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Paris Attacks and the European Refugee Crisis

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NOVEMBER 2015 PARIS ATTACKS AND THE EUROPEAN REFUGEE CRISIS

A comparative study on the influence of the Paris Attacks on the public attitude towards refugees in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands

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1. Introduction

On November 13th, 2015 Paris was shaken up by a series of attacks on different locations within the city. The first attack took place outside the Stade de France during a football match, three suicide bombs came to an explosion. Another suicide bombing took place on boulevard Voltaire. The Paris attacks further consist of four shootings on different locations in Paris, shootings on several terraces or in restaurants and a mass-shooting in the Bataclan where a concert was taking place. The attacks eventually killed 130 people and wounded 494 other innocent civilians. (CNN, 2018). Responsibility for the attacks was claimed by ISIS in an online statement. The response of France was, under directions of President Hollande, a three-month state of emergency. The attacks happened in a period that already brought European countries in a crisis. Namely, the European Refugee Crisis. The Paris Attacks were brought into relation with the refugee crisis within 1 day after the attacks when the news came out that one of the terrorists used a false Syrian passport to enter Europe and reached France by a route that is popular amongst refugees (Loveluck, 2015). Even the event of the attacks itself had a precarious timing, because at the exact time the attacks took place, the German chancellor Angela Merkel tried to appease the debates about the refugee crisis in a live television broadcast in Germany (Cuperus, 2015). Her famous statement “Wir schaffen das – *We will cope*”, immediately lost meaning when the attacks brought terror within the European borders. The European Refugee crisis brought thousands of Syrian, Iraqi and other refugees to the European borders, which made political leaders like Merkel put pressure on a more open-border policy to process the flow of refugees (Nardelli, 2015). Did the November 2015 Paris attacks lead to a counter reaction? European leaders and civilians wanting more border controls and better screening of refugees points to this assumption (Besselink, 2015). Every refugee and migrant has explicitly become a potential terrorist. (Nail, 2016, p.158). Is this the effect of the November 2015 Paris attacks? Do we see this reaction in the analysis of this thesis?

1.1 Research Question

In preparation of writing this thesis I read some of the literature about the phenomenon “events”. Those articles on events raised some empirical fascinations that this thesis will further workout by using the specific case of the November 2015 Paris attacks as a case study. An interesting puzzle about events is the question of how events have impact in different social and political contexts (Koopmans & Duyvendak). Inspired by this literature on events I intend to research the influence of the Paris attacks in different social and political contexts which brought me to choose the UK and the Netherlands as research cases.

Purpose of this thesis will be to provide a modest addition to the event literature, with emphasize on the theoretical puzzle mentioned above. This thesis will do so by answering the following research question: *To what extent did the November 2015 Paris attacks influence the public attitude towards refugees in the UK and the Netherlands?*

2. Theoretical framework

This section will cover the several theories on events that are the basis and inspiration of this research. Explaining the meaning of those theories on events, clarify why they are important to this thesis' research and how this thesis could contribute to the literature on events.

2.1 Event impact in different in different social and political contexts

The decision to analyze the event of the November 2015 Paris attacks in two countries instead of just one country was made because this research is inspired by the articles of Koopmans & Duyvendak and another article of Snow and Vliegthart. The article of Koopmans and Duyvendak discusses two explanations that focus on the relevance of the intensity of an event for the mobilization of a social problem, such as the refugee crisis in the case of this thesis (Koopmans & Duyvendak, 1995). In the research of Koopmans and Duyvendak the social problem occurs out of an event, namely, the Chernobyl disaster and its causal relation to conflict on the use of nuclear energy. The two explanations discussed in the article are the grievance model and the frame alignment model. The grievance model sees social problems as given and emphasizes that it is objective facts to which the public reacts (Koopmans & Duyvendak, 1995, p.236). The frame alignment model, however, emphasizes the role of social movement and political mobilization (Koopmans & Duyvendak, 1995, p. 236). The article claims that social and political mobilization that calls for transformation or a solution to a social problem (caused by an event such as the Chernobyl disaster) may well be greatest where the intensity of the problem is relatively low. Meaning that objective facts, such as the location of a country and its exposure to the threat of an event has less influence on the mobilization of the social problem within that country than social movement and political influence. Concluding that a combination of political opportunity and framing perspectives have greater explanatory power over the reaction of the event and conflict on nuclear energy within different West-European countries than the explanatory power of the objective conditions (Koopmans & Duyvendak, 1995, 235).

The article of Snow and Vliegthart is focused on the analysis of frame variations between countries and the factors that account for it (Snow & Vliegthart, 2007, p.385). This comparative study assesses the role of ideological, attributional, temporal and contextual factors and their role in the variation (or non-existing variation) in the framing of an event and related social problem (Snow & Vliegthart, 2007, p. 385). Particularly the contextual factors correspond with the theory of Koopmans and Duyvendak on the explanatory power of objective conditions. The contextual factors namely comprise the relationship of the event proximity and the relative salience and the framing and mobilization of the event. The article therefor hypothesizes that as the distance to the event increases, the salience of the issue decreases (Snow & Vliegthart, 2007, p.390).

In this thesis I will attempt to contribute to this literature and these theories by analyzing if the public attitude and mobilization of the refugee crisis could be best explained by either the objective conditions or the political opportunity and framing in the aftermath of the Paris attacks. Taken into consideration that the Netherlands is part of the Schengen agreement and the United Kingdom is not, could be an objective condition that would create a different attitude towards refugees when it is brought into relation with a growing threat of terror after the Paris attacks. This objective condition would tend to predict that the Netherlands shows a different and more negative attitude in news coverage towards refugees, because it is more vulnerable to terrorists posing as refugees than the United Kingdom, that has no open borders and is able to ensure security with their border controls.

Another objective condition could be the number of asylum applications of Syrian citizens into the UK and the Netherlands, the number of asylum applications is relevant as a contextual factor because it explains the scope of the relative salience of the event. This contextual factor should

also lead to a different attitude in Dutch newspapers because the application numbers in the Netherlands appear to be almost 7 times as high as in the United Kingdom in the year 2015. The United Kingdom had 2800 asylum applications in 2015, where the Netherlands had 18690 asylum applications of people from Syria (Eurostat - asylum applications, 2019). Higher asylum application numbers increase the salience of the event, because more Syrian citizens applying for asylum imply more threat of terrorists which pretend to be refugees.

If this research shows a remarkable different attitude towards refugees between these two countries, it would partly contradict the article of Koopmans & Duyvendak and conclude that objective conditions can have explanatory power over the reaction to an event and its related problem. However, the result could also support this existing literature and emphasize on the influence of political opportunity and social mobilization on the reaction and public attitude towards an event and its related problem such as Chernobyl and the use of nuclear energy or the Paris attacks and the fear for refugees entering Europe.

2.2 Event or ordinary happening

According to Sewell historical events tend to transform social relations in ways that could not be fully predicted from the gradual changes that may have made them possible (Sewell, 1996, p.843). Events are sometimes a cumulation of long-lasting processes, but typically they do more than just carry out the rearrangement of practices caused by gradual social change. Sewell claims that it is important to theorize the conception of the event because they shape history, give direction to social development and alter social interactions. Events cause transformations in social structures by usually starting with a surprising break in routine practices of every day life (Sewell, 1996, p.843). Those surprising breaks can only be called an (historic) event when they affect the routine practices and occurrences that will transform previous structures. Sewell then emphasizes that such breaks particularly happen to be an event if they produce ruptures and transform structures in other structural or spatial locations (Sewell). The article of Sewell does not intend to provide a definitive statement on the theory of events. Though it functions as an evident threshold in defining the November 2015 Paris attacks as an (historic) event. This theorization of an event will be taken into account during the analyzing of the event. This theory can shortly be summarized with three criteria (Sewell, 1996, p.844). The event should be a ramified occurrence (or sequence of occurrences), that is recognized as notable by contemporaries and results in a durable transformation of structures. The November 2015 Paris attacks fulfill the criteria if it is brought into a broader social and political debate, making it a ramified occurrence. Also, the event should be recognized by the public outside the spatial location of Paris, or broader France. Finally, the Paris attacks should prove to result in transformations of structures, in this thesis such structure will be public opinion towards refugees. Although the research design of this thesis differs from the research methods of Sewell, I believe this thesis' analysis will also be able to provide some answers on whether the event matches the criteria. In this way, the thesis will contribute to this the literature of events by using Sewell's criteria in another empirical analysis.

2.3 Framing of an event

The method of analyzing the data will be based on the theory of framing. This thesis will focus on the variations of frames that can be discovered in the data and examine if and how they vary between different social and political contexts. Entman's general definition of framing is "framing is selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and make(ing) them more salient in a

communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (1993, p. 52). This thesis holds into account the hypothesis that the Paris attacks has different impact on the attitude towards refugees in the UK as in the Netherlands. Therefore, this small research on the event of the Paris attacks and its relation to the refugee crisis will attempt to discover the impact. It will do so by analyzing the attitudes in the media, specifically newspapers and arrange them under different frames. The framing approach is based on the idea that frames are constructed through the strategic use or omission of certain words and phrases (Entman, 1993). Framing is interpretative and a mean to focus attention and punctuate what is relevant to the analysis and irrelevant, what is “in-frame” and what is “out-frame” (Snow & Vliegenthart, 2007, p.387). This research is specifically inspired by the comparative study on framing of the French riots by Snow and Vliegenthart. Examining if and how the Paris attacks are framed either diagnostically or prognostically, as was the case with the French riots (Snow & Vliegenthart, 2007). The data will be framed as diagnostic in case they define the event as problematic and in need of control or repair. The diagnostic frame also entails the attribution of the blame of the problem (Snow & Vliegenthart, 2007). Prognostic framing is different because it entails the claim for a solution or a plan of attack (Snow & Vliegenthart, 2007). In the section of the methodology of this thesis, one can find how this approach is used and converted to this specific analysis of the event of the Paris attacks and its influence on the attitude towards refugees. The theory of framing is useful in the design of this research and the performance of the analysis.

3. Methodology

This section provides the information on the methods of analysis and data collection of this research.

Firstly, it is important to give a clear explanation about the key concept of this thesis, the event itself. Declaring what occurrences belong to the event and what does not belong to the event in the understanding of this particular thesis. Setting those boundaries is important because you cannot have an event without boundaries (Wagner-Pacifici, 2017).

In this thesis the event is referred to as the November 2015 Paris attacks or the Paris attacks and entails not only the occurrences of the attacks (as described in the introduction) itself, but also the discovery of a false Syrian passport that belonged to one of the attackers within one day after the killings (Kingsley, 2015). The event of the Paris attacks therefore is perceived broader than the actual attacks and killings in this thesis because the purpose of the thesis is to find out whether the event had an impact on the public attitude towards refugees. Therefore a broader perception of the event is needed, in order to relate the event to the refugee crisis. A somewhat broader explanation of the event is justified by Sewell who claims that defining boundaries is an act of judgement (1996). My judgement is that the event of the Paris attacks involves the discovery of the refugee passport because this had an important role in the overall fear of terror and debate about safety, open-borders and border controls within Europe that was the reaction in the aftermath of the event.

3.1 Research design

The analysis of this thesis is based on newspaper articles. The purpose of this research is to analyse the public attitude of the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. Therefore this research will be based on three different newspapers of either the United Kingdom or the Netherlands.

3.1.1 Quantitative research

The newspaper articles are coded for two different types of framing. The event of the November 2015 Paris attacks is coded in this research under diagnostic and/or prognostic terms in relation to the attitude towards refugees. The diagnostic framing element was indicated when the content of the article makes a statement on the character of the cause of the problem, namely, a growing terror threat and a possible attack such as the Paris attacks.

The diagnostic element is divided in two categories for this research. The first category (mentioned as "causal relation" in this thesis) defines that "*There is a causal relation between the refugee crisis and a growing threat of terror that brings danger like the Paris attacks to Europe.*". With this first category of the codebook the thesis analyses the articles and questions whether the articles make references of the possibility that a growing threat of terror is related to the refugee crisis. In these articles the refugees will be framed as a possible terrorist or the article will emphasize on the possibility that terrorists enter the country among the group of refugees, framing the flow of refugees as a cause of growing terror threat within Europe. The second category is the opposite of the first category. This category (mentioned as "no causal relation") frames that "*The article distorts the assertion that the refugee crisis with its growing number of refugees causes a growing threat of terror that brings danger like the Paris attacks to Europe.*". In these articles the content will in general claim that the people should not fear refugees and see them as potential terrorist, just because one of the terrorists at the Paris attacks was a fraud by claiming to be a refugee. This category does not provide a cause of a terror attack such as the one in Paris, but rather emphasizes on what is not the cause, indirectly claiming the cause can be found elsewhere. The prognostic element is indicated in the article when the content makes a claim about the solution of the problem, the problem being a growing threat of terror and occurrence of an event such as the Paris attacks. The prognostic element is clustered in three categories that deal with the question what needs to be done. The first prognostic

category (referred to as “negative attitude towards policies” in this thesis) emphasizes that the solution of a growing threat of terror and the prevention of a new attack lies with the policies on refugees within their country. “*The newspaper article expresses a negative attitude about the national policies on refugees and call for change in order to prevent an event such as the Paris attacks*”.

These articles will state that registration and control systems should improve. Or express itself negatively about the number of refugees entering the country, claiming this number should be brought down in order to ensure safety and prevent the threat of terror in the wake of the Paris attacks. The second prognostic category (mentioned as “stricter border controls”) claims that the solution lies at the (European) borders. “*The article emphasizes a need for stricter border controls and/or screening processes in order to secure safety and prevent an event such as the Paris attacks.*”. The solution of fighting the threat of terror is the improvement of border controls, making sure refugees are screened and can prove they are seeking refuge from danger in their home country. The last category of the codebook (referred to as “sympathizing with refugees” within the thesis) can be perceived as either diagnostic or prognostic. This might seem confusing and difficult, but the category belongs in the codebook because it covers most of the framing within the articles that are analyzed. The fifth category defines that “*The article sympathizes with refugees and the need of granting them asylum, despite what happened with the Paris attacks.*”.

This frame could be used as a diagnostic element by emphasizing that not every refugee is a terrorist and Western countries should not quit granting them asylum in the wake of the Paris attacks. The articles could also be framed in a prognostic way by claiming that terrorists and ISIS hope to cause a reaction of fear and aversion against refugees within European countries, hoping this will drive more Muslims to follow ISIS and create disgust for the west amongst them. Therefor the only way to prevent this growing threat of terror is not to turn our backs against refugees and prove to be as tolerant as western countries claim to be.

The diagnostic and prognostic categories are incorporated in the codebook in the following sequence:

Codebook

1. There is a causal relation between the refugee crisis and a growing threat of terror that brings danger like the Paris attacks to Europe.
2. The newspaper article expresses a negative attitude about the national policies on refugees and call for change in order to prevent an event such as the Paris attacks.
3. The article emphasizes a need for stricter border controls and/or screening processes in order to secure safety and prevent an event such as the Paris attacks.
4. The article distorts the assertion that the refugee crisis with its growing number of refugees causes a growing threat of terror that brings danger like the Paris attacks to Europe.
5. The article sympathizes with refugees and the need of granting them asylum, despite what happened with the Paris attacks.

3.2 Data collection

3.2.1 Newspapers

In order to get an insight that touches the public opinion as closely as possible the thesis will focus on newspapers that are either known as “right” orientated or “left” orientated and in addition a newspaper that is known to be more moderate or political neutral then the others.

In case of the Netherlands this means the analysis will happen on articles from De Volkskrant, De Telegraaf and de Trouw. De Volkskrant is a more left orientated newspaper, while De Telegraaf is the biggest newspaper in circulation and also known to be a more right-wing newspaper. Lastly, de Trouw is a moderate newspaper that seeks greater depth into discussion on political or social developments.

For the newspapers of the United Kingdom the choice was made for the Guardian, The Times and the Daily Telegraph. The Guardian being more left-wing, whereas the Daily telegraph is more right-wing and the Times in addition as the more moderate newspaper (Smith, 2017).

The collection of the newspaper articles is specified to a period of one month after the November 2015 Paris attacks. This means that the thesis will analyse articles from November 13th till December 13th of the year 2015. This period of time is chosen to look into the direct impact of the event, therefore only the articles shortly after the Paris Attacks are taken into consideration. Also, to assure that the content of the newspaper articles is mostly about the event instead of the event just being mentioned once or twice. The period of 4 weeks after the attacks generates 381 articles from the United Kingdom and 86 articles from the Netherlands. Because this thesis intends to achieve quantitative research the amount of 86 appears to be a better quantity because it provides more research material than the 65 Dutch newspaper articles that can be generated within two weeks after the Paris attacks. Furthermore, the analysis of a period which is longer than one or two weeks might give an insight in a change of attitude as the event becomes more part of the past and the direct shock of the event has faded away.

3.2.2 Lexis Nexis search and random Sample

The database of Lexis Nexis was used to collect the newspaper articles of the six newspapers mentioned in the section above. The first step in collecting the articles was to search for newspaper articles that mentioned the “Paris attacks” or “Aanslagen Parijs”. Then the next step was to narrow the search down to three newspapers of either the UK or the Netherlands and narrow it down to the period of one month after the attacks. The last and most important step was to add the search word “refugees” or “vluchtelingen” to the database search. These specifications to the search in the database provided articles from the intended newspapers and the timeframe chosen beforehand and content of the articles that was related to the Paris attacks as to refugees.

The search resulted in an outcome of 381 articles from newspapers from the United Kingdom; 281 from the Guardian, 39 from the Times and 38 from the Daily Telegraph. The outcome for the Netherlands was a total of 86 Dutch articles; 42 from De Volkskrant, 27 from de Trouw and 17 articles from de Telegraaf. The results of both the United Kingdom and the Netherlands included articles that were published on paper as articles that were published online. To make the analysis of those newspaper articles possible within the short period of time to finish this theses, I decided to randomly choose 25 articles (or all 17 in case of de Telegraaf) of each newspaper and analyze those 75 UK newspapers and 67 Dutch newspapers with the guidance of the codebook and interpretative discourse analysis.

4. Analyzing results

This section summarizes the results of the quantitative analysis of the newspaper articles selected as explained by the information in the methodology section of this paper. The results of the UK and the Netherlands will first be discussed separately.

Starting to explain what results were relevant for the quantitative coding of frames, which frames were used the most and providing some examples of quotes and keywords that led to a certain frame. This will give an image of how the analysis took place and what it eventually produced. In the Appendix at the end of this thesis you'll find an overview of all the articles that have been analyzed and an overview of the counting of the frames from the codebook. Finally, the results will be compared between the United Kingdom and the Netherlands and connected to the theories in the conclusion section.

4.1 Analysis newspapers from the United Kingdom

4.1.1 Codebook results

The search for newspaper articles related to the Paris attacks and the debate on the refugee crisis delivered quite a big amount of 381 newspapers from the UK in the database of Lexis Nexis. Unfortunately, after the random sample of 75 newspapers and during the analysis of this data it appeared that many articles were irrelevant for my thesis. They were irrelevant because they did not mention the Paris attacks and the refugees, but they didn't fit under any of the frames of the codebook. Those articles did not fit into any of the frames because they didn't provide information of the Paris attacks that was related to the refugee crisis and therefore could not be described by any of the frames. Therefore I applied another category while coding, "category 6" which meant the article did not fit into any of the frames. 39 of the 75 newspapers ended up in this category during analysis, meaning 52% of the articles were irrelevant to the frames of this research. The remaining articles, however, did fit under the frames of the codebook and provided some interesting results. The table below gives an overview of the frames counted for each newspaper separately and the total counting of all the frames in the articles from the United Kingdom that were subject to the analysis.

Table 1: Newspapers United Kingdom & frame counting

Newspapers	Category 1 "Causal relation"	Category 2 "Negative attitude towards policies"	Category 3 "Stricter border controls"	Category 4 "No causal relation"	Category 5 "Sympathizing with refugees"
<i>The Guardian</i>	6	2	3	4	7
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	6	0	5	4	4
<i>The Times</i>	5	2	3	2	8
Total	17	4	11	10	19

Many articles mentioned more than one frame (see Appendix). Mostly because they referred to a diagnostic frame in combination to a prognostic frame (one or more prognostic frames). Another reason for an article with more than one frame is that the article had a neutral or more informative nature and therefore provided different dominant opinions which fit into several frames of the codebook.

4.1.2 Diagnostic framing

As mentioned in the methodology section the category 1 "causal relation" and category 4 "no causal relation" represent the diagnostic frames. So far, the frames have only been explained by how they are phrased in the codebook. In order to give a clear image on how this

interpretative framing analysis is conducted. This section will provide several short parts and quotes of the newspaper articles and explain why they fit to one or more of the codebook frames.

Category 1. There is a causal relation between the refugee crisis and a growing threat of terror that brings danger like the Paris attacks to Europe.

Article quote: *“It was revealed in The Sunday Telegraph yesterday how the European Commission had ignored warnings from Frontex, the EU borders agency, that the crisis was ripe for exploitation by Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant.”* – The Daily Telegraph, November 23

Explanation: This article fits into the first frame category “causal relation” because it tells that the crisis is a mean for ISIS to enter Europe.

Article quote: *“Concerns about infiltration of genuine refugee groups by terrorists have risen after it emerged that at least one of the Paris attackers appeared to have arrived in Europe by claiming asylum on the Greek island of Leros earlier this year”* – The Times, November 17

Explanation This article fits into the first category “causal relation” because it emphasizes the believe that terrorist infiltrate Europe through the flow of refugees that want to claim asylum at the European border.

Category 4. The article distorts the assertion that the refugee crisis with its growing number of refugees causes a growing threat of terror that brings danger like the Paris attacks to Europe.

Article quote: *“Like many other attacks, the attacks in Paris were tragic, horrific and coldly calculated. They may or may not have been preventable - it's simply far too soon to know, assuming that we ever will. However, stoking the fears about a shadowy wave of terrorists coming from everywhere that there is warfare and strife is a disturbing, alienating and disproportionate response”* - The Guardian, November 29

Explanation: This article claims it is not known if the event was preventable and does therefor not point to refugees as a cause of the Paris attacks. It also emphasizes that the public shout not steer up the fear of terrorist coming from everywhere, referring to the refugees entering Europe from several angles.

Article Quote: *Inslee said the US should accept Syrian refugees into the country and not "succumb to fear" like the country did in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor* – The Guardian, November 18

Explanation: This article states that refugees should still be welcomed into the state, without giving in to the fear that they could be terrorist or bring terror.

Obviously, these are just two of the seventeen and two of the eleven articles that fit into the first and fourth frame categories. But many articles made comparable statements and are analyzed in the same way.

The analysis of the 75 newspaper articles of the United Kingdom resulted in a total of 28 diagnostic frames, 17 of category 1 “causal relation” and 11 of category 4 “no causal relation”. This means that 23% of the articles framed the Paris attacks as category 1 “causal relation”, referring to the Paris attacks in relation to refugees as a cause of growing terror. On the other hand, 15% percent of the articles emphasized the opposite attitude that is framed in category 4 “no causal relation”, distorting the assumption that the refugee crisis causes an event such as the Paris attacks.

Another remarkable result from this analysis is that all the three newspapers have more articles that fit into the 1st category. Right-wing and left-wing newspapers frame the cause of the attacks generally the same, or at least they do not have a distinguishing different opinion.

4.1.3 Prognostic framing

In order to give a clear image on how this interpretative framing analysis is conducted. This section will provide several short parts and quotes of the newspaper articles and explain why they fit to one or more of the codebook frames.

Category 2. The newspaper article expresses a negative attitude about the national policies on refugees and call for change in order to prevent an event such as the Paris attacks.

Article Quote: *“Governor Greg Abbott of Texas went so far as to say in a letter to President Obama: “I write to inform you that the State of Texas **will not accept any refugees** from Syria in the wake of the deadly **terrorist attack in Paris.**””*. The Guardian, November 17

Explanation: This article belongs to frame 2 “negative attitude towards policies”, because it expresses the aversion of the national policy to accept a certain number of refugees that seek asylum. The aversion is clearly caused by the event of the Paris attacks.

Category 3. The article emphasizes a need for stricter border controls and/or screening processes in order to secure safety and prevent an event such as the Paris attacks.

Article quote: *“One lesson from the **Paris atrocities** is the need for **proper border and other immigration controls**. It is clear that in the current circumstances, the **Schengen vision of a borderless Europe** is not simply dead but deadly “* - The Guardian, November 15

Explanation: This article is a perfect example of what this thesis understands with the category 3 “stricter border controls” frame. The bold words show that the Paris attack are directly related to the need of stricter border controls for Europe.

Article quote: *Home-grown **jihadists can travel freely** from Syria to Europe because as few as one in 100 people entering are checked against the **EU's anti-terrorism watch list**, *The Daily Telegraph has learnt* – The Daily Telegraph, November 23*

Explanation This article expresses a negative attitude towards the European border controls in the wake of the Paris attacks, this points to the emphasis for stricter border control of this 3th category frame.

Category 5: The article sympathizes with refugees and the need of granting them asylum, despite what happened with the Paris attacks.

Article quote: *“**This reverse in policy** can only lead to more innocent deaths of refugees drowning on their crossing, being unable to land. Deaths of refugees over the past year have shocked the nations, so why are we going to change our view of refugees because **people closer to home have been killed**, possibly by someone **posing as a refugee**”* -

Explanation This article fits perfectly into the last category “sympathizing with refugees” of the codebook. Claiming that a reverse in policy on refugees and denying them asylum as a reaction to the Paris attacks and someone posing as a refugee, resembles exactly the meaning of this frame.

From the 75 articles that have been analyzed, just 4 fit into category 2 “negative attitude towards policies” while the other frames are more popular with 11 articles fitting in frame category 3 “stricter border controls” and 19 articles fitting in category 5 “sympathizing with refugees”. This points to the conclusion that the opinion as framed in the second category knows little support in the United Kingdom media. Whereas the other prognostic frames seem to be more popular solutions to the problem of the terror threat and the event of the Paris attacks.

4.2 Analysis Dutch newspapers

4.2.1 Codebook results

The search for newspaper articles related to the Paris attacks and the debate on the refugee crisis delivered a number of 86 articles from the Netherlands in the Lexis Nexis database.

Because the search only provided 17 newspaper articles from De Telegraaf, the analysis took place over a total of 67 articles.

After the random sample of the 67 newspapers and during the analysis of this data it appeared that also many Dutch articles were irrelevant for my thesis. Because they didn't fit under any of the frames of the codebook. Therefore "category 6" is also applied within this analysis. 36 of the 67 newspapers ended up in this category during analysis, meaning 54% of the articles were irrelevant to the frames of this research. The remaining articles, however, did fit under the frames of the codebook and provided some interesting results. The table below gives an overview of the frames counted for each newspaper separately and the total counting of all the frames in articles from the Netherlands that were subject to the analysis.

Table 2: Newspapers from the Netherlands & frame counting

Newspapers	Category 1 "No causal relation"	Category 2 "Negative attitude towards policies"	Category 3 "Stricter border controls"	Category 4 "No causal relation"	Category 5 "Sympathizing with refugees"
<i>De Volkskrant</i>	5	0	3	2	4
<i>De Trouw</i>	6	2	5	2	7
<i>De Telegraaf</i>	5	4	3	0	0
Total	16	6	11	4	11

As for the same reason as the articles from the United Kingdom, also the Dutch newspaper articles often fit into more than one frame. In the Appendix you can find the overview of how all the articles have been coded during the analysis.

4.2.2 Diagnostic framing

This section will provide several short parts and quotes of the newspaper articles and explain why they fit to one or more of the codebook frames. All the Dutch articles quotes below are translated by me.

Category 1. There is a causal relation between the refugee crisis and a growing threat of terror that brings danger like the Paris attacks to Europe.

Article quote: *"It is clear now, that ISIS uses the stream of refugees to get their henchmen to enter Europe. The two terrorists got to Brussels within few days after they entered Europe through Greece. – De Telegraaf, November 16*

Explanation: This article emphasizes that the refugee crisis with its stream of refugees, is used by terrorists to enter Europe easily. Stating this information relates to the causal relation that is expressed by frame category 1 "causal relation".

Category 4. The article distorts the assertion that the refugee crisis with its growing number of refugees causes a growing threat of terror that brings danger like the Paris attacks to Europe

Article quote: *"It is nonsense, to blame the attacks on refugees, is what the commissioner of refugees António Guterres said last week about the stricter rules." – De Trouw, November 24*

Explanation: This articles fist into the fourth frame "no causal relation" because it explains that refugees can not be seen as the cause of the Paris attacks and a growing threat of terror.

The analysis of the 67 Dutch newspaper articles resulted in a total of 28 diagnostic frames, 16 of category 1 “causal relation” and 4 of category 4 “no causal relation”.

This means that 24% of the articles framed the Paris attacks as category 1 “causal relation”, referring to the Paris attacks in relation to refugees as a cause of growing terror. Just 6% percent of the articles emphasized the opposite attitude that is framed in category 4 “no causal relation”, distorting the assumption that the refugee crisis causes an event such as the Paris attacks.

All three newspapers have more articles that fit into the 1st category. Right-wing and left-wing newspapers frame the cause of the attacks generally more as framed in category 1 “causal relation”. One of the newspapers, de Telegraaf does not mention the Paris attacks in relation to refugees as expressed in frame category 4 “no causal relation” at all.

4.2.3 Prognostic framing

Category 2. The newspaper article expresses a negative attitude about the national policies on refugees and call for change in order to prevent an event such as the Paris attacks.

Article quote: *“The **controlsystem** of Dutch **refugeecamps** is far from foolproof”, admitted Max Daniel, police commander who is responsible for asylum flows and human trafficking.” – De Telegraaf, November 17*

Explanation: This article expresses negative attitude towards the implementation of Dutch policies to control the refugee camps. It points to need of improvement of those policies to ensure safety and the prevention of terror threat, therefor it fits into the prognostic frame of category 2 “negative attitude towards refugees”.

Category 3. The article emphasizes a need for stricter border controls and/or screening processes in order to secure safety and prevent an event such as the Paris attacks

Article quote: *“**Screening** of refugees is extended since it appeared there could be jihadists among them....also **the extra border control on refugees that enter the Netherlands, at the borders with Belgium and Germany, remain**” – De Trouw*

Explanation: Frame category 3 “stricter border controls” is applicable to this article cause it explains that stricter border controls and screening of refugees is needed in the wake of the Paris attacks

Category 5: The article sympathizes with refugees and the need of granting them asylum, despite what happened with the Paris attacks.

Article quote: *“On tv I saw **refugees** who distributed letters to show that they regretted what happened in **Paris**. I pity this, that they feel they should do this, because they are seen as parasites by some people in this country.” – De Volkskrant, November 21*

Explanation: The article expresses sympathy for refugees and regrets the fact that they are associated with the terror of the Paris attacks, therefor this article fits into the fifth prognostic frame “sympathizing with refugees”.

From the 67 articles that have been analyzed, 6 articles fit into category 2 “negative attitude towards policies” while the other frames are more popular with 11 articles fitting in frame category 3 “stricter border controls” and category 5 “sympathizing with refugees”. This points to the conclusion that the opinion as framed in the second category “negative attitude towards policies” knows less support in the Dutch media then the other attitudes as expressed by prognostic frame 3 “stricter border controls” and 5 “sympathizing with refugees”.

Remarkable is the result that de Telegraaf, a more right-wing newspaper, expresses no support to the framing of diagnostic frame 4 “no causal relation” whatsoever. Furthermore, does it express the solution for a growing threat of terror only as framed in category 2 “negative attitude towards policies” and 3 “stricter border controls”, thus without sympathy for need of asylum for refugees (category 5).

4.3 Comparison of the results from the UK and the Netherlands

This research has analyzed 75 newspaper articles from the UK and 67 articles from the Netherlands. In order to compare the result of the frame counting the table below shows the percentages of the counted frames in comparison to either the 75 or the 67 articles.

Comparing those results leads to the conclusion that the public opinion, based on the media attention in newspapers, doesn't differ much between those two countries. Both the United Kingdom and the Netherlands show more support for the opinion as framed by diagnostic category 1 "causal relation" in comparison to frame 4 "no causal relation". Though, it is remarkable that the Netherlands also show half as much support for the opinion as framed by category 4 "no causal relation" than the UK.

Furthermore, the results show that both countries express a more positive attitude towards the prognostic frames 3 "stricter border controls" and 5 "sympathizing with refugees" than to the opinion as framed in category 2 "negative attitude towards policies".

Table 3: Percentages of frame counting in newspapers from the UK and the Netherlands

Newspapers	Category 1 <i>"No causal relation"</i>	Category 2 <i>"Negative attitude towards policies"</i>	Category 3 <i>"Stricter border controls"</i>	Category 4 <i>"No causal relation"</i>	Category 5 <i>"Sympathizing with refugees"</i>
United Kingdom	22,7%	5,6%	14,7%	13,3%	10,7%
The Netherlands	23,9%	9%	16,4%	6%	16,4%

5. Conclusion

From the analysis of the data and its results summarized and explained in the previous section follow some conclusions related to the theories on events mentioned at the beginning of this thesis.

Firstly, what do the results tell us about the nature of the Paris attacks? Can we tell if its an event or just an ordinary happening on the basis of this analysis? The results show that the Paris attacks have been brought into a broader social and political debate. The data shows that the media brings the attacks into the debate on the refugee crisis, making it a ramified occurrence. Also, does the data prove that the November 2015 Paris attacks have been recognized outside the spatial location of the occurrence, as we see that the media covers the occurrence of the Paris attacks also in other countries like the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. Lastly it is the question if the Paris attacks transform structures, to fulfill Sewell's criteria of an event. It is hard to tell if the Paris attacks transform structures at the basis of this analysis. But if we consider the public opinion of refugees as a structure, then the analysis clearly shows that this structure is at least influenced by the Paris attacks. All this considered, the Paris attacks fulfill the criteria and is an event rather than just an ordinary happening.

Most importantly, this thesis has tried to answer the main research question on to what extent has the November 2015 Paris attacks influenced the public attitude towards refugees in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. Summarizing the analysis results is followed by the conclusion that the data does not show a remarkable difference in opinion. The diagnostic frame of category 1 "causal relation" is in both countries more supported than the frame category 4 "no causal relation". Which points to the more popular opinion that believes in a causal relation of the refugee crisis and a growing terror threat that causes an event like the Paris attacks. The Netherlands is part of the Schengen agreement and has higher number of asylum applications from Syrian citizens than the UK, and is therefore more exposed to the threat of terrorists pretending to be refugees. Though, the Dutch newspapers do not frame the solutions more as prognostic frames 2 "negative attitude towards policies" and 3 "stricter border controls". Therefor not supporting the more rigorous solutions like stricter border controls and need for better refugee policies than the United Kingdom. Taken into consideration that both countries show more media support for the believe that refugees are potential terrorists, but the Netherlands, who is more exposed to this threat, does not express the solution more in ways of border control or security than the UK, is in agreement with the theory of Koopmans and Duyvendak. Namely, the objective condition, like the Netherlands being more exposed to refugees and therefor more exposed to terrorists and the happening of a new terror attack, has less explanatory power on the public attitude (towards refugees) than political opportunity and mobilization.

What does this thesis tell us about the occurrence and consequences of international events? The most important feature of the happening of events that this thesis has come to understand is that the location and proximity of an event has no decisive effect on the impact of an event. In other words, it is other factors like mentioned by Snow and Vliegenthart such as political opportunity, the attribution of blame, time, ideology or cultural factors which all have influence on how an event has impact on and changes the public opinion related to the event.

6. Literature

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7. Appendix

This appendix shows how the analysis of this research is elaborated and provides an overview of the new articles and their ranking by the codebook.

The tables one and two provide an overview of the news articles of the United Kingdom and the Netherlands from the period of 1 month after the event occurred. The tables three and four then show how those articles are ranked by the codebook. Finally, the last table shows an overall count and result of the analysis of the news papers with use of the code book.

Table 1: newspaper articles from the United Kingdom – 13/11/2015 – 13/12/2015

	Document name (Lexis Nexis)	Newspaper	Date
1.	Marco Rubio: US should not take in more Syrian refugees after Paris attacks; Florida senator, who had previously suggested openness to the possibility, says there is no way to conduct background checks on those fleeing Syria	The Guardian	15/11
2.	We must not let Isis's crimes dictate how we address the refugee crisis - or privacy; Some want to exploit the Paris attacks in order to justify seizures of power to meet their own political ends. We should not let that happen	The Guardian	29/11
3.	France requests EU help in wake of Paris attacks; Defence minister invokes mutual assistance article in Lisbon treaty for first time as warplanes bomb Isis targets in Syria	The Guardian	17/11
4.	Paris attacks cast doubts on Schengen vision of a borderless Europe	The Guardian	15/11
5.	France struggles to come to terms with an attack that strikes at its core; President François Hollande is caught in a tangle of poignancy and posturing and finding the path out will not be easy	The Guardian	20/11
6.	Adapting Schengen agreement to post-Paris realities is EU-wide task; Restoring national border controls would be regrettable. Yet some good may come from ditching overambitious symbolism for procedures that work	The Guardian	24/11
7.	Growing number of US states seek to block acceptance of Syrian refugees; At least 15 states voice opposition to refugees' resettlement but Democrat Bernie Sanders warns that the US must 'not succumb to Islamophobia'	The Guardian	17/11
8.	Virginia mayor: wartime internment of Japanese justifies ban on Syrian refugees; Mayor David Bowers of Roanoke cites draconian measure after Pearl Harbor in 1941, saying 'the threat to Americans from Isis now is just as real and serious'	The Guardian	18/11
9.	Swedish asylum policy fuels support for far-right nationalist party; The Sweden Democrats' anti-migrant stance is proving popular among those who oppose the entry of 190,000 refugees into the country this year	The Guardian	24/11
10.	Texas official threatens to sue aid group helping Syrian refugees relocate; Chris Traylor said Dallas branch of International Rescue Committee's work goes against Governor Greg Abbott's stance against accepting refugees into state	The Guardian	30/11
11.	Hiding in plain sight: inside the world of Turkey's people smugglers; Thousands of refugees are continuing to board boats to Europe everyday despite the worsening winter weather	The Guardian	29/11
12.	Republicans like to invoke the Bible yet ignore what it teaches about refugees; Deeply religious and conservative Americans support Republican positions - but not when they advocate turning away the vulnerable	The Guardian	23/11
13.	Malcolm Turnbull says Australia could send peacekeepers to Syria; If progress is made on a deal at the G20 summit, the PM says Australia could send troops, although he would prefer to see Syria's neighbours take the lead	The Guardian	14/11
14.	Greek concerns mount over refugees as Balkan countries restrict entry; Estimated 3,600 Europe-bound migrants stranded on Greek	The Guardian	22/11

	border, and debt-stricken Athens is ill-placed to deal with additional burden		
15.	Growing number of US states seek to block acceptance of Syrian refugees; At least 15 states voice opposition to refugees' resettlement but Democrat Bernie Sanders warns that the US must 'not succumb to Islamophobia	The Guardian	17/11
16.	Sweden slams shut its open-door policy towards refugees; 'We simply can't do any more.' prime minister says in announcing Sweden's asylum regime will revert to EU minimum	The Guardian	24/11
17.	Syrian family arrives in Perth and thanks Australia 'for chance at happiness'; Man, his heavily pregnant wife and three children land at Perth airport on Tuesday, the first of 12,000 refugees being offered humanitarian visas	The Guardian	17/11
18.	George Brandis: alienating Australian Muslims the 'worst thing we could do'; Attorney general's comments come as a NSW Nationals MP calls for borders to be closed and Tony Abbott backs push to appoint Peter Dutton to cabinet's national security committee	The Guardian	16/11
19.	Foreign policy requires nuance, not just talking points. Hillary Clinton delivered; At Saturday night's Democratic debate, Bernie Sanders and Martin O'Malley criticized Clinton's record, but never articulated their ideas for 'new' approaches	The Guardian	15/11
20.	An ever more stringent national security arsenal is no guarantee of safety; Overblown political responses are delivering more and more powers and resources for counter-terrorism, but the pace of threats is also escalating	The Guardian	16/11
21.	Britain's response must avoid playing into the terrorists' hands	The Guardian	16/11
22.	Labour may back action against Syria without UN approval - Lord Falconer; Shadow minister suggests opposition may be open to supporting wider military action - without need for UN resolution	The Guardian	17/11
23.	Jeremy Corbyn: David Cameron has failed to show that bombing Syria would work; The prime minister's claim that there are ground forces to take back territory from the jihadists has not stood up to basic scrutiny	The Guardian	02/12
24.	Front National fails to win any region in final round of local elections; Marine Le Pen's far-right party misses out, a week after achieving record support, says exit poll	The Guardian	13/12
25.	Donald Trump shows hate speech is now out and proud in the mainstream; The Republican candidate's anti-Muslim rhetoric has shocked many, so is it time we finally saw the comic villain as a threat?	The Guardian	08/12
26.	Refugee crisis gave the perfect cover to slip into Europe; Terror threat ; Schengen in crisis ; Paris bombers exploited chaos, with ringleader's presence in Greece only noted after Friday's attacks	The Daily Telegraph	20/11
27.	Refugees will be vetted as families 'adopt' them; By Colin Freeman Checks address fears that extremists will infiltrate Britain when householders help asylum seekers settle ; Terror in Paris	The Daily Telegraph	16/11
28.	Europe's most wanted man remains on the run; Salah Abdelslam evades roadblocks as 16 suspected terrorists are held in Brussels ; Paris killers	The Daily Telegraph	23/11
29.	Cameron considering speedy passage for spy laws; Terror in Paris ; Investigatory Powers Bill ; Pressure on PM to expedite legislation that gives agencies more power to track terrorism suspects	The Daily Telegraph	17/11
30.	US can't betray refugees, says Obama; Nine states refuse to accept Syrians fleeing Middle East, claiming they would put American lives at risk	The Daily Telegraph	17/11
31.	Triple crisis of terror, Greece and refugees has proven explosive; Analysis	The Daily Telegraph	7/12
32.	Terrorist ringleader got into EU as 'refugee'; Moves to tighten borders as police admit they are unable to monitor thousands of jihadists ; EU's database has weaknesses on jihadists' movements	The Daily Telegraph	20/11

33.	Provost criticised for refugee remarks	The Daily Telegraph	19/11
34.	Recruit an army of Syrian refugees to fight in their homeland, says Poland's new foreign minister	The Daily Telegraph	17/11
35.	Sturgeon plea for compassion as refugees arrive; NEWS	The Daily Telegraph	17/11
36.	Web of terror How gang were linked	The Daily Telegraph	17/11
37.	Juncker resisting end to visa-free Schengen; EU response	The Daily Telegraph	23/11
38.	Le Pens lead far-Right to historic gains in France; Front National capitalises on terror fears to surge to powerful position in first round of regional elections	The Daily Telegraph	7/12
39.	Met chief: Europe is open to terrorists	The Daily Telegraph	18/11
40.	Why the West has to view Isil more seriously than as a 'bunch of killers'; Letters to the Editor	The Daily Telegraph	24/11
41.	'Jungle' vigil as Europe mourns	The Daily Telegraph	16/11
42.	Rise of Isil's foreign legion as number of recruits doubles despite air strikes	The Daily Telegraph	9/12
43.	Terrorism 'means EU budgets must grow'; Finance minister says fiscal rules must be ignored to improve states' security, writes Szu Ping Chan	The Daily Telegraph	7/12
44.	Climate change failure is a factor behind Syrian crisis, says Charles	The Daily Telegraph	23/11
45.	EU change of focus is an opportunity; ESTABLISHED 1855	The Daily Telegraph	5/12
46.	How Cameron ended up with nowhere to go; The Prime Minister has been forced to play the 'spoilt child' card with other European leaders Britain in Europe	The Daily Telegraph	5/12
47.	Eight held at Turkey airport 'had planned trip through Europe'	The Daily Telegraph	19/11
48.	'It is always wrong to behave like a victim'; INTERVIEW Ken Olisa, this year's most powerful black person in Britain, says what little racism he has encountered has been easy to ignore	The Daily Telegraph	23/11
49.	Migration is pushing the EU towards a new crisis	The Daily Telegraph	16/11
50.	Now's not the time for playing it safe; THEATREWhen new drama failed to engage with real-life events, Shakespeare stepped into the breach, says Dominic Cavendish	The Daily Telegraph	12/12
51.	Simon Nixon; Paris attacks threaten three blows to Europe's economic fortunes	The Times	19/11
52.	Mastermind boasted of planning terror attacks; 6 Brains behind Paris massacre slipped in and out of Syria6 Be prepared for further atrocities, Europe told	The Times	17/11
53.	Jihadists planned another attack on Paris business centre	The Times	26/11
54.	Paris fugitive 'recruited men' at refugee hotspot	The Times	4/12
55.	Why the Paris monsters aren't so powerful; They want us to believe it's a clash of civilisations - but Jihadis are Just like any mass shooters	The Times	17/11
56.	America needs a president with conviction; In the interests of world peace the US must get tough on Isis. After Paris, Obama has shown he is not up to the challenge	The Times	19/11
57.	Extremism and the plight of Syrian refugees; Letters to the Editor	The Times	19/11
58.	Imam will visit refugees on Bute	The Times	21/11
59.	States clash with Obama after refusing to take Syrian refugees; United States	The Times	20/11
60.	Sturgeon's plea not to fear Syrian refugees	The Times	17/11
61.	Let's be proud, Scots urged, as first refugees flown in; The Syrian arrivals received a wet and low-key welcome, write Marc Horne and Lindsay McIntosh	The Times	18/11
62.	Mastermind despised and disowned by his family	The Times	19/11
63.	Terrorist arrived in Greece as 'refugee'	The Times	16/11
64.	Nations light up in solidarité	The Times	16/11
65.	Syrian refugee finds peace in Scotland after years in camp	The Times	23/11
66.	Clinton invokes 9/11 in row over Wall St donors; United States	The Times	16/11
67.	Bavarians humiliate Merkel over migrants	The Times	24/11
68.	Thousands unite against racial hatred	The Times	28/11

69.	Be careful what you wish for, Brexit zealots; Those campaigning for us to leave the European Union fail to see how other countries would treat us on the outside	The Times	10/12
70.	Columnist of the year. Again	The Times	5/12
71.	I'll ruin the president over Calais, vows Le Pen	The Times	11/12
72.	Blame game erupts over migrant crisis	The Times	19/11
73.	Cameron offers troops to guard Europe's borders	The Times	12/12
74.	Man admits sending racist tweet to minister	The Times	20/11
75.	That's classy... Downton creator rocks New York	The Times	21/11

Table 2: newspaper articles from the Netherlands – 13/11/2015 – 13/12/2015

	Document name (Lexis Nexis)	Newspaper	Date
1.	Parijs is om de hoek, vindt Haaksbergen	De Volkskrant	17/11
2.	Nu Parijs, morgen Berlijn, daarna Den Haag?	De Volkskrant	16/11
3.	Wat we nog niet wisten (of weten)	De Volkskrant	18/11
4.	Niet alle Syriërs zijn terroristen	De Volkskrant	16/11
5.	We zijn in oorlog, of toch maar niet	De Volkskrant	16/11
6.	Onze premier was onzichtbaar in het volledig ontspoorde vluchtelingendebat, maar zegt nu dat wij in oorlog zijn met IS.	De Volkskrant	21/11
7.	In Den Haag heerst ongemak...	De Volkskrant	20/11
8.	Angst en spanning op de voorpagina	De Volkskrant	28/11
9.	Publieke opinie	De Volkskrant	25/11
10.	Is '13 november' voor Europa wat 9/11 was voor VS?	De Volkskrant	16/11
11.	Geachte redactie	De Volkskrant	17/11
12.	Verwar de lichteheid van ons bestaan niet met leegte	De Volkskrant	27/11
13.	Het Syrische doolhof	De Volkskrant	8/12
14.	en Europa gaat buitengrenzen systematisch controleren	De Volkskrant	20/11
15.	Er moet debat komen over een bovengrens'	De Volkskrant	21/11
16.	Geachte redactie	De Volkskrant	16/11
17.	Smeed coalitie tussen moslims en het Westen	De Volkskrant	18/11
18.	Crossmedia, Remco Andersen en mevrouw Buwalda	De Volkskrant	28/11
19.	Geachte redactie	De Volkskrant	20/11
20.	Het appeal van de woesteling	De Volkskrant	12/12
21.	Onder de pannen	De Volkskrant	25/11
22.	'Op IDFA zie je IS indirect'	De Volkskrant	20/11
23.	Protest tegen niet mogen doorreizen	De Volkskrant	24/11
24.	VS weigeren opvang	De Volkskrant	20/11
25.	Wij hebben bloemen. En bommen	De Volkskrant	20/11
26.	Blijf ook na 'Parijs' gastvrij, maar wel anders	De Trouw	17/11
27.	Stop niet met het opnemen van vluchtelingen	De Trouw	16/11
28.	Hoop en cynisme in de polder	De Trouw	16/11
29.	Obama laakt weren van Syrische vluchtelingen	De Trouw	19/11
30.	Syrische vluchtelingen in Amman door reserves heen	De Trouw	7/11
31.	Syrische migranten niet welkom	De Trouw	17/11
32.	Na Rutte geeft ook Asscher toe dat Nederland in oorlog is	De Trouw	20/11
33.	'Lach IS uit en luister naar gematigden'	De Trouw	28/11
34.	Nog meer scepsis over herverdeling asielzoekers	De Trouw	16/11
35.	De ideologie van IS laat zich niet wegbombarderen	De Trouw	19/11
36.	Succes Front National: de Fransen zijn niet bang, maar boos	De Trouw	8/12
37.	ideeën over de grens	De Trouw	28/11
38.	Kabinet scherpt controles aan	De Trouw	18/11
39.	Brieven	De Trouw	18/11
40.	Wanhopig protest asielzoekers aan Macedonische grens	De Trouw	24/11
41.	Brieven	De Trouw	26/11
42.	Canada gaat gewoon door met opnemen Syriërs	De Trouw	19/11
43.	Deze eeuw wordt cruciaal	De Trouw	5/12
44.	Een mooi cijfer voor het nu, maar somber over straks	De Trouw	11/12
45.	EU: Grieken, bewaak grenzen	De Trouw	4/12

46.	Fietsen na de oorlog	De Trouw	30/11
47.	Frankrijk	De Trouw	14/11
48.	Na Utrecht is het in Duinrell vooral saai	De Trouw	27/11
49.	Nederland overweegt soort 'mini-Schengen'	De Trouw	19/11
50.	Schipperaar kiest nu voor strijd	De Trouw	18/11
51.	Mini-Schengenals buffer; AsielstroomAanslagen in Parijs benadrukken belangvan registratie vluchtelingen	De Telegraaf	18/11
52.	Teneur in Kamer: 'Plannen genoeg tegen jihadisme'; Politiek tempert roep om nieuwe en strengere maatregelen na Parijs	De Telegraaf	18/11
53.	G20 wil geldstromen terroristen bevroren; Top in Antalya overschaduwd door aanslagen	De Telegraaf	16/11
54.	Staten in VS weigeren Syrische vluchtelingen	De Telegraaf	17/11
55.	Grote vastberadenheid; Europese leiders spreken van aanval tegen ons allen	De Telegraaf	15/11
56.	'Roep om dichte grens is goedkope retoriek'	De Telegraaf	16/11
57.	Grijs is nuttig; Buitenlandse Zaken	De Telegraaf	21/11
58.	Aanslagplegers krijgen gezicht	De Telegraaf	16/11
59.	Verdachte mocht door bij grens	De Telegraaf	16/11
60.	Frankrijk: haast met info jihadgangers; 'Fransen helemaal klaar met gepraat over aanpak terrorisme'	De Telegraaf	21/11
61.	Japan kent geen jihadi's; Tokio bestrijdt terreur met mooie woorden, geen daden	De Telegraaf	20/11
62.	Obama wil van geen wijken weten	De Telegraaf	20/11
63.	Huis VS blokkeert opname Syriërs	De Telegraaf	20/11
64.	Bijval mini-Schengen; VVD steunt kabinetsvoorstel; PvdA bekijkt plan met interesse	De Telegraaf	19/11
65.	'Dichte grenzen een illusie'; Alexander Pechtold:	De Telegraaf	16/11
66.	'Je kunt niet zien wat er in hun hoofd zit'; Wie geen spullen of documenten bij zich heeft is lastig te checken	De Telegraaf	17/11
67.	Kort; TV Column	De Telegraaf	7/12

Table 3: 75 UK newspaper articles and their ranking in the codebook (x=yes)

Newspaper Article	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3	Category 4	Category 5	Answer NO to all the five questions
1.	X				X	
2.				X	X	
3.						X
4.	X		X			
5.						X
6.			X			
7.	X					
8.				X	X	
9.			X	X		
10.	X	X				
11.						X
12.	X				X	
13.						X
14.					X	
15.	X	X				
16.						X
17.						X

18.					X	
19.						X
20.						X
21.				X	X	
22.						X
23.						X
24.						X
25.						X
26.	X					
27.	X		X			
28.						X
29.			X			
30.			X		X	
31.						X
32.	X			X		
33.				X	X	
34.						X
35.					X	
36.						X
37.	X		X			
38.						X
39.	X		X			
40.						X
41.					X	
42.						X
43.						X
44.						X
45.						X
46.						X
47.	X			X		
48.						X
49.						X
50.						X
51.						X
52.						X
53.	X	X				
54.	X		X			
55.						X
56.						X
57.					X	
58.					X	
59.	X	X		X	X	
60.					X	
61.					X	
62.						X
63.	X			X		
64.						X
65.					X	

66.			X		X	
67.						X
68.					X	
69.						X
70.						X
71.						X
72.						X
73.	X		X			
74.						X
75.						X

Table 4: 75 Dutch newspaper articles and their ranking in the codebook (x=yes)

Newspaper Article	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3	Category 4	Category 5	Answer NO to all the five questions
1.	X				X	
2.						X
3.						X
4.				X		
5.						X
6.					X	
7.			X			
8.						X
9.				X	X	
10.	X					
11.						X
12.						X
13.						X
14.	X		X			
15.			X			
16.						X
17.						X
18.						X
19.						X
20.						X
21.						X
22.						X
23.	X				X	
24.	X					
25.						X
26.					X	
27.					X	

28.			X		X	
29.					X	
30.						X
31.	X					
32.						X
33.						X
34.	X	X				
35.			X		X	
36.						X
37.						X
38.	X			X		
39.						X
40.				X	X	
41.						X
42.	X				X	
43.						X
44.						X
45.			X			
46.						X
47.						X
48.	X		X			
49.	X	X	X			
50.						X
51.		X				
52.		X	X			
53.						X
54.	X					
55.						X
56.						X
57.						X
58.	X					
59.	X					
60.			X			
61.						X
62.						X
63.	X	X				
64.			X			
65.						X
66.	X	X				
67.						X

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