Secular-Christian Citizens: Secularism and Religion in Dutch Integration Courses.

Hoopman, Lea

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By
Lea Hoopman

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Dr. P. Van Trigt

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Contents

A Note on Translations

All translations (predominantly from Dutch to English) in this work were conducted by the researcher. Choices were made based on contextual appropriateness, with consideration given to translations in the existing literature when available. When necessary, this was supplemented by the use of translation applications such as Google Translate, however especially when such applications were used extra attention was paid to the context.

A Note on Citations

The following work uses the citation method as prescribed in the 17th edition of the Chicago Manual of Style, using shortened notes and a full bibliography as is common practice in the humanities.[1] To improve the legibility and increase the ability to monitor changes over time, when referencing primary sources, the year of publication is included in the shortened notes. While a traditional shortened note would only include the following information when citing a book; 'Name, *(shortened) Title of the Work*, page number.'[2] In the following research primary sources will be cited as follows: "Name, *Title of the Work,* year of publication, page number.' If changes between editions are not explicitly mentioned in the text, only the first edition will be cited.

[1] Chicago Manual of Style, "Citation Quick Guide."
[2] Chicago Manual of Style, "Notes and Bibliography."

Introduction

"Dare to say that Islam does not integrate.
Define Islam as a violent, totalitarian, undemocratic entity.
And stop immigration from Islamic countries."[3]

Societal debates around migration have been an integral part of Dutch public discourse in the last three decades. Concerns about migrant integration and participation in Dutch society frequently resurface in the public's consciousness, and a call for stronger integration resurfaces in the same manner. A key player in the call for migration restriction, particularly from Muslim migrants, has been the Dutch politician Geert Wilders. Since he started the *Party for Freedom* in 2004, he has questioned the capacity of Muslim migrants to integrate into Dutch society based on their religious identity. Painting 'their' norms and values as diametrically opposed to Dutch society, and as exemplified in the quote above stating that "Islam does not Integrate."[4] As the following research will show, this concern – which is vocally embodied by Wilders, but has a longer history within the Dutch political landscape – has impacted migration legislation, and migrant integration and naturalization.

Cultural integration into the host society has been codified into Dutch national law since 2007 through the 'Civic Integration Act' (*Wet Inburgering)* with a knowledge exam on 'Dutch Society.' This exam is supposed to test migrants' understanding of Dutch cultural norms, history, and societal ordering. In its essence, it narrows down half a millennium of history, and the lived experience of almost 18 million citizens into a two-hour exam. Therefore, decisions on what to include and exclude should be investigated. As shown by Wilders and expanded upon in the research, political developments over the last decades have centered migrants' religious identity in migration governance. Therefore, the research question is as follows: *'What is the role of the representations of religion and secularity in Dutch integration courses ('inburgeringscursussen)?'* To answer this question two sub-questions are evaluated. First, it must be established whether and how religiosity (particularly Christianity) and secularity are represented in the educational materials used in Dutch integration courses. The analysis of the role of religion and secularity in these course materials through time assesses how these representations fit into the broader history of migration governance and migrant classification in the Netherlands. The second sub-question

[3] Wilders, "Islam Geen Religie."
[4] Ibid.

is in turn: how do representations of religion and Christianity in course materials change over time? Answering this question explains what these course materials convey about Dutch self-representation and the role migrants play in these representations. By engaging with these educational materials from a historical perspective new insight on the role of religion in Dutch migration governance should be revealed.

Historiography

Research into the values communicated in the Dutch integration exam has already been done. The following section will first engage with the existing scholarly literature on integration courses. As the integration examinations studied are a relatively recent phenomenon, historical studies on the topic do not yet exist.

Some historical scholarship has briefly mentioned different forms of integration education. Examples of this include Herman Obdeijn and Marlou Schrover's book *Komen en Gaan* in which courses for Sicilian migrants on the Netherlands are mentioned, or Wim Willem's *Migranten op golven van de dekolonisatie* in which he describes the 'civilization offensive' placed on migrants from Indonesia after decolonization.[5] Both of these examples will be expanded upon in the first empirical chapter. It should however be mentioned that these fleeting references to integration courses do not constitute a systematic analysis of their contents, nor do they examine how and whether the courses change over time. The following chapters represent the first historical analysis of the topic and aim to pave the way for further scholarly examination of the content of integration courses from a historical perspective.

Within the social sciences, more research has been done into integration education in the Netherlands. The film *Naar Nederland,* shown to migrants preparing to migrate within other countries before they are allowed legal access to the Netherlands, has already been the subject of multiple studies. The authors focus on notions of secularism represented in the film and the effect this has on migrant's capacity to integrate. For example, there is a significant body of literature that is concerned with depictions of homosexuality and feminism in the film *Naar Nederland.*[6] It is argued that the film forces progressive sexual values onto newcomers.[7] Furthermore, in the film progressive sexual and gender politics are used to exclude and penalize migrants.[8] These notions of sexual liberty are sometimes also linked to

[5] Obdijen, Schrover, *Komen en Gaan,* 275; Willems, "Migranten op Golven," 55.
[6] Leeuw and van Wichelen, "Institutionalizing the Muslim Other." ; Hekma and Duyvendak, "Queer Netherlands."
[7] Leeuw and van Wichelen, "Institutionalizing the Muslim Other," 338.
[8] Butler, "Sexual Politics," 5, ; Leeuw and van Wichelen, "Institutionalizing the Muslim Other," 337.

individualism and liberalism.[9] In this context, the civic integration exam is often seen as a form of "governmentality," i.e. as a mode of social control.[10]

These sexual values are sometimes linked to religiosity. For example, Renée van Wagenvoorde argues that it's a combination of secular values (as secularism supposedly forms the basis for freedom and equality) and progressive sexual-ethical viewpoints that are central to the Dutch notion of 'citizenship' and used to exclude non-conforming migrants.[11] Similarly, de Leeuw and van Wichelen concluded that the combination of progressive sexual politics and secularity can be used to restrict religious diversity.[12] Moreover, while not all of the articles that examine sexuality in *Naar Nederland* examine what this means for secularity in the Netherlands, they do always speak about *Islamic* migrants. Thus, highlighting that sexual politics are often related to religiosity.

Furthermore, Thijl Sunier has also argued that the film *Naar Nederland* is a "pedagogical narrative about Dutch Civil culture," that corresponds to an already existing way of speaking about Islam.[13] And that it in turn operates as a way to instill a form of Islam into newcomers that is non-threatening and based on a limited expression of it.[14] Furthermore, the similarities between the rhetoric of Dutch colonial "civilizing missions" and the way religion and secularity are discussed in the film *Naar Nederland* are discussed by Mechteld Jansen.[15] She states that integration courses are supposed to "turn" "immigrant believers" into "modern people."[16]

Thus, there have been multiple explorations of the film *Naar Nederland*. Especially the way it relates to secularity. However, there have not been any explorations into the (implicit) use of Christianity as a normative marker of identity in these films. As will be shown below, there are reasons to assume that secularity and Christianity do configure together in these contexts. The following research will thus explicitly analyze what role Christianity plays in integration education.

Furthermore, explorations are often limited to the film *Naar Nederland* or based on integration as a concept without the large amount of empirical data that this historical analysis will provide. This is the second gap identified in the literature. Next to the lack of

[9] Leeuw and van Wichelen, "Institutionalizing the Muslim Other," 338.
[10] Leeuw and van Wichelen, "Civilizing Migrants," 203.
[11] Wagenvoorde, "Nederlands Burgerschap," 16.
[12] Leeuw and van Wichelen, "Institutionalizing the Muslim Other." ; Leeuw and van Wichelen, "Civilizing Migrants."
[13] Sunier, "The Religious Legacy," 171.
[14] Ibid., 175.
[15] Jansen, "Civic Integration," 234.
[16] Ibid.

historical research on the topic, there have only been two articles written on the content of a limited amount of other course materials, both of these focus on aspects other than secularity and religiosity.[17] Thus, this research will convey novel insights into the way religion and secularism operate in the context of immigrant integration courses.

Contextual Discourses and Theoretical Perspectives

This research engages with three important and interrelated debates in social sciences research on migration and religion. What follows is an introduction to these three debates and the works that have defined them. While these texts do not all directly relate to integration courses the research presented in this work draws heavily upon their explorations of the topics.

Integration

The first debate is related to migration studies, as it engages with the concept of 'integration' and asks critical questions about the concept. This is because, when we speak of the integration of migrants, we are implicitly also asking what these migrants are integrating into and its supposed homogeneity. This has led to a body of literature that is critical of integration and the assumptions it makes about migrant-hosting societies.

When speaking about migrant integration, this often assumes a divide between the host society (a majority, or mainstream society) and migrants (minorities). Most migrant-hosting societies can be classified as culturally plural, however, in relation to debates about migration and migrant integration, this pluralism is not acknowledged. As Willem Schinkel writes in his influential work on immigrant integration in Western Europe, "its unproblematic character is maintained only through the problematization of what it excludes."[18] Schinkel provides the specific example of the Netherlands, in which he states that through the supposed secular character of Dutch society, those who are religious cannot be sufficiently integrated.[19] However this notion of secularity is not based on Dutch society according to Schinkel, but to delineate a boundary between those who belong and those who do not.[20] This understanding of the 'majority' or host society as a politically productive discursive entity, has led to a variety of related studies. One example is the book *Undoing Homogeneity*

[17] Verschuur, "Structurele of Culturele integratie." ; Lems and Suvarierol, "Inhoud van Burgerschap."
[18] Schinkel, *Imagined Societies,* 1.
[19] Ibid., 4.
[20] Ibid., 5.

in the Nordic Region by Keskinen et al,.[21] They posit that the increased demand for cultural homogeneity does not, in fact, relate to the 'native' population of the Nordic countries but to a securitization of migration and an exercise of nation-state building that excludes Indigenous peoples and other ethnic minorities.[22]

In this context, a body of literature also criticizes migration studies for its reliance on methodological nationalism.[23] A discourse where the nation-state is seen as a natural container into which integration takes place, and in turn neutralizing the hegemony of state-centric understandings of politics.[24] This creates a point of contention for the proposed research, as it is concerned with the integration system of one particular nation. Furthermore, the assumption is made that the religious values communicated in the KNM section of the exam can tell us something about broader Dutch self-identification. Thus, it seems like this research could suffer from the pitfalls of methodological nationalism. However, it is also precisely through a detailed analysis of identity construction in Dutch integration courses that this research aims to deconstruct its neutrality. Highlighting that integration is often explicitly linked to the perception of "a broader vision of an ideal end goal for society *as a whole*," and nation-building practices.[25] This type of de-construction can only take place after the assumptions that this wholeness is based on, for example in terms of religious experience, are critically examined.

Religion and Secularism

The following research is related to the role of religion in the public domain and national identity. There is an assumption that since the 1960's the Netherlands has experienced a decline of religion, and that the country has always been defined by the separation of the church and the state.[26] And when we consider secularization as a process by which 'the secular' ("state, economy, science… etc.") and the 'religious' "institutional spheres" become increasingly differentiated, it is undeniable that important changes have taken place.[27] The amount of Dutch people who indicate they are part of a religious denomination or belief-

[21] Keskinen et al., *Undoing Homogeneity*.
[22] Ibid., 3.
[23] Wimmer and Glick Schiller, "Methodological nationalism and beyond." ; Favell, "Integration
[24] Ibid.
[25] Favell, *Integration nation* 374. Italicized in original.
[26] Rutjes, "Making Fundamental Value," 30.
[27] Casanova, "Secular, Secularizations, Secularisms," 59.

based group is steadily declining, as is the amount of people regularly visiting religious services.[28]

However, "secularism" as a term has come to denote an un-reflexive notion to describe processes of modernization and a normative marker of identity.[29] These are often related to notions of power and related to a dichotomy between "modern" and "backwards.[30] Furthermore, while this assumption is often assumed to be universal, and thus extends these dichotomies globally, the term itself has a particular origin in Christianity and lends itself largely only to religions that contain explicitly metaphysical elements.[31] Thus while the use of religious identity in the civilizational discourses that are often linked to integration, its global usefulness is rather limited. It is thus interesting that the literature has found that secular language has been used to exclude religious minorities from Western European societies.

Similarly, research has been done that examines the re-emergence of certain Christian values in this context of both migration and secularization. For example, European right-wing political parties' use of Christian language has been extensively studied.[32] Some of the authors see this use of Christian language as a mere hijacking of this language as a form of xenophobia, as it often uses symbols of Christianity devoid of faith to exclude Muslims.[33] Others have examined this resurgence of Christianity through a more post-secularist lens that sees the multiplicity of actors using this language as a progression in the use of religion in the public sphere.[34] Similarly, Luca Mavelli has examined how European identity is made up of a complex interplay between secularity and Christianity that needs to be examined critically and can be made visible in the context of Islamic migration.[35]

Secularism and Progressive Gender and Sexual Norms

A last theoretical link that must be examined at the outset of this work is the link between religiosity/secularism and sexual politics. As noted previously, in their examinations of *Naar Nederland* of van Wagenvoorde and de Leeuw and van Wichelen both argue that it is a combination of progressive sexual values and secularism that is used to discipline or exclude

[28] CBS, "Religieuze Betrokkenheid."
[29] Casanova, "Secular, Secularizations, Secularism," 59
[30] Ibid., 59.
[31] Asad, *Formations of the Secular*, 192. ; Casanova, "Rethinking Secularization," 13.
[32] Marzouki et al., *How populists hijack religion.*
[33] Marzouki et al., *How populists hijack religion* ; Brubaker, "Between Nationalism and Civilizationism."
[34] Hemel, "Who Leads Leitkultur." ; Hemel, "Hoezo Christelijke Waarden."
[35] Mavelli, *Europe's encounter with Islam.*

migrants from 'Dutch society.'[36] However, this issue linkage needs to be examined critically as it is not necessarily the case that secular people (meaning those who do not report having attachments to a metaphysical belief system) adhere to progressive sexual politics and gender norms.[37] Similarly, 'non-traditional' forms of gender politics such as queerness and women's emancipation can co-exist within religious communities.[38] Furthermore, within religion, many forms of agency exist that do not only challenge hegemonic gender norms but also engage with them in other ways.[39] Making the relationship between secularity and 'progressive' gender norms not a neutral linkage, but one embedded in politics.

This is where the previous conception of secularism as an identity marker returns, as it is not a linkage between secularity and progressive sexual politics that is made but a linkage between 'secularism' and sexual politics. As noted previously this is a particularly western and liberal mode of describing religious identity that is connected to notions of modernity. Renowned gender theorist Judith Butler has examined this linkage most clearly in her essay "Sexual politics, torture, and secular time."[40] In the work, she argues that "the identification of gay politics with cultural and political modernity" has been instrumentalized in regulating "admission into the polity" for those deemed pre-modern.[41] In this context the "struggles for sexual expression depend upon the restriction and foreclosure of rights of religious expression" and in turn the restriction of religious migrants.[42] Schinkel furthermore argues that both sexual politics and religiosity "circumvent" the mechanism that is at the center of contemporary nations, namely loyalty to the national society as the universal ordering of social relations.[43] This is because sexuality is seen as loyalty within interpersonal relationships, while religion implies loyalty to a religious community that transcends the boundaries of the nation-state.[44] This makes both sexuality and religiosity a sphere upon which the polity aims to extend its control, and can become contested arenas used to delineate between those who belong ('natives') and those who do not belong (migrants).

It is thus through their embeddedness in imaginations of modernity that are used to delineate between communities, that sexual politics and secularism are linked. As the

[36] Wagenvoorde, "Nederlands Burgerschap." ; Leeuw and van Wichelen, "Institutionalizing the Muslim Other." ; Leeuw and van Wichelen, "Civilizing Migrants."
[37] Hekma and Duyvendak, "Queer Netherlands," 626.
[38] Kraus, "Queer Theology."
[39] Mahmood, *Politics of Piety,* 155.
[40] Butler, "Sexual Politics."
[41] Ibid., 3-4.
[42] Ibid., 6.
[43] Schinkel, "Imagined Societies," 165.
[44] Ibid., 166.

previous section has shown, these do not only correlate but operate interrelatedly. This is why in the empirical research discourses on sexual politics are also taken into account as a mode of secularism. It should however be noted that in doing so it aims not to perpetuate liberal conflations of secularity and sexual progress, but to examine secularism as a discursive tool for migration control.

Approach

The method used to analyze the primary sources will be discourse analysis. This qualitative method promises valuable insights into Dutch self-perception, national identity and the influence of religion on them. This is because language (in its broadest sense) shapes how people understand the world around them and how they act.[45] Through "systems of signification" discourses negotiate people's lived experience and shape how individuals engage with the world around them.[46] Discourse operates through the relation between different concepts, and the perceived difference between them.[47] Words and concepts do not have an inherent meaning but are negotiated in relationship to other words and concepts.[48] In the context of migration governance, categories that seem to be of particular interest are the distinctions between the 'self' and the 'other,' which is something discourse analysis lends itself to.[49]

Furthermore, discourses are productive.[50] They legitimize certain actions and decisions, including those related to citizenship. Analyzing the use of religious themes in relation to 'Dutchness' will provide a closer insight into the effects of religious discourse in negotiations of citizenship. In this context, it is probable that decisions regarding who attains Dutch citizenship (i.e., who is deemed eligible for 'Dutchness' and who is not) are influenced by these discourses.

Some important limitations of this methodology should be considered. The first is that the interpretations of the researcher do not take place outside of these systems of signification that they are researching. This can lead to biases created by the researcher's positionality. This requires an ongoing analysis of the categories, assumptions and normative convictions that guide the researcher.[51] Furthermore, providing an a-priori theoretical body of work that

[45] Hansen, *Security as Practice,* 16.
[46] Miliken, "Discourse in IR," 229.
[47] Ibid., 229.
[48] Mambrol, "Derrida's concept of Difference."
[49] Hansen, *Security as Practice,* 17
[50] Milliken, "Discourse in IR," 229.
[51] Harding, "Representing Fundamentalism," 374.

this research engages with could lead to empirical blind spots. Thus, a continuous re-interpretation of the theoretical framework based on the empirical material is necessary.[52] Secondly, the concepts that will be examined are not static. An ongoing risk of this mode of examination is that it reifies a perception of these categories as stable, and in turn, undermines the destabilizing potential of discourse analysis.[53] Furthermore, these discursive categories are negotiated by all those participating. While the lesson plans might contain discursive structures that limit perceptions of Dutchness, migrants taking the courses have the capacity to negotiate what this means to them and might not act in the ways in which this was intended.[54] Discursive structures can be adapted and resisted by those who are affected by them, and in turn, impact the way these structures operate. It should thus be re-emphasized that this research is not about the people taking the integration courses, but explicitly about the discursive structures in the materials used to teach them about 'Dutch society.'

Sources

The following section will give an overview of the research period and the materials examined. The research period of this thesis is 1998-2022. This is because in 1998 the Integration Act for Newcomers (*Wet Inburgering Nieuwkomers - WIN*) took effect, and the first lesson books were published. The end date was chosen as in 2022 the formal system was overhauled quite significantly. In practice, this means that most of the books analyzed already stem from a period before 2022, as many publishers only (re-)release books after legislative change has come into effect.

The educational materials examined in this thesis are used to convey a sense of Dutch culture and identity to migrants and long-term non-citizen residents of the Netherlands. This includes predominantly textbooks used to prepare people for the at that time relevant integration requirement. The education material spans the period from 1998 till 2018. Online lesson plans and materials were excluded, as these are not easily comparable to previous editions, and would thus only include the most recent versions.

Bagage (1998-2017)[55]

[52] Bevir and Blakely, "Philosophical roots," 22.
[53] Hansen, *Security as Practice*, 18.
[54] Bassel et al, "Making Political Citizens," 228.
[55] Furi Snethlage, *Bagage*, 1998. ; Furi Snethlage, *Bagage*, 1999. ; Furi Snethlage and Koot, *Bagage*, 2002. : Furi Snethlage and Koot, *Bagage*, 2004. ; Koot, *Bagage*, 2007. ; Koot, *Bagage*, 2011. ; Koot, *Bagage*, 2017.

Bagage (‘Baggage’) is a lesson plan that is already on its 7th release, with the most recent edition being from 2017. The book is meant for those who already have experience with the Dutch language and culture. At the start, the author of the first editions is Knup Fuhri Snethlage and the later editions are authored by Nelleke Koot, and all editions are published by Coutinho.

Denkend aan Holland (1998-2007)[56]

Denkend aan Holland (‘Thinking of Holland’) was released in 2 editions (1998 and 2004) and includes a supplement to the textbook from 2007 to adapt to new legislation. This is a course aimed at all levels of migrants, but because it is released in multiple languages often used for students who don’t know the Dutch language yet, or those who have received less formal education.[57]

Nederland in Zicht (2003-2008)[58]

Nederland in Zicht (‘Netherlands in Sight’) is a lesson plan consisting of two editions (one from 2003 and one from 2008). The books were written by Ad Bakker and aimed at migrants with more formal educational experience, and all editions provide a lot of cultural and historical context about the Netherlands.[59]

Welkom in Nederland (2008-2015)[60]

Welkom in Nederland (‘Welcome to the Netherlands’) was written by Marilene Gathier. The book is aimed at the KNM exam but includes language skills training. The book combines informational texts with anecdotes about Galo, a Bolivian man living in the Netherlands.

Wegwijzer (2009)[61]

Wegwijzer (‘Signpost’) is the third book in the *Op Weg* (‘on the way’) book series written by Jenny van der Toorn and prepares migrants for the KNS exam. The other books in the series focus on the language requirements.

[56] Baalen and Coumou, *Denkend aan Holland,* 1998. ; Baalen and Coumou, *Denkend aan Holland,* 2004. ; Baalen and Coumou, *Denkend aan Holland,* 2007.
[57] Huis and de Regt, “Tussen Dwang en Dialoog, “ 284.
[58] Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht,* 2003. ; Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht,* 2008.
[59] Huis and de Regt, “Tussen Dwang en Dialoog,” 284.
[60] Gathier, *Welkom in Nederland,* 2008. ; Gathier, *Welkom in Nederland,* 2014. ; Gathier, *Welkom in Nederland,* 2015.
[61] Toorn-Schutte, *Wegwijzer,* 2009.

Nieuwe Start - KNS (2009)[62]

Nieuwe Start - KNS ('New Start – KNS) is written by Britt Westerneng and Merel Louter. It is a single edition, and part of a larger 'nieuwe start' series that also includes language preparations. The newest edition of this book is authored by the publisher (no other authors are mentioned) and published under two names; *Kennis van de Nederlandse Maatschappij – Cursistenboek (2016)* and re-printed with the *Nieuwe Start!* branding.[63] As the content is the same in both, the book will be referenced as the former.

Kijk op Nederland (2011-2016)[64]

Kijk op Nederland ('Perspective on the Netherlands') has three editions, published in 2011, 2014 and 2016 by Coutinho. The books were written by Robert de Boer in A1 level Dutch, in turn, they can be used for students who have not received much formal education, or newly literate students.[65]

TaalCompleet- KNM (2014 – 2018)[66]

This book is the book that prepares users of the *TaalCompleet* ('complete language') series for the KNM exam. The first two editions are written by the same authors, while the 2018 edition differs in both author and design. The first edition published is titled "TGN en KNS" (Test for Spoken Dutch, and the old abbreviation for the KNM exam). The books are published by *Kleurrijker Educatieve Uitgeverij*.

Kom Verder! (2006-2016)[67]

Kom Verder! ('Move further' also used to mean 'come on in') was written by Ad Bakker (the author of *Nederland in Zicht*). Three editions of this book have been published by *Boom Uitgevers*. All three editions follow the life of Monica, Brazilian immigrant who lives with her Dutch husband in the Netherlands. Everyday scenarios involving Monica are used to teach students about the learning goals of the KNM exam.

[62] Westerneng and Louter, *Nieuwe Start,* 2009.
[63] NCB Uitgeverij, *KNM cursistenboek,,* 2016.
[64] Boer, *Kijk op Nederland,* 2011. ; Boer, *Kijk op Nederland,* 2014. ; Boer, *Kijk op Nederland,* 2016.
[65] Coutinho, "Kijk op Nederland."
[66] Bloks-Jekel and Plattèl, *TaalCompleet TGN en KNS,* 2014. ; Bloks-Jekel and Plattèl, *TaalCompleet KNM,* 2015. ; Broek, *TaalCompleet KNM,* 2018.
[67] Bakker, *Kom Verder,* 2006. ; Bakker, *Kom Verder,* 2011. ; Bakker, *Kom Verder,* 2016.

Naar Nederland (2014)

Naar Nederland is a self-guided study package to prepare for the Dutch integration exam. The focus of the program is to help people who are applying for family re-unification or family formation to study for the integration test while they are still in their country of origin. They, and people who want to fulfill a function as a religious leader in the Netherlands are obliged to pass their civic integration examination before they arrive in the Netherlands.[68] In turn, this tuition program was devised by the Dutch Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor. As *Naar Nederland* was specifically commissioned by the ministry it is expected to closely align with the intended pedagogical effects of the exam.

The main instruction material for KNM exam is the film *Naar Nederland.* This 110-minute-long film is split up into seven sections that cover varied aspects of Dutch life. The other preparatory material for the KNS test is a photobook that includes 100 stills from the film *Naar Nederland* and is accompanied by audio-based questions in Dutch. The final exam consists of a selection of 30 of the 100 photos used in the photobook.

Structure

This introduction has served the following purposes: it has introduced the research question, reviewed relevant literature and debates, and provided insight into the sources and analytical approach applied in the following chapters. The following first chapter examines the increasing interlinkage between the governance of migration, naturalization, and religion over time, showing that by the early twentieth century, these domains were already heavily intertwined. This chapter lays the groundwork for analyzing changes over time in the role that religion plays in integration governance. The second and third chapters address the sub-question of how religion and secularism are represented in integration education. By analysing recurring themes in educational materials, it becomes evident that religion and secularity are prominent topics in most books. Each chapter concludes with a summary and an examination of the related literature, leading to the final conclusion where the main research question is addressed.

[68] MinSZW, *Naar Nederland – Handleiding,* 4.

Chapter One: The Interrelation of Religon and the Governance of Migration and Naturalization.

The following chapter will contain a historical overview of the governance of migration and access to citizenship in the Netherlands. This will be supplemented by an overview of the role of religion in these processes. The following section aims to highlight how the concepts of migration governance (in particular migrant integration), naturalization, and migrant's religious identity became increasingly intertwined. While the section shows that these concepts have always been related to each other, the end of the 20th and the start of the 21st century demonstrates a remarkable entanglement of these domains. This is highly relevant, as the primary data analyzed in this project commences in 1998.

The Governance of Migration in the Netherlands

Integration courses and exams as a requirement for both national citizenship and long-term residence have a relatively short history, however, attempts to govern migration in the Netherlands have existed for much longer. The following section will map how these regimes have changed, in doing so it hopes to place the emergence of integration courses in a broader context of changing ways in which migration is governed in the Netherlands. From this section, an image should emerge of increasingly centralized governance of migration, with uniform regulations applied nationwide, while simultaneously becoming less specific to individual migrant groups and more generalized in its approach across the board.

The Netherlands has experienced both emigration and migration to different extents in its history. Before the emergence of the nation state migration was mostly regulated within the cities. The cities established the distinction between citizenship, residency, and aliens. Aliens in this case also refers to those coming from other areas or cities in the Netherlands. The first set of regulatory measures related to migrants was issued in 1849 when the '*Vreemdelingenwet'* was introduced. This law was remarkedly liberal and allowed most people to obtain a 'travel and residence pass' (*reis en verblijfspas)*. The law excluded the migrants the Dutch government deemed to be undesirable, such as those who were impoverished and those who could cause political unrest.[69] It is explicitly mentioned that "all aliens, who have sufficient means or can obtain these through work, will be accepted into the

[69] Lucassen, "Paspoort als Edelste Deel," 267.

Netherlands."[70] It should however be noted that this law was enforced differently throughout the country depending on municipalities and their local law enforcement.[71]

Both Lucassen and Obdeijn and Schrover mark the First World War as a point of change in the Dutch migration governance.[72] In this period Dutch authorities tried to regulate access to the labor market through visas and legislation impacting both Dutch employers and the abilities of migrants to start their own enterprises. Both labor migrants and refugees are impacted by these stricter regulations governed by economic interests.[73] This is strengthened by an increasing concern with 'nationality' and the coupling of culture to national and ethnic identities.[74]

The decolonization of the Dutch colonies after the Second World War created new forms of immigration that were largely governed by the citizenship regimes that impacted them, and the visions of the Dutch government on their situation. There was a large differentiation between different groups, and one cannot yet speak of a unified Dutch Integration Policy. For Dutch Indonesians, the policy was largely aimed at assimilation, and social workers were tasked to determine their ability to live in "free society" (meaning independent living) based on their adoption of Dutch habits.[75] This form of 'education' was deeply invasive, and at least one recipient seems to be profoundly unsatisfied with the paternalistic attitude of this education.[76]

From the end of the fifties and sixties labor shortages were replenished by the active recruitment of labor migrants from countries along the Mediterranean. The perspective on these migration movements was that their stay here would be temporary, and so it was encouraged that they should adhere to their own culture and identity within the Netherlands.[77] This usually did not lead to efforts being directed at their integration, and sometimes to cultural isolation. While there is a singular mention of courses given to Italian immigrants in Sicily around 1960 on what to expect in their new place of work, there is not much focus on providing labor migrants with education on the Netherlands.[78]

The seventies marked a shift in the way migration is governed in the Netherlands. After years of active recruitment by the Dutch government, the 1973 oil crisis halted this

[70] "Vreemdelingenwet," art. 1.
[71] Lucassen, "Paspoort als Edelste Deel," 267.
[72] Obdeijen and Schrover, *Komen en Gaan,* 147 ; Lucassen, "Paspoort als Edelste Deel," 271.
[73] Obdeijen and Schrover, *Komen en Gaan,* 161.
[74] Ibid., 147.
[75] Willems, "Migranten op Golven," 56.
[76] Obdeijen and Schrover, *Komen en Gaan,* 241.
[77] WRR, *Ethnische minderheden,* XX.
[78] Obdeijen and Schrover, *Komen en Gaan,* 275.

practice. However, migration did not come to a stop, and in certain groups such as Turkish and Moroccan family migration increased.[79] In this context, both researchers and the policy community realized that the governance of migration should no longer be aimed at specific groups that were presumed to stay in the country temporarily.

In 1979 the Scientific Council for Government (*Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid* - WRR) posited that these migrants would likely not return to their home countries but settle in the Netherlands.[80] Their report on "ethnic minorities" furthermore examines the socio-economic inequalities that exist between the 'native Dutch' and minority groups.[81] This led to a change in policy through the so-called *Minderhedennota* in 1983, this policy aims to decrease these differences and advance the position of migrant-minorities through their emancipation.[82] This created an increased focus on group-specific institutions and education that focused on the identity of the migrant groups. The report also acknowledged the importance of language acquisition and knowledge of the Dutch society for the advancement of (in this case Moroccan) migrant's socio-economic position.[83] Nevertheless, there wasn't any focus on institutions to advance these skills, as it was thought that emancipation through their own identity and a stronger legal position would be sufficient.[84] That is not to say that there were no education paths for migrants, however, language courses and other support were largely organized through private organizations and there was no centralized government initiative to speak of.[85]

As stated previously, the oil crisis of 1973 had a profound impact on the labor opportunities of migrants. During the eighties, many of the sectors in which migrants were employed were hit hard by the economic reconstructions brought about by the crisis. This led to high unemployment for migrants.[86] At the same time, asylum migration from all over the world increased which meant that migrants became more heterogenous with a variety of cultural backgrounds.[87] It was however the stark difference in economic status between migrants and Dutch people that led to calls to alter migration policy. This is why, after half a decade the government asked the WRR for advice again.

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[79] Scholten, *Framing Immigrant Integration,* 88.
[80] WRR, *Ethnische Minderheden.*
[81] Ibid., .
[82] *KSTK* 1982-1983, 16102.
[83] WRR, *Ethnische Minderheden,* 113.
[84] Fermin, "Burgerschap en Multiculturaliteit,"15.
[85] Blok, "Bruggen Bouwen," 110.
[86] Scholten, *Framing Migrant Integration,* 137.
[87] Ibid., 137.

In their 1989 report "*allochtonenbeleid"* the WRR advises the government to focus on the socio-economic position of the migrants instead of too much 'care policy'.[88] This focus on (economic) self-sufficiency was directed at all migrants instead of based on group-specific characteristics as it had been previously.[89] According to Peter Scholten, during this time the evolution of a "universalist 'integration paradigm'" emerges.[90]

Furthermore, in the previous government policy, focus had been on cultural preservation of in-group characteristics, and no efforts had been made to systematically increase knowledge of the Dutch language and society.[91] This does however come under pressure by an increasingly public debate on the position of minorities in Dutch society. An important player in this is VVD politician Frits Bolkestein, who in 1991 gave a speech about the lack of integration of certain migrants (this will be expanded upon in a following section), the idea also emerged that the Dutch government had 'pampered' migrants too much, with too little integration in return. The notion of 'active citizenship' created a more individualized perspective of good citizenship, and places responsibility for one's societal position in the hands of the individual.

In 1992 the government introduced its position on the 'allochtonenbeleid,' this is where an 'integration trajectory' for newcomers is first mentioned.[92] This led to the 1994 outline policy *(Contournnota Integratiebeleid Ethnische Minderheden)* in which 'integration policy' is emphasized over the previously used 'minority policy.'[93] The focus of this outline policy was the need for increased self-sufficiency and "active citizenship" of migrants as conditions for their success in Dutch society. The outline policy resulted in the Integration Act for Newcomers *(Wet Inburgering Nieuwkomers - WIN)* which went into effect in 1998. This law determines that newcomers from outside of the were obliged to follow 500 hours of language classes and 100 hours of education about Dutch society and the labor market.[94] While migrants were obliged to participate in these courses, passing or failing the exam dit not pose a threat to their right of residence.[95] While some authors such as Scholten state that the focus on civic integration is intended to generate more socio-economic integration of migrants making this still part of a 'universalist frame', it could also be argued that the

[88] WRR, *Allochtonenbeleid,* 17.
[89] Scholten, *Framing Migrant Integration,* 138.
[90] Ibid., 138.
[91] Entzinger, "Inburgering," 4.
[92] Blok, "Bruggen Bouwen," 45.
[93] KSTK, 1993-1994, 23684.
[94] Groenendijk et al, "Lessen van 25 Jaar," 2723;
[95] Besselsen and de Hart, "Verblijfsrechtelijke Consequenties," 4.

inclusion of courses on Dutch culture in de WIN already mark the shift that will become even more pronounced around the turn of the century, namely that of assimilationist policy.[96]

After Bolkestein first brought the issue of cultural integration to the forefront in 1991, discussions about immigrant integration became a part of both political and public debates.[97] A significant milestone in this process is Paul Scheffer's "*Het Multiculturele Drama"* (The Multicultural Drama). In this article, Scheffer wrote about the supposed relationship between culture and integration and emphasized the need for migrants to know about the Dutch language, culture and history.[98]

According to Schinkel and van Houdt, here Dutch migration policy takes a "decisively assimilationist turn."[99] While at this time, in the areas that had been of such big concern in the nineties, such as labor, education and housing, integration was advancing rapidly.[100] The increased visibility of migrants (especially in large cities) and the further institutionalization of cultural diversity created a backlash. The rise and fall of the political party *Lijst Pim Fortuyn* and other national and international events that underpinned this debate will be expanded on in the last part of this chapter. In short, however, in this public discourse, citizenship was no longer defined by formal status, but by the adherence to the culture and the norms and values of Dutch society.

The call that Scheffer and Bolkestein put out into the public, was also heeded with stricter immigration policy. This includes the 2006 "Law Integration Abroad' (*Wet Inburgering Buitenland)* introduced by restrictive minister Rita Verdonk. This law requires migrants from "non-western" countries who want a provisional residence permit for admission to the Netherlands to take a basic exam on the Dutch language and knowledge about Dutch society while still abroad.[101] This is the law related to the film *Naar Nederland* mentioned in the introduction.

Another legal change to integration legislation is the 2007 Civic Integration Act. This law made integration requirements stricter, and migrants were obliged to pass the integration examination within three and a half years.[102] If migrants were unable to do so the new act enabled fines to be given out and could even impact their residence status in the Netherlands (while international law did not allow for the full removal of residency status, it could change

[96] Scholten, *Framing Migrant Integration,* 138.
[97] Ibid., 138.
[98] Scheffer, "Het Multiculturele Drama." ; Huis and de Regt, "Tussen Dwang en Dialoog,"
[99] Schinkel and van Houdt, "Double Helix," 702.
[100] Scholten, *Framing Migrant Integration,* 185.
[101] Wilkinson et al, "Kortetermijnevaluatie Wet Inbuergering Buitenland."
[102] Driouichi and WRR, "Casus Inburgering," 41.

the period.)[103] Furthermore, (most) migrants were themselves made responsible for finding courses and paying for the exam. While the financing of the courses did change again over time, the responsibility for migrants increased during this time. Both after 1998 and after 2007 municipalities were the main implementers of integration policy, this meant that the courses and lesson plans were organized by municipalities.[104] This meant that the municipalities chose what type of courses were given, and what lesson plans were used. For this research, it is important to note that from 2013 onwards migrants themselves were able to buy and choose the integration course that they want to do. This meant that the market for integration courses became led by traditional market forces with many individual consumers.[105]

The next major legislative change made to Dutch integration law is the Integration Act of 2013 (*Wet Inburgering 2013)*. This legislative change created even more personal responsibility on the side of the migrant, by shortening the period in which migrants were supposed to pass the integration exam and increasing personal financial responsibility for choosing a course and the examination.[106] Penalties for not passing the integration exam were heightened, and can now even impact residence permits with a definite duration in the Netherlands. In addition to the language test and the knowledge of Dutch society, from 2017 onwards migrants also had to sign and partake in a so-called "declaration of participation" (*participatieverklarin*g) which emphasizes the laws, norms and values of the Netherlands.[107]

In conclusion, the governance of migration in the Netherlands has become more restrictive over time. While financial means and the financial self-sufficiency have always impacted who would be accepted into the country. It is noteworthy that also cultural integration and cultural self-sufficiency became a strict requirement after 1998, which continues to become stricter over time. Furthermore, integration legislation (including the integration courses and examinations) is increasingly concerned with teaching newcomers about the 'norms and values' of the Netherlands.

The Governance of Naturalization and Citizenship

The concept of citizenship is deeply intertwined with that of migration but becomes more complex as it endows the holder with more rights and duties towards the 'host'-nation than

[103] Groenendijk et al, "Lessen van 25 jaar," 2724.
[104] Algemene Rekenkamer, "Inburgering," 10.
[105] Ibid., 10
[106] Groenendijk et al, "Lessen van 25 jaar," 2725.
[107] Min BZK, "Regeling Inburgering – Participatie Verklaring."

migration and migration status alone. The concept itself is contested and perceived differently in changing philosophical traditions. In the following section, citizenship will be considered as a legal status, or as 'nationality.' This is sometimes referred to as a "thin" conception of citizenship, as its denotation of a person's legal relationship to the state does not include aspects of identity and participation.[108] However, as the discussion below aims to show, these facets become relevant at different times in Dutch naturalization policies. Changes to citizenship and the process of naturalization are relevant to the research on integration courses as they relate to the way boundaries to citizenship have been built up over time. The requirement regarding Kowledge about Dutch Society is one of the barriers to citizenship that has been formalized recently, but before that other boundaries existed such as financial means or heritage.

Before the emergence of the Dutch Republic cities formed the main space in which citizenship (*'burgerschap'*) was negotiated, as it was a requirement for certain social privileges and economical rights such as joining a guild.[109] How this citizenship was accessed was dependent on the city in question and could include conditions such as birth or obtained through financial means.

The Dutch constitution of 1815 first references citizenship as citizenship relating strongly to *ius soli,* an ascription of citizenship based on the soil one was born. This changed in 1892 when a new Nationality Act was adopted to ensure that citizenship was based on decent. This was guided by the belief that having Dutch parents was a better predictor of national loyalty than being born to foreign parents in the Netherlands.[110] This included children of Dutch citizens in the colonies, but explicitly excluded the original inhabitants of these areas who in 1910 (Dutch Indies) and 1927 (Netherlands Antilles and Surinam) became "non-national Dutch Subjects."[111] During this time citizenship became tied to perceptions of national identity and loyalty to the Netherlands, and those who did not acquire Dutch citizenship at birth had to live in the Netherlands for six years, show proper societal behavior, and renounce their other citizenship when acquiring the Dutch nationality.[112] Furthermore, poor migrants were barred from Dutch citizenship, as acquiring it required financial payment and proof of sufficient funds to survive.[113]

[108] Oers, *Deserving Citizenship,* 20.
[109] Obdeijen and Schrover, *Komen en Gaan,* 26.
[110] Heijs, *Vreemdeling tot Nederlander,* 104.
[111] Lucassen, "Paspoot als Edelste Deel, " 272.
[112] Heijs, *Vreemdeling tot Nederlander,* 59.
[113] Ibid., 59.

The Dutch Nationality Act was revised in 1985, and in doing so heavily impacted debates surrounding the role of migrants in Dutch society as mentioned previously. One of the requirements for naturalization was "having reasonable knowledge of the Dutch language and being accepted into Dutch society."[114] To be naturalized this was tested in a short interview, but this integration didn't need to be completed at the time the interview took place.[115] The main criterium used to allow someone to naturalize was their language capabilities, and a lack of knowledge about Dutch society was only rarely used as a ground for exclusion.[116]

However, some parties in the government decided that naturalization should be seen as an end point in integration, which shouldn't be provided to 'just anyone' as it also included several rights. In 1994 this led to a proposal by the CDA that required knowledge of the Dutch language and society in a formalized test as a condition for citizenship, and the general debate around naturalization hardened around this time. In the context of Bolkestein's speech, the Newcomers Integration Act (*Wet Inburgering Nieuwkomers, WIN)* of 1998, and Scheffer's '*the multicultural drama'* the naturalization test was introduced. Now integration was seen as a requirement, at the end of which naturalization would take place.[117] This change was adopted in 2003 with the new Dutch Nationality Act. For the research at hand, this is a point where the general governance of migration and the governance of citizenship and naturalization start to become virtually the same. This is because '*inburgering*' has become a pre-requisite for naturalization since the integration exam was introduced in 2007. Before that the 'naturalization test' (*naturalisatietoets)* performed the same function.

To conclude, the previous examination of naturalization legislation has shown that in contrast to concerns about economic self-sufficiency, the end of the nineteenth century already explicitly links questions of identity and national loyalty to citizenship. However, it is during the eighties of the last century that naturalization legislation is seen as an aspect of newcomer integration. Initially, it was seen as the start of the integration process, however, due to increasing concerns about cultural diversity in the Netherlands, naturalization is now seen as the endpoint to be achieved after successful integration.

[114] Oers, *Deserving Citizenship*, 43.
[115] Ibid., 44.
[116] Heijs, *Vreemdeling tot Nederlander,* 195.
[117] Oers, *Deserving Citizenship,* 51.

The Role of Religion in Shaping Immigration

Religion plays an important role in the works of historians and researchers describing migration in the Netherlands in the past and present. The following section will show ways in which access to residence and citizenship in the Netherlands has been impacted by migrant's religious affiliations. The following section will show that religion has throughout history impacted migrant's experiences and access to the Netherlands. It was however only during the Second World War, and after the nineties that calls to exclude certain groups based on their religious identity started to emerge. That is not to say that before this there was no discrimination or prejudice against certain religious groups, however, in this research, no specific calls for changes in migration governance were found.

Initially, a large part of the cities' willingness and ability to accept certain groups was based on the existence of religious networks such as churches. As the church was responsible for the poor members of its congregation it had a stake in migration governance and sometimes made its own rules based on the length of residence of a migrant for the provision of poor relief.[118] After the *'vreemdelingenwet*' of 1849 was introduced, churches still impacted the ability of migrants to gain access to residence and citizenship. While the law is explicitly phrased to prevent impoverished migrants from entering the country, both labor migrants and refugees that were cared for by non-public institutions such as religious organizations were not targeted by the law.[119]

During the run-up to the Second World War, religion becomes an aspect of the discussions surrounding naturalization in the Dutch government. A debate on the naturalization of a German Jewish banker brings to the forefront concerns about the religious affiliation of migrants, particularly Jewish migrants. The National Socialist Party (NSB) explicitly argues against the naturalization of Jewish migrants. In addition to this, an Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP) member also requests the religious affiliation of the applicants for citizenship to be mentioned in their application. This is to be done so that the parliament can trace the "impact of naturalization on the 'religious makeup of the populace.'"[120] The requests of the NSB become more racialized over time, showing not only a concern with the religious affiliation of Jewish migrants but a racialized conception of the Jewish identity.

[118] Pol and Kuijpers, 'Poor Women's Migration," 55.
[119] Lucassen, "Paspoort als Edelste Deel" 269.
[120] Heijs, *Vreemdeling tot Nederlander,* 97.

While the Dutch government does not agree to provide this information, it is the outbreak of the Second World War and the horrors that ensued that end this debate.[121]

The integration of migrant laborers in the second half of the twentieth century was otherwise impacted by their religions; their experiences were always group-specific. On the one hand, there were instances in which religious institutions altered migrants' opportunities to engage with their host country. One example of this is the Catholic Church, and its changed rulings on migrant parishes, which created separate parishes for migrants and encouraged them not to go to Dutch church services.[122] One the other hand there were religious organizations supported by the Durch government in line with the policy of 'integration while retaining one's own identity.' In the 1983 *Minderhedennota* special attention was paid to the lower quality of material provisions for certain religious groups, as these physical spaces were seen as an essential part of the migrant's culture.[123] One example of this is the emergence of Islamic schools, which according to Thijs Sunier is sometimes described as 'delayed pillarization,' according to the proponents of this model this would enable the emancipation of Muslim groups in the Netherlands.[124] It should however be noted, that according to Maarten Vink, newcomers would've never been able to engage in this emancipation in a meaningful way because the power relations were stacked against this development, and thus this 'pillarization' cannot be compared to the experiences of for example Catholics or Protestants in the Netherlands.[125]

As already stated, at the end of the eighties there was dissatisfaction with the newly introduced migration legislation. In this period worries about the social standing of migrants and their supposed 'lack of integration' became explicitly focused on their cultural heritage. Next to the focus on self-reliance and personal responsibility for integration, the debate takes on a markedly nationalist turn, with specific concerns about the place of Islam within the Dutch nation-state.[126] International affairs such as the Iranian Revolution, the Rushdie-affair, and the Gulf War created the discursive category of 'Muslim Migrant.'[127] And voices start to emerge that question whether "good citizenship" (*Burgerschap)* can even be reconciled with "some forms of religious loyalty."[128] This becomes part of the public discourse after a speech

[121] Heijs, *Vreemdeling tot Nederlander,* 99.
[122] Obdeijen and Schrover, *Komen en Gaan,* 280.
[123] Koolen, "Integratie en Religie," 9.
[124] Sunnier, "The Religious Legacy," 169
[125] Vink, "Dutch Multiculturalism," 345.
[126] Sunnier, "The Religious Legacy," 170.
[127] Obdeijen and Schrover, *Komen en Gaan,* 303; Dam, van and van Trigt, "Religious Regimes," 229.
[128] Dronkers, "De Tolerante Natie," 93.

given by Bolkestein, who as previously noted, voiced concerns about cultural relativism and the capacity of certain migrant groups to integrate. He however specifically questioned the capacity of Islam to be integrated with "fundamental political principles" such as separation of church and state and freedom of speech.[129] He does so by referencing these principles' basis in "rationalism, humanism and Christianity."[130] According to Sunnier the manner in which Bolkestein relates religion to the nation-state project is a shift that others would take up as well.[131]

It should be noted that there were some parties before who campaigned on an explicitly religious ethno-nationalist platform - such as Glimmerveen's *Volksunie* - and Hans Janmaat, whose tone was explicitly Christian nationalist.[132] Their extremist tone did not capture the public attention like Bolkestein and those who followed.

It is at the turn of the century that this concern about particularly Muslim migrant's integration comes to ahead. While socio-economic integration had already achieved great successes as stated previously, the visibility of Muslim migrants was increasingly phrased as a sort of civilizational clash between two fundamentally different groups. The cultural (and religious) identity of migrants that had previously been framed as an asset to their integration is now viewed as a stark hindrance.[133] Some developments and people must be mentioned in this context. Internationally, the presence of Muslims in many countries was securitized after the terrorist attacks on September 11th, 2001, in the United States.[134] But also within the Netherlands the position of Muslims was heavily scrutinized. The previously mentioned article by Paul Scheffer explicitly states that "the role of Islam cannot simply be compared to Christian religions in the Netherlands."[135] He furthermore denounced the presence of Muslim migrants in many ways, concluding that "ethnocultural cleavages" were inevitably to follow from the presence of Muslim migrants[136]

Another influential figure who not only had a big impact on the public debate was the anti-immigrant politician Pim Furtuyn. His outspoken stance on the importance of cultural integration for migrants who did not adhere to the "Western Judeo-Christian culture," and his later assassination shaped both public debate and legislation during the LPF's short time in

[129] Bolkestein, "Integratie van Minderheden."
[130] Dronkers, "De Tolerante Natie," 93.
[131] Sunnier, "The Religious Legacy,"
[132] Obdijen and Schrover, *Komen en Gaan,* 303.
[133] Snel en Scholten, "Gastarbeiders tot het Multiculturele," 10.
[134] Aouragh, "Refusing to be Silenced," 358.
[135] Scheffer, "Multiculturele Drama."
[136] Scholten, *Framing Immigrant Integration,* 195.

the governing coalition.[137] Another series of events, such as the refusal of an Imam to shake Minister for Migration Verdonk's hand anti-LGBTQUIA+ rhetoric by another Imam, the Murder of Filmmaker Theo van Gogh and threats made to Islam critic Ayaan Hirsi Ali all became part of the so-called "Islam Debate."[138] Furthermore, politicians increasingly made public appearances talking about the norms and values of the Netherlands, especially in response to the aforementioned events. This "moralizing" function of the government often resulted in implicit or explicit critique of Islam in the Netherlands.[139] Examples of the relevant topics include the equality of men and women, acceptance of homosexuality and freedom of speech.[140] According to Miriyam Aouragh this "Islam Debate" used tolerance and other "progressive ideals" against Muslims, making "Muslim," "Moroccan," and "Allochthon" interchangeably criticized in public debate.[141]

During this time another prominent politician rose to power in the Netherlands. Geert Wilders, PVV party leader and sole member of the largest party in the Netherlands in 2024, has been a vocal opponent of Islam in the Netherlands since he founded his party in 2004. Running on campaigns that call for stronger integration measures, particularly against Islam. His blatantly Islamophobic rhetoric has been normalized within Dutch politics (as evidenced by his role in the 2024 coalition government) and is an important aspect of contemporary radical right-wing politics in the rest of Europe.[142] Geert Wilders serves as an example of the salient place the 'Islam Debate' still holds in the Netherlands today.

Summary and Insights

In the first part of this chapter, the new legislation on migration and naturalization in this period was introduced. Throughout time, there has been an increased focus on the national identity of migrants as they come to the Netherlands (instead of solely on their economic self-sufficiency). Over forty years ago this resulted in changes to integration legislation, which at first encouraged migrants to retain distinctive cultural identities while later requiring cultural assimilation. Similarly, the current perspective that views integration as a pre-requisite for naturalization shows an increased concern with diverging identities within the national polity, aiming to restrict their access. As this chapter has aimed to show, throughout time both the

[137] Scholten, *Framing Immigrant Integration,* 196-197.
[138] Aouragh, "Refusing to be Silenced," 359.
[139] Driouichi, "Casus Inburgering en Nationaliteitswetgeving," 42.
[140] Ibid., 42.
[141] Aouragh, "Refusing to be Silenced," 359.
[142] Kallis, "Radical Right and Islamophobia," 47.

governance of migration and citizenship and concerns about the religious identity of migrants have become increasingly intertwined. While religious affiliation has affected migrant's perspectives in their host country from the start, concerns about integration were rarely found and did not translate to concerns about their religious identities. Durning the eighties the economic position of migrants encouraged legislative change, and integration became an important aspect of policy discourse. At the start of the nineties this translated into an increased concern with the cultural integration of migrants, often focused on their religious identity. Furthermore, from that moment onwards the religious identity of specifically Muslim migrants has developed a salient discursive structure about the concerns for integration of Muslims into the Netherlands. The following chapters aim to examine whether religion and integration are also intertwined in the education material used in integration courses.

Chapter Two: The Dutch as a Christian Society

One method through which the literature has established that boundaries are created between Dutch society and migrants is the emphasis on Christian culture and values. The following chapter will analyse whether and how these themes are represented in the integration courses.

The Christian Culture of the Netherlands

Some of the books have separate chapters on religion in the Netherlands. These contain more text and are aimed at providing more background information. However, sometimes they will also include statements on the Christian culture of the Netherlands without much additional explanation.

Ad Bakker's *Nederland in Zicht* includes many references to Christianity in the Netherlands, as next to a dedicated chapter on religion in the Netherlands, it even explains that the standardized written Dutch has its origins in the first bible-translation aimed at the entire Netherlands.[143] The chapter on religion centres on the Christian tradition in the Netherlands stating that "The Dutch culture comes from a Christian tradition."[144] Explaining that at the start of the twentieth century most (99%) Dutch people were part of a church community.[145] In the chapter, Bakker furthermore examines the concept of freedom of religion (which will be discussed more in-depth in the third chapter) and non-Christian religions such as the rise of Islam. About the latter, he states "Many Dutch people feel uneasy

[143] Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht*, 2003, 21
[144] Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht*, 2003, 23.
[145] Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht*, 2003, 23.

about this development. Perhaps because they no longer have ties to a religion themselves?"[146] While the rest of the chapter remains the same in the 2008 edition of the book, this one sentence has been changed quite significantly; "Many autochthonous Dutch people feel uneasy about this development. Perhaps this is because they often feel little connection to their 'own' Christian religion?"[147] The first change is the addition of the word autochthonous, which implies that Dutch Muslims cannot be viewed as autochthonous. Secondly, the phrasing that only Autochthonous Dutch people can be expected to mourn the loss of connection to Christianity, especially in opposition to Islam, highlights a denotation of Dutch people as inherently Christian.

In all *Denkend aan Holland* books there are chapters on religion in the Netherlands. The learning goals of these chapters (in this order) are to teach migrants about "Freedom of Religion," "Something about Christianity and Christian holidays," "that Christianity has had a large impact on Dutch society," and "that the influence of Christianity on people's daily life has reduced of the past years."[148] The first and last learning goals will be more extensively discussed in the following chapter. For now, it is especially noteworthy that although the sub-chapter that provides information on Christianity (second learning goal) also includes a surprisingly detailed account of other religions in Dutch society such as Islam and Judaism, the learning goal is solely aimed at Christianity.[149] In the related questions in the workbook, there are very few questions on the presence of other religions and the celebration of non-Christian religious holidays.[150] In both the 1998 and 2004 versions of the book the texts are the same, except for a paragraph on the capacity of employers to regulate the religious symbols worn by employees. This point will be further examined in the sub-chapter on clothing in the third chapter. Lastly, while the reader's guide in the supplement textbook published in 2007 states that the chapter on "religion ... has not been changed and is thus not included in the supplement," the supplement does include a discussion on the role of Islam in the Netherlands.[151] While in the previous books, the sections on the relationship between migrants and Dutch people (part of the history chapter) are focussed on differences in culture and socio-economic differences, the supplement textbook explicitly mentions 9/11 and the

[146] Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht*, 2003, 24
[147] Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht*, 2008, 27.
[148] Baalen and Coumou, *Denkend aan Holland,* 1998, 193.
[149] Baalen and Coumou, *Denkend aan Holland,* 1998, cc195-196
[150] Baalen and Coumou, *Denkend aan Holland – Werkboek*, 1998, 93-95.
[151] Baalen and Coumou, *Denkend aan Holland - supplement*, 2007, 4.

murder of Theo van Gogh as reasons for rising tensions between 'the Dutch' and Muslims in the Netherlands.[152]

The lesson plan *Bagage* tends to be quite extensive on most topics, it is however notable that it is not until the 2007 edition of the book that religion is included as a topic. The 5th edition of *Bagage* has been adapted to the newly introduced integration legislation of 2007. In this new chapter on religion, freedom of religion is first introduced, after which it is stated that "Christianity is the most important religion in the Netherlands."[153] This is not expanded upon with explanations about the metaphysical aspects of the religion, but only effects on the society are mentioned such as the importance of Christian holidays and Christian institutions such as schools and Labor unions. It is also stated that "Islam is the second Religion of the Netherlands," highlighting that in places where many Muslims live mosques and other Islamic institutions exist.[154] The section on religion does not change in the subsequent editions.

The section on religion in *Welkom in Nederland* is relatively short and included in a chapter on demographics and is accompanied by a picture of a church. The chapter states that "about half of Dutch people have a religion, of which most are Christian."[155] The book then highlights the role this plays such everyday life, such as through Sunday as a day of rest. However, at the end of the short section it also states, "About half of Dutch people don't have a religion, almost nowhere so little people believe in God as in the Netherlands."[156] This highlights a pattern previously seen, namely that which both secularism and religiosity intersect to form Dutch identity. However, another section in *Welkom in Nederland* highlights the Christianity of the Netherlands uniquely. In the history chapter, the origin of the calendar used to denote the year we are in is explained in the following manner: "in Christian countries the year 0 is the year of Christ's birth."[157] Implying that the calendar system used in the Netherlands is evidence of its Christianity.

In the *TaalCompleet* textbooks, an increasing concern with the Netherlands as a Christian country is visible. While the first edition only mentions the separation of church and state and freedom of religion [158] A question added in 2015 asks participants to discuss the

[152] Baalen and Coumou, *Denkend aan Holland - supplement,* 2007, 40.
[153] Koot, *Bagage* 2007, 38.
[154] Koot, *Bagage* 2007, 38
[155] Gathier, *Welkom in Nederlnad,* 2008, 29.
[156] Gathier, *Welkom in Nederland,* 2008, 29.
[157] Gathier, *Welkom in Nederland,* 2008, 189
[158] Bloks-Jekel and Plattèl. *TaalCompleet - TGN en KNS,* 2014, 64.

role visibility of the three Abrahamic religions in the Netherlands.[159] However, the chapter itself remains similar to the 2014 edition. In the 2018 edition the chapter make-up has changed significantly. However, in the chapter on Christian Holidays the book does explicitly state "the Netherlands was long a Christian country."[160] While on one hand, the phrasing of this sentence in the past tense is notable, that it is even mentioned this explicitly is a significant difference between this edition and its predecessors.

In *Kom Verder!* the lesson about religion in the Netherlands is facilitated through a conversation between Monica and her father-in-law Arend. The conversation is about the relationship between different Christian denominations, especially how in the past these were very fraught and "Protestants and Catholics did not mingle."[161] What is interesting about this is that while the text does not talk about Christianity as a whole but two denominations in the Netherlands in particular, the text already alludes to the more secularist arguments that will be presented later. This is because already in this text Arend alludes to the fact that he finds it better that these rules have become less strict and that mixed marriages between protestants and Catholics are now allowed.[162]

Another book that although it does not provide much context, very explicitly mentions that "The Netherlands is a Christian country" (in present tense) is the book *Wegwijzer* released in 2009.[163] It does so by showing pictures of important Dutch buildings, including Amsterdam's famous 'New Church' (*Nieuwe Kerk*.)[164] Although it makes a strong proclamation about the Christian character of the Netherlands, it also states that fewer people go to the church, and shows a Mosque as one of the important buildings and states "In the Netherlands, mosques are now also being built. For example, in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, but also in smaller towns."[165] The connection being made here is interesting, as the secularisation of Christianity is not always related to the emergence of Islam in the books, and this example puts them almost in opposition. It could even be argued that this mode of phrasing is intended to convey that Islam and other religions are challenging the statement made at the outset that the Netherlands is a Christian country.

[159] Bloks-Jekel and Plattèl, *TaalCompleet - KNM*, 2015, 58
[160] Broek, *TaalCompleet - KNM* 2018, 22.
[161] Bakker, *Kom verder*, 2006, 109.
[162] Bakker, *Kom verder*, 2006, 108.
[163] Toorn-Schutte, *Wegwijzer*, 2009, 27.
[164] Toorn-Schutte, *Wegwijzer*, 2009, 26.
[165] Toorn-Schutte, *Wegwijzer*, 2009, 27.

Christian Holidays

Another chapter in which the Christian heritage of the Netherlands is mentioned are the lessons on (public) holidays. Almost every book includes some form of lesson on Dutch public holidays and teaches students the difference between religious holidays, and those considered non-religious holidays.

In the *Welkom in Nederland* books, the holidays are presented in a table, including one column that answers "yes" or "no" to whether a holiday is Christian, and it is noted whether Christians go to church when describing the traditions related to the holiday.[166] Furthermore, the chapter includes a section that explains that not everyone celebrates every holiday it the same way, stating that "and for people without religious beliefs, Christian holidays are not as important. Or they associate those holidays with other things. For example, Easter is a Christian holiday, but also a celebration of spring. Dutch people eat a lot of eggs then. On Christian holidays, almost everyone has time off. The shops are closed."[167]

Like the disclaimer about who celebrates in *Welkom in Nederland*, other books also note that religious holidays are not interpreted by all Dutch people as strictly religious celebrations. For example, in *Denkend aan Holland,* the section on Christian holidays gives extensive information about religious holidays celebrated in the Netherlands by not only explaining the connected rituals but also their biblical origin. However, the section closes with the sentence "for many Dutch people, the aforementioned holidays no longer hold a Christian significance. They have truly become 'family days.'"[168] This lesson plan does however emphasize that while these religious holidays might not be felt as Christian for many Dutch people, their institutionalization as official days off is explicitly characterized as a legacy of the Christian tradition in the Netherlands.[169] Similarly, in *Wegwijzer* it is stated that "religious holidays all have to do with Jesus," however, in a sentence after that the book states "many people in the Netherlands are not Christians, nevertheless these holidays are still celebrated. They are part of Dutch culture."[170] In this sense, the secularism of the individuals (the people who are not Christians) is mentioned in tandem with the strong religious legacy of the country as culturally Christian.

Other non-Christian religious holidays do not receive much attention in the books. In *Denkend aan Holland* non-Christian religious holidays are not even substantively mentioned

[166] Gathier, *Welkom in Nederland*, 2008, 35-36
[167] Gathier, *Welkom in Nederland* 2008, 38.
[168] Baalen and Coumou, *Denkend Aan Holland*, 1998, 198.
[169] Baalen and Coumou, *Denkend Aan Holland*, 1998, 196.
[170] Toorn-Schutte, *Wegwijzer*, 2009, 53.

other than in the context of legal practicalities around taking the day off work.[171] Similarly, in both editions of *Nederland in Zicht* there is also a question about non-Christian religious holidays: "Some employees want to choose for themselves whether they take their official days off according to Christian or Islamic holidays. Do you think this is economically feasible in the Netherlands? Explain your answer."[172] Here Christianity and Islam are posed as opposites to each other, furthermore, Islam is framed as something quintessentially against the norm of 'Christian holidays.' The same books do however also include a section on the increasing amount of the company's sensitivity to their employees' wishes to celebrate "non-Christian holidays," which in this case is not phrased as the particular opposition of Islam to Christianity. However, in the sentence following this the acceptance of Ramadan is mentioned as a specific example, furthermore, highlighting the dialectical relationship between Islam and Christianity.[173]

The NCB book from 2016 explicitly names holidays like Eid-al-Fitr, Diwali and Hanukkah as days that "People living in the Netherlands who are not Christian" would want to celebrate.[174] The choice not to say 'Dutch people' can on the one hand be explained by the fact that in reality not every non-Christian in the country has Dutch citizenship, however it also can be interpreted as a discursive strategy that excludes those who are not Christian (or at least those that are *so* not Christian that they would like to celebrate other religious holidays) as non-citizens. This is contrasted by the approach taken in *Wegwijzer*, in this book the names of some non-Christian holidays are given, such as Eid al-Adha, Eid-al-Fitr and the Lunar New Year (Tết).[175] The paragraph about these celebrations is called "Holidays of new Dutch Citizens" (*Nieuwe Nederlanders*).[176] Explicitly referring to the 'Dutchness' of this group - albeit *new* - is a different framing from that used in the NCB book. While it should be noted that this term was (unsuccessfully) introduced by the government to avoid using the politically loaded terms of allochthon and autochthon, and thus in some cases operates as a place holder for allochthon.[177] The emphasis on the Dutchess of those who celebrate these non-Christian holidays is notable as it contrasts the framing in other books.

[171] Baalen and Coumou, *Denkend Aan Holland*, 1998, 196.
[172] Bakker, Nederland in Zicht, 2003, 72.
[173] Bakker, Nederland in Zicht, 2003, 67.
[174] NCB Uitgeverij, *Kennis van de Nederlandse Maatschappij*, 2016, 14. While the book uses the term 'sugar feast' this translation is deemed more appropriate.
[175] Toorn-Schutte, *Wegwijzer*, 2009, 60.
[176] Toorn-Schutte, *Wegwijzer*, 2009, 60.
[177] Bovens et al, "Migratie en Classificatie," 30.

Christianity as part of Dutch History

The Christian heritage of the Netherlands is often mentioned in lessons on the history of the Netherlands. The birth of the Netherlands as an independent entity after the Eighty Years War the religious identity of the Netherlands and the groups that fought are explicitly mentioned.

Christianity is an important motive in the method *Naar Nederland.* In the second section of the film, "History,'' religion is frequently mentioned. The video opens with the sound of church bells and the dialogue is recorded in the 'New Church' (*Nieuwe Kerk*) in the city of Delft. While the New Church is also significant as it is the burial ground of William of Orange whose tomb is visible in the background of much of the story, the use of church bells and the explicit focus on the broader church setting set the tone for the rest of the video.[178] It is to be expected that religion features prominently in this retelling of Dutch history, as the issues the video focuses on are events that are historically related to religion. For example, the Eighty Years War and the school funding controversy. While giving information about these events, it is explicitly noted that the Netherlands "was a Christian country" that encompassed both Catholics and Protestants.[179]

Most books include an introduction to the Reformation in their description of the Eighty Years War, in the book series *Welkom in Nederland* the schism between Protestantism and Catholicism is briefly introduced as a battle of the Protestants against the Catholic church because it had "too much power and people had to pay a lot of money to the church."[180] And as a fight of a catholic king who "wanted to kill protestants" which led the Dutch protestants to rise up, It is also explained that because the South of the country was part of the Spanish empire for the longest time that's why it's mostly populated by Catholics. The book *Nederland in Zicht* is less explicit in why the Reformation and the war against Spain started, and it is painted purely as a conflict between Dutch protestants and Spanish Catholics.[181] From the 5th edition of the book *Bagage* onwards, this description differs from that presented in other books. This is the first edition of the *Bagage* series that includes a chapter on history. In this book, the start of the Eighty Years War is framed as general discontent with the Spanish ruler Philip II. While it does mention the conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism, it first mentions discontent with his distance from the Netherlands and the high taxes.[182] While there are no drastic differences between these 3 books, and the reality of

[178] Boom Uitgevers, "2 – Engels – Geschiedenis," 00:04
[179] Boom Uitgevers, "2 – Engels – Geschiedenis," 00:55.
[180] Gathier, *Welkom in Nederland*, 2008, 189.
[181] Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht*, 2003, 27.
[182] Koot, *Bagage*, 2007, 165.

history demands that mention the role of religion in the Eighty Years War, the shift in focus between them is interesting. For example, in *Welkom in Nederland*, more drastic language is used and an explicit parallel is drawn to the present day. On the other hand, *Nederland in Zicht* emphasizes the religious character of the war while *Baggage* examines it as not only a religious war but also as a protest against foreign domination.

Other Topics

Before turning to an examination of how secularism is communicated in the lesson plans, some other topics used to highlight the role of Christianity in the ordering of Dutch life will be mentioned briefly. These are however not linked to normative ideals but are introduced as a fact about Dutch life with which migrants will have to deal, for example when finding a school for their own kids. Most books explain that parents can choose to send their children to either public schools or denominational schools (often using Christian schools as an example). Lastly, many of the books also include a discussion of confessional parties in the Netherlands. The book series *Bagage* includes a complete overview of all Dutch political parties and their ideas in all its editions, but also *Welkom in Nederland* discusses the ideals of all prominent political parties during its publishing, including confessional parties.[183] While both of these topics could potentially be problematized and used as a form of demarcation between insiders and outsiders, the information presented on confessional schools and parties is relatively neutral and factual. Notably, they are not, as especially discussions about confessional schools have been a part of Duch politics in the past. Furthermore, both of these issues could be problematized in the context of increasing secularism, but as the next chapter will show, they are not.

Summary and Insights

This chapter has identified three main themes through which the Christian heritage of the Netherlands is emphasized in integration materials. Some books have entire chapters dedicated to the role of religion and Christianity in the Netherlands. Furthermore, in almost all books religious public holidays are mentioned and the role of religion during the Eighty Years War is examined. When it comes to the history of the Netherlands, its Christian heritage is made most explicit in the iconography used in the film *Naar Nederland*, where it uses not only the information provided but also visible (the church) and audible cues (church

[183] Fuhri Snethlage, *Bagage*, 1998, 101.

bells) that emphasize Christianity. Dedicated chapters on religion on religious holidays often emphasize the Christian heritage and culture of the Netherlands, even when mentioning the increasing secularization of the Dutch population. This emphasis becomes especially accentuated when it is contrasted with the presence of Islam in the Netherlands. Examples of this include the explicit re-phrasing that centers the Christian character of "autochthons" in *Nederland in Zicht* or the explicit linkage of secularization and Islam in *Wegwijzer*.[184]

In this context, the education materials follow patterns established by scholars on the role of Christianity in contemporary West European culture and politics. References to Christianity are emphasized as an answer to the increased visibility of Islam in the Netherlands. This follows the findings of Ernst van den Hemel and Hans Vollaard, who show that Christianity has become a way for a variety of actors (including secular actors) to lay claims to the national identity.[185] In this context Christianity is used as a marker of identity to demarcate the unity of the national polity as Christian, explicitly to demarcate those who are not as outsiders to the polity. In this context, Christianity performs a similar role as Secularism in relation to Islam as described in Schinkel's *Imagined Societies*.[186] What Vollaard furthermore emphasizes, is that these references to Christianity are often not directly related to the metaphysical aspects of the religion, but to cultural icons such as churches or vague notions of 'values.'[187] The educational materials follow this pattern. While some books include the relevance of the faith in their examination of religious holidays, that is often portrayed as secondary to their cultural relevance. In turn, the form of Christianity referenced in these educational materials is itself quite secular, highlighting the complex interconnection between Christianity and secularism.

To conclude, this chapter has found that Christianity (albeit a secularized version of it) plays an important role in the demarcation of the 'self' and the 'other' in integration education. While the literature has already examined the role of Christianity in right-wing politics and anti-migrant sentiment, this paper has contributed to this body of work by highlighting that a similar logic is at play in the integration materials. This is noteworthy, as in this context this discourse is not directed at a 'native' political audience, but has also emerged in a context in which the audience is not the self that needs to be re-assured of its

[184] Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht*, 2008, 27.
[185] Hemel, "Who Leads Leitkultur." ; Hemel, "Hoezo Christelijke Waarden." ; Vollaard, "Re-emerging Christianity."
[186] Schinkel, *Imagined Societies*, 5.
[187] Vollaard, "Re-emerging Christianity," 89.

political identity, but rather the migrant 'other' that is (potentially) excluded based on his or her religious characteristics.

Chapter Three: The Dutch as a Secular Society

While the previous chapter has examined how lessons on history are often used to emphasize the Christian history of the Netherlands, within these chapters there is also an emphasis on a broader history of religious pluralism and tolerance. Furthermore, the sections written on post-war Dutch society also mention the decline of religion and its related rise of progressive movements. It will be shown that many of these representations of secularism often link to progressive norms on gender and sexuality.

Secularity and Secularism

A good example of the interconnection between secularity and secularism is the history section of the film *Naar Nederland.* In the film, a recurring theme is the tradition of religious pluralism and tolerance of the Netherlands. In turn, it is stated that the end of the Eighty Years War also marked the "end of religious persecution."[188] Similarly, it is mentioned that the Huguenots came to the Netherlands because of its religious freedom during the 'Golden Age,' and it is stated that "half of Amsterdam's population was made up of foreigners."[189] However, other religious groups that arrived in the Netherlands are not acknowledged. Similarly, when talking about Thorbecke's constitution it is also emphasized that a legal separation between the church and the state ensured that "the people were free to practice whatever religion they wanted."[190] In this story, it is presented as if the separation of church and state and religious tolerance have a clear historical precedent and are essential to the Dutch state.

Moreover, in the film *Naar Nederland,* the separation of church and state is mentioned directly after an extensive discussion on both gender and marriage equality related to Article 1 of the Constitution. It thus seems that an implicit link is made between the acceptance of both gender and LGBTQUIA+ equality and a secular state. Furthermore, after having discussed that the separation of the church and the state also means that "everyone in Holland has the right to practice his or her religion" it discusses the limits to certain freedoms

[188] Boom Uitgevers, "2 – Engels – Geschiedenis," 03:26.
[189] Boom Uitgevers, "2 – Engels – Geschiedenis," 05:45.
[190] Boom Uitgevers, "2 – Engels – Geschiedenis," 08:17.

that are enshrined in the constitution.[191] Once again here it is stated that it is against the law to discriminate against women or to discriminate against men or women because of their sexual orientation. Furthermore, the specific examples that are often associated with religious and often perceived as Islamic such as honor killings and female genital mutilation are highlighted as specific examples of clashing values ("honor killing says the man, Dutch law says murder") and restrictions to personal freedoms.[192] Emphasizing the separation of church and state in relation to all of these 'progressive' values such as marriage and gender equality shows a normative disposition towards secularism in which the separation of church and state is constructed as an enabler of these values.

Other books also very explicitly highlight the separation of church and state. Similarly to *Naar Nederland* Ad Bakker presents the separation of church and state in the Netherlands as something with a clear historical (and uncontested) precedent, in Bakker's case he points to the French rule of the Netherlands as the starting point for a strict separation between church and state.[193] In *Welkom naar Nederland* it is explicitly stated that "the law is more important than religion," in turn, the book states that if a Muslim wants to circumcise his children he is not allowed to do so because the law says that "only boys can be circumcised."[194] This is expressly linked to the separation of church and state, which is explained as a construction in which "Churches and mosques are unable to decide what'll happen in the Netherlands"[195] In the 2016 NCB course book an entire lesson is titled "church and state separated."[196] Similarly to *Welkom in Nederland,* this chapter uses the example of honor killings as something that is not allowed in the Netherlands due to the superiority of the law over religious institutions.[197] It depends on when the book was published whether the separation of church and state is seen as an aspect of history/religion (as in the earlier published books, for example in *Nederland in Zicht* and *Denkend aan Holland*) or in chapters on the rule of law/ democracy (*TaalCompleet* or the *Welkom in Nederland)* in the series that are published later.

Another theme through which secularism is framed within the books is that of secularization in the post-war period. In the *Kijk op Nederland* books, there is a separate

[191] Boom Uitgevers, "3 - Engels – Staatsinrichting," 09:19.
[192] Boom Uitgevers, "3 - Engels – Staatsinrichting," 10:37.
[193] Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht,* 2003, 27
[194] Gathier, *Welkom in Nederland,* 2008, 219.
[195] Gathier, *Welkom in Nederland,* 2008, 219.
[196] NCB Uitgeverij, *Kennis van de Nederlandse Maatschappij,* 2016, 192.
[197] NCB Uitgeverij, *Kennis van de Nederlandse Maatschappij*, 2016, 192.

chapter called "after the Reconstruction."[198] This chapter opens with a task that asks the students to "describe which words" they relate to five different images; one of a church, a mosque, a vandalized bus stop, a picture of a pride parade and a walker for the elderly.[199] The chapter begins by stating that "After the reconstruction (1965) work, family and religion became less important. People wanted more freedom and equality. They wanted that women could do the same things as men, and that homosexuals could do the same things as heterosexuals."[200] Here the emergence of different emancipatory movements is directly linked to a decline in the importance of religion. This is also linked to the prohibition of certain things such as female circumcision, non-consensual sex etc., or the permission of homosexuals to marry or for women to keep their name after marriage.[201] In this context many different issues used to demarcate the lines between migrants (who do not accept Dutch cultural and judicial norms based on cultural practices) and Dutch society are expressly linked to secularization, and in turn the notion of moral progress that underpins secularism.

In the book *Kom verder!* Monica and her father-in-law Arend have a conversation about generational divides. Arend talks about how different his son Evert was to him, and how that sometimes caused problems, for example, that he didn't want to "go to church anymore."[202] However, Arend later does coincide that he is "happy that Evert's generation changed things. People got more equal … [and] women got to live a totally different life.[203] This represents the conflation of secularization (the reduction of institutional religion in daily life) and secularism, the notion of identity associated with modernity.

In more of an exception than a rule, in *Denkend aan Holland* books the declining impact of Christianity on society is not framed through this moralistic lens. This is a story of secularization - told as the privatization of religious affairs - which "doesn't even have to take place in a church.[204] It is also notable that in both editions of *Nederland in Zicht* Bakker's re-telling of Post-War history does mention the importance of Pillarization and its later dismantling in the seventies, he does not discuss secularization in this chapter.[205] He does discuss secularization is in the chapter on living arrangements, where he mentions the churches' reduced capacity to dedicate home life,[206]

[198] Boer, *Kijk op Nederland*, 2011, 98.
[199] Boer, *Kijk op Nederland*, 2011, 98.
[200] Boer, *Kijk op Nederland*, 2011, 99.
[201] Boer, *Kijk op Nederland*, 2011, 100.
[202] Bakker, *Kom Verder*, 2006, 42.
[203] Bakker, *Kom Verder*, 2006, 42.
[204] Baalen and Coumou, *Denkend aan Holland*, 1998, 196-197.
[205] Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht*, 2003, 25.
[206] Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht*, 2003, 38.

Progressive Gender and Sexual Norms

As examined by Schinkel, there is a link between the "problematizations of gender and sexuality and problematizations of religion."[207] This is because they both engage with the notion of modernity (and its counterpart 'traditional' or even 'backwards'). As the previous examination of the representations of post-war history in the Netherlands has shown, the decline of Christian religious practices and norms is often expressly linked to the emergence of more progressive gender and sexual norms. Similarly, the separation of church and state is presented as a necessity for these progressive values to exist in the Netherlands.

In the film *Naar Nederland* the importance of progressive gender roles are shown and repeated frequently, this implies that this is something that migrants in particular need to learn. For example, while talking about Dutch customs at a birthday party the film states "don't be surprised if you see a man standing at the cooker with an apron on because in many families men and women fulfil the same roles."[208] Similarly, it is emphasized that neither boys nor girls can be forced to do certain things and that women's empowerment and work is important.[209]

The textbooks also engage with the equality of men and women, emphasizing that women and men are equal in the eyes of the law. Similarly, equal access to education opportunities for boys and girls is incorporated in the chapters on education, and the roles of men and women in the household are discussed. Emphasizing that both men and women play an active role in the household.

For example, in *Welkom in Nederland* there is an entire section on the different aspects of life in which women and men are equal (for example in the capacity to pursue an education, in job interviews, and in decision-making processes within relationships). However, the book also notes that there are areas in which men and women are not totally equal such as leadership positions.[210] However, it does paint a picture of linear progress towards more progressive attitudes, stating that "in the last fifty years much has changed" on for example the role of the woman in the household or the acceptance of homosexuality.[211] This message of forward progressivism can become a line of demarcation between those deemed more 'backwards.'

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[207] Schinkel, *Imagined Societies,* 164.
[208] Boom Uitgevers, "4 – Engels - Nederlandse Taal," 12:03.
[209] Boom Uitgevers, "5 – Engels - Opvoeding en Onderwijs," 09:56.
[210] Gathier, *Welkom in Nederland,* 2008, 180.
[211] Gathier, *Welkom in Nederland,* 2008, 183.

Another example is *Nederland in Zicht* Ad Bakker describes how in the sixties the household used to be the task of "every married woman. [while] today it is normal that also married women have an employment outside of the house."[212] The sentence that "the emancipation ideal, of equal rights for women and men, seems to be a success in the Netherlands" is accompanied by a photo of a man doing the dishes.[213] He then admits that there are still differences, such as that "household tasks are performed more by women than by men."[214] In the first edition of the book he concludes by stating that "for a family, household work is just as important as earning an income."[215] In this sense *Nederland in Zicht* takes a very similar position as *Welkom in Nederland*, however, what is very striking is that in the more recent editions of the book, this crucial last sentence is omitted. This is surprising as even the book itself paints the emancipation of women as continued gradual progress, so why would an author choose to release a less progressive second edition of a book?[216]

Similar to the depictions of progressive gender norms, the tolerance of homosexuality in the Netherlands is frequently mentioned as a fundamental part of lessons on anti-discrimination. For example, the NCB course book states that article one forbids the discrimination of gay people, and gives the example of labor market discrimination.[217] All books published after 2001 mention that same-sex partners are allowed to get married, while those editions published before the legalization of gay marriage mention same-sex cohabitation and state that discrimination based on sexual preference is not allowed.[218] Furthermore, in *Denkend aan Holland*, one of the learning goals of the chapter on customs and traditions, is that the student knows that "homosexuality is generally accepted in the Netherlands."[219]

One interesting lesson on this point is one used in *Kom Verder*! to teach both about homosexuality and the limits of freedom of expression and discrimination. In this fragment, Monica and her husband Evert talk about a gay TV presenter who has recently adopted a daughter. According to Evert, "that is going a bit too far," even stating that it "should be illegal."[220] Monica in turn answers that "homosexual people have the right to the same

[212] Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht*, 2003, 65.
[213] Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht*, 2003, 65.
[214] Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht*, 2003, 65.
[215] Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht*, 2003, 65.
[216] Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht*, 2008, 70.
[217] NCB Uitgeverij, *Kennis van de Nederlandse Maatschappij*, 2016, 131.
[218] Fuhri Snethlage, *Bagage*, 1998, 30 & 52.
[219] Baalen and Coumou, *Denkend aan Holland*, 1998, 145.
[220] Bakker, *Kom Verder*, 2006, 124.

treatment as heterosexuals" but that Evert is allowed to have his personal opinion, "as no one is allowed forbid him from being against something,"[221] This conversation is then linked to a conversation about discrimination against foreigners to teach people about discrimination. Here Evert voices a conservative opinion on homosexuality, however, while Monica reminds him that the equal treatment of gay people is enshrined in law he is entitled to his own opinion about the topic. In this example, while the lesson clearly states the legal basis upon which gay rights are based, it is also expressed that privately people (even Dutch people like Evert) are allowed to disagree with this, making the notion that all Dutch people are secular progressives less universal.

Another noteworthy example in this regard is the chapter on homosexuality in *Welkom in Nederland*. In all three of the books it is explained that there are "small groups" who don't accept homosexuality, It is explained that "These are often individuals from strict Christian churches" or "foreigners … from cultures where homosexuality is not accepted."[222] The book then explicitly states that not everyone's opinion on homosexuality is the same, in this it differs from other books as they mostly focus on acceptance of homosexuality in the entire society. The book then provides examples of religious communities' reactions to an LGBTQUIA+ person in their community. For example, a teacher who is scared to come out at his church or the Christian school where he teaches, or Ali, a Muslim youth excluded by his friends because he is gay. These examples show intolerant religious communities, in this case, both strict Christianity and Islam. In these examples and the section that precedes it, both the implicit connection between sexual conservatism and religion, and sexual conservatism and foreignness are highlighted. As it is 'only' strict Christian communities or foreigners that oppose homosexuality in the Netherlands. Other examples mentioned in the chapter are that of Jochem, a gay pastor whose church did not mind his sexuality, as the "bible states that love is the most important thing".[223] Similarly, in the example of the lesbian couple Martha and Bianca who supposedly go to the same church and do not face backlash for this.[224] In these examples, the authors chose to highlight that even within religious (Christian) communities homosexuality can be accepted, even through references to the bible. This is a break with the previously described demarcation of Dutchness through secularism expressed in progressive sexual norms. In these examples, the acceptance of homosexuality is also framed as something religious, facilitated by the religious texts that underpin

[221] Bakker, *Kom Verder*, 2006, 125.
[222] Gathier, *Welkom in Nederland, 2008*, 178.
[223] Gathier, *Welkom in Nederland*, 2008, 178.
[224] Gathier, *Welkom in Nederland*, 2008, 179.

Christianity. In this context, however, it does not present varied forms of Islam in the same manner. It should however be noted that the first edition of *Welkom in Nederland* included a link to an Islamic organization for sexual diversity. As this organization was disbanded in the year the first edition of the book was published, it makes sense that it is not mentioned in other editions of the book. However, in the following two editions, no alternative sources for information on Muslim Queerness are given, but replaced by generic websites without a particular target audience.

Clothing

Most books engage with the clothes Dutch people wear and why. This issue is placed in the chapter on secularism in society because the most predominant frame is that people (especially women) have the freedom to choose what to wear, and in turn presented in relation to other progressive values on sexuality and gender. However, clothing is also discussed in relation to religious garb or religious reasons to oppose certain forms of dress. These frames sometimes coincide, as will be shown in the example of *Kom Verder* or the NCB's KNM book, further highlighting how intertwined they have become.

A recurring lesson is that of the freedom of women to wear what they like, and particularly that nudity or bare legs and shoulders are a woman's own choice and to be accepted in public. In this case, it is often placed in chapters on norms and values, close to lessons on gender and sexuality-related topics.

The most explicit example of this is in the film *Naar Nederland,* where we also see progressive social values on nudity re-occur twice. For example, while showing different images of 'spaces used for recreation' the video includes a topless woman coming out of the sea, and it is emphasized that "people don't make a fuss about nudity."[225] Similarly, in the 2009 book *Nieuwe Start!* nude beaches are explicitly mentioned for both men and women.[226]

This is partially contrasted by a lesson that returns in all three editions of *Kom Verder!,* in one lesson that portrays a visit of Monica to her father-in-law, she and Arend talk about the issue of suggestive advertising for lingerie in public places. Monica seems to state that she was quite shocked by being exposed to nudity in public like this, stating that "on your TV you can switch to another channel."[227] This provides the discursive space to discuss whether public nudity in advertising is acceptable. In doing so it differs from other books.

[225] Boom Uitgevers, "1 -Engels – Nederland: Geografie, Vervoer en Wonen," 05:02. ; Boom Uitgevers, "4 - Engels - Nederlandse Taal," 12:26.
[226] Westerneng and Louter, *Nieuwe Start!*, 2009, 23.
[227] Bakker, *Kom Verder!,* 2006, 96.

This also becomes part of the lesson plan, asking the students "What do you think about lingerie advertisements in bus stops? "[228] However, in that same lesson, all three books do use this section to differentiate Dutch people from Muslims in an explicit manner, reifying the idea that Muslims and the progressive norms related to clothing in the Netherlands are inherently incompatible. In the lesson, Monica tells Arend that "in the integration course there were Muslims who think that those posters don't show respect for women." To this Arend responds; "The Netherlands is not an Islamic country! Didn't the professor immediately tell them that?"[229] After which Monica furthermore confirms that the commission tasked with dealing with inappropriate advertising judges complaints about advertisements based on "Dutch values."[230] While in this example no changes over time are witnessed, it is remarkable that this lesson on the one hand leaves more space to discuss public nudity, while on the other hand blatantly implying that Islam is incompatible with Dutch norms and values.

However, other books also emphasize a woman's choice to dress in revealing clothing. In all three editions of *Welkom in Nederland* the chapter called "Living together in the Netherlands" opens with a picture of Galo and Mirjam kissing while she is wearing a skirt and t-shirt, and students are asked "what clothing people in [their] country wear in the summer?"[231] Later in the chapter, it is explained that Dutch people often wear clothes that show their arms and legs in summer and that women are not looking for attention from men when they do so.[232] Similarly in the first two books of the *TaalCompleet* series, it is stated that "people can choose what clothes they want to wear" on the same page as the acceptance of homosexuality and gender equality.[233] In the revised 2018 version, the lesson is called "freedom" but the issues are still linked in the same manner. However, in the lesson a picture of a blonde woman in a small tube top and a woman with a hijab is included with the subtitle "I wear the clothes that I want to wear."[234] This is the only example found in any of the books where both the choice to wear revealing clothes and modest religious clothing for women are used in the same framing, namely that of the freedom to choose what to wear (in particular for women).

[228] Bakker, *Kom Verder!,* 2006, 97.
[229] Bakker, *Kom Verder!,* 2006, 96.
[230] Bakker, *Kom Verder!,* 2006, 97.
[231] Gathier, *Welkom in Nederland,* 2008, 175-76.
[232] Gathier, *Welkom in Nederland,* 2008, 179.
[233] Bloks-Jekel and Plattèl, *TaalCompleet – TGN en KNS,* 2014, 39. ; Bloks-Jekel, and Plattèl, *TaalCompleet – KNM,* 2015, 49.
[234] Broek, *TaalCompleet - KNM*, 2018, 29-30

In some books choice of dress is not framed as a gender issue persé, and in that context religion is often mentioned. In the 2016 KNS book by NCB, notably, it is mentioned that nudity is not allowed "in the street" but that both men and women can wear what they want.[235] Here the issue is however not linked to gender equality but in the context of freedom from discrimination in the workplace, as the next paragraph emphasizes that an employer is only allowed to restrict the clothes that can be worn "for a good reason" and can in turn not "prohibit someone from wearing a hijab or cross."[236]

Another similar example of this is that in *Denkend aan Holland* discussions of what clothing someone can wear is not linked to gender at all, but it is part of the chapter on the impact of Christianity on everyday life. In the first edition of the book from 1998, it is emphasized that the regulation of clothing by employers is only legal regarding safety concerns.[237] In the 2004 edition of the book, an addition is made that there can also be other reasons, for example the "judicial decision that students at the Amsterdam ROC are not allowed to wear a Niqab as this would hinder effective communications with students."[238] It is notable that in a chapter on the impact of Christianity in everyday life, the presence of visibly Muslim attire in schools is used as an example of a reason to restrict one's ability to choose what to wear. Especially as this coincides with an increasing public anxiety about the visibility of Islam in institutional settings shown in the first chapter.

Summary and Insights

In line with the existing literature, it was expected that there would be frequent discussions of secular values and their related progressive gender and sexual norms in the education materials. Most books contain some form of discussion about secularization, i.e. differentiation of religious and public/institutional spheres and a decline in religious participation by the population. Chapter two has already shown that this is even an important aspect of the considerations of Christianity mentioned in the books. It is however especially noteworthy that this process is often linked to secularism and a form of identification with 'modernity,' and in turn, used to highlight the progressive sexual and gender norms in the Netherlands. The second and third part of this chapter have in turn focused on the portrayal of progressive gender and sexual norms in the educational materials. Here it was found that the Netherlands was portrayed as a predominantly progressive country. In this context, it often

[235] NCB, *KNM cursistenboek*, 2016, 175.
[236] NCB, *KNM cursistenboek*, 2016, 175.
[237] Baalen and Coumou, *Denkend aan Holland*, 1998, 197.
[238] Baalen and Coumou, *Denkend aan Holland*, 2004, 196.

relates these norms to a decline in religious values or presents these progressive norms as the opposite of Islamic norms.

One notable point is the re-occurrence of the separation of church and state in both history and legal chapters in the books. One example mentioned is that within *Naar Nederland* the separation of church and state is portrayed as an uncontested aspect of Dutch legal ordering, however, this has been criticized by Mart Rutjes who shows that since the eighteenth century, the concept has been highly contested, and that its current framing is "presented as a norm for religious newcomers in Dutch society."[239] Thus this framing, and particularly the perception that religious pluralism and separation of church and state are neutral and historically uncontested requires critical scrutiny. As these values are in reality not as uncontested as they are made to appear in the books, this is a good example of what Schinkel identifies as the function of these discourses, namely not as a description of the societies but as a problematization of those who are not considered insiders.[240] In this context, it problematizes religious affiliation and sees this as a threat to the supposedly uncontested values of secularization.

This chapter has furthermore identified that secularization and secularism are explicitly linked to each other, for example in the chapters on the separation of church and state or those discussing the reconstruction period after the Second World War. In these chapters, the act of separating church and state is directly related to the emergence of norms of emancipation or equality, and the restriction of certain cultural practices. This conflation of modernity with secularization has been explored in the literature by José Casanova and Judith Butler. As stated previously, however, adhering to progressive gender and sexual norms is not necessarily linked to religious adherence and this conflation seems more concerned with keeping religious migrants out of the country than actual concern with these norms themselves. This is because, as Hekma and Duyvendak note, the "acceptance of non-heteronormativity remains thin and often opportunistic" and acceptance of progressive sexual norms in the Netherlands is most explicitly expressed in relation to debates surrounding multiculturalism.[241]

Furthermore, this chapter has shown that it is not only politicians who take up a moralizing role in public as established by Driouchi and expanded upon in the first chapter of

[239] Rutjes, "Making of a Fundamental Value," 42.
[240] Schinkel, *Imagined Societies,* 1.
[241] Hekma and Duyvendak, "Queer Netherlands," 629.

this work.[242] The educational materials engage in a similar moralizing crusade in the form of an emphasis on secularism in its discussion of secularization and progressive sexual and gender norms.

However, it should also be noted that in many of the books, there is some room left for personal opinion and it is emphasized that not all Dutch people are equally tolerant. In this context, it is especially noteworthy that the movie in *Naar Nederland* leaves the least amount of room for counter-narratives compared to the other lesson plans. As these educational materials are expressly directed at foreigners still abroad and migrants wanting to work in the Netherlands as religious authorities, the fact that this state-led integration program leaves significantly less room for alternate interpretations of the norms and values communicated is significant. Even though the other books do provide clear boundaries to what is acceptable, alternate opinions are welcomed and sometimes even presented. Examples of this include the discussion of discrimination as it is presented in *Kom Verder*. In this scene, a Dutch person (Evert) is portrayed as actively homophobic, and while Monica reminds him that this is not allowed by law it shows that the books do leave opportunities for people to express their own opinion. Furthermore, in *Welkom in Nederland*, there is a specific section that mentions "even now not all Dutch people think the same. There are differences between older and younger people, between people with a religion and without a religion … etc."[243] While it is notable that religion is mentioned in this context, it also gives other reasons as to why someone might have different belief systems and that in private this is acceptable. In turn, these educational narratives, while expressly acting as a barrier of entry and a line of demarcation, do not do so in an all-encompassing manner. In doing so, it already presents a counter-narrative of its own discursive structure.

Conclusion: Room for Identities other than Christian-Secular?

As the chapters with source analysis draw to a close it is now time to return to the research question; 'What is the role of the representations of religion and secularity in Dutch integration courses ('inburgeringscursussen) in the Netherlands?'

The first sub-question used to answer this question was: whether and how religiosity (particularly Christianity) and secularity are represented in the educational materials used in Dutch integration courses. Chapters two and three of this work show that both Christianity

[242] Driouichi, "Casus Inburgering en Nationaliteitswetgeving," 42.
[243] Baalen and Coumou, *Welkom in Nederland*, 1998, 183.

and secularity are important features of the educational material. As shown above, in the integration courses the Netherlands is portrayed as both secular and Christian, often in explicit relation to the presence of Muslim migrants. In this context, Christianity is often not represented as an important faith (as the doctrines or related metaphysical elements of the religion are rarely explored), but as an important aspect of Dutch cultural identity. As established in the chapter, this represents a continuity with the literature, as other scholars have also examined the resurgence of identitarian Christianity in western Europe. Similarly, the research has also found that the integration courses frequently describe the Netherlands as a naturally secular and progressive country, explicitly linking these two frames. In turn, the secularization process is often linked to normative values as embedded in secularism. Both in relation to Christianity and secularism this research has shown a continuity with the literature discussed in the introduction, highlighting that integration course materials have become part of a broader discourse used to delineate between the polity and outsiders. As the first systematic analysis of integration education materials, this research has added to this growing body of literature and confirms that these discourses have become an integral part of migration governance.

The second sub-question concerns the changes over time in the representations of religion and secularity in integration courses. In the analysis of two decades of integration course material not many changes over time are found. While there are instances of books changing through time, such as the less progressive second edition of *Nederland in Zicht* when describing labour divisions within the home, these can often be framed as exceptions and not as trends across all educational material.[244] There is one exception to this, namely that of the book series *Bagage.* In this series, a significant change takes place around the 5th edition (2007) to make it converge with integration legislation. Up until that point the lessons were largely directed at practical aspects of Dutch life, however from the 5th edition onwards, the politicized topics of secularism and Christianity became more prominent in the book. This is evidenced by the fact that the first four editions of the book are rarely cited in the second and third chapters of this research. However, *Bagage* is not the only book series which includes editions published before and after the Integration Act of 2007. All editions of the book *Denkend aan Holland* include discursive elements that delineate the Netherlands as both secular and Christian. Highlighting that time of publication in relation to formal legislative change does not guarantee that the material becomes more explicit in its discursive

[244] Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht,* 2003, 65. ; Bakker, *Nederland in Zicht,* 2008, 70.

strategies. In turn, the general conclusion concerning changes over time remains that integration course materials have included discursive elements that portray the Netherlands as a Christian and secular country since the start of the research period in 1998 till the last published edition included in the research from 2018.

It is in the first chapter of this research that a potential explanation for this continuity over time can be found. The discussion on cultural norms and the role of religion in migrant integration was already intertwined with migration governance at the start of the nineties as has been shown in the first chapter, which is before the first integration education materials were published. While some scholars see the turn of the century as a watershed moment, in the nineties there was already a high concern with the cultural integration of migrants, in which religion (especially the difference between Christianity and Islam) and secularism are used to denote differences between migrants and non-migrants. Examples of this include Bolkestein's speech made in 1991 or the emergence of the discursive category of 'Muslim migrant' after the Rushdie affair. These discursive practices intensified during the 21st century due to the national and international context at this time, and it is the intensification of this debate that encouraged the legislative shift in both naturalization and migration governance in 2003 and 2007 respectively. However, as established in the first chapter a cultural pre-disposition that regards especially Muslim migrants with suspicion is already emerging a decade before the turn of the century, meaning that all materials examined in the research were created in a discursive field in which these boundaries of secularism and Christianity were already being negotiated in relation to migration. Since all books, with the notable exception of the first four editions of *Bagage*, are already concerned with both Christianity and secularism it shows that while formal integration legislation was not yet engaged in cultural integration (and assimilation) the books that function as a tool to achieve the formal requirements of integration did operate within this discursive space before the policy became more assimilationist.

This shows a continuation of the increased entanglement of concerns with migrants' religious identity in both the governance of migration and citizenship. While the first chapter of this research has shown that religion has always impacted migrants' capacity to migrate to the Netherlands, both religion and secularism have become standards along which migrants are judged on their supposed integration, and in turn, this influences their access to both residence and citizenship in the Netherlands. This represents a continuity with the literature examined in the introduction, highlighting that a systematic review of a broad range of

integration materials through the lenses of Christianity and secularism exposes the exclusionary discursive structures at play within these materials.

This leads us to conclude that the representations of secularism and religiosity in Dutch integration courses create a barrier to entry for migrants. While this is not a physical barrier, it denotes and strengthens notions of which kind of immigrant (one who adheres to both secular, and to a lesser extent Christian values) is desirable, and who will remain a cultural outsider. In turn, these integration course materials strengthen and uphold a dialogue of demarcation. As Schinkel notes these normative framings of both secularism and Christianity do not necessarily correspond to truths about the society it describes, but to the distinctions it aims to create with outsiders. In this case, outsiders are the targets of the message, as the materials on integration courses are read and reproduced by them. While the capacity of migrants to resist and challenge this dialogue should not be ignored, the focus of the research remains on the lines of demarcation that the integration courses draw.

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