

Erasmus School of  
History, Culture and  
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## Dual citizenship, one goal

Football nationality choices of Dutch-Moroccan football players in Dutch media, 1998-2019

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## Preface

Hereby I proudly present my master thesis *Dual citizenship, one goal*. This thesis is the result of a period of hard work and dedication. Looking back at this period, it was challenging at times but most certainly I enjoyed doing this research. The topic of my thesis, the contested dual citizenship of Dutch-Moroccan football players, is one that I'm genuinely interested in. Given the topicality of the subject, I felt it was important to conduct this research and share the results with others.

I would like to thank my supervisor prof.dr. Gijsbert Oonk for his support during the process of writing my thesis. His patience, his willingness to help and his vast knowledge of the subject were enormously valuable to me during the process of writing. Without a doubt, his feedback contributed positively to this end result.

Finishing this project means that I am at the end of my Master Global History and International Relations. I can look back on two years of interesting debates, educational courses and experiences and good times with fellow students. I would like to thank everyone who has contributed to this.

Enjoy reading my thesis!

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# 1. Preview

## 1.1. Introduction

‘Having a double nationality means you can’t play for the Dutch team’<sup>1</sup>, is a statement, made in 2017 by the Dutch former top hockey-player and columnist Jacques Brinkman, in his column in the Dutch newspaper *De Telegraaf*. With this statement he argued that it should not be accepted that football players with dual nationality play for the Dutch national team. In his opinion, all sportsmen who wish to represent a Dutch national team must refrain from having a double passport, which means that they are in possession of only the Dutch nationality. Football commentator Johan Derksen refined this and stated that Dutch-Moroccan football players with dual citizenship have the moral obligation of choosing the Dutch team, because they were born and raised in the Netherlands and they have had their whole football education in the Netherlands. He advocated that it’s a form of betrayal when footballers in whom the Netherlands invested with training and education and therefore benefited from our social prosperity, eventually play for Morocco.<sup>2</sup>

Legally, an individual has dual citizenship if he or she combines citizenship of and in two states. In this matter, the person has a double passport that binds him or her to both states.<sup>3</sup> According to the regulations of the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), for football players with dual citizenship it is not possible to play for both countries. A player has to choose between the two and he may not change national teams once he has played an official match for one country.<sup>4</sup> Dutch-Moroccan footballers have two passports and unlike Jacques Brinkman suggests, they can’t renounce their Moroccan passports due to the Moroccan law.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, they must make the decision whether they want to play for the Dutch or the Moroccan team. Because of their dual citizenship, it happened that although the Dutch national team did not qualify for the last World Cup Football of 2018 in Russia, several players with

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<sup>1</sup> Jacques Brinkman, ‘Meer of minder Marokkanen?’, *De Telegraaf*, October 13, 2017.

All quotes used in this thesis are translated by the researcher.

<sup>2</sup> Voetbal Inside, ‘Johan Derksen snapt niks van keuze van Sofyan Amrabat voor Marokko’, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MUr5PKdvYTz> (02-02-2019).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Faist and Jürgen Gerdes, ‘Dual citizenship in an age of mobility’, *Migration Policy Institute* (2008), 4.

<sup>4</sup> Fédération Internationale de Football Association, *FIFA statutes*, August 2018, 71.

<sup>5</sup> Reuters, ‘FIFA to look into changing nationality rules’, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-soccer-fifa-nationalities/fifa-to-look-into-changing-nationality-rules-idUSKBN1CO31N> (04-01-2019), Rijksoverheid, ‘Dubbele nationaliteit’, <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/nederlandse-nationaliteit/dubbele-nationaliteit> (21-2-2019).

the Dutch nationality were present at the tournament. The Moroccan team got qualified and with five players, the Netherlands was one of the court suppliers of the Moroccan team.<sup>6</sup>

The last Dutch-Moroccan player who chose the Dutch team was Anwar El Ghazi in 2015.<sup>7</sup> The fact that football players like Hakim Ziyech, Sofyan Amrabat and Oussama Idrissi chose the Moroccan team over the Dutch team, caused commotion in the Dutch public debate.<sup>8</sup> They were and are decisive players for their football clubs in the *Eredivisie*, the highest division of professional football in the Netherlands<sup>9</sup>, and their decision to play for Morocco is conferred by the Dutch public debate as a loss for Dutch national football. The reason why players of national teams take in a special role in the debate about dual nationality is because they are visible representors of the country. The moment they put on the outfit of the national team, they symbolize the nation and they are associated with that country by outsiders. The players have an exemplary function and they are the ones that fellow citizens want to identify themselves with.<sup>10</sup> Because of this representativeness and national importance, public attention for Dutch-Moroccan footballers who are making the decision goes inevitably hand in hand with a controversy about their nationalities and the loyalty towards these nationalities.

## 1.2. Role of the media

Within the public debate about Dutch-Moroccan citizens with dual nationality, the media present a special role. The Dutch Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR)<sup>11</sup> considers that media have undeniably become increasingly important in Dutch society by multiple reasons. Firstly because they function as a place where norms and values are found, and they reflect certain norms and values of the society. Secondly, it is a place where decisions are made about what information is and is not shown, and where certain positions, perspectives and people are therefore given more attention than other ones.<sup>12</sup> In that respect, the media largely regulate and influence the public debate, the arena in which the interaction between the media

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<sup>6</sup> Hassan Bahara, 'Het Marokkaanse voetbalelftal: hoe de loyaliteit van de Leeuwen van de Atlas van twee kanten betwist wordt', <https://www.volkskrant.nl/sport/het-marokkaanse-voetbalelftal-hoe-de-loyaliteit-van-de-leeuwen-van-de-atlas-van-twee-kanten-betwist-wordt~b97c83ba/> (02-01-2019).

<sup>7</sup> NOS, 'Idrissi kiest voor Marokko; wie gingen hem voor?' <https://nos.nl/artikel/2272766-idrissi-kiest-voor-marokko-wie-gingen-hem-voor.html> (25-04-2019).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, (25-04-2019).

<sup>9</sup> Eredivisie, <https://eredivisie.nl/nl-nl/info/Spreekbeurt> (23-06-2019).

<sup>10</sup> Ayelet Shachar, 'Picking Winners: Olympic Citizenship and the Global Race for Talent', *Yale Law Journal* 120 (2011), 2095.

<sup>11</sup> The Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) is an independent advisory body. The WRR informs and advises the government on cross-sectoral issues that have a major impact on society. The advice is based on scientific research and focuses on a long-term perspective. <https://www.wrr.nl/> (20-06-2019).

<sup>12</sup> Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, *Identificatie met Nederland*, (Amsterdam 2007), 145.

and recipients establishes norms and values.<sup>13</sup> Ideally, the media should reflect all norms and values of the whole society and therefore also its multicultural aspect. But from the point of view of many people with ethnic backgrounds, the media do not reflect the multicultural aspect besides providing a negative image about it. According to Wasif Shadid, people with ethnic background think that too many of the same autochthonous people, who speak about subjects related to the multicultural society, are still given the opportunity to speak in the media. At the same time, there is a lack of ethnic journalists in Dutch media, which may give a distorted picture of the information that is or is not being reported.<sup>14</sup> Though, the impact of media on the public is not unconditional, but depends to a large extent on a number of factors, including the consistency of the information provided and the personal characteristics of media users. Moreover, information will be remembered better and longer if it is disseminated every day rather than if it is sporadically in the news.<sup>15</sup>

Much research already has been done into the socially desirable position of Dutch-Moroccans in Dutch society. Not only how they themselves take on a role in society, but also how their role is criticised in the media by others. In this research I am tightening the framework of the research into Dutch-Moroccans by focussing solely on Dutch-Moroccan football players and their role in the debate about their nationality. This media research is relevant because more footballers have chosen Morocco over the Netherlands, especially in the last few years.<sup>16</sup> When they choose the Moroccan team, the Dutch public debate often questions their loyalty towards the Netherlands. The danger of this public debate is that men like Johan Derksen and Jacques Brinkman get a stage to express their strong view on these players. A dissenting sound from the players is less common. For example, in the television program *De Nieuwe Maan* of March 29 2019, Brinkman made a direct link between Dutch-Moroccans and crime rates in the Netherlands. Later he admitted that he does not know the exact figures of the crime rate. He also created a distanced position towards Dutch-Moroccans by talking about 'we' and 'them'.<sup>17</sup> This example shows how easy it can happen that people are inclined to link talking about Dutch-Moroccans to negative events. Given the great influence of media on the public debate,

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<sup>13</sup> Wasif Shadid, 'Moslims in de Media: De Mythe van de Registrerende Journalistiek', *Mist in de Polder. Zicht Op Ontwikkelingen Omtrent de Islam in Nederland* (Amsterdam 2009), 175.

<sup>14</sup> Leen d'Haenens en Susan Brink, 'Islam in de Nederlandse media: Focus op het Algemeen Dagblad', *Tijdschrift voor Communicatiewetenschap* 4 (2006), 351.

<sup>15</sup> Shadid, 'Moslims in de Media: De Mythe van de Registrerende Journalistiek,' 175.

<sup>16</sup> NOS, 'Idrissi kiest voor Marokko; wie gingen hem voor?' <https://nos.nl/artikel/2272766-idrissi-kiest-voor-marokko-wie-gingen-hem-voor.html> (27-3-2019).

<sup>17</sup> Fidan Ekiz, 'De nieuwe maan', [https://www.npostart.nl/de-nieuwe-maan/29-03-2019/VPWON\\_1301679?utm\\_medium=refferal&utm\\_source=tvblik](https://www.npostart.nl/de-nieuwe-maan/29-03-2019/VPWON_1301679?utm_medium=refferal&utm_source=tvblik) (27-3-2019).

statements and arguments like these need to be researched in favour of their effect on the general stance towards dual citizens.

As stated earlier, public attention to Dutch-Moroccan footballers has recently increased, especially in the run-up to the 2018 World Cup. In this research I aim to explain the developments in reporting about these footballers and their choice for which national team they want to play. I am doing this by studying distinct concepts that are used in the debates and discussions about the decision of the players. For this research I formulated the following research question:

*How did the reports in Dutch newspapers about the choice of Dutch-Moroccan football players for which national team to play, vary and change between 1998 and 2019?*

To answer this research question, I have four sub-questions:

- *How are the nationality and identity of the players described in the articles?*
- *What is the difference in stance of the articles towards the players?*
- *In what way is loyalty addressed in the articles?*
- *What reasons are given for the choice made?*

For this study, I have researched Dutch newspapers articles about Dutch-Moroccan football players. I chose three Dutch-Moroccan players whose situation and choice I think are representative for their generation. Dries Boussatta is the first Dutch-Moroccan player who got selected for the Dutch national team. His case is remarkable as he ended up playing for both teams. This was possible because he only played friendly matches for the Dutch team. According to FIFA regulations, if a player hasn't played official matches he can still switch between national teams.<sup>18</sup> Ibrahim Afellay chose the Dutch team and Hakim Ziyech has eventually chosen the Moroccan team. These three specific cases are emphasized in this thesis. The aim of this research is to discover developments in the reporting about the football players in the media, in terms of nationality, identity and loyalty linked to their choice which national team to play for. My choice is to focus on Dutch newspapers because I specifically highlight the Dutch debate in relation to the larger debate on citizenship and loyalty. However, it is expected that this debate not only takes place in the Netherlands, but also in Morocco. It is therefore also possible to examine the discussion from a Moroccan perspective, researching the

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<sup>18</sup> Fédération Internationale de Football Association, 'FIFA Statutes' 71.

stance of Moroccan media towards Dutch-Moroccan football players. The reason why this is not done in this study is simply because I can't read or write in Moroccan, which means that there is no possibility of carrying out such a research myself.

### 1.3. Theory

The theoretical concepts that are needed to be understood for this research are nationality, identity and loyalty. These three combined serve as the framework for my research. The first concept to discuss is nationality. Someone's nationality is defined by law and always implies a reciprocal relationship between an individual and a state, which obliges the state to protect the individual and creates obligations for the individual towards the state. A traditional approach to nationality assumes that migrants leave the link with their country of origin behind and become fully citizens of the country of residence. In this view, someone is either a citizen of the country of origin, or a citizen of the country of residence. From this perspective, dual nationality is unthinkable because it creates links to more than one state.<sup>19</sup> In the case of the Dutch-Moroccans, this is a difficult issue, because they have not officially left a country behind but are involuntarily burdened with two passports at birth in the Netherlands. Therefore, the traditional approach is rejected in this thesis and the ability of having dual nationality is accepted.

This thesis assumes that it is possible for a state to include multiple groups of nationalities, resulting in a multicultural society. This however does not mean that immigrants automatically gain the Dutch nationality. To live in the Netherlands, it is not necessary to acquire the Dutch nationality. People who do have the Dutch nationality, obtained it via the *jus sanguinis* rule, the *jus soli* rule, or a combination of these two. This means respectively gaining nationality through descent from one or both parents, and nationality gained through birth in a certain territory.<sup>20</sup> Next to this, after 5 years of legal residence in the Netherlands, immigrants can apply for Dutch nationality.<sup>21</sup> These rules apply to migrants who either possess – part of – the Dutch nationality or want to possess it.

People who have the same nationality are not burdened to live in the same state, it is also possible to live in different states apart from each other. From this perspective, nationality is just a legal bond without the necessity of residence in or emotional ties to that state. For

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<sup>19</sup> Betty de Hart, 'Dubbele nationaliteit: papiertje of identiteit?', *Recht Der Werkelijkheid* 1 (2005), 31.

<sup>20</sup> Rainer Bauböck, 'National Community, Citizenship and Cultural Diversity', *IHS Political Science Series* (1999), 15.

<sup>21</sup> Rijksoverheid, 'Nederlander worden', <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/nederlandse-nationaliteit/nederlander-worden> (15-06-2019).

example, a Dutch citizen who is born in the Netherlands but moved to Spain in his childhood, can have more emotional ties to Spain because he is living there, even if he is still in the possession of the Dutch nationality. In case of the footballers, the choice they make is a major one, since the choice for one national team is often seen as an exclusion from their other nationality.<sup>22</sup> So, when talking about the Dutch-Moroccans as being owners of a dual nationality, it means that they have obtained this through the combination of the jus sanguinis and the jus soli rule. The football players that are studied for this research are all born in the Netherlands, through which they obtained Dutch nationality via the jus soli rule. At the same time, they possess the Moroccan nationality via the jus sanguinis rule, because they have blood ties to their parents or grandparents who are born in Morocco.

The second core concept is identity. For my research I distinguish four types of identity. Firstly, personal identity is someone's self-knowledge derived from his or hers character traits and characteristics. It is the image that a person has of himself. Secondly, the social identity is constructed through the recognition of a link to another person or social group, based on shared characteristics or common interests.<sup>23</sup> For an individual it is possible to recognize himself in more than one social group, whereby it occurs that social identities can be multi-layered and are not necessarily singular and unified. A person can have multiple and overlapping identities amongst different groups in where the person acts.<sup>24</sup> For example, Hakim Ziyech has the identity of a friend and teammate of his fellow players at Ajax, but when he is at home with his mother he has the identity of a son for his mother. These are two different identities in different social groups. However, these two identities are not ruling each other out but are rather complementary. This does not change the fact that he is still the same Hakim Ziyech.

Next to personal and social identity, there is also ethnic identity. This means that a person identifies himself with a particular group, based on common descent. In this case, common descent is attributed by genetically acquired characteristics such as eye colour, skin colour and physical features. It can also be determined through historical and cultural inheritance like the place where someone is born, the parents' origin and language.<sup>25</sup> Lastly, I want to discuss the concept of national identity, which is the result of a collective identification with a nation state. This result stems from a time-bound image of a country, based on certain

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<sup>22</sup> David Miller, 'The ethical significance of nationality', *Ethics* 4 (1988), 648.

<sup>23</sup> Stuart Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?', *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London 1996), 16.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, 17.

<sup>25</sup> Kanchan Chandra, 'What is ethnic identity and why does it matter?', *Annual review of political science* 9 (2006), 400.

characteristics that are associated with a – shared – past and that refer to the future. The characteristics relate to language, culture, symbols, behaviour, values, beliefs; at the same time, they limit who or what national identity can and may propagate. The appointment of national identity always presupposes a process of recognition, rejection, adaptation or appropriation.<sup>26</sup> Benedict Anderson refers to this as being part of an imagined community, because the members of the community can never know all of their fellow members, but still they share the same image of their community wherefore they can identify themselves with other members.<sup>27</sup> National identities are not essences, they change over time. Their creation is always in process and development, like social structures are always in development.<sup>28</sup> The difference between ethnic and national identity is that an ethnic group may exist within the boundaries of a nation-state, but the group may also cross these boundaries and therefore does not necessarily need to coincide with the nation-state. A national identity solely coincides within the boundaries of the state. However, the debate on national identity is most heated when it is linked to the issue of integration and the multicultural society. In this context, national identity has become an emotionally charged subject and terms such as loyalty, patriotism and fidelity set the tone for the discussion.<sup>29</sup> A shared key feature of all different types of identity is that they are created through difference, it is constructed around what a person is not and in what way a person differs from another person.<sup>30</sup> The main difference between identity and nationality is that an identity does not necessarily has to be a link between an individual and state, while nationality does. An identity however, is always a part of someone's nationality, while nationality does not have to be part of an identity.

In the case of the Dutch-Moroccan football players, their dual nationality is often questioned in terms of loyalty. Loyalty, in turn, appears to be strongly interwoven with identity. Just like identity, is loyalty multifaceted and consisting of various elements. Loyalty can be expressed through strong emotional ties associated with a social group. For example, feeling happy when your favourite football club wins a championship. Next to this, loyalty can be manifested through having trust in fellow group members and feeling opportunistic about the future of the group. Lastly, someone can show loyalty through caring for and staying with a group even though it is not personally beneficial. It is suspected that someone's loyalty to a

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<sup>26</sup> Maria Grever and Kees Ribbens, *Nationale identiteit en meervoudig verleden* (Amsterdam 2007), 26.

<sup>27</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London 2006), 6.

<sup>28</sup> Hall, 'Introduction: Who needs identity?', 16.

<sup>29</sup> Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, *Identificatie met Nederland*, 85.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, 17.

group is determinant to the matter of group identification, thus the strength of their social identity associated with that group. It is not yet proven that strong emotional ties to a social identity can survive the attractiveness of leaving the social group for a better or higher social group. Only circumstantial evidence has suggested that a social identity effectively preserves loyalty to a group when that group is threatened.<sup>31</sup> According to Betty de Hart, loyalty to the state is seen as one of the obligations of the individual towards the state.<sup>32</sup> This shows the difficulty that the definition of loyalty entails. Since it is so entwined with identity, and identities vary between groups and change over time, I argue that loyalties are also in the possibility to change over time, but are dependent on the context as well.<sup>33</sup> Next to this, it is shown that it is possible to have multiple identities at the same time, because a person is mostly part of different social groups. Again, because identity and loyalty are so interwoven with each other, I urge that it is also possible to be loyal to multiple social groups at the same time.

#### 1.4. Scientific relevance

In 2016, Abdessamad Bouabid wrote an article on the social construction of Moroccans as ‘folk devils’. This article is part of his dissertation that he presented two years later in 2018. The cause for writing that article was the article of Frans Bovenkerk published in 2003, stating that the overall social reactions to ‘Moroccans’ in the Netherlands, which he refers to as ‘panic reactions’ or ‘panicky attention’, should be investigated. These social reactions to ‘Moroccans’ in the media have thirteen years later, according to Bouabid, still received insufficient attention in scientific research. His article therefore attempts to explore and understand the social reactions to the social issues of Dutch-Moroccan citizens in the Netherlands. He has done this by answering the question what the social reaction to Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in Dutch media is, and how this can be understood.<sup>34</sup> The media play a crucial role in determining which social problems are addressed and which are not. In addition, the media also provide a platform for so-called moral entrepreneurs, people who raise social problems, define them and try to convince others of the truth about their claims, which makes the media an incredibly important asset of the public debate.<sup>35</sup> The finding of his research is that an unequivocal negative image has arisen in the media, whereby reports on crime, nuisance and radicalism are easily linked to

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<sup>31</sup> Mark van Vugt and Claire M. Hart, ‘Social Identity as Social Glue: The Origins of Group Loyalty’, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 4 (2004), 587.

<sup>32</sup> Betty de Hart, *Een tweede paspoort*, 15.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, 595.

<sup>34</sup> Abdessamad Bouabid, ‘De Marokkanenpaniek: de sociale constructie van ‘Marokkanen’ als folk devils’, *Tijdschrift over Cultuur en Criminaliteit* 1 (2016), 83.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, 84.

young people with a Moroccan background. This autochthonous discomfort then manifests itself 'disproportionately' in misplaced social reactions to crime and nuisance incidents in which Moroccan-Dutch problem youngsters play a prominent role.<sup>36</sup> This conclusion shows to what extent the media play a role in forming an image of other groups in Dutch society. In addition to this research into the social attitude reflected in the media about Dutch-Moroccan youth in general, I look at how this attitude is represented in the media when it comes to the visible successful Dutch-Moroccan youth, in this case football players.

### 1.5. Structure

Main goal of this thesis is to research whether the reporting about Dutch-Moroccan football players has changed in the past twenty years. This is done by looking at how Dutch newspapers wrote about the players in terms of nationality, identity and loyalty of the football players in relation to the choice they made. The articles selected for this research are from the newspapers *De Telegraaf*, *de Volkskrant*, *AD*, *Trouw* and *NRC*. In total, fifty-seven articles are researched, divided in nine articles about Dries Boussatta, twenty-four about Ibrahim Afellay and twenty-four about Hakim Ziyech. The period in which these articles were written lasts from January 1998 until January 2019. After collecting the data from these newspapers, interesting quotes are coded with the qualitative analysis program Atlas.ti whereupon researched to find out if there are any differences in the way newspapers write about players who chose the Dutch team and players who chose the Moroccan team.

I am well aware of the struggles and difficulties that this research poses. While researching concepts in the media about Dutch-Moroccan football players, it is necessary that my own background is kept in mind. Even though I am trying to be as objective as possible, I can't completely rule out that some of the findings won't be biased. This is because, although unconsciously, my own heritage, environment and schooling may determine my perception about the subject. I am trying to prevent biased assumptions by doing thorough research to the secondary literature. This knowledge will help me to place my research of the primary sources in a bigger context.

Next chapter provides an overview of the existing literature about the international and Dutch debate about dual nationality. After that I clarify the three specific cases and provide the methodology used to do this research. Finally, the results of the qualitative media research are presented followed by a discussion chapter that answers the sub-questions. Chapter 7 recaps

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, 97.

the findings, provides an answer to the research question and concludes with suggestions for further research.

## 2. Preparations

The debate about the Dutch-Moroccan football players arises from a larger debate about citizenship, since their inevitable choice is a result of the fact that they have double citizenship. Therefore, this research revolves around dual citizenship amongst Dutch-Moroccan football players and how their nationality and identity is discussed in the Dutch media. The results of the research won't focus at players' own actual opinion or thoughts whether to play for the Dutch or Moroccan team, but rather at the concepts used to express the attitude of the Dutch society towards the choice the footballers make.

### 2.1. Dual citizenship

Peter J. Spiro argues in his article, published in 1997, that the attention of politicians and scholars to the debate about citizenship and dual citizenship has increased in the 1990s. Until then, there is no existing theory about dual citizenship, because it is assumed that citizens could only have citizenship in one nation. This assumption is in line with the traditional approach to nationality mentioned in the previous chapter<sup>37</sup> However, this idea has been rejected in 1997, the year that the European Convention on Nationality determined that dual citizenship is no abnormality and has to be tolerated instead of eliminated.<sup>38</sup> As a result, from then, more scholars focus on the complexity that comes with having dual citizenship.<sup>39</sup> Not only Spiro, also other scholars like Linda Bosniak and Rainer Bauböck acknowledge the increase of attention to dual citizenship. To interpret the definition of citizenship, this thesis is based on the explanation given by Rainer Bauböck in his article published in 1999. He sees citizenship as 'a set of rights that defines affiliation to a polity'.<sup>40</sup> In addition, he regards membership of a polity as 'full membership as referring not only to a comprehensive range of rights, but also to a comprehensive inclusion of persons',<sup>41</sup> implicating a reciprocal allegiance between state and individual. This overall understanding of citizenship does not entail the necessity of having emotional ties to the state of which the citizen is a member. Thus, citizenship at its principal is membership in a state whereby every member has the same rights and inclusiveness. According to Bauböck, this form of citizenship can also be argued as 'thin' citizenship, meaning that citizenship is seen as a purely legal relation between human and state without emotional ties to a state or to fellow members of a state playing any role. To the

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<sup>37</sup> de Hart, 'Dubbele nationaliteit: papiertje of identiteit?', 31.

<sup>38</sup> Faist and Gerdes, 'Dual citizenship in an age of mobility', 7.

<sup>39</sup> Peter J. Spiro, 'Dual nationality and the meaning of citizenship', *Emory Law Journal* 46 (1997), 1413.

<sup>40</sup> Rainer Bauböck, 'Recombinant citizenship', *Political Science Series* 67 (1999), 1.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, 12.

contrary, ‘thick’ citizenship emphasizes the feeling of not only being member of a state, but being part of a social community within that state and having emotional ties to the state and fellow citizens.<sup>42</sup>

The distinction of citizenship into a thick and thin understanding, endorses Rainer Bauböck’s argument that all citizens should have equal membership in a political community, while at the same time they can possibly be unequal in social communities within this polity, hence the state has no influence there. In this case, citizenship itself does not determine whether a person feels emotionally tied to a state.<sup>43</sup> Another important difference he makes is between citizenship and national identity, where he sees citizenship as precondition for members with a collective identity and common future, identifying whether someone belongs or does not belong in the polity. National identity however he regards as something that someone obtains when born in a community with joint origin and culture, whereby the identity has been granted by birth. In his opinion, it is possible to renounce citizenship but national identity can’t be refused.<sup>44</sup>

The complexity of dual citizenship and belonging to a nation is described by Linda Bosniak in her article *The Citizenship of Aliens*. She advocates that ‘citizenship is conceived to be a nationally bounded membership, one which is, at least to some degree, exclusive and unavailable to national outsiders’.<sup>45</sup> She substantiates her stance towards the neglecting of immigrants in the discussion about citizenship in her article written in 2000. In order to reject the idea of neglecting migrants in terms of citizenship, she introduces citizenship as something that goes beyond the boundaries of a nation, which she calls the denationalization of citizenship. Where other scholars think of citizenship as a legal status between a confined state and an individual, Bosniak argues that it should be acknowledged that politics and social lives are becoming more transnational, which means that citizenship can possibly be overlapping and multiple, just like nationalities.<sup>46</sup> Contrary to Bauböck, Bosniak is less divided between the concepts of the political and social communities because in her opinion they both transcend the confined boundaries of a state. Her claim to regard citizenship as denationalized is still a desire, she acknowledges that there will be difficulties in how a denationalized citizenship can

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, 3.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, 2.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, 5.

<sup>45</sup> Linda Bosniak, ‘The Citizenship of Aliens’, *Social Text* 56 (1998), 32.

<sup>46</sup> Idem, ‘Citizenship denationalized’, *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 2 (2000), 450.

be practised but she believes that supporting denationalization of identity and solidarity is important as well.<sup>47</sup> Her idea is not to reject national citizenship as a whole, but to look for a possibility to create something like an international polity in where people have trans nationalized citizenship.

Not only positive attitudes towards dual citizenship exist. Dutch scholar de Hart addresses the main objections that are given in the literature. The first objection concerns the creation of double loyalties as a result of double nationality. A second argument against dual nationality is that it gives individuals rights and obligations in two states, such as voting rights. A third objection is that the principle of equality is violated, because citizens with dual nationality have more rights and opportunities than citizens with one nationality. Furthermore, a dual nationality would hinder the integration of immigrants.<sup>48</sup> The renewed focus on dual citizenship and the positive attitude of the mentioned scholars towards the phenomenon of dual citizenship, provide counter-arguments against objections to having multiple citizenships.<sup>49</sup> What the literature shows, is that international scholars do not advocate the abolition of dual citizenship and are like de Hart critical about how citizenship and nationality is discussed. They argue that the objections to dual nationality are based on speculations and suspicions and not on empirical research. De Hart states that double nationality seems normatively problematic, but there is little to no insight on the empirical truth about it.<sup>50</sup>

## 2.2. Dual citizenship in the Netherlands

The normatively problematic status of dual citizenship becomes visible after the introduction of a relaxation of the rules on double citizenship in 1997. For example, the relaxation of the rules goes hand in hand with a fear of the loss of value of national citizenship, the concept Bosniak tries to reject.<sup>51</sup> As already explained in the introduction, in the Netherlands it is allowed to have double citizenship. Here, an individual obtains 'automatic' citizenship on the basis of the birth right transferred by the two principles. The right of the territorial ground on which a person was born, called the *jus soli* principle. The right on the basis of blood ties with family members from another country is the *jus sanguinis* principle.<sup>52</sup> On the official site of the Dutch government, it says that if someone has more nationalities, it is not always clear what his or her rights are. Therefore, the Dutch government prefers to limit dual nationality as much

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<sup>47</sup> Linda Bosniak, 'Citizenship denationalized', *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 2 (2000), 453.

<sup>48</sup> de Hart, 'Dubbele nationaliteit: papiertje of identiteit?', 33.

<sup>49</sup> de Hart, 'Dubbele nationaliteit: papiertje of identiteit?', 31.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, 33.

<sup>51</sup> Bosniak, 'Citizenship denationalized', 453.

<sup>52</sup> Faist and Gerdes, 'Dual citizenship in an age of mobility', 5.

as possible because that makes it more clear what someone's rights are. That is why people with dual nationality should principally, in the case of naturalisation, renounce their nationality of origin if possible, called distance obligation. In the case of Dutch-Moroccans however, this is not possible because in Morocco renunciation of the Moroccan passport is legally not accepted.<sup>53</sup> Besides that, the football players in this study all obtained their dual passport by birth right and not by naturalisation. This birth right means that Dutch-Moroccans who are born in the Netherlands, automatically get the Moroccan passport as well, because of the blood ties they have with people born in Morocco. Therefore, they have two passports based on the *jus soli* as well as the *jus sanguinis* principle.

Together with the introduction of the European Convention on Nationality in 1997 agreeing that dual citizenship should be tolerated, it is necessary to look at how the Dutch discourse fits in this. Scholten and Holzacker regard the Netherlands in the 1990s as one of the most tolerant countries towards migrants, with migrants being seen and treated as equal citizens in both the political and the public discourse.<sup>54</sup> In this period, dual citizenship is not necessarily accepted, but diverse rules have been drawn up that made the policy on dual citizenship more tolerant.<sup>55</sup> This more liberal and tolerant attitude changed drastically with the transition to the twenty-first century due to radical events such as the rise of the right-wing populist politician Pim Fortuyn and the article of Dutch Labor Party (PvdA) member Paul Scheffer *The multicultural drama*.<sup>56</sup> Scheffer is seen as a key figure in the emerging criticism by this article written in 2000 in which he blames left-wing politics for the integration problems of Muslims. There was a shift from a tolerant attitude towards a multicultural society, to an attitude in which Dutch politics and society pointed out the differences between the Dutch majority and the small ethnic groups, in which, according to Scholten and Holzacker, the discourse that was used to talk about 'us' and 'them' arose.<sup>57</sup> Especially in the debate on migrants with dual citizenship, the attitude became less tolerant with respect to the 1990s, because dual nationality was seen as a threat to loyalty to the Netherlands, for which it was argued that it was something that

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<sup>53</sup> Rijksoverheid, 'Dubbele nationaliteit', <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/nederlandse-nationaliteit/dubbele-nationaliteit> (06-02-2019).

<sup>54</sup> Peter Scholten and Ronald Holzacker, 'Bonding, bridging and ethnic minorities in the Netherlands: changing discourses in a changing nation', *Nations and nationalism* 15 (2009), 93-94.

<sup>55</sup> Maarten P Vink, 'The Limited Europeanization of Domestic Citizenship Policy: Evidence from the Netherlands', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39 (2001), 886.

<sup>56</sup> Paul Scheffer, 'Het multiculturele drama' January 29, 2000 <http://retro.nrc.nl/W2/Lab/Multicultureel/scheffer.html> (27-06-2019)

<sup>57</sup> Scholten and Holzacker, 'Bonding, bridging and ethnic minorities in the Netherlands: changing discourses in a changing nation', 95.

should be exclusive. In 2003, Minister for Immigration and Integration Rita Verdonk suggested that a dual nationality is an obstacle to integration.<sup>58</sup> Dual nationality is like Faist and Gerdes suggest, more and more seen as a threat to the Dutch society.<sup>59</sup> The main objections that de Hart discusses, seem also apparent in the attitude of the Dutch politics and Dutch society towards dual citizens.<sup>60</sup> In the advisory report of the Dutch Scientific Council for Government Policy, some interesting findings regarding the integration of dual citizens are presented. Until 2003, the requirements regarding naturalisation in the Netherlands are low and dual citizenship is tolerated and condoned.<sup>61</sup> However, in 2004, the report states that it was found that integration in the Dutch society overall had failed. This is the result of a thirty-year study into the integration of migrants, which shows that the multicultural society in the Netherlands is not homogenous but divided. After a seemingly tolerance in the Netherlands towards migrants in the last decade of the twentieth century, the rules on integration were made stricter in 2004 and with that the attitude towards migrants less tolerant.<sup>62</sup>

Whereas Scholten and Holzacker say that the Netherlands is one of the most tolerant countries towards immigration in the 1990s, Lucassen and Lucassen argue in their article *The strange death of Dutch tolerance*, that the political and social climate against multiculturalism is already becoming more negative in the 1990s. However, Pim Fortuyn is also according to them, the leader of the sudden increase of intolerance towards immigrants and especially Muslims. They also see Paul Scheffer as a key figure in the emerging criticism. After the murder of Fortuyn in 2002, his views against integration and Muslims did not disappear, but became even more popular. His ideas were further developed by other politicians, for example with the rise of the Freedom Party (PVV) of Geert Wilders in 2004, the same year as the murder of Theo van Gogh, so that a public anti-Muslim movement continues to exist and shifts more to the left wing politics also.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, with the changing of the government in 2006, the Dutch politics show that there is some doubt about the way the integration question has been

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<sup>58</sup> Betty de Hart, 'Het Probleem van Dubbele Nationaliteit Politieke En Mediadebatten Na de Moord Op Theo van Gogh,' *Migrantenstudies* 4 (2005), 226.

<sup>59</sup> Faist and Gerdes, 'Dual citizenship in an age of mobility', 13.

<sup>60</sup> de Hart, 'Dubbele nationaliteit: papiertje of identiteit?', 33.

<sup>61</sup> Evelyn Ersanilli and Ruud Koopmans, 'Rewarding Integration? Citizenship Regulations and the Socio-Cultural Integration of Immigrants in the Netherlands, France and Germany', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 5 (2010), 774.

<sup>62</sup> Gamze Avci, 'Comparing Integration Policies and Outcomes: Turks in the Netherlands and Germany', *Turkish Studies* 7 (2006), 68.

<sup>63</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), 74.

discussed so far. The withdrawal of Verdonk's bill in 2007 to restrict multiple nationality is a good example of a change towards more tolerance, again.<sup>64</sup>

The failure of integration illustrated in the political debate embodies the shift from the subject of debates about migrants and dual citizenship, to a debate whereby integration and the threat of lacking loyalty become a much bigger piece of the debate than before 2004. Loyalty becomes a recurring theme in the debate since then. Next to this, a central discussion about this question that appears in the literature, is that of Dutch national identity. Migrants are being told that they do not fit into the Dutch society and are not capable of adopting the Dutch identity. At the same time, nobody has figured out what this identity really means, so it is not clear where these migrants have to adapt to.<sup>65</sup> In 2007, the WRR set out some advice for this, namely that the Dutch identity should adapt to more multicultural, modern and globalizing times. According to the Dutch Scientific Council for Government Policy, there is too little attention to the fact that the Dutch society is not unified or homogenous, but instead multicultural and heterogenous. Therefore, the report implies that it may be impossible to try to find a Dutch identity based on collective memories and traditions of the very past. The Netherlands nowadays is shaped by globalism, migration and multiculturalism, and the – white – Dutch society and the perception of the Dutch identity should adapt to that.<sup>66</sup> According to the report, the failure of this adaptation so far, is caused by the political debate that is emphasizing the concept of the mono identity in the Netherlands.<sup>67</sup> In this way, migrants are kept being told that they are not – white – Dutch while at the same time they are being told that they should integrate in the Dutch society.<sup>68</sup>

Maria Grever and Kees Ribbens went further on the debate about citizenship and nationality and more specifically on national identity. Grever and Ribbens agree with the earlier study of Bauböck on the perception that citizenship is a legal bond while national identity contains more emotional bonds.<sup>69</sup> Grever and Ribbens are however contrary to Bauböck because they state that it is not something a person obtains by birth. They argue that it is possible to have multiple identities and to switch between these national identities.<sup>70</sup> National

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<sup>64</sup> Alfons Fermin, 'Burgerschap en multiculturaliteit in het Nederlandse integratiebeleid', *Migranten en burgerschap* 36 (2009), 20.

<sup>65</sup> Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, *Identificatie Met Nederland*, 28-29.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*, 197.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibidem*, 198.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibidem*, 202.

<sup>69</sup> Bauböck, 'Recombinant citizenship', 5.

<sup>70</sup> Grever and Ribbens, *Nationale identiteit en meervoudig verleden*, 26.

cohesion is still high on the political agenda at this time. However, debates about national identity are difficult and paradoxical. An opinion of Dutch society and politics towards migrants is that they are integrating with difficulty because they do not respect the Dutch national identity, but at the same time, it is still not clear what exactly ‘having a Dutch nationality’ means. This paradox leads to disorder and tensions. What has become the trend now, is that people are thinking stereotypically, with a result that more distinctions between ‘us’ and ‘them’ are made, agreed upon by Scholten and Holzacker. The current need for recognizable connections is accompanied by a tendency to point people to their ethnic origin or identity and to tell them what they are not. Grever and Ribbens expect that with the current developments of migrants in the Netherlands, the tensions between the migrant minorities and Dutch majority won’t go away soon. This growth is seemingly becoming a problem for the integration of these minorities, because this diversity means that the reactions on the integration processes are becoming more divergent and less predictable. Even with second and third generation there seems to be no progress concerning their integration in the Dutch society.<sup>71</sup> Inadequate integration leads to the wish of the migrants to keep dual nationality, which in turn questions the loyalty of dual citizens. Thus in the Dutch society, there is a fear of a lack of loyalty when people have dual nationality.<sup>72</sup>

The outcomes of this study are typical. Even though it appears that young migrants actually do think their country of residence is an important starting point of identification, looking at the Moroccan second and third generation, they still do have a strong connection with their country of origin. A given fact that influences the degree of integration, making it harder for people with ethnic backgrounds to fully integrate in Dutch society.<sup>73</sup> Eventually, after the hardened debate about the failure of integration, the newly appointed government in 2007 withdrew Verdonk’s bill to restrict multiple nationality because it did not consider multiple nationality as an obstacle to integration.<sup>74</sup> An argument that is in line with the earlier scholars discussing dual citizenship. What becomes clear about the debate until that time, is that it shifts from a debate about tolerance of dual citizenship in the nineties, to a debate about integration and loyalty of these dual citizens towards a state and nation.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> *Ibidem*, 11-15.

<sup>72</sup> Betty de Hart, *Een tweede paspoort. Dubbele nationaliteit in de Verenigde Staten, Duitsland en Nederland*, (Amsterdam 2009), 236-237.

<sup>73</sup> Grever and Ribbens, *Nationale identiteit en meervoudig verleden*, 155-158.

<sup>74</sup> de Hart, *Een tweede paspoort. Dubbele nationaliteit in de Verenigde Staten, Duitsland en Nederland*, 92.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibidem*, 228.

Taking a step back and looking at the bigger debate, Peter J. Spiro argues that it is inaccurate to doubt the loyalty of citizens of dual nationality. Reflecting on Bauböck, Spiro states that citizenship is a form of association as well as it's a tool to create an individual identity. So unlike Bauböck, he makes less distinction between the two, but puts them more in relation to each other.<sup>76</sup> Spiro does not think that plural citizenship undermines state solidarity, in his opinion there is no need to question the loyalties of dual citizens. Just like de Hart,<sup>77</sup> Spiro supports his view for maintaining double citizenship by arguing that dual citizens have never posed a particular threat to the security of a state.<sup>78</sup> He argues that a special link between nationality and citizenship is not needed, and that people should be free in their choice which citizenship or nationality they engage in.<sup>79</sup> This way of thinking about citizenship is in line with the ideas of Bosniak about the denationalization of citizenship. Spiro does not reject the idea of a national citizenship, but he does recognize that citizenship and nationality do not have to be inevitably linked to each other. This ruling undermines the idea that citizens with dual citizenship could not integrate in the Netherlands because they do not have full Dutch nationality. This attitude of Dutch politics, in which the loyalty of people with dual nationality is called into question, causes double citizens to give more priority to their nationality of origin. As a result, the required loyalty to the Netherlands of these citizens is becoming less.<sup>80</sup>

Despite these contributions from scholars such as Spiro, loyalty is still a point of discussion in the integration debate. The relatively more tolerant attitude towards migrants in the Netherlands in 2007 disappeared together with the financial crisis in 2008 whereby immigrants and Muslims are accused of taking jobs of native citizens in hard economic circumstances. In addition, according to Lucassen and Lucassen, mainly Dutch-Moroccan youngsters are associated with street nuisance and other minor criminal offences. According to them, Islam and Muslims are also becoming increasingly visible, with an increasing degree of negative tendencies. Many associations are made with Muslims and terrorism, so that a generally negative image continues to exist.<sup>81</sup> According to Lucassen and Lucassen, the anti-Islam attitude persists even when the party of Geert Wilders turns out to be less popular during the elections in 2012. According to the scholars, the fact that the anti-Islam ideas stay intact

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<sup>76</sup> Peter J. Spiro, 'Dual citizenship as human right', *Icon 1* (2010), 111.

<sup>77</sup> de Hart, 'Dubbele Nationaliteit: Papiertje of Identiteit?', 33.

<sup>78</sup> Spiro, 'Dual citizenship as human right', 115.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibidem*, 112.

<sup>80</sup> Liza Mügge, 'Dual nationality and Transnational Politics', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38 (2012), 5.

<sup>81</sup> Lucassen and Lucassen, 'The strange death of Dutch tolerance', 73.

can be explained by the fact that the ideas seem to originate from (extreme) right-wing - anti-immigrant - parties, but it should not be forgotten that politicians such as Fortuyn and Wilders themselves have a left-wing background and that they have shifted to the right in the course of time. Although they are opposed to the left-wing - multicultural - ideas about migrants, in recent years the less tolerant attitude of these politicians has been adopted and shared by the left-wing, as a result of which the separation between left and right has become less and less visible.<sup>82</sup> The opinion is shared that the increasing number of Muslims in the Netherlands and visible terrorist threats from Islam all over the world, pose a threat to the open Dutch society.<sup>83</sup>

Leo Lucassen elaborates on this further by linking it to the recent refugee flows in 2015. Wilders considered the Muslim refugees a threat to Europe and the Netherlands. The VVD, the largest party in parliament, also argued that Muslim refugees pose a threat to Dutch prosperity. In 2017 Minister-President Mark Rutte adds to this by writing a letter to Dutch society saying that the Muslim refugees are in conflict with the norms and values of Dutch society.<sup>84</sup> According to Lucassen, the arrival of Muslim refugees is automatically linked to negative thoughts about Muslims, which has an impact on overall tolerance.<sup>85</sup> The persistent intolerance of Dutch politics therefore ensures that Dutch-Moroccan groups are in the spotlight in a negative way.

### 2.3. The migrant perspective

In addition to the shift from tolerating dual citizenship towards the failure of integration and intolerance towards migrants, Fleur Seegers provides in her study *In debat over Nederland: Veranderingen in het discours over de multiculturele samenleving en nationale identiteit* a good overview of the public and political debate about migrants from 2000 till 2007. Important in this matter is that she explains that the debate is lacking the voices of the migrants themselves. She says that the migrants are afraid to speak up because they think they might speak against their own cultural background. This fear comes from their lack of experience in participating in debates, which creates the feeling that they are not taken seriously, and the feeling that they are either way excluded from the Dutch society.<sup>86</sup> This is a serious matter,

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<sup>82</sup> *Ibidem*, 75.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibidem*, 95.

<sup>84</sup> Leo Lucassen, 'Peeling an onion: the "refugee crisis" from a historical perspective', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41 (2018), 384.

<sup>85</sup> Leo Lucassen, 'Peeling an onion: the "refugee crisis" from a historical perspective', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41 (2018), 401.

<sup>86</sup> Fleur Slegers, *In debat over Nederland: Veranderingen in het discours over de Multiculturele Samenleving en Nationale Identiteit* (Amsterdam 2007), 68.

because in this way only a one-sided view of the issue of migrants is put into perspective. In addition to that, comes that migrants often feel like they are not represented in the media. They can't recognize themselves in the image created of them in the media. Because these media and the political discourse became more harsh since 2000, the overall attitude of the Dutch society is developing in a negative way towards migrants.<sup>87</sup> At the end of her report, Seegers concludes that the harsh attitude towards migrants since 2000, a couple of years later shifted to a more softer attitude.

Where Fleur Slegers mentions that the voice of migrants is missing in the debate,<sup>88</sup> the dissertation of Gerard Omlo from 2011 is giving the integration debate some new and additional insights. He is one of the scholars that brings the voices of the migrants to light. Like-minded to Slegers, Omlo thinks that up to then scholars determined the way the term integration is defined and used. His research is different in the way that he is not the one that is defining what integration means, but he lets the migrants tell what they think integration means, their attitude towards this integration and what their place in the Dutch society is. Omlo argues that the Dutch politics and society need to know more about the ethnic minorities in the country, they need to learn what their vision is on integration and their culture before criticizing other cultures and ethnicities. Only after that, it allows the state and society to reflect on their own actions towards migrants and the consequences thereof. In addition, Omlo believes that critical and divergent perspectives of migrants on the Dutch society should not be set aside as a sign of inadequate integration.<sup>89</sup>

Also in the article of Zeynep Yanasmayan, it strongly appears that the voices of the migrants are missing. One of her statements is that there needs to be made a clear cut in the relation between citizenship and national belonging. Just as elaborated earlier in the literature, Yanasmayan also argues that these two are not inextricably linked to each other. To explain this, she distinguishes just like Bauböck, thin and thick citizenship. In her eyes, thin citizenship applies to only the purely legal status of citizenship without any emotional bond with it. Thick citizenship is a form whereby there actually is emotional attachment to the legal status of citizenship. In her opinion, this distinction is an important basis from where it is possible to research the different types of integration and identification amongst migrants. Another

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<sup>87</sup> *Ibidem*, 69.

<sup>88</sup> Slegers, *In debat over Nederland: Veranderingen in het discours over de Multiculturele Samenleving en Nationale Identiteit*, 68.

<sup>89</sup> Jurriaan Johannes Omlo, *Integratie én uit de gratie?* (Amsterdam 2011), 130-131.

argument Yanasmayan has about Dutch policy and citizenship is that studies have failed in trying to explain the possible consequences the political debate has on the migrants and the way they feel about their citizenship.<sup>90</sup> Therefore, she concludes her article with the statement that it is of great importance for a state to recognize the fact that their policy about nationality and dual citizenship has great influences on the emotional attachments migrants feel towards their citizenship.<sup>91</sup>

#### 2.4. Dual citizenship of sportsmen

Applying the debate about dual citizenship on athletes, Ayelet Shachar makes a connection between citizenship and migrant athletes, whereby the choice of nationality is seen as a race for talent. She formulates a basic definition of citizenship in which she argues that citizenship defines membership in a polity. This is in line with the definition Bauböck gives to citizenship. Citizenship in its most basic form is reduced to the political relations someone has within a political community, regardless of the size of that community.<sup>92</sup> Shachar argues that countries want the best athletes to represent their country at international tournaments. While the Dutch-Moroccan footballers who are subject to this thesis do not fit in the category of citizens who switch nationality because of their sporting talents, Shachar's ideas can also be applied to them. This is because she questions the regulations the FIFA has set for football players with two nationalities. It is possible to switch football clubs unrestricted, whereas it is not possible to play for multiple national teams.<sup>93</sup> Conspicuous about this rule is that it goes beyond all countries' own domestic and even international rules about dual passports and nationality: 'The first laws ever to be voluntarily embraced by men from a variety of cultures and backgrounds are the laws of sports.'<sup>94</sup> The fact that football players can play at commercial clubs overseas but the obligation to play for one national team allows them to give something important back to the country they left. In this way, the country of origin can benefit from the successes of the players in international championships.<sup>95</sup> For Dutch-Moroccan footballers this issue is a bit more difficult because they can choose between two nationalities. Moreover, when are they morally obliged to choose the Netherlands? This is the question Johan Derksen also asks himself and with the knowledge of the situation as Shachar creates, that is difficult to answer.

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<sup>90</sup> Zeynep Yanasmayan, 'Citizenship on Paper or at Heart? A Closer Look into the Dual Citizenship Debate in Europe', *Citizenship Studies* 6–7 (2015), 786–788.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibidem*, 797.

<sup>92</sup> Shachar, 'Picking winners', 2104.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibidem*, 2110.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibidem*, 2119.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibidem*, 2128.

What can be learned from this debate about nationality and dual citizenship in the Netherlands, is that it is still an important point of discussion on the political agenda as well as in the public debate. Both terms are difficult to define and therefore hard to distinguish. They are strongly interwoven with each other but there does not seem to be a clear cut between nationality and citizenship. This makes the debate even more interesting. In combination with identity it becomes even more complicated, as identities are always present in someone's nationality and citizenship. However, nationality and citizenship are not necessarily part of someone's identity, this strongly depends on the situation.

It has become clear that integration and dual citizenship are still core subjects concerning the debate about dual citizenship in the Netherlands. With the introduction of dual citizenship as normality, done by the European Convention on Nationality 1997, the citizenship debate gets attention. However, becoming more tolerant towards dual citizens means that communities are afraid that these people can't be loyal to both countries. As a result, despite of the international regulations that argue that double citizenship should be tolerated, the rules in the Netherlands are becoming stricter. Nevertheless, it appears that in the Netherlands, from 2006 onwards, the attitude has become more tolerant again and that the idea of a globalising world and thus cross-border citizenships is more accepted. This trend fails to continue, and with the upcoming party PVV of Geert Wilders and his populist ideas being adopted by left-wing parties as well, an anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim attitude prevails. With events such as terrorist threats and refugee flows, Muslim migrants are becoming more seen as threat to Dutch society. The fact that these ideas are propagated by Dutch politics has the effect of making Dutch society harder and more populist towards migrants. The fear of a lack of loyalty is evident even though there is still no proven evidence of a threat of loyalty from dual citizens. This lack of trust in their loyalty causes that more dual citizens prioritise their nationality of origin.

In this way, the debate on dual citizenship and integration evaluates more into a debate on the nationality, identity and loyalty of people with dual citizenship in the Netherlands. Another important recurring theme in the literature is the lack of the perspective of dual citizens themselves. In my opinion, it is especially interesting to do research into football players, because they embody the symbolization of the Dutch state. When they are playing a national championship, they are the ones who represent the Dutch and they are the ones the Dutch majority is proud of when they win a game. In this respect, they are less replaceable than the

'normal' Dutch-Moroccan. At the same time this might be a reason and easy way for being criticised.

### 3. Team

Moroccan migrants are a phenomenon in the Netherlands since the 1960's. Moroccans were recruited as cheap guest workers that were needed in times of economic prosperity.<sup>96</sup> During this period, both right-wing and left-wing politicians advocated the preservation of the 'own culture' of the guest workers. This was because, in the case of remigration, this could prevent adjustment problems in the country of origin and ensure a definitive return.<sup>97</sup> From the 1970's, the economic growth stagnated due to the oil crises and Dutch companies stopped recruiting guest workers. Against the expectations of the Dutch society, not all Moroccan guest workers returned to their country of origin. They stayed in the Netherlands and the number of migrants kept increasing due to, amongst others, family reunification.<sup>98</sup> The preservation of the own culture that was advocated became a source of differences between the Dutch majority and the Moroccan minority. The adjustment problems that were expected to appear in Morocco after returning, became issues of the Dutch multicultural society. Hence the Moroccan society was not integrated into the Dutch society from the outset, this appeared more difficult when it became clear that the Moroccans remained in the Netherlands and had to live together with other ethnic communities. That the Dutch and the Moroccan communities did not have to live together from a historical perspective, can in my view be seen as a run-up to integration problems of later generations of Moroccans in the Dutch society.

Nevertheless, over the past five decades, Dutch-Moroccan people have made strong progress in fields such as education, the labour market and housing. In the beginning, the Dutch-Moroccan minority mostly consisted out of industrial workers who worked long days and barely integrated in Dutch society, but since their permanent stay a Moroccan-Dutch middle class has emerged. Despite these positive developments, 'the Moroccan community' in the Netherlands, complex and fragmented as it is, experiences a negative group image based on a group of male youngsters who 'excel' in serious social problems, particularly in crime, nuisance and radicalisation. This negative group image is largely constructed in negative and energetic social reactions in the media to large and small incidents in which Dutch-Moroccan youngsters play a role.<sup>99</sup> The generalisations when it comes to Moroccans are something the football players also have to cope with. Despite the fact that they have been an important social

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<sup>96</sup> Bouabid, 'De Marokkanenpaniek', 82.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibidem*, 84.

<sup>98</sup> Karin Simone Prins, '*Van 'gastarbeider' tot 'Nederlander': Adaptatie van Marokkanen en Turken in Nederland*' (Groningen 1996), 2.

<sup>99</sup> Bouabid, 'De Marokkanenpaniek', 82.

phenomenon in the Netherlands for forty years now, the social debates that are being held on these subjects clearly show that Dutch-Moroccans have come under strong pressure in recent years. The trend of this social attention, which is often expressed through normative statements by politicians, media and opinion leaders, is predominantly negative. Both in policy and in the media a growing distinction is made between native Dutch, western and non-western immigrants.<sup>100</sup>

### 3.1. Moroccan history of Dutch football

Football has been the most important popular sport in the Netherlands for a hundred years already. Football is present everywhere: in the media, in the streets and in conversations between people. In the early days of football, the sport had a completely different prestige than it has now. Only boys from the highest social backgrounds participated in it. It was no popular sport yet, in the 19th century it was a sport for the elite. Since 1920, the number of footballers has risen spectacularly and since 1940, the foundation of football as a popular sport has been laid. It has grown into a social phenomenon with a gigantic social network. Because all layers of society now participate in it, demographic developments are also having an impact on the sport. More than just a sport, football is becoming a mirror of – multicultural – Dutch society.<sup>101</sup> Because of this development, football is nowadays participated by people from every class and background. Though, these days it is not so easy to determine how many foreign footballers are active in the Dutch league. For example one of my cases, Hakim Ziyech has both Dutch and Moroccan nationality. However, the website *transfermarkt.nl* considers him one of the nineteen Moroccans in the Dutch *Eredivisie*, ignoring his Dutch nationality.<sup>102</sup> This does not so much demonstrate the globalisation of football, but rather the current composition of Dutch society in which the possibility of having dual nationality is ignored. When looking at the composition of the Dutch national team at European and World Championships since 1998, the following can be observed. From 1998 up to and including 2006, only one player whose family background is wholly or partly Moroccan was part of the Dutch national team. From 2008 to 2012 there were two players with a Moroccan background. In 2014, no player of Moroccan origin was part of the Dutch national team. Since then, the Dutch team has no longer

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<sup>100</sup> Wasif Shadid, 'Beleidsmatige en wetenschappelijke aandacht voor de islam in Nederland: ontwikkeling en maatschappelijke gevolgen', *Beleidswetenschap: kwartaaltijdschrift voor beleidsonderzoek en beleidspraktijk*, (2005), 4.

<sup>101</sup> Noordhoff Atlasproducties, *De Bosatlas van het Nederlandse voetbal*, (Groningen 2017), 12-13.

<sup>102</sup> Transfermarkt, 'Hakim Ziyech', <https://www.transfermarkt.nl/hakim-ziyech/profil/spieler/217111> (24-05-2019).

qualified for a World or European championship. At the same time, there are more players with an Indonesian or Surinamese background in the Dutch team than there are players with a Moroccan background.<sup>103</sup> Though, the Dutch-Moroccan players are more in the spotlights because of their dual citizenship causing the questioning of their loyalty towards the Netherlands. The other players do have a different ethnic background, but they do not have dual citizenship, causing that their loyalty towards the Netherlands is not under discussion. They have citizenship rights in only one state. Because of the symbolic function of national football teams, the selection of migrant footballers led and leads to discussions on the value of citizenship and the representativeness of the state and nation.<sup>104</sup> That is why I am dissecting this discussion in this thesis.

### 3.2. Dries Boussatta

In 1998, Dries Boussatta was the first Dutch-Moroccan football player who got selected for the Dutch team. Driss, as he is officially called, was born on December 23, 1972 in Amsterdam. Dries' father Amar Boussatta came to the Netherlands in the 1960's as a temporary guest worker. Eventually, he stayed permanently and worked hard for a better future for his family in the Netherlands. The birth of Dries in the Netherlands meant that he became a Moroccan of the second generation with Moroccan parents and a Dutch and Moroccan passport. He grew up as a street boy in Amsterdam and became member of football club De Spartaan. In his youth team he is the only Dutch-Moroccan, as many Moroccan families did not have money to pay the membership fee. Boussatta was privileged that his older brother had a job and could pay for his membership.<sup>105</sup> Dries signed his first contract at Ajax when he was nineteen years old, but he would break through at AZ at a later age. A Dutch-Moroccan footballer is then still an exception in the Dutch *Eredivisie*. In the mid-eighties, Aziz Doufikar was the first player with a Moroccan origin, but he was born in Morocco. Yassine Abdellaoui was a contemporary of Boussatta but never got selected for a national team. Boussatta got confronted with his Moroccan background by soccer fans but he did not let it influence his game. "You have to, but it is not easy when a father with a child on his arm is cursing at you with his eyes full of hatred. Eventually, it made me play better."<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Noordhoff Atlasproducties, *De Bosatlas van het Nederlandse voetbal*, 126.

<sup>104</sup> Gijs van Campenhout, 'Burgerschap, Nationaliteitsveranderingen en Publieke Acceptatie', *Ex Tempore* 3 (2017), 240.

<sup>105</sup> Anne-Ginne Goemans, 'Generatie Nix Door de Jaren Heen', *De Volkskrant*, December 23, 2015.

<sup>106</sup> Steven van der Gaag, 'In 1998 komt Dries Boussatta als eerste Marokkaanse Nederlander met trots uit voor Oranje. Twintig jaar later kiezen 'onze jongens' steeds vaker bewust voor Marokko. Wat is er veranderd voor

On November 18, 1998 Boussatta made his debut in the Dutch national team in a friendly match against Germany. Dries played only three friendly games for the Dutch team under which one game against Morocco. He was being scolded by fans of the Moroccan team, boys with the same background as him. In their eyes, Boussatta was a traitor.<sup>107</sup> They might have forgotten about one important aspect of the fact why Dries was playing for the Dutch team. Boussatta never got to choose between the Dutch and Moroccan team. For years he waited for an invitation from the Moroccan team, but he never got one. Therefore it was not a matter of choice when he got selected by Frank Rijkaard to play for the Dutch team. Striking about his career however, is that later he also played for the Moroccan team. That was possible because the matches he played for the Netherlands only had been friendly matches prior to the European Championships of 2000, whereby the Dutch team automatically got qualified for the tournament. Because of these friendly matches, it was still possible to switch teams after he played for the Netherlands.<sup>108</sup>

The street footballer started his career in professional football with Telstar and ended up in 1998 with AZ via Young Ajax, Haarlem and FC Utrecht. He ended his career in the Netherlands in 2003 at Excelsior. Then he went abroad to play for Sheffield United and Al-Shaab Club in the United Arab Emirates. Nowadays Boussatta is the successful owner of the coffeeshop Buongiorno, with a number of branches in Amsterdam.<sup>109</sup> Next to being a successful entrepreneur, he is also a much sought-after guest in interviews and television programmes when it comes to Dutch-Moroccan debates in football. He is addressed to as an expert in the field of making a choice between the Dutch and Moroccan teams. *Andere Tijden Sport* made a documentary about his career. In this 30 minute documentary Boussatta told about how he looks back on his career. Dries is considered an example for the next Dutch-Moroccan generations. He was the first Dutch-Moroccan who has managed to make it from street footballer to footballer of the Dutch national team. In this capacity he is now also committed to young Dutch-Moroccan footballers. He guides them and their families in their football careers, the choices they have to make and which reactions from the Dutch society their choices can provoke. He knows what these families are going through, because he

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spelers als Hakim Ziyech en Noussair Mazraoui?' <https://npofocus.nl/artikel/7813/waarom-kiezen-onze-jongens-voor-het-marokkaans-elftal> (12-2-2019).

<sup>107</sup> Unknown, 'Andere Tijden Sport: de duivelse dilemma's van Dries Boussatta', <https://nos.nl/artikel/2234816-andere-tijden-sport-de-duivelse-dilemma-s-van-dries-boussatta.html> (12-2-2019).

<sup>108</sup> Fédération Internationale de Football Association, *FIFA Statutes*, 71.

<sup>109</sup> Unknown, 'Andere Tijden Sport: de duivelse dilemma's van Dries Boussatta', <https://nos.nl/artikel/2234816-andere-tijden-sport-de-duivelse-dilemma-s-van-dries-boussatta.html>, (18-2-2019).

experienced the critics on his career, nationality and choices as well. One day Boussatta played a match against Morocco. His family drove to the game in a bus with Moroccan supporters, supporters with the same origin as Boussatta. These fans were the ones expressing their criticism on the fact that Boussatta was playing for the Netherlands and not for Morocco. At that moment for the first time, the family felt as if they were stuck in-between their two nationalities. They were Moroccan, but their compatriots were busy trying to exclude their own compatriot. According to Boussatta's brother, integration also has its limits, on both sides. Today Boussatta is praised by Moroccans for his television appearances in which he represents the Dutch Moroccans. Presently he feels much more Moroccan than Dutch, a feeling that has grown much more because of contemporary society. Therefore he would choose the Moroccan team now if he had the option.<sup>110</sup>

### 3.3. Ibrahim Afellay

Ibrahim Afellay was born in 1986 in Utrecht. His parents left Al Hoceima and came to the Netherlands in the sixties. His father was a factory worker and he was just like Ibrahim very sporty. When Afellay was nine years old, his father died from a heart attack. From that moment, his mother raised five children all by herself. His mother is very important to Ibrahim, she supported him in football but also pointed out the importance of school.<sup>111</sup> For a long time he still lived at his mother's house in Overvecht in Utrecht. His older brother Ali also plays an important role in his life as football player. Ibrahim always wanted to play with him and his friends on the pitch in front of their home. Most of the times 'Ibi' appeared too young and too small to compete with the older boys.<sup>112</sup> His brother studied at a university of applied sciences when their father died. Then, Ali took over the father-role and cared for Ibrahim and his football career. Ali skipped school to commute with his little brother between Utrecht and Eindhoven. They travelled thousands of train kilometres between Overvecht and de Herdgang, the training complex of professional football club PSV in Eindhoven. When PSV arranged other transport, Ali could go back to school.<sup>113</sup>

At home they did not have much money. To play soccer at a club, they benefited from a special action at USV Elinkwijk where children were given free soccer shoes and did not

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<sup>110</sup> Andere tijden sport, 'Dries Boussatta: trots op oranje', [https://www.ntr.nl/Andere-Tijden-Sport/230/detail/Andere-Tijden-Sport/VPWON\\_1282549](https://www.ntr.nl/Andere-Tijden-Sport/230/detail/Andere-Tijden-Sport/VPWON_1282549) (12-2-2019).

<sup>111</sup> Charles Bromet and Ismaël Dibi, 'Alleen Op Het Veld Een Straatschoffie', *De Volkskrant*, April 12, 2008.

<sup>112</sup> Nieuwsuur, 'Ibrahim Afellay: trots van de familie', [https://www.npo3.nl/ibrahim-afellay-trots-van-de-familie/01-06-2018/WO\\_NOS\\_13030432](https://www.npo3.nl/ibrahim-afellay-trots-van-de-familie/01-06-2018/WO_NOS_13030432) (19-2-2019).

<sup>113</sup> Rob Pietersen, 'Overall hebben ze het over Ibrahims keuze', *Trouw*, November 26, 2005.

have to pay a membership fee. When Afellay was ten years old, he got scouted by PSV. Everyday Wessel van den Bosch, his scout, drove him from Utrecht to Eindhoven. Even during this youth training there was a lot of doubt whether he would make it, because here again he was a lot smaller and less strong than his peers.<sup>114</sup> In 2004 he debuted in the first team of PSV and in 2007 he played his first game for the Dutch national team. The choice between the Moroccan and the Dutch team was difficult for Afellay and he does not like to talk about it anymore. In an interview with *Nieuwsuur* he told that he feels Moroccan, but also feels very much at home in the Netherlands and therefore has two homelands. When he is in Morocco, he is considered a Dutchman and when he is in the Netherlands he is considered a Moroccan. It was his brother Ali who advised him to play for the Dutch team, because at that moment it was the best opportunity in his football career.<sup>115</sup> In Al Hoceima, the people were proud of him and supported the Dutch team, also because Khalid Boulahrouz was playing for the Dutch team too. In Morocco they claimed not to have resentment, because the Dutch team was better at that time.<sup>116</sup>

In 2005 Afellay was proclaimed Muslim of the Year in the Netherlands, a title he himself was not necessarily happy with. The fact that he was seen as a role model, when he was only 20 years old and just played football, did not make sense to him. His reaction to this was that there were many other Moroccans who did something good for society and therefore deserved the title much more. What he did say to recognize, was that the image of Moroccans is very negative. That was sometimes frustrating for him, because many Moroccans are doing very well.<sup>117</sup> That was the reason he did not want to become a role model, football is very popular on television and in newspapers, giving him positive attention to being Moroccan, while in his opinion there were more other Moroccans who did better things for society.

### 3.4. Hakim Ziyech

Hakim Ziyech is a Dutch-Moroccan football player who was born in 1993 in Dronten, Flevoland. He is a son of Moroccan parents and he is the youngest of nine children. When he was ten years old, his father died to the consequences of multiple sclerosis. That he had a hard time dealing with this, was seen by Aziz Doufikar, the first Moroccan professional footballer

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<sup>114</sup> Nieuwsuur, 'Ibrahim Afellay: trots van de familie' (19-2-2019).

<sup>115</sup> Steven van der Gaag, 'Waarom Kiezen 'onze Jongens' Voor Het Marokkaans Elftal?' <https://npofocus.nl/artikel/7813/waarom-kiezen-onze-jongens-voor-het-marokkaans-elftal> (21-02-2019)

<sup>116</sup> Eenvandaag, 'Met Afellay naar Marokko', <https://eenvandaag.avrotros.nl/item/met-afellay-naar-marokko/> (19-2-2019).

<sup>117</sup> Bromet and Dibi, 'Alleen Op Het Veld Een Straatschoffie' (19-2-2019).

in the Netherlands. Doufikar was born in Casablanca in 1963 and came to the Netherlands when he was eight years old.<sup>118</sup> According to Doufikar, he became Ziyech's mentor, coach and father figure: 'He drank, smoked too much and used drugs. He had many problems. I noticed that he was afraid to play football. The only chance I had was to have him participate in indoor football tournaments. With a lot of luck, I got him into the world of football.'<sup>119</sup> The midfielder ended up at sc Heerenveen in 2012 and then made the transfer to FC Twente. He had outgrown that club after two years. For the last three years he was weekly decisive at Ajax. For as long as it will last, since there is much interest from bigger clubs abroad.<sup>120</sup>

For Ziyech, his Moroccan roots and family are very important. Especially after his father died, he values the opinion of his oldest brother the most: 'I make my own plan, in consultation with my family. The advice of my older brother Faouzi, is what I listen to. When our father died at a young age, I was less than ten years old, he took over the leading role in the family. Without him I would never have become a professional football player. His opinion is very important to me.'<sup>121</sup> In an interview on December 31, 2016 with *de Volkskrant* he said that he grew up with the feeling that Dutch-Moroccans are lagging behind in the Netherlands. That a Dutch-Moroccan has to work two or three times harder to gain respect. If someone is performing well, he is a Dutchman. If someone is not, he is being considered 'that Moroccan'.<sup>122</sup> The program makers of *Bureau Sport* went to Dronten to talk with young Dutch-Moroccans about the choice of Ziyech. They said that they were proud that Ziyech has chosen Morocco, their country of origin. They argue this because they think that Dutch-Moroccans in the Netherlands are automatically considered 'less'. Ziyech confirmed this feeling himself by saying that he always had to work harder to prove himself. He said that the choice for the national team is not one to make with your mind, but with your heart. Therefore, Ziyech's choice for the Moroccan team in 2015 was a deliberate decision which he does not regret.<sup>123</sup> In

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<sup>118</sup> Wikipedia, 'Aziz Doufikar', [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aziz\\_Doufikar](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aziz_Doufikar) (15-2-2019).

<sup>119</sup> Unknown, 'Opvallend verhaal over Ziyech: 'Hij dronk, rookte te veel, gebruikte drugs'  
<https://www.voetbalprimeur.nl/nieuws/740022/opvallende-onthulling-over-ziyech-hij-dronk-rookte-te-veel-gebruikte-drugs-.html> (15-2-2019).

<sup>120</sup> *Ibidem*, (15-2-2019).

<sup>121</sup> Thomas Dal, 'Zonder hem nooit betaald voetballer geworden',  
<https://www.goal.com/nl/news/213/eredivisie/2015/01/18/8068742/zonder-hem-nooit-betaald-voetballer-geworden> (15-2-2019).

<sup>122</sup> Bart Vlietstra, 'Als ik mijn contract uitdien, heb ik het niet goed gedaan', <https://www.volkskrant.nl/sport/-als-ik-mijn-contract-uitdien-heb-ik-het-niet-goed-gedaan-~ba985041/?hash=512975658112cf59383e2ee728479f471d84f1b4> (15-2-2019).

<sup>123</sup> Bureau Sport, 'Waarom Hakim Ziyech voor Marokko koos – bureau vooroordeel',  
[https://youtu.be/gSC\\_k67idhU](https://youtu.be/gSC_k67idhU) (20-2-2019).

2018 he was elected as best player of the year of the *Eredivisie*. A gentle gesture but without any influence on his choice.<sup>124</sup>

### 3.5. The Moroccan Football Federation

When writing about the decisions of these players, it is also important to take the developments of the football federations into consideration. The time when Boussatta was called by Frank Rijkaard, the organisation of the Moroccan football federation was different than it is today. Morocco did not perform well, the team did not play at a World Cup since 1998 and the organization was a chaos. Instead of focusing on young Moroccan talent in Europe, the Moroccan federation only recruited players who were born in Morocco, with the additional effect that Dutch-Moroccan players were outpaced by Moroccan players who might not even be as good as them. The Dutch federation was different, the team played well, made it to the finals and the organisation was much better than in Morocco. The fact that Afellay and Bouhlarouz chose the Dutch team opened the eyes of the football federation.<sup>125</sup> From 2010 to 2014, Pim Verbeek was the technical director of the Moroccan federation. His biggest task was to determine which players in Europe could play for Morocco.<sup>126</sup> Last World Cup in Russia, Morocco played with seventeen players who were not born in Morocco, with the Netherlands as court supplier. The fact that more and more football players choose Morocco can at the one hand be explained by the increasing harshened social climate in the Netherlands. What plays a role on the other hand, are the developments that the Moroccan football federation has undergone in recent years. The association started recruiting potential players early by paying much personal interest in the players and also by involving the family, while family is very important in Morocco. Many players have relatives who still live in Morocco and feel proud when they can represent the country of these relatives. A choice for Morocco is often described as a choice of the heart, while that is still a question today as the Dutch team is not playing better at the moment.<sup>127</sup> Polarization of the Dutch society, football achievements of the Moroccan team and an organized Moroccan association are reasons for the players to choose the Moroccan team.

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<sup>124</sup> Unknown, 'Hakim Ziyech terecht verkozen tot Speler van het Jaar in de Eredivisie' <https://www.voetbalzone.nl/doc.asp?uid=329088> (20-2-2019).

<sup>125</sup> Bart Vlietstra, "Een Keuze Tussen Het Hoofd En Het Hart: Marokko of Nederland?," *De Volkskrant*, 2017, <https://www.volkskrant.nl/sport/een-keuze-tussen-het-hoofd-en-het-hart-marokko-of-nederland-~bc5eb2d3/>. (21-2-2019).

<sup>126</sup> van der Gaag, "Waarom Kiezen 'onze Jongens' Voor Het Marokkaans Elftal?" (21-2-2019).

<sup>127</sup> Bahara, "Het Marokkaanse Voetbalelftal; Hoe de Loyaliteit van de Leeuwen van de Atlas van Twee Kanten Betwist Wordt," *De Volkskrant*, 2018, <https://www.volkskrant.nl/sport/het-marokkaanse-voetbalelftal-hoe-de-loyaliteit-van-de-leeuwen-van-de-atlas-van-twee-kanten-betwist-wordt~b97c83ba/>. (21-2-2019).

### 3.6. Opponents

When comparing the three cases, a few conclusions can be drawn. When Boussatta joined the Dutch national team, society's attitude towards immigrants was relatively mild. Only after his international football career, nationality, identity and loyalty became increasingly questioned. His choice for the Dutch national team had nothing, and at the same time everything to do with the unorganised Moroccan federation. In Morocco they did not pay any attention to him, because they were more occupied with recruiting players born in Morocco.

Afellay was seen as a role model, Muslim of the year and an example for Moroccan players of his generation. Only words of praise, because he had chosen the Dutch team. This choice was advised to him by his older brother and became a choice of mind. At that time the Dutch team was better than the Moroccan team, which had not qualified for a major tournament since 1998. A real nationality dilemma can't really be detected in the Afellay case from Dutch perspective.

For Ziyech, this dilemma was one of the key topics in the debate about his decision. He belongs to the generation of Dutch-Moroccans that massively chooses for the Moroccan team. The development of the Moroccan association played a large part in this. The family was involved and the players were less faced with a loyalty issue in Morocco. In addition, Morocco was performing better and better and the quality of the Dutch team was deteriorating more and more. The hardened society, in combination with these factors, are reasons for the players to choose Morocco, even though the players were born in the Netherlands and have had their training here.

## 4. Tactics

### 4.1. Research settings

This thesis is a case study research which ‘is a qualitative approach in which the researcher explores multiple cases over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information and reports a case description and case-based themes.’<sup>128</sup> In this thesis, the three Dutch-Moroccan football players act as cases and the sources are the various newspaper articles. This form of case study is also referred to as the collective case study, because an issue, in this case the nationality of Dutch-Moroccan footballers, is described on the basis of several cases. The reason why multiple cases are chosen is because in this way different perspectives on the issue can be highlighted. In order to reach a conclusion, generalization of the cases is necessary, which is why I have chosen three cases that best represent the situation of their time and thus count as a generalized example on which I can base my conclusions and assumptions.<sup>129</sup>

The case studies of this research are used to explain and elaborate on the theory about the position of Dutch-Moroccans in Dutch society. By focusing on the football players, a specific part of the Dutch-Moroccan community in the Netherlands is highlighted. The data of the case studies help to simplify the complexity of the theory of the concepts used, because the cases explain and clarify the theory by means of generalized examples.<sup>130</sup> In spite of this, case study research also entails some difficulties. As there are three case studies in this thesis, it contains a lot of data. Fifty-seven articles in total had to be examined in the exact same way. This means that a detailed description about the subject not always can be provided.<sup>131</sup> Some issues are substantiated by quotes from the articles. These quotes are however taken out of different contexts of different articles which means that the importance of the quote is determined by the researcher. If another researcher had done this research, he or she might have chosen different quotes to validate the findings. In this way this research is partly open to interpretation of the researcher.

Next to this, because only three case studies must represent the overall issue of Dutch-Moroccan football players, it is hard to make generalizations about the issue at its whole. Even though I have chosen the ones that could be seen as most representative cases exemplifying their time and providing a detailed description about these individuals, it is not possible to

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<sup>128</sup> John W Creswell, *Qualitative inquiry & research design* (Lincoln 2007), 73.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibidem*, 74.

<sup>130</sup> Phil Hodkinson and Heather Hodkinson, ‘The Strengths and Limitations of Case Study Research’, *Making an Impact on Policy and Practice* (2001), 7.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibidem*, 8.

apply the conclusions to all football players as they are all unique. Because all the other football players are not examined in this research, it is not yet proven if the cases researched here are also representative for all the cases that weren't researched. Providing a solid cause-effect connection based on three case studies might therefore be assumptive.<sup>132</sup>

Lastly, what I find most challenging about this type of research, is that it is difficult to say something about significant differences and commonalities between the three cases, as qualitative research methods do not lend a numerical representation of the data. In quantitative studies the results are based on the significance of the data, done by automatic programmes while in qualitative methods the significance of the data is interpreted by the researcher.<sup>133</sup>

The type of data analysis in this research is conducted through a holistic approach complemented by an embedded analysis of specific case aspects. This means that firstly the cases are explored in its whole, whereby the entire case is researched and compared to the other cases. This is needed to describe the various cases in their own context. After having done this, I am focusing on interesting key results for a more in-depth analysis. Combining these two analyses is necessary in order to understand the complexities and the differences of the cases. Thus, my aim is to identify the issues of each case and after that to look if there are commonalities that go beyond the cases.<sup>134</sup> In chapter three, a detailed description of each player is already provided. In the next chapter I look if there are any themes and concepts that transcend these cases.

## 4.2. Data collection

The primary sources I used for this thesis are Dutch newspaper articles about the football players. In order to examine the difference between the case studies, I chose articles of various Dutch newspaper. These newspapers are *De Telegraaf*, *de Volkskrant*, *AD*, *Trouw* and *NRC*. In view of the quantitative aspect, *De Telegraaf*, *de Volkskrant* and *AD* are three national newspapers with the biggest audience in the Netherlands, so their articles reach the most people.<sup>135</sup> Since the twentieth century, *De Telegraaf* counts as 'general' newspaper. Nowadays it is the largest Dutch daily newspaper and characterized as a 'popular newspaper' because of

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<sup>132</sup> Fernando Almeida, 'Strengths and Limitations of Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods', *European Journal of Education Studies* 3 (2017), 377-379.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibidem*, 382.

<sup>134</sup> Creswell, *Qualitative inquiry & research design*, 75.

<sup>135</sup> Piet Bakker and Otto Scholten, *Communicatiekaart van Nederland. Overzicht van media en communicatie*, (Amsterdam 2014), 14.

its relatively large content of entertainment, consisting of many 'sensational messages' and a large sports section.<sup>136</sup> In contrast to popular newspapers there was a pillarized press since the Second World War in which *de Volkskrant* on a daily basis represented the Roman Catholic pillar. However since the 1960s, the pillarization of newspapers did not hold.<sup>137</sup> Since then *de Volkskrant* focuses more on the highly educated reader in the left of the middle of the political spectrum, but nowadays this position is less clear-cut.<sup>138</sup> *AD* profiles itself since its foundation as a neutral newspaper without political or religious ties. The newspaper is stigmatized as being 'a popular, reliable, independent national morning paper' and together with *De Telegraaf* distinguishes itself from the quality newspapers.<sup>139</sup> As for the qualitative aspect, I have deliberately chosen newspapers that appeal different groups in Dutch society. *NRC* is a liberal Dutch daily newspaper that is also called the 'quality newspaper' of the Netherlands. The newspaper has never been the largest daily newspaper in the Netherlands, but is since its foundation in 1844 considered the most influential newspaper for the highly educated, especially in the economic, political and cultural sectors.<sup>140</sup> *Trouw* is founded during the Second World War as opposition newspaper.<sup>141</sup> Although it wants to be a broad quality newspaper, the magazine focuses on a number of social issues in particular, like religion and philosophy.<sup>142</sup> *De Telegraaf* and *AD* have been described as popular newspapers, *NRC*, *de Volkskrant* and *Trouw* as quality newspapers. The most important difference between *De Telegraaf* and *AD* on the one hand and *NRC* and *de Volkskrant* on the other hand can be found in the audience. The readers of *De Telegraaf* and *AD* resemble a cross-section of the Dutch population, while the higher income and education categories are considerably represented among the members of *NRC* and *de Volkskrant*.<sup>143</sup> The choice for these newspapers is based on the importance of setting up a research that is as representative as possible by covering the whole Dutch society as much as possible. However, with the rise of new media, it is becoming increasingly difficult to reach the entire Dutch public with printed newspapers. As a result, individuals and social groups who want to influence public opinion may look for other (online) media to reach the public.<sup>144</sup> Despite of this, researching the newspapers still counts as a valid

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<sup>136</sup> Wikipedia, 'de Telegraaf', [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/De\\_Telegraaf](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/De_Telegraaf) (03-01-2019).

<sup>137</sup> Bakker and Scholten, *Communicatiekaart van Nederland*, 13.

<sup>138</sup> Wikipedia, 'de Volkskrant', [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/De\\_Volkskrant](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/De_Volkskrant) (03-01-2019).

<sup>139</sup> Wikipedia, 'Algemeen Dagblad', [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algemeen\\_Dagblad](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algemeen_Dagblad) (03-01-2019).

<sup>140</sup> Wikipedia, 'NRC Handelsblad', [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/NRC\\_Handelsblad](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/NRC_Handelsblad) (03-01-2019).

<sup>141</sup> Bakker and Scholten, *Communicatiekaart van Nederland*, 13.

<sup>142</sup> Wikipedia, 'Trouw', [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trouw\\_\(krant\)](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trouw_(krant)) (03-01-2019)

<sup>143</sup> Bakker and Scholten, *Communicatiekaart van Nederland*, 17.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibidem*, 23.

study because even though the number of printed newspapers has decreased, the articles are also accessible online.<sup>145</sup>

To select the right articles for my research, I consulted the database LexisNexis, an online archive that stores publications from numerous national and international newspapers. I constructed the general search term voetbal! AND (('Nederlands elftal' OR Oranje!) AND Marok!) AND (nationa! OR afkomst! OR paspoort!) AND (keuze OR kiezen OR kies! OR gekozen OR koos). With this general search term, I searched specifically by putting the name of the player into the search term. This resulted in (voetbal! AND Boussatta) AND (('Nederlands elftal' OR Oranje!) AND Marok!) AND (nationa! OR afkomst! OR paspoort!) AND (keuze OR kiezen OR kies! OR gekozen OR koos) which resulted in thirty articles. (voetbal! AND Afellay) AND (('Nederlands elftal' OR Oranje!) AND Marok!) AND (nationa! OR afkomst! OR paspoort!) AND (keuze OR kiezen OR kies! OR gekozen OR koos) gave me eighty-three articles and (voetbal! AND Ziyech) AND (('Nederlands elftal' OR Oranje!) AND Marok!) AND (nationa! OR afkomst! OR paspoort!) AND (keuze OR kiezen OR kies! OR gekozen OR koos) produced sixty-two articles. After a quick scan of the articles, I found that still many of them were not connected to my field of research. Because I wanted to focus purely on nationality, identity and loyalty, all other articles containing, for example, results of matches are not representative enough to research in this thesis. That is why I later narrowed down each search term by adding AND (loya! OR identi! OR ('dubbele nationaliteit' OR 'dubbel paspoort')) at the end. This resulted in nine articles about Boussatta, twenty-four about Afellay and twenty-four about Ziyech.

Putting an exclamation point behind a search term means that it will search for words that have the same beginning but can have different ends. In this respect, the search term voetbal! will look for words as voetballer, voetballen, voetbalclub etcetera. I put an exclamation mark at certain words in order to create a comprehensive and broad search query. AND means that the database searches for articles that contain the words put before as well as behind AND. Looking at the first part of the search term (voetbal! AND Boussatta) means that LexisNexis shows articles in where as well the word voetbal as Boussatta appears. Putting OR instead of AND here, means that Nexis shows articles that contain either Boussatta or voetbal. This means that there is no special link between the two words in the same article. For example, I put OR in the part (keuze OR kiezen OR kies! OR gekozen OR koos) because these words

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<sup>145</sup> *Ibidem*, 190.

all mean the same but there are various ways to describe it. Synonyms are required here to cover as much as relevant articles as possible.

I have chosen to examine only newspapers, excluding other media about football. This choice is made, among other things, because the newspaper articles in themselves provide sufficient data for the research. In addition, television programmes and documentaries require a different way of examination compared to newspaper articles, so this can become a separate investigation of its own. Football magazines have not been included because it is expected that the discussion about dual nationality will be present, but to a lesser extent and with less impact on the Dutch public debate. 'The media' is actually a very broad concept, but in this study 'the media' is limited to the Dutch newspapers.

### 4.3. Operationalization

After collecting the articles, I put the documents in Atlas.ti, resulting in three different sets of documents referring to each one of the players. This program performs qualitative analyses, making it possible to measure relevant concepts and themes in a text manually.<sup>146</sup> In Atlas.ti I made codes that distinguish various concepts in the articles, and scheme's that measure what stance predominates in the articles regarding Dutch-Moroccan football players. An example of these codes is presented in appendix A. The goal of coding newspapers is to find overlapping or opposing ways to report about the choice the footballers have made. I manually measured how often the choice of Dutch-Moroccan footballers is linked to nationality, loyalty and identity. In doing so, I measured which concepts are most commonly used when these footballers are spoken of, to see if and what developments have taken place in the past 20 years. Important to notice here that, in order to get valid results as much as possible, I did not code facts that were given in the articles but just the attitude of the journalist towards the players and their decision is coded.

The articles were coded on various levels. The codes at the bottom level are socio-demographics with which I coded the attributes of the authors of the articles. These codes are indicated by an # in front of the code. The second level are the dimensions, indicated by / followed by the year in which the article is written, or the period in which the coded event is taking place. The concepts are the next level, prefixed by \* indicating about who or by whom is being talked about something about the topic. Then there are the sub-codes. Sub-codes are subdivided into categories and they indicate what is said about the category. Lastly, these

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<sup>146</sup> Susanne Friese, *Atlas.ti 8 Windows Quick tour* (Berlin 2019), 5.

categories can again be divided into concepts, which are eventually used to answer the research question. Table 1 shows examples of how the codes have been made and applied. An example of how the articles are coded is given in appendix B.

Table 1: Syntax for the meanings of tags on the various levels

Meaning	In Atlas.ti	Examples
Concept	Small letters, black	Loyalty Nationality Identity Choice
Category	Capital letters, coloured	ORIGIN
Sub-code	Small letters, coloured like all other codes in the category	Origin: Dutch Origin: Moroccan Origin: dual nationality
Concepts in developing a code schema	Small black letters, prefixed by *	*about Moroccan footballer *by Dutch society
Dimension	Small coloured letters, prefixed by /	/TIME /time: ten years ago /time: twenty years ago
Socio-demographicis	Small grey letters, prefixed by #	#background: journalist #ethnicity: immigrant

Source: Susanne Friese, 'How to Make the Best of Codes in Alas.ti', <https://atlasti.com/2017/03/16/make-best-codes-atlas-ti/>

Next chapter will provide the outcomes of the operationalization described above which helps to answer the sub-questions. These sub-questions are:

- *How are the nationality and identity of the players described in the articles?*
- *What is the difference in stance of the articles towards the players?*
- *In what way is loyalty addressed in the articles?*
- *What reasons are given for the choice made?*

After having this done, a separate chapter will elaborate on the place of this research in the broader debate about dual nationality, identity and the Dutch-Moroccan football players. The last chapter will answer how the reporting in Dutch newspapers about this subject varies and changes between 1998 and 2019.

## 5. Results

In this chapter, the results of the data analysis are provided. Some of the results are substantiated with examples and quotes from the articles to give a more in-depth view into how the findings have been argued. To come to conclusions, various codes are researched in relation to each other to see if there are differences or similarities within and between the three case studies.

To begin, I noticed that several articles are present in multiple datasets. This means that for example, a certain article is part of the dataset of Dries Boussatta as well as of the dataset of Hakim Ziyech. In order to get valid and fair results of all datasets, I coded the articles that are present in more than one dataset in the exact same way for every set. Table 2 shows the titles of the articles, the year of publishing and in which dataset the articles are present.

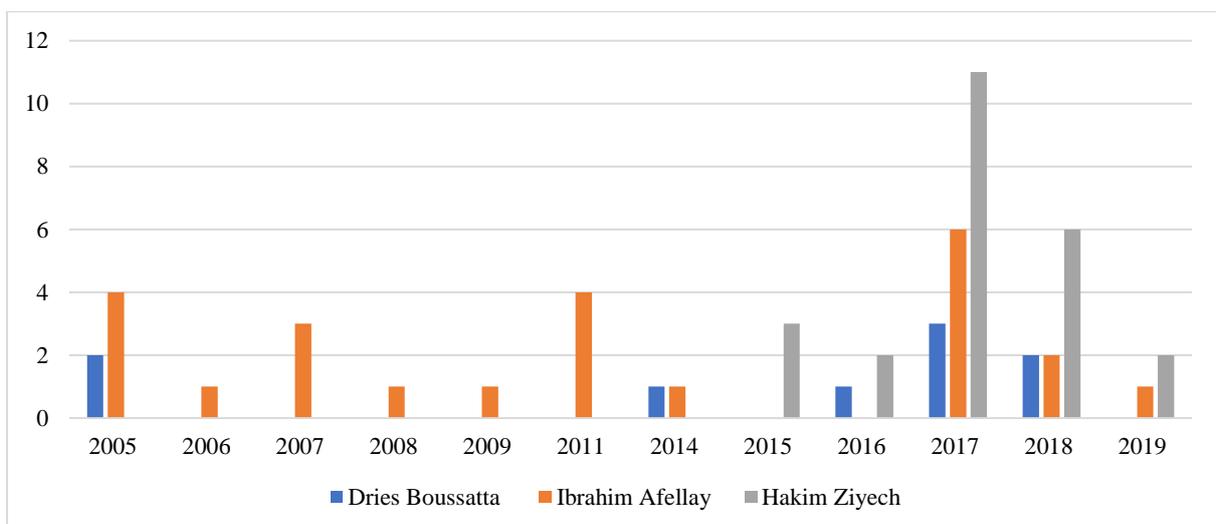
*Table 2: Distribution of titles among the datasets of the players*

	Year	Title	Dries Boussatta	Ibrahim Afellay	Hakim Ziyech
1.	2005	Bonte oranje-mix zingt het Wilhelmus	X	X	
2.	2005	Rood tegen Oranje		X	
3.	2005	Voetbal als bindmiddel	X	X	
4.	2005	Voetballen tegen het land van je ouders		X	
5.	2006	In stilte naar de top		X	
6.	2007	Afellay schiet heus niet in ons doel		X	
7.	2007	Ik denk voetbal, drink voetbal, eet voetbal		X	
8.	2007	Opgeleefd bij AZ na mislukt uitstapje		X	
9.	2008	Made in Holland		X	
10.	2009	Bakkal debuteert in Keurkorps Van Marwijk		X	
11.	2011	Hartstikke luxe man, bij Marokko;		X	
12.	2011	Jacht op dribbelaars uit de diaspora		X	
13.	2011	Maher verdient de allerbeste adviezen		X	
14.	2011	Worsteling met stigma		X	
15.	2014	26 minuten in Oranje maar turk voor altijd	X	X	
16.	2015	Blind regeert over graf heen			X
17.	2015	Voetbationaliteit, hoe zit dat eigenlijk?			X
18.	2015	Ziyech zet bij keuze voor Marokko streep door Oranjecarrière			X
19.	2016	Hakim Ziyech, de redder van Ajax?			X
20.	2016	Oranje kan 'n Gullit goed gebruiken	X		X
21.	2017	Applaus voor Karim en Hakim			X
22.	2017	Dubbel verlies Oranje door keus Amrabat		X	X
23.	2017	Een totale mislukking			X
24.	2017	Fifa dwingt voetballer tot lastige keuze			X
25.	2017	Hoe Sofyan Amrabat Marokko boven Oranje verkoos		X	X
26.	2017	Hup, Leeuwen van de Atlas	X	X	X
27.	2017	Ik moet geen andere Hakim worden			X
28.	2017	Marokkanen zijn op alle niveaus de smaakmakers	X	X	X
29.	2017	Marokko - Oranje is niet zomaar een oefenpotje	X	X	X

30.	2017	Marokko eindelijk weer naar WK, na twintig jaar frustratie			X
31.	2017	Meer of minder Marokkanen?			X
32.	2017	Sofyan Amrabat, kies voor Marokko, maak ons trots		X	
33.	2018	Dan denk je: hé, zie je wel. Je blijft toch een Marokkaan			X
34.	2018	Gemengd applaus voor Nederlandse Leeuwen van de Atlas		X	X
35.	2018	Kiezen tussen trouw en trots	X		X
36.	2018	Ziyech grote voorbeeld om voor Marokko te kiezen	X	X	X
37.	2018	Ziyech zie ik als mijn zoon			X
38.	2018	Ziyech, wees loyaal aan land dat je alle kans gaf			X
39.	2019	Idrissi (AZ) kiest voor nationale ploeg van Marokko		X	X
40.	2018	Vaderland wint van het pleintje			X

This table shows that the fifty-seven examined articles are subdivided into forty different titles. This means that certain titles appear in multiple datasets. Looking at the table, it shows that only twenty-seven articles occur once in one dataset. None of the unique titles appears solely in the dataset of Dries Boussatta. In other words, all articles containing the search term Dries Boussatta also appear in one or more other datasets. Thirteen of the total amount of titles are part of the dataset of Ibrahim Afellay and fourteen refer solely to the case of Hakim Ziyech. This means that thirteen titles are present in two or more datasets. Of these thirteen articles, four existed in all datasets, three were present in Boussatta's dataset as well as in Afellay's, two of them were present in Boussatta's as well as in Ziyech's and four existed in the case of Ziyech as well as in the one of Afellay. The next figure clarifies the distribution of these articles over the years.

Figure 1: Articles per player per year



Even though the search period for the articles spreads from 1998 until 2019, the search terms does not produce any results from before 2005, which is remarkable because Dries Boussatta debuted as first Dutch-Moroccan player in the Dutch team in 1998. However, these results do not mean that there are no articles about Boussatta published before 2005. If the first generated search term would be used for this research, that is, the one without the addition about loyalty, then also articles between 1998 and 2005 come out of the search query. It is inconceivable that the very first Dutch Moroccan in the Dutch national team would not be mentioned in the newspapers at the time of his debut. Looking at the articles that are written in 1998, it is noticeable that the subjects mainly contain the footballing aspect and that relatively little attention is paid to his dual nationality. The title of the article of Willem Vissers in 1998 assumes that the article is about Boussatta's dual nationality, but actually, this subject is mentioned in only one sentence in where Boussatta is quoted:

‘I feel just as Moroccan as Dutch. I was born in Amsterdam, but I had a Moroccan upbringing. I will never forget that.’<sup>147</sup>

Erik Oudshoorn's article also mainly discusses his football career and future in football. His nationality is appointed, but again his Moroccan background is summarized in one sentence:

‘Dries Boussatta, the name breathes integration. Born and raised in Amsterdam, he feels like a Dutch Moroccan.’<sup>148</sup>

These articles indicate that there is no way around the fact that Boussatta is the first Dutch-Moroccan player in the Dutch national team and that the theme of dual nationality or dual citizenship is also addressed at that time. However, what is special about this is that no link is made between his double passport and doubts about his loyalty. This basically suggests that dual nationalities with regard to dual loyalties only are discussed from 2005 onwards when it comes to players with two passports. Looking further into the articles that appear after 2005, it is clear that the role of Dries Boussatta in the articles is one of a former footballer and as an example of someone who is a Dutch-Moroccan footballer who has chosen the Dutch national team. In addition to this, in the articles he is often highlighted as an expert by experience whose

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<sup>147</sup> Willem Vissers, ‘Dries Boussatta ‘ik voel me net zo Nederlands als Marokkaan’, *de Volkskrant*, November 16, 1998 <https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/dries-boussatta-ik-voel-me-net-zo-marokkaans-als-nederlands~bf705e6d/> (20-06-2019).

<sup>148</sup> Erik Oudshoorn, ‘De eerste Marokkaan bij Oranje; Dries Boussatta was wachten beu op uitnodiging uit Marokko’, *NRC*, November 17, 1998, <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/1998/11/17/de-eerste-marokkaan-bij-oranje-dries-boussatta-was-7423334-a646089> (20-06-2019).

opinion on the choices is emphasized. An opinion that does not correspond to his opinion twenty years ago when he said he feels as Dutch as Moroccan:

‘In 1998, Dries Boussatta was the first footballer of Moroccan descent in the Dutch national team. In *Andere Tijden Sport* he looked back on his career last June. "Now I would choose Morocco", was his bitter conclusion. "That's because of today's society. No matter how hard you try to integrate, in the end you will never feel the same as a real Dutchman."<sup>149</sup>

Considering that Boussatta only appears in articles after 2005, it is assumed that his own choice in 1998 to join the Dutch national team is not questioned by the Dutch press in relation to nationality, identity and loyalty. That the reporting on Ibrahim Afellay and his choice starts in 2005 can be explained by the fact that he then came to attention of the Dutch national team and from then on had to think about which football nationality he wants to have. In February 2007, Afellay finally made the choice to play for the Dutch national team, hence the increase of the number of articles compared to 2006. Ziyech made his choice in 2015, where a small peak in the number of articles is visible.

The distribution of the number of articles concurrently confirms that dual citizenship of the Dutch-Moroccan football players has received more attention from the public debate in the past three years than it did twenty and ten years ago. Only from 2017 there is a real peak in the number of articles. After a small peak in 2005 and 2007 regarding Afellay, the number of articles also increases in 2011. The explanation for this is that since that moment, the Moroccan Football Association started to organise itself better. At the end of 2010, Pim Verbeek, the former trainer of Feyenoord, became responsible for recruiting youth players for the Moroccan national team. The policy on recruiting Moroccan youth in Europe improved and that was of course noticed by the Dutch media. In 2015 a small increase can be seen as the result of Ziyech's decision to play for the Moroccan team. What then stands out, is the peak of the number of articles in 2017, which goes hand in hand with a peak for both Hakim Ziyech and Boussatta. In each case, this does not coincide with their own choice, but with the choice of Sofyan Amrabat, who definitively chose the Moroccan team in 2017. Boussatta, Afellay and Ziyech are all addressed as role models in the public debate about other Dutch-Moroccan players who still had and have to decide.

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<sup>149</sup> Unknown, ‘Kiezen tussen trouw en trots’, *De Telegraaf* August 30, 2018.

### 5.1. Nationality and identity

The first sub-question of this research is how nationality and identity of the players are described in the articles. Atlas.ti makes it possible to conduct a quick first observation by measuring how often a certain word appears in the documents. I have done this to see to what extent nationality and identity are literally mentioned in the articles. The results are shown in table 3.

Table 3: Word appearance per article set

	Nationality		Identity	
	Absolute	%	Absolute	%
<b>Dries Boussatta</b>	4	0,04	2	0,02
<b>Ibrahim Afellay</b>	31	0,12	7	0,03
<b>Hakim Ziyech</b>	33	0,12	5	0,02

Because the players' datasets are not of the same size and therefore do not contain the same number of articles, the percentages and relative frequencies in the tables are normalized, which means that the equations of the number of words are made equal to each other.<sup>150</sup> For example, the word identity occurs two times in the dataset of Boussatta and five times in Ziyech's, though the percentage of the word as part of the total amount of words is equal to each other. This tells us that the dataset of Ziyech contains more words. Table 2 shows that the core concepts of my research are in fact mentioned very little literally. Although all articles by means of the query focus on these subjects, the words are very rare as part of the total amount of words. Looking at the percentage of the whole, the words even seem negligible. The share of nationality in the articles is greater in Ziyech and Afellay than in Boussatta's case, namely both 0.12%. This may indicate that the discussion about nationality is slightly more important and present in the cases of Ziyech and Afellay rather than in the case of Boussatta. identity is mentioned even less, which indicates that the dual nationality of the players is not considered as identity, but as something distinct.

The next step is to look further into how the nationalities and identities of the players take shape in the different cases. I start with the case of Boussatta, whereby I have already concluded that his contribution to the debate is predominantly as a consultant for next generations Dutch-Moroccan players which team to choose. The following quotes come from

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<sup>150</sup> Friese, *ATLAS.ti 8 Windows – Quick Tour*, 47.

articles that confirm the expectation that Boussatta is indeed only mentioned in context to this role.

Table 4: Quotations of origin Dries Boussatta

Code: Origin	Mentioned by	Quotation
Dutch	- Sjoerd Mossou, journalist at <i>AD</i>	- 'It's typically Boussatta, a man with Amsterdam accent, scattering with interrelationships, opinions and stimulating issues' <sup>151</sup>
Moroccan	- unknown, <i>Telegraaf</i>	- 'In 1998, Dries Boussatta was the first footballer of Moroccan descent in the Dutch national team' <sup>152</sup>
Dual nationality	- Willem Vissers, journalist at <i>Volkskrant</i>	- 'The message comes from former footballer Driss Boussatta, or Dries, because Dri(e)s(s) is at the heart of the society. He is Moroccan Dutch, Dutch Moroccan or just Amsterdammer' <sup>153</sup>

This table contains examples of quotes that are coded by the label origin. A quote is marked Dutch when it is explicitly mentioned that the player is Dutch or has a Dutch origin. The Moroccan label is given when emphasis is placed on the Moroccan origin or nationality. Dual nationality is linked to excerpts in which the author mentions both nationalities or when it is clearly stated that it concerns a Dutch-Moroccan person. When seeing these statements, it is immediately apparent that different ways of addressing Dries Boussatta are used. In one article he is a well-educated Amsterdammer, in another he is a footballer of Moroccan descent and in the latter category he is mainly a former footballer whose descent is not definable.

The same tables are made for Afellay and Ziyech in order to compare the quotations with each other.

<sup>151</sup> Sjoerd Mossou, 'Marokkanen zijn op alle niveaus de smaakmakers', *AD*, December 27, 2017.

<sup>152</sup> Unknown, 'Kiezen tussen trouw en trots', *De Telegraaf*, August 30, 2018.

<sup>153</sup> Willem Vissers, 'Hup, Leeuwen van de Atlas', *de Volkskrant*, November 13, 2017.

Table 5: Quotations of origin Ibrahim Afellay

Code: Origin	Mentioned by	Quotation
Dutch	- Willem Vissers	- 'Ibrahim Afellay from Utrecht, who feels Moroccan, recently chose the Netherlands because he expects his career to benefit from it', <sup>154</sup>
Moroccan	- Ibrahim Afellay in an article from Willem Vissers	- 'I'm Moroccan and I feel Moroccan. Nothing will change', <sup>155</sup>
Dual nationality	- Willem Vissers	- 'He was so much at once when he broke through at PSV last season: street footballer, Dutchman and Moroccan, role model and symbol for the new style training in Eindhoven', <sup>156</sup>

Table 6: Quotations of origin Hakim Ziyech

Code: Origin	Mentioned by	Quotation
Dutch	- Steven Verseput, journalist at <i>NRC</i>	- 'shining example in this is Ziyech, born in Dronten, and showing off Saturday with precision passes on a bumpy field', <sup>157</sup>
Moroccan	- Jacques Brinkman, columnist at <i>Telegraaf</i>	- 'I play for Morocco so that's my country', Ajax-soccer player Hakim Ziyech couldn't put it any clearer', <sup>158</sup>
Dual nationality	- Willem Vissers	- 'Ziyech plays a crucial role in the football relationship between Morocco and the Netherlands, when it comes to the appeal of the national team for players with two passports', <sup>159</sup>

<sup>154</sup> Willem Vissers, 'Opgeleefd bij AZ na mislukt uitstapje', *de Volkskrant*, March 15, 2007.

<sup>155</sup> Willem Vissers, 'Ik denk voetbal, drink voetbal, eet voetbal', *de Volkskrant*, March 6, 2007.

<sup>156</sup> Vissers, 'Ik denk voetbal, drink voetbal, eet voetbal', *de Volkskrant*, March 6, 2007.

<sup>157</sup> Steven Verseput, 'Marokko eindelijk weer naar WK, na twintig jaar frustratie', *NRC*, November 13, 2017.

<sup>158</sup> Brinkman, 'Meer of minder Marokkanen', *De Telegraaf*, October 31, 2017.

<sup>159</sup> Willem Vissers, 'Marokko-Oranje is niet zomaar een oefenpotje', *de Volkskrant*, May 31, 2017.

Here again the dichotomy that exists, when addressing or discussing the footballers, becomes visible. At first glance, there are not many differences between the ways in which the three soccer players are described apart from each other. The articles about Afellay and Ziyech also place explicit emphasis on their birthplaces, Utrecht and Dronten, which evokes a sense of subversion of their Moroccan nationality. By stating that the Netherlands is their country of birth, and that Morocco is a country with which they have 'a feeling', the journalists create a distance between the players' Dutch and Moroccan nationality, whereby the Dutch nationality is considered to be the first or most important nationality. The assumption is that the birthplace in the Netherlands is named to give the reader the impression that there should be an automatic better connection with the Netherlands.

Another striking difference is that, unlike the quotes from Dries Boussatta, the ones labelled with 'Moroccan' are those of Afellay and Ziyech themselves, in which they indicate that they feel Moroccan or that Morocco is 'their' country. The main difference between the two is that Afellay's quote comes from a piece that praises his performance, his character and his choice to choose the Netherlands. In this sense, Afellay's personal story is used to reinforce a positive image of Dutch-Moroccan footballers.

'There is an existing bias of Moroccans in the Netherlands, but prejudices are unfair. There are plenty of good Moroccans with good jobs, who are perhaps more important to society than I am. I want to be involved in football. I think football, drink football, eat football. When I go home after training, I think: shouldn't I have played that ball like that?'<sup>160</sup>

The case of Ziyech is different. His quote comes from a column by Jacques Brinkman, the piece that can be seen as the reason of this examination into ambiguity and importance of the Dutch press. Here, in contrast to the article about Afellay, the quote is used to substantiate his argument against the use of double nationalities in a national team.

'Up to the age of 21, an athlete has a free choice of which country to play for. Up to and including Young Orange a soccer player or hockey player doesn't have any attachment to a certain team. But once the choice is made, there's no turning back. And dual nationality should not be acceptable to be able to play for the Netherlands'<sup>161</sup>

These examples are two opposites of each other, in which Willem Vissers mostly writes positively in his articles about footballers with a dual nationality, while Jacques Brinkman is

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<sup>160</sup> Vissers, 'Ik denk voetbal, drink voetbal, eet voetbal', *de Volkskrant*, March 6, 2007.

<sup>161</sup> Brinkman, 'Meer of minder Marokkanen?', *De Telegraaf*, October 31, 2017.

very negative about the phenomenon of dual nationality. The issue that arises here is that Afellay and Ziyech are both role models for a group of people who have dual nationality. The main difference is that Afellay, with his dual nationality and choice of the Dutch national team, stands for integration and the example that 'Moroccans' can also be successful in The Netherlands. Being Dutch-Moroccan in Ziyech's case stands for a failed integration and an intolerant attitude of the Netherlands, as a result of which Dutch-Moroccan footballers are increasingly driven into the hands of the Moroccan federation.

Having examined the articles on the nationality and identity of the three players, different patterns in how the footballers are attributed an identity are discovered. Dries Boussatta is generally the former footballer who is now allowed to give his opinion on young Dutch-Moroccan footballers who are faced with the choice. In this role he is portrayed as a footballer who is very critical of contemporary Dutch society in contrast to twenty years ago when he started in the Dutch national team. This critical perspective leads him to blame Dutch society for the fact that more and more footballers are opting for Morocco, just as he would do if he would be faced with the choice now. Ibrahim Afellay is the innocent, shy and hardworking Dutch-Moroccan footballer who puts his family first. In his career he is very passionate and that is why he chooses the Dutch team, because that is better for his success and it offers more guarantee for his future as footballer than the Moroccan team. Hakim Ziyech is the proud Dutch-Moroccan footballer who, due to a lack of interest on the part of the Dutch team, decides to opt for the Moroccan team. This choice is on the one hand described as logical and understandable<sup>162</sup>, on the other as stupid and impulsive, because 'if it doesn't go the way he wants it to go' he chooses for Morocco.<sup>163</sup>

## 5.2. Stance

This section answers the question whether there is a difference in positivity and negativity between the articles about Afellay and Ziyech. The articles about Dries Boussatta are left out because his data does not stand-alone. I have already concluded that his role is to a lesser extent central to the debate and therefore there is no level playing field for comparing Boussatta with the other cases. In order to compare Afellay and Ziyech, only the articles that appear solely within their own dataset have been used. This is chosen because the other articles appear in both datasets meaning I crossed them off against each other, hence preventing a distorted

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<sup>162</sup> Valentijn Driessen, 'Ziyech grote voorbeeld om voor Marokko te kiezen', *De Telegraaf*, August 30, 2018.

<sup>163</sup> Voetbal Inside, 'Johan Derksen snapt niks van keuze van Sofyan Amrabat voor Marokko', <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MUr5PKdvYTs> (02-02-2019).

picture from arising. In tables 7 and 8 the most important information about the articles about Afellay and Ziyech is listed.

Table 7: Information on articles in dataset of Ibrahim Afellay

	Informative	Column	Interview	Subject	Example	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Stage	No stage
NL		X			X		X			X
NL	X				X	X				X
NL		X		X			X			X
MA		X			X		X			X
NL		X			X	X				X
NL		X			X		X			X
MA		X			X		X			X
NL		X			X		X			X
NL		X			X	X				X
NL			X	X			X		X	
NL		X			X		X			X
NL		X			X	X				X
NL		X			X		X			X

Table 8: Information on articles in dataset of Hakim Ziyech

	Informative	Column	Interview	Subject	Example	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Stage	No stage
NL		X		X				X		X
NL			X	X			X			X
NL	X			X		X				X
NL	X				X	X				X
NL		X			X	X				X
NL		X		X			X			X
NL			X	X		X			X	
NL		X		X		X				X
NL		X			X		X			X
NL		X			X	X				X
NL		X			X		X			X
NL		X			X		X			X
NL		X			X		X			X

In total, thirteen articles have been studied for Afellay and fourteen for Ziyech. Two of the articles about Afellay are written by Dutch-Moroccan journalists, Ismaël Dibi<sup>164</sup> and Nordin Ghouddani<sup>165</sup>, in Ziyech's case there is not one Dutch-Moroccan journalist, just a Dutch reporter interviewing Aziz Doufikar.<sup>166</sup> The next three columns indicate whether the article is an informative piece with facts, a column with the journalist's own opinion, or an interview. If the subject box is filled in with a X, this indicates that the footballer in question is the subject of the entire article, the example box indicates that he is mentioned as an example for other

<sup>164</sup> Ismaël Dibi and Bart Jungmann, 'Made in Holland', *de Volkskrant*, May 31, 2008.

<sup>165</sup> Nordin Ghouddani, 'Sofyan Amrabat, kies voor Marokko, maak ons trots', *de Volkskrant*, October 4, 2017.

<sup>166</sup> Nando Boers, 'Ziyech zie ik als mijn zoon', *Trouw*, October 31, 2018.

football players. Neutral, positive and negative reflect the journalist's general stance towards the footballer and stage or no stage indicates whether the footballer himself is speaking or quoted in the article.

In this respect, the tables show that the articles are mainly columns, written by autochthonous Dutch men who say something about Dutch-Moroccan soccer players. About Afellay there is no article with a negative undertone, in Ziyech's case only one article is found having a negative attitude towards the player, the article of Jacques Brinkman. Noteworthy is the difference in 'subject' and 'example' between the two players. Afellay is often referred to as an example, which in turn is in line with the previously observed distribution of articles, in which he appears as a role model and example, especially in the years following his choice. Within the dataset of Ziyech, the distribution is virtually the same, he is the subject six times and he is cited as an example seven times. This confirms that his case is a much discussed one as well as it is an example for others. The articles about Afellay are predominantly positive and also the articles about Ziyech are equally divided between a positive and neutral stance. Neutral indicates that a clear attitude towards the player can't be noted. So, both players are written about in a predominantly positive way. The main difference in this positivity is the context in which the players are described. The journalists who write about Afellay say that he is an example for the 'good' Moroccans and therefore a role model for the integration of Dutch Moroccans in Dutch society:

‘That would really be good for integration, everyone agrees. Guys who have Moroccan parents and a double passport, who are at home raised with Moroccan culture and are convinced Muslim, but who also say: we live in the Netherlands, we feel Dutch, we play football for the Dutch team.’<sup>167</sup>

The positivity towards Afellay can also be extracted from the words used to describe Afellay, words that relate to his character: a slim guy, modest, wise, open-minded, classy, cheeky on the field and polite off the field, good, pious, refreshing, frivolous, daring, shy.

In Ziyech's case, the positive attitude is mainly based on an understanding of his choice for the Moroccan team and his qualities as football player. Often mentioned words to describe Ziyech are: midfielder, football player, has overview, star player, Moroccan footballer. Contrary to Afellay, describing Ziyech is much more related to his football qualities and Dutch-Moroccan origin and therefore the pity that he chose the Moroccan team. Additional,

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<sup>167</sup> Willem Vissers, ‘Voetbal als bindmiddel’, *De Volkskrant*, November 5, 2005.

statements such as those made by Johan Derksen are dismissed by other columnists as ridiculous and outdated:

‘Only Moroccan footballers seem to be different, because they must - and I quote Johan Derksen freely - be very grateful to the Netherlands for ‘the opportunities they have been given in our society’ ... Hakim Ziyech or Nordin Amrabat have not become professional footballers because the Dutch government or the KNVB has arranged that so fantastically for them. They have done that all by themselves, enforced that themselves, achieved that themselves.’<sup>168</sup>

Another important point I would like to make here is that both tables also show that there is actually no room in the printed Dutch press for the footballers to tell their own story. The last column shows that in both article sets about the players only one article contains the player's own words.

### 5.3. Loyalty

This paragraph focuses on the role loyalty takes in in the articles. Apparent is that loyalty is always linked to nationality, without any introduction or explanation given. The link between nationality and the loyalty issue is made automatically, whereby loyalty is seen as a matter of course when having dual nationality. Examples of this can be found in table 9.

*Table 9: Quotations about loyalty*

<b>Mentioned in</b>	<b>Quotation</b>
<b>Dries Boussatta</b>	‘Yet Boussatta, with his brave decision, built a bridge between the Dutch and the second and third generation of Moroccans ... They grew up here, had their football education at top clubs, were able to present themselves at the very highest level and were loyal to the country that gave them all and where they were often born’ <sup>169</sup>
<b>Ibrahim Afellay</b>	‘Top talents such as Ibrahim Afellay, Boulahrouz, Maher and Anwar El Ghazi, opted for Orange. They were guided by their sporting hearts and closed themselves off from the social pressure and loyalty pressure from the Moroccan community.’ <sup>170</sup>
<b>Hakim Ziyech</b>	‘Those emotions are especially strong when it comes to footballers like Hakim Ziyech and Sofyan Amrabat. Then they are called ‘stupid guys’ - Marco van Basten, dixit - and there are doubts about their loyalty to the Netherlands.’ <sup>171</sup>

<sup>168</sup> Sjoerd Mossou, ‘Applaus voor Karim en Hakim’, *AD*, November 15, 2007.

<sup>169</sup> Unknown, ‘Ziyech grote voorbeeld om voor Marokko te kiezen’, *De Telegraaf*, August 30, 2018.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>171</sup> Hassan Bahara, ‘Gemengd applaus voor Nederlandse Leeuwen van de Atlas’, *de Volkskrant*, June 9, 2018.

These different quotes reflect the development of the concept of loyalty within the articles. At Boussatta's, the link is made between his loyalty and the choice of the Dutch national team. It is mentioned that he has been loyal to the country to which he owes his entire career. This choice is described positively and his loyalty towards the Netherlands is not so much questioned, because he played for the Dutch team. Afellay also opted for the Dutch national team and in his case, the term loyalty is associated with a loyalty constraint from the Moroccan society. This gives the term loyalty a negative connotation because it is something he has detached himself from, which in turn is seen as a positive thing because it enabled him to choose the Dutch national team. Looking at the quote related to Ziyech, loyalty is placed in a negative relation to his choice for the Moroccan team. Here, the assumption is that loyalty is questioned differently based on whether the football player chooses the Dutch or Moroccan team. The question remains why loyalty is always doubted. Willem Vissers is again one of the journalists who asks what loyalty exactly is:

‘In these confusing times, what does the loyalty requested, even demanded by many mean? To whom should we be loyal, if we just try to participate in society?’<sup>172</sup>

This perfectly shows the difficulty around the concept of loyalty. If people do not exactly know what is meant by loyalty and if it's used and expressed in many different ways, how could football players be loyal and to who should they be loyal? These are questions that are not easy to answer if they are to answer at all.

#### 5.4. Choice

Finally, this paragraph goes deeper into the reasoning behind the choices made by the Dutch-Moroccan footballers. In the case of Dries Boussatta the reason is clear, as already explained in chapter three, he was not called by the Moroccan team, Frank Rijkaard is the only one who called him. Therefore his choice was easily made. Dries says the following about the fact that he was noticed in the Netherlands and not in Morocco:

‘The scouting and guidance are much better organized now. In my days, boys from the second French division played in the Moroccan team, while the Football Association didn't even know me - as an *Eredivisie* player at AZ -. The technical management was in the hands of a general of the army, you had that kind of crazy stuff back then.’<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Vissers, ‘Hup, Leeuwen van de Atlas’, *de Volkskrant*, November 13, 2017.

<sup>173</sup> Mossou, ‘Marokkanen zijn op alle niveaus smaakmakers’, *AD*, December 27, 2017.

Boussatta mentions the underdevelopment of the Moroccan association and the lack of interest as main reason for his decision to play for the Dutch team. When Boussatta became an international, the Moroccan association was more focused on Moroccan-born and playing footballers, they did not look at European-born footballers with Moroccan origin. At the same time, the Dutch team performed better and the Moroccan culture and origin of Boussatta was much less in question than it is by Dutch-Moroccan players now.

Table 10 shows the most common reasons that are mentioned why the footballers have chosen the Dutch or Moroccan team. The reason 'dumb' has been put in this list to indicate how often their choice for Morocco is considered dumb or stupid.

*Table 10: Reasons mentioned to choose for national team*

<b>Choice</b>	<b>Morocco</b>	<b>The Netherlands</b>
<b>Dumb</b>	11	-
<b>Sportive/rational</b>	16	11
<b>Heart</b>	16	-
<b>Pride</b>	6	-
<b>Social pressure from Morocco</b>	2	-

What this table shows is that, first of all, many more reasons are given to the choice for Morocco than a choice for the Netherlands. A choice for Morocco is associated with a choice from the heart, a choice influenced by pride or pressure from Morocco, a choice made with the head or for sporting reasons. A choice for the Dutch national team is linked to only one reason, namely the sporting reason. However, although this is the only reason given to choosing the Dutch team, it is also the largest category for the Moroccan team. This is because in this sense the reason must be interpreted in a different way. In Afellay's time, a sporting choice for the Netherlands was seen as a choice for a successful career. The Dutch team achieved good results while the Moroccan team was poorly organised. At the same time, Dutch-Moroccan players also opted for the Moroccan team for a sporting reason, namely because they had a better guarantee of more playing time. Players who wouldn't make it in the Netherlands, belonged to the Moroccan top at the time, so a choice for the Moroccan team was also a sporty choice.

Times are changing and a choice for the Moroccan team is now seen as a sporting choice because the team is performing better. The Dutch team does not perform that well, which is also seen as an important reason for players not to choose the Dutch team. In addition to a sporting choice, a choice with the heart is also mentioned as a reason to choose the Moroccan

team. This is based on the fact that many players feel a strong bond with Morocco because of their family ties. However, this does not rule out a connection with The Netherlands.

Afellay's choice is mentioned as an example for the integration of Dutch-Moroccan youth into Dutch society. It is described that despite feeling a bond with Morocco, he still manages to choose the Dutch national team and is therefore a role model for the multicultural society. His choice is seen as sporty in the sense that it is good for his career to choose the Netherlands.

‘Winning the world cup with Khalid Boulahrouz and Ibrahim Afellay, that would be the height of integration. The football pitch is, on the face of it, the arena of a peaceful society.’<sup>174</sup>

‘He was born in the Netherlands, where he was educated and sees perspective: ‘I have had meetings with my family and others close to me. It was a difficult choice.’<sup>175</sup>

In contrast to Afellay, it is noticeable in the articles about Ziyech that his choice is basically always linked to the lack of interest of the KNVB:

‘The fact that Ziyech has rejected the Dutch national team must be blamed on those responsible at the KNVB. The national coaches Danny Blind and Marco van Basten and director Bert van Oostveen.’<sup>176</sup>

The organization at the KNVB together with the polarizing society are the only two reasons mentioned in relation to the choice Ziyech made for Morocco. Here, Ziyech is the role model for Dutch-Moroccan youngsters who are disadvantaged in Dutch society and who are being pushed towards Morocco.

‘There is also less and less reason to choose for the Dutch team. And how big do you think the influence of Hakim Ziyech is in that story? That the best player in the Netherlands chooses Morocco: that impact is huge, you know ... the social debate has been enormously hardened by people like Geert Wilders and Johan Derksen. The way in which they put every Moroccan on the same level, including all those hundreds of thousands of well-intentioned, hardworking people in the Netherlands, touches the Moroccan community in its heart. That game is being played harder, more and more in black and white, full on the lower abdomen. Do you think it's very strange that they feel less Dutch?’<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Vissers, ‘Voetbal als bindmiddel’, *de Volkskrant*, November 5, 2005.

<sup>175</sup> Vissers, ‘Ik denk voetbal, drink voetbal, eet voetbal’, *de Volkskrant*, March 6, 2007.

<sup>176</sup> Valentijn Driessen, ‘Blind regeert over graf heen’, *De Telegraaf*, September 28, 2015.

<sup>177</sup> Mossou, ‘Marokkanen zijn op alle niveau’s de smaakmakers’, *AD*, December 27, 2017.

## 6. Analysis

### 6.1. Discussion

The media are seen as the most important arena of the public debate and it is assumed that social reactions are strongly influenced by meaningfulness processes that take place within this arena. To fill in this arena, the media offer a platform for people who want to raise social issues and convince others of their ideas, whether these evoke negative or positive perceptions.<sup>178</sup> This reflects the degree of importance of research into newspaper articles and that is why this thesis focused on the imaging of Dutch-Moroccan football players in Dutch newspapers. These football players are explicitly chosen as subject for this research because as players of a national team, they are burdened with the task to symbolize the nation, which appeared to be controversial when a player has two nationalities. For this study, newspaper articles on the different players have been studied to see how the prevailing doubts about the loyalty of players with dual nationality are linked to the choice they have to make for which national team they want to play, over the past twenty years. These newspaper articles have been put into datasets and the most common concepts have been found and discussed by means of coding in Atlas.ti. In order to reinforce the findings, some results are provided with quotes from the articles. These quotes have been chosen objectively and I attempted to highlight all the different perspectives of the articles. Even though the choices of quotations are made by my own interpretation and therefore may be biased, the aim was to choose quotes arbitrary and objective thus those that were most representative for the situation. This chapter elaborates on the results of the research in context of the bigger debate, using the secondary literature. The research questions will be answered and the most striking outcomes will be discussed. First, the commonalities and differences between the cases in relation to nationality and identity will be discussed. After that, the difference between the positive and negative attitude of the articles about the players will be examined after which the loyalty of the players is put in perspective.

Firstly, when taking a closer look at the general findings in the first stage of the article examination, it appears that there is no unique title for Dries Boussatta. This means that the case of Dries Boussatta does not stand alone and has been incorporated into the other case studies. This immediately shows the difficulty that comes along with doing case study research. The goal of this thesis was to research Boussatta in comparison to Afellay and Ziyech. The fact that Boussatta has not a stand-alone case tells two things. Firstly, since there are no unique

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<sup>178</sup> Bouabid, 'De Marokkanenpaniek', 84.

articles about him, it indeed is hard to make generalizations from this case about Dutch-Moroccan players.<sup>179</sup> At the same time, this meets the expectation that at the time Dries Boussatta played for the Dutch team, doubts about nationality and loyalty of Moroccan immigrants were not as much part of the public debate as they were in later years. However, it became clear that another search question did yield articles from before 2005. His origin was discussed and mentioned in these articles, so the topic of dual nationality was discussed, but the themes nationality, identity and loyalty became part of the debate after 2005.<sup>180</sup>

## 6.2. Nationality and identity

The need to distinguish nationality and identity is evidenced by the fact that the two are often still inextricably linked and confused. The starting point of this research was that a person's nationality does not necessarily concern an emotional bond with a particular country or state, but that it is a bond based on purely legal obligations.<sup>181</sup> An analogy can therefore be seen between nationality and 'thin citizenship'.<sup>182</sup> The Dutch-Moroccan footballers have been given dual nationality by these legal rules, which they can't renounce unless they give up their Dutch nationality. Identity, on the other hand, goes hand in hand with emotional ties and the feeling of belonging, and emphasizes the idea of 'thick citizenship'. For example, it can happen that someone has a Dutch nationality, but does not feel emotionally involved with the Netherlands. This is a complex issue in which the confusion is quickly created, as is evident from the articles. What I find the most impressive discovery of this research is that the Netherlands has a short history of moderate tolerance towards migrants and people with dual citizenship. Where it was agreed at European level that having dual citizenship should be accepted and that it forms no threat to a country,<sup>183</sup> the Netherlands made its rules on acquiring Dutch nationality stricter. This has developed over the years from stricter, to less strict, to yet stricter rules. This shows how Dutch politics and society has changed and hardened, under the guidance of, among others, Geert Wilders and the PVV.<sup>184</sup> When it is pointed out that a football player has a dual nationality, it is implied that this person can't have an equally good relationship with both

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<sup>179</sup> Almeida, 'Strengths and Limitations of Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods', 377-379.

<sup>180</sup> Dagevos, 'Perspectief op integratie. Over de sociaal-culturele en structurele integratie van etnische minderheden in Nederland', 175-176.

<sup>181</sup> Bauböck, 'National Community, Citizenship and Cultural Diversity', 15.

<sup>182</sup> Bauböck, 'Recombinant citizenship', 3.

<sup>183</sup> Spiro, 'Dual nationality and the meaning of citizenship', 1413.

<sup>184</sup> Dagevos, 'Perspectief op integratie. Over de sociaal-culturele en structurele integratie van etnische minderheden in Nederland', 175-176.

countries. Without explicitly mentioning that, in the opinion of the journalist, one bond should be stronger than the other, they know how to express this clearly in a different way.

‘The message was clear: the footballer Ziyech chose to play for Morocco, the country of his parents, instead of the country where he was born, The Netherlands.’<sup>185</sup>

By referring to Morocco as 'the country of his parents' and referring to the Netherlands as 'his country of birth', this author creates a gap between the two countries, implying that Ziyech should have a stronger bond with the Netherlands because he was born there and knows Morocco only because it's the country of his parents. By consistently pointing out the difference between Moroccan and Dutch nationality in this way, the daily papers widen the gap between the two and create a distance to Moroccan nationality. In this sense, it would be better to speak of a Dutch and Moroccan identity, because several identities next to each other are more accepted and permitted.<sup>186</sup> If articles continue to talk about the players in this way, it can be concluded that having a Dutch national identity is impossible, because a collective identity of the multicultural society has not yet been accepted.<sup>187</sup> As long as the citizens of the Netherlands are not seen as a homogeneous group, a national identity is not possible, in which case it is better to speak of an ethnic identity.<sup>188</sup> Comparing the three cases with each other, the main difference discovered in the way nationality and identity are addressed in the articles, is that in the case of Ziyech the question of nationality is bigger than with Afellay and Boussatta. The difference between Ziyech and Boussatta can be explained from the fact that there wasn't even a debate around the choice of Boussatta concerning dual nationality and loyalty, a finding that is in line with the study of de Hart who stated that the multicultural debate revived since 2000.<sup>189</sup> Ibrahim Afellay is less confronted with problems around his dual nationality, because he chose the Dutch national team and therefore he is a positive role model.

### 6.3. Stance

Contrary to the expectations I had before conducting this study, there is no clear difference in the stance with which the players are reported. Prior to writing this thesis, I was especially aware of the negative statements about the Dutch-Moroccan players who opted for Morocco. Statements like 'they have to choose the country from which they benefit' and 'the Netherlands

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<sup>185</sup> Driessen, 'Blind regeert over graf heen', *De Telegraaf*, September 28, 2015.

<sup>186</sup> Faist and Gerdes, 'Dual citizenship in an age of mobility', 5.

<sup>187</sup> Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, *Identificatie met Nederland*, 197.

<sup>188</sup> Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?', 17.

<sup>189</sup> de Hart, 'Het Probleem van Dubbele Nationaliteit Politieke En Mediadebatten Na de Moord Op Theo van Gogh', 226.

offers them all the opportunities and Morocco is the only country they know from holidays' were not unfamiliar to me. Yet, after a more thorough investigation of the newspaper reports, it appears that these kinds of statements are more the exception than the rule when it comes to talking about the players. This confirms the special role of the media in the public debate. The media have a great deal of influence on which information is shared, with the choice being made to highlight certain perspectives more intensively than others.<sup>190</sup> Reports about young people with Moroccan backgrounds are often in the news in a negative way, because it creates sensation. Sensation provides news, which creates a trend of linking Dutch-Moroccan youths to negative news facts. Because it has been surrounded by negativity for a long time, it is easier to go along with this in the public debate and to confirm that image. This automatically means that the statements of Johan Derksen and Jacques Brinkman are in line with the negativity, wherefore they get attention. Negative attention is reminisced by the public. The fact that there are plenty of articles with a response to these negative statements is less likely to be picked up because it is less sensational within the overall 'Moroccan debate' in the Dutch media. This development can also be derived from the fact that the sensational and negative messages mainly come from the articles of *De Telegraaf* and *AD*. This corresponds to the background of the newspapers, which are valued as high entertainment. The messages of these newspapers also reach a larger audience than, for example, quality newspapers. The reports from *de Volkskrant* of, in particular, Willem Vissers, reach a smaller audience and are aimed at a certain part of the Dutch population, as a result of which positivity about the Dutch-Moroccan soccer players reaches fewer people.<sup>191</sup>

However, all articles live up to the expectation that in today's media the voice of the immigrants themselves is rarely heard. All three players have one article in total in which they are interviewed or quoted. On the other hand, there are a lot of thoughts about what they should feel and there are speculations about why they choose Morocco and not the Netherlands. This creates a one-sided picture of the debate, which is mainly conducted by white men.<sup>192</sup> However, care must be taken to ensure that people with a migrant background or dual citizenship are not portrayed as examples of inadequate integration when they criticise Dutch society.<sup>193</sup> In my opinion, the fact that this is being done can be seen as a reason for the lack of opposition on

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<sup>190</sup> Shadid, 'Moslims in de Media: De Mythe van de Registerende Journalistiek', 175.

<sup>191</sup> Bakker and Scholten, *Communicatiekaart van Nederland*, 14.

<sup>192</sup> Slegers, *In debat over Nederland: Veranderingen in het discours over de Multiculturele Samenleving en Nationale Identiteit*, 68.

<sup>193</sup> Omlo, *Integratie én uit de gratie?*, 130-131.

the part of the migrants. This lack of voice of immigrants has been a shortcoming in the Dutch media for years and shows that there is still much to be achieved in this area.

#### 6.4. Loyalty

Subsequently, I want to discuss how the concept of loyalty is addressed in the articles. Constantly, there is a discussion about the doubt that exists about the loyalty of the players. Are the players loyal to the Netherlands when they are born here, educated in the Netherlands and then finally choose Morocco? This question can be answered in many ways and it has to be accepted that there will never be an unambiguous answer to it. The issue remains, why so much is demanded of the loyalty of football players. Loyalty is treated as a one-sided facet in the articles, while loyalties can be multifaceted and interwoven, just like identity. Precisely because there are different descriptions of loyalties and loyalty must be seen as something that happens on different levels, several loyalties can coexist as well.<sup>194</sup> However, this is completely ignored in the articles, the reasoning is only based on the question whether they are loyal to the Netherlands. This also appears in the following quotations:

‘Boussatta: As if, after attending school in the Netherlands, I was only allowed to work for Albert Heijn, and not for Tesco. The choice for a country, or the country with which you feel the most connected, is open to everyone. But many people find it difficult to accept that.’<sup>195</sup>

‘As well as that you - as a successful bank director or gym teacher or confectioner - do not necessarily owe thanks or eternal loyalty to the Kingdom of the Netherlands, or to all Dutch people together, or to a country where you used to go to school.’<sup>196</sup>

However, what is not taken into account in these quotes is that the questioned loyalty in the quotes above is different from that of footballers who have to choose between national teams. The loyalty of the players in this case is visible at a national level because they represent the country. An employee of Tesco is not a visible representative of a country at national level and could therefore be seen as less important. Spiro argues that double citizenship has never been a proven threat to loyalty to both states, because he argues that choosing between two nationalities is similar to choosing which parent someone loves the most, which is impossible. Therefore, there is no principle to require that primary loyalty be granted to one nationality over the other.<sup>197</sup> The difference with Dutch-Moroccan footballers, however, is that FIFA rules

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<sup>194</sup> Bosniak, ‘Citizenship denationalized’, 450.

<sup>195</sup> Mossou, ‘Marokkanen zijn op alle niveaus de smaakmakers’, *AD*, December 27, 2017.

<sup>196</sup> Mossou, ‘Applaus voor Karim en Hakim’, *AD*, November 15, 2017.

<sup>197</sup> Peter J. Spiro, *Beyond citizenship* (New York 2008), 124.

require them to place their one (football) nationality before their other (football) nationality. This makes it easier, for columnists like Brinkman, to portray the choice for Morocco, while they are educated here, as disloyalty towards the Netherlands. However, Betty de Hart argues against this perspective of Brinkman, among others, that this is a traditional approach to loyalties in which loyalty to the Netherlands is questioned, while she believes that modern democracies bring about a wide range of loyalties, for example with regard to the region, or the employer, so that loyalty is not indivisible. This means that, in her opinion, the footballers also have a divisible loyalty, which is what is attempted to argue in these quotes.<sup>198</sup> This difference makes it difficult to compare loyalties. I stick to De Hart's opinion that loyalties can coexist on different levels, so that they don't have to be compared but, on the contrary, complement each other.

Besides the visibility of the football players, the degree of doubt of loyalty also depends on the background of the players. This research has shown that the Dutch-Moroccan society is the largest group that is discussed when it comes to double nationalities. In Dutch politics, it is mainly about the attitude towards Muslim migrants; they are seen as the largest problem group. More recently, not just the right-wing politicians advocate the rejection core values of the Netherlands when accepting Muslim migrants.<sup>199</sup> The division between left and right politicians becomes less clear which makes it even harder for these migrants to feel tolerated in Dutch society. The fear of lacking loyalty is key of the intolerance and characteristic for the stance of Dutch society towards people with dual nationality.<sup>200</sup> The difference in the conceptual approach in the articles however is that loyalty in the case of Afellay is questioned as something that is demanded by the Moroccan society, whereby his loyalty towards the Netherlands is not doubted. In the situation of Ziyech, his loyalty towards the Netherlands is doubted by some journalists, indicating that these journalist do not agree with the possibility of having multiple loyalties just like having multiple identities and nationalities.<sup>201</sup> Someone's loyalty to a group is determinant to the matter of group identification, meaning the strength of their social identity associated with that group. Even though only circumstantial evidence suggests that emotional to a social group can survive the attractiveness of leaving the group for a better or higher group, a constant doubt of the players' loyalty in public media might increase

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<sup>198</sup> de Hart, 'Het probleem van dubbele nationaliteit. Politieke en mediadebatten na de moord op Theo van Gogh', 224.

<sup>199</sup> Lucassen, 'Peeling an onion: the "refugee crisis" from a historical perspective', 384.

<sup>200</sup> de Hart, *Een tweede paspoort. Dubbele nationaliteit in de Verenigde Staten, Duitsland en Nederland*, 236.

<sup>201</sup> Spiro, 'Dual citizenship as human right', 112.

their willingness to leave their Dutch identity – as social group –.<sup>202</sup> The undermining of the loyalty of people with dual citizenship, which is also happening in the case of footballers, can indeed make them feel less inclined to come out of the country that questions their loyalty.<sup>203</sup>

Dries Boussatta confirms this idea:

‘In 1998, Dries Boussatta was the first footballer of Moroccan descent in the Dutch national team. In *Andere Tijden Sport* he looked back on his career last June. "Now I would choose Morocco", was his bitter conclusion. "That's because of today's society. No matter how hard you try to integrate, in the end you will never feel the same as a real Dutchman."<sup>204</sup>

In relation to the general intolerant attitude of Dutch society towards people with dual citizenship, it can be concluded that this attitude is also propagated in the newspapers. There are open doubts about their loyalty and in the articles, too, a link is made between their nationality and lack of loyalty, without there being any evidence that these players would not be loyal to the Netherlands.<sup>205</sup> The media account for a place for discussion, which means that the doubts on loyalty are contested, but negativity on the subject is nourished by the current polarizing politics. This does however show that media are not at the service of politics but mainly serve as a space for public discussion.

## 6.5. Choice

Especially when looking at how the choice of football players is argued, there are a few things that stand out. The choice for the Netherlands is merely described as a rational or sporty choice which is good for a football career, while a choice for Morocco is also attributed to the fact that it is made on the basis of emotion and feelings, and that it is a dumb choice because it would not benefit the player's football career. In this way, a negative link is made between Morocco and the feeling that someone has. A choice for the Netherlands is always seen as a 'smart' and 'grateful' decision. Here too, however, it is mainly the journalists themselves who speculate on the grounds on which the footballers make their choice.

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<sup>202</sup> Van Vugt and Hart, 'Social identity as social glue: the origins of group loyalty', 587.

<sup>203</sup> Mügge, 'Dual nationality and Transnational Politics', 5.

<sup>204</sup> Unknown, 'Kiezen tussen trouw en trots', *De Telegraaf* August 30, 2018.

<sup>205</sup> Spiro, 'Dual citizenship as human right', 115.

## 7. Post-game

### 7.1. Conclusion

In this section, the research question will be answered. The previous chapter provided the findings of the results of coding the data, put in context of the secondary literature about dual nationality, identity and loyalty. The main differences between the three cases are now explained. First of all, the fact that the reporting on these related concepts did not start until 2005 says that the debate before that time was not focused on the players in relation to their nationality and loyalty. This explains that Dries Boussatta's choice in 1998 was not discussed in terms of his dual nationality and dual loyalty. His role in the articles is that of a role model who has dual nationality and chose the Dutch team. Next to this, he is addressed as a Dutch-Moroccan footballer that criticises the Dutch society. Consequently, the focus of this research converted to a research on the similarities and differences between Afellay and Ziyech, where Afellay chose the Dutch team and Ziyech the Moroccan team. It was noticeable that the general attitude of the journalists towards both players was positive, whereas with Ziyech there was just one negative article. Though, the positivity and negativity in the context of the articles about Hakim Ziyech are very different from the context of the articles about Ibrahim Afellay. A player who chooses the Dutch national team is considered more as 'one of us' while at the same time in the articles about Ziyech some distance is created between him and the Dutch society. This distance can be felt because there is always talk about the understanding that people have that he chooses Morocco.

In conclusion of this thesis, the reporting about the football players has changed and has become more intense over the last twenty years. Dual nationality is considered to be problematic in the case of football players who choose to play for Morocco whereby their loyalty towards the Netherlands is questioned. There is resistance to the possibility of having dual loyalties bound to their dual nationalities. In my opinion, this stance towards loyalty and nationality can only be changed if the Dutch public debate recognizes that having multiple nationalities must be tolerated and having multiple loyalties is possible, like Betty de Hart and Peter J. Spiro argue. They are in favour of dual nationality and object to opponents that modern democracies, in which they argue dual nationalities should be tolerated, bring about a wide range of loyalties, for example towards the region, or the employer. These are multiple loyalties held by the same person, so that loyalty is not indivisible.<sup>206</sup> This can be applied to footballers,

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<sup>206</sup> de Hart, 'Het probleem van dubbele nationaliteit. Politieke en mediadebatten na de moord op Theo van Gogh', 224.  
Spiro, 'Dual citizenship as human right', 115.

because their choice for a particular national team, does not exclude their loyalty to the other country. It is a different kind of loyalty, where the player can be loyal to his life in the Netherlands, while at the same time being loyal to his team in Morocco. In this way they are loyal to their own upbringing in the Netherlands, but also to their family and origins.

However, the Dutch politics and society are polarizing, instead of becoming tolerant towards migrants and people with dual nationality.<sup>207</sup> This is also evident from the articles, which satisfy the image that the integration debate is more intense from 2004 onwards, when the integration debate shifts to a (Dutch) identity debate. The soccer players also feel this, and attempts are made to make a counter-argument. Newspapers are, however dominated by white male journalists. This includes the dominant authors in my research, Willem Vissers and Jacques Brinkman, as a result of which the migrant perspective in the newspapers is given a smaller chance. When there is more diversity within journalists writing on this subject, there will also be a different view on the issue. This in turn will lead to new perspectives and new insights, an area in which the newspapers can still develop. In addition, it is especially the most sensational messages that reach the biggest audience, which therefore receive the most attention and attract the most attention.

In 2007 already, the WRR gave the advice to adapt more to the heterogeneity of Dutch society. Although this council advises the Dutch politics, we have seen that in later years the attitude towards the multicultural society hasn't become more tolerant. This research confirms that the media are not equal to politics in this respect, pointing out a distinction between the public and political debate. Even though the integration debate has gotten more attention in the media, the stances in the articles about Ziyech and Afellay are rather contrary to the political attitude, and more positive than negative articles are written about the players. This can be explained by the fact that there is so little diversity within the journalists, which means that the attitudes within the articles do not differ much from each other, because they are written by the same person expressing a certain attitude. This positivity indicates that the journalists try to show different perspectives on the Dutch-Moroccan players, but that it is hard to really make a difference in the overall Dutch society's intolerant stance when politics is persevering.<sup>208</sup> This research has thus contributed to what scholars like Spiro, de Hart and Bauböck are trying to achieve, convincing that there are no visible threats from people with double nationalities,

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<sup>207</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>208</sup> Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, *Identificatie met Nederland*, 198.

meaning that it is not yet proven that a state's sovereignty is weakened by people with dual nationality, and therefore this must be accepted. While since 1997 in Europe dual citizenship is predominantly tolerated, the Dutch politics place such an emphasis on Dutch identity and the dangers of integration for this society, expressing this intolerant attitude making it almost impossible to accept that Dutch society is no longer a homogeneous group, but a multicultural grouping of different people.<sup>209</sup> An attempt to emphasize that the Dutch society is indeed multicultural and that needs acceptance, is being made in the media by journalists like Willem Vissers who express their positive attitude towards dual nationalities and loyalties. They bring this image to the attention of the public, but under a prevailing polarising political system, it is difficult to shine a different light on the subject. This also means that the media is actually a place where norms and values are created, but also a place where ideas can be propagated, without the ideas getting equal attention.

## 7.2. Suggestions for further research

This research has focused on the qualitative side of newspaper research. The study focused on the concepts and word choices that emerged from the articles. It should be noted that this study was limited to examining only these cases and to including only the daily papers of the study. Further research on this theme could mean that other Dutch media are also investigated. Other types of media, such as TV programmes, talk shows, documentaries and radio broadcasts could also be investigated. Prior to this thesis, the intention was to include other media in the research, but at the time of doing this research, it turned out that there was too little room for including other media. Visual media need to be researched and approached in a completely different way than newspapers and often have more actors who play a role. However, these types of media could provide different insights on the debate, because there's more variation on how the topic is addressed and more opportunity for people with ethnic backgrounds to share their perspective. This would be a reaction to the studies of Slegers and Omlo who claim that the migrants do not share their own perspective in the scientific literature. TV programmes such as *De Nieuwe Maan* and other talk shows often invite people with different opinions on a subject, so that there will be a discussion about it. This type of research would therefore meet the demand for more views from the migrant perspective. In addition, it is also an opportunity to conduct interviews among the footballers themselves, which in turn shows a different perspective on the issue.

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<sup>209</sup> *Ibidem*, 197.

Additionally, this research could be carried out in the same way, but with different cases. The results show that the cases from this study often served as examples or were placed in a larger context. Because the discussion is so topical and because more and more footballers are choosing the Moroccan team, it is interesting to focus only on this side of the story. In the articles, Noussair Mazraoui, Oussama Idrissi and Sofyan Amrabat, among others, were discussed. It has become clear that they are currently the focus of the debate, which makes it seem relevant to investigate and compare these matters as well. Conducting a case study research on these players will provide an additional and more in-depth view on this study by focusing on the most recent players who chose Morocco. In this case, there would be room to research the Moroccan side of the issue as well.

It would be even more interesting if this qualitative part could also be further substantiated if the same articles were examined in a quantitative way, systematically measuring the number of words and concepts. In this way, it is shown whether there is actually a significant difference between and within the cases, instead of relying on the researcher's perspective and choices made in this study. This might deliver new insights, because it is possible that what is determined to be of great importance in this research, might be not significantly important when conducting a quantitative study.

In conclusion, another study that can be linked to this and that highlights a different side, is to measure the effect of the newspaper articles on the public debate. This can be done by interviewing members of both the Dutch and the Dutch-Moroccan communities about their views on the role of newspapers in this debate. Unlike the interview method, a survey could also be conducted with examples of newspaper articles in which the respondents would then have to indicate what they think and feel when they read the articles. In this way, the attitude of the public is really measured in an effective way, which highlights the actual influence of media on society. By doing this, the research conducted in this thesis can be completed by looking at the extent to which the various attitudes are adopted by Dutch society, influencing the public debate. This can not only be conducted within Dutch society, it is also interesting to make a comparison between the debate in the Netherlands and other countries, for example France. It is expected that there will also be a debate about dual nationalities, because there are also other European-Moroccan players playing in the Moroccan national team. In this way, the attitude of the Netherlands towards dual nationalities and migrants is compared, in order to determine whether these countries are more tolerant than the Netherlands and whether the Netherlands is a forerunner in polarisation or not.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A

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- **CHOICE**

**1 Groups:**

CHOICE

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- **Choice: dumb**

Comment: by tesst

| *the choice made is marked dumb*

**1 Groups:**

CHOICE

---

- **Choice: in sporting terms**

Comment: by tesst

| *the choice is made because of sporty aspects: where do I have the most opportunity to play?*

**1 Groups:**

CHOICE

---

- **Choice: of heart**

Comment: by tesst

| *the choice is made by heart*

**1 Groups:**

CHOICE

---

- **Choice: pride**

Comment: by tesst

| *the choice is made out of pride*

**1 Groups:**

CHOICE

---

- **Choice: questionable**

Comment: by tesst

| *there's discussion about on what grounds Dutch-Moroccan make their choice*

# 1 Groups:

CHOICE

- **Choice: rational**

Comment: by tesst  
| *the choice is made rationally*

# 1 Groups:

CHOICE

- **Choice: social pressure from MA**

Comment: by tesst  
| *the choice is made under pressure from Moroccan society*

# 1 Groups:

CHOICE

## Appendix B

