Seeing through the archival prism: A history of the representation of Muslims on Dutch television
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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. 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

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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textbf{From passive to active acquisition – until 1997}

The collection of television broadcasts dates back to the 2\textsuperscript{nd} of October 1951, when the Dutch Television Foundation (\textit{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 (\textit{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 (\textit{Nederlandse Omroep Stichting}). In the eighties, when video emerged, the NOS renamed its film archive the \textit{Film- en Beeldbandarchief}, the Film and Videotape Archive (FBA). In 1990, the \textit{Film- en Beeldbandarchief} merged with the \textit{Fonotheek} – the radio archive – into the Foundation Audiovisual Archive Centre (\textit{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 (\textit{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

\textsuperscript{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 they 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).  

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.

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

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{32} In the document ‘Collectiebeleid Beeld en Geluid’ (2013) is stated that 50 % of the audiovisual collection is now available on digital formats.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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. 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. 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. 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. 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 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. 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. 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. 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. 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) and in programs that portrayed individual guest workers, such as the magazine Overal en Ergens (Everywhere and Anywhere). 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

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” items), of which 76 dealt with the Netherlands. 7 of these were also tagged with “Islam” and 1 with “Muslims”.
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.\(^{44}\)

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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\(^{46}\) *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 07-01-1965)

\(^{47}\) *Achter het Nieuws* (VARA, 20-02-1968)
Dutch for example, or by organizing leisure activities. 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. 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)

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).

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. 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. They covered annual celebrations of Islamic festivities and reported on other rituals, such as the pilgrimage to Mecca and halal slaughter. An item of Achter het Nieuws portrayed Dutch women who lived within Istanbul with their Turkish husbands. 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). 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)](image_url)

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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 lives (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).
CHAPTER 2 | SETTING THE SCENE

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.

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. 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

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.
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).
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. 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. 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, Morrocan, 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) and *Hier en Daar een Marokkaan* (Here and There a Moroccan). 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 (excluding “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.
Veroordelen (Judgement, Prejudice, to Judge)\textsuperscript{70} and NCRV’s Beter Samen (Better Together)\textsuperscript{71}. The government launched an awareness campaign, and started broadcasting public service announcements to promote understanding for foreign workers.\textsuperscript{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.

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\textsuperscript{73}, there were items that reported on specific incidents, such as fires in boarding houses and demonstrations by

\textbf{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.

\textsuperscript{70} Oordeel, Vooroordeel, Veroordelen (IKOR, 02-03-1972 and 09-03-1972).
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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.
Moroccans for improvement of their housing that followed these fires. 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. Besides, television continued to account for Dutch people who organized activities for the foreign workers or who volunteered to teach Dutch.

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. Also, protests for equal rights and protests against the new law “labour foreign workers” in 1976 were the object of various news items. Another new topic that emerged in

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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. 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.

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).

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 9 a-b. Stills from Televizier (AVRO, 14-08-1972) about the riots in the Afrikaanderwijk.
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 street interview 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.\(^\text{81}\) 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.\(^\text{82}\) In 1976, the NOS Journaal reported on a manifestation in Rotterdam of migrant workers who demanded their own mosque.\(^\text{83}\) 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.\(^\text{84}\) 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.\(^\text{85}\) 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.\(^\text{86}\)


\(^{83}\) Journaal (NOS, 25-12-1976).


\(^{85}\) In gesprek met de bisschop (RKK, 15-01-1977).

\(^{86}\) ‘T Zand (RKK, 14-06-1979).
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. 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. 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.

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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.
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” (huisvesting) 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:

\(^{90}\)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. 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”, “prayer with Islamic pastor”, “Turkish Ramadan service in church in Amersfoort”, “communal prayer”, “Muslims in a borrowed church”), exteriors and interiors of mosques (e.g. “a mosque in the Netherlands”, “Int. and ext. mosque Amersfoort”), the call for prayer by the muezzin (e.g. “announcement by muezzin from minaret”) and the gathering for meals during religious festivities (e.g. “Festival of Sacrifice. Eating of the sacrificial animal”). 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. 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). Also, the archival descriptions of the footage exhibit a lack of knowledge about Islamic beliefs.

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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. 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).


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. The keyword “foreign workers” renders 157 items that were set in the Netherlands, the keyword “ethnic minorities” 747 items. Also the coverage of Islam and Muslims began to increase in these years. The keyword “Islam” gives 270 hits, of which 183 dealt with the Dutch context. The keyword “Muslims” renders 113 hits, 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.

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 (excluding 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”.

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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.

\(^{109}\) *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.
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. Often coverage was critical and related unemployment to racism. 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. 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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implementation of the minority policy in 1983, and through the law that granted minorities the right to vote in municipal elections in 1985.\textsuperscript{121}

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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


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). 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. 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.

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,
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. 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.

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. Several informative programs that have recycled a lot of the Orientalist stock footage about the foreign context that was shown in the 1972 series Luisteren naar de Islam.

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).

127 Aktua (TROS, 10-11-1980), Karel van de Graaf (AVRO, 01-04-1985).
were broadcast by the Christian broadcasting organizations invoked Islam in relation to Christianity. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. The sporadic

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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.
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. 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. 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. Recurrent visual motifs were children reciting from the Quran and young girls with headscarves in classrooms or on the playground.

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

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


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.\(^\text{138}\) 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.\(^\text{139}\) 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.\(^\text{140}\) 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.\(^\text{141}\)

**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.

\(^\text{139}\) *De toren van Babel* (EO, 11-01-1989).
\(^\text{141}\) 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”. 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.

¹⁴⁴ Tijdsein (EO, 08-01-1980).
¹⁴⁵ Ander Nieuws (NCRV, 18-03-1984).
¹⁴⁶ Journaal (NOS, 01-01-1980).
¹⁴⁷ Mederverkers 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

\(^{164}\) 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).

youngsters to find work\textsuperscript{166}, and on discrimination in the labour market.\textsuperscript{167} Also, education remained an important topic and television accounted for language classes for adult \textit{allochtonen}\textsuperscript{168}, for the emergence of black schools, and for the problems that were at stake at these schools.\textsuperscript{169} In addition, television coverage focused on migrant women, addressed the issues of their emancipation and integration\textsuperscript{170} and of the abuse of women.\textsuperscript{171} And finally, throughout the decade, television reported on the issue of the new minority policy and of its assumed efficiency.\textsuperscript{172} In the bulk of all these programs and items, the issue of integration of \textit{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\textsuperscript{173} and on particular incidents related to racism.

\textsuperscript{166} For example: \textit{Tijdsein} (EO, 15-02-1990), \textit{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).
\textsuperscript{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).

Besides these topics that had emerged in the eighties, two new topics surfaced in the nineties. Firstly, news and actuality programs 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.\footnote{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).} In addition, extensive reportages on specific quarters appeared on television, such as Zuilen in Utrecht, Lombok in...
Utrecht\textsuperscript{181} Spangen in Rotterdam\textsuperscript{182}, the Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam\textsuperscript{183}, Feyenoord in Rotterdam\textsuperscript{184}, the Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam\textsuperscript{185}, Bos en Lommer and de Baarsjes in Amsterdam \textsuperscript{186} and the Schilderswijk in The Hague\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{188}, on youth criminality and on projects to prevent it\textsuperscript{189}, on the involvement of Turks and Kurds in organized crime\textsuperscript{190}, on young criminal Antilleans\textsuperscript{191} and most of all on young criminal Moroccans.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{193} The young Moroccan criminal who was unemployed and not well integrated became

\textsuperscript{181} Sonja op Locatie (VARA, 24-06-1993), Middageditie (NPS, 14-02-1997), Lombok kookt (NPS, 7-12-1997, 13 episodes).
\textsuperscript{183} Nieuwslijn (VOO, 20-10-1992).
\textsuperscript{184} Dokument (NCRV, 18-04-1994).
\textsuperscript{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)
\textsuperscript{186} Marco Polo (VPRO, 11-10-1993 etc).
\textsuperscript{187} Journaal (03-09-1995), Middageditie (NPS, 21-11-1996).
\textsuperscript{188} For example: Journaal (NOS, 27-09-1990), Het Capitool (NOS, 30-09-1990), Middageditie (RVU, 04-03-1997), Netwerk (NCRV, 04-01-1999).
\textsuperscript{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).
\textsuperscript{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).
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 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 Rasoeil 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 *rasoeil* 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.

Hussein’s statement that he was waging a Holy War: a jihad. 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. Television reported on the critical reactions of Muslim organizations and of politicians who accused Bolkestein of inciting racism and xenophobia. A few years later, in 1997, Bolkestein published a book, Moslim in the Polder, in which he interviewed “successful” Muslims about the issue of integration. He repeated his views about the incompatibility of Islam and Western values on television. 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. 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. 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. 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. Also informative and educational

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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)
200 Netwerk (AVRO, 13-02-1997), Het Lagerhuis (VARA, 15-02-1997).
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. 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. In 1990, the IKON broadcast a 3-part series, De Ontmoeting (The Encounter), about the encounter between Islam and Christianity. 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. 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.

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

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

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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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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209 Milli Görüs (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 Pakistani 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), Middagededitie (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.
women. 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. 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. 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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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”. 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”. 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. 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

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 as 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 1634223 hits, of which the majority, 1409 items, dealt with the Dutch context. The keyword “Muslims” produces 2389 hits224, 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 (1932225) 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 Pretime (2003-2008?), De Meiden van Halal (2005-2006), De Meiden van Haram (2008-2009), the various allochton 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). Talk shows and actuality magazines often

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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. 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.

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, on the problem of “black schools” and segregation in the realm of

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education 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. Also the topic of criminality remained dominant and was mainly invoked in relation to young Moroccans. Television reported extensively on the problems and riots that these Moroccans caused in various towns and old city neighbourhoods, such as Ede, Slotervaart, Venlo and Gouda. 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 hit.

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”. Lastly, the topic of allochtone women and girls

230 For example: Netwerk (KRO, 14-01-2004 en 16-01-2004).
232 For example: Netwerk (KRO, 14-10-2001), Premtime (NPS, 16-01-2007).
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).
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. 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


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, 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.

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. 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 shows.

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239 Nova (NPS/VARA, 03-05-2001).
shows and television reported on the death threats that she received as a consequence of her provocative statements about Islam. 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. Following the release of the film, television reported on the controversy it caused. 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. 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). Although Geert Wilders had

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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).


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 Politeik (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. Following the broadcast of *Submission* (2004) and the Danish Cartoon crisis (2006), 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. 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* and her departure to the United States in 2006. In 2007, politician Ehsan Jami founded his “committee for ex-Muslims”, and caused yet another storm. Towards the end of

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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).


251 Zembla (NPS, 11-05-2006).


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. 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*. 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*. Recurring

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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 after the aftermath of 9/11, was discredited for his states about homosexuals. For example: Journaal (NOS/VARA, 22-11-2004) and Nova (NOS/VARA, 29-11-2004). 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. 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. Coverage of radical imams and contested mosques was often triggered by incidents, such as the discovery that the Al Tawheed mosque sold seditious literature, the suggestion that Mohammed B. used to visit the Al Tawheed mosque, the refusal of imam Salam from Tilburg to shake the hand of the minister of integration Rita Verdonk and minister Verdonk’s decision to expel three radical imams who preached in the contested Al Fourqaan mosque in...
Eindhoven. 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. 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).
classrooms, orthodoxy 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 converts.269 Furthermore, homosexuality became a recurrent topic in the coverage of Islam. Television reported on the intolerance of Muslims towards homosexuality270 (often triggered by


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), Debatt 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).


270 For example: Barend&Witteman (VARA, 25-02-2002), Pretime (NPS, 02-04-2006).
the statements of radical imams such as El Moumni) and on Muslim homosexuals.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{halal} slaughter\textsuperscript{272} and informative and historical programs about Islam and Muslims in the Netherlands. \textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.


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

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, orthodoxy 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 orthodoxy 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.