THE BIRTH OF HOMONATIONALISM

An analysis of the development of Dutch homonationalism 1990-2002

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MA thesis in fulfillment of the
Erasmus Mundus Joint Master European Politics and Society
24 June 2021
Word count: 21.469

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Abstract

In 2006 Puar defined homonationalism as a form of nationalism that utilizes gay rights to exclude (Muslim minorities). This thesis analyzes the development of Dutch homonationalism from 1990-2002. It finds that the origins and development of homonationalism are rarely discussed. Only research by Bram Mellink focused on the origins of Dutch homonationalism between 1980 and 1990. By analyzing the selected period, this research tries to bridge the gap between the origins of Dutch homonationalism and the full fledged Dutch homonationalism that can be found in the 21st century. It applies a framework that is grounded in established theories and understandings of homonationalism, to reflect on the theoretical foundations of homonationalism and their historical applicability. This paper finds that utilizing homonationalism and its manifestations as they were defined by Puar is in fact ahistorical. Consequently, under the chosen theoretical framework homonationalism is rarely found. Therefore, this research identifies a developing form of homonationalism: proto-homonationalism. To support further research, it establishes a new framework to analyze this proto-homonationalism. The findings of this research thus establish the weaknesses of applying homonationalist theory to historical periods and provide an alternative that allows for a deeper theoretical as well as historical understanding of homonationalism throughout time.

Keywords: Homonationalism, LBGTQ rights, emancipation, discrimination, Netherlands

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Introduction

In the last two decades, a wave of Islamophobia has washed over Europe. Islam and multiculturalism have become the center of a heated debate in specifically European countries, such as the UK, Denmark, France, Hungary, and the Netherlands.[1] Gay and women's rights feature prominently in these debates. Although gay rights are a relatively new phenomenon - many western countries only started accepting and tolerating gay rights at the end of the 20th century - it is now often considered a core value of European countries.[2] Some consider Islam a threat to these values and European culture.[3] Populist leaders like Geert Wilders (PVV – the Netherlands), Marine Le Pen (Front National – France), and Alexander Gauland (AfD – Germany) have played an essential role in popularizing this fear. In this discourse, gay rights are used as a political tool for excluding minorities, especially Muslims.[4] This pro-gay, anti-Muslim rhetoric creates a dichotomy between two discriminated groups in society: the Islamic and gay communities. Though intersectionality between these two identities, Muslim and queer, exist, they are presented as opposites. The use of gay rights in the exclusion of others was first defined as *homonationalism* by Jasbir Puar.[5] She argued that gay rights are used to discriminate and exclude minorities (in most cases, Muslims) from society.[6] However, the spread of homonationalism in (Western) European politics is not a new development. Pim Fortuyn, the first gay fraction leader in the Netherlands, already successfully employed homonationalism for electoral success at the beginning of the 21st century.[7] In the political context of migration, failed integration, and an indecisive government, Fortuyn advocated for the Dutch values and the threat of Islamic culture to Dutch culture.[8] He laid the foundation for the future debate on multiculturalism and gay rights.

The academic debate on homonationalism is predominantly led by social scientists like Jasbir Puar. While they have been successful in identifying the homonationalist theory, there has been little attention for the historical roots of the discourse. When we consider the case of the Netherlands, surprisingly little research has been conducted on homonationalism in the years prior to Pim Fortuyn. Specific homonationalist events, rather than the development of this

[1] Mepschen, Duyvendak, and Tonkens, "Sexual Politics, Orientalism and Multicultural Citizenship in the Netherlands," 963.
[2] Colpani and Habed, "'In Europe It's Different': Homonationalism and Peripheral Desires for Europe," 74.
[3] Carrel, "Islam Not Compatible with German Constitution, Says AfD Party"; Wilders, "Speech Geert Wilders in Praag, 25 april"; "Le Pen."
[4] Wilders, "Geert Wilders on Twitter."
[5] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007.
[6] Puar, 39.
[7] Olivieri and Leurs, *Everyday Feminist Research Praxis*, 26.
[8] van der Veer, "Pim Fortuyn, Theo van Gogh, and the Politics of Tolerance in the Netherlands," 116.

phenomenon over time, are covered in the academic literature. Puar defends her approach by arguing that homonationalism can best be analyzed through a snapshot of events that mark radical changes in society, resulting in discourses of homonationalism.[9] In doing so, Puar uses process research for her analysis, where key events are analyzed to define a discourse. Following this logic, little research has been conducted on homonationalism outside these events or snapshots in social studies. This clearly shows the discrepancy between history and social studies: while social scientists pay more attention to the theory of a phenomenon, historians are more focused on its development. In the case of Dutch homonationalism, historians like Andrew Shield and Bram Mellink, have analyzed the origins of homonationalism, rather than the theoretical foundations. However, their contributions are only a marginal part of the theory-focused academic debate. My goal is not to criticize either approach, but to clarify what they can learn from one another. Thus, this thesis finds itself at the intersection of history and social studies. I employ (social) studies into the theories of homonationalism to better understand its historical development.

I will investigate homonationalism in Dutch society before the outburst of homonationalism by Pim Fortuyn in 2001 and 2002. By analyzing the decade before Fortuyn, 1990-2001, I intend to enrich the generally used method of process tracing in homonationalism studies by including path dependency, in which developments in the past are used to explain events that followed. Or in other words, I will enrich the field of social studies by employing a history-oriented approach. Furthermore, I analyze in what way gay communities resonated with homonationalist rhetoric themselves. I will do so by analyzing gay newspapers and magazines.

All this serves to answer the question: to what extent was homonationalism present between 1990 and 2002? In answering this question, I intend to make four contributions to the academic field. Firstly, I provide an interdisciplinary framework of history and social studies. Secondly, my analysis will show that some form of homonationalism already developed in gay communities before the rise of Pim Fortuyn. Thirdly, I provide one of the first analyses of homonationalist discourse in gay and lesbian media in the academic debate on homonationalism. Finally, by filling the gap in the period from 1990 to 2001, I allow for a more in-depth analysis of the historical development of homonationalism between 1980 and today.

To answer this research question, I firstly discuss the foundations of my analysis. In chapters one and two, I discuss the historical and academic background of my research. I also situate my research in the academic debate by formulating a theoretical framework in chapter

[9] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, xviii.

two. In chapter three, I set out my methods by firstly discussing social studies perspectives on historiography. In addition to this, I explain why the Netherlands is an ideal case study for this research and how I will analyze my sources. Chapter four provides a detailed analysis of the *Gay Krant* and its homonationalist rhetoric. In chapter five, I discuss the results and the analysis in relation to previous research and the historical context. I find that homonationalism as defined by previous scholars as well as myself is not applicable to historical periods. As such a propose an alternative form of homonationalism: proto-homonationalism and suggest a new framework for analysis. Finally, I conclude that there is no clear indication the homonationalism was reproduced or clearly developed in the discourse in the *Gay Krant*. In addition, to this homonationalism as defined by Puar is unusable for the analysis of the history of homonationalism and further research could benefit from the framework I propose in chapter five.

However, I first need to define some concepts that are important to this research. You might have realized that I use the word gay, instead of the more inclusive and commonly used term LGBTQ. I recognize that LGBTQ is a more inclusive and commonly used term to discuss sexuality. However, in essence, the academic literature and homonationalist discourse mainly focus on the white gay male, and in rare instances, female. Therefore, using LGBTQ would give the wrong impression of inclusivity in the homonationalist debate and misrepresent the used rhetoric. This does not mean I reject the notion that homonationalism can also be centered around other sexualities. However, building on previous research I have chosen to focus on media that is focused on the gay male and thus explicitly using the concept gay is more applicable. Furthermore, intersectionality plays an important role in this research. Kimberlé Crenshaw defines intersectionality as "a lens through which you can see where power comes and collides, where it interlocks and intersects."[10] She argues that one can belong to different communities or identities, which result in a different position and perception in society. An example of this is a person who is gay and Muslim. This term is important to this research as homonationalism tends reject intersectionality.

[10] Crenshaw, "Kimberlé Crenshaw on Intersectionality."

Chapter 1 | Historical Background: Homo emancipation in the Netherlands

The Netherlands is a unique case when it comes to homo-emancipation. Until the 1950s, the Netherlands was considered an old-fashioned country.[11] However, Dutch society started to change rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s. In one generation, the country went from being one of the most religious countries in Europe to being one of the most secular.[12] This chapter will provide a historical overview of the political transformation, gay and lesbian movements, and the dynamic of migration and populism in the 20th century to understand this development better. Finally, I will discuss the rise and legacy of Pim Fortuyn in the context of the 20th century.

1.1 Political context: from pillarization to liberalism

The political and social changes in the 20th century would give liberal and progressive parties, as well as social movements more space, ultimately leading to liberal and progressive politics at the end of the century. Many authors describe post-WWII Dutch society as pillarized, meaning it was organized by so-called pillars.[13] The pillars were networks and communities of ideological organizations that created close ties between the political elite and the masses.[14] Most social life took place within these ideological communities. There were four main pillars: the Catholic, Protestant, socialist, and to some extent, the liberal pillar.[15] However, the assumption that Dutch society was fully segregated in pillars is disputed. Renowned historian Peter van Dam argues that pillarization is misunderstood or misused.[16] While van Dam recognizes that there were social divisions in the Netherlands, he rejects the notion of the totalitarian segregation of Dutch society.[17] For example, Dutch politics was hardly segregated and was based on pragmatism and compromise, which required intensive interaction between different (political) groups.[18] Furthermore, since the 1990s memberships of political parties (which is considered a variable of pillarization) have been decreasing and voter vitality has been increasing.[19] In other words, people became less attached to one party and their ideals, and instead were more likely to vote for other parties. Thus, the political and social divisions in

[11] Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in Aanbouw : Nederland in de Jaren Zestig*, 4.
[12] Rooden, "Oral History En Het Vreemde Sterven van Het Nederlandse Christendom," 22.
[13] Steininger, "Pillarization (Verzuiling) and Political Parties," 244.
[14] Lucardie, "The Netherlands: Populism versus Pillarization," 152.
[15] Steininger, "Pillarization (Verzuiling) and Political Parties," 243.
[16] van Dam, "Constructing a Modern Society Through 'Depillarization'. Understanding Post-War History as Gradual Change," 292.
[17] van Dam, 295.
[18] van Dam, 297.
[19] van Dam, 304.

society were already decreasing since the 1950s. Thus, when I use the term pillars or pillarization, I mean the social formations in which social life mostly occurred.

Two pillars that should be considered here are the confessional and liberal pillars. Traditional and religious norms and values were strong in confessional pillars which were dominant in Dutch society for most of the 20th century. The liberal pillar was less cohesive and organized, but liberal wings of religious and class communities tended to belong to this group.[20] Until the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, the confessional parties had hegemony in the political field, but that changed when secularization – which was a broader trend in Western countries – occurred.[21] People began to identify less with the traditional parties and their mass media. Moreover, environmental and social movements refused to commit themselves to one pillar.[22] In the years that followed, the traditional pillarized organizations weakened. This process is called de-pillarization. Moreover, the pillars were attacked for being traditional and authoritarian.[23] People saw de-pillarization as a break from the oppressive paternalistic structures. Even so, this process of de-pillarization did not mean that the social formations, the role of religion, or the political formulations changed.[24] While the visibility of the social formulations decreased, voters became more volatile, and party membership further decreased, the social formations in society remained largely the same.[25] Even so, the de-pillarized Dutch society was considered to be unified with unified norms, values and beliefs. Even though this was at odds with the societal diversity and inequality in the Dutch everyday life, van Dam does define a gradual change in Dutch society.[26] Liberalism was becoming more popular in the Netherlands and combined with the pragmatic and cooperative mentality allowed for a gradual political change of which the results became visible at the end of the 20th century.[27]

During the 1970s this change became more visible in Dutch society. Whereas the Netherlands did not differ much in comparison with neighboring countries economically and politically, the Dutch society was more progressive in one area: tolerance.[28] While de-pillarization in the 1970s was initially characterized by polarization, most of the Dutch population began to reject moral traditionalism.[29] The shared experience of pillarization did not

[20] Lucardie, "The Netherlands: Populism versus Pillarization," 152.
[21] Lucardie, 152.
[22] Lucardie, 153.
[23] Mepschen, Duyvendak, and Tonkens, "Sexual Politics, Orientalism and Multicultural Citizenship in the Netherlands."
[24] van Dam, "Constructing a Modern Society Through 'Depillarization'. Understanding Post-War History as Gradual Change," 292.
[25] van Dam, 292.
[26] van Dam, 292.
[27] van Dam, 297.
[28] Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in Aanbouw : Nederland in de Jaren Zestig*, 208.
[29] "Sociaal En Cultureel Rapport 1998. 25 Jaar Sociale Verandering," 628.

result in radical politics but rather in liberal tendencies and greater freedom of speech.[30] Many social movements that fought for gay and lesbian rights, gender equality, pacifism, and environmentalism, became more popular in society.[31] Furthermore, parties that generally only had a marginal influence in the political field now became more influential. This became increasingly clear when the liberal People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) had a major electoral victory in 1972, gaining 14,4% of the votes.[32] The progressive liberal party Democrats '66 (D66) also obtained a strong foothold in Dutch politics in the 1970s.

In the second half of the 20th century, Dutch society was caught between two realities. While it was presented as a unified country with the same norms, values, and identities, social formations still divided the country. The increase of liberalism would ultimately lead to more progressive values, such as the legislation of euthanasia and abortion, and gay and lesbian rights. Even though the formalization of these rights and privileges was unsuccessful due to the remaining influence of the confessional parties, public opinion was changing.[33] Finally, in the 1990s, there was enough political will to prohibit discrimination based on gender, ethnicity, and sexuality.[34] This would mark the beginning of the political and institutional emancipation of gay and lesbian citizens.

1.2 Homo-emancipation: from invisible to indispensable

The Dutch gay and lesbian rights movements became more organized and better known in 1919 with the foundation of the Dutch office of Wissenschaftlich Humanitäres Komittee (WHK, later on, NWHK), whose members tried to increase the knowledge of homosexuality as a biologically given fact.[35] The Dutch office was opened in response to the new law '248bis', making homosexual intercourse a criminal act under the age of 21.[36] This was the first visible gay rights organization in the Netherlands. However, after the German invasion in 1940, it was disbanded.[37] Shortly after the end of the Second World War, the (predecessor) of the COC [*Nederlandse Vereniging voor Homofielen COC*] was founded, which would evolve to be the largest and most influential LGBTQ organization in the Netherlands.[38] Although this organization was criticized by more radical LGBTQ groups, it became the face of the gay

[30] Middendorp, *Ontzuiling, politisering en restauratie in Nederland : progressiviteit en conservatisme in de jaren 60 en 70*, 46.
[31] de Koster, Houtman, and van der Waal, "Van God Los: Post-Christelijk Cultureel Conflict in Nederland.," 30.
[32] Voerman, *De Tweede Jeugd van Het Liberalisme: VVD En D66, 1967-1994*, 2.
[33] Hekma, *Homoseksualiteit in Nederland van 1730 Tot de Moderne Tijd*, 160.
[34] Keuzenkamp, *Steeds Gewoner, Nooit Gewoon. Acceptatie van Homoseksualiteit in Nederland*, 25.
[35] Linssen, "Onbekend Is Onbemind. De Representatie van de Nederlandse Homobeweging in de Publieke Opinie Tussen 1969 En 1987.," 2–3.
[36] Linssen, 2.
[37] "Nederlandsche Afdeling van Het Wissenschaftlich-Humanitäre Komitee."
[38] "Geschiedenis COC."

movement [*homobeweging*]. [39] The COC took the lead in forming a unified identity, and presented itself as the main protagonist for gay rights.[40] In the first years, the COC had to deal with repressive tolerance, meaning the government tolerated the organization, but only to keep an eye on its members and control the movement.[41] In the pillarized Dutch society, members of the COC were struggling with their sexuality and negative perception of the church. To overcome this, the organization laid connections with social authorities like churches and the media to improve the perception of sexuality and expand its platform and protest agenda.[42]

The evolution of political activism of the gay movement was part of a larger development in society. Due to de-pillarization, individualization, and secularization, the public opinion on homosexuality changed. The gay movement was allowed to claim a space in the political debate and society to develop further and demonstrate its identity.[43] This identity was at first expected to assimilate to the heteronormative society as the COC promoted an "as healthy as possible adaption of the homosexual person to his sexuality and surroundings."[44] Consequently, whereas homosexuals were excluded from society in the past, they were now accepted if they behaved assimilating to heterosexual standards (e.g. not behaving too femininely). The fact that homosexuality was not entirely accepted in the 1960s is especially clear from the fact that they were not allowed to form a corporation, which would guarantee rights and privileges for the COC.[45] In the period between 1968 and 1971, more criticism was voiced within the movement that the focus should be more on social change instead of the homosexual subject that had to change.[46] In the years that followed, the COC became less careful and more visible in the advocacy for social change. In 1971, article 248bis was finally abolished.[47] Even so, 1973 marked the real turning point in gay and lesbian emancipation. This is the year that the COC finally obtained the rights of a corporation. Homosexuals were no longer rejected from conscription, and homosexuality was internationally no longer considered a mental disorder.[48] With these developments, the 1970s marked a period of hope and progress for the gay rights movement.

[39] Linssen, "Onbekend Is Onbemind. De Representatie van de Nederlandse Homobeweging in de Publieke Opinie Tussen 1969 En 1987.," 3–4.
[40] Linssen, 3–4.
[41] Tielman, *Homoseksualiteit in Nederland: Studie van Een Emancipatiebeweging*, 140.
[42] Duyvendak and Valkhoff, *De Verzuiling van de Homobeweging*, 43.
[43] Hekma, "A Radical Break with a Puritanical Past: The Dutch Case," 76–77.
[44] Oosterhuis, *Homoseksualiteit in Katholiek Nederland: Een Sociale Geschiedenis 1900-1970*, 138.
[45] Tielman, *Homoseksualiteit in Nederland: Studie van Een Emancipatiebeweging*, 173.
[46] Duyvendak and Valkhoff, *De Verzuiling van de Homobeweging*, 43–44.
[47] Hekma, *Homoseksualiteit in Nederland van 1730 Tot de Moderne Tijd*, 118.
[48] Hekma, 130.

Even so, when there was an attempt to pass the Law of Equal Treatment [*Wet Gelijke Behandeling]* that would prohibit discrimination based on gender, ethnicity, and sexuality, this was blocked by the confessional parties in 1973.[49] Especially sexuality was met with much resistance. Only in 1994 was the law passed and implemented.[50] The optimism of the 1970s quickly declined during the AIDS crisis in the 1980s. An illustrative example of this is the violent riots against homosexuals on Pink Saturday [*Roze Zaterdag*] – the Dutch version of Gay Pride – that signified the state of gay and lesbian emancipation throughout the Netherlands.[51] In the aftermath of this event, the Dutch government decided to invest more in gay and lesbian emancipation.[52] Moreover, the government and the COC worked together on the AIDS pandemic, on the prevention of HIV, as well as on the care for the relatives of the victims.[53] Thus, at the end of the 1980s, the Dutch government committed itself to the emancipation of gay and lesbian citizens.

This increase of awareness and attention for emancipation by the government, but also the media, led to a broader acceptance of homosexuality in the Netherlands in the 1990s.[54] Once the state was committed, institutionalized rights and privileges soon followed. In 1994 the Law of Equal treatment was passed, and in 1997 the registered partnership was implemented that was accessible for heterosexual and homosexual couples.[55] Finally, in 2001, marriage became accessible to gay couples, which completed homo emancipation in the eyes of many.[56]

Considering the development of gay movements and homo emancipation in the 20th century, the Netherlands has made significant steps. In the first half of the 20th century, gay and lesbian people were forced into hiding; in the 1960s, they were tolerated; throughout the 1970s and 80s they were gradually more accepted; and in the 1990s were finally granted more rights and freedoms, such as gay marriage. While many considered homo emancipation to be completed in 2001, today it is clear this is not the case.[57] With Dutch society falling behind on homo emancipation rankings, it is clear that it is far from complete.[58] However, it is important to realize that this was the context at that time as it influenced the perception and discourse.

[49] Hekma, 160.
[50] Keuzenkamp, *Steeds Gewoner, Nooit Gewoon. Acceptatie van Homoseksualiteit in Nederland*, 25.
[51] Hekma, *Homoseksualiteit in Nederland van 1730 Tot de Moderne Tijd*, 133.
[52] Hekma, 133.
[53] Hekma, 157.
[54] Keuzenkamp, *Steeds Gewoner, Nooit Gewoon. Acceptatie van Homoseksualiteit in Nederland*, 25.
[55] Keuzenkamp, 25.
[56] Hekma, *Homoseksualiteit in Nederland van 1730 Tot de Moderne Tijd*, 149.
[57] Hekma, 149.
[58] Rainbow Europe, "Country Ranking."

1.3 Migration: Populism and the Dutch response

Around the time de-pillarization peaked at the end of the 1960s, the Netherlands received an influx of migrants through government policy. This policy sought out labor migrants to meet the high demand for labor in the country.[59] After the first influx of foreign laborers in the 1960s, the country soon developed into a multi-ethnic state. Between 1971 and 1997, the percentages of the population that were part of an ethnic minority grew from 1.6% to 9.4%.[60] In the 1990s, the number of non-western inhabitants grew by 62%.[61] As a result, from a homogenous society to a pluralistic one, all within one generation. These factors combined eventually led to an outburst of populism that would shake the foundations of Dutch society and politics.

The Moroccan and Turkish guest workers that migrated to the Netherlands in the 1960s were expected to return to their country of origin within a few years. To stimulate this, the Dutch integration program was designed as a 'two-way track' [*tweesporenbeleid*], where migrants could keep their ethnic-cultural identity and integrate into Dutch society.[62] However, many guest workers remained in the Netherlands but lost their jobs with the decline of the manufacturing sector and lived on social welfare. Moreover, most had brought their families with them, and their children tended to marry native Turks and Moroccans.[63] This created ethnic enclaves that were as much connected to their home country as to the Netherlands. Low employment and the lack of integration created a reputation of criminality, as a growing underclass of migrant youth became involved in crime.[64] As most of the migrants were Muslim, Islamophobia also became more prevalent in some parties. The Center Democrats, a small right-wing party, was the first party to criticize the integration and use Islamophobic rhetoric in the 1980s and 1990s.[65] Also, the VVD, who in the 1980s advocated for cultural diversity, radically changed perspective in the 1990s. Frits Bolkestein, the party leader of the VVD, stated that current integration and the identity of the migrants threatened universal values of liberalism such as tolerance, freedom of speech, and non-discrimination.[66] Towards the end of the 1990s, the debate became more focused on migration and how immigration could be controlled and decreased, while the integration aspect remained in the background.[67]

Even though the political elite was not actively responding to the supposed failed integration of migrants, the Dutch population was becoming increasingly uncomfortable with

[59] Spiecker and Steutel, "Multiculturalism, Pillarization and Liberal Civic Education in the Netherlands," 295.
[60] Spiecker and Steutel, 296.
[61] Spiecker and Steutel, 296.
[62] Trappenburg, "Had Het Anders Gekund? Over Het Nederlandse Integratiebeleid," 23.
[63] van der Veer, "Pim Fortuyn, Theo van Gogh, and the Politics of Tolerance in the Netherlands," 116.
[64] van der Veer, 116.
[65] Van der Brug et al., "Hoe Heeft Het Integratiedebat Zich in Nederland Ontwikkeld?," 7.
[66] Van der Brug et al., 8.
[67] Van der Brug et al., 10.

the multicultural society, but specifically with Islam[68] Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, more people began to believe homosexuality to be normal, exceeding percentages of acceptance in neighboring countries.[69] This newly found tolerance of gays, lesbians, and women in general, was soon believed to be one of the core Dutch values. However, with the influx of migrants of whom many Muslim and some conservative, a new conservative and religious enclave that arguably contrasted with Dutch norms and values was founded.[70] For many Dutch, the religious migrants reminded them of the pillarized society in which Calvinist norms and values and moral strictness were at the core of society.[71] Following the process of de-pillarization, they felt that they had freed themselves from Christian conservatism.[72] Consequently, parts of the Dutch population became uneasy with conservative Muslims, and later on Muslims in general because it mirrored their own traditional society of only a few decades ago.[73]

1.4 Pim Fortuyn

Van de Veer finds that the combination of the lack of political action and unrest in the Dutch population created a space for Pim Fortuyn to put his ideas forward.[74] In 1995, Fortuyn published his book *The orphaned society* [*De verweesde samenleving*]. In this book, he criticized the weak policies on integration and argued for stricter immigration and integration laws to protect Dutch norms and values.[75] He believed Dutch norms and values, such as gay and women's rights, should be at the center of the debate. Three years later, he published another book, *Against Islamization of our Culture* [*Tegen de Islamisering van onze Cultuur*], in which he advocated for the threat the Islam formed for those norms and values.[76] In the years that followed, Pim Fortuyn would become increasingly popular. He, a gay man, presented himself as the embodiment of liberated Dutchness.[77] In doing so, he capitalized on the idea of sexual freedom as inherently Dutch and, through his discourse, engrained it deeper into the Dutch self-image.[78] Pim Fortuyn soon became the major opponent of the reigning political parties as he attacked the governing parties for not listening to the people and failing to solve the integration problems. In 2001 Fortuyn's warnings seemed to become a reality with the

[68] van der Veer, "Pim Fortuyn, Theo van Gogh, and the Politics of Tolerance in the Netherlands," 116.
[69] Mepschen, Duyvendak, and Tonkens, "Sexual Politics, Orientalism and Multicultural Citizenship in the Netherlands," 967.
[70] van der Veer, "Pim Fortuyn, Theo van Gogh, and the Politics of Tolerance in the Netherlands," 116.
[71] van der Veer, 118.
[72] van der Veer, 116.
[73] van der Veer, 116.
[74] van der Veer, 115.
[75] Fortuyn, *De Verweesde Samenleving: Achtergrond van En Oplossingen Voor de Huidige Normen- En Waardenproblemen*.
[76] Fortuyn, *Tegen de Islamisering van Onze Cultuur : Nederlandse Identiteit Als Fundament*.
[77] Mepschen, Duyvendak, and Tonkens, "Sexual Politics, Orientalism and Multicultural Citizenship in the Netherlands," 968.
[78] van der Veer, "Pim Fortuyn, Theo van Gogh, and the Politics of Tolerance in the Netherlands," 115.

terrorist attacks in New York on 9/11, further polarizing the political debate.[79] When he participated in the 2002 general elections, his party won an overwhelming 26 seats.[80] Even so, Fortuyn was no longer present to claim this victory. On May 6, 2002, ... days before the election, Pim Fortuyn had been murdered by a radical leftist.[81] The legacy of Pim Fortuyn, his advocacy for Dutch values, such as gay and lesbian rights, and his criticism of Islam would radically change Dutch politics. All political parties changed their programs on integration after the 2002 election victory, and a parliamentary investigation was conducted into the failed integration of migrants.[82] In 2006, a survey showed that 60% of all autochthonous Dutch felt uneasy about ethnic minorities, and 75% perceived Muslim fundamentalism as a threat to Dutch norms and values.[83] Fortuyn set the tone for years of political debate on Muslim fundamentalism, migration, and their threat to Dutch values. As such, he placed gay and lesbian rights in the middle of the political debate and discourse in Dutch society. Evidently, in 2003 a survey showed that 50% of Dutch citizens consider Islam incompatible with Dutch Jewish-Christian and humanist tradition and feel the admission of immigrants has been the country's biggest mistake.[84] Moreover, Geert Wilders stepped in Fortuyn's footsteps and continued to advocate against the Islam and migration.[85]

[79] Dudink, "A Queer Nodal Point: Homosexuality in Dutch Debates on Islam and Multiculturalism," 11.
[80] "Opkomst en ondergang van de LPF."
[81] "Opkomst en ondergang van de LPF."
[82] "Opkomst en ondergang van de LPF."
[83] van der Veer, "Pim Fortuyn, Theo van Gogh, and the Politics of Tolerance in the Netherlands," 121.
[84] Mepschen, Duyvendak, and Tonkens, "Sexual Politics, Orientalism and Multicultural Citizenship in the Netherlands," 965
[85] Mepschen, Duyvendak, and Tonkens, 966

Chapter 2 | Literature Review: Theories of homonationalism

In this chapter, I will discuss the origins of and the debate surrounding homonationalism. By presenting these foundations, I will define the gap in the literature. While most literature on homonationalism is written by social and political scientists, historians have identified this gap and demonstrated the need for more historical awareness in social and political sciences. Furthermore, bringing together the main theoretical perspectives on homonationalism, I will establish a framework that structures and narrows my historical analysis. In short, I will discuss the foundations of homonationalism followed by the academic debate, research on homonationalism in the Netherlands, and my theoretical framework.

2.1 The foundation of homonationalism

Homonationalism originates from the words homonormativity and nationalism.[86] Duggan defines homonormativity as the (gay) community's willingness to live in the main stage of society and accept the norms of the majority so that they can live a 'normal' life and get access to heteronormative institutions (such as marriage).[87] In other words, LGBTQ people are allowed to be part of society as long as they assimilate to that society and do not try to change it. Consequently, 'gay politics', the lobbying for gay and lesbian equality, is redefined, to be more accepted by the mainstream society: 'gay politics' now follow and replicate heteronormative structures.[88] This homonormativity intersects with racism, sexism, and white privilege.[89] While communities that fit 'best' with society are accepted and satisfied, those on the periphery of society are excluded. Puar places this phenomenon in the context of nationalism. In doing so, she argues that stakeholders incorporate these homonormative values into their nationalist discourse to mobilize the society around the gay community to exclude or discriminate a minority.[90]

In other words, homonationalism is the deployment of gay rights in sexual politics to exclude and discriminate against minorities.[91] These minorities are presented as opposers to gay rights. Judith Butler described these 'sexual politics' as the phenomenon where radical and new sexual freedoms, such as gay marriage, are used to define the modern (European) state in opposition to the orthodox migrants.[92] Homonationalism, focusing on the discourse of gay rights

[86] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, 2.
[87] Duggan, "The New Homonormativity: The Sexual Politics of Neoliberalism," 179.
[88] Duggan, 179.
[89] Duggan, 180.
[90] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, 67.
[91] Puar, 2.
[92] Butler, "Sexual Politics, Torture, and Secular Time," 2.

in relation to the modern state, identity, and conservative minorities, can be categorized under this umbrella. Jasbir Puar first introduced the term homonationalism in 2007 in her book *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Puar analyzed a development of the nationalist and imperialist rhetoric in the United States and found that gay rights were incorporated into it at the beginning of the 21st century. She researched the transition of how queer subjects are relating to the nation-states, from being figures of death (AIDS epidemic) to being figures of productivity and life (i.e., gay marriage).[93] To understand this process, she introduced the term *homonationalism*: "a collusion between homosexuality and American nationalism that is generated both by national rhetoric of patriotic inclusion and by gay and queer subjects themselves."[94]

Puar defines three manifestations of homonationalism: sexual exceptionalism; queer as regulatory; and ascendancy to whiteness. The terms might appear vague, but point towards important mechanisms that support or even cause homonationalism. Firstly, sexual exceptionalism creates the ideal gay subject, that is integrated into the national identity. This gay subject has some (limited) space to transgress the heterosexual society, which was not allowed in the past.[95] At the same time, this gay subject's identity is diminished to solely his identity.[96] This means that if one is gay and Muslim, either that person is rejected because of their intersectionality or they have to give one of their identities up to be accepted. The result is an exceptional gay subject that is portrayed as uniform and thriving on the liberal and progressive norms and values of a country. Puar argues that homonationalism incorporates this sexual exceptionalism and places it opposite the "perverse, improperly hetero- and homo-Muslim sexualities."[97] Thus, Muslim sexuality is produced as a sort of masculine, muscular nationalism that opposes the sexual exceptionalism of the US homonationalism.[98] Secondly, 'queer as regulatory' is connected to this exceptionalism, as it creates an ideal transgression. Queerness is allowed, but only along the very narrow lines and stereotypes set by society.[99] It incorporates (white) heteronormative norms, values, and traditions that are based on secularity. Thus, the gay subject has a space to transgress in society but has to conform to the expected and narrow framework of transgression. Doing so contributes to the (racist) Islamo- and homophobic representations of migrants and Muslims.[100] They are not included in this

[93] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, xii.
[94] Puar, 39.
[95] Puar, 22.
[96] Puar, 22.
[97] Puar, xxiv.
[98] Puar, 91.
[99] Puar, 24.
[100] Puar, 14.

framework and are therefore not excepted. Regulating queerness is less about rights and more about codifying an ideal of western and European values.[101] Consequently, the binary distinction between the gay and Muslim subject is amplified. Thirdly, Puar defines 'ascendancy to whiteness' as a manifestation of homonationalism. Puar bases her definition of the ascendancy of whiteness on Rey Chow, who argued that homonormativity reproduces not only gender, sexual and kinship norms but also national, class, and racial ones.[102] As homonationalism grants some rights and benefits to a (specific) gay community, many white gays experience a return to the citizenry, which they previously lost due to their non-normative sexual identity.[103] This return to American citizenry is based on privileges of whiteness as (queer) people of color do not achieve such equal citizenship.[104] Furthermore, the construction of these new sexual, gender, and kinship norms in American citizenship cannot be separated from the national, classist, and racist impulses present in the discourse. Thus, 'ascendancy to whiteness' results from white gay subjects becoming party of the mainstream society, as they are accepted due to white racial, capital, and citizenship privilege. They do not only become part of this society, but also adapt to it. [105] Possible cross-class, sexuality, and race alliances are consequently weakened or even non-existent, thus weakening a broader LGBTQ alliance.[106] Following this definition, Puar argues that homonationalism creates a superior exclusive white subject and can have racial and Islamophobic tendencies.[107]

In summary, homonationalism comes from the words homonormativity and nationalism. It theorizes the use of gay rights to discriminate minorities. There are three mechanisms that support or even cause this: First, 'sexual exceptionalism', the portrayal of the ideal gay subject who is diminished to only his sexual identity and thrives on the progressive policies in a country. Second, 'queer as regulatory', the narrow framework of expected behavior and identity which determines if a gay subject is accepted into society or not. Finally, 'ascendancy to whiteness', when (white) gay subject become part of mainstream society due to socio-economic and racial privilege and adapt to its norms and values.

2.2 The academic debate

Homonationalism as a concept has been widely applied by social and political scientists.[108] However, it was also criticized and altered in the academic field. Four points of contention can

[101] Puar, 20.
[102] Puar, 128.
[103] Puar, 128.
[104] Puar, 128.
[105] Puar, 128.
[106] Puar, 128.
[107] Puar, 128.
[108] Greyser and Puar, "Academic and Activist Assemblages," 842.

be found in the debate. Firstly, the universal applicability of the concept has been debated. Secondly, the tension between homonationalism and intersectionality is analyzed by several authors. Thirdly, the historiography of homonationalism and therefore the historical approach has been left under analyzed. Finally, authors have used different approach to analyze parts of society.

Puar focused on the United States and introduced the concept of homonationalism.[109] However, in the literature, homonationalism is generally not perceived as an American phenomenon. Mikdashi argues that it extends beyond the US to the entire Western world, becoming 'homo-imperialism', meaning it is used to criticize and 'educate' less progressive countries on LGBTQ rights.[110] Also, she looks at the spread of gay rights and argues that non-western gays are not brainwashed by US imperial capital but influenced by the increasingly globalized neo-liberalist movement of people, discourses, and goods.[111] She defines Puar's argument as the process in which countries are judged by other states that already implemented a form of homonationalism and equal rights. These states see it as their civilizing mission to spread equal rights and homonationalism.[112] At the same time, Smith argues that the focus is too often on ways in which gay rights are exclusionary and not on the inequality the LGBTQ people deal with. She describes how reforms of Canadian criminal law, to expunge the last traces unequal age of consent for some forms of sexual activity (anal sex), was delayed due to homophobia and heterosexism.[113] According to Smith this shows that homosexuality and homophobia exist in the same legal space and that the fight for more equal treatment is hardly completed.[114] This challenge of gay inequality should not simply be dismissed as homonationalism, as it devalues the debate and struggles for equal rights. Zanghellini also warns that overusing or misusing the term can result in inappropriate rhetorical moves and inaccurate or unsubstantiated claims.[115] He claims this by discussing the outrage to a supposedly homonationalist event in London, which resulted in the cancelation of the event, and in the weakening of an LGBTQ organization.[116] The crux here is that the Muslim community accepted the event, but prominent academics and politicians did not due to what they considered to be the homonationalist and "racist" nature of the event. Adding on to this, Massad warns that even

[109] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, xvi.
[110] Mikdashi, "Gay Rights as Human Rights."
[111] Mikdashi.
[112] Schotten, "Homonationalism," 362; Gross, "The Politics of LGBT Rights," 104; Katherine Franke, "Dating the State," 44; Smith, "Homophobia and Homonationalism," 79.
[113] Smith, "Homophobia and Homonationalism," 68.
[114] Smith, 68.
[115] Zanghellini, "Are Gay Rights Islamophobic?"
[116] Zanghellini, 364.

though the understandings of sexuality are presumed to be universal, sexual discourses are divergent and time and place grounded. Consequently, understandings of sexuality are not universal but culturally based. Therefore it can be dangerous to apply it as a universal given, as it could lead to loss of liberty rather than gaining it.[117] Hartol and Sasson-Levy follow this logic and analyze different places to show a different perception of LGBTQ rights and nationalism founded in culture.[118] Richie supports this perspective but admits that due to the oversimplification of homonationalism, it has become more tenable, popular, and to an extent, universal.[119] Puar agrees with these notions, and in a joint article Puar and Mikdashi reformulate the term to specify the phenomenon. They redefine homonationalism as the process of determining one's fitness for statehood by assessing their treatment of mostly gay (and sometimes lesbian) people.[120] Additionally, they argue that homonationalism is a tendency of not just US homo-imperialism, but also the West that stems from western sexual exceptionalism present in its culture.[121] El-Tayeb underlines this argument. By analyzing the treatment of Muslims, she concludes that the Islam is considered incompatible with 'European values'.[122] Moreover, the clash between Muslims and gays is considered to be the perfect example in this incompatibility.[123] The reformulation of Puar and Mikdashi creates a more generalized and universally applicable framework for defining different forms of homonationalism. This new notion of nationalism that is intertwined with fitness for statehood outlines the tension between homonationalism and intersectionality.

Building on the concept of homonormativity, Puar and Duggan recognize that the discourse surrounding the LGBTQ community is often based on a single axis of identity rather than an intersectional one.[124] As a result, sexuality is the norm – especially homosexuality, other forms are less accepted - but other aspects of identity are forcefully excluded, such as race, gender, religion, or class.[125] This is also evident in research by Jivraj and Jong. They found that even when accepted mainstream gay movements 'tried' to support queer Muslim groups, there was an uneven power balance, no understanding of the complicated racial and socioeconomic background, and notions of homonationalism in their discourse.[126] In this rhetoric, one could not be Moroccan and gay, for example, because the Moroccan community was not 'out' about

[117] Massad, "Re-Orienting Desire," 363.
[118] Hartal and Sasson-Levy, "Re-Reading Homonationalism: An Israeli Spatial Perspective," 1396.
[119] Ritchie, "Pinkwashing, Homonationalism," 632.
[120] Puar and Makdashi, "Pinkwatching And Pinkwashing."
[121] Puar and Makdashi.
[122] El-Tayeb, "'Gays Who Cannot Properly Be Gay': Queer Muslims in the Neoliberal European City," 84.
[123] El-Tayeb, 84.
[124] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, 39.
[125] Puar, 39.
[126] Jivraj and de Jong, "The Dutch Homo-Emancipation Policy and Its Silencing Effects on Queer Muslims," 151.

it.[127] Aydemir supports this perspective. In his analysis on Queer Iranian refugees, he found that once they were sexualized as gay, they were accepted but consequently lost their cultural, ethnic, and religious identifications.[128] Adding to this, Wekker found that homosexuals and lesbians are still considered to be part of white ethnic communities solely.[129] This eluding of pluralism and intersectionality is one of the dangers of sexual politics, according to Butler.[130] Puar concludes that: "Homonationalism is sustained not only via privileged relations to capital but also through replicating discourses of nationalism and its attendant fantasies of racial harmony and gender normativity."[131] Therefore, the three mechanism that Puar defined – sexual exceptionalism, queer as regulatory, and ascendancy of whiteness - are present in the discourse of intersectionality. Homogenous mainstream groups are accepted and even celebrated, while other minorities are excluded from this privilege. Simultaneously, there is a loss of solidarity, where mainstream gay movements try to support queer Muslim movements but, in reality, weaken their momentum and autonomy.

There are different approaches in the timeframe through which homonationalism is analyzed. Many social and political scientists focus on the definition and theoretical background of homonationalism and use historical events as example. Consequently, little research has been done on the foundations of homonationalism in societies and its historical development. Therefore, an historical perspective and analysis of the historiography of homonationalism and a appears needed. Butler claims that the way society perceives sexuality is dependent on time and location and it is essential to analyze sexual politics in 'the now'; the current context and zeitgeist.[132] Furthermore, she argues there can be no analysis of current sexual politics without analyzing 'the now'.[133] In other words, context matters. Bracke supports this by using the example of 'the Orient'; this was once seen as barbaric for its openness to homosexuality and now 'the West' is considered modern for the exact same reason.[134] Zanghellini agrees and adds that the current theoretical focus can lead to the projection of structural undercurrents of racism onto events or texts instead of analyzing the roots of such structures.[135] Thus, current research exhibits homonationalism in its present form but does not explain its occurrence. Ritchie agrees with this perspective and argues that homonationalism began with an argument about the

[127] Jivraj and de Jong, 151.
[128] Boehmer and Mul, *The Postcolonial Low Countries: Literature, Colonialism, and Multiculturalism*, 150.
[129] Wekker, "Van Homo Nostalgie En Betere Tijden : Homoseksualiteit En Postkolonialiteit," 9.
[130] Butler, "Sexual Politics, Torture, and Secular Time," 2.
[131] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, 67.
[132] Butler, "Sexual Politics, Torture, and Secular Time," 2; Bracke, "From 'Saving Women' to 'Saving Gays': Rescue Narratives and Their Dis/Continuities," 249.
[133] Butler, "Sexual Politics, Torture, and Secular Time," 2.
[134] Bracke, "From 'Saving Women' to 'Saving Gays': Rescue Narratives and Their Dis/Continuities," 249.
[135] Zanghellini, "Are Gay Rights Islamophobic?," 357.

incorporation of gay subject by the neoliberal nation-state but has turned into a totalizing framework that depends on a dangerously simplistic construction of reality.[136] Puar discusses the ideological roots of homonationalism in the United States and how those led to an outburst of homonationalism after 9/11. However, the popularization of homonationalism in societies (such as the Netherlands) and the roots of the discourse are often left unanalyzed in the academic debate. The focus goes to a singular homonationalist event rather than the homonationalist discourse that develops in the wider society. Puar defends this analysis method by stating that these 'flashpoints' in history show a fundamental change in society.[137] Thus, we see that the focus in her work and the research that followed has been steered to national crises or radical historical events. Consequently, the more subtle underlying development of homonationalism in specific communities has largely remained unanalyzed. Though authors criticize the simplistic analyses of homonationalism and the lack of research on its foundations, they do not provide their analysis of the origins of homonationalism.[138] Historians on the other hand, have researched the politicization of LGBTQ rights and values from a homonormative perspective but have not connected with homonationalism.[139]

This also shows the gap between social and political sciences and history. Whereas history allows for more historical and contextual analysis and analyze the origins and development of phenomenon, it is often less focused and detailed on one specific aspect. Social and political sciences allow for the theorizing of a development but do often not analyze its historical origins and development. An exception to this are historians such as Bram Mellink, and to some extent Andrew Shield, who lay the connected with the origins of homonationalism supposed sexual revolution in the 20th century.[140] Although Mellink was the only author that specifically based his framework on homonationalism, he argues that there is a lack of historical analysis of homonationalism and its origins. By analyzing the educational reforms between 1980 and 1990, he found that gay subjects were given a chance to emancipate themselves; (Muslim) migrants were told how to 'emancipate' and later integrate into Dutch society.[141] Mellink concludes that the dichotomy of the emancipated, modern gay, and the

[136] Ritchie, "Pinkwashing, Homonationalism," 621.
[137] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, xviii.
[138] Zanghellini, "Are Gay Rights Islamophobic?"; Smith, "Homophobia and Homonationalism"; Bracke, "From 'Saving Women' to 'Saving Gays': Rescue Narratives and Their Dis/Continuities"; Ritchie, "Pinkwashing, Homonationalism."
[139] See for example Dudink, "A Queer Nodal Point: Homosexuality in Dutch Debates on Islam and Multiculturalism"; Hekma and Duyvendak, "Queer Netherlands: A Puzzling Example"; Duyvendak, "The Depoliticization of the Dutch Gay Identity, or Why Dutch Gays Aren't Queer"; Mepschen, Duyvendak, and Tonkens, "Sexual Politics, Orientalism and Multicultural Citizenship in the Netherlands"; Seidman, "From Identity to Queer Politics: Shifts in Normative Heterosexuality and the Meaning of Citizenship."
[140] Mellink, "De Emancipatiemonitor"; Shield, *Immigrants in the Sexual Revolution : Perceptions and Participation in Northwest Europe*.
[141] Mellink, "De Emancipatiemonitor," 81.

unemancipated/integrated conservative Muslim is at the center of Dutch homonationalism.[142] Finally, he argues that further research in the historiography and development of homonationalism (after 1990) is required to analyze the deeper roots of Dutch homonationalism.[143] By providing an explicit historical account of homonationalism he was able to analyze its origins and development. Thus, Mellink forms an example of combining history and political sciences to both contribute to the academic literature on both the theoretical development as well the historical development of homonationalism.

In short, there are three points of contention in the academic debate. Firstly, the universal applicability of homonationalism. Due to a simple definition, it is a universally applicable concept. However, it can also lead to wrong generalizations and misunderstandings that are in the way of emancipation. Secondly, academics debate about the tension between homonationalism and intersectionality. In this debate, the mechanism of homonationalism - sexual exceptionalism, the ideal gay subject that is integrated into the national identity; queer as regulatory, the framework which determines whether the gay subject will be accepted; and ascendancy to whiteness, when the gay subject becomes part of the heteronormative society and adapts to it - are visible. Most authors agree that the lack of understanding and representation of intersectionality in the discourse is central in homonationalism. Finally, there is a discussion in the literature on the historiography of homonationalism because most authors choose a non-linear approach to homonationalism without analyzing the origins and the complexity of context.

2.3 Dutch homonationalism

The Netherlands has been prominently framed in the homonationalist discourse throughout the academic debate. Beginning with Puar in her foundational work, where she argued that the Netherlands was an example of sexual exceptionalism at the core of national identity.[144] Therefore, it is no surprise that much has been written on Dutch homonationalism. Most research has been conducted on the theoretical development of homonationalism since 2000.[145] With the legalization of gay marriage and the popularization and assassination of gay populist politician Pim Fortuyn, this evidently is an interesting period for analysis. However, some works on Dutch homonationalism in the 20th century are also of importance to this research.[146]

[142] Mellink, 86.
[143] Mellink, 87.
[144] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, 11.
[145] Mellink, "De Emancipatiemonitor," 65.
[146] Mellink, "De Emancipatiemonitor"; Shield, *Immigrants in the Sexual Revolution : Perceptions and Participation in Northwest Europe*.

There are roughly three directions in the literature: the timeframe, the case studies, and intersectionality.

Firstly, Dutch homonationalism has been analyzed through several timeframes. Andrew Shield and Bram Mellink both focused on the twentieth century. The former analyzed the sexual revolution (with reference to present homonationalism) from 1960 to 1980.[147] The latter analyzed the foundations of Dutch homonationalism between 1980-1990, criticizing the lack of research on the origins of homonationalism.[148] However, most research has been done on the period during and after the political career of Pim Fortuyn. Aydemir, for example, focused on the discourse surrounding 'Moroccan boys' between 2001 and 2007, and Verloo analyzed homonationalism in populist right-wing parties in the Netherlands, like the PVV starting from 2007.[149] Furthermore, Beekers conducted fieldwork in religious communities between 2009 and 2012, and Quinan and Theeuwis focus on the discourse surrounding refugees between 2014 and 2018.[150] In light of these timeframes, it is evident that research on Dutch homonationalism between 1990-2002 is lacking. Yet, much research has been done on homonormativity at the end of the 20th century.[151] In their analysis, Schuyf and Krauwel found that Dutch gay and lesbian movements had accommodated themselves more to the political parameters of political, cultural, and power 'balance' between 1990-2000.[152] In other words, the authors found that gay movements and rights were politicized. Even so, this does not fill the gap on homonationalist historiography but does indicate the value of using this timeframe. Considering the above-mentioned academic works, it is evident that Dutch homonationalism has remained under-analyzed in the period 1990-2001. Thus, a reflection on the historiography of homonationalism is required.

Secondly, academics have chosen different case studies to analyze homonationalism in the Netherlands. Following the broader academic debate, it is evident that homonationalism can be reproduced and stimulated on both the political and governmental levels of society as well as the people and gay subjects themselves. Mellink analyzes how decision-making in education

147 Shield, *Immigrants in the Sexual Revolution : Perceptions and Participation in Northwest Europe*.
148 Mellink, "De Emancipatiemonitor."
149 Aydemir, "Dutch Homonationalism and Intersectionality"; Verloo, "Gender Knowledge, and Opposition to the Feminist Project: Extreme-Right Populist Parties in the Netherlands."
150 Beekers, "Vroomheid En Seksualiteit: Geleefde Waarden Onder Jonge Moslims En Christenen in Nederland"; Quinan and Theewis, "The Politics of Vulnerability and Protection: Analysing the Case of LGBT Asylum Seekers in the Netherlands in Light of Securitization and Homonationalist Discourses."
151 See for example Dudink, "A Queer Nodal Point: Homosexuality in Dutch Debates on Islam and Multiculturalism"; Hekma and Duyvendak, "Queer Netherlands: A Puzzling Example"; Hekma and Duyvendak; Mepschen, Duyvendak, and Tonkens, "Sexual Politics, Orientalism and Multicultural Citizenship in the Netherlands"; Seidman, "From Identity to Queer Politics: Shifts in Normative Heterosexuality and the Meaning of Citizenship."
152 Schuyf and Krouwel, "The Dutch Lesbian and Gay Movement: The Politics of Accommodation," 61.

influenced norms and values in society.[153] Moreover, Verloo researched homonationalist rhetoric and its goals in the right-wing political parties.[154] However, authors like Mepshen and Duyvendak have analyzed both approaches of how homonationalism is constructed by organizations, political parties, and governments but at the same time reproduced and sometimes even stimulated by gay organizations.[155] Following the logic of Puar that homonationalist discourses are often founded in the top and later on reproduced by gay communities themselves, this is understandable.[156] Wekker argues that the reproduction of homonationalist discourse in LGBTQ societies is based on a sense of imperial nostalgia and nostalgia when there were no or fewer Muslims in the country.[157] Interestingly enough, homonationalism from a purely gay perspective has rarely been researched.

Finally, Dutch homonationalism has been researched in all corners of Dutch society. As mentioned before, authors have analyzed educational policies, migrants, and gay subjects themselves.[158] When we look at other research, we see that all homonationalist rhetoric has been incited mainly by government or political organizations.[159] One of the most prevalent forms of homonationalism is the tension with intersectionality. Wekker, for example, states that acceptance of LGBTQ communities is intrinsically connected to ethnicity, gender, class, and sexuality.[160] Furthermore, after 60 years of migration, homosexuals and lesbians are still considered only to be part of the white ethnic community in the Netherlands.[161] As previously mentioned, Aydemir also found that migrants in the Netherlands are defined by either their sexuality or ethnic and religious background, showing a lack of understanding of intersectionality.[162] Moreover, Jivraj and Jong found that queer Muslims could not organize themselves due to mainstream gay organizations such as the COC advising them and controlling their budgets.[163] Hence, organizations failed to advocate for intersectionality, and after 60 years of migration, intersectionality is still unacknowledged in the homonationalist discourse in the

[153] Mellink, "De Emancipatiemonitor."
[154] Verloo, "Gender Knowledge, and Opposition to the Feminist Project: Extreme-Right Populist Parties in the Netherlands."
[155] Mepschen, Duyvendak, and Tonkens, "Sexual Politics, Orientalism and Multicultural Citizenship in the Netherlands"; Mepschen, Duyvendak, and Tonkens.
[156] Puar and Makdashi, "Pinkwatching And Pinkwashing," March 18, 2020.
[157] Wekker, "Van Homo Nostalgie En Betere Tijden : Homoseksualiteit En Postkolonialiteit," 9.
[158] Mellink, "De Emancipatiemonitor"; Verloo, "Gender Knowledge, and Opposition to the Feminist Project: Extreme-Right Populist Parties in the Netherlands."
[159] Beekers, "Vroomheid En Seksualiteit: Geleefde Waarden Onder Jonge Moslims En Christenen in Nederland"; Aydemir, "Dutch Homonationalism and Intersectionality"; Mepschen, Duyvendak, and Tonkens, "Sexual Politics, Orientalism and Multicultural Citizenship in the Netherlands"; Quinan and Theewis, "The Politics of Vulnerability and Protection: Analysing the Case of LGBT Asylum Seekers in the Netherlands in Light of Securitization and Homonationalist Discourses."
[160] Wekker, "Van Homo Nostalgie En Betere Tijden : Homoseksualiteit En Postkolonialiteit," 8.
[161] Wekker, 9.
[162] Aydemir, "Dutch Homonationalism and Intersectionality," 150.
[163] Jivraj and de Jong, "The Dutch Homo-Emancipation Policy and Its Silencing Effects on Queer Muslims," 151.

Netherlands.[164] As a result of this the tension between intersectionality and homonationalism is still evident today.

Analyzing the academic literature on Dutch homonationalism, I find similar gaps as in the broader literature. While parts of the origins of homonationalism are analyzed in the Dutch context, there are still periods that require further research. Furthermore, the top-down influence of homonationalism has been dominant in the research. Though its importance as the inciter of the discourse is evident in the literature, a deeper analysis of how homonationalism is reproduced and develops in gay communities can enrich the debate. Finally, in research on Dutch homonationalism, it is clear that intersectionality is incompatible with homonationalism and should be considered in further analysis.

2.4 The theoretical framework

This framework is based on the social and political scientific debate. However, it analyzes a historical development that contributes to the historical debate as well. Consequently, it allows for reflections on the theoretical debate as well as the potential of this theory to be analyzed from a historical perspective. Firstly, the manifestations defined by Puar – sexual exceptionalism, queer as regulatory, and ascendancy to whiteness – will be at the foundation of the analysis. However, I will expand on how I understand them in the context of the renewed definition by Puar and Mikdashi as well as the wider academic debate. Secondly, I discuss the role of intersectionality and place it at the core of homonationalism. Thirdly, I find that homonationalism has rarely been analyzed in gay communities. Finally, this thesis will analyze the gap identified by many authors in the field: historiography.

Firstly, the manifestation of homonationalism, sexual exceptionalism requires broadening. Puar defines sexual exceptionalism as the creation of an exceptional queer subject that loses all other identities.[165] In the academic debate the locality of homonationalism was discussed. I agree with the given criticism that homonationalism is not only a US phenomenon but also prevalent in many western countries, like the Netherlands. By providing an analysis of homonationalism in the Netherlands, this thesis will demonstrate the ubiquity and applicability of homonationalism. In doing so, I support the refined definition of Puar and Mikdashi. However, Mikdashi argues that homonationalism translates to homo imperialism, meaning an exceptional emancipated country or region criticizes and educates less progressive countries on gay rights.[166] As homo imperialism is another outcome and manifestation of homonationalism,

[164] Wekker, "Van Homo Nostalgie En Betere Tijden : Homoseksualiteit En Postkolonialiteit," 9.
[165] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, 22.
[166] Mikdashi, "Gay Rights as Human Rights."

it requires a place in the theoretical framework. Therefore, I include this phenomenon in the manifestation of sexual exceptionalism and redefine it as the creation of the exceptional queer subject that loses all other identities and the exceptional country or region in the nationalist rhetoric. Additionally, the manifestation of homonationalism, queer as regulatory needs some clarification. Puar argues that queer as regulatory created a narrow framework of expected and accepted behavior and stereotypes, however behavior outside this framework is rejected.[167] I agree, with this definition, but would like to emphasize the presence of homonormativity - the willingness of homosexuals to adapt to the hetero society and its institutions - in this definition. [168] Homosexuals are expected to adapt to heteronormative society and thus conforming to heteronormative institutions, such as marriage, contributed to the homonationalist discourse. Thirdly, the manifestation of homonationalism, ascendancy to whiteness is generally accepted in this framework. Puar defines it as requires augmentation as well. Puar defines ascendancy to whiteness as the (white) gay subject becoming part of mainstream society due to socio-economic and racial privilege and adapt to its norms and values and consequently alienating and even criticizing other minorities.[169] However, I believe this process of alienating from some groups can even begin before part of the gay community is integrated into the mainstream society. Puar argues that the gay community loses solidarity and criticize other minorities to further their own emancipation and be accepted by wider society. This phenomenon could arguably also be used throughout the emancipation process. This will be considered in the analysis as well. Overall, I use Puar's manifestations as foundations for my analysis, which, with small adjustments, can be considered applicable to the Netherlands as well.

Second, the academic literature on intersectionality is important as it shows that homonationalism includes a lack of intersectional perspectives. The manifestations set out by Puar - sexual exceptionalism, queer as regulatory, and ascendancy to whiteness - all lead to the dismissal of intersectionality in the homonationalist discourse. Due to sexual exceptionalism, one uniform exceptional gay is integrated into the national identity, but other identities are excluded. Queer as regulatory allows gay people in mainstream society, but only along narrowly constructed lines based on stereotypes and generalizations. Finally, the ascendancy to whiteness results in a discourse where white gay people are accepted into society and adapt to

[167] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, 24.
[168] Duggan, "The New Homonormativity: The Sexual Politics of Neoliberalism," 179.
[169] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, 128.

its norms and values, thus losing solidarity with the broader LGBTQ alliance that includes people of color and religious minorities.

Thirdly, I find that many communities and parts of society are selected as case studies for the analysis of homonationalism. However, gay communities themselves are rarely analyzed. Mellink, for example, chose educational policies on homo and Muslim emancipation.[170] Consequently, the role of gay communities themselves in the homonationalist discourse have remained unanalyzed. In this thesis, I will analyze homonationalism in gay media. In doing so, I intend to shed a light on the development of homonationalism in gay communities and connect this to the outbreak of homonationalism with Pim Fortuyn.

Finally, this thesis has its foundations in the criticism of the historiography of homonationalism. The social and political scientific perspective on homonationalism has resulted in a strong theoretical foundation, however it does not consider the historical development and the context and explanation history can give to the outbreaks or 'snapshots' of homonationalism. I do not consider the 'snapshot' history satisfactory as it leaves out the fundamental origins of homonationalism and the build-up to its climax. Thus there is a need for a historical approach in the academic debate. The Netherlands provides an excellent case study for this research. Dutch homonationalism has been widely analyzed after the climax of the debate by Pim Fortuyn in 2001. However, historian Bram Mellink has provided the first insight into the foundations of Dutch homonationalism and argues further research is required for the years after 1990. Therefore, this year will be taken as the starting point for the analysis. By analyzing homonationalism between 1990-2002, I will close the gap between the origins and the climax. This, in turn, can contribute to a fuller historical and theoretical understanding of Dutch homonationalism.

Chapter 3 | Methods

In this chapter, I will explain the research design of this thesis. I apply a historical approach to homonationalism. However, it does build on theoretical findings to guide the analysis. Social scientists have methodized history writing in several ways. To situate this thesis in the methodological debate, I will first analyze the approach Puar took to history in her work and enrich it that by including path dependency. Furthermore, I will set out the data and analytical

[170] Mellink, "De Emancipatiemonitor," 66.

methods that I require for my research. I intend to use gay magazines to investigate the themes and presence of homonationalism in gay communities.

3.1 Historiography

How history and social sciences relate to each other has been debated by many social scientists as well as historians. Generally, there is little cross-discipline comparison of historiographical approaches.[171] While social scientists from different fields analyze the historiography of a phenomenon, there is little awareness for the wider historical context in the past. Today, social and political sciences are more open oriented, but remain more focused on the present or recent history and major events in it.[172] This narrow focus works well for theorizing developments, however it arguably does not allow for in depth analysis of how it developed and what the origins were. This is also evident in the historiography of homonationalism. By enriching the approach to history, I advocate for the importance of historical awareness and context in social science research.

In her work, Puar set the tone for the analysis of homonationalism. Using the works of Nilüfer Göle and David Kazanjian, she rejects the traditional linear approach to history, instead choosing to analyze 'snapshots' and 'flashpoints.'[173] Göle argues that the snapshot "encompasses the temporalities of the instant and the image, of fast-forwarding, rewinding, and shuttering, rather than being strictly anchored to the past, present, and future."[174] Kazanjian redefines Walter Benjamin's term *aufblitz*, or 'flashpoint', as "a process in which someone or something emerges or bursts into action or being, not out of nothing, but transformed from one form to another; and refers to the powerful effects of that transformation or emergence."[175] Using these concepts as the foundation of her research, Puar emphasizes the radical occurrence of homonationalism, analyzes specific events, and creates a narrative and discourse from their analysis.

This method is comparable to 'process analysis,' which pays particular attention to the sequencing of events that take place within cases.[176] In this method, events form the core of the analysis and capture several moments to build a narrative. Therefore, the analysis is not focused on building a linear historical narrative but on understanding how the events relate to each other. Thus, this approach analyzes, for example, jolts – transient shocks that can disrupt a field or

[171] Backhouse and Fontaine, *A Historiography of the Modern Social Sciences*, 16.
[172] Backhouse and Fontaine, 230.
[173] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, xviii.
[174] Puar, xviii.
[175] Kazanjian, *The Colonizing Trick: National Culture and Imperial Citizenship in Early America*, 27.
[176] Welch and Paavilainen-Mäntymäki, "Putting Process (Back)," 13.

discourse – comparable to the flashpoints Puar used in her analysis.[177] It has the potential to analyze the effects of (geographical) context and time.[178] This allowed Puar to define three manifestations of homonationalism throughout the rhetoric in the US.[179]

However, some risks come with this method. Historian Brad Gregory found that there can be inherent "assumptions about historical periodization where mere temporal succession is insufficiently distinguished from historical explanation."[180] Thus, while 'process analysis' can provide insights into the discourse over a specific time, it does not consider the origins. Mohany finds that careful analysis of relevant data before these events can help to identify reactive sequences "whereby an initial outcome triggers a chain of temporally ordered and causally connected events that lead to a final outcome of interest."[181] Thus, to understand the causes of outbursts of homonationalism, one must analyze its origins and how those developed into radical events. Page considers path dependency – when events or decisions made are dependent on decisions and experiences in the past – essential in this regard.[182] In order to analyze this, Page argues that behavioral routines, social connections, or cognitive structures around the institution should be analyzed.[183] Considering these mechanisms in my research allows me to understand better the processes that can reproduce or stimulate homonationalist discourse. Furthermore, Jackson and Kollman argue the focus should be on how the initial developments were maintained over time and were present in the events that followed.[184] Essential in this scope is the periodicity – the beginning and endpoint of the data collection and investigation – as this can lead to incomplete conclusions and deceptive explanations.[185]

Considering the approach mentioned above to historiography, it is evident that Puar took a 'process research' approach in her first works, building a discourse and identifying its manifestations. She provided a foundation for further research into homonationalism. As many authors have argued, more research is required on the origins of homonationalism. By placing path dependency at the foundations of this research, I hope to provide new insights into the development of homonationalism. While it is beyond the scope of this research to conduct an in-depth analysis of path dependency and homonationalism, it provides a preliminary analysis and data for a more advanced analysis.

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[177] Meyer, Gaba, and Colwell, "Organizing Far from Equilibrium: Nonlinear Change in Organizational Fields," 457; Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, xviii.
[178] Welch and Paavilainen-Mäntymäki, "Putting Process (Back)," 15.
[179] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, 22.
[180] Gregory, *The Unintended Reformation How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society*, 9.
[181] Mahoney, "Comparative-Historical Methodology," 91.
[182] Page, "Path Dependence," 87.
[183] Page, 89.
[184] Jackson and Kollman, "A Formulation of Path Dependence with an Empirical Example," 280.
[185] Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle Wealth*, xxii.

3.2 Case selection

The Netherlands has been selected as a case study for this research. It provides a unique insight into the development of gay and lesbian emancipation and a solid academic foundation in the analysis of homonationalism. In order to analyze homonationalism and place it in the context of path dependency, there are two main requirements for the case study. Firstly, the case study should be a country that considers gay and lesbian rights as one of its core values so that tendencies of homonationalism can be analyzed. The Netherlands is a unique case when it comes to gay rights and acceptance. As explained in chapter one, the Netherlands underwent a transformation in the second half of the 20th century. In a few decades, the country went from a highly conservative religious country to one of the most progressive countries globally. Gay and lesbian emancipation progressed radically within one generation. Furthermore, Pim Fortuyn, who used these newly found Dutch values in his critique of migrants and specifically Islam, is considered one of the first politicians to use homonationalism.[186] The Netherlands therefore provides a good case study for analyzing homonationalism as tendencies of this discourse are present in society. Secondly, providing a foundation of path dependence analysis requires existing research on developments before and after my timeframe. Therefore, I require a periodicity that falls in a gap between two periods that have been researched. As was discussed in the previous chapter, most research has been done on Pim Fortuyn and his legacy, beginning in 2001. Mellink has analyzed the origins of homonationalism in education from 1980-2001.[187] Therefore, a crucial period for the development of homonationalism has remained unanalyzed from its origins to its outburst in 2001 and 2002. By analyzing the progress of the discourse in this period, I complete the timeline of Dutch homonationalism. Thus, I will analyze homonationalism in the Netherlands in the period 1990-2001. While there are indications of homonationalist rhetoric in this period, little research has been done. Simultaneously, my analysis will bridge to time frames in the existing literature, allowing further analysis of path dependency of homonationalism.

3.3 Data collection

To analyze this development in society, I will look at homonationalism in gay communities. The analysis of the gay communities is based on a thematic analysis of gay magazines, as they were an important way for the gay community to communicate with each other and initiate

[186] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, 11; Olivieri and Leurs, *Everyday Feminist Research Praxis*, 26.
[187] Mellink, "De Emancipatiemonitor."

change in the 20th century.[188] Furthermore, magazines gave the gay community a space to express their opinions and identity, making it a legitimate source for analyzing the discourse in the gay community.[189] Previously, I intended to analyze four of the most prominent Dutch gay magazines: *Gay Krant, Homologie, Sek/XL,* and *Expreszo.* While this research set out to analyze these magazines, the Covid-19 crisis has forced a narrower analysis. Due to the closing of libraries and the lack of accessibility of sources outside of them, I have chosen to base my analysis primarily on the *Gay Krant*. The *Gay Krant* is the largest LGBTQ magazine in the Netherlands and Belgium and intends to contribute to LGBTQ emancipation.[190] The *Gay Krant* was published biweekly with an extra 'pink Saturday' edition. While the magazine mostly covers lifestyle, dating, and creative content, it also always has several pages dedicated to politics, religion, gay rights, and opinion pieces. From the approximately 45 pages per magazine (70 pages from 1998 when the format became smaller), there are at least 10 pages dedicated to social-cultural developments. The *Gay Krant* is specifically tailored to the more mainstream (white) gay male audience. As homonationalist rhetoric is also more focused on the white gay male, I expect to find more interaction with this discourse in this source. For this research I have drawn upon the archives of the *Royal Library* [*Koninklijke Bibliotheek*], which has the most comprehensive collection of the *Gay Krant*. In total, 192 editions, more than 10.000 pages of articles, opinion pieces, and advertisements, of the *Gay Krant* were included in the analysis. This means that not all editions of the *Gay Krant* between 1990-2002 were analyzed. The years 1990, 1991, 1996, 1999, and 2001 are incomplete. While this is only a marginal part of the data it should be taken into consideration when presenting the findings and discussion. From these sources, 146 articles were selected for closer analysis.

3.4 Source analysis

For the analysis, I will use a thematic analysis. While historians might consider this method a given in history writing, it is important to emphasize this approach from a social science perspective. It allows me to analyze how homonationalism developed as well as find themes and frames that can contribute to a richer theoretical understanding of homonationalism. Using this approach, I intend to analyze the sources based on the themes and frames that can refer to homonationalism.

[188] Calder, *Pink Ink: The Golden Era for Gay and Lesbian Magazines*, xii.
[189] Calder, xii.
[190] "Over Gaykrant."

Thematic analysis is a qualitative research method that can be widely applied across various epistemologies and research questions.[191] It is used to identify, analyze, organize, describe, and report themes found within the data set.[192] The method is known for its flexibility, which is considered both its strength and weakness. On the one hand, it allows for more reflexivity on new perspectives; on the other hand, it can lead to inconsistency and lack of coherence when developing the themes from the data.[193] Generally, the researchers have to go through several phases to identify the overlaying themes, as is laid out in the table below.[194]

Table 1: Structure of Thematic Analysis[195]

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

[191] Nowell et al., "Thematic Analysis: Striving to Meet the Trustworthiness Criteria," 2.
[192] Nowell et al., 2.
[193] Nowell et al., 2.
[194] Nowell et al., 4.
[195] Information retrieved from Nowell et al., 4.

While the analysis follows this structure, it does build on the three manifestations that Puar identified: sexual exceptionalism, queer as regulatory, and ascendancy to whiteness, as was explained in the previous chapters. I recognize that the terminology used for these manifestations is ahistorical, however I have accepted these concepts because they are considered important indicators of homonationalism, by for example Puar.[196] Therefore, I consider these manifestations as overlaying themes of homonationalism, precisely because they are considered indications of homonationalism by scholarly works. This does not mean there is no option for including more themes, but after the initial coding, these manifestations and their applicability were considered first. In doing so, theme selection has become less flexible and more guided. While my coding process will remain flexible, there is a potential risk of wrongly assigning some codes to the themes. This can be compensated by constant reflexiveness on coding and themes but should be mentioned as a potential weakness of this approach.

To limit this weakness, I have conducted a series of initial coding to determine the appropriate codes and reflect on the themes. For this initial analysis I have used ten magazines from each year (except 1996). The codes are determined based on the academic debate and the coded articles. This has led me to expand my coding and themes. Throughout the analyzed articles there were several instances when articles actually opposed homonationalist rhetoric. While my original coding scheme did not include codes and themes that challenged homonationalism, I have included it in my final coding scheme. In doing so, this analysis responds to the critique by Zanghellini who warns that overusing or misusing the term can result in inappropriate rhetorical moves and inaccurate or unsubstantiated claims.[197] These codes and themes can contribute to a wider understanding of how homonationalism has developed, but was also challenged, in the gay media and community. Further explanation and justification for the codes and themes can be found in Appendix A: Coding Table and Appendix B: Codes & Themes.

[196] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, 2.
[197] Zanghellini, "Are Gay Rights Islamophobic?"

Chapter 4 | Findings

As stated before, the archives of the *Royal Library* [*Konklijke Bibliotheek]* do not include all editions. In order to compensate for these gaps, I have divided the findings in two periods of time: From 1990 to 1995 and from 1997 to 2002. These periods show a consistent discourse. Further analysis is based on the assumption that if homonationalist discourse was present in the gaps, a build-up or remnants of the discourse should be present in the editions before and after the gaps. This is in line with previously established argument of path-dependence which considers that events are dependent on events in the past. The previously introduced themes and codes are discussed for each period. Further explanation of the codes and themes can be found in Appendix A and B. The full overview of selected articles and coding can be found in Appendix C and D.

Before I discuss the findings of the analysis several observations should be made. Throughout the coding process it became clear that in some cases themes that belong to homonationalism as well as challenging homonationalism are present in the same article. When this occurred, the overall discourse was considered to determine what was more prevalent in the article. Moreover, it is important to realize that the coding gives an indication that elements of homonationalism, or elements that challenge homonationalism are present in the article. It does not mean that the article is completely homonationalist or only challenges homonationalism.

4.1 1990-1995 Discovering multiculturalism

Between 1990 1995 the gay emancipation movement was becoming more influential. The analysis shows that attention for minorities was consistently increasing throughout this period.[198] Especially, religion and migrants were central in the discourse. Even so, this did not lead to an increase of homonationalism, but rather fueled a discourse that defended and advocated for minorities. Thus, homonationalism was mostly challenged in the *Gay Krant* in the period 1990-1995.

4.1.1 Homonationalism

In the period 1990-1994 homonationalist discourse in the *Gay Krant* has been limited. Even so, sexual exceptionalism and ascendancy to whiteness were found in several articles. Queer as

[198] For an overview of the coding data see: Appendix C: Coding Data

regulatory was less prevalent in this period. While all themes and accompanying codes were found, homonationalism was seldom dominant.

The first signs of sexual exceptionalism are present in several articles. This is predominantly due to the idea of national and regional exceptionalism. In 1990 and 1991 this sexual exceptionalism is more subtle and is mostly presented in comparison with countries that still criminalize homosexuality.[199] In 1992 and 1993 this exceptionalism is becoming more clear and outspoken, though in quantity there is no large increase. For example, one article states that: "Our country [The Netherlands] fulfills a guiding role regarding gays and lesbians"[200] Possibly even more clear is the article on how Amsterdam is becoming the gay capital of Europe.[201] In the following years these forms of exceptionalism continued.[202] In these cases it was often a foreigner who compares his country to the Netherlands such as the Italian activist Franco Grillini, who argues the Netherlands and Italy are as day and night regarding homosexuality.[203] Apart from the national and regional exceptionality, sexual exceptionalism is rare between 1990 and 1995. Sexuality as primary identity has only been found once in this period. A reader of the *Gay Krant* argued in an opinion piece that one cannot be gay and believe in the god of the bible and those who do are "… disloyal. Disloyal to the church, to those who died horrible death for gay rights, and disloyal to yourself. It is time to end put an end to the largest holocaust humanity has ever seen: the nonsensical faith."[204] Thus clearly advocating that homosexuality and religion are incompatible.

The theme of Queer as regulatory has rarely been found in this period. When it was found it often related to homosexual migrants or refugees who were afraid to come out for their sexuality.[205] One reader for instance argues: "Let me be clear, I believe that refugees who, because of their sexuality request asylum in the Netherlands, should be given a fair chance to stay. But, I also believe that they should not lie about their sexuality. After all, if they think homosexuality is also not fully accepted in the Netherland, what good would it do to flee from one bad situation to the other?" This quote shows that there is little understanding for how refugees behave and experiences they have gone through. There is only an expectation to be open about your sexuality as that is the expected behavior in this case. In addition, the *Gay*

[199] "Amnesty erkent homo's als gewetensgevangenen," *Gay Krant*, September 21, 1991; "Ik probeer iets omver te werpen. Dat vind ik opwindend," *Gay Krant*, September 21, 1991.
[200] "Mooie woorden, nu de daden nog," *Gay Krant*, May 15, 1993.
[201] "Homo-hoofdstad Amsterdam wordt nu nog aantrekkelijker," *Gay Krant*, May 9, 1992.
[202] "Ik roep iedereen op te protesteren," *Gay Krant*, July 9, 1994; "Er ligt een gigantische taakstelling op ons bordje," *Gay Krant*, December 10, 1994; "Turkse jongen in vaderland mishandeld door politie," *Gay Krant*, September 29, 1995; "Les Nederlandse tolerantie niet verplicht," *Gay Krant*, December 22, 1995.
[203] "Ik roep iedereen op te protesteren." *Gay Krant*, July 9, 1994
[204] "Homo zijn en geloven in de God van de Bijbel is onmogelijk," *Gay Krant*, February 18, 1995.
[205] "Vluchtelingen," *Gay Krant*, October 19, 1991; "Turkse homo's," *Gay Krant*, February 5, 1994.

Krant published an interview with Janmaat, the party leader of a far right-party.[206] He states that: "Acceptance, seems to me, is more fostered when you behave like other people behave. A Pink Saturday is also not helpful. The 'being different' is too much emphasized. You need accept that in that case people reject you because they find it weird. You then provoke a counter-reaction."[207] The *Gay Krant* presents the interview as an opportunity to learn how Janmaat thinks about homosexuals. However, as his answers are not challenged the question remains what the readers should learn from this. Finally, expected behavior and stereotypes are more subtly reproduced as well. For example, through emphasizing the public opinion regarding gay marriage, homonormativity is enforced.[208] Moreover, in a readers survey of the *Gay Krant*, readers were asked about their religion. Islam, however, was not included which signals it did not fall in the expected behavior.[209]

Ascendancy to whiteness was quite prevalent in the discourse of homonationalism between 1990-1995. In many cases Christians and Christianity were criticized.[210] In these articles believers and religion are criticized for their stance on homosexuality, for example by analyzing biblical texts and how they condemn homosexuality and not establishing that few Christians follow the bible to the letter.[211] The *Gay Krant* did this by criticizing Christianity, but fails to provide context and generalizes the bible, Christianity, and Christians. While most discourse about religion is centered around the Christian faith, a reader states in an opinion piece that more attention should be paid to Islamic organizations that remain silent when it comes to gay emancipation.[212] This is further emphasized by Pim Fortuyn in an interview in 1994 where he warns for Islamic migrants and communities in the Netherlands as he considers them a threat to modern Dutch values.[213] In addition to religion, migrants and refugees are criticized throughout this period.[214] For example, one article is dedicated to a gay organization which is frightened of a Moroccan organization next door due to their stance on homosexuality.[215] Finally, one opinion piece also alienates the male gay community from the lesbian community as it criticizes a page the *Gay Krant* has made available for profiles of

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[206] "Janmaat: Niet met seksuele geaardheid te koop lopen," *Gay Krant*, November 13, 1993.
[207] "Janmaat: Niet met seksuele geaardheid te koop lopen." *Gay Krant*, November 13, 1993.
[208] "Nederlanders pal achter huwelijk voor homo's en lesbiennes," *Gay Krant*, July 7, 1995.
[209] "Lezersonderzoek: vraag 8," *Gay Krant*, December 28, 1991.
[210] "Het complot van de homoseksuelen," *Gay Krant*, September 21, 1991; "Geloof is iets vrolijks," *Gay Krant*, July 3, 1992; "Gods bedoeling niet in de war brengen," *Gay Krant*, November 13, 1993; "Homo zijn en geloven in de God van de Bijbel is onmogelijk" "Homo zijn en geloven in de God van de Bijbel is onmogelijk," *Gay Krant*, February 18, 1995.; "Het probleem zit 'm in het seksuele," *Gay Krant*, July 21, 1995.
[211] "Gods bedoeling niet in de war brengen." *Gay Krant*, November 13, 1993.
[212] "Islamieten," *Gay Krant*, October 31, 1992.
[213] "Er ligt in Nederland geen politieke taak voor de homobeweging," *Gay Krant*, March 5, 1994.
[214] "Vluchtelingen"; "SHA wil Marokkanen niet als buur," *Gay Krant*, April 4, 1992; "Er ligt in Nederland geen politieke taak voor de homobeweging."
[215] "SHA wil Marokkanen niet als buur." *Gay Krant*, April 4, 1992.

women: “You cannot leave the Gay Krant open on your coffee table with decency when there are photos of naked women in it. […] The Gay Krant was a men’s magazine and will always be a men’s magazine.”[216] Hereby, showing the isolationist mentality of some of the readers that are uninterested in the emancipation of other sexualities when that means they have to share their media platforms.

4.1.2 Challenging homonationalism

Homonationalism was clearly challenged throughout 1990-1995. Homonationalism in this period was mostly challenged by solidarity with minorities. Sexual realism and accepting diversity were also often present, but they are both a marginal part of the overall discourse that challenged homonationalism.

Sexual realism is mostly found in articles that put the gay emancipation in the Netherlands in perspective. A number of articles show that the Netherlands is not as tolerant as it is often portrayed to be.[217] For example, one article critically reflects on the Dutch gay movement and finds it has been losing influence in recent years.[218] Furthermore, a gay parliamentarian says in a published interview that the Netherlands is not so tolerant as is often thought: “You think the Netherlands is a tolerant country? Forget about it. In the Randstad [a conurbation in the west of the country] and inside the Amsterdam canals it all seems nice, but move outside those borders. As a young gay in a small town you are struggling.”[219] Hence, these stories show how the Netherlands is not as exceptional as it is presented in some cases. In addition to this, the exceptional Dutch gay subject is also challenged in these years. The *Gay Krant* published stories that challenged the idea of sexuality as one’s primary identity.[220] Interestingly, most of these were about gays who were also catholic. For example, the Youth Gay Catholic Association whose story reflects on how they are discriminated for being catholic and gay: “The rest of the gay scene thinks low of us. People often respond like: ‘traitor, you have chosen the wrong side.’”[221] By publishing this story, the *Gay Krant* purposefully shows that homosexuality and religion can both be part of one’s identity. Also, it challenges the notion

[216] “De geur van verse vis,” *Gay Krant*, June 11, 1994.
[217] “COC belemmert zelf weg van dogma naar diversiteit,” *Gay Krant*, June 30, 1990; “Asielzoekers verzwijgen vluchtmotief,” *Gay Krant*, May 10, 1991; “De Nederlandse homobeweging moet in Europa de rechten van homoseksuelen veiligstellen,” *Gay Krant*, September 1, 1993; “Nederland tolerant? Vergeet het maar,” *Gay Krant*, April 16, 1994; “Mugabe haalt opnieuw uit; woede en verbazing,” *Gay Krant*, August 12, 1995.
[218] “De Nederlandse homobeweging moet in Europa de rechten van homoseksuelen veiligstellen.” *Gay Krant*, September 1, 1993.
[219] “Nederland tolerant? Vergeet het maar.” *Gay Krant*, April 16.
[220] “Met die pater valt te praten,” *Gay Krant*, September 21, 1991; “Jong, snel, homo en (toch) gelovig,” *Gay Krant*, December 12, 1992; “Homomusical van en over allochtonen,” *Gay Krant*, April 2, 1994.
[221] “Jong, snel, homo en (toch) gelovig.” *Gay Krant*, December 12, 1992.

of the Netherlands as exceptional by showing that Dutch (gay) people still discriminate against gays who choose to focus on other parts of their identity as well.

The analysis shows that in the years 1990 to 2002, the *Gay Krant* often challenges the expected behavior, stereotypes, and instead accept diversity. By discussing homosexuals that might not fit within the constructed stereotypes like handicapped, elderly, deaf, migrant, and religious gays, the *Gay Krant* challenges the stereotype of a homosexual that people would normally think of. In addition, it criticizes organizations, but also Dutch society for enforcing expected behavior and stereotypes.[222] A clear example is the discussion that followed after the opinion piece *Being gay and believing in the God of the bible is impossible* [*Homo zijn en geloven in de God van de bijbel is onmogelijk*], in which the author argued religion and sexuality are incompatible.[223] Many readers responded in shock and defended Christian gays.[224] For example, one reader wrote: "You wrong all people who believe, and particularly gays who you accuse of disloyalty to the church. And you wrong the fighters for gay rights. I do believe in a God that is love and rises above those scary and vague bible interpretations. It shows little of a liberal attitude, that you deny me, and many others, that belief."[225] This quote evidently challenges the enforcement of expected behavior and emphasizes that there are gays that are also religious. Furthermore, the responses to the opinion piece do not only show challenges of expected behavior, but also the defense of a minority (Christians), and the discourse that sexuality does not overrule other identities.

Solidarity with minorities has been increasing consistently between 1990 and 1995. As established previously, the range of minorities that was discussed is numerous. However, the approach and discourse depend on the type of minority. In the case of migrants and refugees, the *Gay Krant* defends these minorities by providing context to their often considered conservative cultures.[226] They do so by, for example, writing about why refugees are scared to

[222] "Verbrokkeld COC moet dynamisch de jaren '90 in," *Gay Krant*, February 6, 1990; "Homo-emancipatie? We roepen het misschien wat vaker," *Gay Krant*, March 21, 1992; "De arrogantie van de elite," *Gay Krant*, January 22, 1994; "Wel doof, maar beslist niet stom!," *Gay Krant*, February 18, 1995; "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," *Gay Krant*, March 4, 1995; "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," *Gay Krant*, March 18, 1995; "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," *Gay Krant*, January 4, 1995; "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," *Gay Krant*, May 27, 1995.
[223] "Homo zijn en geloven in de God van de Bijbel is onmogelijk," *Gay Krant*, February 18, 1995.
[224] "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," March 4, 1995; "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," March 18, 1995; "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," January 4, 1995; "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," May 27, 1995.
[225] "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," May 27, 1995.
[226] "Asielzoekers verzwijgen vluchtmotief" *Gay Krant*, May 10, 1991; "Angst vluchtelingen begrijpelijk," *Gay Krant*, February 11, 1991; "Bedenkelijke analyse homomoorden," *Gay Krant*, January 25, 1992; "Mooie woorden, nu de daden nog" *Gay Krant*, May 15, 1993; "Geaccepteerde discriminatie," *Gay Krant*, May 29, 1993; "De seksuele revolutie is aan mij voorbijgegaan," *Gay Krant*, March 19, 1994; "Gaylife Suriname verdient een positiever beeld," *Gay Krant*, June 11, 1994; "Gay Cocktail botst met COC," *Gay Krant*, January 21, 1995; "Dan maar vluchten?," *Gay Krant*, September 1, 1995.

name their sexuality as a reason for asylum.[227] As mentioned before, another minority that is often criticized for being conservative is the Christians. By emphasizing the more tolerant members of the church, the *Gay Krant* protects the image of the minority.[228] For instance, the magazine published a story on how the Dutch Roman Catholic church founded the organization the *Kringen*[229] and there are many parishes in the Netherlands that do accept homosexuals.[230] For example, when the pope released a Veritatis Splendor, in which he condemned homosexuals, the *Gay Krant* researched what Dutch Catholic leaders thought about it: "De opinion of the Dutch pastors is completely the opposite of the opinion in Rome. Only 12,3% off the Catholic leaders agrees with the pope. […] Most are clear about their opinion of the pope: 'He is from a different planet', 'what he claims is nonsensical', and: 'this encyclical is old-fashioned and obsolete.'"[231] While it is hard to believe that most pastors had such strong opinions and voiced them about the pope, the emphasis on these quotes show a dedication of the *Gay Krant* to convince the reader that not all catholic leaders agree with the pope. Most of the stories on Christianity are positive in their discourse and thus challenge the negative image the Roman Catholic and Protestant church. In addition to this, the *Gay Krant* also increasingly advocates for minority rights between 1990 and 1995. It mostly does so by giving a platform to organizations that represent or advocate for minorities and by supporting their legitimacy.[232] For instance, the article about the Black Orchid[233] states: "On the way to visibility and integration, struggling with discrimination and taboos, these women try to set up a national network. No to separate from the 'white' gay movement, but to shape their own emancipation process, to create a we-sentiment. 'We have to do it ourselves.'"[234] By giving this organization a platform, the *Gay Krant* advocates for the legitimacy of the organization and its goals. Another way in which

[227] "Asielzoekers verzwijgen vluchtmotief." *Gay Krant*, May 10, 1991.
[228] "Gangbare beeld van de RK kerk klopt niet," *Gay Krant*, January 25, 1992; "De officiële kerk gelooft in God, maar niet de mensen," *Gay Krant*, October 31, 1992; "Jong, snel, homo en (toch) gelovig" *Gay Krant*, December 12, 1992; "Homo's te pas en te onpas erbij gehaald," *Gay Krant*, June 12, 1993; "De paus is van een andere planeet," *Gay Krant*, October 16, 1993; "Kringen te danken aan gunstig klimaat in kerk," *Gay Krant*, October 30, 1993; "Testament," *Gay Krant*, January 8, 1993; "Een homoseksuele bisschop? Geen probleem!," *Gay Krant*, October 1, 1994; "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," March 4, 1995; "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," March 18, 1995; "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," January 4, 1995; "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," May 27, 1995.
[229] A popular gay organization that organized meetings to discuss sexuality and faith.
[230] "Gangbare beeld van de RK kerk klopt niet." *Gay Krant*, January 25, 1992.
[231] "De paus is van een andere planeet." *Gay Krant*, October 16, 1993.
[232] "Verbrokkeld COC moet dynamisch de jaren '90 in" *Gay Krant*, February 6, 1990; "Amnesty erkent homo's als gewetensgevangenen" *Gay Krant,* September 21, 1991; "Werkgroep Handicap en Homoseksualiteit van start," *Gay Krant*, November 11, 1991; "Amsterdam steunt homo-emancipatie allochtonen," *Gay Krant*, July 25, 1992; "Jong, snel, homo en (toch) gelovig" *Gay Krant*, December 12, 1992; "Wij moeten twee keer een isolement doorbreken," *Gay Krant*, August 21, 1993; "Turkse homo's: een dubbelleven," *Gay Krant*, January 22, 1994; "Samen strijden tegen extreem-rechts," *Gay Krant*, April 30, 1994; "Allochtone vrouwen zoeken naar identiteit," *Gay Krant*, April 30, 1994; "Open je ogen voor de groeiend groep homobejaarden," *Gay Krant*, July 23, 1994; "Wel doof, maar beslist niet stom!" *Gay Krant,* February 18, 1995; "Turkse jongen in vaderland mishandeld door politie." *Gay Krant*, September 29, 1995
[233] A lesbian organization for black and migrant women
[234] "Allochtone vrouwen zoeken naar identiteit," *Gay Krant,*April 30, 1994.

the *Gay Krant* advocates for minority rights is by criticizing organizations or groups that discriminate minorities.[235] Often the COC, the largest gay rights organization in the Netherlands, is criticized.[236] For instance, a columnist writes: "From the homosexual elite, originated in the Randstad and around the COC, a new kind of pillarization is produced. Where the gay elite has the responsibility to liberate, broaden and share the acquired benefits, as was done in the 50's and 60's, a self-righteous incestuous forefront has arisen. [...] Minorities should cooperate. When the tolerance of one minority decreases, it will, in time, also have consequences for other minorities."[237] The article accuses the gay elite of the COC to have created a new kind of pillarization, in which emancipation for other minorities has disappeared and emphasizes this is needed. Thus, by criticizing the COC it also advocates for emancipation of other minorities.

4.2 1997-2002 Defending and challenging minorities

Between 1997 and 2002 the balance between homonationalism and challenging homonationalism remained similar to the previous period. However, within these frames some developments are worth mentioning.[238] While the theme queer as regulatory is less prevalent in this period, ascendancy to whiteness can be found more often. Articles that challenge homonationalism can be found slightly more frequently in this period. Under the framework of challenging homonationalism, all themes are found less often. Moreover, advocating for minority rights radically decreased, while defending minorities increased. This point towards a change in the sentiment of the Dutch people towards minorities.

4.2.1 Homonationalism

While the presence of homonationalist discourse in the *Gay Krant* has remained relatively the same, some developments can be seen. Queer as regulatory has not been found in this period. However, ascendancy to whiteness slightly increased. The same goes for sexual exceptionalism, which was predominantly focused on national and regional exceptionalism.

[235] "COC belemmert zelf weg van dogma naar diversiteit" *Gay Krant*, May 19, 1990; "Homo-emancipatie? We roepen het misschien wat vaker" *Gay Krant*, March 21, 1992; "Mooie woorden, nu de daden nog" *Gay Krant*, May 15, 1993; "Zwart is commercieel niet aantrekkelijk," *Gay Krant*, July 10, 1993; "Vrouwenpagina," *Gay Krant*, October 30, 1993; "De arrogantie van de elite" *Gay Krant*, January 22, 1994; "Gay Cocktail botst met COC" *Gay Krant*, January 21, 1995; "Weg met het superioriteitsgevoel," *Gay Krant*, April 15, 1995; "Ik krijg van beiden kanten geen kans," *Gay Krant*, August 18, 1995; "Reacties op Mugabe," *Gay Krant*, December 22, 1995.

[236] "COC belemmert zelf weg van dogma naar diversiteit" *Gay Krant*, May 19, 1990; "Werkgroep Handicap en Homoseksualiteit van start" *Gay Krant*, November 11, 1991; "De arrogantie van de elite" *Gay Krant*, January, 22, 1994; "Gay Cocktail botst met COC" *Gay Krant*, January 21, 1995.

[237] "De arrogantie van de elite" *Gay Krant*, January 22, 1994.

[238] For an overview of the coding data see: Appendix C: Coding Data

Sexual exceptionalism slightly increased from 2000 to 2002. While sexuality as primary identity was not found in this period, the discourse of national and regional exceptionalism increased. Most of these articles emphasized the uniqueness of the Netherlands by comparing it to other countries and sometimes even taking steps to improve gay emancipation in the other country.[239] For example, one article reports on a cooperation between the COC and a gay organization in Moldova, which is funded with money from the Dutch government to improve the situation for gays and lesbians in the country, underlining the superiority of the Netherlands.[240] However, this sexual exceptionalism is also more aggressively voiced in some articles when gay rights are clearly violated. When Saudi-Arabia beheaded three homosexuals because of their identity this immediately led to members of parliament comparing the Netherlands to Saudi-Arabia and demanding actions from the Dutch government and the European Union against the country.[241] Hence, the sexual exceptionalism of the Netherlands is highlighted by comparing countries. Doing so helps them to emancipate and demand action against countries that violate gay rights as well.

Ascendency to whiteness was found more often in this period. The *Gay Krant* rarely criticizes a minority directly. Even so, when it happens only religious communities are challenged. When it comes to Catholicism and Islam a clear difference can be found in the discourse. Even when the Pope and the Roman Catholic faith is criticized, the need for interaction and discussion is emphasized.[242] However, when editor Henk Krol criticized the Islam twice, this pragmatism was not found.[243] He considers Islamic norms and values incompatible with Modern westerns values and even warns for the growing number of Muslims in the country and what that might bring: "When a majority of the population wants something that is very intolerant, you have the risk that a minority will literally be crushed by it. An Austrian dictator (a foreigner in Germany) came to power democratically in the past. Christianity (once a foreigner religion) became the largest religious community in our country. Often a democratic majority is completely acceptable, sometimes it is a bad thing."[244] In doing so, he makes a negative generalization about the entire Muslim community in the Netherlands and even compares that community to the rise of Adolf Hitler in the 20th century. Thus,

[239] "Amsterdam: The gay capital of Europe," *Gay Krant*, July 31, 1998; "Oneindige strijd tegen dagelijkse hetze," *Gay Krant*, May 12, 2000; "Keniaan Yusuf blijft hoopvol," *Gay Krant*, December 2, 2000; "Vechten tegen onrecht," *Gay Krant*, July 7, 2001; "De andere kant van Moldavië," *Gay Krant*, November 10, 2001; "Onthoofding wekt afgrijzen," *Gay Krant*, January 19, 2002.
[240] "De andere kant van Moldavië" *Gay Krant*, November 10, 2001.
[241] "Onthoofding wekt afgrijzen" *Gay Krant*, January 19, 2002.
[242] "Paus," *Gay Krant*, July 21, 2000.
[243] "Gewetensnood," *Gay Krant*, January 31, 1997; "Wie maakt de dienst hier uit?," *Gay Krant*, February 28, 1997.
[244] "Wie maakt de dienst hier uit?" *Gay Krant*, February 28, 1997.

alienating Muslims from the gay community by posing them as an threat to the gay community. In most cases however, ascendency to whiteness is more subtle and does not come directly from the editorial staff of the magazine. The *Gay Krant* published articles from columnists, readers, and interviews with public figures that do attack a minority or group, but failed to provide context or give the minority a chance to defend itself.[245] For example, Pim Fortuyn writes in a column that "there clearly is no willingness to make clear to people with a cultural, often Islamic agrarian, background that do not accept homosexuality, that we do not tolerate this. […] It is time we investigate this problem with its disgusting aspects. Also many "black" schools experience this problem and threatens the safety and freedom of homosexual teachers. We can, under no circumstance, let this happen. To battle!"[246] This quote shows the homonationalist discourse that criticizes Muslims in the Netherlands. As the *Gay Krant* does not challenge this discourse or provide context, it fails to defend the minority and hence falls within the theme of ascendancy to whiteness.

4.2.2 Challenging homonationalism

The challenging of homonationalism has continued in approximately the same quantity as the before.[247] Sexual realism is mostly sustained by challenging the idea of sexuality as the primary identity, but especially in 1997 and 1998 some articles also challenged the national and regional exceptionalism. The accepting of diversity clearly decreased, even so it continues to play a role in the challenging of homonationalism. While solidarity with minorities remained more or less the same, there was a clear decrease of advocating for minority rights and an increase of defending minorities.

Sexual realism continues to challenge sexuality as an overruling identity. By creating a platform for gays with different cultural and religious background, the plurality of the gay community is underlined. [248] However, in most cases it is about the intersectionality of

[245] "Ingrijpen in toenemende intolerantie voordat het te laat is," *Gay Krant*, February 14, 1997; "Brabantse pastoor preekt homohaat," *Gay Krant*, May 22, 1998; "Acceptatie," *Gay Krant*, March 3, 2000; "Paus schoffeert homo's," *Gay Krant*, July 21, 2000; "Homohaat," *Gay Krant*, November 4, 2000; "Kanker vlikker op de voordeur," *Gay Krant*, June 23, 2001; "Eindeloos wachten op uitspraak over El-Moumni," *Gay Krant*, October 27, 2001; "Zichtbaar zijn is essentieel," *Gay Krant*, November 24, 2001; "Onthoofding wekt afgrijzen"; "Fikse pluim van Pim Fortuyn," *Gay Krant*, April 27, 2002; "Conservatief," *Gay Krant*, June 8, 2002.

[246] "Homohaat." *Gay Krant*, November 4, 2000

[247] For an overview of the coding data see: Appendix C: Coding Data

[248] "Nederlanders zien ons als allochtone seksobjecten" *Gay Krant*, October 24, 1997; "Islamitische homo emancipatie" *Gay Krant*, August 28, 1998; "Ik vind het hypocriet af te geven op de kerk" *Gay Krant*, Dcecember 18, 1998; "Pleidooi voor geen aparte homokerk" *Gay Krant*, July 16, 1999; "Ik wil geen homopastoor zijn, maar een priester voor iedereen" *Gay Krant*, February 4, 2000; "Ik voel me gevangen in de middeleeuwen" *Gay Krant*, February 18, 2000; "Aanslagen extra pijnlijk voor homoseksuele islamieten" *Gay Krant*, November 24, 2001; "Wij bedrijven politiek met open ogen voor de samenleving" *Gay Krant*, February 2, 2002; "Het CDA" *Gay Krant*, May 25, 2002; "CDA levert grootste roze contingent ooit" *Gay Krant*, May 25, 2002.

Christians and their sexuality. For example, Antoine Bodar, a homosexual priest, talks about how he was not accepted by the gay community and even called traitor, because he was a priest.[249] By discussing these attacks, the *Gay Krant* gives a platform for gays who focus on a different aspect of their identity. The contrary happens in articles about migrant or Muslim gays. When their intersectionality is discussed, it is often used to emphasize the plurality of the gay community, but at the same time criticize these 'foreign' cultures.[250] Thus, in these cases ascendancy to whiteness and sexual realism overlap. Even so, sometimes their culture and community is defended. For example an article that was written in response to 9/11 emphasizes the importance of a dialogue about Islamic and gay norms and values to understand each other better and create a space for gays who live in both worlds.[251] Finally, the idea of national and regional exceptionalism has continued to be challenged throughout this period by articles that critically asses the gay emancipation in the Netherlands.[252] While most articles describe gays as victims of the incomplete gay emancipation, two articles argue that the gay community itself played a role in this incompletion as they have accepted and assimilated to the norms, values, and institutions of the heterosexual society.[253] Therefore, these articles critically assess the role of the gay movement in the overall emancipation as well.

The acceptance of diversity in the *Gay Krant* slightly decreased in this period. Even so, the articles continued to challenge stereotypes and expected behavior in most years. Accepting diversity was mostly found in stories that challenged or corrected stereotypes, specifically also stereotypes that the Dutch have about migrant or religious gays.[254] For instance, one article discusses and challenges the stereotype that non-Dutch gays cannot be happy, to which one of the interviewees responds: "It always portrayed like all of us are unhappy. It is good it is now recorded that one can also be happy as a non-Dutch gay."[255] Besides this, the acceptance of diversity is also present in articles that advocate for more action to challenge expected

[249] "Ik wil geen homopastoor zijn, maar een priester voor iedereen," *Gay Krant*, February 4, 2000.
[250] "Islamitische homo-emancipatie," *Gay Krant*, August 28, 1998; "Ik voel me gevangen in de middeleeuwen," *Gay Krant*, February 18, 2000.
[251] "Dialoog," *Gay Krant*, November 21, 2001.
[252] "Jongeren verwaarlozen bevochten rechten," *Gay Krant*, January 17, 1997; "Misschien heb ik onderschat hoe moeilijk het is Marokkaan en homo te zijn," *Gay Krant*, April 11, 1997; "Gevlucht van kast naar kast," *Gay Krant*, April 25, 1997; "Een Christenhond heeft het recht dit te zeggen," *Gay Krant*, April 24, 1998; "Hetero's," *Gay Krant*, May 22, 1998; "Oneindige strijd tegen dagelijkse hetze"; "Pim Fortuyn, zijn homoseksualiteit en de media," *Gay Krant*, June 8, 2002.
[253] "Jongeren verwaarlozen bevochten rechten" *Gay Krant*, January 17, 1997; "Hetero's" *Gay Krant*, May 22, 1998.
[254] "Misschien heb ik onderschat hoe moeilijk het is Marokkaan en homo te zijn" *Gay Krant*, April 11, 1997; "Nederlanders zien ons als allochtone seksobjecten," *Gay Krant*, October 24, 1997; "Hetero's" *Gay Krant*, May 22, 1998; "Ik heb God steeds beterschap beloofd, maar...," *Gay Krant*, May 22, 1998; "Misplaatste arrogantie," *Gay Krant*, July 31, 1998; "Ik vind het hypocriet af te geven op de kerk," *Gay Krant*, December 18, 1998; "IPOTH wil moskee openen," *Gay Krant*, June 6, 1999; "Ik wil geen homopastoor zijn, maar een priester voor iedereen" *Gay Krant*, February 4, 2000; "Ook een niet-Nederlandse homo kan gelukkig zijn," *Gay Krant*, March 31, 2000; "Voorkeur voor onopvallende opstelling," *Gay Krant*, November 18, 2000; "Pim Fortuyn, zijn homoseksualiteit en de media" *Gay Krant*, June 8, 2002.
[255] "Ook een niet-Nederlandse homo kan gelukkig zijn." *Gay Krant*, March 31, 2000.

stereotypes and behavior.[256] An example of this is an interview with Geert Dales, alderman at the municipality of Amsterdam and later party lead chairman of the populist 50plus party, who argues that gays should show their sexuality more: "What is your sexuality worth, if you cannot manifest yourself as homosexual publicly and fully? You will be excluded from public life. Your sexuality, an essential part of your identity, will be reduced to a detail, without any meaning. If you believe that gays and lesbians are equal, you must accept that homosexuality has a place in public life. [...] We do not only owe it to ourselves, but also to future generations of homosexual men and women to make homosexuality more visible, and because of that more normal and acceptable."[257] In short, Geert Dales calls upon gays to go against the expected behavior of being invisible, to make homosexuality more accepted and normal in society.

Solidarity with minorities has remained the largest indicator of a discourse that challenges homonationalism. However, within this theme, the emphasis has been shifting from advocating for minority rights to defending minorities. In the period until 2000, Christians are mostly defended in the articles.[258] For example by showing that even though the bishop of Groningen has published several homophobic tracts, local priests have announced they will not listen to him and accept homosexuals as they are.[259] In years that followed, Christianity is only defended on a political level, by showing tolerance within Christian political parties.[260] In the period 1997-2002 the focus is increasingly shifting towards defending migrants and Muslims. Professor Rob Tielman, for example, writes in an opinion piece that the Dutch constantly label first, second, and third generation migrants the same, assuming they all have the same conservative norms and values, but the opposite is true: "Also people who call themselves Islamic, have increasingly humanistic perspectives in the Netherlands. For example, the right of self-determination of homosexual men and women. Too often there is too much panic about it, because many native Dutch do not know about the diversity of perspective that are present in Islamic circles."[261] Thus Professor Tielman defends Muslims and argues that panic is caused by misconception and prejudices, based on ignorance about Islamic circles. Advocating for

[256] "Nederlanders zien ons als allochtone seksobjecten" *Gay Krant*, October 24, 1997; "Hetero's" *Gay Krant*, May 22, 1998; "De belangrijkste lessen," *Gay Krant*, December 24, 1999; "Diversiteit als positieve kracht," *Gay Krant*, August 4, 2000; "Zichtbaar zijn is essentieel" *Gay Krant*, November 24, 2001.
[257] "Zichtbaar zijn is essentieel." *Gay Krant*, November 24, 2001
[258] "Een hang naar bedekte sodomie," *Gay Krant*, February 14, 1997; "Limburgse pastoor negeert bisschoppelijke brief," *Gay Krant*, July 17, 1998; "Cathedral of hope ongekend succes," *Gay Krant*, October 23, 1998; "Pleidooi voor geen aparte homokerk," *Gay Krant*, July 16, 1999; "Geloof - woede en ongeloof over katholieke traktaten nieuwe bisschop," *Gay Krant*, September 3, 1999; "D66 en RPF samen in actie voor asielzoekers," *Gay Krant*, October 1, 1999; "Wat heb je het in Nederland als homo toch goed," *Gay Krant*, June 23, 2000; "De moederkerk zal homoseksueel gedrag nooit goedkeuren," *Gay Krant*, September 22, 2000.
[259] "Geloof - woede en ongeloof over katholieke traktaten nieuwe bisschop" *Gay Krant*, September 3, 1999.
[260] "Het CDA," *Gay Krant*, May 25, 2002; "CDA levert grootste roze contingent ooit," *Gay Krant*, May 25, 2002.
[261] "Multi-culti," *Gay Krant*, May 26, 2000.

minority rights was featured in several articles in the years before 2000, however after 2000 it has not been found. In these articles, the focus remained on achieving rights for minority groups inside, but also for migrants and other minorities outside the gay community.[262] To illustrate, an article on the lessons of gay emancipation states that "In the end it is in everyone's interest that no one is bullied. […] A small minority can only survive in a democracy if it succeeds in building a coalition with other minorities. This is why the gay movement should look further than the shortsighted self-interest, but strive for an inclusive interest."[263]

Finally, in 2001 Pim Fortuyn was murdered. While Pim Fortuyn was a very popular gay politician, only a few pages and columns were dedicated to him.[264] Though all were honoring his legacy, they did often include a critical note about his arguments against migrants and the Islam. For example, the following reply from a reader: "'Do not speak ill of the dead' is bad advice. The scandalous murder of Pim Fortuyn does not mean we have to agree with his ideas now. On the contrary, for years I have read his columns in Elsevier Magazine and until the last moment has, he continued to proclaim these views. He expressed great contempt for other cultures and recently said in the Volkskrant that he wanted to close the borders to Muslims. It feels as treason of many of my friends if they support this extreme intolerance."[265] Of course, not all reactions were as critical and some homonationalist elements were present in several articles, but it remarkable that the murder of such an important gay figure was not met with anger, but reflexiveness. It shows that the gay community critically reflects on public figures and is not easily drawn into a homonationalist rhetoric.

[262] "Jongeren verwaarlozen bevochten rechten" *Gay Krant*, January 17, 1997; "Gevlucht van kast naar kast" *Gay Krant*, April 25, 1997; "Onderwijsinspectie gaat intolerantie onderzoeken," *Gay Krant*, September 26, 1997; "Islamitische homo-emancipatie" *Gay Krant*, August 28, 1998; "De belangrijkste lessen" *Gay Krant*, December 24, 1999.
[263] "De belangrijkste lessen" *Gay Krant*, December 24, 1999.
[264] "Reacties op moord Pim Fortuyn," *Gay Krant*, May 25, 2002; "Pim Fortuyn," *Gay Krant*, May 25, 2002; "Pim," *Gay Krant*, May 25, 2002.
[265] "Reacties op moord Pim Fortuyn." *Gay Krant*, May 25, 2002.

Chapter 5 | Discussion

At the beginning of the paper, the goal was established to analyze the development of homonationalism in gay media. However, when we consider the findings of research it is evident that the coding scheme that was used has not given the anticipated results. Homonationalism was rarely seen. Furthermore, while there were indications of homonationalism, these articles do not reflect the aggressive homonationalism that Puar defined. Even though the findings cannot answer the posed research question, it can contribute to our understanding of homonationalism and make it more adaptable to different periods in time. By placing the findings in historical and academic context I will identify the weaknesses in the analysis. Secondly, I will analyze the manifestations of homonationalism to discover what caused the weaknesses in the research. Thirdly, I will introduce the concept: proto-homonationalism that is more in line with the findings and allows for a better understanding of homonationalism in history. To do this, I will put forward a format for analyzing this proto-homonationalism. Due to the time constraints of this research, I have been unable to apply the coding method to the gathered data. Even so, using examples and context the applicability of this format and framework is explained.

5.1 Weaknesses of this research

Before I delve into the findings of this research and place in the academic debate, it is important to reflect on the theoretical foundations and findings of this research. Primarily, because the subjectivity of the concept requires explanation. I will firstly discuss the implication of the overlap of codes and themes in the analysis. Following that, I will discuss the requirements for assigning the label homonationalism as it was defined by Puar.

The initial coding selection of this research was solely based on Puar's manifestation of homonationalism: Sexual exceptionalism, queer as regulatory, and ascendancy to whiteness. In the analysis it became clear that these manifestations often overlap. Puar also argues that these manifestations can occur separately, but also together.[266] She then continues to prove this statement by comparing and analyzing major homonationalist events.[267] However, analyzing the articles of the *Gay Krant* it becomes clear that even if a theme of homonationalism, or challenging homonationalism, is present in an article this does not immediately imply the whole article or discourse is homonationalist. For example, when the *Gay Krant* published an article

[266] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 2007, 2.
[267] Puar, xxvi.

by Amnesty International about the situation of gays and lesbians in different countries, the magazine emphasized the unique position of the Netherlands. However, it also advocated that more attention and effort should be put in achieving rights for gays and lesbians everywhere.[268] While it contains elements of homonationalism through highlighting the uniqueness of the Netherlands it also stands in solidarity with gays and lesbians around the world. Therefore, it depends on the overall discourse of the article to determine the frame it belongs to. This logic is in line with the arguments by Massad and Hartol and Sasson-Levy, who argue that the understanding of sexuality and nationalism depend on the context and culture.[269] Thus, every article should be independently considered. In the previously discussed case, I determined it mostly challenged homonationalism. Moreover, if we look at the findings it is clear that if there is an overlap, homonationalism is rarely dominant in the discourse. This shows that even though an article may contain elements of homonationalism, the overall discourse does not have to be homonationalist. This is in line with arguments made by Smith and Zanghellini who argued that scholars should be careful in assigning the term homonationalism.[270]

This brings me to another point: when can we truly assign the term homonationalism to an event or text? For example, the *Gay Krant* published an article about a Protestant minister who condemned other ministers who had blessed gay relationships and "*should be hung from the highest tree.*"[271] In this article the *Gay Krant* criticizes radical Christians who still discriminate gays, and therefore was assigned the theme 'ascendency to whiteness' and the frame of 'homonationalism'. Even so, the article was clearly published to display discrimination that hinders gay emancipation. Zanghellini argues that not every critique of a minority or group should be considered homonationalist as it can be in the way of gay emancipation.[272] I would argue this is also the case here. Thus, while this article contains elements of homonationalism, I would not consider it homonationalist. I find this to be true for almost all articles in which only one theme of homonationalism was present. While, I have assigned the frame homonationalism to these articles, it should only be considered as an indication of homonationalist elements. The articles where more than one homonationalist theme was found, did not have this issue. Therefore, I find that in the findings of the research, apart from extreme cases, homonationalism does not occur through one manifestation of homonationalism as Puar suggested, but only when two or more are combined.

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[268] "Amnesty erkent homo's als gewetensgevangenen." *Gay Krant*, September 21, 1991.
[269] Massad, "Re-Orienting Desire," 363.
[270] Smith, "Homophobia and Homonationalism," 68. Zanghellini, "Are Gay Rights Islamophobic?," 364. Hartal and Sasson-Levy, "Re-Reading Homonationalism: An Israeli Spatial Perspective," 1396.
[271] "Brabantse pastoor preekt homohaat." *Gay Krant*, May 22, 1998.
[272] Zanghellini, "Are Gay Rights Islamophobic?," 364.

In short, this paper has found that the application of homonationalism to this time period and case study was complex. While sometimes homonationalist elements were found in the articles, the overall discourse was seldom considered to be homonationalist. Furthermore, by using the codes and themes that are based on Puar's manifestations of homonationalism, an article was sometimes labelled as homonationalist, even though the article actually fought discrimination against the gay community. Therefore, it is clear that used indicators were not fit to analyze the homonationalist elements in the articles of the *Gay Krant*.

5.2 Weaknesses of the manifestations of homonationalism

Considering the findings and the points made in previous section, it is clear that the manifestation that were at foundation of this research were unfit for the analysis in the *Gay Krant* between 1990 and 2002. As the term homonationalism and the academic debate surrounding it was only founded in the 21st century, I find that applying homonationalism and its manifestations is ahistorical. By analyzing the manifestation and comparing them to the findings of this research I will determine their weaknesses.

Firstly, sexual exceptionalism is an acceptable vocabulary to describe the feeling of uniqueness in a community or groups. Especially, the feeling of national or regional exceptionalism was often found in the articles. However, the definition of sexual exceptionalism that Puar put forward is less appropriate to this time. Puar described sexual exceptionalism as the creation of an ideal gay subject who loses all other (religious, ethnic, cultural etc.) identities except his sexuality. This is clearly based on an assumption of a fully accepted gay subject which is established in the national identity.[273] However, looking at the findings of the analysis which took place between 1990-2002 we rarely see this. I would argue this is mostly because not 'one' version of sexuality and behavior was accepted yet. Puars understanding is based on assumption that the standard is a secular gay. However, in the period 1990-2002, 62% of Dutch society was still religious.[274] Therefore, being gay and Christian was for example largely accepted. For example, the reply to the article '*Being gay and believing in the God of the bible is impossible'* ['*Homo zijn en geloven in de God van de bijbel is onmogelijk'*] showed that a large part of the gay community accepts Christian homosexuals. All the responses to the article, which filled the opinion pages for 1,5 months, advocated for

[273] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 22.
[274] "Kerkelijke gezindte en kerkbezoek; vanaf 1849; 18 jaar of ouder."

Christian homosexuals and criticized the narrow-minded views of the writer.[275] Consequently, the lack of this manifestation in the findings can be connected to the fact that religion is accepted by Dutch society as many articles and reader-responses emphasized the combination of being religious and gay.

Secondly, when we consider queer as regulatory, this term is ahistorical for two reasons. Firstly, the terminology of 'queer' is problematic. Queer was in the analyzed period still used as a term for homophobic abuse.[276] Though, in academic circles it was slowly becoming more accepted due to the development of gay and lesbian studies in the United States, it still had a negative connotation in the political and social level.[277] Thus, placing the term in the context of time period of this analysis, it would at least have raised some eyebrows. In addition to this, Puar's understanding of queer as regulatory is based on the idea that the set framework expected and accepted behavior to which a gay subject must conform. [278] However, the findings represent a different image. The *Gay Krant* showcases a diversity of different identities, opinions, and experiences. For example, when a reader complained about the publishing of women's pictures for the lesbian readers. This led to many responses that advocated for the right of lesbians to have pages in the *Gay Krant* dedicated to them as well. The magazine also emphasizes that it is an opinion magazine that allows for different perspectives.[279] Hence, the gay community at this time cannot be considered a heterogeneous community and is therefore virtually never limited to expected behavior or stereotypes.

Finally, the manifestation of ascendancy to whiteness also contains some ahistorical elements. Puar understood ascendancy to whiteness as the (white) gay subject becoming part of mainstream society due to socio-economic and racial privilege and adapt to its norms and values and consequently alienating and even criticizing other minorities.[280] Furthermore, Puar, Duggan, Jivraj and Jong, and Wekker all argued that established gay communities exclude religion and religious gays.[281] However, these scholarly findings are all based on the context of the 21st century and pointed not towards religion in general (though this is what they claim), but to Islam and ethnic minorities. As previously discussed, Christianity is in fact accepted by many gays and only discrimination from Christian communities is criticized. In the analyzed

[275] "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," March 4, 1995; "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," March 18, 1995; "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," January 4, 1995; "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," May 27, 1995.
[276] Jagose and Genschel, *Queer Theory*.
[277] Jagose and Genschel.
[278] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 24.
[279] "Naschrift."
[280] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 128.
[281] Puar, 39; Jivraj and de Jong, "The Dutch Homo-Emancipation Policy and Its Silencing Effects on Queer Muslims," 151; Wekker, "Van Homo Nostalgie En Betere Tijden : Homoseksualiteit En Postkolonialiteit," 9.

period, homosexuality was still considered a 'problem' in many Protestant and Roman Catholic parishes.[282] Consequently, there are many articles about homosexuality and how it was often criticized from these religious circles, by fathers, pastors, priests, bishops, and the pope. Interestingly so, there are more articles that defend Christianity by providing stories on religious leaders that do accept homosexuality, or by arguing that religion is actually not as homophobic as often portrayed. An example of this is the article that was discussed in the previous chapter about the Catholic priest who founded one of the largest gay organization in the Netherlands: *The Kringen*.[283] Thus underlining the importance of not reducing all Christians to one stereotype. While the numbers of articles on Christianity remained more or less consistent throughout both periods, there was a sharp increase of articles on migrants and Muslims. This correlates with an influx of migrants between 1990-1997. In this period the percentage of ethnic minorities in the Dutch population increased from 1.6% to 9.4%.[284] Towards 1995 and during the period from 1997 to 2002, the attention is mostly focused on migrants and Muslims. While, the articles defended these minorities, there was a clear difference with the articles on Christianity. The articles were mostly about gays from these communities and their struggle to live between two worlds, one conservative and one progressive. These findings show that there is a uneven balance between the perception of Dutch culture and migrant/Muslim culture, where Dutch culture is considered to be superior. This aligns with the findings of Jivraj and Jong, who concluded that when accepted mainstream gay movements 'tried' to support queer Muslim groups, there was an uneven power balance, no understanding of the complicated racial and socioeconomic background, a degrading perspective on the cultural background.[285] This is for example clear in an article where refugees are criticized for not naming their sexuality as there reason for asylum on arrival.[286] While the article argues homosexuality should be a legitimate reason for asylum, thus advocating for minority rights, it also lack the understanding that coming out for your sexuality might be more challenging for gay asylum seekers with different cultural background. Thus, this further proves the difference in discourse between migrants with an Islamic background, and Christianity. Judging from the findings of this analysis the notion that the mainstream gay community would ascend to whiteness and alienate and criticize religious and ethnic minorities appears to be false. Taking the arguments above into account it is clear that in fact Christian minorities are accepted by the *Gay Krant.* Therefore, a new

[282] Bos, *De Aard, de Daad En Het Woord*, 7.
[283] "Kringen te danken aan gunstig klimaat in kerk." *Gay Krant*, October 30, 1993.
[284] Spiecker and Steutel, 296.
[285] Jivraj and de Jong, "The Dutch Homo-Emancipation Policy and Its Silencing Effects on Queer Muslims," 151.
[286] "COC eist aanpassing Nederlands homo asielbeleid." *Gay Krant,* May 19, 1990.

'foreign' culture that is less integrated into society, is arguably the reason for exclusion, rather than religion of ethnicity in general.

Thus, homonationalism and its manifestations are not applicable to the analyzed time period. Not only because their terminology is unfit, but the definitions and understandings are designed for a different time period and with a different level of gay emancipation. As a result, this research has failed to find a development of homonationalism as it was defined by Jasbir Puar.

5.3 A new alternative: proto-homonationalism

So, homonationalism as it has been discussed in the academic debate has not been found in this research. However, this does not mean different elements of homonationalism were not found. In this section I define proto-homonationalism and set out identify its main manifestation. Finally, I will provide insights into further research opportunities for scholars interested in homonationalism and specifically also the Dutch case.

While the homonationalism as Puar defined it was not found in this research, this does not mean that no homonationalist discourse was found in the *Gay Krant*. The articles in the magazine did not display this discourse themselves, but the events they reported on showed signs of homonationalism. The COC was often criticized for its heterogeneous outlook, politicians like Pim Fortuyn were also often featured, as well as the Dutch government which was criticized for not doing enough for minorities. Therefore, there are indications that homonationalism was developing in Dutch society. Especially in the period between 1997 and 2002 this development of homonationalism in Dutch society is evident through the increase of articles that challenge stereotypes about migrants and Muslims and also defends them against critique from for instance the COC and politicians like Pim Fortuyn. So there are elements of homonationalism present in society, but hardly to the extent that Puar described them. In addition to this, the manifestations of homonationalism are ahistorical and causes the analysis to only narrow down some articles with homonationalism. Thus, we should not be looking for homonationalism in this period, especially not with ahistorical manifestations of homonationalism. Instead, I propose we consider an alternative: proto-homonationalism.

I consider proto-homonationalism to be the development of homonationalist elements in society before it turns into the aggressive homonationalism that Puar found. In using this term, I follow Mellink's approach to an extent. While he analyzed the foundations of homonationalism from 1980-1990, he did not imply that homonationalism was present in that

time.[287] He merely analyzed the foundations of the homonationalism that he deemed present in the beginning of the 21st century. What I found in this analysis is not the full-fledged nationalism that Aydemir found in the beginning of the 21st century, but more subtle elements of this that were still developing.[288] Hence, I define these more subtle elements as proto-homonationalism: a weaker more subtle version of homonationalism that is in development. Proto-homonationalism is not based on one unified gay identity as would be the case with homonationalism. Rather, it shows the first developments of the manifestations of homonationalism. For instance, the discussion surrounding being Christian, and Gay could fall under it and signify that homonationalist elements in the form of sexual exceptionalism are developing. In establishing this new definition, I put forward a suggestion for the periodization of homonationalism. Firstly, you have the foundations of homonationalism which were laid between 1980 and 1990. Secondly, you the first elements of homonationalism that were developing: proto-homonationalism, from 1990 to the beginning of the 21st century. Finally, you have homonationalism that developed from the beginning of the 21st century and is still present in today's Dutch politics.

5.4 The manifestations of proto-homonationalism

So how do we recognize proto-homonationalism? As proto-homonationalism is more subtle than the actual homonationalism it requires a different approach. Therefore, the manifestations of proto-homonationalism consider the response to homonationalist elements. I define three in total. Firstly, I will discuss signaling homonationalism. This is the moment that one recognizes homonationalist elements, writes or discusses them, but does not actively respond to them. Secondly, I will define challenging homonationalism. Finally, I will shed a light on reproducing homonationalism. These three manifestations all indicate the presence of proto-homonationalism in society or a community.

Firstly, signaling homonationalism is the situation when one recognizes elements of homonationalism, but does not actively respond to it. For instance, in the *Gay Krant* an article was published on a conflict between a branch of the COC and a Muslim education center.[289] The branch does not want to share a building with the education center as they are afraid of harassment. In this article the *Gay Krant* writes about the incident, does not make any claims about and as a result does not actively contribute to a homonationalist discourse. Even so, the narrative of the branch of the COC has some clearly homonationalist elements where it

[287] Mellink, "De Emancipatiemonitor," 65.
[288] Aydemir, "Dutch Homonationalism and Intersectionality," 150.
[289] "SHA wil Marokkanen niet als buur," *Gay Krant*, April 4, 1992.

generalizes and criticizes a minority. Hence, the signaling of the event shows an awareness of the *Gay Krant* that something interesting is happening there. However, it does not actively challenge or reproduce the discourse of either side.

Secondly, challenging homonationalism can be divided into two forms. First, one can actively challenge and respond to a discourse with homonationalist elements. This for example happened when readers of the *Gay Krant* challenged the opinion piece '*Being gay and believing in the God of the bible is impossible'* ['*Homo zijn en geloven in de God van de bijbel is onmogelijk'*]. [290] In these responses it was clear that people did not agree with the discourse and challenged it. In doing so, they show that homonationalism is not strong in their community but is present elsewhere. In addition to this, one can give a warning or disclaimer about a discourse. This was done by Henk Krol when an article was published with an unusually high number of articles about Muslims and homosexuality: "*If there are train robbers from Amsterdam with a Moroccan background active on the Schiphol line, it is good to realize that the most Moroccan youth from Amsterdam distance themselves from it. Yes, there are Islam websites in which the undermining of the Dutch norms and values is encouraged, but most Muslims want to adapt to these norms and values. In this edition of the Gay Krant you will read about violence of Muslim youth against homosexuals. Realize while reading this that not all Muslim youth harass gays. As well as the fact that almost every Moroccan homosexual chap ends up in prostitution."*[291] This quote challenges homonationalism but does not do it because it does not agree with the articles. This quote seems to imply the readers of the *Gay Krant* might have assumptions, which would be homonationalist in nature, that would influence the way they would look at Muslims after reading these articles. Hence, both forms of challenging homonationalism reflect homonationalist elements in the community.

Finally, there are instances when one does reproduce homonationalist elements. While the findings of this research show this only happened in isolated instances in the *Gay Krant*, they do imply a shift in the mentality of some members of the community. This was for example clear in analysis that the *Gay Krant* published about texts in the Old Testament that condemned homosexuality.[292] Several passages of the bible were discussed without context. For example, one could wonder how many people today take the bible literally or base their beliefs on different interpretations of the testaments. By not providing contexts but emphasizing the

[290] "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," *Gay Krant*, March 4, 1995; "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," *Gay Krant*, March 18, 1995; "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," *Gay Krant*, January 4, 1995; "Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk," *Gay Krant*, May 27, 1995.
[291] "Geen mensen," *Gay Krant*, June 23, 2001.
[292] "Gods bedoeling niet in de war brengen," *Gay Krant*, November 13, 1993.

dangers of a religious community to the gay community, we see homonationalist elements that are (re)produced. Normally, the readers of the *Gay Kran* are quick to respond to articles they do not agree with or find offensive. There were no responses to this article, thus implicating that the readers of the magazine agreed with what was written or it was at least not considered important enough to respond to. Hence, this signifies a change in the discourse of a community. Especially when that discourse remains unchallenged, as was the case with this article.

Thus, this research has not achieved its initial goal. However, it has established that homonationalism is not applicable to periods before the 21st century, when the gay emancipation movement was not yet fully institutionalized. Furthermore, I have found that even though there were elements of homonationalism, identifying it as truly homonationalist would be an exaggeration and false. Thus, I have introduced a new term to identify the subtle homonationalist elements that are developing: proto-homonationalism. While the time restrictions of this research have not allowed me to properly test this approach, I do believe it can provide a fist direction for further research into homonationalism in periods before the 21st century. Especially as it is now clear that the homonationalism that Puar introduced is not adequate for historical research.

Conclusion

I began this research with the goal to analyze the development of homonationalism in the Netherlands between 1990 and 2002. My intention was to bridge a gap between Mellink's research on the foundations of homonationalism and the explicit homonationalism after 2001 and 2002 that has been more widely analyzed.[293] Now, at the end of this paper I am not able to fully answer the research question that I posed at the beginning of this paper: "to what extent was homonationalism present between 1990 and 2002?" Even so, this paper did contribute to understanding the development of homonationalism better from a theoretical perspective. It has concluded that homonationalism is not applicable to periods in the past as historical context was different. Hence, it has introduced proto-homonationalism to contribute to further research on the historical development of homonationalism. As such, this paper has combined social studies and history to critically assess the theoretical foundations of homonationalism, showing the potential and necessity of historical awareness.

I began this research by building a strong theoretical foundation on which to build my analysis. For this I relied on works by Puar, but strengthened the framework by input from Aydemir, Mikdashi, and Mellink. However, in the exploratory coding phase it was soon clear that the coding would be inadequate. Hence, an addition coding frame was added which included elements that challenged homonationalism. Even so, the findings of this research have remained inconclusive due to the use of ahistorical concepts that were used. While some homonationalist elements were found and coded, they rarely exhibited a strong homonationalist discourse. One conclusion that can be drawn from this research is that homonationalism as Puar and Wekker defined it did not originate in the gay community. [294] However, the analysis of the development of homonationalism has failed as the concept of homonationalism as well as the manifestations that were introduced by Puar have proven to be unfit for the analysis of historical periods. Even so, from the findings it was clear some version of homonationalism was present. I have defined this version as proto-homonationalism.

Proto-homonationalism is the development of subtle homonationalist elements. While they do not necessarily result in a homonationalist discourse their development shows that the presence of homonationalist thinking is increasing. I have defined three responses as manifestation of this proto-homonationalism: signaling homonationalism, challenging

[293] Mellink, "De Emancipatiemonitor"; Aydemir, "Dutch Homonationalism and Intersectionality"; Verloo, "Gender Knowledge, and Opposition to the Feminist Project: Extreme-Right Populist Parties in the Netherlands"; Beekers, "Vroomheid En Seksualiteit: Geleefde Waarden Onder Jonge Moslims En Christenen in Nederland"; Meyer, Gaba, and Colwell, "Organizing Far from Equilibrium: Nonlinear Change in Organizational Fields."

[294] Puar and Makdashi, "Pinkwatching And Pinkwashing"; Wekker, "Van Homo Nostalgie En Betere Tijden : Homoseksualiteit En Postkolonialiteit," 1.

homonationalism, and reproducing homonationalism. Even though this approach has not been fully tested yet, due to time restrictions, it poses a first direction for the historical analysis of homonationalism now that it has become clear the original definition and form cannot be applied to historical events.

Furthermore, by defining this form of homonationalism, I introduced a periodization of homonationalism in the Netherlands. From 1980 to 1990 the foundations of homonationalism were laid. From 1990 to the beginning of the 21st century I have found proto-homonationalism and in the beginning of the 21st century until present day full-fledged homonationalism has been found. This can help future researchers understand the development of homonationalism from 1980 until today. As such, my research has not provided an in-depth answer to my research question but has provided a new perspective on a meta level.

In conclusion, this research has found that homonationalism in the form that Puar defined cannot be found between 1990 and 2002 in the *Gay Krant*, the largest LGBTQ magazine in the Netherlands. Through critically reflecting upon the theoretical and historical foundations this research has found that the concept of homonationalism has proven to be ahistorical if placed in a historical context. Therefore, I have defined a new form of homonationalism: proto-homonationalism, that can support future research. From the findings several suggestions can be made for forthcoming research. As this thesis was among the first research into homonationalism in gay communities, investigating if and when the gay community started reproducing homonationalism in the Netherlands. In addition, applying the suggest framework of proto-homonationalism can provide better insights into the development of homonationalism between 1980-1990 in the Netherlands. However, to test its applicability research into the development of proto-homonationalism in the United States, the country most academic works on homonationalism is written on, is recommendable as it can bring new historical insights to a social science dominated field.

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“Ik roep iedereen op te protesteren.” *Gay Krant*, July 9, 1994.
“Ik vind het hypocriet af te geven op de kerk.” *Gay Krant*, December 18, 1998.
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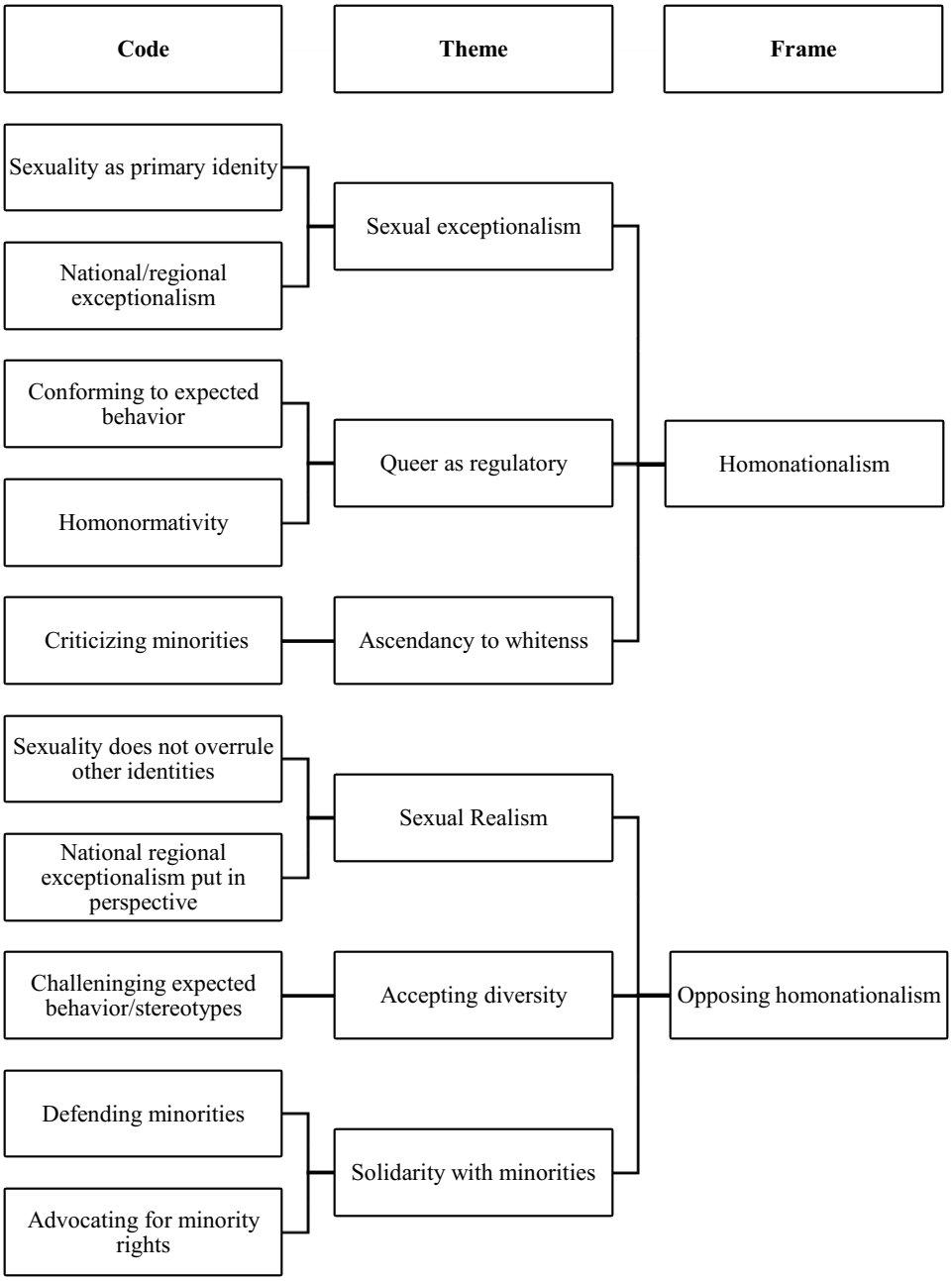
Appendix A | Coding table



Appendix B | Codes & Themes

Codes/Themes	Explanation
Sexual exceptionalism	This theme is based on the defined manifestation of homonationalism by Jasbir Puar. However, it has been redefined in the theoretical framework as: the creation of the exceptional queer subject that loses all other identities and the exceptional country or region in the nationalist rhetoric.
Sexuality as the primary identity	This code is based on the original definition of Puar defined sexual exceptionalism as the creation of an exceptional queer subject that loses all other identities.[295]
National/regional exceptionalism	This code responds to the additional manifestation of homonationalism defined by Mikdashi, who argues that homonationalism translates to homo imperialism, meaning an exceptional emancipated country or region criticizes and educates less progressive countries on gay rights.[296] As homo imperialism is another outcome and manifestation of homonationalism I have included it in the coding scheme. Furthermore, as it establishes the excellence of the country I have placed it under the theme of sexual exceptionalism.
Queer as regulatory	This theme is based on the defined manifestation of homonationalism by Jasbir Puar, which she defines as the creation of a narrow framework of expected and accepted behavior and stereotypes, however behavior outside this framework is rejected.[297]
Conforming to the expected behavior/stereotypes	This code is based on the definition of homonationalism by Jasbir Puar. It identifies the reproducing or advocating for expected and accepted behavior and stereotypes. In addition, instances when one is criticized for not conforming to the set framework of behavior is also included in this code.
Homonormativity	Following the foundation of homonationalism in homonormativity, – the willingness of homosexuals to adapt to the hetero society and its institutions – this code includes instances when gay subjects or communities conforms to heteronormative society and intend to become part of its institutions.[298]
Ascendancy to whiteness	This theme is based on the defined manifestation of homonationalism by Jasbir Puar, which she defines as the (white) gay subject becoming part of mainstream society due to socio-economic and racial privilege and adapt to its norms and values and consequently alienating and even criticizing other minorities.[299]
Criticizing minorities	Gay subjects actually becoming part of mainstream society is hard to pinpoint in the sources. However, alienation and criticizing other minorities is possible. Thus, this is taken as the code to pinpoint ascendancy to whiteness.

[295] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 22.
[296] Mikdashi, "Gay Rights as Human Rights."
[297] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 24.
[298] Duggan, "The New Homonormativity: The Sexual Politics of Neoliberalism," 179.
[299] Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, 128.

Sexual realism	This theme is the opposite of the previously defined sexual exceptionalism. It includes the presenting of a more realistic and critical perspective of sexuality and the discussed country
Sexuality does not overrule other identities	This code covers instances when sexuality is not considered as the primary identity, but also religion, ethnicity, nationality, and other parts of one's identity are considered.
National/regional exceptionalism put in perspective	This code includes discourses that realistically and critically assess the situation of gay rights and emancipation in the discussed country or region. I have included region in this code because in some instances Europe is discussed as exceptional, which in turn reflects on the Netherlands as well.
Accepting diversity	This theme is the opposite of the previously defined queer as regulatory. It covers discourses that welcome and accept pluralism that is not part of the expected behavior or stereotypes.
Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes	This code marks the challenging of expected behavior and stereotypes by advocating for pluralism or positively discussing identities, people, or organizations that do not fit with the framework of behavior and stereotypes.
Solidarity with minorities	This theme opposes the previously defined ascendancy to whiteness. It includes discourses that defend minorities when they are attacked or criticized in the discourse, and advocated for rights of minorities that are marginalized by society.
Defending minorities	This code covers the defending of minorities when they are criticized or marginalized in the discourse.
Advocating for minority rights	This code includes the advocating for rights for minorities that are marginalized in society. This includes sub-groups of the gay community, as well as, other minorities in society.

Appendix C | Coding Data

Themes/codes used per period	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1990-1995	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	1997-2002	Total
Homonationalism	-	**3**	**4**	**2**	**4**	**3**	**16**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**6**	**6**	**4**	**22**	**38**
Sexual exceptionalism	-	3	1	3	2	4	13	2	1	1	4	3	4	15	28
Sexuality as primary identity	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
National/regional exceptionalism	-	2	1	3	2	3	11	2	1	1	4	3	4	15	26
Queer as regulatory	-	2	-	1	1	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Conforming to expected behavior/stereotypes	-	2	-	1	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Homonormativity	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-		1
Ascendancy to whiteness	-	2	3	1	3	2	10	3	1	-	5	3	3	15	25
Criticizing minorities	-	2	3	1	3	2	10	3	1	-	5	3	3	15	25
Challenging homonationalism	**3**	**6**	**6**	**9**	**15**	**15**	**54**	**13**	**10**	**5**	**10**	**7**	**9**	**54**	**108**
Sexual realism	2	4	3	1	3	5	18	4	4	2	3	2	4	17	35
Sexuality does not overrule other identities	1	1	3	-	3	4	12	1	2	2	3	2	3	12	24
National/regional exceptionalism put in perspective	1	3	-	1	-	1	6	3	2	-	-	-	1	6	12
Accepting diversity	1	2	3	-	5	9	20	2	4	2	5	-	1	14	34
Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes	1	2	3	-	5	9	20	2	4	2	5	-	1	14	34
Solidarity with minorities	3	4	6	8	13	14	48	12	5	4	6	7	8	42	90
Defending minorities	-	1	4	5	5	8	23	8	4	3	5	7	8	35	58
Advocating for minority rights	3	3	3	4	9	7	29	4	1	1	1	-	-	7	36
Number of selected articles	**3**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**19**	**18**	**70**	**16**	**12**	**6**	**16**	**13**	**13**	**76**	**146**

Appendix D | Coding Overview[300]

Source number	Date/page Title	Short summary	Codes	Frames	Theme
1	19 May, 1990, 16 COC eist aanpassing Nederlands homo asielbeleid	Gays in other countries are often still persecuted for their sexuality. The COC wants to enforce sexuality as a legitimate reason for asylum seekers.	Advocating for minority rights	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
2	2 June, 1990, 18 Verbrokkeld COC moet dynamisch de jaren '90 in	The COC has to become more inclusive. More gays and lesbians with different backgrounds should be attracted. Women will also have a more important role.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Advocating for minority rights	Sexual realism Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
3	30 June, 1990, 6 COC belemmert zelf weg van dogma naar diversiteit	The inclusion policy of the COC is focused on feminization (more equality for women), but because of this loses eye for other groups and their interests. This results in less solidarity.	National/regional exceptionalism put in perspective Advocating for minority rights	Sexual realism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
4	21 September, 1991, 16 Het complot van de homoseksuelen	A Roman Catholic paper has published an article on the (aggressive) progressive of the gay agenda and how this was forced in society. The writer asks attention for it and the consequences for youth and their perception of sexuality.	Criticizing minorities	Ascendancy to whitenss	Homonationalism
5	21 September, 1991, 17 Met die pater valt te praten	A roman catholic Father who educates people inside and outside the church on homosexuality and who is gay himself.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes	Sexual realism Accepting Diversity	Challenging homonationalism

[300] Scans of the analyzed articles are available. Due to the size of the documents they were not included in this paper. They can viewed upon request.

6	21 September 1991, 19 Amnesty erkent homo's als gewetensgevangenen	Amnesty recognizes that people should not be imprisoned based on their sexuality. This was mostly seen as a Western viewpoint, but the African countries have accepted it.	National/regional exceptionalism Advocating for minority rights	Sexual exceptionalism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
7	21 September, 1991, 27 Ik probeer iets omver te werpen. Dat vind ik opwindend	Interview with Koos Prinsloo about his book. He talks about homosexuality in South-Africa and how it is still not accepted there (there's a great quote there).	National/regional exceptionalism Advocating for minority rights	Sexual exceptionalism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
8	5 October, 1991, 7 Asielzoekers verzwijgen vluchtmotief	Refugees are afraid of informing Dutch authorities of their sexuality. This should change and small progress have been made.	National/regional exceptionalism put in perspective	Sexual realism	Challenging homonationalism
9	19 October, 1991, 3 Vluchtelingen	Response to the article *Asielzoekers verzwijgen vluchtmotief*. Author finds that refugees should just tell the truth and that the authorities should immediately emphasize that Dutch people do not discriminate.	Sexuality as primary identity Conforming to expected behavior Criticizing minorities	Sexual exceptionalism Queer as regulatory Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
10	2 November 1991, 7 Angst vluchtelingen begrijpelijk	Response to the article *Asielzoekers verzwijgen vluchtmotief*. Deputy minister argues that it is understandable refugees are scared and they should be given the time to come out for their sexuality. However, asylum is granted in individual cases and cannot be generalized to everyone.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
11	16 November 1991, 14 Werkgroep Handicap en Homoseksualiteit van start	Workgroup Handicap and Homosexuality has been founded in Tilburg. However, they are in conflict with the COC which might prohibit the use of their buildings.	Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Advocating for minority rights	Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism

12	28 December, 1991, A Lezersonderzoek: vraag 8	In a readers research the *Gay Krant* asks the readers about their religion. Only one of the major religions is missing as an answer: the Islam.	Conforming to expected behavior	Queer as regulatory	Homonationalism
13	25 January, 1992, I-14 Gangbare beeld van de RK kerk klopt niet	Research by Harry Oosterhuis showed that the RC church actually helped gay emancipation. While the church could not be seen as one entity there were many progressive parishes where homosexuality was accepted to an extent.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
14	25 January, 1992, I-10 Bedenkelijke analyse homomoorden	The author critiques an article from 1990 in the *Gay Krant* where one wrote about the murder of 17 gays in the Netherlands. In total there were 21 suspect of which 5 Moroccans and 2 Turks. In the 1990 article the blame is laid with these two groups and related to their Islamic culture.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
15	7 March, 1992, I-13 Geloof is iets vrolijks	Several homosexual Christians no longer feel welcome in their church. Their parishes tried to 'heal' them or would exclude them. Therefore they are forming their own.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Criticizing minorities	Sexual realism Accepting diversity Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
16	21 March, 1992, II-5 Homo-emancipatie? We roepen het misschien wat vaker	Review of a musical: understanding, about homosexuality and stereotypes in society. Though it fights stereotypes it also greatly reproduces gay stereotypes themselves.	Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Advocating for minority rights	Accepting Diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism

17	4 April, 1992, I-15 SHA wil Marokkanen niet als buur	A gay organization does not want a Moroccan education center next door as the Islam does not condone homosexuality.	Criticizing minorities	Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
18	25 July, 1992, 9 Amsterdam steunt homo-emancipatie allochtonen	Amsterdam is setting up policy on gay emancipation. It's main goals are the improvement of education on sexuality for migrants and more space for lesbians to develop themselves.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Advocating for minority rights	Sexual realism Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
19	5 September, 1992, 13 Homo-hoofdstad Amsterdam wordt nu nog aantrekkelijker	The Gay and lesbian association Amsterdam is organizing a weekend with festivities to promote Amsterdam as the gay capital of Europe. There will be parties, but also tours of gay monuments etc.	National/regional exceptionalism	Sexual exceptionalism	Homonationalism
20	31 October, 1992, 3 Islamieten	Reader argues that (understandably) a lot of attention is given to the Roman Catholic church in NL, but Islamic organizations are mostly overlooked.	Criticizing minorities	Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
21	31 October, 1992, 11 De officiële kerk gelooft in God, maar niet in de mensen	Retired priest tells his story and perspective on homosexuality in the Church. Everyone is welcome according to him and he opposes the church and bishop if they say otherwise.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
22	12 December 1992, 19 Jong, snel, homo en (toch) gelovig	Youth gay Catholic association that organizes session for religious gays. Although they are often criticized for choosing the wrong side, they are open about their sexuality as well as their religion and reflect critically on both.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Defending minorities advocating for minority rights	Sexual realism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
23	9 January, 1993, 11	The Dutch gay movement has been less influential in recent years. They need to take the lead achieving emancipation for gays and	National/regional exceptionalism put in perspective	Sexual realism	Challenging homonationalism

	De Nederlandse homobeweging moet in Europa de rechten van homoseksuelen veiligstellen	lesbians in Europe. It needs to professionalize and women need a more important role.			
24	15 May, 1993, 7 Mooie woorden, nu de daden nog	The Dutch government released a report on gay emancipation. However, the findings of the report and the decision of the government are not in line. Refugees, migrants, and youth require more attention, but the government has decided to stop the funding for several projects that included these groups.	National/regional exceptionalism (quote from article showing sexual exceptionalism: Ons land vervult een gidsrol ten aanzien van homo's en lesbo's) Defending minorities Advocating for minority rights	Sexual exceptionalism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
25	29 May, 1993, 8 Geaccepteerde discriminatie	In Flanders minorities are excluded from gay bars. Even so, this trend of discrimination is common for the region, even the police is known to be racist. It is accepted. In the Netherlands people try to understand each other's backgrounds and cultures.	National/regional exceptionalism Defending minorities	Sexual exceptionalism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
26	12 June, 1993, 15 Homo's te pas en te onpas erbij gehaald	In the last year there has been a lot of incidents with the RC church and homosexuality, together with a priest the *Gay Krant* reflects on these developments. The priest argues that even though the Vatican takes certain stances, the Netherlands is a unique case and Catholics in NL are still as tolerant as the rest of society. However, it does remain an awkward, but important discussion.	National/regional exceptionalism Defending minorities	Sexual exceptionalism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
27	10 July, 1993, 17 Zwart is commercieel niet aantrekkelijk	Frank is a transvestite and will present a talk show on tv. He reflects on how the Netherlands is still an intolerant place where	Advocating for minority rights	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism

		large groups of black and Moroccan people are discriminated against.			
28	21 August, 1993, ii-5 Wij moeten twee keer een isolement doorbreken	Portrait of a gay organization for deaf people. They have been successful in finding a place in both gay and deaf communities.	Advocating for minority rights	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
29	16 October, 1993, 5 De paus is van een andere planeet	The pope has released a new 'Veritatis Splendor', in which he condemns homosexuality. The *Gay Krant* interviewed 235 of the 1350 Catholic counselors in the Netherlands and almost 70% did not agree with the pope.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
30	30 October 1993, 3 Vrouwenpagina	A woman responds happily to the fact that the *Gay Krant* now pays more attention to women as well. In the past it mostly was a male dominated paper.	Advocating for minority rights	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
31	30 October, 1993, 9 Kringen te danken aan gunstig klimaat in kerk	A portrait with one of founders of the 'Kringen' a (originally) Roman Catholic organization that set up talk groups for homosexuals. He argues that the church played an important role in the gay emancipation by setting up these groups and supporting the COC in several instances.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
32	13 November, 1993, 7 Janmaat: Niet met seksuele geaardheid te koop lopen	Interview with the leader of the far right party: CD. He argues that homosexuals have similar rights, but should not overdo it. You can be it, just don't show it too much.	Conforming to expected behavior/stereotypes	Queer as regulatory	Homonationalism
33	13 November, 1993, 19 Gods bedoeling niet in de war brengen	An analysis of the biblical texts that condemn homosexuality. specifically focusing on the old testament.	Criticizing minorities	Ascendency to whiteness	Homonationalism
34	8 January, 1994, 3 Testament	A reader of the *Gay Krant* responds to "Gods bedoeling niet in de war brengen". He argues that biblical texts are a bad representation of religion today and that no one except some individual fundamentalists take these texts literally. Thus they prove to be a weak	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism

		foundation for the discussion of homosexuality in religion.			
35	22 January, 1994, 7 De arrogantie van de elite	Guest columnist criticizes the gay elite of the COC. In the eyes of the gay elite you either behave in a certain way or you are not part of them. More attention should be paid to including all homosexuals in the Netherlands.	Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Advocating for minority rights	Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
36	22 January, 1994, II-1 Turkse homo's: een dubbelleven	Turkish gays in the Netherlands are struggling with their sexuality due to conservative norms and values in their communities. Although there are some organizations that advocate for them now, more change, but also understanding is needed.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Advocating for minority rights	Sexual realism Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
37	5 February, 1994, 39 Turkse homo's	A Turkish gay man says more Turkish gays in the Netherlands should have the courage to come out.	Conforming to expected behavior Criticizing minorities	Queer as regulatory Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
38	5 March, 1994, 8-9 Er ligt in Nederland geen politieke taak voor de homobeweging	Interview with Pim Fortuyn in which he discusses homosexuality and Muslims.	Criticizing minorities	Ascendancy to whitness	Homonationalism
39	19 March, 1994, 7 De seksuele revolutie is aan mij voorbijgegaan	The new leader of the socialist party: Groenlinks is a Muslim with a migrant background. He talks about homosexuality and the development in Muslim societies and especially second generation migrants.	Defending minorities Advocating for minority right	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
40	2 April, 1994, 23 Homomusical van en over allochtonen	A review of a musical about how homosexuals deal with their intersectionality (e.g. being black and gay, or Muslim and gay). The review warns that we should be careful not to enforce prejudices with musicals like this.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Advocating for minority rights	Sexual realism Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism

41	16 April, 1994, 7 Nederland tolerant? Vergeet het maar	Interview with gay member of parliament elect for the liberal 'D66'. He talks about his sexuality and how the Netherlands is not so tolerant at all. "Emancipation is something you need to work on constantly".	National/regional exceptionalism put in perspective	Sexual realism	Challenging homonationalism
42	30 April, 1994, 17 Samen strijden tegen extreem-rechts	Sandra Naelaerts will present pink Saturday in Antwerp. Belonging to the anti-racist movement she finds it important to also speak of for other minorities.	Advocating for minority rights	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
43	30 April, 1994, 19 Allochtone vrouwen zoeken naar identiteit	The Black Orchid, a lesbian organization for black and migrant women celebrated its one-year anniversary. They argue that these women need an organization so they can advocate from their own experiences and intersectionality.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Advocating for minority rights	Sexual realism Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
44	14 May, 1994, 3 (Ver)oordelen en discrimineren	A reader comments that one would think gays are tolerant. However, in his experience (being more feminine) gays often judge him.	Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes (good example of homonationalism in practice, but what the *Gay Krant* challenges)	Accepting diversity	Challenging homonationalism
45	11 June, 1994, 3 De geur van verse vis	Reader criticizes the *Gay Krant* for including sensual pictures of women in their portfolio page. He argues the *Gay Krant* is for gay males and they should not do it, or in his words: "De smell of fresh fish blew into the room and I had trouble getting rid of it".	Criticizing minorities	Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
46	11 June, 1994, 14 Gaylife Suriname verdient een positiever beeld	Plea for a more positive perception of gay life in Suriname. There are organizations working on gay emancipation and organizing events and also judicial emancipation is developing.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
47	9 July, 1994, 17 Ik roep iedereen op te protesteren	Activist Franco grillini is interviewed about developments in Italy in the last year where	National/regional exceptionalism	Sexual exceptionalism	Challenging homonationalism

		Buscaroli made some homophobic comments. He's planning on strengthening the gay movement in Italy. He sees the Netherlands and Italy as day and night regarding homosexuality.			
48	23 July, 1994, 12 Open je ogen voor de groeiende groep homobejaarden	Albert Mol talks about the issues gay elderly can have. He advocates for more attention and care for this group.	Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Advocating for minority rights	Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
49	6 August, 1994, 3 Discriminerende homo's erger & Graag meer respect voor vrouwen	Readers responding to a complaint about women pages in the '*Gay Krant*'. (see "Verse vis"). Both readers are horrified by these claims.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
50	1 October, 1994, 5 Een homoseksuele bisschop? Geen probleem!	Final interview with bishop Huub Ernst, who retires after more than 25 years as bishop. He is known as one of the most tolerant catholic leaders in the Netherlands and reflects positively on the place of homosexual in the Catholic church.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
51	10 December, 1994, 5 Er ligt een gigantische taakstelling op ons bordje	Interview with Erica Terpstra, the new deputy minister on health (which includes gay and lesbian emancipation). She sees gay emancipation in the Netherlands as advanced and is skeptical about European cooperation as conservative countries might hold the Netherlands back. Besides this, she is concerned about the place of gay elderly and wants to have a investigation in how their situation can be improved.	National/regional exceptionalism Advocating for minority rights	Sexual exceptionalism Solidarity with minorities	Homonationalism
52	10 December, 1994, Het slaat nergens op dat mannen zich de homomedia toeëigenen	Marion Verbruggen, professional flute player and co-organizer of the gay games criticizes gay males for claiming gay media. She believes it is important that media like the *Gay Krant* pay more attention to lesbians as well.	Advocating for minority rights	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism

53	21 January, 1995, 16-17 Gay Cocktail botst met COC	The newly found migrant gay movement Gay Cocktail is unhappy how the COC have treated them. The organization was promised the use of a COC building, however when Gay Cocktail did not want to do exactly what the COC wanted, the COC tried to kick them out.	Defending minorities Advocating for minority rights	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
54	18 February, 1995, 3 Homo zijn en geloven in de God van de Bijbel is onmogelijk	A reader of the *Gay Krant* pleas that it is impossible to believe in the god of the bible and be gay. If they try to believe in both, the are disloyal to the church, the people that died for gay emancipation and disloyal to themselves.	Sexuality as primary identity Criticizing minorities	Sexual exceptionalism Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
55	18 February, 1995, 33 Wel doof, maar beslist niet stom!	Interview with three deaf gay males who talk about the challenges of being gay and deaf. Especially the fact that there is no unified Dutch sign language is problematic for their romantic and social lives.	Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Advocating for minority rights	Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
56	4 March, 1995, 3 Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk	Readers challenge the critique of not being able to be gay and believing god. They emphasize that the god in the bible is also not always the god that is preached in the church. Though religion is based on the bible, one should understand the time it was written in.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Defending minorities	Sexual realism Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
57	18 March, 1995, 3 Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk	readers challenge the critique of not being able to be gay and believing god. They emphasize that the god in the bible is also not always the god that is preached in the church. Though religion is based on the bible, one should understand the time it was written in.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes the minority	Sexual realism Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
58	1 April, 1995, 3 Reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk	readers challenge the critique of not being able to be gay and believing god. They emphasize that the god in the bible is also not always the	Sexuality does not overrule other identities	Sexual realism Accepting diversity	Challenging homonationalism

		god that is preached in the church. Though religion is based on the bible, one should understand the time it was written in.	Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Defending the minority	Solidarity with minorities	
59	15 April, 1995, 3 reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk	readers challenge the critique of not being able to be gay and believing god. They emphasize that the god in the bible is also not always the god that is preached in the church. Though religion is based on the bible, one should understand the time it was written in.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Defending the minority	Sexual realism Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
60	15 April, 1995, 20 Weg met het superioriteitsgevoel	Writer Leo Bersani argues that gays and lesbians are creating their own bubble of culture, where the focus is no longer about sex. As a result they become more exclusive and exclude themselves from society. He argue the attention should be on sex and having it accepted and tolerated in mainstream society. This way you create equality instead of two separate exclusive bubbles.	Challenging expected behavior/stereotype Advocating for minority rights	Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
61	27 May, 1995, 3 reacties op homo zijn en geloven in god van de bijbel is onmogelijk	readers challenge the critique of not being able to be gay and believe in god. They emphasize that the god in the bible is also not always the god that is preached in the church. Though religion is based on the bible, one should understand the time it was written in.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Defending the minority	Sexual realism Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
62	23 June, 1995, 17 Een paar neven van mij zijn nichten	Two gay males from Suriname and Morocco talk about their experiences. Both defend their culture and argue that there is room for homosexuality in them, however the process of emancipation is not as far as the Netherlands. Through education and sexual orientation these communities should be helped to advance.	Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Defending minorities	Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
63	7 July, 1995, 5	Research has shown that a majority of the Dutch population is in favor of gay marriage,	National/regional exceptionalism	Sexual exceptionalism	Homonationalism

	Nederlanders pal achter huwelijk voor homo's en lesbiennes.	contrary to what many opinion analysts expected.	Homonormativity	Queer as regulatory	
64	21 July, 1995, 15 Het probleem zit 'm in het seksuele	Wim, who was supposed to be the senator of a Catholic study association was forced to step down when he came out as gay. The problem was not so much with his sexuality (the association argues), but the fact that he lived with his boyfriend and had a sexual relationship. Sex before marriage is not allowed, and as gay marriage is not allowed, there can be no sexual relation between two people of the same sex.	Criticizing minorities	Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
65	4 August, 1995, 3 *No scan, quote:* "Naschrift: De *Gay Krant* is in eerste instantie een opinietijdschrift."	-	Neutral, but allows for different opinions good to clarify in the research.	-	-
66	18 August, 1995, 15 Ik krijg van beiden kanten geen kans	Bert, a gay male, grew up on a caravan camp (mostly used by the Roma, but also by other people), where homosexuality is still not accepted. However when he tells people from the gay community where he grew up, they also exclude him.	Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Advocating for minority rights	Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
67	1 September, 1995, 16 Dan maar vluchten?	Still gay foreigners seek refuge in the Netherlands. However, they are often met with ignorance and misconceptions. The *Gay Krant* tries to explain their experience to their readers.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Defending minorities	Sexual realism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
68	29 September, 1995, 7 Turkse jongen in vaderland mishandeld door politie	The *Gay Krant* interviews Searuss, a gay activist who was tortured in Turkey. He talks about the situation in Turkey and his fight for gay emancipation.	National/regional exceptionalism Advocating for minority rights	Sexual exceptionalism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism

69	8 December, 1995, 5 Mugabe haalt opnieuw uit; woede en verbazing	Mugabe, president of Zimbabwe, told the world press before the African conference in Maastricht: "Homosexuals are seen as divergent in Africa, therefore we will continue to shame them." Some people applauded this statement and the Dutch minister did not intervene. The *Gay Krant* reconstructed the events.	National/regional exceptionalism put in perspective	Sexual realism	Challenging homonationalism
70	22 December, 1995, 3 Reacties op Mugabe	Readers of the *Gay Krant* have responded shocked by the comments of Mugabe.	Advocating for minority rights	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
71	22 December, 1995, 4 Les Nederlandse tolerantie niet verplicht	Homosexuality is not mandatory in the Dutch integration classes, but even if it is brought up, some people walk out, because they are ashamed. This shows the need to discuss it.	National/regional exceptionalism Advocating for minority rights	Sexual exceptionalism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
72	17 January, 1997, 9 Homo's kijken links en stemmen rechts	Research by the *Gay Krant* shows that most readers vote for right wing parties, however they also watch left wing tv channels.	Neutral, but interesting development		-
73	17 January, 1997, 13 Jongeren verwaarlozen bevochten rechten	Older gay activist reflect on new generations and argue that they are no longer aware of the struggle for emancipation that took place in previous decades. They take it for granted.	National/regional exceptionalism put in perspective Advocating for minorities	Sexual realism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
74	31 January, 1997, 3 Gewetensnood	Henk Krol, editor of the *Gay Krant*, reflects on Islam and homosexuality. He argues that the norms and values of modern western citizens are completely opposite of the norms and values of Islamic communities	National/regional exceptionalism Criticizing minorities	Sexual exceptionalism Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
75	31 January, 1997, 5 Nederlandse Moslim Omroep in opspraak	The Dutch Muslim Broadcaster has been accused of suppressing discussion about homosexuality.	Defending minorities (telling both sides of the story)	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
76	14 February, 1997, 7 Ingrijpen in toenemende intolerantie voordat het te laat is	A dean of a secondary school in Amsterdam warns for the increasing intolerance of migrant and specifically Muslim students and pleas for	Criticizing minorities	Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism

		more education and contact with cultural elite from these groups.			
77	14 February, 1997 23 een hang naar bedekte sodomie	Writer, Haffid Boazza, counters stereotypes of Moroccans and Muslims and challenges the label 'migrant [allochtoon]' that the Dutch continue to use for second generation migrants.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
78	28 February, 1997, 3 Wie maakt de dienst hier uit?	Editor of the *Gay Krant*, Henk Krol, writes about the increasing intolerance in Europe and the Netherlands, the latter due to migrants and Muslim communities. He believes the government should step up and formalize tolerance towards homosexuality in the treaty of Amsterdam.	Criticizing minorities	Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
79	28 February, 1997, 7 Politiek twijfelt hoe toenemende intolerantie aan te pakken	Politicians are unsure how to respond to the increasing intolerance, among migrants. However, they emphasize this intolerance does not only occur in migrant communities, but also in Dutch communities such as the conservative town of Urk.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
80	14 March, 1997, 3 Waken over eigen opvattingen	A reader of the *Gay Krant* argues that the *Gay Krant* should stop warning the gay community of the danger of the Islam. The danger is not in the Islam, but in the gay as well as wider Dutch society that does not dare to enforce their norms and values and therefore has risk of being overrun by a small group of people of a small minority. Thus it is not about the Islam or migrants, but the weakness of Dutch society.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
81	11 April, 1997, 16 Misschien heb ik onderschat hoe moeilijk het is Marokkaan en homo te zijn	Jamil Bouslimane tells his story about being gay and Moroccan. Het argues that this is extremely complicated and difficult. In migrant communities homosexuality is not accepted and even though gay communities try	National/regional exceptionalism in perspective	Sexual realism Accepting diversity	Challenging homonationalism

		to embrace him, they cannot relate to his experience. Many Moroccan gays on the other hand, are also scared of their sexuality and are unable to live with it.	Challenging expected behavior/stereotype Criticizing minorities	Solidarity with minorities	
82	25 April, 1997, 25 Gevlucht van kast naar kast	Several gay asylum seekers share their experiences. They talk about their difficulties and challenges, such as the immediate need to tell the authorities your reasoning for asylum. Many of them are traumatized and scared to share their sexuality.	National/regional exceptionalism put in perspective Advocating for minority rights	Sexual realism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
83	9 May, 1997, 7 Het weerhoud van een hooggeplaatste moslimvrouw	Portrait of Sajidah Abdus, the spokesperson of the Dutch Muslim council. She talks about Islam and homosexuality and her role of facilitating this discussion as a Muslim and migrant woman.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
84	23 May, 1997, 4 Dijkstal buigt zich over intolerantie op scholen	The minister of education will launch an investigation about the tolerance of homosexuality among young migrants in secondary schools.	Defending minorities (she emphasizes it is many different cultures and communities)	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
85	23 May, 1997, 5 Moslim Omroep zendt programma over homoseksualiteit uit	The Dutch Muslim Broadcaster will broadcast a documentary on homosexuality in response to the discussion in previous weeks. Even though it might not be as progressive as some Dutch people would want it to be, they emphasize it is a first step.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
86	26 September, 1997, 4 Marokkaans geweld neemt toe in Rotterdam	The pink triangle (a cooperation between several gay organization) finds that there is an increase of violence towards gays by Moroccan youth. Even so, they emphasize their ethnicity is not the only reason, but also socio-economic and geographical factors play an important role.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
87	26 September, 1997, 5 Onderwijsinspectie gaat intolerantie onderzoeken	The minister of education has started an investigation into the discrimination of gays	Advocating for minority rights	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism

		and women, as promised before (see previous article on this), but also migrants.			
88	24 October, 1997, 5 Nederlanders zien ons als allochtone seksobjecten	Sem Ariklar has founded the 'pink roof' where migrant gays can find refuge. He argues that migrant gays are often not seen as 'full' homosexuals and this should change.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Challenging expected behavior/stereotype	Sexual realism Accepting diversity	Challenging homonationalism
89	24 April, 1998, 3 Een Christenhond heeft het recht dit te zeggen	Van Dijke, the leader of the catholic party: RPF, is prosecuted for comparing homosexuality with other since such as stealing in an interview.	National/regional exceptionalism put in perspective	Sexual realism	Challenging homonationalism
90	8 May, 1998, 7 Intolerantie allochtone jongeren valt mee	Research has shown that youth with a migrant background are less intolerant toward homosexual teachers than expected. 70 percent does not care if the teacher is homosexual or not.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
91	22 May, 1998, 1 Brabantse pastoor preekt homohaat	A priest has said that other priest that bless gay relationships should be hung of highest trees. The cooperation of Gay Catholic Priests does not blame him personally, but rather the culture at the seminary and the church.	Criticizing minorities (but justifiably so)	Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
92	22 May, 1998, 7 Hetero's	Cees an der Pluijm argues that Dutch society is based on heteronormative norms and values and therefore homosexuality can never be fully accepted. He rejects those values and also gay marriage as it shows that homosexuals are adapting to those hetero norms and values.	National regional exceptionalism put in perspective Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes	Sexual realism Accepting diversity	Challenging homonationalism
93	22 May, 1998, 9 Ik heb God steeds beterschap beloofd, maar...	a gay male from the Dutch bible belt shares his story of how he felt forced to marry due to his education. However, he still has contacts with men as well. Only few know as he does not want to hurt his six children. He concludes	Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes	Accepting diversity	Challenging homonationalism

		with: "I should never have listened to the church".			
94	17 July, 1998, 1 Limburgse pastoor negeert bisschoppelijke brief	A catholic priest in Limburg continues to bless gay relationships, contrary to the demand of the bishop.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
95	31 July, 1998, 50-51 Amsterdam: The gay capital of Europe	English article about the tolerance of Dutch society and Amsterdam as its gay capital.	National/regional exceptionalism	Sexual exceptionalism	Homonationalism
96	31 July, 1998, 52 Misplaatste arrogantie	Football player Wensley Ton argues that heterosexuals should be allowed to join the gay games in other to further emancipation. In addition, he argues there is not one gay identity, but different people.	Challenging expected behavior stereotypes	Accepting diversity	Challenging homonationalism
97	28 August, 1998, 13 Islamitische homo emancipatie	Three gay men from a Islamic country tell their story. They want to emancipate gays in their country and achieve equal rights. Even so, they consider it a 'mission impossible'. However, they emphasize that rarely someone is kicked out of the community and the faith because of their sexuality.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Advocating for minority rights	Sexual realism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
98	11 September, 1998, 1 Bijna ⅕ allochtone jongeren heeft moeite met homoseksualiteit	Research by the *Gay Krant* shows that ⅕ of migrant youth struggle with homo sexuality almost 25 percent believes that their parents would not be okay with it. Even so, the results are surprisingly positive, 76% does not have an issue with homosexuality, 82% believes they should not be discriminated and 27% feels connected with homosexuals.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
99	23 October, 1998, 11 Cathedral of hope ongekend succes	Cathedral of Hope is a church in the US which completely accepts homosexuality. They argue that the homosexual acts in the bible are condemned because they were executed by heterosexuals, which would be unnatural.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism

100	18 December, 1998, 7 Ik vind het hypocriet af te geven op de kerk	A catholic homosexual criticizes the gay community for constantly attacking the church. He is gay and catholic, but feels that only one part of his identity is accepted.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes	Sexual realism Accepting diversity	Challenging homonationalism
101	6 June, 1999, 1 IPOTH wil moskee openen	The multicultural gay organization is setting up a mosque for homosexuals where they can talk about Islam and the place of homosexuality in it.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes	Sexual realism Accepting diversity	Challenging homonationalism
102	16 July, 1999, 21 Pleidooi voor geen aparte homokerk	Theologist Sieb Lanser argues that there should be no separate church for homosexuals, instead the church and homosexuals should compromise and reconcile.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Defending minorities	Sexual realism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
103	3 September, 1999, 3 Geloof - Woede en ongeloof over katholieke traktaten nieuwe bisschop	The new bishop of Groningen has published of homophobic tracts. However, local priests say they won't follow up on them in practice, thus opposing the bishop.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
104	1 October, 1999, 1 D66 en RPF samen in actie voor asielzoekers	A surprising cooperation between the liberal D66 and Protestant RPF. They submitted a motion in parliament to ensure a residence permit for converts and homosexuals to avoid eviction from the Netherlands and prosecution in their country of origin.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
105	24 December, 1999, 4-7 Onze liberale samenleving moet blijvend bevochten worden	Three politicians reflect on gay emancipation and where it should be headed in the future.	National/regional exceptionalism	Sexual exceptionalism	Homonationalism
106	24 December, 1999, 22-23 De Belangrijkste lessen	Lessons that can be drawn from the history of gay emancipation in the Netherlands such as, the importance of allies, identity, but also openness to diversity, and cooperation between different sexualities.	Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Advocating for minority rights	Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism

107	4 February, 2000, 14 Initiatiefvoorstel moet acceptatie door allochtonen bevorderen	A neighborhood council has introduced a plan to tackle homophobia and xeno- and Islamophobia in Rotterdam. They believe that by education migrants about homosexuality intolerance can be avoided. At the same time they argue that the media and politics focus to much on the intolerant migrant and not enough on the many tolerant migrants behind them.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
108	4 February, 2000, 18-20 Ik wil geen homopastoor zijn, maar een priester voor iedereen	Antoine Bodar, a homosexual priest, talks about his sexuality, priesthood and homosexuality in the catholic church. He states that he does not want to be "a gay priest, but a priest for everyone".	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes	Sexual realism Accepting diversity	Challenging homonationalism
109	18 February, 2000, 17 Ik voel me gevangen in de middeleeuwen	Hakim, a young Moroccan homosexual talks about his experiences of coming out, family pride, and religion.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities	Sexual realism	Challenging homonationalism
110	3 March, 2000, 9 Acceptatie	A reader response to the article: *Initiatiefvoorstel moet acceptatie door allochtonen bevorderen*. He does not agree that gay movements are struggling to accept other cultures with other norms and values. He talks about an experience where he was accused of adultery by a Moroccan dad, because of his sexuality. He wonders how you can accept different norms and values if there are groups that discriminate against you	National/regional exceptionalism Criticizing minorities	Sexual exceptionalism Ascendency to whiteness	Homonationalism
111	31 March, 2000, 42 Ook een niet-Nederlandse homo kan gelukkig zijn	Review of a tv show about gay migrants how tell their story. Catching is the emphasis that although they have a different experience as to Dutch people due to their cultural and religious education, they can be just as happy as Dutch gays.	Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Defending minorities	Accepting diversity Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism

112	12 May, 2000, 24-25 Oneindige strijd tegen dagelijkse hetze	A gay male talks about his experience with discrimination from both migrant youth and the supposed tolerant Dutch.	National/regional exceptionalism put in perspective Criticizing minorities	Sexual realism Ascendency to whiteness	Homonationalism
113	26 May, 2000, 9 Multi-culti	Professor Rob Tielman argues that the Dutch are constantly labelling 1st, 2nd, and 3rd generation migrants the same. They assume they all have the same conservative norms and values. This leads to prejudices, which stops Dutch society to move forward with emancipation.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
114	23 June, 2000, 13 Wat heb je het in Nederland als homo toch goed	A Protestant pastor walks through the park and talks to a woman who argues that homosexuals should stop complaining as their life is very good in the Netherlands. The pastor then defends the homosexuals by saying that they constantly need to fight for acceptance.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
115	21 July, 2000, 3 Paus	Henk Krol writes that discussion and conflict with religious leaders is unavoidable in regards to gay emancipation. Even so, there should be a discussion. Letters sent by the gay movement remained unanswered by the pope and thus conflict remains.	Criticizing minorities	Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
116	21 July, 2000, 4-5 Paus schoffeert homo's	The pope has responded poorly to the 2000 world pride in Rome, just days before he stated that homosexuality is a disorder and the pride was an insult to the holy year. The foundation 'Friends of the *Gay Krant*' has sued the pope for hate speech.	Criticizing minorities	Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
117	4 August, 2000, 27-28 Diversiteit als positieve kracht	Amsterdam alderman, Jaap van der Aa, discussed how Amsterdam is unique in the world, but still many invisible gay communities are struggling and require support.	National/regional exceptionalism Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes	Sexual exceptionalism Accepting diversity	Challenging homonationalism

118	8 September, 2000, 19 Dertig verschillende culturen bij Haagsche meltingpot	A new workgroup of COC the Hague is founded to help homosexual migrants feel more comfortable with their sexuality and share experiences.	Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes	Accepting diversity	Challenging homonationalism
119	22 September, 2000, 4-7 De moederkerk zal homoseksueel gedrag nooit goedkeuren	Henk Krol interviewed the Bishop of Utrecht. The bishop believes that homosexuals should not be discriminated, but at the same time argues that acting upon homosexuality can never be accepted by the church.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
120	4 November, 2000, 13 Homohaat	Pim Fortuyn writes about violence against an employee of his. His gay employee could not come to work because he was assaulted by Turkish men from his street. Pim Fortuyn uses this example to argue that migrant Islamic communities will never accept homosexuality and are a threat to Dutch society.	Criticizing minorities	Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
121	18 November 2000, 38 Voorkeur voor onopvallende opstelling	Gay youth does not want to stand out and present themselves as being the same as heterosexual youth, except with a different sexuality. They criticize the media for only showing extremes of homosexuality and therefore creating wrong stereotypes.	Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes	Accepting diversity	Challenging homonationalism
122	2 December, 2000, 28-29 Keniaan Yusuf blijft hoopvol	Yusuf discusses the situation of Kenia in comparison to the Netherlands.	National/regional exceptionalism	Sexual exceptionalism	Homonationalism
123	23 June, 2001, 3 Geen mensen	Henk Krol argues that although this edition of the *Gay Krant* contains several articles of violence against homosexuals by Muslim youth, the reader should realize most Muslims distance themselves from this violence. The stories should function as a wake up call that more education is required.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
124	23 June, 2001, 5-8 Kanker vlikker op de voordeur	Victims of violence by Muslim youth share their stories.	Criticizing minorities	Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism

125	7 July, 2001, 28-29 Vechten tegen onrecht	A report by Amnesty international shows how dire the situation is for homosexuals worldwide, however in Europe and particularly the Netherlands, homosexuals find a safe haven.	National/regional exceptionalism	Sexual exceptionalism	Homonationalism
126	1 September, 2001, 5 Boter, kaas, en huwelijk	Harry van Bommel from the Socialist Party has travelled to Spain to plea for gay marriage (which was earlier that year ratified in the Netherlands).	National/regional exceptionalism	Sexual exceptionalism	Homonationalism
127	27 October, 2001, 6-9 Eindeloos wachten op uitspraak over El-Moumni	In the beginning of 2001 the Iman El-Moumni declared that homosexuality is a disease. In response John Balkenstein sued the Iman for hate speech. After several months the verdict will be presented in the coming days.	Criticizing minorities	Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
128	27 October, 2001, 12 Onverdraagzaamheid	Tolerance is a cornerstone of Dutch society, however when the Dutch tolerate intolerance it threatens its very foundation. The image and media reporting of the Islam is hijacked by a group of extremists that leads to generalizations about the entire group. Recently a book was published that finds similarities between the bible and the Koran, yet it has rarely received attention. Thus an initiative to promote discussion about religion, Islam, and homosexuality	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
129	27 October, 2001, 68 Aanzet tot begrip en een dialoog	Yoesuf is an Muslim gay organization that was founded in 1998 to create more tolerance towards homosexuality in Muslim communities by providing education. It has now published a book on homosexuality in the Koran and the bible. They argue there are many interpretations of these texts and therefore discussion of homosexuality and their place in these holy texts is open to discussion.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism

130	10 November, 2001, 16-17 De andere kant van Moldavië	The COC has started a cooperation with a gay organization in Moldova. With money from the ministry of foreign affairs they intend to improve the situation for gays and lesbians in the country.	National/regional exceptionalism	Sexual exceptionalism	Homonationalism
131	24 November, 2001, 13 Zichtbaar zijn is essentieel	Alderman Geert Dales talks about homosexuality and acceptance in the public sphere. He warns that homosexuals should show their sexuality and Imams should be more open to further emancipation.	Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes Criticizing minorities	Accepting diversity Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
132	24 November, 2001, 18 Dialoog	A plea for more dialogue between homosexuals and Muslims about their different norms and values.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
133	24 November, 2001, 25 Aanslagen extra pijnlijke voor homoseksuele islamieten	Muslim homosexuals suffer extra under the attacks on 9/11. They are also threatened by American citizens and labelled as strangers.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Defending minorities	Sexual realism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
134	22 December, 2001, 10-11 Leven tussen twee culturen	In the last year the relations between Muslims and homosexuals have become worse. Covi Chacah is gay and Muslim and describes what it is like to live in both worlds.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Defending minorities	Sexual realism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
135	22 December, 2001, 32 De moslims en de homoseksuelen	A plea for more dialogue between homosexuals and Muslims. Furthermore, he argues that the incidents in the last years of Imams making homophobic comments have actually improved the status of homosexuals in the Netherlands. It has shows that the Dutch stand behind homosexuality and challenge those who oppose it, thus educating Muslims on the position of homosexuals in the Netherlands.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
136	19 January, 2002, 4-7 Krijgsmacht staat op voorsprong	The Dutch military is the most tolerant in the world. Gay soldiers share their experiences.	National/regional exceptionalism	Sexual exceptionalism	Homonationalism

137	19 January, 2002, 13 Onthoofding wekt afgrijzen	Three gay man were beheaded in Saudi-Arabia for the sexuality. Politicians, activists, and NGO's have responded shocked.	National/regional exceptionalism Criticizing minorities	Sexual exceptionalism Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
138	2 February, 2002, 26-29 Wij bedrijven politiek met open ogen voor de samenleving	Two gay MP's tell their story and defend the Christian party and their perspective on homosexuality.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Defending minorities	Sexual realism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
139	16 March, 2002, 5 Gemeentelijke pluche kleurt roze	Pim Fortuyn received many votes in the Rotterdam municipal elections, however he will spend most of his time in the Hague where he also awaits a huge victory in the national elections. Some Muslim organizations are concerned about this and argue it shows how intolerant Dutch society still issues.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
140	13 April, 2002, 5-6 Openlijk homoseksuele kamerleden trekken veel voorkeursstemmen.	The *Gay Krant* has published polls on what homosexuals in the Netherlands vote. From this data it is clear that they the political preference has shifted to the right end of the political spectrum, with Lijst Prim Fortuyn as the winner. Surprisingly, the CDA has the highest number of homosexuals on their list.	Neutral but interesting		
141	13 April, 2002, 10-11 Imam El-Mounmi vrijgesproken voor uitspraken	Imam El-Mounmi has been acquitted. The judge decided this based on the freedom of religion article. However, politicians argue that article 1 of the constitution also prohibits the discrimination of sexuality. Different groups have responded to the verdict. All are unhappy with it, but will continue their effort to bring homosexuality to the table with Islamic groups and communities.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
142	27 April, 2002, 4-7 Fikse pluim van Pim Fortuyn	Pim Fortuyn argues that the Islam is a backward culture that needs to be educate on Dutch norms and values, especially to protect homosexuals.	National/regional exceptionalism Criticizing minorities	Sexual exceptionalism Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism

143	25 May, 2002, 3 Het CDA	Christians have send letters to the *Gay Krant* saying they will no longer vote for the conservative religious SGP or CU because they want to reverse gay marriage. Rather, they vote for the CDA, the party that used to have a anti-gay reputation, but now has the most homosexuals on their candidate list.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Defending minorities	Sexual realism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
144	25 May, 2002, 5 CDA levert grootste roze contingent ooit	The CDA has the most homosexuals on their candidate list.	Sexuality does not overrule other identities Defending minorities	Sexual realism Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
145	25 May, 2002, 8-9 Reacties op moord Pim fortuyn	Reactions to the murder of Pim Fortuyn. Although everyone is shocked and outraged by the incident, some discuss his problematic viewpoint on migrants and the Islam.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
146	25 May, 2002, 26 Pim Fortuyn	Reactions to the murder of Pim Fortuyn. Although everyone is shocked and outraged by the incident, some discuss his problematic viewpoint on migrants and the Islam.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
147	25 May, 2002, 28 Fortuyn	Reactions to the murder of Pim Fortuyn. Although everyone is shocked and outraged by the incident, some discuss his problematic viewpoint on migrants and the Islam.	Defending minorities	Solidarity with minorities	Challenging homonationalism
148	8 June, 2002, 8 Conservatief	A reader defends Pim Fortuyn and says it was refreshing that Fortuyn introduced and pointed out the issues with integration and 'newcomers'.	National/regional exceptionalism Criticizing minorities	Sexual exceptionalism Ascendancy to whiteness	Homonationalism
149	8 June, 2002, 13 Pim Fortuyn, zijn homoseksualiteit en de media	Pim Fortuyn was an expert in playing the media. Surprisingly, the Dutch people seemed to accept his sexuality. Even so, he was one of the only politicians who was sexualized in the media, showing a superficial tolerance that is influenced by biases.	National/regional exceptionalism put in perspective Challenging expected behavior/stereotypes	Sexual realism Accepting diversity	Challenging homonationalism