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The developments between Christianity and the different actors within the gay emancipation movement during the long nineties in the Netherlands published in gay media. An interdisciplinary study between history and sociology.

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The developments between Christianity and the different actors within the gay emancipation movement during the long nineties in the Netherlands published in gay media.

An interdisciplinary study between history and sociology.



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Introduction

The acceptance and emancipation of the LGBTQ+ community has been a changing discourse overtime. Every country had, and still has till this moment in time a different development track towards emancipation on gay equality. The Netherlands, a country known for its gay history, also has a complex paradoxical relationship with the gay emancipation movement. This complex relationship is most visible in the discussions this movement has with religious communities. One example of these discussions is portrayed by the recent research done by investigative journalism program Pointer in May 2022. In an article they conclude that many Reformed schools still reject gay relationships.¹ This link between same-sex activity and religion exists in many other cases since they are both conceptual compatible with one another.² Since a person's identity can be formed by one of these life interpretations. From this standpoint can religion and same-sex activity often be interpreted as something in people, but also often as something between people.³ This correlating relationship is already researched by different fields in social science. Since the emancipation movements on gay rights and the social change they imposed on different religions created new social phenomena. This phenomenon can be partially explained by the theory of Judith Butler of sexual policy and politics, which states that sexual politics is a phenomenon in which radical and new sexual liberties, like homosexual marriage or legalising gay person partnership, are used to define the modern state and therefore positions certain groups of migrants as opposers to the freedom homosexuality.⁴

The academic debate on sexual politics commonly agrees that these politics progress towards an eruption of homonationalism in 2001 and 2002. This theory of homonationalism is mostly used in social science and led by Jabir Puar. Homonationalism is a form of sexual politics in which the tolerance and appliance of gay rights are weaponized against those minorities who don't apply the same conduct of tolerance than the mainstream group.⁵ This form of homonationalism created an exceptional shift in the social position of gay politics and correlate with the increase of anti-Islamic rhetoric used in Europe and the Netherlands in

¹ Nos, <https://nos.nl/artikel/2430374-veel-reformatorische-scholen-wijzen-homorelaties-nog-altijd-af> (consulted may 27 2022).

² David J. Bos, *Hoe homo's wat met elkaar kregen: een lang-termijnanalyse van het discours over homoseksualiteit en islam in Nederlandse dagbladen, radio- en televisieprogramma's* (Amsterdam 2016).

³ David J. Bos, *Hoe homo's wat met elkaar kregen* (Amsterdam 2016).

⁴ J. Butler, 'Sexual Politics, Torture, and Secular Time.', *The British Journal of Sociology* 59:1 (2008) 2.

⁵ Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007.

specific.⁶ Since the outburst of homonationalism produced such major social consequences, this period has been researched and analysed in various ways. However historical research in the explanation of this discourse is lacking. A few examples of historians like Andrew Shield and Bram Mellink have attempted to analyse the historical roots of this social discourse. Another example of research prior to the outburst in 2001 is the work from David J. Bos. In his work *hoe homo's en moslims iets met elkaar kregen*. Bos provides a qualitative and quantitative analysis of Dutch mainstream media and the Islam discourse.⁷ This Islamic discourse is of course under the influence of homonationalism. To add more in the historical roots of homonationalism. I will build further on his work but widen the approach by looking at different gay media. Furthermore, will the focus be on the Christian discourse instead of the Islamic one.

To historize the social theory on homonationalism I will investigate the period before the eruption of homonationalism in 2001-2002, namely the period from 1990s to 2000s. As one event leads to another, analysing this period can give fruitful insights on the explanation and the path dependency of homonationalism. To specify this development track further my focus will be on Christianity. This religion consists out of a wide range of different communities, who acted differently towards gay emancipation, as common ground they mostly started with a conservatist belief opposing same sex. I will analyse in what way the gay media responded to these conservative thoughts. I do so to analyse if there was already some form of homonationalism during the years before 2001, and if the same rhetoric is used against Christianity as is for the Islam.

To structure my research, I use the following research question as an anchor point: How did the gay media, in particular de *Gay Krant*, frame the discussions and developments Christianity had regarding the gay emancipation movement during the long nineties in the Netherlands. In answering this question, I intend to make three contributions to the academic field. Firstly, I provide with an interdisciplinary historicizing of the years prior to the outburst of homonationalism in 2002. Secondly, this analysis will provide with an extension of existing studies by looking at the relationship between Christianity and gay emancipation. Finally, by filling in the gap in historical and social inquiry between the period from 1990 to 2000 a starting signal can be given to further research this period by other academics.

⁶ Mepschen, Duyvendak, and Tonkens, "Sexual Politics, Orientalism and Multicultural Citizenship in the Netherlands," 963.

⁷ David J. Bos, *Hoe homo's wat met elkaar kregen: een lang-termijnanalyse van het discours over homoseksualiteit en islam in Nederlandse dagbladen en radio- en televisieprogramma's* (Amsterdam 2016)

To answer the research question, the first chapters of this thesis will form the theoretical and historical foundation of my research. In chapter one and two, I discuss the historiography and materials and methods used to answer the main objectives of this inquiry. In chapter three, the theoretical framework will be introduced. The framework presented in the first chapters will then be further discussed in the first analytical chapters of this research, these will be answered through a combination of qualitative code analysis, discourse analysis and a thematic approach. In the first analytical chapter, the conflicts that took place between Christianity and the gay emancipation will be presented. Here a general picture is described to create a first sketch of the events during the long nineties. As follows, the second chapter zooms in more closely on key events outlined in the first analytical chapter. The focus will be on the sociological process of a melting pot and the influences exerted on this process by actors within the gay emancipation. To get a complete picture, the third and final analytical chapter will look at the sociological process of cultural pluralism. In these phenomena it is important to look at initiatives from within the Christian community itself regarding the improvement of gay emancipation in the Netherlands.

Historiography

Like many scholars agree, the Dutch gay person emancipation movement and history is one of the oldest and most famous in the world.⁸ In this influential history, the hard-fought relationship between homosexuality and Christianity has a prominent role. Since this thesis analyses the long nineties and looks at this arbitrary relationship, understanding the major events and the history on the gay emancipation movement leading towards this decennium, helps with understanding and broadening the view to analyse the events and the gay emancipation movement occurring in the long nineties.

Period prior 1811

Many influential historians and scholars agree that the first important period in the Dutch gay person emancipation movement predates 1811. Rob Tielman characterises this period as anti-homosexual, this negative climate towards gay people were seen across the entirety of Western-Europe.⁹ Characteristic for this period was the designation of sodomites. The term used dissected from the biblical story of the downfall of Sodom. According to Gert Hekma and Theo van der Meer who analyse the legal battles concerning homo emancipation in the work *Strafrecht en homosexualiteit in historisch perspectief*, the following description of sodomy is applicable. First, in a strict legal sense, sodomy stood for anal contact between men and men but also between men and woman. More broadly the term referred to all sexual contact that did not lead to procreation.¹⁰ Secondly, bestiality, the sexual relations between a human and a lower animal also fell under this typology. For centuries prior to 1811, the punishments for sodomy were harsh and cruel.

The violence against sodomites is reflected in the number of persecutions in the Netherlands. The first major wave of sodomy trials unfolded around the year 1730. This outburst was one of the most violent persecutions in all of Europe.¹¹ One explanation for this outburst is the period of instability the Netherlands faced due to economic decline. The sodomites were held accountable for this decline.¹² It is estimated that until 1811, around two

⁸ Rob Tielman, 'Dutch Gay Emancipation History (1911-1986)', *Journal of Homosexuality* 13:2 (1987) 9-17, 9.

⁹ Rob Tielman, 'Dutch Gay Emancipation History (1911-1986)', 10.

¹⁰ Gert Hekma en Theo van der Meer, *Bewaar mij voor de waanzin van het recht* (Diemen 2011).

¹¹ Hekma en van der Meer, *Bewaar mij voor de waanzin van het recht* (Diemen 2011).

¹² *ibidem*, 11.

hundred men were put to death by different methods. The death penalty was not the only punishment used; many men were sentenced to lifelong solitary confinement in prison.¹³

1811 till 1911

In the year 1811 the laws penalizing sodomy and the cause of many cruelties was abolished. This abolishment is a direct consequence of the French Revolution.¹⁴ In French Napoleon already banished laws who condemned sodomy. By the introduction of the *Code Pénal* these cruelties ended around the year 1791. This new law was created by enlightened philosophers and supported by legal reformers.¹⁵ The division between church and state was a crucial factor for the creation of this new mentality. A sin was not yet a crime.¹⁶ One of the consequences of the separation of church and state was the abolishment of criminal persecution of sexual acts between mutually consenting adults.¹⁷ When Napoleon ended the reign of his brother Louis in 1810, the Netherlands became part of the French Empire, in doing so the French legal system got adopted in The Netherlands including the *Code Pénal*. The introduction of these new laws gave more freedom to sodomites/homosexuals in the years to follow.¹⁸

The French influence not only affected the judicial system, but the Dutch constitution was also changed. In the article *Constitutional Protection against Discrimination of Homosexuals* Kees Waalwijk describes the changes and influence of this revised constitution.¹⁹ “All people who are on the territory of the state, have an equal claim to protection of person as goods.” These words introduced the Dutch Constitution from 1815 till 1983. Having a closer look at these words, one could argue that “all people” would also include the protection of minorities in the Netherlands including gay people. However, as Kees Waalwijk mentions, the Dutch courts do not check the constitutionality of parliamentary legislation; this is left to the parliament itself.²⁰ Meaning that the parliament could enforce discriminatory laws against gay people and other minorities, and so it happened. The modern and enlightened legislation of the

¹³ Gert Hekma en Theo van der meer, *Bewaar mij voor de waanzin van het recht* (Diemen 2011).

¹⁴ Rob Tielman, ‘Dutch Gay Emancipation History (1911-1986)’, *Journal of Homosexuality*, 13, no. 2 (1987) 11.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 6.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, 6.

¹⁷ M. Salden, ‘Penal legislation and intimate relations among men/among women.’, *Journal of Homosexuality* 13:2 (1987) 155-179, 160.

¹⁸ Gert Hekma en Theo van der meer, *Bewaar mij voor de waanzin van het recht* (Diemen 2011).

¹⁹ Kees Waalwijk, ‘Constitutional protection against discrimination of homosexuals.’, *Journal of homosexuality*, 13:2 (1987) 57-68, 57.

²⁰ Kees Waalwijk, ‘Constitutional protection against discrimination of homosexuals.’, 59.

Pénaal Code ended in 1911, due to a coalition of Christian parties restoring a new moralist position on this matter by introducing article 248bis.²¹

1911 till 1940 – Law 248bis

Due to the creation of article 248bis The Netherlands had again an anti-homosexual law, and so the hundred years of freedom of punishment ended. The Catholic minister of Justice Regout introduced this newly formed law.²² Gert Hekma and Theo van der Meer pay close attention to this revision of morality legislation. Article 248bis is described as follows: “an adult who commits fornication with a minor of the same sex, of whom he knows or should reasonably suspect, shall be punishable by imprisonment of up to four years.”²³ The reason that this law is discriminatory is the fact that it is not applicable to straight contact and behavior. This discrimination only makes Kees Waldwick’s point even more clear, the Dutch parliament can enforce discriminatory laws, bypassing the constitution. The law was introduced to prevent younger men to give in to temptation and get seduced to being gay. This standpoint received massive criticism from liberals, social democrats and even some Christian parties, the logical consequence of this revision is the pillarization that characterizes the Netherlands in the twentieth century.²⁴

However, article 248bis also brought positive changes. These positive changes are described by historians Rob Tielman and Jan Rogier. In reaction to this law many different parties and actors tried to fight this newly formed moral stance. Jacob Schror, a liberal jurist, was one of these individuals. As reaction to article 248bis he founded the Dutch Scientific humanitarian Committee (NWHK).²⁵ As an organization they had a clear goal; political and social equality for gay men and woman. Since the standpoint of parliament opposed this view opposition from Roman Catholic’s, Calvinists and other orthodox parties occurred on various levels.²⁶ However, opposition leads to debate and debate leads to change. The creation of the first gay organizations and the beginning of the pillarization are therefore characterized as a positive consequence by historian Jan Rogier.

²¹ Rob Tielman, ‘Dutch Gay Emancipation History (1911-1986)’, *Journal of Homosexuality* 13:2 (1987) 9-17, 13.

²² Gert Hekma en Theo van der Meer, *Bewaar mij voor de waanzin van het recht* (Diemen 2011).

²³ Hekma en van der Meer, *Bewaar mij voor de waanzin van het recht* (Diemen 2011).

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ Rob Tielman, ‘Dutch Gay Emancipation History (1911-1986)’, *Journal of Homosexuality* 13:2 (1987) 9-17, 9.

²⁶ Rob Tielman, ‘Dutch Gay Emancipation History (1911-1986)’, 17.

1940 till 1946

With the start of the Second World War and the occupation of Nazi Germany the history on homo emancipation in the Netherlands entered a new period. One of the first acts against the homosexual movement is the dissolved of the NWHK on July 30, 1940, furthermore they proclaimed all sexual conduct between men illegal and punishable by death.²⁷ Prior to the occupation sexual conduct under the age of 21 was forbidden, therefore a total ban wasn't part of the Dutch juristically system saving lives of gay people, since cooperation by Dutch police almost didn't occur.²⁸ When the war ended, Jaap van Leeuwe, Niek Engelschman and Hann Diekman, authors and editors of *levensrecht* came out of hiding. Since the NWHK got abolished by the Germans they introduced a new gay interest group namely the Cultural and recreational Centra (C). Since the five years of occupation gay men and woman encountered a lot of cruelties and social oppression. Becoming a place of refuge was therefore one of the first important steps of the creation of the COC.²⁹

1946 till 1971

When the COC was founded, they encountered the same resistance as the NWWK did. However, the Dutch authorities tolerated to creation of the COC. Within the system of pillarization, they became a mini pillar.³⁰ However to gain governmental protection article 248bis had to be applied within the COC. And so, they did, the COC denied minors and young people to become member of the COC.³¹ This resulted in the establishment of youth societies in various bigger cities in the Netherlands during the sixties. These youth societies became so influential that the COC was forced to step up against article 248bis.³² The COC still agreed that sexual conduct with minores was something problematic, however they continued to advocate the abolishment of article 248bis more since it was the symbol of legal inequality and discrimination of gay people.³³

In the 60s a wave of social change swept across the Netherlands; this period is also described as the sexual revolution. Many older ideas about prostitution, same-sex attraction and other ethnical/progressive themes changed due to this revolution. The COC noticed this mentality shift towards a more liberal and progressive Netherlands, empowered by this

²⁷ Rob Tielman, 'Dutch Gay Emancipation History (1911-1986)', *Journal of Homosexuality* 13:2 (1987) 9-17, 9.

²⁸ Rob Tielman, 'Dutch Gay Emancipation History (1911-1986)', 17.

²⁹ Ibidem,

³⁰ Ibidem,

³¹ Gert Hekma en Theo van der meer, *Bewaar mij voor de waanzin van het recht* (Diemen 2011).

³² Gert Hekma en Theo van der meer (Diemen 2011).

³³ Ibidem.

movement and the shift in public debated led to the abolishment of article 248bis in 1971, starting a new era in the history of the gay emancipation movement. Several factors led to a more favorable climate for Dutch gay movement in the 1970s: The increasing openness about sexuality in general and same-sex attraction in specific. The social disengagement of sexuality from procreation, marriage, and gender roles. The growing influence of the women's liberation movement, and finally, the facts that due to the strongly increased secularization of society Christian political power diminished in favor of liberal/socialist political power.³⁴

1971 till 1989

Due to the sexual revolution, the end of colonialism and imperialism many different political minority groups like feminists, migrants, people from former colonies enforced change upon the political standard. Like 1815, the constitution had to adept to a revolutionary movement. And so, the same happened in 1983: "All persons in the Netherlands shall be treated equally in equal circumstances. Discrimination on the grounds of religion, belief, political opinion, race, or sex or on any grounds whatsoever shall not be permitted."³⁵ These words formed the new introduction of the revised Dutch constitution. However, like the changes in the constitution in 1815, the possible conflicts between the different mentioned groups are not solved by this constitution change. However, a significant difference with the constitution prior to the change is that it gives and creates an equilibrium between diverse groups. This paradoxical relationship is important to consider when analyzing the nineties.

This paradoxical relation is also undescribed by Judith Schuyf and Andre Krouwel in their work *The Dutch Lesbian and gay movement, the politics of accommodation*. In which they argue that the entire history of Dutch gay person emancipation could be described as paradoxical.³⁶ This is due to the fact of pillarization, the positive consequence of article 248bis, and the breakdown of this same system. This phenomenon leads to a contradictory conclusion also seen by Schuyf and Krouwel, they describe this contraction as follows:

"Although the improvement of the status of gays and lesbians is clearly associated with the decline of the rigid pillarization of Dutch society and in particular the decline of the dominance

³⁴ Landon Schnabel en Eman Abdelhadi, *Gender, sexuality, and religion: A critical integration review and agenda for future research* (Chicago 2021).

³⁵ Kees Waalwijk, 'Constitutional protection against discrimination of homosexuals.', *Journal of homosexuality*, 13:2 (1987) 57-68, 61..

³⁶ Judith Schuyf en André Krouwel, 'The Dutch Lesbian and gay movement, the politics of accommodation', *The Global Emergence of Gay and Lesbian Politics. National Imprints of a Worldwide Movement* (1999) 158-183, 178.

of the Christian organizations, the pillar system also contributed to the tolerant social climate that allowed the emergence of alternative (sub) cultures."³⁷

This paradoxical, contradicting conclusion forms the historical foundation in understanding the long nineties. The potential conflicts with Christianity as a dominant religion in the Netherlands and the gay emancipation movement is not solved at the end of the eighties but is still much alive.

Theoretical framework

In the following chapter, the theoretical framework for analysis of this thesis is presented. In line with the thematic focus further explained in the materials & method section, three major concept/themes are defined during the familiarization and analysis process of the primary sources. These three frames are *conflicts*, *melting pot* and *cultural pluralism*. All three lenses are under the influence of sociologist J. Berry and other sociologists in the field of sociology. Therefore, the framework is based on the social and political scientific theories. Consequently, it allows for reflections on the theoretical debate as well as the potential of this theory to be analysed from a comparative-historical sociology perspective. Comparative-historical sociology has broadened out for the last decade. For this thesis especially the class consciousness, social cohesion and macro-social analysis opportunities offered by this perspective are of importance. Since Christianity and the homo emancipation movement are both under the influence of these processes, applying this theoretical approach is fruitful.

The first thematic focus is *conflict*, in this category I present articles in which a serious disagreement, clashes and discriminatory rhetoric is used. Within sociology *conflict theory* is a general umbrella term which covers several theoretical sociological approaches. This *conflict* approaches originates from the school of Marxism in which the emphasises lies on class conflict over economic resources.³⁸ However, the theoretical frame used in the first chapter is more align with the views of Max Webers. He suggests that conflicts and inequality can be caused by power and class structures.³⁹ Since the Christian church possessed much power and status at the start of the nineties, the class struggle between the gay emancipation movement and this

³⁷ Judith Schuyf en André Krouwel, 'The Dutch Lesbian and gay movement, the politics of accommodation', *The Global Emergence of Gay and Lesbian Politics. National Imprints of a Worldwide Movement* (1999) 158-183, 165.

³⁸ A. Wells, *Conflict theory and fuctionalism: introductory sociology textbooks* (California 1979),

³⁹ O. Bartos en P. Wehr, *Using conflict theory* (Cambride 2002).

Christian institute are interesting to analyse. Bartos and Wehr, two sociologists dive one step further in conflict relations. The definition they propose is that conflicts can be seen in every situation where different actors or institutions use conflict action against one another to attain incompatible goals.⁴⁰ This last notion is of importance for this inquiry, since the goals of the gay emancipation movement and the Christian church were, especially in the early nineties, incompatible with one another. Resulting in different forms of conflict behaviour such as, banning certain individuals, comparing indemnities with diseases, rational actions which judge all outcomes, physical violence, and many different other forms of behaviour. Physical violence however barely occurred during the open debates between both parties. The conflicts presented in this thesis were public, which means that they were brought into society openly by different forms of media.⁴¹ This open debate made the conflicts occur when understandings, identities, values, and interests were contested.⁴²

To understand the two following frames, a crucial factor to understand in intercultural strategies is the core idea that communities, groups, and individuals who live in complex plural societies engage with each other in a number of diverse ways.⁴³ These complex interconnections of relations can occur between different actors at the same time. Think of relations between the colonizer or the colonized, individuals or groups who have preferences regards life fulfillment, immigrants or those already settled for a longer period and given the subject of this thesis, the relationship between gay people and Christians.⁴⁴ Since these different relations can be complex, a diverse range of strategies of acculturation are adapted. However, J. Berry argues in his work *Integration and Multiculturalism* that even with such a complex system of different theories, two key issues form the basis for all these different strategies.⁴⁵ Firstly, the extent to which there is an aspiration to cultivate the groups culture and identity. Secondly, the extent which there is aspiration take part in daily intercommunication with other ethnocultural communities in society, including the dominant group. The reaction to these issues differs between the unfamiliar cultural groups within society. Making it an interesting framework to further analyze.

The two issues were firstly framed from the perspective of the non-dominant ethnocultural communities. However, since the field of social studies always evolves, this

⁴⁰ Bartos, Wehr, *Using conflict theory* (Cambridge 2002).

⁴¹ Knut Lundby, *Introduction: Religion and Media in Cultural Conflicts* (De Gruyter 2018).

⁴² Lundby, *Introduction: Religion and Media in Cultural Conflicts* (De Gruyter 2018).

⁴³ J. Berry, 'Integration and multiculturalism: ways towards social solidarity', *Papers on social representations*, 20:2 (2011) 2.1-2.21, 2,5.

⁴⁴ J. Berry, 'Integration and multiculturalism: ways towards social solidarity' (2011).

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, 2,10.

framing slowly progressed towards a view that acculturation not only influences the non-dominant group but also the dominant one.⁴⁶ Nonetheless will these issues lead to different forms of outcomes.

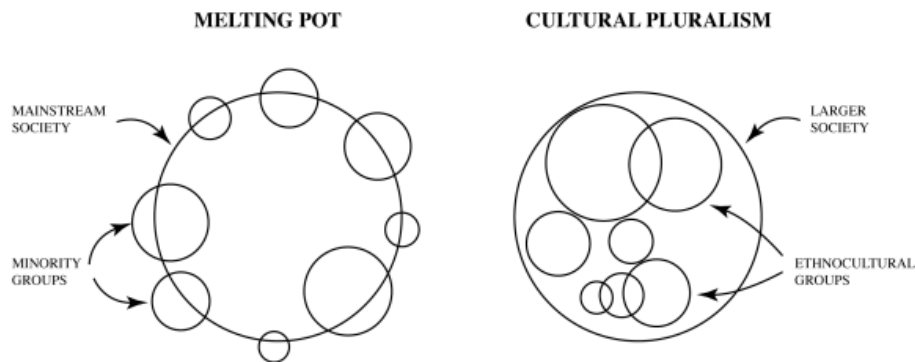


Figure 1: J. Berry, 'Integration and multiculturalism: ways towards social solidarity', *Papers on social representations*, 20:2 (2011) 2.1-2.21, 2,4.

Firstly, it can lead to a *melting pot* in which different heterogeneous communities within society are becoming more homogenous with the other minorities, creating a melting process into a more harmonious whole.⁴⁷ In this process of *assimilation*, the non-dominant communities and individuals are the initiators of this process, they seek to become more culturally valuable in society. However, within this process clashes still occur, since the dominant group reacts to the cultural movement of the non-dominant communities. This *melting pot* process will be the second frame used in this thesis to analyse the initiatives from the gay emancipation movement, and the reaction towards these events from the different Christian communities.

The final frame is also a theory used in sociology and goes one step further than the *melting pot* theory regarding *assimilation*. This theoretical typology is called *cultural pluralism*. This framework can be defined as a society where a wide range of smaller cultures assimilate within the mainstream society but also maintain their cultural uniqueness.⁴⁸ In these phenomena it is the focus on the dominant groups and their behaviours. It regards the adaptability and the reflection of current standards. Does the views and costumes of the dominant group correlate with the minorities? If the dominant group starts this process in change of accommodation towards other groups in society, the first step is made to a more multicultural ideology and the

⁴⁶ J. Berry, 'Integration and multiculturalism: ways towards social solidarity', *Papers on social representations*, 20:2 (2011) 2.1-2.21, 2,5.

⁴⁷ J. Berry, 'Integration and multiculturalism: ways towards social solidarity' (2011).

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, 2,18.

first steps towards *cultural pluralism*.⁴⁹ When the dominant group adapted more open awareness towards the other ethnocultural groups and started to change their practises to create more unity and openness in society, *cultural pluralism* can be achieved. If successful, every ethnocultural, nonetheless their size, power, origin, or culture is equal and can maintain their cultural position in society.⁵⁰ Therefore there is no expectation that smaller minorities should assimilate or become overtaken by other communities. Hence, the conception is not a unidimensional one, but multidimensional; and intercultural relations are not viewed as unidirectional, but as mutual and reciprocal.⁵¹ When this mutuality is found an equilibrium is achieved and minorities, in our case gay people, can live their life without out interference. Therefore, not having to worry about being homogenised by the dominant culture.

⁴⁹ J. Berry, R. Kalin en D. Taylor, *Multiculturalism and ethnic attitudes in Canada* (1977).

⁵⁰ J. Berry, 'Integration and multiculturalism: ways towards social solidarity,' *Papers on social representations*, 20:2 (2011) 2.1-2.21, 2,19.

⁵¹ J. Berry, 'Integration and multiculturalism: ways towards social solidarity (2011).

Materials and Method

In this chapter I will, as the title proposes, explain the research design and sources used in this thesis. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this thesis will have an interdisciplinary focus and combine historical comparative research with theories from sociology. I do so to analyse the historical sequences and attempt to unfold the processes over time.⁵² As Philip Abrams eloquently put it: ‘it is a matter of treating what people do in the present as a struggle to create a future out of the past, of seeing the past not just as the womb of the present but the only raw material out of which the present can be constructed.’⁵³ Specially this last notion is of importance, namely to understand history as a tool which can be used for the creation of social constructs. Understanding and historicizing the processes that can lead to such a creation are of immense value. This thesis will align with this important task and attempts to unravel one of the processes that led to the outburst of homonationalism in 2002.

Case study

To historicize the long nineties this thesis is based on primarily extensive qualitative desk research. The interdisciplinary secondary literature forms the basis of the theoretical framework. After consulting the different theories and primary sources the following case study came to be. Namely, the way de *Gay Krant* framed and published articles on the debate between Christianity and the homo emancipation movement in the Netherlands between 1990 and 2000s. The choice for this case study is logical. Firstly, as already mentioned in the historiography, the Netherlands has one of the richest histories regarding the homo emancipation movement. However, after 1990 less historical inquiries are written on this matter. This thesis can start a new wave of historical research to understand the processes in the long nineties. Secondly, the Netherlands became one of the most progressive countries in the world over a decade due to the sexual revolution and the process of depillarization. This process resulted into conflicts and debates between Christianity and the homo emancipation movement.⁵⁴ Creating an interesting background to historicize and analyse the selected social theories. Finally, analysing and historicizing the debate between Christianity and the homo emancipation movement helps us

⁵² James Mahoney en Dietrich Reuschmeyer, *Comparative historical analysis in the social sciences* (Cambridge 2003)

⁵³ Ann Orloff e.a., *Introduction: Social Theory, Modernity, and the Three Waves of Historical Sociology* (Durham 2005).

⁵⁴ Judith Schuyf en André Krouwel, ‘The Dutch Lesbian and gay movement, the politics of accommodation’, *The Global Emergence of Gay and Lesbian Politics. National Imprints of a Worldwide Movement* (1999) 158-183, 180.

understanding the current approaches to discriminatory rhetoric. Since homonationalism is purely focused on the rhetoric used by the Islam, it is one-sided. To broaden the understanding of homonationalism this thesis will solely focus on the relationship between Christianity and the homo emancipation movement.

Source and material collection

As a usable and suitable method, I got inspired by the work of the influential academic David J. Bos. In his work *hoe homo's en moslims iets met elkaar kregen*, Bos provides a qualitative and quantitative analysis of Dutch mainstream media and the Islam discourse.⁵⁵ The first part of his research was purely based on the number of articles and how different mainstream media discussed the relationship between the Islam and homosexuality. After this quantitative research, a more qualitative angle of analysis got introduced, in which Bos analysed quotes and bigger selections of text to historize the changes of time. I will build further on his work but widen the approach by looking at gay media instead of mainstream news outlets. Furthermore, instead of focussing on the relationship between media and Islam, my focus will be on the relationship between gay media, the gay emancipation movement, and the Christian parties.

To historize the debate between Christianity and the gay community, I will look at articles published in *de Gay Krant* between 1990-2000s. This approach will have similarities with the work of David, since I start with a short quantitative overview of the number of articles published regarding the subject. After this, the focus will shift to a more qualitative approach to broaden the understanding of social and historical change. The articles used for this analysis were published in *de Gay Krant*, this newspaper gave the gay community a safe harbour to ventilate their opinions and express emotions. Therefore, making it an interesting and viable source for analysing the debate occurring in the long nineties.⁵⁶ Previously, it was my intention to broaden this research by also looking at other prominent gay media outlets. Examples of these media are the *Homologie/Sek and XL*. However, when I started the quantitative and qualitative research the number of articles relating to the subject differed immensely. As example, over the span of ten years the number of articles published in *de Gay Krant* raised to 139. While looking at *de Homologie* only nine articles were usable relating to the subject. This fact made me decide to focus my analysis primarily on *de Gay Krant* and include the other gay media outlets on the background of my research.

⁵⁵ David J. Bos, *Hoe homo's wat met elkaar kregen: een lang-termijnanalyse van het discours over homoseksualiteit en islam in Nederlandse dagbladen, radio- en televisieprogramma's* (Amsterdam 2016)

⁵⁶ Calder, *Pink Ink: The Golden Era for Gay and Lesbian Magazines*, xii.

De *Gay Krant* was launched on 15 August 2017 as a successor to de *Gay Krant* magazine, which was founded in 1980 and last appeared in 2013. De old *Gay Krant* was the largest and longest-standing gay magazine in the Netherlands and appeared in print.⁵⁷ The newspaper covered gay lifestyle, various kinds of creative contents, and other popular culture. However, de *Gay Krant* also covered more political subjects regarding politics, gay rights, opinion pieces on emancipation and for the purpose of this thesis religion. From the circa seventy pages de *Gay Krant* consisted, in general one or two pages per edition were dedicated towards religion.

For the printed version of de *Gay Krant* and other materials and sources used in this research, I consulted the ILHIA archives in Amsterdam. As an archive they possess an extensive collection of different gay media sources. Furthermore, the Gale archive who also possess a collection on sexuality was usable as a medium to collect more source materials. However, every single article used in this research is archived at ILHIA. The media I analysed during my research period in the archive are de *Gay Krant*, *Homologie* and the *Sak* which changed to *XL* in 1992. These different media outlets had their own audience, therefore together they provide a preliminary framework on how gay media dealt with Christianity and the gay emancipation movements in the Netherlands. However, as mentioned in the paragraph earlier, the focus will be mostly on articles published in de *Gay Krant*, since the amount of useful data generated from this source was tremendously more in numbers.

Method of analysis

I combined a thematic/discourse analysis, which form the basis of my qualitative research. Using a thematic focus helps with understanding the social phenomena and it allows me to analyse how the different social theories developed over time. Furthermore, it helped me analysing and structuring the sources by the creation of different debates, themes, and discourse frameworks. The thematic approach used in this thesis is inspired on the work of Lorelli S. Nowell and her other colleagues. In the article *Thematic Analysis: Striving to Meet the Trustworthiness Criteria* a guide is presented for researchers using thematic analysis as a research method.⁵⁸

Thematic analysis and qualitative research are a respected paradigm of research. The intricacy that surrounds qualitative research requires accurate and methodical methods to create

⁵⁷ Gaykrant, [Over Gaykrant - gaykrant](#), (consulted may 15 2022).

⁵⁸ Nowell et al., “Thematic Analysis: Striving to Meet the Trustworthiness Criteria,” 6.

useful results.⁵⁹ It is very usable when to establish different identities, analyse and organize data sets and finally created frames and reports.⁶⁰ Because of the theoretical freedom this approach offers during the research period flexibility is offered. Furthermore, this approach provides a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data in a systematic way. This systematic approach is structure by Nowell and her colleagues in six phases. These phases are a necessary route to structure thematic inquiry. In the figure beneath I shortly presented the six dissimilar stages presented by Nowell:

Table 1: Stages of Thematic inquiry⁶¹

Stages of Thematic analysis	
Stage 1	Familiarizing yourself with your data
Stage 2	Generating initial coding
Stage 3	Searching for themes
Stage 4	Reviewing themes
Stage 5	Defining and naming themes
Stage 6	Producing the report

This study follows the structure presented in the table. However, the subdivision differs per analytical chapter. In the first chapter, it was decided to outline overarching themes based on collected quantitative data. During this analyzation it became clear that there were two events within these overarching themes that were important to discuss further. These events where therefore mainly dealt with in the second analytical chapter. In the third chapter there is also a less flexible and more guided distribution of themes to answer the sub-question properly. The different distributions within the analytical chapters can be regarded as a potential weakness of this approach. However, this potential weakness can be overcome by constant reflexiveness on the coding and themes formulation during the research period so that it still forms an overarching whole

⁵⁹ Nowell et al., 2

⁶⁰ Nowell et al., 4

⁶¹ Nowell et al., 5

Chapter 1 - Conflicts between Christianity and the gay emancipation movement

After introducing a short quantitative overview of the number of articles which related to the relationship between Christianity and homosexuality, a qualitative research method is applied to historize the different events and influential individuals who influenced the gay emancipation movement in the Netherlands and the conflicts that occurred with the different Christian parties. This qualitative method is necessary to map the paradoxes and contradictions within the long nineties. Since the eighties and the decennium prior are historized that those negative motivations can bring something positive. In this chapter the first thematic frame is applied, namely conflicts. The level and various debates of conflicts that occurred during the long nineties between the different Christian parties and the gay emancipation movement are categorized in three sub themes. After the short quantitative overview, the different debates/themes within the analysis of conflict shall be introduced.

1.1 Quantitative results Christianity and homosexuality in de *Gay Krant*

Christianity was a heated topic to write about in de *Gay Krant*, there were many connections between articles written and published on this matter. Looking at graph one, the first phenomena that is important to notice is the downward trend. From 1990 till 1995 articles related to Christianity were in general more written than the year 1995 till 2000s. In 1990 and 1995 there was a peak in articles in de *Gay Krant*. – The reason for this can be the discussion on same partnership registration, this discussion had its peak in 1995 in the Netherlands. After 1995, articles related to Christianity slowly trended downwards with a stagnation in 1997. During the three years after 1997, the articles slowly progressed to higher numbers again. The quantitative numbers do not provide with reasons for the changes in numbers that occurred. The qualitative analysis will provide a framework and broadens the understanding for the casus of these quantitative changes during the nineties.

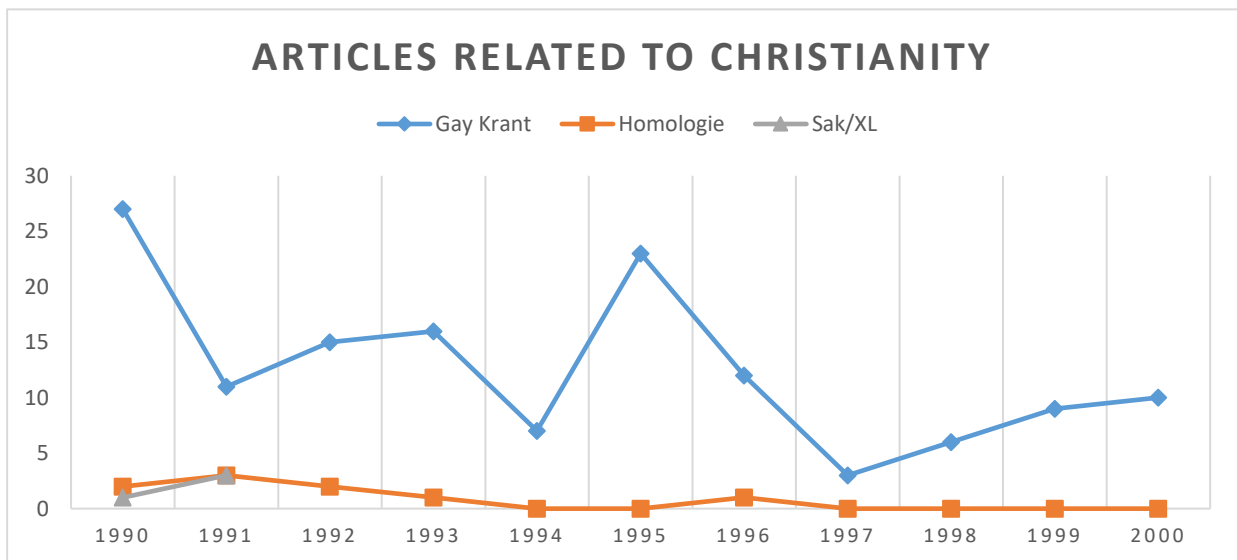


Figure 2: See appendix A and B.

1.2 - Conflicts between homosexuality and Christianity in de *Gay Krant*

As mentioned before, the first step in the qualitative research will be an analysis of conflicts between the gay emancipation and Christianity published in de *Gay Krant*. These conflicts occurred on various levels in society and throughout the long nineties. To structure this approach, a chronologically thematic route will be taken. However, when a political or public debate is visible throughout the entire year or during multiple years, then this debate will be covered and described. In result a chronical thematic overview off different debates, framed in sub themes, is described.

1.2.1 - Livelihood

The first article in which a clear conflict is visible at the start of the nineties originates to the debate in which gay people could be refused employment because of their sexual orientation. To capture this debate in a more broadened conceptual framework I use the concept *livelihood*. Under this subcategory the debates will be described whom on some level correlate with the conflict in a person's means of securing the basic necessities of life.⁶² For the case study it is necessary to mention that the access to basic necessities like money, work and other aspects in life gets problematized by a Christian community, leader or anything related to this notion, because of a person's sexuality, resulting in conflicts.

⁶² Cambridge Dictionary, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/livelihood> LIVELIHOOD | meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary (consulted, may 10 2022).

On 17th February 1990, de *Gay Krant* published an article in which the vision off the Protestant Christian Education organization is portrayed. Confessional schools wanted to maintain their right to keep out homosexuals. They argued that they should clearly state in their statutes that they cannot hire homosexual staff or accept students for religious reasons.⁶³ This first article already reinforces the argument by Kees Waalwijk. The constitution might give the assumption that every individual should be equal in Netherlands. However, in practise this was not the case at the start of the nineties. Another example of this paradox is the article published on September 22, 1990. The title *Koster gediscrimineerd door Pastoor* already portrays the discriminatory discourse which overlaps within the conflict frame. In the article the position of Wim de Vreede, a sexton in the parish of Zoetermeer is discussed. Because of his sexuality the Pastor fired him.⁶⁴ Resulting into a clear personal attack on the livelihood of Wim de Vreede.

For a longer period, articles related to conflict and debates on livelihood were not published. However, when the *General Equal Treatment Act* was introduced by the second chamber in 1991, the discussion heated up again. This law included general rules to protect individuals on the grounds of religion, belief, political affiliation, race, sex, nationality, heterosexual or gay orientation or marital status. Due to the slowness of legislation, the much-criticised date of 1 January 1994 on which the law is due to enter into force will certainly not be able to be brought forward. In the article *Same-sex activity certainly counts in assessment* the Protestant Christian Education organization reacts to this potential new law.⁶⁵ Spokesman prof. mr. A. Koekkoek states the following:

*“Homosexuality is of course a factor that is looked at when we investigate whether someone meets the basis of an institution. We are allowed to discriminate based on our religion, and that can lead to a distinction between homosexuals based on our beliefs. According to the Christian school boards, the law explicitly allows this: , there is a distinction of the kind that is not prohibited in the law... Article 5 of the Act allows school boards to discriminate because of their beliefs.”*⁶⁶

⁶³ “Voorzitter PCO-homogroep: WGP verandert niets: Allemaal gelijk, alleen de een wat minder,” *Gay Krant*, February 17, 1990.

⁶⁴ “Koster gediscrimineerd door Zoetermeerse pastor. Ik wil niets met misdienaartjes,” *Gay Krant*, September 22, 1990.

⁶⁵ “Homosexualiteit telt bij beoordeling zeker mee.” *Gay Krant*, June 15, 1991.

⁶⁶ “Homosexualiteit telt bij beoordeling zeker mee.” *Gay Krant*, June 15, 1991.

When prof. Koekkoek refers to article 5 of the law, he refers to the following passage: “The first paragraph shall be without prejudice to: A, an institution on a religious or philosophical basis. B, an institution of special education, or C, an institution based on a political basis”⁶⁷. With the first paragraph a reference is made to the restriction on distinction based on sexuality. However, as the article shows, an institution on a religious or philosophical basis is excluded from this restriction. This exclusion resulted in critique from many different parties including the COC. COC board member Karin IJssel once again pointed out that it is unacceptable that requirements may be imposed on the living / living situations of workers based on this law. The focus must be on the functioning of the person concerned and that ends at the school fence.⁶⁸

Not only where these discussions visible on the highest level of national governance. Smaller towns in the Netherlands also dealt with the struggle in which sexuality could be seen as a factor in which a person could be fired. An example of this phenomenon is a conflict that started at an interdenominational choir in a small town in the Veluwe called t’Harde. The conductor of the choir, M. Hup turned out to have had a permanent partner for a longer period. The board members had learned that this was an openly gay relationship. They could not find peace with the idea that an openly homosexual man conducted their interdenominational choir. After discussion, more than half of the choir agreed with this: Conductor Hup had to leave. The choir fell apart due to a discussion between supporters and opponents.⁶⁹

All these occurrences are examples of the argument made by Kees Waalwijk, even with a constitution that protects every individual from discrimination. In practise this seems a utopia. The same can be said on the *General Equal Treatment Act*. When this law got introduced in 1991, the opposition and the gay emancipation movement battled for more equal rights. They are fighting for a law that explicitly prohibits discrimination against homosexuals. Only to achieve this objective, the cooperation of the Minister of Justice is necessary. During the period when the new law was in creation, Mr. Hirsch Ballin held the position as Minister of Justice.⁷⁰ In an interview with de *Gay Krant* the opposite views on the subject became clearly visible. The content of the law led to dissatisfaction with the gay emancipation movement in the Netherlands. Many believed that the bill regulates when an institute/employer is allowed to discriminate. Some people even argued that it might be better not to have a law than one that is based on the current proposal. As reaction on this critique the minister reacts the following:

⁶⁷ Overheid wettenbank, [wetten.nl - Regeling - Algemene wet gelijke behandeling - BWBR0006502](https://wetten.nl/Regeling-Algemene-wet-gelijke-behandeling-BWBR0006502) (overheid.nl) (Consulted, may 12 2022).

⁶⁸ “Homosexualiteit telt bij beoordeling zeker mee.” *Gay Krant*, June 15, 1991.

⁶⁹ “Koor gaat uiteen om homodirigent,” *Gay krant*, May 30, 1992.

⁷⁰ “Minister Hirsch Ballin: “Geen gelijke rechten maar vergelijkbare rechten,” *Gay krant*, June 13, 1992

“For a proper understanding of the law it is necessary to keep in mind what discrimination exactly is: that is making distinctions on the wrong grounds; grounds that should not be relevant for the assessment. Every legal provision constantly makes a difference between one situation and another. Discrimination is therefore not making differences.”⁷¹

In certain circumstances, therefore, a distinction may be made according to the minister, based on ideological or political preference, gender, or sexual orientation. “If you are not allowed to make a distinction, you will put pressure on someone's conviction, that what someone owns, what constitutes his mental and physical identity.”⁷² This last phrase makes the underlying incompatible views visible. If sexuality does not overrule other identities, then religion, ethnicity, nationality, and other parts of a person's identity are on equal terms. However, when looking at the work of Puar, the gay emancipation movements strive for sexual exceptionalism. In which an exceptional queer subject is created that loses all other identities and sexuality is seen as the primarily one. Since sexuality is born with in and the other parts of a person's identity is given or learned.

The debate on the bill continued in 1993 when article was published in de *Gay Krant*. In this article, Ella Kalsbeek, a member of parliament for the Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA) is interviewed. According to the PvdA member of parliament Ella Kalsbeek, coalition partner of the CDA, all criticism is unjustified. As she states:

“A teacher at a special school may therefore not be fired or refused because he or she is living with or having sex with someone of the same sex. The law is noticeably clear on that. The fact that someone is homosexual, including everything that comes with it, does not mean that such a person is unfit to propagate the foundation of that school. The fact that sex with someone of the same sex is sinful according to the teachings of several denominations does not mean that people can be fired or refused for this reason.”⁷³

This interpretation of the law is quite different then interpretation given by minister Hirsch Ballin, as he made is quite clear that an institute could reject an individual based on sexuality.

⁷¹ “Minister Hirsch Ballin: “Geen gelijke rechten maar vergelijkbare rechten, “ *Gay krant*, June 13, 1992.

⁷² “Minister Hirsch Ballin: “Geen gelijke rechten maar vergelijkbare rechten, “ *Gay krant*, June 13, 1992.

⁷³ “Ella Kalsbeek (PvdA): geen enkele wet ter wereld gaat verder, “ *Gay Krant*, February 6, 1993.

In the same article, Kees Waaldijk, professor in gay law at the university of Utrecht gives his opinion.

*“It is difficult to distinguish between homosexual orientation and the mere fact of homosexual orientation. That is the danger of this law, you do not know how the judge is going to interpret this. But I am in favor of this law. This law is an improvement for anyone who has nothing to do with special institutions.”*⁷⁴

This difficulty underlined by Kees Waaldijk is also visible by the different interpretations and explanations by the two different members of parliament. However, after this article was published only a few small articles related to conflict within livelihood were published after 1995. One reason for these lesser publications may be that the law, even though it does not create a general ban on discrimination based on sexuality, still has a broad impact on the rest of society. Resulting in less conflicts within the livelihood of gay men and woman.

1.2.2 – Health and security

Another interesting and influential conflict between the gay emancipation movement and Christianity that was visible at the start of the nineties, is the linkage between homosexuality and sin, addiction, and other criminalizing rhetoric. This rhetoric was also visible over a century ago with law 248bis in which the assumption was made that gay conduct was something young man could get seduced into. To structure this section, I use the concept of *health and security*. Under this heading debates and conflicts will be included that relate to criminalizing rhetoric, the comparisons with diseases and other safety dispositions.

The first article that relates to this rhetoric is published on February 17th, 1990. Is this article a catholic priest named D. Connel openly admits that he regrets that his younger companions see homosexuality as something rather normal and no longer as a disease. This rhetoric is not only used in the Catholic church. In an article published in august 11th 1990, influential pastor dr. H. van Vliet claims that homosexuality is a sin and it will stay that way.⁷⁵ In an article he wrote called *De Nederlandse christenheid en de homosexualiteit* published in 1989, he claims that homosexuality is proved to be one of the consequences of idolatry, and that they life in a culture upon which the wrath of God rests.⁷⁶ This discussion regarding

⁷⁴ “Ella Kalsbeek (PvdA): geen enkele wet ter wereld gaat verder, “ *Gay Krant*, February 6, 1993.

⁷⁵ “Bisschop tegen tolerantie, “ *Gay Krant*, February 17, 1990.

⁷⁶ H. van Vliet, *De Nederlandse christenheid en de homoseksualiteit* (Voorburg 1989).

homosexuality as a sin/addiction didn't only occur within the borders of the Netherlands. On September 22, 1990, an article was published in which the position of Joanne Highley was elaborated, her standpoint is clear; homosexuality is an addiction that can be cured. God made every human being heterosexual.⁷⁷ Although in the Netherlands her name kept small, in the United States of America she became infamous on her stance towards the homo emancipation. With the creation of L.I.F.E ministry she opened a door for those who wanted to seek freedom from same-sex attraction. This life goal was also a standard within the Catholic church, in an article published on the 11th of august. The so-called guidelines are introduced by the Catholic church: "people who are not in power to overcome their homosexual desires don't belong in the church."⁷⁸

These called guidelines created a lot of controversy when a letter from the Vatican got intercepted in 1992. In this letter from the Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, which openly calls for gay people to be discriminated against. The letter reiterates the position that same-sex attraction should be considered a pathological aberration and that discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation is necessary in a number of cases to protect the common good.⁷⁹ In the published letter, the Vatican Congregation gives examples in which discrimination against gay people is justified. For example, the following justifications are given:

"Cheap rental housing should only be allocated to families. When homosexuals inhabit this type of housing it can have a negative impact on family and society. Jobs as soldiers and teachers should not be given to homosexuals either. Adoption is also out of the question. The Church must ensure that children grow up in a home steeped in a healthy heterosexual relationship of father and mother."

These examples led to many furious reactions by domestic and foreign gay emancipation communities. Given the incompatible views, a real conflict erupted between both parties. The English gay movement made it clear that this document is one of the most extreme and toxic documents the Vatican has ever released. "A regrettable step of inability to come to terms with

⁷⁷ "Land vol homo's en junks," *Gay Krant*, September 22, 1990.

⁷⁸ "Richtlijnen," *Gay Krant*, August 11, 1990.

⁷⁹ "Woede om brief Vaticaan," *Gay Krant*, August 22, 1992.

sexuality.”⁸⁰ In the Netherlands, the fiercest reactions came from the COC and LKP. Following the letter on guidelines by the Vatican, the COC directed an open letter to Kardinal Simonis:

*“It is with great concern and indignation that we have taken note of the press releases on the guideline of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in which the Roman Catholic Church opposes the equality of homosexuals and heterosexuals in legislation and social treatment. On behalf of many in our country, we would like to let you know that it is bad enough that the Roman Catholic Church, on the basis of its theological views, denies gay people the right to their own lifestyle and believes that homosexuality is an objective deviation: the fact that the Church is now for the first time drawing extreme consequences from this, namely a call for regular discrimination and violation of human rights, and a call for opposition to anti-discrimination legislation is completely unacceptable.”*⁸¹

There was no real response to the letter and the intense height of the conflict slowly faded away. However, the position by the Vatican created a lot of controversy again in the following year with the introduction of the new encyclical *Veritatis Splendor*. Once again, Pope John Paul II condemns sexuality before marriage, sterilization, abortion, euthanasia, artificial insemination, and self-gratification. Also, the position on homosexuality remained the same: you can be it, but you can't live as openly sexually active homosexual, since homosexual conduct is seen as a sin. Homosexual relations and acts remain out of the question in the Roman Catholic view creating once again a major conflict.⁸²

Following the new encyclical *de Gay Krant* starts brief research under the supervision of professor sociologist R. Tielman into the support of Dutch pastors for this new encyclical. Of the 1350 Roman Catholic priests in the Netherlands, 235 of them were interviewed to ask whether they supported this new encyclical.⁸³ Resulting into a division of opinion since 68,5% of the interviewed respondents were against the opinion of the pope. However, this publication is not a truthful reflection of the reality. Since many priests, like pastor Garold of the Bartholomeus parish did not even give a useful reaction. Since he instantly denied an interview when he heard it was for a publication in *de Gay Krant* “*I don't tell a thing to dirty piece of*

⁸⁰ “Woede om brief Vatikan, “ *Gay Krant*, August 22, 1992.

⁸¹ “Woede om brief Vatikan, “ *Gay Krant*, August 22, 1992.

⁸² “De paus is van een andere plaant”. *Gay Krant*, Oktober 16, 1993.

⁸³ “De paus is van een andere plaant”. *Gay Krant*, Oktober 16, 1993.

paper.”⁸⁴ This aloofness creates a missing voice in the research and therefore creates a distorted picture.

It is logical that this position of the Catholic Church provoked a lot of anger among the gay community, a conflict nonetheless is a display of anger from two or more parties. This anger is very tangible by reading a letter published in de *Gay Krant*. The letter was sent to the editorial of de *Gay Krant* by Paul Liberato – a gay reader of the *Gay Krant*. The letter titled with: “*Being gay and believing in the god of the bible is impossible*” underlines the incompatible views between the two parties.⁸⁵

*“Gay and lesbian believers need to wake up. Their Jesus is pure fantasy. The good of the bible was a monster and the church is the most deceptive, absurd institution ever created by man. Images such as we have of Nazi Germany concentration camps and mass graves could not have been made three hundred years ago. ... My message is simple: as a gay or a lesbian you cannot believe in the god of the Bible. The time is now right to put a final stop behind the greatest holocaust that has plagued humanity: nonsensical faith”*⁸⁶

The terminology used in this letter is aggressive and hostile and clearly portrays the conflict between the gay community and the Catholic church. However, the conflict goes beyond these two parties since aggressive language is also used by others. An example of this is the commotion that arose after the statements of Leen van Dijke, chairman of the Reformational Political Federation party in the House of Representatives. In an interview with journal *Nieuwe Revu* compares van Dijke practicing homosexuals as fraudsters and thieves. This statement created a lot of black lashes from different parties in the Netherlands. In response, six political parties wrote a letter to Mr. van Dijke requesting that he retract his words based on article one of the constitutions. Van Dijke responded to the letter as follows:

“Moreover, it has been known for centuries that Orthodox and Evangelical Christians reject homosexuality. If I do then there is nothing new under the sun, is there? Nor do I believe that I have spoken contrary to the Constitution. Nowhere does it say that I may not disapprove of a

⁸⁴ “De paus is van een andere plaant”. *Gay Krant*, Oktober 16, 1993.

⁸⁵ “Homo zijn en geloven in de God van de bijbel is onmogelijk, “ *Gay Krant*, February 18, 1995

⁸⁶ “Homo zijn en geloven in de God van de bijbel is onmogelijk, “ *Gay Krant*, February 18, 1995

way of life. The Equal Treatment Act even explicitly states that you may reject a way of life based on your religious conviction.”⁸⁷

Once again, the different interpretations of the constitution and the *General Equal Treatment Act* are visible resulting in a conflict within the borders of the Netherlands. However, from 1996 till the beginning of 2000 not many conflicts occurred in the framework of health and security. The articles published within the four years were mostly based on smaller communities or individuals with a conservative posture. However, in the summer of the year 2000 the debate suddenly ignited again. The reason for this sudden increase of publications in the *Gay Krant* is the World Pride march and the reaction that came from Pope John Paul II.

*“The 80-year-old church leader calls homosexuality an objective disorder that goes against natural law. Speaking from his room window, he labelled World Pride an insult to the Holy Year and a violation of Christian values. The Pope then quoted that part of the catechism in which homosexual acts are described as intrinsically disordered and contrary to natural law.”*⁸⁸

Internally in the Netherlands there were different reactions to the Pope's statements. The fiercest reaction came from The Friends of de *Gay Krant* foundation. They suggested that it is time for abusive statements by church leaders to be tested against national and international laws, just as they are for other citizens.⁸⁹ A similar sound came from the *young democrats*, the political youth reorganization affiliated with D66. They believe that the Dutch government should protest the Pope's statements. With his statements, the Pope was in no way inferior to President Mugabe of Zimbabwe and therefore deserves just as much international protest.

After a written letter from the foundation Friend of de *Gay Krant* to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Prime Minister Wim Kok responded that he sees no reason to take measures against Vatican City.⁹⁰ One of the reasons for this is the immunity from jurisdiction that the Pope has. However, Prime Minister Wim Kok distances himself from the Pope's anti-gay statements. Following these words Kok still did not see the need to ask for clarification from the Dutch ambassador to the Holy Chair, The Pope's views are noticeably clear according to Kok.

⁸⁷ “Van Dijke: Homo’s en dieven even erg, “*Gay Krant*, July 5, 1996.

⁸⁸ “Paus schoffeert homo’s, “*Gay Krant*, July 21, 2000.

⁸⁹ “Paus schoffeert homo’s, “*Gay Krant*, July 21, 2000.

⁹⁰ “Verzoek om diplomatieke stappen tegen Vaticaan, “*Gay Krant*, August 4, 2000.

Another perspective on this commotion is given by Editor of the national COC magazine Frans van Delft. Firstly, he finds it striking that all newspaper commentaries defended the ancient homophobic statements of the Pope ironically. Secondly, he describes the potential danger of the statement by the Pope:

“Even though the entire opinion community denies it, the Pope's words do have a damaging influence on the personal lives of gays and lesbians. For example, until well into the sixties it was customary in many a strict Catholic view to reject the homosexual son or daughter. And although the time of the rich Roman life is now far behind us, who says that the Pope no longer has any influence at all.”⁹¹

1.2.3 - Arbitrary views of recovery

Portraying and framing same-sex activity as a sin, disease or addiction made it possible for the Christian parties to create a construct that homosexuality could be cured. This resulted into the idea of conversion and different other therapies in which the main goal was to cure homosexuality or at least portray a way to recovery. However, a lot of homosexuals and lesbians were against this assumption, resulting in another debate/conflict between the different Christian parties and the gay emancipation movement. This debate was not only visible in the articles of *de Gay Krant*, also other newspapers in the Netherlands like the *Trouw* and *Nederlands dagblad* published on this affair. The debate started when Rob Bruntink, a journalist for *de Gay krant* infiltrated the Hulp aan Homofielen (EHAH), this organization attempted to convert homosexual men.⁹² During this infiltration Rob acted like he was a Christian homosexual who wanted to be healed. During this period of infiltration Rob made stories on his experiences during his time at EHAH. Eventually the story was divided into a series of three parts all published in *de Gay Krant*. During the second publication the conflict/debate reached higher levels in society, especially between the COC and the EHAH. The COC was clear in their statements and abhorred the actions of the EHAH. The EHAH, on the other hand, thought of the COC as a bunch of activists who are brutal and had zero authority.⁹³ This conflict made it clear that the different views are incompatible with each other, leading to an ongoing debate between acceptance of and forcing recovery. In an interview

⁹¹ “Verzoek om diplomatieke stappen tegen Vaticaan,” *Gay Krant*, August 4, 2000.

⁹² “Homoseksualiteit is als een alcoholverslaving; het is een misstap,” *Gay Krant*, June 6, 1990.

⁹³ “In principe is een homo niet volkomen verloren,” *Gay Krant*, June 30, 1990.

published in the *Trouw*, director at EHAH, J. van der Sluis makes the following statement: “*The positions of the EHAH and the gay moment are still diametrically opposed.*” This statement underlines the distance of values and beliefs between both parties.

1.3 Concluding remarks

The analyzed conflicts that took place during the long nineties between the gay emancipation movement and Christian parties provide a clearer picture of the quantitative figures. The first phenomena that is important to explain is the downward trend after 1995. Before the quantitative study I assumed that the main reason for this decrease was the introduction of the partner registration for homosexuals. However, as the qualitative research shows is that the primarily reason for this decline is the *General Equal Treatment Act*. After the implementation of this law in 1995, the articles related on conflict in livelihood almost did not occur. When they occurred it was mostly between the religious institutions who experience exemptions by the law just mentioned.

Furthermore, when looking at the peak of articles in the year 2000s, the debates and conflicts related to health and security are of importance. During the ten years that this research focuses on, the Catholic Church under Pope John Paul II has played a prominent role in the debate, especially in health and security. A conflict involving various groups often started with a statement by this Pope. The quantitative research has shown that this has happened several times. The conflicts were based on incompatible views. Where identity is interpreted differently, lifestyles are rejected or prized, healing may be possible, and discrimination is sometimes facilitated.

Chapter 2 – Occurrence of a melting pot between Christianity and the gay emancipation movement

Conflicts between the different religious groups and the gay emancipation movement occurred throughout the long nineties in different facets and faces. However, the previous chapter did not analyse in what form and to what extent the gay community themselves reacted to these conflicts. In this chapter the role of individual agency and initiatives from gay interest groups against the conflicts described in the previous chapter play the significant role. To do so the theoretical concept of a *melting pot* is used as previously introduced. In this process of *assimilation*, the non-dominant communities and individuals are the initiators of this process, they seek to become more cultural valuable in society. The first paragraph forms an organizational background of the *Culture and Relaxation Center* (COC). As an organization they were, and still are today, one of the biggest and most influential gay interest groups during the long nineties. In the second paragraph an analysis of the position of the gay emancipation movement on the *General Equal Treatment Act* is described. In the third paragraph the reactions from the gay emancipation movements towards the controversial attitude of the Christian Church are described, and in which different methods of assimilation are offered. In the final paragraph, the critiques between the actors within the gay emancipation movement are shortly described when looking at the debate on same-sex marriage.

2.1 Culture and Relaxation Center

The COC is the largest and most influential organisation for Dutch homosexuality advocacy. When the Second World war ended in 1945, Jaap van Leeuwe, Niek Engelschman and Hann Diekman, authors and editors of *levensrecht* came out of hiding.⁹⁴ Since the NWHK, the previous gay interested group got abolished by the Nazi's, they introduced a new gay interest group namely the Cultural and recreational Centra. The new course was formalized at the members' meeting of February 1949. Everything that referred to Shakespeare and Life Right was abolished.⁹⁵ Nothing in the name of the organisation, the statutes, or the magazine *Vriendschap* (Friendship) signalled at homosexuality, or – as the organisation preferred –

⁹⁴ Rob Tielman, 'Dutch Gay Emancipation History (1911-1986)', *Journal of Homosexuality* 13:2 (1987) 9-17, 10.

⁹⁵ P. Roggema 'Geschiedenis van het COC', 17 January 2017, website of COC Amsterdam. URL: <https://www.cocamsterdam.nl/70-jaar/geschiedenis-van-het-coc> (accessed fourteen juni 2022).

homophilia, which emphasised same-sex love rather than sex.⁹⁶ After the creation of the COC the first battles between the COC and religious groups became visible. At the New Year's speech in 1951, co-founder Engelschman enraged against the Catholic People's Party (KVP), predecessor of the CDA, which had argued for criminalization of homosexual conduct a year earlier. He believed that homosexuals should be militant and invoked the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which had been issued in 1948.⁹⁷ To do so, it became necessary to know exactly what all those rights entailed. Entire study weekends were organised to instruct the participants about this declaration. In 1950 the membership numbers rose to new heights which resulted in a new big step for the COC, namely a building established in Amsterdam opened in September 2, 1950 in the Van Woutstraat.⁹⁸ However, during the 60s the biggest growth occurred, existing subversive ideas were given a much wider dissemination due to the Sexual Revolution.⁹⁹ Tolerance increased and the gay emancipation movement became more confident and demanding.¹⁰⁰ This attitude change also resulted in to a name change of the organisation, namely the Dutch Association of Homosexuals C.O.C., the goal became total acceptance and full self-development.¹⁰¹

To achieve these goals, the COC is known for its adaptation of high-profile politics. This form of policymaking focuses on debates and campaigns who are already visible in society. To gain more common ground in these debates, other national and supranational actors are used to create a transnational network of interest groups.¹⁰² This form of policymaking is also visible in the close relation that the COC attempts to maintain with the Dutch state. This arbitrary relation, however, is also under critique from other gay initiative groups. This paradoxical relationship is briefly discussed later in this chapter.

2.2 General Equal Treatment Act

In the previous chapter the discussions on the *General Equal Treatment Act* where briefly introduced. However, these discussions were described from a general perspective to create a

⁹⁶ P. Roggema 'Geschiedenis van het COC', 17 January 2017, website of COC Amsterdam. URL: <https://www.cocamsterdam.nl/70-jaar/geschiedenis-van-het-coc> (accessed fourteen juni 2022).

⁹⁷ Roggema 'Geschiedenis van het COC'.

⁹⁸ Ibidem.

⁹⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem.

¹⁰¹ Ibidem.

¹⁰² M. Osterbur and C. Kiel, 'A Hegemon Fighting for Equal Rights: The Dominant Role of COC Nederland in the LGBT Transnational Advocacy Network', *Global Networks* 17.2 (2017), 234-254, 237 and R. Holzacker, 'National and Transnational Strategies of LGBT Civil Society Organizations in Different Political Environments: Modes of Interaction in Western and Eastern Europe For Equality', *Comparative European Politics* 10.1 (2012), 23-47, 27.

general understanding on the discussions and debates. Since this chapter focusses on the processes of the creation of a *melting pot*, the perspective and arguments of the gay emancipation movement are of importance to understand the changes in mentality during the long nineties. One of the major influential actors in the discussion against the bill was the COC. Their position is clearly portrayed of the title in an article published in de Gay Krant: The equal treatment law for gays is unacceptable.

"You may be gay, but you may not do it." With these words, summarizes COC spokeswoman Willemien Ruygrok the draft of the Equal Treatment Act that has been submitted to the House of Representatives. "This bill is not a half-assed anymore. It is just bad. It is an unacceptable curtailment of Article 1 of the Constitution."¹⁰³

This position is clearly based on identity politics in which the argument is made that homosexuals aren't allowed to act upon their sexual identity, a position the COC is firmly against. The attitude towards the new bill changed with regards to this discriminatory rhetoric, the COC initially reacted positively to the version of the bill that was sent to the Council of State for advice. Only in the course of time a lot has changed to the disadvantage of gays and lesbians within the Netherlands.¹⁰⁴ This change of attitude is influenced by the fact that Christian school boards are allowed to condemn the way in which homosexuals live in daily life. This also applies to private life.

According to Willemien Ruygrok of the COC, the cabinet has thus bowed to the five percent Staphorster schools. She calls it completely unacceptable that school boards should allow what happens in the private sphere to be the deciding factor in retaining or hiring a teacher or student.¹⁰⁵

Criticism on the law also came from another well-known gay emancipating actor, Dr. Rob Tielman, well-known gay scientist, and chairman of the Public Education Dome, he didn't only see discrimination against homosexuals as an objection to this bill. He takes the criticism much broader: "It also discriminates between public and confessionnal education and that is unacceptable."¹⁰⁶ He makes this statement because in Article 5 of the Act, only educational

¹⁰³ "Wet gelijke behandeling voor homo's onaanvaardbaar", *Gay Krant*, february 23, 1991.

¹⁰⁴ "Wet gelijke behandeling voor homo's onaanvaardbaar", *Gay Krant*, february 23, 1991.

¹⁰⁵ "Wet gelijke behandeling voor homo's onaanvaardbaar", *Gay Krant*, february 23, 1991.

¹⁰⁶ "Wet gelijke behandeling voor homo's onaanvaardbaar", *Gay Krant*, february 23, 1991.

institutions with a religious background can make use of this clause. Therefore, allowing difference among the educational institutes. This argumentation takes the discussion to a higher level.

In order to change the law the COC started with various actions; these actions are related to initiatives linked to high profile politics. An example of this policymaking is the campaign launched under the motto: "Versier een Kamerlid", which translated to; flirt with a member of parliament. This initiative is in consultation with other organizations such as the national coordination point for homosexuality.¹⁰⁷ Both organizations provide individuals and organisations with an information package that includes a piece of history about the Equal Treatment Act. In addition, a list with home addresses of members of parliament and suggestions for writing a personal letter to these members is included. The intention of this initiative was to write letters to as many members of parliament as possible. The written letters should include objections to this bill and offer pleas for a law without exception clauses.¹⁰⁸

Furthermore, on 28 March 1991, the COC organized a meeting in the Rode Hoed in Amsterdam where the gay movement enters a dialogue with Christian politics and the educational world. An important guest at this meeting was ex-CDA minister Job de Ruiter, one of the co-signers of the first bill. These various actions, organized from the COC, were to ensure a majority of parliament for an amendment of this law.¹⁰⁹ Willemien Ruygrok emphasized this too: "We will do everything we can to change this proposal positively. If that does not work, it would be better to vote down this bill subject."¹¹⁰

The different actions from the COC and other initiatives turn out to be successful to some extent. When the law was again debated in February 1993, most of the gay movement and the entire opposition in the House of Representatives were still dissatisfied with the General Equal Treatment Act.¹¹¹ The displeasure was still based on the possibility of double interpretation of the law. An investigation conducted by the COC also shows this flaw.

¹⁰⁷ "Wet gelijke behandeling voor homo's onaanvaardbaar", *Gay Krant*, february 23, 1991.

¹⁰⁸ "Wet gelijke behandeling voor homo's onaanvaardbaar", *Gay Krant*, february 23, 1991.

¹⁰⁹ "Wet gelijke behandeling voor homo's onaanvaardbaar", *Gay Krant*, february 23, 1991.

¹¹⁰ "Wet gelijke behandeling voor homo's onaanvaardbaar", *Gay Krant*, february 23, 1991.

¹¹¹ "Ella Kalsbeek (PvdA) Geen enkele wet ter wereld gaat verder", *Gay Krant*, February 6, 1993

*The system of sanctions under the General Equal Treatment Act is too flawed. Enforcement of the prohibition of discrimination therefore remains an obstacle. Expansion of sanction options is urgently required. In practice this will cause problems.*¹¹²

The issues raised by the survey relate to the fact that by law, it is still unclear whether a gay student or teacher can be refused or even expelled because of their sexual orientation. Well known lawyer Kees Waaldijk also gives his interpretation on this disposition in an article published in *de Gay Krant*. He states:

*“The student cannot be expelled from school. But there is some ambiguity due to this strange single fact construction. There is something to be said for dropping this article about student.... they are then at that school exactly in the period in which they find out whether they are homosexual or heterosexual. admittedly, according to the strict interpretation of the law, pupils may not be expelled from school because of their homosexuality. But suppose that a judge nevertheless uses a generous interpretation, this still can be happening.*¹¹³

From this quote it once again becomes clear that the law does not preclude discrimination against homosexual pupils or teachers. It is therefore logical that the entire gay emancipation movement opposes this alleged fact. From the process of a melting pot, various initiatives have attempted to combat this position. A final important actor in this process is *de Gay Krant* itself. When one thinks of the melting pot process, the gay media cannot be forgotten. Articles from *de Gay Krant* were mentioned several times in the debate in the House of Representatives. Len Rempt, member of the VVD in parliament shows this usage of articles published in *de Gay Krant* when she debates with Ella Kalsbeek, the same Kalsbeek who played a prominent role in the previous chapter. Ella Kalsbeek initially did not remember anything about those statements she made in *de Gay Krant*, Len Rempt then reacted with frustration by stating the following:

*Yes, come on! She knows what she said to the Gay Krant, doesn't she? The Gay Krant is our body sheet! I tear it open immediately when it comes in. I look at what the colleagues have said.*¹¹⁴

¹¹² “Ella Kalsbeek (PvdA) Geen enkele wet ter wereld gaat verder”, *Gay Krant*, February 6, 1993.

¹¹³ “Ella Kalsbeek (PvdA) Geen enkele wet ter wereld gaat verder”, *Gay Krant*, February 6, 1993.

¹¹⁴ “De wet in de media”, *Gay Krant*, February 20, 1993.

This statement clearly shows that the opposition parties use *de Gay Krant* as an important medium to conduct the debate to make gay emancipation more culturally valuable in society. *De Gay Krant* even blames other mainstream media for paying too little attention to the General Equal Treatment Act. For example, they argue that parliamentary reporters from the NOS news and the RLTL4 news must fight a few seconds of airtime on this subject.¹¹⁵ This accusation is not entirely justified. In the days leading up to the debate in February 1993, the mainstream media did indeed extensively preview the debate.¹¹⁶ The difference, however, is that during the four-year period in which the law was discussed, *de Gay Krant* published much more than other media. Another major difference is that the articles and interviews published in *de Gay Krant* were used by opposition parties in the House of Representatives.

When the law came into effect in 1994, the ambiguous interpretation of Article 5 in the law persisted. However, an important fact is that the gay emancipation movement is increasingly coming to the fore in debates about acceptance and gaining more popularity among society. The fact that this article is still in the law does not mean a loss. As Kees Waalwijk pointed out earlier: This law is an improvement for anyone who has nothing to do with special institutions.¹¹⁷

2.3 Initiatives from the gay community to change the Christian Church

The position of the Christian church against homosexual conduct created a lot of controversy during the long 90s. A personal story describing the consequences of this controversial attitude is that of Klaas Vos, a well-known reporter for the VPRO program *Het Gebouw*.¹¹⁸ The story of Vos is very typical, as his former job as a pastor in a Christian congregation sheds light on the battle with homosexuality. For years Vos repressed his homosexuality, because his orientation was described as a sin in the environment in which he lived. It was a very narrow world. Vos was raised with the idea that man was incapable of good and always inclined to evil. Desires for boys, labelled as homosexuality, was therefore a great sin, only Jesus could take this away, Vos therefore sought the path of faith.¹¹⁹

Because of his upbringing, he thought that faith called to him, which prompted him to study theology. Vos, meanwhile, married a woman and further suppressed his homosexual

¹¹⁵ “De wet in de media”, *Gay Krant*, February 20, 1993.

¹¹⁶ “De wet in de media”, *Gay Krant*, February 20, 1993.

¹¹⁷ “De wet in de media”, *Gay Krant*, February 20, 1993.

¹¹⁸ “Geloof als bestrijdingsmiddel”, *Gay Krant*, Juni 29, 1991.

¹¹⁹ “Geloof als bestrijdingsmiddel”, *Gay Krant*, Juni 29, 1991.

orientation. In 1980 Vos started as a minister, but began to experience increased tension, the more he repressed his sexuality, the worse the tension increased.¹²⁰ The desire for boys grew more and led to fleeting contacts. Eventually his mental state deteriorated, and Vos fell into severe depression. As a minister he did not dare at first, but his disposition pressed with full force against the thick walls of displacement that had been built around it over the years.¹²¹

All this led to his coming out, a huge liberation for him. Meanwhile, he divorced his wife and started an open life as a homosexual. The church congregation where he worked first reacted openly and tolerantly, at least that turned out to be the case for the first month. Eventually increased members of the congregation continued to leave the service and a battle started between camps of people who liked it and those who did not. The struggle lasted a long time and eventually caused Vos to leave the church.¹²² The way Vos assimilates is noticeably clear. Faith no longer occupies a prominent place in Klaas Vos's life. He is no longer active in the church, but he keeps track of everything that is going on. In this way he can view it from a distance without being confronted with it daily. A personal advice from him to the youth: enjoy life intensely, eat what comes on your plate and accept it wholeheartedly. Do not rest, that is a waste of time.¹²³

A different choice to assimilate is the personal story of Jos Brink. Brink has had a similar upbringing as Vos. Only the final route taken is completely different. Brink experiences a fighting spirit with the motto 'The church is ugly about homosexuality'. In an interview held with the Trouw, Brink describes that he will change the Christian church. If you cannot fight them, join them was his motto. His view on assimilation within the church is then as follows:

There are quite a few homosexuals who leave the church, they are no longer happy with it. I understand that, but it is a mistake. The present God should never be confused with the institute church. It was founded by people and run by people. They have attached rules and laws to it, which are not so much based on what Jesus has formulated in the Gospel, but arise from an institutionalization. They are rules of conduct to target people, nothing more. So that is where the biggest mistakes were made. You must blame people for that, not God. So, leaving the church makes little sense. You should be thinking much more about a mentalist shift within the church. You can boost that by just staying in that church.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ "Geloof als bestrijdingsmiddel", *Gay Krant*, Juni 29, 1991.

¹²¹ "Geloof als bestrijdingsmiddel", *Gay Krant*, Juni 29, 1991.

¹²² "Geloof als bestrijdingsmiddel", *Gay Krant*, Juni 29, 1991.

¹²³ "Geloof als bestrijdingsmiddel", *Gay Krant*, Juni 29, 1991.

¹²⁴ "Ik probeer er altijd te zijn", *Gay Krant*, July 13, 1991.

It is clear from this quote that Brink is making another choice to change the Christian church. Instead of letting go of the faith for the time being, he believes that a change of mentality is needed, which can only be created by operating as a homosexual within a Christian congregation. From the process of a melting pot, the latter is an important goal to create change and become more part of the dominant group. It is also clear from these two personal stories that the gay emancipation movement is not only made up of major national actors like the COC and de *Gay krant* who acted for tolerance. These kinds of local and personal initiatives are also part of the gay emancipation movement.

However, against a powerful institution like the Catholic Church a strong counter voice is needed. In a certain sense, personal initiatives are no match for a powerful counterargument. As was shown earlier in this study, the COC, and de *Gay Krant* play a significant role in this debate. Against the Catholic Church in particular, there have been several debates throughout the long nineties to combat the controversy they have created regarding homosexuality. The alarmed and disappointed reaction of the COC when the organization of World Gay Pride in Rome was criticised by the Vatican is a typical example of this power mechanic. The COC can exert influence through the national and international ties they maintain. Examples of this are the letters to the ambassador of Italy and the ambassador of the Holy See in The Hague.¹²⁵ As discussed earlier in this chapter, this way of policy making is characteristic of the COC, other national and supranational actors are used to create a transnational network of interest groups to exercise more power.

2.4 Differences within the gay emancipation movement

Even though the goals of the gay emancipation movement in the long nineties are discussed one-sidedly in this study, differences can be found. In a critical article published in de *Homologie* the different actors and mentalities within the Dutch gay emancipation movement are illustrated. The debate covered in an article published in the *Homologie* is about an uncovered discussion in this research, namely same-sex marriage. Another debate that has been widely debated over the years.¹²⁶ The *Homologie* first talks about the discussion around same-sex marriage, in which comes the accusation that the COC has been remarkably silent during the start of the debate. When the decision came of the Romonstrantste Brotherhood to bless gay

¹²⁵ "Paus schoffeert homo's", *Gay Krant*

¹²⁶ "Het homohuwelijk voorbij, vlucht, misdaad, feestje?", *Homologie*, March/april, 1991.

relations, it was greeted with approval. The emancipation movement, on the other hand, did not react very enthusiastically, in this instance the *Homologie* describes the emancipation movement with COC in the leading role.¹²⁷ The distinction between the different parties in this debate is mainly written by the *Homologie* as the COC on the one hand and de *Gay Krant* as the other major player, a difference between actors that came back more often during this research. When de *Gay Krant* started advocating for same-sex marriage, the COC stood to the side in this debate. The COC director used the following argumentation: We operate from a completely different position. the COC reserves the right to scrutinize the marriage and finds it not a good contract. We have nothing against people wanting to get married but set higher standards for good arrangements and go much further than just advocating same-sex marriage.¹²⁸

During a conference called 'beyond marriage' the members of the COC reacted in several ways to the silence from the movement. The main arguments for the aloofness are that when same-sex marriage becomes hetero-normalized, gays and lesbians go along with the bourgeois morality and the marriage only makes the partners heteronormative.¹²⁹ On the other hand, there is an argument that marriage is a cause for celebration because two people bond together out of love and care. The divisions within the emancipation movement become clear through these arguments.¹³⁰ Duggan defines homonormativity as the (gay) community's willingness to live in the main stage of society and accept the norms of the majority so that they can live a 'normal' life and get access to heteronormative institutions (such as marriage).¹³¹

From this process it can be concluded that within the gay emancipation movement there are clearly two different goals when looking at the debate about same-sex marriage. In a sense, de *Gay Krant* strives for superficial goals, to be culturally equalized as quickly as possible in mainstream society. This pursuit can be compared with the melting pot theory, in which the subdominant group wants to assimilate to the dominant hetero group. The COC, on the other hand, has a different agenda besides assimilating when the process of heteronormativity is criticized. Giving up uniqueness immediately ensures that LGBTQ people are allowed to be part of society if they assimilate to that society and do not try to change it.¹³² This last notion causes doubt from the COC to fight for same-sex marriage. This is because the COC is

¹²⁷ "Het homohuwelijk voorbij, vlucht, misdaad, feestje?", *Homologie*, March/april, 1991.

¹²⁸ "Het homohuwelijk voorbij, vlucht, misdaad, feestje?", *Homologie*, March/april, 1991.

¹²⁹ "Het homohuwelijk voorbij, vlucht, misdaad, feestje?", *Homologie*, March/april, 1991.

¹³⁰ "Het homohuwelijk voorbij, vlucht, misdaad, feestje?", *Homologie*, March/april, 1991.

¹³¹ Duggan, "The New Homonormativity: The Sexual Politics of Neoliberalism," 179.

¹³² Duggan, "The New Homonormativity: The Sexual Politics of Neoliberalism," 179.

concerned with equal rights. Marriage should be allowed, but it is not the main thing they advocate for. Every gay and lesbian must be accepted regarding their way of living.¹³³ When it became clear that the denomination based itself on equality between straight and gay relationships, the COC reacted enthusiastically to the decision. Any relationship that meets conditions of fidelity and permanence can be blessed.¹³⁴ Still, nationally, the COC remained silent for the first few years. The *Gay Krant* remained the main party that fought for same-sex marriage for the time being. This also became a progressive goal from the COC

2.5 Developments within the melting pot process

Various initiatives have been taken within the gay emancipation movement to exert more influence culturally. A clear example is the attitude of this movement towards the general equal treatment law. The main reason for this militancy is the discriminatory clause that allowed discrimination against homosexuals and lesbians in religious institutions. The gay emancipation movement, led by the COC and de *Gay Krant*, started various actions to influence the culturally dominant parties in society. Even though this clause remained, the law in its entirety provided protection for anyone not affiliated with religious institutions.

The gay emancipation movement also offers a counterpoint to conservative ideas within the Catholic Church. These events made it clear that when looking at the process of a melting pot, local and individual initiatives should not be forgotten. Even though the personal stories and actions of Jos Brink and Klaas Vos were completely diverse, an attempt is made to change the thoughts of the dominant group within society.

The differences of views can also be seen among the dominant players within the gay emancipation movement. The story would be too one-sided to conclude that everyone within this movement is moving in the same direction. In the discussion about same-sex marriage, it became clear that de *Gay Krant* and the COC have different views during the early 1990s. Yet all these different initiatives together form a whole in the melting pot process.

¹³³ “Het homohuwelijk voorbij, vlucht, misdaad, feestje?”, *Homologie*, March/April, 1991.

¹³⁴ “Het homohuwelijk voorbij, als de zegen er maar overheen gaat! “, *Homologie*, January/February, 1991.

Chapter 3 – The start of cultural pluralism

The gay emancipation story in the long nineties cannot be analysed from one perspective alone. Over the years there have been enough Christian initiatives to also make a positive contribution towards gay emancipation. These contributions therefore fit within the framework of cultural pluralism. Within the dominant Christian structures, various sub-groups began to question whether the accommodation towards other groups in society was still appropriate. These initiatives will therefore be the focus of this chapter. The first paragraph will look at initiatives within the protestant and reformed church. Secondly, the groups within the Catholic Church that have contributed to the gay emancipation movement will be analysed. Thirdly, we will briefly look at smaller Christian communities within the Netherlands that have contributed towards gay emancipation.

3.1 Initiatives within the Protestant Church

In the early 1990s, the image of the Reformed Church towards gay emancipation was ambiguous. On the one hand there were already several groups within the church that accept homosexuals, on the other hand there was still a large group against. The image of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands suffered a serious dent in 1991 when a disciplinary measure was applied against a gay man from Lieden in Gelderland. The division within the reformed church becomes clear when various congregations react to this offense. An example of this is the Christian community of Arlie Terlouw. He describes his congregation as gay-friendly and would like to indicate that the events in Lienden are not symbolic for the entire Reformed Church in the Netherlands.¹³⁵ As a result of this event, the subject of homosexuality is on the agenda in the spring of 1992. As an initiative from the church community of Terlouw, they organised an initiative where the parents of homosexual children have their story told.¹³⁶ These personal stories were supposed to bring about change in the reformed congregations that still took a conservative attitude towards gay emancipation.¹³⁷

Also, on the Reformed side of the Protestant movements within the Christian church there were dissenting voices against conservative attitudes. The Reformed Churches in the Netherlands (GKN) had defended the interests of their gay church members and pastors during the four-yearly international assembly of the Reformed Ecumenical Council. This international

¹³⁵ “Hervormden zijn zo kwaad nog niet”, *Gay Krant*, March 23, 1991

¹³⁶ “Hervormden zijn zo kwaad nog niet”, *Gay Krant*, March 23, 1991

¹³⁷ “Hervormden zijn zo kwaad nog niet”, *Gay Krant*, March 23, 1991

community reacted with disapproval of this attitude. Membership of the GKN was questioned because of its liberal stance on homosexuality.¹³⁸ The position of the GKN has changed over time, in 1988 they were still hesitant to take this position. It can be argued from cultural pluralism that they have increasingly started to think from the position of the minority, in this case the homosexuals within their congregations.

Other reformed churches also increasingly took their own initiatives to promote gay emancipation. Another clear example is that of a Church in The Hague, the Lukaskerk. This church started by blessing non-marital relationships. With this step, the Church located in The Hague, in fact confirmed a practice that was already common in several reformed congregations. Although it must be clearly stated that in other Catholic and Reformed circles communities are not nearly ready to bless same-sex marriage.¹³⁹ This distinction within the Protestant church is another example that cultural pluralism clearly takes place in various facets. Within the dominant movement, various sub-groups arise that bring about change and thus ultimately exert influence on the bigger picture.

The influence of smaller congregations on the national institution becomes clear when the church order of the United Protestant church offers space for non-marital relationships. This association is a collaboration between various protestant church communities within the Netherlands. Churches such as Luke's Church influence this partnership. Conservative denominations that do not yet take a clear stance on this issue are therefore slowly being forced to adopt a more progressive stance.¹⁴⁰ the Vereniging Protestan Church do not yet force these ecclesiastical congregations. No paragraph has been set aside for the same sex marriage because the synods of the various participating Protestant churches cannot agree on this topic. A special committee was therefore appointed to investigate this position. Another clear example in which smaller initiatives exert influence to bring about change.¹⁴¹

The internal division is also still clear within the Reformed Church. This division is presented in an article published in the *Gay Krant* in 1995. Reverend Wim Beekman, chairman of the reformed synod, was interviewed in this article. It is unjust that the Reformed Church is accused by some people of giving too little space to homosexuals. We are internally divided, but it is stipulated that gays and lesbians should be able to find a safe place, he assumed.¹⁴² A clear change is also in the fact that the church congregation in the past spoke about homosexuals

¹³⁸ "Gereformeerden op de Bres", *Gay krant*, June 13, 1992.

¹³⁹ "Haagse Kerk zegent relaties", *Gay Krant*, November 14, 1992.

¹⁴⁰ "Nieuwe kerkorde biedt ruimte", *Gay Krant*, December 25, 1993.

¹⁴¹ "Nieuwe kerkorde biedt ruimte", *Gay Krant*, December 25, 1993.

¹⁴² "Geef Hervormden de tijd", *Gay Krant*, January 21, 1995.

and increasingly developed into conversations with homosexuals. Nevertheless, the synod received a lot of criticism when they decided that homosexuals were not welcome at the Lord's Supper. Beekman interpreted this decision differently. There was a strong appeal to all municipalities not to take disciplinary measures and let everyone be respected in his or her own way.¹⁴³ In 1995, the vast majority of the Reformed Church was still conservative against gay emancipation. However, there are smaller municipalities that are already taking a clear lead in this.

Two months after the interview was published in the *Gay Krant*, the reformed congregation continues to discuss the subject on gay emancipation. With a new discussion paper from the Council for Church and Theology in hand, the reformed synod once again considered the position of homosexuals in the church.¹⁴⁴ The report was clear, disciplinary action against homosexuals within the reformed church were not acceptable. At the time of publication of the article, it was still unclear whether the report of the Council for Church and Theology led to inaccuracies. Conservative and more liberal church members were still diametrically opposed on this issue.¹⁴⁵

A month later it was time. Homosexuals should be fully accepted in the church in their orientation and way of life. With this statement, the synod of the Dutch Reformed Church has taken the most far-reaching position on homosexuality in its history. In the decision they reflect on the decision made a year earlier when homosexuals were not allowed to participate in the holy supper.¹⁴⁶

*The decision of the General Synod held on November 19, 1994 on homosexuality has provoked many, often emotional reactions. Many appear to have read in that synod decision, contrary to its intention, a legitimization of discrimination against homosexual members of the congregation. We therefore wish to return to this matter and express ourselves more clearly.*¹⁴⁷

It becomes clear in the long nineties that the process of cultural pluralism goes through various stages. It starts when various groups within the dominant group begin to question whether the accommodation towards the minority is still acceptable. When sub-groupings arise, they can bring about change. The best example during the long nineties is the development of the

¹⁴³ "Geef Hervormden de tijd", *Gay Krant*, January 21, 1995.

¹⁴⁴ "Hervormden blijven discussieren", *Gay Krant*, March 18, 1995

¹⁴⁵ "Hervormden blijven discussieren", *Gay Krant*, March 18, 1995

¹⁴⁶ "Volledige aanvaarding in Hervormde kerk", *Gay Krant*, April 1, 1995.

¹⁴⁷ "Volledige aanvaarding in Hervormde kerk", *Gay Krant*, April 1, 1995.

Reformed Church. Slowly but surely, she developed into a positive position towards gay emancipation.

3.2 Initiatives within the Catholic Church

Also within the Catholic Church, initiatives arose during the long 90s from local and individual initiatives to make a positive contribution to gay emancipation. An example of this was the contribution of Pastor Tom Cassee. In a magazine for religious gays, *Vroom & Vrolijk*, Cassee argued that the Catholic Church has something to make up for regarding the gay community within the church.¹⁴⁸ Still he was hesitant, Cassee preferred not to emphasize the word gay or lesbian. There are all kinds of life. many of them would not be my life, but it is important that people just become happy. I do not exclude anyone, just call me people friendly.¹⁴⁹ With these words, Cassee underlines the beginnings of cultural pluralism within the Catholic Church. Again, an individual initiative that may bring about change.

Although it became clear earlier in this study that the Catholic Church was positioning very conservatively towards homosexuals and lesbians. The example given was the letter from the Vatican's Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, which strongly condemned homosexuality. However, this condemnation can create a one-sided picture. An article published in the *Gay Krant* offers an interesting insight. It was not too often that Catholic pastors spoke out. According to the *Gay Krant*, this is since Catholic pastors, unlike Protestant pastors, occupy a difficult place in the church hierarchy.¹⁵⁰ A pastor within a reformed congregation only must be accountable to the church board. A Catholic pastor works under the watchful eye of the bishop who can take disciplinary action if the pastor speaks out against the institution of the Catholic Church.¹⁵¹

Yet there are several pastors who nevertheless speak out against the conservative attitude of the Pope. Tom Cassee was an example of this, another example is the attitude of Jack Snackers. He also takes a similar position. He did not call himself gay-friendly, but people-friendly. The church deprives people of the space for self-realization. The official church believes in God, but not in people.¹⁵² It is striking that both pastors do not take a clear position regarding gay emancipation. They try to position themselves by taking the position that they

¹⁴⁸ "Tedereen moet zich straks thuisvoelen", *Gay Krant*, April 6, 1991.

¹⁴⁹ "Tedereen moet zich straks thuisvoelen", *Gay Krant*, April 6, 1991.

¹⁵⁰ "De officiële kerk gelooft in God, maar niet in mensen", *Gay Krant*, Oktober 31, 1991.

¹⁵¹ "De officiële kerk gelooft in God, maar niet in mensen", *Gay Krant*, Oktober 31, 1991.

¹⁵² "De officiële kerk gelooft in God, maar niet in mensen", *Gay Krant*, Oktober 31, 1991.

look at the general person and do not distinguish between homosexuality. As a result, they nevertheless make a positive contribution to gay emancipation.

Yet there are examples of clergy within the Catholic Church who go further to positively contribute the gay emancipation. Father Maurits Gilissen is a evident example of this. In response to the recent statements of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, gays and lesbians are deeply involved in Rome's attitude. Maurtis is therefore vehemently against the positions of the Vatican. God also accepts homosexuals unconditionally in their individuality, including sexual orientation.¹⁵³ His argumentation can be divided into two positions. Firstly, the Father widens the Vatican's conservative attitude to a static view of man. He himself stands behind the personalistic view of man. Because of this view of man he can take a clear position when he is asked whether homosexuals and lesbians can love.¹⁵⁴

*People experience it as a gift from God when someone starts to love them unconditionally: sex plays a key role in this. The straight world pays too much attention to gay sex. Love is more than what happens under the sheets; I am thinking of security, mutual confirmation, etc. Also within a gay couple, love is the will to stimulate each other.*¹⁵⁵

This argument is far-reaching when comparing the Vatican's attitude to homosexuality. It is clear, then, that a more complex and ambiguous narrative is created when subcultures within the church are analyzed. Certainly, in the long nineties there were Catholic initiatives that went against the conservative sound of the Vatican.

Another initiative that also exerts influence on the Catholic Church as an institution is the May Eight Movement, the platform of Catholic organizations for renewal in church and society. They have also developed over the years into a more progressive stance towards gay emancipation.¹⁵⁶ In 1988 the chairman of this organization said that he accused gays of often being pathetic. The new chairman, Wies Steal-Merkx, made a completely different statement in May 1993. She believes that the period of being pathetic has now been widely gapped and that Catholic gays and lesbians now have full-fledged organizations that have a say in the Eighth May movement.¹⁵⁷ There was a temporary rumor that bishops would only enter dialogue with the May Eighth Movement if they dropped homosexuals. Merkx responded as follows:

¹⁵³ "God aanvaardt homo's onvoorwaardelijk in hun eigenheid", *Gay Krant*, November 28, 1992.

¹⁵⁴ "God aanvaardt homo's onvoorwaardelijk in hun eigenheid", *Gay Krant*, November 28, 1992.

¹⁵⁵ "God aanvaardt homo's onvoorwaardelijk in hun eigenheid", *Gay Krant*, November 28, 1992.

¹⁵⁶ "Iedereen moet zichzelf kunnen zijn", *Gay Krant*, May 1, 1993.

¹⁵⁷ "Iedereen moet zichzelf kunnen zijn", *Gay Krant*, May 1, 1993.

“Homosexuals are an important group within the May Eight Movement, we will never let them fall, that would be unthinkable. Any group that agrees with our objectives is valued. That is precisely our strength.”¹⁵⁸

The fact that these subgroups also exert influence within the Catholic Church is also apparent from the position that the Church takes towards registered partnerships. A step that is being made in this is the recognition and willingness to bless gay relationships. However, this is still given a conservative twist. The condition is that this cannot be taken as a quasi-marriage. Civil and ecclesiastical marriages must be reserved for male-female relationships because that union is intended for having children.¹⁵⁹ In comparison with the Reformed community, the Catholic Church still maintains a more conservative attitude. This is also apparent from the words of spokesman H. Degen:

*The Catholics believe that marriage should be reserved for man and woman, because reproduction is an important part of that union. the Catholic Church disapproves of practicing homosexuality, but does not want to discriminate against anyone on that ground. Gays and straights are equal and deserve equal respect, but because the church disapproves of sexuality outside of marriage, including for straights, we also disapprove of gay sex.*¹⁶⁰

From the process of cultural pluralism it can be concluded that the Catholic Church is less progressive in accepting the other ethnocultural group, the homosexuals and lesbians, in their own dignity. However, there are initiatives to change this position. It would therefore be too short-sighted to prematurely describe the Catholic Church as conservative. Steps are being made but not yet sufficiently sufficient to create mutual mutuality leading to equilibrium.

3.3 Initiatives within smaller Christian communities

The fact that conservative attitudes within the Christian religion have led to many disputed opinions has emerged several times during this research. There is also a clear debate within theology in which the biblical stories are interpreted in numerous ways. Emertius professor Gijs Bouwman is therefore extremely critical of the story of Sodom in the Bible. In an article published in the *Gay Krant* three interpretations are offered.¹⁶¹ One of these is the interpretation

¹⁵⁸ “Iedereen moet zichzelf kunnen zijn”, *Gay Krant*, May 1, 1993.

¹⁵⁹ “Katholieke kerk voorstanders geregistreerd partnerschap”, *Gay Krant*, April 10, 1998.

¹⁶⁰ “Katholieke kerk voorstanders geregistreerd partnerschap”, *Gay Krant*, April 10, 1998.

¹⁶¹ “Geen veroordeling uit Sodom”, *Gay Krant*,

of Cardinal Ratzinger, he supposed that sin-due degeneration continues in the history of the men of Sodom. There can be no doubt about the moral judgment here against same-sex relationships. A second interpretation is given by Reverend Glashouwer. He assumes homosexuality to be one of the worst signs of the fact that we have fallen into sin and lost God's image.¹⁶² Bouwman then gives a completely different interpretation. The conclusion of the research is as laconic as it is categorical: said statements are inspired by extra-biblical motives and are determined as historically as all the other condemnations of homosexuality quoted in this book.¹⁶³

From the perspective of cultural pluralism, Bouwman's theological work can influence the process of assimilation, and can certainly offer a solution for those who struggle with their sexual orientation based on faith. Bouwman is therefore critical, gay and lesbians within the church struggle with thresholds and walls that are not there.¹⁶⁴

In some cases, Christian youths also form a united front to counter conservative ideas against homosexuality. Many young people turn against the church and their faith because they notice that they cannot cope with their orientation within the church. However, the Christian Gay Youth Contact (CHJC) is an organization created by young people who support and accept young believers.¹⁶⁵ The CHJC operates interdenominationally and is not tied to any current within the Christian church. Furthermore, the CHJC is committed to changing the attitude of the churches towards gays. An example of this is the response and actions they have taken as an organization in response to the Vatican statements. After the negative reactions of this ecclesiastical institution, they as a group have addressed various church communities and other organizations to combat these conservative thoughts.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² "Geen veroordeling uit Sodom", *Gay Krant*,

¹⁶³ "Geen veroordeling uit Sodom", *Gay Krant*,

¹⁶⁴ "Geen veroordeling uit Sodom", *Gay Krant*,

¹⁶⁵ "Jongs, snel, homo en (toch) gelovig", *Gay Krant*, December 12, 1992.

¹⁶⁶ "Jongs, snel, homo en (toch) gelovig", *Gay Krant*, December 12, 1992.

Conclusion

The goal of this research can be divided into two main objectives. First, the impetus for this research was to historicize the social theory of homonationalism by analysing the period from 1990 to 2000s. To do this, the second objective was established under the main question: *How did the gay media, in particular the Gay Krant, frame the discussions and developments Christianity had regarding the gay emancipation movement during the long nineties in the Netherlands.* The choice to specify this research to the Christian faith was simple. Numerous studies have looked at the discourse surrounding Islam. Homonationalism is therefore mainly based on this rhetoric. In addition, the focus was mostly on mainstream media to reach conclusions regarding homonationalism. To expand this research, it was therefore logical to analyse the arbitrary relationship between the Christian faith and the gay emancipation movement during the long nineties to understand the outburst of homonationalism in the year 2002s. To investigate this relationship, theories from sociology have been used. These theoretical perspectives can be characterized as *conflict*, *melting pot* and *cultural pluralism*. As such, this research has combined social studies and history to critically assess and further develop the historical foundations of homonationalism,

Through a combination of qualitative code analysis, discourse analysis and a thematic approach, the main objective of this research was divided into three separate chapters. In the first chapter, a quantitative and qualitative method was used to describe conflicts that occurred during the long nineties. These conflicts were described from a general perspective to create a first sketch of the events during the long 1990s. It soon became clear that especially around livelihood, the access to necessities like money, work, and other aspects in life, was probed by different Christian parties. The General Equal Treatment Act was seen as one of the main causes of much debate with regards to this fact. This law was therefore an essential element to be discussed further during this research. A second major cause of conflict was based on criminalizing rhetoric, the use of this type of rhetoric dates to the 19th and 20th centuries. It became clear that the Catholic Church under the leadership of Pope John Paul II was responsible for using this type of rhetoric. This fact was further discussed in the second chapter.

The second chapter looked at the social process of a melting pot. Non-dominant communities and individuals seek to become more culturally valuable in society. The gay emancipation movement had also tried to implement this on various fronts during the long nineties. It can be said that the COC and de *Gay Krant* have played the leading role as the main actors in initiating this process. They therefore fought against the General Equal Treatment Act

against the clause in Article 5 that made discrimination in religious institutes and schools accessible. Through various actions they have attempted to change this law, a united front was raised. The clause, however, persisted when the law was implemented. Nevertheless, Kees Waalwijk describes a positive consequence that the law is an improvement for anyone who has nothing to do with special institutions like these.

Furthermore, an attempt was made to be more culturally significant from other perspectives and initiatives. Examples of this were the personal stories of Klaas Vos and Jos Brink. Both individuals had tried to change Church teachings in their own way. However, a one-sided picture is created if it is assumed that gay emancipation acted together on all fronts. In most cases they worked together, but in some debates different opinions could be found. The COC and de *Gay Krant* had various interpretations, particularly in same-sex marriage. The main difference here is that the COC looked critically at the process of homonormativity. They did not want to give up on the uniqueness of the homosexual identity.

To paint a complete picture of the developments during the long nineties, the third analytical chapter paid attention to initiatives within the Christian communities. This has been done through the sociological theory of cultural pluralism. With this theory it is important to point out that the dominant groups within society wonder whether the forms of accommodation regarding the less dominant groups still function. In this chapter it showed that various sub-cultures emerged within the Christian communities. Special attention can be paid to the developments made by some of the reformed churches during the long nineties. In which they first adopted a conservative attitude, that they developed further and further towards a progressive stand against gay emancipation. A critical comment must be made when look at the Catholic Church. As mentioned, there is a strong hierarchy within the Catholic Church. This makes it difficult for pastors to battle conservative ideas, yet this happened in some cases. However, this mechanism caused the Catholic Church to contribute less to cultural pluralism compared to the Protestants.

In conclusion, this research has found that the developments between Christianity and the gay emancipation occurred on different facets published in the *Gay Krant* throughout the long nineties. The increasingly progressive attitude towards the gay emancipation movements and an ever-growing opposition may partly explain the outburst of homonationalism in 2002. From the finding several suggestions can be made for forthcoming inquiry. Since this thesis was among the first to research to developments within the long nineties between Christianity communities and the gay emancipation movements, more research into the connection between homonationalism and Islam compared with Christianity can be conducted. The social theories

used in this research can also be applied to Islam and Muslims as a less dominant group in society. In doing so, to make a fresh start on new interdisciplinary research within the field of history and social studies.

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Appendix A

Themes used per article per year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Total
<i>The Gay Krant</i>	27	11	15	16	7	23	12	3	6	9	10	139
<i>Christianity:</i>												
Conflitcs	15	4	5	7	2	10	4	1	2	1	2	
Melting pot	1	4	3	3	3	5	5	1	3	2	3	
Cultural pluralism	8	1	5	6	4	8	3	1	1	6	5	
Homologie	2	3	2	1	0	0	1	0	-	-	-	9
Christianity												
Conflitcs												
Melting pot												
Cultural pluralism												
Total articles selected												

Appendix B

Gay Krant Source number	Publication, year/date/title, page	Brief summary	Main theme	Debate	Frame
1.	3 february, 1990, 21 Werkverband Homo-Theologen tien jaar, Recht op leefstijl als een gunst verwerven	Homosexuals do have a right on their own living style, however they need to earn that favor. Robert-Jan a gay priest is interviewed and gives insights on this standpoint. The gay emancipation in the Christian church has a long way to go, however it has been worse.	Christianity		Cultural pluralism
2.	17 februari, 1990, 9 Venray treedt op tegen discriminatie	The municipality will take disciplinary actions towards teachers who are discriminatory towards homosexuals	Christianity		Cultural pluralism
3.	17 February, 1990, 13 Voorzitter PCO-homogroep: WGP verandert niets: Allemaal gelijk, alleen de een wat minder	Confessional schools must maintain the right to keep out homosexuals. That is the vision off the Protestant Christian Education organization. They argue that they should clearly state in their statutes that they cannot hire homosexual staff or accept students for religious reasons.	Christianity	Livelihood	Conflict
4.	Seventeen february, 1990, 14 Bisschop tegen tolerantie	Irish Roman Catholic Bishop D. Connel regrets that his young compatriots accept	Christianity	Health & security	Conflict

		homosexuality as something normal and no longer consider it a disease.			
5.	17 february, 1990, 15 COC wil niet in debat met evangeliste	COC will not go in to a debate with Jenny Goeree, a evangelist from Zwolle. Goeree challenged the national organization to a debate about homosexuality in the bible. The coc refused since they do not see it fruitful debating with someone who argues that homosexuals can be converted	Christianity		Conflict
6.	3 march, 1990, 5 Relatiewet voor homo's wordt politieke kwestie	Homosexuals and homosexuals and lesbians who want to provide their relationship with the same rights as marital partners have been referred to national politics by the multiple Amsterdam court. → Interesting reactions from national actors mentioned in the article: Bas van der Vlies (SGP) “we attach particular importance to the bond between man and woman. A same-sex relationship cannot be equated with it” Gert Schutte (GPV) “it is obvious that marriage remains exclusively reserved for heterosexual couples.”	Christianity		Conflict

		Meindert Leerling (RPF) “We in parliament will shoulder our responsibilities and ensure that everything stays the same. God created man and woman for each other. As servants of God, the state can legally recognize all heterosexual relations.”			
7.	3 march, 1990, 19 Zeeuwse kerken bundelen krachten.	Three biggest denominations have ordered the establishment of an interdenominational working group on homosexuality Zeeland to improve gay emancipation.	Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
8.	24 march, 1990, 13 Homogenezet heeft nieuwe seksuele voorkeur: jongens Raph creemers: “Vorige week in de Gay Palace brak het angstzweet me uit.”	Ralph Creemer, a priest who tried to convert hundreds of homosexual man with the bible in his hand retires. He stays Christian but does not want to be involved with the Full Gospel Church.	Christianity		Conflict
9.	5 may, 1990, 11 Het keerpunt van Raph Creemers zorgde voor vele bekeringen. De kirk is van de fles	Zie foto	Christianity		
10.	2 juni, 1990, 9 CDA-jongeren op de bres voor homo- emancipatie.	The Youth organisation willen de moederpartij herinneren aan de kernconcepten beginsverklaring. Iedereen is gelijk, ongeacht zijn of haar geaardheid.	Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
11.	2 june, 1990, 19	The COC needs to adapt more Diversity within its	Islam		

	Verbrokkeld COC moet dynamisch de jaren 90' in	organization. Woman and other minorities should be included as well.			
12.	16 june, 1990, 14 Homoseksualiteit is als een alcoholverslaving; het is een misstap	Rob Bruntink, a journalist for the Gay krant infiltrated the Hulp aan Homofielen (EHAH), this organization attempts to convert homosexual men → zie foto	Christianity	Arbitrary views of recovery	Conflict
13.	16 june, 1990, 17 Homo's in DDR laten kerk los	Homosexual organisations in the DDR split from the church. They want to exist without interference from religion	Christianity		Melting Pot
14.	30 june 1990, 10 In principe is een homo niet volkomen verloren	Het vervolg van de infiltratie van Rob Bruntink, waarin hij beschrijft hoe de Weg van Verandering wordt bewandelt volgens het EHAH en de waardeloosheid van het homoleven.	Christianity		Conflict
15.	30 june 1990, 16 Werkboek voor Roze Zondag	De stichting landelijk coördinatiepunt groepen kerk en homoseksualiteit creëert een werkboek voor invulling van roze zondag. De nadruk ligt op gelijkwaardigheid.	Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
16.	14 july, 1990, 18 COC verafschuwt evangelische hulpverleners. Moet het bureau EHAH verdwijnen?	Het laatste deel over de ervaringen met EHAH. De COC verafschuwt de handelingen van EHAH. De EHAH daarentegen vind de	Christianity		Conflict

		COC een stel activisten die zich brutaal opstellen.			
17.	14 July, 1990, 19 Stichting voor bekeerlingen “De duivel zal allerlei verleidingen proberen om ons te doen struikelen”	Stichting onze weg, een organisatie voor “ex-homo’s” heeft 24 stellingen waar leden zich aan houden. Een opsomming wordt gegeven. Voorbeeld: Verandering of genezing is een proces en een gave van God, waar ieder zich naar uit mag strekken.	Christianity		Conflict
18.	11 august, 1990, 13 Richtlijnen	Guide Lines from the Catholic church “people who are not in power to overcome their homosexual desires don’t belong in the church”	Christianity		Conflict
19.	11 august, 1990, 13 Het blijft een zonde	According to pastor dr. H. van Vliet is homosexuality a sin and it will stay that way. Het Nederlands Dagblad supports this claim since he refers to the letters from Paulus.	Christianity		Conflict
20.	25 august, 1990, 27 In je eentje knokken, dat houdt niemand lang vol	Creating a free harbor for lesbians in the Christian church. This is the reason Stichting Potten en Theologie was created. Lesbians should not scare off.	Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
21.	22 september, 1990, 20 Land vol homo’s en junks	Homosexuality is an addiction that can be cured. God made every human being heterosexual thus Joanne Highley	Christianity		Conflict
22.	22 september, 1990, 21	Wim de Vreede was a sexton in the parish of Zoetermeer.	Christianity	Livelihood	Conflict

	Koster gediscrimineerd door Zoetermeerse pastor. Ik wil niets met misdienaartjes	However he got fired by the acting district pastor because of his sexuality.			
23.	6 oktober, 1990, 31 Niet welkom bij Baptisten	Referent Rolf Venema loses his title and status in the Baptistes community. The reason for this was his graduation thesis. Based on biblical data, homosexuality can't be rejected he claimed.	Christianity		Conflict
24.	20 oktober, 1990, 17 Paulus kon hedendaagse homoseksualiteit nooit veroordelen. Homo-vriendelijke dominee taboe		Christianity		
25.	17 november, 1990, 6 Alleen openstelling huwelijk voor homo's maakt eind aan discriminatie		Christianity		
26.	17 november, 1990, 29 Geen veroordelingen uit Sodom	A critical analysis on the story of Sodom. Emiteerus hoogleraar Bouwman states: the statements are inspired by extra-biblical motives and are as historically determined as all the other condemnations of the homosexual man.	Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
27.	1 december, 1990, 19 Gods zegen over relaties	Gay marriage seems to be a potential happening by law, however in the Christian Church, the blessing for these	Christianity		Conflict

		marriages aren't given. Gay marriage should not be a trap for churches.			
28.	15 december, 1990, 18 Kerk en relatie op gespannen voet	Reflection on the study day on church and relationships in Leusden in which they reflect on the position of marriage in the church.	Christianity		
29.	9 februari, 1991, 8, Meer over exodus	Extra information given on the American Organization Exodus whom handed out gay unfriendly flyers in Amsterdam	Christianity		Conflict
30.	23 march, 1991, Hervormden zijn zo kwaad nog niet	The image of the reformed church in the Netherlands has struck a chord with disciplinary measure against a homosexual man. Reformed Netherland cannot exactly be lumped together	Christianity		Melting Pot
31.	6 april, 1991, 23 Iedereen moet zich straks thuis voelen	The Catholic Church has something to make up for against gays. Diaken Fons Captijn en pastor Tom Cassee state that there are all kinds of life, many whom cannot be theirs. However the happiness of a individual is of importance.	Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
32.	15 juni 1991, 9, Homoseksualiteit telt bij beoordeling zeker mee	A critical article on the position of the Dutch-Protestant-Christian school council. In which they attempt to defend their opinion on refusing a teacher on his sexuality.	Christianity		Conflict

33.	29 juni 1991, 21, geloof als bestrijdingsmiddel	A personal story from Klaas Vos in which he describes sexuality as the trauma of Christianity. He also talks about the battles he experienced with the church during his childhood.	Christianity		Melting Pot
34.	13 juli, 1991, 25 Ik probeer er altijd te zijn	The pastorate of Jos Brink: if you cant fight them, join them,	Christianity		Cultural pluralism or melting pot
35.	10 august, 1991, 17, Uit de kerk stappen is zinloos	Homoseksuele pastoor	Christianity		Melting pot
36.	24 august, 1991, 25, Geweerd uit de kerk		Christianity		Conflict
37.	21 september, 1991, 17, Met die pater valt te praten		Christianity		Melting pot
38.	5 oktober, 1991, 16, Falwell weer in het harnas	Amerikaanse conservatieve tv evangelist	Christianity		Conflict
40.	2 november, 1991, 13 Ik ben eerst Joods en dan pas homo		Christianity		Melting pot
41.	7 march 1992, 13, Geloof is iets vrolijks		Christianity		
42.	21 march 1992, 9, Homo's gemaakt, geboren of allebei		Christianity		Melting Pot
44.	30 may 1992, 14, Koor gaat uiteen om homodirigent	Seksualiteit dirigent van mannenkoort in t harde heeft voor een onverxzoenbaar conflict gezorgd.	Christianity	Livelihood	Conflict
45.	13 juni 1992, 10 gereformeerden op de bers	De gereformeerden kerken in nederland hebben de belangen van hhun homoseksuele	Christianity		Mix melting pot en cultural pluralism

		kerleden en pradikanten met de hand en tand verdedigd.			
46.	13 juni 1992, roze zaterdag bijlage, 7, gezegend door de kerk		Christianity		
48.	22 august 1992, 11 Woede na brief vaticaan	Woede na brief vanuit vaticaan waarin staat dat homoseksuele duidelijk moeten gediscrimineerd moeten worden.	Christianity	Health and Security	Conflict
49.	5 september 1992, 5 vaticaan document blijft discussiestof	Vervolg over dezelfde brief	Christianity		Conflict
51.	3 oktober 1992, 15 Bodar: Beproof de moederkerk		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
52.	3 oktober 1992, 17 Kerk en pers een lastige combinatie		Christianity		Melting Pot
53.	17 oktober 1992, 13 enige open homoseksuele Franse priester		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
54.	31 oktober, 1992, 10 De officiële kerk gelooft in God, maar niet in de mensen		Christianity		Conflict
55.	14 november, 1992, 10 Haagse kerk zegent relaties		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
56.	28 november, 1992, 21 God aanvaardt homo's onvoorwaardelijk in hun eigenheid		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism

57.	12 december 1992, 8, Kerk Emiel Bootsma		Christianity		Conflict
58.	12 december 1992, 19 Jong, snel, homo en (toch) gelovig		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
59.	Nine january, 1993, 7, Church	Recap of the year 1922 and the articles related to the Church. “rarely had the <i>Gay Krant</i> paid so much attention to church affairs.”	Christianity		Melting Pot
60.	6 februari, 1993, 9 Seksuele misbruik ni pastorale relaties vaak doodgezwegen		Christianity		Conflict
61.	20 march, 1993, 19 KRO maakt vermeende homoseksualiteit van bisschop bespreekbaar		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
62.	17 april, 1993, 4 twee mannen die trouwen, dat kan toch niet...		Christianity		Conflict
63.	17 april, 1993, 16 Geloof		Christianity		
64.	1 may, 1993, 10 Predikant moet zich verantwoorden		Christianity		Conflict
65.	15 may, 1993, 14 Aalmoezeniers tegen opheffen ban		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
66.	4 september 1993, 15 Met deze pater viel te praten		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
67.	16 oktober, 1993, 5 De pauze is van een andere planeet		Christianity		Conflict

68.	30 oktober, 1993, 9, Kringen te danken aan gunstig klimaat in kerk		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
69.	13 november 1993, 5-6 Het homolevel op Urk		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
70.	13 november, 1993, 7, Janmaat: Niet met seksuele geaardheid te koop lopen.		Christianity		Conflict
71.	13 november, 1993, 19, Gods bedoeling niet in de war brengen		Christianity		Conflict
72.	11 december, 1993, 12 gods straf		Christianity		Conflict
73.	11 december, 1993, 19 Kardinaal Chicago in opspraak		Christianity		Conflict
74.	25 december, 1993, 14, Nieuwe kerkorde biedt ruimte		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
77.	30 april, 1994, 24 De liefdeloosheid van die nonnen, dat was puur sadisme		Christianity		Conflict
79.	17 september, 1994, 15 Congres uit katholieken		Christianity		
80.	17 september, 1994, 15, Om mij te genezen werd geen enkel middel geschuwd		Christianity		
81.	1 oktober, 1994, 5, Een homoseksuele bisschop? Geen probleem?		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism

82.	15 oktober, 1994, 15, Geloof		Christianity		
83.	16 novemer, 1994, 3 Angst voor zedenpredikers		Christianity		
84.	10 december, 1994. 10 Teleurstelling over synode besluit		Christianity		
85.	24 december, 1994, 11 Paar gezegend in Deense kerk		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
86.	7 januari, 1995, 3 De kerk spreekt niet over de menselijke ontwikkeling		Christianity		
87.	21 januari, 1995, 3 Protesteer tegen het synodebesluit!		Christianity		Conflict
88.	21 januari, 1995, 15 Geef de hervormden de tijd		Christianity		Melting Pot
89.	4 februari, 1995, 3 Kerkelijke leiders moeten wijzer zijn		Christianity		Conflict
90.	18 februari, 1995. 3 Homo zijn en geloven in God van de bijbel is onmogelijk		Christianity		Conflict
91.	18 februari, 1995, 5 Vaticaan medeverantwoordelijk voor grote aantal aidsslachtoffers		Christianity		Conflict

92.	4 maart, 1995, 3 Kerk en God zijn niet hetzelfde		Christianity		Melting Pot
93.	3 maart, 1995, 3 Homo en geloven: een misverstand		Christianity		Melting Pot
94.	18 maart, 1995, 12 Hervormden blijven discussiëren		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
95.	18 maart, 1995, 12 Kerken EKD tegen zegening homorelaties		Christianity		Conflict
96.	18 maart, 1995, 33 Majoor Bosshardt: Ik ben geen christelijk animeermeisje?!		Christianity		Conflict
97.	1 april, 1995, 3 De bijbel is het slechte boek van de mens		Christianity		Conflict
98.	1 april, 1995, 9 Volledige aanvaarding in de Hervormde Kerk		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
99.	13 mei, 1995, 3 Waarom steeds het woord van God?		Christianity		
100.	27 mei, 1995, 3 De kerk is er voor de dommen		Christianity		Conflict
101.	Twenty-seven mei, 1995, 18 Anglicanen behouden anti-homovisie		Christianity		Conflict
103.	23 juni, 1995, 12 Lutheranen zien af van		Christianity		Conflict

	oproep tot inzegening homohuwelijken				
105.	7 juli, 1995, 18 Amsterdamse lutheranen willen huwelijksbesluit		Christianity		
106.	21 juli, 1995, 3 Is god almachtig		Christianity		
107.	4 augustus, 1995, 12 Geloof		Christianity		
108.	3 juli, 1995, 3 Homo blijft bij lutheranen machteloos		Christianity		Conflict
109.	18 augustus, 1995, 22 Canadese homobeweging pakt dominee aan		Christianity		Melting Pot
110.	13 oktober, 1995, 3 De dominee en pure seks		Christianity		
111.	24 november, 1995, 25 Ik ben getrouwd in een klein kerkje. Het geeft onze relatie een meerwaarde		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
112.	2 februari, 1996, 14 Gereformeerde kerk dwaalt af		Christianity		
113.	1 maart, 1996, 9 Christelijke boeren: homo's moeten zich bekereren		Christianity		Conflict
114.	15 maart, 1996, 17 Dreigende scheuring in Hervormde kerk		Christianity		Mix melting pot en cultural pluralism

115.	29 maart, 1996, 8 Kerkelijk huwelijk voor kardinaal onbespreekbaar		Christianity		Conflict
116.	12 april, 1996, 14 Bisschoppen niet blij met referendum		Christianity		Conflict
117.	21 juni, 1996, 5 Belgische christenen sterk tegen gelijke rechten		Christianity		Conflict
118.	5 juli, 1996, 5 van Dijke Homo's en dieven even erg		Christianity		Conflict
119.	19 juli, 1996, 12 Van Dijke mag denken dat homoseksualiteit een zonde is		Christianity		Conflict
121.	25 oktober, 1996, 6 Bär "Gods zegen aan homoparen."		Christianity		
123.	8 november, 1996, 6 Gevecht tegen de katholieke kerk vooralsnog oneslist		Christianity		Melting Pot
124.	6 december, 1996, 3 Christenen niet over een kam scheren		Christianity		Melting Pot
125.	20 december, 1996, 11 Onvriendelijk klimaat in gereformeerde kerken		Christianity		Conflict
126.	17 januari, 1997, 7 Anglicaanse Kerk beschermt priester		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism

127.	31 januari, 1997, 4, Vaticaan ringeloort Theologische universiteit		Christianity		Conflict
129.	14 februari, 1997, 3 Bijbeltekst bevat vertaalfout		Christianity		
135.	12 september, 1997, 11 Ik voel me een relikwie, een overblijfsel van iets glorieus dat er niet meer is.		Christianity		Melting Pot
137.	10 april, 1998, 9 Katholieke kerk voorzitter van geregistreerd partnerschap		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
138.	22 mei, 1998, 1 Brabantse pastoor preekt homohaar		Christianity		Conflict
139.	22 mei, 1998, 9 Ik heb God steeds beterschap beloofd, maar..		Christianity		
140.	30 juli, 1998, 1 Limburgse pastoor negeert bisschoppelijke brief		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
141.	30 juli, 1998, 5 Omvangrijke christelijke rechts moet zorgen voor genezing		Christianity		Conflict
142.	4 december, 1998, 5 Bisschop Muskens		Christianity		Conflict

	worstelt met relatiezegeningen				
143.	1 januari, 1999, 1 Vaticaanse krant boos		Christianity		Conflict
144.	12 februari, 1999, 6 Duitse Kerk ziet huwelijk niet zitten		Christianity		Conflict
146.	9 april, 1999, 9 de grote sodomietenvervolg		Christianity		Melting Pot
148.	7 mei, 1999, 3 Homopaar weggepest uit Christelijke gemeente Waardenburg		Christianity		Conflict
150.	4 juni, 1999, 3 Priester en zijn vriend blijven in pastorie		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
151.	20 augustus, 1999, 3 Commotie rondom 'Beweging Christelijke koers CDA		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
152.	20 augustus, 1999, 7 Wij zijn een gruwel voor God		Christianity		Conflict
153.	3 september, 1999, 3 Woede en ongeloof over katholieke traktaten nieuwe bisschop		Christianity		Conflict
154.	1 oktober, 1999, 1, D66 en RPF samen in actie voor asielzoekers		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
155.	4 februari, 2000, 11 Paus vreest roze week		Christianity		Conflict
157.	18 februari, 2000, 17		Christianity		Conflict

	Ik voel me gevangen in de middeleeuwen.				
158.	17 maart, 2000. 12 Pastores barmhartiger dan Eijk		Christianity		Cultural Pluralism
160.	23 juni. 2000, Bezorgdheid over Rome		Christianity		Conflict
161.	7 juli, 2000, 9 Kritiek op Vaticaan		Christianity		Melting Pot
162.	21 juli, 2000, 5 Paus schoffeert homo's		Christianity		Conflict
163.	4 augustus, 2000, 7 Verzoek om diplomatieke stappen tegen Vaticaan		Christianity		Melting Pot
164.	8 september, 2000, 13 Geen discussie mogelijk over inzegening.		Christianity		Conflict
165.	22 september, 2000, 5 De moederkerk zal homoseksueel gedrag nooit goedkeuren		Christianity		Conflict
166.	21 oktober, 2000. 9 Kritiek op inzenverbod homorelaties houdt aan		Christianity		Conflict
167.	15 december, 2000, 28 Een oase in de kerk		Christianity		
Homologie Source number	Publication, year/date/title, page	Brief summary	Main theme	Debate	Frame
1.	1990, januari/februari vrijplaats voor het		Christianity		

	lesbische leven binnen de kerk, 21				
2.	1990, maart/april, Tegennatuurlijk, 30		Christianity		
3.	1991, januari/februari, Het homohuwelijk voorbij, als de zegen er maar overheen gaat, 28/29		Christianity		
4.	1991, maart/april, het homohuwelijk voorbij, vlucht misdaad of feestje, 8/9.		Christianity		
5,	1991, september/oktober, afwijking van het normale, 10/11		Christianity		
7.	1992, mei/juni Wetenschap met een roze bril: zet die bril maar af. Homogeschiedenis van nazi's en katholieken, 4/7.		Christianity		
8.	1992, november/december, De waarde van nieuwe woorden, 26/27		Christianity		
9.	1993, mei/juni, Jongeren hechten grote waarde aan geestelijke band		Christianity		
10	1994, mei/juni, Lak aan de rabbijnen, 22/23				
11.	1994, november/december,				

	Hulde aan de schoonheid van joodse mannen, 14/15.				
12.	1996, maart/april, Sodoms zaad en Riskante relaties, 34/35		Christianity		