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Master Thesis

Securitization of the Refugee Crisis

A research on the publishing behaviour of Dutch national newspapers on this matter



By: Shakiela Abdoel (1399284)

Master: Crisis and Security Management

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Supervisor: Dr. G.M. van Buuren

Second reader: S. Wittendorp MA

Foreword and Acknowledgements

After almost four years of countless exams, essays, papers and presentations, the time has come to present what they call “the crown on your academic career”. The process of creating this master thesis was quite short but overwhelming. In the beginning there was the struggle to find a topic that fits the masters programme as well as my personal affinity. Coming up with the idea actually proved to be not that hard; in my spare time I volunteered as a “language buddy” for immigrants, including refugees, whom were learning the Dutch language. I also have a side job as “peer educator”, and in this role I visit schools with the means of interactively informing youngsters on how to create a healthy attitude towards news media. It appears that media have the power to induce certain emotions, such as anger or sadness, as I came across many examples of adolescents that have experienced such emotions due to media reports. Hence, the idea was born to combine the refugee crisis with news media coverage. The Research Design-classes of mrs. Devroe have helped me to form this topic into what it has eventually become.

I would like to acknowledge certain people who have helped me a great deal in writing this thesis. First and foremost, many thanks to my supervisor dr. Jelle van Buuren for the good ideas, availability for providing feedback and for showing understanding when I needed more time to reach one of the deadlines due to unanticipated circumstances. Furthermore, your lectures during the masters programme have been fun and inspirational, which definitely contributed to a valuable learning experience the past year. Also many thanks to lecturer Stef Wittendorp for providing very useful feedback on my initial research design.

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Abstract

The aim of this research is to analyse to what extent certain news media have securitized the reception of refugees in the Netherlands during 2015 and 2016, in order to reflect on the possible consequences of the power of news media. In light of this research, 301 articles of the Telegraaf and the Volkskrant have been analysed in support of this objective. Both newspapers showed an extensive securitization of news articles, since 50 percent of the Telegraaf-articles and 34 percent of the Volkskrant-articles have been perceived to be securitized at least to some extent. Combining these findings with the academic insights that news media have the power to influence societal opinion and attitudes, it is determined that here are strong indications in support of the claim that these analysed news media have influenced the societal opinion on and attitude towards the refugee crisis. This conclusion corresponds with the presumption that news media have the power to influence polarization within society.

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1. Introduction

The last couple of years several crises occurred in countries nearby the European continent, such as in Syria. This led to masses of people fleeing their country and seeking asylum elsewhere, mainly Europe. In 2015, the number of people in the world who were forced to leave their home as a result of violence or conflict was risen to 65.3 million, of whom 21.3 million people crossed international borders.¹ In 2015, more than one million refugees crossed the border to Europe and in 2016 this number reduced to almost 400 thousand people.²

Through news media, we are able to follow these events and witness the often gruesome circumstances these people go through. However, there are also many rising questions regarding to potential security issues as a result of bringing massive groups of people to European countries, including the Netherlands.

Since we gather all this information on the European migrant crisis mainly through news media, it is indicated that these might have a significant influence of what information is provided and how this has or has not been framed. Journalism is carried out by people who, like everyone else, make choices within their own reference framework. This makes it interesting to perform a research on the role of news media regarding to the European migrant crisis. How they portray these issues could potentially influence the way society and politics perceive them, for example as a security matter. Therefore the concept of securitization is fundamental when performing this research.

1.1 Objectives of the research

There are several objectives of this research, for instance to define the role of news media in the securitization-process of topics. Several studies have been conducted in this field as presented in the literature review, however the current migrant crisis and specifically the reception of refugees in the Netherlands is a phenomenon that had not yet been subjected to research regarding the role of news media in the securitization process. Therefore, another objective is to offer a research that could contribute to minimizing this knowledge gap.

More specifically, the possible securitization by Dutch news media will be analysed in order to determine to what extent these media use securitizing speech acts in their news articles.

¹ International Organization for Migration (2016). *Global Migration Trends Factsheet 2015*. Berlin: Global Migration Data Analysis Centre.

² International Organization for Migration (2017). *Compilation of Available Data and Information, Reporting Period 2016*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

The European migrant crisis had - and still has – an important role in the societal discussion regarding to the reception of refugees. Worries on this matter are expressed abundantly, for instance on social media. Also in politics there has been extensive attention for this matter. However, the question is to what extent these worries in society would still occur if news media would not report on the refugee-matter.

This particular research analyses the publishing behaviour of newspapers on the reception of refugees in the Netherlands. Since this subject is oriented to the Netherlands, the research will be less receptive for influences of foreign news media. Furthermore, the reception of refugees in the Netherlands has been extensively covered by news media, since politics as well as the community have been attentive to this matter.

By acknowledging a news medium as an actor that informs society on actual matters, it is of relevance to analyse the publishing behaviour of news media as regards to the mentioned securitization process. This could furthermore provide insights on the potential consequences in society of securitization by news media.

1.2 Central research question

Deriving from the previous given information, the following central research question has been composed:

To what extent did securitization of migration-related issues take place by traditional left- and rightwinged Dutch news media regarding to the reception of refugees in the Netherlands during 2015-2016 and what are the possibly related consequences in society?

The goal of this research question is to describe how certain news media portray issues concerning the migrant crisis and to what extent they frame these issues in a securitized way. The results of this research could then lead to a better understanding of the way news media fulfil their democratic purpose – of informing the public about all what is going on in the world, close to home and in politics – and if this corresponds to the traditional theoretical implications of their democratic function. Moreover, by determining the consequences of the possible securitization, it can be elaborated on what influence news media possess over dynamics in society. Furthermore, the analysis will be focused on 2015-2016, since the general outbreak of the refugee stream started in 2015 and continued in 2016. This will be further elaborated on in the case-chapter.

1.3 Scientific and societal relevance

The topic of this research is relevant in a societal manner, since the European migrant crisis is perceived to have a strong impact on the dynamics in society regarding to the presumable increase of polarization. As it has become easier to express opinions publicly, for instance on social media, the differences in society on the matter of migration are explicitly emphasized. The differences in society are expected to have several causes. However, in this research the focus lies on the possible influence of news media regarding to the trends of societal opinion. Although the direct effect of news publications on the opinions in society will not be measured, this possible correlation is actually relevant as regards to the assumption that news media do to some extent affect societal opinion, which might contribute to the often presumed polarization in society.

There is also a scientific relevancy, since this research particularly focuses on academic concepts such as mediocracy – which is about the influence and power of the media and will be further explained in the theoretical chapter – and securitization. Moreover, combining these concepts in a framework and analysing the refugee-case using this framework has a potential of gaining new insights on the influence of news media on the possible securitization of societal issues. The combination of this conducted theoretical framework and the reception of refugees in the Netherlands is not yet found in existing literature, thus this subject clearly does address a current knowledge gap.

1.4 Link with CSM and Public Administration

This research topic is relevant in the light of the master programme of Crisis and Security Management for several reasons. First, the concept of securitization has contributed to new ways of thinking about security in this field of study. This will be further explored in depth in the literature review. Moreover, the European migrant crisis is an issue that is part of the security agenda in Europe and surrounding countries. Therefore, this is a hot topic in the Netherlands with much attention to the consequences of taking in refugees for the security and public order of the Dutch society. Furthermore, the effects that the European migrant crisis has on the dynamics of society make it a clear societal issue, leading to the increase of attention of politicians and administrators, who are then enforced to declare their position regarding to this issue and respond to this issue. In the literature review, the power of the media will and their possible influence on the policy agenda will be discussed.

1.5 Thesis arrangement

This thesis is composed as follows. In the next chapter, the European migrant crisis is outlined in order to gain more insight on the situation of the problem and provide a background to which the analysis can be contextualized. Therefore, this chapter serves as the central case in this thesis. In the following chapter, the relevant theoretical insights are discussed. This theoretical framework is used to compose an analytical framework, that is further elaborated on in the subsequent, methodological chapter. Moreover, the methodological choices that have been made during the research process are discussed and justified in this chapter. Furthermore, the reliability and validation of the chosen method is discussed. In the next chapter, the acquired data is analysed using the analytical framework of the theory. The findings will be commented on using examples of the data and composed graphs. In the next and final chapter, the findings of the analysis are being reflected on and the central research question is answered using the analytical findings. Moreover, the limitations of this research as well as recommendations for follow-up research are discussed in this concluding chapter.

2. European migrant crisis in the Netherlands

In this chapter, the development of the refugee-crisis will be discussed in order to contextualize the focus of this research regarding the securitization of the reception of refugees in the Netherlands by Dutch news media.

2.1 Facilitation of refugee-shelters

From the start of 2015, a high number of refugees filed for asylum in western Europe. 45 percent of these refugees consisted of Syrian residents fleeing their country due to the civil war that has occupied the country for the last four years. In Syria, there has been an ongoing war between the regime of president Assad and rebellions. The refugees have attempted to reach western Europe through Greece and Turkey, trying to make their way to countries such as Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands. This trip involved a dangerous crossing of the sea to the European continent, which ended fatally more than once. However, many of the refugees managed to reach western European countries.³ The refugees were specifically attempting to reach these countries, as these are members of the Refugee Convention.⁴ Furthermore, these countries have a reputation of providing great economic prosperity. Germany, by far, provided shelter for most of the refugees. Countries that followed are Sweden, Austria and the Netherlands. It has been the greatest number of asylum seekers that the Netherlands had to deal with since the mid 90's, when many people fled Bosnia and Kosovo as a result of civil wars in those countries.⁵

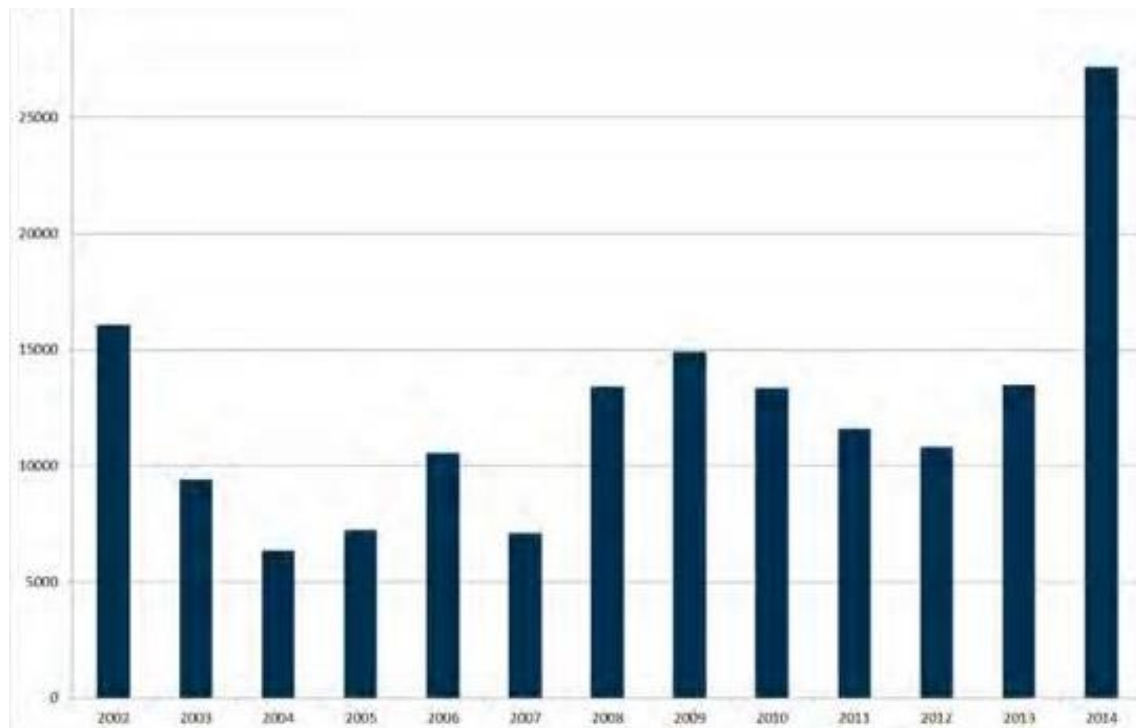
The Dutch Central Organ for the Intake of Refugees (COA) provided shelter on their several locations and additionally set up multiple emergency shelters at sports- and events centres, however these were too crowded shortly after the refugee stream set in. Therefore, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Safety and Justice, Klaas Dijkhoff, requested municipalities to provide shelter locations for the great number of refugees that travelled to the Netherlands. Over a hundred municipalities responded to this request and organised shelter with the help of many volunteers. Furthermore, there were lots of initiatives by citizens to help refugees making their

³ Instituut Fysieke Veiligheid (2017). *Vluchtelingencrisis 2015: Lessen uit de crisisopvang*. Retrieved on April 25th 2017 from <http://www.ifv.nl/kennisplein/Documents/20170315-IFV-Vluchtelingencrisis-2015-lessen-uit-de-crisisnoodopvang.pdf>.

⁴ The UN Refugee Agency (2010). *Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees*. Communications and Public Information Service: Geneva.

⁵ Instituut Fysieke Veiligheid (2017). *Vluchtelingencrisis 2015: Lessen uit de crisisopvang*. Retrieved on April 25th 2017 from <http://www.ifv.nl/kennisplein/Documents/20170315-IFV-Vluchtelingencrisis-2015-lessen-uit-de-crisisnoodopvang.pdf>.

way and settling in in the Netherlands. However, there were also cases where residents protested against the reception of refugees in their town.⁶



Graph 1. Number of asylum seekers that arrived in the Netherlands prior to 2015.⁷

In 2014 there already was a remarkable increase of refugees compared to the prior years, as shown in graph 1. However, this continued and further increased during 2015.⁸ Not only did shelter locations quickly become too crowded resulting from the increasing refugee stream; there was also a problem for previous asylum seekers that already received a permit to stay, but could not find residence due to problems with the housing situation. These people also remained living in the shelters. The COA needed to provide alternative shelter locations as soon as possible, therefore they requested municipalities to provide emergency shelters in places such as sports- and events centres and in some cases even school buildings. The initial intention was to place refugees in these emergency shelters for a maximum of three days, however most locations provided shelter for a longer period. Meanwhile, during the second half of 2015 the COA provided temporary shelters for a longer stay, but also attempted to set up new permanent asylum seekers centres (AZC's). In August, an average of 1700 refugees entered the

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid, graph retrieved from the regarding document.

⁸ The UN Refugee Agency (2015, June 18). *Worldwide displacement hits all-time high as war and persecution increase*. Retrieved on May 29th 2017 from <http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2015/6/558193896/worldwide-displacement-hits-all-time-high-war-persecution-increase.html>.

Netherlands on a weekly basis, which used to be the average number per month prior to the European migrant crisis.⁹

The development of temporary as well as more permanent shelters in municipalities as requested by the COA, did not go unnoticed by residents. Local governments informed residents about the plans to build or create these shelters, for instance during information sessions, as it is perceived to be an important factor to involve residents and create public support for these shelters. In some municipalities there was public support overall, but in other places the public support decreased and caused tensions between the residents and the local governments. There have been a number of incidents due to these tensions.¹⁰

2.2 Public opinion on the reception of refugees

According to the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP)¹¹, the public aversion against immigration and integration grew since the end of 2014. Since the end of 2015, the immigration topic has been the single most important theme among society according to the SCO. The SCP furthermore notices a strong relation between the European migrant crisis and the increase of aversion against immigration and integration in society. Furthermore, 65 percent of the population mentioned refugees as their number one concern in society.¹²

The SCP's quarterly report shows that many people are worried about the possible complications that come with the reception of refugees, such as security threats and the fact that these refugees are provided with housing facilities, when many budget cuts were made by the government at the expense of regular citizens. Furthermore, other people expressed their worries about the tensions that rose up as a result of protests against the set-up of AZC's.¹³

One of the research methods by SCP is the use of open questions. An example of such an open question is if and why the respondents feel that the Netherlands is deteriorating. Ten percent of the respondents in this particular report expressed concerns about societal tensions and feelings of unsafety. These concerns are not related to the refugee stream per se, but it is one of the mentioned factors. Furthermore, some people also mention their concerns about hostility from non-immigrants towards migrants. In addition, some people partly blame politics

⁹ Instituut Fysieke Veiligheid (2017). *Vluchtelingencrisis 2015: Lessen uit de crisisopvang*. Retrieved on April 25th 2017 from <http://www.ifv.nl/kennisplein/Documents/20170315-IFV-Vluchtelingencrisis-2015-lessen-uit-de-crisisnoodopvang.pdf>.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau in Dutch. The translation as chosen in the main text has been retrieved from the English pages on the website of the SCP.

¹² COB (2016). *Burgerperspectieven 2016*|1. Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau: Den Haag.

¹³ Ibid.

and the media for causing segregation in society. They are opinionated that media play a big role in worsening the division within society. Moreover, some take the view that news media pay too much attention to aggression.¹⁴

2.3 Focusing events during refugee crisis

In order to contextualize the findings of the analysis of newspaper articles later on in this research, it is of importance to shed light on certain events that occurred during the refugee-crisis. These events, that occurred both nationally as internationally, are perceived to have had influence on the extent of securitization by news media, and will therefore be discussed.

As mentioned before, there have been several incidents regarding to the reception of refugees in AZC's. For instance, there have been multiple protests against the development of refugee-shelters in different places in the Netherlands. Some of these protests escalated into aggressive expressions of dissatisfaction. For example, in the village Heesch adversaries of the reception of refugees placed dead pigs on the territory of an AZC, along with several banners on which their dissatisfaction was expressed.¹⁵ Furthermore, there have been several occurrences of escalated information-sessions and council meetings on the to be developed refugee-shelters. An example are the riots in Geldermalsen during the council meeting of the local government. The protesters vandalised property of the city hall and threw fireworks at the council room.¹⁶

Overall, most of the violent protests occurred during October 2015 to January 2016.¹⁷ Another occurrence that raised much attention in the media, is the massive sexual assault of women in Cologne, Germany on the New Years Eve of 2015. It was extensively reported by news media that more than a hundred women filed for report at the police regarding to this event. Soon after this, several news media reported that the men who assaulted the women were primarily refugees.¹⁸ However, some news media refuted this particular claim about the perpetrators, stating there was not enough evidence to support the claim.¹⁹

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ NRC (2016, January 14). Protest tegen asielzoekerscentrum. *NRC*. Retrieved on May 29th 2017 from <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2016/01/14/kadavers-protest-tegen-asielzoekerscentrum-1580352-a591208>.

¹⁶ Hee, van der S. (2015, December 16). Rellen bij gemeentehuis Geldermalsen om raadsvergadering azc. *NRC*. Retrieved on May 29th 2017 from <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2015/12/16/rumoer-bij-gemeentehuis-geldermalsen-om-raadsvergadering-azc-a1410746>.

¹⁷ Nu.nl (2016). *Overzicht: Onrust in Nederland over komst azc's*. Retrieved on May 29th from <http://www.nu.nl/bootvluchtelingen/4184608/overzicht-onrust-in-nederland-komst-azcs.html>.

¹⁸ NOS (2016). *Meeste verdachten Keulen waren pas kort in Nederland*. Retrieved on May 29th from <http://nos.nl/artikel/2087134-meeste-verdachten-keulen-waaren-pas-kort-in-duitsland.html>.

¹⁹ Jonker, S. (2016, January 5). Veel vragen over massaal geweld in Keulen onbeantwoord. *Trouw*. Retrieved from <https://www.trouw.nl/home/veel-vragen-over-massaal-geweld-in-keulen-onbeantwoord-aed0ad27/>.

3. Literature review

In this chapter, the theoretical insights regarding to security and the Securitization Theory will be discussed, followed by the discussion on the power and influence of the media.

3.1 Defining Security

Before discussing the Securitization Theory as the fundamental theoretical concept in this research, it is of essence to discuss the concept of *security*, as it is an important element to comprehend what the context is when speaking about the security-element of Critical Security Studies.

In his book 'People, States and Fear', Barry Buzan (2007:25) outlines that security, on all regional levels, has become a prominent issue facing society worldwide. Particularly the protection of national security, the national security problem, has been relevant in light of the existence of states, since the core existence of other states has always been an insecurity and vulnerability to one state. Taking economical or military actions has consequences for other states, causing those states to sacrifice some of their security.

Buzan (2007:26) points out that until the 1980's, there were two scholars that more or less used their own approaches of national security. On one hand, within International Relation the realists would argue that security is the outcome of power. Having enough power would result in gaining sufficient security. On the other hand, the idealists argue that security is the consequence of peace. Their approach implies that keeping peace between states would result in secure states. This way of thinking is derived from the idea that security is linked to the situation of war as an absence of security. However, in the search of gaining more knowledge on national security, one should first strive to define the concept of security itself. As Buzan (2007:25) points out, there have been little attempts to create a comprehensive definition and therefore security remained an underdeveloped concept for a long time.

Furthermore, in his book Buzan (2007) does make an attempt to conceptualize security. For one, he perceives security as "the discussion.. about the pursuit of freedom from threat" (Buzan, 2007:37). He also sketches five major themes in which threats could affect the security in society. For one, military security is about the state-level perceptions of the others intentions and the focus lies on armed power of states. Political security is about the stability on state level concerning the organization of governments and the ideology and legitimation of those governments. Societal security concerns the national identity and preservation of national elements such as language, culture, religion and other customs. Environmental security

concerns the preservation of the biospheres and the support systems that all societies are reliant on (Buzan, 2007:38). Buzan (2007:38) also notes that all these sections are intertwined with each other in some way.

3.2 Securitization theory

An important factor for this field of research, is the concept of *securitization*. Discussing the Securitization Theory is of great essence, since it enables one to understand whether an issue is being securitized or not, in this case by news media. There are many authors who reflect on this concept, and they also differ in theoretical approach of the concept.

Securitization theory is a prominent theory within Critical Security Studies, and closely connected to a group of scholars referred to by the name ‘Copenhagen School’. This School consists of Buzan and Wæver and de Wilde (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2010: 75). Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde (1998) describe the core concept of security as a matter of survival. Securitization, on the other hand, is all about the construction of security by approaching issues as if they objectively are a danger to society.

A sociological approach to securitization has been described by Balzacq (2014:109-10), to which he uses a combination of the constructivist and objectivist scholar in order to determine the ontological perspective of securitization. He unites the idea of “constructivism about facts” and “objectivism about rational explanation” to explain how the representation of reality can in fact go together with the rational explanation as to why things can actually be perceived as a threat by society (Balzacq, 2014:109). This means that both the use of language and the use of the rationale can be united in the sense of securitization. Buzan et al. (1998:30) also stress this intersubjective approach of the constructivist and objective scholar when constructing securitization. Hansen (2000:288) emphasizes that the intersubjective approach could widen the range of securitization, but also makes sure that there are limits to its expansion.

This approach differs from the previously mentioned more traditional realist approach of International Relations, in which security is a matter of military force, and the (solely) social constructivist approach of securitization in which the usage of language has an important role in defining a matter of securitization. Within the latter, it is of essence to distinguish the effect of words as a performative act – in which action has been taken when expressing the words – and not a representation of reality (Buzan & Hansen, 2012:28; Huysmans, 2002:45). Moreover, several authors use the terms of ‘speaking security’ and ‘speech acts’ in order to point out that securitization is mostly constructed by the use of certain words and language by actors (Buzan et al.,1998; Wæver 1995: 55). Furthermore, Buzan and Hansen (2009: 213) state that

securitization is a matter of discourse of which the construction of speech is an important aspect. As Huysmans (2002: 45-6) adds, a security problem will be successfully constructed when the speech act has been successfully performed and using security language has a normative implication.

Securitization is furthermore perceived as an intensification of politicization, since a matter is not only put on the political agenda, but even on the security agenda. On the political side, Nunes (2012: 347) recognizes the statements of critical studies that a political process exists regarding to security research, which means that security issues are used for political intentions and cause “consternation and struggle between actors” (Nunes, 2012: 237). Furthermore, he states that according to critical studies, the ideas of security are receptive of interpretation.

In order to cope with the acclaimed dangers, certain “exceptional” measures are required and politics are expected to regulate these dangers by making rules (Buzan *et al.*, 1998: 3-23). However, merely arguing that a matter requires exceptional measures does not make it a real act (Ciutâ, 2009: 312). Therefore, the implication that securitization is a performative speech act does not comply with the actual composition of “exceptional measures”.

Furthermore, Buzan *et al.* (1998: 21) recognize the matter of securitization within five different general categories: military, political, societal, environmental and economic security. In addition to this general explanation of security, Buzan *et al.* (1998: 122) also reflect on what they call *societal securitization*, which takes place when a society identifies a certain threat to that particular society. These threats have certain aspects in common, such as: there is an issue of national and ethnical identity, there is a fear of losing the own identity of the society because they are being challenged by another identity, and there is a factor of migration that stimulates the society to feel threatened. This particular type of securitization is most relevant in this research, therefore the other types will not be discussed.

On the counterpart of securitization, desecuritization has been defined by Wæver (2000: 253) by naming three possible manners. The first option of desecuritization is avoiding or not speaking in a way that security is suggested. The second manner is limiting the consequences once securitization has taken place, by not generating dilemma when reporting on responses to the security-issue. The last manner of desecuritization is pushing securitized issues back to the reality of normal politics. This means the weakening of previously claimed security threats.

As it has been explained that actors might use speech acts in order to construct a security issue, this research focuses on news media as being actors who are possibly constructing matters of security by using speech acts. For instance, Balzacq (2010: 77) combines the power of the media and the concept of securitization by stating that news media can in fact manipulate public opinion when it comes to security issues. They can securitize issues, as well as desecuritize them. It is a process that involves the usage of language in a (de)securitized way to construct a certain manner of speaking about these issues. As an example, Vultee (2010) has conducted a research on “the war on terror”, in which he also points out how media securitize or desecuritize matters, successfully influencing the public opinion. These researches help determining that media indeed have the power to influence public opinion by (de-)securitization.

As these authors refer to the media as actors with the power to influence society as regards to securitized matters, the discourse on the power of the media will be discussed next.

3.3 The power of news media; a ‘fourth estate’?

An important focus within this field of research, is the role news media have in our society and how this fits in our democracy. Since news media will be analysed, it is of importance to comprehend why this choice has been made.

According to Carpentier (2007: 152), the traditional models for explaining the important role of news media focuses on the crucial role of journalists regarding the enablement of citizens to control the state by providing information. This occurs either in a formal way, which is relevant in times of elections, or in an informal way, namely through public opinion. Within this framework, journalists also serve the role of a watchdog or a ‘fourth estate’.

This, of course, gives news media the power to influence how citizens perceive certain issues that are discussed by those media. This increasing power of media within the democracy is also called *mediacracy* (Bodrunova, 2010: 5). Moreover, she describes journalism as a system and media as actors, stating that these two elements are strongly related to power and authority. In addition, she assigns the media as agenda-setters and issue framers, with the capacity to form the opinion of their audience and influencing how this audience makes social choices.

Furthermore, certain other authors discuss this agenda-setting function of the media. For instance, McComb and Shaw (1972: 184) additionally argue that mass-media do influence the way people think about certain issues and what they perceive as important issues, hence media do tend to influence the political agenda within societies.

Van Noije, Kleinnijenhuis and Oegema (2008: 458) too elaborate on the agenda-setting power of the media, stating that the media agenda indeed influences the political agenda and

call this 'mediacrat' agenda building. Their argument is that politicians feel pressure to reflect on matters that are highlighted by the media, since they fear being criticised for not taking any action.

Combining these theoretical insights, it can be stated that news media fulfil an important function within the society and also on a political level, by informing citizens of issues that influence their public opinion and political choices, but also by prioritizing topics and putting those on the political agenda. In addition, the theoretical claims made by these authors imply that power of the media can go as far as influencing the media audience in making social choices. This claim further affirms the presumptions made in the introduction that (news) media are powerful and influential in society. Therefore, it is of essence to keep these insights in mind when analysing the collected data and conclude on the findings.

4. Methodology

In this chapter the methodologic choices that have been made in the process of conducting this research will be explained and justified. Furthermore, the validity, reliability and limitations of this research will be elaborated on. However, prior to these paragraphs, the operationalization of the concepts as discussed in the literature review will be outlined. The operationalization of concepts is of essence in order to structurally analyse the collected data and to form conclusions on the findings.

4.1 Operationalization

The main theoretical concept in this research that requires an operationalization, is securitization. With the help of this operationalization, it will be possible to analyse to what extent news media have been securitizing the reception of refugees in the Netherlands.

First, a main definition for the concept of securitization has to be chosen. The insights on securitization that are discussed have been combined in order to come up with an as clear as possible definition, relevant to this particular field of research. The definitions of mentioned authors solely partly describe the actual aim of this research. Therefore, relevant elements of the literature have been combined in order to form a concise definition. The composed definition that will be used in this research runs as follows:

The construction of a highly politicized matter into a threat to societal security, by using particular speech acts that amplify a feeling of insecurity – in the form of physical insecurity of one's person and personal environment, but also in the form of implying that the common societal identity is being threatened.

Next, several key terms will be used as indicators in the coding scheme, which will be used to analyse news reports from the newspapers Telegraaf and Volkskrant. The indicators for securitization are inspired by the typology of speech acts as constructed by Stritzel (2012: 555) and the ideal type of securitization by Balzacq (2015:106-7). It is essential to note that these typologies are not taken over literally, but the most relevant aspects of the typologies, sometimes combined, are used as an inspiration to come up with the following list of indicators.

Moreover, the indicators for desecuritization have been drafted up using the theoretical approach of the concept of Wæver (2000: 253), as elaborated on in the literature review. The addition of the category of 'desecuritization' is of importance, since measuring desecuritization can likewise contribute to the analytical assessment of the articles. The insights derived from

both securitized as desecuritized articles will contribute to a more complete representation of the analysis.

The coding list that is derived from the indicators is drafted up both deductively as inductively, since the theory has provided with a part of the codes as well as conspicuities derived from the analysed data. In case the analysed articles provided elements that fit well in one of the categories, these elements would be turned into a code and added to the coding scheme. The codes with an additional asterisk (*) have been added inductively to the coding list.

Category	Type of discourse and/or language
Claim of danger/ an existential threat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Using terms such as ‘onveilig, geweld-, gevaar-, dreiging, agressie, veiligheid, terreur, vechten’ etcetera²⁰ Pointing out an action that indicates one of the above* Using terms that indirectly indicate a sense of danger and often related to extreme weather, such as ‘tsunami, overspoelen, overstroming, golf’^{21*}
Warning about possible consequences of inaction	<p>Naming possible consequences that are possible or likely to occur if nothing is done to take the threat away. Examples are</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Devaluation of the neighbourhood in terms of security* Harassment of residents, especially kids and women* The escalation of protests* Hostility between certain groups* General , violent unrest*
Appeal for measurements	Mentioning of actors that demand possible measures to counter the concerned security threat. Also de demand for action of any sorts applies to this category
The utilization of concrete examples that support the danger-claim	<p>Providing ‘proof’ or reasons that support the claim that there is danger. Examples are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pointing out events where fighting took place*

²⁰ In English: unsafe, violence-, danger-, threat, aggression, security, terror, fighting. Meaning all terms that could relate to a state of danger and insecurity.

²¹ In English: tsunami, overflow, flood, wave.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pointing out situation in which supervision of the police was requested* • Pointing out situations in which residents were harassed in some way, or refugees were harassed by others* • Pointing out situations in which there was proof of criminal behaviour of refugees or of residents* • Pointing out examples such as above that occurred in neighbouring countries and linking these to the local situation* • Unrest, violent protesting and hostility towards involved persons*
One or more actors are appointed with responsibility	The security threat is being claimed to be the fault of one or more actors, such as the (local) government, aggressive residents or the refugees themselves.
Desecuritization speech acts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Absence of threat claims • Downplay claims of security • Taking away the elements that led to the securitization of an issue, causing it not to be a matter of security anymore (in terms of speaking)*

Table 1: Indicators of the concept of (de-)securitization.

These indicators will help determining whether securitization does or does not take place. The way this will be assessed, is discussed in paragraph 4.4: data exploitation and assessment.

The way situations and events are being portrayed are equally important as the key words that are being used in the article. This can be found for example by analysing which examples are being used and what the focussing events are within the articles. These examples can provide information on whether securitization takes place, therefore this type of examples is also included in the coding scheme.²²

Furthermore, a division is made in the coding scheme between the type of article, as well as in the gradation of to what extent securitization takes place in the article. The type of article is

²² Coding scheme can be found in attachment 1.

divided in *regular news article* and *opinion article*. The legitimation for these choices are clarified in paragraph 4.4.

4.2 Methodologic choices and legitimation

In the field of content analysis²³, there is a dominant debate on the question if content analysis should have a quantitative or qualitative character. Some authors argue that quantitative analysis should be done when performing a content analysis (Berg, 2009:342). This particular research will however be of qualitative character. Selltitz, Jahoda, Deutch and Cook (in Berg, 2009:342) argue that the quantification of content analysis has an arbitrary limitation compared to qualitative content analysis, which offers much more possibilities to analyse non-numeric elements of content such as definitions, symbols, detailed explanations etcetera. Moreover, in social science it is interesting to approach discourses by not merely analysing what words are being used, but especially by trying to interpret what the meaning is of the used language.

However, the analysis actually does consist some quantitative elements. Since a large number of news articles have been analysed, it gives more structure to the findings if the articles are presented by using quantitative elements. However, since the actual analysis of the news articles is done by interpreting the language and content of the articles, the base of this research method remains qualitative.

One of the objectives of this research is to analyse to what extent securitization takes place by several Dutch news media. In order to analyse news reports, a *discourse analysis* of news articles will be conducted. This methodology is relevant in light of this research, since discourse analysis focuses an analysis of the language used within in the political and social context (Bonnafoous & Temmar, 2013: 3-6).

²³ Content analysis is in this part used in the general sense of the concept. The distinction between content and discourse analysis as both types of content analysis is not yet relevant.

Basic types of Designs

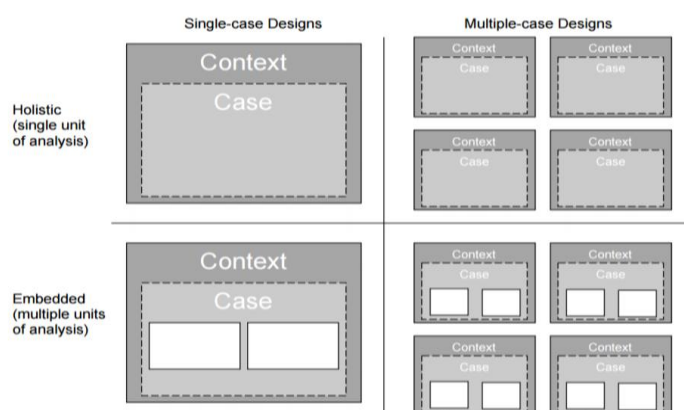


Figure 1: Types of design. Source: Yin, R. (2009).

Furthermore, the research is a case study revolving around one general case – the reception of refugees in the Netherlands – and several news media that will be studied in depth. Therefore, the embedded single-case design is applicable.

The unit of analysis is the discourse on the reception of refugees in the Netherlands. The units of observation are the reports made by the *Volkskrant* and *Telegraaf* during 2015-2016 on the issue of the reception of refugees in the Netherlands.

The chosen timeframe for this research is 2015-2016. The year 2015 has been chosen as a starting point, since this moment is generally perceived as the start of the outbreak of the European migrant crisis, in which all European countries were actively being involved in the matter.²⁴ This has also extensively been discussed in the chapter of the case description.

This crisis went on in 2016, therefore the published articles during this year will as well be analysed. The year 2017 is very recent, since at the moment it is still halfway 2017. Since this is considered to be too recent, news articles from 2017 have not been added to the collection of data. Furthermore, the timeframe of the analysed newspapers show that the frequency of the publishing behaviour decreased further through 2016.²⁵ Moreover, it is described in the case chapter that the refugee-stream decreased during 2016.

4.3 Data collection methods

An extensive document analysis will be conducted on the reports made by the mentioned newspapers concerning the reception of refugees in the Netherlands. These reports will be

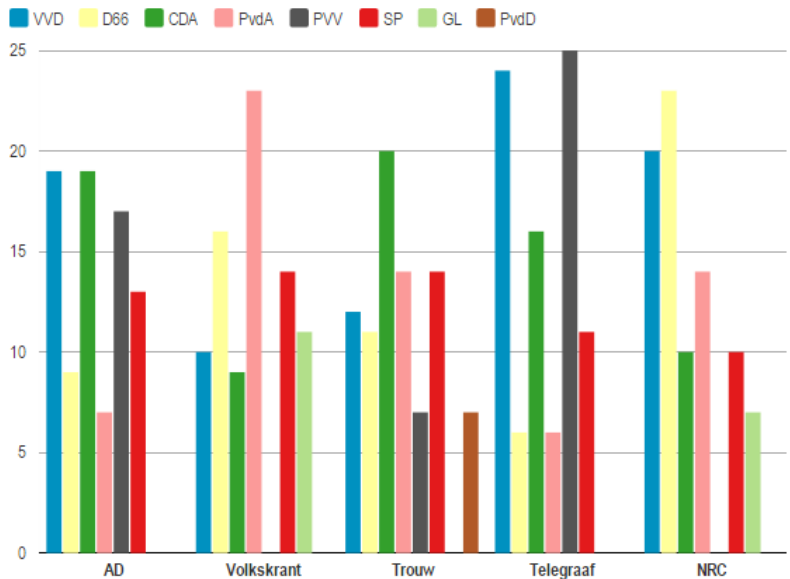
²⁴ Europa Nu (2016). *Europese aanpak vluchtelingencrisis*. Retrieved from https://www.europa-nu.nl/id/vhcmelu5xgfm/europese_aanpak_vluchtelingencrisis on March 21st 2017.

²⁵ Shown in graph 3 of the results in chapter 5.

analysed in order to conclude on the standpoint of these newspapers regarding to the migrant crisis.

The media organizations have been chosen within both the left and right wing of the political spectrum. It is important to take this distinction into account, as there might be a difference in approach between the selected newspapers on how they report on the refugee matter. This will be taken into account in the analytical chapter.

Finding academic evidence for the demographic characteristics of newspaper readers is problematic. However, Dutch analyst Maurice de Hond conducted a survey in 2015 on the voting behaviour of newspaper readers. The Algemeen Dagblad (AD)²⁶ constructed a graph based on the findings of his research:



Graph 2: Newspaper preferences of voters. Source: Onderzoeksbureau Maurice de Hond

This chart in figure 2 shows the five major national newspapers and the political preference of their readers. Most outstanding are the Volkskrant and the Telegraaf, since the graph clearly shows that their readers have a most different political preference when comparing these with the other newspapers.

It must be stated that this survey was conducted in back in 2015 with 9000 respondents, and that there is not much information on the type of sample that was used. However, these two newspapers are commonly known in the Netherlands to be either more left-winged (Volkskrant)

²⁶ Algemeen Dagblad (2015). *Wat stemmen krantenlezers?*. Retrieved from <http://www.ad.nl/binnenland/wat-stemmen-krantenlezers~a655e176/> on March 20th 2017.

or right-winged (Telegraaf), as is visible in figure 2. Therefore, the articles of these two newspapers have been analysed in light of this research.

The news articles are collected from newspaper databases LexisNexis. The choice has explicitly been made to leave out the webpage databases of the selected newspapers, since more articles are published online in short period of time. Furthermore, in case of breaking news or highlighted events, certain webpages will constantly be updated. It would be problematic to create order in that many articles.

A group of keywords – ‘AZC’, ‘asielzoekerscentrum’, ‘vluchtelingenopvang’, ‘opvangcentra’, ‘COA’, ‘vluchtelingen’, ‘noodopvang’²⁷ – has been used to find the most relevant news articles for this research. These keywords are very specific and focus as much as possible on the desired type of articles. For instance, the term ‘migrant’ has not been used to search articles because of the general connotation of the word. There are more subjects in society that concern migrants than merely the refugee crisis. The inclusion of this type of term would blend too much irrelevant articles within the search results. In the cases there still were some irrelevant articles²⁸ caught up in the sample, these articles were deleted from the search results and the analysis continued on to the next one in the article-list.

Using the mentioned search terms in Lexis Nexis resulted in the following amount of articles. During 2015-2016, 510 articles came up in the search results that were published by the Telegraaf. For the Volksrant, 398 results came up. It is possible that not all relevant articles have been collected due to the use of too little or limited search terms, however this would be hard to find out.

In order to increase the feasibility of this research, not all articles will be analysed. Therefore, sampling has been taken place the following way. Since the Telegraaf published more articles than the Volkskrant, every third article in the search results has been used for the analysis. However, when coming across one of the mentioned irrelevant articles, the next article in the search results-list was selected for the data collection. This resulted in a total of 154 articles that have been analysed from the Telegraaf. In case of the Volkskrant, every other article following by leaping two articles in the search results has been analysed, however just as with

²⁷ In English: Asylum seekers centre, refugee shelter, shelter, refugees, emergency shelter. The abbreviated organizations have been named in full in the empirical chapter (discussion of the case).

²⁸ Articles that are not concerning the reception of refugees in the Netherlands.

the Telegraaf skipping irrelevant articles. This resulted in 147 articles from the Volkskrant. In total, 301 articles were analysed in light of the research.

4.4 Data exploitation and assessment

The news articles have been analysed with the help of the indicators and codes that are defined in the operationalization. The mentioned keys words have been detected, but also concrete examples of securitization have been analysed.

In order to academically assess the data, a coding scheme has been conducted.²⁹ This coding scheme consists of the indicators as stated in the operationalization section. During the analysis of the data, it has occurred that there are signs of securitization that have been overlooked by in the operationalization. Therefore, this coding scheme has been adjusted along the way. As a result, the coding scheme had been conducted both inductively as deductively. This has been indicated in the scheme of indicators in paragraph 4.1.

Furthermore, during the two selected years of which the articles have been analysed, several events concerning the reception of refugees in the Netherlands have occurred, as elaborated on in the case-chapter. During those events, it was expected that the newspapers increasingly published articles as a result of these matters. Therefore, this research has also kept track of the reports made by the selected newspapers on these events, especially using securitizing speech acts. This could give an idea to what extent securitization takes place and if it changes over time and amongst the two analysed newspapers.

As mentioned in the operationalization paragraph 4.1, the choice is made to both include the articles regarding to *regular news articles* and *opinion articles*. During the analysis of the articles, it became clear that many of the articles in the search results on LexisNexis were actually opinion articles. The legitimation to use these articles in the analysis, is that the concerning newspapers made the explicit choice to publish these articles, therefore associating themselves with the regarding opinion article. This can still be used as an indicator for the extent of securitization in the newspaper.

Furthermore, as mentioned in the same paragraph, the coding scheme consists of a certain degree of gradation concerning securitization. The legitimation for this, is that during the analysis of the articles it became clear that the amount of (de)securitizing speech acts per article fluctuated. In order to structure this differentiation, the choice has been made to divide the

²⁹ Coding scheme in appendix A.

articles in *securitization as the main focus of the article, securitizing speech acts are dominantly present, securitization is of subordinate importance, desecuritizing speech acts and undecided*.³⁰

In case the main focus of the topic in the news article was in fact a securitizing speech act, the article was classified as strongly securitized. However, some articles did not mainly focus on events that were securitized, but still contained several securitizing speech acts. Therefore, these articles have been placed in a less but still distinct classification of securitization. Also, some of the articles contained little securitized speech acts. Therefore, these are marked as securitization being of subordinate importance. In case the article had not been securitized or showed indicators of desecuritization, this article was marked as desecuritized. However, some articles could not clearly be classified in one of the gradations, for example as a result of a mix of securitizing and desecuritizing speech acts. In case the division was not clear enough to make a distinct choice, the article was marked as undecided.

The coding scheme has been integrated in Excel in the form of a table, in order to keep a structured record of the analysis of the news articles.

4.5 Validity, reliability and limitations

In order to protect the reliability of this research, the coding scheme has been constructed. This way, consistency of the analysis can be warranted as much as possible. The coding scheme also contributes to the accuracy of which the data has been analysed. Repeating the conducted research is also possible when using this coding scheme. Furthermore, the analysed articles have been added in the addendum³¹ of this research, which enables one to repeat this research. However, if another researcher wished to repeat this research but uses other elements of the Securitization Theory, resulting in the arrangement of different codes, the results might differ. The theory is very broad, which makes it a question of interpretation as to what indicators are used to analyse the data. Moreover, the analysis of the article is susceptible to the interpretation of the author, especially in circumstances that possible securitizing elements are not explicitly mentioned in an article, but in a more subtle way.

The internal validity has been protected to its potential by following the theory when constructing the coding scheme, which is used to analyse the collected data, however leaving some room for interpretation. This way, the possibility that the desired concept has been measured is enhanced. In terms of external validity, it could be difficult to generalize the

³⁰ As mentioned in the coding scheme in appendix A.

³¹ Referring to appendix B.

findings. The research is focused on the news media in the Netherlands, and it is difficult to state to what extent the research can be generalized to by other countries. However, the findings of the research could contribute to the theoretical insights on the power of the media, since the outcomes of the analysis will be compared to societal dynamics, such as dissatisfaction on the reception of refugees. Therefore, the theoretical outcomes of this research have a potential to contribute to the theoretical generalization of this matter.

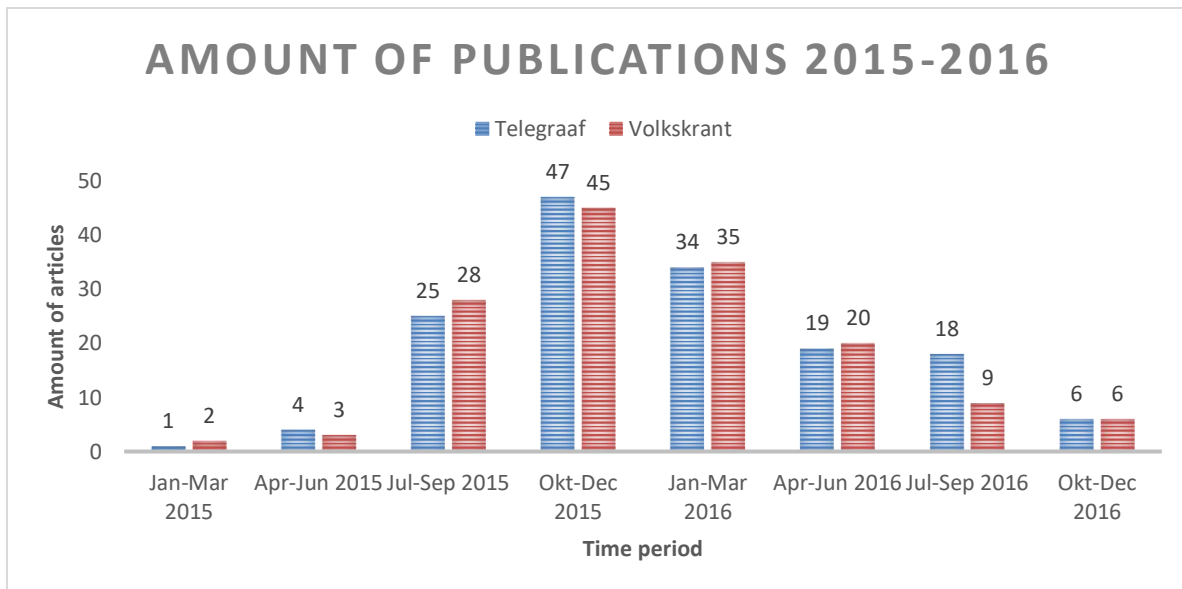
As for the limitations of this research, the following can be stated. In terms of feasibility, the choice has been made to involve only newspapers in this research and limited to two newspapers. However, nowadays newspapers are only a small part of all media that inform society on events and occurrences. Therefore, merely analysing newspapers decreases the possible scope on the influence of news media. Furthermore, this research qualitatively measures the extent of securitization by the regarding newspapers on the refugee-matter. This limits the possibilities to detect causalities on the influence of news media. Moreover, as mentioned before, the consequence of the choice of methods is that the findings are susceptible to the interpretation of the author. Lastly, this research is solely aimed at the securitization of the refugee-matter in the Netherlands. This limits the opportunities of generalization of this research.

5. Analysis of the data

In this chapter, the findings of the discourse analysis of the news articles will be discussed. First, the general findings will be outlined, following by the trend analysis of the focusing events versus the publishing behaviour of the newspapers. Next, the extent of securitization will be reviewed per category.

In total, 301 news articles have been analysed in light of this research. These are both regular news reports as well as opinion articles. 154 articles of the Telegraaf and 147 articles of the Volkskrant have been sampled in light of this analysis. These articles were published during both 2015 and 2016. In graph 3, it is shown how many articles have been analysed on the reception of refugees in the Netherlands by both newspapers during this time period.³²

³² This applies only to the sampled articles, and not all published news articles on the refugee-matter during this timeframe. As are all mentioned frequencies in this results chapter.



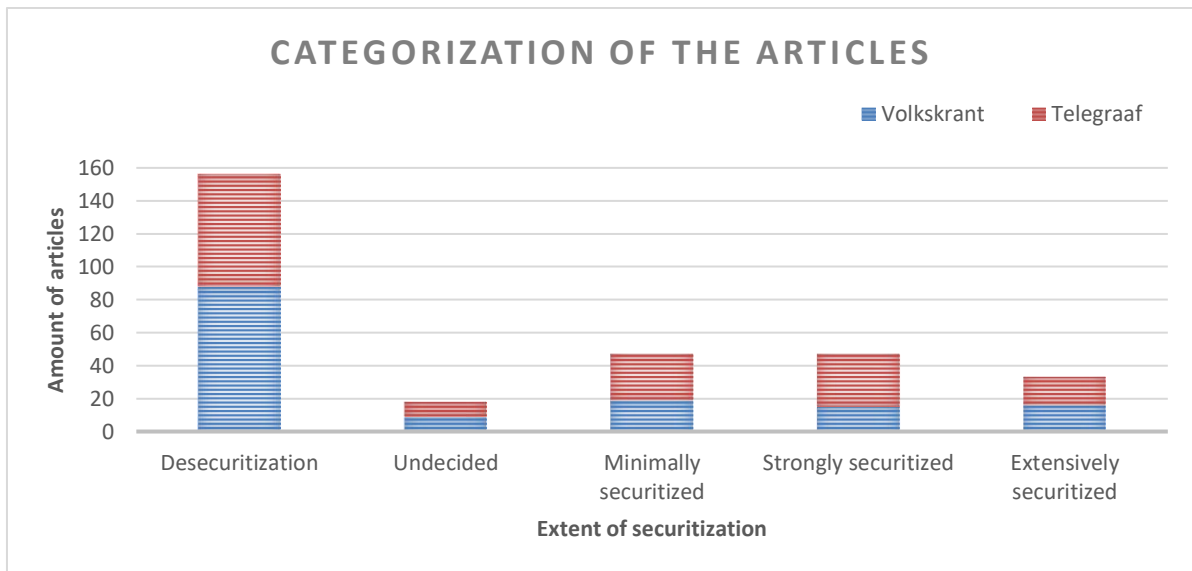
Graph 3: Amount of publications during 2015 and 2016.

Remarkably, the publishing behaviour of the Telegraaf and Volkskrant seems to be quite equal when solely mapping the frequency of publishing on the regarding refugee-matter, as shown in graph 3. Furthermore, this frequency of publishing by the newspapers resonates with the mentioned focusing events in the case-chapter, paragraph 2.3. The violent protests primarily occurred during October 2015 – January 2016, and the sexual assault in Cologne occurred in December 2015. Graph 3 shows that the news reports by both newspapers peaked during that period of time. Furthermore, it is explained in the case-chapter that the refugee-stream increased rapidly starting halfway 2015. The graph also resonates with this increase, starting in the period of July – September 2015.

5.1 Extent of securitization by both newspapers

As mentioned in the methodological chapter, the news articles have been analysed by using certain indicators, that have been converted into a coding scheme (see appendix A). The codes refer to both securitizing as desecuritizing elements. Furthermore, in case it was problematic to categorize an article into either securitization or desecuritization, the article was marked as ‘undecided’.

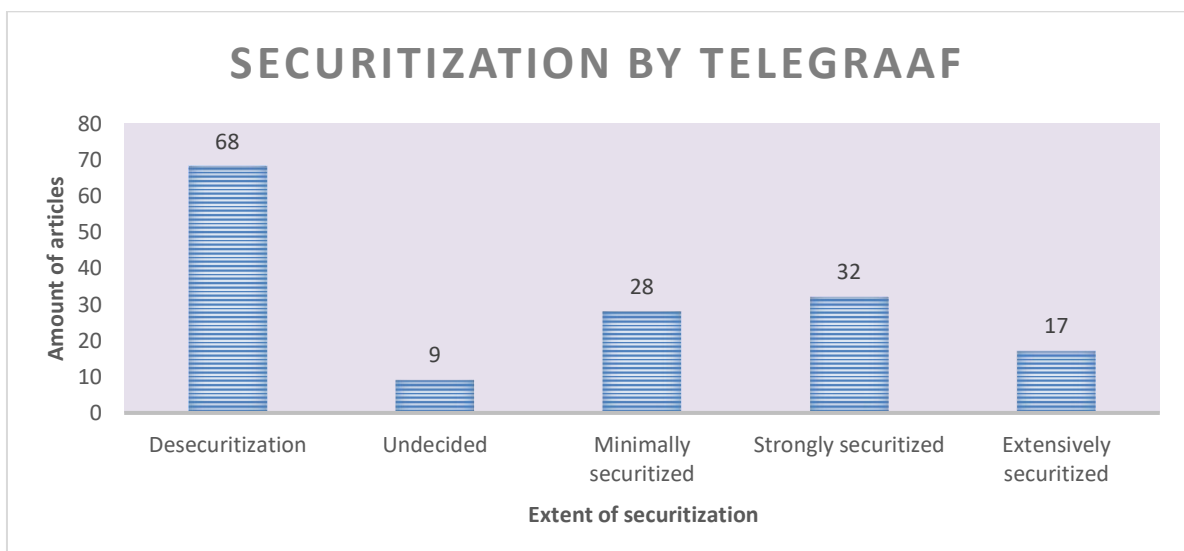
In total, 156 articles are categorized as ‘desecuritized’, while 127 articles have been marked as ‘securitized’ at least to some extent and 19 articles have been categorized as ‘undecided’. Graph 4 shows the division of the articles into the categories, also considering the differences between the Telegraaf and Volkskrant.



Graph 4: The categorization of the articles according to the coding scheme.

The *securitized* articles have been divided into three levels of securitization. The first one being ‘minimally securitized’, as there are little elements of securitization detected in the regarding article. In practice, this means that the securitized element in this article is perceived as solely a detail of the entire article. The second level of securitization is ‘strongly securitized’, as there are articles that contain a significant amount of securitized elements, however the subject of the article may be of a de-securitized order. The final level of securitization is ‘extensively securitized’, as the subject of the article in itself is of a primarily securitized order. Furthermore, the article itself contains a significant amount of securitizing elements.

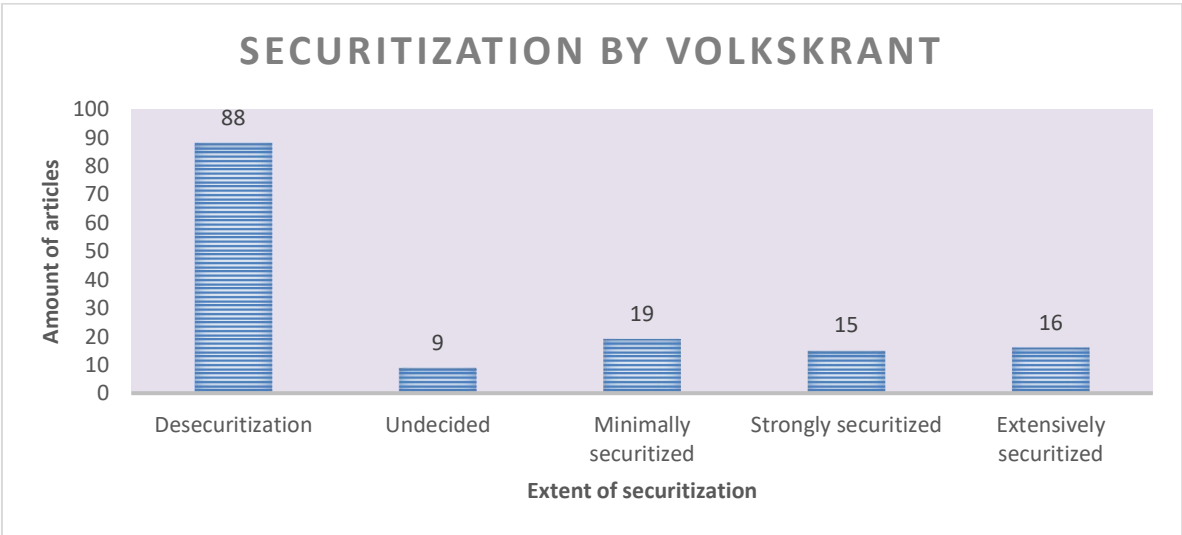
As graph 4 shows, more than half of the articles have been desecuritized. However, there is a difference in the division between securitized and desecuritized articles between the Telegraaf and Volkskrant.



Graph 5: Extent of securitization by the Telegraaf.

The results of the analysis of the Telegraaf-articles show that 68 of the articles have been categorized as ‘desecuritized’, while 77 of the articles have been ‘securitized’ at least to some extent. That means that 50 percent of the total 154 articles by Telegraaf have been securitized to at least some extent. Furthermore, 44.2 percent of the articles have been categorized as ‘desecuritized’, while 5.8 percent remains ‘undecided’.

As for the Volkskrant, the results are mapped in graph 6. The results show that 88 of the in total 147 articles have been categorized as ‘desecuritized’, while 50 of the articles have been perceived as ‘securitized’ at least to some extent and 9 articles have been marked as ‘undecided’. This means that 59.9 percent of the articles are categorized as ‘desecuritized’, 34 percent as ‘securitized’ at least to some extent and 6.1 percent remains ‘undecided’.



Graph 6: Extent of securitization by the Volkskrant.

5.2 Review of the desecuritized articles

As mentioned, there is a total of 156 articles that have been categorized as ‘desecuritized’, which makes 51,8 percent of the total 301 articles.

The category of ‘desecuritization’ has been described in the methodological chapter. The category stands for articles that either do not contain threat-claims, downplay threats of security or take away securitizing elements, meaning that previous claims of securitization have been falsified in the regarding news article.

5.2.1 Absence of threat-claims

The subcategory of desecuritization that applies to most of the desecuritized articles, is the ‘absence of threat-claims’. Of the 156 desecuritized articles, 141 have been qualified with an

absence of any threat-claim. From the *Telegraaf*, 61 of the 68 desecuritized articles have this mark and from the *Volkscrant*, 80 of the 88 desecuritized articles have this mark.

The articles that are qualified with the absence of threat-claims are articles that do not contain any of the securitization-indicators as mentioned in the operationalization-paragraph of the methodological chapter (4.1). In practice, this means that the articles are not in any way questioning safety and security regarding the reception of refugees in the Netherlands.

There are many examples of the content of articles without any threat-claim. For example, the *Telegraaf* reported that the refugees in certain AZC's would be eating later on the day because they would be fasting for Ramadan.³³ Also, the *Telegraaf* had several reports on the housing issues of refugees, pointing out that Dutch residents are waiting to get a home while refugees are prioritized in the assignation of homes.³⁴ The latter article is an example of an opinion article in the *Telegraaf*.

Furthermore, the *Telegraaf* repeatedly reported about the dissatisfaction of residents on the development of shelters in their neighbourhood, of which in some articles there would in fact be securitized elements, but in others there would not. For example, the *Telegraaf* reported on the resistance of residents about the arrival of a large group of refugees in their neighbourhood. It is explained that, according to these residents, too many refugees were going to be send to their neighbourhood. There was a possibility that this would cause residents to leave the area and move to somewhere else.³⁵ In some cases, as will be discussed in the subchapter about securitized articles, the articles would contain securitized elements when the issue was about the resistance of residents. Therefore, there would in some cases be a tendency to categorize articles about resistance as securitized. However, there is a line between a negative attitude and real securitizing threat-claims regarding to the reception of refugees. Furthermore, solely resistance is not a securitizing element, therefore it applies to the category of desecuritization.

The same counts for the reports made by the *Telegraaf* about the new shelters that would be developed. These were often short articles, merely informing about new shelters for refugees that would be developed in a certain neighbourhood. These articles do not contain securitizing

³³ Bakker, A (2016, June 5). Later eten in azc's tijdens de Ramadan. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

³⁴ Willems, M. (2015, August 26). Gelijke monniken gelijke kappen. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

³⁵ Bode, J. (2015, December 4). Verzet Maarssen tegen komst Vluchtelingen. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

elements, however since in a significant section of the articles by the Telegraaf the attitude towards the reception was negative or even hostile, these articles would seemingly feed the already existing reported resistance against the reception of refugees. However, as mentioned earlier, this cannot be categorized as ‘securitized’ if it does not explicitly contain securitizing elements as mentioned in the indicators of securitization.

As for the Volkskrant, the content of the subcategorized articles without any threat-claim differs from the Telegraaf. For instance, there are many articles in this category about the lives of the refugees that fled to the Netherlands and the steps they have to take in order to adjust to the Dutch customs. For instance, the Volkskrant published an article about every step a Syrian refugee must take in order to start a new life in the Netherlands, such as learning the language, get proper housing facilitations, get a degree and a job and engage in activities.³⁶ Furthermore, the Volkskrant published articles without any threat-claim with several other topics, such as reports on the strong decrease of the refugee-stream to the Netherlands since the Dutch government made a deal with Turkey on this matter.³⁷ The Volkskrant also made several publications about the volunteers regarding to the reception of refugees. For example, the newspaper made a report about the collection of items, such as clothing. The refugees were able to use an application in order to indicate what kind of items he or she needed, and volunteers could bring those items to a Red Cross-store in the city of Goes.³⁸

5.2.2 Downplay of securitization

The next indicator of desecuritization as stated in the list of indicators, is the ‘downplay of securitization’. This category is about the diminishment of threat-claims. In total, 5 articles of the Telegraaf have been marked with this code, and 14 articles of the Volkskrant have been marked with this code.

However, assigning this code to an article does not automatically mean that the whole article is marked as ‘desecuritized’. There are examples of articles that did include examples of this code, as well as securitizing codes and therefore have been marked ‘securitized’ at least to some extent. For example, the Telegraaf published an article about severe resistance against the

³⁶ Dirks, B., Visser, J. (2015, October 20). Je bent een vluchteling en je wilt er snel bij horen... *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

³⁷ Peepkorn, M. (2016, April 16). Aantal migranten sinds Turkije-deal sterk gedaald. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

³⁸ Singeling, L. (2015, September 11). In de app kan een vinkje bij ‘jas’. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

reception of refugees.³⁹ In this article, there are several elements of securitization, such as using securitizing terminology; “All of those refugees are rapists.”⁴⁰, as one of the residents expressed. However, another resident that is quoted, stated that the hostility against refugees is wrong, and that people should try to imagine how it would be as a refugee. By stating this, she implied that refugees are not all rapists as stated by the other resident, but that they are people who experienced misfortune. This downplays the other threat-claims made in this article, but does not completely take away the securitizing elements. Therefore, this article is still marked as securitized. Another article with this codification, but also marked as ‘desecuritized’ is an example of a publication by the *Volkskrant*. The *Volkskrant* reported about the arrival of refugees in a town that had riots before around the arrival of refugees.⁴¹ However, when the new refugees arrived, there were no incidents at all. The riot police was present, as well as media that were reporting on the possible unrest that would occur. However, the article quotes several people that claim that the unrest was limited or even unnoticed. Therefore, the threat-claim that possible unrest would occur was downplayed by several people who stated that that was not the case.

5.2.3 Taking away securitizing elements

This subcategory is about the falsification of mentioned or implied threat-claims. Just as with the ‘downplay of securitization’, this code does not mean that the whole article is categorized as ‘desecuritized’, since there still might be securitizing elements in the article that have not been falsified. 3 articles of the *Telegraaf* have been marked with this code, and 6 articles of the *Volkskrant* have been marked with this code.

The *Telegraaf* has no desecuritized articles with this codification. An example of an article with the ‘taking away securitizing elements’-code, is a news report of a refugee who suddenly became very aggressive and therefore the police had to be involved, however the refugee did not calm down and therefore the police shot this person in his leg. This is the securitized part, however the article concludes with the notion that the shelter soon was in peace again after the incident. The security threat has been taken away by this last claim, therefore the regarding code is in order.

³⁹ De *Telegraaf* (2015, October 7). Wilders held van asiolverzet; Purmerend voelt zich gesteund tegen komst AZC. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Berg, van den J. (2015, October 8). ‘Alles ging goed in Oranje, en nu dit’. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

The Volkskrant has both securitized as desecuritized articles with this code. An example of a desecuritized article, is an article about a rumour on Twitter, that the COA keeps silence about regularly paying back retailers after occurrences of theft by refugees.⁴² However, the author has done research by questioning retailers in the neighbourhood of the author of the regarding tweet. The retailers that are questioned responded surprised and said they did not experience any of it. Furthermore, the police also responded by saying that the rumour is not true. Therefore, the previous threat-claim made in this article has been falsified by the author, which makes the mentioned desecuritized-code relevant for this article.

5.3 Review of the ‘undecided’ articles

As mentioned before, from both newspapers 9 articles have been categorized as ‘undecided’. These are articles that have some indication of being securitized, however, the indication is not that strong to actually give a securitizing code. Another option is, that there are both securitizing as desecuritized elements in the article, without one of the categories being dominantly recognizable.

An example of the first option is an article by the Telegraaf, that reported about bullet-holes in a governmental building in Coevorden. Though the police investigated the matter, the source of the bullets was not found. Furthermore, the mayor of the city is quoted in the article, stating that there is resistance against the arrival of refugees in the neighbourhood, but that he “cannot imagine residents to act out like this” against the development of the shelter.⁴³ Since there have not explicitly been used securitizing elements, but there is a vague implication that residents might have some involvement because of their resistance against the reception of refugees, the article has been categorized as ‘undecided’.

In line with the second type of ‘undecided’ articles, the Volkskrant published an article that had both several examples of threat-claims that exist in society, as a research on the actual threats that are related to refugees, concluding that the fear in society is strongly overrated.⁴⁴ This article is categorized as ‘undecided’, as there are many threat-claims by people in society reported in the article. It is also frequently mentioned that people have fear of the refugees. The threat-claims may have been falsified to some extent, but the amount of threat-claims in the

⁴² Bolwijn, M. (2016, May 26). Vergoedt COA diefstal door asielzoekers aan winkeliers?. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁴³ De Telegraaf (2015, May 27). Wat schiet je daar toch mee op?; Raadselachtige kogelgaten verbazen Coevorden. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

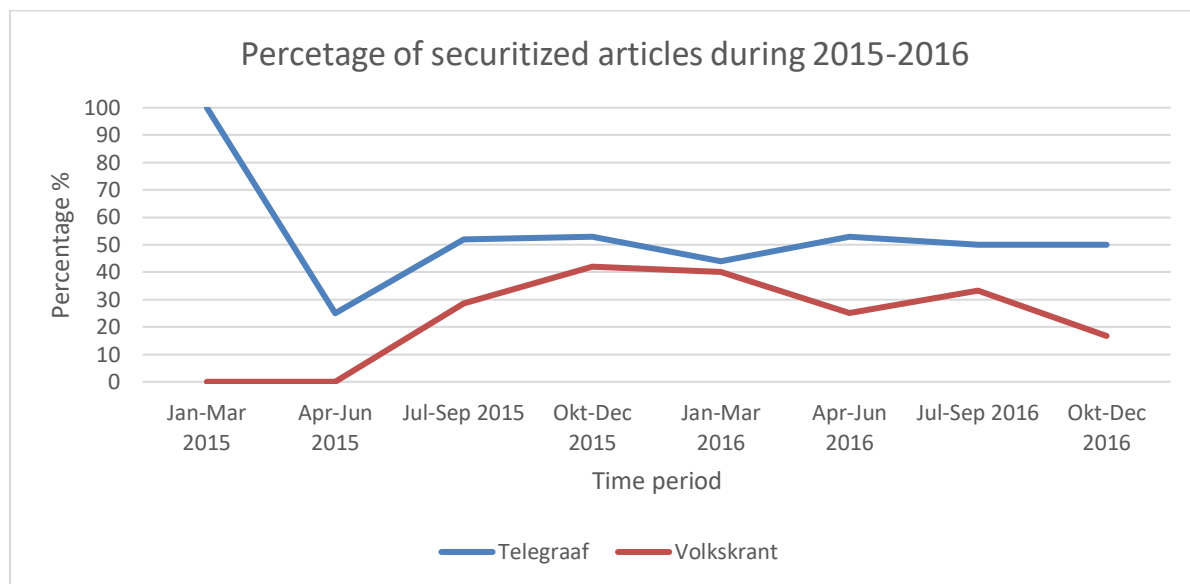
⁴⁴ Dirks, B., Geuze, S. (2015, October 3). Medeleven en veel onbehagen. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

article makes it problematic to choose either one side of the other, therefore it is categorized as ‘undecided’.

5.4 Review of the ‘securitized’ articles

As mentioned earlier, 77 articles of the Telegraaf have been categorized as ‘securitized’ at least to some extent, while 50 articles of the Volkskrant have this categorization.

In graph 7, it has been visualised in percentages how many articles of both newspapers have been securitized at least to some extent in 2015 and 2016.⁴⁵



Graph 7: Percentage of securitized articles during 2015 and 2016.

The graph shows that the Telegraaf published relatively more securitized articles than the Volkskrant throughout 2015 and 2016 on the reception of refugees in the Netherlands. Furthermore, the graph shows that there was a general increase of securitized articles around July – December 2015. As mentioned in the case description, the refugee-stream peaked halfway 2015. Furthermore, there were several incidents by the end of 2015 such as protests against the development of shelters for refugees. The Volkskrant shows a decrease of securitized articles, while the Telegraaf shows a more stable line after the peak around July – December 2015.

In general, there were two types of securitized articles. On one hand, the newspapers published articles about the threats that refugees bring along when they are placed in shelters.

⁴⁵ The Telegraaf starts at a 100 percent, since in the first quarter of 2015 just one article was sampled, and this article was categorized as ‘securitized’.

Examples of these threats are harassment of residents. On the other hand, there were securitized articles that were about the hostile resistance of residents regarding to the reception of refugees. For instance, these articles would be about escalated protests and harassment of refugees by residents of the regarding neighbourhood. Since this distinction is not a primary aim of this thesis, this distinction is not further elaborated on separately.

Furthermore, the codes of the indicators would only be redirected to matters that explicitly had to do with the reception of refugees. For instance, if an article would be about the experiences of refugees in their home country and they would elaborate on the dangers they encountered, this would not be marked in light of this research.

As mentioned in the list of indicators in the methodology-chapter, there are several indicators of securitization.

5.4.1 Threat-claim

First, there is the ‘threat-claim’. This indicator consists of three codes; the ‘usage of certain terminology’, the ‘expression of fear of possible threats’ and ‘indirect terms that point to a threat-claim’, differently from the mentioned terminology.

The first code has been marked in 48 articles of the *Telegraaf*, and in 29 articles of the *Volkscrant*. In the *Telegraaf*, examples of these terminology are ‘agression, violence and severe threatening’⁴⁶, ‘sexual assault’⁴⁷ or simply ‘security’⁴⁸. Most of these terms were also detected in the articles of the *Volkscrant*, in which also ‘human trafficking and terrorism’⁴⁹ and ‘criminals’⁵⁰ are examples of terms that are indicated by this code.

The second code of ‘threat-claim’ has been marked in 41 articles of the *Telegraaf* and in 33 articles of the *Volkscrant*. An example of this code in the *Telegraaf*, is that an article expressed the “fear that jihadists might be hidden between the refugees”.⁵¹ The *Volkscrant* reported in

⁴⁶ De *Telegraaf* (2015, August 5). Agressie schering en inslag bij asielopvang; messen, pistolen en injectienaalden. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁴⁷ De *Telegraaf* (2015, October 7). Binnenhof in maag met Wilders; Analyse Vluchtelingenproblematiek. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁴⁸ Bode, J. (2015, September 9). Heuvelrug worstelt met opvangplekken; Weer overleg met COA over nieuwe asielzoekers. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁴⁹ Marselis, D., Stoffelen, A. (2016, June 18). *Vluchtelingen niet gecontroleerd*. *De Volkscrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁵⁰ Dirks, B., Geuze, S. (2015, October 3). Medeleven en veel onbehagen. *De Volkscrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁵¹ Dijkstra, B. (2015, September 4). Harde waarheid. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

one of the articles, that a resident in Gouda expressed his fear for the arrival of refugees, asking out loud; “but what about my teenage daughter?”.⁵²

The third code of ‘threat-claim’ has been marked in 46 articles of the *Telegraaf*, and in 14 articles of the *Volkskrant*. An example in the *Telegraaf* is the use of the word ‘asieltsunami’⁵³, referring to a ‘tsunami’ of asylum seekers. An example as found in the *Volkskrant*, is the term ‘enge muzelman’⁵⁴, which means scary muslim.

5.4.2 Warning about consequences of inaction

Belonging to this indicator, are ‘devaluation of the neighbourhood’, ‘harassment of residents’, ‘escalation of protests’, ‘hostility between groups’ and ‘general unrest’.

The ‘devaluation of the neighbourhood’, has been marked in ten articles of the *Telegraaf* and in two articles of the *Volkskrant*. For example, the *Telegraaf* reported about the expectations of people from Nijmegen that the neighbourhood would have to deal with nuisance and criminality in their neighbourhood, if the refugees actually were to be brought to their neighbourhood.⁵⁵ In the *Volkskrant*, there is an example of an article in which it is stated that administrators fear the information sessions about the reception of refugees in their neighbourhood, since there have been aggressive protests elsewhere; therefore, these information sessions are often cancelled in order to prevent unrest in the neighbourhood.⁵⁶

The code of ‘harassment of residents’ has been marked in two articles of the *Telegraaf* and in three articles of the *Volkskrant*. In an article of the *Telegraaf*, the author refers to the men, possibly refugees, in Cologne that sexually assaulted many girls. The implication in this article is made, that there is a same threat for girls in the Netherlands to be sexually harassed by refugees.⁵⁷ The same possible consequence of inaction is referred to in an article by the *Volkskrant*, stating that “those young men are like children in a candy store”⁵⁸, meaning the

⁵² Dirks, B. (2015, September 5). ‘Wrang: geen moskee, wel een azc’. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁵³ De *Telegraaf*. (2015, October 7). Binnenhof in maag met Wilders; Analyse Vluchtelingenproblematiek. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁵⁴ Broeke, ten A., (2015, November 6). Waar komt die hetze vandaan?. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁵⁵ Wemmers, E. (2015, September 17). Tentenkamp in bos is bittere noodzaak. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁵⁶ Hilhorst, P. (2016, February 23). Niet minder inspraak bij azc’s, maar juist méér. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁵⁷ Oosterbaan, M. (2016, January 9). Wie regeert Nederland?; De kloof tussen hoog en lager opgeleiden wordt alleen maar groter. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁵⁸ Dirks, B. (2015, September 5). ‘Wrang: geen moskee, wel een azc’. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

refugees would be attracted to the young girls in the Netherlands and therefore there could be a threat such as in Cologne.

The code ‘escalation of protests’ has been marked five times both in the articles of the Telegraaf and the Volkskrant. In the Telegraaf, an example of this code is mentioned in an article that has summed up many threats of aggression by residents towards the administrators of several municipalities. Therefore, some of these municipalities had taken measures to prevent these escalations to occur. An example in the Volkskrant is an article about the cancellation of an AZC in Heesch, since there was a lot of unrest in the neighbourhood due to the planned arrival of refugees in this city.⁵⁹ There would be a threat of escalating protests if they would go through with the development of the AZC.

Seven articles by the Telegraaf have been marked with the code ‘hostility between groups’, while this has been the case in none of the articles of the Volkskrant. For example, the Telegraaf published an article about the polarization in society, while also referring to signals of the threatened public order and safety in the regarding neighbourhood.⁶⁰ This indicates that there are groups in society with a hostile attitude against each other, which is threatening the public safety.

The code ‘general unrest’ has been detected in five articles of the Telegraaf and eight articles of the Volkskrant. An example is a quote in one of the articles of the Telegraaf on the resistance of residents towards the reception of refugees in their neighbourhood. In this article, a regional politician states that residents should first be involved in the decision-making regarding to the refugee-matter, otherwise “they will become rebellious”.⁶¹ This implicates the arising of unrest if measure will not be taken in time. The Volkskrant published an article about the possible unrest that would arise on the festivities around Carnival, referring to the sexual assault of girls by presumably refugees in Cologne.⁶²

5.4.3 Appeal for measurements

The third category of securitization is the demand for action or taking measurements in order to cope with a presumed security threat. This category does not have additional codes, therefore

⁵⁹ The Volkskrant (2016, February 19). Gemeenteraad zet streep door groot azc. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁶⁰ Maes, J. (2015, November 3). ‘Winkels de dupe van asielopvang’; Ondernemers Kanaleneiland vrezen voor klandizie. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Graaf, de P. (2016, February 4). Fijne carnaval, ook in het Arabisch. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

it has only been detected if articles contained similar demands for action, for example by interviewed residents or politicians.

From the *Telegraaf*, seventeen articles have been subdivided in this category and as regards to the *Volkskrant*, seven articles have been subdivided in this category. An example in the *Telegraaf*, is an article about escalated protests against the development of shelters because of aggressive youngsters from other neighbourhoods who are deliberately disturbing information sessions. The author mentions residents who are asking for measurements to prevent these youngsters from attaining these information sessions, for instance by letting participants prove they live nearby.⁶³ An example by the *Volkskrant* is an article about hostility in refugee shelters by certain refugees against homosexual and transgender refugees. In this article, dissatisfaction about the way the COA handles this harassment is expressed and it is described how a certain politician is demanding for taking more effective measures.⁶⁴

5.4.4 Using examples to proof the threat-claim

This category of securitization has been subdivided in the following codes: ‘fighting events’, ‘requested police-supervision’, ‘harassment of residents or of each other’, claims of criminal behaviour in the past or present’, ‘examples of the codes in other countries’ and ‘unrest, protests and hostility’.

As regards to the first code of ‘fighting events’, both the *Telegraaf* and the *Volkskrant* both have ten articles marked with this code. For example, the *Telegraaf* published an article about ongoing violence of refugees against employees of the refugee-shelters, but also physical aggression between refugees themselves. It is expressed in this article that this is a serious issue.⁶⁵ The *Volkskrant*, for example, published an article about misbehaving refugees in Weert. The mayor discusses in this article that measures have been taken in order to control these refugees, as they are not allowed to leave the domain of the refugee-shelter and they are obligated to report themselves regularly at the reception. This is a punishment for several offences, such as fighting.⁶⁶

Seventeen articles of the *Telegraaf* and ten articles of the *Volkskrant* have been marked with the code ‘requested police-supervision’. An example of this type of article in the *Telegraaf*

⁶³ De *Telegraaf* (2015, October 24). ‘We zijn het allemaal zat’. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁶⁴ Groen, J. (2016, July 6). ‘Kwetsbaren’ in azc gericht beschermd. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁶⁵ De *Telegraaf* (2015, August 5). Agressie schering en inslag bij asielopvang; Messen, pistolen en injectienaalden. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁶⁶ Miserus, M. (2016, December 28). Huisarrest in azc, want ‘ik beslis’. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

is a report on scaling up police surveillance at an AZC at the Utrechtse Heuvelrug, where tensions, as a result of table football, between refugees escalated into a massive fight.⁶⁷ An exemplary article in the *Volkscrant* with this code, is a report made on the suggestion that violence against the development of refugee-shelters is actually profitable, since there are several local governments that cancelled the plans of developing shelters in their neighbourhood. In this article, examples of violent protests are given with the notion that the riot police was called in in order to maintain the situation.⁶⁸

The code ‘harassment of residents or each other by refugees’ has been detected in eighteen articles of the *Telegraaf* and twenty articles of the *Volkscrant*. One of the articles of the *Telegraaf* with this code is about the sexual assault of young women by refugees in Almere. The article connects this situation to the sexual assault that occurred in Cologne by, presumably, refugees.⁶⁹ As an example of a report on harassment of each other by refugees, the *Volkscrant* published an interview with a homosexual Syrian refugee that has been harassed by other refugees in the same refugee-shelter because of his sexual orientation.⁷⁰

The code ‘claims of criminal behaviour’ has been detected in 23 articles of the *Telegraaf* and in fourteen articles of the *Volkscrant*. This regards to criminal behaviour that does not necessarily fit the other codes in this category. For instance, the *Telegraaf* reported that refugees in Ter Apel regularly commit robbery, which is troubling many retailers in this village.⁷¹ One of the articles of the *Volkscrant* that was marked with this code reports that the Justice Department received leads on terrorists that were presumably residing in a refugee-shelter in Nijmegen.⁷² However this claim is not confirmed to be true, the *Volkscrant* did report it in the article.

Seven articles of the *Telegraaf* have been marked with the code ‘examples of the codes in other countries’, against six articles of the *Volkscrant* with this code. This code is used to point out threat claims that have been made based on events that have occurred in surrounding countries. As mentioned previously, the sexual assaults in Cologne have been reported in news articles frequently. However, there are reports made on other examples of threatening events in

⁶⁷ Ververs, C. (2015, September 26). Extra politie na ruzie jonge vluchtelingen. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁶⁸ Visser, J. (2015, December 24). Geweld kan dus wel degelijk lonen. *De Volkscrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁶⁹ Bakhtali, R. (2016, January 16). ‘Na Keulen moesten politie en justitie wel’; Asielzoekers pas half jaar later vervolgt voor aanrandingen. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁷⁰ Stoffelen, A. (2015, December 7). ‘Syriërs accepteren ons gewoon niet’. *De Volkscrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁷¹ Bakker, A. (2016, April 21). Ter Apel gek van diefstal. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁷² De *Volkscrant* (2016, June 8). Justitie onderzoekt melding over terreurcel. *De Volkscrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

surrounding countries. For example, the Telegraaf published an article in which it is mentioned that Muslims in German AZC's are severely harassing Christian refugees and lone women. Thereupon, this foreign example is used to suggest that this is also happening in Dutch AZC's, however claiming that this information probably remains hidden for society.⁷³ Furthermore, in an article by the Volkskrant, which is previously mentioned in the 'undecided' category since threat-claims are repeatedly mentioned and later on in the article (partly) falsified, this code occurs as well. In this article, it is mentioned that some news media reported that women in certain German asylum centres are being raped on a large scale.⁷⁴ This is mentioned to reflect on the resistance of Dutch residents to accent the reception of refugees.

The final code in this category, 'unrest, protests and hostility', has been marked in 45 articles of the Telegraaf and in 38 articles of the Volkskrant. This mark occurs quite often, since many news articles have been made about unrest and hostility as a result of the arrival of refugees. For instance, the Telegraaf reported about a demonstration against the development of a refugee-shelter in Enschede, which resulted in disturbance and riots.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the Volkskrant published an article about a raid of an emergency-shelter in Woerden opponents of the development of refugee-shelters. These people formed a group that carefully prepared to attack the shelter.⁷⁶

5.4.5 Appointment of responsibility

The last securitizing category is the explicit assignment of responsibility towards an actor regarding to the threat-claims. This category, alike the 'demand for action'-category, has no additional codes. Furthermore, 22 articles from the Telegraaf and eleven articles from the Volkskrant have been marked with this category.

An example of such an article in the Telegraaf, is the report about the attack of a refugee-shelter in Woerden, as mentioned in the previous category. In this article, it is reported that the mayor of Woerden holds the national government responsible for the raid, as he states that the government did not give any direction to municipalities on how to cope with dissatisfied residents.⁷⁷ In an article of the Volkskrant, it is described how supporters of the reception of

⁷³ De Telegraaf (2015, October 1). Naar religie verspreiden slecht plan. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁷⁴ Broeke, ten A. (2015, November 6). Waar komt die hetze vandaan?. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁷⁵ Wesselink, M. (2015, November 1). Azc-protest ontspoor. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁷⁶ Visser, J. (2016, January 8). Op Whatsapp gonst het: 'Dood aan de moslims'. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

⁷⁷ Maes, J. (2015, October 11). 'Dit moet het werk zijn van gekken'; Verbijstering over bestorming noodopvang in Woerden. *De Telegraaf*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

refugees have been threatened and scolded by antagonists of the reception of refugees in several Dutch places. In the article is mentioned how a professor assigns this polarization in society to politicians. He claims that politicians nowadays are too receptive of the dissatisfaction in society, which leads to hostility between politicians. According to him, this makes bad role models for society, which causes the polarization.⁷⁸

6 Conclusion

Since the analysis has been completed, the conclusion of the findings can be elaborated on. The research question that was formulated in the introduction of this research report, runs as follows;

To what extent did securitization of migration-related issues take place by traditional left- and rightwinged Dutch news media regarding to the reception of refugees in the Netherlands during 2015-2016 and what are the possibly related consequences in society?

Several steps have been taken in order to determine to what extent the securitization of migration-related issues with regarding to the reception of refugees in the Netherlands took place by the presumed left-winged newspaper the Volkskrant and presumed right-winged newspaper the Telegraaf. In the case description, it has been described how the refugee-stream to Europe and specifically the Netherlands developed, followed by the notion that the worries in society regarding to refugees heavily increased since the migrant crisis arose during 2015. Furthermore, several focusing events have been discussed in order to have leading points during the analysis of the news articles.

Henceforward, the relevant literature regarding securitization and the power of the media has been discussed. The academic insights on securitization have been used with the means of determining which indicators can be used in order to recognize the extent of securitization in news articles. Additionally, the literature on the power of the media gives insight on the severity of possible consequences of securitization on matters in society, in this case the refugee-crisis.

In the methodological chapter it is, among other things, described how this research has been conducted, by reporting which indicators have been used in order to measure the concept of securitization.

⁷⁸ Geuze, S. (2015, October 23). Bedreigd om genuanceerd geluid. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from Lexisnexis.com.

The findings of the analysis show that securitization has taken place by both the Telegraaf and the Volkskrant during 2015 and 2016 regarding to articles that covered issues on the reception of refugees in the Netherlands. Regarding to the Telegraaf, 50 percent of the articles have been categorized as ‘securitized’. The intensity of the securitization differed between the articles, however securitization did take place at least to some extent as has been analysed. Regarding to the Volkskrant, 34 percent of the sampled articles have been categorized as ‘securitized’. In conclusion, both newspapers have published articles on the reception of refugees during 2015 and 2016 that have been securitized at least to some extent, however the securitization of the matter occurred more by the Telegraaf by sixteen percent.

In total, 127 articles of all articles have been categorized as ‘securitized’, while 156 articles have been categorized as ‘desecuritized’.

Moreover, the findings show that both the frequency of the publishing of news articles on the refugee-matter through time, as the extent of securitization by both newspapers, clearly resonate with the change of attitude towards the refugees by Dutch citizens as well as with the occurrence of the focusing events mentioned in the case-chapter.

With regards to the second part of the research question on the relating consequences, more will be elaborated on in the following discussion.

Discussion

This research has been conducted with the means of analysing the product of a type of actor that has, in several researches, proved to possess significant power on the societal opinion, social agenda and social behaviour. Subsequently, it can clearly be stated that this actor, being news media, would likewise have the same power in society on the matter of the reception of refugees in the Netherlands. Although the effect of causality cannot be proved within the limitations of this particular research, it is clear that the findings of the SCP on the attitude of society regarding to refugees, the focusing events regarding to the refugee-crisis and the extent of securitization by the analysed news media do resonate with each other.

Therefore, the combination of the described academic insights and the findings that securitization of the refugee-matter did extensively take place by the analysed news media, enables one to conclude that news media have presumably influenced society in its opinion regarding to the reception of refugees in the Netherlands. As a consequence, the media audience *casu quo* the readers of these particular newspapers have plausibly been influenced in their

opinion and attitude concerning the refugee-matter. Hence, this corresponds to the presumption made in the introduction that media have the power to contribute to polarization in society.

Referring to the discussed limitations of this research in the methodological chapter, certain recommendations can be made regarding to follow-up research. As mentioned, merely two newspapers have been analysed in light of this research. Moreover, the analysis is limited to only newspapers as news media. Involving more news media as well as types of news media could provide a more complete idea on the extent of securitization by news media. Furthermore, extending this research to other countries in follow-up research could enhance the possibility of generalization of the research. In addition, an extensive quantification of this research could provide more insights on the causalities of the discussed relation between the power of news media and the polarization in society.

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Appendix A: Coding scheme

1. Threat-claim	1.A: Using appointed terminology 1.B: Fear of possible threats 1.C: Indirect terms of threat-claim
2. Warning about consequences of inaction	2.A: Devaluation of the neighbourhood 2.B: Harassment of residents 2.C: Escalation of protests 2.D: Hostility between groups 2.E: General unrest
3. Appeal for measurements	Demand for action/measurements
4. Using examples to proof threat-claim	4.A: Fighting events 4.B: Requested police-supervision 4.C: Harassment by refugees of residents or each other 4.D: Claims of criminal behaviour 4.E: Examples of the above in other countries 4.F: Unrest, protests and/or hostility
5. Appointment of responsibility	Claim that certain actors carry responsibility for security threats.
6. Desecuritizing speech acts	6.A: Absence of claim-threat 6.B: Downplay claims of security 6.C: Taking away securitizing elements
7. Type of article	7.A: Regular news article 7.B: Opinion article
Securitization as the primary focus of the article	Highlighted in red: GRADE 4
Securitizing speech acts are dominantly present	Highlighted in orange: GRADE 3
Securitization is of subordinate importance	Highlighted in yellow: GRADE 2
Desecuritizing article	Highlighted in green: GRADE 0
Undecided	Left blank: GRADE 1

Appendix B: List of reviewed news articles

Newspaper	Date	Title of the article
Telegraaf	29-jan-15	Toeristisch bolwerk vreest asielzoekers
Telegraaf	8-apr-15	HOGE NOOD MET HUIZEN; Gemeenten kunnen asielinstroom niet verwerken
Telegraaf	16-apr-15	Daklozen komen massaal; Haagse Bed/Bad/Broodvoorziening trekt mensen uit hele land
Telegraaf	2-mei-15	'Bus is vol met al die asielzoekers'; Gehucht Oranje biedt 700 mensen opvang
Telegraaf	27-mei-15	Wat schiet je daar nou toch mee op?; Raadselachtige kogelgaten verbazen Coevorden
Telegraaf	23-jun-15	'600 asielzoekers in tweede azc Utrecht'; Opvang meer dan verdubbeld en mogelijk toch nieuwbouw
Telegraaf	13-jul-15	Christenen uit asiel weggepest; Moslimvluchtelingen domineren centra
Telegraaf	5-aug-15	Agressie schering en inslag bij asielopvang; Messen, pistolen en injectienaalden
Telegraaf	14-aug-15	Politie schiet dollie asielzoeker in been; Agressieve Kameroener rukt paal uit grond
Telegraaf	26-aug-15	Gelijke monniken gelijke kappen
Telegraaf	27-aug-15	Nooit stilstaan op een zebrapad!; Asielzoekers krijgen snelcursus over gevaren in noodopvang
Telegraaf	29-aug-15	Ter Apel zucht; Inwoners van Gronings dorp zijn asielzoekers wel eens zat
Telegraaf	3-sep-15	Dijkhoff maakt radicale draai
Telegraaf	4-sep-15	Harde waarheid
Telegraaf	5-sep-15	Engel van Emmen; Marianne Bathoorn ontfermt zich al twintig jaar over vele tientallen asielzoekers
Telegraaf	8-sep-15	Elke dag nieuwe noodmaatregelen
Telegraaf	9-sep-15	Heuvelrug worstelt met opvangplekken; Weer overleg met COA over nieuwe asielzoekers
Telegraaf	11-sep-15	Vluchteling smult van appelmoes; Apeldoorners nodigen asielzoekers uit aan tafel
Telegraaf	14-sep-15	Deel van legerbasis nu noodopvang; Honderden asielzoekers in kazerne Oirschot ondergebracht
Telegraaf	15-sep-15	Gemeente zoekt opvang; Vastgoedbezitters opgeroepen om asielzoekers te kunnen helpen
Telegraaf	17-sep-15	Tentenkamp in bos is bittere noodzaak
Telegraaf	18-sep-15	Kogels om oren asielzoekers
Telegraaf	19-sep-15	Iets doen voor de goede sier; Brief van de dag
Telegraaf	22-sep-15	Noodopvang sporthallen zit stampvol
Telegraaf	23-sep-15	Opvang in Zeist vergroot
Telegraaf	24-sep-15	Tweede azc in Utrecht
Telegraaf	24-sep-15	Komst azc is onzeker; Minister praat met Leidschendamers, GroenLinks-wethouder blijft weg
Telegraaf	24-sep-15	Seks, vlees en vluchtelingen; 'We hebben uitgelegd hoe het eraan toegaat in Nederland'
Telegraaf	26-sep-15	Extra politie na ruzie jonge vluchtelingen
Telegraaf	28-sep-15	COA: Komst nieuwkomers houdt aan

Telegraaf	29-sep-15	Sporthal in Woerden voor noodopvang
Telegraaf	1-okt-15	Naar religie verspreiden slecht plan
Telegraaf	2-okt-15	Vastgoedbazen zien niets in vluchteling
Telegraaf	3-okt-15	Grootste opvangkamp loopt vol; Syriërs zijn welkom op terrein Vierdaagse
Telegraaf	6-okt-15	Wilders kijkt lachend toe; Brief van de dag
Telegraaf	7-okt-15	Wilders held van asielverzet; REPORTAGE Purmerend voelt zich gesteund tegen komst AZC
Telegraaf	7-okt-15	Binnenhof in maag met Wilders; Analyse Vluchtelingenproblematiek
Telegraaf	8-okt-15	'Dit past in een dictatuur'
Telegraaf	8-okt-15	VVD vindt overvaltechniek prima
Telegraaf	9-okt-15	'Oranje' niet voor herhaling vatbaar
Telegraaf	11-okt-15	Tekort politiemensen; 'Beveiliging opvangcentra drukt te zwaar op de capaciteit'
Telegraaf	11-okt-15	CU: Stuur asielzoekers naar Leidsche Rijn
Telegraaf	13-okt-15	Zorgen in Joodse wijk
Telegraaf	13-okt-15	Veel zorgen om komst Syriërs; 'Alleen in opvang na legitimeren'
Telegraaf	15-okt-15	Vluchtelingen kunnen in Fluit
Telegraaf	16-okt-15	'Het blijft niet bij spandoeken'; asielprotesten lokale bestuurders en hun familie aan de lopende band ernstig bedreigd
Telegraaf	17-okt-15	Gewone man is haast met asielopvang zat; ANALYSE Vlam in de pan tijdens bijeenkomsten over vluchtelingen
Telegraaf	19-okt-15	VVD weert opvang uit achtertuin; Geen azc in wijk van premier
Telegraaf	20-okt-15	Asielzoekers definitief naar 's-Gravendeel
Telegraaf	21-okt-15	Tegenpool
Telegraaf	21-okt-15	Asielstroom naar nieuw hoogtepunt; Drukste maand aan grens ooit
Telegraaf	23-okt-15	Platform AZC-Alert uiteen door geruzie
Telegraaf	24-okt-15	'We zijn het allemaal zat'
Telegraaf	27-okt-15	'Schurftgroep' naar Dordrecht
Telegraaf	30-okt-15	Asielopvang op Kanaleneiland; VVD: gemeenteraad Utrecht gepasseerd bij keuze
Telegraaf	1-nov-15	Azc-protest ontspoor
Telegraaf	3-nov-15	'Winkels dupe asielopvang'; Ondernemers Kanaleneiland vrezen voor klandizie
Telegraaf	5-nov-15	Poetsen tegen verveling
Telegraaf	8-nov-15	Rotterdam loopt uit voor Wilders
Telegraaf	10-nov-15	Cadeaubox voor vluchtelingen
Telegraaf	11-nov-15	
Telegraaf	14-nov-15	Azc beter dan wonen op Balkan; Tenminste even wat comfort
Telegraaf	19-nov-15	Ook vluchtelingen naar IJsselstein
Telegraaf	21-nov-15	COA: 'Lang niet altijd vlekkeloos'
Telegraaf	21-nov-15	Ambtsketen als molensteen;

		ENQUÊTEBurgemeesters worstelen met asielopvang
Telegraaf	24-nov-15	Enschede wil nog meer vluchtelingen
Telegraaf	27-nov-15	Knalvoorlichting azc's
Telegraaf	4-dec-15	Verzet Maarssen tegen komst vluchtelingen
Telegraaf	12-dec-15	Geldermalsen wil groot azc
Telegraaf	16-dec-15	Ondernemer: 'Compleet genegeerd'
Telegraaf	17-dec-15	Grof geweld tegen komst mega-azc
Telegraaf	19-dec-15	Slachtoffer van ME te gewond voor aangifte; Vriend van Saskia uit Geldermalsen heeft bij politie zware mishandeling gemeld
Telegraaf	22-dec-15	Onbegrip na ommezwaai asielopvang
Telegraaf	24-dec-15	'Rellen tegen azc loont'
Telegraaf	28-dec-15	Diner voor vluchtelingen
Telegraaf	29-dec-15	Vluchtelingen gaan toch zwemmen
Telegraaf	31-dec-15	Stelling Samsom roept vragen op
Telegraaf	5-jan-16	Vuist tegen de criminaliteit; Burgemeesters: aanpak misdaad krijgt prioriteit
Telegraaf	7-jan-16	Julianakazerne staat 'stilletjes' in verkoop
Telegraaf	9-jan-16	Wie regeert Nederland?; De kloof tussen hoog en lager opgeleiden wordt alleen maar groter
Telegraaf	12-jan-16	Onderzoek misbruik jonge asielzoeksters; Ongewenste zwangerschappen in kerk
Telegraaf	12-jan-16	Integratie in Weert begint met les een
Telegraaf	14-jan-16	Dode varkens bij gepland azc
Telegraaf	16-jan-16	'Na Keulen moesten politie en justitie wel'; Asielzoekers pas half jaar later vervolgd voor aanrandingen
Telegraaf	17-jan-16	Rumoer in azc na zelfdoding
Telegraaf	19-jan-16	Asielprotest Heesch wordt zwijgenstal
Telegraaf	20-jan-16	Geen animo Grondwet in Arabisch
Telegraaf	21-jan-16	Toch AZC Overvecht
Telegraaf	21-jan-16	'Minder opvang in Breukelen'
Telegraaf	22-jan-16	Zwolse burgemeester oogst lof met open benadering inwoners; Informatiebijeenkomst verloopt erg rustig
Telegraaf	26-jan-16	'Raad buitenspel met asielzoekers'; PvdA wil niet 600 maar 1000 vluchtelingen
Telegraaf	27-jan-15	Excuses van burgemeester Geldermalsen
Telegraaf	29-jan-16	Eindelijk aandacht voor Overvecht
Telegraaf	2-feb-16	Leefbaar eist incidentenoverzicht azc
Telegraaf	3-feb-16	Wat gebeurt er na meldingen?
Telegraaf	4-feb-16	Arbeidsmigranten wijken voor asielzoekers
Telegraaf	5-feb-16	Geheime lijst asielopvang
Telegraaf	7-feb-16	Granaten in strijd tegen azc
Telegraaf	11-feb-16	Vlucht naar Van Gogh
Telegraaf	16-feb-16	Spandoek
Telegraaf	17-feb-16	'Noodopvang kon beter in een hotel'
Telegraaf	19-feb-16	Raad Heesch tegen azc
Telegraaf	25-feb-16	Discussie over opvang laait op

Telegraaf	25-feb-16	Discussie over opvang laait op
Telegraaf	26-feb-16	Verbazing over ombudsvete
Telegraaf	3-mrt-16	Asielzoekers lopen weg met 'oma Alie'
Telegraaf	4-mrt-16	Wensdenken over opvang slaat door
Telegraaf	11-mrt-16	Adviescommissie looft vluchtelingen
Telegraaf	13-mrt-16	'Liever moe van het sporten'
Telegraaf	15-mrt-16	'Blij zijn met wat je krijgt'
Telegraaf	31-mrt-16	Kwetsbare groep niet in apart azc
Telegraaf	1-apr-16	Honderden aso's uit opvanglocatie gezet
Telegraaf	6-apr-16	Extra rumoer in de noodopvang
Telegraaf	12-apr-16	Opslag dankzij azc
Telegraaf	16-apr-16	Vastgoedbaas krijgt voorkeur van COA
Telegraaf	21-apr-16	Klas in de knoei
Telegraaf	21-apr-16	Ter Apel gek van diefstal
Telegraaf	23-apr-16	'Homowerker misbruikte vluchtelingen'
Telegraaf	27-apr-16	Gelukzoekers blijven hangen in Nederland
Telegraaf	27-apr-16	'Geduwd, geschopt en bekogeld'
Telegraaf	29-apr-16	'Beperk opvang migrant'
Telegraaf	7-mei-16	De een z'n nood...
Telegraaf	13-mei-16	COA blijft naar bedden zoeken
Telegraaf	13-mei-16	Bijlmerbajes omgevormd tot azc voor duizend mensen
Telegraaf	19-mei-16	Zorg om flex-agent bij azc
Telegraaf	22-mei-16	Arrestaties bij betoging tegen azc
Telegraaf	5-jun-16	Later eten in azc's tijdens de ramadan
Telegraaf	14-jun-16	Hellevoetsluis denkt aan asielzoekerscentrum
Telegraaf	16-jun-16	Raad Geldermalsen: geen azc in het dorp
Telegraaf	24-jun-16	Schade en schande van kinderuitbuiting
Telegraaf	5-jul-16	Kinderlokker in noodopvang
Telegraaf	8-jul-16	Uitstel komst asielzoekers
Telegraaf	15-jul-16	Waarschuwing voor niet-zwemmers
Telegraaf	16-jul-16	Azc-arts slaagt
Telegraaf	20-jul-16	Klopjacht op alles wat verdacht lijkt
Telegraaf	22-jul-16	Leefbaar: stop bouw azc
Telegraaf	28-jul-16	Noodopvang op handrem
Telegraaf	29-jul-16	Weer vraagtekens rond noodopvang
Telegraaf	7-aug-16	PvdA'er vaart wel bij asiel
Telegraaf	10-aug-16	Ruiten toekomstig azc ingegooid
Telegraaf	23-aug-16	'Azc is niet meer nodig'
Telegraaf	30-aug-16	Vluchtelingen in Beverwaard
Telegraaf	2-sep-16	Tweede azc op lange baan
Telegraaf	14-sep-16	'Kans op minder asielzoekers'
Telegraaf	16-sep-16	Vluchtelingen komen later
Telegraaf	21-sep-16	'Asielcrisis achter de rug'
Telegraaf	23-sep-16	Azc Polenhotel van de baan
Telegraaf	24-sep-16	'Mooi ze op weg te helpen'

Telegraaf	4-okt-16	Asielzoekers lastiger
Telegraaf	14-okt-16	Fors minder opvang nodig
Telegraaf	20-okt-16	'Claim voor kosten azc'
Telegraaf	27-okt-16	Steun voor statushouders
Telegraaf	24-nov-16	Vluchtelingen in de fout
Telegraaf	28-dec-16	Diner voor vluchtelingen

Volkskrant	20-jan-15	Hier begint de belofte
Volkskrant	4-feb-15	Heimwee naar het azc
Volkskrant	1-apr-15	'Ons leven staat in de pauzestand'
Volkskrant	23-apr-15	Klassiek compromis wendt crisis af
Volkskrant	15-jun-15	Ergens wringt zo'n dag op het AZC
Volkskrant	8-jul-15	'Het is druk in de opvang en het wordt nog drukker'
Volkskrant	25-jul-15	Banengroei door toestroom asielzoekers
Volkskrant	5-aug-15	'Wij kunnen niet steeds verhuizen'
Volkskrant	11-aug-15	Ik wil geen geld, ik wil een normaal leven en werk
Volkskrant	15-aug-15	Geen draagvlak voor 'meer vluchtelingen'
Volkskrant	17-aug-15	Nijmegen zet Eritreeërs bij elkaar
Volkskrant	24-aug-15	Vluchtelingen kraken nieuw gebouw
Volkskrant	27-aug-15	Meer aanmeldcentra asielzoekers
Volkskrant	2-sep-15	Mensen vertrouwen elkaar hier niet
Volkskrant	4-sep-15	Burger Wilders meldt zich: hij is tegen het azc
Volkskrant	5-sep-15	Vluchteling in huis, onderschat het niet
Volkskrant	7-sep-15	COA wil initiatieven opvang coördineren
Volkskrant	8-sep-15	Vluchtelingen
Volkskrant	10-sep-15	Vooralsnog is alleen VVD blij met asielplan
Volkskrant	11-sep-15	In de app kan een vinkje bij 'jas'
Volkskrant	12-sep-15	Maar het was goedbedoeld
Volkskrant	15-sep-15	Gastheer voor vele honderden asielzoekers
Volkskrant	17-sep-15	Politie registreert vluchtelingen
Volkskrant	17-sep-15	'Bul' schrikt niet van asielzoeker
Volkskrant	18-sep-15	Geachte redactie
Volkskrant	18-sep-15	Vluchteling moet woning delen
Volkskrant	21-sep-15	Rode Kruis schreeuwt om vrijwilligers voor opvang
Volkskrant	25-sep-15	'Wrang: geen moskee, wel een azc'
Volkskrant	26-sep-15	'Daar gaan we nog een hoop last van krijgen'
Volkskrant	28-sep-15	Onderdak voor jonge vluchtelingen
Volkskrant	29-sep-15	Politie houdt jongens aan na gevecht in azc
Volkskrant	30-sep-15	Geachte redactie
Volkskrant	2-okt-15	Burger-stakeholder
Volkskrant	3-okt-15	Medeleven en veel onbehagen
Volkskrant	3-okt-15	Flyers uitdelen en opruimen in Almere
Volkskrant	5-okt-15	Wilders-parade in grimmige sfeer
Volkskrant	8-okt-15	'Alles ging goed in Oranje, en nu dit'
Volkskrant	8-okt-15	'Grens bereikt' na volkswoede in Oranje

Volkskrant	8-okt-15	Efficiencydrift van COA speelt de PVV in de kaart
Volkskrant	9-okt-15	Gemeenten willen kleinere azc's
Volkskrant	10-okt-15	Rutte neemt leiding in asielzaak
Volkskrant	12-okt-15	'Er is geen regie geweest'
Volkskrant	13-okt-15	Schakel vrijwilligers in bij opvang vluchtelingen
Volkskrant	13-okt-15	Purmerend stemt tegen
Volkskrant	13-okt-15	Coalitiepartners leggen asielbesluit uit naar eigen zin
Volkskrant	14-okt-15	Ontevreden asielzoekers uit Heumensoord de straat op
Volkskrant	15-okt-15	Tijdelijke huisvesting helpt allen
Volkskrant	16-okt-15	Burgemeester bedreigd om opvang
Volkskrant	19-okt-15	De opstand van Beverwaard
Volkskrant	20-okt-15	Je bent een vluchteling en je wilt er snel bij horen...
Volkskrant	21-okt-15	Kabinet informeert asielzoekers: sorry, u zult zich moeten behelpen
Volkskrant	23-okt-15	Bedreigd om genuanceerd geluid
Volkskrant	26-okt-15	'Laat opvangcentra eten lokaal inkopen'
Volkskrant	27-okt-15	Iemand je taal leren
Volkskrant	28-okt-15	Minister wil een 'badge' voor asielzoekers
Volkskrant	28-okt-15	Informeren zonder escaleren: zo kan het
Volkskrant	29-okt-15	Bezorgd over toon asieldebat
Volkskrant	2-nov-15	Betoging tegen asielzoekerscentrum
Volkskrant	4-nov-15	Steenbergen: max. 300 vluchtelingen
Volkskrant	6-nov-15	Waar komt die hetze vandaan?
Volkskrant	12-nov-15	Even ontsnappen aan de sleur van het azc
Volkskrant	17-nov-15	Wijkagent let op radicalisering
Volkskrant	19-nov-15	Nijmegen doceert aan hoogopgeleide Syriërs
Volkskrant	20-nov-15	'Het engste was toen ik mijn broer kwijtraakte'
Volkskrant	26-nov-15	In Steenbergen schelden ook de bestuurders als hooligans
Volkskrant	28-nov-15	Bied asielzoekers liever een hotelletje aan
Volkskrant	2-dec-15	Win-win
Volkskrant	7-dec-15	'Syriërs accepteren ons gewoon niet'
Volkskrant	8-dec-15	Klopt dit wel?
Volkskrant	10-dec-15	Wil DNB onbeperkt vluchtelingen?
Volkskrant	14-dec-15	'Rotterdam, help vluchtelingen Alphen'
Volkskrant	19-dec-15	Als het azc er is, kan driekwart ermee leven
Volkskrant	22-dec-15	Rambam
Volkskrant	24-dec-15	Geweld kan dus wel degelijk lonen
Volkskrant	30-dec-15	Asielzoekers ingelicht over 'harde knallen'
Volkskrant	31-dec-15	Hillary komt, Rutte gaat...
Volkskrant	5-jan-16	Echt verzet
Volkskrant	11-jan-16	Vreemdeling eet vaak broodje aap
Volkskrant	12-jan-16	Eritrese kerk zou decor zijn van gedwongen seks
Volkskrant	14-jan-16	Elite lokt opstand van kiezers uit
Volkskrant	16-jan-16	Mensenhandelaren actief rond asielzoekerscentra
Volkskrant	16-jan-16	Minder winkels, meer vrije ruimte

Volkskrant	19-jan-16	Steeds meer migranten vertrekken vrijwillig
Volkskrant	20-jan-16	Nervositeit bij azc-avonden, geen rellen
Volkskrant	20-jan-16	Laat asielzoekers meteen beginnen met inburgeren
Volkskrant	21-jan-16	Kan Nederland de komst van nog meer migranten aan?
Volkskrant	22-jan-16	Politie zet flexteams in rond azc's tegen mensensmokkel
Volkskrant	25-jan-16	Feitenbingo
Volkskrant	27-jan-16	Knieval van college Geldermalsen
Volkskrant	28-jan-16	Op Whatsapp gonst het: 'Dood aan de moslims'
Volkskrant	29-jan-16	Moslims zijn mensen
Volkskrant	1-feb-16	Referendum over azc's stuit op weerstand
Volkskrant	2-feb-16	Cijfers zeggen niet alles
Volkskrant	3-feb-16	De opvang kan zonder extra kosten veel beter
Volkskrant	4-feb-16	Fijn carnaval, ook in het Arabisch
Volkskrant	8-feb-16	De burgerjournalist
Volkskrant	12-feb-16	Werkstraffen voor belagers vluchtelingenopvang
Volkskrant	15-feb-16	Aangerand
Volkskrant	19-feb-16	Gemeenteraad zet streep door groot azc
Volkskrant	22-feb-16	Burgemeesters: laat opvang aan ons over
Volkskrant	22-feb-16	Laat vluchteling direct meedoen
Volkskrant	23-feb-16	Vier argumenten voor grootschalige opvang
Volkskrant	23-feb-16	Niet minder inspraak bij azc's, maar juist méér
Volkskrant	26-feb-16	Burgemeesters en COA werken aan pilot kleine asielopvang
Volkskrant	29-feb-16	Het is hier leuk, en ze slaan je niet
Volkskrant	2-mrt-16	Tweede Kamer wil toch speciale opvang voor homoseksuele vluchtelingen
Volkskrant	7-mrt-16	'Ik dacht terug aan het dode jongetje Alan'
Volkskrant	10-mrt-16	Burgemeester pleit voor opvang naar rato
Volkskrant	12-mrt-16	In het kamp in Libanon valt de PVV-stemmer even stil
Volkskrant	14-mrt-16	Sinds ik les geef aan Syriërs is mijn leven veranderd
Volkskrant	22-mrt-16	Rutte, kom nou eens in actie
Volkskrant	2-apr-16	Nijmegen opent nieuwe noodopvang
Volkskrant	4-apr-16	'Bij AH koop ik wat de kinderen herkennen'
Volkskrant	8-apr-16	'Wij willen het op z'n Brabants doen: samen'
Volkskrant	13-apr-16	Waar blijven de containerhuizen?
Volkskrant	16-apr-16	Aantal migranten sinds Turkije-deal sterk gedaald
Volkskrant	19-apr-16	Rijk schrikt niet van brandbrief over asiel
Volkskrant	27-apr-16	Utrecht: asielzoeker direct binden
Volkskrant	30-apr-16	'Natuurlijk was het in Heumensoord geen ideale sit...]*
Volkskrant	30-apr-16	['In oktober dachten we nog dat vluchtelingen na tw...]*
Volkskrant	2-mei-16	'Alleen bouwen voor vluchtelingen is niet uit te leggen'
Volkskrant	6-mei-16	Tolk voor vluchtelingen bij huisarts tijdelijk vergoed
Volkskrant	10-mei-16	Kijk uit, ze proberen je boos te maken
Volkskrant	18-mei-16	Zo kom je nooit van het roken af
Volkskrant	26-mei-16	Vergoedt COA diefstal door asielzoekers aan winkeliers?

Volkskrant	30-mei-16	Vrouw verdacht van brandstichting azc
Volkskrant	31-mei-16	Sleep niet onnodig met vluchteling
Volkskrant	8-jun-16	Justitie onderzoekt melding over terreurcel
Volkskrant	14-jun-16	Tot half jaar cel voor rellen Geldermalsen
Volkskrant	18-jun-16	Vluchtelingen niet gecontroleerd
Volkskrant	28-jun-16	Zelfs asielzoekers lopen niet warm voor Blauwestad
Volkskrant	11-jul-16	'Kwetsbaren' in azc gericht beschermd
Volkskrant	15-aug-16	Vluchteling moet aan het vrijwilligerswerk
Volkskrant	17-aug-16	PowNed mocht fragment niet uitzenden
Volkskrant	2-sep-16	Aanhouding na brand in azc
Volkskrant	9-sep-16	'Wat denk je dat dit met de bewoners doet?'
Volkskrant	9-sep-16	Azc's dicht, maar schrikbeeld blijft
Volkskrant	10-sep-16	Overloopgebieden
Volkskrant	16-sep-16	Een dagje naar het strand
Volkskrant	24-sep-16	Azc wordt kleiner, extra beveiliging
Volkskrant	4-okt-16	Geen asielzoekerscentrum in Enschede
Volkskrant	1-nov-16	Laat nieuwkomer eerder meedoen
Volkskrant	18-nov-16	Kansrijke asielzoeker krijgt meteen taalles
Volkskrant	16-dec-16	'Den Haag laks met werk asielzoekers'
Volkskrant	20-dec-16	Kabinet blokkeert integratie
Volkskrant	28-dec-16	Huisarrest in azc, want 'ik beslis'