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SEEING THROUGH THE ARCHIVAL PRISM
A History of the Representation of Muslims on Dutch Television

Andrea Meuzelaar

SEEING THROUGH THE ARCHIVAL PRISM

A History of the Representation of Muslims on Dutch Television

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To my dear friend Matthias Mooij
April 15, 1976 – Juli 24, 2014

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Introduction

Introduction

Allah in the Low Lands

I grew up in the late seventies and early eighties in a poor urban neighbourhood in the North of Amsterdam, where I lived in a tall block of apartments inhabited by lower-class Dutch families and immigrant families from Turkey, Morocco and Surinam. Although I had some sort of consciousness that my friend with whom I used to play was Turkish, and in that sense different from me, I never looked upon him as a Muslim. As far back as I can remember, I have never been very aware of the religious identity of the immigrants with which I shared my youth, and I was raised with the values of multiculturalism and anti-racism that were so self-evident in the Netherlands during these years. At the end of the eighties I moved to the North of the Netherlands, and entered a radically new environment. Now living in a middle-class neighbourhood, and attending an independent gymnasium, I became immersed in a sheltered life far away from the multicultural reality in which I grew up. And although the political debates about immigration and integration began to intensify during the nineties, and the liberal politician Frits Bolkestein launched Islam as a political issue, I was still not very conscious of the fact that a large number of immigrants were Muslim, let alone that I imagined that this could ever be conceived of as a problem. My framework of reference was constituted by the discourse of multicultural pluralism, and thus far I believed in the myth of Dutch tolerance. In my perception, the Netherlands was a progressive and tolerant country that lacked any breeding ground for overt racism.

Nowadays, I risk being called naïve or politically correct, and someone who has been blind to the deep divisions in society that were already percolating to the surface during the eighties and the nineties. Another decade has passed, and the country that I remember growing up in no longer exists. The first few years of the new century witnessed the traumatic event of 9/11, the rise and murder of the populist politician Pim Fortuyn (2002), the murder of filmmaker Theo van Gogh by a radical Dutch-Moroccan Muslim (2004), and the rise of the right-wing politician Geert Wilders, whose political program was by and large to counter "Islamization". I suggest that it is not an overstatement to say that during the first decade of the second millennium, the Netherlands drifted into an identity crisis as a result of both immigration and globalization. During the 2000's, issues surrounding integration, the nature of the multicultural society and the place of Muslims in Dutch secular

society have dominated political debate. For many years, these issues had a stranglehold on all parties of the political spectrum. Although the current economic crisis has pushed the issues of immigration, integration and Islam slightly to the margins of debates, they are still issues that are polarized and contested. The hardening of the debate about immigration and the rise of right-wing populism of the 2000's was not a particular Dutch phenomenon, and was also at stake in many other European countries, whilst hostility towards and fear of Islam was (and still is) even a global tendency. However, the speed at which the radical change of the political climate occurred in the Netherlands is quite puzzling. The way the issue of Islam hijacked the political debate in the aftermath of 9/11 and the murder of van Gogh was unsettling and alarming. Wilders' launch of his anti-Islam film *Fitna* (2008) showed that public display of hostility towards Muslims has ceased to be taboo in the Netherlands. Over the course of only a few years, the presence of Allah within our borders had become one of the most contested issues in the public arena. And against all my naïve expectations, during the last decade I witnessed the symbolic transformation of a Turkish friend from my youth into a Muslim.

The political debates about Islam and the place of Muslims in our society were fuelled by an endless array of images provided by television and other media. Often media coverage of Islam advocated a binary opposition of "Dutch" versus "Muslim", and presented particular stereotypes of the Islamic community. Television frequently depicted Islam as monolithic and homogenous, and did not often acknowledge the diversity of the Islamic community in the Netherlands. The tendency to reduce Islam to a handful of generalizations and emblematic representations was certainly not a Dutch phenomenon either. As Islam had increasingly become a globally salient issue, its iconography had developed into a repertoire of archetypical representations. Dutch television often tapped into this global imagery of Islam, and stereotypical images of Muslims circulated daily within the various television channels. Wilders' film *Fitna* – albeit not broadcast on television but only on the Internet – can be considered as a disturbing example of the recent trend to report on Islam from an essentialist point of view and to reduce Islam to a number of cliché images. Wilders has drawn on a vast variety of archival footage, both from the Dutch and foreign contexts, to advocate his message that Islam is an inherently violent religion, and for that reason should be expelled from the Netherlands. Iconic images of 9/11 and other terrorist attacks are juxtaposed with images of hate-preaching imams, demonstrating angry Muslims, and indefinite bloody images of violence against women, children and homosexuals. These images

have been totally ripped out of their original context and their juxtaposition has canalized their meaning to support Wilders' racist message that Muslims are by definition violent. Finally, if *Fitna* made one thing clear to me, it is that the cultural dynamics of the (global) circulation and dissemination of images raises many questions about television's use of images and its role in the creation of visual clichés.

Although the recent political polarization about the issues of immigration, integration and Islam in the Netherlands forms the background of the research I present in this dissertation, I do not enter the political minefield of the debate on integration (*integratiedebat*), and I certainly do not concern myself with the question of whether Muslims are integrated into Dutch society or to what extent they actually should. As a media researcher with a large interest in history, my initial concern of today's television coverage of Muslims can be summarized by two questions: (1) how has television constituted the Muslim as the (political) other?; and (2) how has television created the specific imagery that made Islam so recognizable? Both initial questions have a historical dimension, and it is my contention that a historical perspective can enhance the understanding of the recent cultural dynamics of the harsh stereotyping of Muslims. I am interested in how television has reported on Islam and Muslims in the past, and how this coverage has evolved over the course of fifty years, from the first arrival of Islamic immigrants from Turkey and Morocco in the sixties and onward to the current era. The question of whether television representations of Muslims are false or not is a question I leave aside. The aim of this research is not in the first place to expose misrepresentations, but rather to analyse the history of television discourse of Muslims and Islam, and to study the repertoire of images that has been used to visualize televisual stories about Muslims in the Netherlands. When I started this project and began doing historical research in the Institute of Sound and Vision, the Dutch national audiovisual archive *Beeld en Geluid*, the experience of doing archival research nurtured an interest in archival theory. Finally, this theoretical perspective has helped to refine my objects of research and my initial research questions to the ones I now present.

Objectives and Research Questions

This dissertation traces the history of the representation of Muslims and Islam in the Netherlands through Dutch archived television programs. This historical investigation is based on material from the Institute of Sound and Vision, and takes

as its starting point the collection of television programs and items preserved and stored in this archive in Hilversum. The aim of this dissertation is twofold: to investigate the history of Dutch (public) television coverage of Muslims and Islam, and to analyse how the logic of both the archive and of the medium of television has created an (historically variable) iconography – various repertoires of images and visual clichés – of Muslims and Islam. The point of departure of this research is the idea that the archive of Sound and Vision has a history of its own, that on the one hand mirrors the changing perspectives on Muslims and Islam, and that on the other hand shapes the reuse and circulation of images of Muslims and Islam. The leading notion of this dissertation is the idea that the archive is an active player in media culture; it is my contention that the study of Dutch television history through the very archive that holds this history offers a new perspective on both the changing television discourses of Muslims and Islam, and on the cultural dynamics of the circulation and dissemination of images of Muslims and Islam.

Looking through the lens of the archive is not only a strategy to narrow down the corpus of my research to the programs of Dutch public television that have been preserved by Sound and Vision, it is also a way to deepen our understanding of the transformations of the television discourses of Muslims and Islam and to gain insights into the history of these transformations. For me, in order to answer my research questions, the logical first step is to look at the discursive history of the archive of Sound and Vision itself, for this archive reflects and reproduces the dominant language and values of the time. A focus on the politics of this archive and its practices of collecting provides information about the historical moments of transformation of the television discourses of Muslims and Islam. It is my contention that some answers to my research questions, such as how did the language of television to label Islamic immigrants change over time and when was Islam pushed into the national arena, can in the first place be found in the descriptions of broadcast material that Sound and Vision holds.

Besides, in order to gain a deeper understanding of the televisual logic that rendered Islam so recognizable and visible today, it is productive to analyse television history through an archival lens. The purpose of this particular archive is not only to preserve Dutch television heritage, but also to facilitate the reuse of this heritage for various broadcasting organizations. Television programs frequently recycled archival images to visualize their (hi)stories about Muslims and Islam in the Netherlands. In order to explore how the iconography of Islam has developed and transformed throughout the years, it is fruitful to examine the circulation of archival

images of Islamic immigrants on television and to scrutinize which images have entered the cultural canon. In addition, to fully grasp the historical dimension of the visual repertoires of Islam on television, it is constructive to not only look at the way Dutch television has resorted to its own history to visualize its stories, but to also study when Dutch television has tapped into transnational imagery of Islam. It is my contention that television's reliance on archival sources tells us much about the cultural dynamic that canonizes certain repertoires of images of Muslims and Islam. Since the archiving practices of Sound and Vision are aimed at facilitating the reuse of its holdings, the archive plays an active role in this cultural dynamic. So finally my quest to examine how Dutch television has constituted various repertoires of images of Muslims and Islam and has created visual clichés and stereotypes allows for a line of inquiry that gives central weight to the conceptual parameter of the archive as an active actor in today's media culture.

My theoretical and methodological choice to look at television history through the prism of the archive forces me to move away from more traditional approaches to media history and to move beyond the beaten paths of media historical research. I am interested in broad patterns of television coverage over the lengthy historical period of fifty years. Since my aim is to read television history through the archival lens, the corpus of programs that I examine is determined by the collection itself and by the archiving practices of Sound and Vision. This means that – although I concentrate on news, actuality programs and other non-fiction formats – I do not systematically differentiate between genres or between particular programs of the various broadcasting organizations and – maybe even more controversially – I do not look at commercial television. Because the corpus of this research is not defined by criteria that spring from an institutional- or genre-perspective on television history, the scope of this project might be controversial to those who prefer comparative historical analysis of for example genres or particular programs within distinct historical periods. Certainly this dissertation does not pretend to cover all corners of the complex and extensive history of television coverage of Muslims and Islam. Still, it's my contention that the specific case-studies that I present can contribute to a deeper understanding of how the history of Dutch television representation of Muslims and Islam is connected to the logic of the medium itself and to the logic of the archive that holds the historical broadcast material.

When I invoke the term televisual logic I refer to the recursive nature of the medium and its need to constantly visualize abstract stories. It is my contention that

a focus on television's inclination towards the compulsive repetition of certain topics and stories, and of certain generic images and archival (stock) footage to visualize these stories, is key to understanding the materialization and operation of stereotyped stories and images of Islam and Muslims. Compared to the bulk of literature on media logic and televisuality (such as Caldwell 1995), my usage of the term is thus somewhat narrow. Much has been written on television's particular modes of integrating moving images, sounds, verbal representations, and captions, on its liveness, its multimodality, and its complex temporal effects. With regard to its complex temporal modalities, I am mainly interested in television's capacity to visually juxtapose multiple times, events and places, and in its reliance on archival stock footage. I look at television, quoting Jacques Derrida, as a "sophisticated repetition machine" (1996/2002: 89). While television's modes of integrating sounds and images and television's journalistic conventions have constantly changed, its need to visualize stories and its reliance on archival footage has been a constant factor throughout its history. Finally, it is my assertion that the medium's imprint on the message is to a large extent caused by television's inclination towards compulsive repetition.

When beginning this project I was convinced that it would be counterproductive to set research restrictions in a too early stage. The lack of academic work on Dutch television history and on (the historical dimensions of) Dutch television coverage of Muslims and Islam initially pushed me to explore the archive quite freely, without rigid focal points and presumptions that would distract me from allowing the archival material to speak to me. I wanted to avoid the pitfalls of writing a teleological history and did not want to be guided too much by today's obsessions and concerns regarding Islam. So instead, I took the archive of Sound and Vision as a literal place of departure and assumed that specifications of research questions would emerge in the process of doing actual research. Once it proved to be constructive to allow the archive to also inform my work on a conceptual level, it became obvious how my two aims should be elaborated and given concrete form in distinct case-studies that reverberate together thematically and theoretically, but zoom in on specific research questions and revolve around different aspects of television's coverage and its visualization of Muslims and Islam. In each case-study the weight of the overarching theoretical principle of the archive is distributed differently in order to highlight the different aspects of my two interconnected aims: to study the history of television coverage of Muslims and Islam, and to examine

interactions between televisual and archival logic on the one hand and the emergence of certain visual repertoires of Muslims and Islam on the other.

Mapping the field

In the last decade a large body of academic work on media coverage of Muslims and Islam has developed. Already in the decades before 9/11, international events such as the Iranian revolution (1979), the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the Rushdie affair (1989), and the First Gulf War (1990) lead to an impulse among intellectuals to study the portrayal of Muslims in Western media and to scrutinize the negative images and stereotypes that circulated. This theoretical and empirical scholarship on Western coverage of Islam and the Arab world acquired a renewed urgency after 9/11, and during the last decade in which the polarized rhetoric intensified, an ever-increasing body of studies of the post-9/11 dynamics in Western media coverage of Islam has emerged. In this section, briefly sketching the academic context in which media coverage of Islam has been studied, I position my research within the field and elaborate on its relevance.

Orientalism and the construction of the Other

Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) provides the classical framework for understanding the historical production of knowledge about the Orient in the Western world, and is an almost obligatory reference when taking up the theme of the image of Islam in the West. The publication of his seminal book marked the beginning of a period that has seen a blossoming of interest in the subject of the depiction of Islam in the West, and triggered on-going scholarly debates. Despite the fact that Said's theory of Orientalism deals with the Western construction of the Orient, and not exclusively with Islam, his work is an important starting point for sketching the historical academic context in which research about the image of Islam in the West has emerged.

In *Orientalism* Said bases his argument on the analysis of a wide range of Western academic and literary texts about the Orient (works of painters, writers, historians, linguists, travellers and colonial bureaucrats) and shows how Europe, since the time of European imperialism in the 18th and 19th centuries, has produced a hegemonic ethnocentric discourse of the Orient. His main argument is centred on the idea that European domination took not only political and economic forms, but also a cultural form. Referring to the work of Michel Foucault, Said argues that the

birth of the Orient was the result of a specific nexus of power and knowledge by which the West exercised its control over the East, and he defines Orientalism as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (3) and "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction between 'the Orient' and […] 'the Occident'" (2). So in Said's work, Orientalism is the discourse that produced forms of knowledge of the Orient that were deeply implicated in the operations of power. Said describes a collection of key stereotypes of the Orient and argues that the Orient was often depicted as mysterious, exotic, irrational, backward, uncultured, barbarian, archaic, conservative, erotic, sensual, despotic, and inferior; whereas the West was constructed as inherently and essentially superior. In Said's theory, the effects of the homogenizing and stereotyping of the Orient by the West were certainly not confined to the symbolic realm. The stereotypes served the power interests of the West and were used to manage, consolidate and legitimize its hegemony over the East.

Said's work had a great impact and inspired many academics working in the field of post-colonial and colonial discourse studies to explore new avenues of research. The publication of *Orientalism* incited a heated debate about its arguments and method, and besides being praised for his groundbreaking work, Said was also criticized from across various disciplines A range of critical assessments have pointed at omissions, ambiguities and contradictions in Said's text and methodology (Poole 2002/2009: 29-31). Despite the fact that *Orientalism* is still a vigorously discussed text, it is nonetheless a very influential milestone in the field of cultural studies that has opened up important debates about the construction of the Other in Western contexts and that certainly has a continuing actuality. Said's thesis is applicable to contemporary patterns of representation in the West, and for many researchers who study dominant media representations of the Other, and in particular of Arabs and Muslims, *Orientalism* is a source of inspiration that has never lost its urgency. Numerous intellectuals have taken up Said's ideas and used his thesis to point to the resilience of Orientalist stereotypes and topoi, and to demonstrate that contemporary images have their roots in age-old ideas about Islam and the Arab world.

Islam, Muslims and the Media
Once again, Said is a mandatory reference in any discussion of the research on media representations of Muslims and Islam. With his *Covering Islam* (1981, updated in 1997) – an analysis of US media coverage of Islam in the wake of the Iranian

revolution – Said set a benchmark for research in the field. In this study, he argues that Muslims in media representations are often associated with religious hysteria, militancy, extremism, anti-Western sentiments and terrorism, and that journalists and experts reduce Islam to a handful of generalizations and clichés. The bulk of the literature written after Said's text identify the same pejorative and negative themes associated with Muslims and Islam, and deconstruct the dichotomy between Islam and the West that is created by media and by scholarly publications, such as Samuel Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations and The Remaking of the World Order* (1996). Early studies – dealing with the decades before 9/11– focus on the representation of Islam in global Western mass media, often in response to events such as the Rushdie affair and the Gulf War, and reveal the primary stereotypes and homogenizing discourses of Islam and Muslims (for instance Hafez: 2000; Karim: 1997 and 2003). Also more localized approaches exist that study the representations of Muslims in national contexts (for instance Cottle: 1991 and Poole: 2002, on the representation of Muslims in the British press).

So although fear-laden stereotypes of Islam as violent and a threat to the West were already in circulation before 9/11, more recent scholarship has revealed that the pervasiveness and intensity of these stereotypes were enormously magnified by the events of 9/11, the terrorist attacks perpetrated across the globe, and the War on Terror. Recent research has focused on media treatments of terrorism and the phenomenon of media-generated demonization of Muslims and Islamophobia (for instance Nacos and Torres-Reyna: 2007; Morey and Yaqin: 2011; Gottschalk and Greenberg: 2008; Karim: 2002; Ismael and Rippin: 2010; Farouqui: 2009; Hoskins and O'Loughlin: 2007; Cottle: 2006; Poole and Richardson: 2006; Allen: 2010). Besides these studies of the global and US context, more research of various national and cross-national contexts has emerged (for instance Hafez and Richter: 2009 on German television representations; Saeed: 2007; Richardson 2004; and Petley and Richardson: 2012, on Muslims in the British press; Flood et al: 2012, a cross-national analysis of French, British and Russian television). These studies of media representations of Muslim minorities in the West have argued that the images and discourses relating to Islam and Muslims tend to be negative and hostile, that Muslims tend to be represented as un-Western and Islam as incompatible with Western values, and that these media representations can be considered as contemporary manifestations of Orientalist discourse that maintain the dichotomy of "West" versus "East".

Positioning this study

Despite the wide range of existing studies on the issue of media coverage of Muslims and Islam, there are still some underexposed perspectives and blind spots in the current literature. The proliferation of literature on the representation of Muslims has hardly included systematic historical analysis. Some studies do make historical comparisons, but only cover a rather small amount of time. Besides the fact that the majority of studies so far lack a historical perspective, much research has tended to focus on print media. Besides, also in research that does deal with audiovisual media, the visuality of media discourses of Muslims and Islam tends to be underexposed. My systematic historical analysis adds a further element to the literature on media coverage of Islam, which is distinctive in both the ground that it covers, and the argument it makes. I shortly summarize the academic relevance of this research, and elaborate on the new perspectives it offers to the existing literature.

Firstly, my study responds to the lack of academic research conducted on the topic of Dutch media coverage of Islam. I situate my research in the tradition of the localized approaches to media coverage of Islam, and until now there are few publications that address the Dutch context. Besides Andra Leurdijk's study that addresses television journalism of the multicultural society in the nineties (Leurdijk: 1999), hardly any work has been done on the television representation of minorities in general and Muslims in particular. There are a few publications that do address the issue of minorities in the press (Van Dijk: 1983) and in media in general (Evers and Serkei: 2007; Sterk and Top: 2000), and there are a few articles that draw attention to the negative portrayal of Muslims in the Dutch press and on Dutch television after the Rushdie affair (Haleber: 1989) and after the murder of van Gogh (d'Haenens and Bink: 2007; Shadid: 2005). Recently, a thorough study of the image of Islam in the Netherlands was published –*Van Harem tot Fitna: Beeldvorming van de Islam in Nederland 1848-2010* (Poorthuis and Salemink: 2011) – but this study does not address television representations. So far no systematic analysis of Dutch television coverage of Muslims exists. This study aims to fill that gap.

Secondly, until now there are no publications on television coverage of Islam and Muslim minorities in the West that are the result of a systematic historical examination over such a lengthy period of time. My study is based on systematic and extensive research that runs from the beginning of the post-war labour immigration in the sixties to the recent epoch of anti-immigration sentiments and the War on Terror. It is my contention that a historical perspective on television

coverage of Muslims and Islam can give insight into how the different phases of immigration and settlement of Muslims in the Netherlands correspond to specific televisual narratives and repertoires of (archetypical) images. By turning the spotlight on the historical dimensions of television coverage of Muslims and Islam, and by scrutinizing both the transformations of narratives and imagery, and the repetitive patterns of coverage and the regularly repeated imagery, this study deepens the understanding of the emergence, transformation, resilience and re-appropriation of stereotyped narratives and archetypical representations of Muslims and Islam.

Thirdly, this research introduces a new conceptual parameter to the study of television history. By investigating the history of television coverage of Muslims and Islam through the lens of the archive, I take an unexplored path through television history and develop a new method for television historiography, which can also be relevant for media historians and media theorists who are not necessarily interested in media representations of Islam. The conceptual parameter of the archive as an active player in media culture can add a new type of study to the media studies research agenda, and can stimulate others to pursue a similar approach to media history. This conceptual parameter can also contribute to our understanding of the cultural dynamics of the ubiquity and circulation of images in the modern globalized and digitized media ecology. By using insights derived from archival science, I rethink television historiography and media theory, and reveal how the logic of the medium of television and of the archive put into circulation specific repertoires of images. And by doing so, this study contributes to a better understanding of the operating of visual stereotypes.

Some Key Concepts: Discourse, Cultural Identity and Stereotypes

While I devote the first chapter of this dissertation completely to my main theoretical point of departure, the archive, I here elaborate shortly on some theoretical concepts that figure throughout this study; concepts that are very common and often used loosely in public and scholarly debates, without being defined and explicated. The popularity of the terms discourse, cultural identity and stereotypes stresses the need to clarify how one uses them. In the social sciences and humanities, many different approaches to discourse analysis and to the theorizing of cultural identity and stereotyping exist. By situating this research in the theoretical field, and by briefly explicating the theoretical traditions on which I build, I clarify my conceptual applications of these terms.

Foucauldian archaeology

In this study, I draw on the Foucauldian archaeological paradigm of discourse. In his archaeological writings (I refer mainly to Foucault 1969), Foucault defines discourse as a system of "statements" that constitute the rules that define which expressions are discursively meaningful at particular historical times. An important theoretical premise in Foucault's work is that discourse both actively constitutes the objects of knowledge and the social subject: both are the effect of discursive formations. So Foucault adheres to the social constructionist principle that both knowledge and truth are a discursive construction, and that different regimes of knowledge determine which statements are meaningful and true and which ones are not at specific historical moments. In Foucault's approach, statements are always rare and scarce, since we have in principle an infinite number of ways to formulate statements, but the statements that are produced within a specific domain are rather repetitive. This means that of everything that might have been stated, relatively few things actually are stated. Foucault calls the system of statements the archive. So in Foucault's hands, the archive is the set of rules that make it possible for certain statements but not others to occur at particular historical times and that define what the forms and the limits of the sayable are in certain periods (Foucault 1969 and 1978: 59).

The method to study the rules that determine which statements are accepted as meaningful and true in a particular historical period is what Foucault has coined "archaeology". Archaeology is in Foucault's definition concerned with describing historically variable "discursive formations" – the organized system of statements that have meaning relationally. The task of the archaeologist is to systematically investigate the archive system and describe discourses as "monuments" (1969: 155). What Foucault stresses here, is that archaeology is not an interpretative discipline: "It is nothing more than a rewriting: that is, in the preserved form of exteriority, a regulated transformation of what has already been written. It is not a return to the innermost secret of origin; it is the systematic description of the discourse-object" (1969: 156). So archaeology is in Foucault's conception the description of an archive – the set of rules that define at a given historical period the limits and forms of the sayable – and thus the description of the manifest appearance of discourses: of things actually said.

Although Foucault's scope on discourse is very broad – it covers the totality of discursive practices within a society, and Foucault tends to identify only one knowledge regime in each historical period, and thus leaves little space for a

possible co-existing of competing discourses – I suggest that his insights can be fruitfully employed to analyse archival and television discourse. In this investigation, I am interested in studying archaeologically the discourses of Islam and Muslims that circulate at particular historical times within the specific domains of the archive of Sound and Vision and Dutch public broadcasting. I will provide more methodological details in the chapters that follow, since Foucault's rather abstract theory does not give concrete suggestions for the analysis of empirical data. For now, I adhere to Foucault's overall methodology of archaeology, and aim to identify different historical discursive regimes of Muslims and Islam, and investigate how in these regimes the cultural identity of Muslims is structured.

An anti-essentialist notion of cultural identity

In his well-known work on cultural identity, Stuart Hall opens with an introduction entitled "Who needs Identity?" (Hall and du Gay: 1996). By posing this question, Hall points to the paradoxical development around the concept of identity: on the one hand there has been a discursive explosion around the concept, while on the other hand the concept has been subjected to a severe anti-essentialist critique. Hall maintains that, despite this paradoxical situation, the concept is still both useful and unavoidable: "Identity is such a concept-operating 'under erasure' in the interval between reversal and emergence; an idea which cannot be thought in the old way, but without which certain key questions cannot be thought at all" (1996: 2). Since this study is written against the background of the eruption of public debates about identity in the Netherlands, and since it aims to investigate the construction of Islamic identities by public television, I briefly discuss the anti-essentialist paradigm of cultural identity – as advocated by Hall – which I draw on in this study.

In his work on cultural identity, Hall argues against any conception of identity that thinks of it in terms of a "stable core of the self" (1996: 3) or a "collective or true self hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves' which a people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common" (ibid.). To avoid the essentialist connotations of the word identity, Hall has coined the notion of cultural difference. In his "Who needs identity" he explains this notion as follows:

> Above all (…) identities are constructed through, not outside, difference. This entails the radically disturbing recognition that it is only through the relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what is lacks, to what has been called its *constitutive outside* that the "positive" meaning of any term – and thus its "identity" – can be constructed (ibid.: 4).

Hall maintains that identities are fractured and fragmented, and in a constant process of transformation, never singular, always subject to change, and constituted within discourse and representation: "Precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies" (ibid.). This conception of identity, as multiple and fragmented, as constituted in discourse and through difference, and as subject to historical change, can be found in the work of many other intellectuals working in the field of cultural studies and postcolonial theory, and operates as its dominant paradigm. I will not elaborate on all the variations that exist within this paradigm; it certainly does not describe a single theoretical stance or terminology. What is crucial for me, however, is that this conception of identity is compatible with my Foucauldian approach to the subject as constructed through discursive formations, and that this notion of identity directs attention to issues of representation, and allows me to investigate how public television has constructed and articulated the identity of Muslims.

Clearly, there is a danger that in invoking terms such as "Muslims", "Islam", and "the Dutch", one reinforces the homogeneity and essentialism that these terms connote in today's debates. I am intensely aware that these labels are never mere descriptors, and come laden with ideological baggage and discursive associations. At the same time, these terms are unavoidable, and I will not – for reasons of legibility – place them in quotation marks throughout this study to acknowledge this fact. When I use labels such as "Muslims", "Islam", "Islamic immigrants", "the West", and "the Dutch", I do not refer to stable categories of people or reified notions of religion, but I follow the language that public television has used to tell its stories, and the labels that the archive of Sound and Vision has used to make this broadcast material retrievable. So when I employ these labels, I do so in a critical way, aware of the fact that they often mask the heterogeneity of the people they claim to denote and are frequently used to underpin stereotypes and essentialist ideas about cultural identities.

Stereotypes as form of repetition

Since this study departs from the Foucauldian concept of discourse and from an anti-essentialist notion of cultural identity, it necessarily rejects a notion of the stereotype as a misrepresentation of a given reality. While this study is influenced by the work of Said on the stereotyping of the Orient, Arabs and Muslims, I am aware

that much of the critique of Said's work is levelled at his application of Foucault's discourse theory and at the contradictions in his work that are the result of it. Various researchers have pointed out that Said is caught between a position of seeing Orientalism as a misrepresentation and one that insists that neither the West nor the East have any "ontological stability" (Said, 1987: xvii), and that a consequent application of Foucault would have excluded this dichotomy between distorted and true realities. In this study, I will not declare stereotypes wrong or false, good or bad, and I will not confuse stereotypes with negative images that could be replaced by positive images – if only because certain positive images are stereotypes. Rather, I view the stereotype as systematically implicated in the issue of repetition. It is useful here to briefly sketch the paradigm from which I draw.

In the fields of postcolonial and cultural studies, much work has been done on conceptualizing the stereotype, and several researchers have stressed the repetitious nature of the stereotype. A familiar paradigm for understanding the stereotype is conceptualized by Homi K. Bhabha (1990), who has characterized the colonial stereotype – through a rereading of Said, Frantz Fanon and post-structuralist and psychoanalytic theory – as a "fetishistic mode of representation" (81), that simultaneously articulates fear of and desire for the Other: "The fetish or stereotype gives access to an "identity" which is predicated as much on mastery and pleasure as it is on anxiety and defense, for it is a form of multiple and contradictory belief in its recognition of difference and disavowal of it" (80). Bhabha argues that in the process of stereotyping, that what is supposedly already known must nevertheless compulsively be restated and repeated: "The stereotype […] is a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place' already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated" (66). While the truth of stereotypes can never be proved – Bhabha rejects an epistemology that opposes representation and reality – this lack of proof does not eradicate the compulsive repetition of "the same old stories" (77).

In her *Declining the Stereotype*, Mireille Rosello (1998) takes up the work of Bhabha (and others, such as Roland Barthes and Richar Dyer) and directs attention to the formal structure of stereotypes, to their high degree of what she has coined "iterativity": the memorability, quotability and timelessness of stereotypes. Rosello maintains that stereotyping practices are both the cause and the effect of an alliance between time and memory that develops into a vicious circle: stereotypes are successful because they are memorable, and their memorability is directly linked to their timelessness, which in turn increases their memorability. Rosello contends that

ethnic stereotypes should above all be defined by their high degree of iterativity, and not by their ideological content: "I suggest that the identity of an ethnic stereotype is a very abstract quality, a formal characteristic that we could conceptualize as a level or an intensity rather than as content" (25). She looks upon the stereotype as a form of contamination, and compares the operating of stereotypes with the infection by bacteria of a general statement about groups, that turns this statement into an instantly memorable formula. In the next stage, the descriptive element of the stereotype – the content of the stereotype – appears to be the stereotype itself. However, she maintains, this is yet another "ruse of the stereotyping machine" (37): "Behind the smoke screen of what the stereotype says about a certain ethnic group, the identity and immense resilience of the stereotype resides in its apparently indestructible degree of iterativity" (37). So in Rosello's view, the most dangerous aspect of stereotypes lies above all in their formal structure.

I find Rosello's concept of iterativity useful to understand the repetitive nature of stereotypes. I am very much aware of the problem that, in order to address stereotypes, one is forced to repeat and quote them and thereby activate them. As Rosello phrases it: "I cannot quote stereotypes without acting in their favor" (38). I therefore want to stress that, when I assess stereotypes, I do not imply speaking from a superior position that allows me to casually expose and deconstruct the burdened words and images of the stereotype. Besides, I am fully aware of the risk that, by naming certain images and statement stereotypes, one reconfirms them. The reason why I find the notion of iterativity helpful to understand stereotyping, is that it allows me to direct my attention to the logic of the medium of television and of the archive of Sound and Vision, that causes and promotes the constant repetition of certain formulaic stories and images of Islam and Muslims. After all, I am not only interested in the semantic content of the stories and images that are compulsively repeated by television – in the content of television's "fetishistic" representations – but also in the media mechanisms that underlie the iterations of certain narratives, generic images and archival images. Finally, the concept of iterativity allows me to bridge the fields of postcolonial theory, of the stereotype and media studies. Before I progress to a structural overview of this dissertation, it is instructive to first provide a historical background of the settlement of Muslims in the Netherlands.

Historical Background: A Short History of Islamic Immigration in the Netherlands

The Netherlands first came into contact with Islam as a result of their diplomatic and commercial involvement with the Ottoman Empire and their colonial rule in the Dutch East Indies. However, this contact was indirect and did not have any profound impact on the majority of Dutch society (Rath et al. 2001). As is true for many European countries, it was large-scale immigration that has resulted in a considerable Muslim presence within Dutch borders and that has caused Islam to develop into the largest non-Christian religion in the Netherlands. In this section I sketch the historical background of post-war Islamic immigration in the Netherlands. Although the presence of Muslims in the Netherlands dates from before the Second World War, it was only during the post-war period that the scale of Islamic immigration began to increase rapidly.[1] In the 1950's and early 1960's, small groups of Muslims entered the Netherlands; some were Indonesian and Moluccan Muslims who came as a result of the decolonization of Indonesia, while others were early immigrants from Surinam.[2] However, the emergence of Islam in the Netherlands was – besides this colonial and postcolonial immigration and more recently the influx of asylum seekers – most of all the result of labour immigration from Turkey and Morocco that began in the early 1960's and assumed vast proportions in the decades that followed. Thus, in this short historical overview, I mainly concentrate on the history of Turkish and Moroccan labour immigration and describe Dutch reactions to the growing presence of Muslims within the borders of the Netherlands.[3]

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[1] See Landman (1992: 19-32) for a detailed account of the pre-war settlement of Muslims in the Netherlands. From the end of the 19th century, representatives of the Indonesian elite had come to the Netherlands to study, and later also Indonesians from the working class had arrived and settled in the Netherlands. In 1932, they had founded the first formal Islamic organization.

[2] See Landman (1992: 32-37). Some of the Moluccan soldiers from the Dutch East Indies Armies (KNIL) who arrived in 1951, after Indonesia's independence, were Muslims. And some of the early immigrants from Surinam- only after its independence in 1975 the amount of Surinamese became very substantial- were Muslims. In 1956 the Moluccan Muslims had founded the second official mosque of the Netherlands in their camp near the Frysian village of Balk. The first mosque – the Mubarak mosque in The Hague- had been founded in 1955 by the *Ahmadiyya* movement- a missionary movement that had its origins in British colonial India.

[3] I follow the periodization of Rath et al. (2001) in *Western Europe and its Islam*. The authors argue that the history of the reaction of Dutch society and the Dutch government to the growing Muslim presence can roughly be divided in three periods. Because the scope of this book only reaches to the moment of its publishing in 2001, I want to add a fourth period that set in with the rupture of 9/11 that marked yet another turning point in the Dutch reaction to Muslim presence.

The initial years of Turkish and Moroccan labour immigration: 1960-1983

As the post-war reconstruction efforts of the mid 1950's and the economic expansion of the 1960's had led to shortages of low-skilled workers in various sectors, the Dutch industry started to employ "guest workers" to fill the vacancies. In the beginning, these workers came from Southern European countries such as Italy, Spain, Greece and Yugoslavia, followed a few years later by people from Turkey and Morocco. The first Turkish workers arrived in the beginning of the sixties, and in 1964 the Dutch government entered into an official recruitment agreement with Turkey.[4] Moroccan immigration was set in motion in 1965 and a recruitment agreement followed in 1969. In the beginning, the numbers of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants remained low compared to South Europeans and only climaxed much later (Vermeulen and Penninx, 2000: 6-7). The oil crisis of 1973 marked a turning point in the Dutch economy and its employment situation. The borders were now closed to labour migrants and low-skilled immigrants were massively made redundant. However, the scope of immigration from Turkey and Morocco did not decrease. On the contrary, the number of Turks and Moroccans kept growing, mainly as the result of family reunification that reached its zenith in 1979 and 1980 (ibid: 7). The final years of this period were characterized by a severe economic depression (1979-83) and massive unemployment.

During these initial years, the attitude of the Dutch government was determined by the idea – of both the government and many of the foreign workers themselves – that labour immigration was of a temporary nature. During the 1960's, the government did not implement any structural policy, avoided the term "immigrant", and rather spoke of "guest worker" to stress the temporality of their stay. This view was reflected in the first two policy papers published in 1970 and 1974, the *Memorandum on Foreign Workers* and the *Memorandum in Reply*. The government recognized in these papers the fact that Dutch industry was in structural need of foreign workers, but stated that the Netherlands should nevertheless not be considered an immigration country (Shuster 1999: 183).[5] However, in these years the tension between the fiction of temporality and the reality of an actual long-term presence of immigrants started to increase and contributed to the urgency to

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[4] They came from Germany and Belgium, where the recruitment of Turkish workers had started earlier. Until 1966, large numbers of them came through unofficial channels. See for more details: Vermeulen and Pennix (2000: 154-155).

[5] Despite the fact that already from the early sixties immigration numbers had been higher than emigration numbers. Post-colonial immigrants- Moluccans, Indonesians and Surinamese- were called "*rijksgenoten*" and "*repatrianten*".

formulate a national immigration policy. [6] In 1979, the Advisory Council on Government Policy (WRR) advised the government to acknowledge that the idea of temporariness was not realistic, and published a proposal for a general policy for immigrant minorities entitled *Ethnic Minorities*.[7] This report was a turning point and finally, between 1979 and 1983, a national immigration policy was formulated that was implemented in 1983 and that became known as "minority policy".

During these first two decades, there was no significant awareness that with the arrival of Turkish and Moroccan guest workers a new religion had also entered the Netherlands. The belief in the temporariness of their stay went hand in hand with the idea that Islam was brought to the Netherlands as cultural baggage of the workers that would soon be taken back to their home-countries or would fade away as a result of their assimilation into Dutch society (Sunier and van Kuijeren 2002: 144). During these years there was no concrete policy to facilitate Muslims to maintain their religious identity. Some employers arranged prayer rooms within the business for their Islamic workers, but outside the work environment few things were done.[8] After objections to this void of various pressure groups, the administration of Joop den Uyl began to research the possibility of giving financial support for places of worship and activities during Islamic festivals. In the following period, some facilities were made available: in 1975 the first Turkish mosque was opened in Almelo[9], in 1976 a grant scheme for houses of prayer was announced, and in 1977 the government legalized slaughter according to the Islamic rite (Rath 2001: 29-32). At the same time, the amount of Islamic immigrants was rapidly growing and family reunion took place on a large scale. With the arrival of women and children, religion gained importance in the daily life of the immigrants and Islam became more visible. Religion proved to be an important mobilizing force for Turks and Moroccans and they began to press for recognition of their religion, and began to develop their own institutions by appealing to the freedom of religion that was guaranteed by the Dutch constitution. But still there was no question during these years of Islam being

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[6] The urgency was also caused by the train hijackings of Moluccan youth in the mid-seventies and by the influx of large numbers of Surinamese from 1973 onwards. See: van den Berg-Eldering (1986: 53) and Vermeulen and Penninx (2000: 20).

[7] *Ethnische Minderheden*, WRR, 1979.

[8] The 1970 *Memorandum on Foreign Workers* only mentioned Islam slightly and the related 1974 *Memorandum in Reply* did not devote a single word to religious facilities. See Rath et al (2001: 29)

[9] With financial support from the government in accordance with the Church Building Subsidy Act. See Rath et al (2001: 32)

integrated among the Dutch "pillars".[10] And although the 1979 WRR report *Ethnic Minorities* was a turning point in the attitude of the government, the breakthrough of the institutionalization of Islam only came in the eighties.

"Minority policy" and the gradual institutionalization of Islam: 1983- 1989
The implementation of the national immigrant policy in 1983, under the heading of "minority policy", was the official recognition that the Netherlands had become an immigration country and that the guest workers that had settled here in the sixties and seventies were to stay. The minority policy was directed at a number of target groups which were considered to be in danger of becoming marginalized; among these were the guest workers, the Moluccans, the Surinamese, the Antilleans, refugees and asylum seekers. The goal of the minority policy was to prevent and fight the process of minority formation, and to realize equal participation in the areas of labour, education and housing (Vermeulen en Penninx, 2000: 20). The formula "integration with the preservation of identity" (*integratie met behoud van eigen identiteit*) summarized the official policy concerning the position of ethnic minorities in society. The emancipation of these groups had to be supported by granting them the right to live according to their own backgrounds. So the minority policy was focused on fighting the deprivation of minorities and promoting a tolerant pluralism. The legal status of immigrants was consolidated, and in 1985 immigrants who had (legally) resided here for more than five years were granted active and passive rights to vote in municipal elections. And although the objective was to limit immigration by a restrictive admission policy, the immigration number of Moroccans and Turks continued to rise as a result of family reunion and moreover of marriage immigration (ibid: 7). During this same period, unemployment continued to rise drastically due the deep economic crisis.

As cultural background had now become a relevant factor in integration politics, the climate became favourable for the growth of Islamic organizations; they were considered to function as bridges between individuals and society and they were recognized as potential partners in the implementation of the minority policy (Sunier and van Kuijeren 2002: 148) Since religious diversity – of all cultural diversity

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[10] The Dutch church-state model - pillarization (*verzuiling*)- shaped Dutch society and its political landscape from the 1920s until the 1960s. During these years, civil society consisted of a Catholic and a Protestant pillar, and a Socialist movement and a Liberal sphere. These ideological blocks determined the political relations and fragmented the Dutch population. The pillars ran through all classes. Each pillar had their own political parties, trade unions, schools, universities, media and other associations. According to Marcel Maussen, pillarization did not play a crucial role in shaping the development of Islam in the Netherlands. See: Maussen (2012).

existing in the Netherlands – was traditionally most institutionalized in the past in the Dutch system of pillarization, Islamic immigrants started to make use of the principles of this system (or what was left of it).[11] In 1986, the Dutch Muslim Broadcasting Service became part of the subsidized pillarized broadcasting system. And in 1988, the first Islamic primary schools were founded (Rath et al. 2001: 82-84). So gradually, Islam became institutionalized.

During these years, Muslim presence began to attract notice and several political debates about *halal* slaughter and the headscarf took place (ibid: 59-61). The right-extremist Centre Party had discovered the Islamic identity of immigrants and presented it as opposed to Dutch culture (Van Koningsveld and Shadid 1989: 135-39). But despite this, anti-foreigner and anti-Muslim sentiments were not widespread. On the contrary, a broad movement against discrimination and racism emerged and all political parties took a clear stance against the Centre Party, particularly after it won 9 per cent of the votes in a local election in the town of Almere in 1983 (Vermeulen en Penninx 2000: 18). Towards the end of the eighties, the lenient attitude of the government towards the preservation of cultural identities of immigrants came under pressure. In 1989, another WRR report stated that the integration of minorities was bound to fail, partly due to the government policy that was too much focused on "integration with the preservation of identity". This WRR report lead to a new immigration policy, which was yet another turning point in the government's attitude towards immigrants.

New policies of integration and the hardening of the Dutch attitude: 1989-2001
The 1989 WRR report *Allochtonenbeleid* stated that the integration of *allochtonen* had not been successful.[12] It therefore recommended that the government should give more emphasis to integration through work and education and to develop settlement programs for newly arrived immigrants (Vermeulen and Penninx 2000: 21). These recommendations were incorporated into the new government policy. The government started to demand more participation and integration from minorities, and started to address them as individuals instead as groups. In what Baukje Prins (2000) coined the "new realism" of the nineties, integration became the central

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[11] Although Dutch society had de-pillarized since the sixties, the Dutch school system and public broadcasting persisted to be pillarized.

[12] The word "*allochtoon*" had been coined in 1971 by the sociologist Hilda Verweij-Jonker. Baukje Prins argues that the replacement of the term ethnic minorities by *allochtonen* had an important meaning: the word ethnic minorities stresses the group/ the collective, while the word *allochtoon* stresses the individual and individual responsibility. See Prins (2000: 12-13).

concept of the government's policy, and its focus shifted towards the assimilation of immigrants to Dutch standards. Despite the fact that the new integration policy wanted to move away from the "softness" of the eighties, and despite the shift in focus from individual to group, and from welfare to the labour market, the main objective of the policy remained the same as in the eighties: to improve the weak socio-economic position of ethnic minorities (Vermeulen en Penninx 2000: 4). In 1998, the government installed settlement programs (*inburgeringsprogramma's*) for newcomers. Newcomers had to sign a contract with the Dutch government and were forced to learn the Dutch language and to become familiar with the history and the values of Dutch society. Again, integration was the main aim of these settlement programs.

In this period, the public and political debate on immigration hardened. Increasingly more Dutch thought there were too many foreigners in the Netherlands and their tolerance began to decline. Besides, (international) events such as the Rushdie affair in 1989 and the Gulf War in 1990 aroused anti-Islamic sentiments. Suddenly large sections of Dutch society realized that a significant group of Muslims was living among them and this generated a fundamental debate about the place of Islam in the Netherlands (Rath et al 2001: 37).[13] Over the course of the nineties, Islam was increasingly conceived of as a problem. In 1991, conservative liberal politician Bolkestein took the lead in the promotion of a hostile attitude towards Islam. He stated that the "backward" Muslim culture was a threat to European civilization and he extended this fear to Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands. According to Bolkestein, Islam was not compatible with European liberal values such as freedom of speech, the separation of church and state and tolerance (Moors 2007: 77). A few years later, the liberal politician Fortuyn published a book called *Against the Islamization of our Culture*. He also called Islam a backward culture and perceived Islam as a threat to Dutch identity (van Nieuwkerk 2004: 232). Finally, in 2000, the prominent social democrat Paul Scheffer published the article "The Multicultural Drama" (*NRC Handelsblad*, 29 January), in which he declared the multicultural society bankrupt, and in which he stated that integration had failed. He considered Islam as an important reason for this failure.

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[13] One of the results of the Rushdie affair in the Netherlands was the foundation of the first national Islamic organization- *Islamitisch Landelijk Comité*- that publicly repudiated and condemned Khomeini's fatwa. See Sunier (1995: 189).

The assumed failure of integration and the Dutch "Islam debate": 2001- 2010

At the beginning of the new millennium, a range of extreme events shook up and seriously disturbed the country and the debate on integration and multiculturalism became extremely polarised in these years and began to centre on the issue of Islam. The Al Qaeda attacks of 9/11 (2001) pushed the topics of Islam and multiculturalism to the core of Western European politics, and fuelled a global fear of Islamic terrorism. Particular traumatic events within Dutch borders – the murders of Fortuyn (2002) and van Gogh (2004) – activated and aggravated the negative perceptions of multiculturalism and Muslims, which had already surfaced in the nineties. Scheffer's article hit a nerve, and various politicians and opinion makers began to openly challenge multiculturalism. The rise of the populist politician Fortuyn, who made harsh statements about the defeat of multiculturalism and the "Islamization" of Dutch society, caused much confusion within the political elite, who displayed uncertainty about how to react adequately. In 2003, amid the political turmoil after the murder of Fortuyn by an extreme leftist, a new official government policy was introduced – the Integration Policy New Style – that completely revolved around encouraging common citizenship based on common norms and values (Buijs 2009: 428). In 2003 and 2004, a special parliamentary commission (*commissie-Blok*) investigated Dutch integration politics and concluded, against the current, that there had been considerable successes in many domains and that integration had at least partly succeeded. But despite these conclusions, the image of total failure of integration prevailed and the idea that multicultural policy had become a multicultural drama predominated in these years (Buijs 2009: 427).[14]

In this decade, the debate on integration focused almost entirely on Muslims and Islam. In particular after the murder of van Gogh by an extremist Dutch Moroccan on the 2nd of November 2004, "the Islam debate" erupted in full force. Van Gogh was murdered for directing the film *Submission* (2004), that was written by the liberal MP and outspoken proponent of Muslim women's rights, Ayaan Hirsi Ali. The film was a critique of the position of women in Islam, and it depicted the nude body of a young woman, wearing a transparent veil, with texts from the Quran written on her naked skin. *Submission* caused great controversy, Hirsi Ali was forced into hiding, and the murder of van Gogh which followed caused severe panic and set off a series of reactions, such as violations of Islamic schools and mosques (Eyerman 2008: 1). The murderer, Mohammed B., turned out to be a member of a

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[14] See for a more detailed overview of the debate on integration and of the active players in this debate, in particular of the "integration pessimists": Lucassen and Lucassen (2011).

group of radicalized Dutch Muslims, called the *Hofstadgroep*. Consequently, the country was confronted with the new phenomenon of the homegrown terrorist (Buijs 2009: 422). In the years that followed, the liberal politician Wilders hijacked the political debates on integration and Islam with his fight against the "Islamization" of the Netherlands, and with his many provocations, of which his film *Fitna* was most notorious. The Dutch Islam debate escalated, its tone became pernicious, and the debate was often framed as a war of civilizations. Islam became associated with backwardness and considered inherently incompatible with the core values of Dutch society that were imagined as rooted in the tenets of the Enlightenment. Finally, the debates on integration, Islam and the Dutch cultural identity reflected the severe confusion that had taken hold of the country during this decade.[15]

Outline of the Dissertation

Chapter 1 introduces the theoretical body of work on the archive that has informed this study. I conceptualize an epistemology of the archive, inspired by the philosophy of Michel Foucault, Jaques Derrida and by the work of various archival researchers. I investigate the stakes of the "archival turn" (Ann Laura Stoler 2002) that took place in the humanities and social sciences. I examine the current concerns with the politics of the archive and with the relationship between the archive and public memory, and focus more specifically on the audiovisual archive, and question the status of the archive in our current visual and digital culture. This chapter provides the theoretical framework that informed my research in the archive of Sound and Vision and that has guided my analysis of its collection of archival material of Muslims and Islam in the Netherlands. Finally, this chapter indicates precisely how I look at my object of research through the prism of the archive.

Chapter 2 presents a general overview of the history of television coverage of Islam and Muslims on Dutch public television through the scope of the archiving practices of Sound and Vision. I first provide a short biography of the archive of Sound and Vision and describe its selection and retention policies throughout the years, I discuss the practice of archival description, and show that Sound and Vision's archiving practices spring from its function as a company archive for various broadcasting organizations, and largely result from the archive's task to facilitate

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[15] See for extensive analyses of the recent history of the Netherlands and of the causes and consequences of traumatic events such as the murder of van Gogh: Buruma (2006), Sniderman and Hagendoorn (2007), Lechner (2008), Eyerman (2008).

reuse for these organizations. This results in an elaboration of the method that I use to navigate television history. From there, I trace the programs and items that have been tagged with the keywords "Islam" and "Muslims" through five decades of television history. I identify the frequencies of coverage, thematic patterns of coverage, and (recurrent) images used to illustrate the stories. This chapter reveals what stories and repertoires of images of Muslims and Islam television has perpetuated throughout five decades.

Chapter 3 provides an analysis of the television coverage of the rituals of Islam. Since the recurrent nature of religious rituals goes hand in hand with continual and repeated television coverage of these rituals, a focus on the coverage of these rituals shows how Dutch public television has framed the encounter between Muslims and Dutch society throughout five decades. I first sketch the conceptual paradigm of religion and rituals from which I draw, and then account for television's fascination for these rituals and for the cyclically recurring coverage of these rituals. Thereafter, I present two case-studies: in the first part of the chapter I trace the television coverage of Ramadan and the Festival of Fast-Breaking; and in the second part I trace the coverage of the Festival of Sacrifice and of *halal* slaughter. I investigate the programs and items on the level of their themes and frameworks of reference, and on the level of their visual components.

Chapter 4 presents an analysis of two iterating archival images: images from an episode of *Televizier* (1969) about the recruitment of Moroccan guest workers, and images of demonstrating Muslims during the Rushdie affair (1989) in the Netherlands. This chapter departs from the idea that the archive of Sound and Vision is an enormous reservoir of images that are constantly available for reuse, and it examines how two sequences of images have been canonized by television's constant repetition and become part of cultural memory. Both images have been recycled frequently and have often been employed as visual illustrations of crucial moments in the history of Muslim presence in the Netherlands. I first sketch the constructivist paradigm of cultural memory which I draw from, and further theorize the recursivity of the medium of television. Then I present two case studies: in the first part of the chapter I analyze the case of the images of the recruitments and in the second part I turn towards the case of the images of the Rushdie affair. I investigate how these images have been re-contextualized over and over again, I examine what stories and images they have been attached to at different historical moments, and I scrutinize how television's activations of these archival images has retrospectively reframed the past.

Finally, the Coda provides a final case-study of the three part television series *Land of Promise* (2014), that centres on post-war European immigration history and that has been constructed out of archival material from Sound and Vision and several other European archives. Through an analysis of this series, I further reflect on the televisual logic of compiling stories from archival material. What archival footage has the series selected for circulation and what (hi)stories are being told by the juxtaposition of archival footage? How is the past articulated through its selection of archival footage? At the expense of what other images? Finally, in the coda I recapitulate some of the central issues that this dissertation revolves around, reflect on the televisual logic of compiling stories from archival material, and raise some questions for further research.

CHAPTER 1
The Archive is Alive. Seeing through the Archival Prism

CHAPTER 1

The Archive is Alive. Seeing through the Archival Prism

> The status and the power of the archive derive from this entanglement of building and documents.   The archive has neither status nor power without an architectural dimension, which encompasses the physical space of the site of the building, its motifs and columns, the arrangement of the rooms, the organization of the 'files', the labyrinth of corridors, and that degree of discipline, half-light and austerity that gives the place something of the nature of a temple and a cemetery [...].
>
> Achille Mbembe (2002: 19)

Throughout the evening of 1 December 2006, the Netherlands Institute of Sound and Vision in Hilversum celebrated the opening of its new building and museum named The Experience. In attendance were an array of prominent Dutch citizens and dignitaries. Furthermore, Queen Beatrix was invited to festively inaugurate the new building by pushing a button and thereby symbolically activating the archival machinery. The ceremony was broadcast live on Dutch national television, followed by a two-hour compilation of archival material of memorable, remarkable and important moments in Dutch television history which alternated with interviews of public broadcasting luminaries. In every respect, the opening ceremony was designed to present the Institute of Sound and Vision and its impressive new building as a site of great national importance, as a symbolic space and physical repository of Dutch public memory and cultural heritage.

Figure 1: The building of Sound and Vision

Strikingly, the contrast between the new sanctuary of Sound and Vision and its previous accommodation could hardly be any greater. When I began this project, the archive of Sound and Vision was still housed in an inconspicuous building at an unremarkable location within Hilversum's Media Park.[16] It is great understatement to say that the new building is now more present and visible in its physical environment. With its overwhelming magnitude and beauty, it reminds the viewer of a spectacular mausoleum. The building is prominently located at the entrance to the Media Park and cannot be overlooked or escape anyone's attention. Its polished glass façade sparkles in sunlight and refracts a magical play of colours. 768 archival images have been applied in such a way that the glass façade architecture of the building makes visible what is stored inside.[17] Thus, the outside of the building reveals, embodies and pays homage to what is preserved inside and thereby reiterates the stakes of this archive: not only preserving Dutch audiovisual heritage but also making it publically visible and accessible.

Clearly, it is not only the outside of the building that is designed to caress the eyes of its visitors and passersby. Entering the building is yet another powerful experience for the senses. In the central atrium, the transparency of the façade brings about an enchanting play of light and colour. The acoustics contribute to the serenity of the spatial ambience; all sounds are significantly muffled. The central atrium offers a canyon-like view of five subterranean floors, which house state-of-the-art archival vaults. On each level, squares have been excised from the grey wall, which descends to the bottom; through these squares, orange passageways leading to vaults can be seen. With time-codes displayed above them, these orange squares clearly resemble screens. While the outside of the building seems to symbolize the beating-heart of Dutch public broadcasting, the inside – pushing the bodily metaphor further – resembles a brain, with compartments where different parts of public memory are processed and stored. Unquestionably, the comparison of the archive with a memory machine is quite common, a metaphor that is frequently evoked when the ontology of the archive is at stake. The parallel between a brain and a building is not a new one either; it echoes the *ars memoriae* of ancient Greek, whose mnemotechnics consisted of disclosing the inner space of memory by imagining memory as an outer space. Like a building with numerous rooms, through which one could walk in order to retrieve memories stored inside individual spaces.

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[16] The Media Park is the area near the city of Hilversum where all Dutch public broadcasting organizations and facilities are based.
[17] Neutelings Riedijk Architecten was the architect of the building and Studio Drupsteen designed the glass-façade.
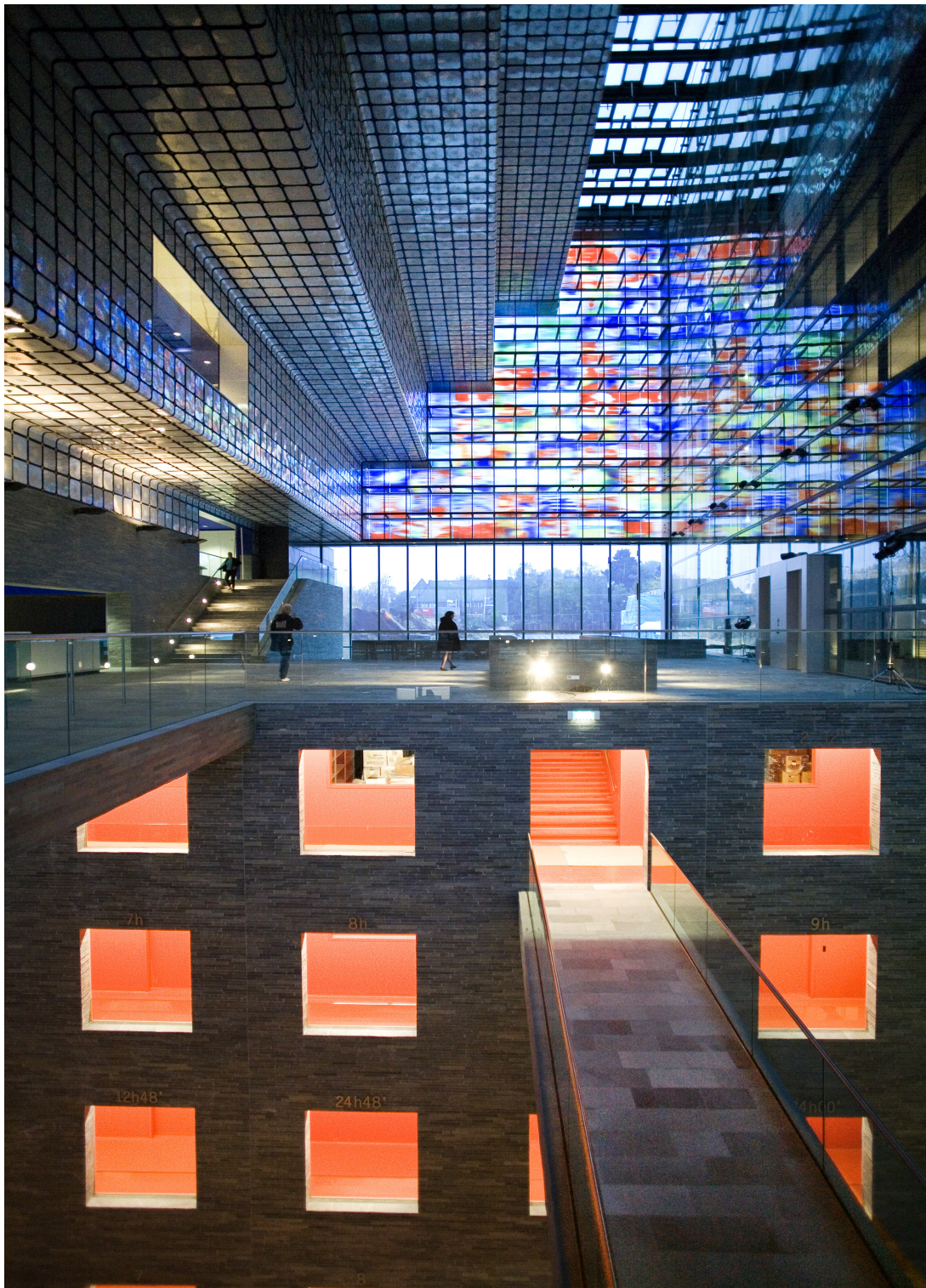
Figure 2: The central atrium of Sound and Vision

Indeed, when I think of my own experience of doing research in the archive of Sound and Vision, it feels like I am wandering through the crypts and caverns of Dutch public memory, through a labyrinth of passages, each leading to different parts of the public imagination, and each space facilitating entry to forgotten

moments, most of which I have never experienced myself. Although my body does not move – only sitting in front of a television screen – the architecture of the building reinforces the experience of physically strolling through the realm of Dutch audiovisual heritage.

This brings me back to my epigraph, where political scientist Achille Mbembe rights that the architectural dimension of the archive provides it with a status similar to that of a cemetery and a temple. In many respects the archive of Sound and Vision also resembles a temple. The new building is clearly designed to be a reflection of the unique treasures that it holds. It figures the Institute of Sound and Vision as a site of remembrance; as a space of worship where the dead are extricated from oblivion. A temple however is more than a mere place where treasure, according to certain rituals, is safely stored and guarded. As archival scientist Eric Ketelaar (2002) argues, a temple is a building of the panoptic sort: "Temples and churches convey by their architecture the idea of surveillance and power. The architecture and the ceremonies serve to initiate the novice, they instil submissive awe and enforce silent obedience. In our world, many archives are temples as well (233)." Ketelaar argues that archival institutions – like temples – shield their treasures from "the gaze of the uninitiated" and guard their treasures "as a monopoly of the priesthood"; exercising "surveillance over those who are admitted" (ibid: 234). The comparison of the new monumental building with a temple thus evokes issues such as surveillance, power and knowledge. Ketelaar writes that:

> The panoptical archive disciplines and controls through power-knowledge. This knowledge is embedded in the records, their content, form, structure, and context. Moreover the physical ordering of the archives in the paper world and the logical ordering of digital archives express power-knowledge (ibid: 234).

Many useful questions concerning the status of the audiovisual archive arise from taking a closer look at the new archival structure. Could the renewed visibility of Sound and Vision perhaps be hinting at more profound developments in contemporary society? Neither money nor pain has been spared in the creation of the new repository for the Dutch national television archive. Is this monumental building symptomatic of a growing interest in the audiovisual archive in contemporary media society? Within different domains of society, such as the humanities and the arts, an interest in the archive seems to have emerged. How can this archival impulse be explained? In what ways has the status of the archive in

today's media society changed? What are the politics at stake in the archive? Furthermore, how can the relationship between archives and public memory be theorized?

In this chapter I use these questions as my point of departure for a theoretical exploration of the notion of the archive. Clearly, the archive is a fluid concept and can refer to numerous conceptualizations: from the actual space where records are kept, to the collection of documents itself, or to the more symbolic and abstract notion of the archive as a cultural form. It is not surprising then that the archive is truly a metaphor-machine. My aim here is to shed some light on how the concept of the archive has changed, by exploring some of the metaphors by which the archive has been conceived. I take a closer look at the "archival turn"– a term coined by anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler (2002) – that took place in the humanities and social sciences. The archive has become a major trope in many disciplines and seems to have been elevated to a new status – a true paradigm shift that was precipitated by postmodern scepticism and technological developments. I examine the current concerns of the politics of the archive and of the relationship between the archive and public memory. More specifically, I focus on the audiovisual archive and question the status of the archive in contemporary visual and digital culture. Defining the stakes of the archive will provide me with a theoretical framework that informs my research in the archive of Sound and Vision and which guides my analysis of its collection of archival material regarding Muslims and Islam in the Netherlands. This chapter reveals how I view my object of research through the prism of the archive.

1.1 From the Archive as a Mirror to the Archive as the Sliver of a Window

To begin this section by exploring a typical metaphor by which the archive has traditionally been conceived is more than a mere rhetorical device. In order to be able to fully grasp the paradigm shift that has recently swept through archival science, it is important to note that archival science is rooted in an era in which positivism held sway. A common and persistent metaphor by which the archival record has been traditionally conceived of in archival discourse, is the record as a mirror of historical reality; a metaphor that assumes that the archival record is a transparent reflection of an historical event and can provide an unproblematic means of access to the past. This notion of the archive is rooted in the nineteenth-

century paradigm of positivism, in which both archival science and history emerged as "objective sciences".

        This period was deeply marked by Enlightenment thinking and belief in progress and rationality. Cultural theorist Scott McQuire (1998) notes that people witnessed the birth of "a new historical consciousness" (122), that was attended with "a burgeoning interest in the document and the archive" (ibid) and that it was part of a broader shift: "Foucault suggests that '[….] at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the great upheaval that occurred in the Western *episteme*: it was discovered that there existed a historicity proper to nature [….]' (ibid)." In this new *episteme*, history became a "hard" science that was supposed to objectively describe the historical facts, or in Leopold von Ranke's words, show "what actually happened" (ibid: 121-22). Ranke, often referred to as the father of modern historical scholarship, distinguished between primary and secondary sources, and rejected every form of historiography that was not based on primary sources (Juergens 2005: 4). Thus, the document, the record and the archive gained an important status, as it was now the task of the historian to reconstruct the past based on the archival record and the archive became a repository of historical truth. To borrow archival theorist Juergens' words: a place that was visited by the historian as part of a *rite de passage* by which he was turned into a proper historian (Juergens 2005: 4). It was within this nineteenth-century scientific discourse that what came to be called "archival science" emerged, initially leaning heavily on the positivist epistemological framework of historiography (ibid). Finding historical truth was now the final goal both for the historian and archivist. Archival science was almost completely devoted to the arrangement and description of archival materials and was informed by assumptions rooted in positivism and Enlightenment thinking (ibid: 4-5).[18] These assumptions were based on the conviction that the documents themselves were transparent, providing unproblematic access to the past, in which the role of the archivist was neutral and objective, and that one's self-effacement assured that one's position remained outside of power relationships. As archival scholar Tom Nesmith (2002) recapitulates:

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[18] See for example the first articulation of the science's fundamental ideas in the manual written in 1898, by the Dutch archival scientists Muller, Feith and Fruin: *Handleiding voor het ordenen en beschrijven van Archieven.*
For a discussion of this manual see, for example: Duff, Wendy M. and Harris, Verne, 'Stories and Names: Archival Description as Narrating Records and Constructing Meanings', in: *Archival Science*, Vol. 2 (2002): 263-64; Jeurgens, K.J.P.F.M., *Een brug tussen twee werelden*, Oration given on 20 May 2005, University of Leiden; Cook, Terry. "What is Past is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas Since 1898 and the Future Paradigm Shift", in: *Archivaria*, Vol. 43 (Spring 1997).

Archivists not only attempt to acquire primary (or original) sources, or records, which are thus thought to have special (even unique) integrity as means of access to the past, they believe that providing information about the records' origin and respecting the original order of their creation are essential to ensure that archiving is a neutral means of communication of the recorded past. [….] Although this approach has brought archivists as guardian and preserver of records, it has also implied a rather passive, incidental role overall, as the records' mere recipient and keeper. In this role, archivists simply document or mirror the world around the archives, and list, describe, copy, and retrieve the records and, thereby, the knowledge already in them in a neutral, inconspicuous, and simply factual way (27).

It is hence then no coincidence, as archival theorist Verne Harris (2002) points out, that the archive has been conceived of by the same metaphors by which knowledge has been conceptualized in our western thinking; where knowledge is linked to sight and ignorance to blindness (ibid. 75). Within this framework, as Harris writes, "what we remember we keep in the light, what we forget is consigned to darkness. To remember is to archive (ibid.)". The archive clearly belongs to the realm of vision and sight.

Although the ideology of the archive as a mirror of historical reality that reflects its light, making information visible and accessible in a transparent and unproblematic way, is still persistent, postmodern thinking has turned this classical notion of the archive inside out and has deconstructed the idea of the archive as a beacon of light and sight. Juergens writes that the archive as has been stripped of its positivist certainties by philosophers such as Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida and by an array of postmodern archival theorists (2005: 10).[19] The theoretical focus has now moved away from the physical record towards the role of the archivist as an active shaper of the document; in archival theorist Terry Cook's (1997) words, towards "[….] the creative act or authoring intent or functional context behind the record (25)." Exemplary for this paradigm shift are the new metaphors that have arisen in archival discourse, all of which disturb the notion of the archive as a mirror of the past. Harris (2002b) invented a very powerful new trope: the archive as the "sliver of a window". Arguing against the notion that "archives, mirror-like, reflect reality (136)", Harris suggests that the relationship between an archive and reality

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[19] See for a list of writings discussing postmodernism in archival theory: Nesmith, Tom. "Seeing Archives: Postmodernism and the Changing Intellectual Place of Archives", in: *The American Archivist*, Vol. 65 (Spring/ Summer 2002): 24-41, footnote 2. See also: Ketelaar, Eric. "Tacit Narratives: The Meaning of Archives", in: *Archival Science*, Vol. 1 (2001): 131-41; Cook, Terry and Joan M Schwartz. "Archives, Records, and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance", in: *Archival Science*, Vol. 2 (2002): 171-85; Cook, Terry. "Archival Science and Postmodernism: New Formulations for Old Concepts", in: *Archival Science*, Vol. 1 (2001): 3-24.

should be seen as partial: "To return to my 'sliver of a window' metaphor, the window is not only a medium through which light travels; it also reflects light, transposing images from 'this side' and disturbing images from 'the other side' (ibid)." Harris thus contends that archival documents reflect reality in a "deeply fractured and shifting way (ibid)."

Harris is surely not the only archival theorist who rejects the classical metaphor of the mirror, while still remaining within the discourse of light and vision. Although postmodern scepticism has questioned and criticized the concept of the archive as a site of neutral knowledge retrieval, this certainly does not mean that archival theory is now dominated by a nihilist vision of the relationship between the archive and (historical) truth. Today, the archive is still related to knowledge, although the theoretical focus has shifted to the idea that this knowledge is neither neutral nor innocent and is therefore partial and contested. Inspired by Dutch historian Niek van Sas, Ketelaar conceptualizes the implications of postmodernism for archival theory as "the multiplication of perspectives" when he writes that:

> Archival researchers and archivists are exploring a multiplication of perspectives. They are learning (or relearning) from anthropologists, sociologists, philosophers, cultural and literary theorists: to look up from the record and through the record, looking beyond – and questioning – its boundaries, in new perspectives seeing *with* the archive (to use Tom Nesmith's magnificent expression), trying to read its tacit narratives of power and knowledge (132).

Shortly I return to Ketelaar's ideas, but for now, I move from the new metaphor of the archive as the "sliver of a window" which indicates the recent paradigm shift in archival theory in general, to its more specific characteristics and features. Inspired by two of the most radical interrogators of classical notions of the archive, Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, I now focus on issues surrounding the politics of the archive, and archives and (public) memory. Both issues feature quite prominently in their writing and are also important themes in my study. The fact that the classical notion of the archive is under siege from many directions cannot be denied. In the next section, I explore the work of a few theorists who have played a leading role in this battle.

1.2 The Politics of the Archive

It is hardly groundbreaking to claim that there is a "before Foucault" and an "after Foucault" in archival scholarship and theory. Foucault's engagement with the archive has been extremely influential and his reworking of the notion of the archive has permanently destroyed the innocence of the archive. While one could say that Foucault's early historical work has always been about the relationship between power and discursive formations in society that make knowledge possible, and that all this work is implicitly about the archive, it is in his *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969/1972) that that he most explicitly re-conceptualizes the notion of the archive and theoretically presents his *archaeological* method of analysing discourse that underlies his other work.[20] In the introduction, Foucault tells us that the main enterprise of his book is to define a method of historical analysis, in line with "the transformation that is taking place in the field of historical knowledge (17)". Whereas history was traditionally aimed at "reconstitution, on the basis of what the documents say, and sometimes merely hint at, of the past from which they emanate […]" (7), history has now changed its position in relation to the document:

> [….] let us say that history, in its traditional form, undertook to 'memorize' the *monuments* of the past, transform them into *documents*, and lend speech to those traces which, in themselves, are often not verbal, or which in silence say something other than what they actually say; in our time, history is
> what transforms *documents* into *monuments*. [….] it might be said [….] that in our time history aspires to the condition of archaeology, to the intrinsic description of the monument. (7-8, emphasis in original)

Thus, Foucault maintains, history's primary task is no longer the interpretation of documents, or the evaluation of documents in relation to "truth", but the systematic and intrinsic description of documents and their interrelationships. *The Archaeology of Knowledge* is devoted to exploring the many consequences of this new approach to the document and to theoretically elaborating on the method of archaeology, which seeks to examine the past on the level of discursive regimes.

In this Foucauldian method for the analysis of discourse, the archive is a key concept. In the section "The Statement and the Archive", Foucault suggests we

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[20] See: Foucault, Michel, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith, London and New York: Routledge, 2006: 16-18. Here Foucault states that his book is an attempt to give greater coherence to the ideas he articulated in his earlier works: *Madness and Civilization*, *The Birth of the Clinic* and *The Order of Things.*

should not see the archive as a collection of separate documents that can be interpreted, but as "the general system of the formation and transformation of statements" (146). The archive is in Foucault's thinking linked to the concept of the *historical a priori*, which is "a condition for reality of statements" (143). It is the *historical a priori* that provides a discursive formation with its unity: "the positivity of a discourse [….] characterizes its unity throughout time" (142). Foucault redefines the archive in terms of the historical a priori when he writes that:

> The archive is first the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events. But the archive is also that which determines that all these things said do not accumulate endlessly in an amorphous mass [….]; but they are grouped together in distinct figures, composed together in accordance with multiple relations [….] (146).

The archive is thus the law that defines the possible ways of speaking, the "set of rules which at a given period and for a given society define the limits and forms of the sayable [….]" (1978/1991: 59). The method that Foucault has coined archaeology describes "discourses as practices specified in the element of the archive" (1972/2006: 148). With Foucault, the archive no longer is a source of historical knowledge, a site of knowledge retrieval, but a site of knowledge production that defines the conditions of possibility that shape what stories can be told.

Foucault's inquiry into the archive has inspired many researchers working in the humanities and social sciences. His scrutiny of the positivist innocence of the archive has been an important factor in what Laura Ann Stoler has coined as the "archival turn" (Stoler 2002). The editors of *Refiguring the Archive* (2002) state that Foucault's influence is particularly strong in their proposition "that archives are often both documents of exclusion and monuments to particular configurations of power"(9). In her contribution to this book Stoler, who works on colonial archives, argues that it is exactly this discovery of the politics of the archive that characterizes the "archival turn": "From whichever vantage point – and there are more than these – the "archival turn" registers a rethinking of the materiality and imaginary of collections and what kind of truth-claims lie in documentation" (87). For Stoler, the insistence on the link between what counts as knowledge and who has power, is what the many participants in the archival turn have in common.

Another frequently quoted philosopher by participants in this archival turn is Jaques Derrida, whose statement "there is no power without control of the archive"

(1995: 4) has become legendary in archival discourse. In his *Archive Fever* (1995), a complex and dense essay that relates questions concerning the archive to questions concerning psychoanalysis, Derrida begins his deconstruction of the notion of the archive with the etymology of the word archive:

> [....] with the archive of so familiar a word. *Arkhe*, we recall, names at once the *commencement* and the *commandment*. This name apparently coordinates two principles in one: the principle according to nature or history, *there* where things *commence* -physical, historical, or ontological principle – but also the principle according to the law, there where men and gods command, there where authority, social order are exercised, *in this place* from which *order* is given – nomological principle. (1)

By discussing this duality in the meaning of the word archive as the actual residence of the superior magistrates, the *archons*, and as the power of consignation that they exercise from there, Derrida points out that archives should be conceptualized both in terms of time and place as well as in terms of the operation of state power: "A science of the archive must include the theory of this institutionalization, that is to say, the theory of both of the law which begins by inscribing itself there and of the right that authorizes it" (4). While Derrida's main concern is theorizing the instability of the archive and its ambiguous relation to time, to which I shortly return, it is important to note that Derrida insists on the impossibility of arriving at a notion of the archive without taking into consideration issues concerning power and politics.[21]

The emergence of the pressing interest in the politics of the archive has led to new theoretical perspectives on the different stages of and interventions in archiving. Evidently, archiving has different phases, such as selection, categorization, arrangement and description. In each of these phases, re-contextualization of the record takes place (Ketelaar 2001). Recently, an array of researchers has been engaged in theorizing how various interventions by archivists change the meaning of the document. These interventions cannot be considered as neutral acts and each intervention infuses the record with new meanings and social values. Tom Nesmith (2002) argues that: "Seeing archives, then, means seeing archivists anew – as visible, active agents in the construction of this history and the societal knowledge it shapes." (41). Once more, it is the politics of the archive that is at stake during the several stages of archiving.

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[21] Derrida, Jacques. *Archive Fever. A Freudian Impression*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995: 4. See his first footnote, where he elaborates extensively on the politics of the archive.

A neologism invented by Ketelaar to indicate the first phase in archiving is *archivalization* (2001: 133). Ketelaar argues that while in the customary sense, archiving follows the creation of a document; while in archival theory, archiving is carried one phase forward. Archivization is the word used to include the creative phase before capture; there is another "moment of truth" at an earlier stage:

> It is archivalization [.…] meaning *the conscious or unconscious choice (determined by social and cultural factors) to consider something worth archiving*. Archivalization precedes archiving. The searchlight of archivalization has to sweep the world for something to light up in the archival sense, before we proceed to register, to record, to inscribe it, in short before we archive it. (133, emphasis in original)

Differently stated, the archive is primarily a matter of selection and judgment. Mbembe therefore maintains that the archive is a status rather than a collection of data and documents when he writes that:

> In any given cultural system, only some documents fulfil the criteria of 'archivability'. [.…] the archive is the product of a judgement, the result of the exercise of a specific power and authority, which involves placing certain documents in an archive at the same time as others are discarded. (19-20)

The issue is thus how the archive emerges from the discursive mechanism of *archivalization* that decides which records are considered archivable, and that elevates certain documents, to adopt Nesmith's evocative expression, on a "pedestal" (2002: 33). This mediation not only affects what we can know about the past, but moreover what we think we need to know. Nesmith explains that:

> This very act of placing certain records on the pedestal of national progress, sacred memory, civilization, history, culture, democracy or societal necessity often raises records which were once thought quite ordinary to this new special status as "archives" or, for some records even higher yet, as archival "treasures". (ibid)

The following step in the archiving process that has recently been scrutinized is the crucial practice of archival representation, which refers to both arrangement and description, and follows *archivalization*. This practice has traditionally been considered the main task of the archivist, since it is the very process of archival representation that is supposed to guarantee that the documents are stored in ways that do justice to their provenance and assemblance. This assures, through the creation of access tools and systems, that the documents can actually be retrieved.

Today, it seems there is agreement among many theorists working in the field that the practice of archival representation is an act of narration and storytelling.[22] Archival theorists Wendy Duff and Verne Harris (2002) in an article devoted to the exploration of "descriptive architecture", building on insights from Derrida, Foucault and Hayden White, argue that narrativity always brings a "certain fictionalization" to the content of the record (276). They contend that archivists can only describe but a slice of a record's reality and that descriptions therefore inevitably privilege, highlight and make visible some views and silence and obscure others (ibid: 278). Duff and Harris stress the fact that archivists should be seen as political players: "What we are marking here are the dangers of story; the power of the metanarrative; and the capacities to privilege or to marginalize, to construct knowledge, to exercise control" (277). Recent archival theory has thus underlined the fact that acts of classifying, naming, labelling and describing must be considered as cultural constructs that are never innocent and that reify social and political values.[23] Or as Eric Ketelaar (2001) describes it: "Numerous tacit narratives are hidden in categorization, codification and labelling. [….] Social, cultural, political, economic and religious contexts determine the tacit narratives of an archive. One should make these contexts transparent, maybe even visible [….]" (135-37).

One of the implications of the fact that every intervention of the archivist adds meaning and value to the document and leaves "fingerprints" (Ketelaar 2001: 137) is that the boundaries between content and context of the archive can no longer be considered fixed. This makes the archive in Ketelaar's view "membranic": "[…] the membrane allowing the infusing and exhaling of values which are embedded in each and every activation" (ibid: 138). Ketelaar argues that the archive is permeable and absorbs social and political values. For him, the new challenge for scholars working in and with archives is to interrogate what he terms the "semantic genealogy" of the archive and to deconstruct its "tacit narratives" when he writes that:

> The semantic genealogy provides the opportunity for any construction or deconstruction of what people involved in the archives' creation may have meant in archivalization and archiving. That re- and deconstruction is not the end of the archive, it is only possible through seeing with the archive. (ibid: 139)

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[22] See amongst others: Yakel, Elizabeth, 'Archival Representation', *Archival Science*, Vol. 3 (2003), 1-25; Ketelaar, Eric. "Tacit Narratives: The Meaning of Archives", in: *Archival Science*, Vol. 1 (2001); Duff, Wendy M. and Harris, Verne, 'Stories and Names: Archival Description as Narrating Records and Constructing Meanings', in: *Archival Science*, Vol. 2 (2002).

[23] See also: Geoffry C. Bowker and Susan Leigh Star. *Sorting Things Out: Classification and its Consequences*, Cambridge: the MIT Press, 1999.

In Ketelaar's view there is no need to be pessimistic about the possibility and potential that the archive still offers to the researcher; he advocates that the archive should be read from multiple perspectives.

In (post)colonial studies the discovery of the politics of the archive has resulted in a critical approach to colonial archives. Stoler (2002) argues that over the last two decades scholars have been committed to reading colonial archives "against the grain": "As such, engagement with the colonial archives was devoted to a reading of 'upper class sources upside down' that would reveal the language of rule and the biases inherent in statist perceptions" (91). However, in her own work Stoler pleas for a reading "along the archival grain" when she writes that:

> If a notion of colonial ethnography starts from the premise that archival production is itself both a process and a powerful technology of rule, then we need not only brush against the archive's received categories. We need to read for its regularities, for its logic of recall, for its densities and distributions, for its consistencies of misinformation, omission and mistake, along the archival grain. (92)

In her most recent book *Along the Archival Grain* (2009), Stoler promotes a reading of the archive that not only focuses on archival content and considers the archive as a biased source of knowledge; she also scrutinizes the archival forms and practices themselves. Her aim is to study "the colonial order of things as seen through the record of archival production" (20). Stoler summarizes the consequences of the archival turn as "the move from archive-as-source to archive-as-subject" (2002: 86; 2009: 24) and designates her own position as a devotion to reading the archive along the grain when she writes that:

> The issue of 'bias' gives way to a different challenge: to identifying the conditions of possibility which shaped what could be written, what warranted repetition, what competencies were rewarded in archival writing, what stories could not be told and could not be said. (2002: 86)

Stoler is directly influenced by Foucault and her phrasing here clearly echoes his thinking.

1.3 The Archive as Time Machine and the Manufacturer of Memory

Although it has become clear from the last section that the notion of the archive as depository of (public) memory and the archivist as its guardian is quite a problematic one, this certainly does not mean that this notion is no longer presently persistent in archival and historical discourse. Archives are often referred to, following Pierre Nora's (1989) famous work on French public memory, as "*lieux de mémoire*", as storage places where public memory is anchored. Additionally, it is certainly without doubt that the architecture of many of today's archives recalls the project of nation building and the creation of imagined communities. One merely needs to recall Tom Nesmith's (2002) potent metaphor of the "pedestal" in order to realise that the role of the archive in the construction of national consciousness and public memory needs to be revisited. Harris (2002) contends that "if as many archivists are wont to argue, the repositories of archives are the world's central memory institutions, then we are in deep amnesic trouble." (136).

Here I dwell a bit longer in the archive with Derrida, for it is Derrida's philosophical engagement with the archive that addresses the archive's affiliation with time and memory in such a radical and lucid way, that it has caused great upheavals in the realm of archival scholarship. Derrida's *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (1998) can be read as an encounter between the concept of the archive and the discipline of psychoanalysis and centres on the Freudian idea that unconscious forces and instincts always threatened the unity of the archive, like the human psyche. As cultural theorist Susan van Zyl (2002) in her writing on Derrida's work maintains, this does not mean that Derrida's contribution to an understanding of the archive is a conventionally psychological one (39). His work on the archive not only evokes questions of authority and power, as I made clear in the previous section, but moreover, of time and memory. It is primarily the latter issue that forced many archival scholars to distance themselves from a too straightforward and simplistic understanding of the archive's connection to public memory.[24]

To fully grasp the gravity of Derrida's re-conceptualization of the archive's relation to time and memory is it instructive to look first at the title of his book. In Derrida's Freudian theory of the archive, he stresses psychoanalysis not only as a science of memory, but furthermore as a science of the death instinct that destroys

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[24] Ann Laura Stoler (2009) argues that one should not be tempted to see the new analytic status of the archive as the effect of the publication of *Archive Fever* only: "*Archive Fever* compellingly captured that impulse by giving it theoretical stature, but Jacques Derrida's intervention came only after the 'archival turn' was already being made" (24).

memory. For Derrida we are in need of archives because the death drive always threatens their very existence: "The death drive is not a principle. It even threatens every principality, every archontic primary, every archival desire. It is what we call *le mal d'archive*, archive fever" (12). Remembering and forgetting are in Derrida's (and Freud's) hands no longer opposites. The archive, which is in Derrida's conception tied to the idea of consignation and is always an external location that is inscribed with a trace, is as much related to remembering as to forgetting. Our drive to archive and our compulsion to maintain and store records in material form would not exist without this risk of complete annihilation:

> It is what I called earlier […] *archive fever*. There would indeed be no archive desire without the radical finitude, without the possibility of a forgetfulness which does not limit itself to repression. Above all, and this is the most serious, […] there is no archive fever without the threat of this death drive, this aggression and destruction drive. (19)

Derrida localizes an "*a priori* forgetfulness" in the very "heart of the archival monument", which consequence it is that "the archive always works, and *a priori*, against itself" (12). This destruction, this forgetting leaves no traces: "It is at work, but since it always operates in silence, it never leaves any archives of its own. It destroys in advance its own archive" (10). Since the archive has the power to "posit and conserve the law" – which Derrida describes as "the violence of the archive" – the process of forgetting in the consignation of the archive is far from innocent; it represses and consigns to oblivion that which is left outside the archive (7). Because the archive is shaped by these selective forces, Derrida claims, the archive is not a simple record of the past, but it constitutes the past: "The archivization produces as much as it records the event" (17). In Derrida's reworking, the archive is the manufacturer of memory; surely not its guardian and produces memory as it simultaneously produces forgetting.

Yet the selective power that shapes the archive is not the only force that acts upon the archive. It is the future, as Derrida persuasively argues, that gives the archive retrospectively its final meaning:

> [….] the question of the archive is not, we repeat, a question of the past. [….] It is a question of the future, the question of the future itself, the question of a response, of a promise and of a responsibility for tomorrow. The archive: if we want to know what that will have meant, we will only know in times to come. (36)

Derrida suggests that the "archive has always been a pledge [...] a token of the future" (18). There are various aspects to this "messianicity" (36) that is at work in the archive. Documents in the archive are, to begin with, always open to reinterpretation and contestation. Their meaning is not stable or fixed but constantly deferred, since a "meta-archive" (67) does not exist that authorizes interpretation and no "meta-textual authority" (68) that completes their meaning. Ketelaar (2001) argues about Derrida's writing that every interpretation of the archive is an enrichment of the archive:

> Every activation of the archive not only adds a branch to what I propose to call the semantic genealogy of the record and the archive. Every activation also changes the significance of earlier activations. It is an application of Freud's retrospective causality. (138)

In addition according to Susan van Zyl (2002), it is fruitful to read Derrida's emphasis on the archive's openness to the future through Freud's concept of 'retrospective causality', which refers to the process in the psychic apparatus in which new experiences and memories change and transform the nature of prior ones. Van Zyl argues that the archive, in Derrida's work, relates to the future according to the principle of 'retrospective causality' when she writes that:

> [....] the effect of Derrida's emphasis on the necessity of recognizing the archive's openness to the future-to-come, as read through the psychoanalytic concept of retrospective causality, is to point not just to the cumulative role that additions to the archive play, but to their potentially transformative capacity. (55)

Finally, as Derrida suggests, this condition of the archive, this intrinsic instable nature of the archive, this innate openness to reinterpretation, confronts us irrevocably with an ethical and political responsibility, which Derrida terms the "obligation of the archive" (75).

Another aspect of the archive's openness to the future that Derrida is hinting at in his study is related to technology. Derrida points out that technology changes the very content of the archive: "The technical structure of the *archiving* archive also determines the structure of the *archivable* content even in its very coming into existence and in its relationship to the future" (17). Although he addresses this question of technology only slightly, it has important theoretical implications, for it means that the composition of the archive is conditioned by technological possibilities and developments. I delve deeper into the issue of technology in the

next section. For now, I conclude that Derrida has left an influential heritage in archival theory, which has inspired many theorists to stress the active role of the archivist as creator and shaper of memory. And with this realization that memory is not something found in the archive, but something that is continually made and reinvented, and that archivists are thus, in archival theorists Terry Cook and Joan Schwartz's (2002) words, the "performers in the drama of memory-making" (172), we arrive again at the main stake of the archival turn.

1.4 The Audiovisual Archive in Contemporary Digital Culture

Since, following Derrida, technology determines and structures the very content of the archive, it is not surprising that the emergence of today's digital technologies for organizing and storing information has caused another great upheaval within the archival realm. The amount of documents and images that are stored in digital archives is exploding rapidly, in a manner incomparable to what was possible before the era of digitization. Besides, the archive itself is becoming disseminated, as it can now escape the confinement of architectonic structures. The ubiquity of digital technologies has resulted in the extension of the boundaries of what might fall within the scope of the archive. Many archival theorists have pointed out that the paradigm shift in archival theory is partly caused by this digital revolution.[25] Before exploring some of the questions and concerns that have arisen about the status of the archive in today's era of digitization, I take one step back into the past and turn to the question of how the invention of mechanical and electronic reproducibility have changed and transformed the status of the archive. It is my contention that to understand what is happening today in our archives – where electronic and digital images are ubiquitous – it is helpful to linger a bit longer in the nineteenth and early twentieth century to unravel the affinity between the image and the archive, as well as to map the discursive field from which the camera emerged.

It is beyond doubt that the invention of mechanical reproducibility has radically transformed the archive. Strikingly, since its emergence in the early nineteenth century, photographic records have been conceived by the same metaphors by which archival documents have been conceptualized: as mirrors of reality. Born in the era of positivism, in which documents and archives attained a

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[25] See for example the statement of the editors in the introduction of *Refiguring the Archive* (2002): 15. See also the contributions of Verne Harris ("A Shaft of Darkness") and David Bearman. ("Electronic Record-keeping, Social Memory and Democracy").

major epistemological prestige, photography was regarded as a new language of reality that finally made it possible to write with light the (historical) truth (McQuire 1998: 31-3). "A paradox: the same century invented History and Photography", proclaims Roland Barthes (1993: 93). Although Barthes touches in this notorious phrase on the uncertain relationship between photography and history, what is at stake here is that both apparatuses of representation have their origins in the same epistemological realm of positivism, both were born, in the words of historian John Tagg (1995: 287), "under the sign of the Real". Consequently the camera was believed to bring unique possibilities to the representation of history and inspired dreams of the creation of total archives (McQuire 1998: 132). Cultural theorist and artist Allan Sekula (1987) addresses it thusly:

> Within bourgeois culture, the photographic project has itself from the very beginning been identified not only with the dream of a universal language but also with the establishment of global archives and repositories according to models offered by libraries, encyclopaedias, zoological and botanical gardens, museums, police files and banks. (118)

Therefore, the photographic image and the archive shared the same cultural aspirations and positivism, which gave rise to the idea that the image could function as an archive.

With the emergence of cinema, this nineteenth-century archival impulse only intensified, since, as film and media professor Mary Ann Doane argues, archival ambitions were also intrinsic to cinematic practice. In her work *The Emergence of Cinematic Time: Modernity, Contingency, the Archive* (2002), Doane shows how cinema participated in the structuring of time and contingency in capitalist modernity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Cinema emerged at the turn of the nineteenth century, the moment in modernity that the idea of time was transformed by industrialization and by the expansion of capitalism. Time, and certainly labour time, became increasingly rationalized, standardized and stabilized. Yet, as Doane argues, this rationalization of time in the public sphere produced a tension, because what felt to be lost was the experience of time as immersion, of time as presence. It is within this discursive space that cinema emerged. The promise of its indexicality – that seemed to be assured by its technology – fed into the archival desire and into the intensified time consciousness of this era (22-3). Doane argues that:

> The significance of the cinema [….] lies in its apparent capacity to perfectly *represent* the contingent, to provide the pure record of time [….]. Where photography could fix a moment, the cinema made archivable duration itself. (22)

According to Doane, cinema thus emerged from and contributed to the nineteenth century's archival impulse, and its technology was characterized by a tension between "a desire for instantaneity and an archival aspiration" (29). Doane contends that there has not been any radical rupture between the modern technologies of representation (photography and film) and the current "postmodern" technologies (television and digital media) (29). The questions that haunt the archive today are in Doane's hands conceptualized as a continuation of this impulse to archive time that has its origin in the nineteenth century, and as a continuation of modernity's attempts to structure the contingent in a time of acceleration. The promise of indexicality, Doane contends, our desire to capture the moment, our obsession for instantaneity and immediacy, and our archival aspirations are still so persistent in our current times.[26]

Evidently, the positivist trust in the photographic image that haunted the nineteenth century's imagination has been challenged from the very outset and today the evidential status of the image has been heavily criticized. As the innocence of the archival document was destroyed, such was the fate of the image. However, the technological mutation of the archive that resulted from the emergence of the camera has had severe consequences for our notion of history. The amount of images in archives has increased rapidly, and as these images have become important historical sources themselves, they have simultaneously transformed our image of history. Archival images are constantly available for reuse and the audiovisual archive keeps gaining importance in the production and legitimization of history. Before turning to the current era of digitization, I briefly address some of the questions that are raised by the specificity of the audiovisual archive, in particular the television archive and by its relation to history.

Undoubtedly, Harris' compelling trope of "the sliver of a window" is also quite a relevant trope to conceptualize the relationship between the audiovisual archive and historical reality. Given that, following Harris, the relationship between

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[26] Doane argues that indexicality is not a quality that is confined to photography and cinema: "In Peirce's description, the index is evacuated of content; it is a hollowed out sign. It designates something without describing it […]. Hence, the indexicality together with the seemingly privileged relation to the referent – so singularity and contingency – is available to a wide range of media. The insistency and compulsion Pierce associates with the indexical signs are certainly attributes of television and digital media as well" (231).

the document and historical reality should be seen as partial in traditional archives, this is certainly the case in audiovisual archives, whose audiovisual records give access to the mediated past. The relationship between audiovisual heritage, history and media history is a complex one, since, as media historian Paddy Scannell (2004) argues: "The historicality of media […] concerns their role in the unfolding of history itself" (130). Clearly, this is profoundly at stake in broadcasting archives, whose holdings consist to a large extent of television broadcasts that have simultaneously contributed to, in Scannell's words: "the making of history while showing, recording and narrating it" (ibid: 141). In her work on television archives and the epistemological implications of online access, Julia Noordegraaf (2010) describes two problems in conceptualizing the relation of television heritage to the history of television. First of all, Noordegraaf, following Paddy Scannell, points to the fact that television broadcasts are always involved in the writing of history:

> Besides contributing to the making of history, broadcasting also shapes our *perception* of that history. In that sense archival broadcasting materials provide insight into how at the time people made sense of the past – they thus become sources for the past perception of historical events. (4)

Furthermore, Noordegraaf argues that the second problem for determining what archival broadcasting materials actually document is the fact that it is "very hard to define television […]. Because of television's many guises – so many different programmes, channels and modes of address – it has proven very difficult for critics and scholars to provide general insights into the medium" (5). Building on the work of television historians Jonathan Bignell and Andreas Fickers (2008), who have distinguished three typical features of television: its liveness (or the perceived simultaneity of event and broadcast), its realism, and the home as viewing space, Noordegraaf writes that "Once broadcasting materials enter the archive, they lose their *liveness* and their connection to *the home as viewing space*. What remains is their realism, but now no longer of actuality but of historical events […]" (ibid). Therefore, as Noordegraaf suggests, archival broadcasting materials have a double historical meaning: "on the one hand they document historical events and on the other they document the history of broadcasting itself" (ibid). I return to these issues in the next chapter, but for now it is useful to look at some of the implications of today's electronic and digital technologies for archival theory.

     Archival theory has only just begun to come to terms with the new challenges that the dematerialization of electronic records and digital archives confront us with.

Today, one pressing issue in archival theory is the question of the materiality of archival documents. As the editors of *Refiguring the Archive* (2002) argue in their introduction: "The institutional (and conceptual) range […] is expanded dramatically by the electronic technologies that underpin an archive at once actual and global. Clearly the materiality of archives, for so long simply assumed in archival discourse, is troubled by this reality" (15). They describe the shift that has taken place as a consequence of electronic and digital technology when they write that:

> […] the shift from archives as purportedly stable repositories of original material – places where the body historically has gone physically to engage with the material trace – to electronic archives, unconstrained by space and place, and eschewing the claim to be original. (15)

Terry Cook is one of the theorists who are concerned with the changing status of the archive in this era of digitization. He suggests that archives are becoming "virtual archives without walls", existing on the Internet to facilitate access by the public to thousands of interlinked record-keeping systems [….]" (23). The result of this dissemination of the archive is that the core theoretical formulations about archives and archiving are turned upside down. Cook argues that the three components of the record – its structure, content and context – that were traditionally fixed on a single medium, are now shattered into separate stores of data:

> A record thus changes from being a physical object to becoming a conceptual data 'object', controlled by metadata, that virtually combines content, context, and structure to provide evidence of some creator activity or function. Moreover, as a record's context and uses change over time […], the metadata changes, and the record and its context is continually being renewed. Records are no longer fixed, but dynamic. (22)

This transformation of the status of the archive and the record has many consequences for the way archivists exercise their tasks of arrangement, description, appraisal and preservation. What is certainly at stake in audiovisual archives is, as the amount of images that are stored digitally is exploding, the moment of appraisal and selection changes. Additionally, preservation now concentrates more on "continually migrating or emulating the concepts and interrelationships that now define virtual records and virtual fonds to new software programmes" (ibid: 23), than on repairing, conserving and safeguarding the physical medium. I conclude this section on the status of the audiovisual archive in today's era of digitization with the watchwords that Cook promotes for present-day archival science: "Process rather

than product, becoming rather than being, dynamic rather than static, context rather than text, reflecting time and place rather than universal absolutes" (24). The phrase lucidly conceptualizes the paradigm shift in contemporary archival science around which this chapter revolved.

Concluding Remarks

In this opening chapter, if there is one thing that I hope to have achieved, it would be to show that the archive today is indeed alive in many respects. To begin with, the archive is certainly alive in our current visual and digital culture in which much attention and money is invested in the preservation and digitization of cultural heritage; in building and developing new shelters for and new modes of display for this cultural heritage. As digital technologies for storing information are becoming so wide spread in society, and as the Internet and social media provide us with seemingly unlimited possibilities to gather and store information, the boundaries of what might constitute an archive are ever expanding. The immense archival impulse to preserve cultural and audiovisual heritage goes hand in hand with the new possibilities offered by digital technology and with the growing presence of electronic records, both in traditional archives and in the virtual realm of digital archives.

Consequently, the archive is alive in the humanities and has become an important concept and tool for critical theory in a whole range of disciplines. This pressing interest in the archive is not only informed by postmodern philosophy, that caused a true paradigm shift in archival discourse, but simultaneously by the digital revolution that produced another great upheaval in the realm of the archive. Critical theory has only just begun to come to terms with the way the technological developments have challenged classical notions of the archive and the record, and have turned these notions upside down. The result of all this is a major shift in archival theory from the archive as a static, neutral and material site of knowledge retrieval, to a dynamic, contextual, virtual space of knowledge production. Archival science has irrevocably moved away from its positivist roots.

Since Foucault's work, the archive has become the place that determines the statements that regulate possible knowledge, the archive is constantly alive as an active player that shapes and produces our possible ways of speaking. Today much scholarly attention is paid to the way archives actively produce discourse and shape public memory. The current transformation of the audiovisual archive certainly raises

new questions concerning our notions of history and memory because the new technologies of recording, storing and retrieving information change the content of the archivable and thus determine which statements and images enter discourse and memory. The growing accumulation of images in the archive, and the circulation of these historical images in our media society have severe consequences for the way we remember the past and for the way historical knowledge is produced and legitimized. With the work of Derrida, the archive has become a site that is indissolubly connected to the future, and this is certainly true in the cases of both the audiovisual and digital archive. Its virtual dimension is alive more than ever, as images are constantly being recycled and reused in the present.

Returning full-circle, I arrive at where I began, with the physical building of Sound and Vision. This building is surely symptomatic of all these shifts in society and theory. Now that in the archive of Sound and Vision the actual materiality of newly preserved documents is disappearing as a result of digitization, this certainly does not mean that less value is attached to the actual material place of the archive. On the contrary, at the very moment that the archive's holdings are becoming dematerialized, the monumental building emphasizes the glory, the importance, the aliveness and the authority of the Institute of Sound and Vision. Its coloured glass façade is a reflection of the unique treasures that the archive holds, it is also the sliver of the window through which I look at the archive's holdings and through which I can see only a sliver of the (historical) reality that these holdings depict. The archival images printed on the glass-panels of the façade are continually abstracted, fractured and transposed by reflected sunlight. Depending on my perspective, I see different things. The façade thus seems to perfectly symbolize my critical approach to the archive of Sound and Vision and represents the archival prism through which I view the object of my research. If the archive of Sound and Vision is in the first place the spokesman of the language of its discursive regimes and thus a monument to configurations of power, this power is then inherently inscribed in the documents inside, in the descriptions of the records and in the archive's system of classification and labelling. In the case studies that follow, I investigate television's representation of Muslims and Islam through the prism of the archive, seeing with the archive and reading it along the grain. Now it's finally time to move from the archive as a conceptual tool to the concrete archive of Sound and Vision and to analyse what I actually see when I look through its façade.

CHAPTER 2
Setting the Scene: Muslims and Islam in the Archive of Sound and Vision

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> As archivists are the first to note, to understand an archive one needs to understand the institutions that it served. One needs to understand what subjects are cross-referenced, what parts are rewritten, what quotes are cited […].
>
> Ann Laura Stoler (2002: 98)

> Since the end of World War II, the social, racial and gender characteristics of the typical immigrant have regularly changed, sometimes rapidly, sometimes gradually, each phase corresponding to various images and forms of representations […].
>
> Mireille Rosello (2002: 5)

Suppose you were a documentary filmmaker who wants to make a film about the post-war history of Islamic immigration and Muslim presence in the Netherlands. You want to construct an historical overview from the sixties until now through a compilation of archival footage. You will probably start your research by surfing to the online catalogue of the archive of Sound and Vision and by using keywords to search through the collection. Maybe you will use general keywords, such as "Islam" or "Muslims". As you will be confronted with a huge amount of hits, you might decide to first explore the initial decades of television coverage of the arrival of Islamic immigrants, and use the option of the search engine to narrow down your search to items from the sixties and the seventies. Soon enough you will discover that you will not find many items that were tagged with Islam and Muslims during these decades. You will probably watch some of the items you have found; you will notice that most of these items are about the celebration and performance of religious rituals of Islamic guest workers. Because you aspire to use a greater variety of imagery, you might decide to change your search strategy and use other terms, such as "guest worker" and "foreign worker". Now you will find a large amount of items in the sixties and the seventies; items that cover a variety of themes, such as the recruitment of Moroccan guest workers, the housing-problems of Turkish guest workers, their labour in Dutch factories, and the attitude of the Dutch. As you continue your research and extend your search for archival footage of Islamic immigrants during the eighties and the nineties, you will come to the conclusion that in order to find interesting material you need to once again change your search terms. You might start to use terms such as "ethnic minorities" or "*allochtonen*"; you

will be confronted with enormous amounts of items and programmes about a vast array of themes. And finally, when you start to research the years between 2000 and 2010, you will find out that it is rewarding to return to the initial keywords with which you began: Muslims and Islam.

What you have experienced during the research for your film, is what I also experienced when I began to explore the archive of Sound and Vision for this project. While navigating and searching through the collection, a user would not only find a large amount of interesting archival footage of Islamic immigrants, but would also be confronted with the underlying logic of the classification and filing system of the archive. During your research trajectory you become aware of the fact that this archive has a history of its own that has shaped the selection and the description of the broadcast material that it holds. You have become conscious of the fact that while searching through various decades, you have constantly been trying to bridge the "semantic gap" between you and the archive.[27] At some moments, you might have felt like a prisoner, who is unavoidably disciplined by the archive's authority, because in order to find interesting and relevant images you are forced to speak its language. At other moments, you might have been overwhelmed by the enormous amount of footage that searching with a keyword like Islam provides. Irrevocably, you have come to realize that the kind of (television) history you can produce is dependent on and shaped by the access to your research material, and thus by the archiving practices of this particular archive. And finally, you have come to the conclusion that during this confrontation with the archive's filing system, you have actually learnt much about the ways in which the perspective of Muslims in the Netherlands has changed over the course of five decades.

In this chapter I present a general overview of the history of the representation of Islam and Muslims on Dutch public television through the scope of the archiving practices of one specific archive. I let the metadata that Sound and Vision has employed to disclose the collection – keywords and descriptions – guide me through television history. By reading the archive of Sound and Vision "along the grain" (Stoler: 2002/2009), I trace the programs and items that have been tagged with the keywords Islam and Muslims through five decades of television history. The aim of this chapter is to map the history of the television coverage of Muslims and Islam by navigating television history through the prism of Sound and Vision's

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[27] Julia Noordegraaf defines the term "semantic gap" – that originates from the field of automatic image retrieval in computer science- as follows: "the difference between the keywords assigned to objects by a professional annotator (usually from a controlled vocabulary) and the search terms the general public uses for referring to or finding the same document." (Noordegraaf 2011: 4)

archiving practices, and to identify the frequencies of coverage, the thematic patterns of coverage and the (recurrent) images that were used to illustrate stories. This chapter is in fact an attempt to evaluate how the television coverage of Muslims and Islam was spread over a range of limited and repetitive topics in the various decades, and to pinpoint the core images of Muslims and Islam that circulated during these decades. By looking at Dutch television history through the very archive that preserves this history, I demonstrate how Dutch public television and the archive of Sound and Vision have constituted certain visual repertoires of Muslims and Islam in the Netherlands.

In order to clarify my conceptual framework and methodology for a television historiography that takes the framing of the broadcast material by the archive of Sound and Vision into account, I first present a short institutional history of the archive. I elaborate on the history of the collection and on the position of the archive within the Dutch pillarized media landscape. I describe its selection and retention policies throughout the years, discuss the practices of archival description and show how their archiving practices spring from its function as a company archive for various broadcasting organizations and from the archive's task of facilitating reuse for these organizations. This results in an elaboration of the method I use to navigate television history. From there, I proceed to present an overview of the television coverage of Muslims and Islam from the beginning of the sixties until the end of 2010, during which I analyse the themes and images of televisual stories about Muslims in the Netherlands in the various decades of post-war immigration.

2.1 A Short Biography of the Archive of Sound and Vision

With more than 800.000 hours of film, television and radio stored in its vaults, this archive is one of the largest audiovisual archives in Europe. A substantial amount of the Dutch audiovisual heritage is kept in this repository and the collection is rapidly growing every day, as the archive has moved to a situation in which all (or nearly all) public broadcasts are received and stored digitally. Since 2006 (television) and 2008 (radio), all public broadcasts enter the archive digitally and the amount of content that it receives daily is larger than it ever was before. It's collection resulted from a fusion between four different institutions in 1997, and consequently it holds various different collections and sub-collections, such as the collection of television broadcasts of *Polygoon Journaals* (cinema newsreels), Dutch documentary, corporate films, commercials, amateur films, educational films, radio broadcasts,

radio plays, music and concert registrations, and a collection of photographs and artefacts from Dutch broadcasting history. Within the collection of moving images, the collection of public television broadcasts is the largest sub-collection, and it contains more than 225.000 hours of footage.[28] To facilitate reflection on the history of this collection, I investigate the changes in the selection and retention policy of the television archive of public broadcasting while considering the shift from the past emphasis of its function as a mere company archive for broadcasting organizations to the current emphasis on its public function as an archive of cultural heritage.

From passive to active acquisition – until 1997
The collection of television broadcasts dates back to the 2nd of October 1951, when the Dutch Television Foundation (*NTS: Nederlandse Televisie Stichting*) broadcast the first official television program. The NTS was the umbrella organization of the various Dutch pillarized public broadcasting organizations, the AVRO, NCRV, KRO, VARA, and later also the VPRO. During the fifties and sixties, the NTS began collecting newsreels (*Polygoon Journaals*) and broadcast material in a central place to facilitate its reuse for broadcasting organizations. In 1969, the NTS fused with the NRU (the Dutch Radio Union) and changed its name to the NOS, the Dutch Broadcasting Foundation (*Nederlandse Omroep Stichting*). In the eighties, when video emerged, the NOS renamed its film archive the *Film- en Beeldbandarchief*, the Film and Videotape Archive (FBA). In 1990, the *Film- en Beeldbandarchief* merged with the *Fonotheek* – the radio archive – into the Foundation Audiovisual Archive Centre (*Stichting Audiovisueel Archief Centrum/ AVAC*), which developed into the company archive of public broadcasting during the nineties. Finally, the AVAC became part of the Dutch Audiovisual Archive (*Nederlands Audiovisueel Archief/ NAA*) that was established in 1997. The foundation of the NAA was the outcome of a fusion between the company archive of public broadcasting, the AVAC, with three other institutions: the film archive of the RVD (the Information Service of the Government), the Foundation of Film and Science, and the Broadcasting Museum.

During the first three decades of its existence, the archive of public broadcasting was primarily a company archive and it was not until the beginning of

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[28] See the document 'Collectiebeleid Beeld en Geluid' that is published on the website of Sound and Vision: http://files.beeldengeluid.nl/pdf/BenG_Collectiebeleid_20130325.pdf (edited by Mieke Lauwers, January 2013)

the nineties that the archive drew up its first official selection and retention policy (van Kampen and Graswinckel 2009: 160). During these initial decades, there was no legal obligation for the broadcasting organizations to deposit audiovisual material, and the archive's attitude towards acquisition was passive. The selection and retention policy of the archive emanated from and was focused completely on the needs of the various broadcasting organizations thay decided which programmes or excerpts to keep and preserve. Until the arrival of magnetic tape in the seventies, most programs were broadcast live (they were immediately lost after broadcasting) and only a few programs, which had been recorded on film, survived. From the seventies onwards, the collection became a bit more representative of what was broadcast daily in those years. The formation of the collection was the result of both, organizational factors (the broadcasting companies kept submitting material randomly) and economic factors (Ampex tapes used for broadcasting were expensive and thus they were often erased and reused after transmission) (de Jong 1997a, 1). In these years, the broadcasting companies submitted mainly news and actualities (items from the NTS *Journaals* and actuality magazines), and sometimes they submitted complete programmes, but also only shots or small items. This material was archived and catalogued on a detailed shot level to facilitate the reuse of the material for various broadcasting organizations (van Kampen and Graswinckel 2009, 159-67). For more than three decades the archive of public broadcasting was located at the end of the production chain; it collected and catalogued material delivered by program makers after broadcasting.

Growing discontent about the gaps in the collection, a rising awareness of the cultural and historical value of audiovisual material and the development of new technologies finally lead to the emergence of the first selection policy in the early nineties (ibid). After its fusion with the radio archive in 1990, the archive of public broadcasting (now called the AVAC) made a transition from a passive to an active acquisition of television programmes. The archive no longer just waited for material to arrive after broadcasting, but selected material to be added to the collection before broadcasting, based on a list of criteria that reflected cultural-historical concerns. Furthermore, the archive began to record programs itself, which increased its independence from the broadcasting companies (ibid). This active acquisition forced the archive to devise a selection policy and to formulate an extended list of criteria for selection and retention. The upcoming foundation of the Dutch Audiovisual Archive (and the fusion with the other three institutions) gave rise to an urgency to make explicit the relation between the role of the archive as a company

archive for broadcasting organizations and the public function of the archive to safeguard cultural heritage.

The foundation of the Dutch Audiovisual Archive (NAA) – after 1997

Although it nowadays seems so self-evident that audiovisual collections are part of our national cultural heritage, it was not until 1995 that the Dutch government decided to found a national institute that would be responsible for the preservation the country's audiovisual heritage. Ideological changes in the field of archiving and a growing awareness of the historical value of audiovisual material finally lead to the foundation of the Dutch Audiovisual Archive (NAA) in 1997 (and to the fusion of the television broadcast archive with three other institutes).[29] With the birth of the NAA, the function of the archive began to shift from a mere company archive for the broadcasting organizations towards an institute for the safeguarding of cultural heritage. In the formulated selection policy, some criteria reflected the archive's objective to serve the public broadcasting organizations and emphasized the reuse value of the material, while others reflected the archive's ambitions to preserve cultural heritage and emphasized the cultural-historical value of the material. In the years following and upon the foundation of the NAA, the archive professionalized further, and in 2002 changed its name into the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision.[30]

The selection policy for television programs that was formulated in 1997 stated that the archive only kept programmes that were produced and broadcast by Dutch public broadcasting organizations. So foreign productions, unless they were about the Netherlands or dealing with a Dutch subject, were not accepted and neither were productions of commercial broadcasting organizations (with a few exceptions). For the selection of the Dutch public broadcasting programmes there were several general criteria: all the actuality programmes were kept, as well as the NOS *Journaals*, all non-recurrent broadcasts, all items about national events, all drama series, all talk-shows, all programmes on art and nature, and all other informative programmes. Of other sorts of programmes, such as shows, comedies, quizzes, magazines, lifestyle programmes, only a few exemplary episodes of the season were archived. These general rules and selection criteria were further

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[29] See van Wijk (2000) for a detailed discussion of the institutional developments in audiovisual archiving in the eighties and nineties in the Netherlands.
[30] See Lauwers and Hogenkamp (2006) for a more detailed discussion of the developments of audiovisual archiving in the Netherlands after 1997.

specified in more elaborated sets of criteria that applied to the sub-collections Programs, *Journaal* and Historical Material.[31]

In practice, the criteria for selection were embedded in a dynamic complex of guidelines and agreements. During the actual implementation of the selection policy, much weight was attached to the need of both broadcasting organizations and producers to reuse material. Particularly the archive's selection of actuality material, footage from *Journaal* and actuality magazines was guided by the principle of reusability and was therefore preferably kept and described on the level of the item (De Jong 2007). Besides the historical relevance and the importance of the topic or event, the selection policy for *Journaal* items listed for example criteria such as the emotional impact of images, the symbolic value of images and the neutral character of images that make them suitable for reuse in various contexts. So although in the early nineties, the selection policy of the archive underwent a drastic transformation, and shifted towards a more public functioning of the archive, it retained its role as a company archive that aimed to serve the needs of broadcasters and producers, who merely look upon the archive as a collection of stock shots.

From selection to cataloguing – after 2006

In 2006, the Institute for Sound and Vision moved to its current location and underwent yet another important transformation. Since late September 2006, the archive receives and stores all public broadcasts digitally and has made the transition from analogue tape to digital file. In this new digital environment the amount of content that the archive receives is larger than ever before and this has resulted in a different kind of selection policy. The focus has now shifted from the practice of selection to the practice of cataloguing (van Kampen and Graswinckel 2009, 162-66). The central system and infrastructure that enables an automated tapeless television production workflow is named the Digital Facility (*Digitale Voorziening*). In the Digital Facility the workflows of selecting, storing, preserving and cataloguing have become integrated. The current iMMix catalogue, the central Media Asset Management system, was implemented in 2006 and was focused on accumulating everything in one collection. Since the current archive is the result of the fusion of four different institutions with different legacies, all the descriptions from the old catalogues were brought together in the layered metadata structure of iMMix. This multimedia catalogue is based on a sophisticated metadata model, and

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[31] See de Jong (1997) for an elaborate overview of the selection policy and the various criteria for the sub-collections.

plays a crucial role in the digital production chain of the archive. The acquisition of material now operates by transfer of files, that contain the programmes but also metadata that are attached by the broadcasters or automatically generated by algorithms, directly from the television broadcasting centre to the iMMix system. iMMix imports programmes from the television broadcasting production process, indexes the programmes on the basis of the attached metadata, and finally manages and makes available metadata and content. So in the current situation, the archive first harvests all public broadcasts – there is no more selection, everything is simply kept – and then decides (or selects) on what level of cataloguing (from basic to detailed) a certain episode should be archived (ibid.). The archive uses three different levels of cataloguing in order to make the material available and retrievable to as many different users as possible. The overarching principle that Sound and Vision uses in deciding on which level to catalogue material is the reuse value of the material and its cultural historical value (ibid.).

On the first level of cataloguing the material is described with minimal effort, and carries only basic formal metadata and metadata that are added by broadcasting companies before broadcast. These programmes are thus no longer viewed and described by an archivist. On this level, one will find genres such as quizzes, game shows, language courses and gymnastic programmes. On the second level of cataloguing the content of the material is described in more detail, more effort and a smarter use of (external) metadata. Archivists catalogue the programmes, but they do not view the complete programme. On this level a summary, keywords and other fields such a "persons" and "geographical names" are added to the description. Genres such as soap operas, drama, medical programmes, and talk shows are catalogued on this level. Finally, on the third level the programme is described in detail and with maximum effort. An archivist views the complete programme, makes a detailed summary and indexation, divides the programme into items and shots and describes these in detail. On this level one will find news, actualities, documentaries, cultural programmes, serious talk shows and special broadcasts (ibid). This is the traditional way of cataloguing and describing that the archive previously carried out in the pre-digital era.

The impact of digitization goes further than the above-described influx of born-digital material. Sound and Vision has also started to digitize its analogue holdings and currently participates in various large-scale (international) projects for digital preservation and (online) access to audiovisual heritage. In 2007, the project Images for the Future (*Beelden voor de Toekomst*) began. Sound and Vision

participated along with five other institutions in this large-scale digitization project, which has given an enormous impulse for the migration of its holdings to digital formats.[32] Within this project, the archive has also developed a licensed model of Creative Commons to make the material easily available with regard to its copyrights.[33] Furthermore, it partakes in various initiatives to develop integrated systems and new technologies for digital preservation, such as PrestoSpace and its follow-up PrestoPrime, and the NWO-program CATCH (Continuous Access to Cultural heritage). Additionally, it participates in various European projects that have the purpose of making available and accessible audiovisual heritage, such as the online portal Video Active (launched in 2009) and its follow-up project EU Screen. Thus, Sound and Vision is clearly at the forefront of exceedingly important developments in the international archival community.

Metadata creation in Sound and Vision

What has become clear from the above-described conversion of Sound and Vision to a digital workflow is that in the current situation increasingly more metadata are being created outside the context of the archive. However, this is only a very new development, and until recently all metadata were manually produced by the archivists and documentalists, which, as Sound and Vision archivist Annemieke de Jong describes, were in full control of their catalogues (de Jong 2007, 1). The creation of metadata is an important tool to disclose and make retrievable the audiovisual material, and to bridge the semantic gap between archive and user.[34] In this archive the descriptions need to meet two demands: firstly, the catalogue description has to function as a substitute for the program itself, due to the time-based nature of AV-content, a text description of the shots and scenes is the only way to quickly grasp the content of the program; and secondly, the description

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[32] In the document 'Collectiebeleid Beeld en Geluid' (2013) is stated that 50 % of the audiovisual collection is now available on digital formats.

[33] Sound and Vision only owns the copyrights of the collection of the BVD (the Government Information Service), and part of the collection of the *Polygoon Journaals*. Sound and Vision functions as mediator between the copyright holders (in the case of the television material these are often the broadcasting organizations) and parties that want to reuse the material.

[34] Metadata are a crucial part of the archiving process. This information makes the data understandable, manageable and retrievable. Documentalists and information specialists do the classification of archival objects and their description. There are different sorts of metadata: descriptive metadata (they describe the semantic content of the program and give other contextual information), technical and formal metadata (they describe for example the carrier of the program, or the date of broadcasting) and administrative metadata (they are used to manage the material, for example they give information about copyrights).

needs to facilitate easy reuse of its parts (ibid 3). Therefore, the cataloguing approach of the archive is one in which an audiovisual product is considered as an aggregation of separate parts and elements, thus as a collection of items and clips (ibid). Besides, due to the semantic richness of audiovisual material, the descriptions have to deal with different levels of meaning, such the information content (who, what, when, how), the audiovisual content (what is seen and heard) and the stock shots (shots that can be reused in a different context). These stock shots are described under the heading "Shots" in the catalogue, and they are either specific news items that may acquire a current relevance, or generic images that can be reused in many different contexts. Besides these stock shots, the archival material (in the case of a program that has reused archival footage) is also described in the catalogue, under the heading "*Dupes*" or "*Archief*".

For indexing and assigning keywords, the archive uses a thesaurus, which is a controlled vocabulary of related terms whose relations are hierarchical. Keywords are ascribed on the basis of the descriptions of the content of material (this is done by the same documentalist that has made the descriptions); they need to do justice to the different semantics of the material and discriminate main topics from additional topics. De Jong writes that there are many semantic complications with the assigning of keywords to audiovisual material, in particular on the levels of the audiovisual content and the stock shots, because this content holds so many details and thus ambiguity (ibid. 4). The current thesaurus was put into use in 2004, so it is only very recently that Sound and Vision works with this professional metadata structure where keywords have their own place in a network of fixed relations. In the pre-digital era, there were no clear rules for assigning keywords; the archive worked with an enormous collection of single keywords in alphabetical order (ibid.). These keywords mainly dealt with audiovisual content and stock shots, and were used to tag the many visual characteristics and details of the material to enable all possible sorts of reuse. De Jong argues that, despite the fact that it was a messy way to build up a rich collection of re-usable content, the enormous pile of single keywords "contained every imaginable viewpoint on the content and subsequently, many different ways to access and exploit our shots and sequences" (ibid.).

2.2 Seeing with the Archive of Sound and Vision

What has become clear from this short biography of Sound and Vision is that this broadcasting archive has very close ties with the broadcasting companies that it

serves, and that it has not in the first place been aimed at historical research. What counts for many European broadcasting archives, as Andy O'Dwyer (2008) has indicated, certainly also applies to Sound and Vision:

> Archiving often had little to do with history, heritage or future research. The archives existed (as they mainly do today) within the broadcast company itself, strictly to serve the needs of the broadcaster. The principal needs were to hold material for repeats or for resale elsewhere, or to provide footage for reuse. The footage reuse is largely either of specific news items that may acquire a current relevance, or "stock shots" of general items […] that can be fitted into many different programme contexts. The catalogues associated with these collections were aimed at these categories of reuse […]. (258-59)

Before going into more detail about the method I have used to navigate television history, I first elaborate on how, in Nesmith's phrasing (2002), we can "see with" the archive. The fact that this archive is so entangled with broadcasting companies, and that its archiving policies and practices are to a large extent the result of its task to facilitate reuse, implies that the meaning of Sound and Vision's holdings is framed by "tacit narratives" (Ketelaar: 2001) that are infused by the broadcasters. It is useful to explain how I use these holdings as a source for the television history that I aim to write and to reflect on the way the archive has framed the meaning of records during the various stages of archiving.

Making transparent Sound and Vision's "semantic genealogy"

In respect to Sound and Vision's holdings, the television collection is thus to a large extent the result of a selectivity that is informed by needs and values of broadcasting organizations. Thus what is at stake is what television scholar Lynn Spigel (2010) has phrased as follows: "[…] what remains of TV today belies a set of strategies and statements made by groups that had particular investments in the medium" (70). If we consider this archive as the result of a judgment of what is considered archivable, in line with Mbembe (2002), and if we look at the first stage of archiving that Ketelaar (2001) has coined as "archivalization" (the conscious or unconscious choice to consider something worth archiving) what has become clear is that the largest part of my research covers decades, namely the sixties, seventies and eighties, during which it was the broadcasters who decided which programmes to keep. During the nineties, in which the archive has made the transition from company archive to public archive, and has moved towards active acquisition, the broadcasting companies continued to be actors in the selection policy of Sound and

Vision. Also in the current situation, one of the criteria to decide the level of cataloguing is reusability. Thus, the broadcasters were and still are important players in the process by which certain documents are set, to use Nesmith's evocative phrasing (2002), on a "pedestal".

In the stage of archival representation, Sound and Vision adds metadata to the records in order to make them retrievable. As I demonstrated in the first chapter, these acts of describing, classifying and indexing records can be considered as cultural constructs that reify social and political values, and that inevitably highlight and make visible some views and silence others. Once again, broadcasters have been actors in this process of archival representation, since the needs of the broadcasters have defined the way the records have been described and catalogued. For broadcasters this archive is first and foremost a rapidly expanding collection of stock shots and reusable archive footage. Sound and Vision actively facilitates the reuse of archival material for the broadcasting organizations through the practice of archival representation. Consequently, the practice of archival representation of Sound and Vision supports and serves what I call the logic of the medium of television: the need to constantly visualize abstract stories with stock shots and the convention to reuse archival material. In particular, the practice of describing items on a detailed shot level can be seen in this light. By describing these stock shots Sound and Vision highlights certain visual units as having a potential for reuse, and makes them easily retrievable and available for television professionals.

It is valuable to explain here how I study the history of television coverage of Islam and Muslims "along the archival grain" (Stoler: 2002/2009). Firstly, since the archive can be treated as a set of discursive rules delineating what can and cannot be said at certain historical moments, the content and descriptions of the television collection of Sound and Vision mirror what televisual stories could be told at various historical moments, and what was the dominant language (both visual and verbal) at the time. Secondly, since the archive can be considered a set of rules that not only define the "limits and forms of the sayable" (Foucault, 1978: 59), but also "the limits and forms of conservation" (ibid. 60), the collection and descriptions of Sound and Vision's holdings reflect what at the time was considered worth keeping and disclosing for the future, and indicate – in the words of Foucault – "Which utterances are destined to disappear without a trace […]? Which are destined […] to enter into human memory […]? Which are marked down as reusable […]?" (ibid.). And since what has been considered worth archiving and describing in detail has to a large

extent been determined by the material's potential for reuse, the way the broadcast material has been archived can be understood in terms of the logic of the medium of television and in terms of television's obsession with its own past. Consequently, I consider each act of selection, description and indexing as an act aimed towards the future; as a performance that anticipates future use. This means that I view the records from the perspective of multiple temporalities: when I travel through the archive, I do not only travel back into the past, but also into the imagined futures of the past. Finally, it is exactly Sound and Vision's "pact with the future" (Derrida: 1995) that turns the archive into an active player in Dutch media culture and that forms an important parameter of my research.

The consequence of this approach to Dutch television history, of reading the archive "along the grain", is that I ignore the gaps in the collection and that I consider what this archive has consigned to oblivion to be outside of the scope of this research. As Derrida (1995) has theorized with his notion of the "violence of the archive" (7), there lies "forgetfulness in the very heart of the archival monument" (7). Yet, as Derrida has argued, this forgetfulness itself leaves no traces, which makes the forgetting of the archive – the gaps and voids – quite difficult to study. Clearly, the programs and items that form the corpus of this dissertation are not an exact reflection of what has been broadcast on Dutch television. Because the collection of Sound and Vision is the result of the above described selective forces, I look at the history of Dutch television coverage of Muslims and Islam through the "sliver of the window" (Harris: 2002) of Sound and Vision's archiving practices, and I view the archive as sliver rather that as incomplete whole. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the method I employ to map this history gives a solid indication of the thematic structure and the visual repertoires of the television coverage of Muslims and Islam throughout the decades. Despite the fact that not everything that has been broadcast has been archived – this is specifically the case for the early decades of the archive's existence – the genres of news and actualities that are the focus of my research have been quite systematically preserved and described. For the very reason that both the historical value and the reuse value of this material has always been regarded as high, there are neither a lot of gaps nor time-lags in the disclosure of this part of the collection of the archive.[35] More importantly, the incompleteness of this archive does not inhibit using its holdings as a source for the history that I aim

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[35] Interview with Sound and Vision's documentalists Vincent Huis in t'Veld (17-05-2010), Alma Wolthuis (27-04-2011) and Irma van Kampen (03-05-2011). In general, the descriptions of *Journaal* and actuality programs have been written in the same period as the material was broadcast.

to write, because my approach allows me to consider the sources as, in William Uricchio's (2005) phrasing, "discursive evidence" of the dominant narratives and visual repertoires of Muslims and Islam (262).

Navigating the collection

Because studying the history of television coverage of Muslims and Islam through the prism of the archive of Sound and Vision is not a straightforward process in terms of methodology, I will now finally clarify the choices I made and the considerations I kept in mind. For the simple reason that I have access to the collection of this archive through the iMMix catalogue only, the method that I use to map the history of television coverage is determined by the options offered by the search engine of this catalogue. I begin with a clarification of the structuring principle that I use to divide the lengthy history of five decades of television coverage into different slices. Because I wanted to avoid imposing a prefixed periodization on my research material, but nonetheless needed (for reasons of clarity and legibility) some sort of structuring principle, I chose to arrange the results of my search through the archive in time slices of ten years; beginning with the sixties and ending with the years 2000-2010. This choice is determined by the option of the search engine to trace keywords by decade. Obviously, this dissection into decades is an intervention in the historical reality of the television coverage of Muslims, but at least it is an intervention that is compatible with my overall approach to television historiography, in which the archive is my very literal point of departure. By using the random temporal structuring principles of the search engine of the archive's catalogue, I allow my research material to speak for itself, and I can make connections to what is described in the literature of the history of immigration and the institutionalization of Islam in the Netherlands.

Subsequently, I mapped the history of television coverage in each decade by searching with the keywords "Muslims" and "Islam". I chose to search with keywords instead of searching in the open text (in the descriptions of the material) because I wanted to focus on the programs and items that – according to Sound and Vision's standards – deal with Islam and/or Muslims as their main topic. These keywords have been in use by the archive since the beginning, and thus have always been valid categories to disclose the archive's collection.[36] In each decade, I indicate

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[36] Interview with Sound and Vision's documentalist Alma Wolthuis (27-04-2011). Both keywords are subcategories of the classification "other religions", that itself is a subcategory of "life philosophy (*levensbeschouwingen*), which is one of the sixteen main subject classifications in the thesaurus. Because these keywords have the same status in terms of hierarchy, and because they are such

the total amount of hits that these keywords render, and since I am interested in the television coverage of specifically Dutch Muslims and Islam in the Netherlands, I specify how many of these address the Dutch context.[37] Besides, since the iMMix catalogue indicates which additional keywords the material has received, I also reflect on how the categories of Islam and Muslims were interrelated with other categories in each decade. I then give an overview of the thematic structure of these programs while identifying the repertoires of images that have been employed to visualize the stories.[38] I conclude with a reflection on the way the material has been archived. I pay particularly attention to the generic shots and archival material that Sound and Vision has highlighted in the descriptions. Because if, as Allan Sekula (1987) has argued about photo archives, "the archive constitutes the paradigm or iconic system from which photographic 'statements' are constructed" (118), it is interesting to analyze which "statements" have been highlighted by the archive. This not only indicates what were core images and repeated archival images in televisual stories about Muslims and Islam, it also reveals which images were marked as reusable, were destined to be put into circulation, and thus elevated onto yet another pedestal by this archive.

2.3 The Sixties: The Arrival of Turkish and Moroccan Guest Workers and the Invisibility of their Islamic religion

During these initial years of labour immigration, the religious identity of guest workers was not yet very visible on television. A search through the archive with the keywords "Islam" and "Muslims" results in 64 programs or items, of which only a

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common terms in public discourse, I consider them the most logic keywords to work with. In my analysis of the themes and visual repertoires of the programs, I have chosen to not differentiate between programs that have been tagged with "Muslims" and programs tagged with "Islam". Besides, many programs have been disclosed with both keywords, and I do not double count these.

[37] I am aware of the fact that the constantly increasing amount of television coverage of Islam and Muslims is not only the result of a growing amount of media attention. There are also other factors at play. Besides the growing amount of material that was actually kept and preserved by Sound and Vision, the growing amount of television networks (in 1965 the second network appeared and in 1988 the third) and air-time is of course also a very important factor.

[38] I have based the analysis of the thematic structure and visual repertoires on the viewing of the material. If material was not available- because of its carrier (of the early decades not all material that has been preserved on film has been migrated to video or digital formats) or because it was missing- or if the large amount of hits made it impossible to view all material (this is only the case in the last two decades), then I have based my findings on the descriptions of the material.

total amount of 14 explicitly addressed the Dutch context.[39] The bulk of programs tagged with "Islam" and "Muslims" dealt with foreign countries such as Indonesia, Egypt, Pakistan, and other countries in the Middle East. In this decade, many of the programs that addressed the Dutch context have also been indexed with the keyword "foreign workers" (*buitenlandse werknemers*). This keyword gives substantially more hits, in total 76 programs that dealt with the Netherlands.[40] These programs were not only about Turkish and Moroccan but also about Spanish, Greek, Italian, Portuguese and Yugoslavian guest workers. They covered a variety of themes that concerned the harsh living conditions of these guest workers. Compared to the amount of programs that dealt with the economic and social conditions of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, only a relatively small amount of programs actually addressed their religious identity. This sporadic coverage was about the nature of the Islamic belief and about its rituals and practices. Before going into more detail about what this coverage actually looked like, let me first sketch the broader context of the initial years of labour immigration and look at the patterns of coverage of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in programs and items that have not been tagged with "Islam" or "Muslims".

The daily lives of guest workers

During the sixties, the number of Moroccan and Turkish immigrants was still relatively low compared to Southern Europeans and the phenomenon of the guest worker was still fairly new. During these years, they appeared in a few actuality magazines that completely revolved around the phenomenon of labour immigration, such as the twofold documentary *Toeloop uit het Zuiden* (*Influx from the South*)[41], and in programs that portrayed individual guest workers, such as the magazine *Overal en Ergens* (*Everywhere and Anywhere*).[42] They further appeared in news and actuality items that addressed the harsh social and economic circumstances of their daily lives. A recurring topic was the housing situation of guest workers. Besides

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[39] During the sixties the keyword "Islam" renders 53 hits (excluding the 41 items "internationale nieuwsuitwisseling"), of which 13 deal with the Dutch context. The keyword "Muslims" generates 4 hits (excluding the 7 "*internationale nieuwsuitwisseling*" items), of which only one is about the Netherlands. So during the sixties, only a total of 14 programs or items that were tagged with "Islam" and/or "Muslims" explicitly addressed the Dutch context (date of search: 9-12-2011).

[40] The keyword "*buitenlandse werknemers*" renders 85 hits (excluding the 4 "*internationale nieuwsuitwisseling*"), of which 76 dealt with the Netherlands. 7 of these were also tagged with "Islam" and 1 with "Muslims".

[41] *Toeloop uit het Zuiden* (IKOR, 09-10-1966 and 16-10-1966).

[42] *Overal en Ergens* (NCRV, 21-10-1966).

various news items about the opening of boarding houses, there were actuality magazines, such as *Achter het Nieuws* that quite critically addressed the degrading housing situation of Turkish and Moroccan guest workers.[43] Television also reported on the nature of their labour and on their exploitation by Dutch employers, and showed the harsh work that these guest workers were forced to do in factories, mines and harbours.[44]

Figure 3 a-f. A selection of stills from *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 11-04-1969) (still a, b and c) , *Toeloop uit het Zuiden* (IKOR, 09-10-1966) (still f) and *Overal en Ergens* (NCRV, 21-10-1966) (still d and e).

Another recurring topic was the attitude of the Dutch towards immigrants. Some programs reported on the racist attitude of the Dutch and on the phenomenon of discrimination[45], and on various incidents related to this, for example the murder of a Turkish guest worker in Venlo in 1965[46] and protests of Dutch inhabitants against the arrival of Turkish guest workers in their neighbourhood in 1968.[47] Other programs were about the commitment of the Dutch who volunteered to help improve the situation of the guest workers by teaching them

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[43] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 05-10-1965), *Attentie* (NCRV, 15-05-1965), *Werken der Barmhartigheid* (KRO, 12-11-1965), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 11-04-1969), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 06-10-1969)

[44] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 19-10-1960), *Attentie* (NCRV, 23-11-1960), *Journaal* (NTS, 08-09-1961), *Journaal* (NTS, 27-10-1963), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 01-09-1966)

[45] For example: *Forum Minderheden* (VPRO, 01-10-1967), *Vrijdag de Dertiende* (VPRO, 29-04-1969)

[46] *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 07-01-1965)

[47] *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 20-02-1968)

Dutch for example, or by organizing leisure activities.[48] Apart from themes of housing, labour and the attitude of the Dutch, television reported on the recruitment of guest workers, which the item of *Televizier* (1969) about the recruitment of Moroccans is a famous example.[49] In general, what is striking about the television coverage of foreign workers in the sixties is the engaged tone of the programs; their critique of Dutch hospitality and their attempt to create awareness of the hard conditions in which the guest workers were forced live. The visual repertoire consisted of images of interiors of boarding houses, bad housing conditions, factory labour, the arrival of guest workers packed with suitcases, and images of their daily lives and of their encounters with the Dutch. So in the sixties, the guest worker that lived temporarily within the Dutch border was mainly spoken of in terms of economic and social conditions. It is instructive to now have a closer look at the scarce instances in which his religion was explicitly addressed.

Figure 4. Stills from *Toeloop uit het Zuiden* (IKOR, 09-10-1966 and *Televizier* (AVRO, 21-10-1969)

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[48] For example: *Journaal* (NTS, 21-04-1964). This news item is about the opening of *the Stichting Bijstand Buitenlandse Werknemers*. See for other examples: *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 28-11-1966), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 10-10-1969).
[49] *Televizier* (AVRO, 21-10-1969). See for item on recruitment of Turkish workers: *Attentie* (NCRV, 13-05-1965).

Guest workers performing exotic rituals

In these years, the coverage of Islam and Muslims dealt with the nature of a "new" religion that was brought to the Netherlands as a consequence of Turkish and Moroccan labour immigration, and was limited to only a small variety of topics. The majority of these programs and items reported on religious celebrations and other Islamic rituals of the Moroccan and Turkish guest workers. *Journaal*, the daily news bulletin broadcast by the NTS, focused on the celebration of Islamic festivities such as the Festival of Sacrifice and the end of Ramadan in several short items.[50] The actuality magazines of various broadcasting organizations reported on the nature of the Islamic belief and on its religious rituals in more elaborate items than *Journaal* or even in complete episodes.[51] They covered annual celebrations of Islamic festivities and reported on other rituals, such as the pilgrimage to Mecca and halal slaughter.[52] An item of *Achter het Nieuws* portrayed Dutch women who lived within Istanbul with their Turkish husbands.[53] In 1964, a series about the world's great religions dedicated an episode to the history and nature of Islam (and its five pillars of belief).[54] The episode opened with images of the interior of the Mubarak mosque in

Figure 5 a-f. A selection of stills from *De Grote Wereldgodsdiensten* (NCRV, 04-02-1964)

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[50] *Journaal* (NTS, 12-04-1965 and 23-01-1966 and 01-01-1968 and 10-03-1968 and 02-03-1969)

[51] For example: *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 16-01-1967), *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 11-03-1968), *Denkbeeld* (NTS, 28-01-1969), *Zienswijze* (NOS, 23-11-1969).

[52] For example: *Televizier* (AVRO, 25-03-1965), *Attentie* (NCRV, 11-02-1966).

[53] *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 23-03-1968). This report was made by journalist Koos Postema, who interviewed the women about the role of Islam in their daily lifes (and about other issues), and who interviewed the Dutch anthropologist Wim van Geelen about the position of women in Islam.

[54] *De Grote Wereldgodsdiensten* (NCRV, 04-02-1964).

The Hague and excerpts of a fiction film about the crusades, after which a conservator of the *Tropenmuseum* narrates the history of Islam. The episode furthermore shows interviews with the imam of the Mubarak mosque and with two Dutch converts.[55]

In general, what is striking about this early coverage is that these programs exhibited a sense of curiosity towards this unfamiliar religion and displayed an urgency to introduce the Dutch audience to this "new" religion. Many of these programs and items were set in the Mubarak mosque, which was the only official mosque at the time, and featured its imam Hafiz, who elaborated on the religious doctrine of Islam and explained the meaning of the various Islamic rituals.[56] Other items were set in churches that had been turned into places of worship for Muslims for the special occasion of their religious celebrations, or in other improvised places, like a tent in the Vondelpark in Amsterdam, where Turkish and Moroccan guest workers and Dutch had gathered for a festive meal. In this early coverage, a lot of time was dedicated to observing Muslims who performed religious rituals. Many of the programs include rather long-lasting scenes in which the camera carefully registered the performance of prayers and other exotic rituals. The recurrent visual motifs in these programs were men performing communal prayers, close-ups of men kneeling and bending to the ground while proclaiming "Allahu Akbar", close-ups of the exterior of the Mubarak mosque, close-ups of Arabic writing, and men reciting and singing from the Quran. Women were absent in the coverage, which is not surprising given the fact that family reunification had not yet begun.

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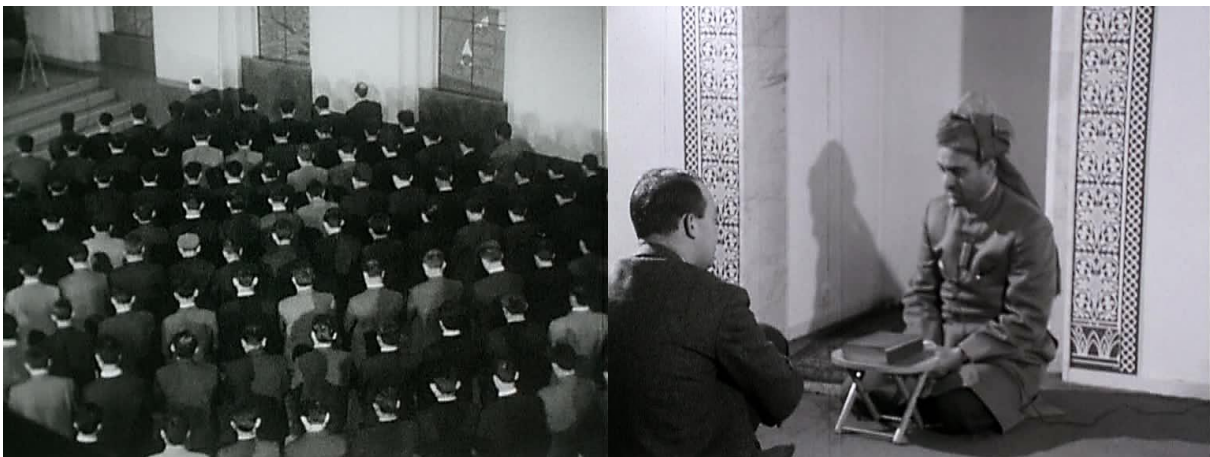
[55] The series also interviews the Dutch Jan Beerenhout who was a local official in Amsterdam Oost, who was committed to the integration of immigrants, and who converted to Islam.
[56] The Mubarak mosque was opened in 1955, and was founded by the *Ahmadiyya* movement. The origin of this movement was in British India at the end of the 19th century. In the Netherlands, the movement was a marginal religious sect.

Figure 6 a-d. A selection of stills from *Attentie* (NCRV, 11-02-1966) (still a and b, prayer and imam Hafiz), *Journaal* (NOS, 01-01-1968) (still c: exterior Mubarak mosque) and *Televizier* (AVRO, 25-03-1965) (still d)

Archival representation in the sixties: "a praying muslim"

In this decade, the majority of the broadcast material that featured Turkish and Moroccan guest workers has been tagged with the keyword "foreign workers" (the word "guest workers" has never been an official keyword), and of this material I found hardly any program that explicitly addressed the religious identity of these guest workers.[57] The two most common additional keywords that have been used to tag this material were "factories" (*fabrieken*) and "housing" (*huisvesting*), which gives a clear indication of the thematic structure of the coverage. The keywords "Islam" and "Muslims" have almost been exclusively employed to label programs whose main topic was the Islamic religion or programs that very explicitly addressed the Islamic religion of guest workers. The most common other keywords that have been used to tag these programs were: "mosques" (*moskeeën*), "prayers" (*gebeden*) and "foreign workers" (*buitenlandse werknemers*).

The above-described images that constituted the visual repertoire of Islam in this decade were also the very images that had been highlighted in the detailed shot descriptions of the material. The archival descriptions mentioned for example: "exterior and interior shots of the Mubarak mosque during an Islamic service"[58], "a praying Muslim"[59], "ext. Mobarak mosque in The Hague"[60], "call for prayer from a

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[57] The only program I have found was an item of *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 07-01-1965) about the murder of a Turkish worker in Venlo. His Islamic identity was mentioned by the Dutch employer, who stresses this as positive, because it keeps the Turkish workers from drinking.

[58] *Televizier* (AVRO, 25-03-1965): "Ext .en int. shots Mubarak moskee in Den Haag tijdens een islamitische godsdienstoefening."

[59] *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 16-01-1967): "biddende Islamiet".

[60] *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 16-01-1967).

minaret"[61], "Turkish and Moroccan guest workers celebrating a religious festivity"[62], "prayers in a mosque"[63]. The detailed descriptions of shots thus reflect the imagery that has been used by television to visualize the stories about Muslims, but also indicate which images were valued as reusable at the time. In a few cases, programs that have been labelled with "Islam" did not explicitly address the Islamic religion. The shot-based cataloguing approach of Sound and Vision provides the explanation for these cases. These programs (a short item of AVRO's *Televizier* [64] about the return to their homeland of a group of Turkish guest workers, and an item of KRO's *Brandpunt* [65]) by journalist Ed van Westerloo about the poverty in Morocco that caused Moroccan men to immigrate to Europe) did not explicitly mention the Islamic religion, but the visuals of the programs contained a scene of prayer, that was highlighted in the detailed archival description ("a Turk praying on a mat" and "a group of Moroccans praying on the street"). Consequently, the programs were tagged with the keyword "Islam".

Figure 7 a-b. prayers in *Journaal* (NOS, 01-01-1968) and *Zienswijze* (NOS, 23-11-1969)

2.4 The Seventies: Guest Workers and their Struggle for Emancipation

During the seventies, Turkish and Moroccan foreign workers became substantially more visible on television, but their religion stayed at the margins of coverage. In these years, Turkish and Moroccan immigrants had outnumbered Southern Europeans; family reunification had been set in motion and reached its zenith at the

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[61] *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 23-03-1968).

[62] *Journaal* (NOS, 02-03-1969), *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 11-03-1968), *Journaal* (NOS, 10-03-1968).

[63] For example: *Zienswijze* (NOS, 23-11-1969), *Journaal* (NTS, 01-01-1968).

[64] *Televizier* (AVRO, 14-01-1965).

[65] *Brandpunt* (KRO, 27-11-1965).

end of the seventies. Hand in hand with their increasing presence in the public sphere, the volume of television coverage of labour immigrants rose considerably in these years. The keyword "foreign workers" provides 325 items/ programs that were set in the Netherlands, considerably more than during the sixties.[66] Strikingly, the amount of items that had been tagged with "Muslims" and "Islam", 49 in total, was less than in the sixties. Of these 49 items, 19 items explicitly addressed the Dutch context.[67] The majority was still about foreign subjects, of which the Iranian revolution (1979) was an exceptionally prominent one. The coverage of "foreign workers" concentrated partly on the same topics as in the sixties – housing, labour and the attitude of the Dutch – and partly on newly emerged topics of education, illegal immigrants, and the struggle for emancipation. Coverage of their religion was still very sporadic and followed the pattern of the sixties. Television programs focused on the nature of the Islamic belief and on the religious rituals of foreign workers. Besides, television coverage concentrated on the lack of facilities to practice religion and on the emergence of these facilities, mainly mosques.

The increased visibility of foreign workers
During this decade, foreign workers became more prominently present on television and special programs emerged that were intended for these foreign workers. In 1974, the NOS launched the program *Paspoort* (*Passport*), which was spoken in the various languages of the foreign workers (there were for example Turkish, Moroccan, Yugoslavian, Italian and Spanish episodes). The design of this program clearly reflected the government's attitude concerning the temporary position of foreign workers in society. Furthermore, programs and documentaries that completely revolved around the position of the guest worker in Dutch society emerged. In 1970, the RKK broadcast two documentaries with the straightforward titles of *Hier en Daar een Turk* (*Here and There a Turk*)[68] and *Hier en Daar een Marokkaan* (*Here and There a Moroccan*)[69]. Additionally, special programs that advocated tolerance for foreign workers appeared, such as IKOR's two-part series *Oordeel, Vooroordeel,*

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[66] In total 336 (exluding "*internationale nieuwsuitwisseling*") minus 11 items that deal with affairs abroad. Of these 336 items, only 8 were also tagged with "Islam"/ " Muslims".

[67] "Islam" renders 40 hits (excluding 12 "*internationale nieuwsuitwisseling*"), 19 deal with the Dutch context. "Muslims" renders 9 hits (excluding 2 "*internationale nieuwsuitwisseling*"), 2 deal with the Dutch context. Both of these items are also indexed with "Islam", so these 2 are not included in the total amount.

[68] *Hier en Daar een Turk* (RKK, 26-12-1970). A documentary about two Turkish guest workers.

[69] *Hier en Daar een Marokkaan* (RKK, 29-12-1970). A documentary about two Moroccan guest workers.

Veroordelen (*Judgement, Prejudice, to Judge*)[70] and NCRV's *Beter Samen* (*Better Together*)[71]. The government launched an awareness campaign, and started broadcasting public service announcements to promote understanding for foreign workers.[72] All these broadcasts reflect the climate of the seventies, in which the presence of foreign workers was still considered of a temporary nature and in which tolerance for their presence was encouraged.

Figure 8 a-b. Stills from the titles of *Hier en Daar een Marokkaan* (RKK, 29-12-1970) and from a *Postbus 51* infomercial to promote understanding for foreigners.

The predominant themes that ran through the coverage of foreign workers were their harsh living conditions (mainly housing), their struggle for emancipation, the racist attitude of the Dutch, illegals and education. The topic of housing recurred regularly in the first half of the decade. Besides news and actuality items on miserable and overpriced housing in general[73], there were items that reported on specific incidents, such as fires in boarding houses and demonstrations by

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[70] *Oordeel, Vooroordeel, Veroordelen* (IKOR, 02-03-1972 and 09-03-1972).

[71] *Beter Samen* (NCRV, 16-12-1972 and 28-12-1972 and 09-01-1973 and 17-04-1973). Besides on foreign workers, the programs and its presenter Alje Klamer dedicated episodes to other marginalized groups in society.

[72] *Postbus 51* (RVD, 01-01-1975 and 01-01-1979). This public service announcement features a Dutch man who is confronted with Turkish and Arabic signposts on the streets and in the shops, and who feels completely lost. There were more public service announcements that focused on foreign workers in these years, but I find this one very exemplary for the climate of the seventies.

[73] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 14-08-1970), *Journaal* (NOS, 21-01-1971), *Hier en Nu* (NCRV, 14-06-1971), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 20-08-1971), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 10-09-1971), *Televizier Magazine* (AVRO, 27-09-1971), *Journaal* (NOS, 13-12-1972), *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 06-02-1974), *Journaal* (NOS, 25-05-1974), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 25-05-1974), *Journaal* (NOS, 14-08-1975), *Vara-Visie* (VARA, 31-03-1978).

Moroccans for improvement of their housing that followed these fires.[74] Coverage was quite critical of the Dutch landlords, who asked overpriced rents and neglected the dangerous situations in which the workers were forced to live. Besides housing, the attitude of the Dutch remained a recurrent topic. Television reported on the reluctant or racist attitude of the Dutch, often following incidents such as protests against the settlement of guest workers in their neighbourhoods, and riots that broke out against Turkish workers in The Hague in 1971 and in the *Afrikaanderwijk* in Rotterdam during 1972.[75] Besides, television continued to account for Dutch people who organized activities for the foreign workers or who volunteered to teach Dutch.[76]

In the second half of the decade, the topic of illegal foreign workers became exceedingly prominent in the coverage. Television reported extensively on the protests of Moroccans without residence permits and on their hunger strikes in various churches in Amsterdam, Utrecht and The Hague from 1975 onwards.[77] Also, protests for equal rights and protests against the new law "labour foreign workers" in 1976 were the object of various news items.[78] Another new topic that emerged in

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[74] In 1970, there was a fire in a boarding house for Moroccans in Amsterdam: *Journaal* (NOS, 05-12-1970 and 09-12-1970 and 12-12-1970). In 1971, there was a fire in a house for Turkish men in Rotterdam: *Journaal* (NOS, 01-01-1971 and 21-01-1971), *Journaal* (NOS, 16-12-1971), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 17-12-1971), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 25-10-1975).

[75] On racism and discrimination in general see for example: *Oordeel, Vooroordeel, Veroordelen* (IKOR, 02-03-1972 and 13-03-1972), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 01-09-1976), *De Ombudsman* (VARA, 06-12-1978).On protests against the settlement of Turkish worker in the village of Silvolde: *Hier en Nu* (NCRV,02-02-1970).On riots about Turkish guest workers in The Hague: *Hier en Nu* (NCRV, 14-06-1971), *Journaal* (15-07-1971 and 17-07-1971), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 16-07-1971).On the problems and riots in Rotterdam the most notorious example is an episode of *Televizier* (AVRO, 14-08-1972), in which Jaap van Meekren compared the riots to Kristallnacht. See also: *Journaal* (NOS, 10-08-1972 and 11-08-1972 and 12-08-1972 and 13-08-1972 and 14-08-1972), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 11-08-1972), *Hier en Nu* (NCRV, 18-08-1972 and 10-10-1972).

[76] For example: *Beter Samen* (NCRV, 16-12-1972 and 28-12-1972 and 09-01-1973) , *Werkwinkel* (NOS, 28-10-1973), *Omroepparochie 'T Zand* (RKK, 15-03-1975).

[77] For example: *Den Haag Vandaag* (NOS, 12-12-1972), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 14-01-1973), *Hier en Nu* (NCRV, 01-04-1975), *De Ombudsman* (VARA, 17-04-1975), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 26-04-1975), *Den Haag Vandaag* (NOS, 14-05-1975), *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 07-05-1975), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 12-06-1975), *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 02-07-1975), *Journaal* (NOS, 14-07-1975 and 05-10-1975 and 31-10-1975 and 03-11-1975), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 13-11-1975), B*randpunt* (KRO, 13-12-1975), *Journaal* (NOS, 06-01-1976), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 07-01-1976), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 21-02-1976), *Journaal* (NOS, 10-12-1977), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 08-02-1978), *Vara-Visie* (VARA, 28-04-1978 and 07-07-1978 and 15-09-1978), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 09-08-1978 and 23-08-1978), *Televizier Magazine* (AVRO, 17-10-1978), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 12-01-1979), *Televizier Magazine* (AVRO, 03-05-1979), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 13-11-1979).

[78] For example: *Den Haag Vandaag* (NOS, 16-10-1974), *Journaal* (16-10-1974), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 24-10-1974), *Journaal* (NOS, 26-04-1975 and 29-11-1975 and 14-02-1976), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 06-05-1976), *Journaal* (NOS, 08-05-1976 and 26-06-1976), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 26-06-1976),

this decade was education, and this topic was mainly addressed in relation to the arrival of the children of the guest workers that was the result of family reunification. Television programmes and items dealt with their education in Dutch schools, where they were taught in both Dutch and their mother tongue.[79] Finally, in the seventies, the central figure in the television coverage of foreign workers was the guest worker who was still being exploited and who was now struggling for his emancipation. The visual repertoire of this decade reflected their struggle. Beside images of low-skilled labour in factories, awful housing conditions, daily life in boarding houses; images of demonstrations and family life (mainly of children) entered the repertoire.[80]

Figure 9 a-b. Stills from *Televizier* (AVRO, 14-08-1972) about the riots in the *Afrikaanderwijk*.

Journaal (NOS, 02-09-1976), *Hier en Nu* (NCRV, 07-09-1976), *Journaal* (NOS, 09-02-1977 and 11-02-1977), *Journaal* (NOS, 28-01-1978), *Televizier Magazine* (AVRO, 28-01-1978), *Journaal* (NOS, 08-12-1979).

[79] In 1974, the teaching of community languages- Immigrant Minority Language Instruction- was introduced in Dutch primary schools. This was justified by the prospect of return of the foreign workers and their families. See for example: *Van Gewest tot Gewest* (NOS, 27-09-1972), *Kenmerk Kort* (IKON, 07-03-1973), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 20-11-1973), *Nader Bekeken* (EO, 10-01-1974), *Journaal* (NOS, 25-09-1974), *Van Gewest tot Gewest* (NOS, 04-12-1974), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 20-03-1975), *Mensenkinderen* (NCRV, 09-10-1978), *Een Maan een Dag* (TROS, 06-11-1978).

[80] I have found only very few items on female foreign workers: *Met hun zegenende handen* (IKON, 07-05-1976) and *Vara-visie* (VARA, 17-10-1978).

Figure 10 a-f. Stills from *Beter Samen* (NCRV, 09-01-1973) about Dutch people teaching guest workers the Dutch language and about a Dutch family that invited guest workers in their home for Christmas. Stills from *Van Gewest tot Gewest* (NOS, 12-08-1971). Turkish guest workers playing a game and a Turkish guest worker with his wife. Stills from *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 24-10-1974). A guest worker in a factory and streetinterview with Dutch about their opinion of foreigners.

The Islamic religion still at the margins of coverage

Similar to the sixties, Islam was covered in relation to annual religious celebrations of foreign workers.[81] However, many of these programs and items not only reported on the nature and meaning of these celebrations, they furthermore addressed the lack of facilities for foreign workers to practice their religion and they reported on the emergence of mosques. The opening of the first Turkish mosque in the Netherlands on the occasion of the celebration of the end of Ramadan (1974, Almelo) was the subject of a NOS news item and an actuality magazine entitled *Van Gewest tot Gewest*.[82] In 1976, the NOS *Journaal* reported on a manifestation in Rotterdam of migrant workers who demanded their own mosque.[83] Various items and actuality programs accounted for the celebration of the festival of Sacrifice and the end of Ramadan in churches and other improvised places, and explicitly addressed the lack of mosques and other facilities.[84] The KRO broadcast a whole episode of its program *In gesprek met de Bisschop* (*A Talk to the Bishop*) about the mental problems of Turkish and Moroccan guest workers as a consequence of the lack of facilities to practice their faith.[85] Furthermore, an episode of *'T Zand* (1979) by the pastoral broadcasting organization portrayed a Dutch woman who was committed to help organizing an Islamic place of worship in Amersfoort.[86]

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[81] See for example: *Journaal* (NTS, 13-02-1971), *Panoramiek* (NOS, 15-06-1975), *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 01-10-1975), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 02-11-1977), *Wat gaat ons dat aan?* (IKON, 05-11-1978), *Omroeppastoraat* (KRO/RKK, 01-01-1979), *'T Zand* (RKK, 14-06-1979).

[82] *Journaal* (NOS, 17-10-1974), *Van Gewest tot Gewest* (NOS, 06-11-1974).

[83] *Journaal* (NOS, 25-12-1976).

[84] For example: *Panoramiek* (NOS, 15-06-1975), *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 01-10-1975), *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 02-11-1977), *Wat gaat ons dat aan?* (IKON, 05-11-1978), *Omroeppastoraat* (KRO/RKK, 01-01-1979), *'T Zand 33* (RKK, 14-06-1979).

[85] *In gesprek met de bisschop* (RKK, 15-01-1977).

[86] *'T Zand* (RKK, 14-06-1979).

Previous page figure 11 a-b. Still from *Journaal* (NOS, 25-12-1976). Demonstration of guest workers demanding a mosque (a). Still from *Journaal* (NOS, 17-10-1974). Exterior of the first Turkish mosque in Almelo (b).

In these years television coverage of Islam followed the same thematic tendencies as the general coverage of foreign workers: it focused on their struggle for emancipation and it called for tolerance and respect for their religious needs. Like in the sixties, women were still practically absent on television and the rather exotic gaze of television displayed a sense of unfamiliarity with and a fascination for the Islamic religion. The recurrent visual motifs were very similar to those of the sixties: men performing communal prayers, close-ups of the exterior of the new mosque in Almelo, close-ups of shoes in front of the entrance of prayer rooms, men reciting and singing from the Quran and men proclaiming "Allahu Akbar".

In the second half of the seventies, the presence of Islamic migrants gave rise to various informative programs that completely revolved around the nature of Islam. In 1972 and 1977, KRO and STV broadcast a three-part youth series *Luisteren naar de Islam* (*Listening to Islam*), that presented the presence of Moroccan guest workers in the Netherlands as its motive to account for worldwide practices of the Islamic religion.[87] Images of hunger strikes of Moroccan guest workers in Amsterdam were attached to a variety of (very Orientalist) stock footage of Islamic practices in the Middle East, the Maghreb and India. And in 1978, the NCRV dedicated an episode of *Ander Nieuws* (*Other News*) to the nature of Islam and to its relation to Christianity.[88] This episode opened with the statement that Islam had become the second religion in the Netherlands and therefore warranted attention. Besides images of men praying in the Almelo mosque and in an improvised place of worship in Amsterdam, the program showed images of a Dutch woman who had converted to Islam and of a Turkish girl who attended Quran School. Again an explicit connection was made between Muslims living in the Netherlands and Muslims living elsewhere, as these images were attached to stock footage of Muslims in Mecca, Jeruzalem, Iran and India. These were some rare instances in which images of Muslims elsewhere and images of the children of guest workers began to enter the visual repertoire of Islam.[89]

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[87] *Luisteren naar de Islam* (KRO, 05-10-1972 , 12-01-1972, 19-02-1972), *Luisteren naar de Islam* (STV, 18-01-1977, 25-01-1977, 01-02-1977).

[88] *Ander nieuws* (NCRV, 19-02-1978).

[89] Another example would be an episode of *Een van mijn beste vrienden* (09-05-1979) of a five part series for children about prejudice of 'ethnic minorities'. In this episode, a Turkish boy is portrayed and his Islamic religion is explained.

Figure 12 a-f. A selection of stills from *Van Gewest tot Gewest* (NOS, 06-11-1974) about the opening of the first Turkish mosque and from *Journaal* (NOS, 17-10-1974).

Archival representation in the seventies: "a mosque in the Netherlands"

The majority of broadcast material that dealt with Turkish and Moroccan migrants was, like during the sixties, indexed with the keyword "foreign workers". Of these programs and items, I only found a few that mentioned the Islamic religion of the foreign workers, but did not receive the additional keyword of "Islam" or "Muslims", but instead only the keyword "mosques".[90] The additional keywords that the broadcast material of foreign workers has been tagged with were: "protests" (*betogingen*), "education" (*onderwijs*), "housing" (*huisvestiging*) and "illegals" (*illegalen*). Of the programs that were labelled with "Muslims" and "Islam", a few were about the general phenomenon of the guest worker and about the arrival of his children; only mentioning the Islamic religion casually. However, these programs were also labelled with "foreign workers".[91] Thus, like during the sixties, the keywords of "Islam" and "Muslims" have almost exclusively been employed to label programs that explicitly addressed the Islamic religion of guest workers. The two most common additional keywords that have been used to tag this material were:

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[90]For example: *Panoramiek* (22-06-1975) .

[91] *Panoramiek* (22-06-1975), Wat gaat ons dat aan?(IKON, 05-11-1978)

"mosques" (*moskeeën*) and "foreign workers" (*buitenlandse werknemers*). Towards the end of this decade, the keyword "ethnic minorities" (*etnische minderheden*) entered the archival discourse. This keyword was incidentally used to index material that was also labelled with "foreign workers", mainly for items that were broadcast after the appearance in 1979 of the WRR report Ethnic Minorities.[92] But it was only in the eighties that the label "ethnic minorities" began to definitively replace "foreign workers".

Finally, television's fascination for the rituals and externals of the Islamic religion is also reflected in the archival descriptions of the material. The images that were highlighted in the detailed shot descriptions were: prayers (e.g. '"praying on the knees and bending to the ground"[93], "prayer with Islamic pastor"[94], "Turkish Ramadan service in church in Amersfoort"[95], "communal prayer"[96], "Muslims in a borrowed church"[97]), exteriors and interiors of mosques (e.g. "a mosque in the Netherlands"[98], "Int. and ext. mosque Amersfoort"[99]), the call for prayer by the *muezzin* (e.g. "announcement by *muezzin* from minaret"[100]) and the gathering for meals during religious festivities (e.g. "Festival of Sacrifice. Eating of the sacrificial animal"[101]). In some cases the description spoke of the depicted people in terms of being Muhammadans, which was perhaps a common term in those years, but also an erroneous term that is considered blasphemic by Muslims.[102] In another case, the description has highlighted a shot of "the celebration of the day of birth of Allah in a Protestant church in Utrecht", which clearly was incorrect (since Allah has never been born).[103] Also, the archival descriptions of the footage exhibit a lack of knowledge

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[92] In 1979, the Advisory Council on Government Policy (WRR) advised the government to acknowledge that the idea of temporariness was not realistic and published a proposal for a general policy for immigrant minorities, Ethnic Minorities[92]. This report was a turning point and finally- between 1979 and 1983- a national immigrant policy was formulated that was implemented in 1983 and became known as "minority policy"

[93] *Van gewest tot Gewest* (NOS, 06-11-1974).

[94] *TV Informatie Buitenlandse Werknemers* (NOS, 30-09-1975)

[95] *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 01-10-1975).

[96] *'T Zand* (RKK, 14-06-1979).

[97] *Wat gaat ons dat aan?* (IKON, 05-11-1978).

[98] *Wat gaat ons dat aan?* (IKON, 05-11-1978).

[99] *Ander Nieuws* (NCRV, 19-02-1978).

[100] *Van Gewest tot Gewest* (NOS, 06-11-1974).

[101] *Kenmerk* (IKON, 02-11-1977).

[102] *In gesprek met de bisschop*(KRO, 15-01-1977). In Islam, the prophet Muhammad is the last and most important prophet, but he has no divine qualities- what the term "Muhammadan" might imply. The oneness of God is one of the most important doctrines of Islam (there is no God but God).

[103] *Panoramiek* (15-06-1975) This should be the day of birth of the prophet Muhammad- as it was correctly mentioned in the voice-over of the program.

about the Islamic religion that was so prominent in television coverage during those years.

2.5. The Eighties: Ethnic Minorities and the Permanent Settlement of Muslims

During the first few years of this decade, the idea of the temporariness of the stay of the guest workers was given up, and a national immigration policy that became known as "minority policy" was formulated and implemented. In this period, there was yet again an increase of television coverage of immigrants and during the first few years of this period the label ethnic minorities began to replace the label foreign workers.[104] The keyword "foreign workers" renders 157 items that were set in the Netherlands[105], the keyword "ethnic minorities" 747 items.[106] Also the coverage of Islam and Muslims began to increase in these years. The keyword "Islam" gives 270 hits[107], of which 183 dealt with the Dutch context. The keyword "Muslims" renders 113 hits[108], of which 71 addressed the Dutch context and of which 10 were also tagged with "Islam". Although television coverage of Muslims and Islam increased compared to the seventies, it remained relatively small compared to the total amount of coverage of foreign workers and ethnic minorities in the eighties. The aftermath of the Iranian revolution, developments in Egypt, Pakistan and the Middle East and the worldwide events of the Rushdie affair dominated the coverage of Muslims and Islam abroad. Coverage of Dutch Muslims and Islam focused, like in the sixties and seventies, on the nature of the Islamic belief, the foundation of mosques and on the religious rituals and practices of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants. Moreover, various new topics emerged: the second generation and their belief, the opening of Islamic schools, the position of women and the threat of Islamic fundamentalism.

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[104] The label "ethnic minorities" was not only used for the various groups of labor immigrants, but also for the post-colonial immigrants such as Antilleans and Surinamese.

[105] Of the total 190 (exluding 4 "*internationale nieuwsuitwisseling*") 33 items deal with issues abroad. Of these 157 items, 28 were also tagged with the keyword "ethnic minorities".

[106] Of the total 807 hits, 60 items dealt with issues abroad.

[107] Excluding 22 "*internationale nieuwsuitwisseling*".

[108] Excluding 14 "*internationale nieuwsuitwisseling*".

From foreign workers to ethnic minorities

The recognition that the majority of labour immigrants were to stay in the Netherlands was reflected in the emergence of special programs for and about ethnic minorities. The NOS continued to broadcast *Paspoort* (*Passport*), an informative program with several episodes in various languages of the immigrants. This program was still exemplary for what now had become the official government policy in these years: "integration with the preservation of identity". Also new programs, that were intended for and revolved around ethnic minorities, emerged. From 1981 until 1990, the NOS broadcast *Medelanders Nederlanders* (*Fellow Countrymen are Dutch*), a series for and about ethnic minorities, with episodes about Moroccans, Turks, Moluccans, Surinamese, Antilleans, Spaniards, Portuguese, and Yugoslavs.[109] What was remarkable in these years was the emergence of (long running) series about the second generation. Series such as *Kinderen van de rekening* (*Children who pay the price*) (1980)[110], Dubbelleven (*Double Life*) (1980),[111] *Een beetje anders hier en daar* (*A little different here and there*) (1982)[112], *Leer ze me kennen* (*To get to know them*) (1983)[113], *In Holland staat hun huis* (*Holland is their home*) (1984)[114], *Nieuwe Maatjes* (*New Buddies*) (1986)[115], *Hollandse Nieuwe* (*New Dutch*) (1987-1990)[116] and *Waar hoor ik thuis?*(*Where do I belong?*) (1989)[117] portrayed the children of the labour immigrants and depicted their daily lives and the problems they were encountering in Dutch society. These programs reflect the climate of the eighties, in which the government had finally acknowledged that the Netherlands had become an immigration country and in which multiculturalism and tolerance were highly valued and cherished.

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[109] *Medelanders, Nederlanders* (KRO, NOS, FEDUCO/RVY, from 05-09-1981 etc).

[110] *Kinderen van de rekening* (IKON, 01-10-1980 etc).

[111] *Dubbelleven* (IKON, 01-11-1980 etc).

[112] *Een beetje anders hier en daar* (KRO, 25-10-1982 etc).

[113] *Leer ze me kennen* (VARA, 08-12-1983 etc).

[114] *In Holland staat hun huis* (STV, 24-01-1984 etc).

[115] *Nieuwe maatjes* (VPRO, 15-10-1986 etc).

[116] *Hollandse nieuwe* (VARA/ FEDUCO, 06-12-1986 etc).

[117] *Waar hoor ik thuis?* (NOS, 17-10-1989 etc). This is the sequel of a documentary that was broadcast in 1979 (*Waar hoor ik thuis?* (IKON, 01-01-1979) and that portrayed four children of guest workers. This series portrayed the same children 10 years later.

Figure 13 a-b. Stills from the titles of the programs *Een Beetje Anders Hier en Daar* (KRO) and *Medelanders Nederlanders* (KRO)

One of the predominant themes that ran through the coverage of foreign workers and ethnic minorities was their deprived socio-economic position and their high unemployment rates. Participation in the area of labour was one of the main aims of the minority policy; television reported frequently on the unemployment of the labour immigrants and the second generation, and on its consequences for their integration in Dutch society. [118] Often coverage was critical and related unemployment to racism. [119] Other recurring topics that were related to the unemployment of labour immigrants were remigration, the remigration policy of the government and the impact of remigration on the children.[120] Besides the miserable socio-economic conditions of labour immigrants, television covered Dutch attempts to improve their situation and to stimulate their emancipation through the

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[118] For example: *Vragenvuur* (AVRO, 01-03-1981), *Nederland Nu* (VPRO, 01-02-1981), *Aktua* (TROS, 26-03-1982), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 17-11-1984), Medelanders *Nederlanders* (FEDUCO, 10-11-1984, and 01-01-1985 and 25-01-1987), *Ruim Baan* (FEDUCO, 18-11-1985), *Hollandse Nieuwe* (FEDUCO/VARA, 29-03-1987 and 01-01-1988), *Journaal* (NOS, 12-09-1988 and 19-12-1988 and 03-02-1989 and 12-06-1989).

[119] For example: *Medelanders Nederlanders* (FEDUCO, 01-01-1985 and 19-10-1986 and 10-10-1987 and 20-03-1988 and 03-10-1988), *Gouden Bergen* (VPRO, 01-02-1987), *Hollandse Nieuwe* (FEDUCO, 01-03-1987, *Journaal* (NOS, 20-01-1988).

[120] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 07-09-1983, and 16-11-1984), *Koos Postema in gesprek* (NOS, 15-02-1984), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 17-11-1984), *Aktua* (TROS, 12-12-1984), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 19-01-1985), *Tijdverschijnselen* (VPRO, 03-03-1985), *De tiende penning* (NOS, 01-08-1985, 5 part series about Turks and remigration), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 22-06-1986), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 11-12-1985), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 06-05-1986), *Terug van Weggeweest* (KRO, 16-11-1987), *Paspoort* (NOS, 19-04-1988 and 10-05-1988), *Dag mijn klas, ik mis jullie allemaal* (NOS, 09-05-1988), *Medelanders nederlanders* (FEDUCO, 03-06-1989).

implementation of the minority policy in 1983, and through the law that granted minorities the right to vote in municipal elections in 1985.[121]

Figure 14 a-c. A selection of stills of various demonstrations of guest workers.

Furthermore, what is striking in these years is that the second generation became very visible on television and also women started to become more prominent in the television coverage. Television reported extensively on the issue of education of the second generation and (problems of) their integration into Dutch society, and on the emergence of "black" schools.[122] Additionally, the topic of the position of women and their emancipation emerged, along with the appearance of various educational programs for women of minority groups.[123] Lastly, television addressed the topics of racism and discrimination with remarkable regularity. In this decade, in which the official government policy was to advocate pluralism and

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[121] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 15-09-1983), *Het Capitool* (NOS, 30-01-1983), *Journaal* (NOS, 01-05-1985 and 27-11-1985 and 18-03-1986 and 19-03-1986), *Nieuws* (VPRO, 05-05-1985), *Den Haag Vandaag* (NOS, 01-05-1985, *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 30-10-1985), *Medelanders Nederlanders* (FEDUCO, 02-02-1986, and 15-02-1986, and 02-03-1986), *Televizier in de Wandelgangen* (AVRO, 19-03-1986).

[122] For example: *Van gewest tot gewest* (NOS, 30-01-1980), *Journaal* (NOS, 19-03-1980), *Extra* (VPRO, 23-03-1980), *Kerkbuurt* (NCRV, 24-04-1980), *De Schoolbank* (NOS, 08-04-1982), *Jeugdjournaal* (NOS, 19-09-1984), *Ze zien liever mijn handen dan mijn gezicht* (IKON, 04-04-1980), *Tijdverschijnselen* (VPRO, 18-05-1983 and 29-03-1984), *Journaal* (NOS, 04-01-1984), *Middageditie* (KRO, 08-01-1985), *Jeugdjournaal* (NOS, 12-01-1985), *De ver van mijn bed show* (RKK, 12-03-1985), *Journaal* (NOS, 18-09-1985), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 04-03-1986), *Jeugdjournaal* (NOS, 27-10-1986), *Jeugdjournaal* (NOS, 15-10-1987), *Hier en Nu* (NCRV, 14-11-1987), *Jeugdjournaal* (NOS, 11-02-1988), *Journaal* (NOS, 11-02-1988), *Jeugdjournaal* (NOS, 27-05-1988 and 03-06-1988 and 04-06-1988), *Hier en Nu* (NCRV, 21-02-1989), *Journaal* (25-07-1989 and 27-07-1989).

[123] For example: *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 16-04-1981), *Ot...en hoe zit het nou met Sien*? (NOS, 25-01-1981 and 16-04-1981), *Van Gewest tot Gewest* (NOS, 21-04-1982), *Medelanders Nederlanders* (FEDUCO, 04-09-1983 and 06-09-1983 and 26-09-1983, and 17-05-1984 and 01-01-1986) and 04-05-1986 and 01-01-1987 and 05-02-1987 and 04-05-1988), *Marokkaanse vrouwen* (TELEAC, 27-09-1984 etc), *Turkse vrouwen in Nederland* (TELEAC, 15-10-1984 etc), *De Marokkaans-Arabische vrouwen en de zelforganisatie* (NOS, 01-01-1984), *Vijf minuten* bedenktijd (HV, 05-08-1984), Journaal (NOS, 10-12-1986).

tolerance, the economic crisis had nevertheless lead to the foundation of an anti-immigration party in 1980, the extreme-right Centre Party. Television reported critically on the rise of this party and on its leader Hans Janmaat (since 1982).[124] Furthermore, the topics of discrimination and racism ran through much of the other coverage of ethnic minorities, and lengthy reportages and public service announcements about the dangers of discrimination and racism were broadcast.[125] So finally, in the eighties, the figure of the foreign worker had gradually transformed into a member of an ethnic minority. He was no longer defined in terms of his position on the labour market, but he was now spoken of in terms of ethnic groups that had irrevocably become part of Dutch society and that had to be approached with tolerance. The visual repertoire consisted, besides images of unemployed labour immigrants hanging around in coffeehouses and images of migrant women, predominantly of images of the second generation, of their daily lives, of their encounters with the Dutch, and of their education in schools.

Figure 15 a-c. Stills from *Brandpunt* (KRO, 04-07-1983).

The gradual institutionalization of Islam and the Rushdie affair

During this decade, the increase of the volume of television coverage of Muslims and Islam is to a large extent the result of the foundation of the Islamic Broadcasting Company (IOS) in 1986. Of the 244 items tagged with "Muslims" and "Islam", 143 were broadcast by the IOS. The IOS aired programs for the Muslim communities in Holland that addressed diverse topics such as family matters, health, religious issues,

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[124] For example: *Brandpunt* (KRO, 16-09-1982 and 25-05-1984), *Sonja op Dinsdag* (04-10-1983), *Aktua* (TROS, 17-12-1983), *Je ziet maar* (VARA, 09-02-1984), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 25-05-1984), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 29-04-1986), *Journaal* (NOS, 27-09-1986), *Televizier* (AVRO, 11-09-1989).

[125] For example: *Discriminatie* (VOO, 21-10-1983), *'T is een vreemdeling zeker* (Humanistisch Verbond, 01-01-1981), *The Black and White Media Show* (01-01-1982), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 03-03-1982), *Brandpunt* (08-11-1982), *Aardbeien met slagroom* (01-01-1982), *Sprekershoek* (20-02-1983), *Journaal* (NOS, 09-01-1983 and 23-02-1982 and 17-03-1983 and 02-10-1984 and 19-02-1986 and 01-11-1986 and 11-02-1988), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 08-10-1985), *Sprekershoek* (NOS, 03-11-1985), *Postbus 51* (RVD, 01-01-1987), *Hollandse Nieuwe* (FEDUCO, 01-03-1987).

education, history, economy and the arts. Since I am not necessarily interested in the self-representation of Dutch Muslims, I do not go into further details about these programs. In the eighties, as Islam became increasingly more institutionalized (the foundation of IOS is a clear example of this trend) and as the presence of Muslims was no longer considered of a temporary nature, the variety of topics associated with Islam began to broaden. Like during the seventies, Islam was addressed in relation to annual religious celebrations of Ramadan and the Festival of Sacrifice, and to a range of other religious rituals, such as prayer, halal slaughter, funeral rites and male circumcision.[126] The tone of this coverage was merely informative, and news and actuality items reported on the efforts of Muslims to institutionalize their religious rituals. The coverage of halal slaughter was of a different nature and focused on the controversy that had arisen over this ritual. In actuality programs and talk shows, such as *Aktua* (1980) and *Karel van de Graaf* (1985), Muslim spokesmen explained the nature of this ritual, and stated that Islamic ritual slaughter was being abused to stir up xenophobia.[127]

Figure 16 a-c. Stills from *Televizier* (AVRO, 07-03-1986). President Lubbers calls people to vote in Arabic (b) and exterior of the mosque in the Bijlmer (c).

Like in the seventies, the presence of Muslims gave rise to various informative programs and to a youth series (*The Islam* (1987)) that completely revolved around the nature of Islam and its worldwide followers.[128] Several informative programs that

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[126]For example: *Kenmerk* (IKON, 02-06-1982), *Medelanders Nederlanders* (FEDUCO, 01-01-1983), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 04-07-1983), *In Holland staat hun huis* (STV, 20-02-1984), *Journaal* (NOS, 12-11-1984 and 15-11-1984), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 25-10-1984), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 24-01-1985), *Levende Rituelen* (RVU, 07-05-1985 and 14-05-1985 and 21-05-1985 and 28-05-1985), *Er is meer tussen hemel en aarde* (RKK, 13-10-1985), *Denkbeeld* (NOS, 12-05-1985 en 26-05-1985 en 28-05-1985), *Achterwerk in de kast* (VPRO, 05-02-1986).

[127] *Aktua* (TROS, 10-11-1980), *Karel van de Graaf* (AVRO, 01-04-1985).

[128] For example: *De Islam, zonder twijfel* (HV, 02-05-1980), *De Erfgenamen* (NCRV, 20-07-1984 en 28-07-1984), *De Islam* (STV, 28-10-1987 and 11-11-1987 and 25-11-1987 and 09-12-1987). This series has recycled a lot of the Orientalist stock footage about the foreign context that was shown in the1972 series *Luisteren naar de Islam*.

were broadcast by the Christian broadcasting organizations invoked Islam in relation to Christianity.[129] Recurring topics and images in these informative programs were the figure of Khomeini and the figure of the Dutch woman who had converted to Islam. In 1986, on the occasion of the granting to minorities the right to vote, AVRO's actuality magazine *Televizier* dedicated a full episode to the subject of Muslims in the Netherlands (who had now become a new electorate) and the nature of their belief.[130] The program included a historical review on Muslim presence in the Netherlands, and a report on developments in Khomeini's Iran (in which the "moderate *sunnis*" who live in the Netherlands were distinguished from the "fanatical *shiites*"). Also the opening of mosques continued to be covered by television.[131] However, the tone of this coverage began to differ somewhat from the seventies. In 1985, a large mosque in the Amsterdam Bijlmer was opened. Besides *Journaal*, the actuality program *Kenmerk* broadcast an item on this event, in which the reporter interviewed the secretary of the new mosque about the missionary zeal in Islam and about his ideas about fundamentalism and Iran.[132] In 1989, in the middle of the Rushdie affair, a large mosque in Eindhoven was opened. The actuality magazine *Achter het Nieuws* reported on racist reactions of Dutch residents and interviewed Turkish men about their faith and about Khomeiny and Rushdie.[133] So repeatedly connections were made between Muslims living in the Netherlands and Muslims living elsewhere, mainly in Iran.

Regarding the new topics that emerged in the eighties, television coverage of Islam followed to a large extent the same thematic tendencies as the coverage of ethnic minorities: it focused on the second generation, women and education. The coverage of the second generation consisted of portrayals of children and teenagers who explained certain religious rituals or who talked about their faith in general, and about the way they experienced being a Muslim in the Netherlands.[134] The sporadic

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[129] For example: *Tijdsein* (EO, 08-01-1980), *Kerk Vandaag* (NCRV, 13-02-1984), *Ander Nieuws* (NCRV, 18-03-1984), *Er is meer tussen hemel en aarde* (RKK, 27-11-1984), *God verandert mensen* (EO, 08-02-1989).

[130] *Televizier* (AVRO, 07-03-1986). The episode opens with footage of Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers who calls people to vote in Arabic. It further shows images of ministers Brinkman and de Koning who visit a mosque.

[131] For example: *Kenmerk* (IKON, 25-10-1984), *Journaal* (19-10-1985), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 24-01-1985), *Journaal* (NOS, 13-01-1989), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 02-04-1989), *Journaal* (NOS, 02-04-1989)

[132] *Kenmerk* (IKON, 24-01-1985).

[133] *Journaal* (02-04-1989), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 02-04-1989).

[134] For example: *Tijdverschijnselen* (VPRO, 18-05-1983), *Medelanders Nederlanders* (FEDUCO, 24-11-1985), *Achterwerk in de kast* (VPRO, 27-11-1985 and 05-02-1986), *Snuiters* (IKON, 25-03-1986 and

topic of the position of women in Islam was mainly addressed in relation to the second generation. In 1985, the talk show *Karel van de Graaf* dedicated an episode to the phenomenon of arranged marriages in response to the kidnapping of a Moroccan girl by her father.[135] A Muslim spokesman stressed the fact that this was not an Islamic tradition, but a cultural one. Other programs that addressed the position of women in Islam portrayed young women and showed their emancipated lifestyles.[136] The topic of education was also mainly addressed in relation to the second generation. Television reported on children going to Quran School, on the opening of Islamic schools, and on the foundation of the first imam school.[137] Recurrent visual motifs were children reciting from the Quran and young girls with headscarves in classrooms or on the playground.

Figure 17 a-f. Stills from *Kenmerk* (IKON, 13-02-1989) (a-c) and from *Achter het Nieuws* (KRO, 19-03-1989).

Towards the end of this decade, the topic of Islamic fundamentalism emerged on television. Even before the events of the Rushdie affair (1989), the EO (the Evangelical Broadcasting Company) broadcast two actuality programs about

24-07-1987), *Catachese* (NCRV, 02-09-1986), *Nieuwe Maatjes* (VPRO, 11-03-1987), *Sjappoo* (16-04-1989), *Waar hoor ik thuis?*(NOS, 31-10-1989).

[135] *Karel van de Graaf* (AVRO, 13-05-1985).

[136] For example: *De ver van mijn bed show* (KRO, 06-04-1984), *Hollandse Nieuwe* (FEDUCO, 17-11-1987 and 04-06-1989 and 18-06-1989).

[137] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 22-11-1984 and 16-01-1985), *Weekjournaal* (STV, 25-01-1985), *Journaal* (NOS, 18-11-1988), *De nieuwe imams* (NOS, 30-11-1988), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 13-02-1989), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 19-03-1989), *Journaal* (NOS, 23-03-1989), *Journaal* (NOS, 04-06-1988)

this topic. In 1988, the actuality program *Tijdsein* dedicated an item to Islamic fundamentalism, in which experts talked about the danger that fundamentalists would strengthen their grip on the Turkish and Moroccan Muslim communities.[138] The item was visualized by images of foreigners visiting the Albert Cuyp market in Amsterdam, images of an Islamic butchery and images of Quran schools. In January 1989, the EO dedicated its talk show *De toren van Babel* to the threat of Islamic fundamentalism in the Netherlands.[139] Subsequently, in 1989, the Rushdie affair caused much critical coverage of Islam and Muslims. Various news items and actuality programs reported on the events abroad, and when the affair bled into the Netherlands (with demonstrations against Rushdie in The Hague and Rotterdam on the third and the fourth of March) television covered the developments of the affair in Holland and the various incidents during the aftermath.[140] The topics that were discussed were fundamentalism and Iran's influence on Dutch Muslims, integration and the freedom of press and expression. Furthermore, television showed spokesmen of the *Islamitisch Landelijk Comité*, the first national overarching Islamic institution that was founded as a result of the Rushdie affair, who would publicly distance themselves from the Muslims who demonstrated against Rushdie.[141]

Figure 18 a-f. Stills from *Tijdsein* (EO, 23-11-1988) about the dangers of Islamic fundamentalism (a-c). Stills from *Journaal* (NOS, 03-03-1989) about demonstrations against Rushdie in The Hague.

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[138] *Tijdsein* (EO, 23-11-1988).
[139] *De toren van Babel* (EO, 11-01-1989).
[140] For example: *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 12-02-1989 and 16-02-1989 and 19-02-1989 and 05-03-1989 and 05-03-1989 and 06-08-1989), *Journaal* (NOS, 16-02-1989 and 01-03-1989 and 03-03-1989 and 04-03-1989 and 05-03-1989 and 22-03-1989 and 03-04-1989), *Kwartslag* (HV, 03-06-1984).
[141] In chapter four I will elaborate further on this coverage.

So finally, during the eighties, as the presence of Muslims was discovered to be of a permanent nature, Dutch Muslims were occasionally associated with fundamentalism, and they were increasingly explicitly connected to Muslims living elsewhere and to events in the Muslim world. Additionally, Islamic women, children and teenagers entered television's non-fictional formats. In this period, televisual stories about Dutch Muslims were illustrated with familiar images of mosques, close-ups of Arabic writing, communal prayers and celebrations of Islamic festivities, but also with new images that gradually made their way into the repertoire: children attending Quran School, young girls with headscarves in the newly opened Islamic schools, images of Islamic butcheries and foreigners at markets, demonstrating Muslims during the Rushdie affair and (archival) images of Khomeini's Iran.

Archival representation in the eighties: "children at Quran School"
In the eighties, the majority of the programs and items about Turkish and Moroccan immigrants were labelled with the keywords "foreign workers" or/and "ethnic minorities". Most of these programs did not (or only casually) mention the Islamic religion, and the programs that did explicitly address the issue of religion have received an additional keyword "Islam" or "Muslims". Over the course of the eighties, as the new minority policy was implemented, the keyword "ethnic minorities" displaced the keyword "foreign workers", which was mainly used to label programs about the issue of remigration and unemployment. And like in the seventies, the keywords of "Islam" and "Muslims" have almost exclusively been employed to index programs that explicitly addressed the Islamic religion of ethnic minorities. Some of the additional keywords that these programs have received are "mosques", "rituals", "youth", "education", "prayers", "integration" and "cultural identity". After the emergence of Islamic schools in 1988 and the events of the Rushdie affair in 1989, new additional keywords appeared: "headscarves", "fundamentalism", "freedom of speech" and "demonstrations".[142] Again, these additional keywords give a clear indication of the thematic structure of television coverage during this decade.

Throughout the first half of the decade, the generic images that were highlighted in detailed shot descriptions were similar to those in the sixties and seventies: exteriors and interiors of mosques (e.g. "int. and ex. mosque in the

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[142] The first time Islam was associated with the issue freedom of expression was in 1980, during a controversy about the broadcasting of a documentary (*De Dood van een Prinses)* that some Dutch Muslims found offensive. See for example: *Journaal* (NOS, 13-04-1980 and 15-04-1980 and 16-04-1980).

Netherlands"[143]), communal prayers (e.g. "prayers of Muslims"[144], "Muhammadan prayer"[145]), men taking off shoes and washing before going to prayer (e.g. "washing of hands and feet before prayer"[146], "shoes in Muslim prayer room"[147]) and families partaking in meals during celebrations (e.g. "Turkish family eating"[148]). Throughout the second half of the decade this imagery continued to be highlighted, but also new generic images surfaced in the detailed shot descriptions: children attending Quran School (e.g. "Islamic education at Quran school in Amsterdam"[149], "diverse shots of children who receive education about the Quran"[150], children reading from the Quran (e.g. "children reading from the Quran in the Bijlmermeer"[151]), teachers with headscarves in Islamic schools (e.g. "female teacher with headscarf and loose dress"[152]), images of migrants in public space (e.g. "diverse shots of Muslims on the market"[153], "market in the Netherlands with a lot of ethnic minorities"[154]), and parades and demonstrations of Muslims (e.g. "march of Muslims"[155], "diverse shots of reactions to The Satanic Verses"[156], "slogan screaming boy"[157]). Beside this, the descriptions mentioned numerous archival images (dupes): *Shiites* performing self-flagellation, Khomeini orating in front of crowds of Muslims, demonstrations against Rushdie, banners with hate text against Rushdie, Muslims burning the Satanic Verses, and Muslims screaming "Death to Rushdie". Once again, the archive has earmarked as reusable, the small amount of core images that television has continually resorted to for the visualization of its stories about Muslims and Islam.

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[143] *Journaal* (NOS, 22-11-1984).

[144] *Tijdsein* (EO, 08-01-1980).

[145] *Ander Nieuws* (NCRV, 18-03-1984).

[146] *Journaal* (NOS, 01-01-1980).

[147] *Mederlanders Nederlanders* (Feduco. 24-11-1985).

[148] *De Islam* (STV, 11-11-1987).

[149] *Kerk Vandaag* (NCRV, 13-02-1984).

[150] *De Nieuwe Imams* (NOS, 30-11-1988).

[151] *De Islam zonder twijfel* (02-05-1980).

[152] *Kenmerk* (IKON, 13-02-1989).

[153] *Televizier* (AVRO, 07-03-1986).

[154] *De Islam* (STV, 11-11-1987).

[155] *Journaal* (NOS, 15-04-1980).

[156] *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 06-08-1989).

[157] *Journaal* (NOS, 03-03-1989).

2.6 The Nineties: Integration of *Allochtonen* and the Emergence of Hostility towards Islam

During the first few years of the nineties, following the 1989 WRR report *Allochtonenbeleid*, the government began to implement its new immigration policy. The word *allochtoon* had already been in use occasionally in the seventies and eighties, but in the nineties it began to replace the label of ethnic minorities in public discourse. [158] However, Sound and Vision has never allowed the word *allochtonen* to become an official keyword and kept using the label "ethnic minorities".[159] In the nineties, both coverage of ethnic minorities and of Muslims and Islam increased considerably compared to the eighties. The keyword "ethnic minorities" renders 1358 items that were set in the Netherlands.[160] The keyword "Islam" gives 631 hits[161], of which 426 addressed the Dutch context, and the keyword "Muslims" gives 664 hits[162], of which 266 addressed the Dutch context.[163] An extensive amount of these programs (424 in total) have been broadcast by the Muslim broadcasting organizations IOS and NMO (the latter was founded in 1993). Thus, in these years coverage of ethnic minorities still exceeded coverage of Islam and Muslims; focused partly on the same topics as in the eighties, and partly on the new topics of criminality and old city neighbourhoods. Integration became the overarching theme. Coverage of Islam and Muslims abroad concentrated on the aftermath of the Rushdie affair, Pakistan and Afghanistan, the Gulf War, the civil war in Algeria, developments in Iran, Egypt, Israel and Palestine, the war in Bosnia and the conflict in Ambon. The focal points of television coverage of Dutch Muslims began to shift, and the various non-fictional formats concentrated increasingly on the emerging public hostility towards Islam, on the threat of fundamentalism and on the figure of the veiled woman.

Allochtonen and their integration into Dutch society

In the "new realism" (Prins: 2000) of the nineties, in which the Dutch government started to demand more participation and integration from minorities, Dutch

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[158] The term "*allochtoon*" was introduced in 1971 by the sociologist Hilda Verwey-Jonker in a report for the government.

[159] Like in the case of the word guest worker, Sound and Vision considered the word "*allochtoon*" not politically correct.

[160] Of these 103 were also tagged with "Islam" and 68 also with "Muslims".

[161] 712 in total, including 81 "*internationale nieuwsuitwisseling*".

[162] 1111 in total, including 447 "*internationale nieuwsuitwisseling*".

[163] Of these, 48 have also been tagged with "Islam".

television became increasingly preoccupied with the topic of the multicultural society. Between 1991 and 2003, the NOS weekly broadcast *Het Allochtoon Video Circuit*, an educational program for and about *allochtonen*.[164] Besides, the NOS broadcast an actuality program for Turkish people, *Aktuel* (1991-1993) and a talk show for Moroccan people, *Najib* (1991-1992). In this decade, there were several special youth series about ethnic minorities and the multicultural society, such as *Binnenland* (*Homeland*) (NOS, 1991-1996), *Kleur Rijk* (*Colourful*) (KRO, 1992) and *De Multiculturele Samenleving* (*The Multicultural Society*) (NOT, 1995), series that portrayed individual *allochtonen*, such as *Lokole* (VPRO, 1990) and *'T Is een vreemdeling zeker* (*It must be a stranger*) (RVU, 1991-1992), series that revolved around the meeting between Dutch and *allochtonen*, such as *De Waslijn* (NOS, 1989-1990), *Vreemd Land* (NPS, 1995-1997) and *Met de deur in huis* (NCRV, 1994-1995), and talk shows about the multicultural society, such as *Meer op Zondag* (NOS, 1993-1994), *Telelens* (NPS, 1994-1995) and *De Tempel van Babylon* (VPRO, 1996). Finally, there were series about special topics, such as integration (*NOS Laat*, 1991, 5 episodes; and *Middageditie*, 1996, 5 episodes), old city neighbourhoods (*Marco Polo*, VPRO, 1993), the media representation of *allochtonen* (*Spiegel Verkeerd*, NOS, 1993) and a black school (*Haagse Klasse: op school in de Schilderswijk*, AVRO, 1998-1999). Therefore, not only did the frequency of television coverage of *allochtonen* increase during this decade, but also the amount of series and special programs that centred on the multicultural society.

The topics that had emerged in the eighties continued to be frequently addressed in these years. Unemployment among minorities remained one of the predominant themes that ran through the coverage [165] (particularly in the first half of the decade) and television reported frequently on the lack of opportunities for

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[164] The NOS departement of *Minderheden* (*Minorities*) weekly broadcast this magazine that was targeted at minorities, and that was often recorded in the language of the target group and subtitled in Dutch. See Leurdijk (1999: 46-47).

[165] For example: *NOS Laat* (NOS, 19-02-1990 and 02-03-1990 and 07-03-1990 and 17-03-1992 and 20-03-1992), *Journaal* (12-03-1990 and 27-03-1990 and 14-11-1990 and 18-11-1991 and 11-12-1991 and 19-02-1992 and 01-07-1993 and 02-07-1993 and 19-10-1993 and 10-11-1994 and 14-06-1995 and 11-10-1999), *Hier en Nu* (NCRV, 27-03-1990), *Televizier Politiek* (AVRO, 12-11-1990), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 23-03-1991), *Het Capitool* (NOS, 13-10-1991), *Binnenland* (NOS, 21-11-1991), *Tijdsein* (EO, 17-03-1992), *Van Gewest tot Gewest* (NOS, 17-06-1992 and 20-07-1993), *Tussen Wal en Schip* (NOS, 21-02-1993), *Werken aan werk* (RVU, 17-09-1993), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 17-03-1994 and 09-03-1995), NOVA (NOS, 25-02-1994 and 15-06-1994 and 09-05-1995), 2 Vandaag (TROS, 27-01-1995 and 22-11-1995), De tempel van Babylon (09-06-1996), Den Haag Vandaag (NOS, 10-10-1996).

youngsters to find work[166], and on discrimination in the labour market.[167] Also, education remained an important topic and television accounted for language classes for adult *allochtonen*[168], for the emergence of black schools, and for the problems that were at stake at these schools.[169] In addition, television coverage focused on migrant women, addressed the issues of their emancipation and integration[170] and of the abuse of women.[171] And finally, throughout the decade, television reported on the issue of the new minority policy and of its assumed efficiency.[172] In the bulk of all these programs and items, the issue of integration of *allochtonen* was the overarching theme.

Reminiscent of the eighties, discrimination and racism were recurrent topics in the coverage of ethnic minorities. Various news and actuality programs reported on the general phenomenon of discrimination. For example, in the streets, cafes and clubs; within the police corps[173] and on particular incidents related to racism.

[166] For example: *Tijdsein* (EO,15-02-1990), *Hollandse Nieuwe* (NOS, 04-04-1990), *NOS Laat* (NOS, 06-08-1990), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 23-09-1990), *Zembla* (NPS, VARA, 26-02-1998), *Mene Tekel* (VPRO, 19-04-1998), *2 Vandaag* (TROS, 16-12-1999).

[167] For example: *NOS Laat* (NOS, 09-04-1990), *2 Vandaag* (08-12-1995), *Journaal* (31-01-1991), *Met Witteman* (VARA, 17-12-1991), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 15-12-1994), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 08-12-1995).

[168] For example: *Binnenland* (NOS, 14-11-1991), *NOVA* (NOS, 26-11-1992 and 03-09-1993), *Journaal* (14-04-1994), *Middageditie* (VARA, 02-05-1996).

[169] For example: *Jeugdjournaal* (NOS, 07-03-1990 and 31-03-1990), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 01-06-1991), *De Kloof* (02-04-1991), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 16-11-1991), *Journaal* (NOS, 27-03-1992), *Tijdsein* (EO, 23-06-1992), *Kleur Rijk* (KRO, 03-05-1992), *Schoolse Zaken* (NOT, 05-11-1992 and 03-12-1992), *NOVA* (NOS, 03-04-1993 and 10-04-1993 and 02-04-1994), *Karel* (AVRO, 16-01-1993), *Journaal* (02-04-1994), *Impact* (VARA, 15-12-1994 and 22-12-1994), *Middageditie* (NPS, 22-02-1996 and 14-10-1996 and 03-12-1996 and 20-12-1996), *Barend en Witteman* (VARA, 18-03-1997), *Lopende Zaken* (VPRO, 19-10-1997), *Haagse Klasse: op school in de Schilderswijk* (AVRO, 15-01-1998 etc), *NOVA* (NPS, 11-05-1998), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 11-05-1998 and 06-07-1998), *Middageditie* (NPS, 24-03-1999 and 09-04-1999), Netwerk (AVRO, 07-09-1999).

[170] For example: *Medelanders Nederlanders* (NOS, 11-03-1990), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 02-11-1991), *Werelden* (IKON, 15-10-1992), *Najib* (07-02-1993), *Nieuwe Buren* (AVRO, 17-02-1994), *Ontbijt TV* (IKON, 01-04-1994), *Via Ria* (AVRO, 09-09-1994), *Tijdsein* (EO, 18-05-1994), *Middageditie* (NPS, 02-04-1996), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 05-06-1996).

[171] For example*: Een van Ons* (IKON, 13-04-1990), *Van de trap gevallen* (NOS, 14-04-1990), *Het Allochtoon Video Circuit* (NOS, 19-04-1992), *Netwerk* (KRO, 04-04-1997), *2 Vandaag* (TROS, 18-11-1999), *NOVA* (NPS, 09-12-1999), *Netwerk* (KRO, 19-12-1999).

[172] For example: *NOS Laat* (NOS, 09-12-1991), *Ischa* (RVU, 09-12-1991), *Journaal* (NOS, 29-01-1992), *Tijdsein* (EO, 03-03-1992), *Televizier* (AVRO, 05-03-1992), *Journaal* (23-09-1992 and 14-10-1992), *NOS Laat* (NOS 21-09-1992), *Den Haag Vandaag* (NOS, 21-04-1997), *Buitenhof* (NPS, 22-11-1998).

[173] For example: *Jeugdjournaal* (31-03-1990 and 04-02-1991), *Journaal* (05-07-1990 and 06-07-1994 and 13-09-1994), *Crime Time* (TROS, 06-12-1991), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 23-11-1991), *Broeiend Ongenoegen* (NOS, 03-03-1992), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 21-03-1996), *Hier en Nu* (NCRV, 03-06-1996), *Het Allochtoon Video Circuit* (NPS, 13-09-1997), *Barend en Witteman* (VARA, 10-10-1997), *Netwerk* (AVRO, 15-05-1997), *NOVA* (NPS, 20-11-1997), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 29-11-1999).

Particularly in the beginning of the decade, several events stirred up fears of xenophobia. In 1991, a number of television programs addressed the question of whether the Gulf War and certain racist incidents that had occurred in Germany, France and Belgium would incite xenophobia in the Netherlands.[174] One year later, television reported critically about the violent attacks on two migrant organizations and on a mosque in Amersfoort.[175] As a consequence of these bombings, news and actuality programs started to frequently address the rise of the extremist-right in Europe and the Netherlands (particularly the Centre Party)[176], and they covered the rallies against racism (*Nederland bekent Kleur*) that were organized from 1992 onwards.[177] Furthermore, television began to critically reflect on itself in these years, and a series and some actuality items about the role of the media in racist stereotyping and discrimination appeared.[178]

Besides these topics that had emerged in the eighties, two new topics surfaced in the nineties. Firstly, news and actualities began to frequently address the topic of old city quarters that housed many *allochtonen*, reported on the issue of segregation and on (local) policies to prevent it.[179] In addition, extensive reportages on specific quarters appeared on television, such as Zuilen in Utrecht[180], Lombok in

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[174] For example: *Sonja op Zaterdag* (VARA, 19-01-1991), *Het Capitool* (NOS, 16-06-1991), *Met Witteman* (08-10-1991), *Gemengde gevoelens* (VPRO, 15-12-1991).

[175] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 04-01-1992 and 21-04-1992 and 28-01-1992), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 25-01-1992), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 28-01-1992), *Tijdsein* (EO, 28-01-1992), *Televizier* (AVRO, 30-01-1992), *NOS Laat* (12-02-1992). On the 4th of January, the *Migrantenwerkwinkel* in The Hague was attacked. Aktiefront Nationalistisch Nederland claimed the responsibilty for the bombing. On the 21st, the educational institute of the Migrant Broadcasting Organization (*Migrantenomroep*) was bombed, and on the 28th, a mosque in Amersfoort was bombed.

[176] For example: *..en anders moeten ze maar te voet naar huis* (RVU, 19-01-1992), *Aktua (*TROS, 01-04-1992), *Katharsis* (KRO, 14-01-1994), *Lopende Zaken* (VPRO, 16-01-1994 and 27-02-1994), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 24-03-1994), *Kruispunt* (20-02-1994), *Waar blijf je anders* (NCRV, 10-04-1994), *Middageditie* (NPS, 23-12-1998)

[177] For example: *Kenmerk* (IKON, 21-03-1992), *Sonja op Zaterdag* (VARA, 21-03-1992), *Het Capitool* (22-03-1992), *Middageditie* (RVU, 22-03-1996), *2 Vandaag* (TROS, 29-03-1997).

[178] For example: *Kenmerk* (IKON, 08-04-1991), *Spiegel Verkeerd* (NOS, 17-01-1993 etc), *Minderheden/Gemengde berichten* (NPS, 22-01-1995).

[179] For example: *NOVA* (NOS, 11-10-1993), *Hier en Nu* (NCRV, 11-10-1993), *Lopende Zaken* (VPRO, 21-02-1993), *NOVA/Den Haag Vandaag* (NOS, 27-10-1993), *NOVA* (NOS, 27-04-1994), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 18-03-1995), *Symposium* (VPRO, 06-03-1995), *De tempel van Babylon* (VPRO, 16-06-1996), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 25-06-1996), *Tijdsein* (EO, 28-10-1997).

[180] *Brandpunt* (KRO, 13-10-1991 and 09-02-1992 and 12-02-1992 and 08-11-1992 and 06-05-1992 and 20-12-1992 and 25-12-1992), *Reporter* (KRO, 22-01-1992), *Kruispunt* (RKK, 08-03-1992), *Vrouwen van Zuilen* (KRO, 04-12-1992), *De lange adem van Zuilen* (NPS, 25-09-1999).

Utrecht[181] Spangen in Rotterdam[182], the Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam[183], Feyenoord in Rotterdam[184], the Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam[185], Bos en Lommer and de Baarsjes in Amsterdam [186] and the Schilderswijk in The Hague [187] . These reportages concentrated on the problems between *allochtonen* and *autochtonen*, the impoverishment of the neighbourhoods and the difficulties of integration. Secondly, criminality among *allochtonen* became a prominent topic on television in the nineties. Television reported on the issue of criminality in general[188], on youth criminality and on projects to prevent it[189], on the involvement of Turks and Kurds in organized crime[190], on young criminal Antilleans[191] and most of all on young criminal Moroccans.[192] News and actuality programs took account of the high numbers of criminality among young Moroccans, and of the many problems they caused in certain city quarters, such as the riots in Slotervaart in Amsterdam during 1998.[193] The young Moroccan criminal who was unemployed and not well integrated became

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[181] *Sonja op Locatie* (VARA, 24-06-1993), *Middageditie* (NPS, 14-02-1997), *Lombok kookt* (NPS, 7-12-1997, 13 episodes).

[182] *Kenmerk* (IKON, 12-11-1991), *NOVA* (08-04-1995), *Middageditie* (NPS, 23-05-1996).

[183] *Nieuwslijn* (VOO, 20-10-1992).

[184] *Dokument* (NCRV, 18-04-1994).

[185] *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 14-03-1992), *Live-lijn* (EO, 25-06-1993), *2 Vandaag* (EO,15-06-1994), *Netwerk* (AVRO, 05-12-1996), *Middageditie* (NPS, 11-12-1996 and 05-02-1997), *Geestkracht 11* (EO, 02-04-1998)

[186] *Marco Polo* (VPRO, 11-10-1993 etc).

[187] *Journaal* (03-09-1995), *Middageditie* (NPS, 21-11-1996).

[188] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 27-09-1990), *Het Capitool* (NOS, 30-09-1990), *Middageditie* (RVU, 04-03-1997), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 04-01-1999).

[189] For example: *Kenmerk* (IKON, 23-06-1991), *Journaal* (NOS, 21-06-1991 and 18-01-1997), *NOVA/Den Haag Vandaag* (NOS, 09-03-1994 and 28-01-1997), *Jeugdjournaal* (NOS, 13-09-1994), *YOY* (HOS, 20-12-1994), *Middageditie* (RVU, 05-11-1996 and 29-01-1997), *Het Vragenuurtje* (28-01-1997), *Buitenhof* (NPS, 09-11-1997), *Barend en Witteman* (VARA, 14-11-1997), *Tijdsein 2* (EO, 07-01-1992), *2 Vandaag* (04-10-1994 and 27-01-1996), *Middageditie* (NPS, 29-04-1999).

[190] For example: *2 Vandaag* (EO, 14-02-1996), *Middageditie* (NPS, 15-04-1996 and 11-04-1997 and 18-11-1997), *Gesprek met de Minister-President* (NOS, 02-02-1996), *Binnenland* (NPS, 31-01-1996), *Netwerk* (AVRO, 02-04-1998), *Journaal* (NOS, 25-05-1998).

[191] For example: *Impact* (VARA,17-03-1992), *Hier en Nu* (22-02-1993), *Brandpunt* (31-10-1993), *2 Vandaag* (11-11-1998), *Netwerk* (AVRO, 21-10-1999.

[192] For example: *Sonja op Zondag* (VARA, 21-01-1990), *Goudse Blues* (HV, 25-02-1990), *Journaal* (NOS, 11-01-1990 and 30-09-1993), *Hier en Nu* (NCRV, 24-06-1991), *Binnenland* (10-10-1991), *Jeugdjournaal* (29-04-1992), *Brandpunt* (05-07-1992), *Televizier* (AVRO, 01-12-1992), *Hollands Tuig* (10-11-1992), *Nieuwe Buren* (AVRO, 03-03-1994), *Middageditie* (VARA, 29-11-1995 and 24-11-1998 and 08-03-1999), *NOVA* (NOS, 05-02-1998), *Netwerk* (AVRO, 17-03-1998 and 15-09-1998 and 19-10-1999), *Marokkaans met een zachte G* (IKON, 03-12-1998 and 10-12-1998).

[193] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 24-04-1998 and 01-05-1998 and 02-05-1998 and 02-07-1998), *Middageditie* (NPS, 27-04-1998 and 13-05-1998 and 07-10-1998), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 25-05-1998), NOVA (NPS, 11-06-1998 and 06-10-1998).

quite a prominent figure on television. In the nineties, television's preoccupation with the *allochtoon* and with the issue of their integration in Dutch society produced a new kind of visual repertoire, in which images of *allochtonen* in public spaces became exceedingly prominent. Stories about *allochtonen* and (the problems with) integration were continually illustrated with images of *allochtone* children and girls with headscarves in playgrounds or school classes, images of *allochtonen* and women with headscarves at the market and on the streets, images of Moroccan youth hanging around on the streets of old city quarters, and images of houses with a great of deal of laundry hanging on the balcony and roof-top satellite dishes.

Figure 19 a-c. A selection of stills from *TweeVandaag* (25-05-1998).

Emerging fears of Islamic fundamentalism and the discovery of the veiled woman

In the nineties, the volume of coverage of Islam and Muslims increased substantially compared to the eighties. In the beginning of the decade, shortly after the Rushdie affair, several incidents pushed Islam further into the public arena. Firstly, in 1990, a mystery figure who called himself Mohammed Rasoel published a book, *The Decline of the Netherlands*, that stated that the Islamic religion and the Muslims living in the Netherlands should be considered a serious threat to Dutch civilization.[194] He appeared on television in disguise to further vent his hostility towards Islam, and claimed to speak from his own experiences of being a Muslim.[195] Besides this, the Gulf War provoked an interest in Muslims living in the Netherlands. Television reported on the reactions of Dutch Muslims to the events in the Gulf and to Saddam

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[194] The word rasoel means messenger in Arabic, and Muslims use it to designate the prophet Muhammad. The disguised man who appeared on television was later unmasked as a criminal circus artist from Pakistan. It was never cleared up who was the true author of the book. See also: Top 2000: 20-21.

[195] *Lopend Vuur* (NOS, 09-10-1990 and 16-10-1990), Karel (AVRO, 07-03-1992).

Hussein's statement that he was waging a Holy War: a *jihad*.[196] In 1991, the liberal politician Frits Bolkestein publicly declared that Islam was incompatible with central European values, such as the separation between church and state, freedom of expression and tolerance.[197] Television reported on the critical reactions of Muslim organizations and of politicians who accused Bolkestein of inciting racism and xenophobia.[198] A few years later, in 1997, Bolkestein published a book, *Moslim in the Polder*, in which he interviewed "succesful" Muslims about the issue of integration. He repeated his views about the incompatibility of Islam and Western values on television.[199] In the same year, the liberal politician Pim Fortuyn attracted much attention with the publication of his book *Against the Islamization of our Culture*. In interviews on television, Fortuyn plead for an immigration stop, and stated that the old city quarters were powder kegs, and that Islam was not compatible with the separation between church and state.[200] Thus in the nineties, public hostility towards Islam surfaced and television critically followed this development.

From the early nineties, following these events, television began to address the issue of the emerging fear of Islam. Particularly the attack on a mosque in Amersfoort in 1992 led to critical reports on racist attitudes and fears of Islam among the Dutch.[201] Throughout the rest of the decade, actuality programs broadcast items about Dutch prejudice against, ignorance and fear of Islam, and items about initiatives to inform the Dutch about Islam, such as visits of Dutch *autochtonen* to mosques.[202] Besides, like in the earlier decades, television continued to report on the yearly religious celebrations of Muslims and on Islamic rituals such as male circumcision and halal slaughter.[203] Also informative and educational

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[196] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 17-01-1991 and 18-01-1991 and 29-01-1991 and 28-02-1991), *In het Nieuws* (VARA, 08-01-1991), *Tros Aktua* (TROS, 30-01-1991).

[197] Bolkestein stated this in a lecture he held in Luzern, Switzerland, in the summer of 1991, and later published these ideas in the *Volkskrant* (12-09-1991).

[198] For example: *Hier en Nu* (NCRV, 09-09-1991), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 24-05-1992), *NOS Laat* (NOS,18-06-1992)

[199] *Netwerk* (AVRO, 20-05-1997), *Ontbijt tv* (KRO, 17-03-1998).

[200] *Netwerk* (AVRO, 13-02-1997), *Het Lagerhuis* (VARA, 15-02-1997).

[201] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 25-01-1992), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 25-01-1992 and 28-01-1992), Kenmerk (IKON, 25-01-1992), *Televizier* (AVRO, 30-01-1992.

[202] For example: *Rondje van het huis* (NCRV, 03-02-1992), *Journaal* (NOS, 18-01-1992), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 22-12-1994), *Binnenland* (NPS, 07-05-1995), *Telelens* (NPS, 29-01-1995), *Van gewest tot gewest* (NPS, 31-03-1995), *Middageditie* (RVU, 04-04-1997), *Op weg naar verzoening* (NOT, 27-05-1998), *Babylon* (IKON, 04-02-1999), *Binnenland* (NPS, 19-03-1995), *Middageditie* (NPS, 14-12-1998).

[203] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 31-03-1990), *NOS Laat* (NOS, 05-03-1992), *Journaal* (NOS, 25-04-1992), *Binnenland* (NOS, 12-03-1992), *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 06-06-1992), *Zoekiejakki* (VPRO, 14-

programs and items about Islam and Muslims in the Netherlands kept being broadcast.[204] In 1993 and 1994, the NOS aired two 8-part series about Islam in the Netherlands that looked back at the history of Islamic immigration, and took account of the nature of the Islamic religion and of the lives of Muslims in the Netherlands.[205] In 1990, the IKON broadcast a 3-part series, *De Ontmoeting* (*The Encounter*), about the encounter between Islam and Christianity.[206] Also the EO invoked Islam in relation to Christianity, albeit from a different angle. The program *Wit begint, zwart wint?* revolved around the question of whether Islam should be considered a threat to Christianity, and the six-part series *Fitariek* portrayed ex-Muslims who had converted to Christianity.[207] Imagery of the performance of communal prayers, interiors and exteriors of mosques, and imams singing from the Quran dominate the visual repertoire of these various (informative) programs and items.

Figure 20 a-b. Still from *Karel* (AVRO, 07-03-1993) of Mohammed Rasoel. Still from *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 28-01-1992).

In addition to these programs about the nature of Islam and about the emerging fear for Islam, television continued to show programs and items about the threat of Islamic fundamentalism. In 1992, the BVD (the Dutch intelligence service) published a report that warned against the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in the Netherlands. The NOS news reported on this publication and on the critical reaction

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02-1993), *Najib* (NOS, 14-03-1993), *Twee Vandaag* (EO, 03-12-1994), *Niet bij brood alleen* (NOT, 30-05-1995), *Binnenland* (19-02-1995), *Dokument* (NCRV, 27-05-1996), *Feesten met een verhaal* (NOT, 18-03-1999).

[204] For example: *God Bewaar Me* (KRO, 20-02-1991), *Concept* (04-03-1991), *Journaal* (NOS, 18-01-1992), *Barend en Witteman* (VARA, 16-01-1997).

[205] *Islam in Nederland* (NOS, 10-10-1993 etc), *Holanda da Islam* (NOS, 24-04-1994).

[206] *De Ontmoeting* (IKON, 23-09-1990 etc).

[207] *Wit begint, zwart wint?* (EO, 11-03-1993), *Fitariek* (EO, 28-09-1994 etc).

of Mohammed Rabbae, the director of the Dutch Centre for Foreigners. [208] Throughout the rest of the decade, the topic of fundamentalism was mainly invoked in relation to the Turkish organization Milli Görüs and the international organization World Islamic Mission.[209] Besides, like in the coverage of ethnic minorities in general, the topic of (the problems of) integration of Muslims emerged in the nineties. Some programs completely revolved around the issue of integration, and addressed the question of whether particular organizations, such as Milli Görüs, and imams who were "imported" from the countries of origin should be considered as obstacles to the integration of Muslims. [210] Furthermore, the issue of integration was often invoked in relation to the growth of the amount of Islamic schools, and to the foundation of educational institutes for imams in the Netherlands. [211] Images of mosques, prayers and Quran recitations, girls with headscarves in classrooms and on playgrounds, and women with headscarves on streets and at markets were used to visualize the stories about fundamentalism and integration.

In this decade, the figures of the Muslim woman and the Muslim girl/teenager became very present and visible on television. Television reported repeatedly on the repression of Muslim women and girls by their men or fathers, on arranged marriages, on kidnappings, and on the problems of Muslim girls who had to balance between the traditions of their parents and the practices of Dutch society.[212] Besides the repressed Muslim woman or girl, the emancipated *moslima* became a prominent figure, and television started to portray Muslim feminists and successful Muslim

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[208] *Journaal* (NOS, 19-02-1992).

[209] Milli Gorus (literally: national vision) is a large Turkish diaspora organization, that is active in various European countries, and that stresses the moral and spiritual strength of the Islamic faith. World Islamic Mission is an international Muslim organization for *Sunni* Muslims. Its aim is to spread the true teachings of Islam and of its prophet Muhammad. In the Netherlands, its followers are merely Pakistan and Surinamese Muslims. For example: *Hier en Nu* (NCRV, 13-03-1995), *Binnenland* (NPS, 22-01-1995), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 22-06-1998), *Het Allochtoon Video Circuit* (NPS, 20-03-1999), *Middageditie* (NPS, 12-11-1998), *Twee Vandaag* (EO, 02-12-1998).

[210] For example: *NOS Laat* (NOS, 20-02-1992), *Tijdsein* (EO, 23-10-1996), *Middageditie* (RVU, 05-12-1996), *Lopende Zaken* (VPRO, 31-05-1998). The fear was that the Turkish and Moroccan regimes would exercise political influence on their diasporic communities through these organizations and through imported imams.

[211] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 07-03-1990), *Televizier* (AVRO, 16-01-1992), *Als het maar een geloof is* (NOS, 04-02-1992*), Het Capitool* (NOS, 19-01-1992), *Journaal* (NOS, 23-11-1992), *NOVA* (NOS, 03-11-1993).

[212] For example: *Hier en Nu* (NCRV, 03-11-1990), *Middageditie* (NPS, 03-12-1997), *Binnenland* (NPS, 20-09-1995), *Twee Vandaag* (TROS, 12-02-1998), *Journaal* (NOS, 26-05-1998), *Netwerk* (17-09-1998), *Brandpunt* (KRO, 10-05-1992), *Lopende Zaken* (VPRO, 18-10-1992), *Barend en Witteman* (VARA, 02-12-1997), *Impact* (VARA, 19-03-1991), *Journaal* (NOS, 17-10-1992).

women.[213] And finally, several programs and items revolved around Dutch women and teenagers who had converted to Islam, mostly as a consequence of their marriage to or their relationship with a Muslim man.[214] In the bulk of the programs and items that addressed Muslim women, women were interviewed about their headscarves, about the reasons for wearing it, and – in the case of the Dutch converts – about the reactions of their families, friends and employers. Furthermore, several episodes of talk shows and actuality items completely rotated around the issue of the headscarf and the practice of veiling.[215] The discovery of the headscarf by television appears not only from the large amount of programs that addressed the issue, but also from the widespread use of images of women with headscarves in all sorts of programs that dealt with ethnic minorities and *allochtonen* in general, and Muslims and Islam in particular. During these years, the figure of the veiled woman became a significant trope in the visual repertoires of both *allochtonen* and Muslims, and developed into a signifier of the multicultural society (and its discontents) and integration issues.

Figure 21 a-b. Stills from *Impact* (VARA, 19-03-1991) and *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 28-01-1992).

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[213] For example: *Kenmerk* (IKON, 19-10-1991), *Binnenland* (NOS, 27-10-1992), *Rondje van het huis* (NCRV, 15-12-1993), *Twee Vandaag* (09-04-1996), *Nieuws op zondag* (NCRV, 05-01-1997), *Het Allochtoon Video Circuit* (NPS, 27-12-1997), *Het Andere Gezicht* (IKON, 05-02-1998), *Girls Girls Girls* (NPS, 03-01-1999 etc), *2 Vandaag* (TROS, 06-03-1999).

[214] For example: *Sonja* (VARA, 18-02-1990), *Lolapaloeza* (VPRO, 18-05-1994), *Tussen eten en afwas: dubbeljong* (IKON, 15-02-1995), *Als ze maar gelukkig zijn* (VPRO, 11-01-1998), *Urbania* (NPS, 07-03-1998), *Heilig Vuur* (NCRV, 16-11-1999), *Werelden* (IKON, 21-09-1995).

[215] For example: *Via Ria* (AVRO, 02-03-1994), *Het Capitool* (NOS, 18-09-1994), *Geestkracht 11* (NCRV, 13-03-1997), *Journaal* (NOS, 08-08-1995), *Middageditie* (RVU, 13-03-1996).

Archival representation in the nineties: "women with headscarves at the market" and "Muslims on the street"

In this decade, programs and items that revolved around the multicultural society have persistently been labelled with the keyword "ethnic minorities", while the word *allochtonen* has been used in many of the archival descriptions of the material. The most common additional keywords that this material has been tagged with point towards the thematic structure of these programs: "unemployment", "education", "criminality", "youth", "integration", "discrimination", "racism", "minority policy", "women", and "residential areas". Besides, some of this material has received additional keywords that refer to the visuals of these programs and that indicate the generic imagery that television used to imagine the multicultural society in this period: "city shots" and "street shots". The majority of programs that have been tagged with "ethnic minorities", and that explicitly addressed the Islamic religion, have received the additional keyword "Islam" or "Muslims". However, in some cases, programs that mentioned Islam did not receive the additional keyword "Islam" or "Muslims", but instead "Islamic education", "discrimination" or "fundamentalism".[216] In some other cases, programs that have been tagged with "ethnic minorities" and that did not mention Islam, have received the keywords "headscarves" or "mosques".[217] In these cases, the keywords reflect the detailed shot descriptions of the material, and refer to the visuals of the program, and not to the thematic content. The majority of programs and items that have been tagged with "Muslims" and "Islam" explicitly addressed the Islamic religion, but again there are some cases in which the tag "Muslim" or "Islam" is a consequence of the detailed shot description, in which for instance a shot of a mosque or a shot of a woman with a headscarf has been highlighted.[218] These cases indicate that in the nineties the visual repertoires of ethnic minorities, *allochtonen* and Muslims began to become intermingled.

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[216]For example: Het Capitool (NOS, 19-01-1992), Journaal (NOS, 31-3-1990), Binnenland (NOS, 07-11-1991), Van Gewest tot Gewest (NOS, 17-11-1992), NOVA (VARA, 03-11-1993). Sonja op Zaterdag (AVRO, 19-01-1991, this is a talk show about the discrimination of Muslims, it has received the keyword "discrimination"), 2 Vandaag (EO, 23-04-1997, this is an item about Islamic fundamentalism that is tagged with the keyword: "fundamentalism").

[217] Brandpunt (KRO, 13-10-1991, this report is about an old city neighborhood in Utrecht and it has been tagged with "mosques"), 2 Vandaag (18-10-1997), Journaal (NOS, 12-02-1992: this item is about a rally against racism and has been tagged with "headscarves"), NOS Laat (20-03-1992, this item is about unemployment of minorities and has been tagged with "headscarves"), Journaal (NOS, 09-07-1992: this item is about education for minorities and has been tagged with "headscarves").

[218] For example: Reporter (KRO, 22-01-1992), Marco Polo (VPRO, 15-11-1993), Binnenland (NOS, 11-12-1994).

The most common additional keywords that the broadcast material labelled with "Muslims" or "Islam" reflect the thematic structure of the coverage of Islam in the nineties: "mosques", "rituals", "prayers", "education", "youth", "discrimination", "racism", "fundamentalism", "integration", "women", "emancipation" and "headscarves". In the detailed shot descriptions of this material, the same generic imagery as in previous decades has been highlighted: exteriors and interiors of mosques, communal prayers, praying Muslims, men washing before going to prayer, imams calling for prayer or leading a prayer and families partaking in meals. Also the imagery that had emerged in the eighties kept recurring in the archival descriptions: girls with headscarves (sometimes in class or on the playground), children reciting from the Quran and images of Muslims in public space. The latter became quite dominant in the archival descriptions and began to take various forms, such as "diverse shots of Muslims", "diverse street shots with *allochtonen* and women with headscarves"[219], "diverse shots of Muslims in mosques, shops, and tearooms"[220], "street shots with Muslims", "Muslims on the street"[221], "shopping Muslim women"[222], "women with headscarves at the market", "Muslims in an Islamic butchery" and "women with headscarves on the street". Clearly, these visual units reflect television's visual repertoire in the nineties, in which the Muslim who should integrate into Dutch society was discovered to be situated in public spaces and in which headscarf-wearing women emerged as a new motif. Additionally, the emergence of these visual units (of "the Muslim on the street" and "the veiled woman") also point to the rise of an obsession with and fear of Muslims. Certainly, these visual units are not innocent categories of imagery (I have never found a description of a shot saying: Christians/ Jews on the streets), and they do have a performative quality, as they have been elevated for possible reuse.

2.7. 2000-2010: Fixation on the Failure of Integration, Islamic Fundamentalism and Terrorism

During the first few years of the new millennium, the publication of "The Multicultural Drama" (2000), the traumatic events of 9/11 (2001), the murder of Pim Fortuyn (2002) and the assassination of Theo van Gogh (2004) lead to an extreme

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[219] *Brandpunt* (KRO, 10-05-1992).
[220] *Islam in Nederland* (NOS, 07-11-1993).
[221] *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 28-01-1992).
[222] *Nieuwe Buren* (AVRO< 10-03-1994).

polarization of the debate about integration, multiculturalism and Islam. Throughout the rest of the decade, several incidents and events, such the rise of Geert Wilders and the controversy surrounding his film *Fitna* (2008) caused turbulence in Dutch society and Islam started to play a key role in the discussions about integration and multiculturalism. Not surprisingly, the amount of items tagged with "Islam" and "Muslims" increased dramatically compared to the nineties and exceeded the amount of items tagged with "ethnic minorities". The keyword "Islam" renders 1634[223] hits, of which the majority, 1409 items, dealt with the Dutch context. The keyword "Muslims" produces 2389 hits[224], of which 519 items are left after subtracting the items about foreign subjects, items broadcast by the Islamic broadcasting organizations and items that have also been tagged with "Islam". Of the amount of items that have been tagged with "ethnic minorities" and that deal with the Dutch context (1932[225]) only 614 have not also been tagged with "Muslims" or "Islam". So clearly, the topics of ethnic minorities and Muslims/Islam became very much entangled in this decade. In the coverage of ethnic minorities, the central themes were integration, integration policy and the failure of integration. Coverage of Islam and Muslims abroad concentrated on the conflict in Ambon, the war in Bosnia, on 9/11 and its aftermath, Osama bin Laden and Islamic terrorism, the invasion of Afghanistan, developments in Pakistan, the war in Iraq, riots in France, terrorist attacks in Bali, Madrid, London, Egypt and Bombay, the Danish Cartoon crisis and the prohibition of minarets in Switzerland. Television coverage of Dutch Muslims became very much fixated on the issues of fundamentalism and terrorism in the Netherlands, the radicalisation of young Muslims, radical imams, the position of Muslim women, headscarves and veiling. Before going into more detail about the nature of this coverage, I first take a brief look at the coverage of ethnic minorities that has not been tagged with "Islam" or "Muslims" in these years.

Allochtonen and the failure of integration

In these years, the turbulent debate about the failure of integration that followed upon the publication of "The Multicultural Drama" (2000) and that persisted throughout the decade was very much acted out on public television. Integration became an extremely dominant theme surrounding the coverage of ethnic minorities on television. Additionally, it became a leading theme in various new

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[223] In total: 2545 hits, of which 911 have been broadcast by one of the Islamic Broadcasting Organizations, IOS and NMO.
[224] Excluding 204 "*internationale nieuwsuitwisseling*".
[225] Excluding 22 "*internationale nieuwsuitwisseling*" and 107 items that deal with foreign affairs.

reality series that emerged in this decade: series that were made by *allochtonen* who approached multicultural issues from their own perspective, often in a humorous and ironic way. Many of these series were broadcast by the NPS, since diversity was a statutory duty of this broadcasting organization and therefore a central theme in its programming. In (long-running) series such as *Raymann is Laat!* (2001-2010), *Surinamers zijn beter dan Turken* (2001-2002), *Planet Holland* (2005-2006), *Ab&Sal* (2007-2008) and *Premtime* (2003-2008?), *De Meiden van Halal* (2005-2006), *De Meiden van Haram* (2008-2009), the various *allochtone* presenters investigated (and often ironically commented on) multicultural issues such as integration, prejudices and stereotyping. Likewise, several other broadcasting organizations produced series that ironically commented on the "hot potato" of integration, such as *100% AB* (VPRO, 2002-2003), *De Grote Integratieshow* (BNN, 2002) and *Welkom in Nederland* (VARA, 2007-2008). The multicultural society was also the subject of a number of serious educational television series, such as *Hallo Holland* (NOT/TELEAC, 2000), *Couscous en Cola* (BNN, 2004-2005) and *Dichtbij Nederland* (NPS, 2009), but above all it became the subject of humour and satire in the newly emerged reality series.

In this decade of social and political turmoil, integration and its assumed failure was the predominant theme that ran through the television coverage of "ethnic minorities". The topic was discussed in numerous news shows, actuality magazines and talk shows, in waves induced by current events and incidents, such as the publication of "The Multicultural Drama" (2000), 9/11 (2001), the murder of Pim Fortuyn (2002), national elections (2002, 2003, 2006), the parliamentary inquiry of integration policies (2003-2004), the assassination of Theo van Gogh (2004) and the debate on double nationalities (2007).[226] Talk shows and actuality magazines often

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[226] For example: *Nova* (NPS, 08-02-2000), *Buitenhof* (NPS, 20-02-2000), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 19-04-2000 and 08-12-2000), *Den Haag Vandaag* (NOS, 20-04-2000), *Buitenhof* (NPS, 27-01-2002), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 25-01-2002), *Netwerk* (KRO, 25-01-2002), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 25-02-2002 and 26-02-2002 and 27-02-2002), *Voor je kiezen* (IKON, 05-03-2002), *Netwerk* (KRO, 24-05-2002 and AVRO, 26-09-2002 and 19-11-2002), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 02-12-2002), *Het Elfde Uur* (EO, 05-11-2002), *Buitenhof* (NPS, 01-12-2002), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 09-12-2002 and 13-12-2002 and 14-12-2002), *Twee Vandaag* (TROS, 19-06-2003), *Werelden* (IKON, 23-04-2003), *Tegenlicht* (VPRO, 04-05-2003), *OH! OH? Den Haag* (TROS, 12-05-2003), *Netwerk* (KRO, 15-08-2003), *Nova* (NOS, VARA, 14-11-2003), *B&W* (VARA, 24-09-2003), *Twee Vandaag* (EO, 19-09-2003), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 25-09-2003), *Netwerk* (AVRO, 25-09-2003), *Twee Vandaag* (EO, 19-01-2004), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 19-01-2004), *B&W* (VARA, 19-01-2004), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 19-01-2004), *Het Geluk van Nederland* (VPRO, 08-02-2004), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 19-01-2004), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 22-03-2004), *Twee Vandaag* (EO, 02-04-2004), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 26-01-2005 and 25-11-2005), *Buitenhof* (VPRO, 29-10-2006), *Pauw&Witteman* (VARA, 09-03-2007), *Nova Politiek* (NOS/VARA, 12-10-2007), *Het Elfde Uur* (EO, 16-10-2007), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 09-04-2008),

staged politicians such as Pim Fortuyn, Geert Wilders, Job Cohen, Roger van Boxtel and Ella Vogelaar, while offering a platform to their debates about the (failure of) integration. In many of these debates the issue of integration was invoked in relation to the nature of the Dutch cultural identity and consequently special editions of actuality magazines emerged that addressed and investigated the nature of the Dutch identity.[227] The topic of integration appeared, besides in all these programs and items that reported on current events and that completely revolved around the political debates about integration and integration policy, also in many programs about other recurrent topics in the television coverage of ethnic minorities. Integration was the buzzword of this era.

Figure 22. Still of title of program *De Grote Integratieshow* (BNN, 2002).

Television continued to address the same topics that were dominant in the nineties, albeit with more emphasis on undesirable and negative aspects of the multicultural society. Education remained a significant topic, and was mainly addressed in relation to the third generation. Programs and items focused on the insufficiencies in the mastering of the Dutch language by children and young adults[228], on the problem of "black schools" and segregation in the realm of

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Pauw&Witteman (VARA, 17-11-2008 and 01-12-2008), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 29-01-2009), *Buitenhof* (NPS/VARA/VPRO. 01-11-2009).

[227] For example: *Reporter* (KRO, 17-03-2004 and 24-03-2004 and 31-03-2004), *Tegenlicht* (7 parts on *The Adventures of Harry Holland*, from: 17-09-2007).

[228] For example: *2 Vandaag* (TROS, 01-02-2000 and 21-03-2000), *Middageditie* (NPS, 09-02-2000), *Zembla* (NPS, 01-02-2000), *Den Haag Vandaag* (NOS, 22-02-2000), *2 Vandaag* (TROS, 22-02-2000), *Netwerk* (AVRO, 24-02-2000), *Het Lagerhuis* (VARA, 05-03-2001), *Nova* (NPS, 31-03-2000 and 25-09-2002), *2 Vandaag* (TROS, 10-10-2002), *Netwerk* (KRO, 24-11-2002), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 07-05-2003), *En hoe was 't op school?* (NPS, 13-12-2003 en 20-12-2003), *Journaal* (NOS, 18-12-2003), *Netwerk* (KRO, 16-01-2004), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 26-02-2004), *Knevel op Zaterdag* (EO, 24-01-2004), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 20-02-2007), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 16-5-2007), *Buitenhof* (NPS/VPRO, 14-12-2008), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 28-09-2009), *Tegenlicht* (VPRO, 02-03-2009)

education[229] and on incidents and problems at high schools, such as the murder of a teacher by a Moroccan pupil at the Terra College in 2004.[230] Also the topic of criminality remained dominant and was mainly invoked in relation to young Moroccans.[231] Television reported extensively on the problems and riots that these Moroccans caused in various towns and old city neighbourhoods, such as Ede[232], Slotervaart[233], Venlo[234] and Gouda.[235] In 2002, news and actuality magazines took account of the fuss about a statement of the Amsterdam alderman Rob Oudkerk, who had qualified the young criminal Moroccans as "*Kutmarokkanen*" (Cunt Moroccans), and of the Dutch rapper Raymtzer who turned Oudkerk's qualification into a sobriquet and whose single "*Kutmarokkanen*" became a hit.[236] Also the old city neighbourhoods; the "*probleemwijken*" (problem quarters) remained recurrent topics on television in these years, and the coverage focused on the problems of segregation, the failure of integration, the (Moroccan) "*hangjongeren*" (loiterers) and on the political initiatives to fight these problems, such as the plan in Rotterdam to spread *allochtonen* throughout the city, and the proposal of the minister of Integration Vogelaar to pay extra attention to forty neighbourhoods, that became known as "*Vogelaarwijken*".[237] Lastly, the topic of *allochtone* women and girls

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[229] For example: *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 16-09-2000), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 27-09-2003), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 10-07-2004), *Journaal* (NOS, 22-11-2004), *Het geluk van Nederland* (VPRO, 16-01-2005), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 10-11-2005), *Dokument* (NCRV, 09-10-2006 en 16-10-2006), *Netwerk* (EO, 20-06-2006), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 23-05-2007), *Dokument* (NCRV, 02-06-2008).

[230] For example: *Netwerk* (NCRV, 14-01-2004 and 16-01-2004).

[231] For example: *Netwerk* (NCRV, 10-04-2000 and NCRV, 28-05-2001 and KRO, 13-06-2001), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 15-06-2001 and 18-06-2001), *De Kloof* (VARA, 02-05-2002), *Netwerk* (KRO, 03-05-2002 and AVRO, 18-07-2002), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 23-08-2002), *Twee Vandaag* (ROS, 18-10-2003), *Netwerk* (KRO, 19-10-2003), *Knevel op Zaterdag* (EO, 18-10-2003), *Het Lagerhuis* (VARA, 18-10-2003), *Buitenho*f (NPS, 19-10-2003), *Netwerk* (EO, 24-02-2005), *Nova* (NOS, 17-01-2006), *Twee Vandaag* (AVRO, 17-01-2006), *Netwerk* (EO, 29-03-2007),.

[232] For example: *Netwerk* (KRO, 14-10-2001), *Premtime* (NPS, 16-01-2007).

[233] For example: *Netwerk* (AVRO, 12-09-2000), *Netwerk* (EO, 16-10-2007 and 18-10-2007), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 18-10-2007 and 19-10-2007).

[234] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 26-10-2002), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 29-10-2002), *Netwerk* (KRO, 25-04-2003).

[235] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 14-09-2008 and 25-09-2008 and 16-10-2008), *Buitenhof* (NPS, 21-09-2008), *Nova* (NPS, 25-09-2008), *EenVandaag* (TROS, 22-10-2008), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 22-10-2008).

[236] For example: *2 Vandaag* (TROS, 19-03-2002), *Journaal* (NOS, 19-03-2002), *Journaal* (NOS, 21-10-2002), *Het Elfde Uur* (EO, 21-10-2003).

[237] *Netwerk* (AVRO, 13-04-2000 and 02-08-2000), *Journaal* (NOS, 30-10-2000), *Het Oude Westen* (NPS, 17-12-2000), *Dokument* (NCRV, 19-03-2001), *Dokwerk* (NPS, 20-01-2002 and 03-02-2002), *De Gids* (VARA, 22-01-2002), *Netwerk* (AVRO, 10-01-2002), *Nova* (NOS,VARA, 26-02-2002 and 02-08-2002 and 14-12-2002), *Twee Vandaag* (EO, 03-09-2003 and 12-09-2003 and 01-12-2003), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 09-09-2003 and 10-09-2003 and 11-09-2003 and 01-12-2003 and 06-12-2003), *Zembla* (NPS/VARA, 10-05-2002), *Het Allochtoon Video Circuit* (NPS, 18-05-2002), *De Bijlmer: Geloof, Hoop*

continued to be addressed frequently; the coverage focused on the issue of (the lack of) emancipation and on all sorts of violence and abuse, such as arranged marriages, honour crimes, kidnappings and domestic violence.[238] Finally, in this first decade of the new millennium, the dominant figure in the television coverage of ethnic minorities was the *allochtoon* whose integration into Dutch society had failed. Images of *allochtonen* on streets and at markets, women and girls with headscarves, Moroccan youth hanging around or rioting on streets and houses with satellite dishes in old city quarters continued to dominate the visual repertoire.

Figure 23. Stills from *Netwerk* (KRO, 23-09-2001).

Home grown terrorists, hate-preaching imams and women in "*burqa*"

Since the issue of Islam was pushed into the centre of the debate about integration following the many incidents and ruptures at the beginning of the new millennium, it

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en Sloop (NPS, 20-09-2003 and 21-12-2002), *Rondom Tien* (NCRV, 11-09-2003), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 15-10-2003), *B&W* (VARA, 01-12-2003), *Dokument* (NCRV, 14-06-2004 and 12-12-2005), *Nova* (09-02-2006), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 06-03-2006), *Premtime* (NPS, 27-03-2007), *Journaal* (NOS, 24-09-2007), *Zembla* (NPS,VARA, 13-05-2007), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 01-12-2008), *Nu we er toch zijn* (BNN, 04-01-2009), *Journaal* (NOS, 13-09-2009), *Rondom Tien* (NCRV, 31-10-2009).

[238] *Middageditie* (NPS/VARA, 09-05-2000), *De Achtste Dag* (HUMAN, 04-12-2002), *Het Lagerhuis* (VARA, 06-12-2003), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 22-01-2004 en 24-01-2004), *Netwerk* (KRO, 12-03-2004), *Journaal* (NOS, 07-03-2005), *Twee Vandaag* (TROS, 11-03-2005), *Netwerk* (EO, 09-06-2005), *Boter, Kaas en Eieren* (RVU, 21-04-2007), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 27-11-2009), *Vrouw en Paard* (VARA, 30-10-2009), *Zembla* (NPS/VARA, 14-12-2001), *B&W* (VARA, 1-11-2002), *Netwerk* (EO, 25-01-2007), *Nova* (NOS/VARA 19-09-2009 and 21-09-2009), *2 Vandaag* (TROS, 02-07-2002), *Keyl* (TROS, 23-11-2002), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 11-02-2003 en 02-07-2003), *Netwerk* (AVRO, 28-08-2003), *Nova* (NOS/VARQ, 29-09-2003), *Twee Vandaag* (TROS, 15-01-2004), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 16-01-2007), *Een Vandaag* (AVRO/TROS, 31-01-2007), *Barend &Witteman* (VARA, 30-11-2001), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 27-07-2001), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 29-09-2003), *Twee Vandaag* (TROS, 11-10-2003), *B&W* (VARA, 16-03-2004), *Journaal* (NOS, 16-03-2004), *Netwerk* (EO, 19-10-2004 en 14-12-2004), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 10-02-2005 and 30-06-2007 and 24-12-2008).

is not surprising that the amount of programs tagged with "Islam" and "Muslims" exploded during this decade. It is instructive here, before discussing the recurrent themes associated with Islam, to delve a bit deeper into the incidents and events that fed the distrust of and hostility towards Islam that had already begun to surface in the nineties. News, actuality magazines and talk shows reported extensively on these incidents and on the "Islam debate" that followed and ran through the whole decade. The first incident that caused public outrage was an interview with the Moroccan imam El Moumni in 2001, broadcast by the actuality magazine *Nova*[239], in which he stated that homosexuality was a contagious disease. Television reported on what became known as the El Moumni affair and on the following debate about the place of Muslims in Dutch society, tolerance, freedom of religion and freedom of speech.[240] The furore had hardly quietened down, when the two planes hit the World Trade Centre. The events of 9/11 dominated the media for months; the news shows and actuality magazines reported on, besides the many foreign developments, the consequences of the attacks for Dutch society, the reactions of Dutch Muslims, the relationship between *allochtonen* and *autochtonen* and on several incidents that occurred during the direct aftermath, such as the celebration of the attacks by young Moroccans in Ede and the arson attack of an Islamic school in Nijmegen.[241] The public debate on multiculturalism and Islam began to intensify, and television followed the developments carefully.

In the following years, more extreme events brought the country into a serious state of panic and confusion. In the years of turmoil after the murder of Pim Fortuyn in May 2002, the politician Ayaan Hirsi Ali began to present herself as an outspoken critic of Islam and she became a prominent figure on Dutch television. She was interviewed and portrayed in numerous actuality magazines and talk

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[239] *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 03-05-2001).

[240] For example: *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 03-05-2001 and 11-05-2001 17-05-2001 and 23-05-2001 and 25-05-2001), *Journaal* (NOS, 04-05-2001 11-05-2001 and 14-05-2001 and 22-05-2001 and 23-05-2001 and 06-06-2001), *2 Vandaag* (TROS, 22-05-2001 and 23-05-2001), *Rondom Tien* (NCRV, 17-05-2001), *Buitenhof* (NPS, 20-05-2001).

[241] For example: *2 Vandaag* (EO, 14-09-2001 and 19-09-2001), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 14-09-2001 and 18-09-2001), *Geloven TV* (EO, 15-09-2001), *Kruispunt* (RKK, 16-09-2001), *Buitenhof* (NPS, 16-09-2001), *Netwerk* (AVRO, 18-09-2001), *Jeugdjournaal* (NOS, 18-09-2001), *Het Andere Gezicht* (IKON, 18-09-2001), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 19-09-2001), *Barend &Witteman* (VARA, 19-09-2001 and 25-09-2001), *Rondom Tien* (NCRV, 20-09-2001), *Netwerk* (AVRO, 20-09-2001), *Knevel op Zaterdag* (EO, 22-09-2001), *Buitenhof* (NPS, 23-09-2001), *Netwerk* (KRO, 23-09-2001), *Journaal* (NOS, 28-09-2001), *Heilig Vuur* (NCRV, 11-10-2001), *Jacobine* (IKON, 16-10-2001), *Netwerk* (AVRO, 30-10-2001), *Knevel op Zaterdag* (EO, 10-11-2001), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 14-12-2001), *Reporter* (KRO, 28-12-2001).

shows [242] and television reported on the death threats that she received as a consequence of her provocative statements about Islam.[243] When she was invited as a guest on the VPRO program *Zomergasten* in August 2004, she used the occasion to place her struggle against the oppression of Islamic women in the national spotlight and showed *Submission*, the film she had made with Theo van Gogh.[244] Following the release of the film, television reported on the controversy it caused.[245] And then, a few months later, Mohammed B. assassinated Theo van Gogh and a severe panic took hold of the country. For months, the murder of van Gogh and the events that followed dominated the news. Television reported on the reactions of Dutch Muslims, on the attacks of mosques, on initiatives to reduce the tensions in society, on the *Hofstad* network of which Mohammed B. was a member and on the siege in the Laakkwartier in The Hague.[246] With the murder of van Gogh, the debate on multiculturalism, integration and Islam escalated further and became extremely polarized.

In the years that followed, television continued to report on the aftermath of the murder and covered the processes against Mohammed B. and the *Hofstad* network as well as the arrest of Samir A. (all in 2005).[247] Although Geert Wilders had

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[242] *Rondom Tien* (NCRV, 12-09-2002), *Rondom Tien* (NCRV, 26-09-2002), *2 Vandaag* (TROS, 30-11-2002), *Door het leven* (VPRO, -1-11-2002), *Oog in oog* (VARA, 12-12-2002), *Twee Vandaag* (TROS, 25-01-2003), *Twee Vandaag* (TROS, 04-09-2003), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 01-12-2003), *Krachtstroom* (AVRO, 17-01-2003), *Het Lagerhuis* (VARA, 25-01-2003), *Knevel op Zaterdag* (EO, 01-03-2003), *Nova/Den Haag vandaag* (NOS/VARA, 11-12-2003), *Buitenhof* (NPS/VPRO/VARA, 20-06-2004).

[243] For example: *Netwerk* (NCRV, 18-09-2002), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 18-09-2002), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 20-09-2002).

[244] *Zomergasten* (VPRO, 29-08-2004).

[245] For example: *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 30-08-2004 and 13-10-2004), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 30-08-2004).

[246] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 02-11-2004), *Rondom Tien* (NCRV, 02-11-2004 and 04-11-2004), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 02-11-2003 and 03-11-2004), *Nova* (NOS/ VARA, 03-11-2004 and 04-11-2004), *2 Vandaag* (AVRO, 04-11-2004), *B&W* (VARA, 02-11-2004, 04-11-2004 and 05-11-2004), *Netwerk* (KRO, 05-11-2004), *Rondom Tien* (NCRV, 11-11-2004), *Twee Vandaag* (TROS, 05-11-2004), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 07-11-2004 and 08-11-2004), *Knevel op Zaterdag* (EO, 06-11-2004), *Buitenhof* (NPS, 07-11-2004), *Kruispunt* (RKK, 07-11-2004), *Journaal* (NOS, 08-11-2004), *Nova* (NOS/AVRO, 08-11-2004 and 13-11-2004) and 11-11-2004 and 17-11-2004), *Twee Vandaag* (TROS, 10-11-2004), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 10-11-2004 and 11-11-2004 and 14-11-2004), *Soeterbeeck* (RKK, 16-11-2004) *B&W* (VARA, 24-11-2004 and 08-11-2004 and 10-11-2004 an 19-11-2004), *Het Elfde Uur* (EO, 09-11-2004), *Knevel op Zaterdag* (EO, 13-11-2004), *Stand.NL* (NCRV, 17-11-2004).

[247] For example: *Netwerk* (EO, 14-07-2005 and 25-07-2005), *Profiel* (KRO, 08-06-2005), *Twee Vandaag* (AVRO, 26-07-2005), *Profiel* (KRO, 07-09-2005), *Nova* (NOS, 01-12-2005 and 05-12-2005), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 25-01-2006), *Twee Vandaag* (AVRO, 02-02-2006), *Netwerk* (KRO, 10-03-2006), *Rondom Tien* (NCRV, 20-10-2005), *Nova Politiek* (NOS/VARA, 04-11-2005), *Reporter* (KRO, 01-10-2006), *Journaal* (NOS, 10-09-2006), *Netwerk* (EO, 26-09-2006), *EenVandaag* (AVRO/TROS, 30-11-2006).

already began to step forward as a blunt and uncompromising critic of Islam before the murder of van Gogh, it was in the years following the murder that his campaign against Islam started to dominate the media. In the second part of this decade, he managed to hijack the political debates on integration and Islam with his provocative statements about Muslims and the Quran. Television reported on the numerous controversies he caused in these years, of which the affair around his film *Fitna* (2008) was most far-reaching and drastic.[248] Following the broadcast of *Submission* (2004) and the Danish Cartoon crisis (2006)[249], the release of *Fitna* invigorated yet another heated debate on the freedom of speech. Besides Geert Wilders, various other persons caused controversies that were covered by television, which fuelled the "Islam debate" in these years. In 2005, the Rotterdam politician Marco Pastors was discredited because of his statements about Islam.[250] Ayaan Hirsi Ali continued to be in the news, especially during the controversy around her citizenship that occurred after the broadcasting of an episode of *Zembla*[251] and her departure to the United States in 2006.[252] In 2007, politician Ehsan Jami founded his "committee for ex-Muslims", and caused yet another storm.[253] Towards the end of

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[248] For example: *De Nieuwste Show* (BNN, 29-11-2007), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 28-11-2007), *Netwerk* (EO,29-11-2007), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 11-01-2008 and 16-01-2008 and 17-01-2008 and 22-01-2008), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 14-01-2008 and 18-01-2008), *EenVandaag* (AVRO, 24-01-2008), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 29-02-2008), *Pauw&Witteman* (NPS/VARA, 29-02-2008 and 03-03-2008 and 12-03-2008 and 13-03-2008 and 27-03-2008), *De Nieuwste Show* (BNN, 03-03-2008), *Het elfde uur* (EO, 04-03-2008 and 01-04-2008 and 11-04-2008), , *De Wereld Draait Door* (VARA, 05-03-2008 and 11-03-2008 and 27-03-2008), *Rondom Tien* (NCRV, 08-03-2008 and 29-03-2008), *Buitenhof* (NPS/VARA, 24-02-2008), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 28-02-2008 and 29-02-2008 and 11-03-2008 and 13-03-2008 and 17-03-2008 and 28-03-2008) and 15-04-2008) and 01-04-2008, *EenVandaag* (TROS, 29-02-2008 and 03-03-2008 and 07-03-2008 and 11-03-2008 and 28-03-2008 and 31-03-2008 and 01-04-2008 and 05-04-2008 and 23-06-2008 and 01-07-2008 and 14-07-2008), *Netwerk* (EO, 04-03-2008 and NCRV, 07-03-2008 ad 14-03-2008 and 27-02-2008 and 11-04-2008 and 23-06-2008 and 30-06-2008), *Journaal* (27-03-2008 and 28-03-2008), *Spraakmakende Zaken* (IKON, 14-12-2008), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 21-01-2009), *Journaal* (NOS, 21-01-2009), *EenVandaag* (TROS, 21-01-2009), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 21-01-2009), *Pauw&Witteman* (NPS/VARA, 21-01-2009), *De Wereld Draait Door* (VARA, 22-01-2009).
[249] *Rondom Tien* (NCRV, 09-02-2006), *Nova Politiek* (NOS/VARA, 10-02-2006), *Twee Vandaag* (AVRO, 04-02-2006), *Buitenhof* (05-02-2006), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 06-02-2006), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 08-02-2006), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 09-02-2006).
[250] *Journaal* (NOS, 08-11-2005),*Nova* (NPS/VARA, 08-11-2005 and 14-11-2005), *Twee Vandaag* (AVRO/TROS, 09-11-2005), *Woestijnruiters* (VARA, 13-11-2005).
[251] *Zembla* (NPS, 11-05-2006).
[252] For example: *Rondom Tien* (NCRV, 18-05-2006), *Profiel* (HUMAN, 19-05-2006), *Twee Vandaag* (AVRO/TROS, 15-05-2006), *TV Show* (TROS, 22-09-2006), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 26-08-2006), *Pauw&Witteman* (NPS/VARA, 28-09-2006).
[253] For example: *Netwerk* (NCRV, 16-05-2007), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 16-05-2007), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 04-06-2007 and 10-07-2007 and 06-08-2007 and 08-08-2007), *Het Elfde Uur* (EO, 11-09-2007), *Pauw&Witteman* (NPS/VARA, 11-09-2007), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 07-09-2007 and 11-09-2007),

the decade, a polemic developed around the Swiss philosopher Tariq Ramadan, who was forced to resign as a professor at the University of Rotterdam in 2009.[254]

Clearly, television was an important vehicle for the agitated and intense "Islam debate" in these years; numerous talk shows and actuality magazines offered a platform to a vast amount of politicians, experts and opinion makers who participated in the often heated discussions. The "Islam debate" ran through the whole decade and climaxed around several traumatic events, the numerous polemics and controversies and around the national elections in 2002, 2003 and 2006, when the political debates on integration, multiculturalism and Islam erupted in full force. The main issues at stake were freedom of expression, freedom of religion, the separation between church and state, lack of integration and the nature of the Dutch cultural identity, that according to the critics of Islam was rooted in the Enlightenment and thus not compatible with the conservatism and "backwardness" of Muslims. Many of the debates were fought out on television, where politicians such as Pim Fortuyn, Marco Pastors, Ayaan Hirsi Ali, Rita Verdonk and Geert Wilders and experts and opinion makers such as Theo van Gogh, Hans Jansen, Paul Scheffer, Leon de Winter, Afshin Ellian and Paul Cliteur represented the anti-Islam and/or anti-multiculturalism sentiments, politicians such as Naima Azough, Job Cohen, Ahmed Aboutaleb, Ahmed Marcouch, Felix Rottenberg and experts and opinion makers such as Maurits Berger and Geert Mak represented the other side of the spectrum. The political debate was polarized like never before and television was the main stage where the "Islam debate" was acted out.

In this decade, the most important topics that occurred in connection to Islam were fundamentalism and terrorism. Television coverage focused on the (very much entangled) topics of the radicalization of young Muslims, the new phenomenon of "home-grown" terrorism, radical imams, contested mosques, and fundamentalism in Islamic schools. Coverage of these issues was often triggered by the various (traumatic) events in the Netherlands and by terrorist attacks abroad. The topic of the radicalization of young Muslims and the threat of terrorism was particularly dominant in the first half of the decade. Firstly, the events of 9/11 triggered much coverage of the threat of terrorism within the Netherlands, and in the years directly following 9/11, television reported on Dutch Muslims who supported Bin Laden, on

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EenVandaag (AVRO, 11-09-2007), *Netwerk* (EO, 11-09-2007), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 03-10-2007 and 04-10-2007), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 26-03-2008), *De Wereld Draait Door* (VARA, 01-04-2008), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 09-12-2008), *Netwerk* (EO, 09-12-2008).

[254] *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 18-08-2009 and 05-09-2009), *Netwerk* (EO, 03-09-2009), *Profiel* (IKON, 29-11-2009)

the arrest of Algerian terrorists in Rotterdam (2001), on the death of two Dutch Muslims who were on a mission to fight a *jihad* in Kashmir (2002), on the publication of a report by the BVD (the Dutch intelligence agency) about the radicalization of young Muslims (2002), and on the activities of radical groupings, such as *Takfir Wal Hijra*, that would recruit young Muslims for the *jihad*.[255] The assassination of Theo van Gogh (2004) triggered yet another wave of coverage of the radicalization of Muslims, of the threat of terrorism, and of the phenomenon of homegrown terrorists. Portrayals of Mohammed B., Samir A. and other members of the *Hofstad* network appeared on television. Throughout the rest of the decade, television continued to report on the radicalization of young Muslims, on the influence of radical imams, on extremist websites and on the recruitment of Muslims for the *jihad*.[256] Recurring

[255] For example: *Netwerk* (KRO, 23-09-2001), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 26-09-2001), *Zembla* (NPS/VARA, 16-11-2001), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 14-12-2001), *Journaal* (NOS, 15-01-2002), *Rondom Tien* (NCRV, 24-01-2002), *Nova* (NOS/VARA,10-07-2002), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 28-05-2002), *2 Vandaag* (TROS, 28-05-2002), *Netwerk* (AVRO, 28-05-2002), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 11-07-2002), *Nova* (NOS, 02-09-2002), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 06-09-2002), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 09-09-2002), *Journaal* (NOS, 09-12-2002), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 09-12-2002), *Het Lagerhuis* (VARA, 14-12-2002 and 16-12-2002), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 10-07-2002), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 29-11-2002 and 09-12-2002), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 09-09-2002 , *2 Vandaag* (EO, 18-12-2002), *Nova/Den Haag Vandaag* (NPS/VARA, 03-02-2003 and 22-05-2003), *Faktor* (IKON, 18-03-2003), *Journaal* (NOS, 17-04-2003), *Twee Vandaag* (EO, 09-05-2003), *B&W* (VARA, 12-05-2003), *Twee Vandaag* (EO, 12-05-2003 and 04-06-2003), *Twee Vandaag* (EO, 17-11-2003), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 18-03-2004 and 09-03-2004 and and 21-04-2004 and 28-04-2004 and 26-03-2004), *Buitenhof* (NPS/VPRO, 21-03-2004), *Nova Politiek* (NOS/VARA, 26-03-2004), *Nova/Den Haag Vandaag* (NPS/VARA, 28-04-2004), *Journaal* (NOS, 15-07-2004), *Nova/Den Haag Vandaag* (NPS/VARA, 23-07-2004).

[256] For example: *B&W* (VARA, 04-11-2004), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 09-11-2004), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 10-11-2004 and 11-11-2004), *Twee Vandaag* (AVRO, 12-10-2004), *Netwerk* (07-11-2004), *Knevel op Zaterdag* (EO, 13-11-2004), *Twee Vandaag* (TROS, 10-11-2004), *Netwerk* (NRCV, 10-11-2004 and 11-11-2004), *Netwerk* (17-11-2004), *Stand.NL* (NCRV, 17-11-2004), *Journaal* (20-11-2004), *Het geluk van Nederland* (VPRO, 28-11-2004), *Hoezo Jihad?* (NPS/VARA, 29-11-2004), *Zembla* (NPS/VARA, 23-12-2004), *Twee Vandaag* (TROS, 14-01-2005), *Netwerk* (EO, 25-01-2005), *B&W* (VARA, 07-02-2005), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 21-02-2005), *Nova* (NOS/NPS,13-04-2005), *Reporter* (KRO, 01-05-2005), *Twee Vandaag* (AVRO, 27-05-2005 and and 13-07-2005 and 14-07-2005), *Netwerk* (KRO, 10-06-2005), *Netwerk* (EO, 14-07-2005), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 25-07-2005), *Netwerk* (KRO, 16-09-2005), *Zembla* (NPS/VARA, 10-02-2005), *B&W* (VARA, 13-04-2005), *Profiel* (KRO, 08-06-2005), *Spraakmakende Zaken* (IKON, 16-07-2005), *Twee Vandaag* (TROS, 05-08-2005), *Profiel* (KRO, 07-09-2005), *Zembla* (NPS,03-10-2005), *Rondom Tien* (NCRV, 20-10-2005), *Profiel* (KRO, 30-11-2005), *Twee Vandaag* (AVRO/TROS, 11-01-2006), *Netwerk* (KRO, 10-03-2006), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 30-03-2006 and 14-06-2006 and 14-09-2006), *EenVandaag* (AVRO/TROS, 18-10-2006), *Reporter* (KRO, 01-10-2006), *De Wereld draait door* (VARA, 25-10-2006), *P-Side* (NPS, 20-11-2006), *Rondom Tien* (NCRV, 02-12-2006), *EenVandaag* (AVRO/TROS, 06-12-2006), *Premtime* (NPS, 02-01-2007), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 15-01-2007 and 25-01-2007), *EenVandaag* (AVRO/TROS, 27-04-2007), *Buitenhof* (VPRO, 29-04-2007), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 24-05-2007), *Wat Nu?* (VARA, 22-08-2007), *Journaal* (NOS, 27-08-2007), *Netwerk* (EO, 09-10-2007), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 15-10-2007), *Pauw&Witteman* (NPS/VARA, 16-11-2007), *Netwerk* (EO, 29-

images that were used to illustrate these programs were: exteriors and interiors of mosques (in particular of the orthodox Assoenah and Al Tawheed mosques), communal prayers, (hate) preaching imams, orthodoxly dressed Muslims, and compilations of archival footage of 9/11, Osama bin Laden, the dead bodies of the two Dutch Muslims who had died in Kashmir, the terrorist attacks in London and Madrid, the dead body of Theo van Gogh, the face of Mohammed B., the siege of the Laakwartier in The Hague, and members of the *Hofstad* network in court.
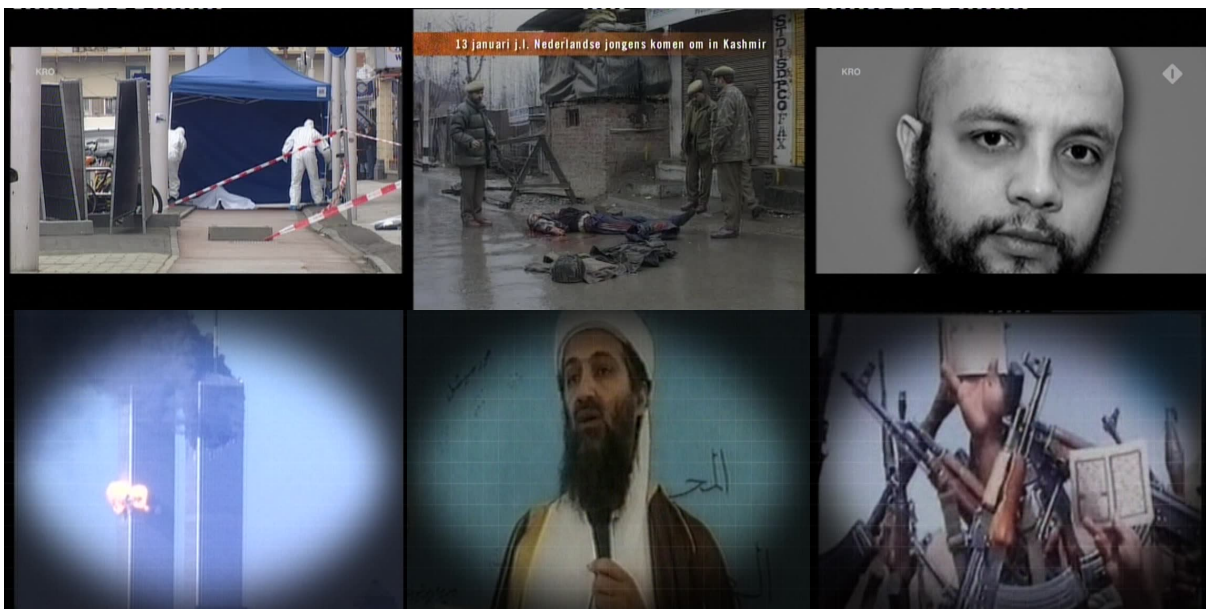
Figures 24 a-f. Stills from *Profiel* (KRO, 07-09-2005) (a,c), *Nova* (13-06-2002) (b) and *Reporter* (KRO, 04-02-2007).
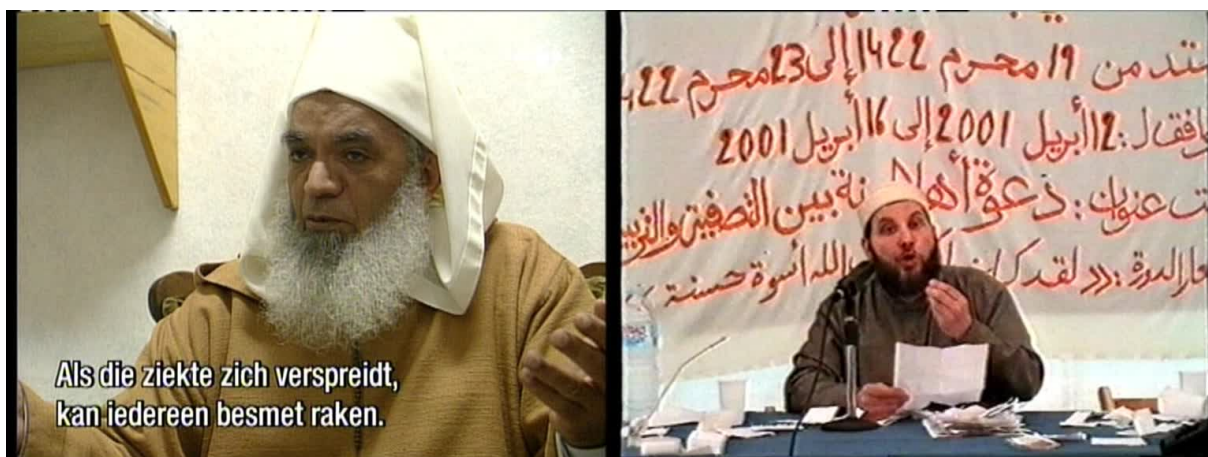
Figure 25 a-b. Still from *Netwerk* (KRO, 23-09-2001) of imam el Moumni (a). Still from *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 13-06-2002) of imam al Fawaz (b).

01-2008), *Het Elfde Uur* (EO, 22-04-2008), *Pauw&Witteman* (NPS/VARA, 02-10-2008), *Tegenlicht* (VPRO, 30-03-2009).

Another recurrent topic, which was often addressed in relation to the radicalization of young Muslims, was the topic of the radical imam. In this period, the "imported" and not well-integrated imam who had emerged on television in the nineties, transformed into the orthodox, intolerant and hate-preaching imam who pushed young Muslims to extremism. Firstly, the El Moumni affair generated a great deal of television coverage of the intolerance of imams towards homosexuality. Subsequently, the Dutch imam Haselhoef, who acted as a spokesman for Muslims on television during the aftermath of 9/11, was discredited for his statements about homosexuals.[257] And then, in 2002, the actuality magazine *Nova* secretly taped (during half a year) the sermons of the Salafist imams of respectively the Assoennah mosque in The Hague, the Al Tawheed and the Arragman mosques in Amsterdam and the Essalam mosque in Rotterdam.[258] Following this influential episode of *Nova*, the hate-preaching imam who advocated violence and who pushed young Muslims into *jihad*, became an often-repeated topic in the television coverage of Islam.[259] Additionally, television reported recurrently on the foreign financing of various (contested) mosques and on the influence of foreign countries on the orthodoxies that were preached there.[260] Coverage of radical imams and contested mosques was often triggered by incidents, such as the discovery that the Al Tawheed mosque sold seditious literature[261], the suggestion that Mohammed B. used to visit the Al Tawheed mosque[262], the refusal of imam Salam from Tilburg to shake the hand of the minister of integration Rita Verdonk[263] and minister Verdonk's decision to expel three radical imams who preached in the contested Al Fourqaan mosque in

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[257] For example: *Netwerk* (KRO, 02-11-2001 and NCRV, 05-11-2001), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 05-11-2001), *Studio 2* (NOS/TROS, 06-11-2001 and 07-11-2001), *De Leugen regeert* (VARA, 09-11-2001), *De Firma Interview* (VPRO, 19-12-2001), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 07-06-2002).

[258] *Nova/Den Haag Vandaag* (NPS, 13-06-2002).

[259] For example: *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 13-06-2002 and 14-06-2002 and 15-06-2002 and 21-06-2002 and 08-07-2002 and 21-12-2002 and 23-12-2002), Buitenhof (NPS/VPRO, 23-06-2002), *Journaal* (22-02-2005), *B&W* (VARA, 24-02-2005), *Nova* (NPS, 06-12-2004), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 26-03-2007), *Advocaat van de Duivel* (KRO, 18-03-2007), *Pauw&Witteman* (28-03-2007 and 29-03-2007), *EenVandaag* (TROS, 29-10-2007), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 09-04-2009 and 17-04-2009), *Netwerk* (EO, 03-09-2009).

[260] For example: *Netwerk* (NCRV, 08-10-2003*)*, *EenVandaag* (AVRO/TROS, 25-10-2006), *Reporter* (KRO, 04-02-2007 and 24-06-2007), *Aya Sofya Amsterdam: moskee in het Westen* (IKON, 04-06-2007).

[261] For example: *Nova* (NOS, 21-04-2004), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 21-04-2004), *B&W* (VARA, 23-04-2004), *Nova* (NOS, 28-04-2004).

[262] For example: *Journaal* (21-04-2004), *Netwerk* (21-04-2004), *Journaal* (NOS, 28-04-2004), *Nova/Den Haag Vandaag* (NOS/NPS 09-11-2004).

[263] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 20-11-2004 and 23-11-2004), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 22-11-2004).

Eindhoven.[264] Images of communal prayers, interiors and exteriors of mosques, orthodoxly dressed and bearded Muslims in front of the entrance of mosques, combined with sounds of the hate-preaching sermons of imams (originally from the *Nova*-episode) and sounds of Quran recitations, praying, singing and proclaiming "Allahu Akbar", were very prominent in these programs. Besides, archival footage of the bodies in Kashmir, of the murder of van Gogh, and of members of the *Hofstad* network was repeatedly used as illustrations of the danger that these imams embodied.

Figure 26 a-b. Stills from *TweeVandaag* (EO, 03-02-2002).

Like during the eighties and nineties, Islamic schools and Islamic education were recurrent topics in the television coverage on Islam. The topic of education occurred mainly in connection to the issues of the integration of Islamic children, the need to educate foreign imams, and the danger of the spreading of extremist ideas through fundamentalist and seditious teaching materials in Islamic schools and through their financial ties with fundamentalist groupings abroad.[265] Recurrent images were: children reciting from the Quran, young girls with headscarves in

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[264] For example: *Journaal* (NOS, 22-02-2005), *B&W* (VARA, 24-02-2005).

[265] For example: *Van Gewest tot Gewest* (NPS, 02-04-2000), *Lopende Zaken* (VPRO, 23-04-2000), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 21-12-2001 and 27-12-2001), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 18-02-2002 and 21-02-2002), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 20-02-2002), *Journaal* (NOS, 21-02-2002), *Het Lagerhuis* (VARA, 23-02-2002), Netwerk (24-02-2002), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 18-09-2002), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 25-10-2002 and 29-10-2002), *Gewest* (NPS, 28-11-2002), *Heilig Vuur* (NCRV, 05-12-2002), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 18-12-2002), Premtime (NPS, 02-03-2003), *Soeterbeeck* (RKK, 08-03-2005), Twee Vandaag (TROS, 21-10-2003), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 05-11-2003 and 06-11-2003 and 07-11-2003 and 18-11-2003 and 11-12-2003), *Ikon Live* (IKON, 02-11-2003), *Dokument* (NCRV, 10-11-2003), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 23-11-2004), *Debat op 1* (EO/NCRV, 17-09-2005), *Nova* (NPS, 03-02-2007), *EenVandaag* (AVRO, 07-03-2007), *EenVandaag* (TROS, 29-102007), *Tegenlicht* (VPRO, 14-04-2008), *Pauw&Witteman* (NPS/VARA, 17-04-2008), *Ontopic* (EO, 27-09-2009).

classrooms, orthodoxly dressed teachers and close-ups of contested passages from teaching material. Also the topic of Islamic women and teenagers continued to be frequently addressed. Television kept reporting on emancipated Muslim women, but it focused above all on the repression of women, on domestic violence and abuse, on arranged marriages, on female circumcision and on honour crimes. [266] The practice of veiling became a very prominent topic in the coverage of female Muslims and was often addressed in relation to female repression and the (failure of) integration.[267] Fully covered women, who wore the *niqaab*, appeared on television; news and actuality programs reported on the debates about the banning of what was often incorrectly referred to as the "*burqa*".[268] Also the topic of the Dutch convert kept recurring in these years and was occasionally connected to the issue of fundamentalism, as it turned out that some of the members of the *Hofstad* network and some of the females wearing "burqas" were Dutch coverts.[269] Furthermore, homosexuality became a recurrent topic in the coverage of Islam. Television reported on the intolerance of Muslims towards homosexuality[270] (often triggered by

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[266]For example: *2 Vandaag* (EO, 25-08-2000), *De kern van de zaak* (AVRO, 20-07-2000) , *Ikon Live* (IKON, 27-10-2002), *Heilig Vuur* (NCRV, 21-11-2002), *Knevel op Zaterdag* (EO, 05-10-2002), *Journaal* (NOS, 29-09-2003), *Rondom Tien* (NCRV, 09-10-2003), *B&W* (VARA, 25-11-2003), *2 Vandaag* (AVRO, 16-10-2004), *Buitenhof* (NPS/VPRO, 07-03-2004), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 22-01-2005), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 14-01-2005), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 21-03-2005), *Journaal* (NOS, 06-02-2005), *Ikon Live* (IKON, 03-04-2005), *Het Elfde Uur* (EO, 26-04-2005), *Netwerk* (EO, 25-05-2006), *God bestaat niet* (RVU, 28-06-2005), *EenVandaag* (AVRO/TROS, 11-05-2007), *Human Doc* (HUMAN, 23-07-2007), *Schepper &Co* (NCRV, 18-02-2008), *Reporter* (KRO, 01-06-2008).

[267] For example: *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 09-03-2001*)*, *De Achtste Dag* (HUMAN, 02-11-2001), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 27-04-2001), *Willem Wever* (NCRV, 29-11-2002), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 04-01-2003), *Journaal* (NOS, 25-01-2003), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 03-12-2003), *Factor* (IKON, 19-08-2003), *Het Lagerhuis* (VARA, 13-12-2003), *Buitenhof* (NPS/VPRO, 15-02-2004), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 18-02-2004), *Journaal* (NOS, 06-03-2004), *B&W* (VARA, 10-02-2004), *Het Geluk van Nederland* (VPRO, 15-02-2004), *Journaal* (NOS, 24-08-2004), *Premtime* (NPS, 05-04-2005), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 11-10-2005), *Moveyourass* (LLINK, 21-10-2005), *Buitenhof* (VPRO, 09-12-2007).

[268] For example: *Twee Vandaag* (EO, 03-02-2003), *Netwerk* (08-01-2003), *Nova* (NOS/ NPS, 28-01-2003), *Journaal* (NOS, 07-03-2003), *B&W* (VARA, 09-01-2003), *Debat op 1* (EO/NCRV, 15-10-2005), *Journaal* (NOS, 20-12-2005), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 20-12-2005), *Pauw&Witteman* (VARA, 30-11-2006), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 30-11-2006), *EenVandaag* (AVRO/TROS, 03-02-2007), *EenVandaag* (TROS, 08-02-2008), *Pauw&Witteman* (NPS/VARA, 08-02-2008), *Hotdog* (EO, 03-03-2008), *Soeterbeeck* (RKK, 11-03-2008), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 24-04-2008), *Ontopic* (EO, 19-01-2009).

[269] For example: *Het blijft toch…*(VPRO, 20-09-2002), *Gewest* (NPS, 31-10-2002), *Wat zou jij doen?* (KRO, 19-05-2004), *B&W* (VARA, 29-11-2004), *Jong* (EO, 15-04-2005), *Netwerk* (KRO, 20-11-2005), *DDD De Donderdag Documentaire* (IKON, 01-12-2005), *Kruispunt* (RKK, 23-04-2006), *(On)gelovelijk* (VPRO, 28-05-2006), *Het derde testament* (NCRV, 04-10-2008), *Dokument* (NCRV, 06-10-2008).

[270] For example: *Barend&Witteman* (VARA, 25-02-2002), *Premtime* (NPS, 02-04-2006).

the statements of radical imams such as El Moumni) and on Muslim homosexuals.[271] Recurring images were images of veiled women, women wearing the *niqaab*, and imams uttering intolerant and discriminating statements about women and homosexuals.

Besides all this coverage of negative aspects and assumed threats of Islam, television continued to cover the yearly religious celebrations of Muslims, and continued to broadcast items about Islamic rituals such as Ramadan and *halal* slaughter[272], and informative and historical programs about Islam and Muslims in the Netherlands. [273] And finally, television continued to address the increasing discrimination of Muslims and the role of the media in the rise of fear of Islam.[274] Coverage of the discrimination of Muslims and of Islamophobia was often triggered by incidents, such as the violations of mosques and Islamic schools after 9/11 and the murder of van Gogh, the broadcast of *Submission*, the controversy around Fitna, and all sorts of provocative statements from politicians such as Geert Wilders, Ayaan Hirsi Ali and Ehsan Jami. Many of these programs used the same footage that circulated in programs about the threat of Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism to illustrate the hazard of Islamophobia. Excerpts from *Submission* and *Fitna*, and images of violated mosques and Islamic schools, of 9/11, of the terrorist attacks in London and Madrid, of the murder of van Gogh, and of Wilders uttering provocative speech, recurred in archival compilations that visualized the issue of Islamophobia.

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[271] For example: *Ingodsnaam* (VPRO, 02-01-2000), *Het Andere Gezicht* (IKON, 01-02-2000 and 26-06-2001), *Ikon Live* (IKON, 26-01-2003), *Heilig Vuur* (NCRV, 01-03-2003), *B&W* (VARA, 19-02-2004), *Vriend en vijand* (IKON, 09-08-2005), *Geloof, Seks&Wanhoop* (IKON, 14-03-2006), *Twee Vandaag* (AVRO, 17-07-2006), *Schepper&Co* (NCRV, 26-11-2007), *EenVandaag* (AVRO, 04-10-2008), *Vals Plat* (24-10-2009).

[272] For example: *Man bijt hond* (NCRV, 07-01-2002), *Bart in de Bak* (BNN, 31-01-2000), *Middageditie* (NPS/VARA, 16-03-2000), *Journaal* (NOS, 27-11-2000), *Barend & Witteman* (VARA, 15-03-2000), Journaal (NOS, 05-03-2001), *Man bijt hond* (NCRV, 06-11-2002), *Man bijt hond* (NCRV, 04-10-2005), *Vals Plat* (NPS, 07-10-2006), *EenVandaag* (AVRO/TROS, 18-10-2006), *Soeterbeeck* (RKK, 27-02-2007).

[273] For example: *2 Vandaag* (TROS, 27-09-2001), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 11-12-2001), *Heilige Huisjes* (NOT, 30-09-2003), *Twee Vandaag* (AVRO/TROS, 08-12-2005), *Islam in Europa* (NPS, 05-01-2008), *Andere Tijden* (NPS/VPRO, 01-02-2005).

[274] For example: *2 Vandaag* (EO, 21-09-2001), *Het Lagerhuis* (VARA, 29-09-2001), *Barend&Witteman* (VARA, 08-11-2001), *Ook dat nog* (KRO, 11-11-2001), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 06-09-2002), *Zembla* (NPS/VARA, 05-09-2002), *Heilig Vuur* (NCRV, 11-01-2003), *Soeterbeeck* (RKK, 09-03-2004), *Het geluk van Nederland* (VPRO, 19-12-2004 and 27-02-2005), *Journaal* (NOS, 06-10-2005), *Twee Vandaag* (AVRO, 06-10-2005), *Rondom Tien* (NCRV, 12-05-2005), *Alziend Oog* (IKON, 16-10-2005), *EenVandaag* (AVRO, 12-02-2008), *Nova* (NOS/VARA, 12-02-2008 and 29-06-2009), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 29-06-2009), *Netwerk* (NCRV, 29-06-2009).

Figure 27 a-c. Stills from *EenVandaag* (TROS, 08-02-2008)

Archival representation in the decade 2000-2010: "praying muslims", "orthodoxly dressed Muslims" and "fully covered women"

In this decade, the categories of "ethnic minorities", "Muslims" and "Islam" became very much entangled and intertwined. The three dominant additional keywords that material tagged with the keyword "ethnic minorities" had received are: "Muslims", "Islam" and "integration". Of the material tagged with "Islam", the dominant other keywords are: "Muslims", "ethnic minorities" and "terrorism", and of the programs tagged with "Muslims" they are: "Islam", "Ethnic minorities" and "terrorism". Clearly, this indicates how much Islam was pushed into the centre of the debates about the multicultural society and how much integration and terrorism became leading topics on television. Other keywords that the programs tagged with "ethnic minorities" have received are: "youth", "politics", "cultural identity", "women", "discrimination", "criminality", "education" and "residential areas". In the cases of "Islam" and "Muslims", these were: "politics", "integration", "youth", "women", "mosques", "freedom of speech", "fundamentalism", "extremism", "imams" and "cultural identity". So once again, these additional keywords give a clear indication of the thematic structure of the television coverage of ethnic minorities, Islam and Muslims.

In the detailed shot descriptions of the material that has been labelled with "Muslims" and/or "Islam", the same generic images as in the previous decades have been underscored: exteriors and interiors of mosques, communal prayers, praying Muslims, men washing before going to prayer, imams calling for prayer or leading a prayer, girls with headscarves, children reciting from the Quran, children in classrooms, Muslims at the market, women with headscarves on the street or market, and *allochtonen* on the street. Furthermore, new generic images have entered the archival descriptions: orthodoxly dressed Muslims, women wearing *niqaabs*, *Muslimas* wearing burqas, imams preaching violence or intolerance and close-ups of seditious passages in textbooks or on websites. Remarkably, besides all these

nonspecific images, a vast amount of recurring archival images entered the descriptions: footage of the terrorist attacks of 9/11, of Osama bin Laden, of Al Qaida propaganda material, of the murders of Fortuyn and van Gogh, images and sounds of various hate-preaching imams (El Moumni, Fawaz), speeches of Wilders and Hirsi Ali, footage of the bodies in Kashmir, of the terrorist attacks in London and Madrid, of the siege of the Laakkwartier, images of the faces of Mohammed B. and Samir A., excerpts from *Submission* and *Fitna*, and footage of the Danish Cartoon crisis. The enormous amounts of repetitive archival images that have been highlighted in the descriptions reflect the compilations of archival material that television has increasingly employed to illustrate its stories about Islam and Muslims.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I revealed how television coverage of Islam and Muslims has evolved over the course of fifty years and how the characteristics that television has assigned to the typical Muslim have changed throughout these years. In the sixties and the seventies, the issue of Islam was exclusively addressed in relation to religious celebrations and other Islamic rituals of Moroccan and Turkish workers. In this discursive regime, the typical guest worker was male, single, separated from his family; a low-skilled worker, whose stay in the Netherlands was considered to be of a temporary nature and who was mainly spoken of in terms of his miserable social and economic conditions. His Islamic religion was very much in the margins of coverage and, in the rare instances that it was addressed; television's gaze displayed a fascination for the performance of his exotic religious rituals. Communal prayers and mosques dominated the visual repertoire of Islam in these years.

In the eighties, women and children entered the narratives and ethnic minorities, whose relationship to the Netherlands was rearticulated as permanent, and who were facing all sorts of problems such as chronic unemployment and cultural alienation, replaced the single male guest workers. In this new discursive regime, the presence of Muslims was likewise discovered to be of a permanent nature, and the frequency of coverage increased in these years, as well as the variety of topics that were associated with Muslims and Islam. New narratives emerged as Islam became increasingly more institutionalized, Islamic children and teenagers entered the repertoire and connections were made with Muslims living elsewhere. With the Rushdie affair, the issue of Islamic fundamentalism became part of television's news agenda. Core images were communal prayers and mosques,

children in Quran School, girls with headscarves and demonstrating crowds of angry Muslims. The latter often took the form of iterating archival footage of the global Rushdie affair and of Khomeini's Iran. In these years, the typical Muslim was still above all male, praying, celebrating meals with his family, opening mosques and Islamic schools, and occasionally revealing fundamentalist ideas.

In the nineties, the figure of the *allochtoon* who should integrate into Dutch society dominated television coverage of the multicultural society. In this discursive regime, that privileged narratives of young Moroccan criminals, impoverished old city neighbourhoods, and other integration issues, the visibility of Muslims increased further and both the frequency of coverage and the variety of themes intensified more. Television reported on the increasing fear of Islamic fundamentalism that developed, on the emerged hostility towards Islam and on various issues relating to the integration of Muslims. This decade witnessed television's discovery of the figure of the veiled Muslim woman, who was either repressed or well integrated and emancipated. The visual repertoires of *allochtonen* and Muslims occasionally began to become blurred as the veiled woman in public spaces became a recurrent visual motif in narratives about the multicultural society and about Muslims and Islam alike. In addition to images of veiled women on streets and markets, the visual repertoire of Islam consisted of the familiar images of mosques, communal prayers and Quran recitations, girls at Quran School, and Muslims in public spaces. And despite the fact that the typical Muslim was increasingly suspected of being not well integrated, of repressing his wife, and of being susceptible to fundamentalist ideas, it was only in the next decade that hostility towards him erupted in full force.

Following the traumatic events of 9/11 and the assassination of van Gogh, the debates on multiculturalism and Islam intensified enormously. In the television coverage of this decade, the issues of multiculturalism, integration, Muslims and Islam became increasingly intertwined and the frequency of coverage of Islam exploded. In this new discursive regime, the radicalized and fundamentalist Muslim became the exemplary figure of the *allochtoon* whose integration had ultimately failed. Television privileged narratives about the radicalization of young Muslims, homegrown terrorism, hate-preaching imams in contested mosques, the spreading of fundamentalism by Islamic schools, and repressed veiled or fully covered Muslim women. Besides the familiar non-specific images of mosques, communal prayers, girls and women with headscarves, Muslims in public spaces, new generic images such as fully covered women on the street, hate-preaching imams, orthodoxly dressed Muslims, and close-ups of seditious passages in textbooks were used to

visualize the stories. In addition, television began to rely increasingly on archival images to illustrate its stories about Muslims and Islam. Compilations of archival images juxtaposed images of the domestic context, such as the dead body of van Gogh, excerpts from *Fitna* and *Submission*, the face of Mohammed B., with images of the global context, such as 9/11, Osama bin Laden, the terrorist attacks in London and Madrid and the Danish Cartoon crisis. The visual repertoire of Muslims and Islam ultimately became an amalgam of the familiar generic imagery and of compulsively repeated archival footage of the Dutch and the global contexts.

What is striking about the above-described transformations of television's thematic and visual repertoires of Muslims and Islam is that, although the variety of topics of programs that addressed Muslims and Islam has grown exceedingly larger throughout the decades, the generic imagery that has been used to illustrate the stories has remained quite continuous and persistent. The compelling logic of the medium of television – the constant need to visualize abstract stories – has resulted in a rigid iconography that has made Islam instantly recognizable, but has also reduced Islam to a handful of emblematic images that now carry connotations far beyond their initial significance. This is above all the case for the generic images of mosques and communal prayers that have become laden with connotations by television's insistent repetition. Where in the initial decades of Islamic immigration, these images illustrated stories about the actual rituals of Islam, from the eighties onwards they have compulsively been employed in a wide range of stories, such as the failure of integration and even the dangers of Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism. Also, images of veiled women and (orthodoxly dressed and bearded) Muslims in public spaces, although emerging much later, have been subjected to the same fate. By obsessively repeating the same images over and over again in stories that did not necessarily deal with the rituals and appearances of the Islamic religion, television has suggested causal relations between the religion of Islam and all sorts of societal problems. The result is that images of the Muslim's place of worship, the Muslim's religious prayer, and the Muslim's bodily appearance (veiled, bearded or orthodoxly dressed) have become heavily burdened with connotations. Time and again, these images have been used to mark the strangeness and otherness of Muslims, and sometimes even to indicate their threat to Dutch society. Finally, I would argue that the resilience of these stereotypical images resides, regardless of their semantic content, in their high degree of what Mireille Rosello has coined iterativity: their timelessness, memorability and quotability. As a result of the compulsive logic of the medium, television has put the vicious circle of the

stereotyping machinery into operation and has privileged these non-specific images because they are so readily available and instantly recognizable.

Since the archiving practices of Sound and Vision have always been at the service of this compelling logic of the medium, I finally conclude with a reflection on the role of the archive in the emergence of the above-described rigid iconography of Islam. In this chapter I revealed that archival descriptions of broadcast material have systematically highlighted each decade's core images that constitute television's visual repertoires of Islam, both in the form of the description of stock shots (generic images that can be reused in different contexts), and in the form of dupes (the description of reused archival images). Although these archival descriptions to a certain extent only reflect the imagery that television has used to visualize Islam, I argue that the archival logic that puts certain repeatable visual units on a pedestal also plays an autonomous role in the cultural dynamics, which over and over again thrusts certain images into circulation. In particular, I suggest that by describing stock shots, such as the praying Muslim and the veiled Muslim woman at the market, the archive isolates these images as having a potential for future use, and simultaneously homogenizes and generalizes their meaning. These stock shots have been cut loose from their original semantic content and become ready to be cited and quoted in new contexts. Although it is difficult to prove empirically, since Sound and Vision has not documented the reuse of their material, I am convinced that this practice of describing generic stock shots has a performative dimension that feeds into the iterativity of these stereotypical images and plays a role in the emergence and persistence of the rigid iconography of Islam. In the case-studies that follow, I further investigate how the recursive nature of the medium of television and the archiving logic of Sound and Vision has canonized particular stories and (archival) images of Muslims and Islam.

CHAPTER 3
Reporting on the Rituals of Islam

CHAPTER 3

Reporting on the Rituals of Islam

Ritual is an increasingly contested and expanding arena for resistance, negotiation and the affirmation of identity.

(Hughes-Freeland and Crain 1998: 2)

The difference for observant Muslims in Western nations, however, is that their religion requires of them the outward performance of certain visible rituals – praying five times a day, a certain mode of dress, dietary obligations, and so on. Thus, they find themselves in what we might call a double bind of performativity: called upon to demonstrate through performance their national identities, while at the same time performing what is sometimes viewed suspiciously as a conflicting allegiance to the overarching Ummah.

(Morey and Yaqin 2011: 40)

One of the earliest television items that addressed the arrival of Islamic guest workers in the Netherlands was an episode of NCRV's actuality magazine *Attentie*, which was broadcast in 1966 and focused on the issue of Islamic ritual slaughter.[275] The item opens with a sequence of close-ups of Arabic inscriptions in the Mubarak mosque, and images of men removing their shoes and performing communal prayer accompanied by classical opera music. A voice-over states that these guest workers feel at home in the Netherlands, that they have encountered an atmosphere of understanding for their religious needs, that Dutch churches have opened their doors for their religious celebrations and that sensitivities and discontents were avoided. However, the voice-over points out, these Muslims have objections to the way animals are slaughtered in the Netherlands, which has resulted in problematic clandestine slaughters. In the next scene, imam Hafiz (the imam of the Mubarak mosque) explains that Muslims are only allowed to eat meat of animals that have been slaughtered according to the Islamic rite. He elaborates extensively on the Islamic dietary rules to make clear that for Muslims ritual slaughter is a matter of religious faith. The voice-over then asserts that ritual slaughter is not permitted under Dutch law and that this could be changed by royal decree. While the voice-over further explains that Dutch inspection and animal protection laws still oppose this religious obligation for Muslims, the camera zooms in on an Arabic text on the

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[275] *Attentie* (NCRV, 11-02-1966).

wall of the mosque and slowly pans from left to right along the writing.[276] After an interview with a Dutch official who is responsible for meat inspection and an interview with some Moroccan guest workers, the item ends with close-ups of meat in a butchery, accompanied by the same opera music from the beginning of the item and by the voice-over that states that it is hard to imagine that Muslims do not want to touch this meat, even if this refusal is not a matter of unwillingness but of religious conscience.

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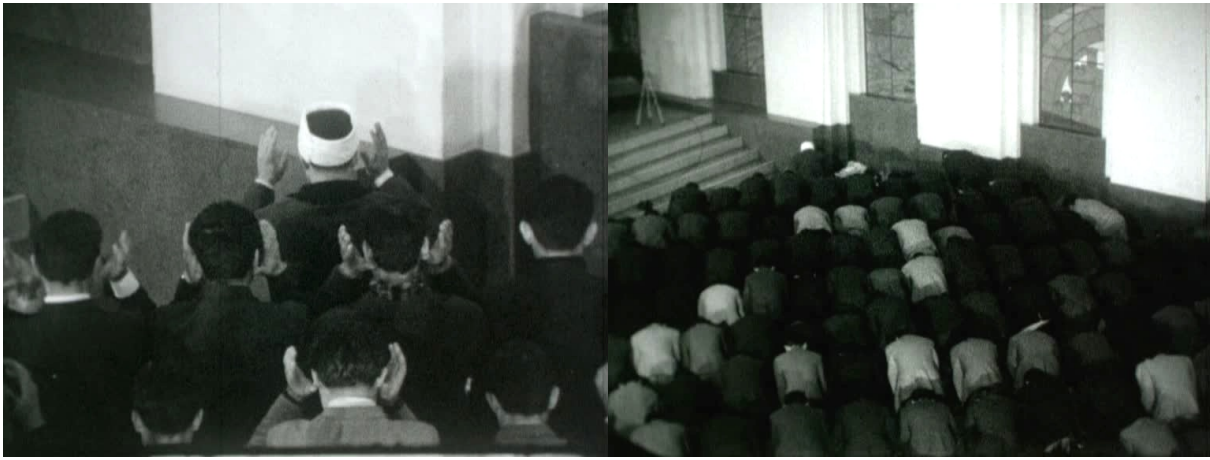
[276] The image on the wall is an inscription of the *shahada*, the Islamic statement of belief : "there is no god but god and Muhammad is his prophet". The *shahada* is one of the five pillars of Islam and expresses Islam's central dogmas: the oneness of God and the prophecy of Muhammad.

Figure 28 a-f. A selection of stills from *Attentie* (NCRV, 11-02-1966).

Since this item was made at a time that the Netherlands had only just begun to be confronted with Muslims living within Dutch borders, it is not surprising that the item testifies to unfamiliarity with Islamic religious practices. The reporter, who is somewhat hesitant to take seriously the claim that, it is out of religious faith only that Muslims refuse to eat Dutch meat and the exoticizing gaze of the camera, both constitute the Islamic religion as strange, different and unknown. The camera track along the Arabic writing is a clear visual illustration of the fascination for this mysterious script, and also of the ignorance of the fact that Arabic, the language of the Quran, is written from right to left instead of from left to right. Certainly, to some extent, the item taps into classical Orientalist topoi, as it portrays these Islamic guest workers as having obscure rituals and a tendency towards barbarian practices such as clandestine slaughters. Despite the reporter's attempt to demonstrate respect for their religious practices, the item also displays a certain discomfort with their need for ritual slaughter. Yet the item is ambiguous in its portrayal of the Islamic guest workers, and also testifies to a willingness to respect the Islamic religion and its rituals; a respect that seems to be rooted in a general appreciation for religious devotion. What is perhaps most striking about this item is that the Dutch nation is imagined as tolerant and hospitable, as a nation that values religious pluralism. Yet, the guest workers' need for ritual slaughter seems to border the very limits of what Dutch hospitality has to offer. The voice-over not only suggests that this is a consequence of the fact that ritual slaughter is against Dutch law, but it also implies that the refusal of guest workers to eat Dutch meat could perhaps be seen as an ingratitude to Dutch hospitality. The seductive close-ups of the juicy meat that seems to represent Dutch national pride and hospitality emphasize this implication. Despite the fact that the television item might appear archaic and outdated to a present audience, in hindsight the item foreshadows the heated discussions yet to

come. More than forty years later, Islamic ritual slaughter still gives rise to discourses that position Muslims as Other in a similar, albeit less ambiguous, manner as in this television item from 1966.

In this chapter I further investigate stories and visual repertoires of Muslims that have been perpetuated by Dutch public television by focussing on the coverage of the rituals of Islam. Since the first arrival of Islamic immigrants, these rituals have often prompted discussions of the place of Muslims in Dutch society, of the freedom of religion and the right of Muslims to practice their religion, of the ability of Muslims to adapt to the culture of their host country, and of the need for Muslims to perform national belonging. The issue of *halal* slaughter is one of the recurrent and especially contested themes in these societal and political debates surrounding the place of Islam in Dutch society. But also the two important Islamic celebrations of the Festival of Fast-Breaking (*id al-fitr*) and the Festival of Sacrifice (*id al-adha*) and the ritual of fasting during the holy month of Ramadan have repeatedly incited debates on the position of Islam in Dutch pluralist society.[277] Since the recurrent nature of these religious rituals goes hand in hand with continual and repeated television coverage – in the previous chapter I showed that television has covered these religious rituals from the very beginning of Islamic immigration and has continued to do so until today – I contend that an investigation of this television coverage can shed new light on the way Dutch public television has framed the encounter between Muslims and Dutch society throughout the years. The aim of this chapter would be then to analyse how television has imagined, visualized and constructed the religious identity of Muslims vis-à-vis the Dutch cultural identity through its coverage of Islamic rituals. Like in the aforementioned item from 1966, the Dutch nation has often been imagined as hospitable and tolerant towards other religions. Yet another exceptionally influential narrative is the story of the modernization of the Dutch nation from a Christian country to a secular one. It is therefore useful to examine the changing frames of reference in the coverage of Islamic rituals – is the Christian religion for example a persistent frame of reference? – and to investigate how the religious identity of Muslims has been mediated by the way television has ideologically constructed the Dutch nation.

Before I move towards an engagement with actual individual television programs that have addressed Islamic rituals, I first begin by briefly elaborating the conceptual paradigm of religion and rituals that I draw upon. This is to stress the fact

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[277] The word *id* means feast in Arabic and is used- since the word originates from the Arabic root that means "to return"- for yearly recurring celebrations.

that I do not depart from an essentialist notion of religion and that I am aware that dichotomies such as religious and secular can never be neutrally invoked. Besides, by conceptualizing rituals as contested spaces for identity politics, I account for television's fascination for these rituals and for the cyclically recurring coverage of these rituals throughout five decades. From there I proceed to define my two case studies and explain how this chapter is structured around the coverage of *id al-fitr* and Ramadan on the one hand and *id al-adha* and *halal* slaughter on the other. I give some background information about the nature of these rituals and provide methodological details. Where in the previous chapter I analysed the topics and visual repertoires in television's coverage of Muslims and Islam, without including an analysis of how these topics have been presented, I take a slightly different approach in this chapter and combine archaeological discourse analysis with close textual analysis. Finally, I trace the programs and items that have addressed the various religious rituals of Muslims through the archive and investigate these programs on the level of their themes and frameworks of reference and on their visual level.

3.1 Religion, Rituals and Acts of Translation

Recent debates on the place of Islam in Dutch society often invoke extremely essentialist notions of both the Dutch national identity and the religious identity of Muslims. The Dutch national identity has repeatedly been imagined as rooted in a Judeo-Christian tradition and the Enlightenment, and as a secular and modernized nation that highly values the separation of church and state. These myths of origin often operate to either deny Muslims a place in Dutch society, because their religious identity would be incompatible with these Dutch values, or to advocate the need for Muslims to adapt to Dutch society. Because I want to examine the way Dutch television has mediated the religious identity of Muslims in relation to the Dutch cultural identity and study the frameworks of reference that television has used in its coverage of Islamic rituals throughout five decades, I consider it important at this stage to explain my conceptual points of departure when I invoke terms such as religious and secular, rituals and rites, and Islam and Christianity. I do not want to delve too deeply into the extensive debates in anthropology and religion studies on the definitions of religion and rituals; however it is helpful to shortly explain the paradigms on which I draw.

First of all, I want to stress that when I speak about religious identity and religious rituals, I do not depart from a notion of religion that defines it as a discrete and universal essence. The idea that the very definition of religion, and thus the idea of calling some things religious and other things not, is the result of historical processes has been advocated most forcefully by Talal Asad, who is an expert on both Islam and Christianity. In his *Genealogies of Religion* (1993), Asad responds to Clifford Geertz's influential "universalist" definition of religion as a system of symbols, and argues that religious symbols cannot be understood independently of their articulations in social life, and that the study of religion should always be integrated with the study of the social exercise of power. He contends that religion should not be isolated from its formation within the social, political and economic domains of power and that any universalist definition of religion, any a-historical definition that insists that religion has an autonomous essence or core, separates religion conceptually from the domain of power, and thereby risks reiterating the hegemony of the West: "For while religion is integral to modern Western history, there are dangers in employing it as a normalizing concept when translating Islamic traditions" (1). The work of Asad is very much concerned with the cultural hegemony of the West and with the idea that any translation of religious traditions and symbols produces versions of power.

In his later work, *Formations of the Secular* (2003), he further develops his argument by focusing on the question of secularism. The aim of his intervention in the extensive academic debates on secularism is not so much to prove the secularization thesis wrong – Asad opens his book by stating that academic scholarship has abandoned the teleological narrative of progress from the religious to the secular – but again to direct attention to the constellations of power that underlie the political doctrine of secularism. Asad is thus mainly interested in the various assumptions on which secularism is based, and in the operations of power that constitute the categories of the religious and the secular. He maintains that secularism as a political doctrine can be a carrier for harsh exclusion. In his case on Muslim minorities in Europe, he argues that "Europe (and the nation-states of which it is constituted) is ideologically constructed in such a way that Muslim immigrants cannot be satisfactorily represented in it" (159) and that "it is their attachment to Islam that many believe commits Muslims to values that are an affront to the modern secular state" (160). Asad contends that the discourse of European identity that holds the idea of an unchangeable secular essence of a European "civilization" that is rooted in Christianity (or a "Judeo-Christian tradition") and Enlightenment is a

"symptom of anxieties about non-Europeans" (ibid). And by attributing to Islam an essence, an ingrained hostility towards non-Muslims, Islam is constituted as Europe's primary Other.

Moving away from Asad's anti-essentialist approach to religion, I now turn to a short explanation of the concept of ritual that informs this chapter. Since rituals are at the core of the social identity of communities, whether religious, secular or other, they have always been and still remain a topic of lively discussion in the fields of anthropology, sociology and religion studies; consequently they have been afforded a wide range of definitions and applications. In this chapter I draw on the framework of social anthropology that understands ritual as a special kind of performance that creates, maintains and transforms a community's cultural identity and social relations. In particular, I find Gerd Baumann's (1992) understanding of rituals as always implicating "Others" useful to understand Dutch society's and Dutch public television's obsession with the religious rituals of Muslims. Baumann calls into question the axiom, privileged since Durkheim, that underlies much of the anthropological discourse about rituals, and that claims that rituals can best be understood as "crystallizations of basic values uniformly endorsed by communities that perform them with a view to themselves, ultimately to create and conform their cohesion as communities" (113). He argues that such an essentialist understanding of rituals is too narrow, particularly in pluralist societies. Instead, Baumann argues that rituals are the product of "competing constituencies" (99) rather than of unified communities, that rituals can be also directed towards cultural change rather than only towards the "perpetuation of social values" (ibid), and, finally, that rituals rather than being limited to insiders can be addressed to "Others", both as "visible participants" or as "invisible categorical referents" (113). Baumann suggests that the domain of rituals is the social arena in which communities communicate among themselves, but also to, or about, "Others": "In the ritual process, one mode of participation may be blend into another, ambiguities may be played out or manipulated, and constituencies may align or realign in the negotiation of who is "us" and who "them" (…)" (ibid). Baumann thus stresses the dynamic nature of rituals and their capacity to implicate others.

In a similar way, Felicia Hughes-Freeland and Mary Crain (1998) have theorized ritual as "the contested space for social action and identity politics – an arena for resistance, negotiation and identity politics" (2). They prefer to think of ritualization rather than of ritual, in order to stress what they call the "processual aspect of ritual action" (ibid): the active dimension of ritual as a performance, which

acts upon the world. Like Baumann, Hughes-Freeland and Crain shift their focus from form and meaning in rituals to different aspects of participation, agency and intentionality. This conjunction of ritual and performance, they argue, illuminates the processual aspect of identity making and moves away from the conceptualization of identities as essential, fixed or homogenous. They maintain that in today's increasingly plural and multicultural societies, diverse publics interpret ritualized action and thereby delineate their social positions in a variety of ways, "often creating new dilemmas for intercultural communication and translation" (3). In many instances, only certain groups of a particular society celebrate a specific ritualized action, while others are excluded from participation or assume the position of (active) spectator. "Ethnic and/or national minorities as well as diasporic societies utilise their own performances as arenas in which they affirm their own identities, while also speaking to 'outsiders'" (3). Thus, similar to Bauman, Hughes-Freeland and Crain conceptualize rituals in terms of situated and performed social practices and processes, which function as an arena in which identities are negotiated, affirmed and contested.

Finally, this paradigm of ritual is instructive for understanding why the religious rituals of Muslims have caused so many controversies and debates in the Netherlands and why these rituals have provoked continual and repetitive television coverage. Therefore, in conclusion, I explain how the above described non-essentialist paradigms of religion and rituals inform my study of the mediation of Islamic religious rituals. Religion as an aspect of cultural identity has been marginalized by scholars of media due to the Marxist roots and secular sensibilities of cultural studies.[278] Consequently, the juncture of religion and media has mainly been studied by scholars who assume a normative framework and lament the media sphere for being secular and therefore biased and hostile toward religion.[279] I want to stress that I indeed take another approach, not only because the Dutch media sphere is pillarized and thus not by definition secular, but more importantly because I am not interested in exposing misrepresentations. Therefore, I do not aim to evaluate whether Dutch television has represented the rituals of Muslims correctly, but want however to analyze how Dutch television has translated these rituals over the course of fifty years and how this has mediated the identity of Muslims vis-à-vis the Dutch nation. If rituals could be conceived of as arenas for the contestation of

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[278] See for an elaboration of this argument: Morgan (2008).
[279] See for an overview of the ways religion and media have been addressed: Hoover and Lundby (1997).

identity, how then is the identity of Muslims constructed when television translates the rituals of a "strange" religion? How has Dutch television made sense of these rituals and what meanings have been attributed to these rituals? What are the hegemonic power relations produced by television's acts of cultural translation? What are the assumptions on which television has constructed the Dutch nation? Have the identities of Muslims and the Dutch nation been essentialized by Dutch television? Has television invoked the Dutch nation as Christian and/or secular and has it compared Islam to Christianity? What unequal power relations have been brought into play in these cases? These are the questions around which this chapter revolves.

3.2 Recurring Islamic Rituals in the Archive of Sound and Vision

This chapter is divided into two parts, both of which evolve around two central Islamic celebrations and two related themes. In the first part, I map the television coverage of the Islamic celebration of *id al-fitr* and the related theme of Ramadan, and in the second part I map the coverage of the celebration of *id al-adha* and the related theme of *halal* slaughter. I have chosen to focus on these specific ritual celebrations because they have been repeatedly covered by television from the very beginning of Islamic immigration until today. Other Islamic rituals such as the pilgrimage to Mecca, male circumcision, funeral rites, to name but a few, have not been so systematically addressed by television or only emerged on television much later.[280] *Id al-fitr* and *id al-adha* are the two most important religious festivals for Sunni Muslims; the majority of Moroccan and Turkish Muslims are Sunni. Not surprisingly, the majority of television items that have covered *id al-fitr* have also addressed the ritual of fasting during Ramadan. What is striking about the television coverage of *id al-adha* is that many programs have also addressed the issue of halal slaughter. Over the years, the two topics of *id al-adha* and *halal* slaughter have become very much entangled. Finally, this is the reason why I have taken as the object of this chapter the television coverage of *id al-fitr* and Ramadan on the one hand and of *id al-adha* and ritual slaughter on the other. Before explaining how I

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[280] For example: the earliest item that mentioned male circumcision was made in 1977, and was an educational program about the nature of Islam. Only in the nineties male circumcision was addressed more often by television, mostly by informative programs. Besides, items about the pilgrimage to Mecca only sporadically dealt with Islamic immigrants in the Netherlands.

traced these topics through the archive, it is informative to first give some background information about the nature of these celebrations and rituals.

Id al-fitr (the Festival of Fast-Breaking) is the festivity that ritually closes the holy month of Ramadan – a period of fasting. Ramadan, the ninth month of the Islamic calendar, is the period in which the Quran was sent down to earth and revealed to the prophet Muhammad. Fasting during Ramadan (*al-sawm*) is one of the five ritual obligations (the so called pillars) of Islam. The other pillars are *al-shahada* (the statement of belief: there is no god but god, and Muhammad is his prophet), *al-salaat* (prayer, five times a day), *al-zakaat* (the obligation to give alms) and *al-hadj* (the pilgrimage to Mecca). During Ramadan, Muslims must refrain from eating, drinking, smoking and sexual intercourse from sunrise to sunset. The month of fasting is a period of inner cleansing and self-reflection, and is meant to train one's willpower and discipline, to stimulate solidarity with the poor and needy, and to show gratitude for the revelation. Each evening, after sunset, Muslims eat *iftar*, often with friends and family. The end of Ramadan is celebrated during *id al-fitr*, and during this three-day festival Muslims visit friends and family and partake of special feasts. In the Netherlands *id al-fitr* has become known as *Suikerfeest*, which literally means sugar festival and refers to the large amount of sweets that people eat during this festival.

Id al-adha (the Festival of Sacrifice) is also a three-day celebration that begins on the tenth day of the month of *Hadj*, the day on which the pilgrimage to Mecca is completed. *Id al-adha* is often referred to as *id al-kabir*, which means the great feast and is by many Muslims considered the most important celebration. During this celebration Muslims commemorate the sacrifice of the prophet Ibrahim. Ibrahim was put to a heavy test when God demanded him to sacrifice his son Ismail. Ibrahim could not but obey to God; at the very moment he wanted to fulfil God's request, God intervened and gave him a ram to sacrifice instead. Ibrahim's willingness to sacrifice his son had proven his dedication to God, and during *id al-adha* Muslims celebrate Ibrahim's devotion and submission to God by sacrificing an animal, often a sheep, and by gathering and eating a feast with friends and family. Muslims are obliged to give one third of their sacrificial animal to the poor; one third to friends, family and neighbours; and the last third they are allowed to consume themselves. The sacrificial animal, like all the meat Muslims eat, must be slaughtered according to Islamic rites. One of the Islamic dietary rules says that they are not allowed (*haram*) to eat blood, because Islam considers blood impure. Animals therefore must be slaughtered in such a way that all the blood flows out completely – only then is the

meat considered halal – and this must be done by an imam who has been educated in Islamic slaughtering rites. In the Netherlands *id al-adha* is referred to as *Offerfeest* and sometimes as *Schapenfeest*, which literally means sheep festival, and *halal* slaughter as *ritueel slachten.*

Yet again, the archive of Sound and Vision is the starting point of my archaeological dig through television history, and in this chapter I continue to read the archive along the grain, in the same manner as I elaborated in the previous chapter. In the first part, I systematically trace the words *Ramadan* and *suikerfeest* through the archive, and in the second part *offerfeest*, *halal*, and *ritueel slachten*.[281] I provide some quantitative findings and I analyze the thematic structure of the programs that have addressed these rituals. I engage in a close textual analysis of a number of exemplary programs and items; I investigate how the religious identity of Muslims has been imagined, how the Dutch nation has been constructed, what frameworks of reference have been employed, and what images have been used to visualize and illustrate the stories. I take the ideological vocations of the various broadcasting organizations into account, and I also look at, if relevant, the descriptions of the material. And finally, the periodization I use to structure each part springs from the different discursive regimes that I identified in the previous chapter.

PART 1:
TRACING TELEVISION COVERAGE OF RAMADAN AND *ID AL-FITR*

3.3 Ramadan: The Respectful Gaze and the Framework of Dutch Hospitality and Solidarity

In the previous chapter, I showed that during the sixties and seventies, in the discursive regime of the single male low-skilled guest worker whose stay in the Netherlands was considered to be of a temporary nature, the religious identity of Turkish and Moroccan guest workers was not very visible on Dutch television and was mainly covered in relation to their yearly religious celebrations. In this period,

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[281] In this chapter, I have not searched with keywords, but I have searched in "open field" in order to find as much items as possible that have addressed these topics. Again, I want to stress that I do not claim that the following overview of television's coverage of these rituals is complete. If certain programs have addressed one of these rituals, but the archival descriptions have not mentioned this, then I have not included them in this overview. I have not searched with the official Arabic names of the festivals, because that results in programs broadcast by the Islamic broadcasters only (IOS and NMO).

nine items addressed the celebration of *id al-fitr* and/or the ritual of Islamic fasting. [282] Of these, the news items- the *Journaals* of the NTS/NOS - covered celebrations of the end of Ramadan, while the actuality magazine more extensively covered the nature of the Ramadan ritual. The earliest item, a NTS *Journaal* broadcast in 1964, covered a Ramadan celebration in the Mubarak mosque in The Hague. [283] The NTS dedicated three additional news items to the celebration of Ramadan: respectively, about a celebration in a town hall in Enschede in 1966, a celebration in the Mubarak mosque in 1968 and a celebration in the newly opened mosque in Almelo in 1974. [284] The actuality magazine *Kenmerk* of the IKOR (the inter-religious broadcasting organization) broadcast an item about a Ramadan service in the Mubarak mosque in 1967 and one about a Turkish family in 1975. [285] Finally, the pastoral broadcasting RKK dedicated two items to the portrayal of a Turkish guest worker and his practice of Ramadan. [286] In order to show how the ritual of Ramadan has been visualized and framed during these initial years of Islamic immigration, I now take a closer look at a selection of these programs.

Serene scenes of prayer

One of the earliest items that addressed Ramadan was an item from the NTS Journaal that was broadcast in 1966. [287] The description of the material tells us that this two-minute item is about a Ramadan service in a town hall in Enschede that has been arranged into a mosque for Turkish workers. [288] Despite the fact that only the visuals and sound recorded on location has been preserved (the introduction by the presenter and the explanatory voice-over have been lost) and that it is hence impossible to capture the exact tone of the item, the images are still quite revealing. The item opens with images of the town hall followed by images of men who enter

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[282] The word "Ramadan" results in 9 programs/ items that address the Dutch domestic context. The word "*Suikerfeest*" does not give any results, and had apparently not yet penetrated the archival descriptions of Sound and Vision in the sixties and the seventies. One of the nine items is an episode of *Paspoort* (NOS, 26-08-1976), that provided a Ramadan broadcasting for the Turkish community.

[283] *Journaal* (NTS, 15-02-1964).

[284] *Journaal* (NTS, 23-01-1966), *Journaal* (NTS, 01-01-1968), *Journaal* (NOS, 17-10-1974).

[285] *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 16-01-1967), *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 01-10-1975).

[286] Het *Omroeppastoraat* (KRO/RKK, 01-01-1997) and *'T Zand 33* (RKK, 14-06-1979). This pastoral broadcasting of the Catholic Church had been founded in 1974, and was a cooperation between the KRO- the Catholic broadcasting organization- and the archdiocese Utrecht. The aim was to involve the media of radio and television in the Catholic liturgy.

[287] *Journaal* (NTS, 23-01-1966).

[288] The archival description displays a certain ignorance of the Islamic religion, as the service has been described as Islamist instead of Islamic.

the building and remove their shoes. On the soundtrack we hear a man calling for prayer and repeating the words *Allahu Akbar* – God is great. Then a lengthy scene of a communal prayer is shown. What is striking is that the camera seems to have done its utmost to accentuate the serenity and the beauty of this ritual prayer. The men are filmed from above and behind, while they repeatedly bend, kneel down on the ground and rise again. On the soundtrack we hear the men performing a prayer. The scene is filmed in long shots, which leaves the impression that the camera has consciously kept a proper distance from the men during their intimate moment with God. The framing of the images stresses the visual harmony and symmetry of the ritual prayer performance. This sequence is followed by a final scene of the party afterwards, and images of men congratulating each other and of men enthusiastically dancing and celebrating. Although it is impossible to analyse the exact tone of this news item, the item shows Islamic guest workers as exotic and strange, and the gaze of the camera displays fascination and respect for the strange rituals.

The style of this news item is exemplary of the way the ritual of Ramadan has been visualized by television during this period. Both the news and actuality items have employed an observational style and include comparable long-lasting scenes of people praying and singing from the Quran. Images of the exterior and interior of the Mubarak mosque, of Arabic writing on the wall, of preaching imams, and of men performing communal prayer dominated the visual repertoire of these programs; the gaze of the camera displayed an unfamiliarity with and curiosity for the Islamic religion. As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, these were also the very images that were highlighted in the archival descriptions. In the many scenes of prayer that recur in these programs, the camera has underlined both the otherness and the visual beauty of Islamic ritual prayer. The observational style of these items and the exotic gazes of the camera clearly display a respectful attitude towards the religious identity of the Turkish and Moroccan guest workers. Regarding the thematic content of the coverage of Ramadan, the news and actuality items were aimed at informing the Dutch viewer about the nature of this ritual and unfamiliar religion. The themes that these programs raised were the integration of guest workers in the sphere of religion and the lack of facilities to practice the Islamic faith. What is striking is that many of these items spoke from a position of solidarity with the guest workers and often imagined the Dutch nation as hospitable, but also as not yet hospitable enough.

Figure 29 a-b. Stills from *Televizier* (AVRO, 25-03-1965) of imam Hafiz of the Mubarak mosque.

Ramadan and the lack of facilities to practice the Islamic faith

The first actuality magazine that addressed the issue of Ramadan is *Kenmerk*.[289] In 1967, it dedicated a six-minute item to the issue of Islamic fasting, a week after the end of Ramadan. The item opens with scenes of prayer in the Mubarak mosque, accompanied by a voice-over that states that the *azan* (the call for prayer) can nowadays be heard in the Netherlands, because thousands of guest workers are Muslim. Close-ups of a praying Muslim and of the entrance of the Mubarak mosque are shown, while the voice-over continues and states that the *azan* could even be heard in some Christian churches that were lent to Muslims for the celebration of the end of Ramadan because there is only one official mosque in the Netherlands. Besides more prayer scenes, the item shows an interview with imam Hafiz who explains the nature of the ritual of Ramadan and also extensively elaborates on the other four pillars of Islam. In the last scene, the reporter compares Ramadan to Catholic fasting and asks imam Hafiz whether the Dutch tolerate Ramadan. The imam thereupon goes into details about Dutch tolerance and states that many employers have arranged for improvised places for worship in their factories. Clearly, the tone of the item echoes the religious foundation of the broadcasting organization IKOR and its mission to advocate inter-religious dialogue. The item wants to inform the Dutch audience about the Islamic religion and seems to speak from a position that highly values religion. The comparative framing of the ritual of Ramadan seems to promote sympathy for the Muslims and advocate tolerance. The item only faintly raises the issue of the lack of places for worship, and eventually, by stressing the generosity of Dutch churches and employers, the Dutch nation is imagined as tolerant and hospitable; as a country that cherishes religious pluralism.

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[289] *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 16-01-1967).

Figure 30 a-f. Stills from *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 16-01-1967).

In 1975, another episode of *Kenmerk* dedicated a twenty-four minute item to the issue of Ramadan, in which the issue of Dutch tolerance and hospitality was also addressed, but this time in a more critical manner.[290] The item opens with observational scenes of prayer and Quran recitation in the living room of a Turkish family and of the family eating *iftar*, accompanied by a voice-over that explains the practice of Ramadan. Then a young Turkish man talks in front of the camera about the religious significance of Ramadan, followed by images of a communal prayer service. The voice-over explains that the Muslims living in Amersfoort are forced to hold their religious service in a room of the Remonstrant and Baptist Church, and that this church community counts 500 souls, while the amount of Turks and Moroccans who live in and around Amersfoort has reached nearly 2000 people. A lengthy scene of the religious service follows: close-ups of the imam preaching, men sitting on the floor while listening and images of the communal prayer. Then the item cuts back to the interview with the young Turkish man, who explains that it is exceptional to be able to hold a service like this and that the Turkish community is seeking a place where they can perform their daily services. The voice-over continues and says that the Moroccans hold their Ramadan service in another room of the church, because – due to different languages – they are unable combine their services. This statement is illustrated by a sequence of images of the Moroccan Ramadan service: a preaching imam, men reciting the Quran and close-ups of

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[290] *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 01-10-1975).

Arabic writings in the Quran. The voice-over states that it is not only the lack of places for worship, but also the attitude of Dutch employers towards "Muhammadan" employees that causes them problems. In the last scene, a guest worker further explicates and gives examples of blunt comments from Dutch people about his fasting during Ramadan.

This episode of *Kenmerk* thus quite explicitly raises the issue of the lack of facilities for Muslims to practice their religious obligations, and again obviously speaks from a position of solidarity with Islamic guest workers who are also referred to as "Muhammadan" – a word that apparently was still in common usage, to describe the followers of Islam. Once again the rituals of Islam are met with both respect and curiosity. The item dedicates much time to show the Ramadan service of both the Turkish and Moroccan workers, the scenes of prayer are filmed in the typical observational style, the voice-over falls silent as to leave the intimacy of these moments of religious devotion undisturbed and the camera gazes intriguingly. The item allows Muslims themselves to extensively talk about the meaning of Ramadan and the problems they encounter in Dutch society. What is also striking about this item is that it does not homogenize the identity of the Islamic guest workers, as it explicitly designates ethnic differences between Turkish and Moroccan Muslims. The item speaks from a position that considers religion as a very important aspect of Dutch society. By invoking the hospitality of the Dutch Remonstrant Church as a natural responsibility – even more so by suggesting that this Church has past its prime and that the amount of Muslims have by far outnumbered the Remonstrant community – the voice-over underlines the overall argument of the item that Muslims have an obvious right to acquire facilities to practice their faith. Eventually, the item tells an ambivalent story about the Dutch nation; it figures the Dutch nation as a nation that is respectful to religious devotion but not yet hospitable enough to translate religious tolerance into actual facilities for Muslims. This report on Ramadan finally implicitly critiques Dutch hospitality.

Figure 31 a-b. Stills from *'T Zand* (KRO, 14-06-1979)

Similarly, the actuality magazine of the pastoral broadcasting *'T Zand* (broadcast in 1979) invoked Ramadan in relation to the lack of prayer rooms for Muslims.[291] The item portrays a Turkish guest worker who works for the Dutch railway and who participates in Ramadan. He is filmed at work, where his Dutch colleagues comment on his fasting respectfully, in the mosque during a Ramadan service and at home with his family eating *iftar*, where he explains that his experience of Ramadan is different in the Netherlands than in Turkey. Again, the item shows long observational scenes of prayer during the Ramadan service. The voice-over extensively dwells on the lack of mosques, and on the complications that this causes for many Islamic guest workers that want to live up to their religious obligations. The item ends with a lengthy interview with a Dutch woman, who is committed to arranging a mosque for Turkish guest workers in Amersfoort, and who passionately explains that Muslims should feel at home and should not be alienated from their own culture. She also stresses the fact that Muslims cannot hold their services in Catholic churches, because of the prohibition of images in Islam. So again, this item advocates the right of Islamic guest workers to obtain facilities for prayer and speaks from a position of solidarity that seems very much rooted in identification with religious devotion. Further, the Dutch nation is figured as a nation that is reined by the principle of religious pluralism and should therefore live up to its hospitality and adapt to the needs of guest workers.

Thus, in the discursive regime of the sixties and seventies, the coverage of Ramadan and *id al-fitr* followed the same thematic tendencies as the general television coverage of foreign workers that I described in the previous chapter and focused on their struggle for emancipation in the sphere of religion. The actuality items of religiously inspired broadcasting organizations stressed the role of the Church in providing places for worship for Islamic guest workers and have quite explicitly commented on the lack of Dutch hospitality toward the religious needs of guest workers. The programs obviously spoke from a position that valued religion as an important part of people's identity, despite the different beliefs of Muslims. But also the neutral news items have taken a respectful attitude toward the religious identity of guest workers and raised the issue of the lack of facilities to practice their faith. Clearly, television has not represented these religious needs as being at odds with the values of Dutch society. On the contrary, the Dutch nation has been imagined as a place where pillarized pluralism and religious diversity should result in

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[291] *'T Zand* (KRO, 14-06-1979).

tolerance, hospitality and in the adaptation of the Dutch to the needs of Islamic guest workers.

3.4 Ramadan and the Christian Comparative Framework

In the discursive regime of the eighties, guest workers were replaced by ethnic minorities whose relationship to the Netherlands was rearticulated as permanent, Muslims became more visible on television and the variety of topics associated with Islam increased. In addition to the coverage of Islamic celebrations and rituals, television reported on the second generation of Muslims, Muslim women, Islamic education, and towards the end of the decade sporadically on Islamic fundamentalism. In this period, 31 items have addressed the celebration of *id al-fitr* and/or the ritual of Islamic fasting, of which the majority (23 in total) were special Ramadan programs broadcast by the IOS (Islamic broadcasting organization) or episodes of *Paspoort*.[292] The NOS news did not cover Ramadan celebrations in this period, and the 8 remaining items, actuality magazines and talk shows broadcast by religiously inspired broadcasting organizations KRO/ RKK and IKON, and didactic and informative programs broadcast by the educational broadcasting organizations RVU, FEDUCO and STV.[293] Like during the sixties and seventies, the coverage of Ramadan was aimed at providing factual information about the nature of the Islamic religion and at raising awareness and sympathy for Muslims. What is striking is that television increasingly began to frame Islamic fasting comparatively and invoke Islam in relation to Christianity. At this point the second generation entered the coverage of Ramadan.

Keeping Ramadan alive in the Netherlands

The first item that addressed Ramadan in this period, the KRO actuality magazine *Brandpunt* (1983), is also the first item that brought up the issue of the second generation and their decreasing religiosity.[294] The item is a double portrayal of two

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[292] The word "Ramadan" results in 30 programs/ items that address the Dutch domestic context. The word "*Suikerfeest*" gives 2 results- both episodes of *Paspoort,* of which one has also been described with Ramadan. *Suikerfeest* obviously had not yet penetrated the archival descriptions of Sound and Vision.

[293] *Brandpunt* (KRO, 04-07-1983), *In Holland staat hun huis* (STV, 20-02-1984), *Er is meer tussen hemel en aarde* (RKK, 27-11-1984), *Voeding* (RVU, 02-03-1985), *Levende Rituelen* (RVU, 21-05-1985), *Medelanders, Nederlanders* (FEDUCO, 28-12-1986), *De Islam* (STV, NCRV, 09-12-1987), *Sjappoo* (IKON, 16-04-1989).

[294] *Brandpunt* (KRO, 04-07-1983).

Turkish men, which revolves around their experience of Ramadan in the Netherlands and the reactions of the Dutch. The two men are filmed at work (a melting furnace in Beverwijk and the Dutch railway) while the voice-over states that the observance of Ramadan demands a large adaptability of the Muslims, because the companies lack a place for worship. A lengthy scene of prayer of one of the Turkish men in an office illustrates this statement. The men are interviewed about the significance of Ramadan and talk about the difficulties they encounter with the observance of Ramadan in the Netherlands, such as the hard physical labour they must perform while fasting. The voice-over states that the industry has displayed a growing empathy with Islam during the last few years, but then wonders whether Islamic traditions can actually survive in a Western society. The Dutch imam van Bommel is then interviewed about this issue. He says that Islam is not a static religion and that Muslims certainly experience Ramadan more intensely in their home countries. He furthermore explains that the first generation tries to hold on to Islamic traditions, but that their children assign less value to Ramadan. One of the Turkish men is filmed and interviewed at home while eating *iftar* with his family and his Dutch neighbours, and says that he tries the utmost to raise his children according to Islamic traditions. His son explains that he participates in Ramadan for the first time. To the reporter's question of whether Ramadan is important to him; he replies that it is his father who considers it important. The item ends with a lengthy scene of a nightly prayer in a mosque in Utrecht where hundreds of men have gathered. The voice-over says that the end of Ramadan will be celebrated during a huge festivity called *Suikerfeest* and that the meaning of this festivity can be compared to the significance of a Christian Christmas.

Both in style and tone, *Brandpunt*'s item resembles Ramadan coverage of the sixties and seventies. The item obviously speaks from a position of solidarity and empathy with the religious dedication of the Turkish men and the camera observes their prayers with fascination and curiosity. However, the item is not so much an accusation of the lack of facilities to practice the Islamic belief – like the coverage in the previous decades – but revolves more around the question of how Turkish Muslims manage to keep alive their religious traditions in the Netherlands and how their state of exile unavoidably brings about changes in the experience of their religious rituals and beliefs. The item depicts the Turkish men as flexible, well adapted and hospitable to Dutch society, and their Islamic identity as elastic and changeable. By focusing on the decreasing importance of the ritual of Ramadan for the second generation, the item suggests that Islamic rituals are not necessarily

static or fixed. Dutch society is portrayed as cooperative and accommodating and the Islamic identity of the men is not in any way imagined as being in conflict with the values of Dutch society. On the contrary, by comparing *id al-fitr* to Christmas, the item stresses the holiness of this Islamic festivity and advocates respect for this sacred celebration. Although the comparison between Islam and Christianity might reveal an Eurocentric approach to Islam, the item unmistakably aspires to generate compassion with and tolerance for Muslims in the Netherlands.

Figure 32 a-d. Stills from *Brandpunt* (KRO, 04-07-1983). *Iftar* and prayers.

The similarities between Islam and Christianity

Although more items have addressed Ramadan in relation to the second generation, it is now useful to take a closer look at a selection of programs that are exemplary for television's tendency to frame the ritual of Ramadan comparatively.[295] In 1984, KRO's religious talk show *Er is meer tussen hemel en aarde* explicitly compared

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[295] The educational program *In Holland staat hun huis* (STV, 20-02-1984) portrays Turkish children who talk about their religious rituals. And in the talk show *Sjappoo* (IKON, 16-04-1989) two Islamic youngsters are interviewed about their experience of Ramadan and about their view on the Rushdie affair.

Islam to Christianity and was aimed at promoting more understanding for Islam.[296] The talk show was recorded in the Dom Church in Utrecht and was nearly completely dedicated to the issue of Islam and fasting. The program opens with the statement of the presenter that the Dutch are ignorant about Muslims living in the country; that he intends to change this and remove the prejudice. Firstly, a Moroccan and a Surinamese Muslim talk about their religious beliefs. They speak about the difficulties of keeping their faith in Western society, about the abuse of the Quran by Khomeini, about their religious obligations, such as Ramadan, and about the similarities between Islam and Christianity. Thereafter, a Dutch converted women talks extensively about the similarities between Islam and Christianity. She explains that Allah is the same god as the Christian one, and then talks about the prominent roles of Jesus and Mary in the Quran. Besides, she elaborates on the position of women in Islam, and says that according to the Quran man and woman are equal. Then a new guest is introduced, a parish-priest who has opened the door of his church to Muslims. He explains that these Muslims do not have a place for worship and that the Church is therefore obliged to help them. He talks about the beautiful relations between Muslims and Christians in his parish and states that Islam is a tender religion. The rest of the program is dedicated to interviews with Dutch people about Catholic fasting. Clearly, the nature of this item echoes the Catholic roots of the KRO. It depicts religious belief as connecting people and as an important source of respect for one another. The program is explicit about its aim to fight ignorance of and prejudice against Islam, and does this by constantly emphasizing the similarities between Muslims and Christians. The ritual of Ramadan seems to be the perfect illustration of these similarities, as it has an equivalent in Christianity. The identity of Muslims is imagined as similar, instead of strange and other; the Dutch nation as a place that offers space to any religion and a place in which hospitality is very much contingent on religious faith.

Various educational programs also framed Ramadan comparatively during this period. For example, in 1985 the RVU (educational broadcasting organization) broadcast a series called *Levende Rituelen* about the rituals of the major religions.[297] The first part of the episode is about the celebration of carnival in the south of the Netherlands and about the beginning of Lent; the catholic period of fasting, on Ash Wednesday, and the second part is about a Moroccan family that participates in

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[296] *Er is meer tussen hemel en aarde,*(KRO/RKK, 27-11-1984). The title means: there is more between heaven and earth.
[297] *Levende Rituelen* (RVU, 21-05-1985). The title means: living rituals.

Ramadan. The father extensively discusses the significance of Ramadan and states that it is harder to fulfil this religious duty in the Netherlands because the atmosphere is different and certain Dutch people react negatively. So once again, television stresses the similarities between Muslims and Christians, and constitutes the identity of Muslims as the same as the Dutch. This is also the case in the informative program about Islam, *De Islam*, which was broadcast in 1987.[298] The program departs from the statement that Islam has obtained a firm foothold in the Netherlands. It oscillates between archive footage of the Middle East, footage of the Mubarak mosque and other footage of the Dutch context, of which many scenes derive from the previously discussed episode of *Brandpunt*. It portrays a Moroccan family and an imam who extensively discusses the ritual of Ramadan. The voice-over explains that the Dutch Islamic community entails various ethnicities, such as Indonesians, Moluccans, Surinamese, Turks and Moroccans. The program then cuts back to Middle East, and tells the story of the birth of Islam. A large amount of time is dedicated to explaining the characters from the Bible who are also present in the Quran, such as Jesus, Mary, Abraham and Jacob. The item ends with images of a market in the Middle East and one in the Netherlands, accompanied by a positive voice-over statement about the transformed street views due to the arrival of foreigners. Also in this educational program, Islam is framed comparatively to encourage identification with Muslims living in the Netherlands and to show that they are the same as we are.

Conclusively, television coverage in the eighties has focused not so much on the celebration of *id al-fitr*, but more on the Islamic practice of fasting that was discovered to have an equivalent in Christianity. In these years, Ramadan had been addressed by the religiously inspired and educational broadcasting organizations only, mainly to provide factual information about Islam and to fight prejudice. Apparently, with the acknowledgement that Islamic immigrants were here to stay, the urgency to inform the Dutch audience about their religious practices had increased. The lengthy observational reportages of the sixties and seventies began to be replaced by shorter items and talk shows in which Muslims themselves (of the first and second generation) were given the floor. The comparative framing of Ramadan and Islam of this decade was clearly aimed at constructing the values and beliefs of Muslims as very much in line with the Christian faith. And although these acts of cultural translation might reveal a Eurocentric attitude towards Islam and make explicit the hegemony of Christianity, they also expose the attempt of

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[298] *De Islam* (STV, 09-12-1987).

television programs to promote tolerance and respect and to show that the religious identity of Muslims is not incompatible with the values of the Dutch nation. Lastly, television continued to visualize stories with prayer scenes and Quran recitations, but in less long-lasting observational scenes that were so dominant in the previous decades. Apparently, the performance of Islamic religious rituals had lost a bit of its exotic appeal.

3.5 Ramadan and the Framework of Multicultural Relations

In the discursive regime of nineties, in which televisual stories concentrated on old city quarters, Moroccan criminals, and other issues relating to the integration of *allochtonen*, Muslims had yet again become more visible on television. Both the amount of coverage and the variety of topics associated with Islam had increased substantially; the issues of Muslim women, Islamic fundamentalism and fear of Islam had emerged as new topics. During this period, the coverage of Ramadan and/or *id al-fitr* also increased, as 72 items addressed the issue, of which a total of 38 were magazines from one of the Islamic broadcasting organizations or episodes of *Paspoort*.[299] The remaining items range from actuality programs, (religious) talk shows, educational programs, to children's programs.[300] Like in the eighties, items were aimed at giving factual information about the ritual of Ramadan and about the Islamic religion, while other items continued to frame the ritual comparatively. Moreover, what is remarkable in this decade is that television began to invoke the topic of Ramadan in relation to the multicultural society and its issues and problems.

The coinciding of Ramadan and Lent

Not surprisingly, the coinciding of Ramadan and Lent in March 1992 resulted in items that framed the ritual of Ramadan comparatively. For example, the actuality

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[299] The word "Ramadan" results in 69 programs that address the Dutch context. The word "*Suikerfeest*" results in 12 programs, of which 9 have also been described with "Ramadan".

[300] See for actualitites for example: *NOS Laat* (NOS, 05-03-1992), *Binnenland* (NOS, 12-03-1992), *Waar hoor ik thuis?* (NOS, 01-12-1992), *Kruispunt* (KRO, 03-03-1996) *Binnenland* (NOS, 18-02-1994), *Binnenland* (NOS, 11-03-1994), *Binnenland* (NPS, 19-02-1995), *2 Vandaag* (EO, 16-02-1996), *Kruispunt* (KRO, 03-03-1996).See for talk shows for example: *Er is meer tussen hemel en aarde* (KRO, 25-02-1996), *Barend&Witteman* (VARA, 16-01-1997).See for educational programs: *Islam in Nederland* (NOS, 10-10-1993 en 17-10-1993), *Vasten* (NOT, 07-03-1995), *Niet bij brood alleen* (NOT, 30-05-1995).See for children's programs: *Jeugdjournaal* (31-03-1990), *Maria en Yusuf* (IKON, 22-12-1991), *Kleur Rijk* (KRO, 03-05-1992), *Muilen Dicht* (VARA, 26-02-1994), *Post uit Marokko* (NOT, 03-09-1994), *Het Klokhuis* (NPS, 01-02-1996), *Jeroen in Marokko* (VPRO, 19-04-1998).

program *NOS Laat* seized the occasion to dedicate an item to the similarities and differences between Catholic and Islamic fasting.[301] The item opens with the voice-over statement that the program revolves around the ritual of fasting in two different religions; one that is rising and one that has past its prime. Images of Catholic chapelgoers oscillate with images of Muslims performing communal prayer, while the voice-over presents information about the decline of church attendance among Catholics and about the growing amount of Muslims in the Netherlands. The item portrays a Dutch family that observes Lent and a Turkish family that participates in Ramadan. Besides, a priest is interviewed about the decline of church attendance among the Dutch, and a Turkish couple is interviewed about the attitude of the Dutch towards Ramadan; an attitude that is in their view not always full of understanding. The item emphasizes the similarities between Islam and Christianity by the juxtaposition of images of the Catholic ritual of Ash Wednesday in a Church and images of Muslims performing prayer in a mosque, and of images of the sober dinner of the Catholic family and the early breakfast of the Turkish one. Clearly, this item resembles the items from the eighties that frame the Islamic ritual comparatively. The item wants to give factual information about the meaning of religious rituals and show that the Islamic religion is not quite that different from Christianity. Strikingly, this comparison is also used to tell the story of the decline of religious belief among the Dutch and of the rise of Islam in the Netherlands. The Dutch nation is imagined as secularizing, while a new religion is rising within its borders. This is not imagined as problematic, and the Dutch nation seems to be once again depicted as a place where people with various beliefs can coexist peacefully; where the rise of Islam is not whatsoever considered a threat, and where Muslims have the right to exist.

The KRO actuality program *Kruispunt* seized the coinciding of Ramadan and Lent to reflect on problematic intercultural relations in the old city quarter of Zuilen in Utrecht.[302] The item departs from the question of why it is so difficult for foreigners and Dutch to live together, and the voice-over announces that the item will investigate the problems between Turkish and Moroccan *allochtonen* and Dutch *autochtonen* in Zuilen. The item intermingles interviews with Dutch residents about their negative sentiments regarding foreigners with interviews with Dutch people who attempt to promote dialogue. Then the voice-over states that the coinciding of

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[301] *NOS Laat* (NOS, 05-03-1992). The shots that are highlighted in the description are (among others): "Turkish woman (veiled) preparing a meal" and "religious service in a mosque in Amsterdam; praying Muslims".

[302] *Kruispunt* (KRO, 08-03-1992).

the beginning of Ramadan and Lent could be a good opportunity to get to know each other a little bit better. Images of Catholics who receive ashes in a church are juxtaposed with images of Muslims performing communal prayer in a mosque. The voice-over comments on these images with the statement that the occasions were nonetheless celebrated separately. A pastoral worker tries to explain this and points to Dutch ignorance about Islam; a Dutch woman says that she took her Turkish neighbours to church and that she will join them in the mosque during *id al-fitr*. The voice-over concludes that this woman is an exception. Clearly, this item speaks from the Catholic perspective of the KRO, as it represents religion as a connecting force and sees the coinciding of Ramadan and Lent as an opportunity to promote dialogue between *allochtonen* and *autochtonen.* Once again, the ritual of Ramadan is framed comparatively, and juxtaposed images of prayer in a church and a mosque are used to illustrate the similarities between Christians and Muslims. The item explicitly laments the lack of understanding for Muslims and the lack of intercultural dialogue in this old city quarter, a topic that, as I established in the previous chapter, became one of the dominant themes on television and one of the symbols of disturbed multicultural relations in this period.

Ramadan and the next generations

While in the eighties Ramadan was only sporadically addressed in relation to the second generation, in the nineties the amount of coverage of Ramadan in relation to the beliefs and practices of the second and third generation intensified. Apart from various children's programs that portrayed Islamic children who explained their religious rituals, numerous talk shows gave the floor to Islamic youngsters to talk about their experiences of being a Muslim in the Netherlands. For instance, in 1994 the NOS program *Binnenland* used the occasion of the beginning of Ramadan to interview two young Moroccan men about their experience of Islam and sexuality. [303] The premise of the program is the decline of religious belief among youngsters. The voice-over states that these youngsters – in contrast with their parents – are not zealous visitors to the mosque and seem to only live up to the obligations of Ramadan. Two young Moroccan men are interviewed about their daily reality, in which they need to compromise between adapting to Dutch society and respecting the traditions of their parents. They talk about the difficulties they experience with their Islamic traditions, such as the obligation to refrain from sexual intercourse before marriage and they explain how they struggle with the expectations of their

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[303] *Binnenland* (NOS, 11-03-1994). This was a youth series about foreigners in the Netherlands.

parents. Similarly, VARA's talk show *Barend & Witteman* seized the occasion of Ramadan to interview young Muslims about their experiences with their religion in the Netherlands and about love, relationships and sexuality. Yet again, young Muslims talk about how they balance between Dutch society and the traditions of their parents.

What is interesting about these television items is that the rituals of Islam have not been depicted as rigid and unchangeable, but as flexible and malleable. These young Muslims were represented as less religious than their parents, while still embodying some of the values of their parents, but in a very much-modified form. These items show how the context of living in Dutch society has brought about changes in religious attitudes and practices of the next generations. The religious identity of these young Muslims has not been essentialized; they have been represented as caught between Dutch society and the traditions of their parents, as being Dutch and Muslim simultaneously, and as fully participating in Dutch society. Their Islamic identity has not been imagined as being in opposition with the values of Dutch society, and has been depicted as adaptable and open to change.

Iftar for the Dutch

In this period, several television items about *id al-fitr* began to report on the efforts of Muslims to involve the Dutch in the celebration this religious festival. Already in the eighties, some items had implicitly addressed the hospitality of Muslims during their holy month and had shown Dutch neighbours participating in *iftar*. In the nineties, more programs emerged that explicitly addressed the participation of the Dutch in Islamic rituals. For instance, in 1996 another episode of KRO's *Kruispunt* was dedicated to Ramadan, and portrayed an Islamic family from Limburg who had invited their Dutch friends and neighbours for iftar to celebrate the end of Ramadan.[304] The purpose of the item was to denounce Dutch ignorance about Islam and to promote understanding. Once again, this KRO program framed the ritual comparatively to achieve this, as it also showed the Islamic family celebrating carnival with their Dutch Catholic friends. Further, in 1997, a short NPS documentary (*Vreemd Land*) portrayed a North-African shop in Groningen, where Dutch employees participated in Ramadan, and where the Tunisian owner walked around on Dutch wooden shoes.[305]Both these items tell a rosy story about intercultural

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[304] *Kruispunt* (KRO, 03-03-1996).
[305] *Vreemd Land* (NPS, 14-04-1997). The title means: outlandish country.

relations in the Dutch multicultural society, in which the mutual sharing of rituals between Dutch and Muslims is imagined as the perfect illustration of the possibility to live harmoniously together and adapt to each other.

Figure 33. Still from *Kruispunt* (KRO, 03-03-1996). Islamic woman with Dutch neighbour eating *iftar*.

Besides the initiatives of individual families to involve the Dutch in their religious practices, television also reported on the initiative of a mosque to involve Dutch residents of the neighbourhood in the celebration of *id al-fitr*. In 1994, the NPS program *Binnenland* broadcast an item entitled: "Ramadan for non-Muslims". [306] The item is about a mosque in Ijmuiden where Dutch neighbours were invited for *iftar*. The item follows the Turkish secretary of the mosque, while walking around the neighbourhood to invite Dutch residents for *iftar*. After a series of street interviews with Dutch residents about their opinion on the initiative (the answers vary from "I don't know any Muslims, but I will come" and "my husband is not so interested, he doesn't like them so much", to "I don't think we will be served a drink or a pork-chop there") the item shows the gathering of Dutch and Muslims in the mosque, the singing of the imam to break the fast, and the partaking of supper. Some of the guests are interviewed and express positive feelings about the event. The initiator of the event explains why the Dutch and the Turks have not been sitting side by side, and he points out that this was the first time he organized an event like this, and that it will get better in the future; when uneasiness and ignorance diminishes. The program ends with a lengthy scene of the performance of communal prayer. So

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[306] *Binnenland* (NPS, 19-02-1995)

again, this program spoke from a position that clearly valued the intercultural dialogue that the Turkish Muslims have tried to initiate. By contrasting the efforts of the secretary of the mosque to invite the Dutch residents with statements of these residents that displayed ruthless ignorance, the item has emphasized the hospitality of the Muslims and their willingness to involve the Dutch in their religious practices, to abolish prejudices and establish peaceful intercultural relations.

Conclusively, in the nineties the scope of the thematic structure of the coverage of Ramadan and *id al-fitr* began to widen compared to the eighties, while beginning to move beyond the realm of religion and religious belief. In this period, television began to cover Ramadan and *id al-fitr* within a framework of multiculturalism. The comparative framework of the eighties still persisted (mainly in the coverage of the religiously inspired broadcasting organizations) but also in these items, the focus shifted to the intercultural relations between Dutch and Muslims in (problematic) residential areas. In the items about the practicing of Ramadan of the next generations, Moroccan youngsters were spoken about in terms of integration and participation; their religious identity was depicted as flexible and adaptable. And, as Muslims began to, in Baumann's phrasing, actively implicate others in their rituals, television began to cover their efforts to involve the Dutch in their religious practices from a perspective that clearly valued encounters between Dutch and Muslims. While television continued to visualize these stories with images of communal prayer in mosques, it also increasingly illustrated stories with images of *iftar* meals in homes of Muslims and images of Dutch and Muslims partaking in festive meals. On a visual level, television began to focus less on the introverted sacred aspects of Ramadan and more on the social aspects of the ritual.

3.6 Ramadan as Showcase of the Successful Integration of Muslims

Following the traumatic events of 9/11 and the murder of Theo van Gogh, the amount of coverage of Islam exploded and the issues of multiculturalism, integration and Islam became very much intertwined. In this new discursive regime of the first decade of the new millennium, television perpetuated stories about the failure of integration, about the radicalizations of young Muslims, about homegrown terrorism, hate-preaching imams and repressed veiled women. The coverage of Ramadan and *id al-fitr* increased substantially, and in this period a total of 268 items have addressed the issue of Ramadan and/or *Suikerfeest*, of which 113 were broadcast by

one of the Islamic broadcasting organizations.[307] The NOS news (both the *Journaal* and the children's version *Jeugdjournaal*) and various short actuality items began to regularly cover the beginning and ending of Ramadan, which indicates that Ramadan and *Suikerfeest* had become self-evident aspects of Dutch reality and had gained recognition as being part of Dutch society. [308] Furthermore, various educational programs that gave factual information about the nature and the daily practices of Ramadan continued to be broadcast in this period.[309] The bulk of the programs and items that addressed Ramadan, however, revolved, in one-way or another, around the place Muslims have or should have in Dutch society. Television repeatedly reported, for instance, on the debate about giving Suikerfeest the status of a national holiday.[310] And as the discursive entanglement between the Islamic religion and issues of integration that had begun to emerge in the nineties was consolidated in these years, the ritual of Ramadan and the celebration of *id al-fitr* were increasingly addressed in relation to issues of integration, national belonging and intercultural dialogue.

The coinciding of Suikerfeest and Sinterklaas

It is useful to begin here with the coverage of the coinciding of *Suikerfeest* and the Dutch national celebration of *Sinterklaas* in 2002.[311] Various news, actuality programs and talk shows reported on this exceptional event and framed it as a typical test case for the achievements of integration. Leading up to the event, television covered the debates that emerged and that mainly revolved around the question of whether schools should postpone the celebration of *Sinterklaas* by one day so that

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[307] "Ramadan" results in 239 items about the Dutch context (excluding the items about Tariq Ramadan and fiction series), of which 113 have been broadcast by NMO or NIO. "*Suikerfeest*" results in 29 items that have not been also descibed with Ramadan and that have not been broadcast by the Islamic broadcasting organizations.

[308] See for example: *Man bijt hond* (NCRV, 07-01-2000), *Jeugdjournaal* (08-01-2000), *Journaal* (NOS, 27-11-2000), *Jeugdjournaal* (NOS, 16-11-2001), *Journaal* (NOS, 16-12-2001), *Jeugdjournaal* (NOS, 06-11-2002), *Man bijt hond* (NCRV, 06-11-2002), *IKON Live* (IKON, 10-11-2002 and 24-11-2002 and 01-12-2002), *Journaal* (NOS, 13-11-2004), *Het Elfde Uur* (EO, 12-10-2004), *Journaal* (NOS, 13-11-2004), *Man bijt hond* (NCRV, 04-10-2005), *Jeugdjournaal* (NOS, 24-10-2005 and 03-11-2005), *Jeugdjournaal* (NOS, 24-09-2006 and 09-10-2006), *Twee Vandaag* (AVRO, 18-10-2006), Knevel & van den Brink (EO, 03-09-2008), *Twee Vandaag* (TROS, 29-09-2008),

[309] See for example: *Levensbeschouwing in beeld* (NOT, 10-09-2001 and 27-09-2005).

[310] See for example: *Soeterbeeck* (KRO, 04-11-2003), *Journaal* (NOS, 17-10-2006), *Kruispunt* (KRO/RKK, 22-10-2006), *Schepper&Co* (NCRV, 06-11-2006), *Het Elfde Uur* (EO, 09-09-2008).

[311] *Sinterklaas* is a national celebration, in particular for children. The festivity originally celebrates the name day of Saint Nicholas, and thus has a Catholic background, but the feast has never been officially recognized by the papacy. Besides, some elements of the celebration might have a pagan origin.

Islamic pupils could also join the celebration, or whether we should celebrate *Sinterklaas* and *Suikerfeest* simultaneously. For example, the debate program for youngsters, *Het Lagerhuis*: Jongeren, dedicated a part of the episode to this discussion.[312] In a column of the actuality program *Buitenhof*, politician Ronald Plasterk argued that the postponing of *Sinterklaas* should be considered the pinnacle of integration.[313] On the very day itself, television reported mainly on schools that had decided to celebrate the two feasts simultaneously. Take for instance, the item from the NOS *Journaal* which was announced by the presenter as being about an integral *Sintersuikerfeest* (Santasugarfeast);[314] the item portrays a Muslim girl, who starts the day with a visit to the mosque and then goes to school to celebrate *Sintersuikerfeest*. A voice-over explains that the two festivities have much in common: sweets and presents to reward the virtues of control and discipline. The school director explains that this *Sintersuikerfeest* is the culmination-point of integration. The item ends with the statement of the presenter that we will need to wait another 365 years for the next *Sintersuikerfeest*. The Jeugdjournaal, the news magazine for youngsters, broadcast a comparable item about the same girl who goes to the mosque in the morning and then to school to celebrate *Sinterklaas*.[315] Both these news items thus stress the fact that the celebration of *Sinterklaas* and *Suikerfeest* can perfectly go together, and tell a hopeful story about the Dutch nation where both Muslims and Dutch belong.

An item of the actuality magazine *Twee Vandaag* even more explicitly brought the issue of integration into play, as it seized the occasion to take a stance against the position of the LPF, the political party founded by Pim Fortuyn, that demanded repercussions against schools that decided to celebrate *Suikerfeest* and *Sinterklaas* simultaneously, because the Islamic celebration would be in conflict with the Dutch tradition of *Sinterklaas*. The presenter opens the item with the question of whether the position of the LPF, that considers the coinciding of the two celebrations as a danger to integration, does justice to reality. The item subsequently portrays an elementary school in Zuilen where the two festivities were celebrated simultaneously. Two Turkish mothers talk about the background of *Suikerfeest* and about the typical *Suikerfeest* sweets that they brought to the *Sinterklaas* celebration in the school. The reporter asks one of them whether she considers *Suikerfeest* compatible with *Sinterklaas*; she whole-heartedly responds

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[312] *Het Lagerhuis: Jongeren* (02-12-2002).
[313] *Buitenhof* (NPS, 24-11-2002).
[314] *Journaal* (NOS, 5-12-2002).
[315] *Jeugdjournaal* (NOS, 5-12-2002).

positively. After an interview with a schoolteacher who displays his enthusiasm about the fact that most of the Islamic parents attended the school's *Sinterklaas* celebration, the item ends with the final thought of the presenter: *Suikerfeest* and *Sinterklaas* can uncomplicatedly go hand in hand. And finally, the reality program *Man bijt hond* also dedicated an item to the coinciding of *Sinterklaas* and *Suikerfeest* that advocated a similar message about the successful integration of Muslims.[316] The item is announced as "Imam meets *Sinterklaas*" and opens with the statement of *Sinterklaas* himself, who says to the camera that if it is up to him *Suikerfeest* can always coincide with his birthday. The item then cuts to a scene of a communal prayer in a Zwolle mosque, accompanied by the jingle of a typical *Sinterklaas* song. Various children in the mosque talk about the multiple festivities of *Suikerfeest* and *Sinterklaas* and about the joy they experience on this very special day. Then *Sinterklaas* himself enters the mosque, and congratulates the imam with the end of Ramadan, whereupon the imam wishes him a happy birthday. The item ends with images of children in the mosque singing *Sinterklaas* songs.

This item from *Man bijt hond* employs the symbolic power of the amalgamation of symbols of the Islamic cultural identity (such as the mosque, the performance of communal prayer, the imam) with these of the Dutch national identity (Sinterklaas and typical songs that belong to this national festivity) to bring its message about the harmonious encounter of Dutch and Muslims across. In a nutshell, the item illustrates the general tendency of Dutch public television to seize this special occasion (the coinciding of *Sinterklaas* and Ramadan) to promote the values of multiculturalism. All the items that report on the December 5th events exhibit this tendency to stress the uncomplicated way in which an Islamic celebration can go hand in hand with a Dutch one. The items underline both the willingness of the Islamic parents to participate in Dutch national traditions and the already self-evident way in which their children experience these traditions. The constant emphasis on the fact that for them it is a double party endorses the typical multicultural ideal of the enrichment of society that comes with cultural diversity. And again the Dutch nation is imagined as a place where Islamic traditions can peacefully co-exist alongside Dutch customs.

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[316] *Man bijt hond* (NCRV, 05-12-2002).

Figure 34. Still from *Man Bijt Hond* (NCRV, 05-12-2002). *Sinterklaas* visits the mosque.

Ramadan and the promotion of intercultural and interreligious dialogue

In this decade of societal and political upheaval, many television items about Ramadan reported on the attempts of Muslims to bring about intercultural dialogue following traumatic events such as 9/11, the murder of Theo van Gogh and other incidents. In the weeks after 9/11, the NOS *Journaal* covered for example the distribution of roses to Dutch neighbours by Muslims during the celebration of *Suikerfeest*.[317] An item from *Opium*, a program about arts and culture, reported for instance on an art project to stimulate dialogue after 9/11 between a Dutch and Moroccan artist.[318] The item is announced as: "Albert Heijn and Allah have united in the West of Amsterdam" and portrays the two artists, who have transformed an empty branch-office of the supermarket Albert Heijn into a prayer space for Muslims during Ramadan. They slightly altered the familiar logo of the supermarket, so that it can also be read as the Arabic word *Allah*. The item shows images of Muslims performing communal prayer in the supermarket building, while one of the artists explains the concept of the artwork, and says he wants to show that cultural background determines what people actually see: if they think that the praying Muslims are worshipping Albert Heijn, they obviously observe from a narrow Western perspective. The item clearly displays appreciation for the way these artists try to bridge cultural differences and try to stimulate dialogue between Dutch and Muslims during the aftermath of 9/11.

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[317] *Journaal* and *Jeugdjournaal* (NOS, 16-12-2001).
[318] *Opium* (AVRO, 01-12-2001).

In 2002, an item of the actuality magazine *Twee Vandaag* reported on the attempts of Muslims to promote dialogue by a shared *iftar* between Dutch and Moroccan inhabitants of Venlo after the murder of a young Dutch man by a Moroccan man.[319] The organizer of the *iftar* is interviewed and explains that the aim of the gathering is to promote dialogue and to counter the on-going stigmatization of the Moroccan community. The program then looks back at the events, the funeral of Rene Steegmans, the silent march that followed, and the upheaval in the media after statements of the parents of the perpetrator were publicized. An alderman from Venlo states that the Moroccan community should reflect upon their participation in Dutch society. The item ends with images of the opening speech of imam Haselhoef and the shared *iftar* meal that followed. Also, after the murder of van Gogh in 2004, the news covered *Suikerfeest* in relation to the issue of intercultural dialogue. *Journaal* reported on the visit of Prime Minister Balkenende to a mosque in Eindhoven, where he was invited for the celebration of *Suikerfeest* less than two weeks after the murder.[320] The presenter announces the item with the statement that Balkenende participates in the important Islamic celebration of *Suikerfeest* to show compassion with Muslims and to condemn the sharp divisions in society that had emerged after the murder. The item shows images of Balkenende who was welcomed in the mosque by the imam, accompanied by the voice-over of the reporter who states that these images of our Christian prime minister in a mosque on Sunday morning are quite unique. The items then recounts the speech that Balkenende delivered, in which he condemned the recent attack on an Islamic school in Eindhoven and plead for tolerance. Also *Jeugdjournaal* reported on Balkenende's visit to the mosque in Eindhoven and showed people in the mosque who expressed positive opinions about his speech.[321] This item also stressed his attempt to counter prejudice and hostility against Islam.

In this period, various programs of the religiously inspired broadcasting organizations addressed the issue of dialogue on the occasion of Ramadan. Like during the eighties and nineties, many of these programs framed the ritual comparatively to promote interreligious dialogue. For instance, in 2004 the NCRV broadcast the program *Reliruil* that followed two people who "swopped" their faith for a few days – a protestant woman and an Islamic man – during the month of Ramadan.[322] The program aims to remove prejudice from both sides and interviews

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[319] *Twee Vandaag* (EO, 18-11-2002).
[320] *Journaal* (NOS, 14-11-2004).
[321] *Jeugdjournaal* (NOS, 14-11-2004.
[322] *Reliruil* (NCRV, 15-01-2004).

the two people about the similarities and differences between Islam and Christianity. In 2006, an episode of the religious talk show *Schepper & Co* was completely dedicated to the practice of fasting in Christianity and Islam.[323] One of the invited guests, an Islamic woman, talks extensively about her choice to celebrate the end of Ramadan in a church to promote interreligious dialogue and solidarity. A year later in 2007, the talk show *Soeterbeeck* devoted a complete episode to the similarities between Catholic and Islamic fasting.[324] Another episode of *Soeterbeeck* from that year covered a public iftar in Utrecht.[325] It is enlightening to delve into this episode a bit deeper in the following section, in which I concentrate on the coverage of these public iftars.

Iftar as public event

The topic of shared *iftar* meals that had already emerged in the nineties became a popular subject of television items in this decade of upheaval. Television continued to occasionally report on local initiatives and initiatives of individuals (like in the nineties) and from the second half of the decade shifted its attention to the new phenomenon of "national *iftar*". The "national *iftar*" was organized for the first time in 2002 by the Islam and Citizenship Foundation (*Stichting Islam en Burgerschap*), and was aimed at bridging the gap between Dutch and Muslims and at stimulating dialogue. [326] Various (local) politicians, representatives of diverse religious organizations and others gathered for *iftar*, musical performance and lectures. Over the course of a few years, the "national *iftar*" developed into a Ramadan Festival, that entailed all sorts of activities, such as fashion shows, cooking competitions, debates and lectures that revolved around the multicultural society (Sunier: 2012). As Thijl Sunier has argued, drawing on Baumann's theory of rituals, this "national *iftar*" became a public event through which Muslims negotiated their place in Dutch society and performed national belonging; in which the media played an important role (ibid).

In 2005, the NOS *Journaal* covered the first Ramadan Festival organized in Amsterdam. [327] The item shows interviews with the organizers of the festival

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[323] *Schepper&Co* (NCRV, 27-03-2006).

[324] *Soeterbeeck* (RKK/KRO, 27-02-2007).

[325] *Soeterbeeck* (RKK/KRO, 02-10-2007).

[326] Officially, the event was named "national dialogue meeting". In order to receive state subsidy, the organization was forced to omit all references to religion, because the state maintains the principle of the separation between state and church and thus does not subsidize religious events. See: Sunier (2012).

[327] *Journaal* (NOS, 04-10-2005).

(Mohammed Baba and Ahmed Larouz), and with the mayor of Amsterdam (Job Cohen) who explains that the festival should help restore cohesion in Dutch society. Furthermore, the item shows images of Muslims and representatives of several religions sitting around large tables for *iftar*, while the mayor gives a signal for breaking the fast, accompanied by a video message of Prime Minister Balkenende saying "Ramadan Mubarak" (a blessed Ramadan). The year after, in 2006, the NOS Journaal reported twice on events that took place during the Ramadan Festival. The first item covered the opening of the "multicultural Ramadan Festival" in the Passengers Terminal in Amsterdam.[328] It shows the opening ceremony, people singing and reciting from the Quran and the gathering of people of various backgrounds for *iftar*. The initiator Ahmed Larouz elaborates on the central theme of the festival – the Encounter (de Ontmoeting) – and mayor Cohen gives a speech about the necessity to fight tensions in society. Various participants are interviewed about their motivations to take part in the festival and talk about the benefits of these kinds of encounters. Two weeks later, *Journaal* reported on an *iftar* meal on the Dam Square in Amsterdam that was organized by the Ramadan Festival.[329] A voice-over explains that, since the way to the heart is through the stomach, Muslims and non-Muslims were brought closer together through a shared meal. Again, Ahmed Larouz talks to the camera about the benefits of dialogue. The voice-over comments ironically that the smell of "culinary correctness" dominates the party tent on Dam Square. It then explains that the overarching Muslim organization CMO has expressed doubts about the Ramadan Festival and is concerned that the serious religious nature of Ramadan will be surpassed by commercial intentions.[330] The voice-over ends the item with the statement that dialogue makes for a heavy meal, both for Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

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[328] *Journaal* (NOS, 24-09-2006).
[329] *Journaal* (NOS, 14-10-2006).
[330] *Contactorgaan Moslims Overheid*

Figure 35 a-b. Stills from *Journaal* (NOS, 04-10-2005). National *iftar* during Ramadan Festival.

Besides the NOS news items, several actuality programs and talk shows paid attention to this new phenomenon of national *iftars*.[331] I bring to a close this section by examining the episode of *Soeterbeeck* that I mentioned earlier, broadcast in 2007. [332] The episode revolves around the question of whether the presence of large amounts of Muslims threatens the Dutch national identity. The program opens with a voice-over that declares that in the Netherlands men and women are equal, homosexuality is accepted, the principle of freedom of speech is highly valued and that many people are afraid that Muslims jeopardize these Dutch values. The program then cuts to reportage about a national *iftar* in Utrecht, where the reporter interviews various participants and inhabitants of Utrecht about this issue. The reportage opens with images of people singing and reciting from the Quran and of images of people sitting behind long tables to eat *iftar* together. Various people comment on the question of the reporter and mention values such as tolerance and solidarity as belonging to the Dutch national identity. Most people display appreciation for the shared iftar meal during the Ramadan festival and maintain that the initiative proves the fact that multicultural reality entails an enrichment of society. Following this reportage, Ahmed Marcouch, the leader of a notorious city district in Amsterdam talked about the significance of these kinds of encounters for integration and cohesion in Dutch society. This item thus explicitly invoked the issue of the nature of Dutch cultural identity in relation to the phenomenon of national *iftar*, and once again stressed the benefits of the intercultural dialogue and the blessings of multicultural society.

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[331] See for example: *Alziend Oog* (IKON, 16-10-2005), *Goedemorgen Nederland* (KRO, 12-10-2007), *Knevel & van den Brink* (EO, 03-09-2008).
[332] *Soeterbeeck* (RKK/ KRO, 2-10-2007).

To conclude part one, during this decade in which Islam had become the focal point of debates about integration and Dutch national identity, and in which television coverage of Islam focused on terrorism, fundamentalism and the failure of integration, coverage of Ramadan and *id al-fitr* became discursively entangled with the issues of integration, national belonging and intercultural dialogue. The various items about the coinciding of *Suikerfeest* and *Sinterklaas* stress the unproblematic way in which an Islamic celebration can go hand in hand with an important Dutch tradition. And as Muslims began to increasingly explicitly implicate the Dutch in their ritual of Ramadan to negotiate their place in Dutch society, and transformed *iftar* into a national public event, television represented this trend as a sign of the successful integration of Muslims and as the perfect illustration of how multicultural society can succeed if hospitality is mutual. Thus, in the discursive regime of this decade, of *allochtonen* whose integration had failed, of radicalized Muslims and home-grown terrorists, television showed a tendency to display Ramadan as the perfect occasion to ally the societal and political tumult about Islam, to celebrate the benefits of our multicultural society and to stress the Dutch nation is as a place where Islamic traditions can co-exist peacefully with Dutch customs. The repertoire of images that was used to visualize these stories reflects this tendency, as the familiar scenes of prayers in mosques were increasingly replaced by harmonious iftar meals and (prominent) Dutch people participating in celebrations and the Ramadan Festival.

PART TWO
TRACING TELEVISION COVERAGE OF ID AL-ADHA AND RITUAL SLAUGHTER

3.7 *Id al-adha* and the encounter between Dutch and Muslims

During the first two decades of Islamic immigration, the coverage of *id al-adha* was quite similar to the coverage of *id al-fitr*, both in terms of quantity and in terms of thematic content. In this period, a total of eight items addressed the celebration of *id al-adha* and/or the issue of ritual slaughter.[333] Of these, four new items (the NTS *Journaals*) covered the celebration of *id al-adha*, respectively in a church in

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[333] The word "*Offerfeest*" results in 2 items/programs that dealt with the Dutch context. The word "*ritueel slachten*" also results in 2 items that dealt with the Dutch context. The other 4 items have been described with either *kurban bayrami*- the Turkish word for *id al-adha*- or with "(the celebration of) Abraham's sacrifice". The words *id al-adha* and *halal* do not result in any hits in this period.

Enschede in 1965, in a church in Hengelo in 1968, in a tent in Amsterdam in 1969, and in a tent in Utrecht in 1971.[334] In this period, only the NCRV actuality magazine *Attentie*, the item I discussed in the introduction to this chapter, completely circumscribed the issue of ritual slaughter.[335] The IKOR actuality program *Kenmerk* also addressed the issue of ritual slaughter in 1977, but since the program is no longer present in the archive, it is impossible to analyse the content of the item.[336] In 1968, *Kenmerk* dedicated an item to the celebration of *id al-adha* in a tent in Amsterdam, and in 1979 it has covered a strike of Moroccan workers in a meat-processing factory during *id al-adha*.[337]

Figure 36. Circustent in Vondelpark for celebration *id al-adha*.

Communal roasts in circus tents

One of the earliest items about the celebration of *id al-adha* was an episode of IKOR's *Kenmerk*, broadcast in 1968.[338] The description of the material tells us that it is about Turks and Moroccans celebrating Abraham's sacrifice in Amsterdam's *Vondelpark*. Only the visuals and the sound that was recorded on location have been preserved. The item opens with a lengthy sequence of a communal prayer: men praying, an imam singing from the Quran, close-ups of shoes, and men kissing and congratulating each other after prayer. The item then cuts to the tent in the *Vondelpark* and shows images of roasting sheep outside the tent, of meat cutting,

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[334] *Journaal* (NTS, 12-04-1965), *Journaal* (NTS, 10-03-1968), *Journaal* (02-03-1969), *Journaal* (NOS, 13-12-1971).
[335] *Attentie* (NCRV, 11-02-1966).
[336] *Kenmerk* (IKON, 02-11-1977). The description of the material says: "arrival of guest workers at a farm", "arrival of guest workers at abattoir, ritual slaughtering of sheep", "statement of inspection official", "eating of the sacrificial animal".
[337] *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 11-03-1968), *Kenmerk* (IKON, 07-11-1979).
[338] *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 11-03-1968).

and of guest workers and Dutch eating together inside the tent. One of the initiators of the event, a member of the foundation for foreign workers, talks to the camera and explains how they tried to anticipate an emergency situation because of a huge lack of facilities for foreign workers. He elaborates on the activities they organize to facilitate social encounters and says it was their explicit intention to bring Dutch people in contact with these strangers. The item ends with images of a Moroccan dance performance. Transparently, this item shows the performance of communal prayer in a style that is quite similar to the way religious practices of Ramadan were depicted in these years: the gaze of the camera displays both curiosity and respect for these exotic rituals. Also in terms of its thematic content, the item resembles the coverage of *id al-fitr*, since it explicitly addresses the lack of facilities (religious and social) for foreign workers. What is striking is that the item stresses the celebration of *id al-adha* as a moment of encounter between Dutch and foreign workers. Besides the interview with the initiator of the event who explicitly talks about this encounter, the item shows images of Dutch families partaking in the meal and participating in the celebration. The visuals of the item explicitly emphasize the festivity of the event.
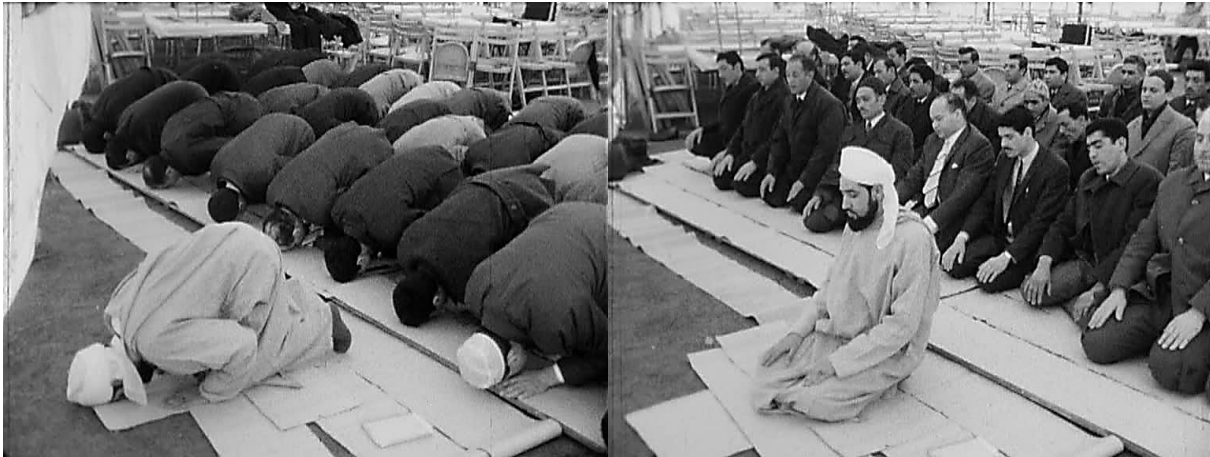
Figure 37 a-f. Selection of stills from *Kenmerk* (IKOR, 11-03-1968). Celebration of *id al-adha* in tent in Vondelpark,

The news items about the celebration of *id al-adha* also show the encounter between Dutch and foreign workers on the occasion of this festivity. A year later, in 1969, the NTS *Journaal* covered another celebration of *id al-adha* in a circus tent in the *Vondelpark*.[339] Yet again, only the visuals and sounds recorded on location are available; they show the circus tent, the roasting of sheep outdoors, the cutting and dividing of the meat, the partaking of Dutch people in the meal and musical performance. Additionally, in 1971, NTS *Journaal* showed another celebration and roast in a circus tent.[340] The archival description tells us that it is a gathering of Moroccans in Utrecht. And again, the explanatory voice-over has not been preserved. The imagery is very similar to that of the other items: it opens with images of men roasting sheep on a large barbeque, followed by images of people-Dutch and Moroccans- gathering, celebrating, and drinking beer in a great circus tent. Then an imam (the description of the material tells us his name is Hadj Arough) sings and recites from the Quran, while people (both Dutch and Moroccan) listen. The item ends with images of men cutting up and dividing the meat, while a band is playing Oriental music. So obviously, during these initial decades, the majority of items that addressed the Festival of Sacrifice focused on the joyful gatherings of Muslims and Dutch, on the roasting of sheep and on the banquets and musical performances that followed. Although it is impossible to analyse the exact tone of these items, it seems they depict the encounter between the foreign workers and the Dutch as a natural consequence of mutual hospitality.

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[339] *Journaal* (NTS, 02-03-1969).
[340] *Journaal* (NOS, 13-02-1971).

Figure 38 a-d. Stills from *Journaal* (NOS, 13-02-1971). Celebration of *id al-adha* in Utrecht with Hadj Arough.

Ritual slaughter at the margins of coverage

The only available item in this period that explicitly raised the issue of ritual slaughter was the episode of *Attentie* broadcast in 1966.[341] As I revealed in the introduction of this chapter, the item invoked the issue of ritual slaughter in relation to (a lack of) Dutch hospitality and the lack of facilities for slaughter according to the Islamic rite. As I demonstrated, the item displayed a certain discomfort with this religious need of the guest workers, but certainly also testified to respect and curiosity towards the Islamic religion. Both in its framing, its thematic content and its style, the item very much resembles the coverage of *Ramadan* during these years. The serene images of the communal prayer in the opening sequence even originate from the *Journaal* item about the Ramadan celebration in a church in Enschede that I discussed earlier in this chapter.[342] Apparently, television had not yet entangled the issues of *id al-adha* and ritual slaughter, since the above-described item of Attentie did not address *id al-adha* and the items that covered *id al-adha* celebrations did not raise the issue of ritual slaughter.

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[341] *Attentie* (NCRV, 11-02-1966).
[342] *Journaal* (NTS, 23-10-1966).

Apart from the above-described episode of *Attentie*, an episode of IKON's *Kenmerk* is the only item that has been described with "ritual slaughter" in this period.[343] The item was broadcast in 1979 and covered the strike of illegal Moroccans on the occasion of the Festival of Sacrifice. This 23-minute item opens with images of Moroccans buying sheep on the street in front of the Amsterdam abattoir, accompanied by a voice-over that explains that on this day Moroccans ritually slaughter their sheep to commemorate the sacrifice of Abraham. It then states that 25 illegal Moroccans who work for one of the 50 companies located in the abattoir seized the opportunity to campaign against the miserable working conditions and went on strike. The item shows a speech by a Dutch representative of the FNV (the trade union) in which he extensively argues that the conditions in the abattoir are a disgrace for Dutch business, and that we collectively need to take a stance against this lack of hospitality and exploitation. The voice-over then states that the management of the abattoir has prohibited the film crew to enter the building and that the Moroccans on strike have invited them for a festive celebration. The rest of the item shows images of Moroccans cooking and images of the gathering of Moroccans and Dutch during the festive meal. A Dutch woman who is present talks about the lack of hygiene in the company and the recent firing of illegal Moroccans, who do not have any rights whatsoever and who should be given a general amnesty. The item ends with images of a Moroccan man walking on the street and carrying a dead sheep in a plastic bag. So clearly, this item does not deal with the issue of ritual slaughter and the word was only mentioned by the voice-over to explain the nature of the celebration of *id al-adha*. The item furthermore does not encompass the nature of the religious celebration, but only the harsh working conditions of (illegal) guest workers. The item clearly speaks from a position of solidarity with Moroccan workers and depicts Dutch employers as inhospitable and exploitative. Again, the item shows the celebration of *id al-adha* as a moment of encounter between Dutch and foreign workers.

To conclude, in the sixties and seventies the coverage of the Festival of Sacrifice and the incidental coverage of ritual slaughter followed the same thematic tendencies as the coverage of foreign workers that I described in the previous chapter. The topics that were raised were the lack of facilities for foreign workers, the harsh working conditions and the topic of illegal workers. Like in the coverage of Ramadan, television employed a framework of hospitality and Dutch solidarity. The items seemed to focus less on the religious aspect of id *al-adha* and more on the

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[343] *Kenmerk* (IKON, 07-11-1979).

worldly pleasures of food, music and social interaction. Some items depict communal prayers and Quran recitations in the typical observational style that stressed the serenity of the rituals and that testified to curiosity for these religious acts. But whereas the coverage of Ramadan and *id al-fitr* focused almost exclusively on these introverted acts of religious devotion, the coverage of id al-adha stressed extrovert aspects of the celebration and depicted the Dutch as being "implicated" in these ritual celebrations. The visual repertoire of the coverage of id al-adha during these years was dominated by images of festive banquets, Dutch and Muslims partaking in meals, the roasting of sheep and musical performance in circus tents.

3.8 Ritual Slaughter and the Issue of Animal Welfare

In the eighties, the decade in which guest workers transformed into ethnic minorities and in which the presence of Muslims was discovered to be permanent, the coverage of *id al-adha* and ritual slaughter began to follow a completely different logic compared to previous decades. Muslims became more visible on television and the variety of topics associated with Islam increased. While television continued to cover Ramadan and *id al-fitr* in order to provide factual information about the Islamic religion and began to invoke these rituals in relation to Christianity, the celebration of *id al-adha* was pushed to the periphery of coverage. In this decade, fierce controversies over ritual slaughter emerged and television merely incidentally reported on the commotion. In this period, a total of only eleven programs addressed the celebration of *id al-adha* and/or ritual slaughter; of which five were programs broadcast by the IOS or episodes of *Paspoort*.[344] It is constructive to look closer at the few sporadic instances in which television reported on the issue of ritual slaughter and/or the Festival of Sacrifice.

Animal rights versus the freedom of religion
The first item that revolved around the commotion about ritual slaughter, the TROS actuality magazine *AKTUA*, was broadcast in 1980.[345] The presenter opens the item with the statement that lately there has been much turmoil about ritual slaughter by Muslims on certain holidays, days on which the head of the family is expected to cut

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[344] The word "*Offerfeest*" results in 6 programs/ items that address the Dutch context. The word "*ritueel slachten*" results in 8 programs that address the Dutch context, of which 4 were also described with "*Offerfeest*". The word "*halal*" gives no results.
[345] *AKTUA* (TROS, 10-11-1980)

the throat of a sheep without sedation and let it bleed to death. Then the co-presenter adds that the Foundation SOS for pets has taken legal action against Dutch abattoirs that carry out these ritual slaughters. The presenter continues and says that the foundation SOS for pets wants Muslims to adapt to Dutch customs and sedate the animals before slaughtering them. He says that it might be surprising that this foundation does not oppose Jewish ritual slaughter, but then suggests that this might be because Jews only allow experts to do the slaughtering, while Muslims would do it themselves if they get the chance. The item them cuts to a scene of communal prayer and Quran recitation in a mosque, while the voice-over states that Muslim leaders are concerned that the commotion over ritual slaughter will be abused to stir up xenophobia. Then imam van Bommel, a Dutch Muslim spokesman, elaborates on the issue of freedom of religion and declares that some people use ritual slaughter to argue that Muslims do not belong in the Netherlands. After this interview, a representative of the foundation is interviewed, a women standing in front of a little goat, and she demands that Muslims adapt to Dutch norms. The items cuts back to the scene of prayer, while the voice-over says that the discussion about manners and mores of minorities should be conducted with caution, the more so because Muslims already suffer from a bad reputation since *ayatollah* Khomeini has risen to power. Imam van Bommel further elaborates on the "Khomeini-syndrome" and pleas for more public information about Islam. The item ends with archival images of guest workers in a factory, while the voice-over concludes that Muslims could avoid much negative sentiments if they make sure only experts perform the slaughter, like the Jews, and that Muslims deserve to live in dignity since we need them in our workforce.

Obviously, with these concluding remarks, the presenter takes a stance against the discriminatory sentiments that had emerged about the practice of ritual slaughter. The item also clearly aims to cover the commotion in a balanced manner by spotlighting both an opponent and an advocate of ritual slaughter. By situating the woman in the meadow in front of a goat and the imam in a mosque with scenes of prayer, the item shows in a nutshell what the stakes are of the commotion: animal rights versus freedom of religion. And although the voice-over keeps emphasizing that one should not deny Muslims the right to live in dignity, and that ritual slaughter is not necessarily at odds with their national belonging (as the women argues when she demands Muslims to adapt to Dutch norms), the item indeed displays a certain unease with the Islamic ritual. The voice-over implies that Muslims tend to slaughter not cautiously enough and are inclined to illegally do it themselves, instead of

letting experts handle the slaughtering. These statements seem to tap into the cliché of clandestine slaughters in bathtubs and balconies that had emerged in the sixties and seventies in public discourse. However, despite this unease, the item maintains that this Muslims ritual should not be abused to stir up xenophobia and to stigmatize Muslims even further.

Five years later, ritual slaughter was still causing upheavals and the AVRO talk show *Karel van de Graaf* dedicated an episode to the issue.[346] In the studio, a Jewish rabbi, a Muslim spokesman, a woman who represented the foundation "rights for all that lives", a veterinary inspector and a representative of the animal protection foundation discuss the issue. The Muslim spokesman, Mr. Ates, explains the religious background of the ritual and argues that the ritual is abused to stir up racism and to depict Muslims as animal abusers. He says that the press keeps publishing sensational stories and states that the freedom of religion is at risk. The woman talks about floundering animals in abattoirs; the representative of the animal protection foundation says that ritual slaughter is often not executed carefully enough. So again, the issue of ritual slaughter was discussed in relation to the question of whether Muslims must adapt to Dutch norms, and to the question of to what extent should freedom of religion prevail over animal rights.

Discomfort with the Festival of Sacrifice

In this period, the Festival of Sacrifice has only been addressed by two news items and by an educational program for youngsters.[347] In 1986, the NOS *Journaal* reported on the upcoming celebration of the Festival by Dutch Muslims. The item opens with the statement that 16.000 sheep have been brought to abattoirs by Muslims to be ritually slaughtered, without sedation. The item interviews an animal rights activist who opposes slaughter without sedation, and a Muslim representative who advocates that the freedom of religion should guarantee the practice of Islamic ritual slaughter. The item is illustrated with images of an abattoir and the slaughtering of sheep. A year later, in 1987, the NOS *Journaal* once more covered *id al-adha*. Again, the item was recorded in an abattoir. The voice-over elaborates on the fact that during the Festival, after the end of the pilgrimage to Mecca, Muslims ritually slaughter sheep, illustrated by images of sheep waiting to be slaughtered. The item shows an interview with a Muslim who is asked to comment on Khomeini and on the events in Mecca, where a massacre had taken place after a

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[346] *Karel van de Graaf* (AVRO, 01-04-1985).
[347] *In Holland staat hun huis* (STV, 20-02-1984), *Journaal* (NOS, 15-08-1986 and 05-08-1987).

clash between Iranian pilgrims and Saudi forces. He states that Khomeini violates Islamic law. The item ends with images of Muslims carrying slain sheep in plastic bags.

Figure 39 a-b. Stills from *Journaal* (NOS, 05-08-1987).

In both items *id al-adha* was addressed in relation to ritual slaughter and both items illustrated their stories with bloody images of abattoirs and sheep. Once again, these items invoked issues such as animal rights and the freedom of religion. Apparently, in this period, the festivity of *id al-adha* was overshadowed by the fuss over ritual slaughter. In this respect, what is quite telling is that in 1987 the Muslim Broadcasting Organization (IOS) broadcast a two-part special series called "the Festival of Sacrifice in the Media", that completely revolved around the prejudice about and the stereotyping of this sacred Islamic festival.[348] The programs show inflammatory headlines about *id al-adha* in newspapers and interviews with various experts who claim that ritual slaughter is not inhuman, that all the fuss is the result of ignorance of and prejudice about Islam, and that Islam is increasingly associated with sensational cases such as Khomeini. Besides, the programs elaborate on the religious background of *id al-adha* and on the story of Abraham. Finally, the programs show the preparation by Muslims of a festive meal, and the Dutch neighbours who were invited to partake. Clearly, this aspect of *id al-adha* that had been so present on television in the sixties and seventies had disappeared from television in the eighties.

Conclusively, during this period in which it was acknowledged that Muslims were here to stay and in which Islam was gradually institutionalized, ritual slaughter became a contested issue and its negative associations began to engulf the Festival of Sacrifice. While in this period television reported on the ritual of Ramadan and *id*

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[348] *Het Offerfeest in de media* (IOS, 30-07-1987 and 06-08-1987).

al-fitr from an urgent need to inform the Dutch audience about religious practices of Muslims and framed the ritual of Ramadan comparatively, the coverage of ritual slaughter and *id al-adha* began to follow a different logic. The festive banquets and encounters between Dutch and Muslims disappeared from television and hardly any background information about the nature of the festival was given. The comparative framework that was so dominant in the coverage of Ramadan was absent in the coverage of *id al-adha*, despite the fact that the story of Abraham is also present in the Judeo-Christian Bible. Television focused on the commotion about ritual slaughter and animal rights and visualized its stories with images of sheep waiting in abattoirs for slaughter. Strikingly, in some items connections were made to Khomeini, and despite the fact that these items aimed to reflect on the stigmatization of Muslims as a result of developments abroad, it is telling that at the very moment debates emerged about the incompatibility of this Islamic ritual with Dutch values, Muslims were asked to clarify their allegiance to Muslims abroad.

3.9 The Disappearance of *Id al-Adha* and Ritual Slaughter from Television

In the nineties, the decade in which ethnic minorities transformed into *allochtonen* and in which their integration became a dominant topic on television, and in which Muslims were addressed in relation to an increasing variety of topics, such as Muslim women, Islamic fundamentalism and fear of Islam, the issues of *id al-adha* and ritual slaughter were pushed to the periphery of coverage. While in this period the coverage of Ramadan and *id al-fitr* increased, coverage of the celebration of *id al-adha* and the issue of ritual slaughter did not increase compared to the eighties and remained in the margins of coverage. In this period, a total of only twenty-one items addressed the celebration of *id al-adha* and/or ritual slaughter, of which the majority (15) were programs broadcast by the IOS or NMO or were episodes of *Paspoort*.[349] Of the remaining six items, one was an educational program for children about celebrations in various religions, two were actuality programs, one about the debate about Islamic celebrations and national holidays and one about the lack of

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[349] The word "*Offerfeest*" results in 11 items/programs that address the Dutch context. The word "*ritueel slachten*" results in 12 items/programs that address the Dutch context, of which 3 have also been described with "*Offerfeest*". The word "*halal*" results in 6 items/programs (all broadcast by IOS or NMO), of which 5 have also been described with "*offerfeest*" and/or "*ritueel slachten*".

knowledge of Islam among the Dutch; one was a documentary about the Amsterdam fire brigade, and two were nature/animal programs.[350]

Figure 40 a-b. Stills from *Midas* (VARA, 11-11-1993).

Reporting on the abattoir

Strikingly, in this period the VARA program Midas, a program in which the biologist Midas Dekkers presented his views on humans, animals and nature, addressed the issue of ritual slaughter twice. In 1993, the program was dedicated to the theme of death.[351] Among the various perspectives on the phenomenon of dying and the death of animals, one was the ritual slaughter of animals by Muslims. The voice-over of the presenter opens this short report about an abattoir with the statement that Muslims have ritualized the killing of animals, followed by a sequence of images of sheep in an abattoir, of a butcher immobilizing sheep, close-ups of throat cuttings and of blood spewing from their bodies, accompanied by slightly menacing music. Then the Dutch wholesaler of *halal* meat is interviewed about the nature of ritual slaughter and states that ritual slaughter is a humane way of slaughtering animals. This statement is illustrated with images of the skinning and evisceration of sheep, followed by an interview with the Islamic man who is responsible for the actual slaughtering. He elaborates on his lengthy education, on the rules of hygiene that he must obey, and states that the Quran and the animal protection foundation want the same thing. Then the report ends. While the program obviously aims to take a neutral position towards the nature of Islamic ritual slaughter, it does not pay any attention to the background of the ritual – which in itself is not surprising

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[350] *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 06-06-1992), *Binnenland* (NPS, 07-05-1995), *Feesten met een verhaal* (NOT/TELEAC, 18-03-1999), *Midas* (VARA, 11-11-1993), *Midas* (VARA, 03-10-1995), *Mene Tekel* (VPRO, 19-04-1998).
[351] *Midas* (VARA, 11-11-1993).

considering the character of the nature genre – the visuals seem to suggest that Islamic ritual slaughter, although it might be humane, is above all abundantly sanguinary.

In 1995, the program *Binnenland* (a youth actuality program about foreigners in the Netherlands) also dedicated a reportage to the ins and outs of an abattoir on the occasion of the upcoming Festival of Sacrifice.[352] The episode of Binnenland revolved around the outcome of a survey, conducted by the editors of the program, on the general knowledge of Dutch people about Islam. As I established in the previous chapter, with the emergence of public hostility towards Islam, television began to occasionally address the issue of the developing fear of Islam, and this episode of Binnenland is an example of a program that responded to Dutch ignorance and fears of Islam. The program opens with street interviews with Dutch people who comment on the presenter's question about the nature and background of *id al-adha*. After these ignorant statements, the presenter of the program states that wild stories circulate about ritual slaughter, stories that are wrong, because ritual slaughter does not take place on balconies and in bathrooms, but in abattoirs under strict supervision. Then the program cuts to a reportage about an abattoir. The reportage opens with the statement that a veterinary inspector checked whether the abattoir is in good condition and capable of slaughtering 2000 sheep the following week. The inspector and the owner of the abattoir are both interviewed and explain the strict regulations that apply to the abattoir. The reportage is illustrated with various images of the abattoir's interior, of the slaughtering of sheep, and of butchers covered in blood. While this program clearly reports on the abattoir's efforts to fight existing prejudice about ritual slaughter and the Festival of Sacrifice, again the program visuals are bloody and unpleasant.

Of the other programs that addressed ritual slaughter and/or *id al-adha* in this period, only the educational program *Feesten met een verhaal* (which shows scenes of prayer in a mosque and images of the pilgrimage in Mecca) and the actuality program *Achter het Nieuws* (which shows interviews with people about the lack of national holidays for Muslims) have not visualized their stories with images of animals slaughter and interiors of abattoirs.[353] Clearly, the controversy over ritual slaughter that arose in the eighties and the discomfort with the Festival of Sacrifice that

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[352] *Binnenland* (NPS, 07-05-1995).

[353] *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 06-06-1992), *Feesten met een verhaal* (NOT, 18-03-1999). The remaining two items- *Midas* (VARA, 03-10-1995) and *Mene Tekel* (19-04-1998)- address the issue of ritual slaughter only casually, and are described with "ritual slaughter", because they show a scene of the ritual slaughter of an animal.

emerged as a consequence persisted in this period. While in the nineties, television began to invoke the ritual of Ramadan and the celebration of *id al-fitr* in relation to the issue of the multicultural society and the intercultural relations between Dutch and Muslims, the Festival of Sacrifice practically disappeared from television. In the scarce instances in which the Festival and the issue of ritual slaughter were addressed, television focused on the ins and outs of abattoirs and visualized its stories with haematic images of sheep slaughter. Despite the fact that these programs aimed to counter stigmatization, the visual repertoire of the Festival of Sacrifice continued to be gruesome.

3.10 Persistent Debates about the Place of *Id al-Adha* and Ritual Slaughter in Dutch Society

In the following decade, the coverage of Islam increased exponentially and televisual stories concentrated on the failure of integration, the radicalization and recruitment for *jihad* of young Muslims, homegrown terrorists, hate-preaching imams and repressed veiled women. The coverage of *id al-fitr* and ritual slaughter intensified compared to the nineties, but remained in the margins of coverage compared to the vast amount of coverage of Islam and Muslims in general and also compared to the amount of coverage of *id al-fitr* and Ramadan. During this period, a total of forty-four items (excluding the items broadcast by the Islamic broadcasting organizations) addressed the issue of the Festival of Sacrifice and/or ritual slaughter.[354] Ritual slaughter continued to be a contested issue in societal debates about multicultural society; various politicians such as Geert Wilders and Marianne Thieme of the Party for the Animals, demanded a ban on slaughter without sedation. After the murder of van Gogh in 2004, ritual slaughter even attained gruesome connotations as rumours spread that he was ritually slaughtered.[355] While in this period news and short actuality items began to regularly report on the beginning and end of Ramadan, this was less the case for the celebration of the Festival of Sacrifice. Only the *Jeugdjournaal* began to cover the celebration of *id al-adha* on a

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[354] The word "*Offerfeest*" results in 39 items about the Dutch context, of which 18 have been broadcast by NMO or NIO. The word "*ritueel slachten*" results in 11 items about the Dutch context, of which 1 has also been described with "*Offerfeest*", and of which 3 have been broadcast by NMO. The word "*halal*" results in an additional 13 items (excluding the items that have also been described with "*ritueel slachten*" and/or "*Offerfees*t", items broadcast by the Islamic broadcasting organizations and programs that addressed "*De Meiden van Halal*".

[355] For instance, Hirsi Ali reacted to the murder of van Gogh with the statement that she was furious about the fact that van Gogh had not been put under guard and had to undergo this ritual slaughter.

regular basis, in short items that informed their audiences about the background of the celebration and in which children were interviewed about the festivities.[356] In the bulk of the programs, however, the Festival of Sacrifice and the issue of ritual slaughter continued to be addressed in relation to the issue of animal welfare.

The endurance of the framework of animal welfare in the coverage of *id al-adha*

In the beginning of the decade, various actuality items and talk shows addressed the question of whether the Festival of Sacrifice should be granted the status of a national holiday.[357] For example, in 2000 the AVRO talk show *Barend & Witteman* dedicated an episode to this discussion. Three Muslims (a man, a Dutch converted women and the chairman of the Dutch Muslim Council), a protestant MP and the director of an elementary school are invited to discuss the issue. After a discussion about the question of whether giving *id al-adha* official status as a national holiday would advance the integration of Muslims and the mutual understanding between Dutch and Muslims, the topic of ritual slaughter is raised. The presenter asks the question whether the Dutch might be hesitant or unwilling to grant the Festival of Sacrifice the status of a national holiday, because the celebration revolves around the ritual slaughtering of sheep. The Muslim chairman explains the religious background of ritual slaughter and states that there is no scientific proof that animals suffer more. Although none of the guests advocate an anti-ritual slaughter viewpoint (the protestant MP even talks about the infiltration of the animal protection foundation by right-wing extremists) the episode is a clear example of how the contested issue of ritual slaughter continued to envelop the Festival of Sacrifice, and how the issue of the national belonging of Muslims was connected to the issue of animal welfare.

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[356] See for example: *Jeugdjournaal* (NOS, 16-03-2000 and 20-01-2005 and 10-01-2006 and 08-12-2008 and 27-11-2009).

[357] *Middageditie* (NPS, 16-03-2000), *Het Lagerhuis: Jongeren* (VARA, 13-03-2000), *Barend&Witteman* (VARA, 15-03-2000).

Figure 41. Still from *Moveyourass* (LLINK, 18-01-2006).

This tendency to report on the Festival of Sacrifice from a framework of animal welfare can also be found in various news and actuality items. For example, in 2006, the NOS *Journaal* reported on the celebration of Dutch Muslims of *id al-adha*.[358] After an explanation from the presenter of the religious background of the celebration, the program shows a short report about an abattoir. The voice-over states that ritual slaughter is only allowed in abattoirs, under the supervision of veterinary inspectors who make sure that the killing is carried out according to the rules, in a humane way and without the animal suffering. In the same year, an episode of the youth program *Moveyourass* was dedicated to the question of to what extent is the Festival of Sacrifice is animal friendly.[359] The first part of this program is also set in an abattoir, where a veterinary inspector – surrounded by dead, blood-soaked sheep – explains how the bleeding process must be carried out. In the second part of the program, a women who is introduced as an animal specialist is interviewed. She states that as long as the slaughter is not carried out in a bathtub and as long as the animals are sedated, she does not oppose ritual slaughter and does not consider the Festival of Sacrifice barbarian. Thus, in both examples, the Festival of Sacrifice is invoked in relation to the issue of ritual slaughter and animal welfare; although these programs do not speak from a position that judges the Festival of Sacrifice as harmful for animals, they visualize the celebration of *id al-adha* with bloody images of abattoirs.

Before proceeding to coverage addressing ritual slaughter without referring to the Festival of Sacrifice, it is useful to have a closer look at an item from *De Wereld Draait Door* about the Festival.[360] In 2009, the item *De Jakhalzen* (a daily

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[358] *Journaal* (NOS, 10-01-2006).
[359] *Moveyourass* (LLINK, 18-01-2006).
[360] *De Wereld Draait Door* (VARA, 08-12-2008).

recurring short report that often ironically comments on actuality) was dedicated to the celebration of the Festival of Sacrifice and was set in an abattoir. The reporter opens the item with the statement that he is standing in the Mecca of the Netherlands, at the place where hundreds of Muslims slaughter their sheep for the Festival of Sacrifice. Images of sheep waiting outside are shown, accompanied by a sound track of the song "What a beautiful day". Then, the reporter asks a Muslim man: "you celebrate the Festival of Sacrifice because the prophet was willing to sacrifice his son, would you also sacrifice yours?" while pointing to his little son. The reporter then interviews an employee of the abattoir about the number of sheep "finished off" this day, illustrated with bloody images of viscera and a severed sheep's head. The reporter continues, and interviews various Muslims about their willingness – as they are obliged to donate some of the meat to the poor – to give a kilo of their meat to Rita Verdonk and Geert Wilders. Then the reporter interviews the owner of the abattoir and his mother about their experiences on this special day. The mother says she always experiences it as a cosy day, whereupon the reporter comments: "so you think the decapitation of 1500 sheep is cosy and you think these Muslims are quite ok?". The woman replies that she likes them and thinks they are special people. Then a scene is shown in which the reporter looks at bloody abattoir waste and walks out while pretending to regurgitate, followed by a scene in which the reporter asks various Muslim men what they are planning to prepare with the meat: "Sheep cake? Sheep ice cream?" The item ends with images of the reporter carrying a dead sheep on his back, while walking away and saying: "salam aleikum".

Obviously, this item wants to ironically comment on tensions in Dutch society between Dutch and Muslims. Despite the fact that the depiction of Muslims in this item as barbarian animal abusers might be meant as an ironic comment on this stereotype, the item does in any case reactivate the stereotype. The ignorance that the reporter displays about the nature of the Festival of Sacrifice (he wrongly claims it was the prophet who was willing to sacrifice his son, and he implies he actually did it) and his suggestive questions to Muslims both constitute these Muslims as barbarian and uncivilized. By setting the item in an abattoir and by illustrating the item with nauseating sanguinary images, and of the disgusted vomiting reporter, the Festival of Sacrifice is depicted once again as a bloody and even repelling event that centres on the ruthless slaughter of a great number of sheep.

The selling of *halal* meat in Islamic butcheries and Dutch supermarkets

During this period, various actuality programs and consumer programs addressed the issue of selling *halal* meat in shops in the Netherlands, and once again these programs approached this issue from a framework of animal welfare.[361] For example, in 2004, the consumer program *Keuringsdienst van Waarde* (the title is an allusion to the commodity inspection department) dedicated an episode to the nature of *halal* meat.[362] The reporters visit an Islamic shop and butchery where they interview the owner about the nature of *halal* meat and about the Islamic slaughter method. They interview a professor at the University of Wageningen who is introduced as an expert in the field of animal slaughter. He elaborates on the differences between regular and Islamic slaughter; he states that the Islamic ban on the sedation of animals implies that the animal might suffer. He also says that some non-orthodox Muslims allow sedation with an air pressure gun. This interview is illustrated with images of the ritual slaughter of a cow in an abattoir. The program ends with an interview with a man who is responsible for a *halal*-quality label. This item thus again connects *halal* meat to the suffering of animals and once again visualizes the story with repelling images of slaughter.

The same logic runs through the television coverage of yet another controversy over ritual slaughter in 2006, when Albert Heijn supermarkets decided to begin selling *halal* meat. For example, the consumer program *Radar* addressed the issue.[363] The program opens with images of the birth of a calf, accompanied by a voice-over that states that it is now possible to buy *halal* meat in Dutch supermarkets: meat that is ritually slaughtered which means that the animals have been slaughtered without sedation. The program then cuts to images of the slaughtering of an animal, while the voice-over continues and says that Dutch law consciously allows the slaughter of animals without sedation because of the principle of freedom of religion. The program then shows a telephone interview with a customer service representative of the supermarket who confirms that *halal* meat derives from animals that have been slaughtered without sedation. The program then cuts back to the studio, where the leader of the Party for the Animals (Marianne Thieme) pleas for the removal of *halal* meat from the shelves of Albert Heijn. Also the talk show *Pauw en*

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[361] See for example: *Het Lagerhuis: Jongeren* (VARA, 23-01-2002), *Premtime* (NPS, 11-05-2003), *Keuringsdienst van Waarde* (RVU, 16-11-2004), *Kookvanjou* (NPS, 01-06-2003), *Radar* (TROS, 23-10-2006), *Pauw&Witteman* (VARA, 25-10-2006), *Ab&Sal* (NPS, 09-12-2007), *Welkom in Nederland* (VARA, 23-06-2009), *Uitgesproken* (VARA, 03-12-2010).

[362] *Keuringsdienst van Waarde* (RVU, 16-11-2004).

[363] *Radar* (TROS, 23-10-2006).

Witteman addressed the issue, and invited a Dutch *halal* butcher to explain the differences between normal and ritual slaughter. Before the discussion begins, the program shows an intensely bloody report on an abattoir that was introduced by Jeroen Pauw (one of the presenters) as a report that could be experienced as shocking. In the discussion that followed, the butcher represented the pro-ritual slaughter viewpoint, while Joost Eerdmans (a former LPF politician) advocated the view that ritual slaughter is barbarian (he talks about slaughter on balconies) and should not be allowed. Although these programs do not explicitly condemn ritual slaughter, they do indeed depict ritual slaughter as a very bloody affair; by raising the issue of animal suffering and by showing sanguinary images of slaughter in abattoirs, they seem to suggest that it might be a ritual for which there is no place in Dutch society.

Attempts to implicate the Dutch in the Festival of Sacrifice

While in this period television coverage of Ramadan and *id al-fitr* focused very much on the issue of the successful integration of Muslims into Dutch society and on the benefits of multicultural society, this was hardly the case for the coverage of *id al-adha*. Apart from the regularly recurring items of the *Jeugdjournaal*, I found almost no programs that addressed the Festival of Sacrifice, without setting the story in an abattoir, without visualizing it with bloody images, and without using a framework of animal welfare. Only in 2006, when various imams sent out an appeal to the Muslim community to give away part of the meat to the food pantry, that some programs reported on this initiative from the framework of integration, participation and national belonging of Muslims which was so dominant in the coverage of *id al-fitr* during this period. For example, the NOS *Journaal* dedicated an item to this initiative on Festival celebration day. The reporter first interviews the Turkish initiator, who explains that Muslims are obliged to give one third of the meat to the poor, and then a Dutch employee of the organization that helped to collect the meat, who extensively talks about how this initiative shows the willingness of Muslims to integrate and participate. The item is illustrated with images of a communal prayer. Also the talk show *Boter, Kaas en Eieren* addressed the issue and showed a reportage in which various representatives of participating Muslim organizations were interviewed about the initiative and talked about how Muslims have become increasingly more Dutch, where becoming Dutch meant being integrated.[364] These are some very rare instances in which television reported on the attempts of Muslims

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[364] *Boter, Kaas en Eieren* (RVU, 20-01-2007).

to implicate the Dutch in the Festival of Sacrifice in a comparable manner as in the coverage of Ramadan and *if al-fitr*.

In this decade, in which television was obsessed with stories about terrorism, fundamentalism and the failure of integration, television covered the enduring controversies about the issue of ritual slaughter and continued to invoke the Festival of Sacrifice and ritual slaughter in relation to animal suffering. While the coverage of Ramadan and *id al-fitr* predominantly centred on the issues of the successful integration of Muslims and of the benefits of intercultural dialogue, television continued to display discomfort with the celebration of *id al-adha*. The framework of successful integration and national belonging of Muslims that was so dominant in the coverage of *id al-fitr* was practically absent in the coverage of *id al-adha*. Perhaps this is a consequence of the fact that Muslims have more explicitly and more frequently implicated the Dutch in the celebration of *id al-fitr* than in the celebration of id *al-adha*. However, it also seems that the Festival of Sacrifice and ritual slaughter are held captive in the realm of stereotyping. And although many of the programs that addressed *id al-adha* and/or ritual slaughter aimed to take a neutral position and did not explicitly support the stereotype of Muslims as barbarian animal abusers, the repertoire of images that these programs used to visualize the stories kept depicting the Festival of Sacrifice and the practice of ritual slaughter as bloody, gruesome and frightening events, which might not be compatible with the norms of Dutch society.

Concluding Remarks

My analysis of the television coverage of two annual Islamic celebrations, *id al-fitr* and *id al-adha*, and the two related rituals of Ramadan and *halal* slaughter has shed new light on how Dutch public television has framed the encounter between Muslims and Dutch society throughout the past fifty years and how television coverage has imagined the religious identity of Muslims vis-à-vis the Dutch national identity. During the sixties and seventies, in the discursive regime of the temporary single male guest worker whose Islamic religion was in the margins of coverage and was only addressed in relation to annual religious celebrations and other rituals, the coverage of *id al-fitr* and *id al-adha* was very similar in terms of its quantity, its thematic tendencies, its visual repertoires and its frameworks of reference. Both in the coverage of Ramadan and *id al-fitr* and the coverage of *id al-adha*, (the sporadic coverage) of ritual slaughter, television raised the issue of the lack of facilities for

Muslims to practice their faith and reported on their struggle for emancipation in the sphere of religion from a framework of hospitality and solidarity. While the coverage of Ramadan and *id al-fitr* focused more on introvert acts of religious devotion during communal prayers and Quran recitations – in long observational scenes that stressed the beauty and serenity of these rituals – the coverage of *id al-adha* focused more on extrovert aspects of the celebration and showed festive roasts and banquets, where Muslims and Dutch were eating and celebrating side by side. Furthermore, although in many of the programs the religious identity of the guest workers was depicted as strange and slightly exotic, these programs obviously spoke from a position that valued religion as an important aspect of people's identity and advocated the view that the Dutch nation was a place where pillarized pluralism and religious diversity should result in tolerance, hospitality and adaptation to the religious needs of the guest workers.

In the eighties, the coverage of *id al-adha* and ritual slaughter began to follow a different logic than the coverage of *id al-fitr* and Ramadan. In this discursive regime of ethnic minorities, in which the presence of Muslims was rearticulated as permanent and in which Muslims became more visible on television, the coverage of Ramadan and *id al-fitr* was aimed at providing factual information about the nature of Islam and at fighting ignorance and prejudice. Television began to stress the similarities between Muslims and Dutch by reporting on the ritual of Ramadan from a Christian comparative framework and by depicting the values and beliefs of Muslims as very much in line with the Christian faith and consequently compatible with the values of the Dutch nation. This Christian comparative framework was absent in the coverage of *id al-adha*. During this period, ritual slaughter became a disputed issue, and *id al-adha* became merely associated with this contested practice and was propelled to the periphery of coverage. Television reported on the controversies about ritual slaughter that revolved around the question of to what extent the freedom of religion should prevail over animal's rights, and around the question of whether this ritual was incompatible with Dutch norms and whether Muslims should adapt to these norms. Also in the sporadic coverage of *id al-adha* the issue of animal rights was invoked. While television continued to visualize the stories about Ramadan and *id al-fitr* with images of prayers and Quran recitations, the visual repertoire of *id al-adha* was reduced to sanguinary images of abattoirs and the slaughtering of sheep.

In the nineties, in which television began to privilege stories about the (lack of) integration of *allochtonen*, about problematic Moroccan youth and impoverished

city neighbourhoods, and about the emerging fear of Islam and Islamic fundamentalism, the disparities between the coverage of *id al-fitr*/Ramadan and the coverage of *id al-adha*/ritual slaughter further intensified. The thematic structure of the coverage of Ramadan and *id al-fitr* began to move beyond the realm of religious belief and began to accrete around the integration and participation of Muslims in Dutch society and around the intercultural relations between Muslims and Dutch. The Christian comparative framework of the eighties persisted in some of the coverage, but also in these items the focus shifted to the issue of multicultural relations and intercultural dialogue between Muslims and Dutch. Television began to cover the attempts of Muslims to involve the Dutch in their religious practices and rituals from a perspective that valued these encounters. The visual repertoire included – besides the scenes of prayer and recitation in mosques – increasingly more images of *iftar* meals and of Dutch and Muslims together partaking in festive meals. At the same time, *id al-adha* practically disappeared from television and in the scarce instances that the celebration was addressed, television focused on the ins and outs of abattoirs, on the issue of animal welfare and showed images of animal slaughter. The framework of successful multiculturalism was absent in the sporadic coverage of *id al-adha* and the controversy about ritual slaughter kept engulfing the festivity.

These trends persevered and intensified in the following decade in which television perpetuated stories about the failure of integration, about Islamic terrorism, fundamentalism and about radicalized Muslims, and in which Islam was propelled to the centre of integration debates. During these years, Muslims began to increasingly implicate the Dutch in their ritual of Ramadan and celebration of *id al-fitr*, and began to perform their national belonging by transforming *iftar* into a national event. Television depicted this trend as the perfect showcase for the successful integration of Muslims. Also, the other coverage of Ramadan and *id al-fitr* revolved around intercultural dialogue between Muslims and Dutch and around the effective integration of Muslims, depicting the Dutch nation as a place where Islamic traditions can peacefully co-exist with Dutch customs. Images of harmonious *iftar* meals and Dutch people participating in celebrations and the Ramadan Festival dominated the visual repertoire. Conversely, the coverage of *id al-adha* and ritual slaughter continued to follow a completely different logic. Television reported on the persistent controversies about ritual slaughter and continued to invoke *id al-adha* and ritual slaughter in relation to animal suffering and to display discomfort with these practices. The framework of national belonging and successful integration

was absent in the coverage of *id al-adha.* Despite the fact that many of the programs spoke from a neutral position, many of the programs actually activated the stereotype of Muslims as barbarian animal abusers, by giving the floor to fierce opponents of ritual slaughter, or by displaying ignorance about the celebration, and most of all by constantly setting stories in abattoirs and by illustrating them with repellent sanguineous images of animal slaughter. So finally, while television depicted Ramadan and *id al-fitr* as showcases of hospitality, adaptation and the effective integration of Muslims, *id al-adha* and ritual slaughter were depicted as gruesomely bloody affairs, that might commit Muslims to values that are incompatible with Dutch national values.

What is striking, I argue, about the above described transformations in the patterns of coverage of Islamic rituals and celebrations is that the more Islam became a contested issue and the more integration became a central issue in the debates about the multicultural society, the more television coverage of Islamic rituals began to display two competing narratives about the religious identity of Muslims: one about the well-adapted, successfully integrated and even domesticated Muslim, whose religious capital was confirmed as sacred and in line with the values of the Dutch nation, and one of the maladjusted Muslim whose religious capital was contested and even delegitimized as being in conflict with the values of Dutch society. These two competing narratives have been supported by two different visual regimes, of which the first consisted of images of communal prayers and Quran recitations, harmonious *iftars* and gatherings of Muslims and Dutch; the latter of sanguineous images in abattoirs and animal slaughter. So clearly, as the religious rituals and practices of Muslims were, from the eighties onwards, increasingly evaluated in terms of integration, the televisual stories about *id al-fitr* and Ramadan began to increasingly revolve around the common denominators between Muslims and Dutch, while the televisual stories about *id al-adha* and ritual slaughter seemed to focus more on essential differences. Hence, television coverage of Ramadan and *id al-fitr* has increasingly stressed the successful integration of Muslims and their national belonging, while television coverage of *id al-adha* and ritual slaughter has displayed ever more suspicion towards the national belonging of Muslims, and has depicted these rituals as manifestations of Muslim belief that might be an affront to the Dutch nation.

I conclude with a note on the role of the logic of the medium of television in the emergence of these binary and stereotypical depictions of the religious identity of Muslims. In this chapter I brought to light how *id al-adha* and ritual

slaughter have been held captive, particularly since the eighties, in the realm of confined stereotyping. Although the negative and gruesome connotations of ritual slaughter and *id al-adha* – that stretch along a continuum from the guest worker who illegally slaughters sheep on balconies and in bathtubs, to the Muslim as barbarian animal abuser and even further to the extremist Muslim who ritually slaughters infidels – have mainly been produced outside the realm of television, I would argue that television's constant repetition of formulaic stories about abattoirs and the constant parading of particularly bloody images have given these stereotypes greater currency. Even when these televisual stories called such stereotypes into question, they repeated and reiterated the associations. And finally, although the televisual stories about Ramadan and id al-fitr have followed a different logic – a logic according to which the exotic has been made intelligible and acceptable – I would argue that in this historical process of representation, a new and softer stereotype of the tolerable and well-adapted Muslim has emerged. Television's compulsive repetition of stories about the common denominators between Muslims and Dutch and about the successful integration of Muslims seems to be driven by anxiety and fear as much as by pleasure and desire; the resulting comforting depiction of the domesticated and well-integrated Muslim might be just the flipside of the same coin that figures the frightening maladjusted Muslim with bloody habits. In the following chapter, I further investigate stories and images of Muslims that have been disseminated and canonized by television; I move from an analysis of recurring issues in the television coverage of Muslims to an analysis of iterating archival images.

CHAPTER 4
The Single Male Guest Worker and the Angry Muslim Mob

CHAPTER 4

The Single Male Guest Worker and the Angry Muslim Mob: An Archaeology of Iterating Archival Images

> Television images are cyclical, their *re*cycling dependent upon the longevity of the news stories or the advent of new stories to which they are attached and re-attached.
>
> Andrew Hoskins (2001: 342)

> It is not only that symbolic meanings accumulate as an image moves forward in history (…) but that its new meanings have the effect of reframing the past (…).
>
> W.J.T. Mitchell (2011: 147)

Over the course of more than fifty years television has generated an enormous amount of stories about Islamic immigration and has produced a collection of images that is still rapidly expanding. I begin this chapter by two sequences of images that represent two pivotal moments in the televisual narrative of Islamic immigration. The first sequence of images shows the recruitment by a Dutch official of cheap labour forces in Morocco: young men who have been queuing up all night, waiting eagerly for the moment that they will be called in for an interview, the apparently completely arbitrary selection procedure, carried out by the official for whom the presence of the camera seemed no reason to hide rudeness and disrespect, and the medical examinations to which the men were subjected. Made in 1969 by reporter Jaap van Meekren, this item of *Televizier* shows the practice of recruitment in an uncompromising and unsparing way.[365] It is not surprising that these grainy black and white images have been recycled and reused extensively over the course of time. They inherently possess the emblematic quality of an accusation and they remind one of the practices of slavery or cattle-trade. They evoke shame and embarrassment and immediately generate various gloomy connotations. Besides all this, they have a strong potential to illustrate the literal beginning of the story of immigration, as they seemingly denote the "once upon a time" in the narrative of post-war labour immigration: the moment it all began.

Moving to the next sequence of images: it is March 1989, and the streets of The Hague and Rotterdam are crowded with angry Muslim men and veiled women and children carrying banners with the image of ayatollah Khomeini or with hate speech about Salman Rushdie. Some of them are furiously proclaiming "Death to

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[365] *Televizier* (AVRO, 21-10-1969).

Rushdie", while others are burning the book *The Satanic Verses*. These images of the grim atmosphere in the Netherlands at the time of the Rushdie affair broadcast by *Journaal* have now become canonical.[366] They too have an emblematic quality and immediately evoke grim connotations of Islamic peril and of fanatical bloodthirsty mobs. They have frequently been reused by television as an accusation: as an illustration of the failure of integration of Muslims and of the rise of Islamic fundamentalism within our own borders. These images can be seen as another landmark in television's narrative of Islamic immigration and now stand for yet another beginning: the moment it started to go wrong.

In this chapter I further investigate what stories and images about Muslims have been canonized by television by analyzing the iterations of these archival images. I depart from the idea that the archive of Sound and Vision can be seen as an enormous reservoir of images that are constantly available for reuse and that the archive is not only a site where our cultural memory is kept but moreover a site where it is produced. Since television is a recursive medium that is constantly mixing together images from the past to frame the present, I assert that it is productive to examine what images have been brought into circulation and have entered the cultural canon. The aim of this chapter would be then to trace these images through television history and investigate how these images have been repetitively re-contextualized. I assert that tracing the iterations of these images and analyzing the stories and images to which they are re-attached provides insight into the changing televisual discourses of Muslims, and sheds light on how the logic of the medium of television has transformed these images into icons that now mark the specific "beginnings" in television's narrative of the history of Islamic immigration.

There are several reasons why these specific images are interesting objects of research. Both images have been recycled frequently and have often been employed as visual illustrations of crucial moments in the history of Muslim presence in the Netherlands. Both images still appear on television and act in today's media coverage of Muslims. Both images have taken on iconic qualities and have become part of cultural memory. They have often been employed as visual comparisons to prior and unfolding events and they have been used to review the past and to frame the present and the future. Due to the continuous emergence of new and competing televisual narratives on Muslim immigrants, the meaning of these images has constantly shifted. The new meanings that these images have accumulated during their travel through television history have in their turn, in retrospect

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[366] *Journaal* (NOS, 03-03-1989 and 04-03-1989).

reframed the past. For these reasons, I presume that a close investigation of how and when the meanings of these images shift and change can shed light both on the multiple, competing and changing televisual discourses of Muslims, on television's modes of representing and transforming the past, and on television's symbiotic relationship with its own history in the shape of its archive. Despite the fact that the images have nothing in common except their constant reuse; they might yet be related by the intersections of thematic patterns of programs through which they circulate. This, I would suggest, is one of the most challenging questions to be answered in this chapter.

For more than a decade now the role of both visual media and the archive in transforming our historical imagination and shaping our cultural memory has been subject to intense academic discussion. In the first part of this chapter I explicate the constructivist paradigm of cultural memory that I draw on, I further theorize television's complex temporal modulations, and I explore the nature of iconic images. From there, I move to an analysis of my two case studies. Where in the previous chapter I traced the coverage of Islamic rituals along the grain of the archive of Sound and Vision and regarded the collection and descriptions of the archive as a reflection of historical discourses of Muslims, in this chapter I focus on the consequences of the fact that documents in the archive are always open to reinterpretation, and I concentrate on the archive's openness to the future. After providing additional methodological details, I first analyze the case of the images of recruitments and then turn towards the case of the images of the Rushdie affair. I begin each part with an analysis of the sequences of images in their original context. From there, I proceed to investigate in what new contexts they reappear. I peel back the various layers of meaning of these palimpsest images by analyzing them from both a diachronic and synchronic perspective: I trace them through television history, I examine to what stories and images they are attached at different historical moments, and I scrutinize how television's activations of these archival images retrospectively reframe the past. Again, I combine archaeological discourse analysis with close textual analysis, and I examine the themes of the programs in which they reappear, the position of the images in these televisual narratives, and other images to which they are attached.

4.1 A Constructivist Model of Cultural Memory

Since this chapter centres on the circulation of archival images and departs from the idea that the archive of Sound and Vision could be considered a place where cultural memory is not only kept but also manufactured, I first elaborate on the concept of cultural memory that informs this case study. By consciously using the term "cultural" memory instead of other common terms such as "collective" memory (as coined by Maurice Halbwachs), "social" memory, or "public" memory, I want to take a constructivist position in the current debate on memory and draw on the work of Ann Rigney (2005). Rigney describes the theoretical evolution of the concept of "collective" memory to "cultural" memory in terms of a shift from what she calls a "plenitude and loss"[367] model towards a "social-constructivist"[368] model. She argues that, whereas the first model conceptualizes memory as something that if formed in the past, as something that can be preserved and be recovered from the past, and as something that is always diminishing, the latter takes as a starting point the idea that memories of the past are constantly constructed and reconstructed in the present and are products of mediation and representation. Rigney maintains that this conceptualization of cultural memory as something dynamic, as the result of recursive acts of remembrance, suggests a need to concentrate on the very cultural processes by which shared memories are produced and kept in circulation. In order to describe these processes, Rigney turns to Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* and Foucault's development of the idea that culture is characterized by "scarcity": "By this he means the fact that everything that in theory might be written or said about the world does not actually get to be said in practice" (16). It is my belief that Rigney's translation of Foucault's concerns with the field of discourse to that of cultural memory is highly relevant for me, and can help sharpen my archaeological approach to my research objects.

To explain how the principle of scarcity affects the working of cultural memory, Rigney draws attention to the fact that at the level of what she calls "selection" (16) memories are always scarce in relation to everything that might have been remembered. To clarify this process, she resorts to Aleida Assmann's

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[367] Rigney refers to the work of Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora as influential examples of this approach.

[368] Here she refers to the work of Jan en Aleida Assmann as being of great importance for the transformation towards a conceptualization of collective memory in terms of cultural processes.

distinction between "archival memory" and "working memory".[369] Archival memory is a latent form of memory: the storehouse of information about the past, which in itself is already scarce and limited, that may or may not be remembered, or – in Assmann's own words – the part of materially retrievable information "that does not circulate as common knowledge" and "lingers in a state of latency" (2010: 43-44). Working memory is the result of the selective acts of remembrance of a society that provides it with a common frame of reference, and that is supported by validation of cultural institutions and the media (ibid). Assmann argues that the borders between archival and working memory are permeable in both directions: some memories may after a while fade out the centre of common interest and knowledge, whereas other memories may be recovered from the periphery (ibid). Rigney uses the principle of scarcity to emphasize the discursive mechanisms of selection that underlie the cultural processes that cause only certain archival memories to circulate as part of working memory. Cultural memory should thus be seen as something that is inherently partial, which is according to Rigney not a shortcoming but an inherent and vital quality.

Another dimension of cultural memory that is affected by the principle of scarcity is discussed by Rigney in terms of the "convergence of memories" (18). Here Rigney argues that Nora's concept of "*lieux de mémoire*" is useful to account for the way certain locations, actual or virtual, tend to become the focus of remembrance and provide "a maximum amount of meaning in a minimum number of signs" (18).[370] Scarcity should here be seen as the principle that reduces the creation of contrasting memories and instead provides society with common frameworks to understand the past by concentrating different memories in one single place. These sites are constantly reinvested with new meanings, as new events and new narratives are superimposed onto earlier ones to form what Rigney terms "memorial layers" (19). Memories tend to converge and conflate, as their cultural framework is recycled to deal with new events. Besides, Rigney relates the principle of scarcity to the way cultural memory is constructed through "recursivity": "when acts of remembrance are repeatedly performed they can become part of a shared frame of reference" (20). Rigney emphasizes the fact that the "mobile media", texts and images, play a crucial role in the formation of cultural memory, because they are not bound to place and time, and can freely circulate in order to

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[369] Aleida Assmann herself uses the word "active memory" instead of "working memory" in an English article on memory formats (2010). Rigney refers to Assmann's earlier book on memory that is written in German. I will hold on to Rigney's translation..

[370] Quoted in Rigney. This is Rigney's translation of Nora's phrasing.

connect people and form "imagined communities" (20). [371] Here Rigney draws attention to the importance of (transmedial) recursivity in the formation of cultural memory.

The above described constructivist model of cultural memory as a dynamic process governed by the law of scarcity is in my view a helpful conceptual tool to account for the way television brings into circulation mediated memories by the repetition of certain images from its own archive. In this chapter I consider the archive of Sound and Vision as television's "archival memory" and I analyze how and when images of recruitments and of the Rushdie affair have been brought into "working memory" and how they have been kept alive by television's cyclical iterations of these images as flashbacks of history and as visual comparisons and frames of reference to interpret new events. I investigate how they accumulated new memorial layers, how they have been reinvested with new symbolic meanings, and how they conflate with other memories. Before I turn towards an engagement with these images I further theorize the impact of the electronic media on the formation of cultural memory, and sharpen my conceptual approach to the nature and the working of iconic images.

4.2. Television's Complex Temporal Modulations, Media Templates and Audiovisual *Lieux de Mémoire*

During the last decade, many researchers working in the field of memory studies have acknowledged the centrality of media to the formation of cultural memory. In order to theorize the impact of electronic media on the way we experience the past and account for the way our relation to the past is increasingly electronically mediated and remediated in this era of global media dissemination, Andrew Hoskins has coined the concept of "new memory" (2001), which he redefined in his later work on television as the "collapse of memory" (2004a; 2004b). Hoskins argues that television is "a primary medium of memory and its collapse precisely because it is a medium of the present into which it interweaves fragments of the past" (2004a: 110). According to Hoskins, television collapses time through its real-time presentation of the recent and/or distant past. For him, the temporalities and temporal effects of television, its capacity to visually juxtapose multiple times, events and places, are defining for the medium.

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[371] Rigney here quotes Benedict Anderson.

In his work with O'Loughlin (2007 and 2010), he further elaborated on television's complex temporalities by focusing on television's reliance on its archival resources and on the function of "media templates" (Kitzinger 2000; Hoskins 2004b): "the principle mechanisms of instant comparison and contrast that television news employs to reinforce or reshape past events and also to direct those unfolding through its archival prism" (2007: 19). The capacity of the medium to instantly draw upon its own archives and create visual templates or "template series" is according to Hoskins and O'Loughlin unmatched by other media (ibid. 114-16). They distinguish between "retrospective templates", that are past-oriented, and "speculative templates", that are future-oriented and function as a pre-mediation of events, as "a means to provoke debate and action to respond to the prospects of the repetition of the past mistake" (2007: 113). They draw on the work of Jenny Kitzinger (2000), who argued that media templates are defined by "their lack of innovation, their status as received wisdom and by their *closure*" (ibid: 76; original emphasis). Kitzinger contends that templates are typically employed to explain current events, and often "reify a kind of historical determinism" because they anchor a "single primary meaning", "promote one type of narrative" and have the inclination to "minimize opportunities for alternative interpretations" (ibid.). Hoskins and O'Loughlin furthermore state that media templates instigate the "ready collapsing of past/present/future into a single and immediate window of comparison" (94).

An important aspect of the formation of "new memory" (and "the collapse of memory") is – as Hoskins has argued in several of his writings – television's constant repetition of specific images from the same event (2001; 2004a; 2004b). Hoskins calls these images (or sequences of images) that have become almost instantaneously iconic through their mass repetition and that have come to represent by themselves a particular historical event or moment "media flashframes": "images seemingly burned into history through their use as visual prompts in news programmes and other media so that they are instantly and widely recognizable as representing a particular event or moment in history"(2004b: 6). He argues that these flashframes are often employed as visual templates: "And it is precisely these flashframes of memory (…) that appear in television as "media templates", i.e. as ways of presenting current events with visual reference to those past events which news and programme editors deem to be similar." (ibid: 11). Flashframes, according to Hoskins, affect a collapse of memory, because television in this way "can be said to prevent memory through its satiation and overload of

images, yet at the same time it crystallizes memory of events around scenes it obsesses over" (6). Finally, Hoskins contends that in order to grasp the phenomenon of new memory it is crucial to investigate how these images re-enter in new times and contexts.

Various other researchers working in the field of media and memory studies have theorized the consequences of the repetition by the media of certain images over and over again. For example, Marita Sturken (1997) has conceived of iconic camera images as blurring the boundaries between "the image of history and history as an image" (24). With her concept of "tangled memories" she stresses that these camera images are sites where history and memory intersect, and sites that are often – quoting Benedict Anderson – "saturated with ghostly national imaginings" (1997: 25). In a similar manner, Thomas Elsaesser (2000) has conceptualized iconic images as "audiovisual *lieux de mémoire*", as virtual anchor sites of memory. Finally, I think that this term "audiovisual *lieux de mémoire*" is especially suitable to account for the characteristics of iconic images that have been constantly repeated by the media. Although Nora's original concept departs from a "plenitude and loss" model of cultural memory and of a romantic notion of natural memory as opposed to history, I argue – following Rigney – that (audiovisual) *lieux de mémoire* should rather be conceived of as dynamic, multilayered sites of memory, that capture "the maximum possible meaning with the fewest possible signs" (Nora 1989: 19), and that are constantly invested and renewed with new symbolic meaning.

PART ONE
THE TRANSFORMATION OF TELEVIZIER IMAGES INTO AUDIOVISUAL LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE

4.3 Guest Workers Waiting Eagerly For Recruitment

The nine minute and thirty-eight second item about the recruitment of Moroccan low-skilled workers that Jaap van Meekren made for AVRO's *Televizier*[372] was

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[372] *Televizier* (AVRO, 21-10-1969). *Televizier* was one of the early Dutch actuality programs, made by the broadcast organization AVRO. In the Dutch pillarized broadcast system, each broadcast organization used its own actuality program to propagate its theology and philosophy of life. The AVRO was the oldest broadcast organization and was known as neutral and independent, because it didn't have affiliations with any of the religious or political pillars. Jaap van Meekren was one of AVRO's most famous reporters. In fact, until 1985- when he changed the AVRO for Veronica- he was considered as one of the leading forces behind the AVRO and worked as editor, presenter and

broadcast on 21 October 1969, a few months after the Dutch government entered into a recruitment agreement with Morocco.[373] The item opens with images of a mosque, accompanied van Meekren's voice-over that introduces the viewer to the place: Oujda in Morocco. The item then cuts to images of van Meekren standing on a street, surrounded by Moroccan men and children and talking directly to the camera. He tells us that Morocco has supplied us, over the last years, with fifteen thousand labourers, who are called guest workers. However, he continues, on the one hand these guests have not always been received in a very hospitable way, and on the other they have not always behaved according to what we think we can expect from our guests. The item then cuts to various images of street scenes – people walking in crowded small streets and a spice market – while the voice-over continues and says that all this is understandable, because our guest accommodation is often a warehouse for humans, and because the guests came uninvited in the sense that they came on their own initiative, badly prepared and ill-informed. While the camera zooms in on the figure of a fully covered woman on the street, van Meekren's voice-over concludes: "So there were and are problems of adaptation, because the *medina* of Oujda differs as much from The Hague's *Binnenhof*, as the Moroccan women from the hippies in the *Kalverstraat*".[374]

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reporter. He was known for his sense of justice, a quality of his character that was rooted in his experiences as a Jew in World War II. According to some of his friends, his report on the recruitments in Morocco was one of the items that he was very proud of. (Quoted from the special edition of *Netwerk* on the occasion of the death of van Meekren: *Netwerk Extra* (AVRO, 27-8-1997).

[373] At this time, labour migration from Morocco had already gotten underway for some years. From 1965, an average of 3000 Moroccans had entered the Netherlands as spontaneous migrants (Vermeulen and Penninx, 2000:179). From May 1969 onwards, Moroccan labour migration became a bi-partite movement of migrants who came on their own initiative and workers who were actively recruited by the Netherlands.

[374] *Medina* is the Arabic word for 'city/town'. The *Binnenhof* is the building complex that is the center of Dutch politics. The *Kalverstraat* is Amsterdam's largest shopping street.

The camera then shows the viewer images of a crowd of Moroccan men waiting in front of the fences of the employment agency, while van Meekren's voice-over of continues and tells us that despite these problems the Dutch are coping with a constantly growing demand for labour forces, while Morocco has an enormous supply due to massive unemployment. Van Meekren informs us about the unemployment rate in Morocco and says that in order to make optimal use of this potential and in order to avoid more problems, the Dutch and Moroccan governments concluded a treaty in May. The camera then shows the arrival of the Dutch officer who is in charge of recruitments, while van Meekren introduces him as Simon Evert Jongejan from Sliedrecht, an official from the Ministry of Social Affairs who is responsible for recruiting and selecting workers. Finally, the item cuts to a lasting tracking shot of the long queue of men waiting along the fence, and while the camera moves along the faces of these men looking hopeful into the camera, the voice-over continues and explains that Jongejan has summoned two hundred unemployed men – "Morocco's most important export commodity" – to gather here and wait in front of the employment agency fences which will open only the next morning.

After this opening sequence, the voice-over falls silent and the camera enters the office where the selections are taking place. Jongejan is sitting behind a desk and interviews (in broken French) the Moroccan men who one by one enter the room about their reading and writing skills and education. The first young man who

enters confirms Jongejan's question – "do you speak French?" – and tells him he has been in school for eight years. Jongejan reacts immediately: "not accepted. I am looking for a different type". Seemingly disappointed he slinks away. Then two men enter, who both get accepted after only answering "yes" to the question whether they speak French and whether they can read and write. Jongejan sends them away – "quickly quickly" – and tells them to wait in the garden. More men follow, some of them are sent away directly after entering the room and before they even get the chance to talk – "not accepted, quickly, quickly" – and others after only a few questions. Finally, another young man gets accepted and is also told to wait in the garden.
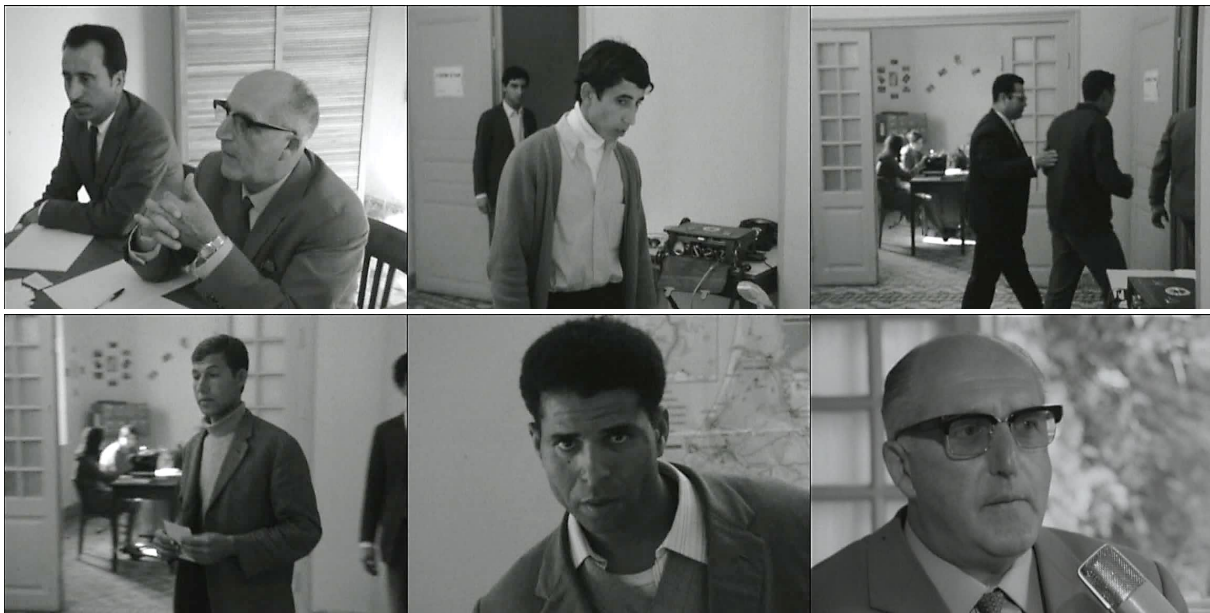
In the following scene, van Meekren interviews Jongejan about the selection procedures and asks him how he can so quickly decide to reject or accept someone. The camera shows Jongejan's face in close-up, while he answers that, both the demands of the employer (age, married or single) and of his ministry (they have to be representative, literate, communicative) direct his choices, upon which van Meekren comments in a slightly cynical tone: "To an outsider your job seems very hard. It is almost like being on a slave-market." This question is ironically illustrated with images of a scene of the actual selection procedure, in which a man is standing in front of Jongejan who gestures to him to turn around in order to check his backside. Jongejan reacts indignantly and tells him that this is not true, that in Holland too people who apply for a job need to go through strict selection procedures, and that he has only limited means: his intuition and his experience.

Then the item cuts to a scene in which Jongejan interviews, in a friendlier manner, a Moroccan man who has passed the selection procedures. After this scene, the interview with Jongejan continues. Jongejan talks about the high quality of Moroccan workers and sums up for which companies he is recruiting. One of the requests, by a factory of meat-products, is according to Jongejan a "reorder" (*nabestelling*). Van Meekren asks for clarification: "So they were satisfied and wanted more?", whereupon Jongejan triumphantly repeats that it is indeed a reorder. The interview ends with Jongejan's comment that he is now for the first time recruiting two women. This statement is illustrated with a scene from Jongejan's interview with a young Moroccan woman in which he tells her that she has been accepted for a cleaning job in a hotel in the Netherlands and asks her whether she can leave within a week. The camera shows her face in close-up when she hesitantly answers affirmatively.

In the next scene, van Meekren interviews two Moroccan men who have been selected. The first man answers every question – "Are you happy to have been selected? Are you married? Do you have children? Is your wife happy too?" – with "yes sir". After rightly answering van Meekrens's question of what is the capital of Holland, the second man is interviewed and says that it will be slightly difficult to live without his wife and children, but that he is happy to be able to make available some money for his family and for the education of his children. Then van Meekren interviews a Moroccan official, who explains the procedure that follows: the men will leave in eight days, once the medical examinations and paperwork are done. This

sequence ends with images of these medical examinations: close-ups of men who get injections. The images are accompanied by van Meekren's voice-over, who tells us that seventy men will arrive in Holland within a week, that they will receive the same conditions of employment as Dutch workers, that they will get a contract for one year and that their housing has been arranged for by their employers. Then the item cuts to images of Moroccan men who are congregating and jostling in front of the employment office, accompanied by the final thoughts of van Meekren on the selection procedure. He concludes that the procedure seems and actually is harsh, and that those whose hope has vanished into smoke in only a tiny moment, will remain unemployed; without any future perspective. The camera thereafter shows close-up images of the faces of the men queuing for the medical examination, while van Meekren ends the item with the statement that "seventy people have been given a new future today. A future, for that matter, without their wives and children, and in a strange country, a country that these men consider the Promised Land. The Netherlands".

Considering the uncompromising portrayal of the recruitments and the critical tone of van Meekren, it is not surprising that the broadcasting of this item from *Televizier* immediately caused indignant and angry reactions among Dutch audiences.[375] In order to grasp why certain sequences of images from this item have been canonized by television and turned into "audiovisual *lieux de mémoire*", I first have a closer look at the manner in which the Moroccan guest workers have been depicted and at the way the Dutch nation has been imagined. The opening sequence lays emphasis, both in terms of imagery and commentary, on the cultural differences between Morocco and the Netherlands. The images of the mosque, the exotic streets and market, and the veiled woman belong to the realm of classic

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[375] The DAR- a foundation that defended the interests of Turkish and North-African workers sent a letter of protest to the ministers of Social Affairs. Also the Foundation for Foreign Workers raised its voice, whereupon questions were posed in parliament. See: Cottaar ea (2009: 24).

Orientalist imagery and are used to illustrate the otherness of the place. They function as an explanation for the adaptation problems of Moroccan workers that van Meekren is mentioning at that moment. However, by reflecting on the word guest worker, van Meekren explicitly declares that it is not only the guest but also the host who does not always live up to the rules of hospitality. So by taking into account both parties implied by the word guest worker, van Meekren overcomes a simplistic explanation for the adaptation problems, and takes from the outset a critical stance towards the hospitality of the Dutch nation.

This critical attitude of van Meekren towards the implications of the term guest worker could be seen as more than just a linguistic matter, and could actually be considered a reflection on the politics of the principal symbolism of the term. In her work *Postcolonial Hospitality*, Mireille Rosello (2002) argues that "the vision of the immigrant as guest is a metaphor that has forgotten that it is a metaphor" (3). She contends that the conceptualization of immigration in terms of hospitality, where the immigrant is the guest and the state is the host, creates apparently self-evident opposites that in fact are hegemonic constructions. Rosello maintains that the very reason why these "guests" were invited in the first place had nothing to do with hospitality: "(…) so called invitations had more to do with active recruitment. The unskilled workers who helped build French suburbs (…) were not regarded as guests in a house; they were hired" (ibid: 9). The comparison of a labour immigrant with a guest, as Rosello asserts, blurs the boundaries between "a discourse of rights and a discourse of generosity, the language of social contracts and the language of excess and gift-giving" (ibid). So obviously, van Meekren's item makes visible and explicit the hegemonic power relations that underlie the discourse of hospitality. I contend that this is exactly what makes his reportage an instant accusation: the depiction of these guest workers and of their harsh recruitment clashes with the hegemonic discourse of Dutch hospitality.

Clearly, it is not only van Meekren's explicit deconstruction of the term "guest worker" that causes the impact of the item. The narrative structure of the story, the editing, and the framing of images amplify the overall accusatory tone of the item. Jongejan is depicted as the cold blooded calculating bureaucrat who is carefully following orders, and for whom the young Moroccan men seem to be little more than commodities; as he talks about them in terms of numbers, quality and (re)orders. The black and white film images have been framed carefully to support this narrative, and the close-ups of Jongejan's face during the interview by van Meekren (it seems as if the camera is trying to penetrate his thick-skinned

personality) reveal his lack of emotional response. And while Jongejan represents, both literally and allegorically, the Dutch government, van Meekren is the journalist with the human face who critically comments on the practices of the recruitments. Sometimes his critique is very explicit, for example when he says that he experiences the recruitments as being a slave-market, and at other moments it is more implicit, when he uses irony as a strategy to comment on what he sees. At crucial moments, in the scenes of the actual selection procedures, he is silent and lets the camera observe. Here the editing underlines the biting quality of the images, as a number of insensitive rejections by Jongejan have been put in sequence. Editing has also been used to ironically comment on Jongejan's denial that his work compares to slave-trade, since this phrase is illustrated with images that suggest the exact opposite of what Jongejan says. Finally, the tracking shots of the faces of Moroccan men queuing and looking hopeful into the camera, frame them as docile victims of both the poverty in Morocco and of the unjust Dutch system of recruitment. These images have an almost instantaneous emblematic quality and operate as "nugget[s] of condensed drama" (Kitzinger 2000: 75), as they seem to symbolize the dehumanization of guest workers and their reduction to a commodity that this item from *Televizier* criticizes.

Before turning to an analysis of the iterations of images from this *Televizier* item, I first briefly discuss the way this item has been archived. Not surprisingly, the item has received the keyword "foreign workers" and has been described with the phrase: "interview by Jaap van Meekren with S.E. Jongejan about the recruitment of guest workers in Morocco". The item has not been described on a detailed shot level, and no images have been highlighted by the archival descriptions. Although the archive of Sound and Vision does play a certain role in the later canonization of the images, since its selective power, its "archivalization" (Ketelaar 2001), has put these images on a pedestal (Nesmith 2002), it has not earmarked the images as reusable in the description of the original item. However, in the descriptions of many of the programs that repeated certain sequences, images of recruitments have been highlighted as shots that have a potential for reuse. And since the archive of Sound and Vision has recently digitized the item, whose original carrier is 16 mm film, the images have been put on yet another pedestal. Finally, I want to stress that I do not claim that the following overview of the programs that have recontextualized sequences of this *Televizier* item is complete. Sound and Vision has not documented the reuse of their material, and I only found the programs by systematically tracing the words "guest workers", "foreign workers" and/or "recruitment"

(*werving/ronseling*) through the archive. Lastly, I structured the chapter around the historical moments at which the images start to accumulate new symbolic meanings.

4.4 The Guest Worker as Victim of Exploitation and Economic Recession

The first time that the *Televizier* images reappeared on television and entered working memory was in 1981, in *Vragenvuur*, a talk show lead by van Meekren.[376] This means that during the seventies, in the discursive regime of the single male guest worker whose stay was considered temporary in nature, the images "lingered in a state of latency" (Assmann 2004) and existed only as part of archival memory. In the discursive regime of the eighties, in which the guest workers were replaced by ethnic minorities whose presence was rearticulated as permanent and in a period marked by economic depression and mass unemployment, the predominant themes that ran through the television coverage of ethnic minorities were, as I showed in chapter 2, their deprived socio-economic position, their unemployment, remigration and the second generation. In fact, these are precisely the themes of the six television programs that repeated the *Televizier* images and that transported them into working memory in this period. It is useful then to have a closer look at the way the *Televizier* images operated in these programs and analyse to what narratives and other images they have been attached and what new symbolic meanings they have accumulated.

The exploited and redundant guest worker

The first program that brought the *Televizier* images back into circulation, the 1981 episode of *Vragenvuur*, was dedicated to the issue of unemployment in the Netherlands. The description of the program does mention certain "dupes", but the episode of *Televizier* (or a dupe saying "recruitment of guest workers") has not been included. Before the actual conversations in the studio began, the talk show opened with a compilation of archival footage about the post-war reconstruction in the fifties and the flourishing economy of the sixties to contextualize the current crisis. A voice-over explains that the economy was growing in this period, and that the government and the trade and industry started recruiting thousands of labour forces abroad to do the dirty work. This phrase is illustrated by *Televizier* images of Moroccan men who are eagerly queuing in the hope of being recruited and employed in the Netherlands, and by other archival footage of guest workers in a factory and of a speech by Queen Juliana. The compilation ends with the voice-over's statement that

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[376] *Vragenvuur* (AVRO, 01-03-1981).

the oil crisis in 1973 was the beginning of the economic recession. Then the ministers of Economic and of Social Affairs are present in the studio to answer phone calls from citizens. Van Meekren says that he is hesitant to bring up the subject of the foreign workers and explains that it might be a good idea to provide the audience with some clarifications about their presence, because it seems that many people think the problems can be solved by sending these people home for there are as many unemployed people (350.000) as foreign workers. The minister of Economic Affairs explains that this is nonsense and that the Netherlands still cannot do without foreign workers, who do the low-skilled work that the Dutch refuse to do. The rest of the talk show is dedicated to other issues that have arisen as a consequence of the economic problems.

In this archival compilation the *Televizier* images of waiting men in queues have been employed to mark the beginning of labour immigration in the Netherlands and to show the huge contrast between the economic situation during the sixties and at the current moment. Here the faces of the Moroccan men waiting in line are the faces of the men who have come to the Netherlands as a result of an active policy of the government and who have, in retrospect, done the dirty work for us and are now victims of the economic recession. The archival images have been reused in a generic manner and the fact that the men were Moroccan has not been mentioned. Rather, they stand for the anonymous guest worker who helped us out when all went well, and was treated like a cast-off when the economy crashed. The faces of the waiting men have been attached to archival footage of the rebuilding of Dutch industry and of guest workers in factories, and they operate as an accusation of the treatment of foreign workers as redundant commodities.

The way the *Televizier* images have been recontextualized by this episode of *Vragenvuur* is exemplary for the way the images circulated through working memory during the eighties. *Achter het Nieuws*, the actuality program of the VARA, has broadcast three items in which the *Televizier* images have been reused in almost identical archival compilations, and that all deal with the issue of remigration. In 1984, *Achter het Nieuws* has dedicated an item to the mass unemployment among former guest workers.[377] The description of the item mentions the "dupe" from *Televizier* ("official S.E. Jongejan from Utrecht (sic) recruits Moroccans"). The item opens with the *Televizier* images of the arrival of Jongejan in Oujda, accompanied by melancholic music and a voice-over that explains that the Dutch official Jongejan visited Morocco in order to recruit unemployed men who will work as guest workers in Holland. This phrase is illustrated by the *Televizier* tracking shot of the Moroccan men waiting in the queue. The voice-over continues and says that the Dutch economy was coping with a lack of labour forces and that the solution was found in the countries around the Mediterranean. And again, the images of waiting men are shown. The voice-over explains that the surplus of workers in Morocco was so enormous that the Dutch official could recruit in a very selective manner. This phrase is illustrated with the *Televizier* sequence of Jongejan's first insensitive rejection of a young man: images of Jongejan saying rudely "not accepted, quickly!", and images of the astonished look on the face of the man. Again, gloomy music has been added to these archival images. The voice-over continues and tells us that times have changed, that the foreign workers were the first to become redundant, and that many of them are now unemployed. The rest of the item is about the issue of how the Dutch government can help these unemployed people return to their countries and shows interviews with an unemployed Turkish man, with the director of the Dutch Centre for Foreigners, Mohammed Rabbae, and with two members of parliament. The overall argument of the item is that the Dutch government should help the foreign workers return to their countries, because it was the government that brought them to Holland in the first place. So in this item of *Achter het Nieuws*, the *Televizier* images have clearly been employed as a political statement. The added morose music amplifies the victimization of the Moroccan men waiting in the queue and the rejected young man, who are now victims of the Dutch endeavour for wealth and of the current economic crisis. The images of Jongejan's arrival in Oujda

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[377] *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 17-11-1984). The description has highlighted the following dupe: "black and white images of official S.E. Jongejan from Utrecht (sic) who is recruiting Moroccans (1969/AVRO)."

stand for the responsibility of the Dutch government for bringing Moroccan men to the Netherlands and for its responsibility to help them return, now that they have become unemployed.

Furthermore, in the two other items that *Achter het Nieuws* broadcast on the issue of remigration, the *Televizier* images operated as a political statement. In 1985, *Achter het Nieuws* followed a delegation of members of parliament that travelled to Morocco to investigate the possibilities for guest workers to return, and that visited people who returned with the help of subsidies from the Dutch government.[378] The item opens with a short version of the same compilation of the 1984 episode: it shows the images of the waiting men, accompanied by the same grim music, and a voice-over explaining that fifteen years ago these men were queuing to apply for a job in the Netherlands. The compilation ends with Jongejan's rejection of the young Moroccan man. The other item of *Achter het Nieuws*, also broadcast in 1985, portrayed Moroccan children of the second generation who re-migrated with their parents and who wanted to return to the Netherlands because they did not feel at home in Morocco.[379] Once again, this item opens with the same compilation of the *Televizier* images. Thus, in both items, the *Televizier* images function as an illustration of how immigration had begun and as a demonstration of the responsibility of the Dutch government to solve the problems of these people who have done our unpalatable work and have been left without any future perspective.

The *Televizier* images as illustration of Turkish recruitments

In this period, various programs employed the inherent emblematic quality of the *Televizier* images – their potential to illustrate the beginning of immigration and their biting nature – to illustrate stories about Turkish immigration. In 1984, the IKON actuality program *Kenmerk* dedicated an episode to the portrayal of a Turkish girl from the second generation, who travelled to Sweden and Germany to visit contemporaries and to find out how children of the second generation are treated in diverse European countries and how their legal status differs.[380] The program opens with a compilation, in which contemporary images of Turkish men sitting in a bus from Central Station to Schiphol are juxtaposed to archival images, accompanied by a voice-over that says: "In the sixties the Netherlands made a selection". This phrase

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[378] *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 19-01-1985).
[379] *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 11-12-1985). The descriptions mention the following dupe: "recruitment (ronseling) of guest workers in the 60s".
[380] *Kenmerk* (IKON, 05-09-1984).

is illustrated by the *Televizier* images of a number of Jongejan's rude rejections, and by images of medical examinations in Turkey. The voice-over continues and says: "Immigrants, foreign workers, labour forces, we have recruited them thousands of kilometres from here to do the work that the Dutch don't want to do, and they have assured us of our wealth". This phrase is illustrated by the *Televizier* images of the Moroccan men waiting men in the queue, and by archival images of trains full of guest workers leaving with big suitcases, accompanied by nostalgic music of Astor Piazolla. After this introduction, the item follows the Turkish girl on her travels through Europe. During the twenty-three minute episode, images from the *Televizier* item reappear once again in a scene about the current situation in the Netherlands, in this case the sequence of images of the Moroccan man who is asked to turn around, accompanied by Piazolla music that replaced the original sound. The voice-over explains that in 1964 a recruitment treaty with Turkey was concluded, that it took until 1979 before the Dutch government realized that the stay of the guest workers would not be temporary, and that with the implementation of a minority policy the Dutch government had acknowledged that the Netherlands has become an immigration country.

Thus in this item, the *Televizier* images have again been reused in order to reflect how the guest workers came to the Netherlands in the first place, and how they are now victims of the economic depression. The tone of the item is nostalgic and the music of Piazolla amplifies this mode, in which the viewer is invited to empathize with the fate of the guest workers and to reflect upon the problems that the second generation is facing now that the economic tide has turned. By mixing together the *Televizier* images with archival images of medical examinations and goodbye scenes from Turkey, together with the commentary, this television program has symbolically transformed the faces of the waiting and rejected Moroccan men into faces of Turkish men. Nonetheless, the description of the program mentions the dupe from *Televizier* as: a "selection of guest workers in Morocco".

A comparable editing strategy has been used in an episode of Feduco's *Ruim Baan*, a series about work and unemployment, that was broadcast in 1985 and that revolved around the future of second generation guest workers.[381] The starting point of the episode is a boat trip organized for unemployed second-generation Turkish youth. The program opens with a historical compilation of archival footage of Dutch people who have emigrated in the fifties in search of a better future. An old Dutch song about the difficulties of emigration accompany the archival images of the

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[381] *Ruim Baan* (Feduco, 18-11-1985) The episode is named: *From Far and Away.*

goodbye scenes in the harbour and of the crying and waving of family members and friends who stayed behind. These images alternated with archival footage of Turkish men saying goodbye to their families, and of guest workers in factories, while a voice-over describes how the Dutch industry kept growing after the war, soon came in need of workers and began recruiting foreign workers. Then an archival compilation, announced as "archival film from 1965", shows images of Turkish recruitments combined with the scene from the *Televizier* item in which Jongejan makes his "reorder" remark. The voice-over explains that working in Holland for a few years seemed the perfect solution for these unemployed Turkish men. The rest of the item is about how their expectations did not come true because it was hard to save enough money, which made them postpone their return, and finally made them decide to stay because of their children. The item ends with some remarks on the difficulties with which these children cope. The history of Turkish immigration has thus been told in comparison with Dutch emigration of the fifties, and this televisual strategy of comparison invites the viewer to identify with the Turkish immigrant. Again, the *Televizier* images (this time of Jongejan's blunt statement) have been employed to make a statement about the responsibility of the Dutch government. The juxtaposition of the *Televizier* images with archival footage of the Turkish context, in a compilation that has been announced as dating from 1965, has canalized their meaning into images of Turkish recruitments in 1965. And in this case, the archival description of the program reflects this televisual strategy of generic reuse of archival material, as it only mentions a dupe of the recruitment of Turkish workers.[382]

4.5 The Guest Worker as Victim of the Lack of Integration Policy and as Having Brought Islam to the Netherlands

In 1989, the *Televizier* images were recycled by an episode of VARA's actuality program *Impact* that revolved around the issue of the integration of *allochtonen*.[383] While in the eighties the guest workers of the *Televizie*r episode have retrospectively been transformed into victims of Dutch exploitation and of the economic crisis, from 1989 onwards the *Televizier* images began to accumulate new symbolic meanings. In 1989, the publication of WRR report *Allochtonenbeleid* had ushered in the era of a "new realism" (Prins 2000) of the nineties. In this discursive regime, of the

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[382] The dupe mentioned says: "Turkish workers in front of office for recruitment".
[383] *Impact* (VARA, 18-05-1989).

allochtoon who should integrate, television privileged stories about young Moroccan criminals, impoverished city neighbourhoods, racism, and other integration issues, such as the emergence of black schools and the continuing deprived socio-economic position of minorities. In this period, the *Televizier* images were mainly brought into circulation by programs that surrounded the issue of integration. Besides, for the first time, they have been employed to mark the coming of Islam to the Netherlands. Therefore, I now zoom in on the eleven programs that I found to analyse exactly how the images operated in this period.

The transformation of the guest worker into a deprived *allochtoon*

In May 1989, on the occasion of the publication of the WRR report, VARA's *Impact* devoted a fifty-minute episode to the failure of minority policy and to the disadvantaged position of ethnic minorities. To historically contextualize the current situation, the program opens with a compilation of archival images, accompanied by the voice-over of the presenter Paul Witteman. This historical review opens with the *Televizier* images of the Moroccan men queuing, while the voice-over explains that in the sixties we took thousands of guest workers to Holland, and that now, thirty years later and despite efforts of the government to design minority policy, these *allochtonen* still suffer from a deprived position in our society. Again, the tracking shot of the waiting men appears, followed by the sequence of Jongejan's rude rejection of the astonished young Moroccan man. This scene is accompanied by melancholic music and by the voice-over that describes the depressing situation in which these guest workers were living. The rest of the historical review tells the story of their arrival in the Netherlands, of their miserable housing, of the dirty hard work they executed in factories, of the economic depression and their resulting unemployment, of their final settlement and family reunion, and of the birth of new generations.[384] After this archival compilation, the episode of *Impact* consists of a portrayal of a Turkish family intermingled with interviews with various immigration experts, schoolteachers, politicians, problem-causing Moroccan youngsters, and Islamic girls. Over the course of the program, various themes related to the issue of integration are discussed, such as the failure of minority policy, problems among the second generation, black schools, Islamic schools, segregation in old city neighbourhoods, criminality, and language problems. What is remarkable about this

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[384] Remarkably, the archival description does mention a variety of dupes of footage of the initial years of immigration (such as "guest workers in a factory"), but it doesn't mention the *Televizier* images of the recruitments.

episode of *Impact* is that the *Televizier* images have not only been employed to mark the beginning of immigration, but also to mark the emergence of all sorts of societal problems that are a result of the failure of the Dutch government to come up with an effective integration policy. In this program, hopeful faces of waiting men are not only faces of anonymous victims of our pursuit for wealth, but they are also faces of victims of a lack of a proper policy for their integration. They are not specifically Moroccans, but stand for *allochtonen* in general, whose lack of integration is described as the final responsibility of the government. The sad music in this archival compilation underlines the humiliation that the guest workers had to undergo and amplifies their victimization.

In an episode of *Brandpunt* that was part of a series about the old city neighbourhood of Zuilen in Utrecht and that was broadcast in 1992, the *Televizier* images have also been linked to the issue of the problematic position of the *allochtoon* as a result of the lack of a state policy in the past.[385] The item portrays a Turkish former guest worker who lives in the old city neighbourhood of Zuilen in Utrecht and who has been unemployed for eleven years and now wants to return to Turkey. To explain how he has ended up in this difficult situation in the first place, the program opens with a short compilation of archival material from the sixties, accompanied by a voice-over that recounts the historical background of post-war labour immigration. Archival images of the blossoming Dutch industry illustrate the voice-over's comment that the Dutch economy was in need of low-skilled labour forces and even sent officials abroad to recruit guest workers, followed by the *Televizier* images of the arrival of Jongejan, of the Moroccan men waiting in the queue, and of the first rude rejection of the young Moroccan man. The compilation ends with images of the factory where he was employed. Then the item tells the story of the difficult situation the man is now encountering. Much attention is paid to his lack of knowledge of the Dutch language due to the absence of an integration policy. The program clearly portrays the man as a dupe of both past Dutch economic policy and the indifference of the Dutch government towards the fate of their former guest workers. So once again, the accusatory quality of the *Televizier* images has been directed towards the Dutch government and its miscalculation to hold onto the idea that guest workers were not here to stay. And once again, the *Televizier* images have been reused in a very generic manner, to illustrate the tragic personal story of a Turkish man who has never integrated in all those years. Strikingly, the archival description of the program reflects this generic strategy of

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[385] *Brandpunt* (KRO, 22-03-1992).

reuse, as it has incorrectly labelled the dupe as: "black and white images of officials in Turkey to recruit guest workers".

In this period, television's tendency to repeat the *Televizier* images to illustrate the roots of the current integration problems of *allochtonen* is reflected in various more programs and items. In 1994, the program *De tijd staat even stil*, a talk show that discusses important events from the past, dedicated an episode to the arrival of guest workers in the Netherlands. [386] After a compilation of archival footage of Dutch emigration, of the *Televizier* images (the scenes of the arrival of Jongejan, of the men waiting in the queue and of the rejection of the young astonished man), and of goodbye scenes and men in trains and busses carrying suitcases, of miserable housing and of labour in factories, the talk show starts and revolves in particular around the current discrimination of the former guest workers, and around the indifferent attitude of the Dutch government that is the source of current integration problems. The host of the talk show, the journalist Philip Freriks, explicitly designates the practices depicted by *Televizier* images as cattle trade, critically ask his guests about their experiences with Dutch hospitality, and finally states that the guest workers have contributed to our wealth. So again, the *Televizier* images have been employed to illustrate the source of the current problems, to raise empathy for *allochtonen*, and to accuse the Dutch government of disinterest for the consequences of labour immigration.

Also the actuality program *Twee Vandaag* has employed the *Televizier* images to contextualize the current integration problems of *allochtonen*. In an episode broadcast in 1996, an item about the psychiatric problems of *allochtonen* opens with a historical compilation about the initial years of labour immigration: images of immigrants in trains with suitcases, and the *Televizier* images of the man who is summoned by Jongejan to turn around, accompanied by melancholic music.[387] A voice-over states that many of these guest workers are now coping with psychiatric problems as a consequence of adaptation and integration problems. Two years later, in 1998, *Twee Vandaag* dedicated an item to the subject of "thirty years of Moroccans in the Netherlands". [388] The item, that revolves around the issues of integration problems of the second generation and criminality among the third

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[386] *De tijd staat even stil* (NCRV, 24-05-1994). The dupes mention, among others: "recruitment foreign workers and their arrival in the Netherlands".
[387] *Twee Vandaag* (EO, 18-10-1996). The description mention the following dupe: "black and white/ colour: guest workers in diverse situations in the Netherlands.
[388] *Twee Vandaag* (EO, 1-04-1998). The description mentions the dupe: "black and white: recruitment of Moroccans".

generation, opens with the *Televizier* tracking shot of the Moroccan men queuing. In a similar manner, the actuality program *Babylon*, that discussed the issue of how sports could advance the integration of *allochtonen*, showed the Televizier images of the men queuing in a historical compilation about the initial years of labour immigration.[389] Importantly, in all these television items, the *Televizier* images have been employed to illustrate the beginning of labour immigration and to locate the source of current integration problems. Furthermore, the *Televizier* images have been kept alive by an educational program, *De Multiculturele Samenleving*, and by an episode of *Netwerk* on the occasion of the death of van Meekren, that both showed a substantial part of the *Televizier* item of the recruitments.[390]

The labelling of the Moroccan guest workers with an Islamic identity

Besides the issue of integration, a newly emerged issue in programs that repeated the *Televizier* images is the Islamic religion. In 1993, the *Televizier* images appeared in the first episode of the educational series *Islam in the Netherlands*, which revolved around the coming of Islam to the Netherlands.[391] The first part of the episode is dedicated to the arrival of Muslims as a consequence of the Dutch colonial history and accounts of the coming of Moluccan and Surinamese Muslims. This part is illustrated with photographs of the Moluccan camps and with archival images of the Mubarak mosque and its imam Hafiz. Then the voice-over explains that the majority of Muslims came to the Netherlands for completely different reasons, illustrated with the *Televizier* images of the waiting men in the queue. The voice-over states that in Morocco and Turkey people were queuing to do the distasteful work that the Dutch refused to do, and then a lengthy sequence of Jongejan's rejections is shown without commentary. This sequence is followed by interviews with former guest workers from Morocco and Turkey, who talk about the difficulties they experienced in those years to practice their religion due to a lack of facilities such as mosques and holidays during Ramadan. Then Dutch imam van Bommel elaborates on the current prejudice against Islam, and he pinpoints the Iranian revolution and ayatollah Khomeini's rise to power as the source of this prejudice. Archival footage of the masses proclaiming the Islamic revolution in Iran and of Khomeini illustrate van Bommel's phrases. The program ends with various

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[389] *Babylon* (IKON, 3-12-1998). The description mentions the dupe: "guest workers and ethnic minorities in streetview".

[390] *De Multiculturele Samenleving* (NOT, 22-11-1995), *Netwerk Extra* (AVRO, 27-8-1997).

[391] *Islam in Nederland* (NOS, 10-10-1993). The description mentions the dupe: "black and white: selection future guest workers in Morocco (?)".

statements of former guest workers that argue that the current suspicion of Muslims is unjust and that Muslims do indeed want to integrate into Dutch society.

So in this program, the Moroccan men waiting in the queue have been explicitly labelled with a religious identity, and the *Televizier* images now mark the arrival of Muslims in the Netherlands. They are not only victims of poverty and Dutch economic policies, but also of a lack of possibilities to properly profess their faith in the past, and of the current Dutch prejudice towards Islam. So yet again, this reuse of the *Televizier* images shows how every activation of these archival images not only adds new symbolic meaning, but also how this new meaning, according to the principle of retrospective causality, has the effect of reframing the past. For the first time, the *Televizier* images have been connected to a story about the coming of Islam to the Netherlands and been attached to archival footage of the Mubarak mosque and of the Iranian revolution, and to generic images of communal prayers and women with headscarves walking on the street.

Similarly, in an episode of *Het Andere Gezicht*, a series of portrayals of various people that was broadcast in 1998, the *Televizier* images have been employed to illustrate the personal history of a Moroccan man who was explicitly depicted as a Muslim.[392] The episode portrays a former guest worker that is now retired, and tries to set up an Islamic home for the elderly, with facilities such as a mosque and *halal* food. To contextualize his current situation, the program opens with an archival compilation about the history of labour immigration: images of the post-war rebuilding of the Netherlands, of guest workers in trains packed with suitcases, the *Televizier* images of the arrival of Jongejan and of the men queuing, images of guest workers in factories and images of the miserable housing situation. Strikingly, this compilation is the exact same (including titles, music and voice-over) as the one that was shown in the 1995 episode of *De Multiculturele Samenleving*. After this compilation, the episode follows the efforts of the Moroccan senior to provide Islamic elderly with proper facilities, and shows him praying in a mosque and talking about his experience of being a Muslim in the Netherlands. So in this case, the anonymous faces of the Moroccan men waiting in the queue have become the face of an individual Muslim who is struggling for more recognition of his Islamic religion.

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[392] *Het Andere Gezicht* (IKON, 22-10-1998). The description mentions, among other, the following archival material: "black and white and colour : images of the rebuilding of the Netherlands and of the recruitment and housing of guest workers".

And finally, the *Televizier* images recurred in an episode of the series *Muslims in Europe* that was broadcast by NMO, the Dutch Muslim Broadcast Company.[393] Remarkably, the episode is about the current social position of Muslims in Belgium. The program explains that the presence of Muslims in Belgium is mainly the result of labour immigration in the sixties. A voice-over talks about the Belgian selection procedures of guest workers and introduces the *Televizier* images with the statement that these images show how a Belgian-Dutch selection team proceeded to pick the men with the greatest physical strength. A lengthy sequence of the Televizier images (the men waiting in the queue and various rejections by Jongejan) is shown, accompanied by Oriental music.[394] The rest of the program deals with the racism in Belgian society, with the problems with Moroccan youth, and with the foundation of the Flemish extreme right party. So in this case, the *Televizier* images have been reused in quite a generic manner and employed to mark the coming of Islam to Belgium. Again, this case shows how television, by employing the iconic and biting quality of the *Televizier* images, has often denied the specific and original meaning of the material.

4.6 The Transformation of the Guest Worker into an *Allochtoon* and Muslim Whose Integration Has Ultimately Failed

In the first decade of the new century, the above-described tendency of television to repeat the *Televizier* images in programs that addressed the issue of integration persisted. In this period of rupture and trauma, the issues of multiculturalism, integration and Islam had become increasingly intertwined, and the predominant themes that ran through the television coverage were the assumed failure of integration and of integration policy, related problems such as black schools, segregation, Moroccan criminality, the radicalization of young Muslims, home-grown terrorism, hate-preaching imams and repressed veiled women. Again, the *Televizier* images circulated in programs that addressed these issues and that showed compilations of archival footage to provide these current problems with a historical framework. It is useful to have a closer look at the iterations of the *Televizier* images during this period and turn to the twenty programs that brought the images into working memory.

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[393] *Moslims in Europa* (NMO, 15-11-1998).
[394] The description mentions, among others, the following archival material: "selection of Moroccan guest workers".

The *Televizier* images as illustration of the origin of current integration problems

I begin the analysis of the circulation of the *Televizier* images in this period with the remarkable case of an episode of *Andere Tijden* about the issue of black schools, broadcast in 2001.[395] *Andere Tijden* (*Former Times*) is a history magazine of the VPRO and NTR, which revolves around topics from the 20th century, inspired by actual events and aimed at telling unknown stories and showing unfamiliar archival material.[396] The episode is about the emergence of black schools (schools with at least seventy percent *allochtone* students) and opens with an introduction by the presenter, Hans Goedkoop, in which he states that black schools are breeding grounds for all sorts of "*allochtonen* problems" such as segregation and criminality, and that they are not a new phenomenon, but instead have a history that goes back at least twenty five years. The episode then recounts the history of one of the first black schools, *Combinatie 70*, in an old quarter in Rotterdam, *Het Oude Noorden*. In the opening sequence, current street shots of the neighbourhood are shown (houses with satellite dishes, *allochtonen* and a veiled woman walking on the street), after which archival images that were set in Turkey in 1970 are used to introduce a Turkish former student of the school. Then the *Televizier* images appear: images of the waiting crowd in front of the employment office and a sequence of the actual selection procedure, with the original sound and without commentary, but with titles saying Morocco 1969. After that, a former Moroccan student of the school is introduced. The rest of the episode tells the history of the school and juxtaposes archival material with interviews of former students and teachers. So yet again, the *Televizier* images operate to mark the beginning of immigration, and to tell in a nutshell the personal history of one of the main characters of the episode. What is remarkable, however, is that the sound during the sequence of the selection procedure has been manipulated. In the original item the young man is rejected by Jongejan after replying he went to school for eight years, but in this milder version of *Andere Tijden* he is suddenly accepted. Both in the original French dialogue and in the Dutch subtitles the word "not" has been removed from the phrase "not accepted". In the original item Jongejan tells the young man that he is looking for a different type and then the young men slinks away with an astonished expression on

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[395] *Andere Tijden* (VPRO, 4-9-2001).
[396] Since the opening of the new building of Sound and Vision in 2006, the program is recorded in Sound and Vision.

his face, but now the scene ends with Jongejan's "acceptance". The result of this adjustment is that the images lose a bit of their accusatory tone and now illustrate the beginning of immigration in a more neutral mode. This is yet another example of how television can transform the meaning of archival material into a direction that suits its specific purposes.

Furthermore, the actuality program *Netwerk* has apparently come across the *Televizier* images, and has discovered their biting quality, since it has repeated them in the exact same historical compilation in four different episodes, all revolving around the assumed failure of integration. In 2002, an episode took the announcement that a parliamentary inquiry would investigate the results of Dutch integration policy as an incentive to revisit the history of this policy.[397] The episode opens with a compilation of archival images, announced as "archival film 1965", accompanied by melancholic music and a voice-over that tells about the initial years of immigration. It first shows other archival images of recruitments and medical examinations of guest workers (these are images shot in Turkey in 1965), followed by a sequence of the *Televizier* interview with Jongejan that ends with his statement about the reorder. This part of *Netwerk*'s archival compilation derives from the program *Ruim Baan* (1985) that I described earlier.[398] The rest of the compilation shows images of leaving and arriving guest workers, and their labour in factories. Then the episode shows interviews with various experts who critically comment on the consequences of the former policy of "integration with maintenance of personal identity", and who argue that this policy has intensified ethnic differences and has frustrated integration. The program extensively addresses the role of mosques in the emancipation process of Islamic guest workers during the seventies and eighties (according to the principles of pillarization), and criticizes this policy for having resulted in an increased power of the mosques. Images of a communal prayer in a mosque are shown. The program ends with the voice-over that states that the fear of discrimination has for too long made it impossible to openly talk about integration problems, accompanied by generic images of *allochtonen* on the street, people leaving a mosque, and houses with satellite dishes: visual symbols that supposedly signify the failure of integration. So in this episode of *Netwerk*, the *Televizier* images of Jongejan's blunt statement have been employed to mark the beginning of immigration, and they retrospectively symbolize the responsibility of the Dutch government for the current failure of integration due to its miscalculations in the

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[397] *Netwerk* (AVRO, 19-11-2002).
[398] *Ruim Baan* (Feduco, 18-11-1985).

past. They have been pulled out of their original context and been attached to archival images of recruitments in Turkey, dated 1965. [399] Clearly, *Netwerk* has exploited this sequence of the *Televizier* item for its potential to stand for and to criticize the accountability of the Dutch government for the current problems, but has failed to do research about the actual origin of the footage and has simply copied the sequence from *Ruim Baan*.

This is also the case in the episode of *Netwerk* that was broadcast on the occasion of the publishing of the report of the parliamentary inquiry in 2004, which concluded that the integration of the majority of *allochtonen* was at least partly successful.[400] In this episode various people who disagree with these conclusions are interviewed. During an interview with a local official from Amsterdam about the lack of policy during the first twenty years of immigration, the same compilation that was used in the episode from 2002, again announced as "archival film 1965" is presented. Once more the images of Jongejan's blunt statement seem to be the perfect demonstration of everything that went wrong on the side of the Dutch government. One of the people interviewed in this episode is Frits Bolkestein who complains that the final report of the committee does not pay attention to the issue of Islam. He argues that it is impossible to talk about integration without taking into account the role of Islam and he extensively elaborates on undesirable developments such as Islamic schools and radical imams. In 2006, the exact same compilation was also used in an episode of *Netwerk* that portrayed an elderly Moroccan man who was threatened with being sent back to Morocco, because he had temporarily lived in Morocco after his retirement.[401] He says he is being treated like a cow that no longer gives milk and is therefore brought to the slaughterhouse. These words are illustrated with the compilation of archival material, and Jongejan's phrase "it is a reorder" underlines this accusation against the attitude of the government.

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[399] The description only mentions the archival footage: "guest workers arrive in the Netherlands in 1965".

[400] *Netwerk* (NCRV,19-01-2004). Here the description mentions: "black and white: arrival and medical examination of guest workers in the Netherlands".

[401] *Netwerk* (NCRV, 11-1-2006). Here the description mentions the following archival material: AVRO '*Netwerk*'(archival film 1965 arrival guest workers in the Netherlands).

Figure 42 a-f. Sequence of *Netwerk* (NCRV, 19-11-2002).

In yet another episode of *Netwerk* that was also broadcast in 2006, the compilation of archival material has once more been employed, but this time without the caption saying "archival film 1965".[402] The episode revolves around the rising juvenile criminality among the Moroccan population. The program first shows the mayor of Amsterdam, Job Cohen, who visits a Moroccan youth organization. Then, the presenter, Fons de Poel, interviews Ahmed Aboutaleb, an Amsterdam alderman with a Moroccan background, about the constant security he receives as a consequence of the prominent role he played during the public debate after the murder of van Gogh. Familiar flashframes of the murder are shown as illustration. They talk about the current problems as offshoots of a much bigger and older problem, namely the miscalculations of the government during the first twenty years of immigration. The presenter then states that the first generation was literally ordered by the Netherlands and that in hindsight these images are very disturbing. Then an archival compilation about the initial years is shown, accompanied by a voice-over. It opens with images of poverty in Morocco, followed by a lengthy sequence of footage that shows recruitments for the DAF factory in Tunisia.[403] Then the same assemblage of archival images as in the other episodes of *Netwerk* is shown: the images of recruitments and medical examinations (the material shot in Turkey) and then finally, the *Televizier* footage of the interview with Jongejan. The

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[402] *Netwerk* (KRO, 22-1-2006). The description mentions, among other, the following archival footage: "in a Moroccan village inhabitants are selected, arrival guest workers in the Netherlands, diverse of guest workers in factories".

[403] These images originate from an episode of *Tijdschrift* (NOT) from 1975.

voice-over repeats Jongejan's phrase "reordered", and explains that the economic crisis in the eighties caused major unemployment among the immigrants, and that the lack of policy resulted in the emergence of ghettos in large cities, where it was no longer necessary to speak Dutch. Images of satellite dishes accompany these words. Then the item cuts back to the studio, where Aboutaleb and de Poel discuss the images of the recruitments and the amount of shame that they evoke. Aboutaleb concludes that nowadays the immigrants are solely burdened with the responsibility of today's drama, while what is forgotten is that the Dutch government and Dutch industry are also very much to blame. Thus in this episode, the *Televizier* images have once again been employed to demonstrate the accountability of the Dutch government for the failure of integration and for the yielding of Moroccan youth to criminality.

Besides *Netwerk*, various other actuality programs that revolved around the issue of integration have repeated the *Televizier* images. In 2002, NOVA/Den Haag Vandaag dedicated four episodes to the issue of integration policy. The third episode, that addressed the issue of unemployment among *allochtonen*, began with a historical review of immigration.[404] This compilation of archival footage opens with the *Televizier* tracking shot of the Moroccan men waiting in the queue, accompanied by melancholic Oriental music and a voice-over that recounts the history of the initial years of immigration. Then, a lengthy sequence of the *Televizier* images of the recruitment procedure is shown (the entrance of the young Moroccan man and the rude rejection by Jongejan), followed by images of a Turkish family walking on the street in a Dutch town, while the voice-over narrates about family reunion in the eighties. Then the voice-over elaborates on the current problems, such as unemployment among *allochtonen*, language problems, and the concentration of *allochtonen* in old city quarters. These words are illustrated with generic images of youth hanging around in the streets, of balconies with satellite dishes, and of a veiled woman walking on the street. So once again, the *Televizier* images have been employed in an archival compilation that traces back current integration problems to their supposed origin. Their attachment to the visual symbols of the failure of integration transforms their meaning retrospectively into the moment in which all these societal problems are rooted. This televisual logic of visually juxtaposing multiple times and places is reflected in the archival description of the program, as it mentions the following archival material: "black and white images of guest workers

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[404] *Nova/Den Haag Vandaag* (NPS, 13-12-2002).

in the 60s and 70s, *allochtone hangjongeren* (loiterers), black veiled woman on the street, balconies with satellite dishes".

In an item of *Twee Vandaag*, broadcast in 2003, the *Televizier* images operate in a similar manner.[405] On the occasion of the ongoing parliamentary inquiry into integration, the item looks back at the failure of thirty years of integration policy. After an interview with Stef Blok – the leader of the inquiry – the item zooms in on the issue of the impoverishment of the old city neighbourhoods of Rotterdam. To historically contextualize the current problems, the item shows a compilation of archival material: it opens with the *Televizier* images of the men waiting in the queue, accompanied by a voice-over and Oriental music, followed by archival images of their labour in factories and of the 1972 riots against Turkish guest workers in the *Afrikaanderwijk*.[406] Then the voice-over narrates about the emergence of minority policy in the eighties and about the growing discontent in the nineties, illustrated with images of women with headscarves at the market, and images of various politicians who critically addressed immigration, such as Janmaat, Bolkestein and Pim Fortuyn, oscillates with interviews of former local politicians and the former mayor of Rotterdam. So in this archival compilation, the *Televizier* images of the waiting Moroccan men operate generically, and now, in hindsight, stand for the *allochtoon* in the old city neighbourhoods of Rotterdam whose integration has failed. Yet again, the images have been attached to stereotypical images of veiled women at a market that symbolize the old city quarters with a majority of *allochtonen*.

The *Televizier* images as illustration of the origin of (Islamic) threat to the Dutch cultural identity

Besides the above-described programs about the failure of integration and integration policy, the KRO actuality program *Reporter* repeated the *Televizier* images in various episodes that revolved around the threat of immigration and of Islamic fundamentalism to Dutch values. In 2004, a few months before the murder of van Gogh, Reporter broadcast a triptych that was dedicated to the Dutch cultural identity (*Het Nederlandgevoel*). The theme of the third episode was "the preservation of Dutch culture and the influx of immigrants".[407] The episode opens with a scene in which the presenter announces that, according to a questionnaire,

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[405] *Twee Vandaag* (EO,19-9-2003).

[406] The images of the riots in the *Afrikaanderwijk* derive from the famous *Televizier* item that Jaap van Meekren has made: *Televizier* (AVRO, 14-08-1972).

[407] *Reporter* (KRO, 31-3-2004).

which was carried out for the program, half of the inhabitants of the Netherlands want to stop immigration in order to preserve Dutch culture. Then an interview with Ayaan Hirsi Ali is shown, in which she argues that immigration threatens our sexual freedom. This interview is illustrated with archival images of the Gay Pride parade in Amsterdam juxtaposed with archival images of the contested statements of imam El Moumni about the malignance of homosexuality.[408] The program further interviews various experts about the limits of Dutch tolerance, about the failure of integration and the parliamentary inquiry, about the murder of a teacher by a Turkish student at the Terra College, and about the values of Dutch culture. The episode then looks back at the history of immigration in a compilation of historical footage, accompanied by a voice-over and Oriental music: the *Televizier* images of the Moroccan men waiting in the queue illustrate the voice-over's statement that the Dutch did not want to do the dirty jobs, and an extended sequence of the selection procedure by Jongejan is shown, followed by archival images of guest workers with suitcases, of goodbye scenes and of their labour in factories. Then a sociologist argues that it was the initial policy of integration with the preservation of identity that has caused the current problems. The rest this *Reporter* episode discusses the tensions between different sections of the population. So once again, the *Televizier* images have been employed to mark the beginning of immigration and to pinpoint the source of all sorts of societal problems. The images of Jongejan's rude selection procedure again seem the perfect accusation against the way the Dutch government has failed to foresee the long-term consequences of labour immigration. And in this case, the waiting Moroccan men in the queue have transformed into poorly integrated *allochtonen* who threaten Dutch values such as sexual freedom.

In 2007, *Reporter* again recycled the *Televizier* image in an episode about financing mosques in the Netherlands (of which an actualized version was broadcast some months later).[409] The episode addresses the issue of the financing of mosques in the Netherlands by foreign moneylenders from countries such as Dubai, Pakistan and Libya who have ties with Al-Qaida fundamentalists such as Osama bin Laden. It discusses various contested mosques, such as the Westermoskee (of Milli Görüs) and the Taibah mosque in Amsterdam, and the Assalam mosque in Rotterdam. After the opening sequence, the program looks back at the history of Islam in the Netherlands

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[408] These images derive from the actuality magazine *NOVA* (NPS/VARA, 03-05-2001), that caused the El Moumni affair in 2001 and that I have mentioned in Chapter 2.
[409] *Reporter* (KRO, 04-02-2007 and 24-6-2007). The footage mentioned in the description is, among others: "black and white: foreign workers", "black and white: influx of immigrants", "black and white: guest workers in factories".

in a compilation of archival footage, that opens with archival images of Indonesian president Soekarno, accompanied by a voice-over that says that once upon a time the Netherlands was the biggest Islamic kingdom in the world, a period that ended when Soekarno declared the independence of Indonesia. It then tells the history of the guest workers that brought Islam to the Netherlands, illustrated with the *Televizier* images of the waiting men in the queue and by a sequence of the job interviews by Jongejan. The voice-over further narrates about the lack of facilities to practice their faith in the past, accompanied by archival images of a communal prayer during a Ramadan celebration. Then the voice-over talks about the rising numbers of mosques ever since that time, as Islam has now become the fastest growing religion in the Netherlands, illustrated with a graphic of the map of the Netherlands, with minarets popping up everywhere. The rest of the program deals with the danger of the rise of fundamentalism within our borders as a result of the foreign influence on Dutch mosques. Throughout the episode, various flashframes of 9/11, footage of Osama bin Laden, and of hate-preaching imams in Dutch mosques are presented, juxtaposed with images of communal prayers in various mosques.[410]

Figure 43 a-i. Sequence from *Reporter* (KRO, 04-02-2007).

So in this episode, the *Televizier* images have once again been employed to mark the coming of Islam to the Netherlands, and here the Moroccan guest workers in the

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[410] The footage of the hate-preaching imams originates from the influential *NOVA* episode (NPS, 13-06-2002), that I have mentioned in Chapter 2.

queue have retrospectively turned into Muslims who are susceptible to fundamentalism and who form a threat to Dutch secular society. For the first time, the *Televizier* images have surfaced in a program that has also employed imagery that symbolizes (international) terrorism and fundamentalism.

The *Televizier* images in educational programs and in personal portrayals

Besides the more mainstream actuality programs, various educational program have brought the *Televizier* images into working memory in this period. In an episode of *Arbeid en Zorg van A tot Z* (2000) about the history of the division of roles between men and women, the *Televizier* images are employed to illustrate the post-war Dutch industry's need for workers. The voice-over states that in order to fulfil this need for male labour, the government started recruiting guest workers, and came up with a different strategy to fulfil the need for female labour and started recruiting married Dutch women. The rest of the episode tells the story of the emancipation of women and their increasing participation in the labour market. Again, the series has used the potential of the *Televizier* images to stand for the beginning of labour immigration. What is remarkable is that it ignored (like all the other programs that repeated the *Televizier* images) the *Televizier* sequence that shows the recruitment of the Moroccan women. Apparently, only the single male guest worker fits the televisual story of the beginning of labour immigration.

In programs such as *Het Allochtoon videocircuit* (2001 and 2003), *Nederland Migratieland* (2007), and *Herinnert u zich deze nog* (2007), the *Televizier* images of the waiting men in the queue, the selection procedures and the interview with Jongejan are shown in historical reviews on labour immigration and are employed to produce historical knowledge and a consciousness of how it all began.[411] In an episode of *De Grote Geschiedenis Quiz* (2004), a yearly quiz on Dutch history, a lengthy sequence of the *Televizier* images is used as an introduction to the question "how many Moroccans were working in the Netherlands in 1960?".[412] None of the candidates produce the right answer (three) to this question, and then the presenter, Jan Tromp, uses the presentation of the *Televizier* images to ironically comment on the strict immigration policy in the present. So in this program, the *Televizier* images have been explicitly referred to as belonging to our cultural canon. It is evident that the program has shown the *Televizier* images primarily because of their biting

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[411] *Het Allochtoon videocircuit* (NPS, 3-3-2001 and 25-10-2003), *Nederland Migratieland* (NOT/TELEAC 25-1-2007), *Herinnert u zich deze nog?*(NOT/TELEAC, 29-11-2007).

[412] *De Grote Geschiedenis Quiz* (NPS, 12-04-2004). The description mentions: "selection of guest workers in Morocco".

quality, as the program has disregarded the fact that the images were made in 1969 instead of 1960.

Furthermore, the *Televizier* images continued to be employed by various programs to illustrate personal histories. In *Het Geheime Boek Van* (2007), a magazine on literature, a lengthy sequence of the *Televizier* images is employed to illustrate the personal history of the Dutch-Moroccan writer Abdelkader Benali.[413] In an episode of the series of portrayals *Profiel* (2008) about the local Amsterdam politician Ahmad Marcouch, the *Televizier* images (the queuing men and the first rejection by Jongejan) illustrate the interview in which he explains how his father came to the Netherlands.[414] In an episode of *Holland Doc* (2009) which portrays various Moroccan men of the first generation and their sons, a lengthy sequence of the *Televizier* images (beginning with the queuing men, followed by the rejections and by the interview with Jongejan, with the original sound and without commentary and/or music) operates as demonstration of the stories of the men about the humiliations to which they were submitted.[415] And finally, in an episode of the actuality program *Netwerk* (2009) a former Moroccan guest worker is portrayed and looks back at his life.[416] Here, the *Televizier* images of the men waiting in the queue and the first rejection by Jongejan once again illustrate his personal story. Remarkably, this time *Netwerk* has selected different scenes of the *Televizier* images than in the four earlier episodes, and despite the fact that the historical compilation opens with archival images of poverty in Morocco accompanied by titles saying "Morocco 1965", in the archival description of this Netwerk episode the *Televizier* footage has been dated correctly.[417]

Concluding Remarks

By demonstrating how the *Televizier* images have constantly been reinvested with new meaning over the course of more than forty years, I have revealed how the recursive logic of the medium of television have transformed them into "*audiovisual lieux de mémoire*". The vitality of the *Televizier* images clearly lies in their evocative

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[413] *Het Geheime Boek Van* (NOT, 13-09-2007). The description mentions the archival footage as: "recruitment of Moroccan guest workers, AVRO '*Televizier*' 1969."

[414] *Profiel* (IKON, 03-12-2008).

[415] *Holland Doc: Een Beter Leven* (IKON, 22-01-2009).

[416] *Netwerk* (NCRV, 15-05-2009)

[417] It mentions: "meager huts in Morocco in 1965" and " a queue of Moroccans in 1969 for examination for immigration to the Netherlands."

nature and their capacity to provoke powerful emotions. They began to circulate through living memory at the very moment that the collective symbolism of the immigrant as guest was abandoned, and they have not only proven to have the potential to reveal the fact that this symbolism hides hegemonic power relations, but also to stress the fact that in retrospect it turned out to be a complete miscalculation to speak of immigrants in terms of guests. The images have constantly been employed to mark the beginning of labour immigration, and also to mark the moment to which retrospectively all problematic consequences of immigration can be traced. As true "audiovisual *lieux de mémoire*" the images have adopted, absorbed and added new meaning through time, while appropriating dominant themes of the televisual narrative of immigration at various historical moments.

The *Televizier* images have constantly been used to stimulate historical reflection, to evoke contradictions and tensions in the attitude of the Dutch government, and to promote an alternative interpretation to hegemonic integration discourse. As the *Televizier* images moved forward in television history and accumulated new symbolic meanings, these new meanings constantly reframed the past. In the original item, the Moroccan workers were depicted as victims of dehumanization by the Dutch government. In the eighties, the *Televizier* images began to operate as a reminder of the fact that the guest workers had come to the Netherlands as a result of an active policy, that they had been economically exploited during the prosperity period, and that they were now being swept aside without any future prospects. In the nineties, they began to be employed to critique the indifference of the Dutch government and its failure to come up with proper integration policies. In retrospect, they began to operate as an illustration of the coming of Islam to the Netherlands. Finally, in the last decade, the images surfaced in programs about black schools, the failure of minority politics, segregation in old neighbourhoods, criminality of Moroccan youth, unemployment among *allochtonen*, and the dangers of Islamic fundamentalism. In this period of widespread anti-immigration and anti-Islam sentiments, th09e *Televizier* images continued to victimize the immigrant and they continued to operate as a reminder of the responsibility of the Dutch government. A government that first dehumanized the guest worker, and then economically exploited him, further failed to make proper policy once his stay turned out to be permanent, and then finally came up with a strategy of multiculturalism that led to the ultimate failure of his integration. All these critiques of hegemonic discourse now constitute multiple memorial layers of these "audiovisual *lieux de mémoire*".

Furthermore, by tracing the *Televizier* images through television history I have not only shown how the discursive principle of scarcity has caused these very images instead of others to enter the cultural canon and circulate as part of working memory, I have also exposed how the principle of scarcity – the selective acts of television's remembrance – has caused only certain sequences of the *Televizier* reportage to remain alive. In particular, the images of the waiting men in the queue, of the rude rejections by Jongejan, and of his phrase "it's a reorder" have been reused extensively. These are clearly the scenes that are most confronting and that most explicitly criticize and deconstruct the myth of Dutch hospitality, and that are – as true "audiovisual *lieux de mémoire*" – most capable of providing a "maximum of meaning in a minimum number of signs". The images of the faces of the Moroccan men waiting in the queue have this capacity to operate as "nugget[s] of condensed drama" (Kitzinger 2000: 75) that can stand for the decisive emblematic moment of the beginning of labour immigration, and they seem to be tailor-made for representing the generic identity of the victimized guest worker, and his later retrospectively constructed generic identities of the poorly-integrated *allochtoon* and the Muslim who might be susceptible to fundamentalism. It is their formal quality – the framing of the anonymous faces of the Moroccan men, hopefully staring into the camera – that constitute the power of these images and that make them so capable of inviting projections and associations. The images of Jongejan's rude rejections and of his blunt statements, in their turn, have the capacity to instantly evoke outrage; they seem to be made to measure for symbolizing the responsibility of the Dutch government for the dehumanization, exploitation and the failure of the integration of these generic figures of the guest worker, *allochtoon* and Muslim. In this respect, it is telling that various programs have disregarded the historical specificity of the *Televizier* images and reused the images in generic and not always historical accurate ways, and have used editing strategies and music to intensify the bitter tone of the images. Over and over again, the images have been employed to illustrate personal stories and to symbolize generic identities.

And finally, while certain sequences of the *Televizier* reportage have transformed into "audiovisual *lieux de mémoire*", others have always lingered in a state of dormancy in the archive and have seldom or never been activated in working memory. The sequence of the recruitment of the Moroccan women, for example, has never been reused and remains part of archival memory only. Perhaps this points to aspects of historical reality that might be hidden behind the visibility of the *Televizier* images: also women were employed in the Netherlands. Besides, not

all guest workers were recruited and many came on their own initiative. These stories are obscured by the visibility of the *Televizier* images. The victimization of the guest worker is a simplification of historical reality and maybe even a cliché that does not necessarily do justice to the experiences of the first generation. Television's obsession for these kinds of condensed and concise pieces of drama has transformed the *Televizier* images into a stereotyping symbol of the past. The guest worker is once and for all single, male and a victim of all sorts of injustice.

PART 2
THE RE-APPROPRIATION OF THE RUSHDIE AFFAIR

4.7 Angry Muslims proclaiming "Death to Rushdie"

The events that followed the publication of Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* in September 1988 lead to a worldwide wave of fear for the Muslims who publicly expressed their anger about the book and proclaimed death of the author. What has become known as the Rushdie affair was in fact, a whole range of transnational events over an extended period of time. In January 1989, the anger and grief of British Muslims led to book burnings in Bradford and demonstrations in Hyde Park. In February, violent demonstrations and riots broke out in Pakistan and India. And on 14 February, Ayatollah Khomeini issued his *fatwa* on Rushdie, which stated that the author was an infidel and should be killed for insulting the Quran and the Prophet. The next day, Khomeini placed a reward of three million dollars on Rushdie's head and in Teheran demonstrations took place in front of the British embassy. In March, the grim atmosphere and sense of crisis also reached the Netherlands and various Dutch Muslims proclaimed "Death to Rushdie" during demonstrations organized in The Hague and Rotterdam. The images of these demonstrations form the starting point for yet another archaeological expedition through recent television history.

The demonstration in The Hague took place on 3 March 1989 and was covered by the NOS *Journaal*, the public news magazine.[418] It opens with images of the demonstrators filmed from above, followed by an image of a man screaming "Death to Rushdie" while carrying an effigy of Rushdie. A voice-over explains that at three o'clock that day around 4000 Muslims had gathered in front of the central station, then moved through the city centre while shouting slogans such as "Death

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[418] *Journaal* (NOS, 03-03-1989).

to Rushdie", and finally reached the Ministry of Justice where they had offered a petition that requested the prohibition of *The Satanic Verses.* Images of a group of veiled women and of a small boy screaming slogans illustrate the voice-over. It further explains that the protesting Muslims want Rushdie to be punished for his contested book. Then some of the men on the street are given a chance to speak. One of them states that Rushdie is an animal, and others talk about *jihad* and their right to use violence to defend Islam against insults. The item ends with the statement of the voice-over that the demonstration ended at five o'clock, after the burning of a book and a portrait of Rushdie in front of the British embassy, illustrated with a close-up of a man holding the burning book.

Figure 44 a-1. Selection of stills from *Journaal* (NOS, 03-03-1989).

The next day, on the fourth of March, the NOS *Journaal* covered the demonstration that was organized in Rotterdam.[419] The item opens with a studio interview with Joris Voorhoeve, the chairman of the Liberal Party, who states that Muslims have the right to demonstrate, but must also respect that Dutch law does

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[419] *Journaal* (NOS, 04-03-1989).

not allow calls for murder and that he wants to create a dialogue between the Dutch government and Muslim organizations in order to avoid further escalation. This interview is followed by images of a man screaming "Death to Rushdie" through a megaphone, while a voice-over clarifies: "It wasn't by far the thousands of demonstrators that the Pakistan Islamic Centre in Rotterdam had hoped for; however, the demonstration of 700 people of various Islamic organizations was very heated. And despite the fact that the organizations had beforehand assured that it would not happen, people constantly called for the death of the British author". Images of various demonstrators carrying banners with "Death to Rushdie" and proclaiming this slogan illustrate the voice-over. The item further shows images of children carrying banners of Khomeini, veiled young girls walking along in the parade, images of a burning effigy representing Rushdie, and of a man hitting an image of the devil with his shoe, followed by demonstrators who declare that according to the sharia Rushdie should be punished by being put to death. The voice-over closes the item with the announcement that the demonstration ran further without incidents.

Figure 45 a-i. A selection of stills from *Journaal* (NOS, 04-03-1989).

Before tracing the iterations of these images, I briefly sketch the connotations of religious hysteria that these images trigger, since they certainly did not appear out of thin air. As Edward Said has shown in his *Covering Islam* (1997 [1981]), the figure of the angry and fanatical mob of Muslims was already a dominant and persistent cliché in the media coverage of Islam at the moment that the images of demonstrations against Rushdie were broadcast. According to Said, the Iranian revolution (1979) had given a new impulse to the longstanding hostile Western attitude towards Islam, and had led to a revival and re-appropriation of Orientalist ideas. Said has argued that since the Iranian revolution, Iran and ayatollah Khomeini had come to represent all that was despicable and appalling about Islam, and that the media coverage of this event (and other events in the Middle East) has canonized Islam as hostile and dangerous. According to Said, the depiction of Muslims as bloodthirsty mobs has become one of the clichés that constitute the iconography of Islam (97: 6). So when in 1989 the images of demonstrations against Rushdie were broadcast, they recalled the images of masses on the streets of Teheran and were directly emotionally charged with connotations of Islamic peril and Muslim fundamentalism. Since it was *ayatollah* Khomeini who had issued the *fatwa* on Rushdie, the images seemed to once again confirm the presumed malice of the Iranian regime.

Despite the fact that the *Journaal* items reported on the demonstrations from the objective, factual and distant viewpoint of the news, the images were charged with connotations of collective Muslim rage. In various shots the images are framed in ways that accentuate the collectivism of the crowd. The close-ups of individual demonstrators, in their turn, seem to be picked to stress their irrationality. The two news items both focus on individuals who burn books, carry a banner with hate speech, who loudly proclaim "Death to Rushdie" or state that Rushdie is the devil and should be murdered. These are also the images that have been highlighted by archival descriptions.[420] Inevitably, the images evoke connotations of an Islamic threat that, as Said has argued, already has a long history:

> In newsreels or newsphotos, the Arab is always shown in large numbers. No individuality, no personal characteristics or experiences. Most of the pictures represent mass rage and misery,

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[420] *Journaal* (NOS, 03-03-1989). The item has been archived with the keyword: "Muslims" and "Demonstrations". The description has highlighted the following shots: "slogans screaming young boy and women", "Diverse statements by Muslims". *Journaal* (NOS, 04-03-1989). This item has been archived with the key word "Muslims" and the description has highlighted the following shots: "the burning of a effigy", "slogan: Death to Rushdie", "demonstrating children", "discussion with bystander", "counter-demonstrant with T-shirt I am Rushdie".

or irrational (hence hopelessly eccentric) gestures. Lurking behind all of these images is the menace of *jihad*. Consequence: a fear that the Muslims (or Arabs) will take over the world.

(Said, *Orientalism*: 287)

In Said's view, this kind of imagery of Muslims is symptomatic for the media's tendency to reduce Islam to a handful of generalizations. The depiction of Muslims as a furious anonymous mass of fanatics could be considered the visual equivalent of the linguistic undifferentiated treatment of Islam and promotes the idea that all Muslims are the same.

In this respect, it is striking that the voice-overs in the *Journaal* items hardly give any information about the background of the demonstrators. The items mention the number of "Muslims" (the item about The Hague) or "Muslims from various Islamic organizations" (the item about Rotterdam) that have gathered. None of the items differentiates between Shiite and Sunni Muslims, or between the various ethnic backgrounds of the demonstrators. So once again, despite the fact that the news items intend to give a neutral account of the demonstrations, their subject matter and imagery already have strong connotations that can easily activate a framework of reference in which Islam is a monolithic and dangerous religion.

Due to the fact that the Rushdie images differ in important aspects from the *Televizier* images, since the Rushdie images refer to a very specific and contested historical event that was widely covered by the media, that generated political debates about Islamic fundamentalism, and that has become a framework of reference in debates about fundamentalism and freedom of speech, my approach in the second part of this chapter differs slightly from the first. By tracing the Rushdie images through working memory, I investigate how the Rushdie affair in general has been re-appropriated throughout the years. While I still take the iterations of the images of the demonstrations in The Hague and Rotterdam as a starting point, I take a somewhat broader perspective and investigate the shifting historical trajectory of the media template of the Rushdie affair and its key images. Finally, this means that I not only look at the programs that have repeated the images of the demonstrations in The Hague and Rotterdam, but also at programs about the Rushdie affair (or programs that present the Rushdie affair as template) that have not repeated these very images of the Dutch context but other key images instead.

4.8 The Angry Muslim Mob as Fifth Column of Foreign Islamic Fundamentalism

During the remainder of 1989 and the rest of the nineties, the Rushdie images have predominantly been recycled by programs that reported on actualities both in the Netherlands and abroad during the lengthy aftermath of the affair. However, images of the demonstrations against Rushdie soon enough also began to appear in programs that did not specifically address the actual events of the Rushdie affair. During this period, as I established in chapter two, television privileged stories about integration issues such as Moroccan criminality, impoverished old city neighbourhoods, black schools and Dutch racism, and it began to address the issue of Islamic fundamentalism within Dutch borders, and of the emerged hostility towards and fear of Islam. In order to demonstrate how the Rushdie images circulated through living memory in this period, I first analyse some exemplary programs that directly referred to the actual events of the Rushdie affair and show how the Rushdie affair has gradually been condensed into a small amount of key images or "flashframes" (Hoskins 2004b). Then, I focus on a selection of programs that repeated the Rushdie images in more generic manners, and investigate how the Rushdie images operated in these instances.

Covering the Aftermath

During the nineties, the Rushdie images have often been repeated by programs that addressed the reaction of the Dutch government to the events, to the personal situation of Rushdie and to the annual commemoration of the fatwa. In these programs the Rushdie images have merely been repeated in archival compilations that look back at historical events. For example, the day after the demonstration in Rotterdam, the actuality program *Achter het Nieuws* opened with a compilation of images from the demonstration in Rotterdam: the man screaming "Death to Rushdie" through the megaphone, the two girls with headscarves, people carrying a "Death to Rushdie" banner, the man burning the effigy, the man hitting an image of the devil with his shoe, and the man who states that Rushdie should be murdered according to the sharia.[421] Then the program begins and shows an interview with this very man who turns out to be Agha Mohsin, the secretary of the Pakistan Islamic Centre, the organization that initiated the demonstration in Rotterdam. Mohsin explains that his utterance about the necessity to kill Rushdie was merely meant in a

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[421] *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 05-03-1989).

symbolic way. Journalist Paul Witteman reacts ironically, points to the recent threat of a bookseller and the Dutch publisher of *De Duivelsverzen* (*The Satanic Verses*), and finally suggests that these kind of statements fuel needless xenophobia. What is interesting is that, even while the background of Mohsin is only addressed implicitly and the background of the other participants of the demonstration is not an issue, the program does not homogenize the entire community of Muslims. Witteman addresses Mohsin's personal responsibility for stirring up racism, and the images of the anti-Rushdie demonstration seem to illustrate and underline this concern.

The NOS *Journaal* has also repeatedly recycled its own archival material during the aftermath of the affair. The day after the Rotterdam demonstration, *Journaal* dedicated an item to a statement of Mohammed Rabbae, the director of the Centre for Foreigners, who publicly condemned the call for Rushdie's murder.[422] Images of the Rotterdam demonstration (the man shouting "Death to Rushdie" through the megaphone and the crowd walking through the city centre) open the item. The next day, *Journaal* reported on the debate that took place in parliament's Lower Chamber in reply to the demonstrations.[423] The item opens with a voice-over that says that the publication of *The Satanic Verses* has led to exceptional reactions that shocked the administration. Images of the demonstration in The Hague (the veiled women and crowd filmed from above) illustrate the voice-over. The rest of the item shows the debate in the Chamber and the announcement of the Minister of Foreign Affairs van Dijk that he invites all minority organisations for a conversation about our legal order and about the position of minorities in our country. Also, the *Journaal* item about this meeting held on 22 March opened with images of the demonstration in The Hague (of the man holding the burning book).[424] It further shows images of the actual meeting, while a voice-over explains that the minister was quite satisfied with the meeting, because all the organizations that were present distanced themselves from the call to murder Rushdie.

Over the course of the nineties, various programs have shown the Rushdie images in short archival compilations placed alongside images from the transnational context to quickly contextualise new events. For example, in August 1989 an episode of *Achter het Nieuws* reported on a bomb explosion in a hotel in London that was probably an attempt on the life of Rushdie.[425] The item opens with a triptych of archival footage: images of demonstrations against Rushdie in Iran and

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[422] *Journaal* (NOS, 05-03-1989).
[423] *Journaal* (NOS, 07-03-1989).
[424] *Journaal* (NOS, 22-3-1989).
[425] *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 6-8-1989).

close-ups of Rushdie and ayatollah Khomeini are juxtaposed with images of the demonstration in Rotterdam (the screaming man, the girls with headscarves, the burning of the book and the man hitting the devil), and with images of the hotel after the explosion. Then the Dutch correspondent in London explains that Rushdie is still hiding and probably will never be able to lead a normal life again. The rest of the item is about Rushdie's difficulties with being forced to live in isolation and losing his freedom to live a public life. In 1990, the actuality program *Kenmerk* dedicated an item to an interview with Rushdie.[426] It opens with a compilation of archival images, accompanied by a voice-over: a close-up of Rushdie typing, images of demonstrations against him in Iran, Lebanon, and Germany, images of a bombed bookstore in New York, images of the bombed hotel in London, images of the demonstrations in The Hague and Rotterdam (the police officers trying to control the crowd, the man with the dummy, the man hitting the devil, the statements about the *sharia*), and images of ayatollah Khomeini. These kinds of template series began to be exemplary for the way television looked back at the Rushdie affair.

Gradually, the Rushdie affair was consolidated into a small variety of flashframes. In most of the template series no differentiation was made between the several demonstrations around the world, and the crowd of angry Muslims became a generic figure. This interchangeability of the various demonstrations against Rushdie is also reflected in some of the archival descriptions of the broadcast material. In 1991, for example, *NOS Laat* dedicated an item to Rushdie's first appearance on television since the *fatwa* was issued.[427] The item opens with a compilation of the familiar archival images: ayatollah Khomeini issuing the *fatwa*, demonstrations in Iran and Pakistan, and the demonstration in The Hague (the man holding the burning book). The rest of the item is dedicated to Rushdie's television performance and to his conversion to Islam that he had announced two weeks earlier. The description of this episode has highlighted the following archival material: "Rushdie", "Khomeini" and "demonstration against Rushdie by angry Muslims." In this case, the visual unit of the "demonstration against Rushdie" thus refers to archival images of several demonstrations that took place in different parts of the world. Also in an episode of *Nova* on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the *fatwa* in 1995, a similar archival sequence has been employed to open the item.[428] The compilation shows images of the demonstration in The Hague (the man holding the burning book and the people

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[426] *Kenmerk* (IKON, 30-09-1990).
[427] *NOS Laat* (NOS, 03-01-1991)
[428] *Nova* (NPS, 13-02-1995).

holding the banner "Death to Rushdie"), a close-up of the cover of *The Satanic Verses*, images of riots in Pakistan, of the bombing of the New York bookstore, of a crowd of women in black chadors, of ayatollah Khomeini, of a crowd of angry people in Iran, of *ayatollah* Khamenei reconfirming the *fatwa*, and a close-up of Rushdie typing. The description of the dupes mentions, among others, "demonstrations against Rushdie". Finally, also an 1996 episode of *Middageditie* on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the *fatwa* opened with a compilation of the familiar images: close-ups of the cover of *The Satanic Verses* and of Rushdie typing, images of the demonstration in The Hague (the banner "Death to Rushdie"), images of demonstrations elsewhere, of a crowd of women in black *chadors* and of *ayatollah* Khomeini.[429] The archival description has summarized the sequence as follows: "Rushdie", "cover of The Satanic Verses", "demonstrating Muslims", "Khomeini". Again, the category of "demonstrating Muslims" emerged as an overarching classification for a variation of worldwide demonstrations, and was made easily repeatable by Sound and Vision's descriptions.

Figure 46 a-f. Selection of stills from compilation sequence in *Nova* (NPS, 13-02-1995).

Finally, also the programs that have not repeated the very archival images of the Dutch context, but images of demonstrations abroad (and the descriptions of these programs) display the high degree of iterativity of the figure of the crowd of angry Muslims. For example, in 1993, *Brandpunt* opened an item on the fourth anniversary of the *fatwa* with a sequence of footage of a book burning, of various demonstrations, of Khomeini issuing the *fatwa*, and of Rushdie typing, accompanied

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[429] *Middageditie* (RVU, 14-02-1996).

by ominous music.[430] And in 1998, on the occasion of the eradication of the *fatwa*, *Nova* opened the item about Rushdie's press conference with a historical review: a close-up of *The Satanic Verses,* footage of *ayatollah* Khomeini, of various demonstrations against Rushdie, and of the aftermath of the murders of the Japanese translator and the attempted murder of the Norwegian publisher.[431] And again, the description mentions, among others, "demonstrating Muslims with banners". Thus these programs show how, over the course of the nineties, a cluster of constantly repeated flashframes began to constitute the televisual iconography of the Rushdie affair, in which the images of the various different demonstrations seemed to have become substitutable.[432]

The Rushdie images as illustration of Iranian (and other Islamic) peril
Whilst the Rushdie affair advanced, some television programs started to repeat the Rushdie images in episodes that revolved around the Iranian regime or around specific events in Iran. In June 1989, the images of the demonstration in Rotterdam for the first time reappeared in a program that did not specifically centre on the Rushdie affair. The actuality program *Panoramiek* broadcast an episode on the occasion of the death of Khomeini, and provided a historical review of the Iranian Revolution, the rise to power of Khomeini, and the events that took place during the ten years of his rule.[433] It opens with images of Khomeini in hospital, and masses of mourning people in Teheran. Then a compilation of archival footage accompanied by a voice-over and grim music is shown to tell Iran's recent history: footage of Khomeini in exile in Iraq and Paris, demonstrations against the Shah in Teheran, Khomeini's return from exile, his return to Teheran, cheering crowds on the streets of Teheran, women in black *chadors*, and masses performing communal prayer. The voice-over explains that Khomeini has always been a fundamentalist Shiite who soon after his rise to power installed Shiite Islam as the state religion, forced women to wear traditional clothes, prohibited alcohol and began a campaign against homosexuals. It further states that he gradually increased his hold over the country

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[430] *Brandpunt* (KRO, 14-02-1993). The archival description has highlighted the following dupes: "protest of Muslims against Rushdie", "call for murder of Rushdie by ayatollah Khomeini", "Salman Rushdie working".

[431] *Nova* (NPS, 25-09-1998).

[432] See for more examples of this televisual logic during the coverage of the aftermath: *Paspoort* (NOS, 10-03-1989), *Fietsen door de jaren '80* (VPRO, 16-7-1989), *Alsof de duivel ermee speelt* (IOS, 09-03-1989), *Jaaroverzicht Journaal* (NOS, 29-12-1989), *Televizier* (AVRO, 11-06-1990), *TV Show* (TROS, 27-02-2001).

[433] *Panoramiek* (NOS, 4-6-1989).

by eliminating his political enemies (illustrated with footage of the hanging of members of the opposition) and that he finally annexed dictatorial power. Then the voice-over narrates about the hostage of the American embassy and "the holy war" that Khomeini waged against Iraq, intersected with archival footage of these events. The voice-over continues and states that this "holy war" was soon fought in other parts of the world such as Lebanon, and that many of the attacks in Lebanon have been executed by Shiite Muslims. This phrase is illustrated with images of bleeding people flagellating themselves on the streets of Beirut. These images clearly depict the celebration of the Shiite festivity of *Ashura*, but the voice-over denies us this information.[434] Finally, the voice-over states that the call for Rushdie's death is the most recent example of Iran's interference in foreign countries. The historical review ends with a sequence of images of the demonstration in Rotterdam (people screaming "Death to Rushdie", the veiled women, and the burning of the effigy) while the voice-over explains that also in the Netherlands fundamentalists demonstrated against Rushdie. During the rest of the episode, journalist Bertus Hendriks, a Middle East expert, speculates about Khomeini's successor and about future developments in Iran.

Clearly, this episode of *Panoramiek* fits the general tendency of the media as identified by Said (1981) to depict the Iranian regime, and in particular *ayatollah* Khomeini, as the source of Islamic fundamentalism that is spreading over the world and is threatening our Western way of living. In the statement of the voice-over, the qualification of the Iranian regime as Shiite seems to be equivalent to fundamentalist. The grim music that accompanies the compilation of archival footage amplifies the assumed danger of the Iranian regime. And the denial of crucial information about the context of the images of people celebrating *Ashura* reinforces stereotypical connotations of Islamic irrationality. While in the coverage of the aftermath of the Rushdie affair Dutch demonstrators were implicitly depicted as being implicated in foreign fundamentalism – by the repeated juxtapositions of images of the Dutch context with images of the foreign context – in this episode of *Panoramiek* they have explicitly been depicted as puppets of *ayatollah* Khomeini, as a fifth column of the evil leader of Islamic fundamentalism. The images of the Rotterdam demonstration against Rushdie have been attached to many images that belong to what Karim H. Karim (2003: 68) has identified as "the set of visual

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[434] *Ashura* is the festivity that closes the 11 days of mourning in the month *Moeharram,* during which the martyrdom of imam Hussein who died in Kerbala in 680 is commemorated. During *Ashura* people flagellate themselves to identify with Hussein.

signifiers in the transnational media imaginaries of "Islamic fundamentalism"." These include Muslim women wearing *hijab*, the figure of *ayatollah* Khomeini, people prostrating in Islamic prayer, domes of mosques, Arabic writing and children at Quran School. So in this episode of *Panoramiek*, the Rushdie images operate as evidence of the vast and sweeping reign of the fundamentalist Iranian regime in general and of Ayatollah Khomeini in particular.

In the documentary *Night after the Revolution* (*Nacht na de Revolutie*), the Rushdie images operated according to a similar logic.[435] The documentary revolves around the history of censorship and religious intolerance in Iran, and opens with a compilation of archival footage of several demonstrations and book burnings, a close-up of *The Satanic Verses*, images of riots, and of the demonstration in The Hague (the man holding the burning book, the man with the effigy, and the statements about *jihad*), accompanied by a voice-over that says that, although the West is shocked by the Rushdie affair, for Iranians it is but one of the many incidents and violations of human rights. The rest of the program portrays Iranian writers and artists who have been the victim of censorship by the Islamic clergy. Again, Dutch demonstrators against Rushdie have been portrayed as marionettes of the Iranian fundamentalist regime. The archival description of this documentary does not mention the Rushdie images, but instead it mentions: "throughout the program shots of rallies of fundamentalist Iranians". So not only in the program itself but also in Sound and Vision's descriptions, the several different rallies and demonstrations have become one distinct category of imagery.

Also various programs that have not repeated the archival images of the Dutch context but other transnational imagery of the Rushdie affair display this tendency to portray the demonstrators against Rushdie as a fifth column of the evil Iranian regime. For example, a few days after the demonstration in Rotterdam, the actuality program *Tros Aktua* dedicated an episode about the "origin of this Islamic rage".[436] Before it shows an interview with one of the organizers of the Rotterdam demonstration, Moshin, it first tells the history of ten years of Islamic revolution in Iran in an archival compilation with all the familiar images of *ayatollah* Khomeini's return from exile, cheering crowds, women in black *chadors*, the Friday prayer, the hanging of members of the opposition, exteriors of mosques, the cover of *The Satanic Verses*. An episode of *Achter het Nieuws* about the death of *ayatollah* Khomeini has effectively demonized Khomeini in a very similar archival compilation

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[435] *Nacht na de revolutie* (RVU, 04-12-1989).

[436] *Tros Aktua* (TROS, 07-03-1989).

of, among others, crowds carrying Khomeini's portrait, Khomeini's return from exile, executions, the typing Rushdie, and a rally of blackly veiled women carrying anti-Rushdie banners.[437] These programs show how transnational imagery of the Rushdie affair has gradually become canonized as a visual signifier of Islamic fundamentalism, whose source is located in Khomeini's Iran.[438]

Finally, in an episode of *Achter het Nieuws* broadcast in 1990, the Rushdie affair operated as a speculative media template in an item about the Gulf War.[439] The actuality item centres on Saddam Hussein's call for a *jihad* against the United States. Before the item interviews professor Anton Wessels, who specializes in religion and Islamic studies, about the meaning of *jihad*, the item shows a template series of so-called historical precedents: images originating from a fiction film of the crusades, images of Rushdie typing, images of various demonstrations against Rushdie, and images of Saddam Hussein's call for *jihad*. The accompanying voice-over states: "already last year it became clear what hazards Islamic extremism can cause (imagery of Rushdie affair), and that the holy war that Saddam has waged against the US thus means a serious threat, because fanatic Muslims, from the time of the crusades until the current time of Saddam Hussein, consider it an honour to die for their Allah." So clearly, the images of demonstrations against Rushdie (as well as the images of the crusades) are used to interpret and explain the current events, they operate as proof of an ongoing problem, and as speculation on the future threats of Islam. The meaning of both the crusades and the Rushdie affair is taken completely for granted here, and the citation of these historical events already entails an interpretation of the events. Obviously, this item is a clear example of how media templates often reify historical determinism and how the historical analogies and associations that they establish often lead to a simplification of (historical) reality (Kitzinger 2000: 76). In this case, the result is a narrative in which the historical analogies are informed by very old stereotypical assumptions about Muslims, a narrative in which the complexity of the concept of *jihad* is completely disregarded, and finally, a narrative in which Saddam's pragmatic reasons for calling his struggle a *jihad* have been ignored.[440] Sound and Vision has described the template series as

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[437] *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 04-06-1989).

[438] See for more examples of television coverage of Iran in which imagery of the Rushdie affair has been repeated: *Achter het Nieuws* (23-03-1991), *Nova* (NPS, 11-08-1997), *Twee Vandaag* (TROS, 30-01-1999).

[439] *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 12-08-1990).

[440] The term *jihad*- although often used sloppily in media and by various self-proclaimed *jihadists*- is a term with a long history and subject to intense discussions in religious scholarship. There is not a clear definition or constant usage in the Quran.

follows: "pictures of crusades", "rallies of Muslims" ("*betogingen moslims*"), "Saddam Hussein", "Salmon (sic) Rushdie". So also the description reflects the generic way in which the images of anti-Rushdie rallies have been reused in this template series, and indicates the iterativity of the figure of demonstrating Muslims in television's visual repertoire of Islamic fundamentalism.

The Rushdie images as warning sign against Dutch racism

During the nineties, the Rushdie images have been repeated as visual templates in various actuality programs that revolved around Dutch internal affairs. Strikingly, in this coverage the Rushdie images have often been employed to illustrate the source of the fear of Islam that had emerged in the Netherlands, and as a template that warned against the stigmatizing of the entire Dutch Muslim community. For example, in 1990 *Brandpunt* has dedicated an item to the forthcoming publication of *The Decline of the Netherlands* (*De Ondergang van Nederland*), the pamphlet written by the mystery figure of Mohammed Rasoel that warned against the dangers of Islam.[441] The episode opens with archival footage of the demonstration against Rushdie in Rotterdam, accompanied by the voice-over of the journalist Fons de Poel who states that everyone would probably remember these images, and then asks the question of whether the Netherlands is on the threshold of yet another affair. He explains that the pamphlet, that will be published this week, argues that Muslims will destroy Dutch culture within thirty years if the Netherlands remains so tolerant. He further says that the identity of the author is unknown, that he appears in public in disguise only, and that he explicitly assumes a Muslim identity, but might as well be your Dutch neighbour. After this introduction, de Poel interviews Gerard Timmer, the publisher of the book, and M. Ates, the director of the Turkish Islamic Federation in the studio. De Poel asks the publisher why he publishes a book that is openly racist, and he dismisses the publisher's justification for publication – the freedom of speech – and states that he offers a platform to opinions for which Janmaat and LePen would not be ashamed. Ates then states that the book is a racist provocation and that the publisher is trying to create the Dutch Rushdie. De Poel ends the item with a final statement, saying that if the book is meant as a contribution to the discussion about fundamentalism, it has failed completely, because it is oversimplified and simply racist.

This item of *Brandpunt* thus clearly takes a position that opposes the book's generalizations of Islam, and the book's homogenization and stigmatizing of the

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[441] *Brandpunt* (KRO, 14-10-1990). I have described the Rasoel affair in chapter 2.

entire Muslim community. Here, the Rushdie images operate as a speculative template: as an illustration of what could possibly happen if this racist book would be published, and as a warning sign against possible new and unnecessary societal upheaval. Again, the meaning of the Rushdie affair is taken for granted, and the fuzzy historical analogy that is instigated here between the artist Rushdie who wrote a fictional novel and the unknown writer of a deliberate provocation is used to underline the program's aversion of the intentional provocation of Muslims, and to warn against the possible turmoil that these kinds of provocations can fuel.

In an item of *NOS Laat*, broadcast a couple of years later, about the publication of the BVD report that concluded that fundamentalism of Muslims abroad can spread to the Netherlands, the Rushdie images operated according to a similar logic.[442] The item opens with a voice-over that explains that the BVD report has designated the radicalisation of Muslims as a serious threat to state security, that this is the first time that the BVD makes public one of its reports, that the Chamber is quite shocked by this new openness and that the report raises the question of whether the BVD is seeking a new enemy now that the Cold War has ended. Then the item shows the extremely critical reaction of Dijkstal, a MP for the Liberal Party, who states that the BVD is just trying to market itself with this report. The voice-over adds that the Christian Party is also very critical, because "it would too quickly recall images like this". Now a lengthy sequence of images of the demonstration in The Hague is shown, accompanied by the voice-over that explains that this was a demonstration of Muslim fundamentalists that supported the call for Rushdie's death. The compilation of Rushdie images is followed by an interview with the spokesperson of the Christian Party, who states that it is dangerous to stigmatize our fellow Islamic citizens only because of developments in foreign countries and that the report consequently runs the risk of generating hostility against a group of our population. Then Dijkstal asserts that the BVD abuses our internal debate about *allochtonen*, and that these internal affairs have nothing to do with foreign terrorism. The item ends with an interview with Ates, who dismisses the report as complete nonsense that stirs up racist feelings and that creates an atmosphere of hostility.

So again, the Rushdie images have been recycled by a program that takes a critical stance against the stigmatization of the Islamic religion and its worshippers. Here, the Rushdie images function as a retrospective template. And although the item explicitly refers to the images as depicting a demonstration against Rushdie, it certainly also employs the Rushdie images as an illustration of the generic figure of

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[442] *NOS Laat* (NOS, 20-02-1992). The BVD is the Dutch National Security Agency.

angry demonstrating Muslims. Revealingly, instead of activating the existing connotations of the images, the program uses the images to deconstruct the very myth of the mob of angry, irrational and fanatic Muslims, to reflect on the stereotypical imagery of Muslims, and to dismiss the fear for Muslims as ungrounded.

In 1993, the Rushdie images were repeated by the NOS series *Islam in the Netherlands* to mark the moment that the fear of Dutch Muslims emerged in the Netherlands. [443] This episode revolves around the wide variety of Muslim organizations that exist in the Netherlands. It opens with a compilation of the familiar archival footage of several rallies in Iran during the Iranian revolution and images of ayatollah Khomeini, while the voice-over states that spectacular foreign events had already lead to a negative impression of Islam. Then the images of Iran dissolve into images of the anti-Rushdie demonstration in Rotterdam (the man carrying Khomeini's portrait, the man screaming "Death to Rushdie", and the burning of the dummy), while the voice-over continues and says that this aversion to Islam worsened, when in 1989 Dutch Muslims called for Rushdie's death on the streets of Rotterdam. The voice-over explains that the Rushdie affair lead to the foundation of the *Islamitisch Landelijk Comité*; an overarching organization that publicly condemned Rushdie's death warrant. The rest of the episode shows interviews with spokesmen of various Muslim organizations. So here, the demonstrations against Rushdie have been depicted as the result of the influence of foreign fundamentalism, which marks the rise of Islam's bad reputation in the Netherlands.

The tendency of television to reuse the Rushdie images to warn against stigmatizing the Dutch Muslim community can also be detected in an episode of the talk show *Babylon*, broadcast in 1999, about the efforts of Turkish inhabitants of Sliedrecht to found a mosque, a struggle that already had been going on for six years.[444] The talk show is set in the Sultan Ahmet Mosque in Zaandam, where various supporters and opponents of the founding of a mosque in Sliedrecht have gathered. The presenter of the talk show first interviews various opponents, mainly strict Christians who have religious motives to fight the plans. Then the program shows a compilation of archival footage to contextualize the current fear of Islam. It opens with black and white images of the pilgrimage to Mecca, accompanied by Oriental music, and a voice-over that says that these are impressive images from a country

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[443] *Islam in Nederland* (NOS, 07-11-1993).
[444] *Babylon* (IKON, 04-02-1999).

very far and away, and that by now Islam has also reached the Netherlands (images of the Taibah mosque in the Bijlmer), which has led to discontent about issues such as the headscarf, *halal* slaughter, and Islamic schools (images of women with headscarves on the street, and of an Islamic school), and to the emergence of rigid stereotypes. It says that time after time Islam has been given a yellow card by the tolerant Dutch, and that a true fear of Islam emerged as a result of the Rushdie affair. A sequence of images of the demonstrations in The Hague is shown, followed by footage of demonstrations in Iran. The voice-over explains that a mass gathering of the Turkish organization Milli Görus was the next event that triggered the fear that Muslims were flooding the Netherlands. The compilation ends with the statement that some politicians use the fear of Islam to profile themselves, illustrated with images of a speech by Bolkestein. Then the talk show continues, and Arabist Hans Jansen gives his expertise on the matter. He rejects the notion of a clash of civilizations and asserts that there is no reason to fear Muslims in the Netherlands, because they do not tend to support fundamentalism.[445]

This episode of *Babylon* clearly takes a stance against the dangers of hackling an entire religion and aims to generate more understanding and tolerance towards Islam. Again, the Rushdie images, put together with footage of demonstrations abroad, have been used to mark the moment that Islam became an object of popular panic and the moment that Dutch fear of Islam began to emerge. The existing connotations of the images have been employed to visually illustrate the verbal commentary that addresses the widespread idea that Muslims are flooding the country. The images of the rallies of angry Muslims – both in the Netherlands and abroad – must illustrate the source of the popular fear of Islam, a fear that the program clearly deconstructs as ungrounded and unnecessary. So this episode of *Babylon* is yet another example of television's tendency to frame Islamic fundamentalism as a mainly foreign problem during the nineties, and to employ the Rushdie images to argue that these events should not result in an ungrounded fear of Dutch Muslims.

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[445] After the murder of van Gogh he radically changed his opinion and became one of the leading experts who advocated anti-Islam sentiments, he became a personal advisor of Geert Wilders, and recently he became a candidate for Wilders party PVV in the European Parliament.

4.9 The re-appropriation of the Rushdie affair after 9/11 and the murder of Theo van Gogh

In the first decade of the new millennium, the meaning that television ascribed to the Rushdie affair began to shift radically. While in the nineties, the Rushdie images circulated mainly in televisual narratives about foreign (mainly Iranian) Islamic peril on the one hand, and about the ungrounded fear of Dutch Muslims on the other hand, in the 2000s the Rushdie images attained new meanings, as the affair was used to interpret several unfolding events. In this period of rupture after 9/11 and the murder of van Gogh, the predominant themes that ran through the television coverage of Islam were the radicalizations of young Muslims, homegrown terrorism, hate-preaching imams, and the failure of integration of Muslims. Several television programs now referred to the Rushdie affair as the historical precedent of new affairs, in which the freedom of speech and Muslim rights came head to head, such as in the debates about *Submission* and the Danish Cartoon crisis. The significance of the Rushdie affair was retrospectively reframed as the earlier hurdle that preceded what Hirsi Ali and van Gogh had come to face. In this period the Rushdie affair began to categorically operate as a media template.

The Rushdie affair as a history lesson and a fortune-teller

The first case that I look at in detail is an episode of *Andere Tijden* about the Rushdie affair, broadcast in 2004, three weeks after the assassination of van Gogh.[446] As I mentioned earlier, *Andere Tijden* is a history magazine that is recorded in the archive of Sound and Vision and that draws archival material from its holdings. This episode is obviously heavily informed by the current crisis of the aftermath of the murder of van Gogh and pinpoints the Rushdie affair as the beginning of the rise of fundamentalism among Dutch Muslims. In order to disclose how this episode of *Andere Tijden* has reframed the Rushdie affair, I provide a close reading of the episode, in which I look at the selection of archival material that is used to tell the story and the framework of reference that is invoked by the voice-over of Hans Goedkoop.

In the opening sequence of the episode, Goedkoop introduces the topic by drawing a parallel between the debate in the Chamber about the law against scornful blasphemy (*smalende godslastering*) – a debate that was invoked after the murder of van Gogh – and the events of the Rushdie affair. He then states that at the

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[446] *Andere Tijden* (VPRO, 23-11-2004).

end of the eighties, we could not imagine that we would ever have to be frightened of Muslims in our country. He explains: "For weren't we doing our best for them? We gave them a job or an allowance, we increasingly treated them as fellow citizens, and since 1986 they were even allowed to vote for the municipal elections, and politicians tried to reach them in person". This phrase is illustrated with an excerpt of *Televizier* (1986), that shows minister Brinkman visiting a mosque in Amsterdam and that shows an infomercial in which prime-minster Lubbers, in Arabic, calls on everyone to vote.[447] Then Goedkoop's voice-over continues, illustrated with generic images of women with headscarves at a market and with other street shots with *allochtonen*. He continues:

> Use your vote; participate, even if you don't speak a word of Dutch. That's how we all thought about it in these days. You didn't mention the lack of language skills of *allochtonen*, you didn't even address them as *allochtoon*, because that was stigmatizing, and we had already experienced with the Jews during the war what that could lead to. However, the result of all this goodwill was that we weren't aware of the opinions that were held in this community, we thought on behalf of Muslims instead of with them, and we only discovered what a mistake that was after the publication of *The Satanic Verses*.

Images of riots in Pakistan and India are shown, and the voice-over concludes the introduction with the statement that all of a sudden the unthinkable happened: the Muslim rage spread to Europe.

After this opening address, the program elaborates on the course of events in the United Kingdom and in the Netherlands. Interviews with the Dutch translator (unrecognizable), with the publisher of *The Satanic Verses*, with the Dutch writer Adriaan van Dis, with imam van Bommel, and with the former minister of internal affairs van Dijk are contrasted with archival footage of demonstrations and book burnings in Bradford, images of an interview with Rushdie by van Dis, images of Khomeini issuing the *fatwa*, a lengthy sequence of the *Journaal* images of the demonstrations in The Hague and Rotterdam, and an excerpt of the *Achter het Nieuws* interview with Mohsin. The voice-over then narrates the story of the threatening of a Dutch bookseller, of the attacks on the Norwegian and Italian publishers, and of the murder of the Japanese translator, illustrated with archival images of these events. Finally, the episode cuts back to Goedkoop in the studio, who directly addresses the viewer, and says that the police surveillance that the

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[447] The archival description incorrectly says: "Prime-minister Lubbers addressing the Turkish community in Turkish".

Dutch translator was subjected to was quite unprofessional and that there was not much public support for her. He continues:

> Unlike in the current situation, the idea was to not expose the threatened people to the media, and to keep quiet and calm. The consequence was, however, that we didn't realize what exactly was happening. And of course the Dutch translator might have not been Khomeini's main target. Probably, it didn't even really revolve around Rushdie. Khomeini had just seized the occasion to promote his Islamic revolution, and his *fatwa* against foreigners had a mainly domestic purpose. So soon enough, the Rushdie affair faded from public attention, and we all got down to business as usual – except for a few people who feared that we had not yet got rid of this issue.

The last part of episode revolves around the lengthy aftermath of the Rushdie affair, and around the activities of the Rushdie committee that was founded five years after the *fatwa* by Adriaan van Dis. Van Dis explains that they have always aimed to have a dialogue with Dutch Muslims and to avoid criminalizing them. Generic images of women with a *hijab* walking along houses with satellite dishes illustrate the voice-over that talks about the activities of the Rushdie committee. After an account of the final eradication of the *fatwa*, the episode ends with a concluding reflection from Goedkoop: "even 15 years later, caution is needed, (…) and Rushdie will probably always need protection for the rest of his life. And this might foretell something about Ayaan Hirsi Ali's future. And it certainly makes the story of this episode somewhat painful. Even when people among us were actually threatened – a simple translator – we have not wanted to face what could be awaiting us." So clearly, this episode of *Andere Tijden* has framed the Rushdie affair as the historical precedent of the current crisis that is the result of the murder of van Gogh.

Already in the opening sequence, Goedkoop draws a parallel between the current situation and the events of the past, and he continues to do so during every intervention he makes when he directly addresses the audience to tell us exactly how we should interpret this history lesson. The 'us-them' rhetoric of the opening sequence constructs the Dutch nation as hospitable, generous and – in retrospect – slightly naïve and it homogenizes the entire Muslim community. The archival material of Brinkman visiting the mosque and of Lubbers speaking Arabic must illustrate and underline the goodwill of the Dutch towards "the Muslim community" and the "*allochtoon*". Alternative interpretations of what these archival images depict are disregarded (for example, the material might as well show the opportunism of politicians who were trying to win the vote of this new electorate, or the ignorance of the Dutch government of the fact that most Dutch Moroccans

speak Berber instead of Arabic). So already in the opening sequence, the tone is set, and the history lesson to be learned here seems to be: how could we have been so blind to the threat of the Muslim community in our country.

This moralizing tone persists through the rest of the episode. The episode shows all the familiar key images of television's visual repertoire of the Rushdie affair, and the focus of the narration is on the threats of the Dutch translator. When Goedkoop intervenes for the second time and talks about the detached and inadequate reactions towards these threats, he once again lectures that we have failed to see what was actually happening. In the last part of the episode, Goedkoop employs the Rushdie affair very explicitly as a speculative template, as he uses the past events to predict Hirsi Ali's future. Again, he accuses "us" of blindness: we did not only refuse to see what was actually happening then, but moreover we refused to see what was lying ahead of us. So now the Rushdie affair becomes the history lesson that we should have learnt, but failed to do so. Clearly, the episode marks the Rushdie affair as the moment that Islamic fundamentalism rose within our borders and that events escalated for the first, but not the last time. Furthermore, the episode reasons that our blindness in the past finally culminated in the murder of van Gogh. Yet again, this shows how media templates often reify historical determinism and teleology, and "filter out dissenting accounts, camouflage conflicting facts and promote one type of narrative" (Kitzinger 2000: 76). The historical analogy that is instigated here surely, I would argue, disregards the complexities of both the historical and current events, hides the many differences between them, and finally results in a form of history writing that is heavily informed by anxieties, obsessions and stereotyped suppositions of the present.

The Rushdie affair as a retrospective media template

In the IKON series *Vriend and Vijand* broadcast in 2005, the Rushdie affair is retrospectively framed according to a similar logic.[448] The episode entitled the "Thunderstorm from the East", centres on the figure of the Eastern enemy throughout the century and draws a line from Germans and communists to Muslims. It opens with an interview of a Turkish imam who participated in the demonstrations against Rushdie, contrasted with a sequence of images of the anti-Rushdie demonstration in The Hague. A video-editor and the director comment on the images (mainly of the various statements by demonstrators about Rushdie) and criticize the account of the imam who explains why Rushdie had insulted the

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[448] *Vriend en Vijand* (IKON, 30-08-2005).

prophet. While watching the images, they draw a parallel between the Rushdie affair and the crisis that followed the broadcast of *Submission*, they discuss the freedom of speech, and finally they state that fanatic believers are the real danger that haunts our society. Then, the program cuts back to the more distant past and addresses the period in which Germans and later communists constituted the enemy. After that, a sequence of BVD surveillance images of communists dissolves into a sequence of images of women wearing *hijab* and a man wearing a *djellaba*, accompanied by Quran singing, while the two commentators talk about the difficulties of identifying the exact enemies. Then a compilation of images of several terrorist attacks throughout Europe is shown, after which the Turkish imam states that the people who have committed these attacks do not deserve to be called Muslim.[449] The commentators thereupon conclude that the imam is in denial, and that – because we want to hold on to a positive image of Muslims – we say that the people who have committed these attacks are inhuman instead of Muslim. The episode ends with flashframes of the murder of van Gogh, accompanied by a final statement of the commentators who say that once again we are confronted with fanatics, from whom we should protect our constitutional state.[450]

So again, the Rushdie affair operates as a retrospective template that foreshadows the fate of van Gogh. The historical meaning of the affair is taken for granted and no contextual information or temporal reference is provided. Despite the fact that this program aims to deconstruct the figure of the Eastern enemy throughout a century, I would argue that above all it constitutes Islam (or "the fanatic Muslim") as the current enemy. Once more, the televisual logic at work here– the suggestive editing sequences of archival images of terrorist attacks, the parading of the stereotyped images of Muslims on the street, the historical analogies that are drawn – results in a history lesson that supports rather than deconstructs a polarized discourse of us versus them, and Dutch versus Muslim.

In the years following the murder of van Gogh, several actuality programs and talk shows verbalized an analogy between Rushdie and Hirsi Ali.[451] Besides, several programs have mentioned the Rushdie affair when covering unfolding events such as the Danish Cartoon crisis.[452] These are – although beyond the scope of my project – telling examples of how the template of the Rushdie affair has encouraged a

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[449] The reuse is so generic that the description mentions: "diverse attacks by Islamic extremists".
[450] The description mentions: "the body of Theo van Gogh covered with a white blanket".
[451] For example: *Nova* (NOS, 20-11-2004), *Tegenlicht* (VPRO, 23-01-2005), *Nova* (NOS, 26-08-2006), *Nova* (NOS, 01-10-2007), *Pauw & Witteman* (VARA, 11-02-2008).
[452] For example: *Nova* (NOS, 06-02-2006).

particular interpretation or even explanation of these unfolding events. Here, only the mentioning of the name "Rushdie" produces an array of associations related to Islamic fundamentalism and the violation of freedom of speech. Before concluding this section, I have a closer look at a few more programs that have not only verbalized but also visualized the Rushdie affair as a historical precedent of current affairs (albeit not with images of the Dutch context) by parading key images of the Rushdie affair in template series that are so typical for the current televisual logic of covering news events through its own archival prism, and for television's ability to visually link multiple times, events and places.

Two weeks after the events of 9/11, the actuality program *Twee Vandaag* dedicated an item to "the ABC of Islam".[453] The item alternates several template series that revolve around an Islamic concept – such as *jihad* and *fatwa* – with an interview with the Dutch imam Haselhoef who explains the meaning of these concepts. The template series of *jihad* involves images of speeches of Bin Laden, and of representatives of Saddam Hussein and Hamas, and flashframes of 9/11, accompanied by gloomy music. The template series of *fatwa* contains images of Khomeini proclaiming Rushdie's death sentence, close-ups of *The Satanic Verses* and the Quran, the typing Rushdie and shouting crowds of Muslims. So here, the Rushdie affair is used yet again as a historical precedent of ongoing problems, and now becomes retrospectively associated with 9/11 and the issue of Islamic terrorism. What is problematic, I would suggest, about these kinds of suggestive template series is that, despite the fact that imam Haselhoef tries to explain the complexity of such Islamic concepts, and argues that Bin Laden abuses them, the interplay of the archival stock footage results in an oversimplified and stereotyped illustration of what according to this item's "ABC" belongs to the essence of Islam. The archival images seem to be repeated because they are so instantaneously recognizable, and this kind of reuse results in a reinforcement of the stereotypes of Muslim rage that are associated with these images.

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[453] *TweeVandaag* (TROS, 27-09-2001).

Figure 47 a-i. A selection of stills from compilation sequence in *Twee Vandaag* (TROS, 27-09-2001).

Television's tendency to use retrospective template series to quickly contextualize and interpret current events can also be found in an item of *NOVA*, broadcast in 2007, about the foundation of the 'committee for ex-Muslims' by Ehsan Jami.[454] Jami is interviewed in the studio about his apostasy. Then Arabist Hans Jansen gives his expert opinion about the dangers of openly leaving the Islamic faith, and designates Rushdie as one of the very first cases. This is illustrated with a template series that contains images of Khomeini announcing Rushdie's death sentence, demonstrations against Rushdie, images of Hirsi Ali, of a Norwegian ex-Moslima, of an Egyptian ex-Muslim, and of the Dutch-Iranian Islam critic Ahsfin Elian. And in an item of *NOVA* broadcast a few months later, revolving around a small controversy about the director of a museum in The Hague who refuses to exhibit photographs that associate the prophet Muhammad with homosexuality, a retrospective template series is used to give earlier examples of artworks that have provoked Muslims.[455] It contains the familiar images of Rushdie typing, a close-up of *The Satanic Verses*, an excerpt from Submission and images of the Danish Cartoon crisis. Finally, also in these cases, stock images of the Rushdie affair are used as points of reference without a caption or further explanation of the time and context of their filming. This kind of reuse above all activates their stereotypical connotations of Muslim rage, intolerance and disrespect for the freedom of speech.

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[454] *Nova* (NOS, 02-05-2007).
[455] *Nova* (NOS, 07-12-2007).

Figure 48 a-f. A selection of stills from the template series in *Nova* (NOS, 07-12-2007).

Concluding Remarks

Where in the first part of this chapter I demonstrated how a sequence of ordinary television images have been canonized through their constant repetition, in this part I focused on the iterations of television images that refer to a very specific historical event. I revealed how the Rushdie images, which were already instantly burdened with connotations of Islamic rage and fundamentalism, have circulated through working memory and have re-entered in new times and contexts. I showed that during the nineties television condensed the transnational Rushdie affair into a set of compulsively repeated key images and demonstrated that television had begun to use images of various different demonstrations against Rushdie without differentiation. Furthermore, I have shown that in the nineties television repeated the Rushdie images in narratives about foreign Islamic fundamentalism on the one hand, and in narratives about the dangers of stigmatizing the Dutch Muslim community on the other. Strikingly, this framing of Islamic fundamentalism as a foreign problem and the depiction of the demonstrators against Rushdie as puppets of ayatollah Khomeini abruptly came to an end after the traumatic event of van Gogh's murder. The meaning of the Rushdie images was subject to a radical contextual shift, as the Rushdie images began to systematically operate as a media template that offered an ignored history lesson. The Rushdie images now started to function as a trope of the Netherlands losing its innocence for the first time, and this kind of reuse sustained and amplified the discourse of the threat of Islamic terror.

Obviously, despite the fact that the Rushdie images have a degree of historical specificity that the *Televizier* images lack, their operation is quite similar. Both have often been reused without temporal reference and verbal explanation in typical televisual sequences in which the past has been reassembled as a series of memorable image fragments. The *Televizier* images have often been used to open up historical reflection and to counter hegemonic integration discourse. While in the nineties various programs reused the Rushdie images to deconstruct the stereotype of the angry Muslim mob, after the murder of van Gogh they rather began to be used as a window of comparison between past, present and future, and constructed a closed condensed narrative of Muslim rage and disrespect for Western values such as the freedom of expression. After the murder of van Gogh television mainly recycled the Rushdie images as visual templates that reinforced stereotypes associated with the images, which inhibited alternative frames of reference, and often resulted in a reductive view of historical causality. As the Rushdie affair was retold through the prism of present anxieties, its meaning was retrospectively reshaped – despite the many asymmetries between past and present – into the historical precedent of current problems. The Rushdie template now provided leverage to the idea that the past Dutch reaction to the Rushdie affair has been a mistake that should not be repeated, and that the threat of radical Islam should finally be taken seriously.

Finally, both the reiterations of the *Televizier* images and the Rushdie images have shown how television is inclined to crystallize memory of the past around certain images that it compulsively repeats at the exclusion of others. Both examples have shown that television's dominant mode of visualizing the past is through a montage of archival images that connects multiple times and places, without an account of the selection and juxtaposition of the images. Both examples exposed how television is constantly reshaping the past through the prism of the present. Lastly, both examples illustrated that recurrently used images often become stereotyped symbols of the past. And since the single male guest worker has transformed into a Muslim during the last decade, the symmetrical inverted figures of the single male guest worker and the angry Muslim mob have begun to circulate through programs with similar thematic patterns and with similar stock footage of the recent perils of Islam. In the coda that follows, I look at a recently broadcast historical series that featured both the *Televizier* images and the Rushdie images. This time, instead of focussing only on television's remembrance of the past, I finally also reflect on its forgetting.

CODA
Compiling Islam

CODA

Compiling Islam

Given that television is increasingly authorial of that which accumulates daily in news archives, it is highly likely that the recursivity of the medium – its reliance on and its presentation of itself – is likely to intensify.

Andrew Hoskins and Ben O'Loughlin (2007:117)

Archives, then, constitute a *territory of images*; the unity of an archive is first and foremost that imposed by ownership. (…) Thus, not only are the pictures in archives often *literally* for sale, but their meanings are up for grabs. New owners are invited, new interpretations are promised. The purchase of reproduction rights under copyright law is also the purchase of a certain semantic license.

Allan Sekula (1987: 116)

On the one hand, there are the headline "flashframes" of memory – the defining visual images of our age that come to anchor the history of events by virtue of their exceptional quality – and on the other, the media provide us with less obvious but nonetheless powerful and enduring images that accumulate in media memory and define not by being extraordinary but by being ordinary, by "fitting" and thus reinforcing existing ideas and conceptions.

Andrew Hoskins (2004: 115)

During the last few years, while I was completing this dissertation, I was also employed as an advisor to the Documentary Committee of the Dutch Film Fund. Coincidently, in February 2011, these two very different activities all of a sudden came together when I received a scenario for a documentary about the European history of post-war immigration, written by filmmaker René Roelofs and essayist and intellectual Professor Paul Scheffer, the author of the influential and contested "The Multicultural Drama" (2000). I had almost completed a first draft of this dissertation when I started reading the scenario for what was supposed to become both a feature documentary and a three-part television series called *Land of Promise*, named after Scheffer's 2007 book. Naturally, the topic of the film instantly raised my curiosity, and when I read that the makers had the intention to construct the film from archival material from various European archives, including Sound and Vision, immediately the fictive filmmaker that I had brought up in the introduction of my first case-study came to mind. Although the scope of Scheffer's and Roelof's project was much broader – they wanted to focus on post-war immigration in general (instead of only Islamic immigration) from a comparative European (instead of only Dutch)

perspective – I could not help reading the rest of the scenario with this fictive filmmaker in mind and discover what choices he finally made.

Obviously, the makers of *Land of Promise* were faced with the same challenges that my fictive filmmaker was confronted with; challenges that involved the actual searching process, bridging the semantic gap of the archive's descriptions, and of course the selection of archival material that must convey the historical narrative. As I revealed in this dissertation, Sound and Vision alone already holds a treasury of archival material that deals with post-war immigration. So which images does one elevate in a compilation that must cover such an extensive and complex history? Which images are to be excluded? And what kind of historical narrative does this selection eventually produce? Fortunately, the makers of *Land of Promise* were not fictive, but very real, well-respected, experienced, and well-informed about the topic, and the film premiered during the last edition of the International Documentary Festival Amsterdam (28 November 2013), while the series was broadcast a few months later, in January 2014.[456] Clearly, I cannot leave the opportunity to reflect on the final result of their efforts unexplored. Not because I personally witnessed the trajectory from scenario, via first montage, to final version, or because I want to prove that my fictive filmmaker would have made different choices. But because the final result embodies many of the issues that this dissertation was centred on, and because it raises questions about the potentials and limits of audiovisual history writing through archival stock footage, an issue that I have touched upon in the last chapter, and that I want to explore a bit further in this coda.

In this dissertation I examined the history of televisual representations of Muslims through the "sliver of the window" (Harris 2002b) of Sound and Vision's holdings and archiving practices. The emphasis has been very much on recurrent elements in televisual stories and histories of Muslims, because it is my contention that a focus on the recursive nature of the medium is the key to understanding the emergence, materialization and operation of stereotyped stories and images of Muslims. I have thus regarded television as a "sophisticated repetition machine" (Derrida 1996/2002: 89) and the archive of Sound and Vision as a facilitating actor in television's tendency towards repetition. In chapter two, I investigated the changing thematic patterns of programs that have been labelled with "Muslims" and "Islam", and I have shown that the generic imagery that has been used to visualize stories about Muslims and Islam has remained limited to a handful of cliché images; images

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[456]*Land van Aankomst* (IKON, NPS, NTR, 08-01-2014, 15-01-2014 and 22-01-2014).

that have continuously been highlighted by archival descriptions as (generic) stock shots for reuse. In chapter three, I directed my focus to the recurring television coverage of Islamic rituals, and have shown that the coverage during the last two decades entailed a constant repetition of formulaic stories. In chapter four, I concentrated on the reiterations of two sequences of archival images, and investigated how these archival images, through television's constant (uncritical) repetition, have become stereotyped symbols of the past. However, this focus on television as a repetition machine raises yet another question, a question that I so far have not addressed explicitly: namely, which stories and images have not been repeated, have been left aside, or have faded from television's memory?

Despite the practical difficulties of answering a question like this, I think it is an urgent question that deserves to be raised. Today, images are being assembled in the archive of Sound and Vision at an unprecedented rate, digital technologies have facilitated a greater and more immediate access to the archive, and digitization projects such as *Images for the Future* have made an enormous amount of televisual material easily available for reuse. Clearly, the capacity of the medium to articulate both past and present through archival material has attained new levels. It is likely, as Hoskins and O'Loughlin suggest in this coda's epigraph, that the ever-increasing amount and availability of images in Sound and Vision, due to digital technologies, will result in an intensification of the medium's reliance on its own archive. Today, a vast amount of archival stock footage circulates daily on television, both as specific archival material and as more generic stock material in historical documentaries, in template series in news and actualities, in promotional trailers of news coverage, and in background projections for news, actualities and talk shows. Obviously, the ambitious project of *Land of Promise* has benefitted significantly from the increased accessibility of audiovisual archives and from the availability of digitized archival material. The unprecedented ubiquity and availability of archival (stock) footage does, however, raise the question of whether this results in the circulation of a greater variety of archival footage on television, and whether this stimulates new forms and practices of televisual history writing.

As I uncovered in this dissertation, television's capacity and convention to compile (hi)stories from archival footage is very typical for the medium. Its tendency to employ archival material to visualize stories about Muslims and Islam and to use archival footage as media templates can be detected in some of the earliest programs that addressed the history of Islam. Already in 1964, for example, the very first informative program that completely revolved around the nature of the religion

of Islam (*De Grote Wereldgodsdiensten episode 1: Islam*) opened with black and white archival footage of a fight between Christian crusaders and Islamic Saracens that originated from a fiction film to illustrate the way people pictured "Muhammadans".[457] Also in the seventies and eighties, as I have shown in chapter two, various informative programs that completely revolved around Islam have employed all sorts of archival footage (both of the Dutch and foreign contexts) to inform its audience about the history of Islam and of Muslim presence in the Netherlands.[458] In the nineties and 2000s, television's reliance on archival footage to illustrate its stories about Islam and Muslims further intensified, as I brought to light in chapters two and four, and archival footage of both the Dutch and global context circulated not only in numerous historical series and programs, such as the series *Islam in the Netherlands* (1993) and in various episodes of *Andere Tijden*, but also in template series in all sorts of news and actuality programs.[459] So while the medium has always displayed a need to employ archival footage, its increased reliance on archival footage is obviously the result of the constantly growing amount of broadcast material – in the early days the archived material in Sound and Vision was simply scarce, because public television's airtime was very limited and because far from everything was kept – and of technological developments and digitization projects that have made constantly growing amounts of broadcast material accessible and available for reuse.

And while this increased accessibility of the archive and availability of archival footage feeds into the medium's convention of compiling (hi)stories through its own archival prism, and offers many possibilities for developing new forms of audiovisual

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[457] *De Grote Wereldgodsdiensten* (*afl.1: De Islam*), (NCRV, 04-02-1964). This is also an interesting example of how Islam was framed from a Christian perspective. The program opens with the statement of the presenter that Islam and Christianity have a lot of common, and that therefore Islam deserves our attention and an honest attempt to understanding. Obviously, the template of the crusades and Saracens reveals very old stereotypical ideas about Islam. Karim has argued that this generic notion about Islam is one of the basic frames in the European Christian polemic against the Saracens (Karim 2003: 62). Large part of this program consists of a lecture by a curator of the *Tropenmuseum*, who explains the five pillars of Islam. It shows images of the Mubarak mosque, that have been reused by the 1966 episode of *Kenmerk* about ritual slaughter (that I have described in the opening of chapter 3).

[458] See for example : *Luisteren naar de Islam* (KRO, 05-10-1972 , 12-01-1972, 19-02-1972), *Luisteren naar de Islam* (STV, 18-01-1977, 25-01-1977, 01-02-1977), *Ander nieuws* (NCRV, 19-02-1978), *De Islam, zonder twijfel* (HV, 02-05-1980), *De Erfgenamen* (NCRV, 20-07-1984 en 28-07-1984), *De Islam* (STV, 28-10-1987 and 11-11-1987 and 25-11-1987 and 09-12-1987).

[459] See for example *Islam in Nederland* (NOS, 10-10-1993 etc), *Andere Tijden* (NPS/VPRO, 01-02-2005), *2 Vandaag* (TROS, 27-09-2001), *Nova* (NPS/VARA, 11-12-2001), *Heilige Huisjes* (NOT, 30-09-2003), *Twee Vandaag* (AVRO/TROS, 08-12-2005), *Islam in Europa* (NPS, 05-01-2008).

history writing through archival stock footage (of which *Land of Promise* is an interesting example), it also shows the urgency to critically reflect on the compilation logic that underlies so much of television's output. Since television is a mainstream gatekeeper in the current digital media ecology in which images circulate at an unprecedented rate and are remediated across various media platforms, it is interesting to reflect on what is selected for representation and circulation. What archival images are selected to narrate about the past and present? How are these images juxtaposed, and what stories about Islam and Muslims are being told through archival compilations? In this respect, it is not very surprising that Wilders' *Fitna* (2008), a very disturbing example of archival compilation, did not meet television's criteria for broadcasting.[460] Wilders mobilized all sorts of archival footage of angry Muslim mobs, terrorist attacks and violence against women and homosexuals (excerpts of Dutch television programs, headlines of Dutch newspapers, international footage of 9/11 and other terrorist attacks, and numerous other international sources) to advocate his racist message that Islam is an inherently violent religion. Evidently, public television has not been prepared to offer a platform to Wilders' political propaganda. However, the compilation logic that Wilders has drawn on, albeit a very extreme example of ripping archival images out of their original context, is quite typical for the medium of television, and is also used by many well-respected highbrow television programs that rely on archival footage and that compile stories by juxtaposing various archival images from different times and places. It is therefore important to turn the spotlight on these kinds of programs and question what archival footage is selected for circulation and what (hi)stories are being told by the juxtaposition of archival footage. How is the past articulated through the selection of archival footage? Exactly which archival images have come to count as knowledge of the past? At the expanse of which other images? Finally, in this coda I further explore some of these questions by taking a closer look at the three part television series of *Land of Promise*, out of which I recapitulate some of the issues that this dissertation revolved around; I reflect on the televisual logic of compiling stories from archival material and raise some questions for further research.

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[460] Wilders could not find a broadcasting organization that was prepared to air *Fitna*. On the 27th of March 2008, he made his sixteen minute film available through the online portal LiveLeak.

Land of Promise

Since this dissertation centred on televisual representations of Muslims, I focus therefore on Scheffer's and Roelofs' television series and leave their feature documentary film, released in arthouse theatres, aside. Both the film and series are inspired by Scheffer's book *Land of Promise* (*Land van Aankomst*) (2007), both cover the European post-war immigration history, and both make the argument that large-scale immigration first leads to avoidance by both parties, that it unavoidably results in conflicts, and that these conflicts eventually lead to integration and reconciliation. The television series consists of three episodes, which revolve around three distinct stages of the immigration and integration process that the makers distinguish: "avoidance" (*vermijding*), "conflict" (*conflict*) and "acceptance" (*aanvaarding*). The film and series are completely constructed from archival footage from various European archives (Gerard Nijssen who has helped the makers with the research is the Netherland's finest image researcher) and only music, few captions, and – in the case of the series – Scheffer's voice-over has been added. Before I move to an analysis of the immigration history that this compilation of archival footage presents, I first briefly describe the narrative structure of each episode and describe the archival footage that has been used to illustrate the narrative.

Avoidance

The first episode opens with a compilation of archival images, accompanied by Scheffer's voice-over, through which the theme of the series and of this particular episode is introduced. The voice-over says: "*The confusion seems to be never-ending, whether it is over Syrian refugees* (images of a refugee camp), *over guest workers from Rumania and Bulgaria* (images of people working on the land), *over an innocent children's festivity* (images of a demonstration against "black Pete") *or over black and white schools. There are no clear answers and there is a lack of mutual understanding* (images of Thatcher who states that people get scared if a minority becomes too big, and images of riots).[461] *Some people say that the white majority displays hostility towards migrants, whilst others say that these migrants disadvantage the autochtonen* (images of an interview by Theo van Gogh with Pim Fortuyn, who espouses a critical opinion about our segregated society). *Isn't it about time to leave behind the question of who is to blame and finally acknowledge the*

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[461] These images originate from the famous report by Jaap van Meekren about the 1972 riots in the *Afrikaanderwijk* in Rotterdam: *Televizier* (AVRO, 14-08-1972).

fact that our society has irreversibly changed?". Now a scene from a sketch by Van Kooten en de Bie from the eighties is shown, that ironically comments on the attitude of the Dutch towards immigrants.[462] Then the voice-over resumes: "*In the Netherlands incidents keep occurring, while we don't realise that our neighbouring countries are dealing with the same insecurities. Also in Sweden the suburbs are exploding* (images of riots), *also in Italy one doesn't know how to deal with the tragedy of illegal migrants* (images of illegal migrants on a boat and a body on the beach), *and also in Britain people are struggling with Islam* (images of a parade of Muslims on the street, footage of a speech by Angela Merkel who states that multiculturalism has failed, images of a Dutch Muslim boy who says "why do they hate us so much?", the iconic images of the body of van Gogh on the street, and footage of the speech of Job Cohen on the occasion of this murder). *Everywhere in Europe we experience confusing times, and it doesn't help that our memory is so short* (black and white images of trains with migrants). *What do we still know about the first guest workers? And what about the migrants from the former colonies? How did they get here? And how did they live in the old quarters during the sixties? Do we remember how it actually all started?"*. Finally, the title is shown: *Land of Promise. Episode 1: Avoidance.*

After this opening address, the first sequence of the episode displays a selection of archival material (the voice-over is silent) that shows poverty in the various countries of origin, the recruitment procedures and medical examinations of guest workers, and the leaving and arrival of migrants by train and boat. It shows among others footage, of a Dutch report about the poverty in Morocco[463], of a British report about the poverty in the West-Indies, of a German report about the medical examinations of Italian guest workers, and a three minute compilation of the *Televizier* images: van Meekren explaining the situation in front of the camera, the arrival of Jongejan, the images of the waiting men in the queue, a series of rude rejections by Jongejan, an excerpt from the interview with Jongejan (the "reorder" statement), and the interview by van Meekren with the Moroccan man. It also shows an excerpt from the Dutch report of the DAF recruitments in Tunesia[464], and a compilation of various images of goodbye scenes in various places around Europe,

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[462] Kees van Kooten plays the role of the Turkish immigrant Mehmet Pamuk, who is shopping in a Dutch vegetable store. The Dutch shopkeeper (Wim de Bie) wrongly assumes that Pamuk can't speak Dutch properly, while Pamuk is much more eloquent than the shopkeeper himself. See: *Simplisties Verbond* (VPRO, 08-02-1984).

[463] These images derive from episode of *Brandpunt* made by reporter Ed van Westerloo. See*: Brandpunt* (KRO, 27-11-1965).

[464] These images originate from: *Tijdschrift* (NOT, 25-02-1975).

of guest workers carrying suitcases, and of the arrival of trains and ships with migrants in Britain, Germany, Sweden, France and the Netherlands.[465]

Then Scheffer's voice-over introduces us to the next sequence: "*It is not difficult for the migrants to find a job, but it is hard to find housing. The attitude of the autochtonen is not very open. On the contrary, they react defensively and move out of the quarters where a lot of migrants live* (images of a flat with many satellite dishes). *The unfamiliar is not immediately embraced, but is kept at a distance* (footage of a migrant man holding a slaughtered sheep). *And also the migrants are drawn together, so that they can practice their religion together and build their community* (footage of migrants sitting together at the dinner table). *In fact, every large-scale migration leads to the disintegration of populations. The story usually begins with mutual avoidance*". The following archival sequence shows footage of the miserable housing situation of migrants in various European countries, vox populi of Belgian and British natives who vent discomfort with migrants, footage of riots in Britain, an interview with a Dutch landlord who expresses racist opinions[466], footage of low-skilled labourers, interviews with a Dutch and German employer, images of an improvised prayer room aboard a train in Germany, and footage of various festive celebrations of guest workers. The voice-over then resumes: "*Every large-scale migration leads to uneasiness and friction. Newcomers are confronted with the fact that their customs and traditions are no longer self-evident. But also the established views of the autochtonen are under pressure.*" More archival footage of vox populi (of Swedish, German, and Dutch natives who voice distress about migrants) and footage of an interview with a Dutch employer who states that we need the foreign workers is shown. And finally, after an excerpt of a German report that shows German women who complain about foreigners in their neighbourhood, their lack of language skills, and their headscarves, archival footage of the infamous speech by the British MP Enoch Powell (caption: Birmingham 1968) is shown, in which Powell states that soon the black man will have the "whip hand over the white man". Then the credits are shown, while Scheffer's voice-over concludes: "*When the amount of migrants grows, it is no longer possible to live alongside but passed one another. For a long time, conflicts can be avoided this way. Because if people don't live near each other and if no common school is visited, people have nothing to do with each other. Some call it tolerance, but one could also call it indifference. But*

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[465] The images of the Dutch context originate from: *Toeloop uit het Zuiden* (IKOR, 09-10-1966).
[466] Originating from : *Achter het nieuws* (VARA, 06-10-1969). This is a very disturbing interview with the Dutch landlord Simons who runs a pension for guest workers.

sooner or later, often soon, the lives of the native residents and the newcomers meet. Then conflicts arise. The many years of mutual avoidance come to an end".

Conflict

Also the second episode opens with a compilation of archival images accompanied by Scheffer's voice-over that introduces the theme. The first half of this leader is the same as in the first episode, but after Scheffer's statement that we should finally acknowledge the fact that our society has irreversibly changed (followed by the excerpt of van Kooten en de Bie) it diverges from the first episode. Now the voice-over says: "*We saw the insecurity on the faces of the migrants who arrived in de fifties and the sixties* (black and white images of the faces of migrants). *Not only was the way they were recruited intimidating* (images of the medical examinations of an Italian guest worker that was also shown in the first episode), *but they were often not very welcome in the land of arrival* (images of a demonstration in Britain and a banner saying "keep Britain white", and a woman saying foreigners should leave). *The inhabitants of the quarters where a lot of migrants were housed in their turn felt overwhelmed, and the shops, the cafes, and the places of worship changed their colours* (images of a British café with migrants, and images of the Taibah mosque in the Amsterdam Bijlmer). *But the story doesn't end here. Because after the first migrants, their families arrived in the seventies and eighties. Then everything changes. For all the people involved it becomes clear that something has changed irreversibly. The children of the migrants feel excluded* (images of migrant youth hanging around on the street). *They express their anger about society* (images of a British migrant woman who states that their children are suffering). *And also the autochtone population realizes that their country will never be the same again, and rises up against the loss of their familiar world. And this is how integration involves mutual conflicts and increasing opposition* (footage of Sarkozy, and of angry youth in the French suburbs)". Finally, the title is shown*: Land of Promise. Episode 2: Conflict.*

The first sequence of the episode opens with the archival footage of Powell's speech (caption: Birmingham, 1968) that had closed the first episode, a longer excerpt this time, followed by a compilation of archival footage of various European politicians who (critically) address the issue of immigration. Footage of Willy Brandt (caption: Chancellor from 1969-1974), of Margaret Thatcher (caption: Prime Minister from 1979-1990), of Jean-Marie Le Pen (caption: leader of the Front National), of Carl Bildt (caption: Swedish Prime Minister from 1991-1994) is juxtaposed with

footage of a demonstration in Britain, a banner saying "keep Britain white", and street interviews with British people who express anger about migrants (no captions), footage of the riots in the *Afrikaanderwijk* in Rotterdam (caption: Rotterdam, 1972) that originates from the famous report made by Jaap van Meekren[467], footage of Janmaat (the Dutch leader of the extremist right party) who speeches in the Chamber about the lack of tolerance among Muslims, and footage of a Dutch demonstration against racism and Janmaat. This first sequence ends with archival images of Ruud Lubbers calling people to vote in Arabic[468], with a Dutch public service announcement to promote understanding for migrants[469] and with images of a female Italian singer walking on a railway.

While the music of the Italian singer continues, Scheffer's voice-over introduces us to the next sequence: "*Despite their homesickness, more and more migrants decide to settle permanently in the land of arrival. They keep on dreaming about the village where they were born, but they know that with the birth of their children there is no way back* (images of migrants with children). *At the same time, they experience how hard it is to raise children in a country where they haven't grown up themselves, and that they don't really understand or even distrust* (more images of a migrant family). *The generation conflict is therefore fierce. Parents feel they are losing their children, while the children look upon their parents with mixed feelings, and feel they have let themselves be exploited.*" Now a compilation of archival footage is shown that illustrates the end of the belief in the temporariness of the stay of migrants, including: interviews with various Belgian migrant youngsters (Italian, Spanish) who state they will not go back to their countries of origin (with music by Rocco Granata), images of a Swedish classroom with many migrant children, interviews with French migrant children, with a German Turkish girl, with a French Algerian boy, with Belgian Moroccan and Turkish youngsters who talk about living between two worlds, with a Turkish couple in Germany who say that they do not want to go back. This sequence ends with a compilation of archival footage, accompanied by ominous music, of youth hanging around on the street (also shown in the leader), of a German migrant boy who expresses aggression towards the camera, of the aftermath of the stabbing of a French teacher by a migrant youngster, and excerpts of a report about a French suburb that has turned into a ghetto.

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[467] *Televizier* (AVRO, 14-08-1972). I have briefly discussed these in chapter 2.

[468] I have discussed these images in chapter 4. They originate from: *Televizier* (AVRO, 07-03-1986).

[469] The Postbus 51 announcement (*Denk eens aan een buitenlander op z'n tijd, voor de aardigheid*) has been reused in the episode *Televizier* (AVRO, 07-03-1986).

Again, Scheffer's voice-over introduces us to the next sequence: "*It is impossible to understand the history of migration without the experiences of the autochtonen* (footage of the complaining German women that was also shown in episode one). *Too often, words like racism have been used to describe their discomfort, while they are witnessing with increasing frustration how their environment has changed irreversibly. In the course of the nineties, this discomfort was reluctantly acknowledged* (images of the dome of a mosque accompanied by Islamic sounds, and of a parade of Muslims). *Only then, it is seen as a natural part of the radical social change that any migration entails.*" The voice-over is followed by a compilation of archival footage that must illustrate the discomfort and conflicts: a British woman commenting on the parade of Muslims ("rubbish"), an interview with a French man who is crying because he feels so unsafe in his neighbourhood, an interview by van Gogh with Fortuyn in which he espouses a critical opinion about multiculturalism (also shown in the leader), a speech by Jean-Marie Le Pen in which he blames Nicolas Sarkozy for the increase of immigrants in France, a speech by Trevor Philips that warns against segregation, images of flats with satellite dishes (amplified with music), interviews with youngsters who are growing up in French banlieues, interviews with British girls about migrants, a discussion between Powell and an British person from migrant parents about Powell's ideas on repatriating migrants, a Dutch Muslim boy wondering "why do they hate us so much?" (also shown in the leader), the French writer and politician Azouz Begag who states that there is no such thing as integration without conflicts. The sequence then shows a compilation of archival footage of various demonstrations and riots: a demonstration of migrant youth for equal rights and against racism (caption: Marseille 1983), an British migrant woman who states that their children are suffering (also shown in the leader, no caption), riots in the UK (no caption, original voice-over of news item), riots in French banlieues (no caption, original voice-over), riots and burning cars in Sweden's Husby (no caption, original voice-over), more riots and burning cars in French banlieues, riots in Belgium's Molenbeek (no captions, original voice-over, images of two different riots bridging a time-span of 18 years) and the mess after riots in Bradford (no caption, original voice-over). The sequence ends with archival footage of the arrest of a Swedish man who has attacked foreigners (caption: Malmö, 1991), and with footage (no caption) of the infamous speech by Wilders in 2009, in which he complains about the pollution of our streets by Muslims, proposes that Muslim women should pay taxes for their veil (kopvoddentaks).

Finally, the episode ends with Scheffer's voice-over that states: "*Everywhere in Europe, we have seen lengthy years of conflict over migration* (images of riots). *In the nineties, yet another fierce controversy was added* (images of a demonstration of Muslims with a banner of Khomeini, close-up images of the burning of *The Satanic Verses*, a demonstration of Muslim women for their right to wear a headscarf): *Islam. The confusion over the building of mosques, headscarves, the freedom of speech* (images of the Danish newspaper with the Mohammed cartoons) *and homosexuality seems to be never-ending*". While the credits are shown, the voice-over continues: "*Attacks by fundamentalists revealed the underlying tensions* (images of the London attacks). *However, the history of migration in Europe and the United States teaches us that we can conceive of these conflicts as the beginning of integration* (again the images of Azouz Begag who states that there is no such thing as integration without conflicts). *Everywhere, people are searching for a new feeling of 'we'. Naturalisation (inburgering) is the new buzzword of the past few years* (images of various naturalisation ceremonies). *But does it provide us with an answer to the question: how can we despite all the differences live together?*" (Footage of the Dutch publicist Anil Ramdas who states that the question whether integration has succeeded is an absurd question).

Acceptance

Also the third episode opens with the leader. This time, after Scheffer's statement that we should finally acknowledge the fact that our society has irreversibly changed (and the excerpt of van Kooten en de Bie) the voice-over says: "*We have witnessed lengthy years of conflict everywhere in Europe* (images of riots in Molenbeek, also shown in episode two). *Sometimes the conflict revolved around the double nationality of newcomers* (images of naturalisation ceremonies), *and sometimes around the deprivation of the children of migrants* (images of the British migrant woman who states that their children are suffering). *In the course of the nineties, another fierce controversy over the settlement of a new religion, Islam, develops* (images of the dome of a mosque, and a parade of Muslims). *Attacks by fundamentalists cause fear and insecurity* (images of the London attacks), *also within the Muslim communities* (images of the Dutch Muslim boy wondering "why do they hate us so much?", and of a communal prayer). *Opinions clash over the building of mosques, headscarves, the freedom of speech* (images of the Danish newspaper with the Mohammed cartoons), *honour killings and homosexuality* (close-ups of the burning of *The Satanic Verses*). *However, earlier migrations in Europe and the*

United States teach us that we can perceive of these conflicts as the signs of integration (images of the demonstration on the Dam after van Gogh's murder). *Although the debate is intense* (images of a proclaiming migrant in Britain, and of an angry Dutch man during the riots in the *Afrikaanderwijk*), *slowly an acceptance of a new reality becomes visible. The formula of the multicultural society is dismissed* (images of Merkel's speech about the failure of multiculturalism), *but in the meantime the European immigration societies steadily take shape* (images of a naturalisation ceremony). Finally, the title is shown: *Land of Promise. Episode 3: Acceptance.*

The first sequence of the episode opens with archival footage of Wilders' infamous speech about the tax on headscarves (also shown at the end of the second episode), followed by a compilation of archival material that needs to illustrate the many conflicts over Islam (without captions): female Muslims demonstrating for the right to wear a hijab, an interview with a Belgian director of a school who has prohibited headscarves, an excerpt from a Swedish report about a migrant girl who was killed by her father, an excerpt from a British report about a parade of Muslims on the occasion of Muhammad's day of birth (the dome of a mosque a and the parade of Muslims is also shown in earlier episodes), images of various comedians who makes jokes about the controversies over migrants and Islam, demonstrations against Rushdie and book burnings in Britain, people carrying a banner "Death to Rushdie" during the demonstration in The Hague, Mohammed Rabbae who condemns violence against Rushdie[470], an excerpt of the report about the Danish cartoons (also shown earlier), angry Muslims trampling and burning a Danish flag, demonstrations against the cartoons in Sudan, an interview with Dutch politician Fatima Elatik who says she is shocked by the reactions of Muslims, an interview with Hirsi Ali who states that we need to defend our freedom against radical Muslims, an interview with a member of the AEL (The Arabic European League) in which he states that the freedom of speech is abused to insult Muslims, an excerpt of an interview with van Gogh who talks critically about the multicultural society, news footage of the murder of van Gogh, the opening of the German news with the murder of van Gogh, images of the demonstration on the Dam Square and of Cohen's speech on the evening of van Gogh's murder, and an interview with a Dutch taxi driver who is very upset about the events. The sequence ends with a compilation of more hopeful images accompanied by cheerful music: bowling

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[470] The Rushdie images discussed in chapter 4: Journaal (NOS, 03-03-1989). The statement by Mohammed Rabbae: Journaal (NOS, 05-03-1989).

migrant girls (some of them wearing a hijab) and various images of mixed relationships and marriages.

Figure 49 a-l. A selection of still from the above described sequence in *Land of Promise's* episode *Acceptance.*

The next sequence shows archival footage of Muslims performing communal prayer on a street, while Scheffer's voice-over continues: "*The conflict over the settlement of Islam as a new religion is fierce. Attacks have further increased tensions and insecurities on both sides* (images of a British migrant who states that the Quran says that we must fight them as they fight us). *In the meantime, the debate about the meaning of the freedom of speech is very instructive* (excerpt of

Submission), *and could be considered an integration course for everyone, newcomers and residents, Muslims and non-Muslims alike* (images of a Belgian demonstration against Islam). *The struggle over the place of Islam has ushered the farewell to multiculturalism: the idea that society consists of different communities that have little contact. In the years following the millennium, people are searching for a concept of citizenship that isn't based on a common origin, but on a shared future.*" Now a compilation of archival footage to illustrate Scheffer's analysis is shown: a speech by Cameron in which he criticizes the heritage of state multiculturalism, Merkel's speech about the failure of multiculturalism (shown before), a speech by Erdogan for German Turks who criticizes the need to assimilate, a speech by Sarkozy about the echec of multiculturalism, an excerpt of a British talk show in which a man of migrant descent argues that he believes in integration instead of assimilation, an excerpt with the Dutch opinion maker Anil Ramdas who states that societies are never finished, and that the question of whether integration has succeeded is therefore absurd (shown before), excerpts of a Dutch video of the settlement program (windmills, a topless woman on the beach, two men kissing), footage of various English and Dutch naturalisation ceremonies, an interview with a Dutch man and his foreign wife while bowling (accompanied by cheerful music), news footage of the fuss instigated by the PVV about double nationalities in the Netherlands and the critical reaction of Gerdi Verbeet, the president of the Chamber.

The next sequence shows footage of a British naturalisation ceremony, while Scheffer's voice-over resumes: "*Symbols, such as the naturalisation ceremony, display the acceptance of a new reality. That is necessary, because with the emergence of the second generation, the children of the original migrants, the transformations of society have become irreversible* (images of the French football player Zidane). *Besides undeniable problems, such as juvenile criminality and school drop-outs* (images of migrant youth on the streets of deprived areas), *we witness the creative impulses that have given rise to new writers, musicians, politicians and entrepreneurs* (excerpt of a clip of the Belgian-Rwandan singer Stromae). *What is striking is that the ones who are doing well don't immediately feel at home in society. Precisely because they have large ambitions, they are sensitive to unequal treatment* (footage of AEL leader Abu Jahjah). *But there is no spark without friction. In their frustration we can recognize the will to become someone and to shape the country in which their parents once arrived* (black and white images of migrants with suitcases and their arrival by train)". The compilation of archival footage that

illustrates the final stage of acceptance that Scheffer identifies consists of images that must depict the success stories of the second and third generation: an interview with the Dutch-Turkish football player Ugur Yildirim (who finally choose to play in the Dutch national team instead of the Turkish), footage of various public performances of Tariq Ramadan (in one of them he states that Islam should be open to criticism, in another he pleas for tolerance and the peaceful coexistence of women with and without headscarves), footage of German-Turkish sociologist Necla Kelek's award acceptance for her work on the integration of Muslim women, an excerpt of the program of Dutch-Moroccan Ali B. (*Op volle toeren*), an excerpt of an interview with the Swedish-Burundian Minister of Emancipation and Integration Nyamko Sabuni, and finally, news footage of the inauguration of Dutch-Moroccan Aboutaleb as mayor of Rotterdam (that ends with Aboutaleb making an ironic joke about his Moroccan background).

While black and white images of the first migrants leaving and arriving in trains are shown, accompanied by an Italian song, Scheffer gives his final thoughts and recapitulates: "*We have fifty years of migration history behind us, with ups and downs. Conflicts seem to repeat themselves, which could result in pessimism. However, they are conflicts that involve new groups of migrants, at present the Roma from Eastern Europe. In the meantime, the migrants who arrived in the sixties and their children have become part of a new "we"* (an excerpt of the *Televizier* images of van Meekren's interview with the Moroccan man). *Large-scale migration almost always entails conflicts, but these express the strength of an open society. Yesterday's outsiders slowly but surely become the established of today and tomorrow. They, in their turn, are often not very open towards new immigrants. It will never be completely easy. But we are not moving in circles* (final credits start rolling). *For who still talks about the Italian and Greek immigrants that arrived in the fifties?* (black and white images of migrants). *And who still considers the Surinamese in the Netherlands and the Algerians in France as newcomers? Possibly, in five or ten years, we hear the Moroccan and Turkish community hopefully exhale: no one is talking about us*".

Land of Promise and the logic of archival compilation

Certainly, *Land of Promise* is a very interesting and unique project; I would argue that it is a project that is symptomatic for today's aliveness of the archive and for the archival impulse that is the result of the increased accessibility of European

audiovisual archives. I do not know of any other Dutch historical television program that has brought together such a vast amount of European broadcast material, and I admire the archival aspirations of the project, that must have required extensive time-consuming research in various European broadcast archives. Besides, *Land of Promise* might be symptomatic in yet another respect and indicate that the polarization and the pessimism about the multicultural society might have lost its urgency and its persuasiveness. The filmmakers explicitly aim to tell a hopeful story about migration and to urge the audience to look beyond the borders of our own country and put the recent obsessions over immigration and Islam in perspective. This is the more striking, since Scheffer's book, the source of inspiration of the series, is not so optimistic, making a similar argument as in his "The Multicultural Drama", namely that political correctness has led to a denial of the negative consequences of immigration. In fact, in a recent study by Leo and Jan Lucassen, *Winnaars en Verliezers* (2011), the authors designate Scheffer as one of the "integration pessimists" (*integratiepessimisten*) and criticize his book for lack of factual proof. Whatever the reason is for Scheffer's change of heart, it might be symptomatic for a more general fatigue with the pessimistic integration and Islam debate that reigned over the last decade. Before assessing what kind of migration history the series has articulated through the selection of archival footage, it is useful to have a closer look at the formal qualities and the compilation strategy of *Land of Promise.*

Land of Promise's direct address narration and conventional appropriation strategy
Although *Land of Promise*'s archival approach is more radical than most conventional archive-reliant historical series and programs, since it completely relies on archival footage for the visuals and shows unusual lengthy sequences of mere archival footage without explanatory voice-over, its overall organizing logic is quite similar. Like most of television's historical documentaries, *Land of Promise* shares many of the formal and stylistic qualities of what Bill Nichols (2010) terms – quoting him *in extenso* – "the expository mode" of documentary:

> The expository mode addresses the viewer directly, with titles or voices that propose a perspective or advance an argument (…). Expository documentaries rely heavily on the informing logic carried out by the spoken word (…). The commentary is typically presented as distinct from the images of the historical world that accompany it. It serves to organize these images and make sense of them similar to a written caption for a still image. The commentary is therefore presumed to come from some place that remains unspecified but associated with

> objectivity and omniscience. It shows signs of intelligence and represents the organizing logic of the film. We take our cue from the commentary and understand the images as evidence or illustration of what is said. (167-68).

Clearly, the series' direct address through the voice-over is very much that of the conventional, expository, archive-reliant historical television documentary that advances an argument about the historical world.

The voice-over that steers *Land of Promise*'s narration is that of a disembodied, omniscient, male narrator – an archetypal "voice of God" – that imposes its interpretative framework in a didactic manner. Although the narration is by Scheffer himself, which could convey the story as a personal and subjective enterprise, this is not made explicit. The voice-over might at some points hint that the narration should be understood as a filmic personal essay, for example in the opening address when the voice-over asks the question "isn't it about time to leave behind the question of who is to blame?", but most of the time Scheffer remains detached from the images commented upon, and the overall authoritative tonality of the voice-over signposts the story above all as a transparent account of migration history. Already in the opening address of the first episode, the voice-over sets a positivist tone as it presents the topic of the first episode with the phrase "do we actually remember how it all began?". In the rest of the series, Scheffer's voice-over persistently gives the impression that we are watching history unfold. Furthermore, the voice-over operates in a conventional manner, namely to anchor the meaning of the images, to set out an argument, to impose unity on the divergent archival images, to enforce a cause-effect structure and to offer a closure of the story. The lengthy sequences of mere archive are constantly connected and made sense of by the pre-emptive and concluding pieces of voice-over that guide the audience's response to the archival footage. So finally, even during the protracted moments of silence, the preceding, connecting and closing pieces of voice-over assure a limited potential for ambivalence and for alternative interpretations.

In spite of this, the series' appropriation strategy is more ambiguous than most expository archive-reliant programs. In her work on the reemplotment of actuality footage in documentary, Rebecca Swender (2009) points to the limitations of Nichols' taxonomy for accounting for this documentary practice: "While Nichols's taxonomy is an eminently useful tool for identifying many of the specifics of how documentaries address spectators, it does not differentiate among documentary types on the question of the reemplotment of existing footage into secondary texts" (9). In her *New Documentary* (2000) Stella Bruzzi argues that archival material is

primarily used in one of two ways: "illustratively, as part of a historical explanation to complement other elements such as interviews and voice-over, or critically as a more politicised historical argument or debate" (21). According to Bruzzi, the first is the strategy of most conventional television documentaries, and is straightforward in the sense that "it is not asking the spectator to question the archival documents but simply to absorb them as a component of a larger narrative" (ibid). Swender designates this appropriation strategy "naturalization": "Archive footage can be incorporated into a secondary text in a manner that draws more or less attention to the "past lives" of the archive footage [...]. Archive footage is naturalized when the capacity for the instability of meaning is deemphasized" (6).

Generally speaking, I would argue, *Land of Promise*'s appropriation strategy is conventional. The footage is mostly reemplotted in such a way that it does not draw attention to its origin or its "past lives" and conveys the story that is invoked by Scheffer's voice-over. The filmmakers combine material with a high historical specificity with more generic archival material, and its reemplotment serves to support the voice-over's truth claim about the course of history. The interplay between archival footage and voice-over offers a cumulative understanding of the migration history that is being told. The thematic sequencing of the material, the added music, and the statements articulated by people depicted and by the original voice-overs of the footage, all support the preferred reading of the material verbalized by Scheffer's voice-over. The footage is treated as generically figurative, since the viewer is denied information about the actual events that the images depict, and the editing is merely used to prove the argument made by the voice-over, a style of editing that Nichols (2010) has coined "evidentiary editing". So largely, the series employs what Stella Bruzzi (2000) calls the conventional use of archive: "The conventional television use of archive is largely non-dialectical, the purpose of its retrieved archive being to demonstrate what has already been or is in the process of being signalled by other information source such as the voice-over or the words of interviewees" (32).

At certain moments, however, the series' usage of archival material affiliates it with the documentary tradition of what Bruzzi describes as "compilation film" (ibid: 21): documentaries that are constructed almost exclusively out of retrieved archival material, that adopt a critical use of archival material and that are "democratic in the sense that they do not openly intervene"(39). In her elaboration of the long-standing and complex history of this critical approach to archival footage (that was pioneered by the Soviet filmmakers Esther Shub and Dziga Vertov in the 1920s), Bruzzi

describes compilation films as "rooted to the idea that meaning is constructed through editing (…) they use archival material provocatively and dialectically and compel audiences to think, to question and to seek change" (23). Compilation films, in Bruzzi's conception, play on the complexity of the relationship between historical referent and interpretation, and use the polemical potential of archival footage to offer an (ironic) critique of history and/or media representations. Through contrapuntal editing, these films can create a dialectical collusion between the inherent perspective of the original footage and its re-appropriation, and can construct alternative narratives and counter-arguments to the inherent narratives of the retrieved archive. Although this is certainly not the dominant compilation strategy in *Land of Promise*, at certain moments its usage of archival material transcends its main function as a mere illustration of history, and becomes a critical commentary on history. In particular in the first episode, the selection of the material, the editing, and the added music result in a narrative about the initial years of immigration that is simultaneously a critique of the way guest workers and postcolonial immigrants were treated. In several of the lengthy sequences of mere archival material of this first episode, the audience is rendered some freedom of interpretation and is invited to actively think (and to be appalled). In the other two episodes, however, the archive footage is more straightforwardly used as mere illustration, and the editing does not activate its polemic potential. Only sporadically, does the editing manage to instigate a spark of irony.[471]

Finally, *Land of Promise* presents itself above all as a historical-didactic series about the European post-war immigration rather than as a (personal) essay that presents a critique of this history. The positivist tonality of the voice-over and its commentary invite the viewer to regard the archival images as glimpses of the past rather than as a critique of (media representations of) the past. If archive footage gives access to the mediated past and thus always has a double historical meaning – it documents both historical events and television's representation of these events – *Land of Promise*'s direct address narration and its strategy of archival compilation mainly activate the first meaning and intensifies the strong impression of authenticity and of history unfolding in front of the camera that archival images already inherently have. While this mode of narration is quite compelling, this is not to say that it renders the audience incapable of seeing the material in other ways than the

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[471] For example at the end of the second episode, when the series ironically cuts from a Swedish report about Laserman who had painted his hair blond to look more Swedish to Wilders's *kopvoddentaks*-speech.

perspective of the series. Finally, it is remarkable that the feature documentary does not employ a direct address narration, and thus renders much more freedom to the audience to interpret the footage. Apparently, the medium of television demands a more conventional mode of narration to avoid ambivalence of the meaning of the archive footage and might not be open to a more democratic mode of historiography. I now turn to an assessment of the migration history that the series has constructed.

From single male guest worker to angry Muslim mob: compiling a historicist narrative

Firstly, what is striking is that the narrative of the European migration history that *Land of Promise* articulates is exceedingly historicist in character. Historicism is a feature that applies to many programs that (primarily) rely on archival footage (in chapter four I discussed various examples) and often results in simplistic and schematic representations of the past. Allan Sekula (1987) phrases it as follows:

> For historicism, the archive confirms the existence of a linear progression from past to present, and offer the possibility of an easy and unproblematic retrieval of the past from the transcendent position offered by the present. At their worst, pictorial histories offer an extraordinary reductive view of historical causality: the First World War "begins" with a glimpse of an assassination in Sarajevo. (120)

Clearly, the narration of *Land of Promise* imposes a linear development on the migration history that is explicitly informed by the present "confusion" over migration and Islam. *Land of Promise*'s history lesson openly functions as a comforting tale: there is hope for the future, because history has proven that migration unavoidably first leads to avoidance and conflict, but eventually to reconciliation. In broad outline, the story that is being told explicitly by Scheffer's voice-over is as follows: after the arrival of immigrants from everywhere in Europe (regardless whether they were postcolonial or labour immigrants), a period of mutual avoidance occurred (episode one). Unavoidably, however, migration results in conflicts. The cause of these conflicts lies in the arrival of the children of the immigrants, in the following generation's conflicts, in the feeling of loss of the *autochtone* population, and in the coming of Islam (episode two). The struggle over the place of Islam has finally resulted in the end of multiculturalism. And today, naturalisation ceremonies and successful people of migrant descent prove that this has finally resulted in the acceptance of a new reality (episode three). The archival

footage is selected and sequenced to illustrate and support this narrative, to show that this linear development from single male guest worker, to suburban riots and angry Muslim mobs, to final reconciliation applies to the entirety of Europe, and to demonstrate that various geographically separate events, conflicts and developments have similar causes, and are the symptoms of the inevitable course of history. Obviously, this is quite a simplistic, determinist, and shallow account of history.

Clearly, both the selection and the sequencing of the archival footage are at the service of the historicist view of history that the series wants to promote. The narration suggests, both explicitly through the voice-over and implicitly through editing, a linear progression from the first to the last stage, and insinuates that the succession of archival footage is by and large faithful to historical chronology. At various moments, the series uses captions to designate the year of origin of the material and thereby openly communicates its violations of chronology. At other moments, the series is less explicit about its juxtapositions of images that originate from very different historical contexts and in the case of footage with a high historical specificity, appeals to the prior knowledge of the audience to notice this. Furthermore, the archival material seems to be merely picked because it is fitting and reinforces the argument about migration history that the series wants to advance. Both in the case of the historical specific footage and in the case of more generic footage, the archival images are above all treated as emblematic; they are constantly reused in a generic manner to represent various stages in the migration history that the voice-over illuminates, such as the beginning and mutual avoidance in episode one, the emergence of discomfort, the arrival of the second generation and the consequential conflicts in episode two, and the struggle regarding Islam, the end of multiculturalism and final reconciliation in episode three. So in order to tell its historicist narrative, the series homogenizes and generalizes the meaning of the archive footage and disregards the specific historical context of the events that the footage depicts.

Like many other television programs, the series has resorted to the *Televizier* images and the Rushdie images to mark particular stages in the migration history, and treated the footage as emblematic for these stages. The *Televizier* images have been employed in the first sequence of the first episode that illustrates 'how it all began'. Clearly, they operate in a similar manner as in the bulk of television programs that reused the footage (as I analysed in chapter four). As a consequence of the historicist narrative of the series, they mark not only the

beginning of immigration, but they also stand for the moment in which all the following problems and conflicts that the series highlights are rooted. The Rushdie images, in their turn, have been generically employed in the first sequence of the third episode that illustrates "the fierce controversies over the settlement of a new religion". The sequence also shows images of Wilders' infamous speech about *kopvoddentaks*, of a parade of Muslims in Britain, of riots and demonstrations during the Danish Cartoon crisis, and of the murder of van Gogh, and it resembles many of the template series described in chapter four. In the historicist account of *Land of Promise*, the Rushdie images exemplify not only the struggle over the place of Islam, but they (together with the other footage of the sequence) also mark the end of the era of multiculturalism. This reuse strategy of the *Televizier* and Rushdie images is exemplary for the determinist view on historical causality that the series promotes.

The narrative strategy of imposing a linear development on the migration history (and on the archive footage that must stand for the various stages) results in sustaining visual linkages between events that are temporally very separate and events that are unalike in terms of their historical meaning. For example, the sequence that figures the Rushdie images illustrates the voice-over's statement that in the course of the nineties another fierce controversy over the settlement of Islam developed. Apart from the Rushdie images (and other imagery from the Rushdie affair), the sequence only shows footage that originates from the first decade of the new century. The Rushdie images (and footage of book burnings in Britain) appear in the middle of the sequence, between recent footage of the fracas about headscarves in Belgium, of an honour killing in Sweden (thereby implying that honour killings are inherent to Islam), of a parade of Muslims in Britain, of a sketch by a comedian who makes an ironic joke about the inclination of Muslims to take hostages, and footage of the Danish Cartoon crisis, of Hirsi Ali and the murder of van Gogh. There is no caption that designates the Rushdie images as originating from 1989, and the series thus disregards the time-lapse between the Rushdie affair and the upheaval about Islam that occurred in the 2000's. In this manner, the voice-over and editing have generalized the meaning of the Rushdie images as yet another example of angry Muslim mobs, have rendered them in a continuum of the threat of Islam, and have implicitly suggested a direct linear development from the Rushdie affair to the murder of van Gogh.

This is only one example of the general historicist strategy of archival compilation that the series employs, and that often results in a treatment of archival footage as mere generalization that disregards its historical specific meaning. I zoom

in on another telling example of how the series employs archival footage because its visuals fit the stage of immigration history that is being told. In the first sequence of the second episode that revolves around "conflict" (whose source is localized by the voice-over in the arrival of the families of the migrants and the end of the idea that their stay would be temporary), the series first shows footage of various European politicians who (critically) address the issue of immigration, and then it shows various scenes from the famous *Televizier* report about the 1972 riots in the *Afrikaanderwijk* by van Meekren. And although there is a caption saying "Rotterdam, 1972", the footage is treated generically and as emblematic for the stage of "conflict" that the episode narrates, and thereby the historical meaning of the footage is disrespected. The riots in the *Afrikaanderwijk* happened before the end of the belief in the temporariness of the stay of migrants and before family reunification, and the stakes were housing issues (discontent of *autochtonen* about the growing amount of pensions for guest workers at the expense of housing for natives). Strictly speaking, the footage thus belongs in episode one, that narrates the initial years of immigration and that dedicates a sequence to housing issues. However, the footage contradicts the main theme of "avoidance" around which this first episode revolves, and is thus shown in episode two to illustrate the stage of conflict. This is yet another example of how the expressiveness of the footage takes over its historical meaning, and how archival footage becomes mere generalization at the service of *Land of Promise's* historicist narrative.

Migration history as a visual spectacle and a succession of *déjà-vu* images

Obviously, the footage of the *Afrikaanderwijk* is picked not only because of its capacity to illustrate conflict, but also because it is especially evocative. Not surprisingly, the press reviews of *Land of Promise* highlighted these very images, and described them as "racial riots" that are "shocking".[472] Much of archival footage that the series displays seems to be selected because it is evocative, dramatic or remarkable. And while this footage is what makes the series so memorable, its generic reuse results in the loss of its historical specificity. The consequence is that the history of this footage stays mute, and what remains is visual spectacle that does not really teach us much about the past. Besides, the series resorts to many cliché images (some of which are clichés exactly because they are so evocative, such as the *Televizier* images), and that seem to be picked above all for their iterativity and their

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[472] See for example reviews in NRC (16-01-2014). Or a review of the feature documentary in Filmkrant (December 2013).

capacity to be used as generalization. Various sequences, in particular in the second and third episode, consist of a succession of déjà-vu images that slide towards interchangeability. I now look closer at some examples from each episode in order to show how often, in *Land of Promise*, the eloquence and iterativity of the archival footage takes over its historical meaning.

As I mentioned before, in the first episode the selection and editing of the material brings about a narrative about the initial years of immigration that is also a critique of the way immigrants were treated. In particular in the first sequence, the juxtaposition of footage of various recruitment procedures and medical examinations produces a critical commentary on this episode of history. This archival footage, among which the *Televizier* images, but also less familiar footage such as the German footage of medical examinations of Italian guest workers, and Dutch footage of the recruitment of Tunisian guest workers for automobile manufacturer DAF, is not only used to illustrate "how it all began", but also to criticize the treatment of guest workers. As I demonstrated in chapter four, the *Televizier* images have been constantly reused by television for their capacity to instantly evoke outrage. In this respect, it is not surprising that some press reviews mention precisely these images.[473] So evidently, the *Televizier* images and the other footage of the recruitments have been selected for their evocative nature. However, as I argued in chapter four, the *Televizier* images are not necessarily representative for the history of the beginning of immigration, since the majority of labour immigrants came on their own initiative. Like in many programs that reused the *Televizier* footage, the recruitment sequence of *Land of Promise* (and the first episode in general) once again results in the rather clichéd victimization of the guest worker.

While the first episode exhibits much fascinating and unfamiliar archival footage, in the course of the second episode *Land of Promise* increasingly becomes a succession of déjà-vu images. The familiar footage of *banlieus*, riots, and statements by (populist) politicians does not really add to a better understanding of European migration history. The last sequence of the episode consists for a large part of a succession of images of riots in various European cities. The cumulative structure of this sequence homogenizes the meaning of the footage and the various images of riots become equivalent and interchangeable. In sequences like this, migration history is visualized as a spectacle of conflicts and outbursts of violence. Besides the clichéd images of banlieus, migrant youth loitering on the street, and riots, this episode also shows footage that is less familiar and ordinary, and seems to

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[473] *Filmkrant* (December 2013).

have been chosen for its evocative nature. I already discussed the usage of the footage of the riots in the *Afrikaanderwijk* (these images have been reused by television quite often). Another example is the usage of the footage of Lubbers who invites people to vote in Arabic. This is quite remarkable footage, but it is so severely ripped out of its context that it becomes simply gesture; it is not capable anymore of evoking anything else than amazement. In cases such as this, the loss of the historical specificity of the footage is so severe that it becomes unclear what the footage actually depicts and what exactly it tells us about the past. Again, the shock value of the footage takes over.

Finally, the first part of the last episode that is intended to narrate the stage of "acceptance" consists of a lengthy sequence that must represent the struggle about the settlement of Islam (and that is legitimized by the series by pinpointing this struggle as the end of multiculturalism and the beginning of the acceptance of a new reality). As I have mentioned before, this sequence (and also the sequence of the opening address of this episode) resembles many of the template series that I described in chapter four. It displays all the familiar images of terrorist attacks, statement by Wilders, women with headscarves, parades of Muslims, the Rushdie affair, the Danish Cartoon crisis, the murder of van Gogh, *Submission*, and Hirsi Ali. Thus again, this succession of clichéd images does not really tell us anything new about the recent past. The series has mainly mobilized imagery of angry Muslim mobs to visualize its story about Islam, and this strategy of compiling Islam is awfully typical for the way television has visualized Islam during the last decade. In this manner, the series contributes to the further development of a television environment that is driven by sensationalism, in which images lose their historical specificity and become emblematic, and in which the repertoire of images of Islam is dominated by clichés.

Land of Promise's selectivity

Unavoidably, for every archival image that has been selected by the filmmakers and accordingly put into circulation in working memory, something else is forgotten. As I previously argued, *Land of Promise* has selected archive footage that is capable of illustrating the arguments that the filmmakers want to make about the past. The positivist tone of *Land of Promise*'s historicist narrative not only amplifies the strong impression of authenticity and of history unfolding in front of the camera that archival images inherently have, but it also conceals the underlying selectivity of the archival images that are linked in *Land of Promise*'s seamless and smooth story. This

dissertation demonstrates that Scheffer and Roelofs could have made a completely different series (at least the part about the Netherlands). While it is not my aim to unmask the series as having made the wrong choices, I do think that a considered reflection of the acts of selection provides insight into the televisual logic of archival compilation and the cultural dynamics that privileges certain images of (Islamic) immigrants over others.

Land of Promise's account of the initial years of immigration revolves around the theme of "avoidance", and consequently only footage that fits this theme has been selected. Footage that depicts the opposite has been avoided. In chapter two and three, I showed that there is much footage that revolves around different forms of contact between Dutch and (Islamic) guest workers during these initial years. Namely, footage of Dutch who volunteered to teach guest workers, of Dutch who invited them into their homes, who helped them with legal problems and with their political, social and religious emancipation, and who helped to improve their general situation. Besides, as I exposed in chapter three, there is much footage of Muslims and Dutch celebrating Islamic festivals together. The same mechanism is at work in the second and third episode. The series has mobilized all sorts of footage that can illustrate conflict and struggle about Islam, and has thus excluded footage that tells another story. In the sequence that compiles the struggle concerning Islam, the series has resorted to all sorts of (recent) imagery of what I have called angry Muslim mobs. This is only a very limited selection of the enormous amount of footage of Muslims that is available. It is telling that Land of Promise has avoided footage from the sixties, seventies, eighties and even nineties that may show an unproblematic relationship between Dutch and Muslims. Apparently, I would argue, the acts of selection of Land of Promise have for an important part been driven by recent anxieties and obsessions concerning Islam. In so doing, Land of Promise has missed the opportunity to tell an alternative, new and unfamiliar story about the history of immigration and Muslim presence in the Netherlands.

Final recapitulation and limitations

Positively, Land of Promise is quite exemplary for television's tendency to compile Islam through a handful of emblematic (archival) images and to reduce Islam to a limited amount of clichéd stories. Despite the fact that so much of Sound and Vision's archival footage has been digitized and made easily available, the bulk of the footage described in this dissertation and which tells alternative stories about

Muslims in the Netherlands, lingers in a state of archival latency. Apparently, these stories and images have faded from common interest. While there are several pragmatic factors at play here - such as the speed of the production process, copyright issues, the lack knowledge of news editors of the richness of the archive, the lack of time to pursue archival research, the lack of fantasy to think of alternative images to visualize Islam, or other factors related to money or technology – I have exposed that television's canonization of the same (generic and archival) images is also caused by the compelling logic of the medium, by the archival logic that facilitates television's conventions, and by political discourses that have pushed alternative images and stories to the periphery.

This dissertation has revealed that television's need to constantly visualize abstract stories has resulted in a very limited repertoire of generic images such as prayers, mosques, women wearing *hijab,* and Muslims on the street. These ordinary images now carry connotations far beyond their initial significance, since they have been used to illustrate all sorts of stories about the negative aspects of multicultural society and Islam. The television logic at work here is supported by Sound and Vision's practices of describing generic stock shots for reuse. These practices have a performative effect and contribute to the consolidation of this rigid visual repertoire of Muslims and Islam. Besides, this dissertation has shown that the medium's convention to reuse archival images and the medium's tendency to dwell on the evocative, extraordinary and horrific have canonized certain archival images at the exclusion of others and have transformed these into rather clichéd symbols of the past. In addition, the medium's compilation logic and its often uncritical and ahistorical reuse of archival footage have resulted in rather clichéd televisual histories of Muslims and Islam that are often very much informed by political discourses of the present. Again, the archiving practices of Sound and Vision support the medium's convention to reuse archival footage. Sound and Vision thus plays a role in the canonization of archival images by having selected the archival footage for preservation, by having described and highlighted archival material for reuse, and by having digitized archival footage. While television's picking and choosing of always the same limited number of archival stock images is mainly caused by the medium's conventions and by political discourses of the present, every repetition of these images multiplies them in Sound and Vision's collection and descriptions. Finally, increasingly more generic images, which are mere replicas of other images and a constantly growing amount of the same archival images, have accrued in the archive's collection and descriptions.

The ubiquity of this kind of clichéd imagery in Sound and Vision's archive hopefully urges television makers who are in a position to access and use the archive to awaken to critical vigilance with regard to the footage that they put in circulation. Television makers should look for alternatives to the succession of déjà-vu images and disturb the canonization of our cultural memory by clichés. They should find ways for more inventive usage of the archive and critical usage of audiovisual sources that could interrupt television's constant parading of the same enduring images repeatedly and television's constant amplification of Islam as a threat. They should find alternative ways to visualize their stories, reflect on what might be outside the frame of reportage and recover forgotten images from the periphery. Finally, they should feel the urgency to offer their audiences alternatives to the same old stories about Muslims and Islam. Indeed, it is time for more stimulation of our (historical) imagination.

Due to my historical approach, certain perspectives on the television coverage of Muslims and Islam and the circulation of images might have remained underexposed. I have not taken all the (pragmatic) factors that play a role in the canonization and circulation of images and stories into account. Since in the future, television's reliance on archival footage is likely to intensify and an increasing amount of (European) television heritage will be digitized, it would be interesting to pursue further research on the factors that are at play in the circulation of audiovisual heritage. As Julia Noordegraaf suggests in her forthcoming book *Performing the Archive: Tracing Audiovisual Heritage in the Digital Age*, one could resort to actor-network theory to account for both the human and the non-human agents (such as copyright issues and technology) that play a role in the cultural process by which certain images are elevated on a pedestal by the archive and remediated across various media platforms. Furthermore, one could also resort to methods developed within digital humanities to further research recurrent themes, topics and images in Sound and Vision's archive or – as Sonja de Leeuw (2012) suggests- pursue a transnational comparative approach to European television history. It would be interesting to investigate how other European countries have covered topics such as immigration, multicultural society and Islam. Finally, the digitization of audiovisual heritage, the circulation of this heritage across media platforms and the increasing accessibility of this heritage online poses many new and challenging questions about the status of the medium of television and digitized television heritage and about the cultural life of audiovisual heritage. Therefore, in the future, the archive will remain an important topic in the media studies research agenda.

English summary

In recent years considerable scholarly attention has been devoted to examining representations of Muslims and Islam in Western media, but so far the Dutch context has remained overlooked. Besides, the majority of these studies are set in the post 9/11 era and lack a historical perspective. This thesis tries to fill these research gaps, by examining the history of the representation of Muslims and Islam on Dutch public television from the arrival of the first Islamic guest workers in the sixties until the recent era of the 2000's in which Islam became such a salient and contested issue and was pushed to the centre of the public debate. By turning the spotlight on the historical dimensions of Dutch television coverage of Muslims and Islam, and by examining both the repetitive patterns of coverage and the transformations of the narratives and imagery of Muslims and Islam, this study deepens the understanding of the emergence, the transformation, and the resilience of stereotypical stories and images of Muslims and Islam.

This historical investigation is based on material from the Institute of Sound and Vision and takes as its starting point the collection of television programs that are preserved and stored in this archive in Hilversum. The aim of this dissertation is twofold: to investigate the history of Dutch television coverage of Muslims and Islam, and to analyse how the logic of both the medium of television and of the archive has created an (historically variable) iconography –various repertoires of (stereotypical) images- of Muslims and Islam. The leading notion of this research is that the archive of Sound and Vision is an active player in media culture. This study departs from the idea that this archive has a history of its own that on the one hand mirrors the changing perspectives on Muslims and Islam, and that on the other hand shapes the reuse and circulation of images Muslims and Islam. By studying the history of television representation of Muslims through the very archive that holds the broadcast material, this thesis offers a new perspective on both the changing televisual discourses of Muslims and Islam, and on the cultural dynamics of the circulation of clichéd images of Muslims and Islam on Dutch national television.

The first chapter of this dissertation (*The Archive is Alive: Seeing through the Archival Prism*) introduces the theoretical body of work on the archive that has informed this study. In this chapter I conceptualize an epistemology of the archive, inspired by the work of Michel Foucault, Jaques Derrida and various archival researchers. I investigate the stakes of the "archival turn" that took place in the humanities and social sciences. I examine the current concerns with the politics of

the archive and with the relationship between the archive and public memory, and focus more specifically on the audiovisual archive, and question the status of the archive in our current visual and digital culture. In this chapter I describe the major paradigm shift in archival theory from the archive as a static, neutral and material site of knowledge retrieval to a dynamic, contextual, virtual space of knowledge production. And by doing so, I provide the theoretical framework that has informed my research in the archive of Sound and Vision and that has guided my analysis of its collection of broadcast material about Muslims and Islam. Finally, this chapter indicates how I look at this broadcast material through the prism of the archive.

The second chapter (*Setting the Scene: Muslims and Islam in the Archive of Sound and Vision*) presents a general overview of the history of television coverage of Islam and Muslims through the lens of the archiving practices of Sound and Vision. I provide a short biography of the archive of Sound and Vision and describe its selection and retention policies throughout the years, discuss the practice of archival description, and show that the archiving practices of Sound and Vision spring from its function as a company archive for various broadcasting organizations, and largely results from the archive's task to facilitate reuse for the broadcasters. This results in an elaboration of the method that I have used to navigate through Sound and Vision's iMMix catalogue and to read the archive "along the grain". I trace the programs that have been labelled with the keywords "Islam" and "Muslims" through five decades of television history. Of each decade I identify the frequencies of coverage, the thematic patterns of this coverage, and the (generic) images that television has used to visualize its stories. Besides, I reflect on how the material has been archived and what generic stock shots (non-specific images that can be reused in different contexts) have been elevated for reuse by the archival descriptions.

This chapter reveals how television coverage of Islam and Muslims has evolved over the course of fifty years. In the sixties and seventies, the issue of Islam was almost exclusively addressed in relation to religious celebrations and other Islamic rituals of Moroccan and Turkish guest workers. In this discursive regime of the low-skilled single male guest worker, the Islamic religion of these workers was very much in the margins of coverage and in the rare instances that is was addressed; television's gaze displayed a fascination for his exotic religious rituals. Communal prayers and mosques dominated the visual repertoire of Islam. In the eighties, ethnic minorities whose relationship to the Netherlands was rearticulated as permanent replaced the guest workers. In this new discursive regime, Islamic children and teenagers entered the repertoire, and the variety of topics associated with Islam

increased. With the Rushdie affair, the issue of Islamic fundamentalism emerged in television's news agenda. Core images were communal prayers and mosques, children in Quran School, girls with headscarves in classrooms and demonstrating crowds of Muslims during the Rushdie affair. In the nineties, the figure of the *allochtoon* who should integrate into Dutch society dominated television coverage of the multicultural society, and in this discursive regime the visibility of Muslims increased further. Television reported on the increasing fear of Islamic fundamentalism, on the emerged hostility towards Islam, and on various issues relating to the integration of Muslims. This decade witnessed television's discovery of the figure of the veiled Muslim woman. Besides the familiar images of mosques, communal prayers, and girls at Quran School, the visual repertoire of Islam consisted of images of veiled women on streets and markets and Muslim men in public spaces. And finally, in the 2000's, television privileged stories about the radicalization of young Muslims, home-grown terrorism, hate-preaching imams in contested mosques, the spreading of fundamentalism by Islamic schools, and repressed veiled or fully covered Muslim women. Besides the generic images of mosques, communal prayers, girls and women wearing *hijab*, and Muslims in public space, new generic images emerged, such as women in *niqaab*, hate-preaching imams, and orthodoxly dressed Muslims. Besides, television began to increasingly rely on archival footage to illustrate its stories. The visual repertoire of Muslims and Islam ultimately became an amalgam of the familiar generic imagery and of compulsively repeated archival footage of the Dutch and global contexts (such as footage of the murder of Theo van Gogh, excerpts from *Fitna* and *Submission*, footage of 9/11, terrorist attacks in London and Madrid, and footage of the Danish Cartoon crisis).

Besides describing the transformation of television's thematic and visual repertoires of Islam, this chapter argues that the compelling logic of the medium of television- in particular its constant need to visualize abstract stories- has resulted in a rigid iconography that has made Islam instantly recognizable, but has also reduced Islam to a handful of emblematic images that now carry connotations far beyond their initial significance. The chapter maintains that by obsessively repeating the same images (e.g. of mosques, communal prayers, veiled women) over and over again in stories that did not necessarily deal with the rituals and appearances of the Islamic religion, television has suggested causal relationships between the religion of Islam and all sorts of societal problems, such as the failure of integration and the dangers of Islamic fundamentalism and even terrorism. Furthermore, this chapter argues that the archiving practices of Sound and Vision- since they have always been

at the service of the compelling logic of the medium of television- also play a role in the emergence and persistence of the rigid iconography of Islam. The archival descriptions have constantly highlighted each decade's core images, both in the form of stock shots (generic images for reuse) and in the form of dupes (reused archival footage). While these archival descriptions on the one hand only mirror the imagery that television has used to visualize Islam, I suggest that on the other hand they play an autonomous role in the cultural dynamics, which over and over thrusts the same clichéd images in circulation. The archival descriptions that put certain repeatable visual units on a pedestal and isolate these as having a potential for reuse (e.g. "a praying Muslim", "veiled women on the market", "Muslims on the street") have a performative effect. These stock shots have been cut loose from their original semantic content and become ready to be cited and quoted in new contexts.

In the third chapter of this dissertation (*Reporting on the Rituals of Islam*), I further investigate what stories and visual repertoires of Muslims and Islam have been perpetuated by television by focussing on the coverage of the rituals of Islam. Since the first arrival of Islamic immigrants, these rituals have often prompted discussions of the place of Muslims in Dutch society. A focus on the repeated television coverage of these rituals reveals how Dutch television has imagined, visualized and constructed the religious identity of Muslims vis-à-vis the Dutch cultural identity throughout five decades. The chapter is divided in two parts. In the first part, I trace the coverage of the ritual of fasting during the holy month of Ramadan and of the Festival of Fast-Breaking (*id al-fitr*), and in the second part I focus on the coverage of the Festival of Sacrifice (*id al-adha*) and the issue of *halal* slaughter. The chapter reveals that during the sixties and seventies, the coverage of *id al-fitr* and Ramadan and the coverage of *id al-adha* (and the very sporadic coverage of ritual slaughter) was very similar in terms of its thematic tendencies and its framework of reference. Television raised the issue of the lack of facilities for Muslims to practice their faith, reported on their struggle for emancipation in the sphere of religion from a framework of hospitality and solidarity, and visualized the stories about Ramadan and *id al-fitr* with images of prayers and Quran recitations and the stories about *id al-adha* with images of festive roasts, where Muslims and Dutch were eating together. In the eighties, the coverage of *id al-adha* and ritual slaughter began to follow a different logic than the coverage of *id al-fitr* and Ramadan. In the coverage of *id al-fitr* andRamadan, television began to stress the similarities between Muslims and Dutch by reporting on the ritual of Ramadan from a Christian comparative framework, and by depicting the values of Muslims as in line

with the Christian faith, and as compatible with the values of the Dutch nation. This Christian comparative framework was absent in the coverage of *id al-adha.* During this period ritual slaughter became a disputed issue, and television reported on the controversies and debates that revolved around the question to what extent the freedom of religion should prevail over animal rights. While television continued to visualize the stories about *id al-fitr* and Ramadan with images of prayers and Quran recitation, the visual repertoire of *id al-adha* was reduced to images of abattoirs and the slaughtering of sheep. In the nineties, the disparities between the coverage of *id al-fitr/* Ramadan and *id al-adha/* ritual slaughter further intensified. The thematic structure of the coverage of Ramadan began to move beyond the realm of religious belief and began to accrete around the participation of Muslims in Dutch society, and around intercultural relations between Dutch and Muslims. At the same time, *id al-adha* practically disappeared from television and the controversy about ritual slaughter kept engulfing the festivity. And finally, in the 2000's, these trends further intensified. Muslims began to perform their national belonging by transforming *iftar* into a national event, and while television depicted these *iftars* as showcases of hospitality, adaptation and effective integration of Muslims, *id al-adha* and ritual slaughter kept being depicted as gruesomely bloody affairs, that might commit Muslims to values that are incompatible with Dutch national values. Finally, this chapter shows that the more Islam became a contested issue, the more television coverage of Islamic rituals began to display two competing narratives about the religious identity of Muslims: one about the well-adapted, successfully integrated Muslims, whose religious capital was confirmed as sacred and in line with the values of the Dutch nation, and one of the maladjusted Muslim whose religious capital was contested and even delegitimized as being in conflict with the values of Dutch society. Lastly, I suggest that the stereotypical figure of the well-integrated and domesticated Muslim is the flipside of the same coin that figures the frightening maladjusted Muslim with bloody habits.

In the fourth chapter (*The Single Male Guest Worker and the Angry Muslim Mob: An Archaeology of Iterating Archival Images*) I continue to investigate what stories and images of Muslims and Islam have been canonized by television, but I now turn my attention to an analysis of iterating archival images: images from an episode of *Televizier* (1969) about the recruitment of Moroccan guest workers, and images of demonstrating Muslims during the Rushdie affair (1989) in the Netherlands. This chapter departs from the idea that the archive of Sound and Vision is an enormous reservoir of images that are constantly available for reuse, and

it examines how two sequences of images have been canonized by television's constant repetition and have become part of cultural memory. Both images have been recycled frequently and have often been employed as visual illustrations of crucial moments in the history of Muslim presence in the Netherlands. I draw on a constructivist model of cultural memory and further theorize the recursivity of the medium of television and its reliance on archival footage. In the first part of the chapter, I trace the iterations of the *Televizier* images, and I investigate how these images have been re-contextualized over and again, have constantly been reinvested with new meaning, and have transformed into "audiovisual *lieux de mémoire*". The analysis shows that the *Televizier* images have repeatedly been employed to mark the beginning of labour immigration, and to mark the moment to which retrospectively all the problematic consequences of immigration can be traced. In the original item, the Moroccan guest workers were depicted as victims of dehumanization by the Dutch government. In the eighties, the *Televizier* images began to operate as a reminder of the fact that the guest workers had come to the Netherlands as a result of active policy, that they had been economically exploited during the prosperity period, and that they were now being swept aside without any future prospects. In the nineties, they began to be employed to critique the indifference of the Dutch government and its failure to come up with proper integration policies. In retrospect, they began to operate as an illustration of the coming of Islam to the Netherlands. And in the 2000's the *Televizier* images surfaced in programs about all sorts of integration problems and the dangers of Islamic fundamentalism. This case-study shows that the *Televizier* images of the Moroccan men seem to be tailor-made for representing the generic identity of the victimized guest worker, and his later retrospectively constructed generic identities of the poorly-integrated *allochtoon* and the Muslim who might be susceptible to fundamentalism. Finally, this case-study argues that television's obsession for these kinds of condensed pieces of drama has transformed the *Televizier* images into a stereotyping symbol of the past, that not only reveals but also hides certain aspects of historical reality.

In the second part of this chapter, I move from an analysis of the constant repetition of ordinary television images to an analysis of the iterations of television images that refer to a very specific event: *Journaal* images of demonstrating Muslims against Rushdie in The Hague and Rotterdam. In this case-study I investigate how the Rushdie affair has been re-appropriated throughout the years, and how the Rushdie images have often been employed by television as "template"; as a visual

comparison that television employs to interpret unfolding events. This case study reveals how the Rushdie images, which were already instantly burdened with connotations of Islamic rage and fundamentalism, have circulated on television and have re-entered in new contexts. It shows that during the nineties television condensed the transnational Rushdie affair into a set of compulsively repeated key images and began to use images of various demonstrations against Rushdie without differentiation. This is also reflected in the archival descriptions, where "rallies of Muslims" emerged as a distinct category of imagery. In the nineties, television repeated the Rushdie images in narrative about foreign fundamentalism on the one hand, and in narratives about the dangers of stigmatizing the Dutch Muslim community on the other. This framing of Islamic fundamentalism as a foreign problem and the depiction of the demonstrators against Rushdie as puppets of Khomeini abruptly came to an end after the murder of Theo van Gogh (2004). The meaning of the Rushdie images was subject to a radical contextual shift, and the Rushdie images began to systematically operate as the historical precedent of current problems and as a media template that offered an ignored history lesson. The Rushdie images now started to mark the moment that the Netherlands lost its innocence for the first time. This kind of reuse sustained and amplified the discourse of the threat of Islamic terror. Finally, this case-study shows that television's dominant mode of visualizing the past is through a montage of archival images that connects multiple times and places, without an account of the selection and juxtaposition of archival footage and an account of the asymmetries between past and present.

The Coda (*Compiling Islam*) presents a final case study of the television series *Land of Promise* (2014), that centres on post-war European immigration history and that has been constructed out of archival material from Sound and Vision and several other European archives. Through an analysis of this series, I further reflect on the televisual logic of compiling stories from archival material and I recapitulate some of the central issues that this thesis revolved around. Recently, digital technologies have facilitated a greater and more immediate access to the archive and digitization projects have made an enormous amount of televisual material easily available for reuse. While television has always displayed a need to employ archival footage to visualize its stories about Muslim immigrants and Islam, the capacity of the medium to articulate past and present through archival material has attained new levels. The project of *Land of Promise* has obviously benefitted significantly from the availability of digitized archival material, but also raises the

question whether this results in the circulation of a greater variety of archival footage on television and whether this stimulates new forms of televisual historiography. In this case study I investigate what archival footage has been selected to convey the extensive and complex history of post-war European immigration and what kind of historical narrative this selection eventually has produced. Finally, this coda argues that *Land of Promise* is quite exemplary for television's tendency to compile Islam through a handful emblematic archival images and to reduce Islam to a limited amount of clichéd stories about fundamentalism and terrorism.

Nederlandse Samenvatting

De afgelopen jaren is er veel wetenschappelijk onderzoek verricht naar de representatie van moslims en de islam in de westerse media. Tot op heden is de Nederlandse context echter onderbelicht gebleven. Bovendien concentreren de meeste van deze studies zich op het tijdperk na 9/11 en missen ze een historisch perspectief. Dit proefschrift probeert deze lacunes in het wetenschappelijk onderzoek op te vullen en brengt de geschiedenis van de representatie van moslims en de islam op de Nederlandse publieke televisie in kaart, vanaf de komst van de eerste islamitische gastarbeiders in de jaren zestig tot en met het recente tijdperk waarin de islam het middelpunt van het publieke debat werd. Door de historische dimensies van de berichtgeving over moslims en de islam te onderzoeken en door te kijken naar de repetitieve patronen in deze berichtgeving enerzijds en de veranderingen in de verhalen over en de beelden van moslims en de islam op televisie anderzijds, probeert deze studie inzicht te verschaffen in het ontstaan van stereotypes van moslims en de islam en legt ze de transformaties en veerkracht van deze stereotypes bloot.

Dit historisch onderzoek is gebaseerd op materiaal uit het Instituut voor Beeld en Geluid: de collectie van tv-programma's die in dit archief in Hilversum worden bewaard vormt het corpus van dit onderzoek. Het doel van dit proefschrift is tweeledig: enerzijds geeft het een beschrijving van de geschiedenis van de berichtgeving over moslims en de islam, anderzijds analyseert het hoe de logica van het medium televisie en de logica van het archief een (historisch veranderlijke) iconografie - bepaalde repertoires van (stereotype) beelden - van de islam heeft geschapen. De leidende gedachte van dit onderzoek is dat het archief van Beeld en Geluid een actieve rol speelt in onze mediacultuur. Dit proefschrift bestudeert dus de geschiedenis van de representatie van moslims en de islam door het "prisma" van het archief van Beeld en Geluid. Het uitgangspunt daarbij is dat de beschrijvingen en classificaties in dit archief niet alleen de veranderende perspectieven op moslims en de islam weerspiegelen, maar bovendien een actieve rol spelen bij het in circulatie brengen van (archief)beelden van moslims en de islam. Door de geschiedenis van de televisierepresentatie door het prisma van het archief te bestuderen, wil dit proefschrift een nieuw perspectief bieden op de veranderende vertogen over moslims en de islam en op de culturele dynamiek van de circulatie van clichématige beelden van moslims en de islam op de Nederlandse publieke televisie.

In het eerste hoofdstuk van dit proefschrift (*The Archive is Alive: Seeing through the Archival Prism*) introduceer ik het theoretisch kader van dit onderzoek. Ik conceptualiseer een epistemologie van het archief aan de hand van het werk van Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida en diverse archiefwetenschappers en ik onderzoek wat de kenmerken zijn van de "archival turn" die heeft plaatsgevonden in de sociale- en geesteswetenschappen. Ik reflecteer op de relatie tussen het archief en het publieke geheugen en op de status van het audiovisuele archief in onze huidige visuele en digitale cultuur. In dit hoofdstuk beschrijf ik de belangrijke paradigmaverschuiving die heeft plaatsgevonden in de archieftheorie: van het archief als een statische, neutrale, materiële plek waar kennis ligt opgeslagen naar het archief als een dynamische, contextuele en virtuele plek waar kennis wordt geproduceerd. Zo geef ik uiteindelijk aan met welk theoretisch perspectief ik naar het materiaal in Beeld en Geluid heb gekeken en hoe ik de televisieprogramma's over moslims en de islam door het prisma van het archief heb bestudeerd.

In het tweede hoofdstuk (*Setting the Scene: Muslims and Islam in the Archive of Sound and Vision*) geef ik een algemeen overzicht van de geschiedenis van de berichtgeving over moslims en de islam, gezien door het prisma van de archiveringspraktijken van Beeld en Geluid. Ik begin het hoofdstuk met een korte biografie van het archief van Beeld en Geluid, waarin ik de geschiedenis van het selectie- en retentiebeleid beschrijf en inga op de archivistische praktijk van het beschrijven van het materiaal. Zo laat ik zien dat de archiveringspraktijken van Beeld en Geluid voor een belangrijk deel voortkomen uit de functie die het archief heeft als bedrijfsarchief van de diverse omroepen en uit de taak van het archief om hergebruik van beeldmateriaal te faciliteren. Dit resulteert in een uitwerking van de methode die ik gebruik om door de iMMix catalogus van Beeld en Geluid te navigeren en om het archief "along the grain" te bestuderen. In dit hoofdstuk traceer ik de programma's die zijn voorzien van de trefwoorden "islam" en "moslims" door vijf decennia televisiegeschiedenis en identificeer ik per decennium de hoeveelheid treffers, de thematische patronen van de programma's en de (generieke) beelden die televisie heeft gebruikt om de verhalen te visualiseren. Daarnaast reflecteer ik op hoe het materiaal is gearchiveerd en breng ik in kaart welke "stock shots" (generieke beelden die in verschillende contexten kunnen worden hergebruikt) het archief van Beeld en Geluid heeft uitgelicht in de beschrijvingen van het materiaal.

Dit tweede hoofdstuk laat zien hoe de berichtgeving over moslims en de islam zich heeft ontwikkeld in de loop van vijftig jaar. In de jaren zestig en zeventig

werd de kwestie van de islam maar sporadisch geadresseerd door televisie en dan bijna uitsluitend om te berichten over de religieuze feesten en andere islamitische rituelen van Marokkaanse en Turkse gastarbeiders. In deze periode, in het "discursieve regime" van de alleenstaande laaggeschoolde, mannelijke gastarbeider, bevond de islamitische religie van de gastarbeider zich in de marges van de berichtgeving. In de zeldzame gevallen dat televisie over de islamitische religie berichtte, gaf het blijk van een fascinatie voor de exotische religieuze rituelen. Gemeenschappelijk gebeden en moskeeën domineerden het visuele repertoire van de islam in deze jaren. In de jaren tachtig veranderden de gastarbeiders in etnische minderheden, wiens relatie tot Nederland nu werd gezien als permanent. In dit nieuwe discursieve regime werd ook de aanwezigheid van de islam in Nederland ontdekt als blijvend en werden islamitische kinderen en tieners onderdeel van het repertoire op televisie. De verscheidenheid van onderwerpen die in verband werden gebracht met de islam groeide. Vanaf de Rushdie-affaire (1989) werd islamitisch fundamentalisme onderdeel van de nieuwsagenda van televisie. Het visuele repertoire bestond uit gemeenschappelijke gebeden en moskeeën, kinderen op Koranschool, meisjes met hoofddoeken in klaslokalen, en demonstrerende menigtes tijdens de Rushdie affaire. In de jaren negentig ging de figuur van de allochtoon die moest integreren in de Nederlandse samenleving de berichtgeving over de multiculturele samenleving domineren en in dit discursieve regime nam de zichtbaarheid van moslims en de islam op televisie verder toe. Televisie berichtte over de toenemende angst voor islamitisch fundamentalisme, over het ontstaan van vijandigheid tegenover de islam en over diverse onderwerpen die betrekking hadden op de integratie van moslims. In dit decennium ontdekte televisie de figuur van de gesluierde vrouw. Naast de bekende beelden van moskeeën, gemeenschappelijke gebeden en meisjes op Koranschool, bestond het visuele repertoire van de islam uit beelden van gesluierde vrouwen op straten en markten en moslims in de publieke ruimte. Ten slotte, in het eerste decennium van de nieuwe eeuw raakte televisie geobsedeerd door de thematiek van de radicalisering van jonge moslims, "home-grown" terrorisme, haat-predikende imams, omstreden moskeeën, de verspreiding van fundamentalisme via islamitische scholen en onderdrukte gesluierde of volledig bedekte vrouwen. Naast de bekende generieke beelden van moskeeën, gemeenschappelijke gebeden en meisjes en vrouwen met hoofddoekjes ontstonden er nieuwe steeds terugkerende generieke beelden, zoals vrouwen in niqaab, haat-predikende imams en orthodox geklede moslims op straat. Daarnaast begon televisie steeds meer archiefbeelden te gebruiken om de verhalen

te illustreren. In dit decennium werd het visuele repertoire een mengsel van de bekende generieke beelden en dwangmatig herhaalde archiefbeelden van de Nederlandse en mondiale context (zoal beelden van de moord op Theo van Gogh, fragmenten uit *Fitna* en *Submission*, beelden van 9/11 en terreuraanslagen in Londen en Madrid en beelden van de Deense cartooncrisis).

Naast deze beschrijving van de geschiedenis van de thematische en visuele repertoires van moslims en de islam op televisie, laat dit hoofdstuk zien dat de dwingende logica van het medium televisie (met name de constante behoefte om abstracte verhalen te visualiseren) heeft geresulteerd in het ontstaan van een rigide iconografie van de islam, waarin de islam direct herkenbaar is geworden maar ook constant wordt gereduceerd door een handvol emblematische beelden die allerlei negatieve connotaties hebben gekregen. Het hoofdstuk stelt dat door het obsessief herhalen van steeds dezelfde beelden (moskeeën, gemeenschappelijke gebeden, gesluierde vrouwen) in verhalen die niet noodzakelijk gaan over de rituelen en uiterlijkheden van de islamitische godsdienst, televisie causale relaties heeft gesuggereerd tussen de islamitische religie en allerlei maatschappelijke problemen, zoals het falen van integratie en de gevaren van islamitisch fundamentalisme en zelfs terrorisme. Ook stelt dit hoofdstuk dat de archiveringspraktijken van Beeld en Geluid een rol spelen in het voortbestaan van de starre iconografie van de islam, omdat die archiveringspraktijken in dienst staan van de logica van het medium televisie. In de beschrijvingen van het materiaal zijn de constant terugkerende beelden er steeds uitgelicht voor hergebruik, zowel in de vorm van "stock-shots" (de generieke beelden voor hergebruik) als in de vorm van "dupes" (hergebruikt archiefmateriaal). Hoewel deze beschrijvingen een reflectie zijn van de beelden die televisie heeft gebruikt om de islam te visualiseren, stel ik dat de beschrijvingen wellicht een autonome rol spelen in de culturele dynamiek die ervoor zorgt dat televisie steeds weer dezelfde clichématige beelden in omloop brengt. Zo heeft de logica van het archief ervoor gezorgd dat bepaalde herhaalbare visuele eenheden uit hun oorspronkelijke semantische context worden gehaald en worden uitgelicht voor eventueel hergebruik (zoals "een biddende moslim", "gesluierde vrouwen op de markt" en "moslims op straat").

In het derde hoofdstuk van dit proefschrift (*Reporting on the Rituals of Islam*) zet ik het onderzoek naar de verhalen en visuele repertoires die televisie in omloop heeft gebracht voort door te kijken naar de berichtgeving over de rituelen van de islam. Al vanaf de komst van de eerste islamitische immigranten hebben deze rituelen vaak geleid tot discussies over de plaats van moslims in de Nederlandse

samenleving. Een analyse van de berichtgeving over deze rituelen onthult hoe de Nederlandse publieke televisie gedurende vijf decennia de religieuze identiteit van moslims heeft geconstrueerd en gevisualiseerd ten opzichte van de Nederlandse culturele identiteit. Het hoofdstuk bestaat uit twee delen. In het eerste deel traceer ik de berichtgeving over het ritueel van het vasten tijdens de heilige maand Ramadan en het Suikerfeest (*id al-fitr)*. In het tweede deel richt ik mij op de berichtgeving over het Offerfeest (*id al-adha*) en ritueel slachten. Het hoofdstuk laat zien dat gedurende de jaren zestig en zeventig de berichtgeving over het Suikerfeest en Ramadan en de berichtgeving over het Offerfeest (en de sporadische berichtgeving over ritueel slachten) zeer vergelijkbaar was in termen van de thema's die besproken werden en de referentiekaders die gebruikt werden. Televisie berichtte over het gebrek aan faciliteiten voor moslims om hun geloof te praktiseren en over hun strijd voor emancipatie in de sfeer van religie vanuit een referentiekader van gastvrijheid en solidariteit. Televisie visualiseerde de verhalen over de Ramadan en het Suikerfeest met beelden van gebeden en koranrecitaties en de verhalen over het offerfeest met beelden van feestelijke bijeenkomsten, waar schapen werden geroosterd en waar moslims en Nederlanders samen aten. In de jaren tachtig begon de berichtgeving over het Offerfeest echter een andere logica te volgen dan de berichtgeving over het Suikerfeest en Ramadan. In de berichtgeving over het Suikerfeest en Ramadan begon televisie de overeenkomsten tussen moslims en Nederlanders te benadrukken door het ritueel van de Ramadan vanuit een christelijk vergelijkend perspectief te belichten. De waarden van moslims werden op deze wijze als in lijn met het christelijk geloof en als compatibel met de waarden van de Nederlandse samenleving neergezet. In de berichtgeving over het Offerfeest was dit christelijk vergelijkend perspectief afwezig. In deze periode werd het ritueel slachten een zeer omstreden kwestie. Televisie berichtte over de controverses en de debatten die draaiden om de vraag in hoeverre de vrijheid van godsdienst prevaleerde boven de rechten van dieren. Terwijl televisie de verhalen over het Suikerfeest bleef visualiseren met beelden van gebeden en koran recitaties, werd het visuele repertoire van het Offerfeest gereduceerd tot beelden van slachthuizen en het slachten van schapen. In de jaren negentig werden de verschillen tussen de berichtgeving over het Suikerfeest/ de Ramadan en de berichtgeving over het Offerfeest/ ritueel slachten nog groter. De berichtgeving over de Ramadan begon te draaien om de participatie van moslims in de Nederlandse samenleving en om de interculturele relaties tussen Nederlanders en moslims. Tegelijkertijd verdween het Offerfeest praktisch van televisie en bleef de controverse over het ritueel slachten

negatief afstralen op het feest. Ten slotte, in het eerste decennium van de nieuwe eeuw, zetten deze trends zich verder door. Moslims begonnen te bewijzen dat ze erbij hoorden door het organiseren van nationale *iftars*. Terwijl televisie deze *iftars* afschilderde als showcases van hun aanpassing aan Nederland en hun effectieve integratie, bleef televisie het Offerfeest en het ritueel slachten afschilderen als gruwelijke en bloederige zaken die moslims zouden committeren aan waarden die niet verenigbaar zijn met de waarden van de Nederlandse samenleving. Dit hoofdstuk laat zien dat, des te meer de islam een omstreden kwestie werd, televisie twee concurrerende verhalen over de religieuze identiteit van moslims begon tentoon te spreiden: één over de goed aangepaste en succesvol geïntegreerde moslims, wiens religieuze kapitaal werd geconstrueerd als heilig en als compatibel met de waarden van de Nederlandse samenleving en één over de onaangepaste en barbaarse moslim, wiens religieuze kapitaal werd geconstrueerd als in strijd met de waarden van de Nederlandse samenleving. Uiteindelijk beargumenteer ik dat de figuur van de goed geïntegreerde en gedomesticeerde moslim ook een stereotype is, dat de andere kant van de medaille van de figuur van de angstaanjagende moslim met bloederige gewoonten vormt.

In het vierde hoofdstuk (*The Single Male Guest Worker and the Angry Muslim Mob: An Archaeology of Iterating Archival Images*) richt ik mijn aandacht op een analyse van de circulatie van twee archiefbeelden: beelden van een item van *Televizier* (1969) over de werving van Marokkaanse gastarbeiders en *Journaal* beelden van demonstrerende moslims tijdens de Rushdie affaire. Dit hoofdstuk vertrekt vanuit de idee dat het archief van Beeld en Geluid een enorm reservoir van beelden is die constant beschikbaar zijn voor hergebruik. Ik onderzoek hoe twee sequenties van archiefbeelden door televisie zijn gecanoniseerd en onderdeel zijn geworden van het culturele geheugen doordat ze voortdurend zijn hergebruikt door televisie. Beide beelden zijn keer op keer ingezet als visuele illustratie van cruciale momenten in de geschiedenis van de aanwezigheid van moslims in Nederland. Ik vertrek vanuit een constructivistisch model van cultureel geheugen en theoretiseer de recursiviteit van het medium televisie en de conventie van het hergebruik van archiefbeelden. In het eerste deel van het hoofdstuk traceer ik de *Televizier*-beelden door de televisiegeschiedenis en onderzoek ik hoe deze beelden in steeds nieuwe contexten verschenen en hoe hun betekenis constant aan verandering onderhevig was, waarmee ze uiteindelijk "audiovisuele *lieux de mémoire*" zijn geworden. De analyse laat zien dat de *Televizier*-beelden herhaaldelijk zijn gebruikt om het begin van arbeidsimmigratie te markeren en om het moment te markeren waarop met

terugkerende kracht alle problematische gevolgen van immigratie zijn terug te voeren. In het oorspronkelijke item werden de Marokkaanse gastarbeiders afgeschilderd als slachtoffers van ontmenselijking door de Nederlandse overheid. In de jaren tachtig begonnen de *Televizier*-beelden te opereren als een herinnering aan het feit dat de gastarbeiders naar Nederland waren gekomen als gevolg van actief beleid van de overheid, dat ze vervolgens economisch uitgebuit zijn tijdens de periode van welvaart en dat ze, nu het economische tij gekeerd is, aan de kant gezet werden zonder toekomstperspectief. In de jaren negentig begon televisie de beelden te gebruiken om de onverschilligheid van de Nederlandse overheid en het gebrek aan een effectief integratiebeleid te bekritiseren. Daarnaast werden de beelden voor het eerst ingezet om de komst van de islam naar Nederland te illustreren. In het eerste decennium van de nieuwe eeuw doken de *Televizier*-beelden op in programma's over integratieproblematiek en over de gevaren van islamitisch fundamentalisme. Deze case-study laat zien dat de *Televizier*-beelden op maat gemaakt lijken te zijn om de generieke identiteit van de gedupeerde gastarbeider en de achteraf geconstrueerde generieke identiteit van de slecht geïntegreerde allochtoon en de moslim die vatbaar is voor fundamentalisme te representeren. Ten slotte stelt deze case-study dat door de obsessie van televisie voor dit soort stukjes gecondenseerd drama de *Televizier*-beelden een stereotyperend symbool van het verleden zijn geworden en dat ze niet alleen bepaalde aspecten van de historische werkelijkheid tonen maar ook verbergen.

In het tweede deel van dit hoofdstuk verleg ik mijn focus van een analyse van de circulatie van "gewone" televisiebeelden naar een analyse van de circulatie van televisiebeelden die verwijzen naar een specifieke historische gebeurtenis: *Journaal*-beelden van moslims die in Den Haag en Rotterdam demonstreren tegen Salman Rushdie's publicatie van *De Duivelsverzen*. In deze case-study onderzoek ik hoe televisie de Rushdie affaire door de jaren heen heeft toegeëigend en hoe de Rushdie beelden vaak door televisie zijn gebruikt als "template": als een visuele vergelijking die dient om gebeurtenissen die zich ontvouwen te interpreteren. Deze case-study laat zien hoe de Rushdie-beelden, die in hun eerste verschijningsvorm al connotaties van islamitisch fundamentalisme en islamitische woede hadden, op televisie circuleerden en in steeds nieuwe contexten verschenen. De analyse laat zien dat in de jaren negentig televisie de transnationale Rushdie-affaire condenseerde tot een serie van dwangmatig herhaalde beelden en dat televisie de beelden van verschillende demonstraties tegen Rushdie zonder differentiatie begon te op te voeren. Dit wordt ook weerspiegeld in de beschrijvingen in het archief,

waarin "betogingen van moslims" als een aparte categorie van beeld ontstond. In de jaren negentig gebruikte televisie de Rushdie beelden in verhalen over buitenlands fundamentalisme enerzijds en in verhalen over de gevaren van het stigmatiseren van de Nederlandse moslimgemeenschap anderzijds. Na de moord op Theo van Gogh (2004) kwam er een abrupt einde aan de afschildering van het islamitisch fundamentalisme als een buitenlands probleem en van de betogers tegen Rushdie als marionetten van Khomeini. De betekenis van de Rushdie-beelden veranderde radicaal: de beelden werden nu ingezet door televisie als de historische precedent van de huidige problemen. Televisie ging de Rushdie-beelden gebruiken om het moment te markeren waarop Nederland voor het eerst haar onschuld verloor en toen niet van de geschiedenis heeft geleerd. Ten slotte laat deze case-study zien dat televisie het verleden vaak visualiseert in montages van archiefbeelden, waarin verschillende tijden en plaatsen met elkaar verbonden worden, zonder dat televisie rekenschap geeft van de selectie en juxtapositie van de archiefbeelden en van de asymmetrie tussen heden en verleden. Uiteindelijk betoog ik dat dit soort vormen van hergebruik het stereotype beeld van de dreiging van islamitische woede en terreur in stand houdt en versterkt.

In de coda (*Compiling Islam*) presenteer ik een case-study van de driedelige televisieserie *Land van Aankomst* (2014) die gaat over de naoorlogse Europese immigratiegeschiedenis en die helemaal is opgebouwd uit archiefmateriaal uit Beeld en Geluid en uit andere Europese archieven. Door middel van een analyse van deze serie poog ik verder te reflecteren op de compilatielogica van televisie en op de conventie van het hergebruiken van archiefmateriaal. Tegenwoordig hebben digitale technologieën voor een directere en makkelijkere toegang tot het archief gezorgd en hebben allerlei digitaliseringsprojecten een grote hoeveelheid televisiemateriaal beschikbaar gemaakt voor hergebruik. Hoewel televisie altijd al de behoefte heeft gehad om verhalen te illustreren met archiefmateriaal, heeft de capaciteit van het medium om heden en verleden te visualiseren met behulp van archiefmateriaal een nieuw niveau bereikt. De serie *Land van Aankomst* is zeker symptomatisch voor deze ontwikkelingen. De grote beschikbaarheid van gedigitaliseerd archiefmateriaal roept echter ook de vraag op of dit zal resulteren in een grotere verscheidenheid aan archiefbeelden op televisie en tot nieuwe vormen van historiografie. In deze case-study onderzoek ik welke archiefbeelden zijn geselecteerd om de complexe geschiedenis van de naoorlogse Europese immigratie te visualiseren en welk verhaal over deze geschiedenis hier uiteindelijk mee verteld wordt. In deze coda betoog ik dat *Land van Aankomst* uiteindelijk vrij exemplarisch is voor de neiging van televisie

om de islam aan de hand van een aantal emblematische archiefbeelden in beeld te brengen en zo te reduceren tot een beperkt aantal clichématige verhalen over fundamentalisme en terrorisme.

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After so many years of writing about clichés and platitudes, I cannot but resort to them. My road to the doctorate has been long, very exciting, and at various moments filled with obstacles. It was a road without signposts, and a road with many tempting sideways. I began this project during the turbulent years that followed the murder of Theo van Gogh, when the country was adrift and confused, and when Geert Wilders and the issue of Islam daily dominated the media. I was so determined to counter the pervasive stereotyping of Muslims that suddenly seemed to have become acceptable, and to oppose the hostile and essentialist rhetoric that was promoted by certain experts, that I developed a slightly naïve desire to be able to read the Quran myself. So I took a major sideway that brought me to the city of Damascus. Immediately, at the very first moment I set foot on its soil, I lost my heart to this city that hosted my studies of the Arabic language. My PhD project was my permanent travel companion during the many Damascene summers that followed. I always arrived in Damascus with suitcases full of books, articles and my laptop, but I never managed to write a word. Not only because I was daily attending university, but also because I became immersed in Damascene life, was absorbed by the friendships I made, and was taken by practicing the language on the streets and in the cafes. Nevertheless, I was always convinced that my studies of Arabic, my experiences in the reality of Syria, and my travels across the Middle East could inform my work. I still can't define how it did exactly, except for all the delays that it caused, but I know for sure that these yearly escapes away from the ivory tower have learned me a lot, and have provided me with ammunition to keep fighting clichéd portrayals of Muslims and Arabs in the future.

Sadly, all these distractions came to an end at the moment Syria started to fall apart. Words fail to describe the sadness and anger I feel when witnessing the complete destruction of a country and a people that I so deeply care for. I can hardly look at the archive of pictures that I have collected over the years, and that depict my Syrian friends, happily drinking and dancing, unaware of the fate that would eventually tear their lives apart. The only thing I can say is that, while I was watching the news over the last few years and saw how Western politicians and the media started to increasingly frame the war in terms of Assad's regime being a bad alternative for an even worse option of Islamic extremism, the words and wisdom of Edward Said echoed through my mind, and reminded me of the urgency to keep on

studying media representations of Islam, because representations are never only actors in the symbolic realm, and often have real consequences.

After being forced back to my main track, the road trip continued, and along with it the drifting, the wandering and the searching for the end. Now that I have finally reached my destination, I do find it- oddly enough- a difficult moment of goodbye. This PhD project has been a companion during a very eventful part of my life. It was a constantly nagging and complaining companion, that was always demanding more time and attention, and that was so often generating a feeling of guilt. However, it was also a companion that was always there, to feed me and challenge me, and that was never touched by war, illness and death. A companion that, time after time, reminded me of the beauty of thinking and writing. A companion that I could flee to, to find calmness, concentration, and inspiration in times of severe turbulence. So the goodbye is not only a relief. And it is certainly not without mourning. I am afraid that the length of my acknowledgements reflects the length of my trajectory. Many people have helped me to get here and to persevere, and many people have kept me inspired along the way. I do want to name and thank all of them, and give them the credits they deserve. Because without them, I would have never made it to the end.

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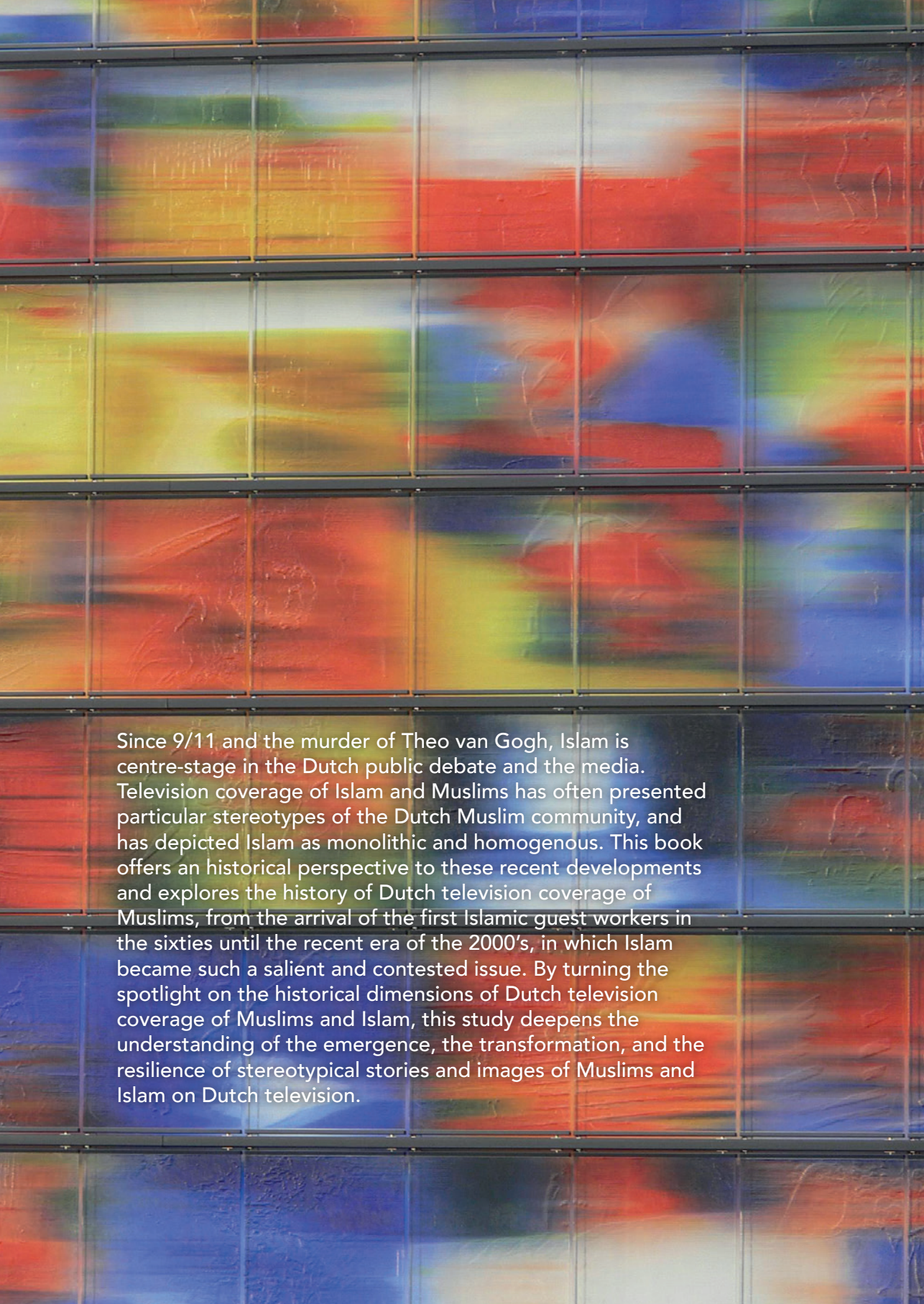
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Since 9/11 and the murder of Theo van Gogh, Islam is centre-stage in the Dutch public debate and the media. Television coverage of Islam and Muslims has often presented particular stereotypes of the Dutch Muslim community, and has depicted Islam as monolithic and homogenous. This book offers an historical perspective to these recent developments and explores the history of Dutch television coverage of Muslims, from the arrival of the first Islamic guest workers in the sixties until the recent era of the 2000's, in which Islam became such a salient and contested issue. By turning the spotlight on the historical dimensions of Dutch television coverage of Muslims and Islam, this study deepens the understanding of the emergence, the transformation, and the resilience of stereotypical stories and images of Muslims and Islam on Dutch television.