

Autochthony, Citizenship and Exclusion: The Dutch Turn

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- Honoured - special attention to Netherlands
- Yet doubtful honour
- Inspired by dramatic turn to the right in NL
 - Till 1990: NL 'guide country' for tolerance
 - Around 2000 upsurge of popular concern about immigration
- 2010 elections:
 - PVV (Geert Wilders) almost 20 % of the vote
 - Now: key position in national politics: 'tolerates' center-right cabinet

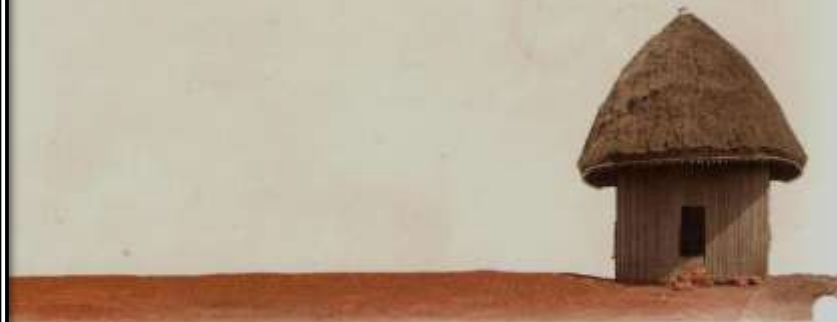
- Confession: Not a specialist on the Netherlands
- Invited here because of my recent book
 - *Perils of Belonging: Autochthony, Citizenship and Exclusion in Africa and Europe* (Chicago 2009)
 - Background
 - 1990's: autochthony virulent issue in West Africa
 - Same time: Dutch started to define themselves as 'autochthons' against 'allochthonous' immigrant
 - So: 'return of the anthropological gaze':
 - Looking at my own country from African perspective (advantage of the view of a relative outsider)



THE PERILS OF BELONGING

Autochthony, Citizenship, and Exclusion in Africa & Europe

PETER GESCHIERE



- Chapter on the Netherlands:
 - ‘Autochthony: the Dutch Turn’
- For this talk: focus on specific traits of the ‘turn to the right’ in the Netherlands.

- Striking aspect of the Dutch case:
Rapidity and depth of the turn
- Crucial events: two murders
 - politician Fortuyn (2002)
 - filmer van Gogh (2004)
- Even more characteristic but less known:
 - Eleven refugees burned alive in detention center near Schiphol (2005)







- Reinforced general idea of a deep change
 - Symptomatic: short history of key-terms 'allotchthonous' and 'atochthonous' in Holland
 - launched as neutral, scientific notions
 - within 10 years deep emotional involvement

- Turning Point: around 2000 - new emphasis on
 - Lack of integration of immigrants
 - Need for *enforced cultural* integration rather than attention for socio-economic marginalization
 - Hence *culturalization* of citizenship
- Seen as a particular Dutch problem
 - Pim Fortuyn: ‘The Dump Heaps of Purple’
 - Paul Scheffer: Dutch squeamishness about history and lack of national pride
- Yet, general European pattern

Immigration into NL follows general European pattern

- 1960's start of recruitment of 'guest-workers'
 - First N.Mediterranean (Spain, Italy)
 - 1970's Turkish and Moroccan labour
 - joined by Surinamese (independence 1975) and Antilleans.
- Now:
 - Total population 16.5 million
 - 12 % 'non-western allochthons'
 - Surinamese, Moroccans, Turks each ca. 350.000
- Still general reluctance to recognize Netherlands as an immigration country

Yet, for this talk attention to specific Dutch traits

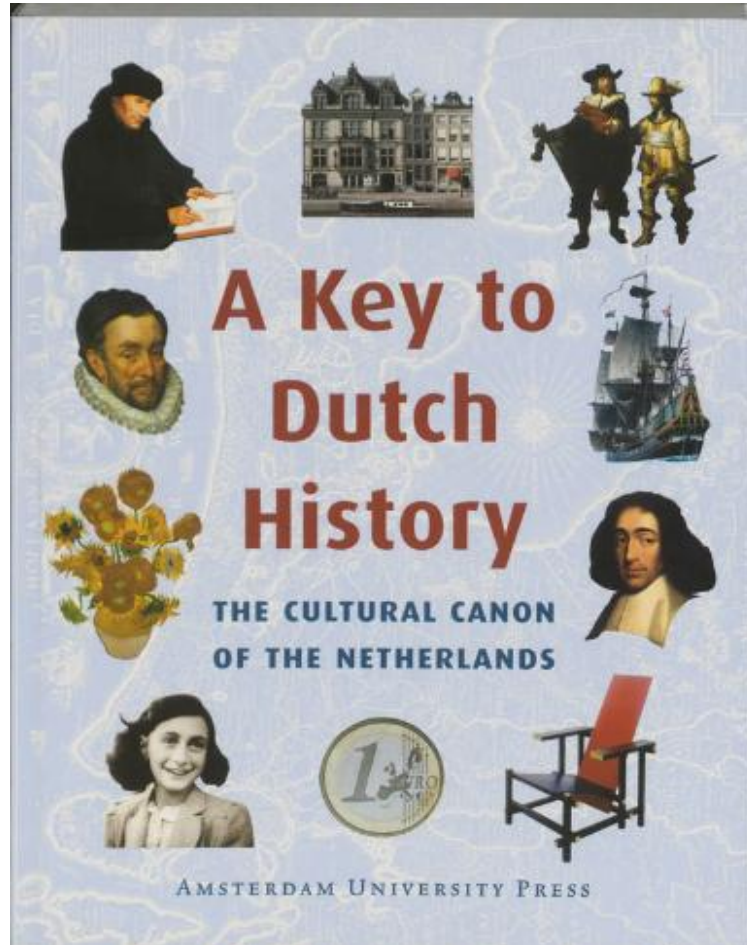
- Heavy emphasis on Culture and History as beacons for Dutch identity and integration.
- Seems self-evident, but object of fierce debate

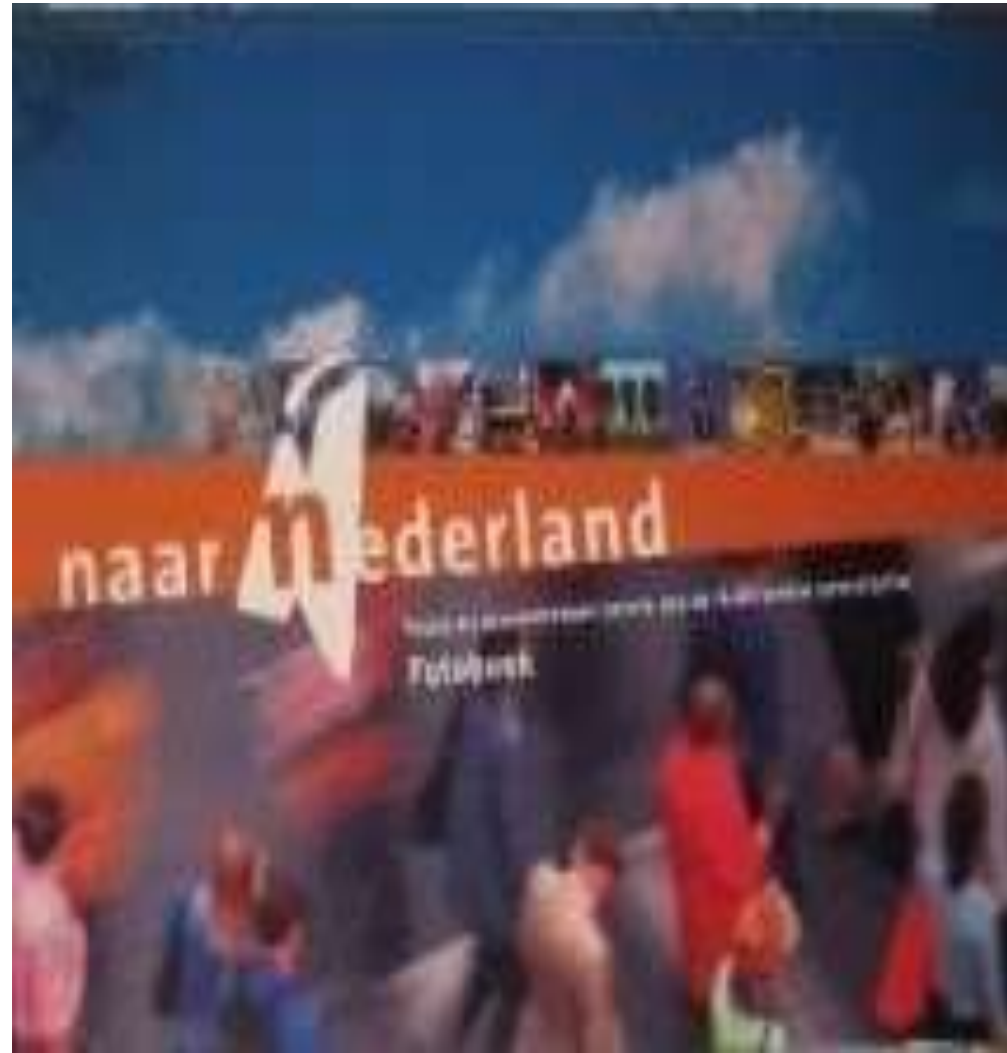
Examples:

- a canon of national history
- film on Dutch culture as basis for 'citizenship exam'

As everywhere:

- autochthonous identity *seems* to be self-evident
- but *in practice* most elusive







Other special Trait: Past of Pillarization

- Until 1960's deep clefts between 'pillars'
 - (protestant, catholic, liberal, socialist)
- Weak national identity
 - Lijphart (Dutch-American political scientist):
 - Pillarization works because of cleft between pillars
 - Allows leaders to make compromises
- After 1960's forging of 'heavy' Dutch identity
 - (sociologist Duyvendak)
 - Uniformity around progressive democratic ideals
 - 'Intolerance of tolerance'

Other special trait

Sexualisation of Citizenship

(anthropologist Mepschen)

- Allochthons (Muslims) excluded from citizenship: discrimination of women and homophobia
- New Right hijacks ideals of former left
- Furious debates among feminists and gay activists
 - Defending gay / women's rights = being anti-Islam?
 - Striking: Little research on backgrounds of homophobia among Moroccans and Turkish immigrants.



Present Situation



- Elections of 2010: Wilders in a position of control over government
- More weight to his idea of Islam as an ‘ideology’ (not a religion) of poverty, violence and backwardness
- No signs of splits within his party (as in Belgium)
- Populist combination of xenophobia and defence of welfare state

- Muslims increasingly targeted as THE others
- Surinamese, the others of 1990’s, now ‘integrated’