Framing and Migration
From human to personal security

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"A bundle of belongings isn't the only thing a refugee brings to their new country"
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UNHCR– The UN refugee agency
Campaign slogan in 2013

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Executive summary

The refugee crisis started in 2015 when large groups of people tried to escape the violence in mainly Syria, but also other countries in the same area. A large group of these people tried to escape to Europe. From the experiences during the journeys to negative political attention because of the potential threat to culture of the receiving countries, many aspects of the refugee crisis received an extensive amount of media attention.

This thesis focuses on the framing of two focusing events that occurred in a short period of time. The first focusing event is the drowning of the Syrian toddler Aylan Kurdi. The picture of him washed up on the beach of Bodrum made worldwide headlines. The second focusing event is the case of the sexual attacks in Cologne on New Year's Eve of 2015. Over a thousand women were sexually assaulted and refugees were involved as the attackers. Both cases were not only chosen because of their significant media attention, but also due to the fact that they are very different from one another. Where in the Aylan case, people who tried to flee the situation in Syria were portrayed as victims of their circumstances, the refugees in the Cologne case were the perpetrators.

The research question of this thesis is: *"To what extent did the newspaper media reporting change regarding the (elements of the) refugee crisis during two focus events?"*

The research of this thesis is based on the media reporting of four Dutch newspapers, NRC, Volksrant, AD and Telegraaf. The periods of time before and after the focusing events have been analyzed based on the frames in 96 articles of these newspapers. Due to the mix of reporting styles of quality and sensation focused newspapers, the internal validity of the research increases.

Research by Dekker and Scholten (2015) identified four master frames that formed the base for the framing of the newspaper articles. The frames are: the administrative frame, the threat frame, the human interest frame and the economic frame. Issues as presented in the newspaper articles related to the refugee crisis proved to be challenging to analyze based on these frames.

In the theoretical framework, the concepts focusing events based on the theories of Kingdon (2003) and framing, based on the definition of Entman (1993) are explained. As the most cited author, the theories of Entman related to framing play an important role in this thesis.

Afterwards, the four master frames by Dekker and Scholten (2015) are thoroughly discussed. The methodology explains how the research design of this thesis fits with the intensive approach described by Swanborn (2010) and how this study is an exploratory multiple case study as described by Yin (1993). After explaining the cases, the reasons for choosing these two focusing events are given.

The thesis analysis is divided in four parts, before and after the two focusing events. Based on three words (asielzoeker/asylum seeker, migranten/migrants and vluchtelingen/refugees) the 96 articles have been randomly selected, with 24 newspaper articles for each period. After the selection, all the newspaper articles have been coded according to the framing operationalization provided by Dekker and Scholten (2015).

This research shows that even though the second most common frame changed, the administrative frame proved to be the dominant frame in all four periods. The focusing events proved to be good choices for this research in combination with the 96 newspaper articles based on the four master frames as the general framing could be clearly described.

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1. Introduction

The topic of migration fascinates me and fortunately I was able to gain working experiences in the migration sector which allowed me to learn more about the working area. When I heard that migration was one of the topics of the capstones, I wanted to be included. Migration as a subject also fits well with the Crisis and Security Management master. Whether to obtain financial security, or out of fear for their personal safety, the reasons for migration are varied, but primarily related to security reasons.

This thesis contains the topics "migration", "refugees", and "security", and includes framing around these issues.

The refugee crisis is a hot topic and offers a great subject for debates. There are people that are afraid of its effects on the culture of European countries. There are those who are afraid of the influence of another religion (in this case Islam), or terrorism. Some people worry about the pressure on the social security and health care systems. Other groups empathize with the victims of the crisis and want to help. The selected events are only part of many stories related to the refugee crisis.

The media plays an important role. The stories that they report about, influence the opinions of people. Events such as the attacks at Bataclan or in Nice influence the way people think about the migration crisis, whether these stories are connected or not.

The story of Aylan Kurdi and the sexual assaults were directly related to the migration crisis as the victims of the first story and the perpetrators were migrants that came or tried to come to Europe for a better life. Since not all stories are refugee related, the words migrant crisis and refugee crisis are interchangeably used, but refer to the same situation.

It often seems that many people have strong opinions about migration. Sadness, happiness, anger and fear are only a couple of the emotions that the subject of migration provokes, which makes it a fascinating topic. Due to working in the migration sector, I was able to gain first-hand experience regarding the topic and I developed an affinity for migration as a subject. Besides, it is a topic that provokes various emotions. People are often worried for economic or financial reasons, but also for the potential cultural impact. It is a very diverse subject, and unfortunately many people are afraid of migrants. The migration crisis matches with my previous studies in International Relations. And the possibility to write my thesis about this subject provided the perfect opportunity to pick a part of the extensive topic that

migration is.

People's experiences contribute to their reference framework which often determines their perception of the world. The media provide frames in their reporting on which readers base their opinions. We are often unaware of the frames that are provided to us in various forms. The media is but one group that provides us with frames. In this thesis, I am searching for frames within newspaper articles from various sources and publications. In this thesis, I use the definitions of "Frames", "framing", and the general use of frames as explained by Entman (1993). Although there are many frames, in order to get a better overview, several frames have been put together by Dekker & Scholten (2015) to establish four master frames. The goal is to find elements of these master frames in the newspaper articles and to see if there has been a change in frames in the months before and after two events related to the migration crisis which both received an extensive amount of media attention. The focus on the type of media in this research is on national newspapers.

The structure of the thesis is as follows: first, background information regarding the migration crisis will be provided, including the societal relevance of this thesis. Second, in the theoretical framework, framing and focusing events will be elucidated. In the analysis, the two cases will be discussed and the frames in the newspaper articles will be identified. Finally, a conclusion will be given based on this analysis.

1.1 Societal relevance

Although the migration crisis started in 2015, news outlets still report on a daily basis regarding the subject. There are stories of arriving migrants, criminality among asylum seekers and refugees, as well as the situation of people that are still making their journey to enter Europe. The societal relevance for this topic is obvious due to the many frames and stories about various aspects of the crisis that are covered in the news, still to this day.

A recent example of framing that caused discussion was in the Telegraaf of 7 January of 2017, when one of the headlines stated "kansloze asielplaag ongehinderd verder (Hopeless asylum plague continues without hindrance)" caused a large stir within society[1]. The headline, the tone and style of reporting, and the results of framing a topic like migration in

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[1] https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/01/09/kritiek-op-xenofobe-telegraaf-6139072-a1540405. This link is from NRC website, the original article has been removed by Telegraaf on their website. Retrieved on 7 January 2017.

such a manner, was debated on television and internet. This proves that framing in combination with migration is a very current and sensitive subject matter. Newspapers or their readers might not be aware of the framing of certain topics, which explains why this thesis contributes to the societal relevance of framing.

1.2 Scientific relevance

A literature review indicates a knowledge gap regarding framing theories in general. And more specifically, the applications of these theories regarding framing of the migration issues in this crisis. The combination of framing theories and a theory of Kingdon (2003) on focusing events on this research subject is innovative. The aim of this thesis is to add to the knowledge gap by applying the theoretical frameworks of Kingdon (2003) and Entman (1993) on the migration crisis which leads to possible complementing of these theories in another context.

There is a knowledge gap regarding the framing of migrants in the selected period of time. There has not been conducted similar research regarding migration and framing specifically related to these two events and with this particular timeframe. This empirical research is specifically innovative because no previous research has measured changes in framing following different focusing events.

1.3 Research question

We conclude the introduction with the presentation of the research question. The research question is:

"To what extent did the printed media reporting change regarding the (elements of the) refugee crisis during two focus events?"

About the picture on the frontpage:

The cartoon was published in January of 2016 in the French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo. It illustrates a grown Aylan Kurdi who is harassing women. The question in French means: "what would have become of little Aylan if he would have grown up? A groper in Germany." The cartoon was considered provocative and sparked anger among people. Some thought it was racist and offensive (Hume, 2016). Due to the fact that the cartoon is a combination of both focusing events, Aylan Kurdi and the sexual assaults in Germany, and

because it provokes a discussion about framing, the picture fits well with the topic and has therefore been chosen for this thesis.

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter will first explain the concepts of framing and focusing events. And then further background information will be provided.

2.1 Introduction

The focus of this thesis is on the framing of two events related to the current migration crisis. Both garnered widespread media attention and were so-called 'focusing events' (Kingdon, 2003). This chapter will first explain the concepts of framing and focusing events. Furthermore, this thesis will provide background information to understand the analysis of the two events in this thesis. Although the two events have a common factor which is the migration crisis, they are truly two separate events that can be treated as isolated cases or incidents.

First, the concept 'focusing events' will be explained, what it does and why it relates to these cases. Second, the concept 'framing' will be explained. The most cited author in articles about framing is Entman. His definition and description of framing will be used to explain what framing is. Several different frames as explained in the article "Tsunami of tragedie / Tsunami or tragedy" by Dekker and Scholten (2015).

Finally, there will be an analysis of selected newspaper articles. In the analysis, we try to determine what frame applies to the reporting. There will be a countdown list with the frames that were used the most, explained by examples in the newspaper articles.

The goal of this thesis is to use the two focusing events that occurred within a certain period of time and to measure if the framing changed in the reporting of the newspaper articles. Both focusing events happened shortly after each other and are both related to the current migration crisis.

2.2 Terminological explanation of concepts. Focusing events and framing

'What are focusing events?' and 'why are they important?' will be illustrated in this chapter. In the first paragraph, the policy cycle needs to be initially explained in order to come to the main phase, namely agenda setting. Second, the role of the media will be described with

regards to the conditions of the focusing events. Third, policy windows and powerful symbols will be discussed.

2.2.1 Focusing events

A focusing event is "a crisis or disaster that comes along to call attention to the problem, a powerful symbol that catches on, or the personal experience of a policy maker" (Kingdon, 2003: 94,95). The response of a nation regarding a focusing event "is strongly influenced by the socially constructed beliefs, norms, worldviews, and policy options developed by the policy community that happens to be activated by the event" (Mazzar, 2007: 15).

An example of a focusing event that Kingdon (2003) mentions is an airplane crash that stimulates concerns about air safety. Another example of a focusing event is the war in Iraq as used by Mazzar (2007). In this case, anti-Saddam activists were trying to get the government to do something about the regime of Iraq as it was believed that Saddam Hussein possessed weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and would not hesitate to use them. The political significance of a focusing event is therefore important, as it can make a large impact.

According to Kingdon (2003), public policy making consists of a set of processes, including "(1) the setting of the agenda, (2) the specification of alternatives from which a choice is to be made, (3) an authoritative choice among those specified alternatives, as in a legislative vote or a presidential decision, and (4) the implementation of the decision" (Kingdon, 2003: 3). Even though this thesis does not necessarily focus on the political process itself, political decisions regarding the migration issue will be part of the newspaper articles. The role of the media with regard to this thesis is closest to the first process, the agenda setting.

Agenda setting

For a topic to become part of the political agenda, it needs the attention of government decision makers. However, getting attention from politicians and other decision makers is difficult. On a daily basis, they have to deal with a large number of different problems. Some are considered more important or urgent than others, which is why many problems are ignored and others end up receiving attention. In short, the question is how to get the attention of important people in and around government, according to Kingdon (2003). As soon as the topic receives their attention, there is a fair possibility that the issue will become part of the political agenda and perhaps eventually, part of public policy.

The political agenda in this case is defined as "the list of subjects or problems to which governmental officials, and people outside of government closely associated with those officials, are paying some serious attention at any given time" Kingdon, 2003: 3).

Role of the media

The media play an important role in the insertion of topics with the general public. Because of the use of frames, certain ideas and their importance are highlighted or introduced to the public or target audience, which encourages and shapes them to eventually think, feel, and decide in a certain way. This is what Entman (2007) calls "priming". Not all the problems that exist receive the same amount of attention. When defined problems successfully make it to the political agenda because they are considered worthy the attention of the public and the government, this is called "agenda setting" (Entman, 2007).

Indicators

So called 'indicators' show that there is a problem somewhere that might require governmental attention. Indicators exist in abundance in the political world as a result of the routinely monitoring and the studies of activities and events of governmental and nongovernmental agencies. These studies or monitoring could be routine, but could also be conducted "on a particular moment at a given point in time, either by a government agency or by non-governmental researchers or academics" (Kingdon, 2003: 91). The outcome of these studies might suggest attention or action from the government.

Since these indicators do not always raise sufficient attention from policy makers, a focusing event can get their attention.

Policy windows and powerful symbols

A focusing event can be a part of the larger phenomenon, called a 'policy window'. When a major event occurs, existing ideas of policy communities can finally see the light as the policy window opens, which can be used to change current policy courses regarding the subject related to the crisis or issue (Mazzar, 2007).

As one of the variations of focusing events, the "emergence and diffusion of a powerful symbol" (Kingdon, 2003: 90) can catch on because it is able to "capture in a nutshell some sort of reality that people already sense in a vaguer, more diffuse way" (Kingdon, 2003: 98).

To really get the attention of the policy makers, a focusing event is often not enough for a subject to be put on the policy agenda. Kingdon (2003) gives three points that a focusing event can be accompanied with. First is the "preexisting perception of a problem", the awareness or the knowledge about the issue beforehand, second is the early warning function, meaning that because of measures taken due to one focusing event, preventative measures were taken to prevent other accident from happening. An example of this is inspections that were set up for bridges because one had collapsed without warning, causing other accidents to be prevented. The third point is that "focusing events can affect problem definition in combination with other similar events" (Kingdon, 2003: 98). If a similar event has occurred before, attention will be paid to prevent a sequence of events.

2.2.2 Role of the media and framing

In this paragraph, we will theoretically explain framing and present an analysis of the literature review of this concept. This thesis tries to discover used frames in the media during the period of time around two focusing events. The importance of the role of the media can be explained through framing, which is "the central process by which government officials and journalists exercise political influence over each other and over the public" (Entman, 2003: 417). The author states that "first, systematically employing agenda setting, framing, and priming under the conceptual umbrella of bias would advance understanding of the media's role in distributing power, revealing new dimensions and processes of critically political communication" (Entman, 2007: 164). Second, such a project would offer normative guidance for scholars, for journalists striving to construct more ''fair and balanced'' news, and for the many citizens and activists who feel victimized by biased media (Entman, 2007: 164).

Kingdon (2003) argues that the role of the media is not only the distribution of power as explained by Entman (2003). He states that the media reports about what is going on in government. Although he argues that the media do not have an independent effect on governmental agendas, under certain circumstances the media may be important. "First, media act as a communicator within a policy community. A second way media affects the agenda is by magnifying movements that have already started elsewhere, as opposed to originating those movements. Third, to the extent that public opinion affects some of the participants, media might have an indirect effect. If the media affect public opinion agendas, as there is reason to think they do, then the attention of such participants as members of

Congress to public opinion might well imply media importance. Finally, the importance of the media may vary from one type of participant to another. Insiders, those who already are key government decision makers or who have easy access to those decision makers, might have less need for media coverage than outsiders" (Kingdon, 2003: 59, 60, 61)

2.3 Framing

In the next paragraph of the theoretical framework, framing, the second important concept in this thesis, will be explained. According to the Merriem Webster dictionary, the word frame has various meanings[2]. This paragraph focuses on the meaning, its use and what frames can do, but also on the downside of framing. Finally, the different varieties of frames will be explained.

The importance of a frame according to Entman (1993) is that "the power of a frame can be as great as language itself" (Entman, 1993: 55). An understanding of frames is important as it helps to highlight numerous empirical and normative controversies, especially because the concept of framing "directs our attention to the details of just how a communicated text exerts its power" (Entman, 1993: 56).

Entman (1993) states that there is an omnipresence of framing across the social sciences and humanities. According to him, frames can become ingrained within a text where they can make themselves manifest. Through this process, framing can influence thinking.

The concept of framing offers a way "to describe the power of a communicating text. Analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location -such as a speech, utterance, news report, or novel- to that consciousness" (Entman, 1993: 51). According to the author, selection and salience are what framing essentially involves as he explains in his definition. His definition is "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. Typically frames diagnose, evaluate, and prescribe." (Entman, 1993: 53).

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[2] https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/frame

The explanation for preferring to use Entman's definition is because he is the most cited scientific author that was included in this thesis such as Bentman and Wood (2015), d'Haenens and de Lange (2001), Dekker and Scholten (2015), Horsti (2003), Nickels (2007), Reese (2007), van Gorp (2002 and 2005), Vliegenthart (2007).

The use of framing

To demonstrate how framing can be used, Entman (2003) uses the communication of the White House regarding the attacks of 9/11 as an example. He describes the simplicity of the response of the, then president, George Bush. Words as "act of war" and repeating terms as "enemy" and "evil" were used often by various members of the administration as a "strategy of framing September 11 to "unite" the country behind its solution: a war against terrorism and, initially, military intervention to topple the Taliban government of Afghanistan" (Entman, 2003: 416).

The author says that the influence of the framing of 9/11 by the US government was so strong that, although there was no evidence, the majority of the US citizens believed that Saddam Hussein was somehow personally involved (Entman, 2003).

The example of the way President Bush framed the 9/11 attacks shows that framing can play an important role in the relationship between government and the media in the foreign policy process. This relationship goes even further says Entman (2003) as "framing is the central process by which government officials and journalists exercise political influence over each other and over the public" (Entman, 2003: 417). Although this thesis will not focus on this relationship, newspapers are known to use quotes from politicians. Since the press often use quotes from or publish interviews with government officials, it is likely that the relationship between these two entities appears in the newspaper articles. Especially since the migration crisis is a heavy politicized topic and has been one of the most reported topics of the past two years.

What do frames do?

After explaining how frames can be used, it is important to know what they (can) do, what their effect is or could be. Entman (1993) explains that frames "define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies." (Entman 1993: 52). By learning what costs and benefits are used by the causal agent(s) involved, measured normally by the standards of common cultural values, the problems can be defined. The diagnosis of the

causes is based on the determination of which forces are causing the problem. By evaluating the causal agents involved and what their effects are on the situation, moral judgements are made. Frames can suggest remedies and treatments or solutions for the problems are offered. Then, frames can predict the likely effects of these offered solutions and treatments (Entman, 1993).

Influencing public opinion

Frames can potentially influence public opinion by using culturally resonant terms. In these frames, culturally salient words and images are used to make the frames "noticeable, understandable, memorable, and emotionally charged" (Entman, 2003: 417).

If a frame is repeatedly used, it increases the probability that a vast amount of the public will be influenced. The resonance and magnitude of a frame, whether words or images, could potentially provoke the same thoughts and feelings regarding the way the frame is portrayed. This makes framing a powerful tool.

Framing and the communication process

When it comes to the use of framing, for example in the instance to influence public opinion, communication is key. Entman (1993) mentions four locations for frames in the communication process. These are: the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture. Communicators make conscious or unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say, guided by frames that organize their belief systems" (Entman, 1993: 52). Framing judgments, whether conscious or unconscious, are made by communicators in deciding what to say. Frames that organize their belief system, guide the communicators in making these judgments. The text contains frames, "which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain key- words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (ibid).

It is possible that the framing intention of the communicator and the frames that appear in the text reflect the frames that guide the receiver's thinking. Regarding culture, the author states that it is "the stock of commonly invoked frames; in fact, culture might be defined as the empirically demonstrable set of common frames exhibited in the discourse and thinking of most people in a social grouping" (Entman, 1993: 53).

According to him, framing in all four locations includes similar functions namely: "selection and highlighting, and use of the highlighted elements to construct an argument about problems and their causation, evaluation, and/or solution" (Entman, 1993: 53).

The downside of framing

Although framing is a powerful tool, when it comes to the downside of framing, Entman (2007) warns for content bias and news slants. With slants, he refers to reporting regarding current or potential disputes where one frame is chosen over another instead of objective reporting because it suits the part that they support better.

The situation where in the mediated communication a certain frame continuously is being used to support "promote the influence of one side in conflicts over the use of government power" (Entman, 2007: 166) is called content bias. Finally, there is also the believe system of the author that can cause bias in the texts of news workers.

The author distinguishes three different forms of bias. Distortion bias is when reality has been purposely falsified or distorted. In the case of content bias, one side of the news is being favored and receives more attention over another as in the case of a political conflict. When the content depends on the mindset and the motivations of the writer of the text, it is called decision-making bias (Entman, 2007).

2.4 Four master frames

Besides the omnipresence across social sciences as described by Entman (1993), over the last decade, framing "has taken a prominent place in the apparatus of enquiry into communication and the media" (Van Gorp, 2005: 484).

To communicate framing, Dekkers and Scholten (2015) have distinguished five framing devices based on the literature. These are:

- Metaphors. The use of metaphors (metaphors) as symbolic words or images.

- Expressions. The use of a certain lexicon with certain 'catchphrases' and stereotypes of an issue or group.

- Examples. Choices made in giving certain descriptions of situations and examples to illustrate an issue. Which parallels are drawn?

- Visual images. The use of certain images in order to reflect an issue or group. These may include photo and video but also cartoons and infographics.

- Statistical data. Statistical data that are mentioned in the presentation of the case

(Dekkers and Scholten, 2015: 18)

Dekker and Scholten (2015), have distinguished four different frames, so called 'master-frames', "frames that can be applied to various issues" (Dekkers & Scholten, 2015: 19). They are: a human interest frame; threat frame; administrative frame; economic frame.

Human interest frame

The human interest frame means that "the emphasis lies on the personal, emotional aspect of the event" (d'Hanens and de Lange, 2015: 856).

D'Haenens and de Lange (2001) conducted research to see if the reality matched, or was similar to the presentation of migrant groups in news coverage in the Netherlands. Their research was based on local and national newspapers and they used periods of time when an asylum seekers' center was placed in the area of the local newspaper. They used a survey with questions related to several frames, expecting negative news coverage regarding the unwanted presence of asylum seekers and asylum seekers' centers. However, the authors discovered that the majority of the articles related to refugees and asylum seekers were actually based on the human interest frame.

The human interest can be seen in stories that "provided a human example or 'human face' on the issue, employed adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy/caring, sympathy or compassion, emphasized how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem, hung on the private or personal lives of the actors, and contained visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy/caring, sympathy or compassion" (d'Haenens and de Lange, 2015: 855).

Similarly, this frame shows in the research of Van Gorp (2005) where he looked at different concepts used in the Belgian press coverage regarding the issues of asylum and illegal immigration. He separated two main frames: one where asylum seekers were seen as 'innocent victims' and another one where they were (all) seen as 'intruders' (Van Gorp, 2005). According to the author, "victimizing people is a dramaturgic technique that the media can also use to portray, for example, the poor, the elderly and children as people being in a situation that is due to a force that lies beyond their own actions and responsibility. The idea of the unknown and seeing the 'other' as a threat to one's own cultural and economic achievements are also cultural motives that manifest themselves in the media" (Van Gorp, 2005: 489). The victimization is the human interest factor that leads to the awareness that the victim(s) in these cases need help.

In addition to this master frame, Vliegenthart (2007) identified two related frames in his studies about the issue of immigration and integration in the Netherlands in the period between 1994 and 2005, by studying policy documents and media. He argues that the concept of the first identified frame, the victimization frame, is for the most part applied with regard to (migrant) women. Due to a misogynous religious culture, they need to dress a certain way (often covered) and have to behave in a certain way towards men (obedient). The author uses the example of the headscarf as a symbol of suppression. Violence against women is often used as a method to reinforce gender inequality. There is a need for protection of women and for emancipation and gender equality as a solution to the problems (Vliegenthart, 2007).

The second frame that Vliegenthart (2007) identified in relation to the human interest frame of Dekker and Scholten (2015), is the emancipation frame. This frame "problematizes the position and orientation of migrants: they are viewed as backward in participation, customs and views" (Vliegenthart, 2007: 38). In this case, the government is responsible for removing obstacles to participation and for the assistance in the integration and emancipation process for migrants, while the migrants are "expected to actively shape their own emancipation process" (ibid).

An example of victimization would be the way of looking at migrant women with an Islamic background, as they are the ones wearing headscarves and the burqa[3]. Islam is also the religion in the Netherlands that receives critique of gender inequality and since most refugees from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq are Muslims, victimization would apply to the women from that region. The emancipation frame would apply in the case when the media implies that the migrants are not well integrated and that the government is responsible for their emancipation and participation.

Similar to these views is the concept of the human dignity frame as established by Nickels (2007). In this frame, the portrayal of refugees and asylum seekers is based on humanitarian terms, as a group of human beings "in need of protection from persecution whose human dignity must be preserved at all times" (Nickels, 2007: 49). In his research about news coverage regarding the refugee and asylum question in Luxembourg this was one of the frames that media and political actors used. In his studies, he discovered that the press was at

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[3] An example of an article that states that women wearing burqas are considered less than men in the Islamic culture: http://www.volkskrant.nl/opinie/-vier-politiek-correcte-argumenten-die-een-boerkaverbod-in-de-weg-staan~a3310833/

times critical when it perceived the treatment of refugees and asylum seekers by the state as inhuman. However, the press was less critical regarding the handling of asylum affairs in the country. The willingness of the Luxembourg to help people in need was often positively valued as the state and the people of Luxembourg were portrayed as being generous towards refugees and asylum seekers (Nickels, 2007).

Threat frame

The threat frame is the opposite of the human interest frame. In this frame, asylum seekers are framed by the media as a threat for the country where they apply for asylum, the receiving society (Dekker & Scholten, 2015).

Vliegenthart (2007) identified the so-called 'Islam-as-a-threat-frame' as one of the trends in the Netherlands and other Western European countries that is connected to the threat frame. "Islam is presented as a threat to the values of Western civilization, such as church-state relations, freedom of expression, equal gender relations and tolerance towards homosexuality" (Vliegenthart, 2007: 38). Advocates of this frame fear for a growing influence of Islam within the Dutch society, a situation where the Dutch culture will have to adapt to the religion and to the people coming from Islamic countries. They call this the 'Islamization' of the Netherlands (Vliegenthart, 2007).

Without a connection to religion, but rather a strong connection to the threat frame is found in the research of El Rafaie (2001). She studied various types of newspapers, from tabloids to quality newspapers regarding "the tokens of metaphors used to refer to refugees" (El Rafaie, 2001: 357) in Austria. She found that the main themes and metaphors that were used in the media in Austria to refer to and to represent refugees and asylum seekers were generally negative and related to the threat frame. One of the themes she discovered was water, with words similar to the meaning in Dutch such as 'vluchtelingenstroom[4]' (tide/s of refugees) or 'golf van vluchtelingen[5]' (wave of refugees). Another theme she scrutinized was a 'crime theme' where all immigrants were portrayed as criminals. This could be seen in the word 'illegal' that was used adjectivally or as a noun while describing human trafficking activities, the smugglers, but also refugees in general. The third theme used in the metaphors to describe

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[4] A Dutch example: http://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2016/04/22/vluchtelingenstroom-naar-griekenland-neemt-weer-toe-a1407732
[5] Another example: http://www.telegraaf.nl/vrij/reizen/25615623/__Culturele_missers__.html

migrants and refugees is related to war, with the usage of the words as 'invading' when entering Europe (El Rafaie, 2001).

Instead of metaphors, Horsti (2003) discovered themes in her research about Slovakian Roma asylum seekers in Finland in the 90s. Her research showed that several themes were chosen by the media to frame the stories that "constructed an image of asylum seekers which enter the country without true reasons, therefore they present a threat to the society as well as to its asylum and human rights policies" (Horsti, 2003: 41). The themes were: flood theme, fortress theme, Illegitimacy theme, reputation theme and lax policy theme (Horsti, 2003: 47).
Not only do these themes support each other, they also construct the basis for the definition of a threat according to the author. She also argues that the media play a key role in the process of defining if an immigrant is a good immigrant or not.

The use of certain terminology is also central in the research of Baker and McEnery (2005). They describe how the dominant way to frame refugees is negative. By using vague and abstract terms as 'more and more', 'swelling numbers', 'tragedy' or terms related to crime without a clear explanation, the public is left with room to form a negative and often unnecessary interpretation based on exaggeration. In their research, they conclude that not only British newspapers provided these frames, but even texts of the UN refugee agency (UNHCR) included negative language patterns with words such as 'influx' and 'displaced, or words connected to conflict and war. Other examples are 'fighting' and conflict'. These words are used as nouns instead of verbs when referring to an entire group or describing a situation, instead of one individual (Baker and McEnery, 2005).

In Norwegian, US and French media regarding unauthorized immigration during 2011 and 2012, Benson and Wood (2015) analyzed "which ideas and actors are most common in immigration news" (Benson and Wood, 2015: 803). They distinguished several frames, and one of the frames they discovered was particularly related to the threat frame. In this frame, the focus is on the 'problems for society' which includes the news topics: "Too many immigrants have entered the country; immigration threatens safety, security, or culture; immigration strains social services" (Benson and Wood, 2015: 807).

A shortage of housing could be part of the 'problems for society' as mentioned by Benson and Wood (2015). Nickels (2007) writes about the 'return home frame' presented by the

media for refugees and asylum seekers due to a "shortage of accommodation in Luxembourg" (Nickels, 2007: 52). According to the return home frame, the people that belong to this group are not allowed to stay in Luxembourg indefinitely and they are even allowed to be deported or repatriated forcibly if they do not cooperate. It is important that they do not over-stay, meaning more than necessary regarding their asylum.

Economic frame

The Economic master-frame focuses on the financial situation caused by immigration due to present and future gains or losses and who will suffer or proper from it. "This frame is often used to make potential economic impact or consequences clear to the public" (d'Haenens and de Lange, 2001: 850).

Part of the economic master-frame is the idea of so called 'economic' refugees who escape their financial situation in search of a better one. The media would describe this type of refugee as people who use the social system claiming benefits, while they are not entitled to receive these. This is different from political refugees who escape their country because they fear for prosecution or for their life and therefore deserve protection (Nickels, 2007). The author explains that political refugees are considered the genuine refugees, as they really had to escape their home country. 'Economic' asylum seekers are considered and portrayed as 'bogus' asylum seekers. This group poses a threat to the society as they only came for their own benefit and do not care for the culture of the receiving country (Nickels, 2007).

Similar to the frames as explained by Nickels (2007) are the frames as illustrated by Gorp (2005). The author describes the difference in framing between political refugees and asylum-seekers, where the people of the first group are victims and the people of the second groups are often described as criminals. They are described as being a threat to the local culture and abusers of the benefit system (Van Gorp, 2005). The author also mentions a distinction between frames often made in the media between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' migrants. People that deserve to be in the country, because they are true refugees versus people that do not deserve to be there. The people who are part of the undeserving, are just there for their personal gain and are often described as criminals or adventurers (Van Gorp, 2005 & Nickels, 2007).

To limit the negative economic impact, Vliegenthart (2007) describes the restriction frame that "sees the entrance of new immigrants as a problem, especially when they are not economically independent" (Vliegenthart, 2007: 37) and therefore restrictions of the number of people falling under this frame may apply. Besides not being economically independent, this frame includes a "traditional, non- emancipated orientation" (ibid) and applies to women that marry a resident who is non-native (Vliegenthart, 2007). Restrictions of the number of people that come to the country for this reason and not granting them independent permits when they enter, are suggested solutions.

Administrative frame

The administrative frame is different from the other frames since it approaches the immigration and asylum issues from a depoliticized perspective, instead of elaborating on moral questions regarding and surrounding this topic. The first issue this frame addresses is if the immigration can be 'controlled' appropriately (Dekkers and Scholten, 2015). The media, but also political actors, often separate political or 'genuine' asylum seekers from economic or 'bogus' asylum seekers, in which the first group is 'deserving and the second group is 'undeserving' (Nickels, 2007). Also in this case, there is an overlap and connection with another master frame, in this case the economic master frame.

The second issue that this frame deals with is answering the 'who is responsible? question (Dekker & Scholten, 2015). According to d'Haenens and de Lange (2001), 'the responsibility frame' "presents an issue or a problem in such a way that the responsibility for causing or solving a problem lies with the government, and individual or a group" (d'Haenens and de Lange, 2001: 850). The media are able to influence public opinion on where that responsibility lies (ibid).

This corresponds with the 'problems for authority frame' of Benson & Wood (2015), where the responsibility regarding negative consequences and effects regarding diplomatic relations and the legal immigration system are blamed on the stance and views of politicians on immigration.

Some people think that politicians are, due to self-interest, corruption and nepotism, intentionally trying to harm and disadvantage certain regions. In the 'corrupt-frame' or 'all-politicians-are-corrupt-frame', there is a lack of trust in politics and politicians due to the fear

that they will provide solutions that will only be beneficial for themselves, their political career, instead of for the people (van Gorp, 2002).

Also part of the administrative frame as one of the master frames is the 'Not in my backyard' (NIMBY) frame of van Gorp (2002). It means that (local) people do not want to be bothered with issues related to immigration. They want to stay as far away from the issue as possible and do not want to have it interfere with their daily life. The author provides the example of a large asylum center that was going to be realized in a village. Although NIMBY could be related to any type of large project, such as the building of an airport or prison. People of the NIMBY frame are not necessarily against the project itself, they would be supportive if it would not affect their life and it would not be close to their location ('backyard'). This frame does not offer a clear solution, it just wants to relocate the issue, in this case an asylum center (Van Gorp, 2002).

2.5 Conclusion

The definition and the theories by Entman (1993) are a solid base and starting point for this research, whereas the four master frames by Dekker and Scholten (2015) provide a clear overview on how to apply framing theory to the newspaper articles. Based on its characteristics, they explain how one recognizes a certain master frame.

By means of a conclusion of the theoretical chapter we notice that different topics can be covered under 1 master frame. Although the four master frames are clear, an important aspect is that there can be overlap between frames. This means that when analyzing newspaper articles, attention must be paid to carefully select the correct frame. Often, one frame can be related or connected and perhaps accidently, mix with another frame.

One of the aspects in this thesis, is the way that migrants are presented in news coverage and whether or not this changed in the periods of two focusing events. In this regard, different theoretical insights have been studied in order to come to an operationalization of framing that will be useful for the empirical research. More concrete, the empirical research in this thesis wants to measure the impact of a certain focusing event on the framing in news coverage and tries to explain why certain frames are more used than others. This is an important contribution to the knowledge gap, because it allows testing of important theories on framing and on focusing events in a societal relevant topic as the refugee crisis.

To cover the refugee crisis, which is a very broad subject, the choice has been made to study the time around two specific focusing events, namely case 1: Aylan, and case 2: Cologne. The estimation is, that the studied theoretic framework will be applicable in this particular setting. With the aim of completing broadening and/or adapting the theoretical framework.

In the next chapter, the methodology will be presented where more concrete explanation will be provided on the usefulness of this theory testing, empirical research.

3. Methodology

The following chapter deals with the methodology. After explaining the type of research and the research design the cases will be discussed. The justification of the cases, the method and the data operationalization will be clarified next, before concluding the chapter with the data gathering.

3.1. Type of research

The research design is of an explorative research nature. Since the research is "based on a broader, more open and less directive question" (Devroe, 2015: Lecture 1). It tries to explore new data in a setting that has not yet been studied before in order to complement the theoretical insights provided in chapter 2 (focusing events and framing).

3.2. Research design

Instances are usually called cases, and this study focuses on two instances, namely the drowning of Aylan Kurdi and the sexual assaults in Cologne on the night of last New Year's Eve, which makes it a multiple case study

In order to answer the research question, we opted for the case study design, as this design fits best with the *intensive approach* as described by Swanborn (2010). "In applying an *intensive approach*, a researcher focuses on only *one* specific instance of the phenomenon to be studied" (Swanborn, 2010: 3). The author explains that the origin of the word case comes from 'casus', which means "event', 'situation' or 'condition' (Swanborn, 2010: 3).

The author explains the label 'intensive' as follows: "Data is collected using many sources of information, there are not only many separate variables to measure, but a phenomenon is also followed over time by repeatedly measuring some of these variables" (Swanborn, 2010: 3).

Yin (1993) explains that a case study is aimed to define the definition and hypothesis. The study will be an exploratory multiple case study as described by Yin (1993). He explains that "an exploratory case study (whether based on single or multiple cases) is aimed at defining the questions and hypotheses of a subsequent (not necessarily case) study or at determining the feasibility of the desired research procedures" (Yin, 1993: 5).

In this empirical study, the cases are two focusing events. In this thesis, the research design is a holistic multiple case study design, as it is not the aim to compare the two focusing events. According to Yin (1993), defining the unit of analysis is the most important issue for case studies. The possible theoretical significance of the case study design is dominated by the definition of the unit of analysis (Yin, 1993). In this thesis, the units of analysis are two focusing events: case 1. Aylan Kurdi (who was found on the beach of Bodrum on 3 September 2015) and case 2. the sexual assaults in Cologne (that happened on the night of the celebrations of New Year's Eve or the beginning of New Year's Day, so the first of January of 2016).

The critical significance related to the unit of analysis is that the findings of the cases will "pertain to specific theoretical propositions about the defined unit of analysis" (Yin, 1993: 10). These propositions will subsequently be the means for "generalizing the findings of the case study – to similar cases focusing on the same unit of analysis" (ibid). However, generalization is not the main goal in this research. The selection of the cases was a well-considered decision. Both cases are directly related to the migration crisis, as the family of Aylan Kurdi attempted to enter Europe in the same way as many other Syrians tried (and still try) to. As Swanborn (2010) argues, there are two general principles regarding selecting cases: "first, we should look for *informative* cases, that is cases that are expected to represent the phenomenon under study quite clearly" (Swanborn, 2010: 22). "Second, we prefer – independent of the use of other criteria- representative cases, that is a case occupying a modal position on putative relevant variables" (ibid).

Both of the selected cases fulfil these criteria as they are representative for the migration crisis. They stood out due to their prominence and impact in the reporting about migration and the migration crisis and are therefore excellent cases to be studied. In this design, the focusing events are the independent variables, while the frames are the dependent variables.

Disadvantages explorative research

However, there are some disadvantages regarding this design. Three are mentioned by Swanborn (2010). The first is that it requires a lot of time, the project never appears to be finished. In this design, there are thousands of articles that could be used in the data population. The second is that as a result of the constant adjusting in the process of research, it leaves the possibility for the personal and situational biases of the researcher to mix with

the research results. This is described by Swanborn (2010) as leaving the possibility for the researcher to 'always find a way out' when the researcher is being criticized. An extra variable could be added to the model for example, which is not beneficial for the scientific progress. In any kind of framing studies the existences of subjectivity of the researcher is always present.   The third disadvantage is interpreting a finding as a fact of general importance, referring to the fact that the aim of this research was not generalize. However, the findings will be relevant and significant for the researched cases. Therefore, "the explorer's results should almost always be provided with a question mark" (Swanborn, 2010: 31).

In the conclusion, there will be a reflection on possible pros and cons of the design and recommendations for further research.

3.3 Case description

As mentioned, the cases are two focusing events. In this paragraph, and after some general background information regarding refugees in Europe and Syria, both cases will be discussed. Both events stood out from all the reporting regarding the migration crisis and both events can be considered focusing events as e

Refugees in Europe and Syria

Issues regarding and surrounding refugees have been dominating the news for the past two years. Currently, 1 human in every 113 is affected by forced displacement, according to a recent report of the UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency. This is the highest level that has ever been recorded as for the first time ever, the threshold of 60 million has been crossed.

Since the mid-90s, forced displacement has been increasing in most regions in the world, but over the last five years the numbers have increased enormously. There is a multitude of reasons behind this phenomenon, according to the UN refugee agency UNHCR. The first reason is that situations that cause large refugee outflows are lasting longer than in other periods of time (examples are conflicts in Somalia or Afghanistan that are presently into their third and fourth decades, respectively). Second, internal conflict, new or reignited situations, are occurring frequently (today's largest being the situation in Syria causing many refugees, but also over the course of the past five years South Sudan, Yemen, Burundi, Ukraine, Central African Republic, etc.). Lastly, the speed for the finding of solutions for refugees and internally displaced people "has been on a falling trend since the end of the Cold War" (UNHCR Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2015, 2016).

Case 1: *The drowning of the Syrian boy Aylan*

On Wednesday 2 September of 2015, pictures were published of a little Syrian boy who had drowned during the passage from Turkey to the EU. He was found in Bodrum, close to a resort and together with him, 12 other Syrians died during their attempt to cross the sea to get into Europe (Smith, 2015). There were pictures all over the internet of the little boy, dressed in a red shirt, blue shorts, and black basketball shoes, lying on his stomach with his head towards the sea. He was somewhere between the beach and the water, so waves would surround him. Other pictures of the scene were of a Turkish policeman carrying the little boy away. Although the boy was one of the many people that drowned during the passage to Europe, the pictures of him went viral and received an extensive amount of media attention. Eventually it was discovered that his name was Aylan Kurdi, he was three years old, his mother and his brother of five years old had died during the same trip. Besides them, four other children and a woman had drowned, two people eventually survived when they reached the shores, but seven others had to be rescued. The group came from a town called Kobani, which is located in an area where there is a lot of fighting between Kurdish forces and IS. The father, called Abudullah, survived the ordeal.

Media, such as the internationally well-known Time Magazine, stated that the sister of the boys' father of the family had applied for asylum in Canada, where she already lived, so she could bring her relatives there, but their application was denied. According to her, the father felt helpless which is why he decided to take the risky journey to go to Europe instead.
The aunt's original application to bring Mohammed and his family to Canada was rejected. She said that led to her other brother, Abdullah, losing hope that he would be allowed into Canada, prompting him to make the dangerous journey with his family out of Syria.

A different frame
The Dutch magazine Elsevier claimed that they had the real background of the story. They said that the father of Aylan, mister Abdullah Kurdi, fled four years ago with his family from Damascus to Kobani, his place of birth. When IS started to attack Kobani, they left for Istanbul, Turkey, where his sister sent him money to provide for their daily needs and the rent. As life was hard in Istanbul, the family came up with the idea to apply for asylum in Canada, so they could join the sister in Vancouver. As it was difficult to obtain the right papers in Turkey for this process, they soon realized that it would be impossible to go to Canada (Walsh, 2015). Smith (2015) claims that the sister later on admitted that there had

never been any application for asylum in Canada. Eventually, the family in Canada decided to raise money to pay human traffickers to take them to Europe instead and travel to Greece. During the first attempt, the Turkish coastguards caught the family and during the next two attempts, the human traffickers did not show up. For this reason, the father decided together with some others to take the initiative to arrange the trip to Europe in their own hands. They bought a boat and tried to peddle to Europe. The boat eventually collapsed, probably due to a hole in the hull, causing the wife and children of the father to drown. He was able to swim to the coast (Smith, 2015).

Eleviers says that according to the sister of the father, his teeth were the reason for making the hazardous trip. He needed implants after losing teeth by the IS after an attack on Kobani, and the treatment would cost €14.000,- As the sister could not afford to send this amount of money in one time, he decided to go to Europe and apply for asylum in Sweden or Germany where his teeth could also be restored.

Elsevier was not the only news outlet that was critical regarding the intents of the father. A conservative politician in Australia blamed the father for wanting to get his teeth fixed (Farr, 2015).

The aunt initially stated that asylum was requested and denied in Canada, but later acknowledged that there never had been any application at all (Canada denies Alan Kurdi's family applied for asylum, 2015). The immigration authorities of Canada said that that the only request that was denied, was the one of an uncle (another brother of the father) because it was incomplete. Reasons for not being able to complete the refugee application was that the UN would not register the family as refugees, a situation that often occurs to Syrian Kurdish refugees in Turkey (Glavin, 2015). Also, the exit visas were not granted by the Turkish government. Afterwards, the uncle of Aylan went to Canada with his wife and children to live with his sister, the aunt of Aylan. The father of the two boys stayed in the Middle East and lives now in the Kurdistan region of Iraq (Perry, 2015).

The story of Aylan would not have made international headlines if it were not for the work of a photographer. When Nilüfer Demir came upon the beach, the Turkish photographer for the Dogan New Agency thought that it looked like a "children's graveyard." She took photos of Aylan's lifeless body that had washed up along the shore. His body was half in the sand and half in the water, his sneakers were still on his feet.

Demer's photographs, shared by Peter Bouckaert of Human Rights Watch on social media, went viral almost instantly. In death, Aylan became a symbol of all the children who lost their lives trying to reach safety in Europe and the West, the face of the biggest story of 2015 (Walsh, 2015).

Case 2*: Sexual assaults in Cologne*

Another story that received an extensive amount of media attention was the story regarding sexual assaults during the 2015-2016 New Year's Eve celebrations in the city center of Cologne, Germany. Initially, there was little to no reporting regarding the events. This eventually changed, but since the media had not reported immediately after about the events and about the perpetrators, they received an extensive of criticism.

Reports say that over 1000 women had been sexually assaulted that night. Women were groped, intimidated and separated from their friends. They were robbed, and phones were stolen (Richards, 2016). A woman named Michelle told in an interview how she and other women were robbed as she explained "They got everything we had in our pockets." One of the women that was assaulted said that there were gangs of men in the crowd that grabbed between her legs and touched their behinds. Her bag was stolen from her and she mentioned that there was no security present. A different woman described that she was touched everywhere and that the men felt as if they were in power and that they behaved as if they could do anything with the women as they pleased. Another woman claimed that the men that surrounded her spoke neither German nor English. Several victims complained about the fact that, besides a threatening situation with large crowds gathering around the train station, there was a lack of police officers on the street (Cologne sex attacks: Women describe 'terrible' assaults, 2016).

Initially there were reports that stated that there were "ninety criminal incidents, a quarter of which were sexual assaults" (Shubert, Hume and Jordan, 2016) and that the perpetrators were believed to be of Arab or North African men by the victims. The police said that many of the assaults were to distract the victims to rob them of their telephone and other belongings. One of the quoted victims, mentioned how nobody had noticed what was happening and nobody helped her to get out. Another one stated that it was impossible for the victims to protect themselves and that people in the crowd prevented police from reaching victims.

The mayor of Cologne came under fire when he mentioned afterwards that women should keep an arm length away from male strangers as a form of prevention. This caused much criticism as people thought it would put the responsibility of being assaulted in the hands of women. Instead, the question was raised if this could be a migration issue. There were protests against the government as critics were angry, blaming councilor Merkel for the lenient refugee policies (Shuber, Hume, and Jordan, 2016).

Many German people were worried about how Muslim migrants from the Syrian area would adapt to the German life. At the same time, people on social media were complaining about the way the media were handling the assaults, "some accused the news media of failing to report on the assaults in a timely fashion due to sensitivities around the alleged ethnic identities of the assailants" (Shubert et al., 2016). There were German politicians that warned against jumping to conclusions regarding the link to refugees from the Syrian area whereas other politicians linked the problems to the migration influx. However, the German Minister of Justice said that in the case of the perpetrators being migrants, the perpetrators could be deported (Hume and Schmid, 2016).

Within weeks, the media changed their tone regarding the attacks and eventually reported about the nationalities of the arrested suspects. The public prosecutor said in a statement that only three of the 58 arrested men, two Syrians and one Iraqi, were refugees that had recently arrived in Germany. Three of the suspects were German citizens, the majority were people from North Africa with 25 Algerians, 21 Moroccans and three Tunisians. The prosecutor additionally stated that over half of the complaints (600) were not related to sexual assaults, but to theft. And that the attacks were most likely not premeditated (Only 3 out of 58 detained suspects in Cologne sexual assaults are refugees – public prosecutor, 2016).

Originally it was thought that the majority of the perpetrators were thought to be Syrian refugees, but as the numbers proved, this turned out not to be true. However, the public prosecutor, mister Bremen, said that the majority of the people that were arrested in relation to the attacks "fall into the general category of refugees" (via Mortimer, 2015). He explained that the perpetrators might not have come from a place where their life was threatened, they did apply for asylum or were planning to apply.

Two days later, CNN reported that in the case of the perpetrators being migrants, they could be deported, according to the German Minister of Justice (Hume and Schmid, 2016).

There were reports that the event led "to a hardening of attitudes towards Chancellor Angela Merkel's open door policy" (Mortimer, 2016). Other reporting stated that the attacks have been beneficial for far-right groups such as Pegida to gain support for their anti-immigration sentiment. These groups said that Merkel was forced to adjust her tone in welcoming refugees and that she signed a deal with her coalition partners that would speed up the deportation process for failed asylum seekers and that would restrict family reunification (ibid).

There was a poll that stated that the majority of the German population did not agree with Merkel's refugee policy. According to a poll in February where 81% of the Germans said "No" when asked whether "the federal government has the refugee situation under control" (Only 3 out of 58 detained suspects in Cologne sexual assaults are refugees – public prosecutor, 2016).

There was already critique on the way that the media handled migration problems in general to prevent negative framing regarding incoming refugees and migrants. This critique increased around the period of the sexual assaults in Cologne. Ursula Scheer wrote in a German newspaper[6] about how the assaults were initially ignored by the media and by local and regional politicians.

There was also critique against the police that it took a long time before they sent out the profiles of the suspects. In the daily news show at 20:00 hours, there were reports about the event, but these reports did not include the facts that the people operated in groups or what their background was. The mentioning of the origins of the perpetrators were also avoided in statements by politicians such as the minister presidents from the Rheinland-Pfalz region, an area close to Cologne. Only after complaints on social media was more reported about the assaults (Scheer, 2016).

Other complaints came from senior politicians and were about the way the media handled the situation through self-censorship. These complaints were based on the fear of scapegoating migrants. There were concerns over profiling perpetrators since there were already tensions in Germany because of the many migrants entering Germany as refugees from Syria and Iraq (Huggler, 2016). Even the minister of interior in Germany complained about the police and demanded clarification on the situation regarding its organization, perpetrators and the (lack

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[6] The Frankfurter Allgemeine Feuilleton

of) police actions (Huggler, 2016). A former interior minister under Angela Merkel, Hans-Peter Freidrich, said that the amount of time it took for the media to report on the events was scandalous. He stated that the media was trying to prevent the reporting of negative news regarding migrants, calling it a "news blackout" and operating a "code of silence" (Huggler, 2016).

Elmar Theveßen, editor in chief of ZDF, a German public television broadcasting channel, admitted that it was a mistake that the 19:00 hours news did not report about the events although there was enough information to create a news item (ibid).

3.4 Case justification

As this research is aimed at completing the explanation of the theories as provided in Chapter two, two best cases, the drowning of the Syrian boy Aylan Kurdi and the sexual assaults in Cologne on New Year's Eve, have been chosen to fulfil such an exercise. In this paragraph the choice of the two cases will be discussed.

Answer to: What do frames do?

After explaining how frames can be used, it is important to know what they (can) do, what their effect is or could be. First, we look for an answer to the question about "what do frames do?" as stated by Entman (1993). As previously mentioned, the author argued that frames ""define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies" (Entman: 1993: 52). This is what the two events did, even though they are different.

In the Aylan case, the defined problem was the desperation of Syrian people and the necessity to do something regarding the large influx of refugees escaping the situation in Syria via the water. It showed the chaos of the migration crisis. In the Cologne case, the defined problem, according to many[7], was the cultural clash between Western values and those of the perpetrators.

The diagnosis of the causes is based on the determination of which forces are causing the problem. An important sentiment in the Aylan case that allowed this picture to get the amount of attention that it received, was the opinion that the political leaders were not doing enough to solve the problem of refugees who risk their lives to reach a safe place. In the Cologne case, there were also complaints regarding the lack of political acting.

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[7] Protesters, people that were interviewed, commenters online.

By evaluating the causal agents involved and what their effects are on the situation, moral judgements are made. Instead of the regime or the situation in Syria, the people to be blamed and held responsible for the Aylan case were politicians in Europe. This was also the case in Cologne. Politicians were blamed for not being able to cope adequately with the migration influx and the media for the lack of correct reporting.

Frames can suggest remedies when treatments or solutions for the problems are offered and even justification when the possible effects are predicted (Entman, 1993). In the case of Aylan, the solutions for the problems was a more lenient migration policy according to many. And in Cologne it was a stricter migration policy. Quite the contradiction

The cases and the communication process

This part of the justification of the cases focuses on the communication process with regards to the cases.

After applying the two cases when answering the question "what do frames do?", we now focus on justifying the cases by means of the communication process.

The four locations for frames in the communication process, as argued by Entman (1993) and mentioned in Chapter 2, are: the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture.

Although the communication process often applies to the framing of a political event, this process can also be applied to the two focusing events discussed in this thesis. In the Aylan case we can say that the photographer was the communicator who was facilitated by the media. The way the picture was taken was a conscious framing judgement, where the gravity of the situation of people escaping the civil war in Syria was shown with Aylan as a victim. This was picked up by the media and spread with this frame.

In the Cologne case, the media did not handle the situation correctly as they were afraid for negative framing. Due to this judgement, the general public on social media spread the frames regarding the sexual assaults which caused backlash towards the traditional media. The public practically forced the traditional media to report about the sexual assaults. Otherwise the case could have faced covering up for the largest part, or biased reporting based on incomplete accounts.

With regards to the text, the picture in the Aylan case did not need a lot of explaining. There have been many stories of people drowning at sea when they tried to get to Europe. Boats have capsized because there were too many people onboard, or the water was too wild for the

type of boat to make such a trip on that kind of water. There are many pictures and films available on the internet with migrants floating in the water and special teams trying to save these people after their boat people capsized. In Cologne, no text was written initially about the assaults. In this case, the media refrained from describing the attackers to prevent a negative form of framing regarding migrants (Scheer, 2016).

In both cases, the general public was the receiver. The difference was that the communicators had different intensions when the events occurred. In the Aylan case, the intention was to spread the frame of the young boy as a symbol for the migration crisis to the public. In the Cologne case the opposite occurred when the media tried to prevent the story from spreading as they intentionally refrained from reporting accurate facts of the assaults.

This coincides with Entman's explanation of different intentions of the communicator with regard to the way thinking of the public and the conclusions the public made due to the non-reporting. Afterwards, the media did report about the assaults, but mainly because of complaints from the public (Hugler, 2016).

The way that Entman (1993) refers to culture is important in the way that frames are established and framing comes to existence. Both events had an enormous impact, because they did not match our Western culture. It was hard to imagine for people in the Netherlands, but also in other countries in Western Europe, that people would take such a risk and put their children in such danger. There were demonstrations all over Europe, including in Amsterdam[8], where people demanded safety for everybody and where the demonstrators wanted to send the message that refugees were welcome in Europe as they were fearing for their lives.

In the case of Cologne, the opposite occurred. There was a group of people that felt that their hospitality was abused. These groups felt that the way governments handle(d) the migration crisis was too lenient and soft. These groups also feel that the culture of the incoming migrants does not match the cultures of the receiving countries. They focus on the different status and the treatment of women within various countries with a Muslim background as an example (Connolly, 2016). A clear example of a group against migration from Muslim countries is Pegida.

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[8]An example of such a demonstration in Amsterdam: https://www.facebook.com/events/1607321316184038/. Retrieved on 11 July 2016

Policy window and powerful symbol

Both cases are good examples for policy windows as described by Mazzar (2007) in the theoretical framework. In the Aylan case, policy communities could be organizations that focus on refugee or human right issues that could use this case as a 'policy window' to argue for policy change in favor of asylum seekers based on humanitarian grounds. On the contrary, in the case of the Cologne event, opponents of migration could use the event as a change for a generous and lenient migration policy

On the other hand, the framing of migrants during the sexual assaults in Cologne had the opposite effect. Nobody wants women to be harassed or sexually assaulted.

Additionally, the Syrian boy Aylan Kurdi or his pictures can be seen as a an earlier discussed 'powerful symbol' as explained by (Kingdon, 2003), also mentioned the theoretical part of this thesis. The stories regarding refugees drowning during their effort to cross the sea and trying to enter Europe were not new. Aylan became a symbol that created awareness among people that something should be done about the problem and for these people. The picture was able to "capture in a nutshell some sort of reality that people already sense in a vaguer, more diffuse way" (Kingdon, 2003: 98). It was a picture that was used in favor for the refugee crisis. It was a very powerful image, which made it difficult to argue against refugee policies as nobody wants a child to drown, including opponents of migrants entering Europe.

When it comes to the response regarding a focusing event as described by Mazzar (2007), the initial response in the Aylan case was to come to the rescue of the refugees. This could shown for example in the reactions on social media and many people were hoping and protesting for policy changes in favor of lenient migration policies. As the British newspaper Independent stated, "If these extraordinarily powerful images of a dead Syrian child washed up on a beach don't change Europe's attitude to refugees, what will?" (Whitnall, 2015).

When Cologne occurred, many people were upset. There were also groups that wanted to capitalize on the subject, such as Pegida in Germany or Geert Wilders of PVV (Party for Freedom) who claimed that such situations could happen in the Netherlands as well (Lindhout, 2016).

3.5 Method

Since the focus is on the analyzation of newspapers, this research is a media discourse analysis. The study started with the pilot phase, which was collecting the data. In this thesis,

the data consists of selected newspaper articles of four different newspapers. After the completion of this pilot or exploratory phase, the "real" study could begin, "with a complete research design, a whole new set of sources (sites) of information, and a fresh set of data-from scratch" (Yin, 1993: 6).

Due to the fact that only a limited number of newspaper articles has been selected of over thousands of articles, this thesis cannot answer the research question based on excessive number of articles available[9].

3.6 Data operationalization

Before analyzing the data to answer the research question, the operationalization of the research will be discussed first. Based on the operationalization, the data will be coded and evaluated.

Operationalization

A search for relevant scientific articles demonstrated an extensive number of articles written about framing. The search demonstrated that authors either use or have invented various frames. A selection or a filter is necessary to limit the number of frames, and to make a distinction between different frames. The four master frames as described by Dekker and Scholten (2015) apply to this research as they distinguish the Human Interest, Threat, Administrative and Economic frame. Their research focused on framing in social media and traditional media. By social media, they mean Facebook, Twitter, but could also be Linkedin and blogs. With traditional media, they mean newspapers, news magazines and TV (Dekker and Scholten, 2015). In this research, the focus will be only on traditional media, specifically four large Dutch national newspapers.

Dekker and Scholten (2015) established two tables that included their master frames. The first table is the framework analysis of the master frames that gives an overview per frame including the problem definition, the causal explanation and which parties are involved[10]. The second table provides an overview of several writers who have used various frames. The different colors in the table explain which frames belong to a particular master frame[11].

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[10] See appendix 2.
[11] See appendix 1.

Selected words

When selecting articles via LexisNexis, words related to the subject were entered in the search bar. Three words closely related and often used in the news coverage regarding the migration crisis are: vluchtelingen (refugees), asielzoekers (asylum seekers) and migranten (migrants). The singular versions of the words would provide less results and since the situation of the migration crisis consists of many migrants, the plural of the words has been selected.

These words have been chosen because they are related to one another. According to the legal dictionary, the word 'migrant' means "a person that moves to another country"[12].

In the Netherlands, like in many other countries, there are procedures before a migrant receives a certain status by the immigration authorities. The agency in the Netherlands that is responsible for implementing the Aliens Act and the Netherlands Nationality Act on behalf of the state is called IND which stands for Immigratie- en Naturalisatiedienst (Immigration and Naturalization Service). The agency is part of the Ministry for Security and Justice (Veiligheid en Justitie, V&J) and deals with migration requests and applications while implementing the policy regarding this subject.

On its website, the IND explains the meaning of three different words (Wat is asiel? N.d.). A *vreemdeling* is a person who does not have the Dutch nationality. An *asielzoeker* is a person without the Dutch nationality who has left his or her country and who applies or has made an application for asylum with the Dutch government. A *vluchteling* is a person who will get an asylum permit because he is an "asielzoeker" and is legitimately fears prosecution in his or her original country.

It appears that asylum seekers and refugees are migrants, but not all migrants are necessarily asylum seekers or refugees. Not all asylum seekers are refugees. The original definition of the word refugee derives from article 1 of the United Nations[13] 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees that states that it concerns a person with a: *"well- founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is out- side the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of*

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[12] http://www.juridischwoordenboek.nl/woordenboekmei.html#15930
[13] http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10

such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (article 1.A (2) of the 1951 Refugee Convention).

3.7 Data gathering

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, newspaper articles were selected based on set dates and selected words. For this thesis, LexisNexis, the database that can be accessed by students of Leiden University, was used for the search for newspaper articles. To filter articles, the dates were set on one month (31 days) before and after the events. Aylan drowned in the night from 1 to 2 September. The first period is set from 2 August until 1 September and from 2 September until 2 October (since September has only 30 days). Subsequently, the sexual assaults in Cologne took place in the night of 31 December 2015. Therefore, the months December of 2015 and January of 2016 have been selected as the time period of the news articles for the second case.

Eventually, based on choosing two articles per word, per newspaper, per period, each period consists of 24 selected articles. This led to a database with a total amount of 96 newspaper articles based on four different time periods. Results of the selection can be the tables in appendix 4, where the exact number of articles for each selected word (search criteria) is presented.

The newspaper articles to be coded and evaluated for the data population have been selected *randomly* by using the website random.org[14]. On this site, the number of articles that showed up in LexisNexis with the related words were put in the search entry field. It randomly selects a number from the entered number sequence. By this means the data population was composed.

Subsequently, two complementary selection criteria were applied on the data population.
First, articles in the selected newspapers that came from *other* media companies or organizations were replaced by articles from the particular newspaper. Second, articles that did not stat the writer were also replaced by articles that did included the writer. By using only signed articles, the credibility of the articles increases as they are traceable to their origin. No articles about the focusing events have been selected. However, it is possible that the events are mentioned in the selected newspaper articles.

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[14] https://www.random.org

Selection criteria of the newspapers

Whether printed national or local newspapers or online editions, or perhaps even free newspapers, the Dutch public has an easy access to all kinds of media. Many people form their opinions based on what they read in the reporting in the media. According to Baum, Potter (2008) media influences public opinion.

To make sure that the search results of the database are as broad as possible, four different Dutch newspapers two different styles of reporting have been selected. These newspapers are: NRC, Volksrant, AD, and Telegraaf and are part of the most read newspapers of the Netherlands. Telegraaf reached over 7 million people over the last half year of 2014 and the first half of 2015 (Oplage Telegraaf daalt, maar bereik neemt toe, 2015). That is close to half of the Dutch population. With a total of 431.000 printed newspapers, Telegraaf had the largest amount of printed newspapers, followed by AD (337.000), Volkskrant (224.000) and NRC (143.00) respectively.

The number of printed editions does not equal the amount of readers. Newspapers are often shared within a house and people read the newspaper on their smartphone, computer of tablet. In 2015, printed newspapers reached almost 7 million people in the Netherlands. Telegraaf and AD reach 1,5 million people each day and Volkskrant reaches 700.000 people each day. The numbers of NRC do not surpass the amount of 500.000 people (Bakker, 2016).

NRC Handelsblad and Volksrant are considered 'quality newspapers', which means that they "deal seriously with issues and have high editorial standards" according to Oxford Dictionaries[15]. They focus more on important issues and topics aimed at higher educated readers as their language tends to be more formal compared to AD and Telegraaf. In their extra editions, their pieces tend to be aimed at an academic audience compared to the other newspapers. AD and Telegraaf are aimed at lower educated audience and their articles are usually short and use simple language (Takken, 2015). The focus is on sensational stories and to capture attention, headlines are printed big and shocking pictures are used to add to the stories. Both newspapers use more room for show business news and entertainment compared to NRC and Volkskrant.

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[15] http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/quality-paper Retrieved on 15 august).

Not only did the selection of only four newspapers narrow down the total number of articles, they also provided a balance of different styles of reporting to add to the internal validity of the research.

Data exploitation

The earlier mentioned four master frames of the article of Dekkers and Scholten (2015) will serve as a base for the analysis of the selected newspaper articles. The base will be the "master-frame tables" as can be seen in appendix 1 with a clear overview of the frames and appendix 2. The second table, containing an overview of the various frames as explained by the authors that are part of the master frames, helps to distinguish different frames pertaining to each master frame. This table helps with the identification and categorization of indicators in the newspaper articles that match with the particular master frames.

The provided examples show how the articles are interpreted and coded in the text according to elements of the master frames. These examples are only illustrative and give a concrete indication of how the choice, to which of the four master frames the example pertained, has been made. In appendix 5 is a table with the most common frame(s) for each article. The collection of the articles is not included, but available on request. However, there are four examples of articles of each master frame as the dominant one.

Data processing

As earlier mentioned, the research focuses on the months before and after two focusing events. This indicates that there are four periods of which the framing will be analyzed.

For each period, based on the words asielzoekers (asylum seekers), migranten (migrants) and vluchtelingen (refugees) two articles of every word have been selected per period per newspaper. Unfortunately, while search for the articles, all articles that contain these words show up and the search result could not be filtered by relevance to the topic. Articles that appeared, but proved to be unrelated have therefore not been used. Instead, another article was randomly selected through the earlier discussed method.

All 96 selected newspaper articles have been coded according to the framing operationalization provided by Dekker and Scholten (2015). The tables in appendix 5 show the overview of the most dominant master frames in the articles. Many articles possessed two dominant frames with a similar presence Every article received two X's for the two most

prevailing frames. In the case when an article clearly carried only one dominant frame, that particular frame received two X's. Based on this method the dominant master frame was established.

In the end, the dominant master frames from each period compared with the other period related to the focusing event, will prove if the framing has changed before and after the two focusing events took place.

4. Analysis and results

The analysis consists of two parts. The first part explains the meaning of each of the four frames and how the information has been gathered. The second part shows the analysis of the newspaper articles per month. In this part, each month represents a period of time.

Each month will start with a short summary of some of the events that took place during this period of time and the countdown of the frames as identified in the newspaper articles.

4.1 Meaning of each of the four frames

In this chapter, some illustrative examples that can be found in the entire population of the newspaper articles (N: 96) will be provided. These examples show each of the (theoretically explained) frames that can be applied within this research of the subject. In other words, the elements that are typical for each frame are discussed: What does the frame in the text mean with regard to the master frames?

4.2 Results classified by month

To establish the analysis, 24 articles have been randomly selected from the months prior to the events and 24 articles from the period after the event. The explanation of the examples of the master frames will be in the order of the most common frame of each period. The same table with the coding of each article shows the sum of the dominant frame of each newspaper article. Based on the most common master frame, a countdown has been made.

For each period of time, the analysis shows examples of elements of the master frames. Due to a limited amount of time, examples from as many as possible, but not every, news article will be provided.

4.2.1. August 2015

In August, one of the events that could be seen in various articles, was a truck in Hungary that was found with 71 dead people inside, the situation of refugees in and passing through Hungary, the building of a fence in Hungary, European policies regarding refugees and the Schengen treaty.

The order of the frames most seen in articles were: administrative (18), human Interest (17), threat (8), economic (4).

Administrative frame August 2015

In August, there were several articles of journalist travelling with refugees to describe their journey (Holtland, 2015, van der Mee, 2015, van Langendonk, 2015).

The articles with the one of the administrative frame often put the responsibility in the hands of the governments that are facing challenges.

There were reports of refugees that were not allowed to continue their travelling to other countries by authorities in Budapest. This is against the Schengen rules, that allow people to travel through different countries in Europe (Holtland, 2015-12). The fact that not all countries are committing to a treaty is a challenge for the EU. Hungary is for many refugees "de poort naar het gedroomde 'vrije' West-Europa/ the gateway to the free Western Europe" (van der Mee, 2015-13) and want to travel from there to countries like Sweden, Germany and the Netherlands.

Hungary was facing difficulties as Holtland (2015-12) reports that only Sweden received more asylum requests than Hungary. The high number of people wanting to get into Europe via Hungary, forces the Hungarian government to take measures to be able to handle these people such as to increase the amount of border police.

In general, there was a problem of controlling the influx of refugees in Eastern Europe, not only in Hungary, but also for Macedonia and Serbia. This challenge exceeds the borders of Europe as it is reported that it has become a problem "waar Europa de ogen niet langer voor kan sluiten/ which Europe no longer can ignore" (van der Mee, 2015-13). The situation has become a problem for all European member states and requires action to solve it.

The question that could be asked with these issues is where the responsibility lies. The agreements that are not followed up and the various countries involved with the EU as a common factor in these issues are part of responsibility frame by d'Haenens and de Lange (2001).

The challenge of controlling the influx of migrants appropriately (Dekkers and Scholten, 2015) can be found in various articles, including the Netherlands. The increase of applications (Pelgrim, 2015-2). When there was a shortage for housing, the parliament expected several municipalities that were going to host refugees and faced difficulties finding housing for them, to come up with creative solutions (Pelgrim, 2015-2). The asylum centers were also overcrowded in other areas, such as Rotterdam where the municipality had to look for solutions (Liukku, 2015-22).

Human Interest frame August 2015

The human interest frame could be seen in the reporting of a truck found in Hungary, with 71 dead bodies inside of supposedly Syrian refugees. The situation was covered in a very vivid manner. The articles reported about "lijken in staat van ontbinding/bodies, in a state of decomposition" (Termote, 2015-10). It was also suggested that people had been trying to get outside the truck, as a horizontal crack had been made on the side of the truck. Also, the people were found on top of each other, which made it seem like they had tried to crawl over each other to get outside. Besides, the cooling system was not working and in the state that they were found, it was suggested that they had probably died before crossing the Hungarian border (ibid). Other reporting said that fluids were dripping outside and there was a clear description of the amount of men, women and children on board, all thought to be Syrian, who all had suffocated (Rosman, 2015-21).

All these explanations give the image of innocent people who were given an unfair treatment and who have suffered as a part of victimization (Van Gorp, 2005).

Another example of the human interest frame can be seen in the riots in Heidenau, Germany. "Rechts-radicalen en neonazi's / extreme right activists and neo-Nazis" (Savelberg, 2015-7) were demonstrating against migrants. They were throwing with stones, bottles and Molotov cocktails against the police, of whom over 30 officers got wounded (Savelberg, 2015-7).

During the riots that lasted several days, buses with refugees inside were attacked with stones, bottles and firework, while people were yelling that they were against asylum seekers (Duk, 2015-14). As one of the reporters calls the demonstrations and riots "afschuwelijk/despicable" (Savelberg, 2015-7), the human interest frame shows in this article that these refugees are individuals that are being treated unjust and they are victims (appendix 2).

Threat frame August 2015

That migrants can be considered a threat can be seen in different articles about asylum seekers already in the Netherlands. Workers in asylum centers are often "blootgesteld aan agressief gedrag/ exposed to aggressive behavior" (Brouwer & Visser, 2015) as reports concluded. The political party VVD was in the same article quoted saying that people who claim to have left their country because of violence, creating an unsafe situation for other people in the Netherlands (ibid). This description could create a sense of fear.

The Threat frame is not used often directly towards migrants from the point of view of the newspaper. Other people, however, are quoted that make statements that assume that migrants or (elements of) the migration crisis can be perceived as a threat.

The mentioning of how smugglers that are trying every day to get people in to Europe (Termote, 2015-10) is one of them. Even though the article states that these smugglers were arrested, it could be interpreted as if it does not matter that some smugglers were arrested, as other smugglers will get these people into Europe anyway. Just the mentioning of smuggling networks without context (Holtland, 2015-12) leaves room for interpretation.

The choice of words used to describe the migration crisis in August is often related to the Threat frame as explained by El Rafaie (2001). Some examples are: "de almaar wassende stroom vluchtelingen /the continuous stream or influx of refugees" (Holtland, 2015-12), vluchtelingenstroom/refugee stream (Groen, 2015-20), "toestroom/inflow" (Klerk, 2015-23) and "de continue stroom van duizenden kersverse vluchtelingen/the continuous stream of thousands of fresh refugees" (Schipper, 2015) are all part of the vocabulary related to water similar to what El Rafaie (2001) found in her research in Austrian newspapers regarding metaphors that people discriminate by.

Economic frame August 2015

In the economic frame, a distinction is made between genuine and 'bogus' refugees (Nickels, 2007). This shows in the article about how people voting for the PvdA want to make a difference "tussen 'echte' vluchtelingen en de zogenaamde gelukszoekers, ofwel economische vluchtelingen/ between 'real' refugees and so-called fortune hunters, or economic refugees" (de Vente, 2015-8).

Also, a distinction is made between economic refugees from Balkan countries such as Kosovo and Albania, that prove to be a challenging group to send back to their country of origin (de Zwaan, 2015-19). Germany wants these countries to be declared safe, which would make it easier to send these economic refugees back (van Tongeren, 2015-16).

4.2.2. September 2015

On 3 September, three-year-old Aylan Kurdi was found on the beach of Bodrum in Turkey. In the month after the incident, the migration crisis continued to be an important topic in the newspapers. In this period, Dutch newspapers reported about discussions between Dutch

political parties, housing care for refugees in the Netherlands and in Germany and people offering help, problems with taking in refugees in Denmark, and discussions regarding a refugee centers in various locations in the Netherlands.

In September, the Administrative frame was the most common frame (19), the human interest frame number two (14) with a small decrease from August (17). The threat frame followed (10) and the economic was the least common dominant frame (5).

Administrative frame September 2015

Locals of the city of Weert in the province of Limburg, the southeast of the Netherlands, expressed their concerns during Council meetings for the plans to host refugees (van der Steen, 2015-1). There were already two other asylum seekers centers in that area and people wondered what the necessity was of this particular one. This NIMBY (not in my backyard) attitude is part of the administrative frame as described by van Gorp (2002). These locals were not necessarily against the taking care of refugees. They just did not want the asylum center close to their house.

In the previous mentioned example of Weert the idea was for housing was a former barrack, in Spijkernisse the plans were use a former care home to house the refugees (Teitsma, 2015-5). More municipalities in the Netherlands were facing the challenge to find locations for housing refugees in September. There was a large increase of asylum seekers in this period, partly because of family reunification. Various municipalities were working on long term refugees shelters, while others were preparing for or standing by with emergency locations (Rosman, 2015-22). Municipalities trying to solve these problems as part of their responsibility is part of the administrative frame (d'Haenens and de Lange, 2001).
Still, the question remained if it was enough for the number of refugees.

The answer to that question was an overall question within Europe. Juncker, the president of the European Union, expressed plans for more member states to receive more refugees than originally was decided in a way to deal with the migration influx (van Gessel, 2015-15).

The Netherlands was not the only country having administrative issues in Europe, other countries were facing them too. The Danish police was faced with a challenge when refugees travelling by train did not want to be registered. If they would register in Denmark, they

would have to apply for asylum in Denmark as well, and they wanted to travel to Sweden due to its lenient policy compared to Denmark (Noshad Sharifi, 2015-10). Due to the refusal of the refugees to get out of the train, all train traffic between Germany and Denmark was halted. Eventually the refugees were allowed to continue their journey to Sweden.

Human Interest frame September 2015

One of the stories that could be find in several newspapers was about fact that people were proposing to help out with offering their houses to host refugees. Over 20.000 people registered online for various initiatives that were taken in the Netherlands, but also in Germany (Ezzeroili, 2015-3). Then there were dozens of people who wanted to offer to do voluntary work or bring useful goods for the refugees to the asylum centers. At one particular moment, there were even 60 people waiting in the telephone queue at the Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers to ask what they could do to help (Rosman, 2015-21). All these people wanted to do something for the 'innocent victims' that are in this situation of being a refugee that is "beyond their own responsibility" (Van Gorp, 2005: 489) as they need help.

More people were attempting with helping the refugees coming to the Netherlands. At Amsterdam Central station, there were Dutch people offering their home to Syrian refugees coming from other countries that missed their last train to the asylum center in Ter Apel. People were described with their name, age and occupation, such as "Abdullahad Haj Najeeb (23, student bedrijfskunde) uit de Syrische havenstad Latakia reisde via Turkije, Griekenland, Macedonië, Servië, Hongarije, Oostenrijk en Duitsland naar Nederland/ business administration student from the Syrian harbor city of Latakia who travelled through Turkey, Greece, Macedonia, Serbia, Hungary, Austria and Germany to the Netherlands" and "Chaith Jaweesh (24, student bedrijfskunde) en Anas Al Halabi (24, student Japanse literatuur) ook uit Syrië/ Chaith Jaweesh (24, business administration student) en Anas Al Halabi (24, Japanese literature student) also from Syria" (Kuiper, 2015-17). The article even stated "beide mannen - zij waren wel op tijd voor de laatste trein - zijn ongelovig en willen hier graag aan de universiteit studeren/both men- who indeed were ontime for the last train- are not religious and would like to study here at a university" (Kuiper, 2015-17). The description of these men's age, their studies and their journey is a clear case of humanizing the situation. The fact that these men come from Islamic countries could cause locals of the asylum countries to be nervous for the 'Islam is a threat' factor from Vliegenthart (2007). By

mentioning that these men are not religious takes this factor away and, combined with the previous mentioned characteristics, makes them a perfect human example of whom people could connect and sympathize with" (d'Haenens and de Lange, 2015).

Threat frame September 2015

A very clear example of the threat frame was the reporting about a 35-year-old Syrian man who was "de de spil van een mensensmokkelorganisatie/ the key figure in a human trafficking organization" (Bos, 2015-2). A female family member of the main suspect was also arrested in Eindhoven in connection to this case. The fact that they are coming from Syria and that they came to the Netherlands as refugees and received a residence permit, makes the situation as being very close to home which adds to the threat factor.

In Northern Europe, there were several cases in connection to the reports about crime and extremism among migrants. Scandinavia was suffering from the influx of refugees as "de vluchtelingenstroom uit het Midden-Oosten en Afrika zet dat goedmoedige paradijs onder druk/ the influx of refugees from the Middleeast and Africa put the kindhearted paradise under pressure" (de Mooij, 2015-11). It was reported that Islamic extremism and antisemitism were increasing among migrants. In relation to this statement, the example was given of Copenhagen where a follower of the Islamic State shot two guards (de Mooij, 2015-11).

The used vocabulary of the number of refugees entering the Europe, added to the threat frame. An example is: "…die stroom groeit nog dagelijks. Vooral nu Duitsland te kennen heeft gegeven gevluchte Syriërs niet terug te sturen naar het land van EU-binnenkomst, is er geen houden meer aan / …the influx is growing on a daily base. Especially since Germany has said that the country will not send Syrian refugees back to the country of entering the EU, there is no stopping them" (van Gessel, 2015-15). This style of formulating the situation, by using vague and abstract terms, make it seem as if politicians have no control over the migration influx (Baker and McEnery, 2005).

Economic frame September 2015

One of the articles claims that a rethink regarding migration is necessary and Europeans should determine who they should let in. The author states that "echte vluchtelingen…willen we binnenlaten/ we want to let in real or legitimate refugees" (de Gruyter, 2015-9) and that

Europe needs labor migration due to ageing population. EU countries should provide lists with migrants that are welcome and let them apply for their visa in their own region. Initially, migration will cost money for housing, consular assistance and integration courses. However, this is an investment for the future (de Gruyter, 2015-9).

Investing in the future is something that the city of Eindhoven tried to do with a test project. Instead of only teaching refugees where they can apply for things as welfare, where they can go to the doctor and how to apply for housing, the Council started a project for acknowledged refugees. If they join, they can be placed within various Dutch region based on their working experience and education. Through this project they gain experience and improve their skills and knowledge to the standards of the Dutch labor market and it helps with the integration in the Dutch society (Wittenberg, 2015-18).

The idea to let refugees work was discussed in another article. Scientists stated that working instead of receiving welfare immediately after the arrival of refugees would help the Netherlands to deal with the current migrant influx. However, according to a survey conducted by the newspaper, the majority of its readers did not agree. Only one fifth of the group believed in the argument. Furthermore, the newspaper's survey concluded that the readers thought that a system should be developed by the government that benefits "real" refugees. There should be no room for individuals that only cost money and who do not participate and integrate and basically are a burden for society (Hiskemuller, 2015-23).

4.2.3. December 2015

In December, various articles were related to the situation in Greece regarding smugglers and policies, protests against asylum centers, and people trying to find ways to help incoming refugees. The administrative frame was still the most common frame, just as in the previous months, but there was a large increase of the Economic frame.

The order of the most common frames was: administrative 19, economic 12, threat 9 and human interest 8.

Administrative frame December 2015

The administrative challenge that the migration crisis caused during this period was described in one of the articles as: "Van alle uitdagingen waarmee de lidstaten van de Europese Unie te kampen hebben, is de vluchtelingencrisis de grootste/ of all the challenges that the member

states of the EU have to deal with, the refugee crisis is the largest" (Brouwers, 2015-3). The influx of the migrants has put a strain on the relationship between the member states. The author argues in the article that there seems to be a lack of intra-European solidarity between the member states and they do not seem to be capable to come up with a powerful answer to the question and a policy to solve the migration crisis. Therefore, politicians of countries that receive the majority of the migrant were debating about desired and allowed responses.

Dutch politician for the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) opted to end the membership of the 1951 Refugee Convention because it does not fit the current situation. (Brouwers, 2015-3). In general, the European member states are trying to come up with measures to restrict the amount of incoming asylum seekers with stricter laws, a deal with Turkey and plans for EU border control (Brouwers, 2015-3).

There were reports that the administrative section of the asylum systems in countries like Greece, Italy and Hungary was below standard. Therefore, many asylum seekers are trying to go to Germany and Sweden. In general, there is a lack of solidarity in the Common European Asylum System of the EU regarding refugees, between European member states, and between Europeans who can barely make it in our society and newcomers who compete with these people on the labor and housing market, according to Spijkerboer and Last (2015-17). They argue that this is the root cause of the migration crisis and that European Commission is not doing anything about it.

In Geldermalsen, there was a conflict between an institution and a group of citizens. During a council meeting of the municipality of Geldermalsen regarding the plans of opening an asylum center, there were heavy protests from citizens. The protesters found the village, which is close to the city of Utrecht, too small for an asylum center where 1500 asylum seekers were going to be settled. During the protests, the protestors broke windows, threw with fireworks and people tried to reach the city hall. Eventually, two officers got hurt when the police fired warning shots and evacuated the council (van der Wal, 2015-21).

Eventually, the city council changed the ideas and has come up with a new plan for a location to host refugees. The mayor stated that the council had made a judgmental error regarding the size of the location and the short amount of time to complete the center. This time, the council wants to include its citizens in the project. (Versteegh, 2015-18).

Economic frame December 2015

In general, the EU wanted to differentiate economic and political migrants, but it proved to be a difficult job to send all the migrants back who were denied asylum. Various EU countries do not want anymore 'economic migrants'. Macedonia, Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia are taking their own measures and select migrants based on their presumed nationality. The governments are "bang te blijven zitten met mensen die na een lange asielprocedure waarschijnlijk worden afgewezen/afraid to be left with people whose request for asylum will most likely be denied after a long procedure" (de Koning, 2015-10). The article states that many people, mainly men from Morocco, Tunisia, Pakistan and Iran, were transported to Athens, which they did not want. They claimed that they had already been there and wanted to move to more prosperous areas of Europe (de Koning, 2015-10).

Hungary also did not want to admit "economic migrants" in the country. The country also took measures in their own hands and put restrictions on the amount of Syrians, Afghanis and Iraqis that were admitted (de Koning, Leijendekker and Termote, 2015-1).

Economic migrants do not have the right to claim asylum as their live is not in danger. According to the plans of the European Union, forcing people who do not have the right to claim the refugee status, to go back to their country of origin will help to reduce the amount of people trying to enter the EU. At the same time sending people back helps the asylum policies to gain in popularity and the people that legitimately need protection can be assisted in a better and more effective way (Leijendekker, 2015-2).

One of the articles in December was about a family of turned down refugees. In this story, a girl of three years old did not receive a hearing aid even though she is deaf because of the fact that she did not have a refugee status. Migrants who have been denied the refugee statues cannot claim social assistance, such as welfare. They do have the right to get 'necessary' medical assistance, legal assistance and education. The word 'necessary' relates to 'life threatening'. The operation is also with €60.000 rather expensive, but even though the situation is not life threatening, medical doctors have stated that a hearing implant aid is necessary for this child. They claim that she should get the operation on behalf of the state. Since the child does not receive the help, the parents are planning to go to court (Schildkamp, 2015-6).

The earlier mentioned story of the plans for a large asylum center in Geldermalsen consisted of multiple frames, including the economic frame. The chairman of the association of undertakings of a business center in that area was interviewed. He said that the expansion of the business center will be influenced negatively by the arrival of a large refugee center in Geldermalsen and that the value of the properties of the entrepreneurs will decrease. At the moment of the article, a new residential area was under construction, but potential candidate owners have already backed out (Bakker and Bode, 2015-7).

Human Interest frame December 2015

The Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seeker (COA) is trying to prevent New Year's Evening from becoming a scary night for (especially Syrian) asylum seekers where they would be reminded of memories of firefights and bombardments. The custom of setting off fireworks could cause refugees that were the victim of traumatic experiences to relive them. In the Netherlands, the focus is only on prevention by providing information to the asylum seekers, but in Germany certain municipalities even allow refugees to get used to the sounds via a fireworks demonstration (du Pré, 2015-4).

The previous mentioned example of the girl who needed hearing implant also included a human interest frame due to the description of the case. The story was described by the author as a unique and "schrijnend verhaal/poignant story" (Schildkamp, 2015-6). The girl's and the parent's name and age (Kalma, 3) were mentioned, together with the information that they had fled Afghanistan two years ago. Since their request for asylum had been denied, they were not eligible for the hearing implant of their daughter and were now trying to get one by going to court. The situation was extra urgent, since these kinds of surgery need to be completed before the age of five. One of the organizations that helps refugees argued that there is a moral obligation to help this child.
The article concluded by saying "Kalma kijkt al niet graag in de spiegel vanwege littekens als gevolg van hete thee die ze over zich kreeg na een bomaanslag. Laat staan dat ze op een foto wil./ Kalma already dos not like to look in the mirror because of her scars that were caused by spilled hot tea due to a bomb attack. Let alone posing for a picture" (Schildkamp, 2015-6).

Perhaps related to the drowning of Aylan Kurdi, there were several articles that focused on different elements of the journey of migrants trying to get to Europe.

The stories of the migrants and the smugglers intertwined, with the asylum seekers stories often carrying the human interest frame. One of the stories is a report about the Turkish shore and how hundreds of migrants trying to get to Europe. The migrants in this situation were victims of the situation who left everything behind, even on the beach when they try to get to Europe. The surroundings were vividly described with "de idyllische baai/ the idyllic bay" and " de kraakheldere Egeïsche Zee/ the crystal clear Aegean Sea" (Khader and Stoffelen, 2015-11) but with the land filled with items that have been left behind by the migrants. Eventually people are being pushed and dragged into the boats, while children are being thrown in. One of the migrants compares it with the transportation of livestock (Khader and Stoffelen, 2015-11). Besides the fact that many migrants do not make the journey from Turkey to Greece, the ones that do reach the Greek shore arrive in severe circumstances without first aid and blankets (Boogaard, 2015-13).

Another article is a report about volunteers that try to help the people that arrive with the boats by making their stay more pleasant while they wait (often in vain) for their permission to stay. These women wanted to help the refugees and via social media and friends they were able to collect baby carriers, clothing and money. They bought a bus and brought the collected items personally (Savelberg, 2015-16).

*Threat fram*e *December 2015*

According to certain Syrian refugees, there was a group of men of Iranian and Afghan descent who harassed Syrian girls in the emergency shelters for asylum seekers. The police had visited the premises, but did not arrest anybody. However, the Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers (COA) did transfer three men to another shelter (Kruijff, 2015-5). The reasons were not explained, but it is highly likely related to the harassment and therefore to protect other women.

In Kaatsheuvel (close to the cities of Den Bosch and Tilburg) people were upset with the municipality for planning an emergency shelter for 1200 refugees. There was already friction due to the nuisance from Eastern European migrant workers who live in a holiday park and the lack of action of the municipality. There are reports of burglaries, harassment of Eastern Europeans and people walking around with knifes. A group of civilians already does not feel safe due to the current migrants and think that the refugees should be sheltered somewhere else (van Duin, 2015-8).

The smugglers that try to smuggle migrants from Turkey to Greece are part of the threat frame. From these countries, Khader and Stoffelen (2015-11) report about the arrest of four smugglers, but explain that thousands (4.700) of other people reached the shore anyway. This happens every day. An extra threat factor is that nobody is in the way of the smugglers as they use quiet beaches in hilly areas. The working areas of the smugglers are spread, as each one of them has his own point of departure. The Turkish human traffickers often work together with traffickers that are native speakers and have the same country of origin as the migrants. They are recruited via customers or through social media such as Facebook, and are offered a percentage of the profits. This makes it appear as if there is an extensive human trafficking network. (Khader and Stoffelen, 2015-11).

4.2.4. January 2016

January of 2016 was the period after the New Year's Evening assaults in Cologne, Germany. In this period, the frames were as follows: the administrative frame had the highest presence with a score of 24 times, then the threat frame (14), human interest (8) and economic (2).

Administrative frame January 2016

After the assaults in Cologne, the German government was looking for a possibility to change the law regarding the deportation of criminal asylum refugees. The minister of Internal Affairs was one of the first politicians to mention the tightening the deportation policies. Even the vice chancellor was calling for changes by proposing regulations to prevent the German tax payer from paying for criminal refugees by letting them serve their sentences in their country of origin. This attitude was quite a change after the "wis schaffen das" policy from Merkel, it was stated that Cologne was a turning point in the German asylum debate and it was even suggested that it might be a turning point about refugees in general as this came after critique that the country was too political correct (Lindhout, 2016-3).

Although these are only ideas, it shows that Germany admits that there are problems related to the migration crisis and was looking for solutions to deal with the problems caused by migrants related to this issue.

After the protests in Geldermalsen, the NIMBY frame (not in my backyard, Van Gorp, 2006) was also present in December during discussions regarding asylum centers in other locations. One of the examples was Utrecht Overvecht (one of the suburbs of the city of Utrecht) where the municipality found a suitable building for an emergency asylum center. However, the

residents of the area do not agree and many wonder why the City Council (again) chose a vulnerable neighborhood for its location (Huisman, 2016-4).

Another location was Heesch, close to the city of Den Bosch, where people protested against plans for an asylum center "voor 500 bewoners voor een periode van tien jaar/ for 500 inhabitants for a period of 10 years" (Bakker and van Duin, 2016-8). These protests were less peaceful compared to Overvecht and the police had to step in. The (mostly peaceful) protesters think that 500 people for a period of 10 years is too much to ask from a small community such as Heesch (Bakker and van Duin, 2016-8).

Not only did the refugee crisis maintain to be an important issue on the agenda of the EU in January 2016, it was an even bigger problem than the year before. Compared to 5000 refugees in all of January 2015, there were over 10.000 refugees in the first week of January 2016 trying to enter Europe (Heck, 2016-17). The amount of refugees turned out to be an unexpected challenge for the EU countries.

Germany was receiving thousands of new asylum seekers per day, in Greece the camps with stranded migrants continued to grow partly due to the closing of the border with Macedonia, and the Greek minister of Integration argued that Turkey was unable to fulfil its duties. Meanwhile, Hungary proposed to build a fence at the northern border of Greece to prevent refugees to enter the country, as the country already has a fence in the south of the country. At the same time a minister in Slovakia stated that the country did not want to accept Islamic refugees (Rosman, 2016-13).

It seemed to be impossible to believe that there would be one plan that all the countries would adhere to one particular action plan as opinions of leaders vary, taken decisions were not carried out and countries were implementing their own solutions. Sweden and Finland, known for their lenient migration policies, were planning to deport thousands of denied asylum seekers (Den Hartog, 2016-1). Sweden, Denmark and Norway asked for a procedure to be able to continue with their border controls. They were temporary measures and were going to end, but since the countries did not have faith in a decreasing migration influx, they asked the EU to extend these controls for an extra two years (van Gessel, 2016)-15).

At the same time, Germany was making family reunification more difficult for asylum seekers, which made the government of the Netherlands consider to implement similar policies. By doing so, the country hoped to prevent the people avoiding Germany from

coming to the Netherlands (Den Hartog, 2016-14). All these were measures to control the migration influx adequately (Dekker & Scholten, 2015).

Threat frame January 2016

There were various articles regarding problems among the asylum seekers and refugees. One of the articles described the situation of a church that was supposed to hosted Christian Orthodox Eritreans. Leaked reports from COA mentioned possible sexual abuse and a large amount of (possibly involuntary) pregnancies of young women between 17 and 22 years old. The article also mentions a report of the United Nations (UN) that states that sexual violence is widely spread in Eritrea (Chin-A-Fo, 2016-1).

There were more stories about sexual abuse in asylum centers. One of the articles reported about violence and hatred towards gay people in an asylum center in Alphen aan de Rijn. However, the author states that homophobia is a problem that occurs in various asylum centers all over the country (Rosman, 2016-22). Since the Netherlands is a country with a high tolerance towards the gay community, this kind of behavior can be viewed as a threat towards the values of the Dutch society.

The sexual assaults in Cologne were the subject of several articles. In the Netherlands, these attacks led to a feeling of insecurity and unsafety. One of the articles followed people that were buying pepper spray in Germany, since it is illegal in the Netherlands. Various stories were told about how some people were harassed and that the general feeling of unsafety has risen in the Netherlands (Steketee, 2016-2). In addition, one of the articles reported about assaults of Dutch women in Almere in a busy nightlife area on a Saturday night. One of the interviewees stated that the police initially did not show up after the alarm number was called. Only after the third incident they finally took action and arrested two asylum seekers from an asylum center nearby. The interviewees thought that the police only took action because of the effects of "what happened in Cologne" (Bakhtali, 2016-7).

The information about the fact that most of the perpetrators in Cologne were of North African descent was initially withheld from the public by the mainstream media to prevent negative framing of migrants. However, the public was already made aware of this information via social media and this political correctness strategy only added to the threat factor towards "real" refugees (van der Mee, 2016-5). Instead, anti-migration parties such as AFD and Pegida in Germany gained popularity, which is what was initially feared (Lindhout, 2016-3). Besides the sexual assaults in Cologne, the public received the news of mass sexual assaults at music festivals in Sweden. The assaults, by young Afghans, occurred in 2014 and 2015

and was deliberately withheld from the public by the police because of the fear of a rise of extreme right politicians (van der Mee, 2016-5).

The combination of the news of the assaults and the fact that information was purposely withheld, only added to the threat frame. It showed that there were problems regarding the receiving of migrants, and that it happened in more countries than only in Germany.

Human Interest frame January 2016

The story regarding sexual abuse of girls in a church that hosted Christian Orthodox Eritreans contained Human Interest elements besides the Threat frame. The social workers that worked in the church with the community noticed that the girls that left to Rotterdam (where the church was located), "soms nachten achtereen wegbleven en neerslachtig terugkwamen, zonder iets te willen zeggen over wat er in de tussentijd gebeurd was/ sometimes stayed away for several nights and returned with in a depressed state and did not want to speak about what happened in the meantime" (Chin-A-Fo, 2016-1). Under aged Eritreans often become the victim of violence during their through Ethiopia, Sudan and Libya before crossing the ocean to get to Italy. It is very sad that these girls can become a victim of sexual violence after such a burdensome journey when they had the idea that they were moving to a safe country.

The description of the harassment in the story about the homosexual asylum seekers was the human interest component of the article. They were "vernederd, bespuugd, uitgescholden, aangerand, verkracht/ humiliated, spat on, called names, sexual assaulted, raped" (Rosman, 2016-22). They were asked if they would have paid sex with other men of the asylum center. Couples were separated and they were told that they would be thrown of the highest building. This article shows that their human dignity, which should be protected and "preserved at all times" (Nickels, 2007: 49), was not respected and they felt unsafe (Rosman, 2016-22).

Similar stories like the one of Aylan Kurdi continued to make the news. Many people drowned during their trip to get to Europe. One of the articles reported about an incident when 16 bodies were found on two different beaches and 20 bodies that were picked up in the ocean. More dead bodies were expected to follow as it was suspected that two different boats capsized due to bad weather. The people came presumably from Syria and Iraq and there were several women and children (vulnerable people) among the groups. After the news broke out, people on social media were upset with the smugglers that send these people in the middle of the winter in such rickety boats (Vos, 2016-19).

There were reports of a small factory that was discovered where life jackets were produced. Even though these life jackets were unable to float, they were sold by the smugglers to unsuspecting Syrians. One of the stories of a Syrian girl was made personal when it was explained that pictures of her emerged on social media. On one picture, she was playing outside, on the next picture was drowned and washed on the beach in Turkey (Heck, 2016-17). This story not only shows the struggles that migrants face when they decide to cross the ocean, but also how insecure their situation is as they put their life in the hands of smugglers who often abuse the circumstances for their own economic benefit.

Economic frame January 2016
The economic frame only showed in two of the selected articles.
One article reported about a legislative proposal in Denmark that caused discussion in the international community, while a similar policy was already put into practice in Switzerland without any problems. In the proposal, the police have the right to confiscate valuable items of migrants that enter the country. The article reports about a Syrian refugee that had to give half of the amount of money that he was carrying at the refugee shelter. With the receipt that he received for the money, he would be able to get it back when leaving the country. Part of the plan of the Danish government was that asylum seekers would hand in their valuable belongings to help to pay for their housing costs, at the moment of arrival. At the same time, in Switzerland refugees who are allowed to stay have to pay for their shelter from the moment that they find a job. They have to pay up to €13.000 for these costs which they can pay each month through a percentage of their salary or in one time.
These policies limit negative economic impact and prevent the restriction frame. It prevents the migrants from being seen as a problem, due to their lack of economic independence (Vliegenthart, 2007).

Due to the fact that the majority of the perpetrators came from Northern African countries like Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria, asylum seekers from that region are under scrutiny. The article was wondering why there was a sudden increase of asylum seekers from that region between 2012 and 2015, who they are and what they are doing in Germany. The answers were that the majority are young men that travel by themselves and have done numerous attempts to settle in Europe or even have lived illegally in Southern Europe. They are often economic refugees and have no grounds to request asylum as there is no war in their country. Their live is not in danger, which makes them the so called 'bogus refugees' that Nickels

(2007) talks about. An interviewed researcher on the topic of migration from Magreb countries, states that these men use their social network and hear via friends and family which country offers the best opportunity for jobs, houses and free healthcare.

Describing this group in such manner they appear as if they are out to abuse the benefit system (Van Gorp, 2005).

5. Conclusion

In this final chapter first of all we provide an answer on the research question. In second instance a connection with the theoretical framework will be made to provide feedback to the presented theories and the research question will also be answered. What does this empirical research tell us about the theoretical insights presented in chapter 2? What did we learn? How can we fill in with this particular empirical research? The knowledge gab defined in the introduction? Is the migrant crisis really important for framing theories? And to what extend did focusing events play an important role?

In last instance in this chapter we will describe some pros and cons. Some shortcomings of this research will be discussed and some recommendations for further research will be made.

After an extensive research of 96 newspaper articles, various frames have been identified related. to the four master frames. After analyzing the articles based on the four master frames as discussed by Dekker and Scholten (2015) during the four different periods, the main overall frame proved to be the administrative frame. This signifies that before and after both focusing events, the style of reporting in relation to framing did not change.

1. Answering the research question

When answering the research question: *"To what extent did the newspaper media reporting change regarding the (elements of the) migration crisis during two focus events?"*, we can say that main frame did not change in the reporting in these cases. As the conclusion states, the main overall master frame was the administrative frame. This indicates that during all four periods, the most common frame did not change. Based on this research, it can be concluded that reporting does not necessarily change after a focusing events in human interest circumstances when the victims are refugees, as was expected in the Aylan event.

However, in the case of a focusing event where migrants or refugees are not victims, as in the Cologne event where asylum seekers were perpetrators, reporting can change. Initially, during the period of the two discussed focusing events, newspapers appeared to be hesitant to report negative stories about refugees and migrants. However, they appeared to be more comfortable when migrants and/or refugees were on the immoral or criminal side of the focusing event. This perhaps explains the fluctuating number two most common master frame. In the periods of the first focusing event, the drowning of Aylan, the countdown of the master frames did not change during the two periods. Even the amount of the articles with the

dominant master frames hardly changed. The sudden increase of the economic frame could be related to the time of the year when end of the year reports are often produced that include financial state and spending. The explanation for the sudden drop of the human interest frame could be related to Paris attacks in November in the city and at the Bataclán concert hall. Perhaps due to the attacks, the focus of the reporting was less on the empathy of asylum seekers and refugees. However, the number of articles where the threat frame was the dominant frame did not change much during the first three periods. Nevertheless, the threat frame as the most common dominant frame slightly increased in the fourth period, January. This could be attributed to impact of the sexual assaults in Cologne considering the various times that this was mentioned in the newspaper articles.

2. Operationalization review

When analyzing the newspaper articles, some conclusions can be made.

The number of articles of articles changed during the events. While establishing the database for the newspaper articles, there was a substantial difference in the number of articles before and after the events. In both cases, the number of articles was significantly smaller before the event occurred. Especially with the Aylan case, the same word would show two or three times as many results after the event compared to before.

The most common frame did not change. The Administrative frame was in all four periods the main master frame. There were many political challenges. Internationally, especially on European soil, the general challenge was dealing with the migration crisis as a whole as many of the migrants moved to Europe. Another challenge for Europe was to get the countries in line and work with the established agreements as they were not always followed up upon. Nationally and locally, the challenges could be found in dealing with the large numbers of migrants entering the Netherlands, while at the same time trying to keep the locals calm.

It should be noted that in total, over a thousand newspaper articles appeared in the entire data base. This is only a small percentage of the total number of articles, if other articles would have been selected, the outcome could be different. Also, this is the interpretation of the master frame of the researcher, another researcher might interpret the articles in a different way.

3. Used language

In terms of language, often vague terms were used. When speaking about large groups or numbers, without mentioning the amount, too much space is left for the reader to draw his or her own conclusion. In terms of using negative language, the water themes were often used (vloed/ flood, stroom/ stream), but one could argue that this is the best way in the Dutch language to describe the situation. Although translated to English it might sound strong, it does not necessarily have a negative connotation in Dutch.

4. Conclusion per frame:

Human Interest frame

After the situation in Cologne, one might expect to see less of the human interest frame, due to the fact that the perpetrators were refugees. However, the number of articles with a dominant Human Interest frames remained the same in January compared to December.

Originally, expectations were that reporting would show more of the human interest frame after the Aylan focusing event occurred. In the selected articles this turned out to be untrue, as the amount actually went down from 17 to 14. In general, the frame went down in numbers. It was the second most common frame during the Aylan focusing event (after the Administrative frame), but the third in the period of Cologne (after Administrative and threat).

The explanation perhaps could be that the focus moved from Human Interest to a solution to the migration crisis, which has more administrative elements to it.

Threat frame

When it comes to the Threat frame, the opposite occurred compared to the human interest frame. Whereas the number of articles with the human interest frame as most common frame remained the same before and after the Aylan event, the number went up after the Cologne event compared to before. Still, the threat frame was not as present as one might have suspected. This could be due to political correctness, or because the sentiment was just not present. Maybe the newspapers decided not to report too much in the style of the threat frame.

However, the style of reporting changed as the months continued. Especially in January, there was more reporting about negative stories regarding actions of refugees and asylum seekers. A reason could be that newspapers felt more at ease to report about negative frames after Cologne, where refugees behaved in a negative way.

Economic frame

After being the least dominant frame before and after the Aylan event, there was a peak in December, before Cologne. The Economic frame was the second most common master frame during that period. Afterwards, the frame became the least dominant frame again. It is difficult to explain what the reason is for this peak. In this period (December) there were various reports regarding economic migrants in Europe and the cost of migrants and its economic effects. The sudden fall in January can be related to the increase of articles with the Threat frame.

5. Pro's and con's

The cases turned out to be a helpful benchmark for this research. Both events were different and they provided a timeline for the research. Since both events happened shortly after one another, the research is certainly representative for that period of time.

The coding of the articles was very well possible due to the clear explanation of the different master frames by Dekker and Scholten (2015) combined with the definition and explanation of framing by Entmant (1993, 2003, 2007). The two operationalization tables allowed for the frames to be applied in a clear manner as they provided guidance for the coding.

When it comes to migration, often the subject is related to government and governmental decisions which are part of the administrative frame. This is especially the case when it comes to focusing on framing of migration in newspapers in general. When focusing on one particular aspect of migration or the migration crisis, perhaps another frame could easier stand out against the administrative frame. So, although the four master frames are helpful for research on framing a recommendation would be for the administrative frame to be changed. Perhaps this master frame could be divided into more options such as an International administrative frame and a national administrative frame. Perhaps even a local administrative frame could be added, based on the newspaper articles about hosting refugees in various municipalities.

Another limitation within this kind of research, is the complete objectivity which proves a difficult exercise. In every discourse analysis subjectivity of the researcher is in some way or another present. Therefore, it is recommended to code with two independent researchers and to compare the research of the coding. Due to this thesis process this was not possible. But, this can be a recommendation for further research.

The communication processes in this migrant crisis are often not well determined in advance. As a result, they oversee the consequences and the very important role of the media with regards to framing. Objective analysis of media reporting, such as has been done in this empirical research, is important for learning lessons on the role of the media in creating policy windows and the potential consequences on policy makers.

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The 96 articles that were the database of this research is not included in the reference list. Every article has its own number (between 1 and 24) belonging to the month or period when they were published. The articles are in tables, divided per period, per month in appendix 5.

Appendices

Appendix 1
Table 1: Overview of the four master frames by Dekker & Scholten (2015)

(human interestframe; bedreigingsframe; bestuurlijk frame; economisch frame)

D'Haenens & De Lange (2001)	El Rafaie (2001)/Horsti (2003)	Van Gorp (2005; 2006)	Nickels (2007)	Vliegenthart (2007); Vliegenthart & Roggeband (2007); Roggeband & Vliegenthart (2007)	Benson (2013; Benson & Wood 2015)
Conflict-frame	Bedreigings-frame	NIMBY-frame	Menselijke waardigheid-frame	Multicultu-reel frame	Probleem voor de samenleving
Human interest-frame		Politici zijn te wantrouwen-frame	Echtheidsframe	Emancipatie-frame	Problemen van immigranten
Economisch frame		Vreemdeling en zijn indringers-frame	Bestuurlijk frame	Restrictie-frame	Probleem voor de autoriteiten
Moraliteits-frame		Onschuldige slachtoffers-frame	Terugkeer-frame	Slachtoffer-frame	Geen probleem
Verantwoordelijkheids-frame		Alles in de tuin is prachtig-frame		Islam als bedreiging-frame	
		Voorziener-frame			

Appendix 2: Analysis framework

Frame	Reasoning devices			Framing devices					
	Probleem definitie	Causale verklaring	Betrokkenen	Oplossings strategie	Metafoor	Uitdrukking	Voorbeeld	Visualisatie	Statistische gegevens
Human interestframe	Individuen of personen wordt onrecht aangedaan	Omstandighe den waar beleid onvoldoende in voorziet, of juist beleid dat onnodig leed veroorzaakt	Archetype van slachtoffer, medemens in nood	Uitzondering voor individuele gevallen of specifieke groepen of beleidsverande ring in het algemeen	'tragedie'	'zij hebben hier niet om gevraagd'	Achtergronde n van vluchtelingen of ervaringen van omwonenden s	Beelden van vluchtelingen, protestacties, opvanglocatie s	Personificatie van casus. Daarom geen abstracte cijfers genoemd
Bedreiging-frame	Bepaalde groep of bepaald beleid vormt een bedreiging voor de samenleving	Oncontroleer bare omstandighed en of ondoordacht beleid	Profiteurs, mensen die de boel belazeren en slachtoffers hiervan	Restrictiever beleid	'tsunami' of 'aanzuigende werking'	'gelukszoekers ' of 'asiellobby'	Fraude m.b.t procedures, perverse gevolgen van beleid	Groepen, geen personificatie	Fraudecijfers
Bestuurlijk frame	Er doet zich een bestuurlijke uitdaging voor die zo adequaat mogelijk beheerst moet worden	Veranderende omstandighed en	Politici en bewindslieden die in actie moeten komen	Adequaat handelen rond een nieuwe situatie, politieke winst of verlies	'problemen het hoofd bieden' 'overleven van Kamerdebat' 'struikelen over een dossier'	Beleid of bewindsperso on staat onder druk; politiek succes of valkuil	Goede afweging van opties, succesverhale n van eerder beleid	Foto's van bewindslieden en politici, beelden van debat uit de kamer, interviews met politici	Politieke peilingen, zetelverdeling en stemmingen in Tweede Kamer.
Economisch frame	Economisch e winsten of verliezen	Economische gevolgen van casus rond immigratie-en asiel zoals brain gain of juist arbeidsmarktv erdringing	Regio's, ondernemers, sociale voorzieningen die er baat of verlies bij hebben	Economische kansen grijpen of verliezen verkleinen, opvang elders (bijvoorbeeld in de regio)	'brain gain' of 'verdringing'	'kosten voor de belastingbetal er' 'druk op sociale voorzieningen'	Voorbeelden van partijen die verdienen aan immigratie	Beelden van wachtrijen, partijen die baat hebben	Gevolgen van immigratie worden in economische cijfers uitgedrukt

Table 2: Analysis framework

Appendix 3: Tables of the number of newspaper articles

This appendix provides the number of newspaper articles per search item per newspaper. Due to the limited findings when searching for the singular version of the words, the plural forms have been used since they offered more result.

The tables below show the periods before and after the drowning of Aylan. the third table is the total number of articles of the entire period, before and after.

3.1 Period 1: August 2015
2 Augustus 2015 - 1 September 2015

	NRC	Volkskrant	AD	Telegraaf	Total
Vluchteling	25	42	31	11	109
Vluchtelingen	106	153	113	71	443
Migrant	9	21	5	6	41
Migranten	51	100	39	28	218
Asielzoeker					
Asielzoekers	67	71	57	55	250

3.2 Period 2: September 2015
2 September 2015 - 2 October 2015

	NRC	Volkskrant	AD	Telegraaf	Total
Vluchteling	49	64	88	43	244
Vluchtelingen	239	291	420	233	1183
Migrant	13	9	4	5	31
Migranten	108	93	47	57	305
Asielzoeker					
Asielzoekers	111	138	217	146	612

3.3 Event 1: Aylan.
Period Augustus + September 2015

	NRC	Volkskrant	AD	Telegraaf	Totaal
Vluchteling	74	106	119	54	353
Vluchtelingen	345	444	533	304	1626
Migrant	22	30	9	11	72
Migranten	159	193	86	85	523
Asielzoeker					
Asielzoekers	178	209	274	201	862
Total	337	982	1021	656	3436

The tables below show the periods before and after the Cologne focusing event. The last table contains the number of articles of December and January combined.

3.4 Period 3: December 2015					
1 December 2015 - 31 December 2015					
	NRC	Volkskrant	AD	Telegraaf	Total
Vluchteling	35	43	32	9	119
Vluchtelingen	154	140	192	110	596
Migrant	6	13	5	2	26
Migranten	45	51	17	27	140
Asielzoeker					
Asielzoekers	69	65	112	50	296

3.5 Period 4: January 2016					
1 January 2016 - 31 January 2016					
	NRC	Volkskrant	AD	Telegraaf	Total
Vluchteling	45	48	41	24	158
Vluchtelingen	199	200	200	147	746
Migrant	10	5	4	4	23
Migranten	76	74	21	41	212
Asielzoeker					
Asielzoekers	110	126	130	108	474

3.6 Event 2: Cologne					
December 2015 + January 2016					
	NRC	Volkskrant	AD	Telegraaf	Total
Vluchteling	80	91	73	33	277
Vluchtelingen	353	340	392	257	1342
Migrant	16	18	9	6	49
Migranten	121	125	38	68	352
Asielzoeker					
Asielzoekers	179	191	242	158	770

Appendix 4: Tables of the dominant frame(s) in the selected newspaper articles

All the tables in this appendix show the dominant frame (s) per newspaper article. Usually an article received two X's because there were often two frames that are a close tie as the most common frame. Only when it was obvious that one frame clearly stood out and was dominant over the others, that particular frame in that aricle received both Xs.

The most common master frame was the one that received the most X's during a specific period.

Appendix 4.1 - Period 1: August 2015

Period 1: August 2015				
Aticle/Frame	Human Interest	Threat	Administrative	Economic
Article				
1		XX		
2			XX	
3		X	X	
4			X	X
5	X		X	
6	X		X	
7	XX			
8			XX	
9	X		X	
10	XX			
11	X			X
12	XX			
13	XX			
14	X		X	
15		X	X	
16			X	X
17	XX			
18		X	X	
19		X	X	
20		X		X
21	XX			
22			XX	
23			XX	
24		XX		
Total	17	9	18	4

Order of the most common frames:
1. Administrative, 2. Human interest, 3. Threat, 4. Economic

Appendix 4.2 - Period 2: September 2015

Period 2: September 2015				
Aticle/Frame	Human interest	Threat	Administrative	Economic
Article				
1		X	X	
2		XX		
3	XX			
4		X	X	
5			XX	
6	XX			
7	XX			
8			XX	
9	X			X
10			XX	
11		X	X	
12	XX			
13			XX	
14			XX	
15		X	X	
16		XX		
17	XX			
18				XX
19	X		X	
20			XX	
21	XX			
22			XX	
23				XX
24		X	X	
Total	**14**	**9**	**20**	**5**

Order of the most common frames:
1. Administrative, 2. Human interest, 3. Threat, 4. Economic

Appendix 4.3 - Period 3: December 2015

Period 3: December 2015				
Aticle/Frame	Human Interest	Threat	Administrative	Economic
Article				
1			XX	
2				XX
3			XX	
4	XX			
5		XX		
6	X			X
7			X	X
8		XX		
9	X		X	
10			X	X
11	X	X		
12			X	X
13	X		X	
14			X	X
15			XX	
16	XX			
17			XX	
18			X	X
19				XX
20				XX
21			XX	
22		XX		
23		X	X	
24		X	X	
Total	**8**	**9**	**19**	**12**

Order of the most common frames:
1. Administrative, 2. Economic, 3. Threat, 4. Human interest

Appendix 4.4 - Period 4: January 2016

Period 4: January 2016				
Aticle/Frame	Human Interest	Threat	Administrative	Economic
Article				
1	X	X		
2		X	X	
3		X	X	
4		X	X	
5		XX		
6		XX		
7		X	X	
8			XX	
9		X	X	
10			X	X
11			XX	
12		X	X	
13			XX	
14			XX	
15			XX	
16		XX		
17			XX	
18			XX	
19	X		X	
20			X	X
21	XX			
22	X	X		
23	XX			
24	X		X	
Total	8	14	24	2

Order of the most common frames:
1. Administrative, 2. Threat, 3. Human interest, 4. Economic

Appendix 5: Newspaper articles lists

This appendix states the complete list of the database of all the 96 newspaper articles that have been found on LexisNexis. A document that includes the full articles is available on request.

The number in the citations in the analysis refers to this overview. For example, if the text about master frames in the analysis reads a quote with "(Sommer, 2015-4)", it means that it is the fourth article in that month.

5.1 Period 1: August 2015	
Number	Article
1	Ketelaar, T. (2015, August 8). Een 'zwerm' van illegalen schokt het eilandgevoel. *NRC*
2	Pelgrim, C (2015, August 24). Nieuwe asielpiek leidt tot overuren. *NRC*
3	De Brouwer, M.; Visser J. (2015, August 4). Personeel asielcentra belaagd. *Volkskrant*
4	Sommer, M (2015, August 22). Kijk toch uit met die feiten. *Volkskrant*
5	Liukku, A (2015, August 25). Kenniscentrum: laat vluchteling zelf huis bouwen.*AD*
6	Rosman, C. (2015, August 27). Vanuit sporthallen via een luxueus landgoed naar pop-uphuis. *AD*
7	Savelberg, R. (2015, August 25). 'Tuig van de richel'; Duitse regering haalt hard uit naar extreemrechtse relschoppers. *Telegraaf*
8	De Vente, M. (2015, August 29). Einde asielprobleem ver weg. *Telegraaf*
9	Vermeulen, F. (2015, August 26). Tolerante Merkel wil ook streng zijn. *NRC Handelsblad*
10	Termote, R. (2015, August 28). Een truck vol dode vluchtelingen. *NRC Handelsblad*
11	Kranenberg, A. (2015, August 22). Willen we minder of meer vluchtelingen? *Volkskrant*
12	Holtland, J. J. (2015, August 29). Wanhoop van de migrant groeit in Hongarije. *Volkskrant*
13	Van der Mee, T. (2015, August 15). Route van Loai is route van duizenden. *AD*
14	Duk, W. (2015, August 24). Duitsland vraagt zich af: waarom is Merkel zo stil? *AD*
15	Klerks, M. (2015, August 2). Protest als welkom in Engeland; 'Voedseltekort dreigt door chaos in Calais'. *Telegraaf*
16	Van Tongeren, C. (2015, August 19). Record na record; Aantal migranten elke week hoger. *Telegraaf*
17	Van Langendonck, G. (2015, August 5). Waarom wij naar Europa willen. *NRC Handelsblad*
18	Vermeulen, F. (2015, August 21). Asielzoekers in Duitsland worden figuranten in een politiek steekspel. *NRC Handelsblad*
19	De Zwaan, I. (2015, August 8). Migranten geven nooit op, ze graven desnoods een tunnel De methoden om te vluchten. *Volkskrant*
20	Groen, J. (2015, August 15). 'Liever niet veel Syriërs. Ben ik nu racistisch?'. *Volkskrant*
21	Rosman, C. (2015, August 29). Hoeveel erger kan het nog? *AD*
22	Liukku, A. (2015, August 8). Te weinig huizen voor vluchtelingen in de

	regio. *AD*
23	Klerks, M. (2015, August, 15) Overstroomd; Buitenlandse Zaken. *Telegraaf*
24	Schipper, M. (2015, August 29). Ter Apel zucht; Inwoners van Gronings dorp zijn asielzoekers wel eens zat. *Telegraaf*

5.2 Period 2: September 2015	
1	Van der Steen, P. (2015, September 15). Nee, minder vluchtelingen. *NRC Handelsblad*
2	Bos, K. (2015, September 19). Ex-asielzoeker spil in smokkelorganisatie. *NRC Handelsblad*
3	Ezzeroili, N. (2015, September 5). Vluchteling in huis, onderschat het niet. *Volkskrant*
4	Singeling, L. (2015, September 19). Burgers vaak door opvang overrompeld. *Volkskrant*
5	Teitsma, T. (2015, September 18). Grote kans op opvang 250 Syriërs. *AD*
6	Schmale, J. (2015, September 21). 'Als anderen zien hoe ik bid, maken ze me af'. *AD*
7	Savelberg, R. (2015, September 3). Bondsrepubliek het beloofde land; Duizenden vast in 'Hongaarse hel' tijdens doorreis naar het noorden. *Telegraaf*
8	Ritman, M. (2015, September 15). Pauluskerk boos op LR; 'Zonder ons zijn uitgeprocedeerden een reizend circus door de stad'. *Telegraaf*
9	de Gruyter, C. (2015, September 5). Neem de regie terug van de smokkelaars; In Europa. *NRC Handelsblad*
10	Noshad Sharifi, M. (2015, September 10). 'Deense' groep migranten toch door naar Zweden. *NRC Handelsblad*
11	de Mooij, G. (2015, September 11). Vluchtelingencrisis verdeelt rijk en gelukkig Scandinavië. *Volkskrant*
12	Lindhout, S. (2015, September 19). 'Weten ze wel dat we afval hier niet op straat gooien?' *Volkskrant*
13	Rosman, C. (2015, September 3). 'Meer centra zijn nodig, en snel'. *AD*
14	van Huët, B. (2015, September 16). Hongaars prikkeldraad zet rem op vluchtelingenstroom. *AD*
15	Van Gessel, R. (2015, September 7) Vluchtelingenstroom nekt Brussel; Analyse Solidariteit en oplossing ver te zoeken. *Telegraaf*
16	Savelberg, R. (2015, September 29). 'Grens bereikt'; Gauck levert snoeiharde kritiek op Merkel. *Telegraaf*
17	Kuiper, M. (2015, September 16). Migranten maken pitstop in A'dam. *NRC Handelsblad*
18	Wittenberg, E. (2015, September 19). Geef ze werk, dat is de beste inburgering. *NRC Handelsblad*
19	Anderson, R. (2015, September 5). Maar doe nu dan wel iets. *Volkskrant*
20	Hendrickx, F. (2015, September 10). Vooralsnog is alleen VVD blij met asielplan. *Volkskrant*
21	Rosman, C. (2015, September 4). ...wat doet u zelf? *AD*
22	Rosman, C. (2015, September 19). 'Opvang in lege kantoren'. *AD*
23	Hiskemuller, C. (2016, January 5). Niet nóg soepeler regels. *Telegraaf*
24	van Renselaar, M. (2015, September 24). Ruzie over vluchtelingen; Soest voelt zich overvallen door besluit Zeist. *Telegraaf*

5.3 Period 3: December 2015	
1	De Koning, M.; Leijendekker, M.; Termote, R. (2015, December 3). Hoe gaat het met de vluchtelingen op de Balkan? *NRC Handelsblad*
2	Leijendekker, M. (2015, December 11). In de praktijk lukt het nog niet echt met terugsturen. *NRC Handelsblad*
3	Brouwers, A. (2015, December 21). De discussie staat nu op scherp. *Volkskrant*
4	Du Pré, R. (2015, December 30). Asielzoekers ingelicht over 'harde knallen'. *Volkskrant*
5	De Kruijff, N. (2015, December 2). 'Mannen belagen meisjes in azc'. *AD*
6	Schildkamp, V. (2015, December 18). 'Een dove kan ook leuk leven. *AD*
7	de Brouwer, E; Bakker, A.; Bode, E. (2015, December 16). Geldermalsen laat zich niet overvallen; Meeste partijen in gemeenteraad willen besluit over komst van een groot azc uitstellen. *Telegraaf*
8	Nijen-Twilhaar, H. (2015, December 23). 'De maat is echt vol bij de mensen hier'; Razend over noodopvang op park in Kaatsheuvel. *Telegraaf*
9	Noshad Sharifi, M. (2015, December 9). Zelfs de Zweden willen hen niet meer. *NRC Handelsblad*
10	De Koning, M. (2015, December 11). Syriër mag wel door, Afghaan moet terug. *NRC Handelsblad*
11	Khader, S.; Stoffelen, A. (2015, December 5). Proppen en geprop worden. *Volkskrant*
12	Obbema, F. (2015, December 21). Denen: neem geld asielzoeker in. *Volkskrant*
13	Boogaard, F. (2015, December 4). Grieken binden in na dreiging. *AD*
14	Voermans, T. (2015, December 14). In Nederland wonen en werken 639.000 migranten uit EU-landen. *AD*
15	Oosterbaan, M. (2015, December 19). Dweilen met de kraan open; Analyse Europese Migrantencrisis. *Telegraaf*
16	Loonen, P. (2015, December 28). 'Ik vond dat we iets moesten doen'; Amsterdamse meiden helpen vluchtelingen op Lesbos. *Telegraaf*
17	Spijkerboer, T.; Last, T. (2015, December 18). Meer doden en smokkel van mensen. *NRC Handelsblad*
18	Versteegh, K. (2015, December 24). Geldermalsen capituleert niet: nieuw azc-plan. *NRC Handelsblad*
19	Blom, H. (2015, December 4). Laten we een voorbeeld nemen aan Duitsland. *Volkskrant*
20	De waard, P. (2015, December 8). Vluchteling doet economie groeien. *Volkskrant*
21	Van der Wal, C. (2015, December 17). Veldslag om azc in Geldermalsen *AD*
22	Duk, W. (2015, December 22). 'Duitsland controleert zijn vluchtelingen niet'. *AD*
23	Van Tongeren, C. (2015, December 4). Schengen in de ijskast. *Telegraaf*
24	Sterkman, J. A. (2015, December 24). 'We kunnen niet anders dan redden'; Kapitein op schip voor Europese grensbewaking machteloos. *Telegraaf*

5.4 Period 4: January 2016	
1	Chin-A-Fo, H. (2016, January 12). Eritrese meisjes moeten wegblijven uit deze kerk. *NRC Handelsblad*
2	Steketee, H. (2016, January 18). Even de grens over voor pepperspray. *NRC Handelsblad*
3	Lindhout, S. (2016, January 9). Omslagpunt in het asieldebat. *Volkskrant*
4	Huisman, C. (2016, January 12). Een lastig gesprek in Overvecht. *Volkskrant*
5	Van der Mee, T. (2016, January 13). Duitsland en Zweden hebben nu hun Fortuyn-moment. *AD*
6	Rosman, C.; Winterman, P. (2016, January 30). 4 keer per dag is het knokken. *AD*
7	Bakhtali, R. (2016, January 16). 'Na Keulen moesten politie en justitie wel'; Asielzoekers pas half jaar later vervolgd voor aanrandingen. *Telegraaf*
8	Jansen, J. (2016, January 19). Asielprotest Heesch wordt zwijnenstal. *Telegraaf*
9	Van der Steen, P. (2016, January 7). De politie kon zo veel mannen met alchohol op niet aan, zegt ze; Keulen Agressie tegen vrouwen. *NRC Handelsblad*
10	Noshad Sharifi, M. (2016, January 18). In Zwitserland moeten migranten al betalen. *NRC Handelsblad*
11	Obbema, F. (2016, January 7). Asielstroom niet gestopt. *Volkskrant*
12	Lindhout, S. (2016, January 18). Duitse politie houdt razzia in 'Maghreb-wijk' in Düsseldorf. *Volkskrant*
13	Rosman, C. (2016, January 9). Vluchtelingen blijven de zee oversteken. *AD*
14	Den Hartog, T. (2016, January 30). Elk land bedenkt een eigen aanpak voor de vluchtelingenstroom. *AD*
15	Van Gessel, R. (2016, January 26). Paspoortvrij reizen staat echt op springen; Europese Commissie moet verlenging van maximaal twee jaar voorbereiden. *Telegraaf*
16	Bijlsma, E. (2016, January 30). Calais is migranten zat; Criminaliteit, irritatie en dalende omzetten. *Telegraaf*
17	Heck, W. (2016, January 8). De winterstop blijft uit in vluchtelingenstroom. *NRC Handelsblad*
18	Heck, W. (2016, January 21). Een asielplafond, is dat mogelijk? *NRC Handelsblad*
19	Vos, C. (2016, January 6). 36 lichamen spoelen aan op Turkse kust na tocht op ruwe zee. *Volkskrant*
20	Lindhout, S. (2016, January 27). Een kans, na jaren illegaal in Spanje: met de Syriërs mee naar Duitsland. *Volkskrant*
21	Oomen, E. (2016, January 11). Als bij ons 'n vrouw je aankijkt, wil ze je versieren'. *AD*
22	Rosman, C. (2016, January 21). Homoseksuele vluchteling: 'Koning, bezoek ons eens'. *AD*
23	Andriessen, H. P.; T. Van der Mee (2016, January 18). Hussein verhangt zichzelf terwijl hij belt met z'n vrouw. *Telegraaf*
24	Rosman, C. (2016, January 29). Wie zijn straks de uitverkorenen en op basis waarvan? *Telegraaf*

Appendix 6: The newspapers

This appendix provides extra background information about the selected newspapers.

NRC Handelsblad

NRC Handelsblad is an evening newspaper that came to existence from a fusion of a newspaper from Amsterdam (Handelsblad) and one from Rotterdam (NRC). Due to the rise of television in the 60s of the past century, both newspapers became indigent as advertisers started to invest in the new medium and newspapers in general lost a large portion of their income.

A merger between the two newspapers seemed inevitable by the end of the 60s when both newspapers suffered large losses a due to the decline of income from advertisement and a decline of the demand of printed news in general, while wages and the costs for printing had increased.

Originally, there was a large culture difference as the Amsterdam part (Handelsblad) wanted to report about societal and cultural development and the Rotterdam part (NRC) found national and international politics and economy more important. Both newspapers had in common that they strived to objective reporting. The Amsterdam part used the contributions of foreign correspondents for international news, excelled in parliamentary reporting, but did little of their own national reporting. Instead, the paper used the telex and the news was later corrected and published by editors. Both newspapers had an extra Saturday edition, with more reporting regarding "human interest" stories.

After the fusion in the beginning of 1970, a new formula was developed based on foreign newspapers such as The Times and Süddeutsche Zeitung and aiming to be a quality newspaper for a secondary and higher education audience. This is currently still the main target audience.

The newspaper is located in Rotterdam, has over 200 editors, many international reporters and since the end of the 90s, the circulation of NRC Handelsblad has been around 270.000 editions[16].

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[16] http://vorige.nrc.nl//krant/article1545099.ece/Korte_geschiedenis_van_%3Cbr%3ENRC_Handelsblad

De Volkskrant

After originally having been established as a weekly newspaper in 1919, it changed to a newspaper that came every other day in 1920 and eventually became a daily newspaper in 1921[17].

The Volkskrant, with roots in the Catholic labor movement, moves from Den Bosch to Utrecht in 1935 and stops publication during the occupation in the Second World War (WW2).

After WW2, the Volkskrant becomes one of the largest national newspapers with a circulation of 109.000 and is by then owned by the Catholic Workers' Movement. However, the editorial office does not only aim to target a workers' audience. Instead, the editorial office tries to reach a wider audience, however all within the catholic circle and reporting based on Catholic ethics and politics.

By 1964 changes take place as the Volkskrant becomes a newspaper with a strong distinctly progressive character that appeals to a younger audience. More changes occur in 1965 when the newspaper moves to Amsterdam and the subheading "'Catholic newspaper for the Netherlands" disappears, a clear statement that they target a wider audience that is not necessarily catholic. By 1970, the newspaper has over 200.000 subscribers and in the same period of time, the Volkskrant focuses on the social developments and engages in a critical manner regarding the reform movement. Journalism becomes freer, as in that time the focus was based on the religious "columns".

In the 80s the Volkskrant grows even more and stars with an Saturday edition. By the end of the 90s on average over 350.000 newspapers are printed each day and the newspaper starts with the full color Volkskrant magazine, a magazine that includes more "human interest" stories.

Telegraaf

The Telegraaf started on 1 January 1983 and from the beginning the newspaper was focused on international news due to the interest on foreign news by the Dutch people. At the end of

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[17] De geschiedenis van de Volksrant/The history of the Volksrant http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/de-geschiedenis-van-de-volksrant~a614928/

the 19th century, Telegraaf spent two thirds of all its news on international reporting of news from abroad[18].

In 1883, esquire Henry Tindal, an army captain, received an honorable discharge. He started to express strong criticism on the Dutch defense politics by sending letters and brochures mainly to organizations in the publishing industry. He started to use the newspaper "de Amsterdammer" as a mouthpiece to express his political views after he became the owner in 1888. When he caused a political role that caused King William II or the government to leave, he received an extensive amount of criticism from the national press, especially from Algemeen Handelsblad (that later became one of the parties of the NRC Handelsblad) leading to a long-lasting feud between the two parties.

In 1892 started his own newspaper aiming to be the counterpart of Algemeen Handelsblad (AH) that during that period brought the most important financial and economic news from Amsterdam, but more powerful and with more class. Unfortunately, Tindel did not invest his earning wisely which led bankruptcy of the paper in 1901, after the paper raked over 1 million guilders in debt. He died one year later due to a stomach bleeding.

The newspaper was taken over and became successful again and the new owner was being compared to the founder of British papers such as the Daily Mirror and Daily Mail.

During the First World War, the Netherlands as a country wanted to stay impartial in that period and so did the media. Telegraaf was the only newspaper that announced to be "pro French" and therefore anti-German. After WW1, Telegraaf kept on growing, passing 100.000 subscribers in 1926. In the meantime, the newspaper focused on people with a lower income as its target audience.

While other newspapers refused, the Telegraaf agreed to publish anti-Jewish articles and SS-front reports during WW2, perhaps under pressure of the Nazis. Eventually, a sympathizer with relations with the SS became the owner of Telegraaf and the paper also printed two other pro-Nazi newspapers.

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[18] http://telegraaf-archief.nl/geschiedenis-van-de-telegraaf.php

Due to the sympathizing with the Nazis, the Committee for the Press Purification gave Telegraaf a 30-year publication ban, which was already lifted in 1949. Despite the negative publicity, Telegraaf became the largest newspaper of the Netherlands again.

Telegraaf says that until this day, they are still confrontational, whether with institutions, people or the government and they are proud for expressing their strong opinions. Jan Blokker, a Dutch author, journalist and columnist, stated: "There is no newspaper that has the thermometer so deep in the bottom of society as Telegraaf" (Blokker via Luyendijk & van Es, 1993).

Algemeen Dagblad

Algemeen Dagblad (AD) was established in 1946 as a sister paper of the Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant (NRC, that later became part of NRC Handelsblad)[19]. It is a Dutch daily newspaper that is based in Rotterdam and is the result of a merger of seven regional newspapers in 2005. AD is neutral and therefore has no affiliation with any political party, religious group or interest group. According to its statutes the newspaper is "a popular, reliable and independent national morning paper[20].

At the end of the 80s, the AD started to lose readers after having been the second largest newspaper in the Netherlands (behind Telegraaf). When in 1993 the newspaper changed its course with a different look and the focus on being a 'quality newspaper', the decline continued and became stronger as many readers did not agree with the changes. The Volkskrant was a very successful that moment and there were accusations that the AD would be copying that newspaper too much with its new direction. There was even a new subheading saying "The Netherlands' most popular quality newspaper" (Nederlands populairste kwaliteitskrant).

In 2004, there was a new wave of cancellations by subscribers who had become a subscriber in 1993, after new changes which removed the designation 'quality newspaper' and the AD started to compete with Telegraaf, which has been the course until today.

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[19] http://www.kranten.com/krant.html/ad
[20] https://www.villamedia.nl/n/nvj/docs/statuutdagblad.shtm

Appendix 7: Examples of coding of newspaper articles

In this appendix, some examples are provided of the coding of the articles. There are two articles for every frame. The coding of the complete database of all the 96 is not included. The complete file can be shown upon request.

All the articles have a number, and every period or month consists of 24 articles. The complete list of the articles, including their numbers, can be found in appendix 3. The colors in the text of the articles match the colors of the frames as the table in appendix 1.

7.1 Examples Human Interest frame

Artikel 17

16 september 2015 woensdag
Migranten maken pitstop in A'dam
BYLINE: Door Martin Kuiper
SECTION: Voorpagina; Blz. 1
LENGTH: 756 woorden

Reportage Migratie
Dagelijks komen nu honderden asielzoekers aan op Amsterdam CS op doorreis naar Ter Apel

Amsterdam.
De gestrande migranten op het centraal station in Amsterdam worden wegwijs gemaakt door een vrouw in een scootmobiel. Rustig rijdt Christa Rihani ('geen leeftijd, te oud') op en neer tussen de Syrische mannen en vrouwen. Jong en oud, met iedereen maakt ze een praatje. Waarom ze hier is? ,,Ik heb zelf een paar jaar geleden Libische vluchtelingen in huis gehad. Nu wil ik de Syriërs helpen." En dus is zij, zelf getrouwd met een Tunesische man, op deze druilerige dinsdagavond, even na tien uur, naar Amsterdam CS gekomen.
Daar komen sinds een aantal dagen honderden Syrische en Eritrese migranten aan. Terwijl de afgelopen maanden gemiddeld veertig migranten per dag zich meldden op het Centraal Station, zijn dat er sinds zaterdag dagelijks 200, zegt een woordvoerder van de politie Amsterdam: ,,We weten niet hoe dat kan." De meesten komen met de internationale trein uit België en Duitsland en gebruiken Amsterdam om een pitstop te maken: Lebara simkaart kopen (waarmee internationaal bellen goedkoop is), gratis treinkaartje met instructies halen op perron 1 bij het politieloket, en door naar het aanmeldcentrum van het Centraal Orgaan opvang Asielzoekers in het Groningse Ter Apel.

Maar sommigen missen de laatste trein van 20.07 uur, die een rechtstreekse aansluiting naar Ter Apel mogelijk maakt. De Amsterdamse politie heeft voor hen sinds maandag de speciale buslijn Amsterdam-Ter Apel opgezet. ,,We willen echt niet dat mensen met kinderen een nacht op het station moeten doorbrengen."

Het verzamelpunt is voor de döner- zaak, zegt Sander Kindili (45) die met andere vrijwilligers de gestrande migranten opvangt. Daar staan mannen met rugtasjes te telefoneren met het thuisfront. Het zijn bijna allemaal Syriërs en een enkele Eritreeër. De meesten ogen opgewonden. Abdullahad Haj Najeeb (23, student bedrijfskunde) uit de Syrische havenstad Latakia reisde via Turkije, Griekenland, Macedonië, Servië, Hongarije, Oostenrijk en

Duitsland naar Nederland. Waarom Nederland? „Iedereen is zo vriendelijk hier en het is zo mooi. Het lijkt wel of dit land geschilderd is."

Chaith Jaweesh (24, student bedrijfskunde) en Anas Al Halabi (24, student Japanse literatuur) ook uit Syrië, maar uit de hoofdstad Damascus, zijn beter geïnformeerd over het land waar ze asiel aanvragen. Beide mannen - zij waren wel op tijd voor de laatste trein - zijn ongelovig en willen hier graag aan de universiteit studeren. Ze hebben veel vragen. Jaweesh wil weten hoe het met de Nederlandse economie gesteld is. Al Halabi wil weten wat Nederlanders vinden van vrouwen die een hijab dragen; ze zijn beiden sinds één maand getrouwd en willen hun geliefden graag over laten komen.

Minder opgewekt is de beveiligingsbeambte met kaal hoofd die constant het politieloket inloopt. Hij klaagt dat hij door de migrantenstroom zijn werk niet kan doen. „Aan het beveiligen van het station - tegen zakkenrollerij - komen we nauwelijks toe, we zijn alleen met vluchtelingen bezig."

Dat lijkt vanavond mee te vallen. Alles verloopt volgens schema. Om stipt elf uur wordt de migrantengroep door twee politieagenten naar de witblauwe bus van het Gemeentevervoersbedrijf gebracht die naar Ter Apel rijdt; ze worden uitgezwaaid als bij een schoolreisje. Als de bus uit het zicht verdwenen is, dringt zich bij één van de vrijwilligers een vraag op: wat als er toch vluchtelingen zijn achtergebleven op het station? Kinali wijst naar mevrouw Rihani in de scootmobiel: „Wij hebben beiden nog wel een paar slaapplekken over."

Vanwege de aanhoudende stroom migranten heeft Hongarije gisteren de grens met Servië hermetisch afgesloten. Het gevolg is dat meer migranten nu proberen via EU-lid Kroatië richting Oostenrijk en Duitsland te reizen.
Bondskanselier Merkel herhaalde dat Duitsland de opvang van migranten aankan. „Als we ons ervoor moeten verontschuldigen dat we in noodsituaties een vriendelijk gezicht tonen, dan is dat niet mijn land", antwoordde ze op kritiek op haar beleid.

De spanning tussen West-Europa en Oost-Europese landen die weigeren meer vluchtelingen op te nemen liep verder op. Onder andere de Tsjechische regering zei bindende quota af te wijzen, terwijl premier Rutte zei de weigerachtige landen via een Europees meerderheidsbesluit te willen dwingen hun grenzen open te stellen. Volgende week volgt mogelijk een EU-top van regeringsleiders om tot een oplossing te komen.

Artikel 21

4 september 2015 vrijdag
...wat doet u zelf?
BYLINE: CYRIL ROSMAN
SECTION: Nieuws
LENGTH: 490 woorden

Vierhonderd toilettassen voor asielzoekers in Apeldoorn. Tienduizend beeldjes van vluchtelingen in Amsterdam. De NPO die een nationale tv-actie overweegt. Het vluchtelingendrama in Europa ontrolt zich al weken, maar bereikt nu de Nederlandse harten. „Dit is hartverwarmend," zegt Vluchtelingenwerk Nederland. Heel Holland Helpt.

Erika Mauritz uit Amsterdam dacht aan een auto of twee, drie vol. „Maar inmiddels overwegen we serieus of we een vliegtuig kunnen inzetten." Een vliegtuig vol met door Nederlanders ingezamelde hulpgoederen voor vluchtelingen die de Griekse kust hebben bereikt: De Hulpkaravaan. „Ik zie al weken die beelden uit heel Europa voorbij komen. Zaterdag dacht ik: nu ga ik iets doen." Ze opende de facebookpagina 'Hulp karavaan naar Griekenland'. En boem. Honderden, duizenden mensen reageerden. Op veertig adressen in Nederland worden nu spullen ingezameld: stevige schoenen, dekbedden, medicijnen, mutsen, warme jassen (voor later dit jaar), maandverband, luiers. In oktober willen ze de spullen gaan brengen. Mauritz: „Als de politiek het niet doet, gaan wij wel hulp bieden."

En dat denken nu veel meer Nederlanders. Sinds eind vorige week, sinds de chaos op het station van Boedapest, sinds de iconische foto van het dode jongetje op het strand van Bodrum, komt Nederland massaal in actie. Amsterdamse yogaleraressen zamelen draagdoeken voor baby's in en willen die naar Griekenland brengen. In Apeldoorn vullen inwoners toilettassen voor de 400 vluchtelingen in de zojuist geopende noodopvang in de stad. Op http://gastgezinvooreenvluchteling.nl hebben al 6000 mensen aangegeven dat ze (tijdelijk) een vluchteling in huis willen nemen. Tientallen BN'ers die in een krantenadvertentie vragen 'Wat kunnen we doen?' De NPO overlegt over een gezamenlijke aanpak of actie op radio en televisie.

En dan zijn er nog de tientallen mensen die zich aanmelden voor vrijwilligerswerk of persoonlijk spullen willen brengen naar een asielzoekerscentrum. Het zijn er zoveel dat gisteren op een gegeven moment zestig mensen in de telefonische wachtrij stonden bij het Centraal Orgaan opvang Asielzoekers (COA). „Mensen komen vaak met spullen, maar op sommige locaties is daar geen behoefte aan. We hebben weleens iemand gehad die tien paar schaatsen kwam brengen," stelt woordvoerder Jan Willem Anholts. Hij adviseert mensen eerst contact op te nemen met het opvangcentrum bij hun in de buurt, voordat ze met spullen langskomen.

Ook de lokale afdelingen van Vluchtelingenwerk Nederland krijgen veel telefoontjes. De organisatie heeft al 8000 vrijwilligers, maar daar kunnen er nog meer bij. Vrijwilligers die helpen bij de asielprocedures én vrijwilligers die helpen bij het inburgeren: taalcoaches, mensen die uitleggen hoe je hier een bankrekening opent. „Maar ook gewoon mensen die een kopje koffie met een vluchteling gaan drinken. Want het gevoel welkom te zijn, is heel fijn."

VIEW ORIGINAL PAGE: pagina 6, pagina 7

7.2 Examples threat frame

Artikel 5

13 januari 2016 woensdag
Duitsland en Zweden hebben nu hun Fortuyn-moment
BYLINE: TONNY VAN DER MEE
SECTION: Nieuws
LENGTH: 639 woorden

Met de massa-aanrandingen in Duitsland en Zweden is de geest uit de fles. Het verdoezelen van de link met de vluchtelingencrisis krijgen de autoriteiten nu als een boemerang terug. Nederland was het stadium van de politieke correctheid al lang voorbij.

Pim Fortuyn zei wat hij dacht, en deed wat hij zei. Daarmee maakte hij een eind aan de politieke correctheid in Nederland. Zweden en Duitsland hebben nu hun eigen 'Fortuyn-moment'. „Een aantal landen zit nog in het stadium van politieke correctheid zoals we dat in Nederland tot de Fortuyn-periode kenden," zegt Han Entzinger, hoogleraar integratie- en migratiestudies. „Daar merken ze nu de gevolgen van." Kwam in Keulen het hoe en wat van de massa-aanranding pas dagen later naar buiten, Zweden heeft daar een schepje bovenop gedaan. De politie bekent massa-aanrandingen tijdens muziekfestivals in 2014 en 2015 door jonge Afghanen verzwegen te hebben, uit angst de extreemrechtse Zweden-democraten in de kaart te spelen bij de verkiezingen. Er lagen 20 klachten van jonge tienermeisjes, en de politie had tientallen verdachten in beeld, maar vervolging bleef uit.

Het beestje bij de naam noemen, ligt op het kookpunt van de vluchtelingencrisis gevoelig. Wie de afkomst van de daders verzwijgt, is 'té politiek correct'. Wie deze wel noemt, geeft het verzet tegen vluchtelingen een extra steun in de rug.

Toch is het relevant voor het asieldebat om te benoemen om wie het gaat, vindt Entzinger. „Als een Marokkaan 20 kilometer per uur te hard rijdt, hoef je de afkomst niet te melden. Maar hier gaat het om jongemannen met een Noord-Afrikaans uiterlijk die zich massaal op vrouwen stortten. Het zou raar zijn om die verschillen in culturele en etnische afkomst niet te vermelden."

Zeker in Duitsland is de angst dat het vluchtelingendebat uit de hand loopt, groot. Entzinger merkt het als hij van tijd tot tijd in Berlijn is. „Het lijkt alsof ik 20 jaar terug in de tijd ga. Daar praten ze op een andere manier over vluchtelingen. Je moet respect hebben voor hun cultuur. Dat moet ook, maar er zitten grenzen aan respect. Bovendien ligt het in Duitsland nog gevoeliger vanwege het oorlogsverleden."

Het vertrouwen in politie en overheid, dat door het vluchtelingenbeleid al niet heel groot was, krijgt een nog grotere deuk. Iedere nuance en nuchterheid ontbreekt. De eerste 'wraakacties' op andere asielzoekers zijn een feit.

De verdachten in Keulen zijn - op een enkeling na - vooral Noord-Afrikanen. Ze komen dus niet uit de landen waar de meeste vluchtelingen vandaan komen. Entzinger: „Algerijnen en Marokkanen die in het kielzog van Syriërs en Afghanen meekomen, verpesten het klimaat van de échte asielzoeker."

Het is nog steeds niet duidelijk wat er nu precies achter zit, zegt Leo Lucassen, hoogleraar en directeur onderzoek van het Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis.

„Waarom deden ze het? Dat vind ik interessanter dan de vraag of het om asielzoekers ging." Uit politiestatistieken blijkt dat asielzoekers ondervertegenwoordigd zijn in criminaliteit vergeleken bij autochtonen met dezelfde demografische en sociaal-economische achtergrond. En ze houden zich vooral bezig met winkeldiefstallen. Daarmee wil Lucassen maar zeggen dat aanranding en verkrachting geen 'probleem' is van louter Arabische mannen of asielzoekers. „Het is een enorme hype. Er hoeft nu maar één Syriër of Afghaan zich te vergrijpen aan een Nederlands meisje, en het land ontaardt in een massahysterie."

Hij vindt dat Nederland zichzelf niet op de borst moet kloppen als een voorbeeldland. „We zijn doorgeslagen naar het andere uiterste. We mogen alles maar benoemen wat we eng vinden aan buitenlanders. Dat is een nieuwe politieke correctheid. De nuchterheid is ver te zoeken."
'Wij zijn doorgeslagen naar het andere uitterste'

VIEW ORIGINAL PAGE: pagina 6, pagina 7
LANGUAGE: DUTCH; NEDERLANDS
PUBLICATION-TYPE: Krant
JOURNAL-CODE: ADRD
SUBJECT: Immigration (94%); Politics (76%); Political Asylum (75%); Deportation (75%)
LOAD-DATE: 13 January 2016

Artikel 6

AD/Rotterdams Dagblad
30 januari 2016 zaterdag
4 keer per dag is het knokken
BYLINE: CYRIL ROSMAN EN PETER WINTERMAN
SECTION: Nieuws; Blz. 2, 3
LENGTH: 697 woorden

Politie en COA geven inzicht in incidenten azc's
De politie komt gemiddeld een keer per week in actie vanwege een seksueel misdrijf in een asielopvang. Van fysiek geweld in een azc werd vorig jaar 1366 keer melding gemaakt, ofwel viermaal per dag.
Dat blijkt uit cijfers van politie en opvangorganisatie COA die het AD heeft opgevraagd via de Wet openbaarheid van bestuur (Wob). Staatssecretaris Klaas Dijkhoff van Veiligheid en Justitie stuurt de cijfers vandaag naar de Tweede Kamer.

Op dit moment wonen ruim 47.000 asielzoekers in Nederland, verspreid over meer dan tachtig opvanglocaties. In 2015 kreeg de politie 55 meldingen van een zedendelict in of rond een azc.

De meeste zaken spelen tussen asielzoekers onderling. Zo wordt een mannelijke asielzoeker in Bellingwolde verdacht van misbruik van vier asielkinderen. Ook zijn er meldingen van verkrachting, aanranding en potloodventen.

In een enkel geval gaat het om een poging tot seksueel misbruik van een minderjarige vluchteling door een Nederlandse man. Ook speelt een zaak van een poging tot aanranding van een Nederlandse vrouw door een man die 'mogelijk uit een azc komt'.

Zedendelicten door asielzoekers liggen onder een vergrootglas sinds de massale aanrandingen tijdens het nieuwjaarsfeest in Keulen. Iva Bicanic, hoofd van het Centrum Seksueel Geweld in Utrecht, schrikt niet van het aantal van 55 zedenzaken. „Je moet wel in de gaten houden dat lang niet ieder slachtoffer ook een melding doet." Volgens het centrum zijn elk jaar ongeveer 100.000 mensen in Nederland slachtoffer van seksueel geweld.

Huisregels
In totaal registreerde het COA vorig jaar ruim 8000 incidenten op ruim tachtig opvanglocaties. De tientallen tijdelijke crisisopvanglocaties - zoals sporthallen - horen daar niet bij. Die vallen onder beheer van de gemeenten. Ook de allerkleinste locaties, met minder dan twintig bewoners, zijn niet meegenomen. In meer dan 5000 van de 8000 incidenten ging het om het overtreden van de huisregels van het COA, zoals geluidsoverlast, het niet opruimen van de eigen kamer en afplakken van een brandmelder. In de overige gevallen ging het om ernstigere incidenten.
Beveiligers
Er waren 2394 meldingen van agressie en geweld tegen personen. Gemiddeld werd zo'n vier keer per dag - in totaal 1366 keer - fysiek geweld gebruikt, zoals slaan of schoppen. Lang niet altijd werd de politie daar bij gehaald. COA-medewerkers zijn getraind om met agressie om te gaan. Ook zijn er continu beveiligers aanwezig.

Als een COA-medewerker een vermoeden heeft van huiselijk geweld of mishandeling, wordt daarvan melding gedaan bij de instantie Veilig Thuis. Bij het vermoeden van een misdrijf stapt het COA naar de politie.

Uit de cijfers van het ministerie blijkt dat gemiddeld elke dag een asielzoeker zichzelf iets aandoet. Er waren 369 gevallen van hongerstakingen, zelfverminkingen en zelfmoordpogingen. Twee asielzoekers pleegden zelfmoord. In 2014 gebeurde dat drie keer. Dit jaar was er al zeker één zelfmoord: een Irakees in Alphen aan den Rijn verhing zich uit frustratie over de lange wachttijd van zijn asielaanvraag.

De politie noteerde vorig jaar 4460 meldingen bij azc's. Bij de helft hiervan ging het om kleine zaken, maar er waren ook 1100 meldingen van vechtpartijtjes en overlast.

Volgens het ministerie is het niet gek dat er opstootjes in de azc's zijn. „Die kunnen nooit volledig worden uitgesloten. Mensen komen uit allerlei verschillende culturen en hebben vaak een onzekere toekomst."

Staatssecretaris Dijkhoff van Veiligheid en Justitie noemt 'elk incident in de opvang er een te veel', maar wil de cijfers niet vergelijken met die van andere bevolkingsgroepen. „Elke vergelijking gaat per definitie mank."

34 keer had de politie in 2015 het vermoeden dat er op of bij een azc sprake was van mensenhandel of -smokkel. Het gaat dan om smokkelaars die asielzoekers naar Nederland hebben gebracht en mensenhandelaren die rond azc's rondhangen om vrouwen aan te zetten tot prostitutie.

Houd in de gaten dat lang niet elk slachtoffer ook een melding doet (-Iva Bicanic)
Opstootjes kunnen nooit volledig worden uitgesloten (-Ministerie van Justitie)

VIEW ORIGINAL PAGE: pagina 2, pagina 2, pagina 3
GRAPHIC: Opvangcentrum Heumensoord bij Nijmegen is een van de locaties waar de in totaal 47.000 asielzoekers in Nederland worden opgevangen.
FOTO ROBIN UTRECHT
LANGUAGE: DUTCH; NEDERLANDS
PUBLICATION-TYPE: Krant
JOURNAL-CODE: ADRD
SUBJECT: Political Asylum (94%); Deportation (86%); Immigration (83%)
LOAD-DATE: 29 January 2016

7.3 Examples Economic frame

Artikel 19

4 december 2015 vrijdag
Laten we een voorbeeld nemen aan Duitsland
BYLINE: HERMAN BLOM
SECTION: Opinie en Debat; Blz. 21
LENGTH: 774 woorden

Migranten en werk
De Nederlandse integratie-industrie werkt niet. In Duitsland doen migranten veel meer mee.

Frank-Jürgen Weisse, directeur van de Bundesagentur für Arbeit (BfA) en van het Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BfMF) wordt in de Duitse media als de belangrijkse Duitse ambtenaar van dit moment voorgesteld. De succesvolle manager van de BfA (het Duitse UWV) mag nu ook het nieuw opgerichte BfMF leidden.

Weisse meent dat de arbeidsmarkt de sleutel is tot integratie in de samenleving. Zijn instellingen zijn daarvoor de eerstverantwoordelijken. Op deze manier kan van de nood van de vluchtelingenstroom wellicht nog een deugd voor de arbeidsmarkt en voor de samenleving worden gemaakt.

De stroom van vluchtelingen wordt daarom continu in de gaten gehouden. De Duitse uitdagingen blijken groot. De vluchtelingen uit Afrika en het nabije Oosten brengen maar een gering potentieel mee voor de vervulling van vacatures.

Van de tot eind oktober in 2015 geregistreerde 500 duizend vluchtelingen (met verblijfsstatus) kunnen er 350 duizend worden gerekend tot de actieve beroepsbevolking. Dat wil zeggen dat in theorie kan worden verwacht dat die zouden kunnen gaan werken. Tien tot 15 procent daarvan beschikt over de taalvaardigheid en beroepskwalificaties om op korte termijn aan de slag te gaan.

De romantici die hadden geloofd dat met de vluchtelingenstroom op korte of middenlange termijn het probleem van het gebrek aan vakmensen in de Duitse Mittelstand kon worden verholpen, zijn uit hun droom geholpen.

Toch staat het probleem van 'werk voor nieuwkomers' centraal op de Duitse agenda's. Hoe groot is de sense of urgency op dit gebied in Nederland? Welk overheidsorgaan trekt en sleurt aan de integratie in systemen van onderwijs en werk van de vluchtelingen met verblijfsstatus? Het ontbreekt aan eigenaarschap en aan initiatieven.

Het Duitse systeem van duaal beroepsonderwijs is niet kansloos in de poging om matig of ongeschoolde, niet-Duitssprekende migranten op termijn aan de bak te krijgen. De participatiecijfers van migranten op de arbeidsmarkt zijn vanouds al hoger dan de Nederlandse. Hoewel Duitsland minder in een loodzware integratieindustrie investeerde, ziet het beeld er opvallend positiever uit dan hier ten lande.

Exemplarisch is de analyse van Frank Bovenkerk dat Duitsland het enige Europese land is waar Marokkaanse migranten aan het werk zijn gekomen en gebleven. Het heeft alles te maken met goed functionerende arbeidsmarktinstellingen.

Het Duitse systeem van duaal beroepsonderwijs blijkt de groeimotor te zijn van de Duitse economie én de emancipatiemachine voor grote groepen scholieren uit niet-academische milieus, met name migrantenjongeren. Leerling en bedrijf gaan naar elkaar toe een verplichting aan. De jongere die een echt vak leert in een bedrijf en zich committeert aan dit bedrijf ontwikkelt een gevoel van beroepseer en - trots.

Die gevoelens vormen voor migrantenjongeren een goede bodem voor de verbinding met hun nieuwe land. Betere middelen tegen terrorisme door jongeren moeten nog worden gevonden.

Beschikken we wel over de systemen om nieuwe Nederlanders met aandacht een vak te leren en in onze bedrijven te integreren? Nee, die systemen haperen al voor onze eigen jongeren. De Nederlandse cijfers voor jeugdwerkloosheid zijn geflatteerd, zoals Salverda onlangs liet zien. In Nederland zijn weinig echte banen voor jongeren. Slechts 15 procent van alle Nederlandse jongeren tussen de 18 en 24 jaar is economisch zelfstandig.

Nederland is 'kampioen kruimelbanen' voor jongeren. Bedrijven en organisaties investeren niet in hen. Wat zou je dan nog verwachten van de perspectieven voor de nieuwkomers? Gegeven de afzienbare vervangingsvraag voor de afzwaaiende groep van zestigers is dit een idioot gegeven. Doen we in Nederland niet aan personeelsplanning?

De Duitse Willkommenskultur bestaat uit een gezamenlijke inspanning van bedrijven en overheden. Voor Flüchtlinge worden opleidingstrajecten georganiseerd. Er lopen projecten om migranten met een afgesloten beroepsopleiding zo spoedig mogelijk de bedrijven in te krijgen. Bedrijven nemen vaak het initiatief! De Agenture für Arbeit brengen vraag en aanbod bij elkaar. Voor taalcursussen op de werkplek wordt gezorgd. Met het succesvol beëindigen van hun opleiding ligt een vaste baan voor het grijpen.

Er wordt in Europa gepleit voor het goed omgaan met de toestroom van talent. Voor Nederland zijn goed functionerende arbeidsmarktinstituties gevraagd. De UWV's moeten actiever worden. Bedrijven dienen hun verantwoordelijkheid te gaan nemen. En waar is de Nederlandse Frank-Jürgen Weisse?

VIEW ORIGINAL PAGE: pagina 21

GRAPHIC: HERMAN BLOM werkt als trainer en docent in het Duitse hoger beroepsonderwijs.

Artikel 20

8 december 2015 dinsdag
Vluchteling doet economie groeien
BYLINE: VAN ONZE VERSLAGGEVER PETER DE WAARD
SECTION: Economie; Blz. 25
LENGTH: 560 woorden

De overheidsuitgaven aan de opvang van vluchtelingen doen de economie een klein beetje extra groeien, stelt De Nederlandsche Bank. Daarna dragen ze zelf bij aan die groei.
De massale instroom van vluchtelingen in Nederland heeft per saldo een klein, positief effect op de economie. Het bbp zal hierdoor met 0,14 procent extra stijgen, maar dat gebeurt pas in 2017. Volgend jaar is het effect positief noch negatief.

Met die voorspelling heeft De Nederlandsche Bank (DNB) maandag een duit in het zakje gedaan van de dit jaar hoog oplopende discussie over de komst van asielzoekers en hun impact op de economie. De centrale bank heeft de effecten van de vluchtelingenstroom op de Nederlandse economie proberen te berekenen op grond van de impact op de overheidsuitgaven, de werkgelegenheid, de woningmarkt en het consumentenvertrouwen.

Hiervoor is een model gemaakt dat uitgaat van de komst van 60 duizend asielzoekers in 2015 en 2016 en 40 duizend in 2017. Dat zijn er 80 duizend meer dan bij de prognose in juni van dit jaar. Verder veronderstelt DNB dat de overheid in die jaren van 80 procent van de 160 duizend vluchtelingen het asielverzoek honoreert.

Op korte termijn zijn er, berekent DNB, forse kosten in verband met huisvesting, juridische bijstand en het aanspreken van andere collectieve voorzieningen. Deze uitgaven geven een positieve impuls aan de economie. Daarnaast staan er op dit moment geen lastenverzwaringen of bezuinigingen tegenover die het oplopende overheidstekort moeten compenseren.

Op langere termijn moeten de opvangkosten wel worden terugverdiend. Doordat de vluchtelingen als werknemer of ondernemer een positieve impuls aan de economie leveren, compenseren ze de kosten die Nederland eerst voor ze maakte.

Ook de behoefte aan nieuwe woningen voor de opvang van vluchtelingen die een verblijfsvergunning hebben gekregen, ziet De Nederlandsche Bank als een positieve bestedingsimpuls. 'De extra overheidsuitgaven, het hogere arbeidsaanbod en de woninginvesteringen verhogen de bbp-groei enigszins.'

De vluchtelingenstroom heeft volgens DNB wel een negatief effect op het consumentenvertrouwen. Dat stelt de bank op basis van ervaringen tijdens eerdere vluchtelingencrises. 'Indien alle vier effecten zich voordoen, resulteert dat in een positief effect van 0,14 procent op de bbp-groei in 2017. In lijn daarmee neemt de werkloosheid met 0,1 procent af.' Daartegenover staat dat het overheidstekort met 0,1 procent toeneemt, wat Den Haag in de loop der tijd moet corrigeren.

Hoogleraar economie Sweder van Wijnbergen van de Universiteit van Amsterdam zou de studie graag over doen en daarbij kijken naar de optie vluchtelingen sneller in staat te stellen aan het werk te gaan. 'Nu sluiten we ze jaren op zonder dat ze iets kunnen doen. In Groot-Brittannië zijn vluchtelingen netto contribuanten aan de welvaartstaat, omdat ze sneller mogen werken. Duitsland gaat ook die kant op. Dat zou zeker met een aantrekkende economie het positieve effect versterken.'

In Nederland zouden mensen met een asielstatus te vaak werkloos aan de zijlijn staan. Daarmee onderscheidt Nederland zich van landen als de VS, Canada, Australië en Groot-Brittannië, waar de sociale regelingen minder goed zijn en waar ze gedwongen zijn snel werk te zoeken. Asielzoekers in Nederland blijven relatief lang werkloos aan de kant staan.

VIEW ORIGINAL PAGE: pagina 25

GRAPHIC: Vluchtelingen van het kamp Heumensoord bij Nijmegen eten donderdag soep die buurtbewoners hebben gebracht. De instroom van duizenden asielzoekers levert in 2017 een extra economische groei van 0,14 procent op, aldus DNB.
Foto Marcel van den Bergh / de Volkskrant

LANGUAGE: DUTCH; NEDERLANDS
PUBLICATION-TYPE: Krant
JOURNAL-CODE: de Volkskrant
SUBJECT: Economic Growth (94%)
LOAD-DATE: 7 December 2015

7.4 Examples Administrative frame

Artikel 13

9 januari 2016 zaterdag
Vluchtelingen blijven de zee oversteken
BYLINE: CYRIL ROSMAN
SECTION: Nieuws; Blz. 13
LENGTH: 334 woorden

Nog steeds 1000 tot 1500 per dag
Nog elke dag steken grote aantallen migranten in rubberbootjes de zee tussen Turkije en Griekenland over. Eurocommissaris Timmermans gaat dit weekend de Turken aansporen meer te doen om de vluchtelingen-stroom tegen te houden.
„Het aantal mensen dat de oversteek maakt, 1000 tot 1500 per dag, is duidelijk kleiner dan in december. Maar we zien nog elke dag de boten aankomen op de eilanden," zei een woordvoerder van de Internationale Organisatie voor Migratie (IOM) in Griekenland gisteren. De Syriërs, Irakezen en Afghanen onder hen reizen door naar West-Europa.

Duitsland stelt nog elke dag meer dan 3000 nieuwe asielzoekers binnen te krijgen: mensen die de oversteek eind vorig jaar hebben gewaagd en toen aan hun doorreis zijn begonnen of mensen die via gezinshereniging naar het land komen. In Nederland meldden zich vorige week ongeveer 700 asielzoekers.

In Griekenland ontstaan steeds grotere kampen met gestrande migranten. De grens met Macedonië is nog gesloten voor asielzoekers uit andere landen dan Syrië, Irak en Afghanistan. De Griekse minister van migratie zei recent dat 'Turkije blijkbaar niet in staat is aan zijn verplichtingen te voldoen'.

Europa bereikte afgelopen najaar een akkoord met de Turken: in ruil voor onder meer 3 miljard euro financiële hulp voor de opvang van vluchtelingen zouden de Turken meer gaan doen om de boten te stoppen. Eurocommissaris Frans Timmermans reist dit weekend naar Ankara. „We zijn nog lang niet tevreden met de Turkse inspanningen," zei hij.

Hek
Gisteren stelde de Hongaarse premier Orbán voor een hek langs de volledige noordgrens van Griekenland te bouwen om op die manier vluchtelingen tegen te houden. Hongarije bouwde zelf al een hek aan zijn zuidgrens en krijgt sindsdien nauwelijks meer asielzoekers binnen. De Slowaakse premier Fico zei eerder deze week dat zijn land helemaal geen islamitische vluchtelingen meer wil opnemen.

'We zijn lang niet tevreden met in-spanning Turkije'

VIEW ORIGINAL PAGE: pagina 13
GRAPHIC: Een rubberboot propvol vluchtelingen komt aan op het strand van het Griekse eiland Lesbos.
AP
LANGUAGE: DUTCH; NEDERLANDS
PUBLICATION-TYPE: Krant
JOURNAL-CODE: ADRD

SUBJECT: European Union Institutions (94%); Immigration (74%); Political Asylum (69%); International Relations (67%)
LOAD-DATE: 8 January 2016

Artikel 15

26 januari 2016 dinsdag
Paspoortvrij reizen staat echt op springen;
Europese Commissie moet verlenging van maximaal twee jaar voorbereiden
BYLINE: Ronald van Gessel
SECTION: Buitenland; Blz. 17
LENGTH: 225 woorden

Europese Commissie moet verlenging van maximaal twee jaar voorbereiden
door Ronald van Gessel

Amsterdam - Europa maakt zich op om de grenzen twee jaar te sluiten als de migrantencrisis niet snel onder controle komt. Daarmee staat 'Schengen', paspoortvrij reizen, echt op de helling.

In mei lopen de tijdelijke grenscontroles af die zes landen, waaronder Duitsland, Zweden en Oostenrijk, hebben ingevoerd. Zonder wettelijk kader mag dat niet langer, maar een aantal lidstaten heeft er weinig fiducie in dat in enkele weken tijd de stroom migranten gekeerd kan worden. Vandaar dat ze willen dat de Europese Commissie een procedure voorbereidt, zodat in mei de grenscontroles voor langere tijd, maximaal twee jaar, verlengd kunnen worden, zo maakte staatssecretaris Klaas Dijkhoff (Asielzaken) bekend na afloop van een informele vergadering van Europese ministers van Binnenlandse Zaken en Justitie in Amsterdam. Zoiets kan alleen als duidelijk is dat dat de grenzen gatenkaas blijven.

Volgens Dijkhoff wordt nu alles in het werk gesteld om te voorkomen dat Europa wordt verzwolgen door de stroom. „We mikken op betere samenwerking met de Turken, nog voor de zomer moet er een EU-grenswacht zijn die kan ingrijpen als een land dat zelf niet meer kan." Ook wordt gedacht aan het helpen van Macedonië met extra grenswachten.

'Grens blijft gaten-kaas'

LANGUAGE: DUTCH; NEDERLANDS
PUBLICATION-TYPE: Krant
JOURNAL-CODE: Telegraaf
SUBJECT: European Union Institutions (94%)
LOAD-DATE: 25 January 2016