety of religious practices and experiences. Furthermore, the meaning and importance of religion is 'the result of interaction between Muslims and other Muslims and between Muslims and non-Muslims.'<sup>116</sup> According to the authors, Islam can therefore only be understood in the social, political and economic context.

Scholar Olivier Roy argues that small communities of young Muslims, who grew up in the Netherlands and know the customs and expectations, separate religion from both the traditional and Western cultural context and even reject the concept of culture altogether. He adds that this leads to a vacuum, which in turn could lead to radicalisation.<sup>117</sup> Douwes, de Koning and Boender disagree with this statement. They claim that young Muslims do not aim at rejecting traditional or Dutch culture, but use religion instead to connect both cultures.<sup>118</sup> In addition, they argue that, although it is clear that the interpretation and practice of Islam in the Netherlands has changed since the arrival of the guest workers in the 1960s, many people do not realise that this development made Muslims also to a considerable extent 'Dutch.'<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Douwes, Koning, and Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger*, 9.

<sup>113</sup> Vellenga, "Huntington in Holland: The Public Debate on Muslim Immigrants in the Netherlands"; Peters and Vellenga, "Contested Tolerance"; Sunier, "Interests, Identities, and the Public Sphere: Representing Islam in the Netherlands since the 1980s"; Rath and Sunier, "Angst Voor de Islam in Nederland."

<sup>114</sup> Douwes, Koning, and Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger*, 7.

<sup>115</sup> Maliepaard and Fleischmann, "Van Migrantenstudies Naar Moslimstudies? Een Beschouwing Op Het Migratieonderzoek in Het Nederlands Taalgebied," 162.

<sup>116</sup> Douwes, Koning, and Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger*, 16.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 7.

Research from the first decade of the twenty-first century has brought to light various themes that differ from those of earlier research. A popular topic of research is the description of religious behaviour and changes of this behaviour over different generations.<sup>120</sup> Other extensively studied subjects are the Muslim identity, often the double Muslim-Dutch identity; the effect of Dutch policies on identity formation; and the ways in which Muslims practise Islam.<sup>121</sup> These subjects will not be included in this study, because the research does not focus on the consequences and influences of integration policies for immigrants and their identity, but on the content, development and course of specific integration policies.

Subjects that do relate to this study are the public debate regarding immigration and integration and the policy frameworks. The public debate changed radically in the period between the late 1990s and the first years of the new millennium. At the same time, the objectives of integration policies shifted. Several scholars have written about these developments. They are discussed in the next part of the chapter.

In 2006, Han Entzinger argued that the attitude towards immigrants changed radically between 1990 and 2006. In his research he focused on the question how a country like the Netherlands, famous for its tolerance and where cultural differences were accepted, so quickly turned into a country with a very strict assimilation policy.<sup>122</sup> Entzinger claims that there was a paradox in integration policy: ‘migrants who initially had been encouraged to retain their own identity were now accused of insufficient identification with Dutch culture.’<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Mérove Gijsberts and Jaco Dagevos, “Jaarrapport Integratie 2009” (Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 2009); Karen Phaet, Mérove Gijsberts, and Louk Hagendoorn, “Migration and Religion: Testing the Limits of Secularisation among Turkish and Moroccan Muslims in the Netherlands 1998-2005,” *Kölner Zeitschrift Für Soziologie Und Sozialpsychologie* 48 (2008): 412–36; Karen Phaet and Jessika ter Wal, “Moslim in Nederland. Religie En Migratie. Sociaal-Wetenschappelijke Databronnen En Literatuur” (Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 2004).

<sup>121</sup> Martijn de Koning, *Zoeken Naar Een “zuivere” Islam: Religieuze Beleving En Identiteitsvorming van Jonge Marokkaans-Nederlandse Moslims* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2008); Martijn de Koning, “Islam Is Islam. Punt Uit?,” *Migrantenstudies* 1 (2009): 59–72; Susan Ketner, “Ik Denk Niet in Culturen... Ik Denk Eigenlijk Meer in Mijn Geloof,” *Migrantenstudies* 1 (2009): 73–87; Susan Liesbeth Ketner, *Marokkaanse Wortels, Nederlandse Grond: Exploratie, Bindingen En Identiteitsstrategieën van Jongeren van Marokkaanse Afkomst* (Groningen: RUG, 2008); Corina Duijndam, “De Gekleurde Werkelijkheid: Een Vergelijkend Onderzoek Naar de Uitwerking van Beleid Op Identiteit En Etniciteit van Jongeren in Buitenwijken van Amsterdam En Parijs,” *Migrantenstudies* 1 (2011): 57–76.

<sup>122</sup> Entzinger, “Changing the Rules While the Game Is on: From Multiculturalism to Assimilation in the Netherlands.”

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

In the year 2000, the public debate on integration was marked by two opposing parties.<sup>124</sup> One party argued that there was clear economic, educational and housing progress. Moreover, they argued that the second generation was better integrated than their parents.<sup>125</sup> This meant that the institutional integration of immigrants worked well in addition to maintaining their original, cultural identity. That is why the multiculturalist method was considered successful.<sup>126</sup> The other party, however, was not that optimistic, according to Entzinger.<sup>127</sup> In January 2000, an article by Paul Scheffer appeared in the newspaper NRC. Scheffer argued that multiculturalism had failed.<sup>128</sup> He said that an ethnic underclass had emerged, an underclass consisting of people who were not connected to the Netherlands and were unwilling to integrate. Scheffer claimed that non-western, non-liberal ideas would ignore social cohesion. That is why the solution he proposed was a forced policy to prevent arrears and to have immigrants assimilated.<sup>129</sup>

Conny Roggeband and Rens Vliegenthart have investigated how migration and integration issues have been framed in the public debate in the period 1995-2005.<sup>130</sup> They focus on the most central forums of public debate: the political and media arena. The most important question of their research is whether the framing in the two arenas overlaps or differs. In previous research, Roggeband and Vliegenthart have already shown that there is a mutual influence between framing in the political and media arena. However, the results showed that this was a rather weak influence and that it depended on earlier use of the framework.<sup>131</sup> In this study they have conducted a more in-depth research, in which they have examined similarities and differences and have tried to explain these. In addition, they looked at framework changes over time and how these framework changes could have taken place. The five frameworks they used were the multicultural,

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>125</sup> Justus Veenman, ed., *De Toekomst in Meervoud: Perspectief Op Multicultureel Nederland* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2002); Jaco Dagevos, Mérove Gijsberts, and Carlo van Praag, "Rapportage Minderheden 2003" (Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 2003).

<sup>126</sup> Entzinger, "Changing the Rules While the Game Is on: From Multiculturalism to Assimilation in the Netherlands," 6.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>128</sup> Paul Scheffer, "Het Multiculturele Drama," *NRC Handelsblad*, January 29, 2000.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Roggeband and Vliegenthart, "Divergent Framing: The Public Debate on Migration in the Dutch Parliament and Media, 1995-2004."

<sup>131</sup> Rens Vliegenthart and Conny Roggeband, "Framing Immigration and Integration: Relationships between Press and Parliament in the Netherlands, 1995-2004," *International Communication Gazette* 69, no. 3 (2007): 295-319.

emancipation, restriction, victimisation and Islam-as-Threat framework.<sup>132</sup> They have found incongruity in framing between the two arenas. However, after 9/11 the Islam-as-Threat framework had become dominant in both arenas.<sup>133</sup> A possible explanation for this result has been drawn up by Entzinger, who says that many Dutch people fear that their liberties are threatened by immigrants who adhere to non-western values.<sup>134</sup> Roggeband and Vliegenthart also found that the framework in parliament was more diverse than in the media, which means that while the Islam-as-Threat framework in the media arena was almost fully complied with, it was challenged in the political arena.<sup>135</sup>

Wouter van der Brug, Meindert Fennema, Sjoerdje van Heerden and Sarah L. de Lange conducted research into Dutch political parties and their relationship to each other in the immigration and integration debates.<sup>136</sup> Through qualitative analyses of the party programmes from the 1994-2006 period, they tried to discover the main differences in the debates. Using quantitative analyses, they tried to discover how the parties positioned themselves within these differences. Based on the results of the qualitative analyses of the party programmes, van der Brug et al. conclude that even though many parties were internally divided on the immigration and integration debates, they had accepted clear positions on this in their programmes.<sup>137</sup>

The quantitative analyses of the programmes led to the discovery of three important patterns. The first pattern is that, compared to 1994, the immigration and integration debates received more attention in the party programmes. The right-wing parties CD, LPF and PVV advocated restriction of immigration. However, the left-wing parties GroenLinks and SP already focused on the integration of immigrants in the Netherlands. They wanted the government to stimulate this integration. Van der Brug et al. conclude that the parties at the ends of the left-right dimension have therefore put the immigration and integration debates on the political agenda.<sup>138</sup> A second pattern they

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<sup>132</sup> Roggeband and Vliegenthart, "Divergent Framing: The Public Debate on Migration in the Dutch Parliament and Media, 1995–2004," 526,531.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 543.

<sup>134</sup> Entzinger, "Changing the Rules While the Game Is on: From Multiculturalism to Assimilation in the Netherlands," 12.

<sup>135</sup> Roggeband and Vliegenthart, "Divergent Framing: The Public Debate on Migration in the Dutch Parliament and Media, 1995–2004," 543,544.

<sup>136</sup> Wouter van der Brug et al., "Hoe Heeft Het Integratiedebat Zich in Nederland Ontwikkeld?," *Migrantenstudies* 3 (2009): 1–30.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 20.

discovered is that the positions of the programmes, regarding the immigration and integration debates, were strongly connected to the left-right oppositions. This is in line with scholarly research that demonstrates the endurance of political borderlines.<sup>139</sup> However, they emphasize that a party like *ChristenUnie*, CU (Dutch Christian democratic party) cannot clearly be sketched left or right.<sup>140</sup> A third pattern discovered by Brug et al. is that after 1998 all parties saw an increase in the conviction that immigration should be limited.<sup>141</sup>

Leo Lucassen and Jan Lucassen call the transition in the Dutch migration debates the pessimistic turn. They say that, during the 1990s, the political and social debates on immigration and multiculturalism became increasingly negative, despite positive economic developments.<sup>142</sup> By taking a long-term perspective and looking at the broad political spectrum, they wanted to explain the timing and nature of the nativist turn in Dutch politics. Nativism is the policy to protect the interests of indigenous residents against those of immigrants.<sup>143</sup>

Lucassen and Lucassen oppose the most important argument in the migration debates. The main argument in the migration discourse says that with the rise of anti-Islam nativism, 'the Netherlands seemed to follow the conventional binary left-right scheme'.<sup>144</sup> Within the left-right system anti-immigrant nativism is identified with the Right and multiculturalism with the Left.<sup>145</sup> Lucassen and Lucassen argue that this was not the situation. Referring to the case of Pim Fortuyn, they say that the political ideology Fortuyn had developed since early 1990s was a mix of right and left ideas. Fortuyn even

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<sup>139</sup> Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Richard I. Hofferbert, and Ian Budge, *Parties, Policies, and Democracies* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994); Simon Hix, "Dimensions and Alignments in European Union Politics: Cognitive Constraints and Partisan Responses," *European Journal of Political Research* 35, no. 1 (1999): 69–106; Herbert Kitschelt, *Diversification and Reconfiguration of Party Systems in Postindustrial Democracies* (Bonn: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2004).

<sup>140</sup> Brug et al., "Hoe Heeft Het Integratiedebat Zich in Nederland Ontwikkeld?," 20.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>142</sup> Lucassen and Lucassen, "The Strange Death of Dutch Tolerance: The Timing and Nature of the Pessimist Turn in the Dutch Migration Debate," 74.

<sup>143</sup> "Nativism" (Oxford English Dictionary, January 18, 2018), <http://www.oed.com.eur.idm.oclc.org/view/Entry/125308?redirectedFrom=nativism>.

<sup>144</sup> Lucassen and Lucassen, "The Strange Death of Dutch Tolerance: The Timing and Nature of the Pessimist Turn in the Dutch Migration Debate," 75.

<sup>145</sup> Roggeband and Vliegthart, "Divergent Framing: The Public Debate on Migration in the Dutch Parliament and Media, 1995–2004."

started his political career on the communist side in the 1970s and in 1989 he was a member of the Dutch labour party (PvdA).<sup>146</sup>

Lucassen and Lucassen state that it is misleading to label Fortuyn as a right-wing racist. Moreover, they emphasize that Fortuyn was not the only prominent Dutch politician who spoke out against (immigration) and Islam. Other influential politicians were Hilda Verwey-Jonker, Paul Scheffer and Ayaan Hirsi Ali, all with a background in the PvdA.<sup>147</sup>

Lucassen and Lucassen argue that to understand the pessimistic turn two aspects are important to take into account. The first is timing. The rise of political correctness, as a result of the disasters in the Second World War, in combination with the ethical revolution in the 1960s and 1970s, led to a widespread feeling that racism and discrimination were taboo. According to Entzinger, Brug et al., Lucassen, Lucassen and Zihni Özdil, the discussion about social and cultural problems related to immigration was therefore connected to extreme right-wing thinking.<sup>148</sup> When political correctness began to lose ground in the 1990s, the counter-reaction was even more intense according to Lucassen and Lucassen.<sup>149</sup> The second aspect, for understanding the pessimistic turn, is the nature of the pessimistic turn. Like van der Brug et al. and Roggeband and Vliegthart, Lucassen and Lucassen emphasize the left-right dividing line in the late 1990s, in which the left held on to the multiculturalist framework. However, Lucassen and Lucassen state that the other scholars underestimate the inconvenience of the left with immigration.<sup>150</sup>

Scholars Linda Herrera, Dick Douwes, Ruud Peters and Sipco Vellenga argue that it is remarkable that Muslim voices are almost unheard of in the debates.<sup>151</sup> According to Douwes and Herrera the reasons for this are two sided, on the one hand many critics are

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<sup>146</sup> Lucassen and Lucassen, "The Strange Death of Dutch Tolerance: The Timing and Nature of the Pessimist Turn in the Dutch Migration Debate," 75.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 75,76.

<sup>148</sup> Entzinger, "Changing the Rules While the Game Is on: From Multiculturalism to Assimilation in the Netherlands," 5; Brug et al., "Hoe Heeft Het Integratiedebat Zich in Nederland Ontwikkeld?," 1; Lucassen and Lucassen, "The Strange Death of Dutch Tolerance: The Timing and Nature of the Pessimist Turn in the Dutch Migration Debate," 96; Zihni Özdil, "'Racism Is an American Problem': Dutch Exceptionalism and Its Politics of Denial," *Frame* 27, no. 2 (2014): 49–64.

<sup>149</sup> Lucassen and Lucassen, "The Strange Death of Dutch Tolerance: The Timing and Nature of the Pessimist Turn in the Dutch Migration Debate," 96.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 97.

<sup>151</sup> Dick Douwes and Linda Herrera, "Debates on Islam in Europe," *ISIM Review* 15 (2005): 4; Peters and Vellenga, "Contested Tolerance," 236.

intolerant to people with different views, on the other hand there are not enough Muslim representatives supported by the wider community.<sup>152</sup> Instead of moderate voices supported by the majority, only radical voices of the marginal communities are expressed. Moreover, these voices are used by the Islam critics as evidence of the idea that Islam tends towards radicalism, while most people simply live their normal lives and deal with the same daily concerns as other communities in society, according to Douwes and Herrera.<sup>153</sup>

A change of attitude towards immigrants in the public debate had an impact on integration policies regarding immigrants. Integration has been one of the most controversial subjects in Dutch politics since the end of the twentieth century, according to Erik Snel and Peter Scholten.<sup>154</sup> Snel and Scholten have done research into integration policies and they have concluded that integration is a complex policy problem because the interpretation of the integration problem has changed radically several times in the period between 1960 and 2005.<sup>155</sup> This resulted in - as explained earlier in the part on theoretical concepts – a shift in policy frameworks.

Snel and Scholten conclude that there were various reasons for limiting the implementation of effective and consistent integration policies. First, problems that developed slowly were neglected for a long time. Secondly, the various policy frameworks became entangled. This meant, for example, that new policy frameworks and goals were set at national level, but at local level they continued to use existing policy methods. Another complication was the different ways in which policy effects were valued in the different policy frameworks. Successes in one policy framework could be seen as errors in another framework.<sup>156</sup>

In the early 2000s, there was a widely shared opinion, in the public debate, that integration and the integration policies in the Netherlands had failed.<sup>157</sup> Entzinger argues that, when analysing what may have gone wrong with integration, a distinction must be made between the process of integration and integration policies. The integration process

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<sup>152</sup> Douwes and Herrera, "Debates on Islam in Europe."

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Snel and Scholten, "Integratie: Van Gastarbeiders Tot Het Multicultureel Drama," 155.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 155, 156.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 181, 182.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 155.

is divided between an institutional and a cultural dimension. Institutional integration is successful when participation in society increases. Cultural integration refers to the internalization of important values by immigrants. Entzinger states that in the policy with regard to minorities only institutional integration was an objective. Over time, it became clear that it was difficult to reconcile the institutional integration with the ideal of maintaining your own cultural identity.<sup>158</sup> Entzinger emphasizes the importance of an analysis other than that in the early 2000s, which concluded that integration had failed. Instead, he concludes that the integration process was constantly improving, but the standards that were used to measure integration, often changed as a result of changing integration policies. This conclusion is in line with the study of Snel and Scholten. Entzinger adds, however, that this conclusion does not explain the changes in policies. Possible explanations for this are: disappointment about this policy in practice, which seemed so good on paper; and democratic impatience, because politicians want to see immediate results, while integration processes are long-term.<sup>159</sup>

Entzinger claims that, in addition to multiculturalism, the Dutch welfare system also played a role in placing immigrants in a marginal position. Many immigrants were dependent on the social security system. Returning to their country of origin could thus mean that they would lose their only source of income. On the other hand, staying continues to lead to further marginalisation.<sup>160</sup> A final conclusion of Entzinger is that the discussions on migration are heavily influenced by the supposed threat of Islam. Similar to countries such as France and Germany, terrorism, fundamentalism and the inability to control migration led to feelings of fear in the Netherlands. This in turn was projected on immigrants.<sup>161</sup>

Although there is the perception in the public debate that Muslim integration has failed, scientists think differently. Leo Lucassen, Jan Lucassen and Frans Verhagen even claim that integration has made much progress since the arrival of the first-generation immigrants, more than in other European countries.<sup>162</sup> The integration of second-generation immigrants in particular has been successful in areas such as education,

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<sup>158</sup> Entzinger, "Changing the Rules While the Game Is on: From Multiculturalism to Assimilation in the Netherlands," 13,14.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 14,15.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 15,16.

<sup>162</sup> Lucassen and Lucassen, *Winnaars En Verliezers : Een Nuchtere Balans van Vijfhonderd Jaar Immigratie*; Verhagen, *Hoezo Mislukt? De Nuchtere Feiten over de Integratie in Nederland*.



housing and political representation. Nevertheless, they add that while the unemployment rate for the second generation has fallen significantly, it is still too high compared to the Dutch average.<sup>163</sup> Verhagen concludes that integration must be seen as a process: 'citizens structure their society, in constant dialogue with each other, without ever being finished.'<sup>164</sup>

In summary, much research has been done into the Dutch government's response to immigration. In addition, research into the integration of Muslims and the development of Islamic institutions in the Netherlands has often been implemented. Moreover, at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the new millennium Muslims became a main subject of public debate and research into immigration and integration. The reasons for this shift of attention towards Muslims were a changing attitude, in the public debate, about immigrants and, in connection with this, changing objectives of integration policies. Moreover, the view that the integration of Muslims had failed was widely supported. Explanations for this shift in the public debate and the changing integration policy frameworks have been extensively investigated. Finally, the aspects of Islam that are perceived as incompatible with Dutch values or culture, or even as threatening, have been thoroughly analysed in previous research.

Less research has been done into the content of policy regarding Muslims. Welmoet Boender investigated the role of imams in the mosque community, focusing on the views of imams, Muslims and non-Muslims.<sup>165</sup> Part of her research focuses on the state-funded Islam and imam training programs in 2005 and 2006. The aim of these programs was to train a Dutch 'polder imam'; imams that had sufficient knowledge of Islam to function in the mosque, and who were rooted in Dutch society and able to help visitors of the mosque with questions and problems in Dutch society.<sup>166</sup> In 2013 two of the three programs were closed. In May 2018, a book was published, in which the theoretical and practical questions concerning the evolving role of imams in Europe, since

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<sup>163</sup> Lucassen and Lucassen, *Winnaars En Verliezers : Een Nuchtere Balans van Vijfhonderd Jaar Immigratie*, 224; Verhagen, *Hoezo Mislukt? De Nuchtere Feiten over de Integratie in Nederland*, 220–22.

<sup>164</sup> Verhagen, *Hoezo Mislukt? De Nuchtere Feiten over de Integratie in Nederland*, 223.

<sup>165</sup> Welmoet Boender, *Imam in Nederland: opvattingen over zijn religieuze rol in de samenleving*, ISIM dissertations (Leiden: ISIM, 2007); Welmoet Boender, "Dossier Imamopleiding: Het Nederlandse 'imamopleidingsdebat' in Historisch Perspectief," *Tijdschrift Voor Religie, Recht En Beleid* 5, no. 2 (2014): 26–48.

<sup>166</sup> Douwes, Koning, and Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger*, 89.

the Second World War, were examined.<sup>167</sup> The function and position of imams in the secular liberal societies of Western European states are analysed in the book. Moreover, the involvement of the imam as a religious-institutional authority is extensively investigated. Furthermore, the book focuses on the secular-liberal institutions and the adaptation, or lack of adaptation, to the multiculturalism that identify these states.<sup>168</sup> A chapter in the book, by scholars Welmoet Boender and Jan Jaap de Ruiter, is dedicated to the Netherlands as a case study. The chapter concerns imam Yassin Elforkani as a public intellectual. Elforkani presents himself as ‘imam of the youth’ and he favors full integration of Muslims into Dutch society. On the one hand he challenges conservative Islamic communities, such as the Salafi, and on the other populist anti-Muslim movements.<sup>169</sup> The following chapter explains the role of Elforkani in the public debate.

Besides Boender’s work and this recent publication on imams in Europe, there is no research into other state funded Islamic institutions, or on governmental support for representatives of the Muslim community. In addition, most of the research was conducted by scientists with a background in sociology, anthropology and religion studies, with the exception of Leo Lucassen, Jan Lucassen and Dick Douwes who have a historical background. Moreover, the research that analyses the functioning of islamisation, as discussed in the theory part of the previous chapter, only focuses on islamisation in the public debate. Whether or not there is islamisation in policy documents is not discussed in their research.

That is why this research will investigate the yet undiscovered nature of the policy with regard to Muslims and possible islamisation in this policy, and in this way try to compensate for this knowledge gap. The use of critical discourse analysis and the combination of close and distant reading techniques can shed new light on certain developments. In addition, the relatively new digital technologies used in this study make it possible to analyse large amounts of text and thus draw conclusions on a larger scale in addition to microanalysis through close reading. Moreover, approaching this subject through the field of digital humanities is innovative and in line with current and evolving research techniques.

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<sup>167</sup> Khalid Hajji et al., eds., *Imams in Western Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018).

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 19–25.

<sup>169</sup> Welmoet Boender and Jan Jaap de Ruiter, “The Imam as an Organic Public Intellectual,” in *Imams in Western Europe*, ed. Khalid Hajji et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 179.

### 3. Developments and incidents in migration and integration debates

This chapter provides an overview of developments in the Dutch public debate on migration and integration of Muslims and incidents in which Muslims are involved. These developments take different forms, from reports of the *Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid*, WRR (Scientific Council for Government Policy), to remarkable opinions and statements from both politicians and influential people from the Muslim community.

The developments and incidents only have meaning in the context of the policy frameworks that are dealt with at a given moment, because the policy frameworks determine which developments and incidents are relevant and how they should be interpreted and valued.<sup>170</sup> The different views on migration and integration in the different frameworks are therefore linked to the actual developments and incidents. The question that will be answered in this chapter is: What developments and incidents have influenced the public debate with regard to migration and integration of Muslims?

As discussed in the theory in chapter one, Dutch integration policy in the 1960s to 2000s can be divided between four different policy frameworks, according to Snel and Scholten. The four frameworks are return thinking (1960s and 1970s), integration while retaining one's own culture (1980s), socio-economic participation (1990s) and socio-cultural adjustment (after 2000).<sup>171</sup> Snel and Scholten argue that after the turn of the millennium the debate on integration intensified and the socio-cultural aspect of the integration policy became central again. However, they do not indicate a specific year for the framework shift from socio-economic participation to socio-cultural adjustment. Therefore, the separation of the second and third subchapters according to the frameworks does not mean there is a clear transition point, but a gradual transition. Because this study is focused on the period 1994 to 2006, only the last two frameworks will be thoroughly discussed and analysed. However, the first two frameworks will be described briefly, because they are crucial for understanding and clarifying the two successive frameworks. An overview of the relevant developments and incidents can be found in the timeline on page 45.

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<sup>170</sup> Snel and Scholten, "Integratie: Van Gastarbeiders Tot Het Multicultureel Drama," 156.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 181.

The *Scientific Council for Government Policy* (WRR) investigated international immigration and integration of immigrants into Dutch society and published three comprehensive reports on this subject, in 1979, 1989 and 2001. These reports have been analysed for this study and will be discussed in the subchapters below, in relation to the policy frameworks. The WRR is an independent advisory body for government policy. The task of the WRR is to inform and advise government and policymakers on issues that are important to society. The recommendations of the WRR are multidisciplinary and not limited to one department. Moreover, they are aimed at the government's long-term policy.<sup>172</sup> The WRR defines its task as: 'for the purpose of government policy, it is the task of the Council to provide scientifically based information about developments that may affect society in the longer term, while pointing out inconsistencies and expected bottlenecks in a timely manner, and indicating problems with regard to important policy issues and at the same time provide policy alternatives.'<sup>173</sup> The WRR consists of five to eleven members from different relevant academic disciplines. The members simultaneously work as a professor and are members for a five-year term.<sup>174</sup>

The reports of the Scientific Council for Government Policy are relevant to this chapter, because they are carried out as a result of certain political discussions, but in turn also influence the discussions. In addition, the reports are produced on behalf of the government and at the same time influence the government when making policy decisions.

The developments that are often discussed by different scientists and that are considered important with regard to both the attitude in the public debate towards Muslims and the policies specific to these minority communities, are discussed throughout the chapter. In addition to these constant developments in the public debate, there are a number of brief incidents that had a major impact on the attitude in society towards Muslims, which are also included in the chapter.

### **3.1 Policy frameworks 1960s to 1990**

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<sup>172</sup> Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, "Taak, werkwijze en evaluatie - Over de WRR - WRR," webpagina, May 17, 2016, <https://www.wrr.nl/over-de-wrr/taak-werkwijze-en-evaluatie>.

<sup>173</sup> Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, "Taak - Over de WRR - WRR," webpagina, June 29, 2016, <https://www.wrr.nl/over-de-wrr/taak-werkwijze-en-evaluatie/taak>.

<sup>174</sup> Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, "Raad en adviserende leden - Over de WRR - WRR," webpagina, May 19, 2016, <https://www.wrr.nl/over-de-wrr/raad-en-adviserende-leden>.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the Dutch government and policymakers thought that migrant workers would remain in the Netherlands temporarily. Policies aimed at integrating immigrants was almost completely missing, because that 'would just impede the return of the migrants.'<sup>175</sup> The idea was that the return of migrants would be easier if they adhered to their own culture and identity. The government therefore encouraged education in their own language and supported migrant organisations that encouraged migrants with the same regional background to connect and express their own culture.<sup>176</sup> The policy objective was to retain one's own culture and identity.<sup>177</sup>

In practice, the majority of the immigrants did not leave and, with the increase in family unification, their stay became permanent. Although these developments contradicted the supposed temporary stay of immigrants, they did not lead to a shift of policy frameworks in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>178</sup> Immigration policy up to the 1980s therefore focused on the temporary nature of immigrants' stay. Because of its high population density, the Netherlands could not become an immigration country, was the general idea.<sup>179</sup> In the extensive research into integration policy, by the committee Blok, scientist Rinus Penninx concluded that 'the officially formulated policy was more inspired by economic and political desirability, than by factual data, research and literature.'<sup>180</sup>

The WRR (1979) report *Ethnic Minorities* recognised for the first time that immigration was permanent.<sup>181</sup> The report is a study by Marinus Penninx on policy pursued with regard to the following ethnic minorities in the Netherlands: Moluccans, Surinamese, Antilleans and Mediterranean foreign workers. This report does not specifically mention the policy regarding Islam or Muslims. Muslims, as a community, are mentioned once in relation to other religions in the Netherlands, and once in relation to public health.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Snel and Scholten, "Integratie: Van Gastarbeiders Tot Het Multicultureel Drama," 168.

<sup>176</sup> Entzinger, "Changing the Rules While the Game Is on: From Multiculturalism to Assimilation in the Netherlands," 3.

<sup>177</sup> Snel and Scholten, "Integratie: Van Gastarbeiders Tot Het Multicultureel Drama," 168,169.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 165.

<sup>179</sup> "Etnische minderheden. A: Rapport aan de regering; B: Naar een algemeen etnisch minderhedenbeleid," Report, nr. 17 (Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, September 5, 1979), VIII.

<sup>180</sup> S. A. Blok, *Bruggen Bouwen: Bronnenonderzoek Verwey-Jonker Instituut* (Sdu Uitgevers, 2004), 22.

<sup>181</sup> "Etnische minderheden."

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

The essence of the *Ethnic Minorities* report is that most immigrants would stay in the Netherlands. Based on this expectation, the WRR recommended to the government to develop policies to prevent social and economic deprivation, to promote cultural equality and to improve relations between minorities and the Dutch majority.<sup>183</sup> Following the publication of the report on *Ethnic Minorities*, the first minority policy was developed and published in the *Minorities Policy Document* of September 1983. The policy document followed mainly the recommendations in the WRR report. It is remarkable that Muslims are not treated as a separate community in the minorities document of 1983.<sup>184</sup>

The WRR, and later also the government and policymakers, agreed that more attention should be paid to the integration of immigrants into Dutch society. On the one hand Dutch society had to make room for immigrants, on the other hand immigrants had to participate in Dutch society and learn Dutch social skills.<sup>185</sup> With integration as a new policy objective in the 1980s, the old policy objective 'retaining one's own culture and identity' seemed to have been abandoned. In practice, emancipation of minorities remained an important policy objective, and this meant that minorities had the opportunity to experience and practice their own culture.<sup>186</sup> The idea was that minorities could integrate into Dutch society through their own cultural identity and the emancipation of their communities. The new integration policy was integration while retaining one's own culture and the desired result was a multicultural society.<sup>187</sup> The minority policy was mainly aimed at migrant workers from the Mediterranean and post-colonial migrants. The general expectation was that immigration of communities other than these could still be restricted.<sup>188</sup>

At the end of the 1980s, the government asked the WRR for a second opinion on ethnic minority policies and whether they would continue with its current approach. Compared to the situation in 1979, the WRR concluded in 1989 that two major changes had occurred. First immigration has not declined, despite the strict admission policy. Instead, the communities affected by minority policies, increased with sixty percent in ten

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<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> "Minderhedenbeleid, Nota," kamerstuk, 16102 Nr. 21 (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, September 1983).

<sup>185</sup> Snel and Scholten, "Integratie: Van Gastarbeiders Tot Het Multicultureel Drama," 168,169.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 169.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 166.

years: from 473.000 in 1979 to 756.000 in 1989. Secondly, unemployment among minority communities increased and, in the case of Turkish and Moroccan minorities, unemployment rose to above forty percent of the labour force.<sup>189</sup>

The title of the second WRR report is *Allochtonenbeleid*. The report defines *allochtonen* as ‘all people who come from countries other than the Netherlands, and their descendants up to the third generation, insofar as they want to consider themselves *allochtoon*.’<sup>190</sup> Minorities are *allochtone* communities in a disadvantaged position. The WRR does not only address the position of communities that have been included in minority policy so far but includes all *allochtonen* in the Netherlands. The report *Allochtonenbeleid* was published in May 1989. While the WRR advised in 1979 to consider the presence of immigrants as permanent, in 1989 it reported that the immigration process was also permanent. It therefore argued that the effects of immigration should ideally be positive, both for the immigrant and for society as a whole.<sup>191</sup>

Integration policy in the *allochtonenbeleid*, focuses on the following three sectors: labour, education and adult education. The WRR believes that effective integration policies in these sectors make specific actions in other sectors, such as housing, health care and justice, unnecessary.<sup>192</sup> With regard to culture, the WRR argues that the government must respect cultural and ideological differences. They add that the government must thereby be guided by the constitutional freedom of self-organisation.<sup>193</sup>

The words ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslim’ are mentioned a few times in the report *allochtonenbeleid*. They are mentioned in connection with entrepreneurship, in particular Islamic butcher shops. In tables about education and unemployment, for example, a distinction is made based on national background. The religious background of migrants is not mentioned. There is therefore no indication of islamisation in the WRR reports of 1979 and 1989, migrants are categorised based on their national background, and the possible religious backgrounds of migrants do not play a role in the observed integration problems.

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<sup>189</sup> “Allochtonenbeleid,” Report, nr. 36 (Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, September 5, 1989), 9.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 13.

### 3.2 Socio-economic participation (1990s)

As a result of the economic crisis in the beginning of the 1980s, unemployment among immigrants had increased by the end of the 1980s. That is why the idea arose, in the early 1990s that the policy pursued was inadequate and that integration had failed. The socio-cultural focus of integration was replaced by a focus on socio-economic participation, in particular education and work. In addition, the community approach in minority policy shifted to a more individual approach.<sup>194</sup> Scholars Willem Schinkel, Friso van Houdt, Baukje Prins and Han Entzinger argue that this was a paradigm shift in Dutch thinking on integration, in which institutional multiculturalism is rejected.<sup>195</sup> As a result, integration into Dutch society became one of the main objectives of the new integration policy and a requirement for minorities in the integration process. This awareness led to the implementation of the *inburgeringsbeleid* (naturalisation policy): the required compulsory integration courses as a first step in the integration process. The majority of government and policymakers were convinced that by learning the Dutch language and customs, immigrants had a better chance of participating in society.<sup>196</sup> Subsidized employment was another policy measure that was widely used, although it was not specifically targeted at minorities. This resulted in an improvement of minorities in the socio-economic area.<sup>197</sup>

In the public debate, opinions concerning minorities took a different turn. In 1991, Frits Bolkestein, then leader of the Dutch liberal Party (VVD), sparked a debate by arguing that Islamic culture did not fit into Europe and that Islamic and Western values were incompatible.<sup>198</sup> This was a response to the Rushdie affair in Great-Britain and the ban on wearing headscarves in public schools in France.<sup>199</sup> The Rushdie affair is about British-Indian writer Salman Rushdie, who was sentenced to death in February 1989, in a fatwa by the Iranian ayatollah Khomeini. This led to worldwide commotion and debates.

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<sup>194</sup> Snel and Scholten, "Integratie: Van Gastarbeiders Tot Het Multicultureel Drama," 169.

<sup>195</sup> Schinkel and Houdt, "The Double Helix of Cultural Assimilationism and Neo-Liberalism"; Baukje Prins, *Voorbij de Onschuld: Het Debat over Integratie in Nederland*, 2e, geheel herz. en uitgebr. dr. ed. (Amsterdam: Van Gennep, 2004), 23–44; Han Entzinger, "The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism: The Case of the Netherlands," in *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States*, ed. Christian Joppke and Ewa Morawska (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 59–86, [https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9780230554795\\_3](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9780230554795_3).

<sup>196</sup> Snel and Scholten, "Integratie: Van Gastarbeiders Tot Het Multicultureel Drama," 166, 170.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>198</sup> Bolkestein, "Integratie van Minderheden Moet Met Lef Worden Aangepakt."

<sup>199</sup> Entzinger, "Changing the Rules While the Game Is on: From Multiculturalism to Assimilation in the Netherlands," 5.



Rushdie went into hiding for several years after the fatwa proclamation.<sup>200</sup> With his statements, Bolkestein was the initiator of the national debates on ethnic minorities that began at the end of 1991. Moreover, he was one of the first politicians to break the taboo on discussing minorities issues in politics and more importantly assign these issues to specific ethnic minorities. A decade before Bolkestein's statement, Hans Janmaat, with his *Centrumpartij*, invoked similar sensitive issues, but they were marginalised. According to Prins, Bolkestein was praised for his courage to address the minorities issue. The same people who praised him, argued that, up to that moment, politicians were too cautious in dealing with ethnic minorities for fear of being accused of racism. On the other hand, people argued that these kinds of statements reflected a 'frightening feeling of nation' supporting extreme right-wing politics.<sup>201</sup>

Bolkestein argued that immigrants had to adapt to the Dutch rule of law and he rejected the idea of multiculturalism. He considered Islam to be a threat to the liberal 'universal' values of freedom of speech, separation of church and state, tolerance and non-discrimination. He argued that issues such as the Rushdie-affair and the discrimination against Muslim women showed that these 'untouchable' liberal principles were not shared in large parts of the Muslim world. Islam was not only a religion, but also a lifestyle in which the separation of church and state did not apply, according to Bolkestein.<sup>202</sup> With his statements Bolkestein contributes to the islamisation of the public debate; he problematises Islam and reduces these problems to the religious aspects of Muslim culture and ignores all other cultural influences. Bolkestein received both support and criticism. Both sides of the debate agreed that the principles of freedom of speech, freedom of religion and non-discrimination should not be undermined. The disagreement concerned the definition of the problem: for Bolkestein this was the threat to Western values posed by Islam and the political left that indirectly supported this; for his opponents the issue was how much space minority communities should be given, in modern society, to convey their religious, cultural and ethnic identity.<sup>203</sup>

The debates on minorities continued and intensified when politician Pim Fortuyn joined the debates. Bolkestein's ideas were an inspiration for Pim Fortuyn. In 1997,

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<sup>200</sup> Douwes, Koning, and Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger*, 143.

<sup>201</sup> Prins, *Voorbij de Onschuld: Het Debat over Integratie in Nederland*, 23.

<sup>202</sup> Douwes, Koning, and Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger*, 144,145.

<sup>203</sup> Prins, *Voorbij de Onschuld: Het Debat over Integratie in Nederland*, 26,27.

Fortuyn published a book entitled *Against the Islamisation of our Culture: Dutch Identity as a Foundation*. In the book Fortuyn warned against the increasing influence of Islam, because he feared that the rise of Islam would lead to a loss of Dutch culture. The rise of Islamic fundamentalism in particular would have this consequence. He called this process 'islamisation'.<sup>204</sup> Fortuyn follows the other definition of islamisation, as discussed in the introduction. It is interesting, however, that Fortuyn, following the definition of islamisation in this research, contributes to the islamisation of the public debate. Fortuyn was convinced that the core values of Islamic culture and of 'Judeo-Christian humanistic culture'<sup>205</sup>, in this case Dutch culture, were incompatible. Fortuyn argued that Muslims were against the separation of church and state and against equality of women. He described Islam as a backward culture, because of the intolerance towards people with different views.<sup>206</sup> Fortuyn therefore problematises Islam, ignores all cultural aspects but religion, and ignores diversity within Muslim communities. Although he was heavily criticized for his statements, his popularity forced politicians to speak out forcefully about the position of Islam in the Netherlands.<sup>207</sup>

In 2000, the public debate on integration was marked by two opposing parties. One party argued there was clear progress, both in economic and educational terms. They also argued that the second generation was better integrated than their parents.<sup>208</sup> The multicultural method was seen as successful on this side: the institutional integration of immigrants worked well with retaining their original, cultural identity.<sup>209</sup> The other side was not that optimistic according to Entzinger.<sup>210</sup> In January 2000 an article by Paul Scheffer appeared in the NRC newspaper in which he stated that multiculturalism had failed.<sup>211</sup> He criticised Dutch society and the government, which, in spite of the relatively high rate of unemployment, crime and school drop-out rates among ethnic minorities, did not change policy strategies.<sup>212</sup> Scheffer stated that an ethnic underclass had emerged, an

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<sup>204</sup> Vellenga, "Huntington in Holland: The Public Debate on Muslim Immigrants in the Netherlands," 21,26.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>206</sup> Douwes, Koning, and Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger*, 145,146.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> Veenman, *De Toekomst in Meervoud: Perspectief Op Multicultureel Nederland*; Dagevos, Gijsberts, and Praag, "Rapportage Minderheden 2003."

<sup>209</sup> Entzinger, "Changing the Rules While the Game Is on: From Multiculturalism to Assimilation in the Netherlands," 6.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>211</sup> Scheffer, "Het Multiculturele Drama."

<sup>212</sup> Prins, *Voorbij de Onschuld: Het Debat over Integratie in Nederland*, 36,37.

underclass consisting of people who were not connected to the Netherlands and unwilling to integrate. Scheffer claimed that the non-western, particularly 'non-liberal' ideas of Muslims would oppose social cohesion. The solution he proposed was a mandatory policy to prevent arrears and to force immigrants to assimilate.<sup>213</sup>

Scheffer received a lot of criticism and support. Criticism of Scheffer was that he ignored the fact that the integration policy had already deviated from multiculturalism. Moreover, he associated many immigrants with the Muslim stereotype of sympathy for fundamentalism and ideas that contrasted with liberal democracies, although many immigrants did not even have a Muslim background. In addition, he ignored diversity among immigrants and their progress in education and employment.<sup>214</sup> That is why he, like Bolkestein and Fortuyn, has contributed to the islamisation of the public debate. Finally, he ignored the fact that cultures are not static.<sup>215</sup> Research among communities of Moroccan, Turkish and Dutch youth in Rotterdam, showed that most of the young Muslims developed their own western interpretation of Islam, with principles such as freedom and equality. Moreover, they noted that with an increasing level of education and a longer stay, the ideas of the young Muslims became more liberal and that the differences with Dutch young people with the same education would disappear.<sup>216</sup>

On May 4, 2001, an influential person from the Muslim community, the Moroccan imam Khalil El-Moumni, said during an interview on the television program *Nova*, that homosexuality in Islam, was considered a contagious disease. In the same programme a few young Moroccans expressed their contempt for homosexuals.<sup>217</sup> This led to a fierce public debate about the position of Islam in the Netherlands and was seen by many as proof, that multiculturalism had failed.<sup>218</sup> Prins argues that journalists quickly found other imams to express their support for El-Moumni.<sup>219</sup>

This was the first time that an imam shared his views on television. This gave rise to the question of how many Muslims shared his views, and which other views were

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<sup>213</sup> Scheffer, "Het Multiculturele Drama."

<sup>214</sup> Entzinger, "Changing the Rules While the Game Is on: From Multiculturalism to Assimilation in the Netherlands," 7.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid.

<sup>216</sup> Karen Phaet, Claudia van Lotringen, and Henri Bernhard Entzinger, *Islam in de Multiculturele Samenleving: Opvattingen van Jongeren in Rotterdam* (European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations Utrecht, 2000).

<sup>217</sup> Prins, *Voorbij de Onschuld: Het Debat over Integratie in Nederland*, 39,40.

<sup>218</sup> Douwes, Koning, and Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger*, 147.

<sup>219</sup> Prins, *Voorbij de Onschuld: Het Debat over Integratie in Nederland*, 40.

shared in Muslim communities. Interestingly enough, during the interview, El-Moumni stated that he disapproved of violence against homosexuals. He did not share the feelings of some traditional Islamic scholars, who argued that homosexuality was a sin and should be punished by death. Instead, his opinion seemed similar to, for example, the attitude of the Catholic Church with regard to homosexuality.<sup>220</sup>

Some politicians emphasised the stigmatising effect of criticism on Islam, but they were overwhelmed by the public indignation caused by El-Moumni's statements. Other politicians such as prime minister Kok of the Dutch labour party (PvdA), stated that El-Moumni's statement was extremely offensive and unacceptable. Many parties wanted a tough approach against people who ignored 'Dutch tolerance', including the VVD and PvdA. However, the government sat down with representatives of the Islamic community.<sup>221</sup> The Minister of the Interior, Roger van Boxtel, organized a meeting with representatives of the Islamic community to emphasize the importance of dialogue. Party members of the Dutch Christian democratic party (CDA), Dutch social liberal party (D66) and *GroenLinks*, GL (Dutch green party) stressed the importance of compulsory citizenship education for imams, to become more familiar with the Dutch language, standards and values.<sup>222</sup>

In the commotion following El-Moumni's statement, it appeared that during a sermon in 1998 (that was published in Arabic in Morocco), El-Moumni had said that Europeans were lower than dogs and pigs.<sup>223</sup> Representatives on both sides, however, emphasized the right to freedom of expression in their statements. For example, Fortuyn supported the idea that freedom of speech was more important than protection against discrimination, even for an imam who regarded 'gays like him less than pigs'<sup>224</sup>. On 26 May 2001 Theo van Gogh argued in the newspaper *Vrij Nederland* that both (fundamentalist) Muslims and people with strong anti-Islam sentiments, 'shrugged their shoulders in murderous indifference'<sup>225</sup>.

El-Moumni's comments had various consequences. Firstly, this led to dissatisfaction about the relation between the three fundamental rights in the Dutch

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<sup>220</sup> Douwes, Koning, and Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger*, 147.

<sup>221</sup> Prins, *Voorbij de Onschuld : Het Debat over Integratie in Nederland*, 40.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> Boender, *Imam in Nederland*, 68.

<sup>224</sup> Prins, *Voorbij de Onschuld : Het Debat over Integratie in Nederland*, 43.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid., 42.

constitution: freedom of religion, freedom of expression and the principle of non-discrimination. Secondly, El-Moumni, and all imams, were perceived as the most important example of the problems between Muslims and non-Muslims in the Netherlands. These specific ideas were projected on the Muslim community as a whole, which at the time was seen as being reluctant to integrate and adhere to Dutch norms and values. Thirdly, El-Moumni made his statements shortly after the law on same-sex marriage came into effect, which prolonged the discussion about this law.<sup>226</sup> In the end, El Moumni was acquitted of all charges because he had 'only expressed his religious views'.<sup>227</sup> Nevertheless, the commotion of this incident led to the conclusion that the communication between the government and Muslims was impractical.<sup>228</sup>

The timeline on the next page gives an overview of all the important developments in the public debate on migration and integration of Muslims and the important incidents concerning Muslims. The timeline is chronological, but the distances between the years do not add up for the sake of readability.

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<sup>226</sup> Douwes, Koning, and Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger*, 147,148.

<sup>227</sup> Prins, *Voorbij de Onschuld : Het Debat over Integratie in Nederland*, 42.

<sup>228</sup> "Ontstaansgeschiedenis – CMO," accessed July 22, 2018, <http://cmoweb.nl/ontstaansgeschiedenis/>.



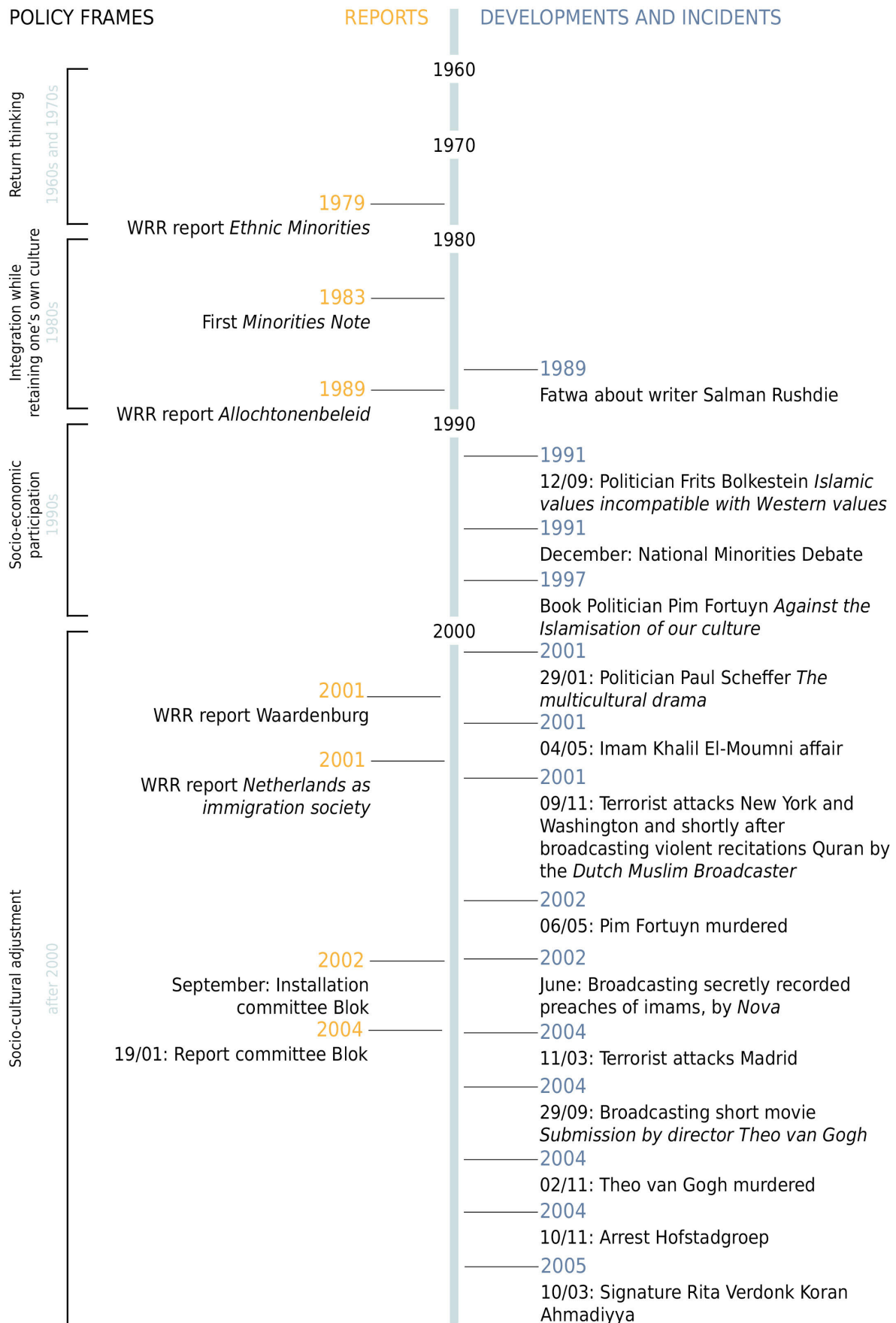


Figure 1: Neel van Roessel, Charlie Roelse, *Reports, Developments and Incidents*, 2019.

It is remarkable that, most developments and incidents involving Muslims took place after 2000. This may have contributed to shifting the policy frameworks in the first years of the new millennium. According to Snel and Scholten it is difficult to say if the change of perspective on the minority problem is the result of these developments and incidents, or whether these developments and incidents received more attention as a result of a changed public perception of minority problems.<sup>229</sup> These developments and incidents are analysed in the following section. First, however, a WRR report on the institutional design of Islam in the Netherlands since the 1960s is discussed. Islamologist Jacques Waardenburg had carried out this study on behalf of the WRR, and it was published around the same time the El-Moumni affair took place in May 2001. Waardenburg makes a comparison with the institutional design of Islam in Belgium, Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Switzerland, which were all confronted with a variety of Muslim orientations, communities and organisations. Waardenburg argues that Islam as a religion in Europe does not consist of one comprehensive organisation.<sup>230</sup> The research of Waardenburg showed that Islamic institutions can be typically religious, but they can also be socio-cultural institutions with religious characteristics, often linked to the nationality of the country of origin. That is why it is difficult for the government to choose a single representative institution that connects different nationalities, and more importantly, the government cannot strive for a single representative body for all Muslims if those involved cannot or do not want to support this. Previous attempts in the six countries to choose one representative institution all failed, according to Waardenburg.<sup>231</sup>

Waardenburg emphasizes that also in the Netherlands there are large differences between Muslims in their country of origin, orientation towards Islam and institutional design of their religion. He adds, however, that Islam is hardly politicised in the Netherlands. Moreover, according to Waardenburg, there is a lack of good Muslim leadership in the Netherlands. He argues that good Muslim leadership is beneficial for consultation and can increase participation of Muslims in society.<sup>232</sup> Waardenburg also

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<sup>229</sup> Snel and Scholten, "Integratie: Van Gastarbeiders Tot Het Multicultureel Drama," 164.

<sup>230</sup> Jacques Waardenburg, "Institutionele vormgevingen van de islam in Nederland gezien in Europees perspectief," Workdocument, 118 (Wetenschappelijk Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, May 15, 2001), 86.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., 47–85.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., 115, 116.



states that imams from abroad know too little of Dutch society and therefore cannot embody these roles.<sup>233</sup>

Waardenburg concludes that policy with regard to the institutional design of Islam should exclude government interference in the content of the religion. They should, however, continue to subsidize socio-cultural activities of Muslim communities, in order to better integrate these communities into Dutch society. He further states that training imams is important, because they can help and guide the Muslim communities in the integration process in the Netherlands.<sup>234</sup> According to the WRR, the theological universities are proof that there is room for imam-education in the Netherlands, without affecting the separation between church and state. Muslims can therefore rely on these educational facilities to develop imam-education.<sup>235</sup>

### **3.3 Socio-cultural adjustment (after 2000)**

After 2000, the socio-cultural dimension of the integration policy again gained great importance. While previously the preservation of cultural identity was seen as a positive factor for integration, it was now seen by many as an obstacle. There was an urge for cultural adjustment to Dutch norms and values.<sup>236</sup> Snel and Scholten argue that the following causes are important in the framework-shift of integration policy. First, during the 1990s, integration was predominantly seen as a socio-economic issue in the political and public debate. After 2000, however, integration was increasingly seen as a cultural problem. The cultural problem concerned the behaviour and cultural views of minorities. Second, integration was previously seen as a disadvantage and social inequality issue, but after 2000 it was seen as a problem of deviant behaviour. Thirdly, integration used to be viewed as a problem of minorities, but after 2000 it was seen as a problem of society as a whole.<sup>237</sup>

An important aspect of the integration problem was the question of who was representative of the Muslim communities. From the arrival of Muslims in the 1960s and 1970s until the end of the 1980s, migrant-organisations received subsidies for migrants

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<sup>233</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., 115–18.

<sup>235</sup> “Nederland als immigratiesamenleving,” Report, nr. 60 (Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, September 24, 2001), 160.

<sup>236</sup> Snel and Scholten, “Integratie: Van Gastarbeiders Tot Het Multicultureel Drama,” 170.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., 171.

to promote and preserve their cultural identity. In addition to the motive to support the multicultural society the government believed that the migrant-organisations were more suitable to support the migrants and to act as a discussion partner in the event of problems, than the government itself. As a result of changing integration policies, from a multiculturalist to an assimilationist approach, these organisations lost their subsidies.<sup>238</sup> Interestingly, the government and policy makers turned to non-secular organisations to find representatives for Muslims, since they perceived religion as being a binding and representative factor. Imams and mosque organisations were considered representative for Muslims. This approach partly followed the assumption that Muslim institutions had similar functions as the Christian, by comparing Christian pastors and priests to imams and churches to mosques, all highly reputed within religion.<sup>239</sup>

In its report *Netherlands as an immigration society* in August 2001, the WRR states that the Netherlands had become an immigration society. However, the WRR argues that the Dutch migration and integration policy at that time is insufficiently focused on an immigration society and the ability of Dutch society to cope with differences and see the positive contributions of immigrants is negligible.<sup>240</sup> In addition to the realization that immigration was a permanent phenomenon, the increasing cultural diversity within immigrant communities became more visible, according to the WRR. It states that ‘permanent migration implies permanent diversity’<sup>241</sup> and that therefore, ‘a community-oriented approach, based on the country of origin, is problematic.’<sup>242</sup> According to the WRR, it is problematic because differences within communities are equal to or greater than between communities and the different communities (in terms of country of origin) have become too large for a community-oriented approach. In 2001, there were more than 150 different nationalities in the Netherlands.<sup>243</sup> The WRR states that the role of central government in an immigration society must be to provide effective citizenship education for adult immigrants, to provide quality education with a focus on language skills and to promote economic participation.<sup>244</sup> In addition the WRR argues that the

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<sup>238</sup> Nadia Bouras, *Het Land van Herkomst: Perspectieven Op Verbondenheid Met Marokko, 1960-2010* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2012), 105–7.

<sup>239</sup> Douwes, Koning, and Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger*, 85.

<sup>240</sup> “Nederland als immigratiesamenleving,” 19.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

government should focus on strengthening individual resilience rather than full cultural assimilation of immigrants. According to the WRR, full assimilation is unnecessary and even undesirable.<sup>245</sup> The new political ideas on immigration and integration at the start of the new millennium ignored these views. Moreover, the aim was to reduce immigration and to limit cultural diversity.<sup>246</sup>

In the WRR report, Islam is mentioned for the first time as a subject that deserves special attention with regard to integration issues. Interestingly, this report focuses on the Dutch principle of separation between church and state for the first time. The WRR argues that institutional design of religions of immigrants does not fit into this principle of separation between church and state. It further argues that although religion is a private domain in the Netherlands, the host country has to deal with the institutional design of the religion of immigrants.<sup>247</sup> The WRR further states that it should therefore not be a problem if the government does not deal with substantive aspects of church affairs.<sup>248</sup> It is interesting to note that the WRR uses the term church affairs. The use of the term church implies that the WRR looks at Islam from a Western and Christian point of view. However, later in the report it states that Islam, as an institution, was organised differently compared to other denominations and that within Islamic institutions the religious aspect was combined with the social and cultural aspect. It was therefore assumed that, subsidies for socio-cultural activities of these communities were not contrary to the principle of separation between church and state.<sup>249</sup>

Another subject that the WRR addresses is the way in which different generations Muslims interpretate and give meaning to their religion. According to the WRR, research has shown that from all the religious communities, Muslim children remained the most loyal to their parents' faith. However, young people do not attend religious meetings as often as their parents.<sup>250</sup> Other research, on the significance of religiousness for identity for Turkish and Moroccan youth, showed that the majority of them are religious and

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<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

<sup>246</sup> Snel and Scholten, "Integratie: Van Gastarbeiders Tot Het Multicultureel Drama," 167.

<sup>247</sup> "Nederland als immigratiesamenleving," 155.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid., 157,158.

<sup>250</sup> Jaco Dagevos, "Perspectief op integratie; over de sociaal-culturele en structurele integratie van etnische minderheden in Nederland," Workdocument, 121 (Wetenschappelijk Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, May 28, 2002).

attach value to their religion.<sup>251</sup> However, these young people also say they want to practice their faith in a personal matter, or practice it but not fully. According to the WRR, it seems as if young people, especially the ones that grew up in the Netherlands, retain their faith, but follow their own interpretation of it.<sup>252</sup>

The changing attitude towards Muslims is partly due to the changed views on the minority problem, but also due to a number of incidents in which minorities were involved. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 were generally seen in the Netherlands as an attack on Western values of democracy and freedom. There were some people who claimed that it was not a question of Muslims versus the West, but they received strong criticism. The question was raised how 'ordinary Muslims' related to extremist Muslims.<sup>253</sup> Shortly after the 9/11 attacks the *Dutch Muslim Channel*, unintentionally, aired Koran recitations stating that unbelievers were not in the mercy of Allah and were merely 'fuel for the fire'.<sup>254</sup> Once again, the discussion arose if Islam could be combined with democracy, in which the separation between church and state and equal rights between men and women are important values. A number of Muslims took part in the public debate. However, their influence was limited, because there were many different opinions among Muslims.<sup>255</sup>

In 2002, Fortuyn participated in the elections with his own party, *Lijst Pim Fortuyn*, LPF (Dutch right-wing populist party). On May 6, 2002, just before the elections, he was killed by an animal rights activist. His party, however, won 26 out of 150 seats and was the second most popular party, immediately after the CDA. Limiting immigration and promoting strong integration policy became important topics in the CDA, LPF and VVD coalition.<sup>256</sup> However, the cabinet fell within three months. The murder of Fortuyn is an exception among incidents involving Muslims, but because of the huge impact it had, the incident has been included. In addition, in 2002, news program *Nova* broadcast secretly recorded sermons of imams of the *Ahl as-Sunnah* committee. In the sermons, Palestinian

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<sup>251</sup> Phaet, Lotringen, and Entzinger, *Islam in de Multiculturele Samenleving*.

<sup>252</sup> "Nederland als immigratiesamenleving," 156.

<sup>253</sup> Douwes, Koning, and Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger*, 148.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>256</sup> Entzinger, "Changing the Rules While the Game Is on: From Multiculturalism to Assimilation in the Netherlands," 9.

martyrdom was honoured, women were told to stay at home and adultery claimed to be punished by stoning for women, or flogging for both men and women.<sup>257</sup> These incidents led to extensive discussions in the media on the alleged poor integration of minorities, especially Muslims, and the alleged gap between cultures, which in turn intensified the minorities issue.<sup>258</sup>

In the public debate, there was a widely shared opinion that integration and the integration policy in the Netherlands had failed.<sup>259</sup> In September 2002, the parliament installed a committee, led by the Liberal Stef Blok: the Blok committee. This committee had to investigate “why the integration of immigrants had failed and why integration policy had been unable to prevent this.”<sup>260</sup> The committee published a report in 2004 concluding that the integration of immigrants in the Netherlands was “moderately successful, notwithstanding government policy.”<sup>261</sup> Nevertheless, the conclusion was attacked by both left and right-wing politicians and most maintained the general view that integration had failed. According to Entzinger, there was ‘a clear need to break with the past.’<sup>262</sup> Snel and Scholten argue that the disappointment in integration policy is partly the result of the changing ideas about the meaning of integration and therefore of the views on the objectives of integration policy. The aim of the policy framework in 2004 was socio-cultural adjustment, but the ‘Blok’ study and the relatively positive results were related to the previous goal: socio-economic integration.<sup>263</sup> This explains the rejection of the conclusions of the Blok investigation committee. At the same time as the investigation of the Blok committee, at policy level, the various ideas about integration led to an *Integration Policy New Style*, in September 2003, in which multiculturalism was completely rejected and in which socio-cultural adjustment was the new goal.<sup>264</sup> This was in sharp contrast with the WRR advice in its 2001 report .

After a few years of cooperation with Muslim organisations, Rita Verdonk the Minister of Immigration and Integration recognized the *Contactorgaan Moslims en*

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<sup>257</sup> Boender, “Dossier Imamopleiding: Het Nederlandse ‘imamopleidingsdebat’ in Historisch Perspectief,” 31.

<sup>258</sup> Snel and Scholten, “Integratie: Van Gastarbeiders Tot Het Multicultureel Drama,” 162.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid., 155.

<sup>260</sup> Entzinger, “Changing the Rules While the Game Is on: From Multiculturalism to Assimilation in the Netherlands,” 13.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid.

<sup>263</sup> Snel and Scholten, “Integratie: Van Gastarbeiders Tot Het Multicultureel Drama,” 181.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid., 171,172.

*Overheid* - CMO (Contact Body Muslims and Government) as official discussion partner in 2004. The CMO is a body that represents the interests of Muslims in Dutch government and politics. Ten Islamic umbrella organisations are part of the CMO and approximately 380 mosques are associated with these organisations (84% of the mosques in the Netherlands).<sup>265</sup> As mentioned in the previous chapter, imam Yassin Elforkani played an important role in the public debate with regard to Muslims. Since 2004, Elforkani had been active as a spokesperson of the CMO. Elforkani believes that Muslim and Western values can meet and that young Muslims should strive to achieve this. His arguments cause strong reactions from conservative Islamic communities, like Salafi, to young Muslims, who no longer have faith in equal opportunities, to populist circles and the general Dutch public who are suspicious of Muslims.<sup>266</sup> In contrast to most imams in the Netherlands, who are mainly focused on leading the mosque community, Elforkani has both contributed and called for a stronger civic engagement of imams in the public debate in the Netherlands and in other Western European states.<sup>267</sup> Because of his different roles as ‘imam of the youth’, social worker and spokesman of the CMO, he was able to express his views within the different parties of the polarized public debate.<sup>268</sup>

Another influential voice in the public debate about integration is politician Ayaan Hirsi Ali. She was a member of the Dutch liberal party (VVD) from 2003 until 2006. Even though she was born in Somalia and has a Muslim background, she strongly criticised Islam. In her criticism, Hirsi Ali emphasized the ways in which Islam could be used to abuse women. When she distanced herself from her religion, she was threatened with death. Just like Bolkestein, Fortuyn and Scheffer, she argued that Islam was incompatible with liberal Western culture.<sup>269</sup>

Publicist and film maker Theo van Gogh was not nuanced at all in his criticism on Islam. For instance, in his columns in newspaper *Metro*, he calls Muslims ‘goat fuckers’. Together with Hirsi Ali, he produced the short film *Submission*, in which they addressed oppression and abuse of women in the name of Islam.<sup>270</sup> In the film, Koran texts are projected on the skin of a chastised woman. With their statements and this short film,

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<sup>265</sup> “Ontstaansgeschiedenis – CMO.”

<sup>266</sup> Boender and Ruiter, “The Imam as an Organic Public Intellectual,” 179.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid., 166.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid., 179.

<sup>269</sup> Douwes, Koning, and Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger*, 149,150.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid., 151.

Hirsi Ali and van Gogh contributed to the islamisation of the public debate; they generalise Muslims and problematise Islam, moreover they do not pay attention to cultural aspects other than religion. Although Islam critics like Bolkestein, Fortuyn, Scheffer, Hirsi Ali and Van Gogh, were criticised by other politicians or scholars, such as Hans Dijkstal and Marcel van Dam, their arguments determined the debates and topics on the political agenda.<sup>271</sup>

In 2004 a number of offensive and violent incidents involving Muslims occurred again. On March 11, Muslim extremists carried out a terrorist attack in Madrid, leading to a large number of victims. Moreover, on November 2, 2004, Theo van Gogh was murdered by a Dutch-Moroccan man, born in the Netherlands. A day after the murder, the radical-Islamic motif of the Dutch-Moroccan man was made public. The man had left a letter on Van Gogh's body that justified his Islam-based action. In the letter Hirsi Ali was threatened as well.<sup>272</sup> The polarisation between 'non-Muslims' and 'Muslims' increased after this incident. A few Islamic schools and mosques were attacked. Violence took place on both 'sides'.<sup>273</sup> In November 2004, one of the so-called 'Nova-imams' (from the incident with the Nova broadcast as discussed earlier) refused to shake hands on television with Rita Verdonk the Minister of Integration. This incident took place immediately after the Van Gogh murder and contributed to the intensification of the debates. In various media, imams were portrayed as either passive and conservative, or radical and active. Moreover, they were considered not prepared for 'their task' to integrate Muslims into Dutch society.<sup>274</sup> As a result of the incidents with mosques and imams, foreign imams were obliged to participate in an integration course, with the aim of familiarising them with Dutch norms and values.<sup>275</sup> Several other incidents led to increasing tensions, such as the hiding of parliamentarians Hirsi Ali and Geert Wilders and the arrest of the *Hofstadgroep*. This group consisted of young Muslims, some of them converts, and they were arrested for planning attacks, besides Hirsi Ali, on Ahmed Aboutaleb and Job Cohen, who were alderman and mayor of Amsterdam respectively.<sup>276</sup> All these incidents led to a

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<sup>271</sup> Ibid., 152.

<sup>272</sup> Snel and Scholten, "Integratie: Van Gastarbeiders Tot Het Multicultureel Drama," 163,164.

<sup>273</sup> Douwes, Koning, and Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger*, 151.

<sup>274</sup> Boender, "Dossier Imamopleiding: Het Nederlandse 'imamopleidingsdebat' in Historisch Perspectief," 31.

<sup>275</sup> Snel and Scholten, "Integratie: Van Gastarbeiders Tot Het Multicultureel Drama," 163.

<sup>276</sup> Douwes, Koning, and Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger*, 152.

growing distrust of Islam and fuelled the idea that integration policy had failed and that the socio-cultural distance between *allochtonen* and *autochtonen* was too great.<sup>277</sup>

A remarkable event happened in 2005. On March 10, a new Koran edition was presented by the Ahmadiyya Muslim community, which included a Dutch translation and explanation. The Ahmadiyya are a community of Muslims, mainly from Suriname, who present themselves as 'liberal' Muslims.<sup>278</sup> The remarkable thing at that moment was that at this meeting the Koran was signed by Minister Verdonk, who thereby expressed her support for this Muslim community. This moment can be seen on the image below.



Figure 2: Minister Verdonk places her signature in the first copy of the Dutch translation of the Koran by the Ahmadiyya movement.<sup>279</sup>

This is in sharp contrast with the WRR's recommendations of 2001, which stated that only socio-cultural activities of Muslim communities should be supported, not religious activities. Moreover, it is in opposition to the principle of separation of church and state that underlies the democratic state.

### 3.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the context in which the 'islamisation' of the public debate took place. The central question of the chapter was: What developments and incidents have influenced the public debate with regard to migration and integration of Muslims?

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<sup>277</sup> Snel and Scholten, "Integratie: Van Gastarbeiders Tot Het Multicultureel Drama," 170.

<sup>278</sup> Douwes, Koning, and Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger*, 34.

<sup>279</sup> Robert Vos, *Den Haag-Koran-Verdonk*, March 10, 2005, Photograph, 29.67 x 19.78 cm, March 10, 2005, ANP Foto, <https://www.anpfoto.nl/search.pp?page=1&ShowPicture=1859206&pos=1>.



As explained in the theory in chapter one, certain developments and incidents are only visible, have meaning and may possibly be experienced as problematic, from the perspective of specific normative policy frameworks. The problems that are attributed to the arrival and integration of Muslims, were seen as problems, because they were not in line with the objectives of the policy framework that applied at the time.

In the 1990s and 2000s, certain developments and incidents stood out, which influenced the debates on migration and integration of Muslims. Politicians such as Frits Bolkestein, Paul Scheffer, Pim Fortuyn and Ayaan Hirsi Ali claimed that Islamic and Western values were incompatible, that Islam was a threat to Dutch culture and that Muslim integration had failed. Their statements had a considerable influence on the public debate and opinions about migration and integration of Muslims in the Netherlands. Moreover, their arguments contributed to the islamisation of the public debate; they problematise Islam, ignore all cultural aspects but religion, and ignore diversity within Muslim communities. Bolkestein's claim, in 1991, is perceived as the beginning of debates about national minorities. These debates are an important example of how views and opinions in the media were conveyed to parliament, where this was extensively debated.

Although an extensive study, by the Blok committee, on the alleged failure of Muslim integration concluded that integration actually succeeded in most aspects, the majority of people in the public debate continued to express the failure of integration. A possible reason for this is the shift in policy frameworks from the main policy goal of socio-economic participation in the 1990s, to socio-cultural adjustment after 2000. The Blok study showed that integration was successful in the field of socio-economic participation, but because the objectives of the integration policy framework had changed, hardly any attention was paid to this success, and only the perceived problems of cultural integration were emphasized.

In 1979, 1989 and 2001, the WRR published a report on immigration and integration in the Netherlands, in which they advise the government on how to deal with migration and integration. Only in the 2001 report, Muslims are treated as a separate minority community and a specific chapter is devoted to the role of Islamic institutions in Dutch society. Nevertheless, there is no indication of islamisation in the report; diversity within Islam is emphasized and the WRR therefore advises against national policy for Muslims or different movements within Islam. An important point in the report, regarding

the institutionalising of Islam, is the Dutch principle of separation between church and state. According to the WRR, it is believed that government subsidies for socio-cultural activities of Muslim communities do not contradict the principle of separation between church and state.

In addition to the opinions and statements of public figures and the WRR, a number of incidents occurred in the new millennium, that had an impact on the general attitude of Dutch society towards Muslims. The people involved in the incidents were primarily imams, who expressed ideas about homosexuality and women, that were strongly opposed to the opinions of the majority of Dutch people. These specific ideas were projected onto the Muslim community as a whole, which at the time were regarded as reluctant to integration and Dutch norms and values. Moreover, imams were seen as not prepared for 'their task' to integrate Muslims in Dutch society. That is why the incidents with imams resulted in a compulsory integration course for imams, to familiarize them with Dutch norms and values.

Secondly, fundamentalist or radical Muslims were involved in the incidents. The most influential incidents are the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 in New York and Washington, and March 11, 2004 in Madrid, and the murder of director and Islam critic Theo van Gogh by a radical Muslim man. In the Netherlands, these violent incidents were seen as an attack on Western values of democracy and freedom. That is why the polarisation between 'non-Muslims' and 'Muslims' increased after these incidents. It is remarkable that after 2000 most of the incidents involving Muslims took place. The incidents led to extensive discussions in the media on the alleged poor integration of Muslims, and the alleged gap between cultures, which in turn intensified the minority problem.

Together, all discussed developments and incidents influenced public opinion about Muslims and led to fierce debates about the position of Islam in the Netherlands, which in turn increased the islamisation of the public debate. Moreover, the importance attributed to these events led to extensive discussions in parliament. In the 1990s, Muslims were increasingly seen as a separate minority community and the problems that arose with the alleged lack of integration of this community were seen as problems that needed to be discussed and addressed by the government and policy makers.

The following chapter analyses the content of government policy documents on migration and integration of Muslims, to find out whether Muslims were actually a key

topic in policy documents and more importantly, if specific policies were directed at Muslims as a separate, homogenous minority community, thereby contributing to islamisation.

## 4. Distant reading analysis policy of documents

In order to analyse the contents of migration and integration policies from 1994-2006 with regard to Muslims, it is first of all important to investigate how often the subject of Muslims or Islam is addressed in the policy documents and what the topics are related to. That is why the two central questions in this chapter are: How often did the government and policymakers refer to Muslims in migration and integration policy documents in the period 1994-2006? What were the themes related to Muslims in migration and integration policy documents in the period under regard?

This chapter contains the distant reading analysis of the research. The sources used for the distant reading analysis are policy documents on migration and integration of Muslims, from the period of 1994-2006, from the Second Chamber and the United Assembly. The documents come from two government archives: the current archive, *Officiële Bekendmakingen*<sup>280</sup>, which contains parliamentary documents from 1995 onwards, and the previous archive, *Staten-Generaal Digitaal*<sup>281</sup>, which contains the parliamentary documents from 1994.

The distant reading analysis is based on two aspects: *Trends* and *Corpus Collocates*. *Trends* is a visualisation tool that shows the frequencies of terms (keywords) in a document or in a whole corpus. Islam and Muslim are the keywords used in the analysis, because policy documents relating to Muslims, contain at least once a reference to either Islam or Muslim. *Trends* provides an overview of the number of references to Islam or Muslims in the research period. Collocates are words that frequently occur together in the text. Researching the most common collocates of the keywords Islam and Muslim is an effective method to start analysing the topics related to Muslims. Before presenting the findings of these approaches, the selection of the sources is explained in detail.

### 4.1 Selection sources distant reading

The sources were selected based on the keywords *islam\** and *moslim\**, respectively Islam\* and Muslim\*. As explained in the methodology section of this study, the use of the typography symbol '\*' ensures that all different forms of Islam and Muslim are included in the search query, which means that, words such as 'Islamic' and 'Muslim organisations'

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<sup>280</sup> "Zoeken in de Parlementaire Documenten | Overheid.NL."

<sup>281</sup> "Staten-Generaal Digitaal."

are also included. For the readability of the chapter the typography symbol is omitted when referring to *islam* or *moslim*, but when these words appear, they always include the different inflections of the words. The archive *Officiële Bekendmakingen* provides the possibility to make a pre-selection based on a specific policy area. The area that was selected for this research is 'migration and integration'. The sub-topics of this area are: emigration, immigration, integration, Dutch citizenship (*Nederlanderschap*), organisation and policy and temporary residence. All of these sub-topics are included in the search. The number of documents from the archive *Officiële Bekendmakingen*, from 1995-2006, with the appearance of *islam*, *muslim* or both in the text, within the migration and integration policy area is 369. The *Staten-Generaal Digitaal* archive does not include the option to make a preselection therefore the preselection was done manually. It was not possible to determine how many documents from 1994 are related to the migration and integration policy area in general. Nevertheless, it was possible to make a selection based on the appearance of *islam* or *moslim* in the documents. Of the 26 documents with the appearance of *islam*, *moslim* or both, 9 documents related to migration and integration. The 9 documents were selected by scanning the 26 documents, looking for aspects related to migration and/ or integration. This makes the total number of documents 378. The documents vary highly in size, from half a page to 350 pages, or even more. In short, because of the pre-selection of sources, only the documents that relate to migration or integration, and that contain a reference to *islam*, *moslim* or both, are covered.

As mentioned in the method section, the operation of text scraping and online data analysis are explained in more detail in this chapter. First, the *OutWit Hub pro* tool was used to collect all the content of the policy documents, so that *Voyant Tools* could read them digitally. By creating specific text scrapers for the archive *Officiële Bekendmakingen*, it was possible to first extract the web addresses of the policy documents, and later the plain text. The text scraper ensured that only the information about the type and number of documents, date of publication and the plain text was extracted. The content pages, chapter- and subchapter titles, tables, pictures, page numbers and all other repeating information on the web pages were not extracted. The extracted text was then converted to an Excel document. This method was applied separately for the policy documents with a reference to *islam* and *moslim*. The duplicates of the documents were filtered out in Excel. For the documents from 1994, from the *Staten-Generaal Digitaal* archive, the text

scraping was done by hand. An overview of the number of documents per year and in total can be seen in the table below.

|  | 1994   | 1995    | 1996     | 1997     | 1998     | 1999     | 2000     | 2001     | 2002     | 2003     | 2004     | 2005     | 2006     | Total    |
|--|--------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| <b>Total documents migration/ integration (mig./int.)</b>                                | x      | 221     | 277      | 426      | 327      | 398      | 521      | 400      | 418      | 505      | 718      | 787      | 824      | x        |
| <b>Documents mig./int. with reference islam*/moslim* (1) &gt; as percentage of total</b> | 9<br>x | 9<br>4% | 15<br>5% | 29<br>7% | 25<br>8% | 22<br>6% | 25<br>5% | 26<br>7% | 33<br>8% | 29<br>6% | 58<br>8% | 42<br>5% | 56<br>7% | 378<br>x |
| <b>Documents mig./int. with reference islam*</b>   | 7      | 9       | 11       | 20       | 18       | 20       | 17       | 19       | 27       | 18       | 48       | 33       | 29       | 276      |
| <b>Documents mig./int. with reference moslim*</b>  | 6      | 5       | 9        | 21       | 11       | 13       | 16       | 16       | 20       | 21       | 46       | 31       | 39       | 254      |

(1) Duplicates filtered out  
x = unknown

Figure 3: Neel van Roessel, *Migration and integration policy documents with references to Islam and Muslim*, 2019.

The first row in the table contains the number of documents related to migration and integration per year from 1995-2006. As explained earlier, the 1994 archive did not provide the possibility to make a pre-selection of documents relating to migration and integration and therefore this number is unknown. The second row represents the absolute number of documents concerning migration and integration that include a reference to *islam*, *moslim* or both. In the second row, the duplicates, the documents that contain a reference to both *islam* and *moslim*, are merged. The third row represents these documents with a reference to *islam*, *moslim* or both as a percentage from the total number of documents related to migration and integration. Finally, the fourth and fifth row contain the number of documents on migration and integration with a reference to *islam* and *moslim* respectively.

The first thing that stands out when looking at the table, is that the absolute number of documents related to migration and integration almost quadrupled from 1995 until 2006. Looking at the figures in the second row, a steady increase in documents with references to Islam or Muslim is clear, with the exception of a small peak in 1997 and 2002 and a higher peak in 2004. Moreover, when looking at the percentage of documents with references to Islam or Muslim from the total number of documents on migration and integration, the years 1998, 2002 and 2004 are among the highest numbers. The high number of documents with a reference to Islam or Muslim in 2004 (58) and the increase from 2003 to 2004, from 29 to 58 documents, is remarkable. This may be related to the multiple violent incidents involving Muslims in 2004, the murder of van Gogh and the terrorist attacks in Madrid that were the most influential ones in the Netherlands. This

will be further discussed using the distant reading approaches. Interestingly, fewer documents referring to Islam or Muslim were found in 2005 compared to the total documents on migration and integration (42, 5%, 787) and also compared to the previous year (58, 8%, 718) and thereafter (56, 7%, 824).

On the basis of this table it can be concluded that there is an absolute increase in the number of documents on migration and integration with a reference to Islam or Muslim between 1994 and 2006. However, there is an absolute increase in documents relating to migration and integration in the first place. Moreover, the percentages of the number of documents with a reference to Islam or Muslim fluctuate over the years. Therefore, there was no relative increase in the number of policy documents on migration and integration between 1994 and 2006 with regard to Muslims.

## 4.2 Islam and Muslim word frequencies

In this subchapter, the total body of 378 documents is analysed by looking at word frequencies. The graph in figure 4 shows the absolute number of references to *islam* and *moslim* each year, from 1994-2006. The *Trends* tool, from *Voyant Tools* is used for the graph. With this tool the entire corpus from 1994-2006 is investigated. The line graph shows trends over the years. Technically, it is a bit misleading because it shows a continuous line, while the corpuses of each year are not connected to each other and were uploaded as separate files.<sup>282</sup> That is why the stacked bars are included, which represent the absolute number of references to *islam* or *moslim* per year. In addition, the exact numbers of references are shown in the table in figure 5. The decision was made to use and analyse the raw frequency graph and not the relative frequency graph. Raw frequencies are the absolute number of references of a term per year and relative frequencies are the number of references of the term per year, in relation to the size of the corpus. The reason for choosing the raw frequency graph is that the peaks in the relative frequency graph are not representative of the entire year. For example, 1995 has nine policy documents with a reference to *islam*, *moslim* or both, which is a small corpus compared to the other years. If, hypothetically, one of these nine documents contains one hundred references to *islam* or *moslim*, which is a high number, the average of references per document of the year 1995 would be relatively high in that case. This could result in

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<sup>282</sup> "Trends - Voyant Tools Help," accessed July 8, 2018, <https://voyant-tools.org/docs/#!/guide/trends>.

a relative frequencies graph that shows that 1995 is the year with relatively the most references to *islam* or *moslim*, while 2004 is by far the year with the most absolute references to *islam* or *moslim*.

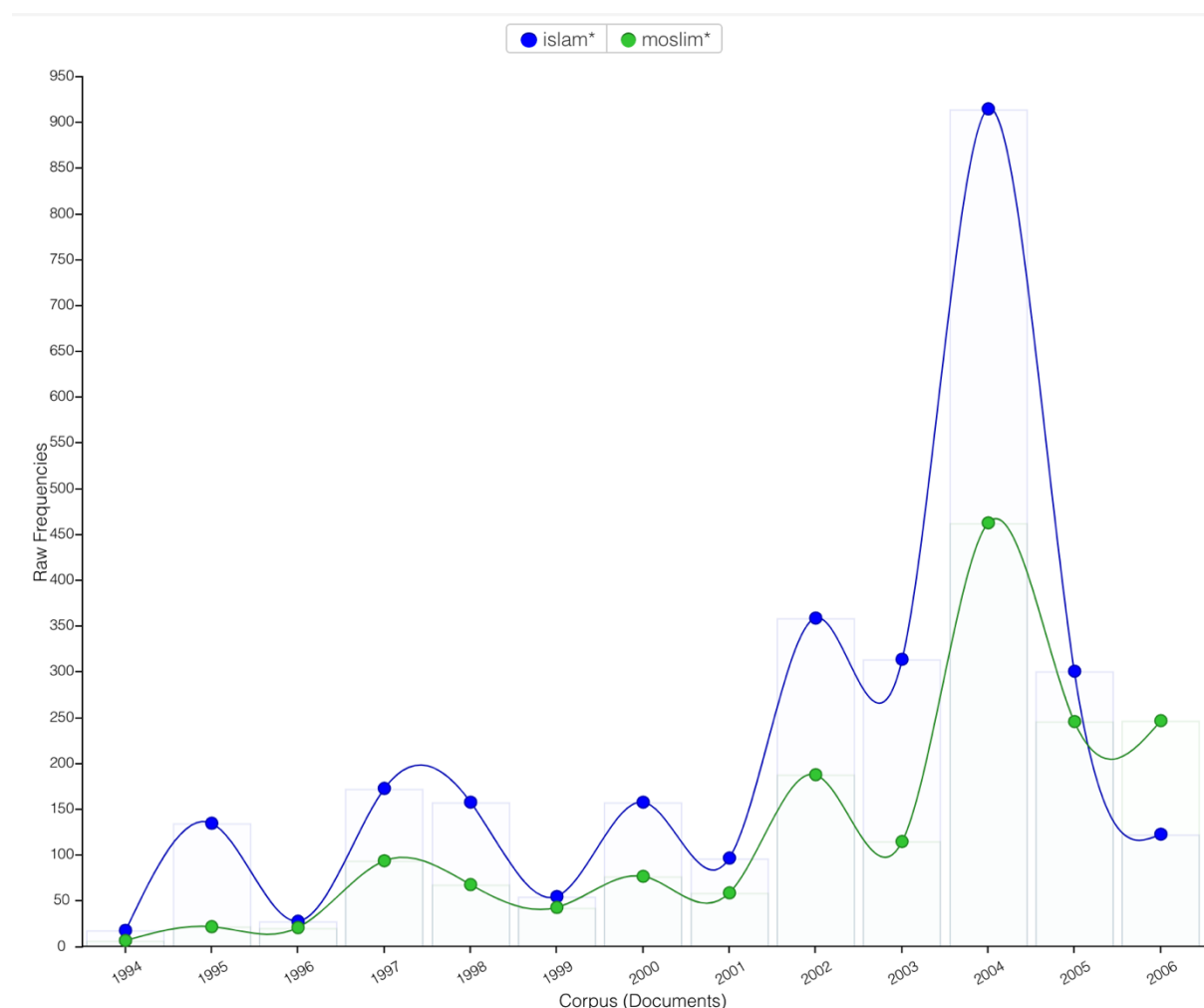


Figure 4: Neel van Roessel, *Raw frequencies keywords Islam and Muslim in migration and integration policy documents*, 2018.

|                          | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 |
|--------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Total references islam*  | 17   | 134  | 27   | 172  | 157  | 54   | 157  | 96   | 358  | 313  | 914  | 300  | 122  |
| Total references moslim* | 6    | 21   | 20   | 93   | 67   | 42   | 76   | 58   | 187  | 114  | 462  | 245  | 246  |
| Total both               | 23   | 155  | 47   | 265  | 224  | 96   | 233  | 154  | 545  | 427  | 1376 | 545  | 368  |

Figure 5: Neel van Roessel, *Raw frequencies keywords Islam and Muslim in migration and integration policy documents*, 2018.



The peaks of 2004 immediately stand out in the graph. Although 2004 has a large corpus, with 58 documents, the 1376 references (see figure 5) to *islam* or *moslim* stand out. The fact that the corpus is larger, and the number of references is much higher than the other years means that the topics of *islam* and *moslim* are a larger topic in policy documents of 2004 compared to the other years.

In the years 2002 to 2006, the number of references to *islam* and *moslim* in policy documents was considerably higher than in the preceding years. This may be due to an increase in incidents and events involving Muslims since 2001, as shown in the timeline in figure 1 on page 45. Nine out of ten offensive or violent incidents took place between 2001 and 2006, while none took place between 1994 and 2000 and only one before 1994.

A limitation of the raw frequency graph is that, like the chart with the relative frequencies, it is not possible to see whether certain documents include *islam* or *moslim* as the dominant subject, or if it is only mentioned as an example. The close reading of the documents is therefore essential to understand the context of the references to the topics of *islam* and *moslim*. Nevertheless, the pre-selection of migration and integration documents in combination with the word frequency analysis shows that the topics of *islam* and *moslim* are associated with migration and integration issues and, moreover, that they are increasingly linked to these issues.

The focus on keyword frequencies results into excessive amounts of data for in-depth research, and therefore, the next step is to analyse keywords and their collocates.

### 4.3 Islam and Muslim word collocations

The *Corpus Collocates* tool, from *Voyant Tools*, is used to analyse word collocations in the corpus. The standard view of the online tool shows three columns: the first is *term*, these are the keywords being searched; the second is *collocate*, which are the words found in the vicinity of the keyword; the third is *count (context)*, which is the frequency of the collocate that is in the vicinity of the keyword.<sup>283</sup> The keywords that are used are *islam* and *moslim*.

An important aspect of the tool is the 'context slider'. This is a scroll bar that determines the number of words, around the keyword, that are taken into account. The value 5 is used for this study. Scholars Kenneth Ward Church and Patrick Hanks

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<sup>283</sup> "Corpus Collocates - Voyant Tools Help."

conducted research into word association standards.<sup>284</sup> They argue that a window size of five is a good compromise, because it is large enough to show a number of semantic relationships between words, but not so large that it loses relationships between words that demand a strict adjacency.<sup>285</sup> In addition, scholars Fethi Fkih and Mohamed Nazih Omri argue that a window size of five collocations can refer to deep semantic relationships in addition to idiomatic expressions and named entities (for example personal names), which are the most extracted collocations with a window size of three and four.<sup>286</sup> The collocates tool therefore looks at the 5 words before the keywords *islam* and *moslim* and the 5 words after the same keywords, when determining the word collocations. Another important aspect of the tool is the possibility to define a set of stop words to exclude. Stop words are defined as words with a high-frequency “function”, such as articles, prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions and pronouns.<sup>287</sup> According to scholar Matthew Jockers, the intention is to remove words that ‘do not bear a thematic weight’ and to concentrate on the words that ‘best convey meaning’.<sup>288</sup> A Dutch list of stop words was used, which can be found in appendix 2.

The decision was made to focus solely on collocates of nouns. For example, when adjectives are taken into account the problem arises that the nouns, to which the adjectives in most cases belong, are not visible, because the tool only shows relationships between one word and another. In addition, the collocates *islam-moslim* and vice-versa are omitted. Finally, corresponding words are added to one another, for example Netherlands and Dutch, or school and schools. The goal was to create a top twenty collocates of each year, because that includes the highest numbers of collocates, but also some notable collocates with lower frequencies. However, if there are more collocates with the same frequency of the twentieth collocation, all these collocates are included. Collocates that occurred once are not included.

In short, the different steps that were taken were first to upload the one-year, then add the stop word list and then extract the first twenty collocates (nouns). All collocates

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<sup>284</sup> Kenneth Ward Church and Patrick Hanks, “Word Association Norms, Mutual Information, and Lexicography,” *Computational Linguistics* 16, no. 1 (1990): 22–29.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>286</sup> Fethi Fkih and Mohamed Nazih Omri, “Learning the Size of the Sliding Window for the Collocations Extraction: A ROC-Based Approach,” vol. 2 (Proceedings of the 2012 International Conference on Artificial Intelligence, ICAI 2012, Las Vegas, 2012), 6.

<sup>287</sup> Jockers, *Macroanalysis*, 131.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*

and frequencies were put in tables and translated by myself. Only a selection of the word collocations is included in the table below in figure 6, to keep the table comprehensible and to highlight the most frequent word collocations. The analysis below sometimes refers to word collocations and frequencies that are not shown in the table. This information can be found in appendix 3 where the full version of the word collocations table is displayed per year.

Viewed over the entire period, *islam* and *moslim* can often be found in connection with the words school(s) and primary school(s), two peaks being 2004 and 2003 with a frequency of respectively 203 and 151. In the case of the word education the numbers are slightly lower, with 1995 and 2002-2004 being the years with the highest frequencies. In general, in 1995 and from 2002 until 2005, the relation between Islam or Muslim and all versions of the word school is in the top 3 most common word collocations. This is no surprise since education is one of the three most important aspects of integration policies since around 1990, as discussed in the WRR report *Allochtonenbeleid*<sup>289</sup> A second topic that occurs fairly frequently in relation to Islam or Muslim, is the Netherlands or Dutch. With the exception of 1995 and 1996, these words occur every year in the top 4 of the highest frequencies. In 1998 (frequency 46), 2000 (frequency 42) and 2002 (frequency 108), they rise far above the number of the other word collocations of those years.

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<sup>289</sup> "Allochtonenbeleid," 11.

| Year | I/M(1) | Noun                 | F(2) | Year | I/M(1) | Noun                      | F(2) |
|------|--------|----------------------|------|------|--------|---------------------------|------|
| 1994 | I      | council              | 5    | 2001 | I      | homosexuality/-sexual     | 13   |
| 1994 | I/M    | Netherlands          | 4    |      |        |                           |      |
| 1995 | I/M    | community(ies)       | 60   | 2002 | I/M    | Netherlands/Dutch         | 108  |
| 1995 | I/M    | education/secondary- | 45   | 2002 | I      | school(s)                 | 60   |
| 1995 | I      | school(s)            | 17   | 2002 | I      | organisations             | 37   |
| 1995 | I      | pen                  | 16   | 2002 | I      | education                 | 25   |
|      |        |                      |      | 2002 | I      | community(ies)            | 22   |
| 1996 | I      | boundaries           | 4    | 2003 | I      | school(s)/-primary        | 151  |
| 1996 | I      | social groups        | 4    | 2003 | I      | citizenship               | 50   |
|      |        |                      |      | 2003 | I/M    | Netherlands/Dutch         | 30   |
| 1997 | I/M    | Iran                 | 21   | 2003 | I      | education                 | 28   |
| 1997 | I/M    | Netherlands          | 19   | 2003 | M      | government                | 28   |
| 1997 | I      | republic             | 16   |      |        |                           |      |
| 1997 | I      | religion             | 13   | 2004 | I/M    | Netherlands/Dutch         | 221  |
|      |        |                      |      | 2004 | I      | school(s)/-primary        | 203  |
| 1998 | I/M    | Netherlands          | 46   | 2004 | I      | organisation(s)           | 85   |
| 1998 | I/M    | Hindu(s)             | 20   | 2004 | I      | education/-primary        | 78   |
| 1998 | I/M    | organisations        | 21   | 2004 | I      | citizenship               | 38   |
| 1998 | I/M    | council              | 15   | 2004 | I/M    | society                   | 37   |
|      |        |                      |      |      |        |                           |      |
| 1999 | I/M    | care/-taker/-centre  | 11   | 2005 | I      | school(s)                 | 38   |
| 1999 | M      | cleric               | 8    | 2005 | I/M    | Netherlands/Dutch         | 35   |
| 1999 | I/M    | Netherlands/Dutch    | 8    | 2005 | I/M    | radicalisation/radicalism | 30   |
| 1999 | I/M    | Hindu                | 7    | 2005 | I      | citizenship               | 26   |
|      |        |                      |      | 2005 | I/M    | organisation              | 24   |
| 2000 | I/M    | Netherlands/Dutch    | 42   |      |        |                           |      |
| 2000 | I      | organisations        | 22   | 2006 | M      | Christian(s)/Christianity | 48   |
| 2000 | I/M    | council              | 16   | 2006 | I/M    | Netherlands/Dutch         | 26   |
| 2000 | I/M    | cleric               | 15   | 2006 | M      | Iran                      | 15   |
|      |        |                      |      | 2006 | I      | school(s)                 | 12   |
| 2001 | I/M    | Netherlands/Dutch    | 22   | 2006 | M      | threat(s)                 | 10   |
| 2001 | I/M    | citizenship          | 19   |      |        |                           |      |

(1) Keyword:  
islam\*/moslim\*  
(2) Frequency

Figure 6: Neel van Roessel, *Word collocations and frequencies with keywords Islam and Muslim*, 2018.

In 1997, the word collocation between *islam* or *moslim* and citizenship appears for the first time (frequency 5). In 2001, 2003, 2004 and 2005 this word collocation is relatively high compared to the other words (respectively a frequency of 19, 50, 38, 26). This could be related to the WRR report from 2001, which states that the role of central government in an immigration society must exist in providing effective citizenship education.

Furthermore, as a result of the incidents with mosques and imams between 2001 and 2004, discussed in the previous chapter, foreign imams became obliged to participate in a citizenship integration course, with the aim to familiarise them with Dutch norms and values. In addition, citizenship education is an important topic after the shift in policy frameworks after 2000, when assimilation became the main integration policy goal. The same may apply to the word collocation integration and Islam. This collocation appears in 2001 (frequency 3), 2003 (frequency 7) and 2005 (frequency 7). However, compared to the frequency of citizenship related to *islam* or *moslim* these numbers are less striking.

The keywords *islam* and *moslim* are related to other religions several times. From 1998 until 2001 the word Hindu(s) is repeatedly related to Islam. In addition, in 2006 the keyword *moslim* is very often related to Christian(s) or Christianity, 48 times. This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, since three of the documents of the close reading section contain these collocations.

Care, caretaker(s) and cleric(s) are words that often occur in relation to *islam* or *moslim* in the years 1995 and 1998 until 2001. The peaks are in 1999 with a frequency of 11 in the case of care/ caretaker or care-centre and 1995, 1998, 1999 and 2000 in the case of cleric(s), with frequencies of respectively 9, 10, 8 and 15. The close reading section of this research will show that these are important topics in the public debate and that they were extensively discussed. In most cases these words refer to imams. The frequency of this collocation can be explained by the following. Since the mid- 1990s the issue and discussion of who was representative of the Muslim communities intensified. As mentioned in chapter three, the government and policymakers turned to imams and mosque organisations to find representatives for Muslims, because they considered religion as a binding and representative factor. It is therefore no surprise that since 1995 the topics *islam* and *moslim* are frequently related to cleric(s).

Homosexuality in relation to *islam* starts to become a point of discussion in 2000. This is not in the table, because compared to the other words, the frequency of 5 is much lower. However, in 2001 the frequency of word collocations between homosexuality or homosexual and *islam* is considerable with a number of 13. This may have something to do with the El-Moumni affair, discussed in chapter three. Imam Khalil El-Moumni stated in May 2001 that homosexuality was a contagious disease, a statement that caused much controversy. Moreover, in 2004 homosexuality and *islam* is an issue that is discussed at least 14 times. In addition, in three out of the fifteen documents from the close reading

section, the subject of homosexuality and Islam is addressed. Together with the relatively high frequencies of word collocations in 2001 and 2004, this demonstrates the importance of the topic in policy documents.

Word collocations that stand out further, but that are not processed in the table above, are words related to gender and age. With relatively high numbers in 2004, these words are women and girls with a frequency of 22 respectively 13, in 2002 girls (frequency 11), in 2003 children (frequency 12) and finally youth in 2003, 2005, 2006, with a number of 5, 12 and 6 word collocations. The previous chapter showed that in addition to the emancipation of homosexuals, the emancipation of women has played an important role in the public debate about Islam and Muslims. This debate has intensified since 2000, and several politicians and public figures, such as Fortuyn, were of the opinion that women and homosexuals were suppressed within Islam. It is therefore logical that the topics women and girls are related to *islam* or *moslim*. The connection of *islam* to Hirsi Ali (frequency 12) and to VVD (6), in 2003 is also remarkable. As explained in chapter three, Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a member of the Dutch liberal party (VVD) had much criticism of Islam and was in office from 2003 until 2006, which explains the frequency of her name related to *islam*.

In general, the words related to *islam* or *moslim*, in the years 1994, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2002 and 2004 are neutral, meaning that the words themselves do not connect a positive or negative aspect with *islam* or with *moslim*. In the years 1996, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2006 some words that are related to *islam* or *moslim* refer to a problem, an attributed problem or something that is generally perceived as negative. These words include: fundamentalists/ fundamentalism in 1996 (frequency 2), risk (frequency 2) and threat (frequency 2) in 1999, jihad (frequency 3) in 2001, terrorism (frequency 6) in 2003, radicalisation/ radicalism (frequency 30) and honour killing (frequency 6) in 2005 and finally threat(s) (frequency 10), trap (frequency 6) and radicalisation (frequency 7) in 2006. That is why, a small increase in 'negative' word collocations from 1994 to 2006 is clear. Moreover, the frequencies of the word collocations radicalisation/ radicalism with *islam/ moslim* in 2005 and 2006, and threat(s) with *moslim* in 2006, is striking. That is why, to a certain degree, the problematisation of Islam and/ or Muslims in policy documents is evident.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

The two questions that are central to this chapter are: How often did the government and policymakers refer to Muslims in migration and integration policy documents in the period 1994-2006? What were the themes related to Muslims in migration and integration policy documents in the period under regard?

The tables in the first subchapter show the number of migration and integration policy documents with a reference to Islam and Muslim between 1994 and 2006. On the basis of the table it can be concluded that there the number of documents on migration and integration with a reference to Islam or Muslim has definitely increased between 1994 and 2006. However, because there is an absolute increase in documents relating to migration and integration in the first place and the percentages of the number of documents with a reference to Islam or Muslim fluctuate over the years, there has been no relative increase in the number of policy documents related to Muslims. The graph, which shows the absolute number of references to Islam and Muslim in the documents every year from 1994-2006, illustrates that the number of references fluctuates between 1994 and 2001. However, in the years 2002 to 2006, the number of references to Islam and Muslim is significantly higher than in previous years. This has to do with an increase in incidents since 2001 involving Muslims. Nine out of ten offensive or violent incidents took place between 2001 and 2006, whereas none took place between 1994 and 2000 and only one before 1994. The table and the graph together prove that the topics Islam and Muslim are related to migration and integration issues and in addition, that they are increasingly linked to these issues in the years 2002-2006 compared to 1994-2001.

The analysis of word collocations is essential to analyse the topics that are related to the keywords Muslim and Islam in the research period. Analysis of the word collocations with these keywords showed that the most common topics related to the keywords are school or education. This is no surprise since education is one of the three most important aspects of integration policy since 1990. Since the mid-1990s the issue and discussion about who is representative for the Muslim communities intensified and the government and policymakers turned to Imams and mosque organisations to find representatives for Muslims. That is why, it is no surprise that since 1995 the topics *islam* and *moslim* are frequently related to clergymen. In 2001 and 2004, the frequency of word collocations between homosexuality and Islam is considerable, which is probably related to the El-Moumni affair, but also to the debates on the emancipation of homosexuals and

women in the Muslim community. These debates became more intense since 2000 and various politicians argued that women and homosexuals were suppressed within Islam. After 2000, the words citizenship and integration are relatively common in collocation with Islam and Muslim. This is probably related to a shift in policy frameworks after 2000, with assimilation becoming the main goal of integration policy and citizenship education was an important aspect in this process. Moreover, as a result of the incidents involving mosques and imams between 2001 and 2004, foreign imams were obliged to participate in a citizenship education course.

Since 1996 some words related to Islam or Muslim refer to a problem or something that is generally perceived as negative. The frequency of the word collocations radicalisation/ radicalism with Islam or Muslim in 2005 and 2006 and threat(s) with Muslim in 2006, is striking. A small increase in 'negative' word collocations between 1994 to 2006 is clear. To a certain extent, the problematisation of Islam or Muslims in policy documents is therefore evident.

To find out whether islamisation actually takes place in policy documents, the context of the references to the topics of Islam and Muslim must be analysed. For this the close reading of the documents is essential and therefore, the next chapter will zoom in on specific passages and texts of the documents.



## 5. Close reading analysis of policy documents

To further analyse the contents of migration and integration policy documents with regard to Muslims, a close reading analysis of policy documents is carried out in this chapter. The questions that will be answered in this chapter are: In which ways did the government and policymakers refer to migrants of Muslim background in migration and integration policy documents in the period 1994-2006? To what extent did the government and policymakers create or conduct specific policies for migrants of Muslim background in the period under regard?

The close reading approach is based on the thorough analysis of a selection of documents. The documents were selected from the 378 documents used for the distant reading approach. As explained in the method section of chapter one, scholars Viktor Mayer-Schönberger and Kenneth Cukier argue that the purposeful creation of a sample that is representative of a whole, results in huge errors and that the key to preventing such errors is to strive for random sampling.<sup>290</sup> In addition, statisticians have shown that randomness makes the sample more accurate, than, for example, increasing the sample size.<sup>291</sup> An advantage of this selection method is that there is less bias, because any topic related to Islam or Muslims can be addressed, whether it is an informative topic or a perceived problem. On the other hand, when focusing on specific topics, for example on topics that are consciously problematised, many other relevant topics are overlooked. The selection of documents is therefore not influenced in any way and provides a good overview of the variety of topics that are discussed. A disadvantage is that potentially interesting documents and passages are not analysed. Nevertheless, due to the pre-selection, every document concerns migration and integration and Muslims, therefore, all the documents are relevant for research. Mayer-Schönberger and Cukier claim, however, that although random sampling has been successful and leading in large scale modern measurement, it is only 'a second-best alternative to collecting and analysing the full dataset.'<sup>292</sup> Nevertheless, the number of 378 documents is too much to analyse within the timeframe of the research and therefore, random sampling was applied for the selection

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<sup>290</sup> Mayer-Schönberger and Cukier, *Big Data*, 60.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid., 64.

of the documents. Before discussing the content of the sources, the precise method of selection and the specifications of the documents are explained.

### **5.1 Selection sources close reading**

For this chapter, fifteen policy documents have been analysed. The average number of documents related to migration and integration, with at least one reference to Islam or Muslim, is 29 documents, calculated on the basis of the table in figure 3 of the previous chapter. The table in figure 3 shows that from 1997 until 2003 and in 2005 the actual number of documents with a reference to Islam or Muslim was close to the average of 29, that is why one document was selected for each of these years. The number of documents from 2004 and 2006, with a reference to Islam, Muslim or both, had almost doubled compared to other years. It was therefore decided to analyse two documents from these years, instead of one. Between 1994 and 1996, the number of documents is considerably lower compared to the other years. However, it was also decided to analyse one document from each of these years, in order to draw conclusions regarding the entire period.

The only condition for the close reading analysis is that the document has something to do with migration and integration in the Netherlands. This means that the topics, people, developments or incidents discussed regarding Islam or Muslim have to be within the Netherlands. Migration movements from and to the Netherlands are taken into account. However, documents about situations in other countries are not relevant for this research and are therefore not included in the study. First, a pre-selection was made to filter out the documents that did not meet this condition. Afterwards, the fifteen documents were selected using the random sampling tool from Excel.<sup>293</sup>

The documents differ in character; both chamber pieces and chamber questions are treated. Within the chamber pieces there is variety in type of document as well, from notes or reports on integration policies, to reports of a discussion, to letters from a state secretary or minister, to an amendment. Furthermore, the various documents have been drawn up and written by different authors. Additionally, the documents vary in size, from 2 pages to 64 pages. The larger documents do not necessarily discuss more related to

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<sup>293</sup> For each year an Excel spreadsheet was created with all the documents with a reference to Islam and Muslim of that year. Each row contained one document and was assigned a random number through the 'RAND' function. Thereafter the numbers were sorted from smallest to largest, which results in the documents being sorted randomly. The first document of this list for each year (and the first two for 2004 and 2006) were used for the close reading analysis.

Muslims of Islam, because in the larger documents that were analysed only a small part of the text concerns Muslims. Furthermore, each part of the documents that relates to Muslims is analysed and investigated whether there is any question of islamisation. Therefore, for this research, the different sizes and characters of the documents are not an issue. There is some overlap in the content of the documents. More common topics are imam-education, spiritual leaders, homosexuality, asylum policies and education. Nevertheless, a wide range of topics is covered.

## 5.2 Common topics

The representative or leading role that imams have or can have for the Muslim community is a topic that often appears in the documents. In connection with that topic the problems of imam-education and spiritual leadership are addressed several times. The topics appear in five out of the fifteen documents: 1994, 1995, 1997, 2000 and 2002. The 1994, 1995, 1997 and 2000 documents are all reports, and the 2002 document is a letter.

In the 1994, 1997 and 2000 documents, migrants are classified by ethnic background for different topics. In the 1994 document Turks and Moroccans are discussed in relation to employment rate and education level.<sup>294</sup> In the 1997 document Turks and Moroccans relate to labour participation, but also, together with Surinamese, to segregation and as a result the possible formation of black schools.<sup>295</sup> The document from 2000 contains many topics in which migrants are distinguished, discussed and compared based on their ethnic background: Surinamese, Antilleans, Arubans, Turks, Moroccans, Iranians and Afghans are compared on the basis of cultural orientation and the differences between generations. The first five also deal with demography, work and income position, education, urban policies, unemployment, remigration and housing-subsidies.<sup>296</sup> In addition to this classification based on ethnic background, other parts of the documents focus on topics that specifically relate to Islam or Muslims.

The December 1994 document is a report of a discussion about integration policies for ethnic minorities. Nancy Dankers, member of the Christian Democrats (CDA), address

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<sup>294</sup> "Integratiebeleid Etnische Minderheden. Verslag van Een Algemeen Overleg.," Kamerstuk, 23684 En 23901 Nr. 3 (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 1995 1994), 6,8.

<sup>295</sup> "Minderhedenbeleid 1997; Verslag nota-overleg over het Jaaroverzicht Integratiebeleid Etnische Minderheden 1997," Kamerstuk, 25001 nr. 25 (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, May 28, 1997), 10,11.

<sup>296</sup> "Rapportage Integratiebeleid Etnische Minderheden 2000," Kamerstuk, 27412 nr. 2 (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, September 26, 2000), 7,8,18,26,38,39,49-51.

the subject of imam-education. She said the year before the party advocated imam-education, because spiritual leaders were considered important for Muslims.<sup>297</sup> Dankers argued that it would be better for imams to be trained in the Netherlands, because then the imams would know the problems in the Netherlands and the Dutch relationships better.<sup>298</sup> Her arguments can be explained by the following developments, as explained in chapter three: from the mid 1990s the government and policymakers turned to religious organisations to find representatives for Muslims, because they considered religion as a binding and representative factor. Therefore, Imams and mosque organisations were considered representative for Muslims. In the 1997 document, Dankers briefly commented on the progress made in the development of the imam-education. Dankers further claims that she hopes that imam-education is an example for other religions and the education of their religious leaders.<sup>299</sup> In the document from 2002, which is a letter from Rogier van Boxtel, the minister of Urban Policy and Integration, on integration and immigration, the imam-education Advisory Committee is asked to advise on state aid for imam-education: on possible financing of imam-education and about the appointment of a scientific education institution where imam-education can fit.<sup>300</sup> Van Boxtel also discusses the civil integration of clergy, in particular imams. He states that since January 1, 2002 the legal obligation to integrate working spiritual leaders has come into effect.

The 1995 document differs somewhat from that of 1994, 1997 and 2002. The 1995 document is a report of a discussion about education for Islamic clergy. The discussion is about different forms of education, from an imam-education to an imam pre-education in high schools for Muslim youth to Islam-education in high schools. In addition, a report from the Education Council is discussed, that showed that a single educational model was impossible, due to the different views within the Muslim community, but that high schools were nevertheless interested.<sup>301</sup> Despite the report, Nel Mulder-van Dam (CDA), like

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<sup>297</sup> "Integratiebeleid Etnische Minderheden. Verslag van Een Algemeen Overleg," 5.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid.

<sup>299</sup> "Minderhedenbeleid 1997; Verslag nota-overleg over het Jaaroverzicht Integratiebeleid Etnische Minderheden 1997," 6.

<sup>300</sup> "Integratie in het perspectief van immigratie; Brief minister over de uitvoering van een aantal beleidsvoornemens uit de nota 'Integratie in het perspectief van immigratie,'" Kamerstuk, 28198 nr. 4 (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, April 9, 2002), 4.

<sup>301</sup> "Minderhedenbeleid 1995; Verslag algemeen overleg tussen de vaste commissie van OCW met staatssecretaris over een opleidingsmogelijkheid voor islamitische geestelijken," Kamerstuk, 23901 nr. 22 (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, September 21, 1995), 2.

Dankers in 1994, argued that an educational opportunity for imams in the Netherlands was desirable as part of the integration process. She further stated that if the imams have sufficient knowledge of Dutch society and language, they can play a leading role in the integration of Muslims.<sup>302</sup> In addition, Mulder, but also Clemens Cornielje, *Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie* VVD (Dutch liberal party), supported the establishment of an imam pre-education for Muslim high school students.<sup>303</sup> Ursie Lambrechts, Dutch social liberal party (D66), argues that there is insufficient room in the elective courses in high schools for an imam pre-education, but that Islam-education, on the other hand, does fit within the Dutch school system.<sup>304</sup> Politician Dick Stellingwerf, *Reformatorische Politieke Federatie*, RPF (former Dutch Protestant Christian party), is opposed to all three forms of education. He argued that emancipation of minorities works best through initiatives of the minorities themselves, for example an autonomous imam-education. Moreover, he argued that when schools use the electives for Islam-education, they do not recognize the basis of the Dutch education system and the separation between church and state.<sup>305</sup> Interestingly, just like Bolkestein and Fortuyn, Stellingwerf refers to the separation between church and state and that an issue concerning Muslims threatens this separation. State Secretary Tineke Netelenbos replied that the separation of church and state would be strictly handled in the case of Islam-education in high schools, because it concerns the acquisition of general Islamic knowledge in elective courses by students, as opposed to an imam-education which involves extracurricular activities in which the government and policymakers have no involvement at all.<sup>306</sup>

The passages on imam-education from the four documents above contribute to the islamisation of the public debate. By focusing on imam-education the government and policymakers try to address the ‘integration problems’ with Muslims, only by focusing on the religious background. However, research has shown that young Muslims do not attend religious meetings as often as their parents.<sup>307</sup> Moreover, Douwes et al. claim that many Dutch people, with a Turkish or Moroccan background, identify themselves as Muslim,

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<sup>302</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid., 2,3.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>307</sup> Dagevos, “Perspectief op integratie; over de sociaal-culturele en structurele integratie van etnische minderheden in Nederland.”

but many hardly ever, identify their religion in terms of rituals such as prayers and mosque visits. Islam is part of their background and identity, but they are often not strictly religious.<sup>308</sup> In addition, the WRR states that even though the majority of the Turkish and Moroccan youth in the Netherlands are religious and value their religion, they practice their faith in a personal manner and follow their own interpretation.<sup>309</sup> Finally, Waardenburg emphasizes that in the Netherlands there are large differences between Muslims in their country of origin, orientation towards Islam and institutional design of their religion.<sup>310</sup> Focusing on imam-education thus ignores other aspects of the cultural background of these communities and generalises them into one community that expresses their religion by visiting mosques and following imams.

The document from 2000 has a different tone. It is a report on integration policy of ethnic minorities in 2000. The document emphasizes the diversity of and within ethnic minorities. It is said that the term “ethnic minorities” suggests uniformity, while these communities differ greatly in cultural background, orientation towards the Netherlands and integration backlog.<sup>311</sup> The report includes a section on the spiritual care of Muslim detainees. The report stressed the importance of a spiritual care organisation for the recruitment, selection and guidance of imams.<sup>312</sup> This report therefore relates to the subject of the representative or leading role that imams can embody. However, there is no indication of islamisation in the report. There is a generalising aspect in the section about Muslim detainees, because of the idea that these people express their religion in a certain way and require the help of an imam. Nevertheless, these ideas are not projected on the Muslim community as a whole and moreover, Islam is not problematised in this report.

A second subject, which is addressed a few times, is homosexuality in relation to Islam. The documents in question are a discussion gay emancipation policy from 2001, an amendment from 2004 and a letter from 2006. All three documents outline a particular problem in Muslims’ views on homosexuality.

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<sup>308</sup> Douwes, Koning, and Boender, *Nederlandse Moslims: Van Migrant Tot Burger*, 13,14.

<sup>309</sup> “Nederland als immigratiesamenleving,” 156.

<sup>310</sup> Waardenburg, “Institutionele vormgevingen van de islam in Nederland gezien in Europees perspectief,” 115,116.

<sup>311</sup> “Rapportage Integratiebeleid Etnische Minderheden 2000,” 4.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid., 47,48.

State Secretary for Health, Welfare and Sport, Margo Vliegenthart discussed organisations and initiatives related to gay emancipation policy in the 2001 document. One of these organisations, *Yoesuf*<sup>313</sup>, was mostly engaged with youth, sexual diversity and women. Vliegenthart said that *Yoesuf* arranged theme days about homosexuality in the Quran and in Sharia, a few radio programs and workshops and lectures on homosexuality and Islam.<sup>314</sup> *Yoesuf* received subsidies from the government and policymakers for these activities. Vliegenthart emphasized that especially the non-measurable effect is important: 'by making homosexuality negotiable without limiting Islamic values, the silence about homosexuality in the Muslim community is breached.'<sup>315</sup> In addition, FORUM<sup>316</sup>, which was structurally subsidised by the government and policymakers, was also engaged in activities to promote gay integration and emancipation for minorities and education.<sup>317</sup> Interestingly, in this document the diversity within and between ethnic communities is emphasized. The *Dutch labour party* (PvdA) states that in a memorandum from 2000 it seems as if all Muslim *allochtonen* have a negative view of homosexuality, and that this does not contribute to the support of progressive elements in these communities.<sup>318</sup> Vliegenthart replies and says that the 2000 memorandum states that the media created a contradiction between a free sexual morality of *autochtonen* and a strict sexual morality of *allochtonen*. She states that this imaging does not include *autochtonen* with a strict sexual morality and *allochtonen* with a free sexual morality and that it is not representative of reality.<sup>319</sup> Nevertheless, by providing funds for *Yoesuf*, an Islamic organisation, it is automatically assumed that there is a problem within Muslim communities with regard to homosexuality. There is no research into the kind of Muslims who have a problem with homosexuality, whether this is linked to certain movements within Islam or whether there may be a difference within different generations of Muslims. There is therefore an indication of islamisation in this document. Moreover,

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<sup>313</sup> *Stichting Yoesuf* was the former name of the *Educatiecentrum voor de islam en maatschappelijke vraagstukken* (Education centre for Islam and social questions), from 1998 until 2005.

<sup>314</sup> "Homo-emancipatiebeleid; Verslag schriftelijk overleg over de brief van de staatssecretaris van VWS d.d. 8 februari 2000 over de notitie homo-emancipatiebeleid," Kamerstuk, 27017 nr. 3 (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, February 16, 2001), 6,7.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>316</sup> FORUM was an independent institute for multicultural issues, until their dismantling in 2015, when they were incorporated by *Movisie* and the *Verwey-Jonker Instituut*.

<sup>317</sup> "Homo-emancipatiebeleid; Verslag schriftelijk overleg over de brief van de staatssecretaris van VWS d.d. 8 februari 2000 over de notitie homo-emancipatiebeleid," 19.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.*

people of other religions, for example Christians, have also made statements that problematised homosexuals. In addition, the only part related to another religion is a question from the PvdA whether policies have been developed that promote the acceptance of homosexual teachers in orthodox Christian schools.<sup>320</sup> The answer is no, and no further attention is paid to this. There is clearly no policy to make homosexuality a topic of discussion within Christian religions.

The 2004 amendment by Eberhard van der Laan (PvdA), aimed to make more money available to tackle tensions between, as he calls it, certain *allochtonen* communities and homosexuals. Van der Laan argued that part of the funds should be used for specialised help for *allochtone* homosexuals, for example education and emergency shelter, because the expression of their sexual identity often led to rejection by their community.<sup>321</sup> He does not specify to which *allochtonen* communities he refers. He further stated that the other part of the funds could be used for the Dialogue project, *De Dialoog*, a project that was intended to discuss 'homosexuality and Islam (and other religions)'.<sup>322</sup> Interestingly, even though he argues that *De Dialoog* is focused on multiple religions, he only mentions Islam by name. He specifically problematises Islam and Muslims' views of on homosexuality. Moreover, he does not make a distinction between for example Muslim communities or different generations of Muslims, he makes it appear that there is a general problem with Islam and homosexuality. That is why this document contributes to islamisation.

The 2006 document is a letter from the Minister of Immigration and Integration, Rita Verdonk, about the *Masterplan*: 'making homosexuality a topic of discussion in ethnic circles'. In the letter, she said that FORUM, as an independent expertise centre in the field of integration, took on the role of coordinating between *autochtone* and *allochtone* gay organisations. FORUM approached relevant organisations, with the request to develop activities that were in line with the objectives of the *Masterplan*. The main purpose of the plan was to make homosexuality a topic of discussion in ethnic communities.<sup>323</sup> Verdonk uses the term ethnic communities. However, when looking at the three most important

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<sup>320</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>321</sup> "Vaststelling begroting van het Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport (XVI) voor het jaar 2005; Amendement ter bestrijding van spanningen tussen bepaalde groepen allochtonen en homoseksuelen," Kamerstuk, 29800-XVI nr. 6 (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, October 14, 2004), 1.

<sup>322</sup> Ibid.

<sup>323</sup> "Homo-emancipatiebeleid; Brief minister over Masterplan 'Bespreekbaar maken homoseksualiteit in etnische kring,'" Kamerstuk, 27017 nr. 25 (Tweede Kamer der Staten Generaal, April 26, 2006), 1,2.



institutions involved, *Yoesuf* is focused on Islam, *Habibi Ana*<sup>324</sup> on *allochtonen* in general and COC<sup>325</sup> does not take one's background into account. All three organisations received funding to conduct the activities from the *Masterplan*.<sup>326</sup> Again, as in the 2001 document, only the Muslim communities are specified as part of the ethnic communities where there are problems with homosexuality. As in the 2001 document, there is no direct islamisation, because the organisation *Yoesuf* is mentioned, that has to make homosexuality a topic of discussion in ethnic communities. However, *Yoesuf* is an Islamic organisation and Muslims' views on homosexuality are therefore seen as problematic. Moreover, other religions that have problems with homosexuality are not covered nor are there differences in, for example, Islamic movements, ethnic backgrounds or ages of people that reject homosexuality. The emphasis on homosexuality and Islam in policy documents presumably relates to the multiple incidents involving imams and their statements against homosexuality, for example the incident involving imam Khalil El-Moumni in 2001. As discussed in chapter three, the ideas of the imams were projected on the Muslim community. This was also the case with the statements against homosexuality. Muslims were thus generalised as having a problem with homosexuality. In all three documents there is therefore an indication of islamisation.

### 5.3 Other documents

In the 1996 document, two members of the RPF, André Rouvoet and Dick Stellingwerf, problematised the open celebration of Ramadan in or near asylum seekers' centres. They voiced their concern about equal rights and equal treatment of different religious communities, which they claimed were endangered as a result.<sup>327</sup> The government's reactions were that large-scale activities could take place if a substantial part of the inhabitants were part of the same religious movement. They stated that this was justified in the case of Ramadan, given the high percentage of Muslims in the centres and the enormous importance of Ramadan for Muslims. There was no question of unequal

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<sup>324</sup> Stichting *Habibi Ana* is a foundation for homosexual, bisexual and transsexual *allochtone* men and women.

<sup>325</sup> Dutch association for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.

<sup>326</sup> "Homo-emancipatiebeleid; Brief minister over Masterplan 'Bespreekbaar maken homoseksualiteit in etnische kring,'" 2.

<sup>327</sup> "Vragen van de leden Rouvoet en Stellingwerf (beiden RPF) over de Wet Centraal Orgaan opvang asielzoekers.," Aanhangsel van de Handelingen, 1411 (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, July 9, 1996), 2867,2868.

treatment of different religious communities and, moreover, small religious communities could easily continue to practice their religion during these festivities, according to the government.<sup>328</sup> Rouvoet and Stellingwerf therefore problematise a cultural expression of Islam. Although the government says there is no unequal treatment, the two members of RPF have raised this 'problem'. It is remarkable that they pay specific attention to an Islamic celebration and nothing has been said about celebrations of other religions.

Another document that questions Islam or Muslims is that from 2003. This document consists of questions from Geert Wilders (VVD) and answers from the minister of Interior and Kingdom Relations, Johan Remkes. The reason for the debate was the departure of two young people to join the jihad in Chechnya. A specific school and mosque are discussed that might have maintained relations with militant-fundamentalist circuits. Wilders asked which short-term actions were taken, to limit the spread of militant-fundamentalist ideas by mosques and schools.<sup>329</sup> With this statement, Wilders assumes that these ideas are spread by mosques and schools. He does not make a distinction between different mosques and schools and claims that they all actively contribute to this. Wilders problematises all Dutch mosques and (Islamic) schools with this question, and thereby contributes to islamisation. Remkes replies that a possible ban on the spread of fundamentalist ideas through mosques and schools will be elaborated in an upcoming, comprehensive memorandum on extremism.<sup>330</sup>

One of the two documents from the last year of the research period, 2006, focuses on the high number of Muslim student dropouts from the teacher training institutes. The findings from the *Sectorbestuur Onderwijsarbeidsmarkt*<sup>331</sup> (SBO) are discussed, which were related to the large number of Muslim student dropouts and Muslim students who could not find an internship. Politician Paul Jungbluth, Dutch Green Party (GL), asked if the state secretary and/ or minister would help *allochtone pabo*-students find an internship.<sup>332</sup> Maria van der Hoeven, Minister of Education, Culture and Science, replied

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<sup>328</sup> Ibid., 2869.

<sup>329</sup> "Vragen van het lid Wilders (VVD) aan de ministers van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, van Buitenlandse Zaken en voor Vreemdelingenzaken en Integratie over scholieren en hun mogelijke reis naar Tsjetsjenië," Aanhangsel van de Handelingen, 1056 (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, April 4, 2003), 1.

<sup>330</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>331</sup> Translation: Organisation of employees and employers in education, until 31 December 2011.

<sup>332</sup> "Vragen van het lid Jungbluth (GroenLinks) aan de staatssecretaris van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, de heer Rutte, en de minister van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap over het hoge aantal

that in May and June 2006 the SBO conducted a campaign, in the context of the Full Color festival<sup>333</sup>, with the aim of creating more internship places for non-Western *allochtone* students, including Muslim students.<sup>334</sup> What is striking is that the students are referred to as *allochtoon*, but also Muslim. It is conspicuous that there is a focus on Muslim as a category for student dropout. What does their religious background have to do with quitting the education and are students classified according to their religion? This is not worked out in the document. The Muslim background of these students is connected to the issue and no attention is paid to the diversity within Muslim communities. It is especially remarkable because Minister van der Hoeven later in the document states that a teacher of Turkish or Moroccan background can be a role model for children of the same background.<sup>335</sup> Here, she does refer to the ethnic background of the students. In all of the three documents above (1996, 2003, 2006), Islam or Muslim are linked to problems, Muslims are generalised and only religious aspects of the people in question are considered. That is why, they contribute to islamisation.

Three documents do not contribute to Islamisation. Two of these documents are related to the asylum and refugee policy. The 2004 document deals with the position of Christians in Afghanistan, in particular Christians who converted from Islam to Christianity. The document from 1998 relates to asylum policy with regard to Muslims from the Sandjak, a region in Serbia and Montenegro, who resided in the Netherlands. The first document focuses on the specific ethnic background of the communities, being their Afghan origin. The second focuses on Muslims, but specifies the region they originate from, the Sandjak. The Muslim background of these communities is not something that has caused a certain problem with asylum policy. Interestingly, in the section on word collocations from the previous chapter there were no collocations with Islam or Muslim and asylum. It seems that this was not a subject that often had to do with Muslims between 1994-2006. In

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allochtone pabo-studenten dat de studie niet afmaakt,” Aanhangsel van de Handelingen, 1568 (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, June 7, 2006), 1.

<sup>333</sup> The Full Color festival is a yearly multicultural festival in the city of Emmen. In addition to music, dancing and food, organisations for human rights, international solidarity and environment and sustainability present themselves at the festival.

<sup>334</sup> “Vragen van het lid Jungbluth (GroenLinks) aan de staatssecretaris van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, de heer Rutte, en de minister van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap over het hoge aantal allochtone pabo-studenten dat de studie niet afmaakt,” 2.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid., 1.

addition, the public debate, as discussed in chapter three, focused on migrant workers and their descendants, Muslim refugees were hardly mentioned.

The 2005 document, discusses the issue of multiple nationalities and integration.<sup>336</sup> Part of the document focuses on family law matters and the fact that countries with an Islamic based system do not apply the law on the basis of nationality but on the basis of religion.<sup>337</sup> The text is informative and no further information or opinion is given about Muslims and therefore, there is no question of islamisation.

The 1999 document is an exception to the other documents, because it does not discuss certain issues relating to Muslims. This document is a memorandum of June 15, on the policy with regard to media and minorities in the multicultural society. A few parts of the memorandum deal with the role of Islam or Muslims in this area. Since the mid-sixties the Dutch public broadcaster made radio programs for foreign workers and immigrants. In 1999, the radio continued to broadcast programs specifically for *allochtone* target groups, partly in the language of the countries of origin.<sup>338</sup> On a national level, the *Evangelische Omroep*, the *Organisatie Hindoe Media* (OHM) and the *Nederlandse Moslim Omroep* (NMO)<sup>339</sup>, made programs that were aimed at minorities and had a religious and ideological basis.<sup>340</sup> The document states that 'the presence of these religious broadcasters emphasizes the openness of the Dutch broadcasting system towards new social communities.'<sup>341</sup> The document emphasises that the Netherlands has become an immigration country and that this must be visible in the programs and public of the Dutch media. It is further argued that the media and cultural sector are perfect areas where differences between people and communities can be expressed.<sup>342</sup> As mentioned in chapter three, although the integration debates intensified since 2000, multiculturalism was not rejected until 2003. In the document, a distinction is also made between people from different ethnic backgrounds and their television behaviour, for example Turks,

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<sup>336</sup> "Onderzoek integratiebeleid; Lijst van vragen en antwoorden over meervoudige nationaliteit en integratie," Kamerstuk, 28689 nr. 33 (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, May 13, 2005).

<sup>337</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>338</sup> "Media- en minderhedenbeleid; Notitie 'Media- en minderhedenbeleid,'" Kamerstuk, 26597 nr. 1 (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, June 15, 1999), 5.

<sup>339</sup> Translation: respectively Evangelical Broadcaster, Organisation Hindu Media, Dutch Muslim Broadcaster.

<sup>340</sup> "Media- en minderhedenbeleid; Notitie 'Media- en minderhedenbeleid,'" 5,6.

<sup>341</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>342</sup> Ibid., 2,3.

Moroccans and Surinamese.<sup>343</sup> What stands out in this document is that the aspect that should bind communities in these programs, is religion. This clearly stems from the Dutch pillar system where every religious or ideological community was allowed to set up their own institutions. The focus on the Islam religion as a representative factor points to islamisation. There are many different types of Islamic movements and expressions, therefore, one program can never be representative for the Muslim communities as a whole. However, there is no question of problematisation of Islam and therefore the document does not convincingly contribute to islamisation.

## 5.4 Conclusion

The two questions central to this chapter are: In which ways did the government and policymakers refer to migrants of Muslim background in migration and integration policy documents in the period 1994-2006? To what extent did the government and policymakers create or conduct specific policies for migrants of Muslim background in the period under regard?

The table below provides an overview of the fifteen documents. The table shows whether the ethnic background of migrants is addressed in part(s) of the documents. It also shows whether there is islamisation in part(s) of the document and whether there is a specific policy aimed at migrants with a Muslim background.

|   | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004-I | 2004-II | 2005 | 2006-I | 2006-II |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------|---------|------|--------|---------|
| Focus ethnic background                   | x    |      |      | x    | x    | x    | x    |      |      |      |        |         | x    | x      | x       |
| Islamisation                              | x    | x    | x    | x    |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | x      |         |      | x      | x       |
| Policy* for migrants of Muslim background | x    | x    |      | x    | x    | x    | x    | x    | x    | x    | x      | x       |      | x      | x       |

\*Discussed and implemented policies included.

Figure 7: Neel van Roessel, *Overview close reading results policy documents*, 2019.

In eight of the fifteen documents migrants are referred to or categorised based on their country of origin. The most common topics related to these migrants are employment and education. In addition to these references all documents contain at least one reference to Islam or Muslims. However, as can be seen in the table, not all documents contain parts that contribute to islamisation. The documents and in particular the parts where possible islamisation takes place, have been extensively analysed and discussed. In ten out of

<sup>343</sup> Ibid., 6.

fifteen documents there is an indication of islamisation and thirteen out of fifteen documents discuss a specific policy with regard to migrants with a Muslim background. It is important to note that no distinction is made between policies that are only being discussed and policies that are also being implemented, both are included in this table.

The most common topics are the representative and leading role of imams, imam-education and spiritual leadership in relation to this and the views of Muslims towards homosexuality. Despite the random selection these subjects appear in eight of the fifteen documents. Presumably these topics are often discussed in the migration and integration policy documents between 1994 and 2006 and therefore important topics in the debates.

What is striking is that the following parties are often involved in discussions about Muslims: the Dutch Christian Democratic party (CDA), the Dutch Liberal Party (VVD) and the Dutch Protestant Christian Party (RPF). It is remarkable that all these parties are centre-right parties.

The passages on imam-education of the four documents from 1994, 1995, 1997 and 2002 contribute to islamisation. By focusing on imam-education the government and policymakers try to address the 'integration problems' with Muslims, only by focusing on the religious background. However, research has shown that different generations of Muslims follow different interpretations of Islam religion or identify themselves as Muslims, but do not practice their religion. Moreover, the differences between Muslim communities and Islamic movements are enormous. Focusing on imam-education thus ignores other aspects of the cultural background of these communities and generalises them into one community that expresses their religion by visiting mosques and following imams. As a result, it contributes to islamisation. The policy with regard to imams and/or spiritual leaders takes various forms, from Islam-education in high schools, to imam-education with the aim of supporting the integration of Muslims, to recruiting imams with the purpose of guiding Muslim detainees.

From the three documents dealing with homosexuality and Islam one directly contributes to islamisation and the other two indirectly. The documents discuss institutions and initiatives that received government subsidies to make homosexuality a topic of discussion in ethnic communities and to organise activities to promote gay integration and gay emancipation for minorities. Examples of such institutions are *Yoesuf*, *Habibi Ana* and FORUM. It is remarkable that only an Islamic institution, *Yoesuf*, is specified and in one document only Islam is mentioned as one of the religions that

problematises homosexuality, although the emphasis was on ethnic communities in general. By providing funds to *Yoesuf*, an Islamic organisation, it is automatically assumed that there is a problem with regard to homosexuality within Muslim communities. Furthermore, no distinction is made between different Muslim communities or different generations of Muslims, and it seems that there is a general problem with Islam and homosexuality. Furthermore, people from other religions, for example Christians, have also made statements that problematised homosexuals and these are not discussed. In these three documents there is therefore an indication of Islamisation.

Of the other seven documents, three contain an indication of Islamisation. The sections that relate to Islam or Muslims deal with topics such as, possible Islamic fundamentalism in mosques and schools, higher education student drop out and the celebration of Ramadan in asylum centres. Of the four remaining documents only the document on media and minority policy contains a slight indication of Islamisation, because Muslims are generalised and viewed by their religion. However, there is no problematisation of Islam or Muslims. In conclusion, there is an indication of islamisation in ten out of the fifteen documents. In these documents Muslim communities are generalised, Islam is problematised and anything but the religious aspect of these communities is ignored.

## Conclusion

In the 1990s and 2000s, certain developments and incidents were noticed, which had an impact on the debates about migration and integration of Muslims. These developments and incidents contributed to the islamisation of the public debate, meaning that Muslims were problematised, all cultural aspects but religion were ignored and diversity within Muslim communities was ignored. To find out whether there was an indication of islamisation in policy documents during that period, a selection of policy documents on migration and integration was analysed in this research. The central research question is therefore: To what extent did Dutch parliamentary policy documents contribute to the 'islamisation' of the migration and integration debates in the Netherlands in the period 1994-2006?

From the 1990s and on into the 2000s several politicians and public figures treated Muslims as a homogenous community and claimed that Islamic and Western values were incompatible, that Islam was a threat to Dutch culture and that integration of Muslims had failed. Their statements had a considerable influence on the public debate and on views on migration and integration of Muslims in the Netherlands. Moreover, their arguments contributed to the islamisation of the public debate. In addition, several offensive and violent incidents involving Muslims took place, which were seen as attacks on Western values of democracy and freedom and which also contributed to the problematisation of Islam and generalisation of Muslims.

As the objectives of the integration policy framework had changed from socio-economic participation in the 1990s to socio-cultural adjustment after 2002, hardly any attention was paid to these successes in socio-economic participation, and only the problems of cultural integration were emphasised by a majority of people. The problems that were attributed to the arrival and integration of Muslims were therefore seen as problems precisely because they did not correspond to the objectives of the policy framework that existed at the time.

The problems that arose with the alleged lack of integration of Muslims were seen as problems that needed to be discussed and addressed by the government and policymakers. There are clear indications of islamisation in the public debate, but it is not clear whether this is also the case in policy documents. To answer the main question a double methodology of distant reading and close reading was applied. The total number



of migration and integration policy documents that were used in the distant reading analysis, with a reference to Islam or Muslim, is 378 documents. In addition, a selection of fifteen documents from the total of 378 were analysed by close reading.

Based on the analysis of the absolute word frequencies of Islam and Muslim in the policy documents it can be concluded that the number of references to Islam or Muslim is significantly higher between 2002 and 2006, than in previous years. This was possibly caused by an increase in offensive or violent incidents since 2001 involving Muslims. Nine out of ten incidents took place between 2001 and 2006, while none occurred between 1994 and 2000 and only one before 1994. The people involved in the incidents were mainly fundamentalists or radical Muslims, but also imams who expressed ideas about homosexuality and women that were strongly opposed to the opinions of the majority of Dutch people. These specific ideas were projected onto the Muslim community as a whole, which at the time were considered reluctant to integration and Dutch norms and values. Moreover, imams were seen as not prepared for 'their task' to integrate Muslims into Dutch society. That is why, the incidents with imams have resulted in a compulsory integration course for imams, to familiarize them with Dutch norms and values.

What can be concluded is that the topics homosexuality and imams (clergymen), including imam-education, spiritual care, and spiritual leaders, are the most discussed topics related to Muslims in migration and integration policy documents from 1994 until 2006. Both the close reading section and the part on word collocations support this. They are therefore, considered to be very important topics in migration and integration debates and policy documents. While the subjects of imams and the representative or leading role they have or may have, have occurred throughout the entire research period, homosexuality has been frequent in relation to Islam since 2000. The frequent collocation and discussions on homosexuality and Islam are probably due to the many incidents involving imams and their statements against homosexuality, but also to the debates on the emancipation of homosexuals and women in Muslim communities. After 2000 these debates became more intense and various politicians claimed that women and homosexuals were suppressed within Islam. It is no surprise that the topics Islam and Muslim are frequently related to imams, because since the mid-1990s the issue and discussion about who is representative of the Muslim communities intensified and the government and policymakers turned to Imams and mosque organisations to find representatives for Muslims.

A result of the distant reading that is not supported by the close reading is that school or education is the most common collocation with Islam or Muslims. Although schools and education are dealt with a few times in the fifteen policy documents it is not the main topic of discussion.

In ten out of fifteen documents there is an indication of islamisation. Furthermore, specific policies were directed at migrants of Muslim background that treated them as a separate, homogenous minority community. The parts on imam-education contribute to islamisation, because by focusing on imam-education the government and policymakers try to address the 'integration problems' with regard to Muslims only by concentrating on the religious background of these communities. Focusing on imam-education thus ignores other aspects of the cultural background of these communities and generalises them into one community that expresses their religion by visiting mosques and following imams. In addition, in the documents concerning homosexuality it is assumed that there is a general problem with Muslims and their view on homosexuality; no distinction is made between for example ethnic backgrounds, age, or gender of people from the concerning minority communities. In all ten documents with an indication of islamisation, Muslims are generalised, Islam is problematised and anything but the religious aspect of these communities is ignored. In conclusion, both the increase in references to Islam and Muslim(s) and the problematising of Islam throughout the entire period under regard, indicate islamisation in policy documents, which in turn adds to islamisation in the migration and integration debates.

The government and policymakers do not agree with the ideas and statements about Muslims in the public debate and they do not openly problematise Muslim communities as a whole. They formally try to stick to their 'neutral' position, try not to be guided by mainstream ideas from the public debate and finally try not to make policy based on prejudices. Nevertheless, in policy documents they endorse the fact that there are problems with the integration of Muslims. However, the imam policy and the initiatives with regard to homosexuality and Islam, for example, show that on paper the policy does not appear biased, but in between the lines it is biased and contributes to islamisation. The problems with emancipation of women and homosexuals and Islam are also much related to the cherished liberal values in the Netherlands. What is seen as a threat to those liberal values is projected onto Islam. Muslims are stigmatised, while Catholics or

Protestants, can speak out against homosexuality and can have equally traditional ideas about women's emancipation without being stigmatised.

The specific focus on Islam and the problematisation of Islam in the public debate and policy documents influence how Muslims are treated in society and how they are discriminated against based on ill-defined stereotypes. The discussions in the policy documents are much more nuanced than in the public debate and there are, of course, many people who emphasise the diversity within Muslim communities. Nevertheless, that does not alter the fact that there is also islamisation in the policy documents. Finally, the government does nothing to combat the problematisation and generalisation of Muslims.

The combination of distant and close reading in this study is innovative. Digital methods made it possible to analyse large volumes of texts and the above conclusions could be drawn together with a detailed qualitative analysis of a selection of texts. Although the combination of close reading and distant reading is an appropriate method for this study, there are limitations. The decision was made to apply the distant reading and close reading analysis simultaneously and to compare the results, but in retrospect the analysis could have been stronger if the documents for close reading had been selected based on the findings that emerged from the distant reading analysis. Nevertheless, the random sampling yielded results and subjects that were probably not revealed if a specific selection method was used.

Like any research, this research also has limitations that arise from the scope of the research and the used data. The analysis is based on migration and integration policy and therefore, the conclusions are limited to this policy area. Because the documents differ in size, character and have different authors, no comparison can be made over the years. Although it is not important in this research, because islamisation is analysed in policy documents in general and not in specific documents, it would be interesting to see if there have been changes over the years. Another limitation of the research is that it only contains policy documents from the Second Chamber and the General Assembly, which can be found in online archives. Documents from the First Chamber have been excluded. The research is also focused on policy documents at the national level. It is conceivable that, these issues will be treated differently at the local level. Discussions about migration and integration issues in cities such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam, for example, differ considerably from discussions in Venlo.

The challenge for future research is to explore more policy areas and to make more or different comparisons. Follow-up research could include policy documents at regional or municipal level, which will increase the scope of the research and lead to multiple or even different findings. It could also be interesting to analyse the subject over a longer period than 1994 until 2006, to see if certain changes have taken place over time. A different time period could be studied and added to or compared to this research. A different approach would be to compare the way Muslims are being discussed and referred to in policy documents to other religious communities, to find out whether there are considerably more prejudices or problems of Islam than of other religions.

The distant reading method focused on two online tools: *Trends*, which showed frequencies of terms throughout the corpus and *Collocates*, which showed words that often appear in the text. However, *Voyant Tools* offers many other options for online data analysis. Such devices could be investigated and used in further research. In addition, implicit references to Islam and Muslims, such as Arabs, or names of specific Islamic movements, were not included in the distant reading analysis. Including these words in follow-up research can yield relevant and new findings. Finally, this database is also suitable for research into other topics related to migration and integration policy, or also for a completely different policy area.

## Parliamentary policy documents

- “Homo-emancipatiebeleid; Brief minister over Masterplan ‘Bespreekbaar maken homoseksualiteit in etnische kring.’” Kamerstuk. 27017 nr. 25. Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, April 26, 2006.
- “Homo-emancipatiebeleid; Verslag schriftelijk overleg over de brief van de staatssecretaris van VWS d.d. 8 februari 2000 over de notitie homo-emancipatiebeleid.” Kamerstuk. 27017 nr. 3. Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, February 16, 2001.
- “Integratie in het perspectief van immigratie; Brief minister over de uitvoering van een aantal beleidsvoornemens uit de nota ‘Integratie in het perspectief van immigratie.’” Kamerstuk. 28198 nr. 4. Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, April 9, 2002.
- “Integratiebeleid Etnische Minderheden. Verslag van Een Algemeen Overleg.” Kamerstuk. 23684 En 23901 Nr. 3. Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 1995 1994.
- “Media- en minderhedenbeleid; Notitie ‘Media- en minderhedenbeleid.’” Kamerstuk. 26597 nr. 1. Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, June 15, 1999.
- “Minderhedenbeleid 1995; Verslag algemeen overleg tussen de vaste commissie van OCW met staatssecretaris over een opleidingsmogelijkheid voor islamitische geestelijken.” Kamerstuk. 23901 nr. 22. Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, September 21, 1995.
- “Minderhedenbeleid 1997; Verslag nota-overleg over het Jaaroverzicht Integratiebeleid Etnische Minderheden 1997.” Kamerstuk. 25001 nr. 25. Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, May 28, 1997.
- “Onderzoek integratiebeleid; Lijst van vragen en antwoorden over meervoudige nationaliteit en integratie.” Kamerstuk. 28689 nr. 33. Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, May 13, 2005.
- “Rapportage Integratiebeleid Etnische Minderheden 2000.” Kamerstuk. 27412 nr. 2. Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, September 26, 2000.
- “Vaststelling begroting van het Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport (XVI) voor het jaar 2005; Amendement ter bestrijding van spanningen tussen bepaalde

- groepen allochtonen en homoseksuelen.” Kamerstuk. 29800-XVI nr. 6. Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, October 14, 2004.
- “Vragen van de leden Rouvoet en Stellingwerf (beiden RPF) over de Wet Centraal Orgaan opvang asielzoekers.” Aanhangsel van de Handelingen. 1411. Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, July 9, 1996.
- “Vragen van het lid Jungbluth (GroenLinks) aan de staatssecretaris van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, de heer Rutte, en de minister van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap over het hoge aantal allochtone pabo-studenten dat de studie niet afmaakt.” Aanhangsel van de Handelingen. 1568. Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, June 7, 2006.
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## Appendix 1 - List of policy documents for distant reading

|                        |                            |                                   |
|------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Vergaderjaar 1995-1996 | Kamerstuk 24401 nr. 2      | Gepubliceerd op 29 september 1995 |
| Vergaderjaar 1994-1995 | Kamerstuk 23901 nr. 9      | Gepubliceerd op 10 februari 1995  |
| Vergaderjaar 1994-1995 | Kamerstuk 23901 nr. 22     | Gepubliceerd op 21 september 1995 |
| Vergaderjaar 1994-1995 | Kamerstuk 23901 nr. 15     | Gepubliceerd op 12 mei 1995       |
| Vergaderjaar 1994-1995 | Kamerstuk 20868 nr. 5      | Gepubliceerd op 13 februari 1995  |
| Vergaderjaar 1995-1996 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 145    | Gepubliceerd op 28 november 1995  |
| Vergaderjaar 1995-1996 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 142    | Gepubliceerd op 16 november 1995  |
| Vergaderjaar 1994-1995 | Aanhangselnummer 828       | Gepubliceerd op 9 juni 1995       |
| Vergaderjaar 1994-1995 | Aanhangselnummer 786       | Gepubliceerd op 17 mei 1995       |
|                        |                            |                                   |
| Vergaderjaar 1996-1997 | Kamerstuk 25108 nr. 1      | Gepubliceerd op 22 november 1996  |
| Vergaderjaar 1995-1996 | Kamerstuk 24870 nr. 1      | Gepubliceerd op 5 september 1996  |
| Vergaderjaar 1995-1996 | Kamerstuk 24713 nr. 1      | Gepubliceerd op 14 mei 1996       |
| Vergaderjaar 1995-1996 | Kamerstuk 24401 nr. 8      | Gepubliceerd op 14 februari 1996  |
| Vergaderjaar 1995-1996 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 203    | Gepubliceerd op 22 juli 1996      |
| Vergaderjaar 1995-1996 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 184    | Gepubliceerd op 31 mei 1996       |
| Vergaderjaar 1995-1996 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 183    | Gepubliceerd op 3 mei 1996        |
| Vergaderjaar 1995-1996 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 171    | Gepubliceerd op 8 februari 1996   |
| Vergaderjaar 1995-1996 | Vergaderingnummer 42       | Gepubliceerd op 16 januari 1996   |
| Vergaderjaar 1996-1997 | Kamerstuk 25001 nr. 2      | Gepubliceerd op 25 september 1996 |
| Vergaderjaar 1995-1996 | Kamerstuk 23490 nr. 46/90g | Gepubliceerd op 23 april 1996     |
| Vergaderjaar 1995-1996 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 207    | Gepubliceerd op 6 september 1996  |
| Vergaderjaar 1995-1996 | Vergaderingnummer 82       | Gepubliceerd op 15 mei 1996       |
| Vergaderjaar 1995-1996 | Aanhangselnummer 1411      | Gepubliceerd op 9 juli 1996       |
| Vergaderjaar 1995-1996 | Kamerstuk 24269 nr. 5      | Gepubliceerd op 19 maart 1996     |
|                        |                            |                                   |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 25801 nr. 1      | Gepubliceerd op 16 december 1997  |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 25601 nr. 8      | Gepubliceerd op 14 november 1997  |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 25601 nr. 7      | Gepubliceerd op 10 november 1997  |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 25601 nr. 23     | Gepubliceerd op 18 december 1997  |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 25601 nr. 2      | Gepubliceerd op 25 september 1997 |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 25600-XVI nr. 51 | Gepubliceerd op 12 januari 1998   |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 25600-VII nr. 26 | Gepubliceerd op 25 november 1997  |
| Vergaderjaar 1996-1997 | Kamerstuk 25386 nr. 2      | Gepubliceerd op 18 juni 1997      |
| Vergaderjaar 1996-1997 | Kamerstuk 25386 nr. 1      | Gepubliceerd op 5 juni 1997       |
| Vergaderjaar 1996-1997 | Kamerstuk 25001 nr. 8      | Gepubliceerd op 14 april 1997     |
| Vergaderjaar 1996-1997 | Kamerstuk 25001 nr. 6      | Gepubliceerd op 23 januari 1997   |
| Vergaderjaar 1996-1997 | Kamerstuk 25001 nr. 28     | Gepubliceerd op 4 juni 1997       |
| Vergaderjaar 1996-1997 | Kamerstuk 25001 nr. 25     | Gepubliceerd op 28 mei 1997       |
| Vergaderjaar 1996-1997 | Kamerstuk 25001 nr. 11     | Gepubliceerd op 29 april 1997     |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 307    | Gepubliceerd op 6 januari 1998    |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 289    | Gepubliceerd op 27 november 1997  |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 287    | Gepubliceerd op 20 november 1997  |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 272    | Gepubliceerd op 26 september 1997 |
| Vergaderjaar 1996-1997 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 266    | Gepubliceerd op 10 juli 1997      |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Vergaderingnummer 19       | Gepubliceerd op 13 november 1997  |
| Vergaderjaar 1996-1997 | Vergaderingnummer 98       | Gepubliceerd op 26 juni 1997      |
| Vergaderjaar 1996-1997 | Vergaderingnummer 54       | Gepubliceerd op 6 maart 1997      |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Vergaderingnummer 30       | Gepubliceerd op 27 november 1997  |



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| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Aanhangselnummer 499       | Gepubliceerd op 8 januari 1998    |
| Vergaderjaar 1996-1997 | Aanhangselnummer 628       | Gepubliceerd op 17 februari 1997  |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 25601 nr. 4      | Gepubliceerd op 6 oktober 1997    |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 286    | Gepubliceerd op 20 november 1997  |
| Vergaderjaar 1996-1997 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 263    | Gepubliceerd op 23 juni 1997      |
| Vergaderjaar 1996-1997 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 260    | Gepubliceerd op 12 juni 1997      |
|                        |                            |                                   |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 26333 nr. 2      | Gepubliceerd op 8 december 1998   |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 26210 nr. 8      | Gepubliceerd op 22 december 1998  |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 26210 nr. 2      | Gepubliceerd op 24 september 1998 |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 26200-VII nr. 44 | Gepubliceerd op 22 december 1998  |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 25919 nr. 2      | Gepubliceerd op 18 maart 1998     |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 25801 nr. 2      | Gepubliceerd op 28 januari 1998   |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 402    | Gepubliceerd op 31 december 1998  |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 395    | Gepubliceerd op 27 november 1998  |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 391    | Gepubliceerd op 18 november 1998  |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 367    | Gepubliceerd op 14 oktober 1998   |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 361    | Gepubliceerd op 10 september 1998 |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 343    | Gepubliceerd op 13 mei 1998       |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 325    | Gepubliceerd op 2 april 1998      |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 315    | Gepubliceerd op 16 februari 1998  |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 314    | Gepubliceerd op 17 februari 1998  |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Vergaderingnummer 22       | Gepubliceerd op 16 november 1998  |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Vergaderingnummer 73       | Gepubliceerd op 21 april 1998     |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Aanhangselnummer 1088      | Gepubliceerd op 21 april 1998     |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 363    | Gepubliceerd op 18 september 1998 |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 330    | Gepubliceerd op 21 april 1998     |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 326    | Gepubliceerd op 3 april 1998      |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Vergaderingnummer 39       | Gepubliceerd op 28 december 1998  |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Kamerstuk 25919 nr. 1      | Gepubliceerd op 18 maart 1998     |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 394    | Gepubliceerd op 27 november 1998  |
| Vergaderjaar 1997-1998 | Aanhangselnummer 1718      | Gepubliceerd op 7 september 1998  |
|                        |                            |                                   |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 26815 nr. 2      | Gepubliceerd op 6 oktober 1999    |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 26646 nr. 3      | Gepubliceerd op 4 oktober 1999    |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 26597 nr. 1      | Gepubliceerd op 15 juni 1999      |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 26426 nr. 2      | Gepubliceerd op 4 maart 1999      |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 26333 nr. 8      | Gepubliceerd op 26 juli 1999      |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 26333 nr. 6      | Gepubliceerd op 8 juni 1999       |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 26333 nr. 3      | Gepubliceerd op 10 februari 1999  |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 26106 nr. 2      | Gepubliceerd op 4 november 1999   |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 483    | Gepubliceerd op 3 november 1999   |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 455    | Gepubliceerd op 3 september 1999  |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 447    | Gepubliceerd op 1 juli 1999       |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 427    | Gepubliceerd op 8 april 1999      |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 426    | Gepubliceerd op 23 maart 1999     |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Vergaderingnummer 4        | Gepubliceerd op 6 oktober 1999    |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Vergaderingnummer 15       | Gepubliceerd op 5 november 1999   |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Aanhangselnummer 650       | Gepubliceerd op 29 januari 1999   |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 26800-VII nr. 20 | Gepubliceerd op 6 december 1999   |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 26333 nr. 13     | Gepubliceerd op 17 december 1999  |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 26200-III nr. 11 | Gepubliceerd op 24 juni 1999      |

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| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 445     | Gepubliceerd op 1 juli 1999       |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 442     | Gepubliceerd op 10 juni 1999      |
| Vergaderjaar 1998-1999 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 416     | Gepubliceerd op 19 februari 1999  |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Kamerstuk 27412 nr. 2       | Gepubliceerd op 26 september 2000 |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 27111 nr. 1       | Gepubliceerd op 16 mei 2000       |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 27017 nr. 1       | Gepubliceerd op 24 februari 2000  |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 27000 nr. 5       | Gepubliceerd op 12 juli 2000      |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 27000 nr. 4       | Gepubliceerd op 5 april 2000      |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 27000 nr. 3       | Gepubliceerd op 10 februari 2000  |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 26333 nr. 15      | Gepubliceerd op 6 juli 2000       |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 25919 nr. 3       | Gepubliceerd op 20 juni 2000      |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 548     | Gepubliceerd op 24 november 2000  |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 546     | Gepubliceerd op 10 november 2000  |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 545     | Gepubliceerd op 7 november 2000   |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 529     | Gepubliceerd op 26 juni 2000      |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 509     | Gepubliceerd op 7 maart 2000      |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 504     | Gepubliceerd op 16 februari 2000  |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 492     | Gepubliceerd op 21 januari 2000   |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Vergaderingnummer 19        | Gepubliceerd op 14 november 2000  |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Vergaderingnummer 89        | Gepubliceerd op 30 juni 2000      |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Vergaderingnummer 70        | Gepubliceerd op 25 april 2000     |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Vergaderingnummer 56        | Gepubliceerd op 22 maart 2000     |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Vergaderingnummer 45        | Gepubliceerd op 9 februari 2000   |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Aanhangselnummer 1225       | Gepubliceerd op 18 mei 2000       |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Aanhangselnummer 1193       | Gepubliceerd op 10 mei 2000       |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 500     | Gepubliceerd op 8 februari 2000   |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Aanhangselnummer 341        | Gepubliceerd op 12 december 2000  |
| Vergaderjaar 1999-2000 | Aanhangselnummer 547        | Gepubliceerd op 11 januari 2000   |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 28006 nr. 5       | Gepubliceerd op 25 oktober 2001   |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 28006 nr. 4       | Gepubliceerd op 19 oktober 2001   |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 28006 nr. 3       | Gepubliceerd op 8 oktober 2001    |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 28000-VIII nr. 91 | Gepubliceerd op 13 december 2001  |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 28000-VIII nr. 9  | Gepubliceerd op 22 oktober 2001   |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 28000-VI nr. 34   | Gepubliceerd op 13 november 2001  |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 28000-V nr. 35    | Gepubliceerd op 8 november 2001   |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Kamerstuk 27062 nr. 16      | Gepubliceerd op 20 juli 2001      |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Kamerstuk 27062 nr. 14      | Gepubliceerd op 8 mei 2001        |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Kamerstuk 27017 nr. 4       | Gepubliceerd op 9 juli 2001       |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Kamerstuk 27017 nr. 3       | Gepubliceerd op 16 februari 2001  |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Kamerstuk 27017 nr. 2       | Gepubliceerd op 19 februari 2001  |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 25726 nr. 17      | Gepubliceerd op 7 januari 2002    |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 617     | Gepubliceerd op 31 oktober 2001   |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 602     | Gepubliceerd op 10 augustus 2001  |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 601     | Gepubliceerd op 6 augustus 2001   |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 599     | Gepubliceerd op 16 juli 2001      |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 559     | Gepubliceerd op 15 februari 2001  |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Vergaderingnummer 63        | Gepubliceerd op 9 april 2001      |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Vergaderingnummer 46        | Gepubliceerd op 12 februari 2001  |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Aanhangselnummer 310        | Gepubliceerd op 30 november 2001  |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Aanhangselnummer 513        | Gepubliceerd op 19 januari 2001   |

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| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Aanhangselnummer 1296     | Gepubliceerd op 13 juni 2001      |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Aanhangselnummer 1239     | Gepubliceerd op 1 juni 2001       |
| Vergaderjaar 2000-2001 | Aanhangselnummer 1145     | Gepubliceerd op 14 mei 2001       |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 28006 nr. 2     | Gepubliceerd op 18 september 2001 |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Kamerstuk 28612 nr. 1     | Gepubliceerd op 24 september 2002 |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 28198 nr. 5     | Gepubliceerd op 24 mei 2002       |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 28198 nr. 4     | Gepubliceerd op 9 april 2002      |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 28198 nr. 2     | Gepubliceerd op 29 januari 2002   |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 28006 nr. 9     | Gepubliceerd op 4 april 2002      |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 28006 nr. 7     | Gepubliceerd op 26 februari 2002  |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 28006 nr. 6     | Gepubliceerd op 11 januari 2002   |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 28006 nr. 17    | Gepubliceerd op 18 juli 2002      |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 28006 nr. 15    | Gepubliceerd op 9 juli 2002       |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 28006 nr. 11    | Gepubliceerd op 8 juli 2002       |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Kamerstuk 27223 nr. 30    | Gepubliceerd op 9 december 2002   |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 23490 nr. 237   | Gepubliceerd op 17 juni 2002      |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 23490 nr. 237   | Gepubliceerd op 11 juni 2002      |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 23490 nr. 236   | Gepubliceerd op 4 juni 2002       |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 702   | Gepubliceerd op 19 december 2002  |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 696   | Gepubliceerd op 25 november 2002  |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 675   | Gepubliceerd op 11 juli 2002      |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 665   | Gepubliceerd op 24 april 2002     |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 640   | Gepubliceerd op 15 januari 2002   |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Vergaderingnummer 91      | Gepubliceerd op 19 juli 2002      |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Vergaderingnummer 90      | Gepubliceerd op 12 juli 2002      |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Aanhangselnummer 520      | Gepubliceerd op 31 december 2002  |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Aanhangselnummer 461      | Gepubliceerd op 17 december 2002  |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Aanhangselnummer 336      | Gepubliceerd op 19 november 2002  |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Aanhangselnummer 324      | Gepubliceerd op 19 november 2002  |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Aanhangselnummer 989      | Gepubliceerd op 16 april 2002     |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Aanhangselnummer 800      | Gepubliceerd op 20 maart 2002     |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Aanhangselnummer 1672     | Gepubliceerd op 18 september 2002 |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Aanhangselnummer 1616     | Gepubliceerd op 10 september 2002 |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Aanhangselnummer 1221     | Gepubliceerd op 6 juni 2002       |
| Vergaderjaar 2001-2002 | Aanhangselnummer 820      | Gepubliceerd op 21 maart 2002     |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Kamerstuk 28612 nr. 2     | Gepubliceerd op 26 september 2002 |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 29203 nr. 2     | Gepubliceerd op 15 september 2003 |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 29203 nr. 1     | Gepubliceerd op 15 september 2003 |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 29200-XVI       | Gepubliceerd op 29 oktober 2003   |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 29200-VIII      | Gepubliceerd op 10 oktober 2003   |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 29200-VI nr. 95 | Gepubliceerd op 13 november 2003  |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 29200-VI nr. 94 | Gepubliceerd op 14 november 2003  |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 29200-VI nr. 92 | Gepubliceerd op 7 november 2003   |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 29200-VI nr. 70 | Gepubliceerd op 5 november 2003   |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 29200-VI        | Gepubliceerd op 18 november 2003  |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Kamerstuk 28600-XVI       | Gepubliceerd op 10 juni 2003      |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Kamerstuk 28600-VIII      | Gepubliceerd op 29 januari 2003   |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Kamerstuk 27083 nr. 32    | Gepubliceerd op 13 februari 2003  |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 754   | Gepubliceerd op 4 september 2003  |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 741   | Gepubliceerd op 13 juni 2003      |

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| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 740    | Gepubliceerd op 13 juni 2003     |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 737    | Gepubliceerd op 23 mei 2003      |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 736    | Gepubliceerd op 25 april 2003    |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 725    | Gepubliceerd op 4 maart 2003     |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Vergaderingnummer 7        | Gepubliceerd op 7 oktober 2003   |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Vergaderingnummer 7        | Gepubliceerd op 7 oktober 2003   |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Vergaderingnummer 31       | Gepubliceerd op 11 december 2003 |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Vergaderingnummer 4        | Gepubliceerd op 1 oktober 2003   |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Aanhangselnummer 512       | Gepubliceerd op 23 december 2003 |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Aanhangselnummer 946       | Gepubliceerd op 20 maart 2003    |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Aanhangselnummer 855       | Gepubliceerd op 6 maart 2003     |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Aanhangselnummer 805       | Gepubliceerd op 24 februari 2003 |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Aanhangselnummer 1702      | Gepubliceerd op 20 augustus 2003 |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Aanhangselnummer 1588      | Gepubliceerd op 16 juli 2003     |
| Vergaderjaar 2002-2003 | Aanhangselnummer 1056      | Gepubliceerd op 4 april 2003     |
|                        |                            |                                  |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29837 nr. 2      | Gepubliceerd op 29 oktober 2004  |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29800-XVI nr. 6  | Gepubliceerd op 14 oktober 2004  |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29800-VI nr. 89  | Gepubliceerd op 21 december 2004 |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29800-VI nr. 88  | Gepubliceerd op 21 december 2004 |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29800-VI nr. 77  | Gepubliceerd op 21 december 2004 |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29800-VI nr. 7   | Gepubliceerd op 14 oktober 2004  |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29800-VI nr. 101 | Gepubliceerd op 6 januari 2005   |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29700 nr. 6      | Gepubliceerd op 10 december 2004 |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29666 nr. 6      | Gepubliceerd op 6 oktober 2004   |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29666 nr. 4      | Gepubliceerd op 6 oktober 2004   |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 29666 nr. 3      | Gepubliceerd op 1 juli 2004      |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 29536 nr. 3      | Gepubliceerd op 20 augustus 2004 |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 29536 nr. 2      | Gepubliceerd op 24 juni 2004     |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 29536 nr. 1      | Gepubliceerd op 4 mei 2004       |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 29344 nr. 19     | Gepubliceerd op 19 februari 2004 |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 29203 nr. 9      | Gepubliceerd op 2 april 2004     |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 29203 nr. 12     | Gepubliceerd op 29 juli 2004     |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 29200-V nr. 75   | Gepubliceerd op 21 april 2004    |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 28689 nr. 19     | Gepubliceerd op 2 september 2004 |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 28689 nr. 17     | Gepubliceerd op 3 juni 2004      |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 28689 nr. 14     | Gepubliceerd op 19 maart 2004    |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 28689 nr. 13     | Gepubliceerd op 16 januari 2004  |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 28689 nr. 12     | Gepubliceerd op 16 januari 2004  |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 28689 nr. 11     | Gepubliceerd op 16 januari 2004  |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 27925 nr. 122    | Gepubliceerd op 2 april 2004     |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 27925 nr. 121    | Gepubliceerd op 2 april 2004     |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 27083 nr. 63     | Gepubliceerd op 29 juli 2004     |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 27083 nr. 44     | Gepubliceerd op 30 juni 2004     |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 27083 nr. 42     | Gepubliceerd op 17 mei 2004      |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 27017 nr. 9      | Gepubliceerd op 22 december 2004 |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 27017 nr. 7      | Gepubliceerd op 3 september 2004 |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 873    | Gepubliceerd op 18 november 2004 |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 825    | Gepubliceerd op 28 juni 2004     |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 809    | Gepubliceerd op 19 april 2004    |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 796    | Gepubliceerd op 9 februari 2004  |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Vergaderingnummer 10       | Gepubliceerd op 19 oktober 2004  |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Vergaderingnummer 37       | Gepubliceerd op 17 januari 2005  |

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| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Vergaderingnummer 26   | Gepubliceerd op 8 december 2004   |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Vergaderingnummer 95   | Gepubliceerd op 13 september 2004 |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Vergaderingnummer 94   | Gepubliceerd op 10 september 2004 |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Vergaderingnummer 94   | Gepubliceerd op 10 september 2004 |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Vergaderingnummer 92   | Gepubliceerd op 6 september 2004  |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Vergaderingnummer 72   | Gepubliceerd op 11 mei 2004       |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Vergaderingnummer 65   | Gepubliceerd op 22 april 2004     |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Vergaderingnummer 65   | Gepubliceerd op 22 april 2004     |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Vergaderingnummer 65   | Gepubliceerd op 22 april 2004     |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Vergaderingnummer 63   | Gepubliceerd op 14 april 2004     |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Aanhangselnummer 495   | Gepubliceerd op 7 december 2004   |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Aanhangselnummer 811   | Gepubliceerd op 17 februari 2004  |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Aanhangselnummer 792   | Gepubliceerd op 13 februari 2004  |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Aanhangselnummer 2314  | Gepubliceerd op 24 september 2004 |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Aanhangselnummer 2313  | Gepubliceerd op 24 september 2004 |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Aanhangselnummer 2282  | Gepubliceerd op 21 september 2004 |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Aanhangselnummer 1943  | Gepubliceerd op 27 juli 2004      |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Aanhangselnummer 1720  | Gepubliceerd op 22 juni 2004      |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Aanhangselnummer 1719  | Gepubliceerd op 22 juni 2004      |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Aanhangselnummer 1551  | Gepubliceerd op 25 mei 2004       |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 28689 nr.9   | Gepubliceerd op 19 januari 2004   |
| Vergaderjaar 2003-2004 | Kamerstuk 28689 nr. 10 | Gepubliceerd op 15 januari 2004   |
|                        |                        |                                   |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 30308 nr. 7  | Gepubliceerd op 3 januari 2006    |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 30308 nr. 6  | Gepubliceerd op 6 december 2005   |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 30304 nr. 8  | Gepubliceerd op 22 december 2005  |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 30304 nr. 4  | Gepubliceerd op 18 oktober 2005   |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 30304 nr. 2  | Gepubliceerd op 16 september 2005 |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 30300-VI     | Gepubliceerd op 23 december 2005  |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 30300-VI     | Gepubliceerd op 14 december 2005  |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 30300-VI     | Gepubliceerd op 29 november 2005  |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 30054 nr. 1  | Gepubliceerd op 30 maart 2005     |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29837 nr. 5  | Gepubliceerd op 11 juli 2005      |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29800-VI     | Gepubliceerd op 23 augustus 2005  |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29800-VI     | Gepubliceerd op 1 juni 2005       |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29800-VI     | Gepubliceerd op 29 april 2005     |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29800-VI     | Gepubliceerd op 1 april 2005      |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29742 nr. 16 | Gepubliceerd op 16 juni 2005      |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29666 nr. 8  | Gepubliceerd op 11 februari 2005  |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 29203 nr. 28 | Gepubliceerd op 14 december 2005  |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 29203 nr. 27 | Gepubliceerd op 24 november 2005  |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29203 nr. 26 | Gepubliceerd op 4 juli 2005       |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 29203 nr. 18 | Gepubliceerd op 16 maart 2005     |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 28689 nr. 33 | Gepubliceerd op 13 mei 2005       |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 28345 nr. 38 | Gepubliceerd op 17 maart 2005     |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 27017 nr. 14 | Gepubliceerd op 28 december 2005  |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 27017 nr. 13 | Gepubliceerd op 31 oktober 2005   |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Kamerstuk 27017 nr. 11 | Gepubliceerd op 14 juli 2005      |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Vergaderingnummer 102  | Gepubliceerd op 14 september 2005 |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Vergaderingnummer 93   | Gepubliceerd op 29 juni 2005      |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Vergaderingnummer 77   | Gepubliceerd op 3 mei 2005        |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Vergaderingnummer 75   | Gepubliceerd op 27 april 2005     |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Vergaderingnummer 74   | Gepubliceerd op 27 april 2005     |

|                        |                          |                                   |
|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Vergaderingnummer 71     | Gepubliceerd op 18 april 2005     |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Vergaderingnummer 62     | Gepubliceerd op 1 april 2005      |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Aanhangselnummer 432     | Gepubliceerd op 1 december 2005   |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Aanhangselnummer 114     | Gepubliceerd op 13 oktober 2005   |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Aanhangselnummer 969     | Gepubliceerd op 28 februari 2005  |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Aanhangselnummer 905     | Gepubliceerd op 15 februari 2005  |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Aanhangselnummer 788     | Gepubliceerd op 25 januari 2005   |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Aanhangselnummer 2383    | Gepubliceerd op 16 september 2005 |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Aanhangselnummer 2285    | Gepubliceerd op 9 september 2005  |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Aanhangselnummer 2059    | Gepubliceerd op 18 juli 2005      |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Aanhangselnummer 1256    | Gepubliceerd op 4 april 2005      |
| Vergaderjaar 2004-2005 | Aanhangselnummer 1005    | Gepubliceerd op 1 maart 2005      |
|                        |                          |                                   |
| Vergaderjaar 2006-2007 | Kamerstuk 30950 nr. 1    | Gepubliceerd op 6 februari 2007   |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 30810 nr. 2    | Gepubliceerd op 28 september 2006 |
| Vergaderjaar 2006-2007 | Kamerstuk 30800-X nr. 5  | Gepubliceerd op 4 oktober 2006    |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 30559 nr. 6    | Gepubliceerd op 30 juni 2006      |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 30550-VI nr. 1 | Gepubliceerd op 2 mei 2006        |
| Vergaderjaar 2006-2007 | Kamerstuk 30388 nr. 8    | Gepubliceerd op 5 oktober 2006    |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 30308 nr. 73   | Gepubliceerd op 28 juni 2006      |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 30308 nr. 63   | Gepubliceerd op 22 juni 2006      |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 30308 nr. 18   | Gepubliceerd op 8 juni 2006       |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 30308 nr. 16   | Gepubliceerd op 2 mei 2006        |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 30300-VIII     | Gepubliceerd op 26 januari 2006   |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 29754 nr. 74   | Gepubliceerd op 14 juli 2006      |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 29696 nr. 3    | Gepubliceerd op 12 mei 2006       |
| Vergaderjaar 2006-2007 | Kamerstuk 29666 nr. 14   | Gepubliceerd op 13 december 2006  |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 28638 nr. 22   | Gepubliceerd op 21 april 2006     |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 27017 nr. 27   | Gepubliceerd op 28 april 2006     |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 27017 nr. 25   | Gepubliceerd op 26 april 2006     |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 27017 nr. 24   | Gepubliceerd op 19 april 2006     |
| Vergaderjaar 2006-2007 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 1097 | Gepubliceerd op 6 november 2006   |
| Vergaderjaar 2006-2007 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 1094 | Gepubliceerd op 24 oktober 2006   |
| Vergaderjaar 2006-2007 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 1093 | Gepubliceerd op 9 oktober 2006    |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 1050 | Gepubliceerd op 24 mei 2006       |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 1049 | Gepubliceerd op 19 mei 2006       |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 1047 | Gepubliceerd op 12 mei 2006       |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 1024 | Gepubliceerd op 15 maart 2006     |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 1022 | Gepubliceerd op 9 maart 2006      |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 1021 | Gepubliceerd op 17 maart 2006     |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 1010 | Gepubliceerd op 8 februari 2006   |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Kamerstuk 19637 nr. 1007 | Gepubliceerd op 8 februari 2006   |
| Vergaderjaar 2006-2007 | Vergaderingnummer 16     | Gepubliceerd op 21 november 2006  |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Vergaderingnummer 96     | Gepubliceerd op 17 juli 2006      |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Vergaderingnummer 83     | Gepubliceerd op 7 juni 2006       |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Vergaderingnummer 78     | Gepubliceerd op 24 mei 2006       |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Vergaderingnummer 72     | Gepubliceerd op 26 april 2006     |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Vergaderingnummer 71     | Gepubliceerd op 24 april 2006     |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Vergaderingnummer 56     | Gepubliceerd op 21 maart 2006     |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Vergaderingnummer 49     | Gepubliceerd op 21 februari 2006  |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Vergaderingnummer 46     | Gepubliceerd op 15 februari 2006  |
| Vergaderjaar 2006-2007 | Aanhangselnummer 519     | Gepubliceerd op 16 januari 2007   |
| Vergaderjaar 2006-2007 | Aanhangselnummer 483     | Gepubliceerd op 11 januari 2007   |

|                        |                       |                                   |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Vergaderjaar 2006-2007 | Aanhangselnummer 419  | Gepubliceerd op 12 december 2006  |
| Vergaderjaar 2006-2007 | Aanhangselnummer 357  | Gepubliceerd op 4 december 2006   |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Aanhangselnummer 906  | Gepubliceerd op 20 februari 2006  |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Aanhangselnummer 2064 | Gepubliceerd op 18 september 2006 |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Aanhangselnummer 2063 | Gepubliceerd op 18 september 2006 |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Aanhangselnummer 2043 | Gepubliceerd op 12 september 2006 |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Aanhangselnummer 1922 | Gepubliceerd op 28 augustus 2006  |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Aanhangselnummer 1866 | Gepubliceerd op 31 juli 2006      |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Aanhangselnummer 1865 | Gepubliceerd op 31 juli 2006      |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Aanhangselnummer 1786 | Gepubliceerd op 13 juli 2006      |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Aanhangselnummer 1682 | Gepubliceerd op 26 juni 2006      |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Aanhangselnummer 1568 | Gepubliceerd op 7 juni 2006       |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Aanhangselnummer 1525 | Gepubliceerd op 31 mei 2006       |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Aanhangselnummer 1381 | Gepubliceerd op 4 mei 2006        |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Aanhangselnummer 1045 | Gepubliceerd op 17 maart 2006     |
| Vergaderjaar 2005-2006 | Aanhangselnummer 1028 | Gepubliceerd op 15 maart 2006     |

## Appendix 2 – Stopwords list

|           |              |              |           |           |
|-----------|--------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| a         | altoos       | binnenin     | de        | dog       |
| aan       | altyd        | bizonder     | deeze     | door      |
| aangaande | ander        | bizondere    | den       | doorgaand |
| aangezien | andere       | bl           | der       | doorgaans |
| achter    | anderen      | blz          | ders      | dr        |
| achterna  | anders       | boven        | derzelver | dra       |
| aen       | anderszins   | bovenal      | des       | ds        |
| af        | anm          | bovendien    | deszelfs  | dus       |
| afd       | b            | bovengenoemd | deszelvs  | echter    |
| afgelopen | behalve      | bovenstaand  | deze      | ed        |
| agter     | behoudens    | bovenvermeld | dezelfde  | een       |
| al        | beide        | buiten       | dezelve   | eene      |
| aldaar    | beiden       | by           | dezelven  | eenen     |
| aldus     | ben          | daar         | dezen     | eener     |
| alhoewel  | beneden      | daarheen     | dezer     | eenig     |
| alias     | bent         | daarin       | dezulke   | eenige    |
| alle      | bepaald      | daarna       | die       | eens      |
| allebei   | beter        | daarnet      | dien      | eer       |
| alleen    | betere       | daarom       | dikwijls  | eerdad    |
| alleenlyk | betreffende  | daarop       | dikwyls   | eerder    |
| allen     | bij          | daarvanlangs | dit       | eerlang   |
| alles     | bijna        | daer         | dl        | eerst     |
| als       | bijvoorbeeld | dan          | doch      | eerste    |
| alsnog    | bijv         | dat          | doen      | eersten   |
| altijd    | binnen       |              | doet      | effe      |



|             |           |             |           |           |
|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| egter       | geen      | haere       | iemand    | konden    |
| eigen       | geene     | haeren      | iet       | krachtens |
| eigene      | geenen    | haerer      | iets      | kunnen    |
| elk         | gegeven   | hans        | ii        | kunt      |
| elkanderen  | gehad     | hare        | iig       | laetste   |
| elkanderens | geheel    | heb         | ik        | lang      |
| elke        | geheele   | hebben      | ikke      | later     |
| en          | gekund    | hebt        | ikzelf    | liet      |
| enig        | geleden   | heeft       | in        | liever    |
| enige       | gelijk    | hele        | indien    | like      |
| enigerlei   | gelyk     | hem         | inmiddels | m         |
| enigszins   | gemoeten  | hen         | inz       | maar      |
| enkel       | gemogen   | het         | inzake    | maeken    |
| enkele      | geven     | hier        | is        | maer      |
| enz         | geweest   | hierbeneden | ja        | mag       |
| er          | gewoon    | hierboven   | je        | martin    |
| erdoor      | gewoonweg | hierin      | jezelf    | me        |
| et          | geworden  | hij         | jij       | mede      |
| etc         | gezegd    | hoe         | jijzelf   | meer      |
| even        | gij       | hoewel      | jou       | meesten   |
| eveneens    | gt        | hun         | jouw      | men       |
| evenwel     | gy        | hunne       | jouwe     | menigwerf |
| ff          | haar      | hunner      | juist     | met       |
| gauw        | had       | hy          | jullie    | mezelf    |
| ge          | hadden    | ibid        | kan       | mij       |
| gebracht    | hadt      | idd         | klaar     | mijn      |
| gedurende   | haer      | ieder       | kon       | mijnent   |

|           |             |           |           |                  |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| mijner    | niets       | onzer     | sl        | tusschen         |
| mijzelf   | nimmer      | ooit      | slechts   | tussen           |
| min       | nit         | ook       | sommige   | tydens           |
| minder    | no          | oorspr    | spoedig   | u                |
| misschien | noch        | op        | st        | uit              |
| mocht     | nog         | opdat     | steeds    | uitg             |
| mochten   | nogal       | opnieuw   | sy        | uitgezonder<br>d |
| moest     | nooit       | opzij     | t         | uw               |
| moesten   | nr          | opzy      | tamelijk  | uwe              |
| moet      | nu          | over      | tamelyk   | uwen             |
| moeten    | o           | overeind  | te        | uwer             |
| mogelijk  | of          | overigens | tegen     | vaak             |
| mogelyk   | ofschoon    | p         | tegens    | vaakwat          |
| mogen     | om          | pas       | ten       | vakgr            |
| my        | omdat       | pp        | tenzij    | van              |
| myn       | omhoog      | precies   | ter       | vanaf            |
| myne      | omlaag      | pres      | terwijl   | vandaan          |
| mynen     | omstreeks   | prof      | terwyl    | vanuit           |
| myner     | omtrent     | publ      | thans     | vanwege          |
| myzelf    | omver       | reeds     | tijdens   | veel             |
| na        | onder       | rond      | toch      | veeleer          |
| naar      | ondertussen | rondom    | toe       | veelen           |
| nabij     | ongeveer    | rug       | toen      | verder           |
| nadat     | ons         | s         | toenmaals | verre            |
| naer      | onszelf     | sedert    | toenmalig | vert             |
| net       | onze        | sinds     | tot       | vervolgens       |
| niet      | onzen       | sindsdien | totdat    | vgl              |

|            |         |            |          |
|------------|---------|------------|----------|
| vol        | wat     | worden     | zo       |
| volgens    | we      | wordt      | zo'n     |
| voor       | weer    | wy         | zoals    |
| vooraf     | weg     | wyze       | zodra    |
| vooral     | wege    | wyzelf     | zommige  |
| vooralsnog | wegens  | zal        | zommigen |
| voorbij    | weinig  | ze         | zonder   |
| voorby     | weinige | zeer       | zoo      |
| voordat    | wel     | zei        | zou      |
| voordezen  | weldra  | zeker      | zoude    |
| voordien   | welk    | zekere     | zouden   |
| voorheen   | welke   | zelf       | zoveel   |
| voorop     | welken  | zelfde     | zowat    |
| voort      | welker  | zelfs      | zulk     |
| voortgez   | werd    | zelve      | zulke    |
| voorts     | werden  | zelven     | zulks    |
| voortz     | werdt   | zelvs      | zullen   |
| vooruit    | wezen   | zich       | zult     |
| vrij       | wie     | zichzelf   | zy       |
| vroeg      | wiens   | zichzelve  | zyn      |
| vry        | wier    | zichzelven | zynde    |
| waar       | wierd   | zie        | zyne     |
| waarom     | wierden | zig        | zynen    |
| wanneer    | wij     | zij        | zyner    |
| want       | wijzelf | zijn       |          |
| waren      | wil     | zijnde     |          |
| was        | wilde   | zijne      |          |
|            |         | zijner     |          |

## Appendix 3 – Word collocations of all years

| Year | Keyword | Dutch noun                       | Frequency | Noun                           | Explanation if applicable           |
|------|---------|----------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1994 | islam*  | raad                             | 5         | council                        |                                     |
| 1994 | islam*  | opleiding                        | 2         | education                      |                                     |
| 1994 | islam*  | Nederland                        | 2         | Netherlands                    |                                     |
| 1994 | moslim* | Nederland                        | 2         | Netherlands                    |                                     |
| 1994 | islam*  | kontakt                          | 2         | contact                        |                                     |
| 1994 | islam*  | kamer                            | 2         | Chamber                        |                                     |
| 1994 | islam*  | verzorging/verzorger             | 2         | care/caretaker                 |                                     |
| 1994 | moslim* | kasten/kastelozen                | 2         | castes/casteless               |                                     |
| 1994 | islam*  | partij(en)                       | 2         | party(ies)                     |                                     |
|      |         |                                  |           |                                |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | gemeenschap(pen)                 | 52        | community(ies)                 |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | educatie/onderwijs               | 23        | education                      |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | school/scholen                   | 17        | school(s)                      |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | pen                              | 16        | pen                            |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | opleiding                        | 11        | education                      |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | Nederland                        | 10        | Netherlands                    |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | geestelijken                     | 9         | clerics                        |                                     |
| 1995 | moslim* | gemeenschap                      | 8         | community                      |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | verantwoordelijkheid             | 7         | responsibility                 |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | ruimte                           | 6         | space                          |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | opleidingsmogelijkheid           | 6         | education possibility          |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | imam                             | 6         | imam                           |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | belangstelling                   | 6         | interest                       |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | vo (voortgezet onderwijs)        | 5         | secondary education            | abbreviation                        |
| 1995 | islam*  | verspreiding                     | 5         | distribution                   |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | pamfletten                       | 5         | pamphlets                      |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | stromingen                       | 4         | movements                      |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | richting                         | 4         | direction                      |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | Hindoes                          | 4         | Hindus                         |                                     |
| 1995 | islam*  | belang                           | 4         | interest                       |                                     |
|      |         |                                  |           |                                |                                     |
| 1996 | islam*  | scheidslijnen                    | 4         | boundaries                     |                                     |
| 1996 | islam*  | bevolkingsgroepen                | 4         | social groups                  |                                     |
| 1996 | islam*  | land                             | 2         | country                        |                                     |
| 1996 | moslim* | UNHCR                            | 2         | UNHCR                          | UN Refugee Agency                   |
| 1996 | moslim* | scholen                          | 2         | schools                        |                                     |
| 1996 | moslim* | knelpunten                       | 2         | bottlenecks                    |                                     |
| 1996 | moslim* | hervestiging                     | 2         | resettlement                   |                                     |
| 1996 | moslim* | groeperingen                     | 2         | groups                         |                                     |
| 1996 | islam*  | Sudan/Soedan                     | 2         | Sudan                          |                                     |
| 1996 | islam*  | fundamentalisten/fundamentalisme | 2         | fundamentalists/fundamentalism |                                     |
|      |         |                                  |           |                                |                                     |
| 1997 | islam*  | Iran                             | 19        | Iran                           |                                     |
| 1997 | islam*  | republic                         | 16        | republic                       |                                     |
| 1997 | islam*  | godsdienst                       | 13        | religion                       |                                     |
| 1997 | islam*  | Nederland                        | 11        | Netherlands                    |                                     |
| 1997 | moslim* | Nederland                        | 8         | Netherlands                    |                                     |
| 1997 | moslim* | christen(en)                     | 8         | christian(s)                   |                                     |
| 1997 | islam*  | opleiding/onderwijs              | 8         | education                      |                                     |
| 1997 | islam*  | school/scholen                   | 7         | school(s)                      |                                     |
| 1997 | islam*  | revolutie                        | 7         | revolution                     |                                     |
| 1997 | islam*  | overleg                          | 6         | consultation                   |                                     |
| 1997 | moslim* | Sandjak                          | 6         | Sandjak                        | area in Serbia and Montenegro       |
| 1997 | moslim* | regio                            | 6         | region                         |                                     |
| 1997 | islam*  | volksdeel                        | 5         | section of the population      |                                     |
| 1997 | islam*  | staat                            | 5         | state                          |                                     |
| 1997 | islam*  | gemeenschap(pen)                 | 5         | community(ies)                 |                                     |
| 1997 | islam*  | centrum                          | 5         | centre                         |                                     |
| 1997 | islam*  | burgerschap                      | 5         | citizenship                    |                                     |
| 1997 | moslim* | vertegenwoordigers               | 5         | representatives                |                                     |
| 1997 | moslim* | Iran                             | 5         | Iran                           |                                     |
| 1997 | islam*  | positie                          | 4         | position                       |                                     |
| 1997 | islam*  | Nisbo                            | 4         | Nisbo                          | Dutch association of older migrants |
| 1997 | islam*  | imams                            | 4         | imams                          |                                     |
| 1997 | moslim* | zaken                            | 4         | cases/affairs                  |                                     |
|      |         |                                  |           |                                |                                     |
| 1998 | islam*  | Nederland(se)                    | 36        | Netherlands(Dutch)             |                                     |
| 1998 | islam*  | Hindoe                           | 14        | Hindu                          |                                     |
| 1998 | islam*  | stichting                        | 13        | foundation                     |                                     |
| 1998 | islam*  | organisaties                     | 13        | organisations                  |                                     |
| 1998 | moslim* | Sandjak                          | 13        | Sandjak                        | area in Serbia and Montenegro       |
| 1998 | islam*  | federatie                        | 12        | federation                     |                                     |
| 1998 | moslim* | Nederland                        | 10        | Netherlands                    |                                     |
| 1998 | moslim* | geestelijke                      | 10        | cleric                         |                                     |
| 1998 | islam*  | raad                             | 9         | council                        |                                     |
| 1998 | moslim* | organisaties                     | 8         | organisations                  |                                     |
| 1998 | islam*  | grondslag                        | 7         | base                           |                                     |
| 1998 | moslim* | raad                             | 6         | council                        |                                     |
| 1998 | islam*  | stroming(en)                     | 6         | movement(s)                    |                                     |

| Year | Keyword | Dutch noun             | Frequency | Noun                  | Explanation if applicable  |
|------|---------|------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|--|
| 1998 | moslim* | Hindoe(s)              | 6         | Hindu(s)              |  |
| 1998 | islam*  | zaken                  | 5         | cases/affairs         |  |
| 1998 | islam*  | gemeenschappen         | 5         | communities           |  |
| 1998 | islam*  | centrum                | 5         | centre                |  |
| 1998 | moslim* | verzorging             | 5         | care                  |  |
| 1998 | islam*  | scholen                | 4         | schools               |  |
| 1998 | islam*  | samenlevingen          | 4         | societies             |  |
| 1998 | islam*  | moskee                 | 4         | mosque                |  |
| 1998 | islam*  | ministerie             | 4         | ministry              |  |
| 1998 | islam*  | land                   | 4         | country               |  |
| 1998 | islam*  | initiatief             | 4         | initiative            |  |
| 1998 | islam*  | Habous                 | 4         | Habous                | quarter in Casablanca  |
| 1998 | islam*  | godsdiens              | 4         | religion              |  |
| 1999 | moslim* | geestelijke            | 8         | cleric                |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | organisaties           | 5         | organisations         |  |
| 1999 | moslim* | verzorging             | 5         | care                  |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | Nederland(se)          | 5         | Netherlands/Dutch     |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | land                   | 4         | country               |  |
| 1999 | moslim* | Hindoe                 | 4         | Hindu                 |  |
| 1999 | moslim* | verzorging/verzorgers  | 4         | care/caretaker(s)     |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | waarden                | 3         | values                |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | staat                  | 3         | state                 |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | scholen                | 3         | schools               |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | normen                 | 3         | norms                 |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | Nisbo                  | 3         | Nisbo                 | Dutch association for older migrants                                       |
| 1999 | islam*  | Hindoe                 | 3         | Hindu                 |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | concept                | 3         | concept               |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | Amman                  | 3         | Amman                 | capital of Jordan  |
| 1999 | moslim* | raad                   | 3         | council               |  |
| 1999 | moslim* | Nederland(se)          | 3         | Netherlands/Dutch     |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | zorgcentrum            | 2         | care center           |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | samenleving            | 2         | society               |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | risico                 | 2         | risk                  |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | posten                 | 2         | items/positions       |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | ouderen                | 2         | elderly               |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | opleiding              | 2         | education             |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | jaren                  | 2         | years                 |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | instantie              | 2         | institution           |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | gesprekken             | 2         | conversations         |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | geloof                 | 2         | religion              |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | bond                   | 2         | league                |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | bedreiging             | 2         | threat                |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | Ankara                 | 2         | Ankara                |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | afvalligheid           | 2         | apostasy              |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | aantal                 | 2         | number                |  |
| 1999 | islam*  | verzorging/verzorgers  | 2         | care/caretaker        |  |
| 1999 | moslim* | wensen                 | 2         | wishes                |  |
| 1999 | moslim* | project                | 2         | project               |  |
| 1999 | moslim* | omroep                 | 2         | broadcaster           |  |
| 1999 | moslim* | media                  | 2         | media                 |  |
| 1999 | moslim* | Marokkaansen           | 2         | Moroccan              |  |
| 1999 | moslim* | instantie              | 2         | institution           |  |
| 1999 | moslim* | functie                | 2         | function              |  |
| 2000 | islam*  | Nederland(se)          | 26        | Netherlands/Dutch     |  |
| 2000 | islam*  | organisaties           | 22        | organisations         |  |
| 2000 | moslim* | Nederland(se)          | 16        | Netherlands/Dutch     |  |
| 2000 | islam*  | universiteit           | 12        | university            |  |
| 2000 | islam*  | Rotterdam              | 12        | Rotterdam             |  |
| 2000 | islam*  | land(en)               | 12        | country(ies)          |  |
| 2000 | moslim* | Iran                   | 10        | Iran                  |  |
| 2000 | moslim* | geestelijke            | 10        | cleric                |  |
| 2000 | islam*  | raad                   | 9         | council               |  |
| 2000 | islam*  | federatie              | 9         | federation            |  |
| 2000 | islam*  | Hindoe                 | 8         | Hindu                 |  |
| 2000 | islam*  | stichting              | 7         | foundation            |  |
| 2000 | moslim* | raad                   | 7         | council               |  |
| 2000 | islam*  | opvattingen            | 6         | views                 |  |
| 2000 | moslim* | verzorging             | 6         | care                  |  |
| 2000 | islam*  | gemeenschap(pen)       | 6         | community(ies)        |  |
| 2000 | islam*  | rol                    | 5         | role                  |  |
| 2000 | islam*  | kring                  | 5         | circuit               |  |
| 2000 | islam*  | homoseksualiteit       | 5         | homosexuality         |  |
| 2000 | islam*  | geestelijke            | 5         | cleric                |  |
| 2000 | moslim* | terugkeer              | 5         | return                |  |
| 2001 | islam*  | Nederland(se)          | 16        | Netherlands/Dutch     |  |
| 2001 | islam*  | homoseksualiteit/ homo | 13        | homosexuality/-sexual |  |
| 2001 | islam*  | burgerschap            | 12        | citizenship           |  |
| 2001 | islam*  | gemeenschap            | 10        | community             |  |
| 2001 | islam*  | organisaties           | 9         | organisations         |  |
| 2001 | moslim* | burgerschap            | 7         | citizenship           |  |
| 2001 | moslim* | Nederland              | 6         | Netherlands           |  |
| 2001 | islam*  | Yoesuf                 | 4         | Yoesuf                | education centre for Islam and societal questions, until 2005 named Yoesuf |

| Year | Keyword | Dutch noun                 | Frequency | Noun                      | Explanation if applicable           |
|------|---------|----------------------------|-----------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 2001 | islam*  | waarden                    | 4         | values                    |                                     |
| 2001 | islam*  | scholen                    | 4         | schools                   |                                     |
| 2001 | islam*  | samenleving                | 3         | society                   |                                     |
| 2001 | islam*  | opvattingen                | 3         | views                     |                                     |
| 2001 | islam*  | mensen                     | 3         | people                    |                                     |
| 2001 | islam*  | integratie                 | 3         | integration               |                                     |
| 2001 | islam*  | geestelijke                | 3         | cleric                    |                                     |
| 2001 | islam*  | achtergrond                | 3         | background                |                                     |
| 2001 | islam*  | aantal                     | 3         | number                    |                                     |
| 2001 | moslim* | land                       | 3         | country                   |                                     |
| 2001 | moslim* | jihad                      | 3         | jihad                     |                                     |
| 2001 | moslim* | Hindoes                    | 3         | Hindus                    |                                     |
| 2001 | moslim* | geestelijke                | 3         | cleric                    |                                     |
|      |         |                            |           |                           |                                     |
| 2002 | islam*  | Nederland(se)              | 67        | Netherlands/Dutch         |                                     |
| 2002 | islam*  | school/scholen             | 60        | school(s)                 |                                     |
| 2002 | islam*  | organisaties               | 37        | organisations             |                                     |
| 2002 | moslim* | Nederland                  | 31        | Netherlands               |                                     |
| 2002 | islam*  | onderwijs                  | 25        | education                 |                                     |
| 2002 | islam*  | gemeenschap(pen)           | 22        | community(ies)            |                                     |
| 2002 | islam*  | stichting                  | 14        | foundation                |                                     |
| 2002 | islam*  | samenleving                | 12        | society                   |                                     |
| 2002 | islam*  | meisjes                    | 11        | girls                     |                                     |
| 2002 | islam*  | burgerschap                | 11        | citizenship               |                                     |
| 2002 | islam*  | land(en)                   | 10        | country(ies)              |                                     |
| 2002 | islam*  | moskee                     | 9         | mosque                    |                                     |
| 2002 | islam*  | instellingen               | 9         | institutions              |                                     |
| 2002 | islam*  | wereld                     | 8         | world                     |                                     |
| 2002 | islam*  | vrouwen                    | 8         | women                     |                                     |
| 2002 | moslim* | wereld                     | 8         | world                     |                                     |
| 2002 | moslim* | overheid                   | 8         | government                |                                     |
| 2002 | moslim* | liga                       | 8         | league                    |                                     |
| 2002 | islam*  | rapport                    | 7         | report                    |                                     |
| 2002 | islam*  | leerlingen                 | 7         | students                  |                                     |
| 2002 | islam*  | invloed                    | 7         | influence                 |                                     |
|      |         |                            |           |                           |                                     |
| 2003 | islam*  | school/scholen/basis-      | 151       | school(s)/primary-        |                                     |
| 2003 | islam*  | burgerschap                | 50        | citizenship               |                                     |
| 2003 | islam*  | onderwijs                  | 28        | education                 |                                     |
| 2003 | moslim* | overheid                   | 28        | government                |                                     |
| 2003 | islam*  | Nederland(se)              | 17        | Netherlands/Dutch         |                                     |
| 2003 | moslim* | Nederland                  | 13        | Netherlands               |                                     |
| 2003 | islam*  | kinderen                   | 12        | children                  |                                     |
| 2003 | islam*  | Hirsi Ali                  | 12        | Hirsi Ali                 | politician from the Liberal Party   |
| 2003 | islam*  | minister                   | 10        | minister                  |                                     |
| 2003 | islam*  | godsdiensonderwijs         | 9         | religious education       |                                     |
| 2003 | islam*  | organisaties               | 8         | organisations             |                                     |
| 2003 | islam*  | staat                      | 7         | state                     |                                     |
| 2003 | islam*  | integratie                 | 7         | integration               |                                     |
| 2003 | islam*  | VVD                        | 6         | VVD                       | Dutch Liberal Party                 |
| 2003 | islam*  | terrorisme                 | 6         | terrorism                 |                                     |
| 2003 | moslim* | werkgroep                  | 6         | work group                |                                     |
| 2003 | islam*  | jongeren                   | 5         | youth                     |                                     |
| 2003 | islam*  | inspectie                  | 5         | inspection                |                                     |
| 2003 | islam*  | cohesie                    | 5         | cohesion                  |                                     |
| 2003 | moslim* | weerbaarheid               | 5         | resilience                |                                     |
| 2003 | moslim* | oprichting                 | 5         | establishment             |                                     |
| 2003 | moslim* | deel                       | 5         | part/share                |                                     |
| 2003 | moslim* | cmo/contactorgaan          | 5         | cmo/contact institution   | Contact body Muslims and Government |
|      |         |                            |           |                           |                                     |
| 2004 | islam*  | school/scholen/basis-      | 203       | school(s)/primary-        |                                     |
| 2004 | islam*  | Nederland(se)              | 115       | Netherlands/Dutch         |                                     |
| 2004 | moslim* | Nederland(se)              | 106       | Netherlands/Dutch         |                                     |
| 2004 | islam*  | organisatie(s)             | 85        | organisation(s)           |                                     |
| 2004 | islam*  | onderwijs/basis-           | 78        | education/primary-        |                                     |
| 2004 | islam*  | burgerschap                | 38        | citizenship               |                                     |
| 2004 | islam*  | stichting                  | 28        | foundation                |                                     |
| 2004 | islam*  | vrouwen                    | 22        | women                     |                                     |
| 2004 | islam*  | samenleving                | 21        | society                   |                                     |
| 2004 | moslim* | overheid                   | 21        | government                |                                     |
| 2004 | islam*  | gemeenschap                | 17        | community                 |                                     |
| 2004 | moslim* | samenleving                | 16        | society                   |                                     |
| 2004 | islam*  | homoseksualiteit           | 14        | homosexuality             |                                     |
| 2004 | islam*  | debat                      | 14        | debate                    |                                     |
| 2004 | islam*  | stromingen                 | 13        | movements                 |                                     |
| 2004 | islam*  | moskee                     | 13        | mosque                    |                                     |
| 2004 | islam*  | mensen                     | 13        | people                    |                                     |
| 2004 | islam*  | meisjes                    | 13        | girls                     |                                     |
| 2004 | islam*  | federatie                  | 13        | federation                |                                     |
| 2004 | islam*  | Amsterdam                  | 13        | Amsterdam                 |                                     |
|      |         |                            |           |                           |                                     |
| 2005 | islam*  | school/scholen             | 38        | school(s)                 |                                     |
| 2005 | islam*  | burgerschap                | 26        | citizenship               |                                     |
| 2005 | moslim* | radicalisering/radicalisme | 24        | radicalisation/radicalism |                                     |
| 2005 | islam*  | Nederland(se)              | 21        | Netherlands/Dutch         |                                     |

| Year | Keyword | Dutch noun               | Frequency | Noun                      | Explanation if applicable |
|------|---------|--------------------------|-----------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 2005 | islam*  | organisaties             | 16        | organisations             |                           |
| 2005 | moslim* | Nederland(se)            | 14        | Netherlands/Dutch         |                           |
| 2005 | moslim* | weerbaarheid             | 11        | resilience                |                           |
| 2005 | moslim* | minister                 | 9         | minister                  |                           |
| 2005 | islam*  | overheid                 | 8         | government                |                           |
| 2005 | islam*  | jongeren                 | 8         | youth                     |                           |
| 2005 | moslim* | overheid                 | 8         | government                |                           |
| 2005 | islam*  | organisaties             | 8         | organisations             |                           |
| 2005 | islam*  | rol                      | 7         | role                      |                           |
| 2005 | islam*  | mevrouw                  | 7         | madam                     |                           |
| 2005 | islam*  | integratie               | 7         | integration               |                           |
| 2005 | islam*  | achtergrond              | 7         | background                |                           |
| 2005 | moslim* | samenleving              | 7         | society                   |                           |
| 2005 | islam*  | deel                     | 7         | part/share                |                           |
| 2005 | islam*  | wereld                   | 6         | world                     |                           |
| 2005 | islam*  | samenleving              | 6         | society                   |                           |
| 2005 | islam*  | radicalisering           | 6         | radicalisation            |                           |
| 2005 | islam*  | minister                 | 6         | minister                  |                           |
| 2005 | islam*  | kinderen                 | 6         | children                  |                           |
| 2005 | islam*  | eerwraak                 | 6         | honour killing            |                           |
| 2005 | moslim* | jongeren                 | 6         | youth                     |                           |
|      |         |                          |           |                           |                           |
| 2006 | moslim* | christen(en)/christendom | 48        | Christian(s)/Christianity |                           |
| 2006 | moslim* | Nederland(se)            | 16        | Netherlands/Dutch         |                           |
| 2006 | moslim* | Iran                     | 15        | Iran                      |                           |
| 2006 | islam*  | school/scholen           | 12        | school(s)                 |                           |
| 2006 | islam*  | Nederland                | 10        | Netherlands               |                           |
| 2006 | moslim* | bedreiging(en)           | 10        | threat(s)                 |                           |
| 2006 | moslim* | ex                       | 9         | ex                        |                           |
| 2006 | moslim* | geloof                   | 8         | belief                    |                           |
| 2006 | moslim* | asielzoekers             | 8         | asylum seeker             |                           |
| 2006 | moslim* | radicalisering           | 7         | radicalisation            |                           |
| 2006 | moslim* | organisaties             | 7         | organisations             |                           |
| 2006 | moslim* | val                      | 6         | trap                      |                           |
| 2006 | moslim* | samenwerking             | 6         | cooperation               |                           |
| 2006 | moslim* | positie                  | 6         | position                  |                           |
| 2006 | moslim* | jongeren                 | 6         | youth                     |                           |
| 2006 | islam*  | kennis                   | 6         | knowledge                 |                           |
| 2006 | islam*  | burgerschap              | 6         | citizenship               |                           |
| 2006 | moslim* | studenten                | 5         | students                  |                           |
| 2006 | moslim* | overheid                 | 5         | government                |                           |
| 2006 | moslim* | minderheden              | 5         | minorities                |                           |
| 2006 | moslim* | leven                    | 5         | life                      |                           |